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QUINTUS TULLIUS CICERO

A MONOGRAPH ON HIS LIFE AND WORK

BY A.H. MAMOOJEE

Thesis presented to the Faculty of Arts
of the University of Ottawa as partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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INTRODUCTION

The present work is an attempt to bring together all known materials from antiquity which have anything to do specifically with Quintus Tullius Cicero, the brother of the famous orator, and to sketch a portrait of him as complete as these materials will permit. This portrait will necessarily amount to less than a biography, since almost all the extant materials, constituting contemporary evidence for Quintus Cicero, were written from the middle sixties to the middle forties B.C., and naturally relate most of the time to the latter third only of his life. Evidence for the earlier part of his life, from these and other sources, exists but in tantalisingly fragmentary references. So that the portrait here sketched of Quintus may be reasonably whole and intelligible, there will be recourse at times to conjectures, having the force of probability rather than certainty, based on evidence relating specifically to Cicero the orator or other contemporaries.

There are two obvious ways of arranging a work of this kind, one chronological, the other thematic. The chronological approach, following the man period by period, would have a great advantage. Quintus Cicero had a public career and a private life: but the private life of a Roman of the Senatorial class, like himself, was not all that private. Between his public career on the one hand, and, on the other, his family life, studies, and livelihood, there was a great deal of interplay. In the chronological approach, there would be no risk of this interplay being missed, and of the whole man being lost sight of,

at each stage of his development. The thematic approach, on the other hand, would normally have the work divided into two parts, public life and private life, and have each dealt with separately and in either order of priority. This approach is neater, in that it avoids a constant traffic of the discussion back and forth between politics, family, literature and property: it is likely to yield a more intelligible picture of one aspect of the man at a time. Much of the interplay, however, and a sense of chronological sequence may be lost. I have adopted an approach which is essentially thematic, but tempered it with chronological considerations, in the hope of maximising the advantages in each of the two traditional approaches. This is the explanation for my insertion of the chapter on public career between chapters consisting of what are usually regarded as matters of private life. It also accounts for the postponement of discussion on Quintus' last years from the third chapter to the final one, which, in the main, deals with him in relation to his son.

The work begins then with an examination of the evidence for the early life of Quintus Cicero, in relation to the geographical, social and intellectual environment in which he grew, since factors in this environment had a powerful effect in determining his subsequent interests and aptitudes. One relatively early and crucial effect was his marriage to Pomponia. The second chapter will consist of a study of the rationale, the course and the outcome of this marriage. Turning to public life, the third chapter will trace his cursus through his propraetorate in Asia to his three legateships under Pompey, Caesar and Cicero

respectively. His own cursus can only be appreciated in relation to his brother's activities, and much of his public life involved, not the actual discharge of official duties, but services to his brother. This will then be the place for including discussion of how he helped his brother during critical periods, such as the latter's consulship, exile and participation in the Civil War. Since his public actions were intricately involved with his opinions about leading public figures, such as Pompey, Caesar and Cicero, and about political developments, his thoughts in regard to such matters, in so far as they can be figured out, will be brought in as part of this chapter. Chapter four will turn to Quintus as a man of letters, and sketch the range and mode of his readings and discussions, the drift of his thoughts, and the matter and manner of his writings. Examination of his material circumstances, in the following chapter, will involve the determination of what he owned in terms of estates and slaves, his cash flow, and his sources of income. The closing chapter will examine his problems with his son, Quintus Jr., until the death of father and son.

Two undesirable consequences result from this plan. First, some splits between topics closely related. Quintus' education is discussed in chapter one, his literary interests in chapter four. His marriage is the subject of chapter two, the product of this marriage is postponed until chapter six. The Commentariolum Petitionis as evidence of public life is separated from Commentariolum Petitionis as literary product of Quintus. Secondly, repetitions. A given sentence may constitute evidence of where Quintus was at a given time, what he thought of his son,

how relation with his wife was strained, what the style of his writing was, and how difficult his financial situation. There may be matter here relevant to discussion in five different chapters. Repetitions and cross-references, which I hope to have restricted to acceptable limits, have been a necessary price to pay for the overall intelligibility of the work.

* * *

A good deal of work has already been done on the present subject, and some of it by scholars of the highest eminence.[1] W. Pütz and C.H. Blase published each a short monograph, on the life and works of Q. Cicero, in 1833 and 1847 respectively. In the same century, A. Haakh and Drumann each composed a biography for inclusion in the Realencyclopädie and the Geschichte Roms respectively. To these pioneers every later researcher on the subject is greatly indebted for assembly of documentation. It is, however, an indication of the inadequacy of these early works both in documentation and interpretation that Drumann was heavily revised by Groebe in 1929, and Haakh completely superseded by Münzer's contribution to the RE in 1943. Drumann-Groebe's and Münzer's now stand as the most up-to-date surveys of

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1 For specifics of the works mentioned hereafter in this introduction, see bibliography, section I. The present bibliographical survey does not include unpublished papers, such as two mémoires de diplome d'études supérieures by Bolle and Gruel, Paris, 1937 (see REL XV (1937) 344-5). Of Pütz (which has been unobtainable) I know through later works. Bibliographical survey of the Commentariolum, intricately involved with the problem of authenticity, is postponed to ch. 4, pp. 286-314.

Quintus Cicero's career. In respectively thirty and twenty lushly documented pages, they are models of accuracy, brevity and thoroughness for works of their kind. The present undertaking was fortunate to have such bases to work from. However, since by their very nature, these surveys are rigidly confined, they must severely limit and at times completely exclude interpretation of sources, examination of problems and discussion of competing views. The path trodden by such predecessors would be out of bounds, if it were not for the fact that the present undertaking is, as it were, to build a road on the way which has been cleared.

There are two little known surveys of Quintus Cicero's career, one old and one new, and in this case recentior is indeed deterior. F. Antoine's twenty-eight pages on the public and private life and character of Quintus Cicero, which form part of his introduction to his separate edition of Q.F.I.1, published in 1888, are readable, well-balanced and perceptive, but, for the data, borrowed largely (on the author's admission) from the older and now outdated RE article, with consequent shortcomings. G. Pianko's 21-page article on "Kwintus Tulliusz Cyceron", published in 1969, is hardly anything more than translations into Polish of excerpts from Cicero's correspondence relating to Quintus, patched together by a summary of a very general character, without citations of evidence or discussions of problems.

The nearest thing to a complete study of the present subject was published by W. Wiemer in 1930. A perusal of its 47 pages will reveal that, although a doctoral dissertation, it does not attempt to discuss

most of the problems involved any more fully than Drumann-Groebe and Münzer. Moreover, since Drumann-Groebe appeared just a year before it, too late to be consulted, a comparison between the two exposes some errors and serious omissions in Wiemer's account of Quintus' public life. Münzer (1306) has rightly observed, as a result, that, in this regard, Wiemer was weak. In this part, Wiemer has indeed been quite superseded by Drumann-Groebe and Münzer. However, Münzer added that, on Quintus' private life, Wiemer's account was better and more independent, and, recently, McDermott (702, n.1) has pronounced it to be "excellent". Wiemer has certainly delved deeper than his predecessors into a few points. He came closer to the right perspective on the relation between the Cicero brothers; and he was the first to devote more than a perfunctory discussion to the "De XII Signis". Still, he is far short of a full view on the humanism, the family and the material situation of Quintus. Here too he overlooks or touches superficially on numerous problems. Published in the 20th century, Wiemer's work is in fact a product of nineteenth century scholarship: it was not and could not be written in the light of the extensive new knowledge cast on the late Roman republic by the abundant research of the second and third quarters of this century.

Six articles have been published on specific aspects of Q. Cicero. Three of them have contributed to our understanding of one episode in his public career. F. Adami, in his four pages on Quintus as a legate of Caesar, published in 1942, pointed out, what had been little noticed previously, that Quintus went to Gaul neither for the thrills of

a soldier's life, nor out of dedication to the state, but for personal reasons, to secure Caesar's assistance in solving his financial problems. In 1966, under the title "The Ambitions of Quintus Cicero", T.P. Wiseman published what has currently become the most often quoted and widely acclaimed article on the man. In eight excellently documented pages, Wiseman argued that the most important purpose of the legateship in Gaul was to secure a consulship for Quintus, a conclusion with which the present work will take issue. W. McDermott has published, in 1971, a substantial and well-documented article of 16 pages, under the title "Q. Cicero", the main purpose of which is to shed some light on the early career of Quintus. It is the most thorough contribution so far on this point, with interesting and probable suggestions about Quintus' having had an early career as soldier and as administrative aid to his brother, although it is highly speculative on the specifics of that career.

The other three articles are about Quintus as a man of letters. J. Stinchcomb's seven pages, published in 1932, on "the literary interests of a Roman magnate", are readable and stimulating. But there is here a survey of a very general nature that merely skims through the literary interests. On the "magnate", speculation tends to be free, and, at times, even wild, and financial considerations in the motivation of Quintus are overstressed. W. Allen, in 1955, unravelled the tangle of the passages connected with "The British Epics of Quintus and Marcus Cicero", and showed their relation to a literary genre in vogue during Quintus' lifetime. In the present work, the pages on this topic owe much to that article. P. Cugusi wrote in 1970 a very substantial

article of thirty pages on Quintus as "un litterato". Cugusi has now discussed in detail the evidence for the tragic and historical as well as the epic works attributed to Q. Cicero. By doing so, he has filled one of the gaps which the present work was designed to fill: for the conclusions, independently reached here on these points, will be found to be not too dissimilar from Cugusi's. Cugusi devotes half of his study to discussion of the style of Quintus' four extant letters, which he shows to be characterised by use of rare words, hasty constructions, Greek quotations and proverbial expressions. The present work will discuss additional features of these letters.

Four articles have appeared on the two persons (other than Cicero himself) immediately related to Quintus, and have therefore a bearing on Quintus' family life. W.H. Johnson's "The Sister-in-law of Cicero", 1913, is justly dismissed by W. McDermott (702, n.1) as "a jejune note", which Münzer would not have bothered to mention (1287), if he had been able to see it. Full of generalities, sometimes platitudinous, about marriages ancient and modern, it has, despite its title, little to explain about Pomponia herself. J. Stinchcomb, in "The two younger Tullii", 1933, included a very short and general survey of the career of Quintus' son. I.M. Garrido Božić, in "Quintus filius", 1951, has probed deeper, but no deeper than Drumann-Groebe and Münzer, whose surveys in the Geschichte Roms and RE respectively, on the son, are, as on the father, the best and most up-to-date. Recently, in 1972, Meander honoured G. Pianko with the publication of "Młodzi Cyceronowie", nine pages, on the two young Ciceros, as devoid of scholarly merit as her

previous effort through the same journal on the father of Quintus Jr. The final chapter of the present work will not only examine more thoroughly the problems involved in Quintus Jr's career, but also probe into the discussion of Quintus as a father.

Writers on Cicero himself and on the Ciceronian age have naturally made statements of fact and judgments on Quintus Cicero, sometimes in a few words or small footnote, sometimes in a few sentences, and sometimes in more ample discussions of several pages. Those most prone to give him attention are biographers of Cicero, editors and commentators on Q.F., (particularly the lengthy Q.F.I.1), editors and commentators of Cicero's philosophical works which involve him, historians dealing with an episode in which he was involved, and, naturally, editors, commentators and disputants on the Commentariolum. These statements and judgments, put together, would run the length of this thesis, at the least, and present a curious tissue of inconsistencies and contradictions, illustrative of the confusion in which the figure of Q. Cicero is at this time engulfed. Since he is a figure of secondary importance, there is no sensational history of enthusiastic eulogies and violent denigrations about him in modern scholarship. Mommsen was too busy with "important" things to pay him any notice. Drumann was kinder to him than to Cicero. And Carcopino dismisses him with a few contemptuous remarks. But judgments have varied about his abilities, about his integrity and about various matters concerning him.

* * *

This thesis may occasionally attain the rarely-achieved but often-claimed distinction of advancing conclusions both new and true. But merit will be found, it is hoped, in identifying and confronting previously stated or barely hinted views, in probing the credentials for them, in adducing new evidence for, and establishing on more solid ground, one view as against another. The purpose of this study will be fulfilled, if the portrait of Q. Cicero emerges from it with flesh added to the present bones.

The present undertaking involves the assumption not only that a substantially new and true portrait of Q. Cicero can be sketched, but also that it deserves to be. It might be said, after all, that Q. Cicero was not among the foremost men of his age: he dominated neither the world of action nor the world of thought, as Caesar, Pompey and Cicero did. In answer to this, one good - but, for scientific purposes, insufficient - reason could be given in the words of the mountaineer, who, when asked why a mountain had to be climbed, replied: "Because it's <u>there</u>!" A scientifically better reason, which justifies parts of this undertaking is that, close as he was to his brother, Quintus occupied the mind and affected the career of one who certainly ranks among the greatest makers of Western civilisation. But, most importantly, Q. Cicero was a man of his time, the chapters in whose life are chapters of an individual caught in the tangle of the falling Republic. Second-rate, but from a crucial generation, he is one, of very few of his time, who can be known relatively well. He deserves to be known, as part of an understanding of the society to which he belonged.

* * *

Among the materials available for study, towards an understanding of Q. Cicero, of the first importance but disappointingly meagre, are the remains of what he himself wrote. In Cicero's Ad Familiares XVI, there are four short letters by him: 8, 16, 26 and 27. The longest letter in Cicero's correspondence, known as the Commentariolum petitionis, has been transmitted as the work of Quintus. 20 lines of hexameters on De XII signis have been preserved and ascribed to Quintus by Ausonius. Two elegiac couplets De Amore Feminarum are usually associated with him. The remains of Q. Cicero were collected, edited and published by F. Bücheler in 1869.

The most important source of information, however, are the letters of Marcus Cicero to Quintus, Ad Quintum fratrem, in 3 books. These are more numerous. The twenty-seven letters (in Watt's edition) were written at various times between late 60 and December 54 B.C. They vary in length from the 45 sections of I.1 (second longest letter in Cicero's correspondence, after the Commentariolum) to the mere two sections of II.7.

Since Atticus was the brother-in-law of Quintus, as well as an intimate friend and confidant of Marcus Cicero, the sixteen books of Cicero's letters to him, Ad Atticum, often contain information about Quintus, especially in regard to family matters. From this source, information covers a more extensive time-period, from 68 to the end of 44 B.C. Most frequently, it is restricted to a small section of a letter; but, occasionally, it can be more discursive and run to three or four sections, as, e.g., in I.17 and V.1.

The letters written by Cicero in the Ad familiares, on rare occasions, yield scraps of information. Fam. I.9, well-known letter to Lentulus Spinther, is a notable exception, giving a substantial account of Quintus' role as negotiator for Cicero's recall from exile. The orations of Cicero, which yield scraps of information, are: In Catilinam IV, Pro Archia, Pro Flacco, Post Reditum in Senatu, Post Reditum cum Populo, De Domo, Pro Sestio, De Provinciis consularibus, Pro Plancio, Pro Scauro, Pro Milone and Philippics III.

Five of Cicero's philosophical and rhetorical works are important sources, because Quintus is either the addressee or a participant in them. They are: De Oratore, De Republica, De Legibus, De Divinatione and De Finibus V. These, in particular, have not been well tapped in previous studies on Quintus, because of a widespread assumption that the mise-en-scène and dramatis personae in Cicero's dialogues were purely fictitious. Recent scholarship has brought out some of the historical and auto-biographical elements in the fictitious dialogues, and the rationale for the author's choice of a particular individual as addressee or participant. The results of these studies enable us now to probe these sources more confidently for information on the real Q. Cicero.

Of other contemporary sources, two works give information on Quintus. Caesar, in Bellum Gallicum, mentions him on four occasions, and, on two of them, gives an extensive narrative about him. Cornelius Nepos, in Vita Attici, mentions Quintus a few times, and is particularly valuable for information on the family into which Quintus married.

Four inscriptions from Rocca d'Arce, near Arpinum, and one from Arpinum (Mommsen, CIL X.1, Nos. 701, 702, 703, 706 and 719) mention Q. Cicero or his son. In 1956, L. Robert discovered at Claros, the sanctuary of the Colophonians, an inscription honouring Q. Cicero, which he subsequently described in Turk. Ark. Derg. VII (1957) 2, 13. Near the Heraion of Samos, there was an exedra honouring the whole Cicero family, of which F.K. Dörner and G. Gruben have recovered, published and described fragments of inscriptions mentioning Quintus' wife and son (Athen. Mitt. LXVIII (1953) 63-76). An inscription from Miletus, recording a propraetor's edict, published in Rev. Arch. XIII (1909) 454-5, refers, in Lines 38-9, probably to Q. Cicero rather than his brother, as usually believed. C. Rasche, Lexicon Rei Numariae, Leipzig, 1793, V.2, 460-1, describes four coins (Nos 15, 17, 18, 19) with inscription of the name Q. Tullius Cicero in one form or another. The epigraphic and numismatic evidence is usually of auxiliary value for confirming more substantial literary evidence.

Some post-Republican authors mention Quintus incidentally, while writing about Cicero or Caesar. Plutarch, in Vita Caesaris, but particularly in Vita Ciceronis, Appian and Dio Cassius have preserved useful information. Suetonius, in Vita Divi Iulii and Vita Augusti, Macrobius, Orosius and the Scholia Bobbiensia have preserved very fragmentary but important information. Livy, in the Periochae, Frontinus, Polyaenus and Zonaras mention him, but record no information we do not have from earlier sources. If my interpretation is correct, Quintilian and St. Jerome also referred to him. No one in antiquity, to our

knowledge, wrote on him at any length.

Each of the sources listed above presents its own problem of credibility, when used as evidence for historical truth. Doubt has been cast on the Commentariolum and the verses ascribed to Quintus as authentic compositions of his. The letters of Cicero contain exaggerations, flatteries, subjective judgments and misrepresentations. Cicero's orations and dialogues observe certain rhetorical and literary conventions. Caesar's Commentaries belonged to the literature of propaganda and Nepos' biography to the genre of eulogy. The inscriptions are sometimes suspect, and the coins positively spurious.[2] Post-republican writers sometimes followed literary inclinations, political bias or gossip rather than proper historical canons.

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2 As the numismatic "evidence" turns out to be entirely spurious, it will not be referred to again, and is best disposed of here. Rasche transcribes the legends on the four coins as follows:- No. 15: TULLI PROCOS. ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΤΡΑ. No. 17: Γ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΑΡΧΙΕΡ. ΜΕΓ ... ΚΟΙΝ. ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ Γ. No. 18: ΑΠΥΛΧΙΜΙΣ ΡΗΤΕΙΝΩΝ ... ΚΟΥΙΝΤ. ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ Γ. No. 19: CAESAR P.M. DIC. TER. ... Q. TULLIUS M.F. CICERO III VIR ... A.A.A.F.F. These coins purport to be connected with Q. Cicero, as governor of Asia, in the first three cases, and, in the fourth, (for which there is no other evidence), as triumvir monetalis between 46 and 44 B.C. These coins are not authenticated anywhere in sources after the 18th C., and I have Dr. C.M. Kraay's authoritative confirmation that the last three must be Renaissance fabrications, of which there are many examples. Dr. Kraay suspects the first one might be genuine, but the name TULLI, replacing the erased name PVLCHER, probably an alteration of modern times. Hence, the only information that the numismatic "evidence" gives us on Q., is that Renaissance antiquarians deemed him of enough importance to warrant the trouble of inventing his coins.

Of the inscriptions, only No. 702 of Mommsen has been firmly rejected as spurious (see below, ch. 6, n. 78).

The authenticity of Quintus' remains will be discussed in chapter four. The degree of credibility to be attached to Cicero's words will be considered at various points, when there is occasion for scepticism. As a rule, however, it is assumed that, whatever be the distortions due to exaggerated language, emphasis, omissions and subjective evaluations, Cicero generally did not tell lies, when stating facts as facts. As regards the other authors, little fear need be entertained of actual bias in favour or against Quintus, because, as an incidental figure in their accounts, he was not a prime target of adulation or condemnation. Where improbabilities and contradictions arise, there will be occasion to weigh the merits of the sources.

Since the documentation for a monograph of the present kind is quite dispersed, and the purpose of this monograph was both to assemble and interpret the materials on the subject, I have adopted the method, not of merely referring to the evidence, but of bringing as much of it as possible for the reader to see. Thus, without having constantly to search in a variety of books, the reader is enabled to keep track of the basis on which statements are made and conclusions drawn. But to keep the work within practical limits, I have exercised the practice with some restraint. I generally give a reference only, when the source material is of inordinate length, when the reference is to circumstantial evidence rather than evidence specifically on Quintus, and when the material is quoted elsewhere in the thesis.

I

BIRTH AND UPBRINGING

Quintus Tullius Cicero was the younger and only brother of Marcus Tullius Cicero and was born of the same parents.[1] The date of his birth is not recorded, but modern scholars are almost unanimous in writing 102, as, for example, Haakh, Eussner, Antoine, Beltrami, Petersson, Haskell, Hildebrandt, Shanz-Hosius, Wiemer, Walter and Balsdon. The source of this date is ultimately Drumann.[2] It is well-known that Marcus Cicero was born in 106, that he was praetor in 66, and that he was elected to his magistracies *suo anno*. It is certain that Quintus was praetor in 62.[3] On the assumption that he too held his magistracies *suo anno*, Drumann concluded that he was born in 102.

Praetorship in 62 is certain evidence for 102 as being the *terminus ante quem* of Quintus' year of birth: for, if he had been born after 102, he would not have been eligible for praetorship in 62. There is no evidence, however, for Quintus, that he held his magistracies *suo*

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1 Att. I.5.2: "fratrem minorem"; III.19.2: "unici fratris"; XI.9.3: "ne quid ex eadem matre postea natum esset".

2 Haakh 2234; Eussner 4; Antoine p. xii; Beltrami 5; Petersson 22; Haskell 90 and 359; Hildebrandt 298; Shanz-Hosius 550; Wiemer 3; Walter 228; Balsdon *apud* Dorey 172; Drumann-Groebe, VI,637.

3 M.'s birth: Aul. Gell. N.A. XV.28.3; Plut. Cic. 2.1; Att. VII.5.3; XIII.42.3; Brut. 161 (cf. Gelzer, RE VII A 1, 827 and Cic. 1; Drumann-Groebe V, 230). Praetor: numerous sources in Broughton, sub. 66. *Suo anno*: Brut. 323. Q. praetor: see below, 78.

anno. The fact that he was candidate for aedileship in 66, the year of Marcus' praetorship, and candidate for praetorship in 63, the year of Marcus' consulship,[4] suggests that the availability of patronage from his brother in a magisterial position, rather than his own immediate eligibility, was the important factor in determining the years of his canvass. The phrase "frater prope aequalis", which is used by Marcus to describe him, and the fact that he had his education pari passu with Marcus,[5] indicate that there was little difference in years between the two, as Münzer has rightly sensed.[6] It would appear then that Quintus Cicero was born not long after his brother, probably a year or two, in 105 or 104.

Quintus was born and spent his early childhood in the ancestral farmhouse, like Marcus.[7] This farmhouse, as O.E. Schmidt has shown from a careful examination of relevant passages in the De Legibus, was

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4 Q.'s aedileship and praetorship: see below, 65; 78. M.'s praetorship and consulship: numerous sources in Broughton, sub. 66 and 63.

5 Aequalis: Q.F. I.3.3. The word need not mean of exactly the same number of years: cf. TLL, I,993-5, sub. "aequalis". Education: see below, 8-12; 20-1.

6 Münzer 1286. Blase, 4, suggested 104 or 103; S.B., Cic., 2, has opted for 104; and Pianko, 402, for 103. They have not given their reasons for these specific years, but they are probably closer to the truth than the near-consensus opting for 102.

7 Leg. II.3: "M...: haec est mea et huius fratris mei germana patria; hic enim orti stirpe antiquissima sumus, hic sacra, hic genus, hic maiorum multa vestigia. quid plura? hanc vides villam ... hoc ipso in loco ... me scito esse natum."

situated on a small delta formed by two arms of the river Fibrenus, as it flows into a tributary of the Liris, in the Volscian hills.[8] A walk of three miles up the valley of the Liris would take one to the town of Sora, and two miles south lay the town of Arpinum. The Ciceros' farmhouse was included in the then praefectura of Arpinum, which after 89 became a municipium.[9] From Arpinum, to south-west, Fregellae was only eight miles away, and Fregellae was on the Via Latina, about 60 miles from Rome.

Marcus Tullius, the grandfather of Quintus Cicero, had been active at the time of the consulship of M. Aemilius Scaurus, in 115. He was still alive, when Marcus Cicero was born in 106,[10] and quite possibly, when Quintus was born, as well. Of only two reminiscences of him that exist in the Ciceronian corpus, it is remarkable that the major one is from Quintus as speaker in De Legibus, who recalls the old gentleman with affection and approval. He is the first known individual of the Tullii Cicerones of Arpinum, a family of well-established local nobility

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8 The topographical indications are in Leg. I.1; 14; 15; II.1-7; V (ap. Macrob. Saturn. VI.4.8); Leg. Agr. III.8. Cf. Schmidt, 9-12, for interpretation of the passages and rejection of older views about the site of the Ciceros' "incunabula".

9 Praefectura: Fest. sub "praefectura" (p. 262: de Ponor); municipium: Planc. 19-20; Leg. II.6. Cf. RE on Arpinum: II,1, 1218-19 (Hülsen). Some of the numerous passages attesting M. Cicero's close connection with Arpinum are collected in Schmidt, 19-20: Cf. CIL, X.1, Nos 711, 715, 716, 718, 719.

10 Leg. II.3: "cum avus viveret".

and Equestrian rank.[11] He was old-fashioned. He fought a long and spirited war in local politics against Marcus Gratidius, whose sister he had married, when Gratidius attempted to introduce secrecy of ballot, in imitation of leges tabellariae in effect by then for some time in Rome. Scaurus told him he should be in Roman politics, with all that stamina of his.[12] C. Julius Caesar Strabo (Vopiscus), who obviously knew him, is made in De Oratore to quote a bon mot of his: he used to say that the more Greek a man knew, the worse he was for it - as it was with Syrian slaves.[13] He kept the family farmhouse austerely simple, like

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11 Fam. III.7; Leg. Man. 4; Leg. Agr. II.1-2; 8; Mur. 17; Sull. 23-4; Planc. 18; Har. Resp. 17; Cael. 3; Tusc. Disp. I.38; Brut. 62; Asc. T.C. 73; Plut. Cic. 1; 11.3; etc. (neither fullones, as adversaries would have it, nor of royal descent from Attius Tullus, as flatterers would). Nicolet, REL, 1967, 294, gives an exhaustive list of sources.

12 Leg. III.36: "[Q.]: et avus quidem noster singulari virtute in hoc municipio, quoad vixit, restitit M. Gratidio, cuius in matrimonio sororem, aviam nostram, habebat, ferenti legem tabellariam ... cui cum res esset ad se delata, M. Scaurus consul: 'Utinam,' inquit, 'M. Cicero, isto animo atque virtute in summa re publica nobiscum versari quam in municipali maluisses!'" See also on the grandfather, "M. Tullius Cicero", No. 27 in RE VII A 1, 824 (Münzer), Nicolet, L'ordre éq., II, 1055-6, No. 366, and on Scaurus, "M. Aem. Scaurus", No. 140 in RE I,1, 585-588, with Sumner 69-70 (No. R76). Ciaceri, I, 4-6, draws an interesting contrast between Cicero senex and Gratidius. The leges tabellariae and Leg. III.36 are fully discussed by Nicolet in REL, 1967, 276-93.

13 De Or. II.265: "ut illud M. Cicero senex, huius viri optimi, nostri familiaris, pater, 'nostros homines similis esse Syrorum venalium: ut quisque optime Graece sciret, ita esse nequissimum.'" I take it, with Wilkins and most editors, that "senex" here is the grandfather, and "noster familiaris" is the father of Marcus and Quintus. The dramatic date of the dialogue is Sept. 91 (see Wilkins 5-8). "Senex" is unlikely to refer to the father (cf. below, 5; 13-5) and "noster familiaris" to Cicero, still a lad of fifteen. It is possible, but not necessarily implied, that the grandfather was still living at this date. On Caes. Strabo, cf. Brut. 177, and see Sumner, 105-6 (No. R130).

the proverbial house of Manius Curius Dentatus in Sabine country.[14] Quintus Cicero, as will be seen, resembled the grandfather in some aspects of his character and outlook: they were both spirited, outspoken, conservative in regard to political reforms. The genius of the grandfather may have been a factor in moulding the personality of Quintus.

The son of Marcus Cicero senex, Marcus Cicero pater was differently inclined. He departed from the family's traditional way of life. An invalid in his latter years, he devoted himself to the study of books. He expanded the farmhouse into a more comfortable villa.[15] At some stage during the childhood of his two sons, he abandoned the ancestral custom of maintaining permanent residence on the farm, and became absentee landlord, by moving with his family into a house in the Carinae in Rome. There he lived with his family until he died in 68 or 64.[16]

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14 Leg. II.3: "antiquo more parva villa, ut illa Curiana in Sabinis". Cf. Senec. 55 and Plut. Cato 2, on "Curiana villa".

15 Leg. II.3: "hanc vides villam, ut nunc quidem est, lautius aedificatam patris nostri studio, qui cum esset infirma valetudine, hic fere aetatem egit in litteris." See Schmidt, 13-4, for speculations on the likely additions involved in "lautius aedificatam"; and Münzer, RE VII A 1, 824-7, "M. Tullius Cicero" No. 28, Nicolet, L'Ordre éq., II, 1056, No. 367, on the pater generally.

16 Carinae: see below, 13; 331. Death in 68, if Att. I.6.2: "Pater nobis decessit" (which is ms reading) is correct. Emendation into either "frater" for "pater", or "discessit" for "decessit" have been proposed. Death in 64, if Asc. T.C. 73: "in petitione patrem amisit" is right. Here emendation of "amisit" into "omisit" has been proposed. See Münzer, RE VII A 1, 827 for 64; and Wikarjak, Eos 1967-8, 219-28 for 68, arguing that Asc. is reconcilable with Att. I.6.2, having written "in petitione ⟨praeturae⟩patrem amisit".

His wife, whose name, Helvia, has been preserved by Plutarch, was a farmer's wife, industrious and shrewd - perhaps the more so, because of her husband's incapacity. She kept a sharp look over the servants in the house, and had devised a trick to checkmate pilfering of wine produced on the farm. She would seal even empty wine-jars, so that servants could not drink the wine and then say the pilfered jars had been among the unsealed and empty ones.[17] It is remarkable that this unique reminiscence of Cicero's mother, in the whole Ciceronian corpus, is in one of the four extant letters written by Quintus. This has led Münzer to suggest, with some probability, that Quintus was closer than Marcus to mother, an opinion which Bailey and Balsdon (if hesitantly) are inclined to share.[18]

The Cicero family was delicate on the physical side. The father, as it has just been seen, was an invalid for many years, as the words

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17 Fam. XVI.26: "sicut olim matrem nostram facere memini, quae lagenas etiam inanes obsignabat, ne dicerentur inanes aliquae fuisse, quae furtim essent exsiccatae." Helvia: Plut. Cic. I.1; perhaps, same family as M. Helvius, tr. mil. 209 (Livy XXVII. 12.16) and C. Helvius (Livy XXX. 18.15); see Münzer, RE VIII, 1, 229-30, "Helvia" No. 19. Probably a reminiscence of viticulture at Arpinum in Senec. 52.3.

18 Münzer 1287; S.B., Cic., 4-5; Balsdon, ap. Dorey, 172. P. Briot, in a psycho-analysis of Marcus, (Lat. 1966, 743-55; cf. Lat. 1969, 1040-9), classifies him in the "oral character type" (Fr. "captatif"), one of whose characteristics is extreme attachment as a baby to the mother. Modern research, on the other hand (cf. W.A. Davis and R.J. Havighurst, Father of the Man: How your child gets his personality, Camb., Mass., 1947, 126-9), shows that it is a widespread human phenomenon for a first child to become hostile to the mother upon birth of a second child, esp. when there is a gap of 2-3 years between the children: the elder child tends to be more jealous and selfish than the younger. The birth of Quintus was, quite possibly, an emotional shock to Marcus, which marked his character, in particular his obsession with the need to be the focus of attention and approval.

"fere aetatem egit" (n. 15) indicate. Marcus, as described by himself and by Plutarch, was, at the time of Sulla's dominatio, slender and weak, with a thin and long neck, and a health that worried his friends: his health remained delicate throughout his life.[19] Quintus shared this weakness. In Gaul Caesar observed his "tenuissima valetudo". In letters to him, Marcus frequently reminds him to be very careful about his health.[20] Macrobius has stated that he was "of small build" ("parvae staturae"). The basis of Macrobius' statement is not known, but it is made in connection with an anecdote quoted by him from the book of the collected jokes of Cicero, published by Tiro. Cicero once saw in Asia a shield on which the bust of Quintus was represented in huge features, and remarked: "Half of my brother is more than his whole!"[21] The occasion for the joke was provided not by the fact that Quintus was a dwarf, as some would picture him,[22] but by the exaggeration of the artist, who drew him like a giant. Marcus' joke suggests only that Quintus was no giant, and Macrobius' statement, if it is not

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19 Brut. 313-4; Plut. Cic. 3.7; 8.4-5.

20 Caes. B.G. V.40.7; Q.F. II.3.7: "Cura, mi frater, ut valeas, et quamquam est hiems, tamen Sardiniam istam esse cogites". III.1.25: "Te oro etiam atque etiam, mi frater, ut valeas". Cf. II.1.3; 2.4; III.8.6.

21 Macrob. Saturn. II.3.4: "Nec Q. Ciceroni fratri circa similem mordacitatem pepercit. nam cum in ea provincia quam ille rexerat vidisset clipeatam imaginem eius, ingentibus lineamentis usque ad pectus ex more pictam - erat autem Quintus ipse parvae staturae - ait: frater meus dimidius maior est quam totus." On M.'s collected jokes, see below, 279-281.

22 E.g. Walter 228: "un homme chétif."

entirely a conjecture arising from his reading of the anecdote itself, would indicate that he was built on the small side, but no more.

A reminiscence in De Oratore of the precepts, which the brothers learnt "ab incunabulis", and a reminiscence in De Legibus of the 12 tables, which they memorised "a parvis" suggest that Quintus had his elementary education together with Marcus.[23] Since Plutarch states that Marcus attended a school (" διδασκαλεία "), with other boys, as soon as he was old enough to study (" ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ μανθάνειν γενόμενος "), it follows that Quintus too, probably, attended a ludus from an early age, perhaps seven, the age at which, in the time of Quintilian when education became more institutionalised, schooling began.[24] It is not possible to say from Plutarch's text whether the ludus was at Rome, where the young Ciceros may well have spent the last years of the nineties, or at Arpinum, which probably did have an elementary school, such as Reate had at this time, and Falerii, Tusculum and other towns had had for many years.[25] Here Quintus had his instruction in the rudiments of

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23 De Or. I.23: "repetamque non ab incunabulis nostrae veteris puerilisque doctrinae quemdam ordinem praeceptorum". Leg. II.9: "[M.]: a parvis, Quinte, didicimus, 'Si in ius vocat', atque eius modi alias leges nominare."

24 Plut. Cic. 2.2; Quint. Inst. I.1.15.

25 Cf. Smith, Cic. Statesman, 14: "[Cicero] attended the small local school". Contrast Ward, Phoenix, 1970, 120-1, who thinks he went to a ludus in Rome. Clark, GR, 1968, 18-9, contends (but without firm evidence) that Cic.'s earliest "public" schooling was beyond the ludus, in Rome. For Reate: Varro, RR III.3.18, where Varro himself was educated: Symmachus, Ep. I.1, contra Augustine, Civ. Dei, 4.1: cf. RE, "Varro", No. 84 (suppl. VI, 1173) (Dahlmann). Falerii and Tusculum, according to Livy (V.27; VI.25) had schools as early as the 4th C., and Rome as early as the 5th (III.44.6; Dion. Hal. XI.28). Such references at least imply an old tradition of schools in Italian towns.

reading, writing, counting and moral precepts, to be followed up by the literary curriculum administered by the grammaticus, and then the mastery of speech taught by the rhetor.[26]

It is observed by Marcus that, in adolescence, Quintus manifested a "pudor a dicendo", a "timiditas ingenua",[27] which must have set its roots during the earliest education. Marcus, as the first son, was the bearer of his father's praenomen. Plutarch states he was a star pupil at school, rousing the wonder and envy of other pupils' parents. He himself reminds Quintus at a later time how, as a boy, he was eager to outshine his peers ("a puero adamaram πολλὸν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχος ἔμμεναι "). He was ambitious, self-assertive and inquisitive almost to impertinence. He recalls to Quintus in De Oratore how, still in his teens, he ventured to bombard questions at the great orator M. Antonius. About the merits of M. Antonius' and others' oratory he formed and articulated his own independent opinion at this early age.[28]

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26 For the principles and contents of these three levels of schooling, drawn mainly from Imperial sources, but for the most part applicable to Ciceronian time, see above all Marrou, 389-421. Good surveys can be found also in Daremberg-Saglio, sub "Education", vol. II, pt. 1,481-9; W. Fowler, Social Life, 181-7; Gwynn, 59-78; Dobson, 91-133; Clark, ap. Balsdon's Romans, 211-225; Balsdon, Life, 92-106.

27 De Or. II.10.

28 Plut. Cic. 2.2; Q.F. III.5.4; De Or. II.3: "ipse adulescentulus, quantum illius ineuntis aetatis meae patiebatur, multa ex eo saepe quaesivi". "iam tum ex me audiebas mihi illum ... nullius rei ... rudem aut ignarum esse visum". The change from the first person plural of the passage to the singulars here is indicative of M.'s distinction from Q. "Adulescentulus", although occasionally it covers a surprising range of years (cf. below, ch. 4, n. 48), here must mean "teenager", since Antonius died in 86 (De Or. III.10), when M. was twenty.

This kind of brilliance in the elder brother set a standard and obtained a recognition which Quintus was probably called upon by the elders to emulate, but could not possibly do. Shyness and self-effacement were the effect. To be the brother of Cicero was from the start, as Boissier remarked, a formidable and thankless role: it invited at all times comparison with a man of extraordinary genius. It might have made him bitter and frustrated all his life, as Walter pictures him.[29] But, for the most part, it did not, because of their sense of togetherness, of their habitual sharing in life's experiences.

The stages covered by the grammaticus and rhetor were experienced again together. References of Marcus to "nostra studia", "studia a pueris", "doctores nostri",[30] indicate that Quintus shared in Marcus' predominantly Greek education in literature, philosophy and rhetoric, and had, on the whole, the same teachers. He was an enthusiastic student of all these subjects, although he soon decided he did

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29 Boissier 254: "le rôle ingrat et difficile de frère cadet d'un grand homme". Walter 228: "homme aigri". The frustration of many a younger brother in the Roman world, because of the mere fact of being younger, is well illustrated by Polyb. XXXI.23.4-24.12. Polybius recalls how, as tutor in the house of L. Aemilius Paullus, he always addressed the elder son and asked for his opinion, as the custom was, until, one day, the younger son - (future Scipio Africanus Minor) - roundly told him off, and said he would not be ignored just because he was younger!

30 De Or. I.1: "utriusque nostrum praeclara studia"; I.2: "artis, quibus a pueris dediti fuimus"; I.4: "obsequar studiis nostris"; II.2: "cum discceremus ... erudiremur"; "doctoribus nostris"; Q.F. I.1.28: "nos ea quae consecuti sumus iis studiis et artibus esse adeptos quae sint nobis Graeciae monumentis disciplinisque tradita"; 1.29: "[tu] cui in doctrina, cui in virtute atque humanitate percipienda plurimum a pueritia studi fuisset et temporis."

not want to be an orator.[31] Therefore, he was undoubtedly a pupil of at least some of the individuals whom Cicero is known to have had as teachers. Among men of letters, A. Licinius Archias, the Greek Epic poet from Antioch, protégé of the Luculli, who sang the military glories of Marius and Lucullus; L. Accius, the famous Latin tragic poet, now an octogenarian, whose models were mainly Sophocles and Euripides; L. Aelius Stilo, learned scholar in language, literary criticism and antiquities, teacher and inspirer of the phenomenal Varro. In philosophy, Phaedros the Epicurean, Philo of Larissa, head of the sceptical Academy in Athens, who fled from the Mithridatic War to Rome in 88, where he taught thereafter. A specially persistent and pervasive influence was that of the Stoic Diodotos, since this philosopher actually took up residence in the Ciceros' house at about this time and stayed with them until his death in 59. In rhetoric, the famous Apollonios Molo of Rhodes, who came to lecture in Rome at some time during the eighties.[32]

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31 De Or. II.1: "nos incensos studio discendi"; II.11: "tu facillime poteris iudicare, qui prudentiam rationemque dicendi per te ipsum, usum autem per nos percipere voluisti". (The meaning of the latter part, incidentally, is correctly rendered in Budé (E. Courbaud): "... t'en remettre à moi seulement pour la pratique", but not in Loeb (E.W. Sutton): "you have chosen to master ... its practice by my assistance".)

32 Archias: Arch. 1; Div. I.79 (see further below, 219): cf. RE II,1,463-4: "Archias" No. 20 (Reitzenstein); Accius: Brut. 107: cf. RE I,1,142-7 (F. Marx); Aelius: Brut. 205-7: cf. RE I,1,532-3, "Aelius" No. 144 (Goetz); Phaedros: Fam. XIII.1.2; Philo: Brut. 306: cf. RE XIX,2,2535-2543, "Philon" No. 40 (v. Fritz); Diodotos: Brut. 309; Tusc. Disp. V.113; Att. II.20.6: cf. RE V,1,715, "Diodotos" No. 11 (v. Arnim) (Cic. says D. lived "apud me" (Brut.) and "nostrae domui" (Tusc. Disp.). Q., living contiguously to M. (except between 64 and 61: see below, 331), no doubt saw much of D.); Molo: Brut. 307; 312: cf. RE II,1,141-4, "Apollonios" No. 85.

L. Licinius Crassus, leading member of the bar, consul 95, included him among the sons of distinguished families, to whom Crassus gave instruction and whose curriculum of studies and progress he supervised.[33] He was taken to the Senate after Crassus' death in 91,[34] chaperoned by some Senator friend of the family, still thirteen or fourteen years old. It is doubtful, however, that from 89 to 82, when Marcus went to the house of the Mucii Scaevolae for instruction in jurisprudence, Quintus also went along. This appears to be so from a passage in De Legibus spoken by Atticus. Atticus there refers to his own attendance ("ipse") and Marcus' ("te"), implicitly excluding Quintus, who is present in the dialogue. Had Quintus too attended, one would have expected the use of "nos" in this regard.[35]

Quintus Cicero was given these highest of educational opportunities because of the breakthrough of his father and fellow-Arpinates, especially of his father's generation, into the milieu of the Roman Senatorial class, by now soaked in Hellenism. His father above all was responsible. On account of the fact that there is nowhere in Cicero a

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33 De Or. II.2: "cum ... et ea discerem us, quae Crasso placerent, et ab eis doctoribus, quibus ille uteretur, erudiremur ..."; "cum essemus eius domi". On Crassus: De Or. passim; Brut. 143-150; 158-165; 197-200; 211-215; 229-233: RE XIII,1,252-268, "Licinius", No. 55 (Münzer).

34 De Or. III.5: "post eius [= Crassi] interitum veniebamus in curiam".

35 Leg. I.13: "[A]: nam a primo tempore aetatis iuri studere te memini, quom ipse etiam ad Scaevolam ventitarem". Scaevolae and M.: Leg. II.47-53; Am. 1; De Or. III.45; Brut. 306: RE, XVI,1,430-6, "Mucius", No. 21 and 437-446, "Mucius", No. 22 (Münzer).

warm tribute to his father, such as Horace's, and the death of the father seems to be rather casually announced, there has been a good deal of psycho-analysis of Cicero's attitude to his father.[36] In the process, the father's contribution itself to the advancement of his sons has failed to draw much attention. His move to the house in the Carinae, on the western slope of the Esquiline, brought his sons into daily contact with families of the Roman senatorial class. It was a fashionable residential area, which Vergil calls "lautae Carinae". Pompey's father and Pompey himself lived there. So did the emperor Tiberius for a while. When Cicero's father was a child, M'. Manilius, consul 149 and famous jurist, no "pauper", had his residence there. The Ciceros' house itself, when let later, was occupied by smart tenants ("mundi habitatores").[37] By the way he is referred to as "hic vir optimus, noster familiaris" by C. Julius Caesar Strabo (Vopiscus), a participant in the dialogue of De Oratore, taking place at Tusculum, it is implied that he had become intimate with members of the élite circle in the dialogue, and probably that he even had bought a villa at Tusculum, thus extending his family's

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36 Hor. Sat. I.6; Att. I.6.2 (see above 5, n. 16: even granting that the ms. reading is correct, Cicero may only be specifying the date of death, in response to a question from Atticus). Briot, Lat., 1966, 743-8, and 1969, 1042-7, presents the case for an Oedipus complex in him: suppressed hostility to the father and inordinate ambition to outclass him. S.B., Cic., 4-5, suspects "an emotional lack".

37 Cic.'s Carinae house: see below, 331; Esquiline location: Livy XXVI.10.1; Vergil: Aen. VIII.361; Pompey family: Har. Resp. 49; Dio XLVIII.38; Appian, B.C. II.126; Tiberius: Suet. Tib. 15; Manilius: Paradox. VI.50 ("M'. Manilius ... pauper tandem fuit? habuit enim aediculas in Carinis"). Cf. RE III,2,1590-1: "Carinae" (Hülsen); and Ward, Phoenix, 1970, 119-29.

intercourse with the Roman nobility even into the villa society of that fashionable resort.[38]

Cicero pater was ambitious for his sons to move into the Roman nobility. When, after the death of Sulla, having considered a life devoted entirely to scholarship, Marcus finally returned to public life, he did so, as Plutarch says, urged by his father (" παροξυνόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ").[39] For this purpose, Cicero pater was keen that both his sons should have the best of education, including a bigger dose of Greek liberal studies than old-fashioned and narrowly practical acquaintances of his thought good for the boys.[40] He was also personally involved as a teacher and companion. When Scipio in De Republica was made to speak of himself as "usu et domesticis praeceptis eruditus", the description was based on the author's own experience.[41] For Cicero pater frequently talked to his sons. He talked to them on the great orators he had heard, such as Ti. Gracchus, C. Carbo, C. Galba; on the proverbial honesty or statesmanship of men he had known or heard of himself, such as

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38 De Or. II.265 (cf. above 4, n. 13). Tusculum outclassed all other places as a weekend resort, - where one could take off to for frequent and short breaks: See the comparison of villa lists in Wiseman, New Men, 191-6.

39 Plut. Cic. 5.3; cf. 4.1: " διανοούμενος, εἰ παντάπασιν ἐκπέσοι τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράσσειν ".

40 De Or. II.1: "quo facilius nos ... a doctrina deterrerent"; "stultum in nobis erudiendis patris nostri, optimi ac prudentissimi viri, studium videretur".

41 Rep. I.36.

Q. Metellus and C. Fimbria.[42] He talked to them about the great culture of the teacher they were fortunate to have in Crassus, and was present during some of the boys' lessons.[43]

Cicero pater's interest in studies, his search of the society of the Roman senatorial class, and his ambition for his sons to become members of that class, were not an isolated phenomenon at the time in Arpinum. It was part of a new trend, pioneered, it seems, by M. Gratidius, the adversary of Cicero senex (the grandfather). M. Gratidius, whose sister Gratidia was married to Cicero senex, and who was thus the maternal uncle of Cicero pater, was well-versed in Greek ("doctus Graecis litteris"). Lucius Tullius Cicero patruus, the younger brother of Cicero pater, was a highly cultivated man ("humanissimus homo"). C. ⟨Visellius⟩ Aculeo, the husband of Helvia's sister (Helvia matertera) was a man of sharp intelligence ("homo acutissimo ingenio"), and a leading authority in jurisprudence. Gratidius was "perfamiliaris" with M. Antonius, and, when Antonius, in 102, went to Cilicia as

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42 Brut. 104: "hoc memoria patrum teste dicimus"; 127: "laudabant hunc patres nostri"; Balb. 11: "audivi hoc de parente meo puer"; Off. III.77: "audiebam de patre nostro"; cf. Paradox. VI.50: "patrum nostrum memoria". The word "patres" in Brut. and Paradox. is surely used autobiographically, and not as vague synonyms of "maiores" or "ancestors". The force of "teste" in Brut. 104, and the fact that, in all the passages mentioned, the reminiscence concerns orators of the Gracchan period, i.e. contemporaries of Cicero pater, confirms it.

43 De Or. II.2: "de Crasso pater [saepe narravit] "; "tum, ut pueri, refutare domesticis testibus patre ... solebamus". Cicero pater's personal role as a preceptor was true to the spirit of Roman ideas about a father's duty: cf. Gwynn, 11-21 and W. Fowler, Social Life, 175-80.

propraetor with proconsular powers against the pirates, Gratidius went with him as praefectus and was killed in action. He had already made a name for himself by his prosecution of C. Fimbria for repetundae. Lucius Cicero also went to Cilicia in the cohors amicorum of Antonius. Aculeo enjoyed the esteem and respect of L. Crassus, with whom he lived on the most intimate terms.[44]

The ambition, for their sons, of these relatives of Cicero pater can be deduced partly from evidence of the interest they took in the education of their sons and partly from the careers of these sons. Gratidius' elder son, who was adopted by M. Marius, brother of the famous C. Marius, and was thus known as M. Marius Gratidianus, rose to the praetorship and was aiming at the consulship itself, before he was killed in 82 by Catilina.[45] Gratidius' younger son was a legate of C. Marius in 88.[46] L. Cicero and Aculeo were involved in the same way as Cicero pater in the education of the children. L. Cicero told them

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44 Gratidius: Brut. 168; Leg. III.36 (cf. above , 4): cf. RE VII 2, 1840, No. 2 (Münzer); Sumner 101, No. R114; Nicolet, L'Ordre éq., II, 907, No. 173. L. Cicero: De Or. II.2: cf. RE VII A 1, 822-3, No. 25 (Münzer); Nicolet, L'Ordre éq., II, 1054, No. 364. Aculeo: De Or. I.191; II.2; his gentile is conjectured from the name of his son (see below n. 49); there is no actual proof of his being Arpinate, but his close associations make it highly probable: cf. RE IX A 1, 354-5, No. 1 (Gundel); Nicolet, L'Ordre éq., II, 1078-9, No. 395.

45 Asc. 75; Val. Max. IX.2.1; Off. III.80-1; C.P. 10; Lucan, II.174-87. See full account and sources of cursus in RE XIV 2, 1825-7, No. 42 (Münzer); Wiseman, New Men, 240, No. 250; Sumner, 118-9, No. R 164; Nicolet, L'Ordre éq., II, 945-6, No. 225.

46 Val. Max. IX.7.1; Oros. V.19.4: see RE VII 2, 1840, No. 1 (Münzer). That the Gratidius here is the son of M. Gratidius is probable: see Wiseman, New Men, 234, No. 198; Nicolet, L'Ordre éq., II, 908, No. 174.

about his intellectual pilgrimage to Athens and Rhodes with Antonius; Aculeo told them about the breadth of Crassus' culture.[47] L. Cicero's son, Lucius Cicero frater patruelis, followed his father's footsteps. He went to Athens and Rhodes, and dreamed of becoming a great orator, like Demosthenes. He was of valuable assistance to Cicero in research for the preparation of the Verrine brief in Sicily. When he died prematurely in 68, Cicero mourned the loss of a man of great promise, who had both character and breeding ("mores et humanitas").[48] Aculeo had at least two sons, condisciples in Rome with Marcus and Quintus Cicero. The elder son, adopted by a Varro, and thus known as C. Visellius Varro, not only inherited from his father the mastery of jurisprudence, but also acquired considerable liberal education ("vir doctus in primis" and "perfectus in litteris"). He might have risen above the aedileship, had he not died in his forties.[49]

Arpinates were just beginning to trickle into the Roman upper class milieu in Cicero pater's lifetime. Beyond the circle of relatives, there were C. Marius, seven times consul and his brother M. Marius, praetor 102, distantly related to the Ciceros through the marriage of

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47 De Or. II.2: "testibus C. Aculeone propinquo nostro et L. Cicerone patruo"; "Aculeo ... et patruus ... multa saepe narravit"; "De Antonio ... saepe ex patruo nostro acceperamus".

48 Att. I.5.1; Athens, Rhodes and oratory: Fin. V.6; 8; 27; 76; Verrine brief: Verr. III.170; IV.25; 137; 145: RE VII A 1, 823-4, No. 26 (Münzer); Nicolet, L'Ordre éq., II,1054, No. 365.

49 De Or. II.1: "consobrini nostri, Aculeonis filii"; Brut. 264; prov. cons. 40: RE IX A 1, 355-8, No. 3 (Gundel); Wiseman, New Men, 275, No. 501; Sumner 138-9, No. R 204; Nicolet, L'Ordre éq., II, 1079, No. 396.

their sister to M. Gratidius.[50] L. Fufidius, orator and praetor, and to whom M. Aemilius Scaurus dedicated his autobiography, was almost certainly an Arpinate.[51] M. Pontidius, orator, who specialised in "privatae causae", and was known for the witty, glib and heated character of his speech was Cicero's "municeps noster", and so from Arpinum.[52]

With such a social trend, the way to a public career for the young Quintus Cicero of Arpinum seemed certainly full of promise - if it were not for the Civil War between Marians and Sullans. On young Quintus, in his freshly assumed toga virilis,[53] the Civil War had a double effect: it shattered the Arpinates' patronage in Rome, and it

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50 Maria: Schol. Bern. Lucan. II.173 (pp. 61-2 Usener); C. Marius' origin and career: abundant sources: see RE, Suppl. VI, 1363-1425, No. 14 (R. Weynand); T.F. Carney, A Biography of C. Marius, Proc. Afr. Class. Assoc., Suppl. 1, 1962; J.J. Van Ooteghem, C. Marius, Brussel 1964; M. Marius: RE XIV,2,1818, No. 22 (Münzer).

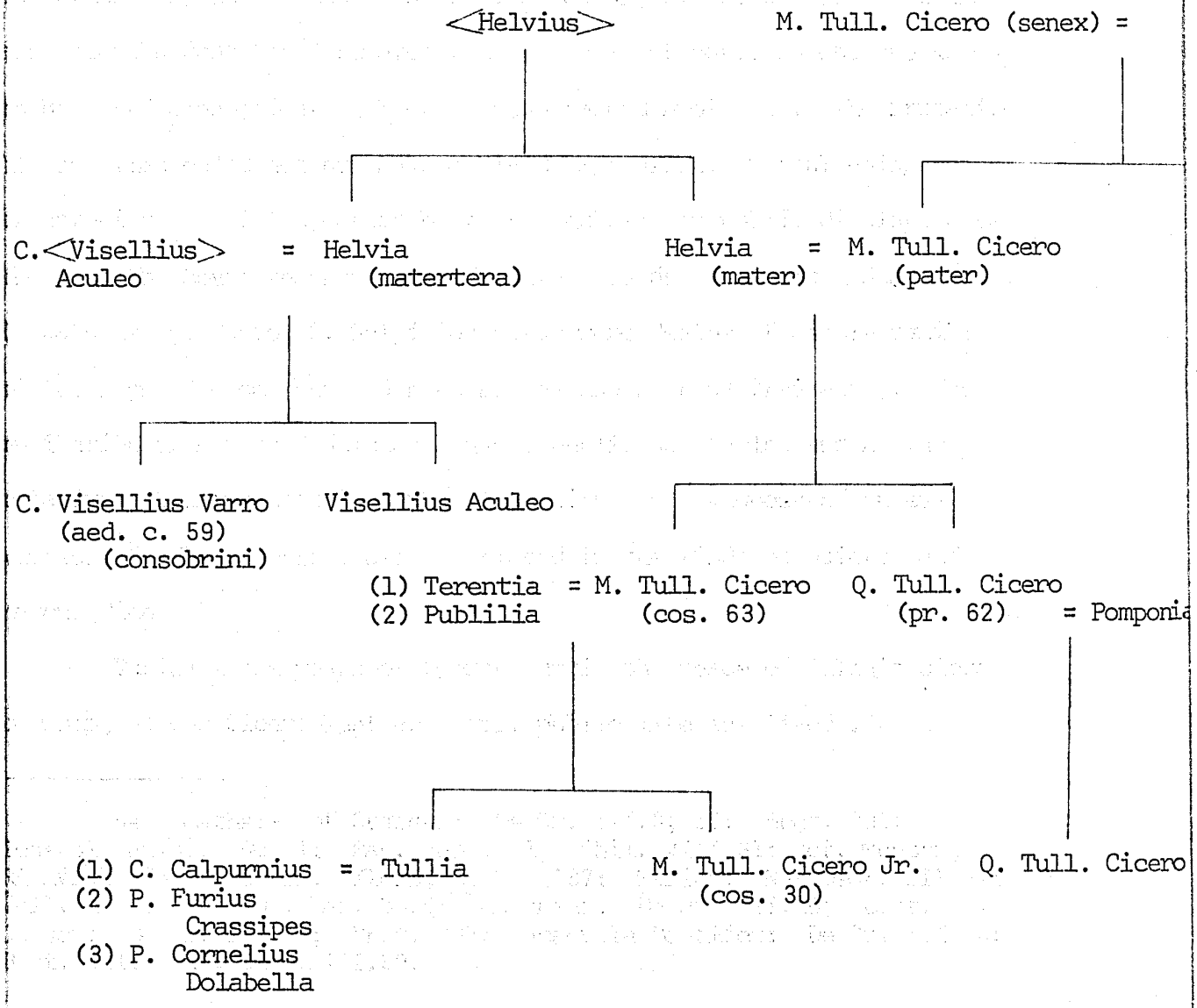
51 L. Fufidius: Brut. 112-3; Pliny XXXIII.21: RE VII,1,201, No. 3 (Münzer): not to be confused with the Fufidius, who was Sulla's henchman (Sall. Hist. I.55.22; I.108: RE No. 4), as in Syme, Rom. Rev. 78, n. 249. Fufidii are attested at Arpinum (Q.F. III.1.3; Fam. XIII. 11.1; CIL X No. 5679 (= ILS No. 5738); cf. Att. XI.13.3; 14.3; 15.4; Fam. XIII.12), but also elsewhere, e.g. at Puteoli, Pompeii, etc. (see RE Nos. 1, 5, 7: Wiseman, New Men, p. 232). That L. Fufidius was Arpinate is highly probable on the further basis of Scaurus' Arpinate connections, through Cic. senex (Leg. III.36) and M. Gratidius (cf. trial of C. Fimbria: Brut. 168; Font. 24; Val. Max. VIII.5.2). The most thorough discussion of this L. Fufidius is Nicolet's, REL 1967, 297-304.

52 Brut. 246: surely the same as the Pontidius of De Or. II. 275, as Münzer is inclined to agree: RE XXII,1,27, Nos. 1 and 3; and so too Nicolet, L'Ordre éq., II, 992, No. 286. That he flourished at the turn of the century can be guessed from his location in the Brutus and the fact that he was known to Caesar Strabo, speaker in De Or. (cf. above 4, n. 13).

53. M. had his virilis in 90: Brut. 303: hence Q. had his probably a year or two later.

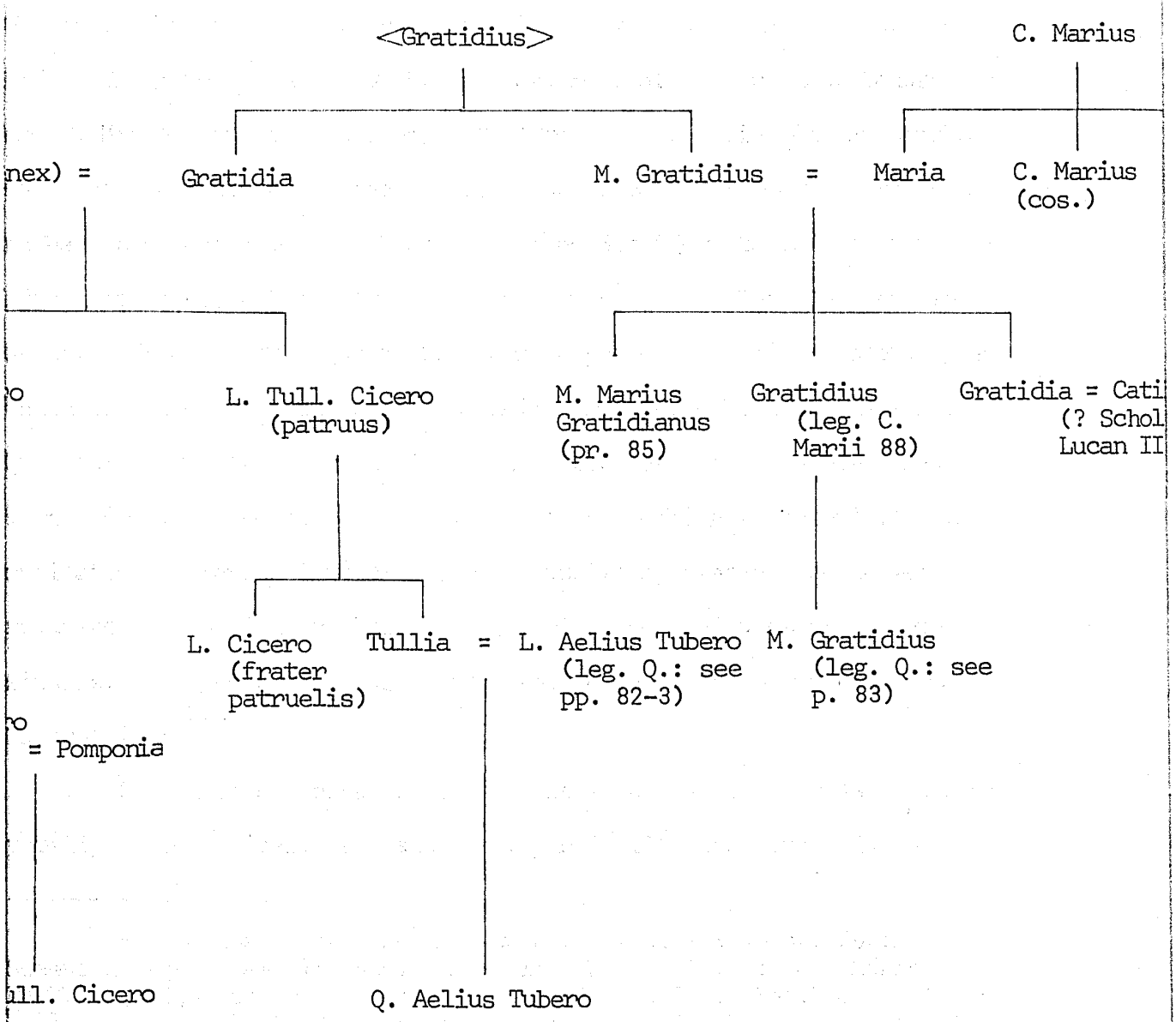
Genealogical

THE CICEROS AND

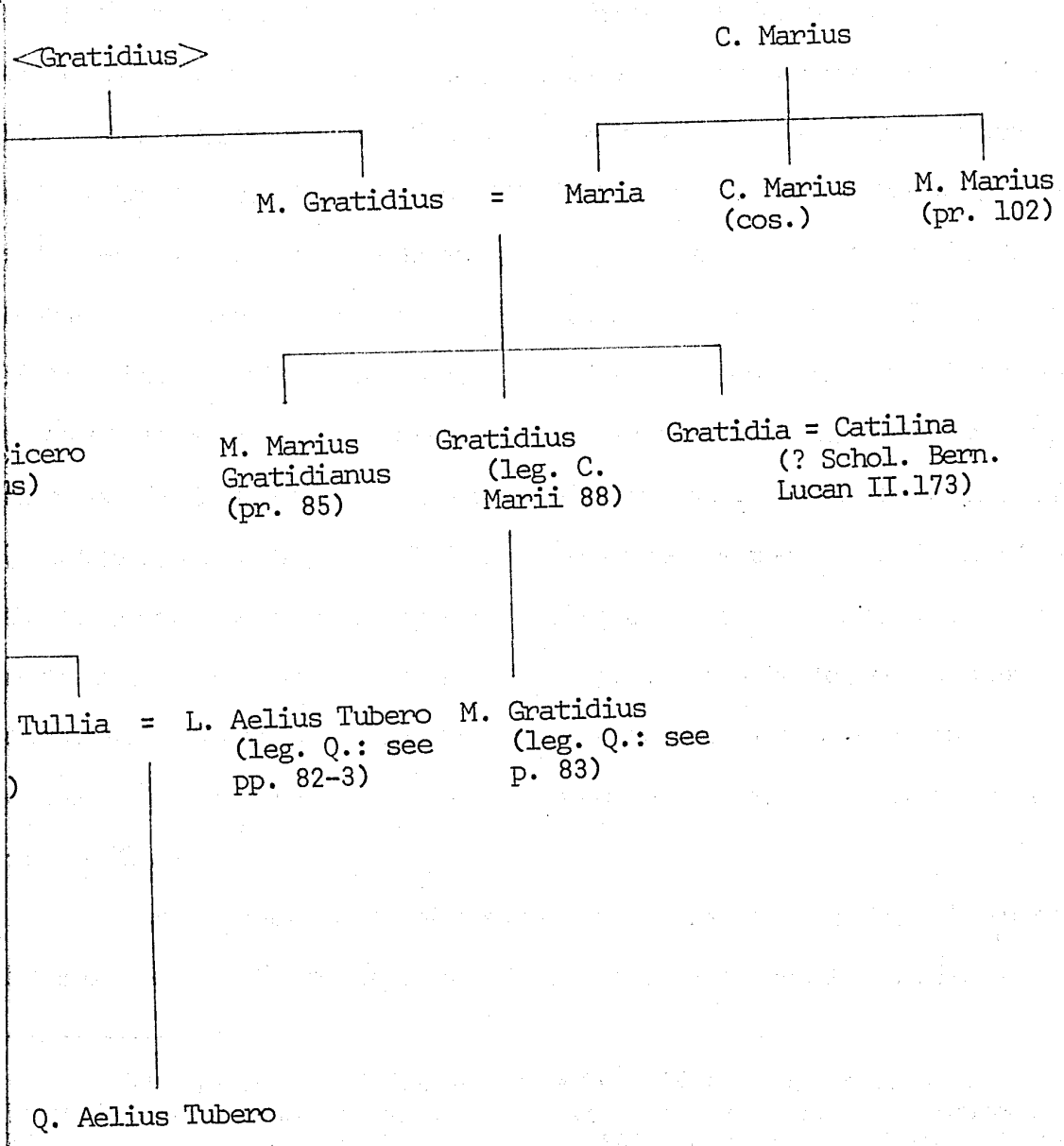


alogical table showing

CEROS AND THEIR RELATIONS



IONS


<Gratidius>
C. Marius
M. Gratidius
=
Maria
C. Marius (cos.)
M. Marius (pr. 102)
icero
s)
M. Marius Gratidianus (pr. 85)
Gratidius (leg. C. Marii 88)
Gratidia = Catilina (? Schol. Bern. Lucan II.173)
Tullia
=
L. Aelius Tubero (leg. Q.: see pp. 82-3)
M. Gratidius (leg. Q.: see p. 83)
)
Q. Aelius Tubero

created a trauma in the mind of the young man, from both of which - as his limited success in public life and his attitude to it will show in the third chapter - he never could completely recover the rest of his life. The natural deaths of L. Crassus, Scaevola Augur, Aem. Scaurus and C. Marius, and the murders of M. Antonius, C. Julius Caesar Strabo and Scaevola Pontifex[54] removed men in prominent position who are known to have had connections with or to have helped Arpinates. The brutality of the times could not but make a vivid impression. The bleeding heads of Antonius and of the Caesar brothers, exposed in public display, were those of the boys' teacher and of family friends. The cruel deaths of Q. Catulus, C. Carbo, P. Sulpicius Rufus were deaths of people familiar to the boys,[55] whom they had been seeing and hearing frequently. The mutilation of Marius Gratidianus was a public spectacle, and he was a relative: Quintus describes the scene with the vividness of an eye-witness.[56] These horrors were imprinted in the minds of Quintus and Marcus Cicero.[57]

During these years of terror, until the peace of Sulla's dictatorship, Marcus Cicero kept away from public life and lived like a

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54 Deaths:- of Crassus: De Or. III.8; 12; Brut. 303; Scaevola Augur: Am. 1; Rab. perd. 21; Phil. VIII.31: cf. Münzer, RE XVI,1,435; Scaurus: Klebs, RE I,1,587; Marius: Nat.Deor. III.81; Vell. II.23.1; Plut. Mar. 46.6; Antonius: De Or. III.10; Brut. 307; Caesar: De Or. III.10; Brut. 307; Scaevola Pontifex: De Or. III.10; Brut. 311; Nat. Deor. III.80.

55 Brut. 307; 311; cf. 132-4; 296; 306; De Or. III.10-11.

56 C. P. 10; cf. Asc. 75; Seneca, De Ira, III.18.1-2.

57 De Or. III.9: "tenemus memoria".

recluse, devoting himself exclusively to studies.[58] Quintus was at least one of the factors determining this withdrawal. He urged this course upon Marcus, and his reason was the deaths of so many prominent and familiar men.[59] Quintus' earlier retiring disposition was intensified by the grim experience.

After his activities in court under the dictatorship of Sulla, Marcus Cicero, from 79 to 77, spent two years on an educational trip: six months in Athens, followed by a tour of Asia and a visit to Rhodes.[60] That Quintus accompanied him on this trip can be deduced from evidence of Quintus' presence in Athens at the lectures of Antiochus of Ascalon,[61] and in Smyrna at conversations with P. Rutilius Rufus, who was living in exile there.[62] Thus Quintus must have been subjected yet again to further intellectual influence, similar to what affected Marcus. Apart from Antiochus, head of the old Academy in

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58 Brut. 308: "hoc tempore omni noctes et dies in omnium doctrinarum meditatione versabar."

59 De Or. III.13: "[tu] qui propter tot tantos tam praecipitesque casus clarissimorum hominum atque optimorum virorum me semper ab omni contentione ac dimicatione revocasti."

60 Brut. 314-5: "cum essem biennium versatus in causis ... Roma sum profectus. Cum venissem Athenas, sex mensis cum Antiocho ..."; "post a me Asia tota peragrata est"; 316: "Rhodum veni"; "recepi me biennio post".

61 Fin. V.1: "Cum audissem Antiochum, Brute, ut solebam, cum M. Pisone in eo gymnasio, quod Ptolemaeum vocatur, unaque nobiscum Q. frater ..."

62 Rep. I.13: "disputatio ... quae mihi tibique quondam adulescentulo est a P. Rutilio Rufo, Smyrnae cum simul essemus compluris dies, exposita". That "tibi" is Q. is discussed below, 229-231; on Rutilius, see below ch. 3, n. 179.

Athens, and Rutilius Rufus, practical theorist on Roman provincial government, he learnt from leading rhetoricians, such as Demetrius Syrus in Athens, Menippus of Stratonica, Dionysius of Magnesia, Aeschylus of Cnidus and Xenocles of Adramyttium in Asia, and Molo again in Rhodes; from philosophers, such as Zeno the Epicurean, in Athens, and the great Stoic Poseidonius, in Rhodes.[63] Among condisciples were young Lucius Cicero, Atticus and M. Pupius Piso (Frugi), consul 61, who had been condisciples previously in Rome as well; in Rhodes a fellow-pupil was Servius Sulpicius Rufus, consul 51.[64]

Thus, after Sulla's settlement, Quintus Cicero, now in his upper twenties, stood a man of municipal origin, but with access to the social milieu of the Roman senatorial class. With no impressive physical assets and no military tradition in the family, there was not for him a ready made road via the army to the Roman Senate, to which he was encouraged to aspire by parental guidance and the currents of his social environment. Educated in soundness of character, in a family of good stock, he had the incentive from a progressive father and elders to make of himself a cultivated man by the pursuit of Greek studies. But neither character nor scholarship even by itself won the votes that lead to power. In Roman society, family name, money, military achievements,

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63 Brut. 315-6; Zeno: Fin. I.16 ("audivi"): cf. Gelzer, Cic., 24; Poseidonius: Fin. I.6; Tusc. Disp. II.61 ("vidi"); Plut. Cic. 4.5: cf. Gelzer, Cic., 26. On Antiochus: RE I,2,2493-4, No. 62 (v. Arnim); on Zeno the Epicurean, RE X A, 122-138, No. 5 (v. Fritz); on Poseidonius, RE XXII,1,558-826, No. 3 (K. Reinhardt); the others are little known.

64 Fin. V.1-5; Brut. 151; cf. 310, for Piso.

patronage, jurisprudence or oratory did. "Cicero" was not much of a name in Rome, not known for birth or wealth or triumphs. Patronage for Arpinates had been shattered by the Civil War. For jurisprudence Quintus had showed no interest. For oratory he had the interest of a scholar, and deliberately abstained from its practice: he thought, - so Marcus joked - that one orator in the family was more than enough.[65] He did not acquire the means necessary to attempt a public career, because he was personally not much inclined towards one, having experienced the massacre of prominent men. If, after Sulla's settlement, he was persuaded to try, he had no personal means to win enough votes. He depended entirely on his elder brother, who soon became the greatest orator in Rome. This dependence he would not find difficult to accept in principle, because of his close association with his brother from birth to manhood. Manhood raised the question of marriage, and, in marriage too, Marcus was the architect.

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65 De Or. II.10: "sive iudicio, ut soles dicere, ... refugisti, sive, ut ipse iocari soleo, unum putasti satis esse non modo in una familia rhetorem, sed paene in tota civitate".

II

MARRIAGE

The date of Quintus Cicero's marriage is not any better recorded than the date of his birth was. In modern works, when a date is given, it is the year 68 or 67. Thus Blase, Antoine, Tyrrell-Purser, Wiemer, Cowell, Nipperdey and Bailey give 68, and Carcopino 67. R.S. Stewart has gone even further in trying to narrow it down to the summer of 68. Drumann, on the other hand, as well as Petersson and Münzer are cautiously reticent on the matter.[1] The basis for 68 is that the first mention of Quintus and his wife Pomponia is in Att. I.5, which, ever since Manutius, has been generally accepted as the first letter, in chronological order, to Atticus. The date of the letter, end of 68 or so, is based on a complex study of the contents of the first eleven letters to Atticus, which, before Manutius, were in a chronological mess. Carcopino's 67 is very puzzling. It is still based on Att. I. 5.2, but seems to be affected by Constans' dating of the letter, inclining towards beginning of 67. But Constans' dating of this letter is part of his proposal to modify slightly the accepted order of letters, and place Att. I.6. before Att. I.5. Constans dates I.6 end November, on the basis of "a.d. Kal. December" in 6.2. Now in I.6.2 as well, there is a reference to the married couple. Therefore, in

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1 Blase 5; Antoine p. xiv; T.P. I 126; Wiemer 20, n. 72; Cowell 297; Nipperdey 243; S.B. I,4; Carcopino, Secrets, II, 232; Stewart, TAPhA 1962, 459-70; Drumann-Groebe, VI 637, n. 14 ("ungewisser Zeit"); Petersson 208 ("date not known"); Münzer 1287 (argumentum ex silentio).

Constans, I.6, and not I.5, would contain the first mention of our subject; and Carcopino, apparently following Constans, should also have dated the marriage in 68. Stewart's more precise dating to the summer of 68 is part of an attempt to establish yet a newer order for the first eleven letters: from 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 4, 1, 2, 3 (Manutius), or 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 3, 4, 1, 2 (Sternkopf, Schmidt, Tyrrell-Purser, Sjögren, Bailey: which I retain), or 6, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 3, 4, 1, 2 (Constans), to 7, 8, 9, 5, 6, 10, 11, 3, 4, 1, 2. Stewart's argument includes the following: There is no reference to our subject in 7 or 9, but in 8.1, Cicero writes to Atticus: "Apud te est ut volumus. Mater tua et soror a me Quintoque fratre diligitur." Stewart assumes from this that, at the time of this writing, "Pomponia was living with her mother and Quintus with his brother, not because they were quarrelling, but because they were not at that time married." In I.5.2 and I.6.2, however, it is implied they are married. Therefore the marriage must have taken place in between and, according to Stewart's dates, between February-March 68 (I.8) and November 68 (I.5).[2]

Stewart's two assumptions from the text of 8.1, (a) that Quintus and Pomponia were living separately, and (b) that they were living

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2 Stewart, 459-61, n. 3-5, is informative on the whole history of the dating problem, including particulars of Manutius' and Sternkopf's key contributions. Constans' discussion is in I,58-60, and Carcopino's line of reasoning, in his n. 4 on the text of Att. I.5.2, in Secrets, II,232. The others' dating can be seen in their respective editions. The general theories of Constans and Stewart concerning the order of the eleven letters, - the validity or invalidity of which does not affect the substance of our own problem here - have been adequately refuted by S.B. I, 277 and 282-3 respectively.

separately because they were as yet unmarried, are not persuasive. He has not shown why "apud te" might not mean "with your relatives" (as against "in your relatives' house"), and why the implication in "mater tua et soror" might not be that the mother of Pomponia was living with her daughter, and not vice-versa. This indeed is the obvious indication, from Cicero's assurance to Atticus that Quintus and himself were looking after the mother.[3] Furthermore, if, as Stewart argues, 7, 8 and 9 were written before the marriage, they were written at a time when preparations for the important event were in full swing, and Atticus would be preparing himself to come to Rome for the occasion. But there is not the least reference, in these three letters to Atticus, to the forthcoming marriage of his sister, even though his sister is mentioned in 8.1 and his mother in 7.1, as well as 8.1. If marriage was in the air, there is definitely no smell of it from these three letters.

The reason of other scholars for their giving 68 as the year of marriage is no more than a general impression that the event was recent at the time of writing of I.5. It is difficult to establish what in fact in I.5 gives this impression. In 5.8, Marcus writes that he has been expecting his brother's return for some time, after an absence, which, as Münzer has rightly conjectured, has been rather long, since in 5.2, Marcus writes that there has been a history of correspondence between

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3 Another possible interpretation, as Mrs. Treggiari points out to me, is as follows: "Your house (i.e. building, staff, inmates = 'apud te') is fine. So ('apud te') is your mother. So is your sister ('apud nos'). Both of whom get on well with us". The thought connection from A.'s house to A.'s mother and then to A.'s sister is natural.

the absent Quintus and himself on the subject of the relations between Quintus and Pomponia.[4] Nor could this have been a honeymoon trip, since Pomponia, as can be gathered from 5.3 and 5.8., was in Rome at the time. The impression, that the marriage was recent, is not obtained, in fact, from the contents of I.5, but from the fact that I.5 includes in its contents the first mention of the marriage. I.5 is the first letter to mention it, not because the marriage shortly preceded I.5, but because I. 5 is the earliest surviving letter of Cicero's correspondence. I.5 provides us only with a terminus ante quem for a marriage, which probably took place quite a few years earlier.

In the absence of any real evidence for the date of the marriage, speculation has to be based on probabilities. If, as is commonly supposed, Quintus was married to Pomponia in 68, Quintus would have been 36 or 37 years old at the time; and Pomponia, who, according to Cornelius Nepos, was "prope aequalis" with her brother Atticus (born himself in 110),[5] would have been in her forties. Nor does this appear to have been a second marriage of either of the two parties. One would expect some trace in the extant sources, if Quintus had had an earlier, first marriage. Nepos, certainly, should have mentioned an earlier marriage of Pomponia, if there had been one, since it would have had a

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4 Att. I.5.2: "litteras ad eum misi"; "postea saepe ab eo ad me scripta sunt"; 5.8: "Q. fratrem cotidie exspectamus". Cf. Münzer 1287: "nach längerer Abwesenheit". (See further below, 63-4).

5 Nep. Att. 17.1: "quam prope aequalem habebat". Cf., on "aequalis", above, 2, n. 5. Atticus' birth: Nep. Att. 3.3; 21.1: cf. RE Suppl. VIII, 503-4 (R. Feger).

bearing on Atticus' family connections, which is the reason why Nepos mentions at all the marriage to Quintus Cicero.[6] It would be unusual for Quintus Cicero, compared with the prevailing practice in his society, to marry at such a late age. Caesar, at 18, was already married to Cinna's daughter; Pompey married his first wife Antistia at 20; Tiberius Gracchus was 19, when he married the daughter of C. Appius Claudius; at 21, Quintus' own son was making his marriage-plans; Dolabella was hardly twenty, when he married Cicero's daughter Tullia, and this was his second marriage; Cicero himself, marrying at 27 or 29, was rather an older bridegroom; and Atticus' marriage to Pilia (his first, it seems) at 54 was most unusual. Augustus' penalty for celibacy took effect after the age of 25: a reflection of the normal age by which a Roman was usually married.[7] For Pomponia, it would be even more unusual to become married in her forties, when the average age of first marriage for girls was 18, and the typical between 12 and 15.[8] Augustus' penalty for unmarried females took effect from 20 +. Such circumstantial considerations

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6 Nep. Att. 5.3: "Erat nupta soror Attici Q. Tullio Ciceroni".

7 Sources for first marriage dates and birthdates in RE:- Caesar: X,1,187; Pompey: XXI,2,2209, cf. 2063; Gracchus: II A 2, 1411; Q. Jr: below, 379-380; Dolabella: IV,1,1300-1; M. Cicero: V A 1, 710 (Drumann for 80-79 B.C. v/s Schmidt for 77); Atticus: XX,2, 1327. Augustan laws: Ulp. 16.1-2; Gai. II.111; 286.

8 E.g. Publilia, still a ward and "παρθένος", when married to Cicero (Att. XII.32.1; Dio XLVI.18.3: RE XXIII,2,1917-18); Tullia, hardly 16 at first marriage (Att. I.3.3: RE VII A 1329), etc. More examples in Balsdon, Women, 173; Friedländer, IV, 123-31. See, above all, M.K. Hopkins, Population Studies, XVIII, 3 (1965) 309-27, for the average age of Roman girls at marriage being 18, the typical 12-15, and the average for men being 26. Hopkins has presented a compromise

are of course far from providing anything like a reliable basis from which to date Q. Cicero's marriage. Yet, in their light and the total absence of specific evidence on him, I am more inclined to state that Quintus was probably married some time in the seventies, not many years after his elder brother married. The absence of a child, until the birth of Quintus Jr. in 66, should constitute no objection to this theory, since the period was marked by high infant mortality, frequent miscarriages and low fertility. Marcus Jr., the only son of M. Cicero, was not born until 65,[9] over ten years after his marriage and the birth of Tullia, the only other child. On this theory, Quintus and Pomponia would have been older than most newly married couples, at first marriage, but less so, than the current view would have it.

The marriage, we are told by Nepos, was arranged, probably even suggested, by Marcus,[10] to whose initiative Quintus characteristically yielded. He and Quintus had known Atticus in Rome as fellow students before Atticus went in 86 to settle in Greece, and they had met again in Athens during the Ciceros' educational trip to the East in 79-77.

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solution to two previous conflicting views of, on the one hand, A.G. Harkness, TAPhA XXVII (1896) 35-72 and, on the other, Friedländer and M. Durry, CRAI LXVI (1955) 84-90, and RIDA III (1956) 227-243. For Harkness, 18 was the average age of marriage for Roman girls, for Friedländer and Durry, 14. For men, marriage was often a preliminary to public life: cf. remarks of Syme, Rom. Rev. 12-3; Balsdon, Women, 47; W. Fowler, Social Life, 140.

9 Birth of Jrs: see below, 353.

10 Nep. Att. 5.3: "easque nuptias M. Cicero conciliarat". On match-makers, usually fathers or mothers, see Balsdon, Women, 173-4; W. Fowler, Social Life, 140; and J.H. Collins, CJ 1952, 164-8, for the interesting case of Tullia's marriage to Dolabella.

Between Marcus Cicero and Atticus a close friendship had already developed.[11] On the bride's side, although we are not so told explicitly, it was undoubtedly Atticus who made the arrangement, since the father had already died.[12]

Modern scholars are unanimous in commiserating this unhappy marriage[13] - and rightly too. This obvious and dramatic characteristic, however, has tended to obfuscate the fact that, in its economic and social potential, it was for Quintus a marriage above himself. That there was a very substantial dowry can be conjectured from the fact that later, when Quintus had to return it, he found it extremely difficult, and considered a second marriage as a means of obtaining the money, after his brother's example.[14] She herself must have possessed a sizeable fortune. She was an only daughter and Atticus an only son. If Atticus inherited 2 million sesterces from his father's estate, it is

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11 Nep. Att. I.4; 2.2; 5.3 ("cum quo a condiscipulatu vivebat coniunctissime"); Leg. I.13; Fin. V.1.

12 Nep. Att. 2.1: "pater mature decessit".

13 Thus Blase 5: "ex hoc connubio molestiae quidem multum, laetitiae prorsus nihil"; Drumann-Groebe 638: "Unglückliche Verbindung"; Johnson 164: "life of constant nervous strain"; Petersson 208-9: "unfortunate union ... clear case of incompatibility"; Wiemer 19: "Verhältnis ... von Streit und Misklängen vollständig getrübtes ..."; Münzer 1287: "die Ehe war keine glückliche"; Carcopino, Secrets, II, 233: "ce vieux mauvais ménage"; Balsdon, ap. Dorey, 174: "as unhappy as a marriage could be"; Cowell 297: "miserable home life"; S.B., Cic., 236: "a bed of thorns".

14 Att. XIV.13.5: "torquetur debitione dotis dotata Aquilia"; cf. Att. XIV.15.5. It would be normal for Pomponia's dowry to reflect the family fortune: cf. Apul. Apolog. 71; 91-2; J.A. Crook, Law and Life, 104-5; Corbett 152-4.

reasonable to presume that Pomponia probably inherited an equal amount, since daughters inherited an equal share with sons, unless the father had made a will to the contrary.[15] Moreover, she may have had a share in the inheritance of the rich maternal uncle Caecilius, who bequeathed to Atticus 10 million sesterces and his Quirinal house.[16] An allusion in Cicero's correspondence to the requirement of her consent for a transaction implies she managed her own property.[17] Quintus, on the other hand, could not have inherited more from his father's estate, than did Marcus, whose inheritance, on Plutarch's information, consisted of 900,000 sesterces and some modest real estate.[18] Quintus married a woman, as Balsdon has suspected, "a great deal richer"[19] than himself, as his brother did in marrying Terentia.[20]

Socially too, the Pomponii were somewhat higher than the Tullii Cicerones. The Tullii Cicerones, although *domi nobiles* and Equestrian, could be taunted as *peregrini*, *ex loco obscuro*.[21] The Pomponii were

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15 Nep. Att. 14.2: "in sestertio vicies, quod a patre acceperat"; cf. XII Tables 5.4; Watson 176; Crook 119.

16 Nep. Att. 5.2: "accepit circiter centies sestertium"; 13.2; ad Att. III.20.1; Val. Max. VII.8.5.

17 Att. II.4.1: "mihi maxime placet ea quae male empta sunt reddi, si voluntate Pomponiae fieri poterit". Cf. Corbett 112-4.

18 Plut. Cic. 8.3.

19 Balsdon, *Women*, 212; ap. Dorey, 174.

20 Terentia's wealth: Plut. Cic. 8.3; Att. II.4.5; 15.4; XII.32.2; XV.17.1; XVI.1.5; Fam. XIV.1.5: cf. Carcopino, *Secrets*, I, 233-5.

21 The status of the family has been discussed above, 3-6; 12-18. For such taunts as above, see Wiseman, *New Men*, 65-94.

Equestrians established in Rome from time immemorial.[22] The father of Atticus and Pomponia was rich and highly educated.[23] His wife's brother, Caecilius, was on excellent terms with Hortensius and L. Lucullus.[24] His niece Anicia was already married into the patrician family of the Servii Sulpicii Rufi, before the assassination of the tribune P. Sulpicius Rufus in 88.[25] If his son did not become a senator, it was because he deliberately avoided it. The younger Marius was indebted to him, and Sulla tried to bring him back from Greece. In Athens, to which he retired from the Civil War, he built himself a store of goodwill in a matter of a few years.[26] By the time Quintus married into this family, it was wealthy, well-established, well-connected, and with excellent potential for further rise. As it later turned out, Pomponia's marriage did not realise this potential, because it was plagued with low fertility and the victa causa which the Ciceros were to embrace: the fruit of the marriage was little, and, what there was

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22 Nep. Att. 1.1: "ab origine ultima stirpis Romanae"; "perpetuo a maioribus acceptam equestrem obtinuit dignitatem".

23 Nep. Att. 1.2: "diti in primisque studioso litterarum".

24 Nep. Att. 5.1; 5.4; ad Att. I.19.10; Val. Max. VII.8.5.

25 Nep. Att. 2.1: She was "consobrina" of A. and P., and married a "frater" of P. Sulp. Ruf. Her husband is No. 19 in RE IV A 1, 736-7 (Münzer). The Sulpicii were patrician (RE ibid. 731), despite which P. Sulp. Ruf., No. 92 (ibid. 843-4) became tribune.

26 Nep. Att. 6.2: "honores non petiit"; Marius and A.: 2.2; Sulla and A.: 4.1-2; Athens' goodwill: 2.3-3.3. For A.'s wealth, services and influence thereafter, see S.B. I, 5-9; R. Feger, RE Suppl. VIII, 503-526; A. Byrne, Atticus, passim.

of it, destroyed before its maturity.[27] On Atticus' side, however, because of his more prudent choice to remain an Eques and stay far from Rome, while investing in goodwill with all parties, the family did realise its potential. The Pomponii, through their progeny, reached the throne itself. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, who, as Nepos says, could have aspired to marry into the highest family, preferred the daughter of Atticus. She gave birth to a daughter who became engaged to Tiberius Claudius Nero, future emperor Tiberius, and Octavian himself, in close touch with Atticus at the time, arranged the match.[28]

Not least important was the personal assistance Atticus could and did bring to Quintus Cicero for the furtherance of his interests. Despite his retirement to Greece, Atticus used to come to Rome to campaign personally for the election of special friends. His assistance was invaluable, as Marcus Cicero realised in his consular campaign, in winning over nobiles hostile to the candidacy of a novus homo.[29] Thus Atticus, his brother-in-law, was the second most important person after Marcus, on whose patronage Quintus depended for his career. From Att. I.3.1 and I.4.1, it is known that he was expected in Rome for Quintus'

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27 See below on Q. Jr., 353; 388-390.

28 Nep. Att. 12.1; 19.4; 20.1.

29 Nep. Att. 4.3-4: "nihilo minus amicis urbana officia praestitit. Nam et ad comitia eorum ventitavit"; ad Att. I.2.2: "Tuo adventu nobis opus est maturo. nam prorsus summa hominum est opinio tuos familiaris, nobilis homines, adversarios honori nostro fore. ad eorum voluntatem conciliandam maximo te mihi usui fore video".

aedileship campaign,[30] and from the gap in Cicero's correspondence between I.4 and the next letter, I.1, it can be inferred that he did come for that purpose. That he was in Rome for Quintus' praetorship campaign in 63 can be inferred from the fact that he came to Rome for Marcus' consular campaign in 64, was present during the crisis of the Catilinarian conspiracy in December 63, and returned to Greece only at the end of 62, shortly before correspondence between him and Cicero resumed.[31] While he refused to go on Quintus' staff to Asia, there is an indication of how valuable his presence would have been from the expectations of Marcus before, and his disappointment after, he received the news of Atticus' negative decision.[32] In 58, when Quintus returned from his province, Atticus was again in Rome. From the repeated and passionate pleas of the exiled Marcus to him and the acknowledgements of Quintus in his letters to Marcus, it can be inferred that Atticus, through his contacts, especially with Hortensius, was instrumental in defusing the attempt that was afoot to prosecute Quintus.[33] Nepos goes so far as to imply that Caesar's forgiveness of Quintus and son after

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30 Att. I.3.1: "Nos hic te mensem Ianuariam exspectamus"; 4.1: "obieris Quinti fratris comitia" (aedileship, as below, 65, not praetorship, as mistakenly in Byrne, Atticus, 4, n. 30).

31 Att. I.2.2; I.12; II.1.7. Q.'s praetorship: below, 78-9.

32 Att. I.15.2: "curaque et effice ut ab omnibus et laudemur et amemur"; 16.14: "quod ad me scribis, te in Asiam statuisse non ire, equidem mallem ut ires, ac vereor ne quid in ista re minus commode fiat".

33 Att. III.11.2: "Quintum fratrem optimum humanissimumque sustenta"; 13.2: "Quintum, fratrem meum, fac diligas, quem ego miser si incolumem relinquo, non me totum perisse arbitrabor"; 17.3: "Scribit

Pharsalus was related to Caesar's contentment with Atticus: this, however, is an exaggeration of Atticus' credits, as the evidence on the matter from Cicero's correspondence shows no involvement of Atticus, who generally approached Caesar through Cicero or other parties.[34] In business matters, Atticus was the procurator of Quintus as well as of Marcus,[35] and loaned money to both.[36] The great variety of services to Marcus Cicero and Terentia[37] were the outcome of a personal friendship between Atticus and Cicero, but a friendship reinforced by the family ties created through Quintus' marriage. Atticus was an ally of the Ciceros in public life throughout the duration of the marriage, despite its inner tensions, which strained relations between the consorts and the brothers-in-law, and at times even endangered the friendship of Cicero and Atticus.

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ad me frater omnia sua per te unum sustineri"; 19.3: "Quintum fratrem, qui potest esse salvus, sustentes"; 23.4: "oro obtestorque te ut Quintum fratrem ames ... neve quid eum patiare ... quam expediat sororis tuae filio"; Q.F. 1.3.8: "per Pomponium fovendum tibi esse ipsum Hortensium". On the prosecution, see below, 123-7.

34 Nep. Att. 7.3: "Caesari autem Attici quies tanto opere fuit grata ut ... etiam sororis filium et Q. Ciceronem ex Pompei castris concesserit". Caesar's forgiveness is discussed below, 205-6. Atticus not personally influential with Caesar: Att. XI.12.4; 18.2; 21.3; 25.1: cf. S.B. I, 49, n. 8. On Nepos' exaggerations: Guillemin's introd. pp. x-xi; Nipperdey's introd. 9-10; 22-3; A. Byrne, Atticus, 6.

35 Nep. Att. 15.3: "ut omnia Ciceronum ... negotia procuraret"; ad Att. II.6.2: "de Quinti fratris negotio. vide quid narrent"; cf. 7.5.

36 Loan to Q.: Att. VII.18.4; X.11.2; 15.4 (see further below: 347).

37 E.g. Att. I.2.2; 17.6; II.1.4; 15.4; 21.6; Q.F. I.4.2; Fam. XIV. 5.2; Nep. Att. 4.4, etc. An exhaustive list would be too lengthy to repeat here: see S.B. I, 12-56.

For the marriage was plagued with quarrels. The very first mention of it in the opening letter of Cicero's correspondence was due to the fact that Quintus and Pomponia had been quarrelling for some time. She complained to Marcus, and Marcus, contrary to what has been stated sometimes, did not side with his brother - not until later. He noticed that Quintus' attitude towards her was not what it should have been; he considered that Quintus was to blame, being "offensior", "errans", and he tendered advice and reprobation. He was egged on in this by Atticus, to whom Pomponia complained, and who sided with his sister regularly.[38] Under his brother's influence, Quintus called a truce with Pomponia. In the winter of 68-7, the couple were together at Arpinum, in what looks like a second honeymoon. The truce was consolidated by the birth, about a year later, of Quintus' son: for in spring 67, Marcus reported Pomponia's pregnancy to her brother.[39]

However, the absence of any echo of dispute until 61 is in part due to the absence of correspondence in 64, 63 and 62 between Cicero and Atticus, who was beside his sister in Rome during these years. 61 was

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38 Att. I.5.2: "Quod ad me scribis de sorore tua, testis erit tibi ipsa quantae mihi curae fuerit, ut Quinti fratris animus in eam esset is qui esse deberet. Quem cum esse offensiorem arbitrarer, eas litteras ad eum misi quibus et placarem ut fratrem et monerem ut minorem et obiurgarem ut errantem". Contrast Pianko 403.

39 Att. I.5.2: "confido ita esse omnia ut et oporteat et velimus"; 6.2: "Quintus quo volumus animo est in Pomponiam"; "cum ea nunc in Arpinatibus praediis erat"; 10.5: "De fratre confido ita esse ut semper volui et elaboravi. Multa signa sunt eius rei"; "soror praegnans est". On Q. Jr., see below, 353. Childlessness, the prime cause of divorces (cf. Balsdon, Women, 209-11), would probably have put an earlier ending to the marriage.

the year Atticus was back in Greece, and correspondence resumed. It was also the year when Atticus refused to go with Quintus to his province of Asia. It has not been properly appreciated that this refusal is an indication to us, and was, at least in part, a consequence, of continuing trouble in the marriage. Blase mentions the refusal, without enquiring into its cause. Wiemer does not even mention it either in connection with the marriage, - which is very briefly dealt with - or in connection with the governor's staff - which is not dealt with at all. Drumann-Groebe ascribe it to Atticus' unwillingness to part with his business affairs. Tyrrell-Purser state that the "refusal to accompany Quintus was due to no rupture between them" (i.e. Quintus and Atticus), and that "the misunderstanding [between Quintus and Atticus] was not due to any bad feeling between Quintus and his wife Pomponia." Johnson says that, from 67 until 51, "no further sound of trouble reaches us". Antoine, Sihler and Münzer, however, have ascribed the refusal to troubles in the marriage, but without discussing the credentials for this view. Münzer in fact refers to Nepos, Att. 6.4, but Nepos says that Atticus refused for quite a different reason, namely because it would be beneath his "dignitas" to be a mere "assecla" in a pro-praetorian staff, when he could have been a praetor himself, had he the inclination for honores.[40]

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40 Blase 9-10; Wiemer 19-20; 24; Drumann-Groebe 639-40; T.P. I 220, n. 1; Johnson 162; Antoine p. xviii; Sihler 183-4; Münzer 1290; Nep. Att. 6.4: "qui ne cum Q. quidem Cicerone voluerit ire in Asiam, cum apud eum legati locum obtinere posset. Non enim decere se arbitrabatur, cum praeturam gerere noluisset, asseclam esse praetoris. Qua in re non solum dignitati serviebat, sed etiam tranquillitati".

Clues for an answer to the problem lie in Att. I.17.1-7, written in December 61. From this letter, it can be gathered that relations between Atticus and Quintus were strained before Atticus left Rome at the end of 62. Atticus felt, as Marcus saw, that Quintus nursed hostility towards him ("nescio quid opinionis incommodae", "saucius animus", "odiosae suspiciones").[41] These hostile feelings persisted after Atticus' departure, and, while Atticus intimated them to Marcus in his letters, Marcus did not realise their extent. After the allocation of provinces in 61, they deepened, since Marcus had to redouble his efforts to pacify Quintus. There was little success. Quintus apparently made no effort to meet Atticus at Dyrrachium on his way to his province.[42] Atticus had reports that Quintus, in his conversations, was backbiting him, which Quintus denied.[43] But there were letters written by Quintus himself, of which Atticus sent samples to Marcus,[44] and which did - Marcus admitted - bespeak a profound alienation from Atticus.[45]

Those who would dissociate Quintus' rupture with Atticus from Atticus' refusal are right to the extent that the rupture did not arise

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41 Att. I.17.1.

42 Att. I.17.1-2.

43 Att. I.17.4: "de sermonibus quos ab illo et Romae apud amicos tuos et in itinere habitos putas"; 19.11: "Quintus frater purgat se mihi per litteras et adfirmat nihil se cuiquam de te secus esse dictum".

44 Att. I.17.1: "epistularum illius exempla misisti"; 17.4: "litteris quas ad te Thessalonica misit".

45 Att. I.17.1: "Magna varietas voluntatis et dissimilitudo opinionis ac iudici"; "offensionem tam gravem aut commutationem tantam voluntatis"; 17.7: "alienati illius animi et offensi".

in the first place from the refusal, since the rupture took place well before. But it was certainly intensified by the refusal. That Quintus' alleged backbiting and angry letters had to do with the refusal is indicated by the inclusion of an Apologia pro vita sua in Atticus' letter to Marcus, to which Marcus refers in Sections 5 and 7.[46] In self-defence, Atticus explained that his refusal was consistent with his philosophy of life; and Marcus agreed that it was convenient Atticus' general aversion from participation in provincial government had long been known, so that his refusal to accompany Quintus could appear to proceed from considered judgment rather than from dispute with Quintus. The force of "videatur" at the end of the sentence must not be overlooked.[47] We have here what sounds like a λεγόμενη αἰτία, the reason given to the public, true but partial, behind which lurks an ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις. Marcus was no more convinced than Quintus that Atticus' decision was unrelated to the quarrel. Had it proceeded entirely from Atticus' philosophy, long known, Marcus would not have expected him to go with Quintus, right up to the middle of 61, when he was surprised to learn the decision to the contrary.[48]

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46 Att. I.17.5: "Illa pars epistulae tuae ... in qua exponis ... "; 17.7: "eam partem epistulae tuae per quam te ac mores tuos mihi purgatos ac probatos esse voluisti".

47 Att. I.17.7: "inest tamen commodi quod et mihi et ceteris amicis tuis nota fuit et abs te aliquanto ante testificata tua voluntas omittendae provinciae, ut, quod una non estis, non dissensione ac discidio vestro sed voluntate ac iudicio tuo factum esse videatur".

48 Att. I.15.2; 16.14 (see above n. 32).

The ultimate origin of the quarrel is enigmatically ascribed to the machinations of certain people ("artificia nonnullorum"). But there is unmistakeable allusion to Pomponia, when Marcus says he would rather not be explicit where blame is to be sought, for fear of accusing Atticus' kin. Assuming that the quarrel arose from other causes, Atticus' kin was at any rate delinquent in the duty to heal it.[49]

Thus from 62, if not from before, the marriage was again in trouble. Now that Atticus had been living for three years close to the couple in Rome, the trouble spilled over to him. Marcus' reference to "amor vester ille pristinus" implies that the brothers-in-law had also developed a personal friendship between themselves, but it was nothing like the personal friendship between Marcus and Atticus. Atticus was, as Nepos says, much closer to Marcus: amicitia was thicker than affinitas.[50] The personal tie between Atticus and Quintus was too weak to stand the stress of the marriage. However, Atticus did not pursue the quarrel any further. In December 60, he was staying in one of Quintus' country-houses, with Pomponia and company; in 59, Atticus was corresponding with Quintus and doing business for him; and relations

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49 Att. I.17.2; 17.3: "huius incommodi culpa ubi resideat facilius possum existimare quam scribere; vereor enim ne, dum defendam meos, non parcam tuis. nam sic intellego, ut nihil a domesticis vulneris factum sit, illud quidem quod erat eos certe sanare potuisse".

50 Att. I.17.2; Nep. Att. 5.3: "multo etiam familiarius [cum Marco vivebat] quam cum Quinto, ut iudicari possit plus in amicitia valere similitudinem morum quam affinitatem".

were normal thereafter.[51] But there is no indication of deep personal friendship. As for Marcus, he now had learned that blame was not all on Quintus' side for the marriage difficulties, and he was able to hint as much to Atticus.[52] Marcus now siding with his brother and Atticus with his sister, there was danger that the friendship of Atticus and Marcus might collapse. The emotional tone of Att. I.17. is indicative both of the test being put on this friendship and of its superior strength to survive it.

Through the course of the following ten years (60-50), Quintus saw little of Pomponia, for barely one year at a time on three occasions: between Asia and Sardinia, Sardinia and Gaul, Gaul and Cilicia. These absences of his did not, as Constans thinks, contribute to the disruption of the marriage, but rather, as Carcopino remarks, helped to prolong it.[53] For the connubial crises occured when they were together. During these absences, Quintus did correspond with Pomponia, as can be seen from Att. II.7.5 ("ad me Quintus HS CCIↃↃIↃↃ scripserat, non <ut> ad sororem tuam, HS + XXXa +"). "Scribas velim" in Q.F. III.1.7 does not imply, as Carcopino would interpret, that they were not

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51 Att. I.20.1: "te ... moderatissimum fuisse vehementissime gaudeo ... de his rebus nihil iam amplius scribere"; II.2.1; 3.4; 4.1; 4.7; 6.2; 16.4 ("quod de Quinti fratris epistula scribis"); IV.9.2 ("Quintus frater ad me scripsit se ... ad te ... venturum"); 14.2 ("si quid forte novi habes, maxime a Quinto fratre"); 19.2 ("Quintum meum tuumque").

52 Att. I.17.3: "aliquanto etiam latius patet quam videtur".

53 Constans IV, 177; Carcopino, Secrets, II, 233. On duration of these absences, see below, 81-2; 117-120; 144-5; 152; 180; 181-2.

corresponding.[54] The context shows that Marcus was urging on Quintus, not the mere act of writing to Pomponia, but the writing of a specific instruction to her. But the letters were cool and business-like. It is remarkable that, in Marcus' correspondence with Quintus during this period, while Quintus is avid for news of his son, and Marcus frequently reports on him in affectionate terms,[55] the name of Pomponia is rarely mentioned, never with any warmth or affection.[56] Even in the correspondence with her brother during this period, Marcus writes frequently and with affection about Quintus,[57] Quintus' son,[58] Terentia,[59] Tullia and little Marcus,[60] and Pilia, the wife of Atticus:[61] but Pomponia is like a bad subject that is best avoided: references to her are few, brief, cold and business-like: there are never compliments from her or to her.[62]

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54 Q.F. III.1.7: "Quod ad Pomponiam, si tibi videtur, scribas velim, cum aliquo exibimus eat nobiscum puerumque educat". Cf. Carcopino, Secrets, II, 308, n. 3.

55 Q.F. II.4.2; 6.2; 7.2; 9.1; 12.4; 13.2; III.1.7 ("De Cicerone ... semper rogas"); 1.14; 1.19; 3.1; 3.4; 7.9.

56 Q.F. III.1.7; 1.19; 7.9.

57 Att. II.19.1; III.7.3; 8.1-2; 9.1; 10.2; 11.2; 13.2; 17.1; 18.2; 19.2; 23.5; IV.1.8; 2.7; 3.6; 14.2; 15.10; 18.2; 19.2.

58 Att. II.2.1; IV.7.1: 7.3: 9.2.

59 Att. II.7.5; 9.4; 12.4 (she corresponds with A.); 15.4; III.5; 8.4; 9.3; 19.2-3; 23.5.

60 Att. II.9.4; 12.4; 15.4; 19.2-3; 23.5; IV.1.4; 2.7; 4 a.2; 15.10.

61 Att. IV.4 a.2; 12.1; 16.4.

62 Att. II.1.11; 3.4; 4.1; 4.7.

The short reunion of 58-7 was enough to produce another complaint from Pomponia to Atticus.[63] No echoes of disputes thereafter - but only because Quintus was away much of the time, and Atticus was in Rome with his sister - (hence no correspondence) - from the end of 54 to April 51.[64] Quintus' return from Gaul in 52 produced fights again. Before Atticus' departure for Epirus in 51, he discussed again the marriage problems with Marcus. And Marcus discussed again with Quintus, whom he found conciliatory towards Pomponia.[65] The day of the Ciceros' departure for Cilicia from Quintus' villa of Arcanum produced a public scandal. Pomponia expressed her displeasure with Quintus by refusing to entertain guests: she retired to her room, returned food sent to her, slept in a separate bed and left the next day without a proper farewell - although her husband was leaving for a year's absence in Cilicia, where he might be killed. Quintus confided to Marcus that this kind of scene was a daily occurrence in his life.[66] Pomponia wrote to her brother to complain again, and again Atticus wrote to Marcus, but Marcus now told

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63 Q.F. II.6.2: "Pomponia autem etiam de te questa est".

64 Att. IV.19.1 (Nov. 54): coming of A.; V.1.1 (5 or 6 May 51): departure of A.: no correspondence in between. See S.B. II, 133; 224; III, 4-5; 189.

65 Att. V.1.3: "veni ad ea quae fueramus ego et tu inter nos de sorore in Tusculano locuti; nihil tam vidi mite, nihil tam placatum quam tum meus frater erat in sororem tuam".

66 Att. V.1.3: "illa audientibus nobis 'ego ipsa sum' inquit 'hic hospita'"; "tum Quintus: 'en' inquit mihi, 'haec ego patior cottidie'"; 1.4: "discubuimus omnes praeter illam, cui tamen Quintus de mensa misit; illa reiecit"; "narravit nec secum illam dormire voluisse et cum discessura esset fuisse eius modi qualem ego vidissem".

him roundly that, as an eye-witness, he could testify to his brother's courteous conduct on the occasion ("humanissimus", "dulcis"). It was about time Atticus should talk to his sister, for a change.[67]

In Cilicia, Quintus did not get over the parting scandal. He raged from a distance,[68] and wrote to his trusted freedman Statius about his "consilium", which, according to Statius, had the approval of Marcus. Atticus' agent, Cincius, picked it up from Statius' indiscretions, and wrote to Atticus.[69] From Marcus' protests that there was no approval on his part, since he wanted his ties with Atticus to remain as close as possible,[70] it can be deduced that this "consilium" was divorce. That Statius' proclamation of forthcoming divorce was well-founded, is proved by the content of, and the reaction to, a letter addressed to Quintus, probably from Statius himself. Quintus' son, who intercepted the letter, was profoundly disturbed and in tears, for it said the same thing as Atticus wrote to Marcus about his sister.[71] Under the

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67 V.1.3: "me admones de sorore"; 1.4: "vel ipsi hoc dicas licet"; "ut videres tuas quoque esse partis instituendi et monendi"; 1.3, for Q.'s courtesy.

68 Att. VI.2.2: "multa de istis rebus asperius solere loqui saepe sum expertus"; "saepe incensum ira vidi".

69 Att. VI.2.1: "quod ad te scriptum est a Cincio de Stati sermone ... Statium dicere a me quoque id consilium probari"; 2.2: "Quid ad Statium scripserit nescio".

70 Att. VI.2.1: "hoc molestissimum est ... de isto hactenus dixerim, me vel plurima vincla tecum summae coniunctionis optare, etsi sunt amoris artissima; tantum abest ut ego ex eo quo astricti sumus laxari aliquid velim".

71 Att. VI.3.8: "Q. Cicero puer legit ... epistulam inscriptam patri suo. In ea autem epistula erat idem illud de sorore quod ad me. Mirifice conturbatum vidi puerum; lacrimans mecum est questus".

instigation of Marcus and Atticus, both of whom wanted to preserve the union, the son pleaded with his father, and Quintus yielded to a reconciliation.[72]

What a cold reconciliation that was! Quintus found no eager Pomponia awaiting his return to Italy. Marcus was shocked to learn that she did not go with (or to) her husband to his estate of Arcanum,[73] but preferred to stay in Rome, where her brother was. The prescript of a letter of January 49, written from Rome to Tiro, is telling: "TULLIUS ET CICERO, TERENTIA, TULLIA, Q. Q. TIRONI S. PLUR. DIC." (Fam. XVI.11). It shows, if not the physical separation of Pomponia from Quintus, at any rate the absence of this stranger to the Cicero family. On the basis of Att. VII.14.3: "De mulieribus nostris, in quibus est tua soror, quaeso videas ut satis honestum sit eas Romae esse cum ceterae illa dignitate discesserint", Bailey interprets 18.1, "mulieres nostrae Formias venerunt", as including Pomponia, "who would naturally join her husband and son", in their retreat to Formiae before the outbreak of the Civil War.[74] This was not so. It would have been natural for a devoted or happily-married wife to join her husband, not for Pomponia. 12.6:

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72 Att. VI.2.2: "Mihi autem erit maximae curae ne quid fiat secus quam volumus"; "illum soleo hortari"; 3.8: "de meo consilio"; "spem habeo nihil fore aliter ac deceat"; 7.1: "me multum hortante"; "animum patris sui sorori tuae reconciliavit"; "valde tuae litterae excitarunt"; "confido rem ut volumus esse".

73 Att. VII.5.3: "sororem tuam non venisse in Arcanum miror".

74 S.B. IV, 314. But S.B. is inconsistent, translating "mulieres exspectabam" in 17.5 and "mulieres pertulerunt" in this same 18.1 as "my wife and daughter" only. On the whereabouts of Q., see below, 198-9.

"quid censeas de Terentia et Tullia", and 16.3: "De Terentia et Tullia tibi assentior", indicate that the wife and daughter of Marcus were the only "mulieres" whose trip to Formiae was expected and effected. After their arrival, as reported in 18.1, Marcus wrote daily to Pomponia's brother, with never so much as a mention of her name. She could not have been with the Ciceros. Writing from Formiae in March 49, Marcus reported the views, on the forthcoming Civil War, of his family around him, which included "uxor, filia, Cicerones pueri ... Quintus",[75] but no Pomponia. Pomponia did not live and die with the Ciceros, she lived and survived with her brother.

Correspondingly relations between the brothers-in-law continued to be cool in this period. Atticus had no high opinion of Quintus as prospective acting-governor of Cilicia, as father, and as debtor to himself. He showed no mercy in pressing repayment of a loan due to him, despite the financial stringencies of the time. His dislike was fully reciprocrated.[76]

Att. X.11.1, "De itinere et de sorore quae scribis molesta sunt ... ut iis mederi non possim", written in May 49, probably refers to Pomponia's decision not to leave Rome and join Quintus, and Marcus' pessimism as to prospects of happier relations. Yet, after Quintus' return

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75 Att. IX.6.4; cf. VII.20.2; 23.2; VIII.2.3 (where "vagamur egentes cum coniugibus et liberis", need not really mean there were in fact more than one "coniunx" at the Formianum).

76 See discussions below, 188-9, about Cilicia; 347-8 , about money; 364-5 , about father and son.

to Rome, following the Civil War, there was a lull. Quintus and Pomponia were living together and were at least in agreement about the marriage plan for their son. Quintus Jr., with all his caprices, drew to himself most of the domestic fire.[77] Correspondingly relations between the brothers-in-law improved somewhat. Never warm, they became at least polite and not openly inimical. Atticus played the conciliator in the great quarrel between the brothers, commending Quintus to Marcus, and writing appeals to Quintus. Quintus wrote courteously and apologetically to Atticus,[78] and visited him in Rome on occasions.[79] He even sought a financial contribution from Atticus for the celebration of his son's election as Lupercus.[80]

In April 44, there were rumours that Marcus was going to make a sucker of Quintus, selling him a minuscule villa for an enormous sum, and Quintus Jr. whispered to Atticus that his father wanted the villa to house the well-endowed Aquilia. This Aquilia was, Quintus Jr. feared, to be his step-mother ("noverca"). Both Marcus and Quintus denied the rumours of the villa transaction. Quintus said that he did not have any purchases in mind, as he had enough problems with his dowry-debt

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77 See below, 376-382.

78 Att. XI.9.2: "quem tu mihi commendas"; "litteris quas ad te misit"; 11.2: "tuae litterae [ad eum]"; 13.2: "ait se ex litteris tuis intellegere ..."; "se paenitere quod animum tuum offenderit"; 16.4: "suades ut ad Quintum scribam"; "ais illum ad te scribere"; XIII. 41.1: "ille ... de te suam culpam"; 47 a.2: "Quinti fratris epistulam ... quod satis sit tibi". On the quarrel, see below, 207-9.

79 Att. XIII.20.3: "fratrem credo a te esse conventum".

80 Att. XII.5.1: "quod autem os in hanc rem ἔρανον a te!"

("debitio dotis"). Quintus also rejected the allegations about taking a wife ("ducenda uxor"), as he found nothing more pleasant than his bachelor's bed ("liber lectulus").[81] It has been the widely accepted conclusion from this that Quintus was now enjoying a bachelor's freedom, was raising money to repay his dowry, and perhaps was considering marriage to Aquilia, as he was now divorced from Pomponia. The divorce must have taken place some time in 45 or 44.[82] Carcopino has challenged this conclusion, as part of his theory that the III Libri ad Quintum Fratrem were published by Atticus, who had priority of access to Quintus' papers after his death, as guardian of Quintus' widow. Carcopino's view is that, as in 50, there was only the intention of divorce, and possibly a physical separation. Carcopino adduces as evidence: (a) Att. XVI. 16.2: "Cum sorore ages attentius", interpreting this to mean that the problem of Pomponia's dowry was not yet settled at the date of this letter, July 44, three months after the April letter; and (b) Nep. Att. 5.3, where Nepos mentions the marriage of Pomponia to Quintus, without specifying its ending in divorce.[83] This is not convincing at all. Carcopino's interpretation of Att. XVI.16.2 is very free, and, even if

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81 Att. XIV.13.5; 17.3. This Aquilia, as S.B. suggests (n. ad Att. I.1.1), may be the daughter or a relative of the wealthy C. Aquilius Gallus, jurist, fellow-pupil of Cic. under Q. Mucius Scaevola, colleague as praetor in 66, and considered as "familiaris"(Off. III.60): see on him RE II, 1, 327-8, No. 23 (Klebs); Kunkel 21-2, No. 35; and now Nicolet, L'ordre éq., II, 783-4, No. 30.

82 Thus Blase 7; Haakh 2235; Antoine p. xxxiii; Johnson 165; Drumann-Groebe 658; Wiemer 20, n. 72; Münzer 1303; Balsdon, ap. Dorey, 174; Women, 212; S.B. I, 278.

83 Carcopino, Secrets, II, 232-6.

it were true, it would not amount to evidence, since actual restitution of dowry could drag on for months after divorce, as Cicero experienced with his ex-son-in-law Dolabella.[84] As for Nepos, he mentions the marriage to show the connection of Atticus with Cicero. He does not discuss it or even mention that it had problems. Argumentum ex silentio in this circumstance has no weight. The situation in April 44 was different from the situation in 50. In 50, the issue about which Atticus was concerned was divorce, which he attempted to prevent: in Att. XIV.13.5 (April 44), the issues were dowry restitution and the prospective new bride. In 50, Quintus Jr. was upset about relations between his parents, and interfered to stop divorce: in Att. XIV.17.3 (May 44), his concern was Aquilia as a step-mother, whom he threatened he would not put up with. Furthermore on 21 June 44, it was reported that Quintus Jr. was willing to live with his father[85] - which confirms the separation from Pomponia. Clearly in 44, the question of divorce had advanced well beyond the project state of 50.

One may hazard a closer date for the divorce than 45-4, the usual time given in modern works. Att. XIII.41, dated c. 18 August 45, provides a terminus post quem, since therein the couple were still living together. From this date to 30 August 45, Marcus wrote eight letters to Atticus, succeeding each other by one, two or three days.[86]

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84 Fam. VI.18.5; Att. XIV.18.1; 19.5; 20.2.

85 Att. XV.21.1: "scribit autem Statius illum cum patre habitare velle".

86 Att. XIII.48; 37; 49; 50; 51; 34; 21; 47 a.

The complete omission of the subject from these letters rules this period out. The break in the correspondence between 30 August and 19 December would have made this period a possible one, if it were not for the fact that in the second of the only two letters in late December (XIII.42.1), the reference to the parents' plan of Quintus Jr.'s marriage leaves the impression that they were still together. A break then follows in the correspondence between late December and 7 April 44.[87] When the subject is mentioned on 26 April, in Att. XIV.13, it refers back to a letter of Atticus, written on 19 April,[88] in which Atticus reported the rumours about Aquilia. Atticus must have heard the rumours before 19 April, and the rumours must have been spread after the divorce was settled. These considerations point to a date after December 45 and before April 44, in the course of the three months when Marcus, Atticus and the unhappy couple were all in Rome. The matter was presumably settled quietly, and thereafter the subject discreetly avoided in the correspondence.

It is to be wondered that a marriage like this lasted for so long. With Pomponia's character, it was doomed to failure. If Nepos does not exaggerate, in saying that Atticus and his sister never had a quarrel, he provides evidence of the sweet temper of the brother (who never quarrelled with anybody, not even the cantankerous uncle

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87 Att. XIII.42 - XIV.1.

88 Att. XIV.13.1: "Septimo denique die litterae mihi redditae sunt quae erant a te XIII Kal. datae"; 13.5: "redeo nunc ad epistulam tuam. Scribis enim esse rumores".

Caecilius),[89] not of the sister. Pomponia did not get along with everyone like this. Although we hear of a polite invitation of Terentia to Pomponia, a report of "discordia mulierum nostrarum" can only refer to their quarrels.[90] To Marcus' overtures she was not very responsive. She did not always have the courtesy to inform him when she was sending a tabellarius to Buthrotum, so that Marcus might take advantage to write to his good friend. At times she might give short notice or send a curt message.[91] She often refused Marcus' invitations to dinner or to the country.[92] The incident at Arcanum, mentioned above, illustrates the grudging, unbending, uncompromising character she had. Marcus judged her to be "aspera", "absurda", lacking in "humanitas", in her feelings and in the expression of them in words and looks.[93] Nor was Marcus alone in sympathising with Quintus. Pilia, the wife of Atticus, wrote

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89 Nep. Att. 17.1: "numquam cum sorore fuisse in simultate"; cf. 5.1.

90 Q.F. II.6.2: "is [i.e. Q. Jr.] mecum sermonem habuit ... de discordiis mulierum nostrarum"; cf. Att. I.5.8: "Terentia sororem tuam diligit"; II.3.3: "Pomponiam Terentia rogat".

91 Att. I.5.3: "numquam enim a Pomponia nostra certior sum factus esse cui dare litteras possem"; 10.1: "puer a sorore tua missus epistulam mihi abs te adlatam dedit nuntiavitque eo ipso die post meridiem iturum eum qui ad te proficisceretur ... ut ... brevitate temporis tam pauca cogerer scribere"; II.1.11: "mihi Pomponia nuntiari iussit".

92 Q.F. III.1.7 (see n. 54 above); 1.19: "venit ad nos Cicero tuus ad cenam, cum Pomponia foris cenaret"; 7.9 (see quotation, below, ch. 6, n. 19).

93 Att. V.1.4: "sic absurde et aspere verbis vultuque responderat"; "nihil asperius tua sorore"; "humanitatem ei meo iudicio illo die defuisse".

to Quintus to sympathise over what is generally interpreted to be his trouble with Pomponia.[94] According to a story, which Plutarch reports on the authority of " ἔνιοι τῶν συγγραφέων ", after Quintus' death, Antony delivered to Pomponia a freedman of Quintus called Philologus, who had betrayed his master. Pomponia caused him to cut strips of his own flesh, roast them and eat them. The story is intrinsically suspicious. Plutarch himself doubts it, because of Tiro's silence about this freedman's betrayal; and Appian does not include it in his catalogue of servants' loyalties and betrayals during the proscription. But, even if it was an invention, it had to be based on a reputation for ferocity which Pomponia had made for herself already in antiquity.[95]

But there was more difficulty with Pomponia than just her bad temper. She was a product of a milieu not noted for great success in marriages. She was older than her husband, richer than him and from a

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94 Att. V.11.7: "Tu velim Piliam meis verbis consolere ... accepi fasciculum in quo erat epistula Piliae; abstuli aperui legi; valde scripta est συμπαθῶς ". On the interpretation, see T.P. III, 51, and Constans III, 265.

95 Plut. Cic. 49.2: " Πομπωνίᾳ τῇ Κοΐντου γυναικὶ τὸν Φιλόλογον παρέδωκεν. (3) ἡ δὲ κυρία γενομένη τοῦ σώματος ἄλλαις τε δειναῖς ἐχρήσατο τιμωρίαις, καὶ τὰς σάρκας ἀποτέμνοντα τὰς αὐτοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν ὀπτᾶν, εἶτ' ἐσθίειν ἠνάγκασεν. οὕτω γὰρ ἔνιοι τῶν συγγραφέων ἱστορήκασιν. ὁ δ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπελεύθερος Τίρων τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ μέμνηται τῆς τοῦ Φιλολόγου προδοσίας ". Cf. 48.2; App. B.C. IV.26-8. Her rating with modern writers is no better: E.g. Blase 5: "animo acerbo, iracundo, irritabili difficileque placanda ... violentior, pertinacior et morosior"; Antoine p. xv: "d'humeur grognonne, susceptible et irritable"; Drumann-Groebe 638: "leicht verletzt und schwer besänftigt"; Johnson 163: "irritable and pettish"; Wiemer 20: "Grillen und Launen, Eifersucht und einen nachtragenden Sinn"; Balsdon, Women, 46: "cross-grained"; 212: "a hysterical woman".

more socially advanced family than him. She was sufficiently educated to write and read letters, to conduct her own business and use her husband's seal. The marriage sine manu, prevalent in her time, encouraged wives to remain financially independent: Some of the trouble in the marriage was due to dispute over money.[96] It also encouraged her to remain close to her own kin in emotional attachment. Marriage did not turn her from Pomponia to Mrs. Q. Cicero. She always looked to her brother as protector and friend. She does not seem to have given up her mother either. Caecilia was living much with her and did not die until she was 90, in 43. The presence of a mother-in-law did not help Roman marriages any better than is the case with modern ones.[97] She clashed with her husband, because she was not docile, submissive and fully integrated with him. She was not encouraged to develop these characteristics vis-à-vis her husband by the condition of her family or by the nature of marriage in her time.

It does not appear that Quintus was a husband, as Balsdon puts it, "incapable of patience or of gentleness". It is a mark of great

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96 P.'s correspondence and business: above, 30; 40; seal: Att. XI.9.2: "habet, ut opinor, eius signum Pomponia"; money dispute: Att. V.1.3: "ex ratione sumptus offensio"; on sine manu, its prevalence at the time and consequences, see W. Fowler, Social Life, 138-40; 146-7; Adcock, GR 1945, 5-6; Balsdon, Women, 45-62; Corbett 90-6; Crook 103-4; A. Watson, The law of persons in the later Roman republic, Oxford 1967, 25-7.

97 Caecilia: Att. I.5.8: "sororem tuam et matrem"; 7.1: "apud matrem recte est, eaque nobis curae est"; 8.1: "mater tua et soror"; II.3.3: "matrem adiungemus"; Nep. Att. 17.1: "extulit annorum XC, cum esset VII et LX". On mothers-in-laws, cf. Juv. VI.229-242; Aul. Gell. N.A. XII.1; Balsdon, Women, 201.

forbearance that, to please his brother and his son and for family interests, he clung for a quarter of a century to a marriage which was personally unsuitable, in times when the least pretext was good enough for a divorce. Nor does he appear to have been hen-pecked or, as Tyrrell-Purser put it, "the humblest of man".[98] As Marcus admitted, he often did feel and express anger, although he was amenable to conciliation after he cooled down. He was not always a tactful person, and he could and did hurt the feelings of people around him, often without meaning to. He certainly hurt the feelings of Pomponia, by his failure to appreciate and allow for her pride as mistress of her house. Her public display at Arcanum was inexcusable, but the reason for her feelings being hurt is understandable, since Quintus had confided to his freedman Statius for dinner arrangements, which were normally a wife's responsibilities.[99] It is understandable that Quintus, who, like his brother, was not much of a ladies' man, who learnt to live and get along for long periods without his wife, and who, at the same time had in Statius a trusted servant, companion and friend, should - as man to man - have discussed with that servant even the problems he had with his wife. It is understandable that Statius sympathised with Quintus and

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98 Balsdon, Women, 212; T.P. I, 50; cf. Petersson 14: "rather submissive to his wife". Cf. on divorces: Fam. VIII.7; Plut. Cato Min. 25; 52; W. Fowler, Social Life, 158.

99 Att. V.1.3: "'ego ipsa sum' inquit 'hic hospita'; id autem ex eo, ut opinor, quod antecesserat Statius ut prandium nobis videret". Cf. Nep. Praef. 6-7; Balsdon, Women, 200-1; Grimal, I, 417-8.

spoke with elation whenever divorce seemed forthcoming.[100] Not surprisingly Pomponia resented these intimacies between her husband and this competitor to her in the claim of partnership in Quintus' household. Terentia felt the same way towards Tiro, and many a wife towards the master's favourite boy.[101]

Thus the marriage of Quintus was arranged at the threshold of his public life. It strengthened the ties of the Ciceros with a family richer and socially more well-established in Rome than themselves, and so helped in the general promotion of their interests. However, the price of this marriage was heavy, in that both consorts were profoundly unhappy with each other, owing to their incompatible characters and complex social forces at work which affected their lives. It is a mark of Quintus' character that he yielded to his brother probably in the choice of the bride and certainly in the effort to save for many years a union doomed to end, as it did, on the rocks. The only issue of this union, Quintus Jr., whose prime coincided with his father's declining years, will be considered after further discussion of Quintus' own life, and first, his public life.

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100 Att. VI.2.1-2 (see n. 69 above); on Statius, see below, 86-8; 342.

101 Cf. Plut. Cic. 29; W. Fowler, Social Life, 151-2.

III

PUBLIC LIFE

1. FROM TIRO TO PRAETOR

It is known that Marcus Cicero, despite his personal distaste and abstinence thereafter from soldiering, served during the Social War as a *tiro* first under Pompeius Strabo and then under Sulla.[1] Since Quintus Cicero is known in his later life to have been more of a soldier than his brother, and since as a youth, he studied neither jurisprudence nor oratory with a view to practice, it is probable that he served longer as a soldier in preparation for a public career.[2]

It has been stated by A.M. Ward that "there is no doubt from Cicero's words that Quintus was on Sulla's *consilium*" at Nola,[3] in the Social War. "Cicero's words" are:

> (1) Div. I.72: "ut in Sullae scriptum historia videmus, quod *te inspectante* factum est, ut cum ille in agro Nolano immolaret ante praetorium, ab infima ara subito anguis emergeret ..."

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1 Div. I.72; II.65; Plutarch, Cic. 3.2, for Pompeius; Phil. XII.27, for Sulla. They were thought to be in conflict by Drumann-Groebe, V 240, n. 9, but have been reconciled by Cichorius, Röm. Stud. 181-4, and accepted by Sihler 20; Ciaceri I, 11, n. 4 and 12, n. 2; Gelzer, Cic., 5-6; Stockton 7; Magnino, n. ad Plut. Cic. 3.2. Distaste: Off. I.74-80.

2 On Q.'s later soldiering, see below, 151-165; 181-6; abstinence from jurisprudence and oratory, above, 10-12. On preparation for public career, cf. Mur. 19-24; 30 (soldiering); 23-29 (jurisprudence); Polyb. VI.19.2; Taylor, PP, 29-30; Wiseman, New Men, 116-20 ; 121-2; 143.

3 Phoenix, 1970, 122, n. 20.

(2) Div. II.65: "nam de angue illo, qui Sullae apparuit immolanti, utrumque memini ..."

The statement of Ward is erroneous and due to oversight of the fact that the dramatic speaker of the first passage is Quintus himself and "te inspectante" refers therefore not to Quintus, as Ward says, but to Marcus. Marcus then was present in Sulla's camp, since in the first passage, he is described by Quintus as witnessing the omen, and, in the second, he replies that he remembers the incident. Quintus, on the other hand, was not present, since he had to learn of the incident from the memoir of Sulla, and Marcus alone in De Divinatione is called upon to recall it as an eye-witness. Moreover, the maximum age Quintus could have been, at the time of Nola in 89, is 16. Since Marcus himself was 17, a year past the assumption of his virilis, and the usual age for service as tiro was between 17 and 20, it would have been a little premature for Quintus to serve as tiro in 89.[4]

Quintus probably served as soldier in the later eighties and seventies, an early career which remains wrapped in darkness. McDermott has now suggested that he may have served under L. Licinius Murena, in Asia, between 84 and 81; under C. Valerius Triarius, in Sardinia and Corsica, in 77; and under P. Servilius Vatia, in Cilicia, between 77 and 74.[5] Based on Quintus' later career, and Marcus Cicero's

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4 Q.'s age: cf. date of birth, above, 1-2; Nola date: Pliny, N.H. III.70; cf. RE IV, 1, 1530; M.'s virilis: above, 18, n. 53; usual age of tiro: "Tiro"No. 2 in RE VI A 2, 1448 (F. Lammert).

5 McDermott, Historia, 1971, 712-3. On these individuals, see RE XIII, 1, 444-6, Licinius No. 122 (Münzer); VIII A 1, 232-4, Valerius No. 363 (Volkmann); II A 2, 1812-7, Servilius No. 93 (Münzer).

acquaintance with these individuals, these specific suggestions are interesting and possible, but entirely speculative.

Although no trace is left of Quintus Cicero's early public service, it is possible to have an idea of his views on the political developments of the time, from opinions ascribed to him as dramatis persona in De Legibus, written by Marcus many years later. He approved of Sulla's removal of powers from the tribunate, and disapproved of the subsequent measures, including Pompey's in his consulship in 70, to restore these powers. For, after the doings of such tribunes as C. Flaminius, the Gracchi, C. Curiatus, Saturninus, P. Sulpicius Rufus, and later, P. Clodius, he associated the tribunate with the rule of "vis multitudinis" and the decline of responsible government by "optimates".[6] While he subscribed to Sulla's idea of Senatorial government, he did not approve of the misdemeanours of members in Sulla's senate. Sulla's senate, as Sallust saw, and even the Optimate Lutatius Catullus admitted, was plagued by repetundae in the provinces and corruption of the courts at home, as illustrated by the trials of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella in 77, C. Antonius Hybrida in 76, Terentius Varro in

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6 Leg. III.17: "Q: Magnum dicis malum; nam ista potestate nata gravitas optimatium cecidit convaluitque vis multitudinis"; 19: "Q: ... mihi quidem pestifera videtur, quippe quae in seditione, et ad seditionem, nata sit"; 22: "[Q:] in ista quidem re vehementer Sullam probo, qui tribunis plebis, sua lege, iniuriae faciendae potestatem ademerit, auxilii ferendi reliquerit, Pompeiumque nostrum ... de tribunicia potestate taceo: nec enim reprehendere libet, nec laudare possum"; 26: [M:] Pompeium quod una ista in re non ita valde probas"; cf. 19-22. On Sulla's measures and subsequent counter-measures, see Sall. Hist. III. 48.8; 48.12; Caes. B.C. I.5; VII.3; and the exhaustive list of sources in Broughton, II, 75. On the legitimacy of reading Q.'s opinions in life from Leg., see below, 232-4.

75 and 74 and Verres in 70. That Quintus applauded the institution of censorship in 70 and the expulsion of corrupt senators is indicated in De Legibus[7] and confirmed by a remark in Commentariolum 8 that Antonius was expelled "optima verorum censorum existimatione".

The outlook then of Quintus on post-Sullan politics, as it appears from De Legibus, was that of an Optimate, and it is confirmed by Commentariolum 5, where Quintus is apologetic about Marcus' popularis stance in his support of Pompey in 67-66. Quintus says that it must be urged "nos semper cum optimatibus de republica sensisse, minime popularis fuisse", a note contrasting with Marcus' own popularis confessions a few months later to Senate and people in De Lege Agraria I. 23-4 and II. 7-10. The opinion of Quintus on the tribunate is also consistent with the conservative stand he takes in opposing, again in De Legibus (III. 33-7), the leges tabellariae which had established the secret ballot in electoral, legislative and judicial proceedings.[8]

Judging from the opinions expressed by Quintus in De Legibus, de Plinval considers him to have been rather lacking in the grasp of the

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7 Leg. III.28: "[M:] Is ordo vitio careto, ceteris specimen esto. Q: Praeclara vero, frater, ista lex, sed et late patet, ut vitio careat ordo, et censorem quaerit interpretem". On trials, see, for Dolabella: Brut. 317; Tac. Dial. 34; Plut. Caes. 4.1; Suet. Iul. 4.1; and Broughton II, 89; for Antonius, C.P. 8; Asc. 75; Plut. Caes. 4.1; Broughton II, 93; for Varro, Verr. I.17; 35; 40; Div. Caec. 24; Ps. Asc. ad Div. Caec. 24 (Stangl p. 193); ad Verr. I.34-5 (Stangl p. 218); Broughton II, 91; 97; 102; for Verres, Verr. passim. Opinions of Sallust: Sall. Hist. III.48. (Orat. Macri) 6; of Catullus: Verr. I. 44. Censors and expulsions: Cluent. 117-34; Asc. 75; Sall. Hist. IV. 52 (Maurenbrecher); Plut. Cic. 17.1; Broughton, II, 126-7.

8 Cf. above, 3-5.

complexities of Roman politics. On the other hand, ignoring these opinions, and basing himself exclusively on the Commentariolum, which had a limited practical purpose, Haskell says that he was a practical man and regarded Marcus as "too much of an idealist".[9] Yet the portrayal of Quintus by his brother in De Legibus is not quite de Plinval's and quite the opposite of Haskell's. The restoration of at least some of the powers of the tribunes was, as we know, favoured by a moderate party in the Senate and by Pompey for reasons of political expediency, as manoeuvres against one another to obtain the credit for a popular move. Marcus Cicero himself certainly approved of it post factum (despite his sufferings from Clodius), and perhaps at the time as well, either because of his nascent dream of a Concordia Ordinum or because of his cooperation with Pompey.[10] Quintus was opposed to restoration of the tribunate and to the leges tabellariae, according to De Legibus,

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9 Plinval p.[xiii : "un esprit simplificateur, un peu brusque, trop impulsif, trop entier dans les conclusions qu'il énonce"; Haskell 91. Carotenuto, 31, is even more severe: "non riuscì ad elevarsi ad una visione vasta delle cose, ad uno senso superiore della vita. Pratico, attivo, calcolatore ..."

10 On Pompey, the tribunate and countermanoeuvres in the Senate: Leg. III.26; Plut. Pomp. 20.1; 21.4-5; and Badian's discussion, FC, 280-1. Cic.'s approval: Leg. III.23-6. For the view that Concordia originated early in Cic.'s career, see R. Heinze, "Ciceros politische Anfänge", in Abh. Akad. Leipzig, phil. hist. Kl. XXVII (1909) 947-1010, and H. Strasburger, Concordia Ordinum, Diss. Leipzig 1930. For the view that Cic. was already cooperating with Pompey, see R. Johannemann, Cicero und Pompeius, Diss. Münster 1935, 9, and A.M. Ward, "Cicero and Pompey in 75 and 70 B.C.", Lat. XXIX (1970) 58-71. Taylor, PP, 104, has a different view, on the basis of Dio XXXVI.43.5, on Cic.'s preference for the aedileship to please the Optimates.

because he disliked the choice of expediency ("necessarium") over righteousness ("optimum") for reasons of practical politics. To him the demands of the populus were the consequence of corruption and abuse of power by the principes. The remedy for the state consisted in treating the disease, not the symptoms, in restoring and purifying the principes, not in making concession after concession to the populus.[11] He is portrayed therefore by his brother as an impractical idealist, unwilling to compromise and settle for anything less than what is right. This is consistent with his conduct as governor of Asia, as it will be seen later.

An obscure sentence from Q.F. I.3.8, written in 58, indicates that Quintus not only had his own opinions on post-Sullan politics, but also expressed them in verse, no doubt satirical:

> Illud caveto (et eo puto per Pomponium fovendum tibi esse ipsum Hortensium), ne ille versus, qui in te erat conlatus cum aedilitatem petebas, de lege Aurelia, falso testimonio confirmetur.
>
> [Take care - and for that reason I think you should through Pomponius cultivate Hortensius himself - that the verse which had been ascribed to you, when you were running for aedileship, the one about the Lex Aurelia, is not confirmed as yours by some false testimony.]

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11 Leg. III.26: "[M:] vix satis mihi illud videris attendere, non solum ei, quid esset optimum, videndum fuisse, sed etiam quid necessarium"; 34: "[Q:] ista sententia maxime et fallit imperitos, et obest saepissime reipublicae, cum aliquid verum et rectum esse dicitur, sed obtineri, id est, obsisti posse populo, negatur. Primum enim obsistitur, cum agitur severe: deinde vi opprimi in bona causa est melius, quam malae cedere ... populus liber nunquam desideravit; idem, oppressus dominatu ac potentia principum, flagitavit". Cf. "opprimi ... melius" here with Q.'s " ἅπαξ θανεῖν " (Q.F. I.2.13, and below, 90-114.) McDermott, 709, has suspected that Q. "was probably more conservative" than M. Like Q., Carcopino, César, 51, thinks the optimates should have resisted: "peut-être eût-elle (i.e. l'oligarchie) été mieux inspirée de resister partout".

An old explanation of this sentence, as in Manutius, Ernesti and Watson, was that Quintus was anticipating in 58 an accusation, involving false testimony, on his campaign in 66 for aedileship, for presumably giving bribes in contravention of a Lex Aurelia.[12] This explanation has now been abandoned, and rightly so. In 58, Quintus was anticipating a charge in connection with his recent administration of Asia, as will be later discussed. Accusation for an offence presumably committed eight years previously is improbable, although the prosecution of Rabirius by Caesar for his participation in the lynching of Saturninus shows that even an interval of thirty-five years or so was indeed possible, if most unusual. No Lex Aurelia is known in connection with bribery. And "versum conferre", as meaning "to quote a verse against" Quintus (the translation under the old explanation), is unparalleled.

The current view, as in Blase, Drumann-Groebe and Tyrrell-Purser, is that there is allusion here to a verse, whose authorship was ascribed to Quintus, on a Lex Aurelia.[13] The verse was composed,[14] not, as Stinchcomb says, in 66,[15] when Quintus was candidate for aedileship, but

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12 Manutius: ap. Blase 9; Ernesti: ap. T.P. ad loc.; J.S. Watson, Cicero on Oratory and Orators, London 1891, 34, n. 2.

13 Blase 8-9, n. 10; Drumann-Groebe 638; T.P. ad loc. On "conferre" with this meaning, cf. Planc. 35; Flacc. 41; Senec. 14; Nat. Deor. I.77; Fam. V.5.2; Caes. B.G. I.40; Lucr. VI.54; L.S. sub "conferre", II.3; TLL II C.

14 "Ne ... falso testimonio confirmetur" does not necessarily deny Q.'s authorship: cf. Att. III.12.2, where M. suggests an authentic writing of his own be passed off as a forgery. The ascription to Q., even if not true, was verisimilar, and so indicative of his practice.

15 Stinchcomb 5.

previously, at the time of the Lex Aurelia, and exhumed in 66 by opponents of Quintus, when they were looking for material to use against him as candidate. The Lex Aurelia, on the current view, is the well-known one of 70, which gave the courts of repetundae to Senate, Equites and tribuni aerarii.[16] One would assume, with Drumann-Groebe, that Quintus attacked the Lex Aurelia; but it is difficult then to understand, with Tyrrell-Purser, how Hortensius would be annoyed with Quintus, since Hortensius' own tampering and influence with the Senatorial courts[17] was threatened by the new courts established by the Lex Aurelia. Bailey has suggested that Hortensius, in the passage, has to do with the anticipated "falsum testimonium" of 58, not with the verse against the Lex Aurelia, when it was written - which makes better sense of the current view. Much more complex and doubtful is B.A. Marshall's recent argument that Hortensius was annoyed because the Metelli and their associates (including Hortensius) actually supported the Lex Aurelia of 70.[18] It is to be noted, however, that from Blase to Marshall, it has been readily assumed, without good authority, that the Law referred to is the Lex Aurelia iudiciaria of 70. The possibility that the Lex Aurelia attacked by Quintus is not the iudiciaria of 70, but one of the lesser known Leges Aureliae tribuniciae of 75-4, has received no more than a

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16 On the Lex Aurelia: Cluent. 47; Livy, Ep. 97; Vell. II. 32; exhaustive references in Broughton, II, 127.

17 See, in connection with trial of Varro, n. 7 above.

18 S.B., JRS XLV (1955) 35; Marshall, Rheinisches Museum, CXVIII (1975) 136-152.

slight hint from Constans.[19] I find this a more obvious, although by no means certain, solution, in that an attack by Quintus on attempts to restore some of the tribunicial powers, for political expediency, is consistent with his views on the tribunate as expressed in De Legibus; and it was appropriate in 66, when he canvassed for aedileship instead of tribunate, to remind the voters why, by recalling his old strictures on tribunes.

The year of Quintus' quaestorship is not recorded. Münzer is the first of the biographers to have hazarded a guess, which Broughton, with some hesitation, and Stockton, with more confidence, have accepted. On the basis of Quintus' long absence from Rome in 68, Münzer has conjectured that this was perhaps the year of his quaestorship.[20] It is known, as will be discussed hereafter, that Quintus was praetor in 62. If the conjecture of Münzer were accepted, the interval between Quintus' quaestorship and praetorship would be six years. Badian has shown that there are only four cases, two certain and two probable, known in the post-Sullan period, where the interval in the cursus between quaestorship and praetorship is less than nine years, and all four cases are

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19 Constans, ad loc. On the leges Aureliae tribuniciae, Asc. 58-9; 69; Sall. Hist. III.48 (Orat. Macri) 8; and Broughton II, 96 and 101. That, on the present theory, there would be an interval of 8-9 years between the writing and the exhumation of the verse, should present no problem - no more than the 4 year interval, on the current theory.

20 Att. I.5.8 (cf. above 25-6 and n. 4); Münzer 1287 ("vielleicht" q. in 68); Broughton II, 139; Stockton 52 ("probably [q.] in 68"); Pianko, 403, assigning it to 62 (!) must be confusing with praetorship.

patrician.[21] Since it does appear that a minimum of nine years' interval was required for plebeians between quaestorship and praetorship, Münzer's conjecture, based, as Badian has remarked, on too vague a datum, is best abandoned. As with Quintus' marriage,[22] there is an illustration here again of the tendency to postdate an event in Quintus' early career, because the extant correspondence of Cicero begins so late. Quintus' quaestorship should therefore be dated somewhere between 74 (the year following his elder brother's, attained suo anno) and 71 (nine years before his praetorship). 71 itself is a good possibility. In 70, Marcus, collecting evidence in Sicily against Verres, used his cousin Lucius as assistant, which suggests, in the light of Quintus' usual assistance to his brother later, that Quintus was not available to help him that year. A plausible explanation would be that he was pro-quaestor in some province in 70, after having been quaestor in 71.[23]

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21 Badian, JRS, 1959, 81-9. Opinions have been divided on the requirements of the Lex Annalis before and after Sulla. Mommsen's view was that there was a requirement both of minimum age and minimum interval of nine years between quaestorship and praetorship (RS I, 530-5; Taylor, PP, 30); the current view until Badian was that there was only a minimum age requirement and a biennium interval between two magistracies (Abbott 169; Homo 69-70; Astin, Lat., 1958, 51; Scullard 85). Badian has shown that the hypothesis of a requirement for an interval of seven years in the case of patricians, and of nine years in the case of plebeians, will fit all known careers and all the evidence from the post-Sullan period.

22 See above, 23-28.

23 On Lucius, see above, 17 and n. 48. C. Vergilius, Q.'s colleague as praetor (see below, n.71-2), was also already quaestor before 70 (IG XIV. No. 356: Broughton II, 133). There is no clue as to where Q. may have served. McDermott, 713, suggests Spain, under M. Piso (cos. 61), on the basis of his early friendship with the Ciceros (cf. above, 21): "This is of course highly speculative", as McDermott himself admits.

Following both his own inclination and his brother's example, Quintus preferred the aedileship to the tribunate as the next step in his cursus.[24] The references in a letter of 66 to a current candidature of Quintus, and in a letter of 65 to a recent candidature of Quintus,[25] must refer to this aedileship, which he therefore stood for in 66, the year when his brother was praetor. The two letters of July 65 (Att. I.1 and I.2) include references to the forthcoming comitia of Marcus, although still distant, and none to a current one for Quintus, which implies that Quintus was not running in 65. It can be reasonably assumed that he was elected in 66 and held the office in 65. The traditional argument for accepting he was aedile - as in Blase, Drumann-Groebe, Münzer and Broughton - is that he shared with C. Vergilius more than one collegium. Since they were colleagues as praetors, it is argued, they must have been colleagues as aediles. The argument is not as conclusive as it is made to appear. Since the reference is from the Pro Plancio, written in 56, the "collegia" may refer to simultaneous propraetorships or quaestorships in addition to praetorships simultaneously held in 62.[26]

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24 Q.F. I.3.8: "cum aedilitatem petebas".

25 Att. I.4.1 (quoted above, 33, n. 30); 1.3: "mihi et Quinto fratri ... in nostris petitionibus".

26 Planc. 95 (see below, n. 72); Blase 8; Drumann-Groebe 638; Münzer 1288; Broughton, II, 158. Wiemer, 22, typically ignores the question. On the uses of "collegium", see TLL III, 1592-4 ("collegium" I B); date of Planc.: see Gelzer, Cic., 198-9.

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Tyrrell-Purser as well as How thought that Quintus was curule aedile, probably because they assumed, with Mommsen, that Marcus Cicero had been curule aedile. Taylor has now proved that Marcus Cicero had been plebeian aedile, thus destroying the assumption on which their notion was based. Furthermore, in 65, the Ludi Romani and Megalenses were organised by Julius Caesar the patrician and Calpurnius Bibulus as "collegae" and curule aediles. Therefore Quintus Cicero, as Blase saw, and Drumann-Groebe, Münzer, Broughton and McDermott agree, had in 65 to be plebeian aedile.[27]

Quintus was in his own right a "patronus" of Arpinates, who therefore must have supported his candidature. Atticus, as has been seen, came to his support.[28] But he owed his election to no one more than to his brother. As praetor in 66, Marcus speaks of himself as being high in the people's estimate ("populi existimatio"). This is confirmed by Quintus, who reminds him in 64 how previously he won over the urban plebs and the tribunes by his Pro Lege Manilia, his acceptance of Manilius' brief and his defence of Cornelius.[29] Again, Marcus

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27 On Q. aedile: T.P. I, 143; How, II, 33; Blase, Drumann-Groebe, Münzer and Broughton, as in n. 26; McDermott, 703, n. 6 and 708, n. 28; Caes. and Bibulus and Ludi: Caes. B.C. III.16.2; Suet. Iul. 9.2; Plut. Caes. 5; Dio XXXVII.18.1; Ludi, curule aed., and M. aed.: Mommsen, RS I, 443, n.2; II, 517-22; Taylor, AJPh, LX (1939) 194-202; also Abbott 205-6; Greenidge 208-212.

28 CIL X, 1, No. 701: "q. tullio m. f. m. n. cor. cic... ordo dec. et plebs arkanum patrono"; No. 719: "q. tullio m. f. cor. ciceroni ... ordo et universus populus arpinas patrono". For A.'s support, see above, 32-33.

29 Att. I.4.2; C.P. 51: "Iam urbanam illam multitudinem et eorum studia qui contiones tenent adeptus es in Pompeio ornando, Manili

claims in Pro Plancio that the "agri montesque" supported the candidature of his brother and himself.[30] It was in 66 that Marcus defended Cluentius, wealthy Eques with influence in Ferentinum, Teanum Apulum, Bovianum, Larinum, Luceria, and among the Marrucini.[31] The goodwill to Marcus Cicero of prominent individuals from Italian towns and of tribunes in Rome combined to secure the younger brother's election in 66. One individual, with the name of Caninius Satyrus, was a very useful agent to him. This Satyrus in 65 was said to be valuable in getting for Marcus' consular campaign the support of the extremely wealthy L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.[32] It is likely that Domitius supported Quintus' campaign too through the Satyrus connection.

When Quintus was released from the aedileship at the beginning of 64, his brother's consular campaign, launched in July 65 (Att. I.1.1),

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causa recipienda, Cornelio defendendo"; cf. 5: "si quid locuti populariter videamur, id nos eo consilio fecisse ut nobis Cn. Pompeium ... amicum in nostra petitione haberemus". Cf. on M.'s popularis course in 66-5: Leg. Man. passim; Gelzer, Cic., 58-9; Stockton 59-62; Taylor, PP, 117.

30 Planc. 20: "Quid ego de me, de fratre meo loquar? quorum honoribus agri ipsi prope dicam montesque faverunt".

31 Cluent. 197.

32 Att. I.1.3: "[Satyrus] observat L. Domitium maxime, me habet proximum. fuit et mihi et Quinto fratri magno usui in nostris petitionibus". The mss. have the cognomen "Satyrus" no less than four times, the nomen "Caninius" occurring once and in some mss. Hence T.P., S.B., How and others print "Caninius Satyrus". I agree with S.B. (I, 294) that emendation into "Satrius", merely on the basis of a known Caninius Satrius (ad Brut. I.6.3), as attempted by Orelli (cf. Orelli-Baiter II, 128), followed by Münzer (RE III, 1479) and Nicolet (L'Ordre éq. II, 809-10), is unacceptable. On Dom.'s wealth: Off. I.25; Caes. B.C. I.17; 56; Plut. Crass. 2; Pliny, N.H. XXXIII.134; cf. Stockton 72.

was in full swing. From the Commentariolum Petitionis, which he wrote at this time, it can be seen how, in return, Quintus helped in his brother's campaign and what his outlook was on that campaign.[33]

This, Quintus felt, was the time when the greatest service could be rendered to Marcus,[34] because he was trying for the highest honour in the Roman state. His own dedication was therefore complete. The extent to which he felt himself involved and identified himself with his brother's campaign, can be sensed from the frequency with which he passes from the second person singular to the first person plural.[35] He pondered day and night on the tactics to use.[36] He claims to have been present at negotiations, for Marcus' defence of C. Fundanius, tr. 68, Q. Gallius, aed. 67, C. Cornelius, tr. 67 and C. Orchivius, pr. 66, which spanned over 66 and 65, and he reminds Marcus of their friends' promises at those sessions. This shows that Quintus had been deeply

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33 The problems arising out of C.P. as a literary document (authenticity, date, content, form, genre and style) are discussed below, 281-314; 318-324. I confine myself here to the limited objective of establishing, from the document, what Q. did and thought as a public man at the stage of his brother's consular campaign - a neglected subject.

34 C.P. 4: "ut intellegant qui debent tua causa, referendae gratiae, qui volunt, obligandi tui tempus sibi aliud nullum fore"; 19: "ut intellegant nullum se umquam aliud tempus habituros referendae gratiae"; 21: "intellegant, si hoc tuo tempore tibi non satis fecerint, se probatos nemini umquam fore"; 38: "haec tu plane ab iis postulato ut ... nec aliud ullum tempus futurum sit ubi tibi referre gratiam possint, hoc te officio remunerentur".

35 C.P. 5: "nos ... nos ... nobis"; 8: "vidimus ... audivimus ... in praetura competitorem habuimus"; 9: "meminimus"; 21: "nobis ... nos"; 31: "nobis"; 56-7: "petimus ... advigilamus ... excitamus ... discribimus ... proponimus ... coercemus".

36 C.P. 1: "mihi ... dies ac noctes de petitione tua cogitanti".

involved in the work of his brother for some time, probably, as McDermott has now suggested, ever since 78, as administrative assistant and campaign manager.[37] Quintus acquainted himself with the range and motives of his brother's actual and potential supporters.[38] He searched the background of the rival candidates, especially Antonius' and Catiline's, to stock up facts and gossip, from their public and private lives, which could be used as ammunition of political invective against them.[39] He supplemented, by reading, his own observation of useful manoeuvres, advocated or practised in previous political campaigns by tacticians, such as C. Aurelius Cotta.[40] He studied the circumstances in which C. Coelius Caldus, a novus homo like Marcus, had succeeded in being elected to the consulship of 94.[41] Through such means, Quintus was, on Marcus' own admission, the most important of all agents in his brother's campaign.[42]

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37 C.P. 19: "Nam hoc biennio quattuor sodalitates hominum ad ambitionem gratiosissimorum tibi obligasti, C. Fundani, Q. Galli, C. Corneli, C. Orchivi; horum in causis ad te deferendis quid tibi eorum sodales receperint et confirmarint scio, nam interfui". Cf. Broughton, II, 138 and 141; 144; 152, on the four individuals. McDermott, 714-7, on Q.'s earlier career, is again freely speculative, but verisimilar. Tydemann's and T.P.'s assumption that Q. was absent from Rome at the time of writing C.P. (T.P. I, 121, n. 1) must be discarded: C.P. is not a genuine letter (see below, 294).

38 C.P. 3-19.

39 C.P. 8-10; 13-14; 28.

40 C.P. 10: "legito"; 14: "circumspicito"; 46: "audivi"; 47: "C. Cotta, in ambitione artifex, dicere solebat". Cotta, cos. 75: Broughton II, 96.

41 C.P. 11. Caldus: Broughton II, 12.

42 Q.F. I.1.43: "ut amplissimum nomen consequeremur, unus praeter ceteros adiuvisti".

The Commentariolum has often been described as a "Machiavellian" document by a wide range of scholars, from the urbane Tyrrell-Purser to the cynical Carcopino: so that the author has been pictured as a devious and scheming individual, unscrupulous in the electioneering methods he advocated.[43] The basis of this characterisation is presumably the fact that, as part of the electoral strategy, the document advocates the character-assassination of adversaries[44] and the exploitation of amicitia for political ends,[45] and acquiesces in the use of pretence and flattery and in the breach of promises.[46]

The document and its author must be judged in the light of the electoral ethics of the time. Attack against the moral turpitudes of adversaries was a conventional tactic, and indeed Quintus exercises restraint in this regard in limiting his invectives to Antonius and Catiline, who were clearly depraved characters, ejected from the

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43 T.P. I, 34; Hendrickson, AJPh, 1892, 202 n. 2: "shameless exhortation to mendacity ... and to injure the character of his competitors"; Wiemer 40: "machiavellistischer Geist"; Romano 147-8: "fondata su criteri esclusivamente pratici ... che prescinde da ogni criterio morale"; Carcopino, Secrets, I, 156: "toutes les armes, honnêtes ou déloyales ... toutes les 'bottes' régulières et inavouables ... ces cyniques recettes ..."; McDermott 709: "cynical politician"; Haskell, above, 59 (Cf. Oxf. Eng. Dict. (1933), v. 6: "Machiavellian: of, pertaining to, or characteristic of Machiavelli, or his alleged principles; following the methods recommended by Machiavelli in preferring expediency to morality; practising duplicity in statecraft or in general conduct, astute, cunning, intriguing"). Cf. Beltrami 36-8 and Nardo 101-5, for more perceptive views.

44 C.P. 8-10.

45 C.P. 16-40.

46 C.P. 23: "accommodandis sermonibus"; 35: "dissimules"; 42: "simulandum"; "opus est magno opere blanditia"; "frons et vultus et sermo ... commutandus et accommodandus est"; 46-8.

Senate.[47] Amicitia, as, notably, the works of Gelzer, Münzer and Syme have shown, was the only instrument available to a candidate seeking votes in a legitimate manner:[48] it was as necessary for a candidate, in the Roman system, to exploit it, as it is for a candidate in the modern system to join a party. Moreover Quintus advocates the acquisition of amici not through foul and deceitful means, but through "beneficia", "officia", "vetustas", "facilitas ac iucunditas naturae".[49] While he differentiates between real friends for life and amici for political expediency, he hopes that the relationship which is struck as temporary and politically expedient will become permanent and genuine.[50] The pretence and flattery which are countenanced are part of "comitas", which consists in feigning agreement to avoid alienating supporters, in dissimulating displeasure, in sugaring the pill when services have to be refused.[51] Quintus does not advocate the making of promises which one

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47 Antonius: C.P. 8; cf. Att. II.2.3; Cael. 74; Flacc. 5; 95; Dom. 41; Vat. 27-8; Phil. II.56; 98-9; Asc. 75. Catiline: C.P. 9-10; cf. Att. I.1.1; Cael. 10; Cat. I-IV, passim; Asc. 76; Sall. Cat. 15-19.

48 Gelzer, Münzer and Syme, passim; see also Taylor, PP, 7-24; Brunt, PCPhS, 1965, 1-20; Earl, ap. Gareau, 144-9.

49 C.P. 16.

50 C.P. 16: "hoc nomen amicorum in petitione latius patet quam in cetera vita"; 25: "partis ac fundatis amicitiis fretum ac munitum ... in ipsa petitione amicitiae permultae ac perutiles comparantur"; 26: "intellegat te magni se aestimare ... fore ex eo non brevem et suffragatoriam sed firmam et perpetuam amicitiam".

51 C.P. 23: "accommodandis sermonibus ad eas rationes propter quas quisque studiosus tui esse videbitur"; 35: "si eum qui tibi promiserit audieris fucum ... facere ... ut te id audisse aut scire dissimules"; 42: "comitas tibi non deest"; 45: "significes te studiose ac libenter esse facturum"; "iucunde neges"; "belle negandum est"; cf. comitas in Senec. 10; De Or. II. 189; Off. II.48; Mur. 66.

intends to break for fraudulent purposes, but those which one is not sure one will be able to keep, because to refuse such promises would give greater offence than the inability to keep them.[52] Thus qualified, these practices are less, if at all, reprehensible. But, since they do involve a camouflage of the truth for the sake of popularity, it is apparent that Quintus, as a reader of Plato, like his brother,[53] felt a moral revulsion at such needs in politics. He insists on pointing out that these practices are "vitiosa", "turpia", "improba",[54] so that he is almost obsessed with the preoccupation to distinguish repeatedly between a political campaign and the rest of life, between the exigencies of a successful candidate and the way of life of an upright man.[55] He searches scrupulously for means which one can use "honeste", or with a clear conscience.[56] He does not hide his distaste for the treacheries,

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52 C.P. 47-8: "casu fieri ut agantur quae non putaris, illa quae credideris in manibus esse ut aliqua de causa non agantur; deinde esse extremum ut irascatur is cui mendacium dixeris. Id, si promittas, et incertum est et in diem et in paucioribus; sin autem [id] neges, et certe abalienes et statim et pluris. Plures enim multo sunt qui rogant ut uti liceat opera alterius quam qui utuntur". Cf. Off. I.33, on promise-keeping.

53 C.P. 46: "subdurum tibi homini Platonico suadere"; cf. Plato, Crito, 46 B-47 A.

54 C.P. 42: "blanditia ... vitiosa ... turpis ... improba".

55 C.P. 16: "in petitione ... in cetera vita"; 25: "quod in cetera vita non queas ... in petitione autem nisi id agas ..."; 42: "turpis in cetera vita ... tamen in petitione necessaria"; 45: "alterum est tamen boni viri, alterum boni petitoris". Cf. similar thought in Mur. 77 and Rep. III. 8-28.

56 C.P. 25: "potes honeste"; 45: "quod honeste ... promittere non possumus".

frauds and lies which beset electoral campaigns.[57]

In addition, the Commentariolum is free from advocacy of certain tactics which, though reprehensible and illegal, were widely practised at the time. Quintus prescribes the canvassing of centuries not through bribery, but through influential amici in each of them;[58] bribery on the part of others is to be combated by threat of prosecution.[59] If Quintus prescribes the use of threats of vis, terror, metus, they are those of legal action, not the physical violence which was resorted to by several others.[60] Accusation of adversaries as a means of

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57 C.P. 25: "in ceteris molestiis"; 39: "fraudis atque insidiarum et perfidiae plena sunt omnia"; 54: "multae insidiae, multa fallacia, multa in omni genere vitia ... multorum adrogantia, multorum contumacia, multorum malevolentia, multorum superbia, multorum odium ac molestia"; 55: "vitiosa civitas"; 56: "comitia tam inquinata".

58 C.P. 18: "ad conficiendas centurias, homines excellenti gratia ... tui studiosi sint"; 29: "omnis centurias multis et variis amicitiis cura ut confirmatas habeas"; 32: "qui apud tribulis suos plurimum gratia possunt, studiosos in centuriis habebis".

59 C.P. 55: "largitione interposita ... iudici ac periculi metum maximum competitoribus adferre possis"; "vimque dicendi ... pertimescent"; 57: "si competitoribus iudicium proponimus, sequestribus metum iniicimus, divisores ratione aliqua coercemus, perfici potest ut largitio nulla fiat aut nihil valeat". The prevalence of electoral bribery is extensively attested: e.g. Att. I.16.12; 18.3; IV.15.7; 19.1; Q.F. II.3.5; 3.6; 15.4; 16.2; III.2.3; Fam. VIII.2.1; Verr. I.22; Mur. 3; 5; 46; 67; Sest. 133; Cael. 16; Vat. 37; Planc. 36-7; 45; 49; 83; Asc. 67; Sall. Cat. 18.2; Suet. Iul. 19; Lucan I.179-80; IV.815-8; Plut. Pomp. 44; Dio XXXVII.30.3; XLIII.27.2; cf. Gelzer, Nob., 113-4; Taylor, PP, 67-8; S. White, JRS, 1956, 8.

60 C.P. 55-7; in contrast, violent consular campaigns are attested in 67 (Dio XXXVI.39.1); in 66 (Sull. 68; Cat. I.15); in 63 (Mur. 49-52); in 56 (Dio XXXIX.31; Plut. Cato Min. 41; Pomp. 52; Crass. 15; Appian B.C. II.17): a full list of known violent electoral campaigns and violence in other aspects of public life in Lintott 212-220.

advancement for the prosecutor, a common practice, is discountenanced;[61] irresponsible promises of popular legislation are not advised.[62]

Considered therefore in the light of its subject-matter and the electoral ethics and practices prevailing at the time, the Commentariolum is not the product of a scheming and devious man. On the contrary, it is a recipe for winning election by legal and fair means, in observance of the groundrules of a well-bred senator. Furthermore it betrays a mind ill-at-ease with the demands of practical politics.

During Marcus Cicero's consulship in 63, Quintus was by his side all the time, helping in the work and sharing in the honour. Three years later, Marcus wrote to him: "[meorum laborum periculorumque] tu omnium particeps fuisti" (Q.F. I.1.43). The use of "nos" in Leg. Agr. II.1: "nos illorum sanguine creatos disciplinisque videtis ... De me autem ipso ..." certainly alludes to his presence beside Marcus at the inaugural contio on the Rullan bill. Owing to his and Atticus' presence in Rome, no correspondence took place whose remains might have informed us on Quintus' views regarding the issues of that year, which the consul had to deal with: the Rullan bill, the trial of Rabirius, the citizenship of the Transpadani, the election of Caesar as Pontifex Maximus, the

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61 C.P. 56: "nolo ... videare accusationem iam meditari": cf. Mur. 43; 46; Div. Caec. 70; Off. II.49-50; yet a common practice: cf. Taylor, PP 113-6.

62 C.P. 53: "nec tamen in petendo respublica capessenda est neque in senatu neque in contione". T.P. I, 118-9 and Nardo 104-5, n. 83, note that Q. does not advise use of a nomenclator.

third candidature of Catiline, the consul's bill on bribery and liberae legationes.[63]

On the issue of the Nones of December, a little information has survived. If Plutarch has reproduced a true piece of biographical information from Tiro, on the night prior to the Catilinarian debate in the Senate, Quintus was, with Terentia, one of the principal agents who incited Marcus against the arrested conspirators. Marcus was allegedly hesitant until the priestesses officiating at the Bona Dea ceremony, held in the consul's house, interpreted a last leaping flame from the dying ashes on the altar as a sign for the consul to be resolute.[64] The story, with Quintus' part in it, is accepted by Blase, Wiemer, Münzer, R.E. Smith, Gelzer, but rightly suspected by Drumann-Groebe. It presents Quintus as having an inflammatory influence on the consul, whereas on the next day, in the Senate, he was, as will be seen presently, a moderating influence. It also seems strange that, for all his use of the argument of divine intervention in connection with his arrest of the Catilinarians and his own escape from Catiline, Cicero never in his speeches invoked this divine sanction for the course he was inclined to pursue, attested by impartial priestesses. He invoked it, though, in the De Consulatu suo, - from which Servius quoted it - which suggests

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63 Discussions of these questions, with sources, in Gelzer, Cic., 71-82; Stockton 84-101.

64 Plut. Cic. 20.1: " Ταῦτα του Κικέρωνος διαπορουῦντος γίνεταί τι ταῖς γυναιξὶ σημεῖον θυούσαις ... (3) ἡ δὲ Τερεντία ... ταῦτά τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφρασε καὶ παρώξυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κόϊντος ὁ ἀδελφὸς καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἑταίρων Πόπλιος Νιγίδιος ... "

that it was probably a poetic fancy.[65]

At the Catilinarian debate in the Senate the next day, Quintus probably had the opportunity, as praetor-elect, to state his opinion on the death penalty, since Caesar in a similar position, and Cato, still a tribune-elect, did so. Suetonius states that, after Caesar's speech, he was one of the senators, who joined Caesar in opposing the death penalty favoured by his brother. Antoine goes beyond the evidence in stating that he actually voted against his brother on the matter. It seems rather that he was among those who were won over again to the austere course by Cato's subsequent speech.[66]

Münzer's conjecture that Quintus' motive for subscribing to Caesar's opinion was a desire of good relation with his colleague in the aedileship and forthcoming praetorship has little to recommend it. Nothing short of proof is required to recommend a view that Quintus Cicero, a man close and dedicated to, and dependent on his brother in public life, a man with a dislike for populares, should, for his own advantage,

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65 Blase 9, n. 2; Wiemer 15; 42; Münzer 24-6; Smith, Cic. Statesman, 117; Gelzer, Cic., 96; Drumann-Groebe 639. Stinchcomb, 4, misunderstands, making Plut. say the opposite of what he does. Omen mentioned in Serv. Verg. Ecl. 8, 105 (= Morel, FPR, p. 68), notoriously omitted in Cat. III.18-22; Mur. 82. Plut. on Q. can be reconciled with the other testimonies only by a blunted interpretation of " παρώξυνεν ".

66 Suet. Iul. 14.2: "[Caesar] obtinuisset adeo transductis iam ad se pluribus et in his Cicerone consulis fratre, nisi labantem ordinem confirmasset M. Catonis oratio". Cf. Antoine p. xvii. On the positions and speeches, esp. of Caesar and Cato: Att. XII.21.1; Cat. IV.7-10; Sest. 12; 62; Sall. Cat. 49-53; Plut. Cic. 20-1; Caes. 7-8; Cat. Min. 22-4; Appian B.C. II.6; Dio XXXVII.36. Discrepancies are reviewed by Stockton 340-2.

have sided, against his brother, with a popularis, who had clashed with his brother over several other issues, notably the trials of Piso and Rabirius, and the children of Sulla's proscribed.[67] Plutarch and Cicero himself, in Cat. IV, give the motive of the "friends" of Cicero for opposing the death penalty: it was fear of the obloquy that would befall the consul and concern for his life.[68] Surely this was Quintus' motive. Referring specifically to Quintus in Cat. IV.3, Marcus says: "Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus, qui fratris carissimi atque amantissimi praesentis maerore non movear, horumque omnium lacrimis ..." Quintus' motive, as his brother understood, and Antoine has perceived, was personal and emotional, not political. Wiemer remarks that Quintus was more selfish than his brother in putting security above duty to the

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67 Münzer 1289 (followed by Waibel 89, n. 49). Piso: Flacc. 98; Sall. Cat. 49; Rab.: Rab. perd. passim; Suet. Iul. 12; proscribed: Att. II.1.3; Quint. Inst. XI.1.85; Vell. II.43; Dio XXXVII. 25.3. Cf. Gelzer, Cic., 71-80; Stockton 84-100. Indeed, in that period, more often than not, Cic. found himself in opposition to Caesar. In 65, he had been with the optimates in defeating Caesar's motion for the annexation of Egypt (sources in Gelzer, Cic., 66); in 64, during the consular elections, Caesar had strongly backed the coalition of Catiline and Antonius against him (Asc. 74; cf. Gelzer, Cic., 67); in 63, the Rullan bill, which he was instrumental in quashing, was, as it is generally believed, engineered by Caesar (see Gelzer, Cic., 72-3). On Caesar's early career, see also H. Strasburger, Caesars Eintritt in die Geschichte, Munich 1938; Syme, JRS, 1944, 95-8; Taylor, CPh, 1941, 113-32; GR, 1957, 10-18. Q.'s own relation with Caesar is discussed below, 165-9.

68 Plut. Cic. 21.3: "οἵ τε φίλοι πάντες οἰόμενοι τῷ Κικέρωνι λυσιτελεῖν τὴν Καίσαρος γνώμην - ἧττον γὰρ ἐν αἰτίαις ἔσεσθαι μὴ θανατώσαντα τοὺς ἄνδρας - ᾑροῦντο τὴν δευτέραν μᾶλλον γνώμην". Cat. IV.1: "Video vos ... de meo periculo esse sollicitos"; 2: "multa meo quodam dolore in vestro timore sanavi"; 3: "mihi parcere ac de me cogitare desinite ... aequo animo paratoque moriar".

state. Perhaps. But perhaps he was simply not sure that there was sufficient justification for the consul to take, without fear, the extreme and unusual responsibility of directing the Senate to try Roman citizens on a capital charge.[69]

That Quintus was praetor in 62 can be concluded by following two lines of argument shown by Drumann-Groebe.[70] First by comparison with the career of C. Vergilius. Vergilius was propraetor of Sicily from 61 to 58,[71] consequently praetor in 62, and Marcus Cicero refers to the "collegia" of Vergilius with Quintus.[72] Secondly by comparison with the career of L. Valerius Flaccus. Flaccus was praetor in 63,[73] propraetor of Asia for one year,[74] consequently in 62. Quintus was his successor as propraetor of that province,[75] consequently from 61. It follows that Quintus was praetor in 62.

Dio states that Catilinarians who survived the death of Catiline were still a menace in 62, and praetors of the year conducted successful

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69 Antoine p. xvii; Wiemer 42; on the legality of the whole matter, see R. Holmes, Rom. Rep. I, 278 and Last, JRS, 1943, 93-7.

70 Drumann-Groebe 639; cf. Wiemer 22, n. 81.

71 Schol. Bob. In Clod. et Curion. Fragm. 14: Hildebrandt p. 23; Planc. 95-6; Q.F. I.2.7. Cf. Broughton II, 173; 181; 185; 191; 198; Gundel, RE VIII A 1, 1016-8, No. 3.

72 Planc. 95: "C. Vergilio quocum ... mei fratris collegia".

73 Cat. III.5; 14; Flacc. 102; Sall. Cat. 45.1; 46.6.

74 Flacc. 100: "annui temporis".

75 Flacc. 33: "fratrem meum, qui L. Flacco successerit"; 49: "cum iam frater meus Flacco successisset".

campaigns against them. Orosius has preserved the specific information that Bibulus led a campaign in the country of the Paeligni, and "Cicero", - which must be Quintus Cicero - led a campaign into Bruttium, and overcame C. Marcellus and his followers.[76]

In that same year, Marcus Cicero defended successfully the poet Archias, whose Roman citizenship was being contested under the Lex Papia of 65. Cicero alludes twice in the Pro Archia, first early in the speech and then in the concluding sentence, to the praetor who presided over the trial as a man of great culture; and the Scholiast Bobbiensis appends to the first allusion the remark that it is appropriate, since the praetor in question was his brother Quintus.[77]

Wiemer thought that Quintus was praetor peregrinus, on the ground that he presided over the trial of a man of non-Italian origin. This is a fallacy, since the praetor peregrinus was concerned with trials where a non-citizen, rather than a non-Italian, was involved.[78] Sihler, Broughton, Wiseman and McDermott are inclined to think that he was the praetor urbanus. This is probably correct: the case he presided

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76 Oros. VI.6.7: "de utroque per Bibulum in Paelignis, per Ciceronem in Bruttiis vindicatum est"; Dio XXXVII.41.1.

77 Arch. 3; 32 (quoted below, ch. 4, n. 2); Schol. Bob. ad Arch. 3: "Hanc enim causam lege Papia de civitate Romana aput Q. Ciceronem dixit Archias, huius M. Tulli fratrem"; "Non vacat, quod mentionem facit praetoris ipsius, id est fratris sui Q. Ciceronis, qui iudicio praeerat". (= Hildebrandt, pp. 159-160). On Lex Papia: Arch. 10; Balb. 52; Leg. Agr. I.13; Att. IV.18.4; Off. III.47; Dio XXXVII.9.5. Archias' acquittal: implied, Att. I.16.15. On Archias, above, 11.

78 Wiemer 23-4; Cf. on the jurisdiction of the peregrinus: Mommsen, RS II, 196-7; 220; Abbott 187-8; Greenidge 202-8.

over concerned civic status, and, like Verres, a known praetor urbanus, he was handling a "iudicium publicum".[79]

Examination of the scanty evidence has shown that, after probably serving as a soldier in the late eighties and early seventies, Q. Cicero became quaestor some time between 74 and 71, plebeian aedile in 65, and praetor, probably urbanus, in 62. While Arpinates no doubt supported him for his services as their patron, and Atticus helped him through his connections with the Optimates, he owed his progress through the ranks, above all, to Cicero, whose oratory had been earning him a large following among the municipal notables and the urban plebs, and, in the latter stage, as a result of the Catilinarian scare, among the Roman nobiles as well. Quintus was himself one of the instruments of Cicero's own success and rise to the consulship, inasmuch as he assisted him, diligently and industriously, with background research of great variety, and with useful information and advice based thereon. His advice was neither inflammatory nor unscrupulous, but consistent with the laws and his brother's interests. Yet, in the pursuit of expediency, he was in theory less willing to compromise with principles than Cicero was, opposing, as he did, "progressive" steps like the restoration of the tribunate and the introduction of secret ballots. His opposition, though, was at the level of intellectual debate and literary satire, and not translated into independent political action. In political action,

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79 Sihler 176; Broughton II, 173; Wiseman, New Men, 163; 267; McDermott 702. "Iudicium publicum": Arch. 3; Verr. II.1.155-6 (cf. II.1.102-158; 5.34: pr. urb.).

he was one with Cicero, as illustrated by his participation in the suppression of the Catilinarians, and, presently, by his governorship of Asia.

2. GOVERNOR OF ASIA

In the following year, Quintus Cicero became governor of the province of Asia. While he was still a praetorius, the weight of literary and epigraphic evidence indicates that he had the title and powers of a proconsul.[80]

The allocation of provinces in 61 was delayed by the need for the Senate to deal with the Bona Dea scandal. On 13 February, Quintus was still waiting. It must have taken place on or immediately before 15 March, as Marcus broke the news of Quintus' appointment on that date in a brief and hasty letter, dedicated exclusively to that purpose.[81] Quintus was expected to leave for his province soon after, since Marcus proposed to entrust to Quintus himself his follow-up letter to Atticus, which would discuss the matter in detail.[82] Actually he does not seem

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80 Div. I.58: "cum Asiae proconsul praeessem"; Suet. Aug. 3.2: "Quintum fratrem ... proconsulatum Asiae administrantem"; CIL X. 1. No. 719: "praet. Asiae cons. pot."; cf. No. 701: "pro pr. asiae".

81 Att. I.13.5 (25 Jan: 13.6): "Provincias praetores nondum sortiti sunt"; 14.5 (13 Feb: 14.7): "Senatus et de provinciis praetorum et de legationibus et de ceteris rebus decernebat ut ante quam rogatio lata esset ne quid ageretur"; 15.1 (15 March: 15.2): "Asiam Quinto, suavissimo fratri, obtigisse audisti: non enim dubito quin celerius tibi hoc rumor quam ullius nostrum litterae nuntiarint".

82 Att. I.15.2: "His de rebus plura ad te in ea epistula scribam quam ipsi Quinto dabo".

to have left until May or June at the earliest. It was in May or June that Atticus wrote to inform Marcus of his refusal to accompany Quintus: receipt of it was acknowleged in July.[83] It was in October or November that Atticus reported to Marcus a letter from Quintus written at Thessalonica and words spoken by Quintus on his journey: Marcus replied to Atticus on December 5.[84]

The name of the quaestor assigned to Quintus Cicero is not known.[85] Of the three legati and the known comites on his staff, the common denominator is that they had close ties with him, as fellow-Arpinates, relatives or fellow-intellectuals. L. <Aelius> Tubero, the senior legate, was a "necessarius" and "adfinis" of the Ciceros. The Scholiast to Lig. 21 states that he "sororem Ciceronis habuit". Klebs in RE rejects this, on the ground that Cicero obviously had no sister. But Tubero might well have married the sister of a Cicero, notably the sister of the cousin Lucius. Alternatively, "soror" might, as in Ovid, Met. I.351, mean "cousin". Tubero was also a condisciple of the Ciceros and a highly educated person. He was a writer of history and brought up

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83 Att. I.16.14; letter's date: 16.12-13, with S.B. I, 148; 313.

84 Att. I.17.4: "De iis litteris quas ad te Thessalonica misit et de sermonibus quos ab illo et Romae apud amicos tuos et in itinere habitos putas".

85 Q.F. I.1.11: "Quaestorem habes non tuo iudicio delectum sed eum quem sors dedit". The quaestor was allotted, the legates designated by the governor: cf. Div. Caec. 61; Verr. I.13.1; Arnold 65-6; Chapot 293.

a son, Q. Aelius Tubero, who emulated him in that pursuit.[86] A. Allienus, the second legate, who became praetor later, in 49, and proconsul of Sicily under Caesar in 47-6, is referred to as "noster", "familiaris", "necessarius", close to the Ciceros by "imitatio vivendi". He retained his ties with the Ciceros, receiving as proconsul letters of recommendation from Marcus.[87] M. Gratidius, the third legate, entertained "amor fraternus" towards the Ciceros, because he was a cousin, from the Gratidii of Arpinum, probably, as Wiseman conjectures, the son of Gratidius legatus Mari 88, and the grandson of M. Gratidius senex, brother-in-law of Cicero senex.[88]

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86 Q.F. I.1.10: "de quibus honore et dignitate et aetate praestat Tubero, quem ego arbitror, praesertim cum scribat historiam, multos ex suis annalibus posse deligere quos velit et possit imitari"; Planc. 100: "cum ad me L. Tubero, meus necessarius, qui fratri meo legatus fuisset, decedens ex Asia venisset"; Lig. 10: "homo cum ingenio tum etiam doctrina excellens"; 21: "necessitudines, quae mihi sunt cum L. Tuberone; domi una eruditi, militiae contubernales, post adfines, in omni vita familiares; magnum vinculum, quod isdem studiis semper usi sumus" (cf. Schol. Gronov. p. 294 Stangl). For the meaning of "soror", cf. L.S. sub "soror", II A. On the later career of Tubero, see Klebs, RE I, 1, 534-5, No. 150 and Broughton II, 259-60. On Tubero's son: Klebs, RE I, 1, 537-8, No. 156 and Bardon I, 261-3.

87 Q.F. I.1.10: "Allienus autem noster est cum animo et benevolentia tum vero etiam imitatione vivendi"; Phil. XI.32: "familiaris et necessarius meus". Praetor: Fam. X.15.3; procos: Appian, B.C. II. 48; Bell. Afr., 2.3; 26.3; 34.4; later career: Phil. XI.32; Fam. XII.11.1; 12.1; Appian, B.C. III.78; IV.59; 61. Recommendations: Fam. XIII.78; 79. See also Klebs, RE I, 2, 1585; Broughton II, 257; Wiseman, New Men, 211, No. 21; S.B. IV, 422.

88 Q.F. I.1.10: "Nam quid ego de Gratidio dicam? quem certo scio ita laborare de existimatione sua ut propter amorem in nos fraternum etiam de nostra laboret"; Flacc. 49: "M. Gratidius legatus, ad quem est aditum, actionem se daturum negavit;" cf. Münzer, RE VII, 2, 1840, No. 3; Wiseman, New Men, 234, No. 198; Nicolet, L'Ordre éq., II, 908, No. 175; and above, 4 and 15-16.

Marcus Cicero distinguishes between official members of his brother's staff ("quos tibi comites et adiutores negotiorum publicorum dedit ipsa res publica": Q.F. I.1.11) and other *amici* in his *cohors* ("quos vero aut ex domesticis convictionibus aut ex necessariis apparitionibus tecum esse voluisti": 1.12). Among the latter were Caesius, Chaerippus and Labeo (1.14). Caesius was certainly from Arpinum, probably the Caesius who, in 54, accompanied Marcus in his survey of Quintus' property in Arpinum, looked after the *Manilianum* and gave his opinion on the recently purchased *Fufidianum* of Quintus. Tyrrell-Purser identify him with M. Caesius, described as "familiaris" and "necessarius" of the Ciceros, whose stepson Q. Fufidius went with Marcus Cicero to Cilicia in 51, and was recommended in 46 for the aedileship of Arpinum, along with the sons of Marcus and Quintus Cicero. It is more likely he was L. Caesius rather - no doubt related to M. Caesius - the man who in 59 remitted a letter to Marcus in Rome from Quintus in Asia, and was recommended to Marcus, after presumably having served under Quintus in Asia. There was a Sextus Caesius settled in the province, one of the leading businessmen of prosperous Apamea, whose origin we do not know. As Caesii are widely attested, it is doubtful that he was from Arpinum and so a relation of L. Caesius.[89]

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89 Caesius and Q.'s property: Q.F. III.1.2; 1.3: cf. below, 335-6. See T.P. II, 166. M. Caesius: Fam. XIII.11.3; 12.1; cf. Münzer, *RE* III, 1, 1312, No. 11. L. Caesius: Q.F. I.2.4: "Nunc respondebo ad eas epistulas quas mihi reddidit L. Caesius, cui, quoniam ita te velle intellego, nullo loco deero"; cf. Münzer, *RE* III, 1, 1312, No. 6. Nicolet, *L'Ordre éq.*, II, 820, No. 73, now confirms my contention, although he integrates the "Caesius" of Q.F. III.1.2; 1.3 with his

Bailey describes Chaerippus as a freedman and rejects his identification, as in Orelli-Baiter and Tyrrell-Purser,[90] with the influential Chaerippus of Att. IV.7, V.4.2, Fam. XII.22.4 and 30.3. The Chaerippus on Quintus' staff is sandwiched in Q.F. I.1.14 between Caesius and Labeo, free men to be entrusted with responsibility, after a preceding section (1.13) in which Marcus cautions his brother on the need for freedmen and slaves to be strictly subordinated. Chaerippus then does not appear to have been a freedman at all, so that there is no impediment to his identification with the Chaerippus mentioned elsewhere in the Correspondence. The name suggests a Greek, probably an Italian Greek, but he must at least have had Arpinate connections, since in 56 he went there and delivered a message to Cicero. He may have dabbled in poetry: there are two occasions in the Correspondence when a report is acknowledged from him, and, on both, the report is noted for its picturesque character; in 44, he served in Africa under Q. Cornificius, an elegiac poet.[91] He accompanied Quintus to initiate or further his business in the East, which in 51 he commended to the care of Marcus Cicero.[92]

"M. Caesius", 821, No. 74. Sex. Caesius: Flacc. 68: "eques Romanus, castissimus atque integerrimus"; cf. Münzer, RE III, 1, 1312, No. 13; Nicolet, L'Ordre éq., II, 822-3, No. 76. Caesii are widely attested in CIL: see also Nicolet, ibid., 821; 823. On Apamea, see Magie I, 125-6.

90 Orelli-Baiter II, 142; T.P. II, 70; S.B. II, 180; III, 198; not in Treggiari's list of freedmen and probable freedmen, 288-293; not in RE.

91 Att. IV.7: "venerat horis duabus ante Chaerippus, mera monstra nuntiarat"; Fam. XII.30.3: "vultus mehercule tuos mihi expressit omnes, non solum animum ac verba pertulit"; "hominem ... suavem"; 22.4: "Chaerippo nostro me velim excuses"; on Q. Cornificius' works, see Bardon I, 356-7.

92 Att. V.4.2.

Labeo, if, as probable, the same as "Labeo noster" of Att. XIII. 12.4 and ad Brut. II.7 (5).4, was Pacuvius Antistius Labeo, later financial agent and legate of Brutus at Philippi. He was, as attested by Pomponius, a jurist, pupil of Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, and, in the words of Appian, " ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ γνώριμος ";[93] he was the father of the learned jurist, M. Antistius Labeo, who later became praetor.[94]

The most powerful individual on the governor's staff, it appears, was the slave Statius. Physically unimpressive and intellectually not the equal of his counterpart Tiro,[95] he was a precious auxiliary on account of his dedication and his authority. Marcus was critical of his power on his master, but never questioned the loyalty and ability Quintus acknowledged from him.[96] He had been left behind in Italy and joined his master in the course of his administration. He had probably been looking after Quintus' affairs at home until he was urgently needed in

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93 Pomponius, Digest I.2.2.44; Appian, B.C. IV.135; Plut. Brut. 12; 51; ad Brut. I.18.3. Cf. Klebs, RE I, 2, 2557, No. 35; Wiseman, New Men, 213, No. 32; Nicolet, L'Ordre éq., II, 777, No. 24; and (for his connections with Antistii Labeones in Campania) Kunkel 32-4, No. 53.

94 RE I, 2, 2548-57, No. 34 (Jörs).

95 Q.F. I.2.1: "multae emissae iam eius modi voces, ' ἀλλ' αἰεί τινα φῶτα μέγαν '"; Fam. XVI.16.2: "Si enim mihi Stati fidelitas est tantae voluptati, quanti esse in isto haec eadem bona debent, additis litteris, sermonibus, humanitate ..."

96 Q.F. I.1.17: "Si quis est ex servis egregie fidelis ..."; 2.2: "Quod autem idcirco a te missus est mihi ut se purgaret, id necesse minime fuit. Primum enim numquam ille mihi fuit suspectus"; 2.3: "etiam si fidelitas summa est (quod prorsus credo, quoniam tu ita iudicas)".

Asia.[97] There he performed the functions of private secretary to the governor, enjoying the latter's absolute confidence. He had carte-blanche to deal with correspondence, consulting the governor at his discretion.[98] His freedom to act and his influence on the governor were such that individuals, who sought favours, asked for letters of recommendation not to the governor, but to Statius.[99] He himself, enjoying his power, liked to speak of how he got the governor to do this or that.[100] Without him, the governor feared, control on the staff would be lost and abuses would run riot.[101]

It was not unknown in Ciceronian time for freedmen, through their involvement in the personal affairs of their patrons, to become powerful, when those patrons wielded public authority, particularly in the provinces. As freedmen, Tiro was given "officia provincialia", Timarchides had notorious power under Verres, and Chrysogonus under Sulla.[102]

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97 Q.F. I.2.8: "ante quam vero ipse ad te venisset, nullum delectum litterarum fuisse".

98 Q.F. I.2.8: "Statius mihi narravit scriptas ad te solere adferri, a se legi, et si iniquae sint fieri te certiorem".

99 Q.F. I.2.3: "quam multos enim mecum egisse putas ut se Statio commendarem".

100 Q.F. I.2.3: "quam multa autem ipsum ἀφελῶς mecum in sermone ita posuisse, 'id mihi non placuit', 'monui', 'suasi', 'deterrui'?"

101 Q.F. I.2.1: "scripsisti, direptum iri te a tuis dum is abesset".

102 Freedmen's involvement: e.g. Fam. II.3.1; III.1.2; VII. 25.2; X.25.3; see also Rupprecht 120; Boissier 249-50; Tiro: Paradox. VI.2.46; Timarchides: Verr. II, 2, 69; 75; 80; 108; 133-6; Chrysogonus: Rosc. Amer. passim; see also Treggiari 159; 181-2.

Statius, however, was still a slave, and demonstrative of his importance. The public gossiped. Cicero reminded his brother that it was undignified of a governor to appear to be second to a slave. He urged Quintus to note and take action to stop the gossip.[103] Quintus responded with boyish mischief: instead of assigning to him duties more consonant with his status, Quintus raised his status by manumitting him. Marcus was enraged by this trick.[104] Following his repeated entreaties, Quintus sent Statius ahead to Rome to explain the situation to Marcus. Statius arrived in Rome on 25 October 59, and continued thereafter to serve him in Italy.[105]

The two letters Q.F. I.1 and 2 and Oratio pro Flacco contain some data which enable us to sketch an evaluation of Q. Cicero's

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103 Q.F. I.1.17: "multa enim quae recte committi servis fidelibus possunt tamen sermonis et vituperationis vitandae causa committenda non sunt"; 2.1: "exhaustus est enim sermo hominum"; 2.2: "neque ego, quae ad te de illo scripsi, scripsi meo iudicio, sed cum ratio salusque omnium nostrum qui ad rem publicam accedimus non veritate solum sed etiam fama niteretur, sermones ad te semper, non mea iudicia perscripsi. Qui quidem quam frequentes essent et quam graves ..."; "sentire potuit sermones iniquorum in suum potissimum nomen erumpere"; 2.3: "audiebam illum plus apud te posse quam gravitas istius aetatis, imperi, prudentiae postularet"; "species ipsa tam gratiosi liberti aut servi dignitatem habere nullam potest"; "materiam omnem sermonum ... Statium dedisse"; Att. II.19.1: "neque tantum est in re quantus est sermo".

104 Att. II.18.4: "De Statio manu misso ... angor equidem"; 19.1: "mihi nihil est molestius quam Statium manu missum"; Q.F. I.2.3: "hoc manumisso iratis quod loquerentur non defuisse". See Treggiari 21, n. 4; W. Buckland, Roman Law of Slavery, (Camb. 1908) 454, on the possible illegality of this manumission.

105 Q.F. I.2.1: "Statius ad me venit a. d. VIII Kal. Nov."; 2.2: "idcirco a te missus est mihi ut se purgaret". See further, on Statius, 43; 53-4; 342 ; Treggiari, 158, n. 4 and index; Rupprecht 119-122.

administration of Asia. The evaluation of Suetonius has had pervasive influence. It was an adverse judgment. Suetonius concluded from the two extant letters that Quintus' government was "parum secunda fama",[106] a phrase which Bücheler repeated as characteristic of Quintus' government, and inspired Tyrrell-Purser, in their introduction to Q.F. I.1, to characterise his administration as "minus secunda fama". The widespread view, consequently, has been that Quintus was essentially unpopular and discreditable as a governor. Thus Carcopino states that he was "peu apprecié comme propréteur", and Marcus was "déçu et alarmé par la mauvaise presse que s'était fait à Rome le gouvernement de son frère". According to Sihler, Quintus "had utterly missed the art of winning loyalty and goodwill from the provincials". Wiseman emphasises his "unpopularity", and M. I. Henderson thinks that Marcus composed Q.F. I.1 in response to "disquieting reports". Even Wiemer, who restricts his criticism to the style, rather than the actions, of Quintus, concedes that he was unpopular. Tyrrell-Purser and Boissier reproach him in strong terms for cruelty. Thus Tyrrell-Purser call him "a wild beast in ferocity", and Boissier, "un despote de l'Orient", [d'] "une nature barbare". Some even suspect him of the current abuse of extortion. Thus, because Marcus borrowed money from him at the time, Warde-Fowler remarks that he "must have realised large sums even in that exhausted

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106 Suet. Aug. 3.2.: "... ut epistolae M. Ciceronis extent quibus Quintum fratrem, eodem tempore parum secunda fama proconsulatum Asiae administrantem, hortatur et monet, imitetur in promerendis sociis vicinum suum Octavium". No other collection of letters to Q. is known to have been circulated in antiquity, so that the judgment must be based on Q.F. I.1 and 2.

province". V. Chapot, the most virulent critic, finds in him a typical predator on the natives: he dismisses Q.F. I.1 as mere flattery without one "fait précis", and Q.F. I.2 as a catalogue of "[une] foule d'abus". Strachan-Davidson avers that "the possession of great office did not awaken him to any high sense of duty or responsibility". Quintus' biographers, Blase, Antoine, Drumann-Groebe, Münzer and some others, e.g. Beltrami, have been more fair to him, noting particularly his integrity. Drumann-Groebe additionally credits him with modesty, in contrast to his brother's boasts of his own integrity as governor. Antoine makes the most eloquent tribute to his honesty. Stinchcomb credits him with the good sense of a "practical economist", but overlooks his larger ideology. None of these biographers has discussed the evidence in detail.[107]

The view that Quintus was unpopular and discreditable as governor is based on the criticisms contained in Q.F. I.2 and, in particular, a passage in 2.7, where it is observed that Quintus was surpassed by other contemporary governors in the art of collecting goodwill ("artificium benevolentiae colligendae"). This view involves overlooking other evidence, more overwhelming, which indicates that there were also large numbers of people from the province, including Greeks and publicani, who

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107 Bücheler 1; T.P. I, 257; 150; Carcopino II, 198; 200-1; Sihler 202; Wiseman, JRS 1966, 111, n. 36; Henderson, JRS 1950, 16; Wiemer 24-8; Boissier 251-2; W. Fowler, Social Life, 88 (cf. below, 122, 133, on Q.'s vasarium); Chapot 45; S. Davidson 78; Blase 9-10; Antoine pp. xviii-xxv; xL; Drumann-Groebe 641-6; Münzer 1290-2; Beltrami 6; Stinchcomb 1.

sang his praises.[108] D. Laelius Balbus - adversary of Cicero in the trial of Flaccus - referred to Quintus' administration with "laus".[109] All that we know of the Censorinus, Antonius, Cassii and Scaevola referred to in Q.F. I.2.13 is that they were among numerous people who appreciated Quintus.[110] In the course of his administration, communities in the province voted to honour the Ciceros with a temple.[111] At Claros, in the sanctuary of Apollo, L. Robert discovered, in 1956, an inscription honouring Q. Cicero as Euergetes of the Hellenes and patron of the city of Colophon.[112] In the Heraion of Samos, the fragment of an inscription in honour of M. Cicero was discovered in 1919. More fragments have been recently discovered, belonging to inscriptions in honour

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108 Q.F. I.1.24: "quod ... constanti fama atque omnium sermone celebratum est"; 1.31: "tantis hominum opinionibus, tantis de te iudiciis, tantis honoribus"; 1.36: "Non enim desistunt nobis agere cottidie gratias honestissimae et maximae societates; quod quidem mihi idcirco iucundius est quod idem faciunt Graeci"; 1.37: "Omnes enim qui istinc veniunt ita ... commemorant ut in tuis summis laudibus ..."; 1.45: "fecisti, ut omnes ... laudarent".

109 Flacc. 33: "Equidem Quinti fratris mei laude delector".

110 Q.F. I.2.13: "De Censorino, Antonio, Cassiis, Scaevola te ab iis diligi, ut scribis, vehementer gaudeo"; 2.9: "vide per homines amantis tui, quod est facile". Scaevola might be the tribune of 54 (cf. Q.F. III.4.6; Att. IV.17.4; 18.4: Broughton II, 223), and another poet (cf. Pliny V.3.5; Charisius, ap. Keil, Grammatici Latini, vol. V, p. 575: Bardon I, 353-4) on Q.'s staff.

111 Q.F. I.1.26: "cum ad templum monumentumque nostrum civitates pecunias decrevissent, cumque id et pro meis magnis meritis et pro tuis maximis beneficiis summa sua voluntate fecissent, nominatimque lex exciperet ut ad templum et monumentum capere liceret".

112 Turk. Ark. Derg. VII (1957) 2.13; Bulletin Épigraphique 1958, No. 390; cf. AJA LXII (1958) 98-9.

of Pomponia and Quintus Cicero Jr. F.K. Dörner and G. Gruben have reconstituted them and shown how they fitted into a splendid exedra consisting of statues of Q. Cicero, wife and son, and M. Cicero, wife and son.[113] The shield which Marcus saw in Asia, with the picture of Quintus' bust, was the work of an admirer. Five years after his administration, Magnesians from Sipylus in Lydia, on a mission to Rome, were still paying tribute to him.[114] When Marcus went into exile, he considered Asia as a refuge, because of the goodwill which had been built for the Ciceros in that province. On his way to Cilicia in 51, he received, at Ephesus and other towns of Asia, the most enthusiastic welcome, due to this goodwill, to which Quintus had made a significant contribution.[115] While it is true that Asian communities were prone to be effusive in honouring their rulers, all the indications of appreciation for Quintus' administration cannot be simply dismissed as mere flatteries. Marcus was aware of the existence of insincere flatteries, which he distinguished from genuine marks of appreciation of his

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113 Athen. Mitt. LXVIII (1953) 63-76; cf. Bulletin Épigraphique 1958, No. 390; IGR IV, No. 1713 (" Ὁ δῆμος Μᾶρκον Τύλλιον | [M]άρκου υἱὸν Κικέρωνα.") = Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, I, No. 381. Dörner and Gruben (p. 63) reconstitute further:

" [[Ὁ δῆμος ν Κοίν]]τον Τύλλι-
[[ον [Κοίν]ντ [ου]υἱὸν]] Κικέρωνα.
[Ὁ δ] | [[ῆμος]]
[Πομπωνίαν Κοίν] | [[του Τυ[λ]λί[ο]υ]]
[Κικέρω] [[νος γ[υ]ναῖ[κ]α]].

114 Q.F. II.10.2: "De te <a> Magnetibus ab Sipylo mentio est honorifica facta". Shield: above, 7-8.

115 Planc. 100: "in Asiam me ire propter eius provinciae mecum et cum meo fratre necessitudinem comparantem non est passus"; Att. V. 13.1; 14.2; 20.1.

brother's performance.[116]

This appreciation was due to what Quintus was actually doing in the province. Embedded in the eulogies of Q.F. I.1, the criticisms of Q.F. I.2, and the allusions of Pro Flacco, are a few facts about Quintus' economic policy. His principal concern here was to relieve the province as much as possible from the financial burdens of Roman rule. He rehabilitated several cities, including Samos and Halicarnassus and, probably, Tralles, by freeing them from oppressive past debts and from the need to incur new ones. He achieved this probably by following the precedent set by Lucullus a decade before, which Marcus too would observe later as governor of Cilicia, consisting in the maintainance of interest rate at 12% per annum, cancellation of arrears of accumulated interest in excess of the principal, and dissuasion of and resistance to

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116 Q.F. I.1.30: "Etenim si in promerendo ut tibi tanti honores haberentur ... Equidem de isto genere honorum quid sentirem scripsi ad te ante: semper eos putavi, si vulgares essent, vilis, si temporis causa constituerentur, levis; si vero, id quod ita factum est, meritis tuis tribuerentur ..."

Some examples of Asian honours: To Diodorus Pasparus: IGR IV, Nos. 292, 293 (Magie 162; 1050, n. 1 and 4); to Q. Muc. Scaevola Pontifex: IGR IV, Nos. 188; 291 (Magie 174; 1064, n. 48); to Mithridates: Plut. Sulla 11.1 (Magie 223); to Lucullus: IGR IV, Nos. 701; 1191; CIL III, No. 13690 (Magie 238; 1118, n. 19); to Castricius from Smyrna: Flacc. 75; to Ap. Claudius from Asia: Fam. III.8.2-3; the honours to Pompey, Caesar, Mark Antony and Augustus are well known. Cf. Q.F. I.1. 16: "nimia adsentatio". Consequently Chapot states in regard to Q. that (1) "les honneurs que les provinciaux voulaient rendre à son frère datent du début de son proconsulat, alors qu'on l'avait à peine vu à l'oeuvre" (303); and (2) they were "qu'une flatterie de la part d'une minorité réduite" (462). (1) is false: the earliest evidence is from Q.F. I.1, dated at the end of Q.'s second year (cf. 1.1; 1.2; 1.3; 1.8; 1.12; 1.14; 1.30; 1.40; 1.46; T.P. I, 257; for an even later date, see Fallu, REL 1970, 192-4; 204). (2) is purely speculative.

individual businessmen who tried to circumvent the regulation.[117] He formally prohibited the raising of funds in the province to defray the costs of games given in Rome by the aediles - a move which made him unpopular with some individuals who had come to regard the practice as a right.[118] In the same spirit was his anticipated obstruction to the raising of funds for a statue in honour of an individual with the name of Q. Publicius.[119] This restraint was not limited to honorific expenditures: he extended it to requisitions for purposes of defence. D. Laelius Balbus, chief prosecutor of Flaccus, the predecessor of Quintus as governor of Asia, after a visit to the province during Quintus' term of office, claimed that Flaccus was guilty of extortion for exacting contribution from the province to maintain a fleet for protection against pirates. Balbus argued that the contribution, instituted by Pompey, was no longer justified, and the proof lay in the fact that Quintus Cicero dispensed with it. Quintus was the first governor

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117 Q.F. I.1.25: "constare inter omnis video ... nullum aes alienum novum contrahi civitatibus, vetere autem magno et gravi multas abs te esse liberatas; urbis compluris dirutas ac paene desertas, in quibus unam Ioniae nobilissimam, alteram Cariae, Samum et Halicarnassum, per te esse recreatas"; Flacc. 52: "civitatem [= Trallem] in quam ego multa et magna studia et officia contuli, et quam meus frater in primis colit atque diligit". Cf. Plut. Luc. 20; Acad. II.1.13; Att. I.19.9; 20.4; V.21.11; 21.13; VI.1.5-6; 2.7; 3.5.

118 Q.F. I.1.26: "beneficium tuum quod iniquo et gravi vectigali aedilicio cum magnis nostris simultatibus Asiam liberasti! Etenim si unus homo nobilis queritur palam te, quod edixeris ne ad ludos pecuniae decernerentur, HS $\overline{cc}$ sibi eripuisse ...".

119 Q.F. I.2.14: "Attalus Hypaepenus mecum egit ut se ne impedires quo minus quod ad Q. Publici statuam decretum est erogaretur; quod ego te et rogo et admoneo ne talis viri tamque nostri necessari honorem minui per te aut impediri velis."

to do so. In his defence of Flaccus, Marcus Cicero was somewhat inconsistent in justifying his client's continuance of the requisition, while accepting the compliment paid to his brother for giving it up.[120] Chapot, hostile as usual, taxes Quintus with imprudence for giving up the fleet, where there was still a pirate menace. Ormerod takes the view that piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean had not been completely suppressed by Pompey. But all the evidence adduced is from the later Civil Wars, when there was a resurgence of piracy - except one case. Under the rule of Flaccus, there was an incident at Adramyttium, in which several people were captured and a local notable killed by pirates. It was a freak incident probably: had there been more, Cicero, who exaggerated the pirate threat to justify his client, would have mentioned more than just one.[121] Quintus was probably right in feeling that a standing fleet was no longer necessary. This was in line with his policy that expenditures and levies should be minimal, so that they could be

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120 Flacc. 33: "At enim negas fratrem meum, qui L. Flacco successerit, pecuniam ullam in remiges imperasse. Equidem Quinti fratris mei laude delector, sed aliis magis gravioribus atque maioribus. Aliud quiddam statuit, aliud vidit; existimavit, quocumque tempore auditum quid esset de praedonibus, quam vellet subito classem se comparaturum. Denique hoc primus frater meus in Asia fecit ut hoc sumptu remigum civitates levaret." Pompey's arrangement: Flacc. 29-30.

121 Flacc. 31: "complures a praedonibus esse captos"; "occisus est a piratis Adramytenus homo nobilis"; pirate threat exaggerated: Flacc. 29; incidents from Civil wars: Att. XVI.1; Caes. B.C. III.110; Dio XXXIX.59; XLVI.40; XLVIII.17; Appian, B.C. II.106; III.4; IV. 83-5; V.143. Cf. Chapot 46; Ormerod 248-251. Dio, XXXIX.59.2, does record, though, pirate incidents in 55 (cf. Drumann-Groebe IV, 426-7; Carcopino, César, 89, n. 2). Flor. I.41.15, overstating Pompey's achievement, says, in contrast: "amplius piratae non fuerunt".

borne by the natives without hardship.[122] Consistent with this policy was his attitude, later as legate of Caesar in Gaul, to the complaints of natives there. When the Nervii expressed their concern that the Romans' burdensome hiberna would become a regular practice, Quintus responded with compassion. He considered their concern legitimate and pledged his support of an appeal to Caesar's "iustitia", on condition that they should approach the Romans without arms.[123]

Did Quintus, in pursuing his economic policy, alienate the publicani? It is generally believed that he did not get on with them. T. Frank conjectures that the notorious attempt of the tax-farmers in 61 to have their contract annulled was due to the appointment of Q. Cicero. Antoine, Beltrami, R. Pichon and D. Nardo include the publicani among the enemies of Quintus. Fallu states that he managed "de se mettre à dos les publicains". E.J. Parrish, in a recent article on Crassus, goes to the extent of postulating that Quintus had a secret understanding with Crassus to keep up pressure on the publicani in Asia, so that the issue of the annulment would remain a live one in the Senate, enabling Crassus to have a red herring for delaying debate on Pompey's acta. On this theory, Quintus would have not only persecuted the publicani, but would have done so for a selfish political motive, to serve the interest

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122 Q.F.I.1.9: "non itineribus tuis perterreri homines, non sumptu exhauriri, non adventu commoveri"; 1.25: "sumptus et tributa ... tolerari aequaliter".

123 Caes. B.G. V.41: "se adiutore utantur legatosque ad Caesarem mittant; sperare pro eius iustitia, quae petierint, impetraturos".

of his alleged manipulator in return for the latter's backing of his anticipated candidature to the consulship. Stinchcomb, in contrast, is an exception in including good relation with the publicani as part of Quintus' good sense as a "practical economist".[124]

There was certainly no connection between the appointment of Quintus and the demands for annulment of the tax-contract. The matter of annulment came up in the Senate on 1 and 2 December 61, nine months after the appointment of Quintus, and the overbidding had been made probably some time in between. Despite Quintus' appointment, the prospects of the company for the year were bullish for quite unknown reasons.[125] Among the reproaches to Quintus in Q.F. I.1 and 2, one searches in vain for any evidence indicating that Quintus alienated the publicani, despite the fact that alienation of the publicani was an uppermost concern in the mind of the writer at the time. Quite the

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124 Frank, Econ. Survey I, 345 (On tax contract issue, see Att. I.15.1; 17.9; II.1.8; Planc. 35; and Balsdon JRS 1962, 135-7, for a review of the problem); Antoine, pp. xxii; xLi-xLii; Beltrami 6; Pichon 143-5; Nardo 120; Fallu 183; Parrish, Phoenix 1973, 370-380. Stinchcomb 1.

Parrish's main thesis is a reevaluation of Crassus' politics from 70 to 59. In 61-60 he was behind the publicani in their bid for annulment, it is argued, not as a partner or sympathiser, but as an intriguer against Pompey. Q.'s role (discussed pp. 370-80) is based on two premises: (1) That he was a good friend of Crassus (371), for which there is some, though tenuous, evidence (see below, n. 235); (2) that he did systematically harass the tax-farmers (372-3), for which, as shown hereafter, there is not the slightest evidence. In addition, on this theory, Q., for personal advantage, worked against his brother's position (he was not "a cipher for his brother": 372): a postulate totally in conflict with his whole course of public life.

125 Dates of annulment debate: Att. I.17.9; II.1.8; Balsdon relates the blast of the Asian bubble to delay in the ratification of Pompey's acta. See JRS 1962, 135-7, for his and others' speculations.

contrary. Marcus congratulated Quintus repeatedly on the skill with which he was protecting the welfare of the provincials without prejudice to the Ciceros' friendship with the publicani.[126] Marcus himself was aware of the injustice and greed involved in some of the claims of the publicani, but he advocated compromise, in order to preserve his good relations with them, and their unity with the Senate.[127] Quintus accommodated them in their tasks, but he alleviated the burden of taxation on the natives, by encouraging local communities to arrange annual or quinquiennal pactiones with the publicani.[128] In this way, the tax-company would be guaranteed its due over a given period, the local farmer need not be ruined in a bad year, and there would be more cooperation, less coercion, between the Roman rulers and their subjects. To preserve the salus sociorum on the one hand, and, on the other, to retain unimpaired

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126 Q.F. I.1.33: "Hic te ita versari ut et publicanis satis facias, praesertim publicis male redemptis, et socios perire non sinas ..."; 1.35: "fecisti egregie et facis, ut commemores quanta sit in publicanis dignitas ..."; "publicanos cum Graecis gratia atque auctoritate coniungas"; 1.36: "quae ... perfecisti? Non enim desistunt nobis agere cottidie gratias honestissimae et maximae societates".

127 Q.F. I.1.6: "quod publicani sunt nos summa necessitudine attingunt"; 1.7: "periculum ne ... paulo cupidiorem publicanum comprimere non possis"; 1.32: "ordinem de nobis optime meritum et per nos cum re publica coniunctum"; 1.35: "quantum nos illi ordini debeamus"; "eam necessitudinem quae est nobis cum publicanis"; Att. I.17.9: "cupiditate prolapsos ... turpis postulatio ... ne, si nihil impetrassent, plane alienarentur a senatu"; 19.6: "publicani a me ipso non divellerentur"; II.16.4: "ne causa optima in senatu pereat, ego satisfaciam publicanis"; cf. Leg. Man. 16.

128 Q.F. I.1.35: "Possunt in pactionibus faciendis non legem spectare censoriam sed potius commoditatem conficiendi negoti et liberationem molestiae". Cf. Att. V.13.1; 14.1; VI.2.4; Nicolet, L'Ordre Éq., I, 677-8; Broughton, Econ. Survey, IV, 538; 540, n. 31.

the amicitia of the publicani, was presented to Quintus as the greatest challenge of his ability as a governor.[129] Although undoubtedly his brother used exaggerated language in noting his success, the existing evidence permits no other conclusion than that Quintus handled the difficult task with success. There is a little information on one specific demand of the publicani, which illustrates the moderation with which Quintus handled such problems. The publicani claimed port-dues on unsold goods. Quintus communicated to his brother the abuses suffered by the socii and their grievance, and asked for a full investigation of the legality. Meanwhile he consulted his consilium, on whose advice he referred the matter to the Senate.[130]

With regard to local constitutions, the only information that exists is that Q. Cicero promoted the traditional Roman policy of favouring the rule of local optimates.[131]

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129 Q.F. I.1.7: "permagnum esse negotium et maximi consili ... difficillimum"; 1.32: "huic tuae voluntati ac diligentiae difficultatem magnam adferunt publicani" (the sentence simply means that handling the publicani is a difficult job: Fallu's interpretation, (REL 1970, 183) that Q. had actually got into difficulties, is speculative); "haec est una ... in toto imperio tuo difficultas"; 1.36: "difficile est autem ea quae commodis utilitate et prope natura diversa sunt voluntate coniungere".

130 Q.F. I.1.33: "Illa causa publicanorum quantam acerbitatem adferat sociis intelleximus ex civibus qui nuper in portoriis Italiae tollendis non tam de portorio quam de non nullis iniuriis portitorum querebantur; qua re non ignoro quid sociis accidat in ultimis terris, cum audierim in Italia querelas civium"; Att. II.16.4: "de portorio circumvectionis: ait se de consili sententia rem ad senatum reiecisse. Nondum videlicet meas litteras legerat quibus ad eum re consulta et explorata perscripseram non deberi" (I cannot see in this, with E. Fallu, the implication that the negotiatores complained about Q.: cf. REL 1970, 185).

131 Q.F. I.1.25: "provideri abs te ut civitates optimatium consiliis administrentur".

Asia was a "pacified" province. There was no threat at the time to its population from external enemies or internal rebels. But the population included ex-slaves liberated by Mithridates, ex-pirates, disbanded soldiers, accustomed to looting, negotiatores accustomed to practising and suffering extortions, rulers and subjects used to laxity and corruption.[132] In a province like this, the ultimate justification of Roman rule lay in the claim that Roman justice, administered with integrity and impartiality, settled conflicts and brought the pax Romana. Above all then, Q. Cicero was scrutinised as an administrator of justice.[133]

Marcus praised his brother for his militancy and success in the eradication of homicides and robberies and in the control of crime generally.[134] Two cases alluded to in the Oratio pro Flacco illustrate Quintus' keen interest in this. Heracleides of Temnos, a witness for the prosecution in the trial of Flaccus, had himself been condemned

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132 Q.F. I.1.5: "Nullas ... insidias hostium, nullam proeli dimicationem, nullam defectionem sociorum, nullam inopiam stipendi aut rei frumentariae, nullam seditionem exercitus pertimescimus ... Tibi data est summa pax, summa tranquillitas"; 1.7: "graves controversiae, multae ... iniuriae, magnae contentiones"; "improbum negotiatorem"; (cf. 1.2: "impudentiae non nullorum negotiatorum"); 1.11: "cum hi mores tantum iam ad nimiam lenitatem et ad ambitionem incubuerint"; 1.19: "tam depravatis moribus, tam corruptrice provincia". Cf. Plut. Dem. & Cic. 3.3; Pomp. 24; Appian, Mith. 63; Magie 250-8; Chapot 32; 36.

133 Q.F. I.1.20: "ea tota iuris dictione maxime sustineri".

134 Q.F. I.1.25: "sublata Mysiae latrocinia, caedis multis locis repressas, pacem tota provincia constitutam, neque solum illa itinerum atque agrorum sed multo etiam plura et maiora oppidorum et fanorum latrocinia esse depulsa".

under Flaccus' government. He tried to have his case reopened under Q. Cicero, on the ground that the recuperatores had been pressured through fear of Flaccus to render a verdict against him. Quintus, inasmuch as he had a sense of fair play, without being naive ("pro sua aequitate prudentiaque"), conceded a new trial with double the forfeit-money as safeguard of his good faith, but with the same assessors, since Heracleides had claimed that they would have pronounced in his favour, if it had not been for Flaccus' pressure. The fellow promptly gave up.[135] The other case is that of <C. Appuleius> Decianus, a Roman resident of Apollonis, who had apparently appropriated the land, wife, daughter and mother-in-law of a local Greek called Amyntas. Condemned by Flaccus, he returned for vengeance as a subscriptor to D. Laelius for the prosecution of Flaccus. At the trial, Cicero read out a letter from his brother, written at Patara, full of kindness and fair play ("plenissimas humanitatis et aequitatis"), which showed the personal interest that Quintus took in the plight of the victimised family.[136]

It is mainly in connection with his administration of justice and his intolerance of abuses that he earned the displeasure of a number of individuals. Among Greeks were Zeuxis of Blaundus in Phrygia, Hermippus of Dionysopolis in Phrygia, Hephaestius of Apamea, Megaristus of Antandrus, Nicias of Smyrna and Nymphon of Colophon. Although Marcus dismisses them as "nugae maximae", "leves homines", "nescioqui", they

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135 Flacc. 42-50.

136 Flacc. 70-80.

were local people who had wealth and influence in Rome. They had the means to travel to Rome to complain to their patroni, and their complaints carried weight ("nimium valere"). Marcus found it necessary to appease them with his "sermo", his "familiaritas", his "comitas". Zeuxis was "nobilior"; Hermippus was a "princeps" of his community.[137]

The Italian residents of the province, whom Quintus is known to have offended, were L. Caecilius, Tuscenius, T. Catienus, Licinius and son, L. Sestius Pansa, Paconius and L. Flavius. We do not know exactly who L. Caecilius was. The thought of him provokes in Cicero a rhetorical response ("quem hominem, qua ira, quo spiritu!" - Q.F. I.2.6) rather like that with which Cicero reacts to the thought of C. Caecilius ("Quo splendore vir? qua fide? qua religione?" - Flacc. 89). Both were in Quintus' province of Asia, and C. Caecilius was almost certainly a negotiator of Equestrian rank, as Nicolet identifies him, on the basis of "quo splendore" and of the fact that several other Caecilii negotiatores are attested in the East. It seems probable that the L. Caecilius alienated by Quintus was of the same family as the C. Caecilius of Pro Flacco, and, like him, a well-to-do businessman. Tuscenius and T. Catienus are damned as "sordidi" (Q.F. I.1.19; 2.6) for their moral, not material, deprivation. Tuscenius is a very rare name. If, as Münzer thinks, this man is to be identified with a Tuscenius attested at Delos, he had the cognomen "Nobilior" and was connected with the Delian trade, a merchant probably rather than a tax-farmer. T. Catienus had

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137 Q.F. I.2.4-5.

the wealth required for Equestrian rank ("equestri censu": 2.6), whom Nicolet consequently lists as an Eques. Licinius and son, "plagiarii", as they are called, were probably slave-traders. L. Sestius Pansa had been making excessive demands ("postulatio") in the province, and found in Quintus the only governor to resist him. Münzer and Broughton identify him with L. Sestius who is attested by an inscription to have been quaestor in Asia, probably in 54. Accepting this identification (despite Magie's unjustified scepticism), one would presume that this individual, who embraced a senatorial career, was a negotiator, rather than, as Tyrrell-Purser conjecture, a publicanus. Paconius is damned as worse than a Greek - some Mysian or Phrygian - in the rhetoric of invective. In reality, he was, as the name suggests, of Italian descent, probably, as Münzer guesses, another merchant. Paconii businessmen are, as Münzer and Nicolet observe, well attested in the East, and particularly at Delos. L. Flavius was praetor in 58. The clash of Quintus with him was due to an order from Quintus that Flavius' agents should not touch his legacy from the estate of L. Octavius Naso before a debt to C. Fundanius was paid. Quintus long resisted in this matter pleas from his brother, from Flavius, and even from Pompey and Caesar. C. Apuleius Decianus, previously mentioned (p. 101) was a local landowner and, again, as Nicolet describes him, a negotiator.[138]

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138 C. Caecilius and Caecilii negotiatores: cf. Nicolet, L'Ordre éq., II, 808, No.59. Tuscenius: cf. Inscr. de Délos No. 1733 (CIL II, No. 2240); Münzer, RE VII A 2, 1459 ("steuerpachter", though, is Münzer's own conjecture). Catienus: cf. Nicolet, L'Ordre éq., II, 832, No. 88 (Wiseman, New Men, 223, No. 110, finds a Catienus senator

In short then, there is not the least evidence that the people whose displeasure Quintus earned were either the small and helpless people or the publicani. In the main, they appear to have been wealthy land-owners, merchants, money lenders: individuals who come under the category of negotiatores.

Marcus criticises his brother about his jurisdiction in dealing with these individuals, but - except perhaps in the case of Flavius -[139] not for injustice, favouritism or partiality. He admits the Greek plaintiffs to be deceitful ("ingenia ad fallendum parata"), characterised by frivolity and time-serving obsequiousness ("levitatis, adsentationis, animorum non officiis sed temporibus servientium");[140] he does not exonerate Zeuxis from crime, whom he had recommended to Quintus, and Quintus had described as a confirmed matricide ("certissimus matricida").[141]

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in the next generation); for the meaning of "sordidus": L.S. "sordidus" II.A. Licinii: Q.F. I.2.6. L. Sestius Pansa: Q.F. II.10.2; cf. O.G. I.S. No. 452: "L. Sestius ταμίας"; Münzer, RE II A, 1891, No. 10; Broughton II, 224; Magie, 1244, n. 14, finds the identification "exceedingly doubtful", because he finds it difficult to understand how the man could have made demands under several governors (as implied by Q.F. II. 10.2) as quaestor: the answer is that he was not making all his demands as quaestor; T.P. n. ad Q.F. II.10 (T.P. 9) 2. Paconius: Q.F. I.1.19; cf. Münzer RE XVIII, 2, 2124, No. 1; Nicolet, in connection with M. Paconius, L'Ordre éq., II, 969, No. 257. Flavius: Q.F. I.2.10-11; cf. Broughton II, 194. Decianus: cf. Nicolet, L'Ordre éq., II, 781, No. 28.

139 Q.'s dealing with Flavius was, according to M., indiscreet, prejudiced and unfair (cf. "litterae iniquissimae": Q.F. I.2.10). But on the facts given, it is impossible to see how Q. could have been unjustified and M. impartial: it is just that creditors should be paid before heirs inherit from an estate.

140 Q.F. I.2.4.

141 Q.F. I.2.4-5.

He admits that the Italian plaintiffs are "sordidi", "furiosi", with whom Quintus dealt "cum aequitate", "cum causa".[142]

Nor does Marcus condemn his brother for excessive cruelty in sentencing. Quintus projects the image of a hard-liner in De Legibus.[143] In Asia he threatened to have Catienus and the Licinii burnt alive, and Zeuxis, the alleged matricide, sewn in the sack or culleus reserved for parricides and drowned. These might have been idle threats or just strong language. He did, however, it appears, carry out the grim penalty prescribed for parricides on two Mysians at Smyrna. Sihler, consequently, judges him in this respect to be "utterly unbalanced", and acting "with more than Roman severity". Magie finds him "ruthlessly severe".[144] But Marcus himself does not tax him with cruelty, because it was a feature of the time and of the Romans as a people. Q. Mucius Scaevola, the model governor for the Ciceros, had crucified publicani. Caesar, the exponent of clementia, had people flogged to death, hands cut off, whole villages massacred, armies decimated, and never apologised for such punishments inflicted more maiorum. Cicero rejoiced at the abolition of the crux in Pro Rabirio, when it suited his speech, but had

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142 Q.F. I.2.6.

143 Leg. III.34: "[Q.] obsistitur, cum agitur severe".

144 Q.F. I.2.5: "quoniam Smyrnae duos Mysos insuisses in culleum, simile in superiore parte provinciae edere exemplum severitatis tuae ..."; 2.6: "quod fuisti asperior non reprehendo"; "illum crucem sibi ipsum constituere"; "te curaturum vivus ut combureretur"; "rogas Fabium ut et patrem et filium vivos comburat si possit"; "hae litterae abs te per iocum missae ad C. Fabium". Cf. Sihler 202; Magie 382.

the Catilinarians strangled, and implicitly approved of the culleus in Pro Roscio Amerino. In administering harsh penalties, Q. Cicero was observing time-honoured severitas.[145]

Marcus' criticism was limited to two points. The first was a matter of style. Quintus became too emotionally involved in the pursuit of justice.[146] Violence of temper ("iracundia") was a deep-rooted and well-known feature of his character, too late to eradicate.[147] The perversity of others provided the occasion for it to flare up.[148] Since he was also a lover of wit and forceful language, he consequently became violent in the language he spoke and wrote. He was advised to restrain his tongue.[149] Then, in his passion to bring about justice, he did not

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145 Crucifixion: Diod. XXXVII.5 (Scaevola); Dio, fr. 104.6 (Fimbria); Verr. II.1.7; 1.9 (Verres); Vell. II.42.3 (Caesar); Appian, B.C. I.559 (Crassus). Caes. and flogging to death: B.G. VI.44; VII.38; hands cut off: B.G. VIII.44; massacre: B.G. VII.29; decimation: Dio XLI.35.5 (cf. Plut. Crass. 10.5). Cic. and crux: Rab. perd. 10; strangling: Sall. Cat. 55.4; culleus: Rosc. Amer. 70-1. The cruelty of punishments generally for the period is well set out and documented in Lintott 35-51.

146 Q.F. I.2.5: "Tua autem quae fuerit cupiditas tanta nescio".

147 Q.F. I.1.37: "... ut in tuis summis laudibus excipiant unam iracundiam"; 1.38: "nihil, cum absit iracundia, te fieri posse iucundius"; "neque ... si quid est penitus insitum moribus, id subito evellere"; "occupatur animus ab iracundia"; "resistendum esse iracundiae"; "cum sis iratus"; 2.7: "tua sive natura paullo acrior sive quaedam dulcedo iracundiae".

148 Q.F. I.1.38: "cum te alicuius improbitas perversitasque commoverit, sic te animo incitari"; 1.40: "de hac reprehensione sermonis, credo propterea quod tibi hominum iniuriae, quod avaritia, quod insolentia praeter opinionem accidebat et intolerabilis videbatur".

149 Q.F. I.1.38: "tibi ... linguam continendam"; "moderari vero et animo et orationi"; 1.39: "tuae vehementiores animi concitationes ... maledicta ... contumeliae"; 2.4: "quem scribis certissimum

always have the patience to follow proper procedure. Thus, in enticing Zeuxis, by false pretences, to expose himself to arrest, Quintus assumed the role of prosecutor as well as judge, and stooped to means beneath the dignity of Roman justice.[150] This kind of procedure gave a tinge of asperity to Quintus' rule, a certain "acerbitas" and lack of gravitas: he appeared to be witch-hunting and his actions might be misinterpreted as expressions of personal hostility against defendants. In this way, he might endanger relations with people, at a time when his brother was much preoccupied with the need to keep his friends, particularly Pompey.[151]

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matricidam"; 2.5: "quae tu scribis"; "quod scribis"; "ut tu scribis"; 2.6: "quid opus fuit eius modi litteris"; "eam quoque epistulam"; "invidiosam atrocitatem verborum habent"; "nihil a me nisi orationis acerbitatem et iracundiam ... litterarum indiligentiam reprehensam".

150 Q.F. I.2.5: "Zeuxim elicere omni ratione voluisse: quem adductum in iudicium fortasse an dimitti non oportuerit, conquiri vero et elici blanditiis, ut tu scribis, ad iudicium necesse non fuit". Yet Q. had some excuse, since he was in a province, "ubi nullum auxilium est, nulla conquestio, nullus senatus, nulla contio" (Q.F. I.1.22). M. similarly enticed the Catilinarians, with less justification, since he was in Rome. On the dignity of Roman justice, cf. Trajan's letter to Pliny re. the Christians: X.97; cf. 96.

151 Q.F. I.1.21: "Adiungenda facilitas ... lenitas ... diligentia"; "illius severitas acerba videretur, nisi ..."; 1.37: "ad summum imperium etiam acerbitatem naturae adiungere"; 1.38: "tua desideretur humanitas"; 1.39: "summa est acerbitas"; 2.6: "fuisti asperior"; 2.10: "dicebat ... in ea epistula ... te aut quasi amicis tuis gratias acturum aut quasi inimicis incommodaturum"; 2.13: "ego te numquam ulla in re dignum minima reprehensione putassem, cum te sanctissime gereres, nisi inimicos multos haberemus". Cic. and preoccupation with friendships at the time: cf. Att. I.19.7-8; II.1.6-7; 3.3; 17.3; 19.2; 19.4; 20.2; 21.6; 22.2; 23.2-3; 24.5; Fam. XIII.41.

The other main criticism from Marcus is that Quintus lacked control on his staff.[152] Quintus had extensive responsibilities as governor; he continued even then to pursue his literary activities; he was generous in giving potestas to friends to enhance their dignitas; he was disposed to trust, because he was himself trustworthy.[153] For these reasons, he gave his subordinates much freedom to act in his name, and this freedom was not infrequently abused. His seal was freely used; petitions were rubber-stamped. There were cases of iniquitous decisions, due to abuse of his confidence on the part of iniquitous individuals, rather than to his own iniquity.[154] Owing to this

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152 Most of the criticism is implicit: it is noticeable that in passing to the subject of staff in Q.F. I.1.10, M. moves into a "paraenesis" style, from a string of statements to a series of 20 jussives in S. 10-17, consisting of 5 gerunds and gerundives, 11 jussive subjunctives, 2 imperatives and 2 admonitory futures. The criticism is subtle: after the artful transition, M. remarks in S. 18, with Socratic candour: "Sed nescio quo pacto ad praecipiendi rationem delapsa est oratio mea".

153 Q.F. I.2.9: "occupationibus tuis minus adversa" (he was busy writing: Att. II.16.4: cf. below, 262); 1.11: "potestate quam tu ad dignitatem permisisses"; 1.12: "ut quisque est vir optimus, ita difficillime esse alios improbos suspicatur".

154 Q.F. I.1.11: "mihi sane placet ... quanta sit in quoque fides, tantum cuique committere"; 1.12: "videtur potuisse tua liberalitas decipi"; "hic annus habeat integritatem eamdem quam superiores, cautiorem etiam ac diligentiorem"; 1.13: "sit anulus tuus ... non minister alienae voluntatis sed testis tuae"; "accensus sit eo numero quo eum maiores nostri esse voluerunt"; "sit lictor non suae sed tuae lenitatis apparitor"; 1.14: "huic nihil credideris, nullam partem existimationis tuae commiseris"; 1.17: "quos ... praecipue in provinciis regere debemus"; 1.20: "parvi refert abs te ipso ius dici aequabiliter et diligenter, nisi idem ab iis fiet quibus tu eius muneris aliquam partem concesseris"; 2.8: "in litteris mittendis ... nimium te exorabilem praebuisti"; 2.9: "legi epistulam quam ipse scripsisse Sulla nomenclator dictus est, non probandam"; cf. also above re. Statius, 87.

permissiveness, letters were in circulation, carrying his name, which were "iniquae", "inusitatae", "contrariae", "absurde scriptae", "contumeliosae".[155]

The above two reservations apart, there is in Q.F. I.1. a shower of praise on Quintus' virtues as a governor, as manifested in his economic policy and his administration of justice. "Moderatio",[156] "continentia",[157] and "temperantia"[158] in his character lead to a rule marked by "integritas"[159] and "innocentia";[160] absence of greed for money and sensuous pleasures[161] keeps his hands clean from spoliation of a rich province for personal enrichment and from excessive requisitions.[162]

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155 Q.F. I.2.8-9.

156 Q.F. I.1.5: "tua ... moderatione animi"; 1.7: "natura ... moderata"; 1.9: "istam ... moderationem animi"; 1.22: "hominis ... ipsa natura moderati".

157 Q.F. I.1.8: "nullum ... ab summa integritate continentiaque deduxerit"; 1.18: "tua ... continentia".

158 Q.F. I.1.9: "istam ... temperantiam"; 1.45: "temperantiam tuam".

159 Q.F. I.1.8: (n. 157 above); 1.18: "tua ... integritas"; 1.37: "de tua ... integritate"; 1.45: "tuam ... integritatem"; cf. 3.5: "integritatem tuam".

160 Q.F. I.2.7: "cum ii ... te innocentia non vincant"; 4.2: "innocentia tua".

161 Q.F. I.1.7: "tu cum pecuniae, cum voluptati, cum omnium rerum cupiditati resistes, ut facis".

162 Q.F. I.1.8: "nullum te signum, nulla pictura, nullum vas, nulla vestis, nullum mancipium, nulla forma cuiusquam, nulla condicio pecuniae ... deduxerit"; 1.9: "non itineribus tuis proteri homines, non sumptu exhauriri, non adventu commoveri".

"Severitas" and "aequitas",[163] tempered by "clementia" and "mansuetudo",[164] make him not only a just ruler, but also a humane and accessible one, from whose court calumny is banned, and with whom the arrogance of the wealthy has no influence.[165] These virtues have been cultivated by "institutio", "disciplina", "doctrina" and "eruditio".[166] Quintus is not just a well-intentioned and kind-hearted ruler, but an enlightened one, thanks to his education, who has acquired "humanitas",[167] "diligentia",[168] "prudentia",[169]

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163 Q.F. I.1.19: "eam severitatem qua tu ... usus es"; "summa cum aequitate"; 1.20: "plena severitatis"; "summa in iure dicundo severitas"; "abs te ipso ius dici aequabiliter"; 1.45: "aequitatem tuam ... severitatem"; cf. 2.3: "iratos tuae severitati"; Flacc. 49: "pro sua aequitate"; 78: "plenissimas ... aequitatis".

164 Q.F. I.1.25: "omnia plena clementiae, mansuetudinis".

165 Q.F. I.1.25: "remotam ... calumniam"; "facillimos esse aditus ad te"; "nullius inopiam ac solitudinem non modo illo populari accessu ac tribunali sed ne domo quidem et cubiculo esse exclusam tuo". Cf. Stockton 50: "a fine governor from the natives' point of view".

166 Q.F. I.1.7: "ea autem doctrina adhibita est quae vel vitiosissimam naturam excolere possit"; 1.19: "haec institutio atque haec disciplina"; 1.22: "hominis ... doctrina atque optimarum artium studiis eruditi"; cf. above, ch. 1, 10-11.

167 Q.F. I.1.3: "est ... humanitatis tuae"; 1.25: "omnia plena ... humanitatis"; 1.27: "esset humanitatis tuae"; 1.29: "in ... humanitate percipienda"; 1.37: "de tua ... humanitate"; 1.38: "tua ... humanitas"; 1.39: "quae cum abhorrent a litteris, ab humanitate ..."; cf. Scaur. 39: "pro sua ... humanitate". cf. Fleming 56-77.

168 Q.F. I.1.3: "diligentia tua"; 1.30: "fuisti omnium diligentissimus"; 1.32: "tuae diligentiae".

169 Q.F. I.1.18: "prudentia non esse inferiorem quam me"; 1.35: "prudentia tua"; 1.36: "prudentia tua"; 1.45: "ad tuam summam prudentiam"; cf. 2.3: "istius ... prudentiae"; 2.10: "a prudentia tua".

"consilium",[170] "usus",[171] "sapientia".[172] He has read Plato's Republic, where it is said that government must be in the interest of the governed, and the good governor must be a highly educated person. Now Asia has found in Quintus its philosopher-king.[173] His foremost aim is "salus Asiae",[174] and so he is called the "custos", the "hospes", the "parens" of the province.[175] The only personal gain he seeks is the use of the province for exercising his "virtutes", so that he can attain "laus" and "gloria" for himself and his family, and a place in the memory of men.[176]

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170 Q.F. I.1.35: "consilio [tuo] ".

171 Q.F. I.1.18: "usu vero etiam superiorem [quam me]"; 1.45: "tantus usus".

172 Q.F. I.1.3: "est sapientiae ... tuae".

173 Q.F. I.1.24: "huc omnia esse referenda iis qui praesunt aliis, ut ii qui erunt in eorum imperio sint quam beatissimi; quod tibi et esse antiquissimum et ab initio fuisse, ut primum Asiam attigisti"; (cf. Plato, Rep. I. 345 D-E); 1.29: "Plato tum denique fore beatas res publicas putavit, si aut docti ac sapientes homines eas regere coepissent ... nunc quidem profecto isti provinciae contigit"; (cf. Plato, Rep. V-VI).

174 Q.F. I.1.2: "sociorum saluti"; 1.30: "ad salutem Asiae"; 1.31: "provideas saluti"; cf. 3.5: "amorem in te civitatis"; Att. I. 15.1: "praeter ceteros φιλέλληνες et sumus et habemur"; II.16.4: "malo universae Asiae".

175 Q.F. I.1.9: "urbs custodem ... domus hospitem ... recepisse videatur"; 1.31: "te parentem Asiae et dici et haberi velis".

176 Q.F. I.1.2: "nostram gloriam tua virtute augeri expecto"; 1.3: "si ... cogitationem ad excellentis in omnibus rebus laudis cupiditatem incitaris"; "laetitiam nobis, gloriam vero etiam posteris nostris adferet"; 1.7: "ut quendam ex annalium memoria aut etiam de caelo divinum hominem"; 1.31: "tuas virtutes consecratas et in deorum numero conlocatas vides"; 1.42: "theatrum totius Asiae virtutibus tuis est datum"; 1.43: "cum amplissimis monumentis consecrare voluisses memoriam nominis tui. Sed ea tibi est communicanda mecum, prodenda liberis

Q.F. I.1. is patently eulogistic. But are the virtues therein ascribed to Quintus to be dismissed as entirely fictitious? The letter is certainly genuine, and not purely admonitory. A good part of it purports to be a "commemoratio tuae virtutis" (1.36), and there are from time to time reminders like "ut facis" (1.7), "haec nunc non ut facias, sed ut te facere et fecisse gaudeas scribo" (1.8), "magna iam ex parte perfecisti" (1.36), "facies enim perpetuo quae fecisti" (1.45). These are reminders that the praises, although exaggerated, are rooted in facts.[177] Furthermore the facts that are known about the nature of Quintus' rule, few as they are, as outlined previously, are in consonance with these praises.

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nostris"; 1.45: "infinita in te aviditas gloriae". Cf. M.'s own preoccupation at the time with securing a place in history: Att. I.15.1; 19.10; 20.6; II.1.1-3; 5.1; 17.2.

177 For the view that the letter is an invention of post-Ciceronian times, see Magie, II, 1244, n. 13: it cannot be taken seriously (see further below, ch. 4, n. 153). An example of the interpretation of the letter as purely admonitory can be found in Sihler, 190-2. A. Pichon, 140-5, argued that the letter is neither genuinely informative to Q. in its content, nor epistolary, but rhetorical in its style: therefore it was a public letter of propaganda to conciliate the publicani and advertise the Ciceronian philosophy of provincial government. A similar view can be found also in Carcopino, Secrets, I, 26; 108; in Jal. 224, and in Nardo 116-123. E. Fallu, with ingenuity, in REL 1970, 180-204, argues for dating the letter as well as the Lex Julia de repetundis in May 59, and interprets the letter as a "plaidoyer propitiatoire" (203) by M. on behalf of Q. in anticipation of a prosecution under the new law. These theories are not proven. They set out from the premise that a Ciceronian letter, which is not genuinely informative and is artificial in style, must have a purpose other than aesthetic and reflective. Is this premise justified, when we know Cicero laboriously wrote the Pro Milone and the Verrines for fictitious audiences? (See further on C.P., below, 311).

The virtues ascribed to Quintus are very similar to those which Marcus claimed for himself as governor of Cilicia. He paraded his own virtues, on the economic side, of "modestia", "continentia", "abstinentia", "integritas", "levatio vel conservatio civitatum"; on the judicial side, of "iuris dictio aequabilis, lenis, gravis", "severitas", "aequitas", "iustitia", "clementia", "mansuetudo", "facilitas"; with regard to local government and the interests of local groups, "autonomia" and "satisfactio omnibus"; in addition, since his province had yet to be completely pacified, he claimed military "res gestae" as well. Marcus' own self-glorification was excessive, but it was based on what he actually did, as attested by the recognition of others (e.g. Cato), and by his commendable behaviour in such matters as Caelius' requests for panthers for aedilician games, and Brutus' unreasonable demands on him to facilitate the extortion of money from the Salaminians.[178] It is clear then that Quintus, having shared his brother's education, and having been in close communion with his brother, aimed, as governor of Asia, to conform to the ideal which Cicero had in mind.[179] When he

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178 Att. V.9.1; 10.2; 11.5; 13.1; 14.2; 15.2; 16.2-3; 17.2; 17.5; 18.2; 20.1; 20.6; 21.5; 21.7; 21.10-13; VI.1.2-7; 1.15; 1.16; 2.5-9; 3.3; 3.5; VII.1.6; 2.7; Fam. II.11.2; 12.3; 13.4; III.7.2-3; 8.2-5; VIII.4.5; 8.10; 9.3; IX.25.1; XV.4.1-2; 4.14-15; 5.

179 See also Leg. III.9, for Cicero's ideal governor. His model was Q. Mucius Scaevola, cos. 95 (cf. Att. VI.1.15; Div. Caec. 57; Verr. II.2.27; 2.34; 3.209; Planc. 33), who, assisted by P. Rutilius Rufus, fellow-jurist, had reorganised the administration of Asia (see Broughton II, 7-8 and suppl. 42; Badian, P.S., 89-90). Cicero had been a pupil of Scaevola (see above, ch. 1, n. 35), and both he and Q. had, in the course of their educational tour in the East, discussed with Rufus, who was in exile at Smyrna (Rep. I.13: cf. above, ch. 1, n. 62).

erred or grumbled about the tediousness of his service, it was this ideal, not narrow political considerations or personal advantages, that was presented to him as an incentive.

For he personally found his term in Asia tedious and disliked it. It is well known how Marcus disliked his own proconsulate in Cilicia, how he insisted on not remaining even one more day in his province than the legal requirement, how he tediously begged influential persons in Rome, such as Atticus, Ap. Claudius, Caelius Rufus, the Marcelli, Lucius Paullus, Curio the younger and Q. Cassius Longinus, to prevent an extension of his term.[180] To Quintus Cicero too the proconsulate was a "labor",[181] a "molestia",[182] a "negotium",[183] which he had to strain himself at.[184] He had left with hopes of an early return to Rome. On parting, and subsequently in several letters he requested his brother to activate his return. He was deeply distressed each time his

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180 Att. V.2.1; 2.3; 9.2; 10.3; 11.1; 11.5; 13.3; 14.1; 15.1; 15.3; 17.5; 18.1; 20.7; 21.3; 21.9; VI.1.11; 1.14; VII.3; 1; Fam. II.7.4; 8.3; 10.4; 11.1; 12.2; 13.4; III.2.1; 6.5; 8.9; 10.3; VIII.10.5; XV.9.2; 12.2; 13.3; 14.5.

181 Q.F. I.1.1: "labori tuo"; 1.3: "labori tuo"; 1.30: "ad laborem tuum".

182 Q.F. 1.1: "huius molestiae"; 1.2: "molestia"; "molestius ferendum".

183 Q.F. I.1.4: "magnitudine negoti"; "negotiis"; 1.7: "aliquantum negoti"; "permagnum esse negotium"; "hoc esse negotium"; 1.46: "muneris ac negoti tui".

184 Q.F. I.1.2: "difficile non graviter id ferre"; 1.27: "incumbe"; 1.42: "contende"; "elabora"; 1.43: "elaborabis".

term was renewed.[185] Despite his own dislike, his term was twice renewed, so that he was governor for three years altogether.[186] The first renewal was partly due to his brother's lobbying in Rome, the second renewal took place, despite his brother's efforts to avoid it and the praetors' lobby to obtain the province for one among themselves.[187] Antoine and Wiemer suggest that the motive of M. Cicero in securing the extension of his brother's term of service was to provide him an opportunity to make up for errors committed in the first year. Blase and Münzer find in the renewals ground for believing that Quintus was an

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185 Q.F. I.1.1: "spem maturae decessionis"; return was "iucunda opinio"; 1.2: "mecum et proficiscens et per litteras egeras, ut priore anno non succederetur"; Att. II.16.4: "nam ita deplorat primis versibus mansionem suam ut quemvis movere possit". Magie, 1244, amazingly states that "there is no reason to believe ... that Quintus was unwilling to remain in Asia". For Magie the whole of Q.F. I.1 is no evidence (cf. above n. 177); but he even rejects Att. II.16.4, with little ceremony: "certainly the remark ... cannot be regarded as evidence". Why not?

186 Q.F. I.1.1: "annum tertium accessisse"; 1.2: ille alter annus etiam tertium posset adducere"; 1.3: "unus annus additus"; 1.8: "summo cum imperio fuisse triennium"; 1.12: "tertius hic annus"; 1.14: "bienni spatio"; 1.30: "hic annus qui ... accessit"; 1.40: "primus annus ... secundus autem ... tertius annus"; 1.46: "hic tertius annus"; 2.8: "nunc tamen decedens".

187 Q.F. I.1.1: "spem maturae decessionis adferebam ... quia tanta adhibebatur et a nobis et a praetoribus contentio"; 1.2: "ita accidit ut neque praetores suis opibus neque nos nostro studio quicquam proficere possemus"; "factum est enim mea culpa ... cum id commiserim ut ille alter annus ..."; 1.3: "peccatum meum esse confiteor"; 1.30: "in te retinendo fuit Asia felicior quam nos in deducendo". The distinction between M.'s stand on the first renewal and M.'s stand on the second is often missed: Thus Blase 10: "quum Marci studio et opera effectum esset, ut neque primo nec secundo praeturae anno ei succederetur"; Carcopino, Secrets, I, 26, contending that Q.F. I.1 was part of the lobby to extend Q.'s term for a third year; E. Fallu, REL 1970, 182, saying that the second renewal was done "avec son (= M.'s) consentement".

efficient governor. Wiemer hints that political manoeuvring, rather than recognition of Quintus' virtues, was probably what the Senate was up to.[188] They wanted to keep the praetors out rather than keep Quintus in. There is no clear evidence that will permit a definite choice among such speculations.

While the fact that his term was renewed twice is itself no proof of Q. Cicero's success as proconsul, the overwhelming literary and archaeological evidence has led us to the conclusion that, despite certain criticisms and allowing for honorific gestures devoid of true sentiment, Q. Cicero obtained genuine appreciation in his province of Asia. He endeavoured to trim public expenditures and levies in efforts to lighten the economic burdens on the province, although, where the publicani were concerned, he was careful to seek conciliatory solutions between their interests and those of the provincials. In the administration of justice, he distinguished himself by his personal integrity, his impartiality and the fearlessness with which he resisted the pressures from local notables, whether Greek or Italian. Of the criticisms which he provoked, the most substantive and apparently legitimate ones concern the style of his administration, characterised by passion, impatience and permissiveness to his staff. This had to do with his character and the amicable relations he seems to have had with the leading members of his entourage, linked to him by ties of blood, geographical

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188 Antoine, pp. xx-xxi (based on Q.F. I.1.12); Wiemer 24; Blase 11; Münzer 1291.

origin or personal friendship. After due allowance is made for the rhetorical and conventional elements in Cicero's eulogy of his brother, there remains a residue of indications that Quintus, influenced by his brother's ideas, endeavoured, within his ability, to adhere to the Ciceronian ideal of the Roman provincial governor. Against the tedium of the work involved, he found consolation in the nobility of this ideal, as well as in the expectation that practical advantage would result from his conformity to it for the political advancement of the family. In the meantime, however, there were developments in Rome not merely adverse to the family's advancement, but quite deleterious to its fortunes.

3. STRUGGLE FOR THE FAMILY'S 'SALUS'

From April 59 onwards, Marcus Cicero was looking forward to the return of his brother and their reunion: he gave this as one reason for his refusal of a legatio offered by the triumvirs.[189] However a series of events followed, which had the effect of preventing this reunion. It is not Quintus, as has been said,[190] but Marcus, that was responsible for their failure to meet. In the course of March and April 58, when Marcus was travelling in Italy on the way to exile, Quintus must have been in

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189 Att. II.4.2: "Accommodatius enim nobis est ad liberam legationem tempus illud, cum et Quintus noster iam, ut speramus, in otio consederit"; 18.3: "haec ... a fratris adventu me ablegat"; cf. Q.F. I.2.8: "nunc tamen decedens".

190 E.g. Antoine, p. xxv; E. Fallu, REL 1970, 187: according to whom Q. was in such a hurry to get back to Rome that he did not give M. time to communicate with him.

a quandary where to meet him, since Marcus himself was uncertain of his own destination: he kept wavering about accepting Atticus' offer of hospitality at Buthrotum, because he was not sure whether Atticus would join him there. If Quintus did obtain any indication, it was in late April, and that Marcus was heading via Epirus and Macedonia for Cyzicus.[191] The situation was further complicated by the failure, due to weather conditions, of one of Marcus' couriers, named Phaetho, to reach Quintus in Asia.[192] Quintus on his part must have been uncertain as to the destination of his messages, and as to his own itinerary, since Marcus was on the move, and on Marcus' itinerary depended his own.

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191 Att. III.1; 3; 2; 4; 5; Planc. 99; Cyzicus: Att. III.6 (17 Apr. 58); 8.2: "ille incertus ubi ego essem". On M.'s Italian itinerary, see T.P. I, 431-3; S.B. II, 227-232.

192 Att. III.8.2: "Phaetho libertus eum non vidit; vento reiectus ab Ilio in Macedoniam Pellae mihi praesto fuit". T.P.'s explanation of the Phaetho errand is confusing. M. sailed from Brundisium on 29 Apr. (Att. III.7.3), arrived at Dyrrachium presumably on the same or following day, where he stayed only a short while (Planc. 98: "perrexi"), before setting out on the very long journey (Planc. 99: "dies noctesque") for Thessalonica, which he reached on 23 May (Att. III.8.1): the Phaetho errand is reported in a letter written at Thessalonica on 29 May. In that same letter, M. reports that he had from Q. two conflicting messages: "unus, classe fratrem Epheso Athenas, alter, pedibus per Macedoniam venire. Itaque illi obviam misimus Athenas" (Att. III.8.1). T.P. identify Phaetho with this last-mentioned messenger, sent by M. to Athens from Dyrrachium. T.P. explain: "If Q. took the land route, M. would be sure to meet him ... So it was necessary to send a messenger by the sea-route to meet Q., and ask him to join M. at Thessalonica. He accordingly sent Phaetho along that route ... We fancy he went to Athens, and, finding that Q. had not arrived, took boat for Ephesus" (T.P. I, 369). An unlikely explanation, for the following reasons: (i) According to T.P., the whole point of the Phaetho errand was that he should wait for Q. at the crucial point of the alternative route, i.e. Athens, where Q. did arrive on 15 May (Att. III.9.1): why then was Phaetho so senseless as to go to Ephesus, without waiting? (ii) Phaetho did not meet Q., the messenger to Athens seems to have done so (Att. III.9.1). (iii)

As late as 29 April, on the day he was sailing from Brundisium for Dyrrachium, Marcus still did not know where he would meet Quintus.[193] At Dyrrachium, Marcus received two messages from Quintus, one of which said that Quintus was proceeding by land via Macedonia, and the other, that Quintus was sailing from Ephesus to Athens. The latter superseded the former,[194] since Quintus did leave Ephesus on 30 April and arrive in Athens on 15 May.[195] Marcus sent a message to Athens, in which he could, if he had wished, have specified a meeting-place.[196] Instead he went on, until 13 June, mourning that he was uncertain of Quintus' whereabouts.[197] When, on 13 June, he finally revealed the truth to Atticus,

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Phaetho's route: Dyrrachium - Athens - Ephesus - Ilium - Pella in less than 22 days (maximum time lapse between M.'s arrival at Dyrrachium and M.'s arrival at Pella) is a bit unlikely. (iv) M. mentions Phaetho in s. 2 and the unnamed messenger to Athens in s. 1 of the same letter. Had the two been the same person, the name would probably have been mentioned in s. 1, not s. 2. All these difficulties disappear, if we take Phaetho to be a messenger sent ahead by M. from Italy, probably in the course of his ten-day stay in Brundisium (17-29 Apr: Att. III.7.1). S.B. comes to this same conclusion: II, 143, n. ad III.8.2.

193 Att. III.7.3: "de fratre, ubi eum visuri essemus, nesciebamus".

194 Att. III.8.1 (quoted in n. 192). Q. presumably changed his itinerary on learning that M. was not going to Cyzicus after all.

195 Att. III.9.1: "Quintus frater cum ex Asia discessisset ante Kal. Mai."; "Athenas venisset Id. Mai".

196 Att. III.8.1 (quoted in n. 192).

197 Att. III.8.1: "Thessalonicam a.d. X Kal. Iun. venimus, neque de illius itinere quicquam certi habebamus nisi eum ab Epheso ante aliquanto profectum"; 8.2: "fortasse alium cursum petivit"; "maneo Thessalonicae suspensus"; 8.3: "ita perturbato sum animo de Quinto ut nihil queam statuere"; sed tamen statim te faciam certiorem".

he also wrote Q.F. I.3 to Quintus, from which it can be seen he had been sending several messages to Quintus, both oral and written, the purport of which was that Quintus should proceed directly to Rome and not try to meet him.[198]

The reason for this instruction, Marcus stated, was Quintus' security, in view of an impending prosecution. But nothing dramatic had yet developed in that regard.[199] The real reason was that Marcus did not want to meet his brother. On leaving Brundisium, he confessed his uncertainty not just as to where, but also as to how he would face his brother.[200] In the four letters to his family, written between April and November 58, he associated correspondence with them with outbursts of tears, because it reminded him of his sense of loss ("dolor") and of shame or failure ("pudor").[201] Similarly he had been abstaining from writing to Quintus as frequently and as informatively as he might have,

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198 Att. III.9.1: "eum malui properare Romam quam ad me venire"; Q.F. I.3.1: "pueros ad te sine litteris miserim"; 3.2: "ad te pueri sine litteris venerunt"; 3.4: "scripsi et dedi litteras ad te Philogono, liberto tuo, quas credo tibi postea redditas esse; in quibus idem te hortor et rogo quod pueri tibi verbis meis nuntiarunt, ut Romam protinus pergas et properes". Constans (II, 18-20) is the only commentator, to my knowledge, who has detected the probable lie by omission of M. in Att. III.8.1.

199 Att. III.9.1: "valde fuit ei properandum, ne quid absens acciperet calamitatis"; Q.F. I.3.4: "primum enim te ⟨in⟩ praesidio esse volui". On the prosecution, see below, 123-9.

200 Att. III.7.3: "Quem quidem ego nec ⟨quo⟩ modo visurus nec ut dimissurus sim scio. id est maximum et miserrimum mearum omnium miseriarum". (S.B.'s text: mss. have "ubi" for "ut"; T.P. transposes mss. "quo modo" and "ubi").

201 Fam. XIV.4.1; 2.1; 1.5; 3.1; 3.2; cf. Att. III.23.5.

because he shrank from the "vis lacrimarum" which every letter, written or received, occasioned.[202] An actual tête-à-tête, a "congressus", he dreaded even more, as they would have to see and hear each other in a state of "squalor" and with sounds of "lamentatio".[203] He was ashamed to face his brother for several reasons. From childhood he had been the exemplar to his brother of brilliance, ambition and success, and there he was now a pitiable man in his ignominy.[204] He also felt he was letting his brother down very badly. He, the great advocate, who had rescued so many, was unable to do anything to help his brother, when his brother was going to need him more than ever in life, as a defendent in court.[205]

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202 Q.F. I.3.2-3: "quod ad te pueri sine litteris venerunt ... certe pigritia fuit et quaedam infinita vis lacrimarum et dolorum. Haec ipsa me quo fletu putas scripsisse? Eodem quo te legere certo scio. An ego possum aut non cogitare aliquando de te aut umquam sine lacrimis cogitare?" 3.10: "me lacrimae non sinunt scribere".

203 Att. III.9.1: "non potui ut aut illum ... tanto in maerore adspicerem aut meas miserias ... illi offerrem aut ab illo adspici paterer"; 10.2: "ne aut illius luctum squaloremque adspicerem aut ne me ... illi ... offerrem"; Q.F. I.3.1: "me a te videri nolui"; "utinam me mortuum prius vidisses aut audisses"; 3.4: "congressus nostri lamentationem pertimui"; "minus miserum fuit quam fuisset ... congressio".

204 Q.F. I.3.1: "non enim vidisses fratrem tuum, non eum quem reliqueras, non eum quem noras ... sed quandam effigiem spirantis mortui"; "utinam te ... etiam dignitatis meae superstitem reliquissem"; 3.5: "qui tibi semper fortis videbar"; 3.6: "in tam misera tamque turpi vita ... in hac tam adflicta perditaque fortuna"; Att. III.9.1: "meas miserias luctu adflictus et perditam fortunam illi offerrem"; 10.2: "ne me, quem ille florentissimum reliquerat, perditum illi adflictumque offerrem".

205 Q.F. I.3.1: "ego te misere perdidi"; "a me tibi ... solitudo"; 3.2: "commisi ut vivo me careres, vivo me aliis indigeres, mea vox in domesticis periculis potissimum occideret, quae saepe alienissimis praesidio fuisset"; 4.4: "ego omnibus meis exitio fuero, quibus ante dedecori non eram"; 4.5: "tuam solitudinem"; Att. III.13.2: "quem ego miser si incolumem relinquo"; 23.5: "quem ego miserum misere perdidi".

Even more. Quintus was going to be prosecuted because of the hostility which he, Marcus, had incurred through his imprudence.[206] And he was also leaving Quintus high and dry financially, since he had used up the money due to Quintus from the aerarium for his expenses as governor.[207] All in all, a bitter harvest the great Cicero had left his dependent brother. His only reason for living now, he said, lay in the hope that he might yet be reinstated and enabled to make up and be of service to Quintus.[208]

Quintus must have arrived in Rome in the first days of June 58, since in Q.F. I.3, written on 13 June, it was assumed he was there, and in Pro Sestio, his arrival is mentioned soon after the motion of L. Ninnius for Marcus' restoration, made in the Senate on 1 June.[209] A great concourse of friends and sympathisers came to greet him.[210] There

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206 Q.F. I.3.1: "Scilicet ... tui me inimici, tua me invidia ..."; "a me ... metus tuae [calamitatis] "; 4.1: "imprudentiae miseriaeque adsignis"; 4.5: "consili minus".

207 Q.F. I.3.7: "sentio quid sceleris admiserim, cum de visceribus tuis et fili tui satis facturus sis quibus debes, ego acceptam ex aerario pecuniam tuo nomine frustra dissiparim".

208 Q.F. I.3.2: "me hac una voce a morte esse revocatum, quod omnes in mea vita partem aliquam tuae vitae repositam esse dicebant"; 3.5: "quam diu tibi opus erit ... vivam"; 3.6: "nec faciendum est nec fieri potest, me diutius quam aut tuum tempus aut firma spes postulabit in ... vita commorari"; 4.5: "ego vitam, quo <ad> putabo tua interesse aut [ad] spem servandam esse retinebo".

209 Q.F. I.3.7-10 (cf. 3.10: "Id. Iun."); Sest. 68: "Decesserat ex Asia frater meus"; Dom. 59: "qui cum aliquanto post meum discessum ex provincia venisset".

210 Sest. 68: "Huic ad urbem venienti tota obviam civitas cum lacrimis gemituque processerat".

had been fear for some time that he might be prosecuted on his return. As early as April 59, Marcus had expressed his hope that Quintus would be settled "in otio", thereby implying his fear that trouble might be in store for his brother.[211] It is not until a year later, in a letter written by Atticus on 15 May 58, that a vague rumour is echoed of possible prosecution.[212] The rumour persisted during the months of June, July and August, but no clear and definite action materialised.[213] Four letters from Atticus, received on 15 August, (whose contents Marcus discussed at some length), seem to have made no mention of the matter, implying that, in the opinion of Atticus, there was no reason for

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211 Att. II.4.2: "cum et Quintus noster iam, ut speramus, in otio consederit". T.P.'s interpretation of "otium" here: "shall settle down in private life, after his three years' government of Asia" (I, 281), as well as Constans': "revenu aux loisirs de la vie privée" (I, 222), must be rejected: (i) It would be strange that M., who pursued a public career, and never urged his brother to shun it, should here hope that Q. would not continue public life. (ii) The words immediately preceding are: "Accommodatius enim nobis est ad liberam legationem tempus illud ...": Why should M. need to wait for Q. to be in private life, before he himself can accept a legatio? Sense is restored by taking "otium" to mean "absence from molestia", "peace", as S.B. translates. (For other examples of this use: L.S. "otium" II C). The words which follow immediately, concerning the intentions of Clodius will then fit in well.

212 Att. III.8.2: "Nunc istic quid agatur magno opere timeo. quamquam tu altera epistula scribis Id. Mai. audiri fore ut acrius postularet⟨ur⟩, altera iam esse mitiora. sed haec est pridie data quam illa, quo conturber magis"; 8.3: "perturbatus sum animo de Quinto".

213 Att. III.9.3 (13 June): "unum de malis in metu est, fratris miseri negotium; quod si sciam cuius modi sit ..."; Q.F. I.3.5 (13 June): "si qua subeunda dimicatio erit"; "sin eris ab isto periculo vacuus"; 3.7: "si forte quid erit molestiae"; 4.2 (Aug.): "si ... vindicat hoc tempore a molestia"; 4.5: "sin te quoque inimici vexare coeperint ... litibus agetur"; Att. III.17.1 (4 Sept.): "De Quinto fratre nuntii nobis tristes nec varii venerant ex a.d. IIII Non. Iun. usque ad prid. Kal. Sept."

concern.[214] On 31 August, a freedman from L. Regulus reported to Marcus that there had been only rumour ("sermo") all along, and no action undertaken.[215] A letter from Quintus, delivered by that same messenger, does not seem to have dealt with the matter either, which again confirms that there was no great concern about it.[216] A letter from Atticus, received the next day, plunged Marcus again into anxiety, but said no more than that some action was still possible.[217] After August the whole thing seems to have petered out. Writing on 15 September, Marcus touched on it in a more hopeful tone.[218] From September to the end of the year, Marcus received from Rome detailed letters from Quintus, Atticus,

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214 Att. III.15.1-8.

215 Att. III.17.1: "eo autem die Livineius, L. Reguli libertus, ad me a Regulo missus venit. is omnino mentionem nullam factam esse nuntiavit, sed fuisse tamen sermonem".

216 Att. III.17.1: "isque mihi tum a fratre litteras attulit". T.P. obelize the text, with the comment that, if M. had received a letter from Q., he would not be speaking so vaguely about the subject of the prosecution (I, 395) mentioned in this letter. S.B. (II, 154), less sceptical about the text, still finds M.'s vagueness here "strange". The vagueness is understandable, if we remember that, all along, any actual prosecution had been hypothetical, the source of information mainly oral ("nuntii", "rumor"), that neither Q. nor A. was ever specific, because they were themselves uncertain. Besides there was no reason why Q. should discuss the matter at the time of this letter, in August, when the threat was apparently diminishing, if he had not done so in June and July.

217 Att. III.17.1: "sed postridie Sesti pueri venerunt, qui a te litteras attulerunt non tam exploratas a timore quam sermo Livinei fuerat. sane sum in meo infinito maerore sollicitus".

218 Att. III.19.3: "Quintum fratrem, qui potest esse salvus, sustentes".

Terentia, his son-in-law Piso, P. Valerius and others.[219] Since Marcus acknowledged and discussed the contents of several of these letters, without ever referring to the subject of the prosecution,[220] it can be concluded with certainty that the matter was closed, after having been in the air for about three months.

Since his rule had been so full of passion, Quintus had enlisted a good number of enemies on his own account.[221] Marcus had reminded him of this, and of his having given rise to complaints and protests.[222] There had been not only a good deal of gossip ("sermo") against him, but also a systematic collection of ill-advised letters, circulating under his name. Marcus had read some of them, and had advised his brother to get rid of such material as no doubt would furnish ammunition for a prosecution.[223]

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219 From Q.: Att. III.22.1; 22.2; from A.: Att. III.20; 21; 23.1; 23.5; 24.1; 25.1; from Terentia: Fam. XIV.2.3; 1.1; 1.3; 1.5; 3.1; 3.5; from Piso: Att. III.22.1; from Valerius: Fam. XIV. 2.2; from others: Fam. XIV.2.1; 1.1; 3.3; Att. III.24.1.

220 Att. III.20; 21; 22; 23; 24; 25; Fam. XIV.2; 1; 3. The references in these letters to Q.'s problems relate not to the prosecution, but to his struggle for M.'s return, on which see below, 129-141.

221 Q.F. I.1.19: "non nullas simultates ... susceptas"; 2.4: "erant inimicissimi"; 2.13: "nisi inimicos multos haberemus".

222 Q.F. I.1.19: "querelis"; 2.2: "non nullorum querelis"; 2.3: "iratos ... non nullos"; "iratis"; 2.4: "Graecorum querelas"; "quoscumque de te queri audivi"; 2.6: "qua ira, quo spiritu"; 2.11: "ferebat graviter; [id] vehementer mecum querebatur"; "fert enim graviter".

223 Q.F. I.1.40: "plurimum sermonis"; 2.1: "sermo hominum"; "multae emissae ... voces"; 2.2: "sermones ad te aliorum ... perscripsi ... frequentes ... graves"; "sermones iniquorum"; 2.3: "materiem ... sermonum"; "quod loquerentur"; 2.5: "eius sermoni"; 2.8: "tolle ... tolle ... tolle ... ex eo esse volumina selectarum epistularum"; 2.9: "haec genera tollantur epistularum ... perspice et purga ... legi ... legi non nullas".

Furthermore the trial of Flaccus in 59 had been prepared by investigators who travelled to Asia to collect material on the spot: this must have been an opportunity to gather information on Quintus Cicero's administration as well.[224] Quintus himself had been aware of the hostility existing against him and had indicated his preparedness to face the consequence of his integrity.[225] Indeed he even thought that Marcus' exile was due to the hostilities which he, Quintus, had provoked, and that Marcus had not wanted to meet him on account of that.[226]

The opinion, which owes its origin to Manutius, that the charge brought against Quintus would be one of bribery, can be safely dismissed as due to misunderstanding of Q.F. I.3.8.[227] The kind of material being collected in 59, as has just been seen, and the fact that, through all his references to the subject, Marcus never enquired about or discussed the nature of the charge, indicate that it could only be the obvious one for a returning governor, namely the charge of repetundae, now made easier to prove, after the recent passing of the Lex Iulia.[228]

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224 On the date of Pro Flacco, see Gelzer, RE VII A 1, 912 and Boulanger, Cic. Discours XII, 56.

225 Q.F. I.2.13 (see quotation below, 246 and 316).

226 Q.F. I.3.1: "tune id veritus es, ne ego iracundia aliqua adductus ..."; "scilicet, tu enim me adflixisti: tui me inimici, tua me invidia ac non ego te misere perdidi".

227 See above, 60-1. Even Blase, 10, retains bribery as a possible charge, despite his review and rejection of Manutius' interpretation of Q.F. I.3.8.

228 On Lex Iulia, see sources collected by Magie, 1243, n. 8. For the view that Q.F. I.1 was composed with the Lex Iulia in mind, see Fallu, REL 1970, 189-196.

The real motive, however, of the contemplated prosecution, was not Q. Cicero's alleged maladministration of his province: it was political. At the trial of Flaccus in 59, Cicero stated that the prosecutions of C. Antonius, returning from Macedonia, and of Flaccus, returning from Asia, were part of a political ploy to discredit those who had participated in the suppression of the Catilinarians; and that they foreshadowed attacks on himself and other supporters of his.[229] Defending Sestius in 56, he declared that the ex-tribune was on trial "non suo, sed meo nomine".[230] In that context, the brother of Cicero, returning from Asia, however innocent, was a most natural target. Writing to Atticus and Quintus, Cicero implied that the prosecutors would be individuals, who wanted more than just his own departure from Rome, and who thought that the presence of Quintus in Rome might lead to his brother's reinstatement.[231] It is significant that, according to rumours, C. Claudius Pulcher, pr. 56, was to be the chief prosecutor, and Ap. Claudius Pulcher, pr. 57, was to preside the court: they were both

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229 Flacc. 94-100.

230 Sest. 31; cf. 4: "cum omnibus meae salutis defensoribus bellum esse sibi gerendum iudicaverunt".

231 Att. III.9.1: "ne quid absens acciperet calamitatis, si quis forte fuisset qui contentus nostris malis non esset"; Q.F.I. 3.4: "si qui essent inimici quorum crudelitas nondum esset nostra calamitate satiata"; 3.8: "Nihil enim tam timeo quam ne, cum intellegant homines quantum misericordiae nobis tuae preces et tua salus adlatura sit, oppugnent te vehementius"; 4.1: "si uno meo facto et tu et omnes mei corruistis".

brothers of Clodius, the persecutor of Cicero.[232]

The threat of prosecution against Q. Cicero died, not because of his own integrity as governor - integrity had not saved the model Q. Mucius Scaevola -[233] but on account of the rallying of *amici* behind the Ciceros' *salus* and *dignitas*, after Quintus' return to Rome. The assistance of Atticus, who was in Rome at the time, was invaluable.[234] Quintus had the sympathy and probable support of M. Valerius Messala, who had been consul in 61; of Lentulus Spinther, consul-elect; of Sestius, tribune-elect; of M. Calidius, praetor-elect; and of Crassus the triumvir, to whom he was probably closer than Marcus was.[235] These

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232 Att. III.17.1: "fuisse ... sermonem de C. Clodi filio"; "sane sum in meo infinito maerore sollicitus, et eo magis quod Appi quaestio est". On the identification of these two Claudii, see S.B. I, 396 and II, 154, and Broughton, II, 200 and 208. On Clodius' persecution of M.: Att. II.18.3; 19.1; 19.4; 20.2; 21.6; 22.1, etc; numerous additional sources in Broughton, II, 195-6.

233 On his obloquy and condemnation of his legate, P. Rutilius Rufus, for *repetundae*, see numerous sources in Broughton, II, 7-8. Cf. above, n. 179.

234 See above, ch. 2, 32-3.

235 Messala: Q.F. I.3.9: "Messalam tui studiosum esse arbitror" (cf. Broughton, II, 178-9); Lentulus: Q.F. I.4.5: "credo tua causa velle Lentulum, qui erit consul"; Sest. 144: "Lentulum ... parentem ... fortunae ac nominis mei et fratris ..."; (cf. Att. III.22.2; 23.1; 24.2; Fam. XIV.1.2; 2.2 and Broughton II, 199-200); Sestius: Q.F. I.4.5: "Tu nobis amicissimum Sestium cognosces" (cf. Broughton, II, 202); Calidius and Crassus: Q.F. I.3.7: "te ad Crassum et ad Calidium conferas censeo" (On Calidius, cf. Broughton II, 200). On Crassus and Q.: cf. Q.F. II.8.2 (he helped in the matter of some honorific inscriptions for Q.), and the view of E.J. Parrish, with my reservations, above, 96-7. M.'s own relation with Crassus was on the cool side: Att. I.4.3; Fam. XIV.2.2; V.8. It is unlikely that there was any help from Pompey and Caesar: cf. Q.F. I.3.9; 4.1-2; 4.4; Att. III.14.1; 13.1; 15.1; 18.1; 23.5; Fam. XIV.2.2; 1.2.

individuals are mentioned specifically in connection with Quintus' own problem: but, in addition to these, among the large number of people who backed the struggle for Marcus' return, there must have been many who naturally gave support to the brother. It is also possible that the threat of prosecution was not necessarily meant to materialise, but was designed merely as a manoeuvre to get Quintus to withdraw from the city, so that he might not work for his brother's return - which, of course, he refused to do.[236]

The preoccupation of Quintus, in the meantime, was with his brother's problem much more than with his own. Just as he had been fully committed to the struggle for the progress of Marcus' career, so the present setback in that career affected him personally and intensely. While still in Asia, he had profound anxieties regarding Marcus' safety, which disturbed his sleep. As he later told Marcus, and Marcus recorded in De Divinatione, he dreamed of Marcus drowning in a river and re-emerging subsequently, and consulted dream-interpreters who reassured

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236 Q.F. I.4.5: "Sin te quoque inimici vexare coeperint, ne cessaris: non enim gladiis tecum sed litibus agetur". I believe both T.P. - who find here an allusion to Q.'s possession of military skill and lack of an orator's skill, - and Constans, - who (reading "mecum" with Ω in lieu of "tecum") finds here M.'s promise to write Q.'s speech for him,- to have misunderstood this sentence. I believe the translation should be as follows: - "But if enemies begin to harass you too, do not give way [by leaving Rome as I have done]: for the contest facing you will be one waged not with swords, but with litigation". From the opening of this letter, M. dwells on the circumstances that led to his own withdrawal from Rome, which Q. himself should avoid to do. In M.'s case, the determining factor was violence (S.4: "arma"; Sest. 42-49, esp. 48: "servavi ... rempublicam discessu meo"; p. Red. in Sen. 18; Clodius was a "gladiator"). Q. need not expect violence, and so should stay. Cf. L.S. "cesso" II B 2 a, meaning "withdraw", "let a case go by default".

him it meant only a temporary eclipse of the family.[237] Far from being in a hurry to return to Rome to clear himself, he wanted to accompany his brother into exile, and would have done so, if it were not for the latter's exhortation that his presence in the city would be more useful to both of them.[238] Marcus' exile was such a blow to him that he became very depressed, and, it was feared at times that he might want to commit suicide: indeed the sole purpose of his life, he believed, was confined to the struggle for his brother's reinstatement.[239]

To this struggle he devoted himself body and soul. The grief and bereavement ("dolor", "luctus", "desiderium"), which he experienced, he publicised, by adopting the physical appearance appropriate to

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237 Div. I.58: "[Q:] Saepe tibi meum [somnium] narravi ... me ... vidisse in quiete, cum tu equo advectus ad quandam magni fluminis ripam provectus subito atque delapsus in flumen nusquam apparuisses, me contremuisse timore perterritum; tum te repente laetum exstitisse eodemque equo adversam ascendisse ripam, nosque inter nos esse complexos. Facilis coniectura huius somnii, mihique a peritis in Asia praedictum est fore eos eventus rerum, qui acciderunt." II.140: "[M:] Tibi autem de me cum sollicitudine cogitanti subito sum visus emersus de flumine. Inerant enim in utriusque nostrum animis 'vigilantium cogitationum vestigia'."

238 Att. III.9.1: "atque etiam illud timebam, quod profecto accidisset, ne a me digredi non posset. versabatur mihi tempus illud ante oculos cum ille aut lictores dimitteret aut vi avelleretur ex complexu meo"; Q.F. I.3.4: "digressum vero non tulissem atque etiam id ipsum quod tu scribis metuebam, ne a me distrahi non posses"; 3.5: "sin eris ab isto periculo vacuus, ages scilicet si quid agi posse de nobis putabis". Contrast above, n. 190.

239 Att. III.23.5: "neve quid eum patiare gravius consulere de se" (cf. S.B.'s n. ad loc., II, 161); Sest. 76: "moriendi causa corpus obtulisset suum, nisi suam vitam ad spem mei reditus reservasset"; Dom. 59: "Quid frater meus? qui ... neque sibi vivendum nisi me restituto putaret"; p. Red. ad Quir. 8: "qui statuerat, Quirites, si vos me sibi non reddidissetis, eandem subire fortunam"; "ut negaret fas esse non modo domicilio, sed ne sepulcro quidem se a me esse seiunctum".

mourning ("squalor", "sordes", "vestitus mutatio"), and by making passionate appeals ("deprecatio", "preces", "lacrimae", "fletus") to the sympathy ("misericordia") of friends and enemies and the people at large. Cicero's wife and children, as well as many of his friends and supporters, had also followed him in the vestitus mutatio. But the mourning of Terentia and the children was of a private character, since they were partly sheltered in the home, and partly withdrawn from Rome. Friends and supporters resumed their ordinary dress after Cicero's departure from the city. Hence in its public character and its persistency, there was something unique about Quintus' mourning. His brother described it as "inauditus", "incredibilis". He was a lonely and conspicuous figure in the city during those days, as he kept trying to stir the emotions to the issue of Cicero's return.[240]

As a correspondent to Marcus during this period, he was thoroughly dedicated, observing the developments in the city and keeping his brother fully informed. His despatches were frequent, in accordance

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240 Dolor, etc.: Sest. 76: "ille ... in tanto luctu ac desiderio mei"; Q.F. I.3.6: "dolorem tuum"; 3.10: "tibi non minorem dolorem". Squalor, etc.: Att. III.10.2: "illius luctumque squaloremque"; Dom. 59: "eius maeror, squalor incredibilis et inauditus omnibus mortalibus miserabilis videbatur"; Sest. 68: "frater meus magno squalore, sed multo etiam maiore maerore"; 145: "frater ... maximo in squalore volutatus est ad pedes inimicissimorum"; p. Red. ad. Quir. 7: "fratrisque ... cotidianae lacrimae sordesque lugubres a vobis deprecatae sunt. [8] Frater erat unus qui suo squalore vestros oculos inflecteret, qui suo fletu desiderium mei memoriamque renovaret ... Pro me praesente senatus hominumque praeterea viginti milia vestem mutaverunt: pro eodem me absente unius squalorem sordisque vidistis ... Nam coniugis miserae squalor et luctus atque optimae filiae maeror adsiduus filiique parvi desiderium mei lacrimaeque pueriles aut itineribus necessariis aut magnam partem tectis ac tenebris continebantur" (Cf. Att. III.15.5, on

with his brother's requests. He kept Marcus informed, for example, about the consul Lentulus' motion for Marcus' return, debated in the Senate on 1 January 57, and enclosed a copy of the motion; about the motion to the same effect passed by the Comitia Centuriata; about the attitude of the consul M. Nepos and of Ap. Claudius.[241] He was generally expected to write in detail and was praised to third parties for the thoroughness and carefulness of his reports.[242] While he was urged to be realistic in his expectations, and he was himself liable at times to sink into deep despair, he usually wrote in optimistic terms, knowing

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M.'s own vestitus mutatio; Fam. XIV.3.2, on Terentia's; and on the practice in general, Q.F. II.3.1; Planc. 21; 29; 87; Dio XLI.3.1, and Lintott 16-21). Deprecatio and misericordia: Sest. 76: "cum ad fratris salutem a populo deprecandam venisset"; Att. III.19.2: "fratris miseras ac luctuosas preces"; 19.3: "tua misericordia iuves et Quintum fratrem"; Q.F. I.3.5: "misericordiam nostri"; 3.8: "quantum misericordiae nobis tuae preces"; 4.4: "Nunc tu, quoniam in tantum luctum laborem detrusus es quantum nemo umquam, si levare potest communem casum misericordia hominum, scilicet incredibile quiddam adsequeris".

241 Fam. XIV.3.4: "ad fratrem misi ut crebro tabellarios mitteret"; Lentulus: Att. III.26: "Litterae mihi a Quinto fratre cum senatus consulto, quod de me est factum, adlatae sunt" (cf. Sest. 72-5). Comitia: Att. IV.1.4: "cognovi ... litteris Quinti fratris ... legem comitiis centuriatis esse perlatam". Nepos: Att. III.22.2: "De Metello scripsit ad me frater"; Fam. V.4.1 (to Nepos): "Litterae Quinti fratris ... tantum spei dederant ut in te ...". Ap. Claudius: Fam. III.10.8 (to Claud.): "cum te ex fratre meo ne tunc quidem ... inimicum fuisse cognossem".

242 Q.F. I.3.5: "Sed ... tu velim perspicias mihique declares"; 3.10: "de omnibus rebus rescribas"; 4.5: "Sed tu ... perspice ... pertempta ... perscribe"; Fam. V.4.2: "Nunc mihi Quintus frater meus ... perscripsit"; Att. III.22.1: "diligenter ad me Quintus frater et Piso ... scripserant". S.B., in his n. to Att. III.26, (see passage quoted above in n. 241), suspects Q. of inaccuracy in reporting that the motion in the Senate had been "passed"("factum"), whereas it had not actually been passed (cf. Sest. account, n. 241 above). "Factum" need only mean "drafted", "composed" (see L.S. on "facio", I A), and so the suspicion abandoned.

Marcus' need to have his morale sustained. The frequency, thoroughness and optimism of his letters contrasted with the correspondence, during that period, from Atticus, whom Marcus taxed every now and then with irregularity, evasiveness, defeatism and impatience ("obiurgatio").[243] This was a time when Marcus was very touchy and demanding of his friends, and yet, among the numerous references made to Quintus, he has left not a single complaint. This is an indication of how extremely patient and devoted Quintus must have been.

Quintus helped his brother financially. It has already been mentioned how Marcus collected the vasarium due to Quintus as governor and used the money for his own expenses. Despite his own debts and Marcus' refusal to meet him, (out of anger, as he thought), in his letter from Athens on the way to Rome, he offered to raise more money in Rome to be paid to Marcus in exile - which Marcus refused, as he had enough to meet the expenses envisaged.[244] When Marcus returned to Rome in 57, Quintus refused to be reimbursed for the money already spent. If he was

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243 Q.F. I.4.5: "ut tempora nostra non ut amor tuus fert, vere perscribe"; II.3.7: "Cetera sunt in rebus nostris cuius modi tu mihi fere diffidenti praedicabas, plena dignitatis et gratiae"; Att. III. 18.2: "Quintus frater ... omnia mittit spei plena, metuens, credo, defectionem animi mei". Cf. above, 130. Att. III.10.1; 10.3; 11.2; 12.1; 13.1; 13.2; 15.1; 15.2; 15.4; 15.6; 15.7; 16; 17.1; 19.2; 22.1; 25; IV.1.1. See also S.B. I, 19-23.

244 Q.F. I.3.7: "Qua re quid ad me scripsisti de permutatione? quasi vero nunc me non tuae facultates sustineant? ... mihi ad id quod cogito hoc quod habeo satis est"; Att. II.6.2: "scripsi ad quaestores urbanos de Quinti fratris negotio"; 16.4: "quaestores autem, quaeso, num etiam de cistophoro dubitant?" See also above, 122, and on Q.'s debts, below, 346-8.

finally persuaded to accept the money at all, he did so reluctantly, and accepted only repayment of what Marcus' means at the time permitted.[245]

Quintus looked after his brother's children, like a father. A specific request from Marcus that he should look after Terentia "as well" seems to imply that his relation with her was not too good. There is a similar implication in some reproach that Marcus made to Terentia regarding the need for her to be united with Quintus. We hear of Quintus' tabellarii being at her disposal, and no more. It was Atticus who dealt more closely with her.[246]

These then were the main features of Quintus' assistance to his elder brother in distress: "dolor", "squalor", "vigilantia", "liberalitas" and "consolatio". Marcus expected him, in addition, to take more positive steps to bring about his return. At certain moments, when he

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245 Att. IV.3.6: "Quinti fratris tamen liberalitati pro facultatibus nostris, ne omnino exhaustus essem, illo recusante subsidiis amicorum respondemus". Whether Q. accepted repayment at all is not certain. According to traditional interpretation (S.B., T.P., Constans), "subsidiis" is ablative, in which case Q. was repaid with the assistance of friends. Watt, CQ XLIII (1949) 17-21, argues for "subsidiis" being dative. If this is correct, then it was the loans made by friends that were repaid, and Q. never budged from his refusal. Despite the ellipsis involved, I find his rendering of this difficult sentence the one that makes the best sense: "I have repaid (am repaying) the generous help of Q., so far as my resources allow(ed), this so as not to be completely drained out; on his refusal (to take the money), the financial help which my friends gave me". See Watt for different interpretations and problems involved.

246 Q.F. I.3.10: "Filiam meam et tuam Ciceronemque nostrum quid ego, mi frater, tibi commendem? ... te incolumi orbi non erunt ... Etiam Terentiam velim tueare"; Fam. XIV.1.4: "De Quinto fratre nihil ego te accusavi, sed vos cum praesertim tam pauci sitis, volui esse quam coniunctissimos". Tabellarii: Fam. XIV.3.4 (n. 241 above). A. and Terentia: Att. III.8.4; 9.3; 19.3; 23.5.

despaired of his friends, he relied on Quintus as the only person who could really fight on until it was realised.[247] Quintus himself wanted his brother to remain as near as possible to Italy, in the expectation that the efforts to bring about his return would be successful. He was probably behind L. Tubero's message, in May 58, dissuading Marcus from proceeding to Asia, since Tubero was returning from service under him.[248] When he arrived in Rome, he joined Atticus in urging his brother to wait at Atticus' villa in Buthrotum.[249] In the months that followed, he was an important, if not the determining, factor in convincing Pompey to activate the return. It can be deduced from the fact, that he later asked Lentulus the consul to look after his business-interest, that he knew the consul well. Lentulus interceded with Pompey.[250] Atticus discussed with Pompey,[251] and Marcus himself wrote to Pompey.[252] But Quintus, in addition, made repeated personal representations; and, when,

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247 Q.F. I.3.5: "ages scilicet si quid agere posse de nobis putabis"; 4.2: "perspicis profecto ecquaenam nobis spes salutis relinquatur"; 4.4: "scilicet incredibile quiddam adsequeris"; 4.5: "aut per te aliquid confici aut nullo modo poterit".

248 Planc. 100 (cf. n. 86 above).

249 Att. III.15.6: "statuam in tuosne agros confugiam ... id quod intellexi cum tibi tum Quinto fratri placere, an abeam Cyzicum"; cf. Att. III.14.2; 13.2.

250 Fam. I.9.24 (see quotation below, ch. 5, n. 24). On Lentulus' intercession with Pompey: Fam. I.9.6; 9.11; his general assistance: Att. III.26; Fam. I.9 (passim).

251 Att. III.8.3; 14.1; 13.1; 15.1.

252 Att. III.8.4; 9.3.

after consultation with Caesar, Pompey demanded a guarantee that Cicero would not attempt to overthrow Caesar's acta, it was Quintus who went bail for him.[253] There is no indication that he went with the tribunician delegation to Caesar in Northern Italy in the fall of 58, but he was bound to Caesar through his word to Pompey, which Pompey transmitted to Caesar.[254]

At the end of 58, Atticus departed from Rome, leaving Quintus as the mainstay of the movement for Cicero's recall. On 1 January 57, when Lentulus' motion was debated in the Senate, and the jurist Lucius Aurelius Cotta took the legally sound view that no formal decision was required to revoke Clodius' actions, since they had been illegal, Quintus was one of those who favoured a specific vote of recall by the Senate and by the Comitia Centuriata. The motion was filibustered by the tribune Atilius Gavianus.[255] When, on 23 January, the tribune Fabricius took the matter to the Concilium Plebis, Quintus went along to plead for his brother. In the course of the disruptions which broke up that meeting,

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253 Fam. I.9.9: "Pompeius ... inquit ... ...'dependendum tibi est quod mihi pro illo spopondisti'"; "quid egisset saepissime de actis Caesaris cum ipso meo fratre quidque sibi is de me recepisset in memoriam redegit, seque quae de mea salute egisset voluntate Caesaris ipsum fratrem testatus est"; 9.10: "fidemque fratris mei".

254 Fam. I.9.12: "Pompei fides, quam de me Caesari dederat, et fratris mei, quam Pompeio"; 9.18: "divina Caesaris in me fratremque meum liberalitas"; cf. Att. III.18.1. On the delegation, see Sest. 71; on Q. and Caesar, 165-170.

255 Leg. III.45: "sed visum est et vobis ... de hoc eodem cunctam Italiam, quid sentiret ostendere". The two persons addressed in "vobis" are Atticus - who was neither in the Senate nor in Rome at the time of the motion - and Q. On the episode, see Sest. 72-4; Att. III.26.

he was one of the prime targets of the Clodians' violence. Forcibly removed from the rostra, and wounded, he lay in the Comitium for the rest of that day, and was taken for one among those who had died, but escaped under cover of night, protected by his slaves and freedmen.[256] And as the gang warfare between Clodius and Milo continued in the spring, he again had frequently to run from attacks of Clodius' ruffians.[257]

Among the tribunes of 57, Quintus must have cooperated very closely with Milo and Sestius in the effort to bring back Cicero. His close association with Milo is suggested by a few clues: he had a special interest in Milo's campaign in 54-3 for the consulship of 52, which Cicero described to him in detail; he supported Milo's candidature from where he was, in Gaul, perhaps with finance, more probably with efforts to obtain Caesar's support;[258] at the trial of Milo for the murder of

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256 Sest. 76: "universique destrictis gladiis et cruentis in omnibus fori partibus fratrem meum ... oculis quaerebant, voce poscebant ... Subiit tamen vim nefariam ... pulsus e rostris in comitio iacuit, seque servorum et libertorum corporibus obtexit, vitamque tum suam noctis et fugae praesidio non iuris iudiciorumque defendit"; Plut. Cic. 33.4: "ὥστε τρωθῆναι μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ δημάρχους, Κόϊντον δὲ τὸν Κικέρωνος ἀδελφὸν ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς ὡς τεθνηκότα κείμενον διαλαθεῖν". Cf. Att. III.27; Dio XXXIX.7.2.

257 Dom. 59: "Quid frater meus? ... quotiens est ex vestro ferro ac manibus elapsus!" On the episode, see Sest. 77-96; p. Red. in Sen. 19-20.

258 Milo's campaign: Q.F. III.6.6; 7.2; cf. Fam. VII.5.3; II.6.3-5. Q.'s support: Q.F. II.7.2: "tuque istinc, quod facis, adiuvabis ... de re familiari timeo ... Cuius in hoc uno <in> considerantiam et ego sustinebo ut potero et tu ut possis est tuorum Nerviorum" (The precise text and meaning is doubtful: see T.P.'s discussion ad loc., (II, 226) but the general drift is sufficient for our point).

Clodius, Cicero asked how he would face his brother, if he failed to save Milo.[259]

Similar clues suggest Quintus' close association with Sestius. Writing from Sardinia in 56, Quintus requested Cicero to arrange what appears to be a loan for Sestius from one of the agents of Atticus.[260] He was extremely interested in the indictments of vis and ambitus brought against Sestius in that same year, as evident from the detailed report Cicero gave him on these in Q.F. II.3.5-6, and from the alacrity with which Cicero announced Sestius' acquittal as the very first news in Q.F. II.4.1. Cicero's own defence of Sestius was, to a great extent, the effect of Quintus' persuasion. Cicero himself had not been inclined to undertake the defence of a man, whom he thought at the time to be "morosus", "perversus". Quintus was concerned that failure on Cicero's part to defend this benefactor would be interpreted as a lack of "gratia" and "humanitas", and he repeatedly reminded Cicero of his obligation to that man.[261]

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259 Mil. 102: "Revocare tu me in patriam, Milo, potuisti ... Quid respondebo ...? Quid tibi, Quinte frater ...?"

260 Q.F. II.2.1: "Quod ad me Lentuli et Sesti nomine scripsisti, locutus sum cum Cincio". Both T.P. (II, 38) and Constans (II, 133) interpret the meaning as above.

261 Q.F. II.3.5: "eique [= Sestio] nos totos tradidimus idque fecimus praeter hominum opinionem, qui nos ei iure suscensere putabant, ut humanissimi gratissimique et ipsi et omnibus videremur, itaque faciemus"; 3.6: "Quae tibi eo scribo, quod me de retinenda Sesti gratia litteris saepe monuisti"; 4.1: "Illud quod tibi curae saepe esse intellexeram, ne cui iniquo relinqueremus vituperandi locum qui nos ingratos esse diceret nisi illius perversitatem quibusdam in rebus quam humanissime ferremus, scito hoc nos in eo iudicio consecutos esse, ut omnium gratissimi iudicaremur. Nam defendendo moroso homine ...".

Finally, the effort to restore Cicero, in which Quintus took such an eminent part, brought its result, and Cicero landed at Brundisium on 5 August 57.[262] In recognition of Quintus' struggle, Cicero paid to him, from exile and upon his return to Rome, a tribute greater than to any other single individual, both in private letters to Atticus and Quintus himself, and in public addresses to the Senate and people. The name of Quintus is preeminent in this period of Cicero's writings, in the frequency with which it occurs; in its association with superlative compliments; in its position, when it is part of a list of people, of heading or completing that list. More than ever before or later in his life, it was in this period of calamity that Cicero felt most intensely his oneness with his brother.[263] In exile he felt a hankering ("desiderium") for Quintus' company, and his return was a restoration to a brother who was "suavis", "iucundus", "carissimus", "optatissimus".[264] During this emotional crisis in his life, when he badly needed affection, Cicero found

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262 Att. IV.1.4: Q. was not at Brundisium with Tullia to welcome M., surely because he had to stay in Rome, where the motion for recall had been passed in the Comitia Centuriata on 4 Aug. (Att. IV.1.4: n. 241 above).

263 Q.F. I.3.4: "coniunctissimis fratribus"; 4.5: "communem calamitatem"; Mil. 102: "consorti mecum temporum illorum"; p. Red. ad Quir. 5: "quae in me fratremque ... contulistis".

264 Att. III.10.2: "quo caream honore, qua gloria, quibus liberis, quibus fortunis, quo fratre? quem ego ... cum pluris facerem quem me ipsum semperque fecissem"; Sest. 49: "fratre ... caruisse"; Q.F. I.3.3: "cum enim te desidero, fratrem solum desidero? Ego vero suavitate fratrem ..." (cf. II.7.1: "cum desiderio"); Att. III.15.4: "me ... fratri et liberis nostris restitutum" (cf. Q.F. II.6.3: "ut ... te nobis redderet"); Q.F. I.3.3: "quid mihi sine te umquam aut tibi sine me iucundum fuit?" p. Red. ad Quir. 3: "Nihil cuiquam fuit umquam

inadequate the even-tempered and cooler friendship of Atticus, and his relationship with his wife was becoming more distant than ever. It was in Quintus' more passionate "amor" that he found a response to his emotional need.[265] Hence his proclamations of Quintus' outstanding "pietas". Quintus, as a younger brother, had shown to him such obedience ("obsequium") and loyalty ("fides") as a son owed to a father,[266] and - more remarkably - Quintus had conferred upon him a "beneficium", such as a father would upon a son, by means of his intelligence ("consilium") in handling the negotiations, and of his courage ("virtus", "fortitudo" and "patientia") in facing the physical violence of Clodius

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iucundius quam mihi meus frater: non tam id sentiebam cum fruebar quam tum cum carebam, et postea quam vos me illi et mihi eum reddidistis"; Planc. 69: "pro fratre meo, qui mihi est carissimus" (cf. Q.F. II.6.4: "mi carissime et suavissime frater"); p. Red. in Sen. 1: "qui mihi fratrem optatissimum ... reddidistis" (cf. Q.F. II.7.2: "mi ... optatissime frater"). But see further below, 222-4, on "suavis" and "iucundus".

265 p. Red. ad Quir. 8: "tanto in me amore exstitit"; "amore idem qui semper fuit frater"; p. Red. in Sen. 1: "fratri amantissimo"; Dom. 96: "fratris absentis amantissimi"; Sest. 76: "fratrem meum ... meique amantissimum"; 145: "amore inaudito"; Q.F. I.3.4: "amantissimis ... fratribus"; 4.5: "amor tuus"; Att. III.18.2: "Quintus frater, homo mirus qui me tam valde amat" (Any suggestion that "homo mirus" here means "strange fellow" (cf. T.P. and S.B. ad loc.) must of course be ruled out); IV.2.7: "cetera quae me sollicitant μυστικώτερα sunt. amamur a fratre et a filia" (cf. 1.8).

266 p. Red. ad Quir. 5: "Illi mihi fratrem incognitum qualis futurus esset dederunt, vos spectatum et incredibili pietate cognitum reddidistis"; 8: "Unus ... mihi pietate filius inventus est"; Sest. 145: "incredibili pietate"; Q.F. I.3.3: "obsequio filium"; II.3.7: "tua, mi frater, ... pietate"; Att. IV.1.8: "Quintum fratrem insigni pietate ... fide praeditum".

and his gangs.[267] Quintus was, in short, the best of brothers, "frater optimus".[268]

This discussion of the impact of Cicero's exile on Quintus has taken us a step further in following the intimate interplay in the public life of the two brothers. Narratives of Quintus, hurrying to Rome to answer charges, brought against him by the enemies he had made as governor, oversimplify the story and overlook this interplay. Quintus came back to Rome reluctantly, doubtful of his ability to cope with the family's crisis by himself, devoid as he was, for the first time, of the considerable resources to be found in his brother's presence. The prosecution for repetundae, which was awaiting him, was no doubt to exploit the mistakes he had made and the enemities he had incurred as governor, but it was primarily a manoeuvre of the enemies Cicero himself had made. The voluntary withdrawal of Quintus, which it was expected to bring about, would have doubled the humiliation of the family and compromised the chances of Cicero's reinstatement. Under the advice of his brother, Quintus did not fall into the trap, but stayed in Rome to work for Cicero's return. To Cicero's failing spirits, his vigilance over political developments, the frequency, thoroughness and optimism of his correspondence, generosity with financial assistance, his solicitude for

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267 p. Red. ad Quir. 8: "beneficio parens"; Sest. 76: "fortissimum"; Q.F. I.3.3: "consilio parentem"; II.3.7: "tua ... patientia, virtute"; Att. IV.1.8: "virtute ... praeditum".

268 p. Red. ad Quir. 7: "fratrisque miserrimi atque optimi"; Sest. 49: "optimo fratre"; 76: "virum optimum"; 145: "frater optimus"; Dom. 96: "fratris ... optimi"; Q.F. II.7.2: "mi optime ... frater"; Att. III.11.2: "fratrem optimum"; 19.2: "optimi atque unici fratris".

the family, were salutary props: in Rome, his persistent and obtrusive manifestations of bereavement kept alive the issue of Cicero's reinstatement. Working in cooperation with Atticus, the consul Lentulus, the tribunes Fabricius, Milo, Sestius and other supporters, fearless of the violence from Clodius' thugs, Quintus was an instrumental agent in securing the action for Cicero's reinstatement and Pompey's acceptance of it. This successful struggle of Quintus for the family's salus was for Cicero a sobering experience. He had left for exile with a condescending sense of failure and frustration in leaving helpless his younger and dependent brother. During his absence, Quintus was able not only to help himself, but to help his elder brother as well. Consequently, Cicero returned from exile with affection strengthened and respect considerably increased for Quintus. There followed a happy but short reunion. For, as a result of his approaches to Pompey for Cicero's return, Quintus had to serve as Pompey's legate in Sardinia.

4. LEGATE OF POMPEY

Back in 59, Cicero had considered accepting a legatio from Caesar or Pompey as a protection against Clodius' threats, and, in exile, he regretted having refused it.[269] In the weeks which followed his return, Clodius continued his harassment not only of Marcus, but also of Quintus. In November 57, fire was set to Quintus' house as well as Marcus', and

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269 Att. II.18.3; 19.4-5; 20.2; 21.6; 22.2; 23.3; IV.2.6 ("sic enim nostrae rationes utilitatis meae postulabant"); Fam. XIV.3.1 ("Meum fuit officium vel legatione vitare periculum").

they had to vacate the premises for a while.[270] So this time, when in September the Senate put Pompey in charge of corn-supply for five years, and Pompey nominated M. Cicero as one of his fifteen legati, Cicero accepted, on the condition that he should not be bound to discharge the duties involved until after the summer of 56.[271] Two inscriptions, found at Rocca d'Arce and Arpinum respectively, include, in the career of Q. Cicero, the mention that he was a legate of Pompey, in charge of corn-supply from Sardinia, an information confirmed by a fragment of the Pro Scauro.[272] Q.F. II.1-7, written between December 57 and May 56, containing references to Sardinia, indicate the period of this service.[273] This legatio presumably superseded the one previously accepted by Marcus from Pompey as commissioner of the corn-supply, distinguishable from the one which Marcus later, in 54, accepted from Pompey as proconsul

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270 Att. IV.3.2-4; Fam. I.9.5: "cum fratre eram domo expulsus"; Cael. 78: "meam domum diruit, mei fratris incendit".

271 Att. IV.1.6-7; 2.6 (he was interested in a censorship for 55, and he disliked sea-voyages: the reason, however, which he gave for wanting to stay a while in Rome, was the desire to be near those who had served him well).

272 CIL X, 1, No. 701: "leg. cn. pompei frum. compar. in Sardinia"; No. 719: "et imp. cn. pompei magni frum. compar. in sardinia"; Scaur. 39: "frater meus ... cum rei frumentariae Cn. Pompei iussu praefuisset".

273 Q.F. II.2.1: "numquid in Sardiniam"; "quiddam Sardinia appositum"; "tu mihi videris in Sardinia"; 3.7: "A te post illam Ulbiensem epistulam"; "Sardiniam istam esse cogites"; 6.3: "ille in Sardiniam"; 7.1: "illas [litteras] ... Ulbia datas". Cf. Fam. I.9.9: "Quem [= Q.] cum in Sardinia ... convenisset".

of Spain.[274] The reason for Quintus accepting this commission must have been tied up with the need for his brother and himself to increase their protection by consolidating their tie with Pompey, as can be guessed from the anxiety he continued to feel in Sardinia, regarding Marcus' safety.[275]

The mission in Sardinia lasted hardly six months. By 10 December 57 (date of Q.F. II.1), he had left Rome, but was still in Italy - probably at Ostia, Pisa or Labro, ports of embarkation for Sardinia - since Cicero assumed that he (Quintus) would have read by evening a letter he, Cicero, had written to him that same morning, and since Cicero was cautioning him on his forthcoming sea-voyage.[276] He must have sailed soon after 10 December, since, by 17 January (date of Q.F. II.2), he appears to have been in Sardinia for a while already, as implied by the writer's discussion of the reasons why their correspondence between Sardinia and Rome had not been satisfactory.[277] In the last of the seven letters addressed to him in Sardinia, dated a few days after 15 May 56,

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274 Fam. VII.5 (Apr. 54); Q.F. III.1.18 (Sept. 54); Att. IV. 19.2 (Nov. 54). Cf. Blase 11; Drumann-Groebe 648; Wiemer 17, with n. 55; T.P. n. ad Q.F. III.1.18.

275 Q.F. II.2.2: "Te tamen sollicitum esse nolo; omne genus a nobis cautionis adhibebitur".

276 Q.F. II.1.1: "Epistulam quam legisti mane dederam"; "vesperi venit, ut ... perscriberem"; 1.3: "diligenterque naviges de mense Decembri". Date of Q.F. II.1: see Constans II, 90. Ports: Q.F. II. 5.7; 6.3. Dom. 96 (delivered 29 Sept. 57: Att. IV.2.2) refers to Q. as "absentis": we do not know where he was then or what he was doing.

277 Q.F. II.2.1: "me tibi excuso in eo ipso in quo te accuso"; 2.4: "XIIII Kal. Febr."

Cicero was expecting him back, and inviting him to dinner, so that he must have returned to Rome by the end of May.[278]

The mission in Sardinia seems to have had a specific purpose rather than a specific duration. Hardly was Quintus gone, when already, in January, Marcus was looking forward to his return.[279] In February, Marcus was arranging rented accommodation for him in Rome until 1 July, which implies he was expected back well before that date.[280] In March, Marcus was expecting him shortly ("brevi"), and had reports he would sail as soon as possible, when the navigation season opened.[281] On 7 April, Pompey promised to let him return immediately after he himself arrived in Sardinia. Marcus urged him to sail at the first opportunity and be back at least in time for Milo's trial on 7 May.[282]

This haste to return to Rome, absence of any discussion of Sardinia in the seven extant letters, references to how Quintus was

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278 Q.F. II.7.2: "Idibus et postridie"; "coram enim"; "advola"; "cenabis, cum veneris". Beltrami, 8, must be mistaken in extending Q.'s service in Sardinia to a "biennium".

279 Q.F. II.2.4: "Tu, si ista expedisti, velim quam primum bona et certa tempestate conscendas ad meque venias".

280 Q.F. II.3.7: "Domus tibi ... conducta est. Sed, ut spero, paucis mensibus post Kal. Quint. in tuam commigrabis"; "XV Kal. Mart."

281 Q.F. II.5.1: "haec, ut spero, brevi inter nos communicabimus"; 5.5: "aiebant nuntiare te prima navigatione transmissurum".

282 Q.F. II.6.3: "ab eo petivi ut quam primum te nobis redderet; 'statim' dixit. Erat autem iturus, ut aiebat, a.d. III Id. Apr."; "simul et ille venerit, primam navigationem ... ne omiseris"; 6.4: "ut ... prid. Non. Romae essem teque ... ad eam diem ... viderem"; "ad tuum adventum".

spending his "otium" (presumably in literary exercises),[283] are indications that he enjoyed this mission as little as he had enjoyed Asia: probably he was even more miserable in a province notorious at the time for the unhealthiness of its climate and backwardness of its people.[284] Yet again he appears to have done his job efficiently and perhaps even to have added some native amici to the clientela of the Ciceros.[285]

Q. Cicero's service under Pompey was a token both of the triumvirs' patronage of his brother and of his brother's cooperation with the triumvirs. But on 5 April 56, M. Cicero notified the Senate of his intention to reopen debate on Caesar's Lex Campana on 15 May. It was a step in breach of the word Quintus had given, and a step of which Quintus would have certainly disapproved, had he had prior notice of it. It is striking that, whereas later in 54 Cicero wrote in great detail on the matter to Lentulus Spinther, including an account of his own initiative in it, to Quintus at the time he was not informative at all on this subject. Cicero wrote five letters to Quintus between December 57 and March 56, characterised by their high content of news about public affairs and details of senatorial proceedings - and yet no mention of

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283 Q.F. II.2.1: "tu mihi videris ... in otio"; 3.7: "ut te oblectes scire cupio".

284 See, on Sardinia, the Republican province, E.S. Bouchier, Sardinia in Ancient Times, Oxford, Blackwell, 1917, 62-87; V. Chapot, Le Monde Romain, Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1927, 160-172.

285 Q.F. II.5.5: "quosdam venisse ... qui te unice laudarent plurimique in provincia fieri dicerent"; Scaur. 39: "non sum ... alienus a Sardis, praesertim cum frater meus nuper ab his decesserit" (although Cic. goes on to impugn their character).

the Lex Campana, except in the letter of December 57, with never a word as to his own initiative. Then, after the Senate meeting of April 5, in a letter written on April 8 and a letter written in May, he informed Quintus, very laconically, that the matter had been debated with uproar and withdrawn.[286]

Thus Cicero planned his attack on Caesar, without properly consulting Quintus, who had a right to be consulted, as he had been so deeply involved in the negotiations with Caesar for Cicero's return from exile. When Caesar, at Luca, demanded a retraction, Pompey naturally turned to Quintus, who was still in Sardinia. Pompey met him in the island, and told him in his abrupt way to remind his brother of his pledge and advise him to cease and desist from attacking Caesar.[287] Pompey sent a messenger, Vibullius, directly to Cicero; but it was the letter which Quintus immediately wrote to him, with a detailed account of his interview with Pompey and a personal plea for the honouring of

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286 Q.F. II.1.1: "Commorat exspectationem Lupus. Egit causam agri Campani ..."; 6.1: "Non. Apr. ... vehementer actum de agro Campano clamore senatus prope contionali"; 7.2: "Quod Idibus et postridie fuerat dictum de agro Campano actum iri, †ut †est actum; in hac causa mihi aqua haeret". Cf. Fam. I.9.8. Details of senatorial proceedings in letters to Sardinia: Q.F. II.1.1-3; 2.3; 3.3; 3.5.

287 Fam. I.9.9: "Quem cum in Sardinia Pompeius paucis post diebus quam Luca discesserat convenisset, 'Te', inquit, 'ipsum cupio: nihil opportunius potuit accidere: nisi cum Marco fratre diligenter egeris ...'"; "cuius causam dignitatemque mihi ut commendaret, rogavit ut eam ne oppugnarem".

the pledge, that made Cicero retract.[288]

After the mission in Sardinia, from his return to Rome at the end of May 56 until his departure for Gaul in April 54,[289] there are five extant letters addressed to Quintus: Q.F. II.8, 9, 10, 11, 12. These letters indicate that, during those two years, he resided in Rome, but frequently sojourned in the country. In February 55, date of Q.F. II.8, he was away from Rome, but had left the city only a few days previously, before 11 February.[290] In April or May 55, date of Q.F. II.9, he was in Rome, but likely to leave soon, to join Marcus at Cumae.[291] In February 54, date of Q.F. II.10, 11 and 12, he was again away from Rome, but had left not so long ago, at least a week previously, since there had already been some previous correspondence (or, at any rate,

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288 Fam. I.9.9: "quod ego cum audissem ex aliis, maxime ex meo fratre cognovi"; 9.10: "Haec cum ad me frater pertulisset et cum tamen Pompeius ad me cum mandatis Vibullium misisset ..."; "ut ... fidemque fratris mei praestarem"; 9.12: "Gravissime autem me ... impulit et Pompei fides ... et fratris mei quam Pompeio [dederat]".

289 Return from Sardinia, see above, 144-5; departure for Gaul, below, 151-2.

290 Q.F. II.8.1: "postridie quam tu es profectus"; 8.3: "A.d. III Id. Febr."; "cum tu adesses".

291 There has been considerable dispute on the date of this letter, of which there are good reviews by T.P. (ad loc: II, 100) and Constans (REL 1933, 140-5). I follow here T.P. as to the date and place of writing. But, even if Constans' view is correct (June 56, written at Antium), the essence of the point being made here is not affected. That the addressee, Q., was in Rome is not disputed: cf. 9.1: "te proficiscens non tollerem"; 9.2: "in villam apertam ... nunc invitare"; 9.4: "adduc ... Marium" and cf. Fam. VII.1 addressed to M. Marius.

expectation thereof) between Marcus in Rome and himself.[292] He was due to return to Rome in the near, but not immediate, future, since further correspondence was to precede his return.[293]

These were years of disillusion and disenchantment with Pompey.[294] After Luca, the triumvirate had reasserted itself, and Pompey had failed to live up to the expectation that he would be the custodian of the Senate's dignitas. The decline of the Senate's prestige was symbolised at the praetorian election of 55, when a Cato was defeated and a Vatinius elected.[295] Quintus sought refuge in his literary pursuits.[296] And he urged upon his brother more strongly what he always felt deep down in himself, that public life had become full of dangers and futilities and deprived of true dignitas. A man like his brother, with his knowledge, his vision and his mastery of language, would spend his energies to greater profit for himself and the world, by devoting

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292 Q.F. II.10.1: "codicilli tui"; "is dies quo tu es profectus"; "Prid. Id."; 11.1: "Gaudeo tibi iucundas esse meas litteras, nec tamen habuissem scribendi ... nisi tuas accepissem"; "prid. Id."; 11.2: "Februarium"; 11.4: "fugerat me ad te scribere"; "scripsit"; "rescripsit"; 11.5: "misi ... litteras"; "rescripsi"; 12.1: "Cognosce nunc Idus"; 12.3: "ex Kal. Febr. usque ad Kal. Mart."

293 Q.F. II.11.5: "cum tuo reditu"; "scribemus ad te"; 12.3: "Omnia conligo ut novi scribam aliquid ad te".

294 Q.F. II.9.4: "De republica nimium te laborare doleo"; 12.1: "De Pompeio adsentior tibi vel tu potius mihi. Nam, ut scis, iam pridem istum canto Caesarem".

295 See sources on Vatinius' election in Broughton II, 216; and account of these two years in Stockton 208-218 and Gelzer, Cic., 167-185.

296 Q.F. II.10.3; 12.4 (see further below, 261-2).

himself to otium consisting in literary pursuits. Cicero heeded the advice partly by turning to the composition of De Oratore,[297] the first of several rhetorical and philosophical works. Petrarch, in his letter to Cicero, thought he should never have forgotten Quintus' advice.[298]

In this brief section, it has been seen that the new step in Quintus Cicero's public life, which consisted in his supervision of the corn-supply from Sardinia, was, again, closely connected with his brother's career. The purpose of it was to strengthen Cicero's tie with Pompey, so that Cicero could benefit from Pompey's protection, and Pompey from Cicero's oratorical gifts. Consequently, in the aftermath of Luca, it was Quintus who was pressed by Pompey to prevent his brother from attacking Caesar's Lex Campana in the Senate. Enjoying neither the chores involved in the foreign service nor the humiliating political manipulation to which he was subjected, Quintus soon returned home to live a more private life and preach the same to Cicero, until two years later he became the legate of Caesar.

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297 De Or. I.3: "in his vel asperitatibus rerum vel angustiis temporis obsequar studiis nostris et quantum mihi vel fraus inimicorum vel causae amicorum vel respublica tribuet oti, ad scribendum potissimum conferam; tibi vero, frater, neque hortanti deero neque roganti"; III. 13 (see quotation, above, 20, n. 59); Q.F. II.8.1: "Quod me admones ... suadesque ut meminerim Iovis orationem quae est in extremo illo libro, ego vero memini" (see discussion further below, 227-8). Cf. Att. IV.10.1; 11.2; Fam. I.8.4; VII.1.1-6, esp. 5-6.

298 Petrarch, Le Familiari, XXIV.3 (cf. Boyancé, IL, 1958, 24). On the changing attitude of M. to the problem of θεωρητικὸς βίος ν/ς πρακτικὸς βίος, see de Saint-Denis, Rev. Phil. XII (1938) 193-215; and the discussion of J.M. André on Ciceronian otium in L'Otium dans la vie morale et intellectuelle romaine, Paris, PUF, 1966, 279-334.

5. LEGATE OF CAESAR

In his well-known letter to Lentulus Spinther, written in December 54, Cicero said: "Quintus frater meus legatus est Caesaris". The Scholiast Bobbiensis, in a note to the Pro Milone, composed in 52, observed: "Frater autem Ciceronis Q. Tullius legatione tunc in Gallia aput exercitum Caesaris fungebatur." The two inscriptions from Rocca d'Arce and Arpinum record, in Quintus' career, "leg. c. caesar. in gall. et in brittan." and "[leg.] imp. c. caesar. in gallia et in brittan." respectively.[299] Although Caesar mentions him in his De Bello Gallico, and twice in some detail, and Q.F. II.13-16 and III.1-7 were addressed to him in Caesar's army, it is from the above four sources that we have evidence that he was actually a "legatus" of Caesar.

It is Marcus who broached the matter of a legateship for his brother in a letter to Caesar in January 54. There was a covering letter from Balbus, with whom Cicero was at the time on excellent terms. The package, in which the two letters were mailed, was damaged by water, so that Caesar could barely make out what the letters were about, but anyhow expressed his surprise and delight at the idea.[300] In mid-February,

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299 Fam. I.9.21; Schol. Bob. ad Mil. 102: Hildebrandt p. 81; CIL X, 1, Nos. 702 and 719.

300 Q.F. II.11.4: "De Caesare fugerat me ad te scribere ... Sed ille scripsit ad Balbum ... ut ne illud quidem sciat, meam fuisse aliquam epistulam. Sed ex Balbi epistula pauca verba intellexerat, ad quae rescripsit his verbis: 'De Cicerone te video quiddam scripsisse ... id erat eius modi ut magis optandum quam sperandum putarem'" (dated Febr : 11.1; 11.2). On relation of M. with Balbus: Fam. VII.5.2; 6.1; 7.1-2; 9.1; 16.3; 18.3; Q.F. III.1.9; 1.12.

the Ciceros were still awaiting confirmation from Caesar, in answer to a second letter which Marcus had sent to make up for the damaged one.[301] But by the middle of May (date of Q.F. II.13), Quintus had already written several letters to Marcus, on his way to Caesar's army, of which Marcus had received two, one despatched from the neighbourhood of Rome, the other from Ariminum.[302] Therefore Quintus must have left Rome some time in April. The month of May he spent in Cisalpina, since Marcus received on 2 June a letter from him written at Placentia. He was waiting for Caesar who was on his way back from Illyricum.[303] By the end of May, he had met Caesar: for his next letter, received soon after, and written not far from Placentia, was accompanied by a letter from Caesar.[304] With Caesar, he then proceeded to Transalpina.

That summer of 54, Caesar was preparing his second expedition to Britain. The expedition was due for late June or July, but was delayed first for twenty-five days by bad weather, and then by the escape of the

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301 Q.F. II.11.4: "video enim quas tu litteras exspectaris"; 11.5: "postea misi ad Caesarem eodem illo exemplo litteras".

302 Q.F. II.13.1: "Duas adhuc a te accepi epistulas, quarum alteram in ipso discessu nostro, alteram Arimino datam; pluris quas scribis te dedisse non acceperam"; (cf. "usque ad Kal. Iun."); Att. IV. 14.2: "si quid novi forte habes, maxime a Quinto fratre, deinde a C. Caesare"; (cf. 14.1: "ad Id. Mai.").

303 Q.F. II.14.1: "A.d. IIII Non. Iun., quo die Romam veni, accepi tuas litteras datas Placentia"; Caes. B.G. V.1.5: "ipse ... in Illyricum proficiscitur"; 2.1: "in citeriorem Galliam revertitur atque inde ad exercitum proficiscitur".

304 Q.F. II.14.1: "deinde alteras postridie datas †Blandenonne† cum Caesaris litteris" (see T.P.'s n. on Blandeno (?)); "litterae vero eius una datae cum tuis".

Aeduan chief Dumnorix. When, in August, Caesar finally landed in Britain, Quintus was with him, as can be assumed from the fact that Marcus received several letters from his brother, written in Britain during that month.[305] It can be assumed that he accompanied Caesar in the march to the interior, and was left with part of the army near Canterbury, when Caesar had to return to the coast to organise urgent repairs for the ships damaged by a severe storm: for Caesar wrote on 1 September that Quintus had not come with him to the coast, and that was why Cicero was without news from his brother for a while.[306] He presumably went with Caesar, when Caesar returned from the coast to proceed as far as St. Albans. On 26 September he was back with Caesar on the coast, embarking for the return journey.[307]

In October 54, when Caesar distributed his legions into winter-quarters over several communities in Northern Gaul, he treated Q. Cicero

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305 Att. IV.16.7 (c. 1 July: S.B. n. ad 16.1): "Britannici belli exitus exspectatur"; 15.10 (27 July: cf. 15.8): "Ex Quinti fratris litteris suspicor iam eum esse in Britannia. suspenso animo exspecto quid agat"; Q.F. II.16.4 (end Aug: cf. 16.3): "O iucundas mihi tuas de Britannia litteras! Timebam Oceanum, timebam litus insulae"; III.1.10: (mid. Sept: T.P. n. ad 1.1): "De Britannicis rebus cognovi ex tuis litteris ..."; 1.13: "Quarta epistula mihi reddita est Id. Sept. quam a.d. IIII Id. Sext. ex Britannia dederas"; Caes. B.G. V. 2; 7-8.

306 Q.F. III.1.25: "Ex Britannia Caesar ad me Kal. Sept. dedit litteras ... quibus, ne admirer quod a te nullas acceperim, scribit se sine te fuisse cum ad mare accesserit"; Caes. B.G. V. 9-11. Canterbury: cf. Constans, B.G., ad loc.

307 Q.F. III.3.1 (21 Oct: cf. T.P. n. ad loc.): "dierum iam amplius quadraginta intervallo nihil a te, nihil a Caesare, nihil ex istis locis"; Att. IV.18.5: "A Quinto fratre et a Caesare accepi a.d. VIIII Kal. Nov. litteras datas a litoribus Britanniae proximae a.d. VI Kal. Oct... exercitum e Britannia reportabant"; Caes. B.G. V. 15-23. St. Albans: see Constans, ad B.G. V. 21.2.

as an experienced and reliable legate by allowing him to choose his legion with its assignment.[308] Quintus was consequently assigned the legion to winter among the Nervii.[309] This particular assignment may have had to do with relations which Quintus personally had with some community leaders in the area. For there are a few hints in Caesar's subsequent narrative, indicating that they had a special rapport ("aditus sermonis", "causa amicitiae") with Q. Cicero personally. In fact, one of them, Vertico, soon joined him against his own people.[310]

The key indications for determining the location of Q. Cicero's camp are the following: (a) Caes. B.G. V.27.8: Titurius Sabinus and Aur. Cotta were two days ("biduo") from (i.e. west of) the Rhine. (b) 27.9: Q. Cicero was about 50 miles west of Sabinus and Cotta, and Labienus a little farther ("paullo amplius"), (not vice-versa, since the Eburones marching westwards encountered Q. Cicero first). (c) 30.3:

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308 Q.F. III.3.4 (21 Oct: cf. n. 307): "Quibus in locis ... hiematurus sis ... scribas ..."; Att. IV.19.2: "Quintum ... quem ad modum tractat honore, dignitate, gratia!... hibernam legionem eligendi optio delata commodum, ut ad me Quintus scribit". Alternative readings: (a) T.P.'s "hiberna legionis" (following Nipperdey), and (b) Ernesti's "hiberna legionum" (see T.P. ad loc.), have the advantage neither of mss. authority nor of better sense. According to (a), Caes. would have assigned the legion, and Q. chosen the place. According to (b), Q. would have decided about all winter-quarters!

309 Caes. B.G. V.24.2: "alteram in Nervios Q. Ciceroni"; Q.F. II.6.2 (end Nov: cf. 6.5): "ubi enim isti sint Nervii et quam longe absint nescio".

310 Caes. B.G. V.41.1: "duces principesque Nerviorum qui aliquem sermonis aditum causamque amicitiae cum Cicerone habebant"; 41.5: "sese tamen hoc esse in Ciceronem populumque Romanum animo"; 41.8: "se [= Cicerone] adiutore utantur legatosque ad Caesarem mittant"; 45.2: "Erat unus intus Nervius nomine Vertico, loco natus honesto, qui a prima obsidione ad Ciceronem perfugerat suamque ei fidem praestiterat".

From the Sabinus-Cotta camp to the nearest Roman camp (i.e. Q. Cicero's), it would take two days ("perendino die"). (d) 38.1-2: Ambiorix, however, travelling night and day, covered the journey in 24 hours or so ("noctem ... diem ... postero die in Nervios pervenit"). (e) 47.1: Caesar, from Amiens (Samarobriva), marched eastwards 20 miles ("eo die milia passuum XX procedit"); (f) 48.2: after further forced marches, he reached the confines of the Nervian territory ("venit magnis itineribus in Nerviorum finis"); (g) 48.3; 8: after this, a messenger on horseback had time to travel post-speed to Q. Cicero's camp, followed by an interval of two days ("tertio die"); (h) 49.5: then, after covering four further miles, Caesar was within sight of Q. Cicero's camp. It would seem then, allowing 20-25 miles to a day's march, that Quintus' camp was approximately 90-100 miles west of the Rhine, and rather more than 100 miles east of Amiens, in the region of Namur, near the confluence of the Sambre (Sabis) and the Meuse (Mosa).[311]

The attack, on Q. Cicero's camp, of Ambiorix, with his Eburones, Aduatuci, Nervii and Germans, is one of the well-known highlights of Caesar's Gallic War.[312] But the measure of Quintus' own credit

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311 Cf. Blase 13-15; Wiemer 35, n. 125; Constans III, 46 (similar conclusion). There is a good review of the various theories propounded as to the exact location of the camp in Rice Holmes 383-4.

312 Caes. B.G. V.38-53. The following also touch on the episode and on Q.'s presence: Livy, Perioch. 106; Frontin. Strateg. III.17.6; Appian, Celtica 20; Dio XL.7-11; Plut. Caes. 24; Polyaen. Strateg. VIII.23.6; Oros. VI.10.2-9. The following mention the episode, without any reference to Q.: Suet. Iul. 25.2; Flor. I.45.7-8; Zonaras 10.6. None of these secondary sources adds any information, since they are all derivative from Caesar's own Commentaries.

in the defence of the camp needs yet to be brought out. Caesar presents the situation faced by Q. Cicero as singularly similar to that faced by Sabinus and Cotta - the account of which has immediately preceded the Q. Cicero episode - and the ultimate outcome as singularly opposite, owing to the sharply different reaction in Cicero's camp.

First the attack, strikingly similar in suddenness and unexpectedness:

(a) On Q. Cicero (V.38-9): "statim", "neque noctem neque diem intermittit", "subito", "confestim", "de improviso", "nondum ad eum fama de Titurii morte perlata", "qui lignationis munitionisque causa ... discessissent repentino equitum adventu interciperentur", "magna manu ... oppugnare", "in celeritate".

(b) On Sabinus-Cotta (V.26): "repentini tumultus", "subitoque oppressis lignatoribus magna manu ... oppugnatum", (28.1) "repentina re".

After suffering initial repulses from Q. Cicero (40.3) and from Sabinus-Cotta (26.3), the enemy offer to parley, with similar arguments, with

(a) Q. Cicero (41)	and	(b) Sabinus-Cotta (27)
(i) The whole of Gaul is in arms:		
(a) "Omnem esse in armis Galliam"		(b) "esse Galliae commune consilium".
(ii) The Germans have joined:		
(a) "Germanos Rhenum transisse"		(b) "Magnam manum Germanorum conductam Rhenum transisse".
(iii) All Caesar's winterquarters are under attack:		
(a) "Caesaris reliquorumque hiberna oppugnari"		(b) "omnibus hibernis Caesaris oppugnandis hunc esse dictum diem".
(iv) Request for relief from Roman winterquarters:		
(a) "nihil nisi hiberna recusent"		(b) "hibernis levetur".

(v) Safe-conduct for the Roman commander(s) and his troops:

(a) "licere illis incolumibus ... sine metu ..."

(b) "orare Titurium pro hospitio, ut suae ac militum saluti consulat ... tutum iter per fines daturum".

(cf. "eadem quae Ambiorix cum Titurio egerat commemorant".)

Identical tactics, in both situations, of scare, bluff, reasonableness and appeal to personal safety.

And yet, the reaction in the Sabinus-Cotta camp is full of panic, credulity, dissension and demagogy ("perturbati" (28.1), "permovebantur" (28.1), "controversia" (28.2), "Titurius ... clamitabat" (29.1), "disputatio" (30.1), "Sabinus ... clariore voce, ut magna pars militum exaudiret" (30.1), "dissensio" (31.1), "disputatio" (31.3)), leading to a disastrous retreat; and the account of it all takes about 400 words. In sharp contrast to this, Q. Cicero's handling of the situation is described in about thirty Laconic words, designed to portray a man completely in control of his camp, entirely fearless of death, scrupulously observant of the principle that a Roman should never negotiate out of fear, and at the same time compassionate to the natives' complaint and willing to negotiate in good faith:

> Cicero ad haec unum modo respondit: non esse consuetudinem populi Romani accipere ab hoste armato condicionem: si ab armis discedere velint, se adiutore utantur legatosque ad Caesarem mittant; sperare pro eius iustitia quae petierint impetraturos (41.7).

In the course of the enemy's attacks which preceded the parley, and the siege which followed it, all of which lasted over fifteen days,[313]

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313 Caes. B.G. V.39.4 ("is dies"); 40.2 ("noctu"); 40.3 ("postero die"); 40.4: ("reliquis deinceps ... diebus"); 43.1 ("Septimo oppugnationis die": i.e. seventh day from beginning of whole

Quintus showed some of the military virtues which characterised Caesar himself. He displayed celeritas by the swiftness with which he gauged the situation, decided and carried out his decisions: at the first sudden onset of the enemy, the Romans, under his command, correspondingly rushed to arms "celeriter"; he proceeded to notify Caesar "confestim"; 120 towers were raised "incredibili celeritate"; his soldiers, under the severest stress, had "praesentia animi"; when his successive messengers were caught, with ready ingenuity, he used a Gaul who passed undetected through the enemy lines.[314] He could generate labor and vigilia in his men, to an admirable degree, by personal example: he was so unsparing of himself, that his men, in a spirit of good comradeship, had to force him to take some rest.[315] His personal virtus was no less in evidence than that which he could inspire in his soldiers, of whom there was hardly one in ten who survived the ordeal unhurt.[316] When, at the end of it, Caesar took note of the centurions and tribunes who had shown

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operation, starting ch. 39, not from beginning of siege proper); 45.1 ("in dies"); allow two days for events in ch. 46-8; 48.8 ("biduo"; "tertio die"); 49.1: ("obsidionem reliquunt").

314 Caes. B.G. V.39.3; 40.1; 40.2; 43.4; 45.3-4; 49.2.

315 Caes. B.G. V.40.5: "Nulla pars nocturni temporis ad laborem intermittitur; non aegris, non vulneratis facultas quietis datur"; 40.6: "noctu comparantur"; 40.7: "Ipse Cicero ... ne nocturnum quidem sibi tempus ad quietem relinquebat, ut ultro militum concursu ac vocibus sibi parcere cogeretur".

316 Q.'s own virtus: Caes. B.G. V.48.6: "pristinam virtutem retineat"; his legion's: 43.4: "tanta militum virtus ..."; "omnes acerrime fortissimeque pugnarent"; 52.2: "non decimum quemque esse reliquum militem sine vulnere"; 52.3: "quanta cum virtute res sint administratae"; 52.4: "egregiam fuisse virtutem".

exceptional courage, the evidence was provided "testimonio Ciceronis" (52.4). The episode illustrating in detail the competitive spirit of the two centurions, T. Pullo and L. Vorenus (44), based, like the account of the whole incident, on the report of Q. Cicero, reflects a commander watchful of individual performances and promising of recognition, whose opinion ("existimatio") was valued. For all these, Q. Cicero earned a personal tribute from Caesar.[317]

The writers of antiquity, after Caesar, who have narrated the episode, have not paused to dwell on the merits of Q. Cicero; some of them did not even bother to signal his presence.[318] But, in modern times, a good number of scholars have recognised the distinction of Q. Cicero in connection with this episode. Thus Boissier: "ce beau fait d'armes"; S. Davidson: "brave and skilful"; Sihler: he had "more than ordinary aptitude"; Petersson: "able"; Jullian: "il connaissait bien son métier ... savait son devoir ... officier impeccable"; G. Perrotta: "uno ... dei ... migliori legati"; Ciaceri: "onorevolmente distinto".[319] Others, however, have branded him as an incompetent soldier. Thus J. Harmand: a "nullité[s]", characterised by "incompétence", "inefficacité parfaite", "conduite purement négative"; Wiseman:

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317 Caes. B.G. V.52.4: "Ciceronem pro eius merito legionemque collaudat".

318 See n. 312 above.

319 Boissier 254; S. Davidson 282; Sihler 99; Petersson 339; C. Jullian, Histoire de la Gaule, 5e ed., Paris, 1931, III, 385; G. Perrotta, Maia, I, 1948, 15 (cf. Harmand, 382, n. 454); Ciaceri II, 160; cf. 198.

"no evidence of outstanding military ability."[320] Yet others have restricted their criticism of Quintus to his handling of the camp at Aduatuca, as described in B.G. VI.32-42. Thus Blase and Wiemer find censure of Quintus in Caesar's account. Blase interprets Caesar's "questus [est]" (42.1) as a "convicium", and Quintus' return from Gaul as a dismissal from Caesar. Sihler says he "acted carelessly", "culpably", and earned the "reproof of Caesar". Bailey speaks of "his carelessness". On the other hand, H. Goelzer, (and similarly Münzer and Constans) is one of few to have seen in Caesar's account a "ménagement" of Caesar towards Quintus "par égard pour le frère". But he (as Münzer) still thinks that in private Caesar rebuked him as he deserved.[321]

Unqualified condemnation of Quintus as a soldier involves a disregard of the account in B.G. V.38-53, which has already been discussed, and is based (a) on the fragment of a letter from Caesar to M. Cicero, and (b) on Caesar's account in B.G. VI.32-42.

The letter fragment, preserved by Charisius, refers to someone who "neque pro cauto ac diligente se castris continuit". The fragment has been interpreted as referring to the incident described in B.G. VI. 32-42, and so as alluding to a private reprimand of Quintus; among those who take this view: Rice-Holmes, Goelzer, Münzer, Walter and Wiseman,

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320 Harmand 381-2; Wiseman 111.

321 Blase 15; Wiemer 35-7; Sihler 258; S.B., Cic., 105; Goelzer 281 and 287 (n. ad B.G. VI.36.2 and 42.1); Münzer 1299; Constans, Bell. Gall. II, 168, n. 2 and 205, n. 2.

who finds in it "outspoken criticism" against Quintus.[322] This theory is not convincing at all. We do not know the date or circumstances of the letter of which we have the fragment. It is not clear whether (a) "neque" negates "se continuit" or whether (b) it negates "pro cauto ac diligente". In neither case is the sentence satisfactorily applicable to Quintus' conduct in B.G. VI.32-42. If (a) is the case, it means the individual concerned ventured out of the camp, which is not what Quintus himself did. If (b) is the case, it means that, in staying within the camp, the individual acted imprudently, which is the very opposite of what Caesar thought in the circumstances of B.G. VI.32-42. Therefore the theory must be rejected,[323] and we are left, for the adverse estimates of Quintus as a soldier, with only one basis: the account of Caesar in B.G. VI.32-42.

Turning to this account, we find that, far from reprimanding Quintus, Caesar introduces into his narrative certain nuances which actually exculpate Quintus, nuances which have not been properly appreciated, except for the hints of Goelzer, Münzer and Constans, already mentioned. In the late summer or autumn 53, after his second invasion of Germany, Caesar divided his troops into three parts for separate operations. At Aduatuca, the site of the ill-starred camp of Sabinus

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322 Charisius I.21.66: also in T.P. VI, 351, IV.1 and Watt, Q.F., 156. Rice-Holmes, Rom. Rep., II, 142; Goelzer (n. 321 above); Münzer (n. 321 above); Walter 653, n. to p. 305; Wiseman 114 (followed by Shatzman 230).

323 See also F. Adami, Hermes, 1943, 281-5, who rejects the theory and convincingly links the fragment with the Sabinus-Cotta disaster. McDermott 711, n. 43, agrees. Wiemer, 35-7, ignores the whole problem.

and Cotta, in the heart of the Eburones country, near Liège, he left the fourteenth legion with 200 horsemen, under the command of Q. Cicero, in charge of the baggage of all the legions.[324] Despite Caesar's instructions to keep everyone within camp during the seven days he would be away, Q. Cicero did allow a small foraging expedition to a field nearby, which cost a few Roman lives, and might have entailed a major disaster.[325] Caesar had one complaint to make, about the mere fact that Q. Cicero had granted permission to leave camp, when Caesar's instruction had been to the contrary.[326] In his narrative, Caesar never says that the permission had been granted out of lack of cautio or diligentia: it was in fact a perfectly understandable decision in the circumstances prevailing in the camp. Caesar understood so well the reasons adduced by Quintus, that he does not present them as the allegations of a legate in his own defence, using the oratio obliqua and tendentious subjunctives, but as facts adduced by Caesar himself.[327] He points out that Quintus had in fact scrupulously observed Caesar's instructions "cum summa diligentia" (36. 1). There was vociferous criticism, in the camp, of Quintus' "patientia", for confining everyone, including camp-followers, during seven days. It

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324 Caes. B.G. VI.32.3-7. On the site of Aduatuca, and the problems of identification, see the exhaustive discussion of Rice-Holmes 371-383. 2nd German invasion: Caes. B.G. VI.9-10; 29.

325 Caes. B.G. VI.33.4; 36.2; 40.8.

326 Caes. B.G. VI.42.1: "unum, quod cohortes ex statione et praesidio essent emissae, questus ..."

327 Caes. B.G. VI.36.1-2. On Caesar's use of Orat. Obliq. and reported speeches, see Rambaud 232-237.

was said that everyone was being unnecessarily subjected to a siege ("obsessio") (36.2). It was not an easy camp to handle, consisting of a mixed bunch of newly recruited novices inexperienced in war, camp-followers and the sick and wounded: easy prey for panic, superstition and discontent.[328] It was only on the last day that Quintus yielded to the pressure, when there was every indication that Caesar had had to go farther afield (as the Sugambri too had learnt), and that he would not be able to return on the appointed day. Indeed, as Rambaud has noticed, it is unlikely that Caesar did return by the seventh day, since his cavalry, sent in advance to announce his return, arrived only in the night of the seventh day.[329] It was reasonable for Quintus to assume that a foraging expedition to a field nearby would be safe, since, in Caesar's own words, it is reported that there was no organised body in the surrounding country of the Eburones, and the natives in the area, dispersed, scared and disorganised, had been virtually annihilated by

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328 Caes. B.G. VI.32.6: "unam ex eis tribus quas proxime conscriptas ex Italia traduxerat" (cf. VI.1); 36.3: "Complures ... aegri"; 36.4: "magna ... multitudo calonum"; 37.3: "perturbantur"; 37.6: "totis trepidatur castris"; 37.8: "novas sibi ex loco religiones fingunt"; 37.9: "tali timore omnibus perterritis"; 39.2: "modo conscripti atque usus militaris imperiti"; 39.3: "Nemo ... quin ... perturbetur"; 40.1: "timidos ... milites"; 41.2: "tantus ... hostium terror"; 41.3: "sic omnino animos timor praeoccupaverat ut paene alienata mente ..." Cf. the locus classicus on the frustrations of people under a siege imposed by their own leader: Thuc. II. 59-65.

329 Caes. B.G. VI.36.1: "septimo die diffidens de numero dierum Caesarem fidem servaturum, quod longius progressum audiebat, neque ulla de reditu eius fama adferebatur"; cf. 33.4: "Discedens post diem septimum sese reversurum confirmat"; 35.7: Sugambri too learnt "profectum longius". Arrival of advance cavalry: 41.2, cf. Rambaud 236.

nine Roman legions and a large cavalry.[330] The attack on Quintus' camp actually came from the Sugambri from across the Rhine. Quintus Cicero was not, as Wiseman says, "responsible for the perilous attack". Caesar was. It was a surprising and unforeseeable consequence of Caesar's own initiative in inviting natives far and wide to come and participate in raids against the Eburones, in an astute design to destroy the Eburones without risking Roman lives.[331] It was a typical case of "fortuna belli" and of "casus",[332] when a camp commander took a reasonable decision, based on an intelligent appraisal of all aspects of the situation, which, however, turned out to be wrong, because the unexpected and unforeseeable happened.

Quintus was not fired for the mishap at Aduatuca, as Blase would have it, nor demoted. He continued to serve in Caesar's army for the rest of 53 and in 52. At the end of the campaigns of 52, he was stationed, at the head of that same fourteenth legion, at Chalon-sur-Saône

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330 Caes. B.G. VI.34.1: "Erat ... manus certa nulla, non oppidum, non praesidium, quod se armis defenderet, sed in omnis partis dispersa multitudo"; 34.4: "magnamque res diligentiam requirebat, non in summa exercitus tuenda (nullum enim poterat universis ab perterritis ac dispersis periculum accidere)"; 35.3: "Dissipatis ac perterritis hostibus ... manus erat nulla quae parvam modo causam timoris adferret"; 36.2: "novem oppositis legionibus maximoque equitatu, dispersis ac paene deletis hostibus, in milibus passuum tribus ...".

331 Caesar's initiative: Caes. B.G. VI.34.8-9; the Sugambri: 35.4-10; cf. Wiseman 114.

332 Caes. B.G. VI.35.2: "Hic quantum in bello fortuna possit et quantos adferat casus cognosci potuit"; 36.2: "nullum eiusmodi casum exspectans"; 37.1: "casu"; 42.1: "Reversus ille [= Caesar], eventus belli non ignorans ..."; "multum fortunam in repentino hostium adventu potuisse iudicavit"; 42.3: "maxime admirandum videbatur".

(Cabillonum ad Ararim), among the Aedui, to secure the corn-supply. Since the fourteenth legion was moved from that position to a punitive expedition against the Carnutes in early 51, it can be assumed that Quintus, as its commander, moved with it. In the course of 51, he returned to Rome.[333]

The evidence from the Gallic War, then, shows that Q. Cicero was a good general, whom Caesar treated with trust, respect and generosity. This is consistent with evidence from the private correspondence of Cicero. We must be careful here not to make the error of ascribing to Caesar feelings and words he was reported to have harboured and used in regard to Quintus after the Civil War, after Quintus had joined the side of Pompey. This error is made, for example, by Sihler, Carotenuto and Bailey, who consequently conclude that Caesar never liked the man.[334]

In the private correspondence as well as in the De Provinciis consularibus, Cicero recalled there had been between Caesar and Quintus a personal friendship of long standing: "vetus amicitia" ... "ab

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333 Caes. B.G. VII.90.7: "Q. Tullium Ciceronem ... Cabilloni ... in Aeduis ad Ararim rei frumentariae causa collocat"; VIII.4.3: "legiones XIIII. et sextam ex hibernis ab Arare educit, quas ibi collocatas explicandae rei frumentariae causa ..."; cf. Mil. 102: "Quinte frater, qui nunc abes", and Schol. Bob. ad loc. "tunc in Gallia" (n. 299 above). Contrast Blase 15. Q.'s return: below, 181.

334 Sihler 258; Carotenuto 31 ("fu malvisto da Cesare"); S.B., Cic., 105 (see further below, 212-3). Contrast, for an opposite view, Adami, Hermes (1943), 282-4.

adulescentia".[335] Caesar was pleased with Quintus' arrival in his camp, as it gave him the occasion to renew this old friendship.[336] There are several indications that thereafter they were on terms of close intimacy. Quintus showed Caesar his private correspondence with his brother and discussed with him his brother's literary works, notably the De temporibus suis.[337] Conversely, Cicero had reasons to assume that Quintus had access to news from Rome through Caesar's correspondence: a letter from an unidentified correspondent on Milo's popularity as aedile, and a letter from Vatinius, apparently reporting on Cicero, are examples of letters which Caesar received and showed to Quintus.[338] Quintus was close enough to Caesar to be able to report on the courageous way in which Caesar accepted the death of Julia, and on Caesar's thoughts and speculations about the campaigns for the consulship of 52. Cicero's use at times of the second person plural, in connection with these, implies

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335 Fam. I.9.12: "vetus amicitia, quam tu non ignoras mihi et Q. fratri cum Caesare fuisse"; Q.F. II.14.1: "recordatio veteris amoris"; prov. cons. 40: "illud tempus familiaritatis et consuetudinis quae mihi cum illo, quae fratri meo, quae C. Varroni, consobrino nostro, ab omnium nostrum adulescentia fuit".

336 Q.F. II.14.1: "quam suavis ei tuus adventus fuerit".

337 Q.F. II.16.5: "Quomodonam, mi frater, de nostris versibus Caesar? Nam primum librum se legisse scripsit ad me ... Dic mihi verum, num aut res eum aut χαρακτὴρ non delectat?" III.6.3: "quoniam ex epistula quam ad te miseram cognovit Caesar ...".

338 Q.F. III.1.10: "De publicis negotiis ... neglegentius ad te ante scribebam quod omnia minima maxima ad Caesarem mitti sciebam"; 1.13: "de eo quem scripsisti de Milonis plausu scripsisse ad Caesarem ..."; 7.5: "De epistula Vatini risi ..." (with T.P.'s n.).

that Caesar and Quintus had many discussions together.[339] As time went by, Quintus wrote that Caesar's affection for him increased, and that he was treated with "honos", "dignitas", "gratia", "liberalitas".[340]

Caesar's munificence to Quintus Cicero was extended on many occasions to individuals whom Quintus recommended to him. Trebatius Testa, the budding jurist, whose interests Cicero wanted to promote, owed to Quintus his access to the circle of Caesar's "familiares".[341] M. Orfius, eques from the town of Atella and tribunus militum in Caesar's army, was commended to Quintus' "liberalitas".[342] Of Hippodamus we do not know any more than that he was one of several individuals patronised by Quintus.[343] L. Villius Annalis, man of

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339 Q.F. II.16.1: "Quoniam tu ita praescribis, ferenda sunt, neque committendum ut aut spei aut cogitationi vestrae ego videar defuisse"; III.1.13: "facile patior ita Caesarem existimare"; 6.3: "eumque [= Messalam] quod certum consulem cum Domitio numeratis nihil a nostra opinione dissentitis. Ego Messalam Caesari praestabo"; "De virtute et gravitate Caesaris, quam in summo dolore adhibuisset, magnam ex epistula tua cepi voluptatem".

340 Q.F. III.1.9: "Quod scribis te a Caesare cottidie plus diligi"; Att. IV.19.2: "Quintum ... quem ad modum tractat honore, dignitate, gratia! non secus ac si ego essem imperator"; Fam. I.9.18: "Caesaris in ... fratremque meum liberalitas".

341 Fam. VII.7.2 (to Trebatius, May 54): "perfice ut sis in familiaribus Caesaris. Multum te in eo frater adiuvabit meus"; Q.F. II. 14.3 (June 54): "Trebatium quod ad se miserim persalse et humaniter etiam gratias mihi agit". Cf. on Trebatius: Fam. VII.6; 9; 17; 16; 10; 11-14; 18; 15 and Q.F. II.13.3; III.1.9.

342 Q.F. II.13.3: "M. Orfium ... tibi commendo in maiorem modum ... fac ut tua liberalitate tibi obliges". Cf. Münzer, RE XVIII, 1, 1021, "M. Orfius", No. 1.

343 Q.F. III.1.9: "In Hippodamo et non nullis aliis arcessendis quid cogites non intellego; nemo istorum est quin abs te munus fundi suburbani instar exspectet".

praetorian rank was grateful to Quintus for looking after his interests, presumably through influence with Caesar.[344] There was a P. Servilius, who expressed his appreciation of Quintus' discussion with Caesar on his behalf: Tyrrell-Purser identify him with P. Servilius Isauricus, pr. 54; otherwise he could be P. Servilius Globulus, predecessor of Quintus' predecessor as governor of Asia, whom Cicero described as "meus necessarius".[345] M. Curtius Postumus was given a military tribunate at the request of M. Cicero, but it was Quintus who had urged his brother to make the request from Caesar, to show gratitude to Postumus, for his services during Marcus' exile.[346]

As regards Cicero himself, his brother's daily association with Caesar had the effect of bringing him closer to Caesar than he had ever been or was ever to be afterwards. Cicero frequently referred during this period to Caesar's munificence towards himself: Caesar's frequent

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344 Q.F. III.1.20: "Annali pergratae litterae tuae fuerunt, quod et curares de se diligenter et tamen consilio se verissimo iuvares". That this Annalis is to be identified with L. Villius Annalis, senator of praetorian rank, in Fam. VIII.8.5, is probable: cf. T.P. ad Q.F. III. 1.10; Gundel, RE VIII A 2, 2164, No. 7; Broughton II, 246-7.

345 Q.F. III.1.20: P. Servilius pater, ex litteris quas sibi a Caesare missas esse dicebat, significat valde te sibi gratum fecisse quod de sua voluntate erga Caesarem humanissime diligentissimeque locutus esses". Cf. T.P. VII (index) 97. Globulus is No. 66 and Isauricus No. 67 in RE II A 2, 1798-1802 (Münzer). Globulus in Flacc. 76; 79; 85; 91 and Broughton II, 170.

346 Q.F. II.14.3: "M. Curtio tribunatum ab eo petivi"; III.1. 10: "De tribunatu quod scribis, ego vero nominatim petivi Curtio et mihi ipse Caesar nominatim Curtio paratum esse perscripsit ... Ego Curtium, id quod ipsi dixi, non modo rogatione sed etiam testimonio tuo diligo, quod litteris tuis studium illius in salutem nostram facile perspexi". Cf. Att. IX.6.2; Münzer, RE IV 2, No. 26, 1876 and Broughton II, 225.

correspondence with him, Caesar's "benevolentia", "liberalitas", "humanitas", "gratia", "amor", "officium", "diligentia" and "suavitas".[347] Although it was Marcus who had written to Caesar for a legateship to his brother, and it stands to reason that M. Cicero did not need from his younger brother any introduction to Caesar, nevertheless Quintus was instrumental in fostering this tie between Caesar and Cicero. It was Quintus who had urged Cicero to cultivate Caesar's friendship. On three occasions, in writing to Quintus, Cicero refers to Caesar as "iste", "that friend of yours". And now Quintus was vigilant that Cicero should preserve and strengthen this tie. In particular he wanted Cicero to devote his poetical talents to sing

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347 Fam. VII.5.2 (to Caes.): "litterae mihi dantur a te ..."; "'quem mihi commendas vel regem Galliae faciam ... mitte alium quem ornem'"; 5.3: "benevolentiam tuam et liberalitatem peto"; "me, ut amas"; 8.1: "Scripsit ad me Caesar perhumaniter"; 17.2: "cum viderem me a Caesare honorificentissime tractari et unice diligi hominisque liberalitatem incredibilem et singularem fidem nossem"; "mihi saepe litteris significavit ... mea commendatione sese valde esse commotum"; 10.1: "Caesari nostro"; 10.3: "liberalissimi hominis meique amantissimi"; I.9.4: "factum me cum Caesare ... esse in gratia"; 9.12: "humanitas eius ac liberalitas brevi tempore et litteris et officiis perspecta nobis et cognita"; 9.18: "divina Caesaris in me ... liberalitas"; 9.21: "ille ... illustri gratia acceperit"; "eius omni et gratia ... et opibus ... sic fruor ut meis"; Att. IV.16.7: "Ex fratris litteris incredibilia quaedam de Caesaris in me amore cognovi, eaque sunt ipsius Caesaris uberrimis litteris confirmata"; 15.10: "Illud quidem sumus adepti, quod multis et magnis indiciis possumus iudicare nos Caesari et carissimos et iucundissimos esse"; 18.5: "a Caesare accepi ... litteras"; 19.2: "cum Caesare suavissimam coniunctionem"; Q.F. II.14.1: "cum Caesaris litteris refertis omni officio, diligentia, suavitate"; "Caesaris tantum in me amorem"; 16.1: "nos cum Caesare tam coniunctos"; III.1.9: "Scribis de Caesaris summo in nos amore; hunc et tu fovebis"; 1.10: "mihi ipse Caesar ... perscripsit meamque in rogando verecundiam obiurgavit"; 1.17: "Caesaris suavissimis litteris"; 1.25: "Caesar ad me ... dedit litteras"; 5.3: "Caesaris amore quem ad me perscripsit"; 5.4: "unumque ex omnibus Caesarem esse inventum qui me tantum quantum ego vellem amaret".

Caesar's greatness.[348]

These then are the known particulars and some of the results of Quintus' service in Gaul. But what was his motive in going to Gaul? Those who liked to imagine a clear-cut picture of one brother as an orator and the other as a soldier, gave to this question the simple and unsubstantiated answer that he wanted to distinguish himself as a soldier. Thus Blase: "quum vir esset animi vividi atque alacris"; Haskell: "The restless Quintus now wished to make a name for himself as a soldier".[349]

F. Adami pointed out in some detail the importance of money in Quintus' decision. There are certainly unmistakeable allusions, in the letters to Quintus in Gaul, to the financial prospects involved: such as Caesar's joke about his own "egestas", when the subject of Quintus' legateship was broached; the need for Quintus to stay in Gaul "ad expediendum te"; the desirability of "explicatio debitorum tuorum" and the problem of Quintus' "ἀμφιλαφία"; Quintus' promise of "mancipia".[350]

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348 Q.F. II.14.2: "Facis tu quidem fraterne quod me hortaris, sed me hercule currentem nunc quidem, ut omnia mea studia in istum unum conferam"; "quoniam in isto homine colendo tam indormivi diu, te me hercule saepe excitante, cursu corrigam tarditatem"; cf. 12.1: "istum canto Caesarem" (n. 294 above); III.1.18: (reassuring Q.) "Ego vero nullas δευτέρας φροντίδας habere possum in Caesaris rebus". M.'s initiative about legateship: above, 151-2. On poetry to Caesar, see details below, 256-60.

349 Blase 12; Haskell 262.

350 Q.F. II.11.5: "Iocum autem illius de sua egestate ne sis aspernatus; ad quem ego rescripsi nihil esse quod posthac arcae nostrae fiducia conturbaret" (see T.P.'s explanation and Constans' translation of the text); 15.2: "⟨an⟩ ad expediendum te ... commorere"; 15.3: "cuperem te ... venire ... sed illud malo tamen quod putas magis e ⟨re⟩

For Trebatius, we know, the trip was a get-rich-quick affair.[351] Caesar was known for his generosity, the province for its bounty, and, at the time of Quintus' departure, on the eve of the second British invasion, there was fever, in Rome, of gold, silver and slaves from the island.[352] Quintus did have financial problems and undoubtedly hoped that his service in Gaul would help solve these problems. Hence the tendency, as, for example, with Boissier, Stinchcomb, Pianko, to regard personal financial gain as the sole motive for Quintus' venture into Gaul.[353]

To do this involves a disregard of several clues, in the letters to Quintus, suggestive of a larger design. For Cicero referred to a "consilium nostrum", "spes nostra", related to Quintus' departure for Gaul, design and hope of things not "parva" or "mediocria" or consisting

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tua; illa etiam magni aestimo ἀμφιλαφίαν illam tuam et explicationem debitorum tuorum"; "nihil nobis expeditis ... fore fortunatius"; III. 1.10: "De Britannicis rebus cognovi ex tuis litteris, nihil esse nec quod metuamus nec quod gaudeamus"; 7.4: "De mancipiis quod mihi polliceris". Cf. Adami, 46-7.

351 Fam. VII.9.2: "Tu tibi deesse noli. Serius potius ad nos, dum plenior"; 17.1: "pecunia ablata domum redire properabas"; 16.3: "confirmavit te divitem futurum ... bene nummatum"; 10.4: "si tibi esse id emolumento sciam"; 11.3: "facultates tuas augeas"; 13.1: "superbiorem te pecunia facit"; "te ... inaurari"; 13.2: "mallem aere, argento, auro essent".

352 Caesar's generosity to his men: e.g. Fam. VII.17.3; 7.2; VIII.1.5; Att. VII.7.6; Caes. B.C. I.15.2; Catull. 29; 57; Plut. Caes. 17.1. Gold fever: Fam. VII.7.1; Att. IV.14.7.

353 Boissier 253; Stinchcomb 2; Pianko 403-4.

simply of "pecuniae".[354] And this design had somehow to do with prospects for the following year, 53.[355] To achieve this purpose, the two brothers had, before parting, exchanged instructions ("mandata tua" and "mandata mea") as to what each of them was to do. Cicero's part in Rome involved the observance of "mediocritas" with respect to his attitude to adversaries.[356] Thus, against his own inclination, he restrained himself from taking part in the prosecution of Gabinius, his pet-aversion and Pompey's favourite;[357] and from opposing what he thought was an

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354 Q.F. II.15.2: "Si, mi Quinte, parva aliqua res esset in qua sciscitare quid vellem"; III.6.1: "recordere consilium nostrum quod fuerit profectionis tuae. Non enim commoda quaedam sequebamur parva ac mediocria ... Plura ponuntur in spe quam petimus (T.P., with Δ: quam in pecuniis); reliqua ad iacturam reserventur. Qua re, si crebro referes animum tuum ad rationem et veteris consili nostri et spei ..."

355 Q.F. II.15.2: "in hac vero re hoc profecto quaeris cuius modi illum annum qui sequitur exspectem"; III.4.4: "non sumus omnino sine cura venientis anni".

356 Q.F. II.13.2: "Tua mandata persequar diligenter et adiungendis hominibus et in quibusdam non alienandis ... (3): Tu ... facies scilicet ut mea mandata digeras, persequare, conficias"; 14.4: "Tu quem ad modum me censes oportere esse et in re publica et in nostris inimicitiis, ita et esse et fore oricula infima scito molliorem"; 16.1: "damus operam ne cuius animum offendamus ... ut diligamur ... et colamur ... et amemur"; III.4.3: "Ego vero hac mediocritate delector"; 5.2: "ne ... offenderem quempiam"; 7.3: "ne cuiusquam animum meae litterae interceptae offendant"; "ego quiesco"; Att. IV.15.4: "nos verbum nullum ... ne animum Publi offenderet".

357 Q.F. III.1.9: "De Pompeio et facio diligenter et faciam quod mones"; 2.2: "Ego tamen <me> teneo ab accusando, vix me hercule, sed tamen teneo, vel quod nolo cum Pompeio pugnare ..."; 3.3: "Quaeris quid fiat de Gabinio? ... Animum praebeo ad illius perniciem moderatum"; 4.2: "Non putasset sibi Pompeius de illius salute sed de sua dignitate mecum esse certamen ... Ego vero meum consilium, si praesertim tu non improbas, vehementer adprobo"; "Cum illo ipso [= Pompeio] contenderem? ... Non existimo te putare id mihi suscipiendum fuisse"; 7.1: "De Gabinio nihil fuit faciendum istorum quae ne amantissime <quidem a te> cogitata sunt; τότε μοι χάνοι ".

undeserved triumph for C. Pomptinus.[358] He had to watch what he said and wrote, for fear of offending anyone. Moreover, he had to devote himself to "labor" and "ambitio", to intense activity with a view to making and retaining friends. So he said in the summer months of 54 that he was extremely busy in the courts defending people. Thus he defended the consular candidates Domitius, Scaurus and Messala, accused of bribery.[359] He was to adopt - and did - an attitude reminiscent of the time when he had been a consular candidate.

Constans, who sensed these clues, just hinted what might be the solution to this puzzle. The design might have been a consulship for Quintus or a second consulship for Marcus. In his article on the "ambitions" of Q. Cicero, notable for its documentation and its demonstration of a political design to Quintus' service under Caesar, T.P. Wiseman takes the former hint of Constans much further and states without hesitation: "The solution becomes clear. Quintus was proposing to stand for the consulship".[360]

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358 Q.F. III.4.6: "Pomptino ad triumphum ... volebam adesse. Etenim erit nescio quid negotioli"; cf. Att. IV.18.4.

359 Q.F. II.16.1: "sic enim habeto, numquam me a causis et iudiciis districtiorem fuisse"; "haec, quoniam tu ita praescribis, ferenda sunt"; "ex hoc labore"; III.1.12: "Quod me in eadem epistula, sicut saepe antea, cohortaris ad ambitionem et ad laborem, faciam equidem"; 1.16: cui [= Messalae] ... satis facio"; "Domitio ipsi multa iam feci"; "Scaurum ... obligavi" (cf. Att. IV.17.5); 3.1: "Occupationum mearum"; "Diem scito esse nullum, quo die non dicam pro reo"; 5.3: "Vivo tamen in ea ambitione et labore". Towards end Oct., the activity abated: III.5.4; 5.5; 7.2.

360 Constans III, 251 and 257; Wiseman 109.

There is no inherent improbability in the supposition that Q. Cicero might have had the normal aspiration for a consulship after his praetorship. His prospects had been thwarted by too lengthy a term as propraetor, so that, by the time he returned to Rome, his most important patron - his brother - had fallen from grace. Now was a good time to seek Caesar's, who seemed to be the most promising source of dignitas. From the beginning of the Gallic War in 58, people had begun to flock to Gaul in search of his amicitia. In 57, the Senate had proclaimed a supplicatio of 15 days in his honour. In 56, the Luca conference had reaffirmed his potentia. At the end of 55, having crossed the Rhine and the British channel, and with publicity of the forthcoming invasion of Britain, he had stirred Rome and obtained another supplicatio, of 20 days.[361] If Quintus wanted a consulship, to go to Caesar at the time he did was a most sensible thing.

The evidence, however, does not support the view that Quintus had a consulship or his own dignitas as the purpose of his service under Caesar. Cicero alluded to "communis" and "nostra", never "tua", "dignitas", which Quintus was working for.[362] When he wanted to be specific as to the person who was anticipating "dignitas", "honores" or "gloria",

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361 Caesar's amicitia: Caes. B.G. I.39; supplicatio 57: Caes. B.G. II.35.4; Plut. Caes. 21.1; Dio XXXIX.5.1; on Luca and its effects, see sources in Broughton II, 211; Rhine, Channel and 55 supplicatio: Caes. B.G. IV.1-19; 20-38; and other sources in Broughton II, 219.

362 Q.F. II.14.1: "te ... inservientem communi dignitati"; III. 6.1: "ad omnem statum nostrae dignitatis". Wiseman, 109, misinterprets II.16.1: "spei aut cogitationi vestrae" as if it were "tuae". The allusion is not to Q.'s own ambition, but to the expectations of Q. and Caes. (as Constans sees) for M.

he used the first person singular, never the second. Thus Q.F. II. 14.1: "honoribus quos me a se exspectare vult"; 16.1: "magnam gratiam magnamque dignitatem sim conlecturus"; III.5.3: "promissis iis quae ostendit non valde pendeo. Nec sitio honores nec desidero gloriam"; "promissorum exitium exspecto"; "tamquam id quod non postulo exspectem"; 5.4: "Angor nullam esse rempublicam ... illud vero quod a puero adamaram ... totum occidisse"; 7.1: "ex re publica quoniam nihil iam voluptatis capi potest, cur stomacher nescio". So, it was Marcus, who, according to Caesar, was to expect "honores", Marcus who disclaimed them, and who lost high hopes cherished from childhood, when the outlook deteriorated in October 54. Therefore the design behind Quintus' service in Gaul was some further distinction for Cicero, perhaps a second consulship, - the alternative conjecture of Constans, which von Béla Nemeth has developed very persuasively - or again an eventual censorship, in which two years previously, Cicero had shown explicit interest.[363]

It was part of the brothers' agreement, when they separated, that Quintus would rush back to Rome on short notice. It is somewhat puzzling that, as early as July 54, having been barely two months in Caesar's service, Quintus asked his brother to tell him frankly whether he should return, as they had arranged. Marcus dissuaded him. Again, in November, Marcus had to remind him that the time was not yet ripe for

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363 Censorship: Att. IV.2.6 (not in the near future now, since censors had been appointed for 55: see Broughton II, 215). Nemeth, Acta Classica Univ. Scient. Debrec. 1968, 59-64.

his return.[364] Wiseman interprets this apparent eagerness of Quintus to return as due to his impatience to become consul, and so portrays him as an over-ambitious, impatient, incompetent, demanding and ungrateful man.[365]

If we reexamine Q.F. II.15.2-3, the passage in the July 54 letter, alluding to Quintus' apparent haste, we find that Wiseman has misunderstood the reason for it. Quintus had asked his brother whether he should return at once, and had requested him to write honestly and without disguise: "petis ut ad te nihil occultans, nihil dissimulans, nihil tibi [= Q.] indulgens ingenue fraterneque rescribam" (15.2). Marcus replied negatively, explained (15.2), and added: "Haec ita sentio, iudico, ad te explorate scribo; dubitare te non adsentatorie sed fraterne veto" (15.3). Thus Marcus had just complied with his brother's request, by writing honestly, without trying to please Quintus. What had he just written? "Haec". "Haec" summarises the explanation that just preceded it, at the end of 15.2: a safe year ahead ("annus tranquillus", "munitissimus"); no need for anxiety, with the "copiae" he disposed of, thanks to the "gratia" of Caesar and Pompey; however, if the demented

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364 Q.F. II.15.2: "Petis ut ad te ... rescribam, id est, utrum ⟨ad⟩ voles, ut dixeramus"; 15.3: "cuperem te ad id tempus venire quod dixeras, sed illud malo tamen ..."; III.6.1: "Sed eius rei maturitas nequedum venit et tamen iam adpropinquat".

365 Wiseman 108: "Quintus must grit his teeth and wait"; 114: "[his] blatant ingratitude"; "it is to Caesar's credit that the ambitions of Quintus Cicero went finally unrewarded". Wiseman's article, oft-quoted, is fast creating the myth of Q.'s "ambitions"; thus E.J. Parrish, 372, speaks of Q.'s unrealistic impatience to become consul in 59 (!)

[Clodius] should go on rampage again, Marcus had everything ready to subdue him.[366] Clearly Marcus was reassuring Quintus about his physical security from Clodius and his ruffians. The reasons, for which Marcus told his brother to stay on, involved good news, such as to make Marcus confident ("Haec me ut confidam faciunt", 15.2). Hence the permission to stay on was agreeable to Quintus ("grata"), and, although he missed Quintus' company, Marcus rejoiced ("gaudeo") in giving that permission.[367] Now, on Wiseman's theory, all this would not make sense, because, according to that theory, Marcus' dissuasion of Quintus from returning to Rome was due to unwelcome developments in the city and was frustrating news to Quintus.

Therefore, when Quintus was anxiously asking his brother whether he should return, it was not for the selfish reason of his own advancement: he was, rather, reminding his brother of one condition on which he had insisted before leaving, that, at the least threat of personal danger to his brother, he must be permitted to return at once, at the cost of jeopardising his material prospects in Gaul. It has been seen how Quintus and his brother had been subjected to violence in 58 and 57; how, from Sardinia in 56, Quintus continued to express his anxiety about

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366 Q.F. II.15.2: "Plane aut tranquillum nobis aut certe munitissimum ... nec +laborant, quod mea conscientia+ copiarum nostrarum, quod Caesaris, quod Pompei gratiam tenemus ... Sin aliquis erumpet amentis hominis furor, omnia sunt ad eum frangendum expedita. (3) Haec ..."

367 Q.F. III.1.9: "Quod tibi mea permissio mansionis tuae grata est, id ego summo meo dolore et desiderio tamen ex parte gaudeo" (cf. II. 15.3: "suavitatis equidem nostrae fruendae causa cuperem te ... venire"); 1.17: "tuam remansionem etiam atque etiam probo".

his brother's safety. From Gaul he continued to ask repeatedly for reassurances that there was no "domesticus timor".[368] The slaves he promised to send might have been for the purpose of increasing his brother's bodyguard.[369] Quintus' concern is understandable, as Marcus was getting deeply involved in consular campaigns. In 53, he was up to the neck in Milo's campaign, and confessed he might have to blast through, "non modo contentione sed etiam dimicatione". The street-fights, which followed, ending in Clodius' death, are well-known.[370]

In Q.F. III.6.1, written in November 54, Cicero referred to two letters recently received from Quintus, in which Quintus had been complaining bitterly. The two letters had been full of "stomachus", "querelae", complaints about "molestiae", "labores", "desideria". These complaints are reminiscent of his previous unhappiness in Asia, as echoed in Q.F. I.1 and I.2. Quintus did not enjoy his service in Gaul any more than he had enjoyed his services in Asia and Sardinia. The disappointing outcome of the British invasion and the prospect of confinement, through a harsh winter among barbarians, brought out his discontent. He was very much, as Adcock remarked, a general "malgré lui". So far he had shown more forbearance than the querulous Trebatius, whom he used to

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368 Q.F. III.4.4: "non enim sumus omnino sine cura venientis anni, etsi sumus sine timore"; 7.3: "De motu temporum venientis anni nihil te intellegere volueram domestici timoris, sed de communi rei publicae statu"; "domestica cura te levatum volo; in re publica scio quam sollicitus esse soleas". Cf. above, 136-7; 142-4.

369 Q.F. III.7.4: "De mancipiis ... et sum equidem, uti scribis, et Romae et <in> praediis infrequens".

370 Fam. II.6.5; cf. 6.3-4; Q.F. III.7.2; Mil. passim.

cheer up,[371] but in October, he could not contain his feelings. There is nothing to suggest that these complaints were due to Quintus' frustration regarding his political ambition, which is how Wiseman interprets the passage. Quite the contrary. This is the main passage where Marcus reminded him that he should find strength and comfort in the thought of their grand design, to overcome the frustration due to the tediousness of life in camp and to the financial disappointments.[372]

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371 Fam. VII.6.7; 7.2; 9.2; 17.1 (Q. cheers him up); 13.1; 18.1; 15.1. Asia: above, 114-5. Sardinia: above, 145-6. F.E. Adcock, The Roman Art of War under the Republic, Mass. 1940, 114.

372 To Wiseman's article, I have, in addition the following objections:- (1) Q.F. III.1.12: "me ... cohortaris ad ambitionem et ad laborem ... sed quando vivemus?" On Wiseman's theory, M. would be expressing here, quite openly, his annoyance that Q., for selfish reasons, was taxing his energy inconsiderately. If this were so, it would be in contradiction with the whole tone of M. in his letters to Q. (2) Wiseman 109: "The original arrangement was no doubt that he [= Q.] should come back and start his canvass as soon as the consuls of 53 were elected". What sense was there in arranging merely a two-month stay in Gaul: for it would be two months, as Q. arrived in Cisalpina in May (see above, 152), and elections were held in July. But Wiseman says (108) that he went in Jan. or Feb. On what ground? (3) The dedication of De Rep. to Q. is no more an argument that Q. was planning to be the "moderator rei publicae" (cf. Wiseman 110) than the dedication of De Or. to him (on which, below, 227-31) would be an argument that he was planning to become an orator. Nemeth (57) actually thinks De Rep. constitutes negative evidence of Q.'s ambition, because Q. is never mentioned in it: argumentum ex silentio a little hazardous, as we have the dialogue in such fragmentary condition. (4) If, as Wiseman thinks, the consulship for Q. was uppermost in the 27 July letter to Q. (Q.F. II.15), why then, in the letter written on the same day to Atticus (Att. IV.15), where M. repeated closely the reports in Q.F. II.15 on the consular prospects (cf. Att. IV. 15.7-9 with Q.F. II.15.4), did M. not so much as hint on the "ambitions" of A.'s brother-in-law?

If this refutation of Wiseman's article has been somewhat laboured, it is because of the importance and influence of that article, and, because, were it valid, the image of Q. in the present thesis would be substantially false.

The last reference to Quintus in Gaul is in winter 52-1, when he was stationed at Cabillonum. By the time of the next reference to him, in April 51 (Att. V.1.3), he was in Italy, on the way to Cilicia, with his brother. Hence he must have returned from Gaul in the early months of 51.[373] His return was due to no dismissal, and was timed to suit no ambition of his own, but to fit into the schedule of Cicero, who had just been appointed governor of Cilicia, and needed his help.

To sum up. Quintus Cicero's service as legate of Caesar in Gaul from 54 to 51 was contrived by his brother. Although he did not much relish this new term of foreign service, Quintus discharged his military duties creditably, as can be seen from the positions of responsibility in which Caesar placed him in the Nervian territory in 54-3, at Aduatuca in 53-2, and at Cabillonum in 52-1. In particular, for the way in which he handled a dangerous crisis in the Nervian country, avoiding a repetition of the disaster which had previously befallen the garrison under Sabinus and Cotta, Caesar gave him high credits for fortitude, resourcefulness, inspiring leadership and diplomacy. Strictures of Quintus as an incompetent general are to be dismissed as based on the unwarranted ascription to him of a criticism made by Caesar probably in connection with Sabinus, and on less than adequately perceptive readings of Caesar's account of the Aduatuca episode. The indications from Caesar's Commentaries, that Quintus was treated with trust, respect and generosity,

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373 Cabillonum: see above, n. 333. A reading of Caes. B.G. VIII.46 (ms. β), "Tullio", if correct, cannot be referring to Q. (see Broughton II, 247, n. 3). Caesar calls him Cicero, not Tullius; and the letters attest to his presence in Italy well before.

are confirmed in Cicero's Correspondence, which reveals Quintus' intimacy with Caesar and benefits from Caesar's munificence. Quintus' service as Caesar's legate thus promoted the purpose for which it was contrived. For Quintus did not go to Gaul for the thrills of military exploits, or primarily to make a fortune, but to strengthen the amicitia of Cicero with Caesar, for their mutual benefits. In this task, he showed more enthusiasm than he had in promoting the amicitia with Pompey, because of the congeniality of Caesar, who was also a man of letters. His impatience with the stay in Gaul and his eventual return to Rome were due not to his personal ambitions, but to his brother's need of his support to cope first with Clodius and his gang, then with his appointment as governor of Cilicia.

6. LEGATE OF CICERO

The two inscriptions from Rocca d'Arce and Arpinum[374] mention, in Quintus' career, that he was "[leg.] m. ciceronis in cilicia" and, again, "leg. imp. m. ciceronis in cilicia"; which is confirmed by Fam. XV.4.8: "Q. frater legatus". After leaving Rome and Tusculum, Cicero met Quintus at Arpinum on 30 April 51. On 1 May, they left together for Arcanum, where they had lunch at Quintus' estate. Quintus spent the afternoon - it was the festival of the Lares - and the night there, while Cicero proceeded to Aquinum on the via Latina. On 2 May,

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374 Previously mentioned, n. 80; 272; 299.

in the morning, he caught up with Cicero at Aquinum.[375] From then on, until Cicero arrived in his province on 31 July, it can be assumed that Quintus was with him. For at Beneventum, where he arrived on 11 May, Cicero wrote that he was still awaiting three of his legati whose names he specified without including that of Quintus.[376] And at Athens, where he stayed from 24 June to 6 July, the guest of Aristus, head of the Academy, Quintus was with him, but was the guest of Xeno, a friend and agent of Atticus.[377]

Cicero considered it natural that a brother should have an appointment as legatus on a governor's staff, as Sp. Mummius under L. Mummius in 146 and M. Lucullus under L. Lucullus in 70.[378] But, conveniently, Quintus was also suited to the job by his experience.

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375 Att. V.1.3: "ut veni in Arpinas, cum ad me frater venisset"; "postridie ex Arpinati profecti sumus. Ut in Arcano Quintus maneret dies fecit; ego Aquini, sed prandimus in Arcano"; 1.4: "ego inde Aquinum. Quintus in Arcano remansit et Aquinum ad me postridie mane venit". On dates, cf. S.B. III, 189 and 190, n. ad 1.3. On Lares festival, see W. Fowler, Festivals, 100-106.

376 Att. V.4.1; 4.2. For the journey from Aquinum via Brundisium to Athens, see, in addition, Att. V.1.5; 2.1; 3.1; 5.1; 6.1; 7; 8.1; 9.1; from Athens to Laodicea: 12.1; 13.1; 14.1; 15.1. Handy summary on the latter part, and subsequent movements within the province, in S.B. III, 313, based on L.W. Hunter, JRS III (1913) 73-97.

377 Att. V.10.5: "Aristo, apud quem eram; nam Xenonem tuum vel nostrum potius Quinto concesseram, et tamen propter vicinitatem totos dies simul eramus"; cf. 10.1; 12.1. On Xeno, cf. Gundel, RE IX A 2, 1538-9, No. 9; and on Aristus, v. Arnim, RE II, 1010, No. 9.

378 Att. XIII.5.1: "Sp. Mummium putaram in decem legatis fuisse, sed videlicet (etenim εὔλογον) fratri fuisse" (cf. Broughton I, 468 and 470); 6.4: "illudque εὐλογώτατον, illum fratri in primis eius legatis fuisse" (cf. Broughton II, 129).

Cilicia was the base of Rome's Eastern defence, a consular province with a standing army of two legions.[379] In 51, it was known in Rome that a serious military threat existed from the Parthians. In the summer, they crossed the Euphrates and invaded the neighbouring province of Syria. Although they were driven back by the quaestor Q. Cassius Longinus, the threat of a new invasion in the summer of 50 remained in the air. There was talk of sending additional forces under Pompey, Caesar or the consuls.[380] Cilicia also had communities not yet brought under Roman rule. So, even if the Parthian threat did not materialise, Cilicia was a province of opportunity for gloria, for military distinction - unlike Asia, which Quintus had governed. Cicero went to Cilicia, with the intention of conducting military operations, for which he hoped to gain from his troops the title of "Imperator", and from the Senate no less than a triumph.[381] But he lacked military experience and probably cut a poor figure as a general. So he carefully selected as his legates people who had military experience and would do the work for him. There

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379 See, in particular, Smith, Post-Marian Army, 23-4; Magie, 284-301; 375-7; 383-90.

380 Att. V.9.1; 11.4; 14.1; 15.1; 16.4; 18.1; 20.2-3; 21.2; VI.2.6; 4.1; 5.3; 6.3; VII.2.6; 2.8; Fam. III.3.1; VIII.5.1; XV.3.1-2; 2.1-3; 1.1-5; II.10.2; VIII.10.1-2; XV.4.3-7; XIII.57.1; II.11.1; Dio XL.28-9.

381 Att. V.14.2 (27 July 51): "erat mihi in animo recta proficisci ad exercitum, aestivos mensis reliquos rei militari dare"; 15.3: "in castra in Lycaoniam ... cum Moeragene signis collatis ... deciderem"; Fam. III.5.4: "iter faciam ad exercitum". Cf. M.'s preoccupation with title of "imperator", with supplicatio and triumph: Att. V.20.3; VI.8.5; VII.1.5; 1.7; 2.6; 3.2; 4.2; 7.4; VIII.3.6; Fam. II.12.3; 15.1; III.9.4; XV.5.2; 6.1-2; 10.1-2; 13.2-3; XVI.6; 11.3.

is no information on the legate L. Tullius, except that he had a recommendation from Atticus, and that he did command troops in Cilicia on this mission. But M. Anneius was selected out of many for his "scientia rei militaris", and C. Pomptinus, also legate, had even had a triumph.[382] Quintus, with his fresh experience from Gaul and Britain, was well qualified.

After arriving in his province, Cicero proceeded to his camp at Iconium in August 51. The measures which he took in view of the Parthian threat: recruitment and organisation, storage of corn, occupation of Cybistra, march from Cybistra through the Taurus range to Mt. Amanus, involved military decisions, which, - one can presume with Magie, - he took on the advice of his two most experienced legates, Quintus and Pomptinus.[383] Then, on 13 October, early in the morning, Cicero made on unsubdued tribesmen of Mt. Amanus the raid for which he was hailed as "Imperator" by his troops. In this raid, the troops attacked in three units: one was under the command of Pomptinus; the second under the command jointly of Anneius and Tullius; and the third was, as Cicero put it: "cum aliis Q. frater, legatus, mecum simul". Harmand, hostile as ever, finds in this phrase a derogatory connotation regarding Quintus.

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382 L. Tullius: Att. V.4.1; 11.4 ("tuus"); 14.2; 21.5; Fam. XV.4.8. M. Anneius: Att. V.4.2; Fam. XIII.55.1 (very select); 57.1 ("scientia rei militaris"); XV.4.2; 4.8. C. Pomptinus: Att. V. 1.5; 4.2; 5.1; 6.1; 8.1; 10.1; 20.3; 21.9; VI.3.1; Fam. III.3.2; XV.4.8; previous military experience: Prov. Cons. 32; Dio XXXVII.47-8; XXXIX.65.1-2, and other sources in Broughton II, 176; triumph: above, n. 358, and Broughton II, 225.

383 Fam. II.10.2; VIII.8.10; XV.1.3; 2.1-2; 2.8; 4.4; 4.7; 7.6; Att. V.18.1-2; 20.2-3; cf. Magie 396-7.

McDermott has rightly characterised this interpretation as a "fantasy". The phrase says what one should have expected, that Quintus led the unit in fact, and Cicero was second to him, although nominally the chief of all the troops. Cicero was being fair here at any rate, although Bailey may be right in sensing that, for the whole contribution of Quintus in Cilicia, Cicero did not make a proper acknowledgment. Stinchcomb goes even so far as to think that Cato opposed Cicero's application for a triumph, because, in his opinion, Q. Cicero, not M. Cicero, deserved one.[384]

After this and similar raids, Cicero laid to the fortress of Pindenissus a siege which lasted nearly two months. Its successful outcome was due to elaborate and expert siege-operations,[385] such as Quintus and Pomptinus and, perhaps Anneius, not Cicero, had had experience in. It is an indication of Quintus' eminent role in all these military activities that, when they were over, from 19 December, he was left in command of the whole army, as it was settled in winter-quarters in the unruly area. Quintus was thus responsible from then on for the defence of the province, while Cicero returned to his base of civil administration at Laodicea.[386]

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384 Fam. XV.4.8: "Distributisque cohortibus et auxiliis, cum aliis Q. frater, legatus, mecum simul, aliis C. Pomptinus, legatus, reliquis M. Anneius et L. Tullius, legati, praeessent ..."; cf. Fam. II.10.3; Att. V.20.3. Harmand 382, n. 455; McDermott 711-2, n. 44; S.B., Cic., 130-1; Stinchcomb 3 (cf. Fam. VIII.11.2; Att. VII.2.7).

385 Fam. II.10.3; XV.4.9-10; Att. V.20.1; 20.5.

386 Att. V.20.5: "hinc exercitum in hiberna agri male pacati deducendum Quinto fratri dabam; ipse me Laodiceam recipiebam"; 21.6: "Ego aestivis confectis Quintum fratrem hibernis et Ciliciae praefeci"; Fam. XV.4.10: "Exercitum in hiberna dimisi. Q. fratrem negotio praeposui, ut in vicis aut captis aut male pacatis exercitus collocaretur".

In this region of Mt. Amanus, near the border with Syria, Quintus remained for six months, cut off most of the time from Cicero by the Taurus range and the winter snow, until Cicero returned to the camp in June 50.[387]

Thus Cicero was much indebted to Quintus for the pacification and defence of Cilicia, which got him the title of "Imperator" and a supplicatio. One wonders then, if Quintus played such an important part in the promotion of Cicero's government, why he, the obvious person, was not appointed acting-governor of the province, when Cicero left at the end of July 50, until the arrival of his successor.[388] Either of two explanations is usually given. Quintus did not want the job: Cicero did not trust him. Thus, for the first explanation, Blase: "Romam redire flagrantissime desideravit"; Antoine: "[Quintus] n'accepta point"; Stinchcomb: "he summarily refused"; Gelzer: "nicht die geringste Neigung dazu hatte". And, for the second explanation, S. Davidson; Haskell: "he dared not leave Quintus in charge; he would always be anxious as to what his impulsive brother might do"; M. Ruch: "Les

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387 Att. V.21.14 (13 Feb: cf. 21.9): "a Quinto fratre his mensibus nihil exspectaris; nam Taurus propter nivis ante mensem Iunium transiri non potest"; VI.3.2 (end May-begin. June: cf. S.B. III, 261): "necdum ego Quintum conveneram". All letters from M. datable after 19 Dec. were from Laodicea, Tarsus or thereabouts (i.e. Fam. II.11; 13; 14; 18; III.7; 9; 10; 59; IX.25; XII.58; XIII.54; 57; 63; XV.4; 10; 13; Att. V.21; VI.1; 2; 3) until June 50, during which they (i.e. Fam. II.12; 19; III.11; Att. VI.4; 5) were written on the way to and at the camp on River Pyramus. In terms of the Julian calendar, from end of Nov. 51 to mid-April 50.

388 On Cic.'s departure from Cilicia and his haste, see refs. in n. 180. On imperator, and supplicatio, above, n. 381.

relations entre les deux hommes n'avaient jamais été bonnes" (sic!); "surtout, Quintus est d'un caractère fort difficile et son consentement n'eût guère arrangé les choses"; L.A. Thompson: "Cicero feared that Quintus' performance as acting-governor might be disastrous", and "he had little confidence in his brother as an administrator".[389]

Each of these two explanations has some truth; and yet each of them, when adduced to the exclusion of other factors, is inadequate and entails a distortion of Quintus' image. No doubt, Quintus disliked the idea of staying in Cilicia, as he had disliked his service in Asia, Sardinia and Gaul. The suggestion that he should be acting-governor, for what turned out to be several months, would be no temptation, but a damned nuisance. Cicero knew that it would require some effort to persuade him ("contendam"): for he would be very unwilling ("invitissimus") and find the prospect most unpleasant ("odiosum", "molestum").[390] But, until he met Quintus in June, Cicero had no opportunity to discuss the matter in person with him. Cicero did write to Caelius on 3 or 4 August, that "a Quinto impetrari non poterat" (Fam. II.15.4). But this was either an overstatement, or the apodosis of a contrafactual condition,

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389 Blase 16; Antoine, p. xxx; Stinchcomb 3; Gelzer, Cic., 237; S. Davidson 79; Haskell 91; Ruch, IL XV (1963) 114; Thompson, AJPh LXXXVI (1965) 380-1 (I am in agreement with the main thesis of this article, that, in the designation of an acting-governor, M. was highly motivated by the desire of currying favour with C. Coelius Caldus, a young nobilis).

390 Att. V.21.9: "contendam a Quinto fratre ut se praefici patiatur"; "illo ... invitissimo"; VI.3.2: "De fratre autem primum illud est: persuaderi ei non posse arbitror; odit enim provinciam, et hercule nihil odiosius, nihil molestius". Cf. above, 114-5; 145-6; 178-9.

with the protasis implied, and so "poterat" having the force of "posset". Had Quintus been asked, Cicero meant, he would have refused. This must be so, because Cicero was writing to Atticus at about the same time that he had decided at one point to appoint Quintus ("statueram fratrem relinquere": Att. VI.6.3), but had then changed his mind. In the same letter, Cicero reported that Quintus would not let his son return to Rome with Cicero, which had been Atticus' advice in the contingency of Quintus' appointment.[391] This implies that Quintus might have stayed after all. Atticus in fact received the information that Quintus had been left as acting-governor.[392] Quintus never gave a final or categorical refusal. After all, much as he disliked it, he had gone to Asia, Sardinia, Gaul and Cilicia. Cicero knew that, if he really pressed his brother, and represented to him the importance of his cooperation, Quintus was not the man who would refuse.[393]

Why then did Cicero not really try to persuade him? He thought that the acting-governorship was an "honos" to which no one had a better claim than Quintus, as the closest to him in kinship, and the highest in rank among his staff. For Pomptinus, the only other legate of praetorian rank, was the first to leave the province, as he had been the last to

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391 Att. VI.6.4: "quem pater non dimittebat teque id censere moleste ferebat." On indicative in lieu of subjunctive in contrafactual condition, see Bradley's Arnold (1938) 251, S. 461.

392 Att. VI.9.3: "Intellexi ex tuis litteris te ... audisse a me provinciam fratri traditam" (cf. VII.1.1).

393 Att. VI.3.2: "ut mihi nolit negare".

arrive. To leave Quintus in command would be "rectissimum", "honestum", consistent with "diligentia", in principle, the obvious and natural thing to do.[394] Yet, even though Quintus was the only rational choice, and a little persuasion would have overcome his reluctance, Cicero was not keen on the idea. He was in a dilemma what to do, even if Quintus were willing.[395] To appoint Quintus would involve many inconveniences to himself ("multa molesta", "sescenta praeterea"), which included many fears and anxieties ("timerem", "cura"). Consulted on the matter, Atticus had responded with an enigmatic and unhelpful suspension of judgment (" ἐποχὴ ").[396]

What were these anxieties and this hesitation about? The traditional interpretation is that they were due to Cicero's lack of confidence in his brother as a governor. And yet Cicero himself never actually said

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394 Att. V.21.9: "Aliter honeste fieri non potest, praesertim cum virum optimum Pomptinum ne nunc quidem retinere possim"; VI.3.1: "ratio quidem et opinio hominum postulat fratrem: primum quod videtur esse honos: nemo igitur potior; deinde quod solum habeo praetorium. Pomptinus enim ... discesserat" (cf. on Pomptinus' sloth and haste: Fam. II.15.4; III.10.3 and n. 382 above); 3.2: "aut ... fratrem relinquere aut diligentiae nugarum aliquid relinquere?" 4.1: "rectissimum videbatur fratrem cum imperio relinquere".

395 Att. V.21.9: "me invitissimo fiet"; VI.1.14: "equidem sum in magna animi perturbatione"; 3.1: "quem relinquam qui provinciae praesit?" 3.2 "magna ... sollicitudine adficior, magna inopia consili"; "nec tamen ... quid vellem habebam"; 4.1: "illud autem difficillimum, relinquendus erat ex senatus consulto qui praesset"; "o rem totam odiosam!" 5.3: " ἄλλο πρόβλημα, quem praeficiam".

396 Att. VI.4.1; 6.4: "numquam essem sine cura"; Fam. II.15.4: "nunc sollicitus non sum: si fratrem reliquissem, omnia timerem"; Att. VI.6.3: " ἐπέχειν te scripseras quid esset mihi faciendum de relinquendo"; 9.3: " ἐπέχειν te scribebas"; " ἀθέτησις ista mihi tua, non ἐποχὴ videbatur."

so. To understand a little better his anxieties and hesitation regarding Quintus, we must bear in mind two other, but related, problems, which preoccupied him at the time: the Parthian threat and his relation with his quaestor.

Until June 50, Cicero expected a major Parthian invasion of Syria and Cilicia. He thought that his province was inadequately equipped with soldiers and finances to handle this invasion. By the time he left, and appointed an acting-governor other than Quintus, he had ceased to expect this invasion. But, as long as he expected it, he considered Quintus the only person he could leave in charge.[397] He wondered, however, whether it would be consistent with his "pietas", with his "officium", for himself to depart, and to leave his brother to face such a great peril. At least part of Cicero's anxiety, then, was about Quintus' personal safety, if he were appointed acting-governor.[398]

As regards the quaestor, Cicero was, under normal circumstances, favourable to the appointment of that officer as acting-governor. He

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397 Fam. XV.1.4-5; II.17.1: "sublato metu Parthico"; Att. VI.6.3: "dum impendere Parthi videbantur, statueram fratrem relinquere aut etiam rei publicae causa contra senatus consultum ipse remanere; qui postea quam ... discesserunt, sublata dubitatio est"; VII.2.6: "quoad hostis cis Euphratim fuit".

398 Att. VI.1.4: "Parthicum bellum impendet ... habeo Iunium et Quinctilem in metu ... quid illo fiet quem reliquero, praesertim si fratrem?" 3.2: "quidnam mei sit offici? cum bellum esse in Syria magnum putetur, id videatur in hanc provinciam erepturum, hic praesidi nihil sit, sumptus annuus decretus sit, videaturne aut pietatis esse meae fratrem relinquere ..?" 4.1: "multa molesta, discessus noster, belli periculum ..."; cf. Q.F. I.1.4: "Quod si tibi bellum aliquod magnum et periculosum administranti prorogatum imperium viderem, tremerem animo".

had a high opinion of the relationship that should exist between a quaestor and his governor.[399] In addition, as he explained in a letter written at that time to Q. Minucius Thermus, governor of Asia, and recommending the designation of his quaestor C. Antonius as his own acting-governor (Fam. II.18.2-3), there would be two advantages in the appointment of the quaestor. First the governor would be conferring a beneficium on a man whom he probably had not had the opportunity to favour previously, because, unlike the legati, the quaestor had obtained his assignment from the Senate. Secondly, with the province in the quaestor's hands, the governor would have much less worry than if it were in the hands of one of his legati. If the quaestor did badly, he had to answer for himself to the Senate. If he did well, the governor could take the credit for good judgment.

Now to his own quaestor, Mescinius Rufus, Cicero objected, because he thought Rufus was irresponsible, licentious and thievish.[400] But he was afraid to pass over his quaestor, for fear of making an enemy and inviting gossip. The only way he could pass over Rufus without appearing to be malicious, was by appointing Quintus,[401] who was his

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399 Planc. 28; Div. Caec. 46; 61-3; Fam. XIII.10.1; 26.1. Designation of quaestor as acting-governor would be normal: Fam. II. 15.4 ("omnium fere exemplo").

400 Att. VI.3.1: "quaestorem nemo dignum putat: etenim est levis, libidinosus, tagax"; 4.1: "nihil minus probari poterat quam quaestor Mescinius". Cic. thought better of him later: Fam. V.19; 20; 21; XIII.26; 28 A; XVI.4.3; 9.4. See also on him Thompson 381-4.

401 Att. VI.6.3: "praeter fratrem nemo erat quem sine contumelia quaestori ... anteferrem".

closest kin, senior in rank as praetorius and the most experienced soldier. But by appointing Quintus, he would be extending his own term of responsibility as governor, when he was so eager to terminate it. Quintus was an alter-ego, another Cicero.[402] If Quintus made the slightest mistake - for he was not above it, especially with his son by his side - Cicero would have to answer for it.[403] This then was another reason for Cicero's anxiety, if Quintus were to be left behind as acting-governor.

In June, there were two developments. The expectation of the Parthian invasion abated; and there was news that C. Coelius Caldus had just been designated the next quaestor of Cilicia and was on the way to the province. Cicero knew nothing of this young man, but at least had nothing against him. Furthermore he was a nobilis and had excellent recommendations sent about him to Cicero from some of Cicero's friends.[404]

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402 Fam. II.15.4: "Quem tamen si reliquissem, dicerent iniqui non me plane post annum, ut senatus voluisset, de provincia decessisse, quoniam alterum me reliquissem; fortasse etiam illud adderent, senatum eos voluisse provinciis praeesse qui ante non praefuissent: fratrem meum triennium Asiae praefuisse. Denique nunc sollicitus non sum ..."; Att. VI.6.3: "videbam sermones: 'hui fratrem reliquit! num est hoc non plus annum obtinere provinciam? quid quod senatus eos voluit esse provinciis qui non praefuissent? at hic triennium'".

403 Att. VI.6.4: "si quid iracundius aut contumeliosius aut neglegentius, quae fert vita hominum. quid si filius puer ..." (note the palliative effect of "quae fert vita hominum: cf. S.B., ad loc.). Cf. 9.3: "monebas de Quinto Cicerone puero". On Q.'s weakness vis-à-vis his son, see below, 364-6.

404 Att. VI.2.10; 4.1; 5.3 (note: " πρόβλημα ... nisi Caldus quaestor venerit"); 6.3; 6.4; Fam. II.15.4; 19. See also Münzer, RE, IV, 196, No. 14 and Thompson 384-5. Parthians: above, n. 397.

Hence the two reasons, for which Quintus had become the prime candidate for actinggovernorship, disappeared: namely the Parthian threat and the absence of an acceptable quaestor. So Cicero appointed Caldus. This appointment was not due then to either a lack of cooperation from Quintus or an adverse judgment on him. Although Cicero had some reserve about the temper of Quintus, he had no doubt about Quintus' merit for the job, and had they both not disliked it, he would not have hesitated at all. This must be what he meant, when he said: "cur erat dubitatione dignum, si esset quicquam cur placeret fratrem et talem fratrem relinqui?"[405]

In boasting about his integrity,[406] Cicero often included that of his legati, which implies that Quintus continued in Cilicia to observe the restraint which had characterised on the financial side his administration of Asia. However, there is a passage, Att. VII.3.8, written in December 50, which would impugn his good reputation in that respect, if Bailey's interpretation of it were accepted:

> De serpirastris cohortis meae, nihil <est> quod doleas; ipsi enim se collegerunt admiratione [in te] integritatis meae. sed me moverat nemo magis quam is quem tu minime putas. idem et initio fuerat et nunc est egregius; sed in ipsa decessione significavit sperasse se aliquid et id quod animum induxerat paulisper non tenuit, sed cito ad se rediit meisque honorificentissimis erga se officiis victus pluris ea duxit quam omnem pecuniam.

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405 Att. VI.9.3: Bayet (ad loc.) finds in "talem" artful ambiguity, suggestive of Q.'s "caractère dangereux". S.B. (ad loc.) rejects this as "nonsensical"- and rightly too!

406 See n. 178, above.

> [About the knee-splints of my staff, there is nothing for you to worry about. For they pulled themselves together of their own accord, in amazement at my honesty. But no one had disturbed me more than the man you least expect. And yet at first he had been a model, and so he is now. But just at the time of departure, he hinted that he had hoped for something and for a moment fell below the standard he had disciplined himself to. However he soon recovered, and, overcome by my attentive favours, valued them more than any amount of money.]

It is hinted here that one member of Cicero's cohors disappointed him, at the time of departure from Cilicia, by his desire for pecuniary gain. Tyrrell-Purser and Bailey are probably right in rejecting the identification of the individual, alluded to here, with Mescinius Rufus, of whom Cicero had not thought well, long before departure time.[407] Bailey, however, suggests Quintus, with no good reason:- (a) Quintus is not, as it is suggested, the only companion of sufficient importance, other that Rufus, to whom the language used here would suit. It would suit, for example, the legate L. Tullius, who had been recommended by Atticus, and, although generally scrupulous, was not above all reproach.[408] (b) The language is not, as it is suggested, necessarily "veiled", because of the omission of the individual's name. Atticus might have mentioned the name in his letter to Cicero, so that it was not necessary for the latter to repeat it in his reply. Even if the language were "veiled", Quintus does not have the monopoly of it: it is widely used in Cicero's correspondence.[409] (c) In 47, it was reported to Cicero by a third

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407 See above, n. 400

408 Att. V.21.5, and cf. n. 382, above.

409 For some examples, T.P. I, 84-5.

party that Quintus was complaining he had not received any money from the savings which Cicero had made from his vasarium in Cilicia: "Quintus queritur per litteras sibi nos nihil dedisse, qui neque ab illo rogati sumus" (Att. XI.13.4). This in fact, contrary to Bailey's opinion, would constitute negative rather than positive evidence: for, when Cicero heard in 47 about the alleged complaint, he was surprised, as Quintus had not asked for any money before. (d) The formal phrase "meisque honorificentissimis erga se officiis" could conceivably be used by Cicero in regard to his own brother; but one would normally expect not so close a relative to be in Cicero's mind here. (e) The passage is a follow-up to Att. VII.1.6, where Cicero informed Atticus of the complaints from various members of his cohors, following his decision to return the savings from his vasarium to the treasury. He suspected those persons, including the one here in question, of "diuturna simulatio virtutis". This expression is inconsistent with Cicero's opinion of his brother, so far as we have seen it. (f) The grumblings reported in Att. VII.1.6 amounted to a minor rebellion of some individuals against Cicero. Would it be in character for Quintus to have joined this group against his brother, when throughout his career so far, he had consistently sacrificed personal inclinations to family solidarity?

It can be assumed that Quintus left Cilicia with Cicero. His presence is attested at Patrae on 2 November 50, where the two brothers witnessed a will of the negotiator M'. Curius.[410] On the way from Patrae,

410 Att. VII.2.3: "eius testamentum deporto trium Ciceronum signis obsignatum" (M. Jr. excluded, still a minor: cf. S.B. ad loc.); cf. Fam. XVI.9.1.

3 November, his presence is attested by the inclusion of his name in the prescript of a letter of that date addressed to Tiro.[411] At one point, on November 5, he must have been travelling in a different ship from Cicero: for his name was omitted in the prescript of that day's letter to Tiro (Fam. XVI.2); and, in the next letter (Fam. XVI.3), Cicero wrote to Tiro that he had waited a whole day on November 5 at Alyzia, in Acarnania, for Quintus to catch up with him.[412] His name was resumed in the prescripts of Fam. XVI.3; 4; 5; 6; which attest to his presence at Alyzia on November 6, at Leucas on November 7 and at Actium on the evening of that day. While Cicero was delayed at Corcyra from 9 to 15 November, Quintus went with his son to visit Atticus' estate at Buthrotum[413] (Atticus was in Rome at the time). Quintus was not with Cicero, when the latter arrived in Brundisium on 25 November, as indicated by the omission of his name from the prescript of Fam. XVI.9 to Tiro.[414] Presumably he left separately for Italy. By mid-December he

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411 Fam. XVI.1. On the specifics of Cic.'s return journey, from Cilicia to Patrae, see S.B., III, 268-9; from Patrae to Brundisium: see Fam. XVI.9.1-2.

412 Fam. XVI.3.1: "Nos apud Alyziam ... unum diem commorati sumus, quod Quintus nos consecutus non erat".

413 Fam. XVI.7: "Septimum iam diem Corcyrae tenebamur, Quintus autem pater et filius Buthroti"; Att. VII.2.3: "Q. Ciceroni [= filio] obsisti non potuit quominus Thyamim videret"; Leg. II.7: "M: ... quem ex Quinto saepe audio, Thyamis Epirotes tuus ... Q: Est ita ut dicis; cave enim putes Attici nostri Amalthio platanisque illis quicquam esse praeclarius".

414 I do not know whom the Loeb follows, in including Q.'s name in the prescript. Neither T.P., nor Bayet, nor Moricca (Paravia), nor Klotz (Teubner) does so.

was back in Italy, as can be deduced from the surprise of Cicero that Pomponia had not gone to Arcanum,[415] presumably to meet her husband. The resumption of his name in the prescript of Fam. XVI.11 to Tiro indicates that he joined Cicero again in early January, as the retiring proconsul waited outside the gate of Rome.

In this section, it has been seen that, as legate of Cicero in Cilicia, Quintus, with the advantage of his experience, played a foremost role in the military functions for which Cicero was responsible, and was thus instrumental in earning Cicero some of the military honours which Cicero coveted. For the fact that Quintus was not appointed acting-governor of the province towards the end of Cicero's term of service, it would be an oversimplification to find the explanation in his presumable refusal to accept the post or in Cicero's presumable distrust of him, although he would have found the post distasteful, and Cicero did nurse some apprehensions about his rashness (but none about his integrity and general competence). The main reason for which he was considered at all for the post was related to the need for by-passing the quaestor Mescinius Rufus, without giving offence and without endangering the province. The abatement of the threat of Parthian invasion and the availability of the succeeding quaestor made Quintus' appointment unnecessary, and so relieved Cicero of his concerns about endangering his brother's life and extending his responsibility, through his brother, for the province. As they had left, so the brothers returned together, to

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415 Att. VII.5.3 (quoted above, 44, n. 72).

wait for a decision on Cicero's request for a triumph, while Rome was heading for Civil war.

7. CIVIL WAR AND BROTHERS' WAR

In the night of January 10-11, Caesar crossed the Rubicon, and Cicero left Rome on the day following the Senate-meeting of January 17.[416] During the five months of dilemma which ensued, in keeping with his previous conduct, Quintus Cicero was a constant companion of his elder brother. His presence by Cicero's side is attested at Minturnae on 23 January, by the inclusion of his name in the salutation to Cicero's family in Rome, in Fam. XIV.14.2.[417] He was most probably with Cicero thereafter, because, when Cicero left from Formiae, on 3 February, for Capua, to participate in the Pompeians' preparations, until 8 February, Quintus was with him.[418] When Cicero left Formiae to join Pompey at Luceria on 17 February, Quintus was again with him, as Cicero stated

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416 Att. VII.10; cf. T.P. IV, pp. ix-xii. On Caesar's crossing and subsequent developments, see list of sources in Broughton II, 262.

417 Fam. XIV.14.2: "Quintus pater et filius ... vobis salutem dicunt"; cf. "VIII Kalend. Menturnis."

418 Att. VII.18.1: "Ipse cum fratre Capuam ad consules - Nonis enim adesse iussi sumus - III Non. profectus sum" (cf. 16.2; 17.5; 19; 20.1; 21.1; VIII.11 B.2). The absence of the specific mention of Q.'s name does not preclude the possibility that he accompanied M. on the latter's first trip to Capua as well, 24-29 Jan: Att. VII.14.1-2; 15. 2-3; 16.1-2; 17.5; VIII.11 B.2; Fam. XVI.12.6. T.P. seem to think that Q. and family joined M. on 2 Feb., when M.'s family arrived from Rome (IV, p. xx). This is not so. Only the "mulieres" had been left behind: Fam. XIV.18; 14; Att. VII.13.3. Q. and son had left Rome already, without Pomponia (cf. above, 44-5). I rather think, with S.B. (IV, 428), that Q. (and son) left Rome on 18 Jan., with M.

in a letter to Pompey. At Cales, on getting news that Pompey had left Luceria for Brundisium, Quintus agreed with his brother to proceed to Brundisium. On hearing that they might be intercepted by Caesar, he agreed it was more cautious to return to Formiae - which they did on 19 February.[419] After Cicero's interview with Caesar on 28 March, Quintus probably accompanied his brother in the journey to Arpinum for the family celebration of the toga virilis for Marcus Jr: from 3 to 7 April, Cicero resided at Quintus' Laterium and Arcanum.[420] At Cumae, where Cicero stayed from 14 April to 19 May, Quintus' presence is attested by several references to him and his son.[421] On 7 June, the two brothers probably sailed on the same ship from Formiae to join Pompey in Greece.[422]

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419 Att. VIII.11 D.1: "confestimque cum Quinto fratre ... iter ad te in Apuliam facere coepi"; 11 D.3: "cumque nec mihi nec fratri meo dubium esset quin Brundisium contenderemus"; "nec mihi nec fratri meo ... placuit committere ut temeritas nostra ... noceret"; cf. 1.1-2; 1.4; 2.4; 3.7; 6.2; 11 A; 11 C.

420 Att. IX.18; VIII.9.3; IX.19.1; X.1.1; 1a; 2.1; 3; 3a. M. Jr. is not the only one known to have received the toga virilis on a day other than the usual one, which was the Liberalia, on 17 March: see W. Fowler, Festivals, 56, for other instances.

421 Att. X.4.6; 4.11; 7.3; 9.2; 11.2; 15.4. S.B. IV, 428-437, gives a convenient "Ephemeris" for M. from 18 Jan. to 19 May 49:- 18-22 Jan: To and at Formiae; 22-24 Jan: Minturnae; 24-29 Jan: Cales-Capua; c. 30 Jan.-3 Feb: Formiae; 3 Feb.-8 Feb: Cales-Capua; 8-17 Feb: Formiae; 17-19 Feb: Cales; 19 Feb.-29 March: Formiae; 29 March-13 Apr: To, at and from Arpinum-Laterium-Arcanum; 14 Apr.- 19 May: Cumae (exc. 2-3 May: Pompeii). This "Ephemeris" should do for Q. as well, more or less.

422 Fam. XIV.7.

After the battle of Pharsalus, particularly in the course of his stay in Brundisium from November 48 to October 47, Cicero went through a trying period, cursing himself in the first place for having left Italy and identified himself as an enemy of Caesar, and, secondly, for having returned to Italy and identified himself as a deserter to the Pompeians. He feared reprisals from both sides. In his mental distress, he was inclined, for his mistakes, to blame others, including his "proximi", for having either urged him to follow the wrong course or for having failed to dissuade him from doing so. He does not appear to have explicitly excluded Quintus from those "proximi", who allegedly misled him.[423] This gave rise to rumours that Quintus was one of the prime culprits for Cicero's error. Caesar, according to Balbus Jr., believed that Quintus had "sounded the clarion for Cicero's departure" from Italy, and was consequently, according to Ligurius, exceedingly angry with Quintus.[424] Tyrrell-Purser think there was substance to the rumour which Caesar believed, and regard Cicero's assumption of full responsibility for the departure, in a letter to Caesar, as an act of generosity

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423 Att. XI.9.2: "cessi meis vel potius parui; ex quibus unus [= Q.] qua mente fuerit ... cognosces ex ipsius litteris quas ad te et ad alios misit"; 25.1: "omnia fecimus iis erroribus et miseriis et animi et corporis quibus proximi utinam mederi maluissent!" Fam. XIV.16: "qui me de mea sententia detruserunt" (acc. to T.P. = "the two Quinti"); XIII.29.7: "si quid fecerim hoc ipso in bello minus ex Caesaris voluntate ... id fecisse aliorum consilio, hortatu, auctoritate"; cf. Att. XI.12.3-4; 14.1-2; 15.1; 16.1; 17.2; 18.1-2; 24.5; 22.3; Fam. IX.6.3.

424 Att. XI.12.1: "cum mihi litterae a Balbo Cornelio minore missae essent, illum existimare Quintum fratrem lituum meae profectionis fuisse (ita enim scripsit) ..."; 9.2: "hic Ligurius furere: se enim scire summo illum [= Q.] in odio fuisse Caesari".

dictated by Cicero's anxiety to save his brother.[425]

However, Cicero's references to the position of Quintus, before he took the crucial step in June 49, show beyond doubt that Quintus was a follower, indeed too passive a follower, of his brother. On 18-19 February, Cicero was wondering not only whether he should leave Italy, if Pompey were to do so, but also whether he should take his brother and nephew along as well.[426] It was not fair, he admitted on 6 March, to associate Quintus with him, if he did so, because Quintus, (having a greater obligation to Caesar), would incur Caesar's anger more than himself. But Quintus would not accept to stay behind in Italy, if his brother were to leave.[427] On 11 March, he excluded Quintus specifically from those relatives, who egged him on to give up neutrality and join Pompey, a course about which his son, Marcus Jr. was particularly enthusiastic. Quintus was resigned to leave the matter to Cicero's judgment, and accept whatever decision Cicero took as right and binding upon himself.[428] On 14 April, Cicero disclaimed any personal advantage to his

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425 T.P. IV, 304, n. ad Att. XI.9.2; 306, n. ad Fam. XIV.16; 309, n. ad Att. XI.12.1.

426 Att. VIII.3.5: "age iam, cum fratre an sine eo ...? in utraque enim re summa difficultas erit, summus animi dolor".

427 Att. IX.1.4: "Frater accedit, quem socium huius fortunae esse non erat aequum, cui magis etiam Caesar irascetur, sed impetrare non possum ut maneat."

428 Att. IX.6.4: "uxor, filia, Cicerones pueri, me illud sequi mallent, hoc turpe et me indignum putarent. nam Quintus quidem frater quicquid mihi placeret id rectum se putare aiebat, id animo aequissimo sequebatur"; cf. X.9.2; 11.3.

brother or himself in the decision to leave Italy.[429] He described Quintus' grief at the news that his son, Quintus Jr., had vilified Cicero to Caesar: Quintus feared for his brother's life more than for his own.[430] Quintus, he wrote again on 4 May, loved his brother more than himself.[431] At this critical juncture, when Cicero had to take a momentous step, in a matter where the country and Cicero's own life were at stake, Quintus, in keeping with his conduct throughout his public life, identified himself completely with his brother.

After the Ciceros sailed from Italy, Quintus' presence in Pompey's army on the coast of North-West Greece can be deduced from De Divinatione II.53, where he is called as a witness to the oracles delivered to Pompey there.[432] In the battle of Pharsalus, August 48, Cicero did not participate, perhaps for health reasons: he was stationed, at that time, at Dyrrachium, with Cato, Varro and some others. On account of this, it is usually assumed, as, for example, by Antoine, Drumann-Groebe, McDermott, and, (if more hesitantly), Bailey, that Quintus too was not at Pharsalus. This assumption is not justified. The case of Marcus Jr. is a warning against such an assumption. If it were not for

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429 Att. X.4.5: "nec tam propter me aut propter fratrem meum".

430 Att. X.4.6: "Iacet in maerore meus frater neque tam de sua vita quam de mea metuit".

431 Att. X.11.1: "me quidem se ipso cariorem".

432 Div. II.53: "Quae nobis in Graeciam ... missa sunt! Quae dicta Pompeio! ... Non lubet commemorare nec vero necesse est, tibi [= Q.] praesertim qui interfuisti"; cf. Att. XI.1; 2; 3; 4 a; 4; Fam. XIV.6; Plut. Cic. 38.

one accidental reference in De Officiis II.45, we would not have known that Cicero's son was at Pharsalus, and would probably have assumed he was at Dyrrachium with his father. As for Quintus, it seems almost certain that he was not with Cicero at Dyrrachium, because, again in De Divinatione, he describes the experiences of Cicero, Cato and Varro there in the second person plural, as experiences he had a report of, from Cicero.[433] They were therefore experiences in which he had not participated, because he was not then at Dyrrachium. If he was not at Dyrrachium, he was most likely at Pharsalus at the time.

After escaping from Pharsalus, Quintus probably attended the assembly of the Pompeians in Corcyra, where Cicero advised surrender and turned down Cato's offer to him of command of the Senatorial forces. For he was with Cicero on the voyage, towards the end of August, from Corcyra to Patrae, and at Patrae, where Cicero spent about a month.[434] Thereupon, Cicero returned to Brundisium,[435] an act which formally expressed his dissociation from the Pompeians, just as his departure from Italy

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433 Div. I.68-9 (Q. speaking): "At ex te ipso non commenticiam rem, sed factam eiusdem generis audivi: C. Coponium ad te venisse Dyrrachium ... paucis sane post diebus ex Pharsalia fuga venisse Labienum ... naves conscendistis ... videbatis ... sensistis"; II.114 (M. speaking): "Timebamus ... audiebamus ... qui ibi tum eramus, me, Catonem, Varronem, Coponium ipsum"; cf. Plut. Cic. 39; Pomp. 67-72; Caes. 42-6; Caes. B.C. III.82-99; Dio XLII.10.1. Antoine, pp. xxxi-xxxii, (who even thinks Q. was accused, like M., of cowardice); Drumann-Groebe 656; McDermott 703; S.B., Cic., 167.

434 Att. XI.9.2: "ille [= Q.] ... initio navigationis"; 5.4: "Quintus ... Patris fuit"; cf. Plut. Cic. 39.1; Dio XLI.62.1; XLII.10. 2-3 (not quite accurate about M.'s movements).

435 Att. XI.5-25; Fam. XIV.9-13; 15-17; 19; 22-24; XV.15; Plut. Cic. 39.2.

had formalised his association with them. Here, for the first time - as far as we know - in his public life, Quintus did not go along with his brother. Why he chose to do so at this juncture has never been clarified: the general impression left in modern works is that he was too eager to go begging to Caesar.[436] Yet the glimpses which we get of his whereabouts, through Cicero's correspondence with Atticus, seen in relation to the Pompeians' movements, known from other sources, suggest in fact the contrary, that Quintus was slower to commit himself to the kind of step which Cicero had taken, and to dissociate himself clearly from the Pompeians.

In early October, Cicero had news which led him to believe that Quintus Jr. had sailed from Corcyra to Patrae, where he joined his father, and together they had set out "una cum ceteris".[437] The "ceteri" here must be the same as the "ceteri" in Att. XI.14.3, that is to say, the Pompeians who intended, after Pharsalus, to continue the struggle against Caesar. From Dio, we know that they sailed from Corcyra via Patrae to Cyrenaica.[438] According to Antoine and Bailey, Quintus did not proceed with the other Pompeians. For Antoine, "Quintus ne pouvait avoir cette pensée", and for Bailey, the Pompeians who were to continue the struggle were "diehards".[439] The ground on which they

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436 See below, 205-6.

437 Att. XI.5.4: "eodem Corcyra filius venit. inde profectos eos una cum ceteris arbitror".

438 Dio XLII.13.3; 14.5; cf. Lucan IX.24-50.

439 Antoine, p. xxxii; S.B. n. ad Att. XI.5.4.

dissociate Quintus from these Pompeians is the later approach of Quintus to Caesar, of which the first suggestion was in Att. XI.6.7, nearly a month after Att. XI.5.4.

It was at Cyrenaica, as we gather from Dio, on hearing the news of Pompey's death, that the Pompeians really split. One group, led by Cato - the "diehards", but not until now - went on to the province of Africa, to continue the struggle. A second group - the "deprecatores"- sailed to Asia to seek forgiveness from Caesar. A third group scattered. They were the undecided, who wanted to wait for further developments, many of whom went back to Greece, which was largely controlled by the Caesarian Q. Fufius Calenus. Theirs was an ambiguous position.[440]

I believe Quintus went as far as Cyrenaica, and there, when there was the big split, he alligned himself with one of these groups. At first Cicero had the report that Quintus went with the "deprecatores" to Caesar in Asia.[441] But it was false. His son was seen at Samos, Ephesus, and Antioch; but Quintus himself was at Sicyon and Patrae for several months.[442] The voyage of Quintus Jr. and the letters which

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440 Dio XLII.13.2-5. On Pompey's assassination and the time the news took: Dio XLII.13.2; 18.3; Lucan IX.220-293. On Calenus: Dio XLII.14; Fam. XV.15.2; Att. XI.15.2; 16.2 (with S.B.'s n. on correct interpretation of "Achaici etiam Fufio spem deprecationis adferunt"); Fam. IV.7.3; IX.6.3; cf. Broughton II, 281; 283.

441 Att. XI.6.7: "Quintum fratrem audio profectum in Asiam ut deprecaretur ... is dicitur vidisse Quintum euntem an iam in Asia".

442 Att. XI.7.7: "Quintum filium vidi qui Sami vidisset, patrem Sicyone: quorum deprecatio est facilis"; 8.2: "Quintus misit filium non solum sui deprecatorem"; "qui ex ipso audissent, cum Sicyone ... loqueretur"; 10.1: "is Quintum filium Ephesi vidit VI Id. Dec.";

Quintus sent from Greece to Vatinius, Ligurius and "several others" (presumably Caesarians),[443] indicate that Quintus was paving the way for a reconciliation with Caesar. But he had not yet overtly transferred his loyalty, as his brother had already done. He still retained the option of joining the Pompeians again. Indeed, in April 47, when it appeared that Caesar would not come out of Egypt unscathed, and Cicero was afraid that the Pompeians in Africa would invade Italy, it was reported that the Pompeians in Greece, including Quintus, were going to join the invaders.[444] But Caesar did come out of Egypt and there never was the invasion of Italy. Quintus was granted amnesty by Caesar, after a meeting of his son with Caesar, following the battle of Zela. That was in July 47, almost a year after Pharsalus, and two months before Cicero's amnesty at Brundisium.[445]

"postea Patris ... Quintum patrem locutum"; 11.2: "ille in Achaia"; 16.4: "'... Patris non sum invitus; essem libentius si frater tuus ea de te loqueretur quae ego audire vellem'"; 20.1: "qui se Antiochiae diceret apud Caesarem vidisse Quintum filium" (13.1: a report that Q. was in Syria in March 47 was rejected as false; S.B. even drops "Quintum", from the text, as improbable).

443 Att. XI.9.2: "ipsius litteris quas ad te et ad alios misit"; "epistula Vatinio et Ligurio altera"; 12.1: "de me Quintus scripsisset ad multos"; 13.2: "quod ad multos scripserit".

444 Att. XI.14.1: "Omnes enim Achaici deprecatores itemque in Asia quibus non erat ignotum, etiam quibus erat, in Africam dicuntur navigaturi. Ita praeter Laelium neminem habeo culpae socium"; 14.3: "item [Q.] Africam petere dicitur"; 15.1: "hi autem ex Africa iam adfuturi videntur, Achaici ex Asia redituri ad eos". Cf. Dio XLII.30.3; 33.1; 56.4.

445 Att. XI.20.1: "eos de Quinto quae voluissent impetrasse nullo quidem negotio". M.'s amnesty: Plut. Cic. 39.3-4; cf. Att. XI. 22.2.

During this year, a quarrel separated Quintus from Marcus Cicero, a quarrel which was unique and unprecedented in the brothers' relationship. Until Bailey's biography of Cicero, it received nothing like a substantial treatment of its gravity and its cause.[446] It was, for Marcus, a shattering experience, which wounded him deeply. As Bailey says, with insight, "Cicero's relationship with his brother was his oldest emotional attachment, and its traumatic dissolution a loss of major psychological importance."[447]

The quarrel broke out on the voyage from Corcyra to Patrae. In the course of it and at Patrae, Quintus was hostile ("aversissimo animo"): he spoke and acted harshly ("acerbe") towards Marcus.[448] After they parted at Patrae, Marcus at first just doubted that Quintus would defend his brother's interests, if and when he represented his own to Caesar. Subsequently, he was convinced that Quintus was actually denigrating him to Caesar.[449] By word of mouth and through letters, it was reported to Marcus that his brother was saying and writing bad

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446 S.B., Cic., 179-185; minimised, e.g., by S. Davidson, 79, as Bailey observes.

447 S.B., Cic., 185.

448 Att. XI.9.2: "hac ille acerbitate initio navigationis cum usus esset"; 5.4: "Quintus aversissimo a me animo Patris fuit"; 12.1: "multa prasens in praesentem acerbe dixerat et fecerat".

449 Att. XI.7.7: "utinam illi [= Quinti] qui prius illum [= Caes.] viderint me apud eum velint adiutum tantum quantum illos vellem si quid possem!" 8.2: "Quintus misit filium ... etiam accusatorem mei"; 9.2: "neque nunc tam pro se quam contra me laborare dicitur"; 11.2: "non cessat de nobis detrahere"; 13.2: "cum gravissime accusabat".

things about him to all and sundry. There were several reports, independent of one another, and some samples of Quintus' writing were put in Marcus' hands. No specifics of Quintus' denigration are recorded, but it was full of "nefaria", "maledicta", "probra", expressed in the uninhibited language and manner which characterised him, when he was angry.[450] His conduct appeared to Marcus a treacherous and monstrous crime, which Marcus used strong language to describe. It was a "scelus", a "furor", arising from "odium", "improbitas",[451] and inflicted an "iniuria" replete with "dolor", "fletus", "cruciatus".[452] His disgust was such that he was even rendered physically sick by it on

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450 Att. XI.8.2: "neque vero desistit, ubicumque est, omnia in me maledicta conferre"; "qui ex ipso audissent, cum Sicyone palam multis audientibus loqueretur nefaria quaedam, ad me pertulerunt"; 9.2: "epistula Vatinio et Ligurio altera ... epistulas mihi legerunt plenas omnium in me probrorum"; "volui scire quid scripsisset ad ceteros ... cognovi eiusdem generis"; 10.1: "multa ... secum [= Terentio Hispone] Quintum patrem locutum"; "ex iis epistulis quas ad te misi"; 13.2: "quod ad multos de me asperius scripserit"; 16.4: "quidam scripsit ad me his verbis"; 21.1: "Accepi ... litteras a te datas"; 22.1: "videris vereri ut epistulas illas acceperim".

451 Att. XI.9.2: "scelus hominis"; "eius hoc tantum scelus"; 10.1: "simili scelere"; "cuius furorem"; 13.2: "odium suum"; 21.1: "ex Quinti scelere"; 22.1: "illius in me odium"; "illius improbitate"; Fam. IV.14.3 (here allusion primarily to Terentia, but the Quinti probably not excluded: cf. T.P. ad loc.): "eorum scelus"; "nihil intra meos parietes tutum, nihil insidiis vacuum"; "veterum [necessitudinum] perfidiam".

452 Att. XI.5.1: "causae ... acerbae ... graves ... novae"; 8.2: "nihil mihi umquam tam incredibile accidit, nihil in his malis tam acerbum"; "augeo commemorando dolorem"; 9.2: "hoc ego dolore accepto"; 9.3: "plura scribere fletu prohibeor"; 10.1: "me quidem excruciant"; 11.1: "confectus iam cruciatu maximorum dolorum"; 21.1: "dolorem ... gravissimum cepi"; 21.3: "tantisque nostrorum iniuriis"; 22.1: "auxerunt ... mihi dolorem"; Fam. XIV.12: "perturbati dolore animi magnis iniuriis".

one occasion.[453] He stopped writing to Quintus, and refused to do so, despite the requests of Atticus. He referred to Quintus as "ille", "is", avoiding so much as to pronounce the name of his brother. He did not want to hear of his brother or from his brother.[454] Indeed he wished he never had one.[455] For at least a whole year, these were the feelings and this the attitude of Marcus. In June 47, Quintus made a conciliatory gesture and wrote to congratulate Marcus on the prospect of his restoration to Caesar's favour.[456] In 46, they were seeing each other again:[457] relations became normal, if not as intensely affectionate as before.

Undoubtedly, there was substance to Marcus' allegations regarding Quintus' conduct. Apart from Marcus himself, it was assumed that Atticus, Caesar, Balbus Jr., Vatinius, Ligurius, Terentius Hispo and other unnamed witnesses were familiar with it. Quintus made no denial, but defended it. Hearsay evidence was supplemented with actual letters which were seen by the various witnesses. Quintus, as it has been seen already, was a person liable, when angry, to be abusive in the language

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453 Att. XI.9.2: "tanto me dolore affecit ut postea iacuerim".

454 Att. XI.16.4: "Quod suades ut ad Quintum scribam de his litteris, facerem, si me quicquam istae litterae delectarent"; 21.1: "mallem non esse missam"; 22.1: "vellem mihi numquam redditas". "Ille" and "is": 9.2; 11.2.

455 Att. XI.9.3: "utinam ... ne quid ex matre postea natum esset!"

456 Att. XI.23.2: "mihi valde Quintus frater gratulatur".

457 Att. XII.1.2: "dederam ... Quinto quo die venissem, id est V Kal." (For date, see T.P. introd. n. to Att. XII.11).

he used, and indiscreet about the circumstances in which he indulged it.[458] His modus operandi in his quarrel, as described by Marcus, squares with the Quintus we know. Hence modern scholars generally portray Marcus as the hero and Quintus as the villain in this fraternal feud. Tyrrell-Purser, Blase and Ciaceri, for example; Stockton, who speaks of Quintus' "shocking conduct", and R.E. Smith, according to whom, Quintus "behaved contemptibly". For Carotenuto: "si ruppe ... nel modo più vergognoso con ... Marco". Modern scholars also often give the motive for Quintus' conduct. It was the defeat at Pharsalus, according to Cowell; according to Haskell, Quintus "blamed Marcus for inducing him to put his money on the wrong horse"; Smith: Quintus held Marcus "responsible for their unlucky fate of having joined the losing side"; Gelzer: "Vorwürfe darüber, das er durch ihn [= M.] in das Unglück gekommen sei".[459]

Yet, when we turn to the sources for information about the cause or substance of the quarrel, we do not find it was the mere defeat at Pharsalus. In fact we are given no information at all in that respect. Marcus made many references to the outcome of the quarrel and to his brother's style in conducting it, but remained secretive as to its origin and substance. Similarly, Atticus condemned Quintus' modus operandi, continued to write to Quintus, commend him to Marcus, and urge

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458 Cf. above, 106-7.

459 T.P. IV, 265, and passim in comments to passages relating to the quarrel; Blase 16-7; Ciaceri II, 259; Stockton 263-4; Smith, Cic. Statesman, 223; Carotenuto 31; Cowell 300-1; Haskell 291-2; Gelzer Cic., 258; but S.B. (n. 446 above) rather more balanced.

Marcus to write to his brother, which Marcus refused to do. Quintus, on the other hand, wrote to both Marcus and Atticus to discuss the substance. He said that he regretted hurting feelings, but that he had acted rightly ("iure").[460] It seems that Marcus was more evasive, and Quintus more forthright, in regard to the issue itself. We must therefore be very sceptical about where blame really lay for the outbreak of this quarrel. We depend entirely on the complaints of one party, and a Marcus Cicero too, who, in adversity, could be petulant, abject, demanding, hypercritical, oversensitive, suspicious and incontinent.

In any case, it is necessary to view Quintus' anger in the perspective of the whole context of the Ciceros' allegiance in this Civil War. According to Marcus, the one most decisive factor which determined his own allegiance was personal gratia. Whichever side won, he felt, the respublica could not be resuscitated for his own or for the next generation. He had nothing to fear from Caesar for his own safety, but he owed so much to Pompey that he had to subscribe to Pompey's struggle for

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460 Att. XI.9.2: "quem tu mihi commendas, cognosces ex ipsius litteris quas ad te et ad alios misit"; 11.2: "nihil videlicet tuae litterae profecerunt"; 13.2: "Quintus mihi per litteras satisfacit multo asperioribus verbis ... ait enim se ex litteris tuis intellegere tibi non placere quod ad multos de me asperius scripserit, itaque se paenitere quod animum tuum offenderit; sed se iure fecisse. deinde perscribit spurcissime quas ob causas fecerit"; 15.2: "Quintus non modo non cum magna prece ad me sed acerbissime scripsit"; 16.4: "Quod suades ut ad Quintum scribam de his litteris, facerem, si ..." "quod ais illum ad te scribere me sibi nullas litteras remittere ..." (followed by an unconvincing excuse and an overstatement as to why he (M.) delayed reply: cf. S.B. ad loc.)

his salus and dignitas.[461] One wonders, with Cato,[462] what on earth was this great service which Pompey had rendered him. Was he not, rather, trying to rationalise the fascination the man had for him? As for Quintus, if he was to have a personal decision in the matter, and the criterion of gratia were to determine it, he should have been fighting on Caesar's side. He had both older and fresher ties with Caesar than with Pompey. He had drawn his brother from Pompey to Caesar. In Gaul, he had been close to Caesar as a soldier and a man of letters. Caesar had honoured him and helped him financially.[463] Caesar was the natural choice for him. As it turned out, Quintus Cicero has the dubious distinction of being the only legate of Caesar in Gaul - besides Labienus - to have enlisted against his old commander and benefactor. Labienus had an excuse: he had, almost certainly, older ties of allegiance with Pompey.[464] What excuse did Q. Cicero have? He was to be in a category of Caesar's enemies, which Caesar marked out as specially contemptible: those who had received favours from himself, and had no

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461 Att.VIII.1.4; 2.4; 8.2; 14.2; IX.1.4; 5.3; 4.2; 7.3; 19.2; X.7.1; Fam. VI.6.6; VII.3.1; cf. Att. X.4.5; Fam. VI.1.3; Dio XLI.18.4-5.

462 Cf. Plut. Cic. 38.1.

463 Att. IX.9.2: "illum [= Caes.] tamen non modo favisse sed etiam tantam pecuniam dedisse"; 12.2: "semper illum [= Q.] auctorem nostrae coniunctionis [= Marci et Caesaris]"; "amicitia vestra [= Quinti et Caesaris]"; cf. above, 149; 151-181.

464 On Labienus, see esp. Syme JRS XXVIII (1938) 113-125. Scullard, 146, forgets Q., when he says L. was only deserter.

major obligation to Pompey.[465]

Q. Cicero fought on Pompey's side, in complete submission to the judgment of his elder brother. Was this out of weakness of character? Bailey perceptively remarks that his lack of independence was a "passivity amounting almost to paralysis"... and "... the habit of a lifetime ... made dissociation from his elder brother at such a turning-point a psychological impossibility".[466] But it also required great strength of character to continue, even at this juncture, to observe the principle he had followed throughout his public life, in subordinating his personal inclinations to his elder brother's guidance. Here, above all, he could not afford to act independently: for had he done so, the Civil War might have been for the Cicero brothers literally a fratricidal war.[467]

Having so unselfishly accepted his brother's guidance, Quintus had to experience a series of disappointments in Marcus. There was not only the defeat of Pharsalus, but also Marcus' many quarrels with the Pompeians, his refusal to accept responsibilities offered to him by Cato

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465 Att. IX.1.4: "cui magis etiam Caesar irascetur". Cf. Dio XLI.62.2-5.

466 S.B., Cic., 162-3. Shatzman's suggestion (230) that Q.'s motive was personal expediency ("calculated that Pompey would win") is unfounded.

467 In Lucan, the confrontation of brothers is both the origin of Civil War (cf. Romulus-Remus) and its dramatic fulfilment: I.95; III.354-5; IV.551; 563; VII.182-3; 453; 465; 626-7; 775. In reality, we do not find any case of brothers' confrontation in this war; of relatives', there were of course many: cf. Dio XLI.57.3-59.3.

at Corcyra and finally his abandonment of the Pompeians before the dust had quite settled on Pharsalus. The worst blow of all to Quintus must have been the selfish return of Marcus to Italy. M. Cicero and D. Laelius were the only persons authorised by Caesar (after negotiations through Dolabella in Cicero's case) to return to Italy.[468] Having left Italy, because of his brother, Quintus now saw his brother return to Italy, without him.

In addition, as it has been seen already, after his return to Italy, Marcus was blaming his relatives for his mistake, and Caesar himself was led to believe that Quintus was responsible for his brother's departure from Italy. Quintus himself believed that his brother was blaming him to Caesar.[469] Marcus had to write to Caesar that Quintus had not been his guide, but his companion, in the departure from Italy. Marcus did that, not out of generosity, but to set the record right. It is disturbing, however, to find the implication, when he reported the matter to Atticus, that, had he known of certain letters of Quintus to Caesar, he might not have written to Caesar to set the record right.[470] In these circumstances, when Quintus had to negotiate his own

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468 M. in Pompey's camp: Plut. Cic. 38-9; Att. XI.4; return negotiations: Att. XI.7.2; Fam. IX.9.

469 Att. XI. 8.2: "[Q.] dictitat se a me apud Caesarem oppugnari, quod refellit Caesar ipse omnesque eius amici"; cf. above, 200.

470 Att. XI.12.1-2: "qui nondum cognossem quae de me Quintus scripsisset ... ad Caesarem scripsi: '... illud dumtaxat tamen audebo petere abs te, quod te oro, ne quid existimes ab illo factum esse quo minus mea in te officia constarent minusque te diligerem, potiusque ... meique itineris [fuisse] comitem, non ducem'". (Note the causal subjunctive in "cognossem").

reconciliation with Caesar, it is hard to see how he could, or why he should, have avoided to give the only excuse he had for his ingratitude to Caesar: he had been led by his brother Marcus. It was the truth that had to be said, but Quintus, in his anger, defeated, and deserted by the person he had loved, served, honoured and respected so much in his life, said this truth with harsh and bitter words.

The evidence examined in this final section has shown Quintus, consistently with the general course of his public life, remaining closely associated with his brother during the prelude to the Civil War. So, when Cicero left for Greece to join the Pompeians, despite his own attraction and indebtedness to Caesar, Quintus could not help following his brother. But, in the aftermath of Pharsalus, he experienced the one great rift of his lifetime from his brother. Slower than Marcus in abandoning unequivocally the Pompeian cause, he carried his own negotiations from Greece with the Caesarians, increasing his commitment as the Pompeian cause deteriorated in its chances of success, until he was finally pardoned by Caesar in July 47. The rift between the brothers, lasting over a year, was a shattering emotional experience for both, marked by considerable bitterness and mutual denigrations. The sympathies of moderns are all on the side of Marcus, because it is his complaints that are heard, and his allegations of Quintus' harsh and indiscreet language are verisimilar. If, on the other hand, Quintus' version of the dispute had survived, there would have been some understanding of his bitter frustration as a result not merely of the defeat

at Pharsalus, but of the uncomely desertion by his elder brother and guide in the whole adventure.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This brings us to the end of Quintus Cicero's public life.[471] His public career, not dazzling, was not bad for a novus from Arpinum.[472] He did not particularly relish it, especially when it entailed service abroad, being a man attracted to the pleasures of intellectual life, where he learnt moral standards which he was at pains to reconcile with the exigencies of public life. It is the overwhelming evidence, however, that he discharged with efficiency the duties of a public career reluctantly undertaken, and invited widespread commendation, although he also attracted criticism and made enemies by his overconfidence in subordinates, his excitable temper and his sheer pig-headedness in the pursuit of certain principles. This career must not be isolated from that of Cicero, with which it was most intricately and at every stage involved. It was dominated and guided by political ideas conceived by Cicero. It was made possible by Cicero's extensive influence as an orator, and, if it did not rise to a consulship, the

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471 The little that is known of him under Caesar's regnum, and his death will be included in the concluding part of the chapter on him and his son: 371-390.

472 Contrast Boissier, 249: "Ces défauts ... empêchèrent Quintus de réussir dans la vie publique"; Courbaud I, p. xxxiii: "[il] échoua dans la vie publique"; Carotenuto 31: "l'uomo della mediocrità ... Tutta la sua vita privata e publica fu un fallimento".

explanation must be sought in the limitations of Cicero's power as a consul-maker rather than in the faults of Quintus himself. It was dovetailed to promote Cicero's own powers and prestige, by enhancing his ties with men of power and widening the range of his clients. To Cicero's own advancement Quintus was entirely dedicated, and he served it, with a happy heart, in a variety of ways. He formed with his brother a pact, which was broken only after the battle of Pharsalus. This temporary feud must not blind us to the excellence of the relations between the two brothers which marked their career.[473] Much of the secret of

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473 Cf. Carcopino, Secrets, I, 306-7: "les mauvaises relations de Ciceron avec son frère".

The political solidarity and mutual devotion of the Cicero brothers is paralleled by other cases in the Roman republic. Some examples: The Ligarii brothers, very much devoted to their outlawed brother, Q. Ligarius, begged Caesar for his pardon and asked Cic. to intercede (Fam. VI.13.2; 14; Lig. 34-7). Similarly C. Marcellus worked for the restoration of his brother M. Marcellus from exile (Marc. 10; 34). L. Munatius Plancus, cos. 42, had two brothers who served under him devotedly ("ad omnia paratissimus") and watched over his interests faithfully ("fidelis prudentia") (Fam. X.6.2; 11.3; 15.3-4; 17.2; 21.7). The three Antonii brothers formed a compact mafia: In 44, while Marcus was consul, Caius was praetor and Lucius was tribune: Lucius not only proclaimed fraternal "pietas", but made it a slogan (Dio XLVIII.5.4; Fam. II.18.2; Ad Brut. I.3.3: see also detailed sources in Broughton, under 44 B.C, and Syme's account, Rom. Rev. 115-6; 126; 157). Lucullus would not accept office until the career of his younger brother Marcus was assured: they were elected aediles together, consuls in successive years, and were attacked jointly by their enemies (Plut. Luc. I.6; 37. 1-2: further sources in Broughton, under 74 B.C and 73 B.C). When Cic. attacked Metellus Nepos, his brother, Metellus Celer, went into "luctus" and "squalor", and wrote to Cic. to protest. Cic. paid tribute to his "vis fraterni amoris" (Fam. V.1.2; 2.6; 2.10: see also Syme, 20). Scipio Aemilianus honoured his elder, but less distinguished, brother, Q. Maximus, as if the latter were superior, because of his greater age (Am. 69). Catullus expresses the fervour of fraternal love for his dead brother in poems 65, 68 and 101. According to Plutarch, Cato the younger had blind confidence in his step-brother Q. Caepio (Frat. am. 16; Cato

these excellent relations lay in the fact that Quintus shared with Marcus the love of letters.

Min. 3.5-6). Two Titii brothers were closely attached: each asked to be killed before the other (Caes. Bell. Afr. 28.4). Two Pisos of Aquitania provided a superb example of brotherly devotion to the death in the Gallic War (Caes. B.G. IV.12). T. Quinctius Flamininus obtained the consulship for his brother (Livy XXXV.10.8). Cn. Baebius Tamphilus got his brother elected (Livy XL. 17.18). More exs. of closely linked brothers: Ligus and M. Papirius (Dom. 49); Sp. Postumus Albinus (Sall. Iug. 36.4); P. Trebonius (Verr. II.1.123); M. Octavius Ligus (Verr. II. 1.125); L. Manlius Sosis (Fam. XIII.30). Also: Verr. II.3.57; Livy XLI.27.2; 45.9; Pliny VIII.18.4; Caes. B.G. I.20; Fam. XV.2.6. Well-known are the compacts of the Gracchi brothers (Plut. T. Grac. and C. Grac.), of P. Clodius and his brother Appø. Claudius (Sest. passim), of the Metelli brothers (Verr. I.26-9), of the three Aurelii Cottae brothers, C. cos 75, M. cos. 74, L. pr. 70 (Broughton, sub. 75, 74 and 70). On fraternal devotion, generally, for the period: Appian B.C. IV. 22; Plut. Frat. am. passim; Sall. Iug. 10.5.

Conversely, for some cases of brothers in conflict or on opposite sides: the Lepidi (Ad Brut. I.3.3; Appian B.C. IV.12); the Gellii (Fam. X.17); the Fadii (Fam. IX.25.3); the Cornelii Cethegi (Ampelius, Liber memorialis, 31); the Labieni (Rab. perd. 20-1).

IV

A MAN OF LETTERS

1. LITERARY INTERESTS AND ROLE IN CICERO'S DIALOGUES

It has been seen in the opening chapter how Q. Cicero, as a youth, was given the opportunity and the incentive to cultivate a taste for learning. There has been all too often the tendency to overstress his "vocation" as a soldier, as with Blase, Tyrrell-Purser, Pianko, S. Davidson, Courbaud and G. Veith.[1] In his brother's view, the most characteristic aspect of Quintus was not his cursus, his soldiering, or his business, but his devotion to intellectual pursuits. Never does this come out so clearly as when Cicero addressed him as presiding judge in the trial of Archias. Cicero called him a "lectissimus vir", whose presence was a guarantee that Cicero's eulogy of literature in court, in lieu of a technical defence of his client, was not out of place. The scholiast observed that Cicero's remark was appropriate, since Quintus was a lover of letters.[2] When he was governor of Asia, it has been seen

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1 Blase 12; Pianko 405; T.P. passim in commentaries; S. Davidson 78: "nature had meant him for a soldier rather than for a student or a statesman"; Courbaud I, p. xxxiv: "malgré ses prétensions littéraires, il n'était qu'un soldat"; G. Veith, Geschichte der Feldzüge C. Julius Caesars, Wien 1906, 298: "ein militärischer Idiot".

2 Arch. 3: "in quaestione legitima et in iudicio publico, cum res agatur apud praetorem populi Romani, lectissimum virum"; "hoc denique praetore exercente iudicium, patiamini de studiis humanitatis ac litterarum paulo loqui liberius"; 32: "quae a foro aliena iudicalique consuetudine et de hominis ingenio et communiter de ipso studio locutus

how, in praising and advising him on practically and morally sound government, Cicero laid stress on the intellectual character of the personal resources available to him, thanks to a life steeped in literature. Cicero put the administration of Asia to him as an intellectual challenge to show what learning could do for public service.[3]

This intellectualism of Quintus found its nourishment and its expression in the personal library which he assembled, following a fashion just introduced by L. Lucullus, which men of intellect, like Cicero, Atticus and Caesar, were imitating.[4] The library was in Quintus' house in Rome, and must have been sizeable, since Cicero often had recourse to it.[5] When he needed a copy of Theophrastus' περὶ φιλοτιμίας at Antium, Cicero asked Atticus to borrow it from Quintus' collection.[6] At Tusculum, needing Panaetius' περὶ προνοίας, Cicero wrote to Atticus to get it from Philoxenus. Since Philoxenus was attached to Quintus'

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sum, ea, iudices, a vobis spero esse in bonam partem accepta, ab eo qui iudicium exercet certo scio"; Schol. Bob. Arch. 3 (Hildebrandt p. 160): "Opportunissimum quippe ait de laudibus poetae boni aput eum dicere, qui studiis huiusmodi delectetur". Cf. above, ch. 3, 79.

3 See esp. Q.F. I.1.7; 1.22; 1.28-9; 1.39 and cf. above, ch. 3, 110-111. Cf. also Arch. 15-6, where M. dwells on the contribution of litterae to virtus, and uses, as prime examples of their combination, Scipio Aemilianus, C. Laelius and L. Furius.

4. Cf. Plut. Luc. 42.1; Suet. Iul. 44; Byrne, Atticus, 27-8, for list and interpretation of passages on A.'s library; and Marshall, Phoenix XXX (1976) 252-64, on libraries in the period.

5 Q.F. III.4.5: "praesertim cum ad meum quoque usum spectent".

6 Att. II.3.3: "Θεοφράστου περὶ φιλοτιμίας adfer mihi de libris Quinti fratris".

service, the book was surely in Quintus' library.[7] After Tyrannio, tutor, scholar and librarian, organised Cicero's library at Antium, Quintus wrote from Gaul for a similar service to be performed for himself. He wanted additions to the Greek collection and exchanges of extra copies, and consolidation of the Latin section, which seems to have been weaker. The undertaking was of such scale and required such labour as Tyrannio, who was in great demand, had no time for. Cicero provided his own, less expert, freedman Chrysippus for the task.[8]

Quintus was also a far-travelled man. His knowledge of places and peoples from personal experience must have been wide. As dramatic speaker in De Divinatione I, his knowledge includes acquaintance with the lore and habits of a great variety of peoples, including Phrygians, Pisidians, Lycians and Cilicians. It is impossible, with our limited information, to determine to what extent the knowledge credited to Quintus as dramatic speaker reflects Quintus' own knowledge in real life. It is at any rate verisimilar that he should speak with knowledge about these peoples from Asia, where he lived for three years; and there are two passing remarks in the book, with biographical implications, which

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7 Att. XIII.8: "epitomen Bruti Caelianorum velim mihi mittas et a Philoxeno Παναιτίου περὶ Προνοίας"; cf. on Philoxenus, below, 344.

8 Q.F. III.4.5: "De bibliotheca tua Graeca supplenda, libris commutandis, Latinis comparandis, valde velim ista confici"; "confici nisi per hominem et peritum et diligentem non possunt. Chrysippo tamen imperabo et cum Tyrannione loquar"; 5.6: "De libris Tyrannio est cessator: Chrysippo dicam; sed res operosa est et hominis perdiligentis"; cf. Att. IV.4 a 1. On Tyrannio, see further below, ch. 6, n. 13, Rupprecht 106-7 and Treggiari 116 (He had himself a library of 3000 volumes).

indicate that some of the knowledge displayed was, beyond doubt, ultimately derived from Quintus' personal experience. Speaking of the poisonous fumes of Lake Ampsanctus in Samnium and of Plutonia in Asia, he remarks: "quae vidimus". Speaking of the Druids and the Aeduan Diviciacus, he points out: "ipse cognovi".[9] From Britain, he wrote letters describing the "situs", "naturae rerum et locorum", "gentes" and their "mores".[10] The Cicero brothers - or the Romans for that matter - did not have the ferretting inquisitiveness of a Herodotus, in using their travels for ethnographic purposes. But they were at least "φιλοθέωροι". Cicero discovered and excavated the grave of Archimedes outside the gate of Agrigentum.[11]

For all his love of books and learning, Q. Cicero was not a recluse. There has been so much a tendency to dwell on Quintus' bad temper,[12] that another prominent characteristic of his personality has been under-appreciated, namely the charm of his company as an educated and well-bred person. He was not always infuriated and tactless. He

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9 Div. I.79: "et Ampsancti in Hirpinis et in Asia Plutonia, quae vidimus"; I.90: "Druidae ... e quibus ipse Diviciacum Aeduum, hospitem tuum laudatoremque, cognovi". Phrygians, etc: I. passim.

10 Q.F. II.16.4: "O iucundas mihi tuas de Britannia litteras! ... quos tu situs, quas naturas rerum et locorum, quos mores, quas gentis ... habes!"

11 Cf. Fam. VII.16.1, on φιλοθέωρος; and Tusc. Disp. V.64-6 on Cic. as archaeologist.

12 Thus T.P. I, 50 ("a bully"); Sihler 184 ("morbidly sensitive and irritable"); Boissier 249 ("caractère difficile ... colères insensées"); S.B., Cic. 184 ("irritable, querulous"); Drumann-Groebe 638 ("im Zorne sich nicht beherrschte"); cf. Antoine, pp. xxxv-xxxvii and Petersson 14 (both more balanced).

could be very courteous, considerate and unobtrusive, as when Marcus told him he would have none of Quintus' "humanitas", and would welcome interruptions and surprise visits from him.[13] Marcus often referred to his brother's "iucunditas"[14] and "comitas".[15] One characteristic most frequently ascribed to him, which Tyrrell-Purser, notably, failed to perceive, was "suavitas", a notion associated with "amicitia", "amor", "coniunctio", that is, with good company.[16] Social intercourse with Quintus offerred, to a man of Cicero's stature, charm and intellectual challenge, bringing "oblectatio", "delectatio".[17] He and Atticus were for Cicero the best two companions he had in life for a sophisticated

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13 Q.F. II.9.1: "Tu metuis ne me interpelles? ... mehercule mihi docere videris istius generis humanitatem, qua quidem ego nihil utor abs te. Tu vero ut me et appelles et interpelles et obloquare et conloquare velim".

14 Att. I.17.2: "quanta iucunditas"; Q.F. I.3.1: "a te mihi omnia semper ... iucunda cecidерunt"; 3.3: "quid mihi sine te umquam ... iucundum fuit?" II.7.1: "litteras mihi tuas iucundissimas"; 9.2: "iucunditatis plena epistula"; 16.4: "iucundas mihi tuas ... litteras".

15 Att. I.17.2: "quanta sit in Quinto fratre meo comitas".

16 Att. I.15.1: "Quinto, suavissimo fratri"; Q.F. I.3.3: "ego vero [desidero] suavitate fratrem"; II.3.7: "tua, mi frater, ... suavitate etiam" (note the misconception involved in T.P.'s n. ad loc., accounting for "etiam" after "suavitate": "because 'suavitas' was not to be expected from Quintus". Constans, however, does not miss the point, translating "etiam", by "aussi", not "même"); 6.4: "mi ... suavissime frater"; 9.1: "quid enim mihi suavius?" 15.2: "mi ... suavissime frater"; 15.3: "suavitatis equidem nostrae fruendae causa"; III.1.19: "epistulam ... tuam ... suavem"; 4.6: "mi suavissime ... frater"; 5.9: "mi suavissime ... frater". Cf. Att. IV.9.2 ("suavissima coniunctio"); Rep. I.7: ("suavitas studiorum"); Lucr. I.141 (" suavis amicitia"); 924 ("suavis amor"); and other examples in L.S. "suavis" II.

17 Q.F. II.13.1: "Ego me in Cumano et Pompeiano, praeter quam quod sine te, ceterum satis commode oblectabam"; III.1.19: "[epistula tua] sum admodum delectatus".

conversation, because they combined affection for him and knowledge.[18] Atticus too was familiar with Quintus' charm.[19] Caesar found Quintus' arrival in his camp "suavis".[20] T. Pinarius wrote home from Gaul about the pleasure he, as a man of letters himself, had with the "litterae", "sermones" and "cenae" of Quintus.[21] Cicero referred to his "festivitas" in Gaul.[22] At the festival of the Lares on 1 May 51, he entertained his servants at Arcanum.[23] He threatened to kiss Tiro, even if he met him "in medio foro".[24]

Quintus Cicero presumably knew well most of his brother's learned friends. His own relationship with a few well-educated persons is specifically attested. L. Tubero, A. Allienus, Chaerippus, Labeo and Scaevola, who were on his staff in Asia, have already been mentioned.[25]

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18 Att. I.18.1: "Nihil mihi nunc scito tam deesse quam hominem eum quocum omnia ... uno communicem, qui me amet, qui sapiat ... abest enim frater ἀφελέστατος et amantissimus"; IV.18.2: "fratrem mecum et te si habebo ... vobis ἐμφιλοσοφῆσαι possum".

19 Att. I.17.2: "nihil attinet me ad te, qui ea nosti, scribere".

20 Q.F. II.14.1 (see quotation, ch. 3, n. 336).

21 Q.F. III.1.22: "T. Pinarius amabilis ad me de te litteras mittit, se maxime litteris, sermonibus, cenis denique tuis delectari"; cf. on Pinarius: Fam. XII.24.3 and Münzer, RE XX, 2, 1398-9, No. 8.

22 Q.F. II.16.3 (see further, below, 250-2).

23 Att. V.1.3: "'ego vero adscivero pueros'" (cf. above, 42 and 181-2).

24 Fam. XVI.27.2: "etiamsi te veniens in medio foro videro, dissaviabor".

25 See above, 82-6; 91, n. 110.

In Arpinum, in 67, he had, living with him, a D. Turranius, whom Cicero described as an ami des belles-lettres (" χρηστομαθής "), a man who remained close thereafter, as can be deduced from the fact that he was with the Ciceros in Cilicia in 51.[26] Stinchcomb thinks (arbitrarily) that the Varro, who was Quintus' neighbour in his Laterium was the famous polymath.[27] Quintus was a good friend of Sallustius, author of an Empedoclea.[28] To Tiro he was very close. There was frequent correspondence between them.[29] All four surviving letters of Quintus have to do with Tiro: Fam. XVI.8; 26; 27 were addressed to him, and Fam. XVI. 16 was about him; and they are all full of warm affection for the slave. Quintus wished his own Statius were as highly educated.[30] Among the literary interests he shared with Tiro was the love of Sophocles.[31]

But the best and closest friend was brother Marcus. When they were together - and they often were - it was an intellectual feast.

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26 Att. I.6.2: "secum habebat hominem χρηστομαθῆ, D. Turranium"; cf. VI.9.3; VII.1.1.

27 Q.F. III.1.4: "cum tu neque per ... Varronis velles ducere"; cf. Stinchcomb 6.

28 Div. I.59: "mihi saepius noster Sallustius narravit"; cf. Q.F. II.10.3 (and below, n. 89); III.4.2; 4.3; 5.1.

29 Q.F. III.1.10: "De publicis negotiis, quae vis ad te Tironem scribere"; Fam. XVI.16.1: "illius litteris perlectis"; 26.2: "mihi semper et vera et dulcia tuis epistulis nuntiantur"; 27.1: "epistula tua"; prescripts of Fam. XVI.1; 3; 4; 5; 6; 11.

30 Fam. XVI.16.2 (quoted, above, ch. 3, n. 95).

31 Sophocles and Tiro: Fam. XVI.18.3; Sophocles and Q.: below, 247-252.

Many were the discussions and over a wide range of topics.[32] There was, to be sure, gossip about matters public and private, town and country talk.[33] But conversation often soared above mundane matters. There are echoes of discussions on literature in Marcus' promise to discuss with his brother the merits of Lucretius, and in Quintus' allusion in De Legibus to a standing dispute between Marcus and himself whether Marcus should write a historical monograph or a historical survey. Quintus preferred the latter, because previous surveys were badly written.[34] Quintus was familiar with Marcus' ideas about education; and on the nature of oratory and the orator's training there was a history of discussion between them.[35] There were discussions on philosophy, as suggested by another remark of Quintus in De Legibus that he often learnt from Marcus of the great dispute between the Stoics and the Academicians on the unity of the Good;[36] and by Marcus' introduction of the dialogue

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32 Q.F. II.10.1: "quem ad modum, coram cum sumus, sermo nobis deesse non solet, sic epistulae nostrae debent interdum alucinari".

33 Q.F. II.9.1: "quacumque de re, publica, privata, rustica, urbana".

34 Q.F. II.10.3: "Lucreti poemata ... sed cum veneris"; Leg. I.8: "Quintus: ... et saepe de isto collocuti sumus: sed est quaedam inter nos parva dissensio. Atticus: Quae tandem? Quintus: A quibus temporibus scribendi capiatur exordium. Ego enim ab ultimis censeo, quoniam illa sic scripta sunt, ut ne legantur quidem: ipse autem aequalem aetatis suae memoriam deposcit".

35 Q.F. III.3.4: "nostrum instituendi genus ... non ignoras"; De Or. I.5: "solesque non numquam hac de re a me in disputationibus nostris dissentire".

36 Leg. I.56: "Q: ... nam ista quidem magna diiudicatio est, ut ex te ipso saepe cognovi ..."

of the De Divinatione as the outcome, inter alia, of frequent conversations with his brother. The setting of this dialogue reflects on the mode of Quintus' company. It starts in Book I, with the two brothers taking a walk in Marcus' Lyceum in the Tusculanum, and continues in Book II with a session in the library of the Lyceum. It is marked by courtesy in dispute and mutual tolerance in the end.[37] It is for this reason that Quintus is involved in five of Cicero's philosophical-rhetorical works, either as dedicatee or as participant.

Thus the three books of De Oratore, completed in November 55, were framed with three dedicatory epistles addressed to Quintus,[38] because they were the consequence of actual discussions between the two brothers. Quintus had read Marcus' early rhetorical works, which he now thought were rudimentary, and required to be superseded by a more finished product, enriched by Marcus' maturity of style and experience as a practising orator. He had repeatedly urged Marcus to undertake

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37 Div. I.8: "Quibus de rebus et alias saepe et paullo accuratius nuper cum essem cum Q. fratre in Tusculano disputatum est. nam cum ambulandi causa in Lyceum venissemus ..."; cf. II.8; II.150: "tenebimus hanc consuetudinem a Socrate traditam eaque inter nos, si tibi Quinte frater placebit, quam saepissime utemur. 'Mihi vero' inquit ille 'nihil potest esse iucundius'. Quae cum essent dicta surreximus". Cf. the following passages assembled by Ruch, Préambule, 73-6 and 402, which illustrate the relation between Cic.'s philosophical-rhetorical dialogues and actual discussions in life: Att. IX.4.1; 9.1; 26.1; II.9.1; XIII.42; XV.11.1; 4.3; 4.2; IX.1.2; 6.4; 2.5; Fam. VI.6.9; XV. 19.2; II.14; XV.14.1; XIII.5.1; VII.23; XI.27.2; 27.5; IX.15.26; 18.4; 25.2; Acad. II.2; 9; Nat. Deor. I.15; Tusc. Disp. IV.7; Div. I.8; Fat. 2.

38 De Or. I.1-6; II.1-3; III.1-4. (Q. is the dedicatee in these prologues: I do not understand why Stinchcomb, 6, says that he is one of the speakers in the dialogues, and where he finds Q. a speaker in De Inv. as well). Date of De Or: Att. IV.13.2.

such a work.[39] He had long disagreed with Marcus on the subject, thinking that oratory was a special skill, for which one needed a special aptitude and training, which was different from the pursuit of letters. Marcus argued that oratory, in the true sense, was impossible without a thorough grounding in letters.[40] Marcus was not setting out to teach Quintus rhetoric or to convert him to a new career at this late stage in Quintus' life:[41] but he was implicitly attempting to win over Quintus to his own elevated concept of oratory. The De Oratore, as Ruch observes, is a literary dramatisation, in which Crassus and Antonius develop views that, in the main, Marcus and Quintus had expressed in real dialogues.[42]

Cicero was intensely at work on De Republica in 54, although, work on it being arduous, he does not seem to have "published" it until 51. Writing to Quintus in May 54 from Cumae or Pompeii, he told Quintus that he was now slowly writing the " πολιτικά " which he had previously

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39 De Or. I.4: "Tibi vero, frater, neque hortanti deero neque roganti ..."; I.4-5: "ad id, quod requiris, ut cognoscas quae viri omnium eloquentissimi clarissimique senserint de omni ratione dicendi. Vis enim, ut mihi saepe dixisti, quoniam, quae pueris aut adulescentulis nobis ex commentariolis nostris incohata ac rudia exciderunt, vix sunt hac aetate digna et hoc usu ... aliquid eisdem de rebus politius a nobis perfectiusque proferri".

40 De Or. I.5: "quod ego eruditissimorum hominum artibus eloquentiam contineri statuam, tu autem illam ab elegantia doctrinae segregandam putes et in quodam ingeni atque exercitationis genere ponendam".

41 De Or. I.10: "Nec vero te, carissime frater atque optime, rhetoricis nunc quibusdam libris ... insequor ut erudiam".

42 Ruch, Préambule, 150; 168; 338.

talked about with Quintus.[43] In August 54, after hearing from Quintus that Quintus was looking forward to the work, he wrote back that it was still incomplete.[44] By October, he had had another enquiry from Quintus regarding this work, and reassured Quintus that he was still busy with it. He gave Quintus a detailed explanation, running to 25 lines of Watt's text (Q.F. III.5.1-2), of how, on the advice of Sallustius, he was now transposing the setting from the generation of Scipio and Laelius to his own. In this new version, he would be the speaker himself, and the person addressed would be Quintus. All this required a lot more work, but he promised, if he went to Rome, to send to Quintus a copy of the work, as written, according to the previous plan.[45] Quintus read the version (either this one, or, yet a third and final one) with Scipio as speaker.[46]

The dedicatory preambles of De Republica, including the name of the dedicatee, are almost entirely lost. But there can be little doubt that Quintus was the dedicatee, from the following considerations:-

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43 Q.F. II.13.1: "Scribebam illa quae dixeram πολιτικά, spissum sane opus et operosum". Rep. "published": Fam. VIII.1.2.

44 Q.F. III.1.11: "Libros meos [omnis] quos exspectas inchoavi sed conficere non possum his diebus".

45 Q.F. III.5.1: "Quod quaeris quid de illis libris egerim quos cum essem in Cumano scribere institui, non cessavi neque cesso, sed saepe iam scribendi totum consilium rationemque mutavi ... (2) Nunc et id vitabo et loquar ipse tecum et tamen illa quae institueram ad te, si Romam venero, mittam; puto enim te existimaturum a me illos libros non sine aliquo meo stomacho esse refectos".

46 Leg. I.27: "[M. to Q. and A.]: in iis libris, quos legistis, expressit Scipio".

(1) Quintus, as it has just been seen, was closely interested and kept informed on the progress of the work. Atticus, the candidate favoured by A. Mai, discoverer of the manuscript of De Republica, provided some help, but does not seem to have been as closely interested or informed, and did not have a copy until 50.[47] (2) In his second plan of the work, Cicero, as it has just been seen, considered Quintus as the addressee as a matter of course. (3) In the surviving part of the preamble of the first book, Cicero recalls a discussion which he and the dedicatee once had with P. Rutilius Rufus, thus: "disputatio ... quae mihi tibique quondam adulescentulo est a P. Rutilio Rufo, Smyrnae cum simul essemus complures dies, exposita ..." (I.13). The allusion is to the trip of 79-77, on which Quintus is known to have accompanied him. "Adulescentulo" could conceivably be stretched to apply to Atticus, who was then in his early thirtees; but since it is used in the singular, in apposition to "tibi" only, it is natural to assume that the person addressed was a younger person than the addressor, which would fit Quintus, not Atticus.[48] (4) In this preamble, by way of introduction to his discourse on statesmanship, Cicero refutes the following arguments adduced in favour of withdrawal from public life: public life involves hardships ("labores"), dangers ("pericula"), ingratitude from fellow-citizens ("calamitates iniuriaeque ab ingratis civibus impositae") and association

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47 A. and Rep.: Att. IV.14.1; 16.2; V.12.2; VI.1.8; 2.9.

48 Trip: above, 20. "Adulescentulus" could be stretched to surprising ages: e.g. Cic. himself "adulescentulus" at 27 (Or. 30), and Caes. at 33, or even 35 (Sall. Cat. 49); cf. L.S. on "adulescentulus". On Q.'s age: above, 1-2; A.'s age: above, 26.

with baser men ("homines nulla re bona digni"). The theme of "labores" has been encountered in Quintus' feeling about his own public career; the concern about "pericula" was, as previously seen, much in his mind in regard to Cicero's career; and the sordid nature of politics was a topic in the Commentariolum. At the time the De Republica was undertaken, Quintus is known to have urged his brother to devote himself to otium. Thus the indications are overwhelming for the view that the De Republica was dedicated to Quintus, a view which is now generally accepted, as, e.g. by Drumann-Groebe, Ciaceri, R. Philippson, Münzer, Büchner, Boyancé, Ruch and McDermott.[49] Hence De Republica, like De Oratore, was dedicated to Quintus, because it was, among other things, the consequence of years of argument in the life of the two brothers on the nature and desirability of the πραακτικὸς βίος. Cicero was trying to win his brother over to his own concept of true political life, that it was not in conflict with the pursuit of letters, but possible only through a solid grounding in it, and that the truely desirable otium was the one with dignitas.[50]

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49 Rep. I.4-9. "Labores": above, 114; 145-6; 178-9; "pericula": 136-7; 142-4; 175-8; Commentariolum: 72-3; "Otium": 149-50. Cf. Drumann-Groebe VI, 73-4, n. 10; Ciaceri II, 171; Philippson, RE VII A 2, 1109; Münzer 1287; Büchner 215; Boyancé, IL, 1964, 20. Ruch, Préambule, 203-5; 217; 348 (with review of A. Mai); McDermott 704.

50 Cf. Rep. I.12: "dubitationem ad rem publicam adeundi in primis debui tollere", with De Or. I.1: "perbeati fuisse, Quinte frater, illi videri solent, qui in optima re publica ... ut vel in negotio sine periculo vel in otio cum dignitate esse possent". On otium, see André (above, ch. 3, n. 298).

De Legibus, companion work to De Republica, has a contemporary setting, and in it Quintus, with Atticus, is actually a participant of the dialogue itself. In the course of much of the three books, Quintus and Atticus have no more than a formal task of providing brief answers to keep up, in the Socratic manner, the illusion of a dialogue with the professorial Marcus. There are a few places, however, where Quintus gives his opinions at some length, notably on the subjects of tribunate, censorship and secrecy of ballot. There has been occasion already in the previous chapter to discuss these opinions.[51] I shall restrict myself here to show that these opinions which Quintus expresses as dramatis persona are closely related to the opinions which the man held in real life.

The opinion which Quintus as dramatis persona expresses on the tribunate is framed with an elaborate and subtle piece of stage-managing. At the mere mention of the word "tribune", Quintus interrupts Marcus to remark that the tribunate is a great evil ("Magnum dicis malum ...": III.17). Marcus expresses briefly his reserve on that judgment and continues to speak about magistrates in general. He hardly reverts to the subject of tribunate (III.19), when Quintus seizes upon the word, with the exclamation: "At mehercule, ego, frater, quaero, de ista potestate quid sentias: nam mihi quidem pestifera videtur". He then embarks on a lengthy diatribe, reviewing the sins of the Gracchi, C. Curiatius, Saturninus and P. Clodius. From III.23 to 26, Marcus refutes Quintus,

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51 See above, 57-60.

saying that Quintus is visiting upon the tribunate the sins of individual tribunes, and that the tribunate is a mixture of evil and good. At the end of this refutation (III.26), seeing that Quintus remains silent, Marcus reminds him that it would be in keeping with the convention of Socratic dialogue, if Quintus were to express his consent, so that the dialogue can proceed. But Quintus stubbornly sticks to his position: "Haud equidem assentior ...", but Marcus, he adds, may proceed. "Perseveras", says Marcus then to him, "tu quidem, et in tua vetere sententia permanes". All this stage-managing would be otiose, if it were not to show that justice was being done to the view of the person in real life.

Similarly, with respect to the Leges tabellariae. As soon as Marcus raises the question of voting procedure (III.33), Quintus interrupts: "Vereor ne a te rursus dissentiam". Marcus reassures him that he agrees in principle with the preference which Quintus has always held for the open vote: "Nam ego in ista sum sententia, qua te fuisse semper scio". An opinion, that is to say, which Quintus had consistently held, not in the dialogue (where the subject is being raised for the first time), but in real life, during many discussions between the two brothers. Quintus then goes on, in the dialogue, to defend his position with a lengthy review of the laws in question and their ill-effects (III. 34-37).

Thus Quintus was selected to be a participant in De Legibus, as he had been selected to be the dedicatee of De Oratore and De Republica, not merely for honorific reasons, but, more importantly, because he qualified for the literary position from views which he had held and

articulated in life. He was a student of history, as of oratory: from his studies and experience, he had drawn conclusions, with many of which Marcus agreed. But Marcus was a genius who could soar above the lessons of experience and theorise on ideal models of constitution and oratory. Quintus provided him with a ready foil, as the voice of empirical and prudential wisdom, against which the ideals of Cicero rose, larger than life.[52]

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52 The grounding of Q.'s literary portrait in Leg. on a real life model is consistent with Cic.'s general observance of historical verisimilitude in the portrayal of characters in his dialogues. Thus he selected Cato as speaker in Senec. "quia nulla videbatur aptior persona" (Am. 4); Varro as exponent of Antiochus' views in the revised Acad., because Varro held such views (Fam. IX.8.1: "Puto fore ut cum legeris mirere nos id locutos inter nos quod numquam locuti sumus, sed nosti morem dialogorum"; "tibi dedi partes Antiochinas quas a te probari intellexisse mihi videbar"); he gave no lines to Q. Muc. Scaevola in De Or. II and III, because, being an old man at the time of the fictitious dialogue, Scaevola had, like Cephalus in Plato's Rep., to retire early (Att. IV.16.3). He was cautious in ascribing verisimilar views and manners to the characters: "Non soleo ... temere affirmare de altero, est enim periculosum propter occultas hominum voluntates multiplicesque naturas" (Brut. 1); esp. where the setting was contemporary or recent: "Quod hoc etiam spe aggredior maiore ad probandum, quia non de Ser. Galba aut C. Carbonis eloquentia scribo aliquid, in quo liceat mihi fingere si quid velim, nullius memoriam iam me referente, sed edo haec eis cognoscenda qui eos ipsos, de quibus loquor, saepe audierint" (De Or. II.9); and often verified scrupulously biographical details: Att. XII.20.2; 22.2; 23.2; 24.2; XIII.30.2; 32.3; 33.3; 6.4; 4.1; 5.1; XII.5 b; XIII.12.3; 16.1; 19.3-5; 25.3. Cf. R.E. Jones, AJPh 1939, 307-325, on the general accuracy, and slight deviations, in portrayals of Cato in Senec., Scipio in Rep., Laelius in Am., Antonius and Crassus in De Or., Brutus in Brut., Varro in Acad., Ruch, Préambule, 23-30; 80-2; 365-397, on "véracité, vérité et vraisemblance" in setting, manners and characterisation of Cic.'s preambles (aptly quoting Thuc. I.22: ὡς δ'ἄν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστ' εἰπεῖν); Plinval, p. LXV, "ils gardent leur physionomie vraie, ils parlent comme ils pensent"; Douglas, Brutus, pp. xvii-xxv. Despite these, one encounters, from time to time, rather arbitrary dismissals of the views held by Cic.'s dramatis personae as simply fictitious: e.g. Hunt, Cic.'s Humanism, 16; McDermott 702; Antoine, p. xxxix. Individuals'

De Divinatione is a dialogue between Marcus and Quintus. Quintus is the speaker in the first book, and Marcus gives the reply in the second. Quintus expounds the view that belief in divination is a necessary concomitant of belief in the gods. He defends divination in all its forms: dreams, oracles, auguries, portents, the Sibylline books. His is pure Stoic doctrine:

> 'Arcem tu quidem Stoicorum', inquam, 'Quinte, defendis ...' '... Mihi vero', inquit, 'satis argumenti et esse deos et eos consulere rebus humanis ...' (I.10). '... Stoicorum sententiam defendisti' (II.8).

One approach has consisted in regarding the role given to Quintus here as purely honorific, marking the reconciliation of the brothers after their great quarrel, and to dismiss the Quintus of the dialogue as purely fictitious. This, for example, is McDermott's approach, who inclines to the view that Quintus was an Epicurean. We deal with this view first.

McDermott adduces no evidence for the view, but it is presumably suggested by the fact that Quintus appreciated Lucretius; was the guest of Xeno in Athens, a friend of Atticus, but not a known Epicurean; and advocated withdrawal from public life.[53] The evidence against this view

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personal auctoritas and exempla played such an important role in Roman society, that feelings were very sensitive about the ascription of words and opinions to individuals even in fiction. (Cf. the troubles and premature death of the fabula praetexta, which had much to do with this: Beare, Stage, 39-44). They had to be ascribed with care.

53 Lucretius: below, 276-9; Xeno: above, ch. 3, n. 377: Gundel thinks he was an Epicurean, but friendship with Atticus is hardly sufficient evidence for this: cf. S.B. III, 206, n. ad Att. V.10.5; withdrawal: above, 149-50. Cf. McDermott 703-4.

has much more weight.

(1) Leg. I.21 is revealing. To develop his thesis that Justice is rooted in Nature, Marcus has to obtain, as a preliminary from his two interlocutors, acceptance of the premise that Nature is governed by the immortal gods. Knowing that acceptance of this premise would be incompatible with the known Epicurean tenets of Atticus, he playfully threatens Atticus with a whole new discussion about the nature of the gods, unless Atticus concedes this premise. Atticus does, with the playful remark that he counts on the noise being made by the birds and streams of Arpinum to keep this concession on his part from the ears of fellow-Epicureans. In sharp contrast to this, the acceptance of the premise by Quintus, the other character present, is assumed without any ado, since, says Marcus, his view on the matter is known.[54] Clearly, he was not a fellow-Epicurean of Atticus.

(2) Div. I.8. has a genuine biographical remark: "perlegi ... tuum ... tertium de natura deorum, in quo disputatio Cottae quamquam labefactavit sententiam meam, non funditus tamen sustulit". Quintus has perused the third book of De natura deorum, in which the argument of Cotta has shaken his belief. Now, in this book, Cotta, the Academic, refutes the Stoic theology, as previously set out by Balbus in book II. The same Cotta, in I.57 to the end, refutes the Epicurean system, as

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54 Leg. I.21: "[M]: Dasne igitur hoc nobis, Pomponi (nam Quinti novi sententiam) deorum immortalium vi ... naturam omnem regi? nam si hoc non probas, ab eo nobis causa ordienda est potissimum.- A: Do sane, si postulas; etenim propter hunc concentum avium strepitumque fluminum non vereor condiscipulorum ne quis exaudiat".

previously set out by Velleius in I.18-56. Had Quintus been an Epicurean, it would have been natural to refer to book I, and not, as he does, to book III.

(3) In De Divinatione, Quintus not only presents the Stoic doctrine, which is diametrically opposed to the Epicurean, but on two occasions he is contemptuous of the Master himself and dismisses Epicureans as "minuti philosophi".[55] Such was undoubtedly the sentiment of Cicero himself, as evidenced widely from his works. It would have been ill-mannered, contrary to the courtesy prevalent in the dialogues, and inconsistent with Cicero's general observance of verisimilitude, to put in the mouth of a disciple words of such irreverence towards the Master.

(4) In another biographical reminiscence, again in De Divinatione, Quintus says that, when he had once a curious dream about his brother, he consulted in Asia those skilled in the interpretation of dreams.[56] Since this consultation did not result from one of the formal functions he had to perform as chief magistrate of the province, but related to a private matter, it shows that, to some extent, he practised in life - and out of conviction - the principle of divination, which, as dramatic speaker, he upholds. That was no conduct for an Epicurean.

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55 Div. I.62: "Epicurum igitur audiemus potius? ... sentit autem nihil umquam elegans, nihil decorum. hunc ergo antepones Platoni et Socrati? qui ... auctoritate tamen hos minutos philosophos vincerent?" I.87: "unus dissentit Epicurus. quid vero hoc turpius, quam quod idem nullam censet gratuitam esse virtutem?" Three rhetorical questions which imply that the rejection of Epicureanism is a mutual understanding between the interlocutors.

56 Div. I.58, quoted above, ch. 3, n. 237.

Another, quite opposite, approach has consisted in deducing from De Divinatione that Quintus was indoctrinated with Stoicism. Thus Leo, Hendrickson, Tyrrell-Purser: "Stoical philosophy, to which Quintus inclined", and Plinval: "inféodé aux dogmes du Stoïcisme".[57]

Cicero sometimes had to make a dramatis persona express a view which that person in real life did not hold to the same extent. When this happened, Cicero would take the trouble of indicating it, in fairness to that person. A striking illustration of this can be found in the character of Philus in Rep. III.8. Having, for the sake of the argument, to present the view of Justice, propounded by Carneades, an unpopular view, similar to Thrasymachus' in Plato's Republic, he prefaces his presentation with an elaborate explanation to this effect.

This is, to some extent, the case with Quintus in De Divinatione. It is indicated on two occasions. In Div. I.8, as previously mentioned, Quintus said that Cotta's argument in Nat. Deor. III had shaken his belief. In answer to this, Marcus reassures him, by saying that Cotta's argument was designed to refute the Stoics, not to undermine men's faith in "religio" and "communia iura".[58] The tacit implication here is that Quintus was worried about the foundations of religious principles rather than the arguments of the Stoics. Quintus confirms this by his following

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57 Leo, Nachr. der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zü Göttingen, Phil. Hist. Klasse, 1895, 448; Hendrickson 18; T.P. I, 129; Plinval, p. xxv.

58 Div. I.58: "'Optime vero' inquam, 'etenim ipse Cotta sic disputat ut Stoicorum magis argumenta confutet quam hominum deleat religionem'".

remark, that he was concerned about the refutation by Cotta of L. Balbus' Stoic position only because the latter was "ad veritatem ... propensior", that is, closer to the truth than the previous Epicurean position of Velleius.

The second occasion is Div. II.100-101. Marcus having refuted Quintus' defence of divination, Quintus confesses his real belief in life, as against the position he has had to defend so far, for the sake of argument. He says that he agrees with Marcus, and, - to tell the truth ("vere ut loquar") - Marcus has just confirmed what, of his own accord, he always suspected, that the Stoics' position on divination was "nimis superstitiosa". In one kind of divination he really believed, that men's minds could experience premonitory dreams and visions. He agreed, in this respect, not with the Stoics', but with the Peripatetics' position, as once formulated by Dichaearchus and now taught by Cratippus. Marcus replies, in fairness to Quintus' authentic position in life, that he knew all along the limited extent to which Quintus in fact subscribed to the position he was defending in the dialogue.[59]

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59 Div. II.100: "'Mihi vero' inquit, 'placet; his enim, quae adhuc disputasti prorsus adsentior, et vere ut loquar quamquam tua me oratio confirmavit, tamen etiam mea sponte nimis superstitiosam de divinatione Stoicorum sententiam iudicabam; haec me Peripateticorum ratio magis movebat et veteris Dichaearchi et eius qui nunc floret Cratippi, qui censent esse in mentibus hominum tamquam oraclum aliquod ...'"; 101: "'Non ignoro', inquam, 'Quinte te semper ita sensisse, ut de ceteris divinandi generibus dubitares, ista duo furoris et somnii, quae a libera mente fluere viderentur, probares'". Wiemer, 14-5, had the correct view, but did not discuss it fully, or consider alternative views.

The choice of Quintus, then, as the mouthpiece of divination was partly honorific, but also appropriate, in that he had often discussed the subject with his brother, and had on it a position closer to the Stoic tenets than his brother did. As a Roman and a magistrate, he had to observe rituals which implied faith in divination in more forms than he could sincerely believe in. With his character, he must have felt ill-at-ease with this situation, and eager to find a solution.[60]

This stand of Quintus, in regard to philosophy, which appears from De Divinatione is confirmed by the remarks he makes as dramatis persona in Fin. V.96. Here, after M. Pupius Piso, has presented the view of Antiochus of Ascalon, head of the Academy (similar, in Cicero's opinion, to the view of the Peripatetics), Quintus expresses his delight that this school has triumphed over the Epicureans and the Stoics, since, in his youth, he found that this school had to offer more than the other two.[61]

In the De Finibus, however, Quintus' role is that of a κωφὸν πρόσωπον, except for the present remark at the end of the last book, and a remark on literature at the opening of the first. This is an indication that, while he listened to philosophers and read philosophy, and

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60 Nat. Deor. III.5; 94; 105. Ruch, Préambule, 295-7; 348; and S. Pease, Div., p. 17, stress the honorific purpose in the choice of Q.

61 Fin. V.96: "Tum Quintus: 'mihi quidem' inquit, 'satis hoc confirmatum videtur, laetorque eam philosophiam, cuius antea supellectilem pluris aestimabam quam possessiones reliquarum (ita mihi dives videbatur ut ab ea petere possem quicquid in studiis nostris concupissem), hanc igitur laetor etiam acutiorem repertam quam ceteras, quod quidam ei deesse dicebant.'"

was deeply influenced by these in forming his opinions, his interest in philosophy was relatively minor, and he did not become the devotee of any one creed. He was a favourite interlocutor for his brother in the practical application of philosophy to political life, yielding the place, in purely theoretical philosophy, to individuals with more well-fixed creeds, such as Atticus and Cato.

The five dialogues, De Oratore, De Republica, De Legibus, De Divinatione and De Finibus involved Quintus thus as dedicatee or participant, because of his part in their genesis and his interest in them. But Quintus' interest in Cicero's works was not restricted to those in which he was to be thus honoured.

Quintus was very much interested in Cicero's poetry. Once, in writing to Cicero to advocate retreat from politics, he recalled "the speech of Urania", which is generally assigned to the second book of Cicero's De consulatu suo, from which speech, as speaker in De Divinatione, Quintus recites 78 lines, with the biographical remark that he gladly learned them by heart, having found them to be exquisitely written.[62] It has been previously mentioned how he discussed with Caesar in Gaul the style and content of Cicero's De temporibus suis. He was enthusiastic about this work, was kept informed on its progress and

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62 Div. I.17: "edidici etiam versus et lubenter quidem"; cf. I.17-22, and Q.F. II.8.1 (quoted above, ch. 3, n. 297.) On De consulatu suo, cf. Brut. 132; Att. I.19.10; 20.6; II.1.1-2; 3.4; Plut. Cras. 13.4; Iul. 8.2; with T.P.'s n. ad Q.F. II.8.1, and, above all, Soubiran 28-33; 240-6.

modifications, and reported his pleasure in reading it.[63] In Div. I. 13-5, Quintus, as dramatic speaker, quotes 23 lines from Cicero's translation of Aratus' Prognostica:[64] in Div. II.14(cf. 47), Marcus acknowledges this quotation with the remark that it was "memoriter a te pronuntiata", a detail which, unmistakably, points to the biographical fact that, in real life, Quintus used to memorise large portions of his brother's poetry. As speaker in Leg. I.1-2, he expresses his admiration for Cicero's Marius,[65] a poem from which, in Div. I.106, he quotes 13 lines. In accordance with his observance of verisimilitude in his dialogues, Cicero put these quotations from his poetry on the lips of Quintus, because Quintus in life used to admire, memorise and quote his verses.

Quintus was also interested in his brother's orations, for the writing-up of some of which we may be indebted to him. In 54, he was exhorting Cicero to write a retort to what appears to have been an attack from L. Calpurnius Piso. He "demanded" the write-up of Pro Scauro and Pro Plancio.[66] He admired Cicero's speeches not only as finished products

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63 Q.F. II.8.1: "Placiturum tibi esse librum meum suspicabar; tam valde placuisse quam scribis valde gaudeo" (with T.P.'s n. ad loc.); III.1.24: "itaque mirificum embolium cogito in secundum librum meorum temporum includere, dicentem Apollinem in concilio deorum"; cf. II.16.5 (above, 166, n. 337). On De temporibus suis, cf. Fam. I.9.23, and see Soubiran 33-41; 247-8.

64 On Cic.'s Prognostica, see Soubiran 8-16; 193-5.

65 On Cic.'s Marius, see Soubiran 42-51; 249-50.

66 Q.F. III.1.11: "de Calventi Mari oratione quod scribis; miror tibi placere me ad eam rescribere" (with T.P.'s n. ad loc.); "Orationes efflagitatas pro Scauro et pro Plancio absolvi". McDermott, 715-6, has some speculations on why Q. might have been interested in these two speeches.

for reading, but also for the way in which they were delivered, with the attendant ardour of facial expressions and gestures: for he often watched the great orator in action.[67] In one of his surviving letters to Tiro, while he joked with the slave that only the services of a Marcus could save him from a verdict of guilt for his lapse in correspondence, Quintus incidentally alluded to his own admiration for Cicero's forensic ability.[68]

Quintus had the highest opinion of his brother's merits in every branch of literature: "nobis omnia summa tribuis" (De Or. III.15), Cicero acknowledged. It has been seen how he frequently urged Cicero to devote himself completely to letters. Among the works he wanted Cicero to undertake was a complete history of Rome and an epic poem on Caesar.[69]

Quintus Cicero also wanted to be a writer of literature himself. It can be presumed that the widespread motivation of his time for writing literature applied to him as well. It is excellently summarised by Cicero in Arch. 16:

> adulescentem alunt ... senectutem oblectant ... secundas res ornant ... adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent ... delectant domi ... non impediunt foris ... pernoctant nobiscum ... peregrinantur ... rusticantur.

There was also, connected with literature of the more serious kind, the

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67 Div. I.80: "quid, vestra oratio in causis ... equidem etiam in te saepe vidi ... tantum ardorem vultuum atque motuum".

68 Fam. XVI.26.1: "Non potes effugere huius culpae poenam te patrono: Marcus est habendus, isque diu et multis lucubrationibus commentata oratione vide ut probare possit te non peccasse".

69 Devotion to letters: above, 149-50; history: above, n. 34; epic: below, 256-8.

hope of immortality.[70] Quintus, as was previously seen in relation to his public life, was sensitive to the prospect of having his name live in the memory of man.[71] In Leg. I.2, it is Quintus who speaks the lines which claim for literature an immortalising power: he explains there why, unlike their counterparts in nature, the poetic oak in Cicero's Marius, the palm-tree at Delos in Homer's Odyssey and the olive-tree of legend on the Athenian Acropolis will live for ever.

Q. Cicero was a witty man: "dicendi sal facetiaeque" (Q.F. I. 2.4; cf. 2.6: "litterae abs te per iocum missae"). So, in his early years, he wrote satirical verse, of which we have nothing besides the allusion to his stricture on the Lex Aurelia. It was a popular exercise in his time, especially with the νεώτεροι.[72] Manuscript tradition is divided over the authorship of an elegiac tetrastichon, satirising the mutability of women:

> Crede ratem ventis: animum ne crede puellis,
> Namque est feminea tutior unda fide.
> Femina nulla bona [est], vel, si bona contigit ulli,
> Nescio quo fato res mala facta bona est.
>
> [Trust a raft to the winds: but trust not your heart to women;
> For the wave of the sea is safer than female faith.
> There is no good woman, and, if one was ever found,
> God knows how a bad thing was thus made good.]

Some manuscripts assign it to Pentadius three centuries later, others to "Cicero", one of them specifying "Cicero orator". If a Cicero was indeed

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70 Cf. Tusc. Disp. I.33; Sall. Cat. 3-4.

71 See, above, 111.

72 See, above, 60-3; on νεώτεροι, Bardon I, 362-7.

the author, it is very likely to have been Quintus, whom the wit and sentiment of the verse would certainly suit.[73]

2. DRAMA

The theatre had a special appeal for Quintus. It was surely in the knowledge of his sensitivity to theatricals that Cicero described his province of Asia to him as: "theatrum totius Asiae virtutibus tuis est datum celebritate refertissimum ... resonans" (Q.F. I.1.42); appealed to him to work at his third year of administration in Asia thus: "tamquam poetae boni et actores industrii solent, sic tu in extrema parte et conclusione muneris ... ut hic tertius annus imperii tui tamquam tertius <actus> perfectissimus atque ornatissimus fuisse videatur" (1.46); made him laugh at the discomfiture of King Commagenes with the words: "totus est explosus" (II.11.3). Quintus himself wrote from Asia, as Marcus quoted, that he would punish criminals "plaudente tota provincia" (I.2.6). Stinchcomb notes his "dramatic sense", when he read aloud Caesar's letter to his soldiers on parade in the besieged camp among the Nervii (B.G. V.48.9); and suggests that the descriptions of the Pullo-Vorenus rivalry and Sextus Baculus' bravery in B.G. V.44 and VI.38 are "so unlike Caesar's narrative" that they must have been

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73 Text from Bücheler-Riese, Anth. Lat., pt. 1, vol. 1, No. 268 (p. 215), with the following app. crit: "Eiud [i.e. Pentadi] V Pentade C fol. 2 r. Ciceronis dissertissimi oratoris Monacensis 19413 s.X-XI - Versus Cyceronis Berlensis 519 s. XIII-XIV. Ciceronis Strozzianus 75 s. XIII, recentiores. Bücheler, 19-20, ascribes it to Pentadius. Blase, 24, Antoine, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv, Stinchcomb, 5, associate it with Q. Antoine imagines it composed at the time of divorce from Pomponia. On Pentadius, see Bardon II, 251-3.

composed under the "spell of Quintus' dramatic recital".[74] Tyrrell-Purser detect "the effect of tragic studies" on Quintus' style in the Commentariolum, where he describes the gory scene of Marius Gratidianus' murder by Catiline.[75]

Quintus was well-read in the Classical Greek tragic poets, from whom he quoted readily. " ἅπαξ θανεῖν ", in Q.F. I.2.13, was a reproduction of a quotation in Quintus' own letter ("eadem epistula"), drawn possibly, as Tyrrell-Purser suggest, from Aeschylus, P.V. 769: " κρεῖσσον γὰρ εἰσάπαξ θανεῖν ". The comparison, in Q.F. II.9.4, of Quintus, commiserating the misfortune of his country, with Philoctetes, gloating over that of his, recalls Sophocles' play, and was probably reproduced by Marcus from Quintus' self-description in his own letter. " Τοιαῦθ' ὁ τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξεργάζεται ", in Q.F. II.14.5, appears to be Marcus' own quotation to Quintus from Euripides, Suppl. 119. But, in Q.F. III.1.18, when Marcus said, "Ego vero nullas δευτέρας φροντίδας habere possum in Caesaris rebus", a quotation from Euripides, Hippol. 436, " αἱ δεύτεραί πως φροντίδες σοφώτεραι", Marcus was answering Quintus' expression of his misgiving ("quod inferiore epistula scribis"), and so was almost certainly repeating verbatim a quotation which Quintus had made. To Tiro, in Fam. XVI.8.2, Quintus quoted from a lost play of Euripides: " ψῦχος δὲ λεπτῷ χρωτὶ πολεμιώτατον , inquit Euripides ". Euripides and Sophocles were his favourites. Each line of Euripides, he

74 Stinchcomb 6; cf. above, 159.

75 T.P. n. ad Q.F. I.1.46; cf. C.P. 10. See further, below, 323-8, on the vividness of his language.

said to Tiro, was worth its weight in wisdom: "Singulos eius versus singula testimonia puto" (Fam. XVI.8.2). At the beginning of De Finibus V, when each of the persons present reminisces about his favourite author from any realm of literature or philosophy, Quintus chooses from Greek tragedy and recalls Sophocles, whom he admired and enjoyed tremendously. The famous "Ciceronian" judgment of Oedipus at Colonus as a "mollissimum carmen" is made here by Quintus as dramatic speaker, and may ultimately have been his phrase in real life and not Cicero's. This love for Sophocles is confirmed in De Divinatione, where he refers to Sophocles as "doctissimus" and "divinus".[76]

Among comic playwrights, the Sicilian Epicharmus was certainly a favourite. In C.P. 39, he translated into Latin a dictum of Epicharmus: " Ἐπιχάρμειον illud teneto, nervos atque artus esse sapientiae non temere credere ". Writing to him, in Q.F. III.1.23, Marcus expressed his surprise that Quintus had unlearnt the Sicilian poet's dictum: "soleo admirari ... nihil te recordari ... de praeceptis Epicharmi, γνῶθι πῶς ἄλλῳ κέχρηται ". Bailey suggests that "filio cum matre bellum", in Att. XIII.41.1, is a quotation from Roman comedy. It was, at any rate, a phrase repeated from Quintus' complaint ("cum ille quereretur"). The rare expressions "fucum facere" and "exsarcire" in C.P. 35 and 45 were

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76 Fin. V.3: "Tum Quintus: 'Est plane, Piso, ut dicis', inquit, 'nam me ipsum huc modo venientem convertebat ad sese Coloneus ille locus, cuius incola Sophocles ob oculos versabatur, quem scis quam admirer quamque eo delecter. Me quidem ad alteriorem memoriam Oedipodis huc venientis et illo mollissimo carmine quaenam essent haec ipsa loca requirentis species quaedam commovit, inaniter scilicet, sed commovit tamen'." Cf. Div. I.54.

probably from the language of comedy, as they are found in Ter. Eun. 589 and Heaut. 143.

De Divinatione I suggests that Quintus was intimately acquainted with Roman drama as well. As dramatis persona, he is familiar with Ennius' Andromache and Plautus' Aululariа; he quotes 22 lines from Accius' Brutus and 15 lines from Accius' Hecuba; he quotes a total of 12 lines from Pacuvius over four occasions, from Dulorestes, Teucer and Chryses.[77] The reader of Div. I. can detect the speaker's heavy reliance on quotations from drama. As he wonders why, he soon finds that the author consciously contrived it and makes the speaker pause to observe: "tragoedias loqui videor et fabulas".[78] Again, in pursuit of verisimilitude, Cicero made Quintus, the dramatic speaker, quote from drama, as Quintus, the man, used to do. The absence of Greek quotations, and heavy reliance on Latin ones, must have been due to the character of the style in a philosophical work, rather than to Quintus' own habit.

In his note to Arch. 3, the Scholiast Bobiensis notes that Q. Cicero was "etiam tragici carminis scribtor".[79] A frustratingly brief and badly preserved passage, of a letter to Quintus in Gaul, says a little more on the matter:

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77 Div. I.23; 65 (= Plaut. Aulul. 178); 44-5; 66-7; 24; 29; 80; 131. Cf. Beare, on these tragedies: 73; 76 (Ennius'Androm); 42-3; 119 (Accius' Brut. and Hec.); 79-82 (Pacuvius' Dulor., Teuc., and Chrys.)

78 Div. I.68. "I seem", Q. says, "to be doing nothing but quote tragedies". He is talking about the content of his arguments, not the style of his language. Hence Stinchcomb, 5, "[he] affects the language of tragedy", is not quite right.

79 Cf. n. 2, above.

> Quattuor tragoedias sedecim diebus absolvisse cum scribas, tu quicquam ab alio mutuaris? et ἔλεος quaeris, cum Electram et †Trodam scripseris? Cessator esse noli, et illud 'γνῶθι σεαυτόν' noli putare ad adrogantiam minuendam solum esse dictum verum etiam ut bona nostra norimus; sed et istas et Erigonam mihi velim mittas (Q.F. III.5.7: Watt).
>
> [Are you trying to borrow something from another person, you who write that you have completed four tragedies in sixteen days? And you ask for "Pity", you who have written an Electra and a Troda(?) Don't drag your feet, and don't think that the dictum "Know thyself" was invented only to check presumption, and not also that we may know our potentials. Anyway, I would like you to send me those works and the Erigone as well.]

Two titles are clear from the passage: "Electra" and "Erigone". The Electras of Sophocles and Euripides are, of course, well-known; but there was also a Latin Electra, adapted from Sophocles by Atilius, which Cicero criticised in Fin. I.5. There were Erigones by Sophocles, Phrynichus, Philocles, Cleophon, and, in Latin, by Accius. In view of Quintus' love of Sophocles, it is probable, as Ribbeck, Tyrrell-Purser, Wiemer, Cugusi believe, that Quintus' Electra and Erigone were Latin adaptations from Sophocles. It is impossible to decide whether the Erigone was about the daughter of Aegisthus or the daughter of Icarius, as the subject-matter of the Sophoclean original is itself much in doubt.[80]

On the assumption that the corrupt "trodam" of the mss. hides another title - which is probable - various emendations have been proposed. Fritzsche, in search of a Sophoclean title, proposed "Troilum", an emendation which commended itself to Tyrrell-Purser and Usener.

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80 Ribbeck 619-622; T.P. ad loc.; Wiemer 7; Cugusi 12-13. On Soph.'s and other Erigones, see discussion and fragments in A.C. Pearson, The Fragments of Sophocles, Cambridge U.P., 1917, I, 173-6; Nauck, TGF, pp. 143-4.

Schütz, followed by Wesenberg and Baiter, suggested "Troadas", which Cugusi finds most attractive, since Quintus loved Euripides too, and, as in the case of Erigone, Accius had adapted Euripides' Troades. A variant of this emendation is "Troadam", requiring minimal change from the mss., favoured by Ellis and Bardon. Bücheler had a bolder suggestion with "Aeropam", after an original by Agathon or Carcinus, adducing a parallel corruption in the mss. of Apicius from "aeropetes" into "tropetes"; C.F.W. Müller accepted it. W.B. Sedgwick, more recently, suggested "Antiopam", again a Euripides original, already adapted by Pacuvius. I find the "Troadas" or "Troadam" emendation most attractive both palaeographically and in view of Quintus' known interest. But it is a matter of such uncertainty that Ribbeck's suspension of judgment is justified.[81]

There is another pertinent allusion in an earlier letter to Quintus in Gaul: "Συνδείπνους Σοφοκλέους, quamquam a te actam fabellam video esse festive, nullo modo probavi" (Q.F. II.16.3). There was a satyr-play called Σύνδειπνοι by Sophocles, having as theme the exclusion of Achilles from a dinner in Tenedos. One interpretation of the passage, which has been advanced, is that a similar incident occured in Caesar's camp, in which Quintus "played his part well". Ernesti's interpretation is that Quintus scoffed at some people in camp with verses

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81 T.P., ad loc; Ribbeck 619; Cugusi 14-5; Ellis, in T.P. II, 273-4 (rpt. from Hermathena XIII (1867) 459-60); Bardon, I, 328; Bücheler 18. For full references to the others, see, in particular, Cugusi. On the Greek originals: Nauck, pp. 212-5 (Troilus: cf. Pearson, II, pp. 253-262); 592 (Aerope Agathonis); 619 (Aerope Carcini); 326-339 (Antiope); on Accius' Troades: Ribbeck 416-8.

borrowed from Sophocles' play. Neither of these two interpretations accounts adequately for "actam fabellam" and "festive". Bücheler detected here, rather, another play, a satyr-play, written by Quintus, in imitation of the Sophocles original. This view has received wide support, with Ribbeck, Tyrrell-Purser, Shanz-Hosius, Wiemer, Bardon and Cugusi. There are, however, two problems with this view: the curt condemnation in "non probavi" of a work by Quintus would be inconsistent with Cicero's usual remarks about his brother's literary efforts; and Bücheler had to emend the mss. "actam" into "factam", which Tyrrell-Purser accepted and printed. Constans, retaining "actam", as does Watt, considered, without committing himself, what appears to me the simplest and most satisfactory solution to the problem, that we have here allusion to a play produced ("actam"), not written ("factam"), by Quintus.[82] The performance, in which Quintus naturally took part, was done "festive", but Cicero did not approve ("non probavi") of theatrical performance, which ranked with saltatio and similar misdemeanours, inconsistent with the gravitas which it behooved a Cicero to maintain. Quintus liked to go to the theatre ("saepe vidi et ... in Aesopo ...", Div. I.80), and it would not be unlike this man - who raised eyebrows by his fraternising with Statius and Tiro - to mount in Caesar's camp a performance in breach

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82 Bücheler 18-9; Ribbeck 620; T.P. ad loc. (incl. Ernesti's view); Shanz-Hosius I, 555; Wiemer 8 (while quoting "actam", instead of "factam", as he should, on his view) ; Bardon, I, 328; Cugusi 10-12; Constans, ad loc. In particular, see Frassinetti, Diadosis 1967, 7-9, for a review of the problem. On Soph.'s play, see Pearson, II, 198-209 and Nauck, pp. 125-6. On distinction between "facio" and "ago", in theatricals, see L.S. "ago" II D, and, particularly, TLL, "agere", II B 3 a (vol. I, p. 1398).

of Senatorial inhibition.[83]

We hear, therefore, excluding Συνδείπνοι, of five† tragedies written by Quintus. Wiemer computes only four, because he includes Erigone in the "quattuor tragoedias" of Q.F. III.5.7. The Erigone was additional to the four, as implied by "et istas et Erigonam". The Erigone had been completed and sent to Cicero before completion of "the four", but had got lost on the way.[84] Ribbeck, including Συνδείπνοι, computes six. Blase and Antoine compute a total of seven, because they take the Electra and the †Troda, as well, to be outside the "quattuor", which is a possible, but not the obvious, rendering.[85] All these plays were, it appears, written in 54. Whether Quintus was so prolific in drama only at this time, or whether we hear of it at this time only because correspondence to him from 54 survives in unusually great amount, it is impossible to say. All these plays, it can be assumed, were written in Latin, on Greek themes.[86]

With so little known about his plays, Quintus has yet not been spared some undeserved sneer. Thus, Tyrrell-Purser: "Marcus thought his tragedies lacked emotion, though he had such eminently tragic subjects ...

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83 Roman contempt for acting and dancing: cf. Planc. 87; Mur. 13; Off. III.93; Nep. Epam. 1; Tac. Ann. XIV.15-6. Q.'s unconventionality: cf. above, 87-8; 224.

84 Q.F. III.1.13: "In ea nihil sane erat novi praeter Erigonam (quam si ab Oppio accepero, scribam ad te quid sentiam)"; 7.6: "ne accidat quod Erigonae tuae, cui soli Caesare imperatore iter ex Gallia tutum non fuit".

85 Wiemer 7; Ribbeck 618; Blase 23; Antoine p. xxxviii.

86 Cf. S. Davidson 78: "Greek tragedies".

Marcus considered that such slipshod work ... was mere idling". W. Duff: "hardly ... anything but literary exercises". Bardon: "il y a dans la littérature latine des pertes plus regrettables". Wiemer thinks they probably lacked Pathos, and their loss "vielleicht nicht zum Unglück". Adami has no more regrets about their loss.[87] These adverse judgments are based on only two points, both of which are extremely feeble.

The first point is the sheer haste: four tragedies in sixteen days! What a badinage! Not unheard of, though. Cicero himself was credited with 500 verses in one night, Lucilius with 200 in an hour, and Cassius Etruscus with 200 before dinner ... and 200 after![88] But Quintus was not boasting about his fertility. It is usually understood, as by Duff, Antoine, Rice-Holmes, Johnson, Adami, Stinchcomb, Pianko and Wiemer, that Quintus said he "wrote" or "composed" four tragedies in sixteen days.[89] In fact Quintus only said "absolvisse", a verb which, in Cicero, somewhat like "perficere", is used to mean "finish", "put the last touches to", "get out of one's hands".[90] Quintus was just saying that, in a fortnight of comparative leisure, he put the finishing touches

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87 T.P. ad loc.; Duff I, 169; Bardon I, 328; Wiemer 8; Adami 47.

88 Cic.: Plut. Cic. 40.2; Lucilius: Hor. Sat. I.4.9-10; Cassius: Hor. Sat. I.10.61-4: cf. Bardon I, 331.

89 Duff I, 169; Antoine, p. xxxviii; Rice-Holmes 101; Johnson 161; Adami 47; Stinchcomb 5; Pianko 404-5; Wiemer 7-8.

90 Cf. Q.F. III.1.11: "Orationes ... absolvi"; 7.6: "Quod me hortaris ut absolvam, habeo absolutum ..." (= perficere, cf. 6.3); Leg. I.9: "neque tam facile interrupta contexo quam absolvo instituta"; see also L.S. "absolvo" II E.

to four tragedies, on which he had been working for a much longer time.

The second point is the criticism presumably included in Q.F. III.5.7. Constans observes that "istas", the generally accepted reading, in fact goes back to an old emendation by Aldus for the mss. "istam", made on the assumption that "Trodam" was corruption for another title. This assumption being unnecessary, Constans, retaining the mss. "istam", emends "Trodam" to "crudam". The Electra of Quintus would then have been cruel, full of gory detail. Furthermore, where Watt reads ἔλεος, a new emendation of his own for the corrupt †ΠΛΕΟΣ (= T.P.'s text) of most mss., Constans reads, with Usener, ΠΑΘΟΣ, an emendation which found favour widely, with Tyrrell-Purser, Wiemer, Ribbeck and Cugusi.[91] Quintus, on this reading, was asking for πάθος for his plays, because he was short of it. Thus, if Constans' reading were accepted, there would be here two criticisms of Quintus' tragedy, but by no means derogatory. "Crudus" could apply to Roman tragedy in general, from Ennius to Seneca. That there was a lack of πάθος was Quintus' auto-criticism, made in due humility, not Marcus' criticism, who had not yet read the play(s).

But, even so, I disagree with Constans' reading. I think that "istas" refers to "quattuor", so that Constans' motive for retaining only one title, referring to "istam" is much less persuasive. And I think that the whole of "cum scribas ... scripseris" in Q.F. III.5.7 must be examined side by side with 5.4:

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91 Constans, ad loc; T.P. ad loc; Wiemer 8; Ribbeck 622; Cugusi 13; 16-7.

> Quod me de versibus faciendis rogas ... †AMΠΩEIΣ vero ad ea quae ipse ego ne cogitando quidem consequor, tu, qui omnis isto eloquendi et exprimendi genere superasti, a me petis?

The resemblance is striking:

(a) 5.7	=	(b) 5.4
(1) tu quicquam ab alio mutuaris	=	Quod me de versibus faciendis rogas.
(2) et ΠΛΕΟΣ quaeris ...?	=	AMΠΩEIΣ ... a me petis?
(3) cum scribas ... cum scripseris	=	tu, qui omnis ... superasti.

In each of the two passages: (1) Request of verses by Quintus, (2) request for something which got corrupted into closely resembling Greek words (et: AM, Π:Π, Λ:Ω, E:E, O:I, Σ:Σ), (3) assertion of Quintus' accomplishments. There is a very strong case for regarding the two passages as referring to the same matter, and the Greek words as corruptions of the same original. Now, 5.4, as will be discussed hereafter, is known to refer to Quintus' requests about an Epic poem on Caesar. Consequently emendations for the Greek word there have been other than πάθος: διατυπώσεις (Bücheler 16), ἀνατυπώσεις (Orelli), ἀναπλώσεις (Gurlitt), ἐμπνεύσεις (T.P.), an ποιήσεις (Constans) and ὑποθέσεις (varii).[92]

If my argument is correct, then, the passage, which is widely regarded as containing some judgment about Quintus' plays, does not in fact refer to these plays. So we are left with no judgment, except that Cicero looked forward to reading them ("velim mittas"), urged Quintus not to underestimate himself ("γνῶθι σεαυτόν"), and had no doubt that the

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92 The various emendations ap. T.P., Constans and Watt, ad loc. Caesar epic: below, 257.

Erigone would please him ("nec dubito quin mihi placitura sit": Q.F. III.1.13) - remarks consistent with the generally favourable comments of Cicero on Quintus' literary merits. We may suspect Cicero of partiality towards his brother, but we have no real basis for adverse judgments on Quintus' dramatic compositions.

3. EPIC AND HISTORY

The scholiast Bobbiensis also notes that Q. Cicero was "epici ... carminis scribtor". The letters, De Divinatione and De Legibus assume familiarity on his part with Greek and Roman epic, both narrative and didactic: with Lucretius, Sallustius' Empedocles, Homer's Odyssey and Iliad, Ennius' Annales and Archias.[93] A number of passages from the letters to Quintus in Gaul, to the unravelling of which W. Allen has made the most significant contribution,[94] attest further to his interest and activity in this field.

> A. 1. ... in isto homine colendo ... cursu corrigam tarditatem cum equis tum vero (quoniam tu scribis poema ab eo nostrum probari) quadrigis poeticis; modo mihi date Britanniam quam pingam coloribus tuis, penicillo meo. Sed quid ago? quod mihi tempus, Romae praesertim ...? Sed videro ...
> - Q.F. II.14.2.

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93 Schol. Bob: cf. above, n. 2; Lucr.: below, 276-9; Sallustius: Q.F. II.10.4: "Virum te putabo si Sallusti Empedoclea legeris, hominem non putabo"; Od: Leg. I.2; Div. I.88; Il: Div. I.64; 72; 87; Ennius: Div. I.40-1; 88; 107; 114; 132; Archias: Div. I.79.

94 Allen, TAPhA, 1955, 143-159. Q.'s biographers (particularly Wiemer, 12-3) are deficient in discussion of this problem. Bücheler, 16, noted the passages, without discussing them. On M.'s own composition, see also Soubiran 51-4.

B. 2. O iucundas mihi tuas de Britannia litteras! ... Te vero ὑπόθεσιν scribendi egregiam habere video: quos tu situs, quas naturas rerum et locorum, quos mores, quas gentis, quas pugnas, quem vero ipsum imperatorem habes! Ego te libenter, ut rogas, quibus rebus vis, adiuvabo et tibi versus quos rogas, hoc est, γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας, mittam.
- Q.F. II.16.4.

A. 3. Poema ad Caesarem quod institueram incidi; tibi quod rogas,
B. quoniam ipsi fontes iam sitiunt, si quid habebo spati, scribam.
- Q.F. III.1.11.

B. 4. De versibus, quos tibi a me scribi vis, deest mihi quidem opera, quae non modo tempus sed etiam animum vacuum ab omni cura desiderat, sed abest etiam ἐνθουσιασμός ... Simul et illud (sine ulla me hercule ironia loquor): tibi istius generis in scribendo priores partis tribuo quam mihi.
- Q.F. III.4.4.

B. 5. Quod me de versibus faciendis rogas, incredibile est, mi frater, quam egeam tempore, nec sane satis commoveor animo ad ea quae vis canenda. † ΑΜΠΩΕΙΣ † vero ad ea quae ipse ego ne cogitando quidem consequor, tu qui omnis isto eloquendi et exprimendi genere superasti a me petis? Facerem tamen ut possem, sed (quod te minime fugit) opus est ad poema quadam animi alacritate, quam plane mihi tempora eripiunt.
- Q.F. III.5.4.

B. 6. ... tu quicquam ab alio mutuaris? et ἔλεος quaeris ... Cessator esse noli ...
- Q.F. III.5.7 (cf. above, 254-5).

A. 7. Quod me institutum ad illum poema iubes perficere etsi distentus cum opera tum animo sum multo magis, tamen quoniam ex epistula quam ad te miseram cognovit Caesar me aliquid esse exorsum, revertar ad institutum idque perficiam his supplicationum otiosis diebus.
- Q.F. III.6.3.

A. 8. Quod me hortaris ut absolvam, habeo absolutum, suave (mihi quidem uti videtur) ἔπος ad Caesarem, sed quaero locupletem tabellarium.
- Q.F. III.7.6.

There are allusions in these passages to two different undertakings, which can be easily confused, one by Marcus and one by Quintus.

I indicate with "A" allusions to Marcus' undertaking (i.e. Nos. 1, 3, 7 and 8) and with "B" allusions to Quintus' (i.e. Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6).

Marcus' undertaking was an Epic poem on Caesar, as can be deduced from the words "poema" and "quadrigis poeticis" (1), "poema ad Caesarem" (3), "ad illum poema" (7) and "ἔπος ad Caesarem" (8). Its subject-matter had to do with Britain ("mihi date Britanniam" (1)), no doubt Caesar's second British expedition. Quintus was involved in the genesis of this poem: for he exhorted Marcus to it ("iubes" (7), "hortaris" (8)), and, being on the spot, he provided Marcus with some raw materials consisting of information about Britain ("coloribus tuis" (1)). After beginning the poem ("incidi" (3), "institutum", "exorsum" (7)), Marcus was dragging his feet, but then returned to it ("revertar", "perficiam" (7)) and completed it ("habeo absolutum" (8)), under pressure from Quintus and from the fact it was a fait-accompli before Caesar (7).

From the words "versus" (2, 4, 5), "poema" (5) and "canenda" (5), it can be concluded that Quintus' undertaking as well was a poem. That it was an epic too is suggested by the grand scale of the subject-matter, with descriptions of "situs", "mores", "gentes", "pugnae" and the feats of an "imperator" (2). And that it had to do with Caesar's British expedition is indicated by "de Britannia" (2). Quintus wanted Marcus to help him, not just with resource material, but by actually composing some verses for him, which he would incorporate in his poem. Marcus at first gladly promised ("libenter adiuvabo" (2)), then reduced his promise to one conditional on availability of time ("si quid habebo spati" (3)), and finally pleaded lack of time and enthusiasm (4, 5),

and Quintus' superiority in the field (4, 5, 6). Allen thinks (143; 156-7) that Quintus did not complete his own poem as a result, suggesting as further possible explanations the disappointment of the British expedition, military preoccupations or health. I think it very possible he did, since the Scholiast knew of him as an Epic poet. The last allusions to his poem in 5 and 6 above are from a letter to him dated October or November 54. The extant correspondence to him ceases in December 54. At that time, he had spent only six months with Caesar, and had two more years to go.[95] If we do not hear of the completion of his epic poem on Caesar in Britain, it may be due to our lack of information rather than Quintus' abandonment of his project.

Of the merits of this poem, little can be said. Marcus, at any rate, had no doubts. He seems to have been sincere, if hyperbolic, in his tributes to Quintus' talent in the field. Quintus was the very fount of poetry ("ipsi fontes" (3)), surpassed Marcus ("tibi istius generis in scribendo priores partis tribuo" (4)) and all the rest ("tu qui omnis isto ... genere superasti" (5)): to send him verses was like sending owls to Athens (" γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας " (2)). He was himself modestly diffident of his own talent, but enthusiastic about his subject. Caesar was becoming the most attractive theme for epic or history with a contemporary subject. Furius Bibaculus, who accompanied Caesar, wrote an epic "pragmatia belli gallici". Varro of Atax wrote an epic on the "Bellum sequanicum". L. Aurunculeius Cotta, the ill-fated legate of Aduatuca,

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95 See above, 151-2; 180.

included the story of Caesar's invasion of Britain in his " περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας σύγγραμμα ". In 45, a freedman of the younger Crassus with the name of Apollonius was working on a "Caesaris res gestae", as Cicero wrote to Caesar, "incensus studio rerum tuarum".[96] Q. Cicero's imagination was stirred by this great new conqueror, the successor to Alexander and Pompey.

Q. Cicero was much interested in history. When Marcus called on him for the display of statesmanship in Asia, it is implicit in Marcus' use of the models in Xenophon's semi-historical Cyrus and Agesilaus (Q.F. I.1.23; 2.7) that these were favourites with Quintus. As speaker in Div. I, Quintus refers abundantly to persons and incidents from Greek and Roman history, and is familiar with Fabius Pictor, Coelius Antipater, Silenus, Agathocles, Xenophon's Cyrus and Anabasis, the annals of the Fabii and Gellii, Sulla's memoirs, Philistus, Callisthenes, Sisenna and Herodotus.[97] Marcus, as speaker, acknowledges this: "multa ... a te ex historiis" (II.136), an observation which shows that the author was consciously making Quintus the speaker rely heavily on passages from historians: for it suited him. In Leg. II.15, Quintus as speaker makes a curious intervention. He interrupts Marcus' observations on the laws of Zaleucus, with the objection that, according to Timaeus, Zaleucus

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96 Furius: Pseud. Acr., ad Hor. Sat. II.5.40: full discussion of sources in Bardon I, 349-51; Varro: Priscian, ap. Keil, Grammatici Latini, II, 497.10: Bardon I, 368; Cotta: Athen. VI.105: Bardon, I, 281 (see also Allen 143 on all three); Apollonius: Fam. XIII.16.4

97 Div. I.43; 48; 55-6; 77-8; 123; 49; 50; 52; 122; 55; 72 (cf. II.65); 73; 74 (cf. II.54); 99 (cf. II.54); 121.

never really existed: an irrelevant point, which Marcus justly brushes aside as such;[98] but relevant to the depiction of Quintus' interests: he wanted to get the historical facts right.

In February 54, Quintus was steeped in the reading of Callisthenes and Philistus, and was planning to write a "historia" himself.[99] There is no information on the proposed subject. If his observation as speaker in Leg. I.8 is any indication, he was dissatisfied with the lack of a properly written "historia" "ab ultimis temporibus", and wanted Cicero to undertake this. It need not, however, be a guide as to what he himself was prepared to undertake or thought himself capable of. From the comments which Cicero made in Q.F. II.12.4 on Callisthenes and Philistus, it can be assumed that Quintus had asked him which of the two was a better model. Callisthenes, of Olynthus, had accompanied and written the history of Alexander. Philistus had known and written the history of Dionysius of Syracuse as part of his " Σικελικά ".[100] Both then were historians of great conquerors whom they had known personally. At the time of the writing of Q.F. II.12.4, Quintus was preparing to go to Caesar in Gaul. Despite the existence of several letters to Quintus during the months following Q.F. II.12, there is not a word more about the "historia", but

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98 Leg. II.15: "Q: Quid, quod Zaleucum istum negat ullum fuisse Timaeus? M: ... sive fuit sive non fuit, nihil ad rem".

99 Q.F. II.12.4: "Itaque ad Callisthenem et ad Philistum redeo, in quibus te video volutatum ... Sed quod adscribis, adgrederisne ad historiam? me auctore potes".

100 On Callisthenes, see Kroll, RE X, 2, No. 2, 1674-1726; on Philistus, R. Laqueur, RE XIX, 2, No. 3, 2409-29.

plenty, as previously seen, about the epic on Caesar. I suspect that Quintus had in mind a history of Caesar's conquests.[101] but then decided on an epic, which superseded it.

In May 59, when Quintus was in Asia, Cicero wrote to Atticus: "[Quintus] ita rursus remittit ut me roget ut annales suos emendem et edam" (Att. II.16.4). This "annales" should not be assimilated with the above-mentioned "historia", as with Bücheler and Peter, but clearly distinguished, as with Bardon and Cugusi: five years separated them; and, in 59, Quintus had completed the "annales", which he was asking Cicero to edit and publish, whereas in 54, the "historia" had not even been started. It is traditionally believed, by Blase, Bücheler, Peter, Drumann-Groebe, Shanz-Hosius, Wiemer, Bardon, D. Romano, that this "annales" was a historical work in prose.[102]

I believe, with Münzer and Cugusi,[103] that the "annales" was, rather, an epic poem, for the following reasons: (1) In 54, Cicero wrote: "adgrederisne ad historiam?" It was a novel undertaking for Quintus to attempt historical writing at that time, and Cicero had to reassure him that he should be able to handle this new genre ("me

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101 Cf. Bardon, I, 249, who imagines a historical monograph on M.'s consulship.

102 Blase 25; Bücheler 15-6; Peter, Historicorum Romanorum reliquiae (1906-14), II, p. xvii; Drumann-Groebe 665; Shanz-Hosius I, 552; Wiemer 13; Bardon I, 249; Romano 137; Cugusi 6-7. Bücheler thought it was a monograph on M.'s consulship. E. Fallu, 186, assigns it to the literature of propaganda: a defence of his administration of Asia.

103 Münzer 1305; Cugusi 7-8.

auctore potes"). (2) In 54, when he was just starting his British epic, Quintus had already demonstrated his mastery of that genre ("tu ... superasti": p. 259, above). (3) The Scholiast knew of him as an Epic poet, not as a historian (p. 256, above). (4) In Leg. I.5-10, when the subject of the desirability of a history of Rome is raised, Atticus turns to Marcus, without so much as lip-service to the past efforts of Quintus at history. It appears, then, that, while he was much interested in history, Quintus had no accomplishments in it to match his record in epic.

4. DE XII SIGNIS

Ausonius has preserved, by quoting them, twenty lines of a poem by Q. Cicero.

> Q. Ciceronis hi versus eo pertinent, ut, quod signum quo tempore inlustre sit, noverimus; quod superius quoque nostris versibus expeditur.
>
> Flumina verna cient obscuro lumine Pisces
> Curriculumque Aries aequat noctisque dieique,
> Cornua quem condunt, florum praenuntia, Tauri.
> Aridaque aestatis Gemini primordia pandunt
> Longaque iam minuit praeclarus lumina Cancer
> Languificosque Leo proflat ferus ore calores.
> Post modium quatiens Virgo fugat orta vaporem.
> Autumni reserat portas aequatque diurna
> Tempora nocturnis dispenso sidere Libra.
> Effetos ramos denudat flamma Nepai.
> Pigra Sagittipotens iaculatur frigora terris.
> Bruma gelu glacians iubar est spirans Capricorni,
> Quam sequitur nebulas rorans liquor altus Aquari.
> Tanta supra circaque vigent cum lumina mundi,
> A dextra laevaque ciet rota fulgida Solis
> Mobile curriculum, et lunae simulacra feruntur.

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Squama sub aeterno conspectu torta Draconis
Eminet; hunc infra fulgentes Arcera septem
Magna quatit stellas, quam servans serus in alta
Conditur Oceani ripa cum luce Bootes.[104]

In my own English approximation, thus:-

The floods of spring Fish, with dim light glimmering, stirs,
And the course of night and day Ram makes equal;
Eclipsing him appear the horns of Bull, harbinger of flowers.

The dry commencement of summer Twins unfold,
And now the long daylights bright Crab curtails,
And fierce Lion through his mouth blows the enfeebling heats.

Then, shaking the corn-measure, Virgin rises and drives away the steam,
Autumn's gates Balance unlocks, who, with even dispensation,
Equals the lengths of days and nights,
And aged boughs the lightning-flash of Scorpion makes bare.

Numbing colds Archer shoots upon the earth;
Winter-solstice, with frost freezing, is Capricorn's breathing radiance,
Whom follows the deep water of Aquarius, that clouds bedews.

As these great constellations of heaven prevail above and around,
From right and from left the shining wheel of the Sun
Moves its speedy chariot, and Moon's reflections roam.

In eternal sight towers the coiled scale of Dragon;
Beneath it, flashing its seven twinkling stars,
The great Bear: on whom Bootes waits, that late,
With daybreak, sets in ocean's deep shore.

These twenty verses are made up of three parts: (a) Lines 1 - 13 enumerate the twelve signs of the Zodiac; (b) lines 14 - 16 refer to the

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104 Text as in Bücheler and Riese, Anth. Lat., I, 2, 1089, No. 642. Also in Bücheler 68-9; Morel, FPL, 79, No. 315; Auson. Ecl. 17 (p. 16 Schenkl); and (with slight variations) Blase 24. It is perfunctorily discussed by Bücheler, 20, (less cursorily) by Wiemer, 8-12, and M.R. Jonin, Hommage à P. Fargues, 255-8. A few, including Münzer (1306) and H. Evelyn White (Loeb Ausonius, I, 201, n. 4), doubt the authenticity, giving no good reason.

motions of the Sun and the Moon in relation to the Earth, as they enter these signs; (c) lines 17 - 20 enumerate three constellations of the Northern hemisphere: Draco, Ursa maior and Bootes. The first sixteen lines form one unit to which the title "Twelve Signs of the Zodiac", or the conventional one, "De XII signis", is appropriate. As the last four lines are not integral to this theme, Bücheler followed Scaliger in suspecting their authenticity, and considering them as an interpolation, probably by Ausonius. It might well be the case, however, as Wiemer has argued, that the lines quoted by Ausonius are from a longer poem of Q. Cicero, which continued beyond the twentieth line. Wiemer himself proposed the plausible hypothesis of a poem of thirty lines, consisting of two themes, with the following structure: (a) Lines 1 - 13: the twelve signs of the Zodiac; (b) lines 14-6: transitional; (c) lines 17 - 30: the twelve constellations of the Northern hemisphere.[105]

One can easily see that a good deal of effort has been put into these twenty verses to incorporate in them two of the prominent characteristics of Latin poetry from Ennius to Vergil: verbal expressivity in suggesting pictures from Nature, and verbal music, through alliterations and assonances. While no one will pretend to find here the easy smoothness, the mellifluous flow of a Lucretius or a Vergil, there is artistry which is not to be despised.[106] "Languificosque Leo proflat ferus ore calores" (l. 6) is successfully expressive of the "éssoufflement"

105 Bücheler 20; Wiemer 11-2.

106 Cf. Blase 24: "Eleganter et expedite conscripti sunt."

visualised in the heat. "Effetos ramos denudat" (l. 10) is suggestive of sweeping leaves. "Gelu glacians" (l. 12), with its hard gutturals, conveys effectively the hardness, where the English equivalents "icy" and "glacial" might convey the cold of the ice-blocks. Alliterations and assonances are heavily piled up, as can be observed by taking just the first ten lines as example. L. 1: flumina ... lumine; cient ... Pisces. L. 2: "cu" (or "qu") sound no less than six times. L. 3: continuing from line 2, the guttural "c" three times. L. 4: Arida aestatis; primordia pandunt. L. 5: Longa ... -clarus ... lumina; minuit ... lumina. L. 6: Four l's, three f's and ore calores. L. 7: Virgo ... vaporem; orta ... -orem. LL. 8-9 (a double verse sentence): matching the structure (see below, 268), the alliteration-assonance scheme is astride on both lines, with diurna (l. 8) ... nocturnis (l. 9), and portas (l. 8) ... tempora (l. 9). L. 10: Effetos ... flamma; denudat Nepai.

What is much more remarkable, and - both for this reason and because of the omission of previous scholars - deserves more substantial discussion, is the extent to which these verses demonstrate the influence of his brother upon Q. Cicero. The very fact that Quintus wrote such astronomical poetry in Latin was in itself an effect of M. Cicero's direct influence. In his youth, a precursor of the poetae novi, M. Cicero is the first individual attested to have rendered Alexandrian astronomical poetry into Latin, namely the Phaenomena and Prognostica of

Aratus, which he called his Carmina Aratea.[107]

The influence of Marcus Cicero is also seen, beyond doubt, in the structure of the poem. In fourteen verses of the Aratea (LL. 320-333), Marcus enumerates the twelve signs of the Zodiac. Each of the first twelve hexameters is given to one sign. Each sign, with its attributes, is the grammatical subject in its sentence, which is coextensive with its hexameter. The dry effect which would result from this enumeration is avoided by the abundant use of ten connectives, each of which connects one sign with its predecessor: "quem" (l. 322), "exin" (l. 323), "-que" (l. 324), "inde" (l. 325), "post" (l. 326), "inde" (l. 327), "exim" (l. 328), "quis" (l. 329), "-que" (l. 330), "et" (l. 331). The twelve hexameters of enumeration are followed by a sentence covering two hexameters (ll. 332-3), of which the Sun is the subject. This structure, as Soubiran observes, is M. Cicero's own, with the material freely developed from Aratus, where the enumeration of the twelve signs occupies only five verses: Ph. 545-9.[108]

Quintus' enumeration imitates Marcus, not Aratus. For here again, it can be seen, each hexameter is given to one sign; each sign is the grammatical subject in its sentence, which is coextensive with its hexameter; an accumulation of seven connectives ("- que"(l. 2), "quem" (l. 3), "-que" (ll. 4, 5 and 6), "post" (l. 7), and "quam" (l. 13)), to

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107 See Soubiran, 5-27, for Cic.'s Alexandrian poetry, and, particularly 8-16, for date and model of the Aratea. Since the Aratea was a poem of M.'s youth, I assume that Q.'s verses were posterior to it.

108 Cf. Soubiran, 220, n. 6.

avoid a dry enumeration; following the enumeration, a longer sentence, of which the Sun is the subject, although the Moon is also brought in, extending the sentence by one additional verse. Of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, exceptionally, Libra, the Balance, is given two lines, instead of the usual one, in what seems to be a device of Quintus' own, not devoid of ingenuity. The sixteen lines which form a unit consist of fifteen subjects (twelve signs of the Zodiac + three planets). The Balance is in the eighth position, with seven preceding it and seven succeeding. It is also the sign when the lengths of days and nights are equal. Structurally, the balance between two sets of seven, and semantically the balance between the lengths of days and nights, Libra's equipoise is brought out by this conspicuous double line.

As in the structure of the whole piece, so in the treatment of each subject, there is in Quintus' version a mixture of Ciceronian influence and personal originality, as can be seen through a line-by-line analysis.

L. 1: Two interesting points. Following Aratus (Ph. 545; 569), Marcus begins his enumeration with Cancer, which is associated with the summer solstice (cf. Lucr. VI, 616-7; Columella, RR XI.2.49). Other (later) Roman writers, starting with spring, conventionally the first season (cf. Auson, Ecl. 18), begin their enumeration (- as, for example, Seneca, Thy. 850; Ausonius, Ecl. 15; Petron. Satyr. 35 -) with Aries, which is associated with the coming of spring (cf. Ovid, Met. X.165). But, contrary to Wiemer's assertion, not all do so. Varro, RR I. 28 and Columella, RR XI.2.4, begin with Aquarius, the sign in which falls

technically the first day of spring, and the start of which (16 January) is closest to the kalends of January, the beginning of the Roman Republican calendar. For the same reason, Ausonius, Ecl. 16, begins with Capricorn instead. Quintus' enumeration from Pisces is, as Bücheler first observed, unparalleled in Roman writers: but at the time he wrote, it was not unconventional, because no convention had as yet been established among Roman writers. Quintus departs from Aratus and Marcus in associating Pisces, instead of Aries, with the coming of spring, probably in an attempt to make the cycle of the Zodiac coincide with the cycle of the Roman agricultural year. Pisces, as Columella, RR XI.2.21, informs us, began on 15 February, precisely the "dies februatus", the day of purification, which marked the beginning of the agricultural year.[109]

The second point is this. Marcus, in the line on Pisces (Arat. 328), says only: "exim squamiferi serpentes ludere Pisces" ("Then come, wriggling and frolicsome, the Fish"). Quintus sacrifices the fanciful description of the constellation to make room for his own additional notion: the earthly phenomenon which it effects in thawing the rivers.

L. 2: Marcus' line (Arat. 329) is: "quis comes est Aries, obscuro lumine labens". Again Quintus sacrifices the description of the constellation to make room for his own addition of its effect upon the earthly environment: the lengths of days and nights. In conveying the notion of the courses of nights and days, Quintus uses the word

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109 Cf. Wiemer 9-10; Bücheler 20; and F. Cumont on "Zodiacus" in Dar. Saglio V, 1046. On "dies februatus": Varro, Ling. Lat. VI.13; 34; W. Fowler, Festivals, 310-321.

"curriculum", - as he does again in ll. 15-6, in association with the "wheel of the Sun" ("rota Solis"), - which usually suggests the image of the chariot. Now Marcus, as M.R. Jonin has observed,[110] conveys the notion of the course of the sun, with such expressions as "convertit curriculum" (Arat. 264), "rota Solis" (Arat. 281) and "flectens contorquet currum" (Arat. 61), evocative of the Roman chariot race, whereas in the Greek prototype (cf. Ph. 225-7; 709-13) there is merely the notion of movement. It is probable that Quintus' image is drawn from Marcus.

L. 3: Marcus' line (Arat. 330) is: "inflexoque genu, proiecto corpore, Taurus". Same phenomenon: Sacrificing the fanciful description of the imagined Bull, Quintus brings in the season of flowers as the effect on the earthly environment. "Cornua", which Quintus retains in association with the Bull, instead of "genua" (which would have done metrically, but would have been less suitable) or "corpus", is suggested from elsewhere in Marcus: Arat. fr. 27: "corniger Taurus"; fr. 28, l. 2: "Tauri laevum cornu", translating Aratus' " κεραὸν Ταῦρον " (Ph. 167), " κάρη βοός " (Ph. 170), " λαιοῦ κεράατος " (Ph. 174), an association which later became quite common with the Bull (cf. Auson. Ecl. 15.14; 16.6; Seneca, Thy. 852). "Praenuntia" in the fifth metre recalls the same word in precisely the same position in Arat. 66.

LL. 4-5: Fascinating transposition from Marcus. Marcus has for Gemini the line: "Et Gemini clarum iactantes lucibus ignem" (Arat. 331), and for Cancer the line: "Aestifer est pandens ferventia sidera Cancer" (Arat. 320). Marcus associates Gemini with light, and Cancer, the sign

110 Jonin 249-50.

for the beginning of summer, with heat. Remembering that, in Quintus, it is Gemini, which marks the beginning of summer, we notice that the notion of heat, along with the verb "pandere", is transposed to it, as well as the expression "aestatis primordia", obtained from Arat. 39. Conversely the notion of light is transposed to Cancer, with a cue from Arat. 263: "claro conlucens lumine Cancer".

L. 6: Marcus' corresponding line (Arat. 321) is: "hunc subter fulgens cedit vis torva Leonis". As usual, where Marcus dwells on the attributes of the imagined animal, without mentioning the effect on the earth, Quintus subtracts from the former to add the latter. And, in doing so, he exploits the image conceived by Marcus elsewhere in the Aratea. Quintus' lion breathes forth heat from his mouth just as Marcus' lion in Arat. fr. 22, l. 3, flashes forth flame from his body: "magnu' Leo tremulam quatiens e corpore flammam", an original development from Aratus' feebler " Λέων ... καλὰ φαείνει " (Ph. 148), influential thereafter (cf. Seneca, Thy. 855).

L. 7: Marcus' corresponding line (Arat. 322): "quem rutilo sequitur conlucens corpore Virgo", as often, has the description of the constellation, but no mention of its effect. Quintus makes the usual change, introducing the effect of the diminution of heat, and substituting for the body of Virgo gleaming with shining light an image suggestive rather of the associated season on earth, Virgo shaking the corn-measure. Again he does not invent the image, but gets it from elsewhere in his brother's Aratea. Marcus translates Aratus, Ph. 97: " Παρθένον, ἣ ῥ' ἐν χειρὶ φέρει Στάχυν αἰγλήεντα " ("The Virgin, who holds in her

hand a shining ear of corn") into "Spicum illustre tenens ... Virgo" (Arat. fr. 16, l. 6). From this image to that of "shaking the corn-measure" ("modium quatiens") is an easy step, especially as Quintus, in the immediately preceding line, laid aside the word "quatiens", encountered with the Lion in Arat. fr. 22, l. 3.

LL. 8-9: Marcus (Arat. 323) has only: "exin proiectae claro cum lumine Chelae". As usual, Quintus adds the effect of autumn's coming and the equalisation of days and nights, and, exceptionally, stretches the sentence into two lines. He avoids the term "Chelae" (Claws), which is found six times (Arat. 3; 210; 293; 323; 393; 403), and prefers the term "Libra" (Balance), which is never found, in the extant remains of the Aratea, because, with its etymological implications, the latter term blends much better into the notion of equipoise wrought into this couplet. An interesting parallel occurs in Verg. Georg. I: In l. 38, Vergil uses "Chelae", but in l. 208, where a similar notion occurs, it is: "Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas". So too, Lucan IV.58: "Atque iterum aequatis ad iustae pondera Librae"; Seneca, Thy. 858: "iustae Librae"; Herc. Fur. 844: "Libra aequa"; Auson. Ecl. 16.10: "aequat Libram". For Quintus' expression "aequatque diurna tempora nocturnis", and its association with autumn, there was a suggestion in Marcus' Arat. 287-8: "in quo autumnali atque iterum sol lumine verno / exaequat spatium lucis cum tempore noctis". But it is quite likely that, in a line in the Aratea, which has not survived, the word "Libra" was used, instead of the Sun, in association with this idea, in which Quintus found his prototype.

L. 10: Marcus' line (Arat. 324), "ipsaque consequitur lucens vis magna Nepai", again enumerates without including the effect. So Quintus curtails the attribute of the subject, and adds the effect of falling leaves, finding for his words "effetos ramos denudat" the suggestion in Arat. 119: "denudat foliis ramos".

L. 11: Marcus' corresponding line (Arat. 325) is: "inde Sagittipotens dextra flexum tenet arcum". Marcus chooses here to use the word "Sagittipotens", as in Arat. 73 and 459 (a word which did not catch on afterwards), and not "Arquitenens", as he does in Arat. 182, 272a and 405, nor, what was to become the conventional word (cf. Petron. Satyr. 35; Columella, RR XI.2.20; 2.88; 2.93), "Sagittarius", as he does in Arat. 279. Following Aratus, Ph. 305-6, " μέγα τόξον ἀνέλκεται ... τοξευτής ", he exploits the fancied image of the Archer holding the bow, poised for shooting. As often, he brings in no effect on the earth. Quintus retains precisely the word "Sagittipotens", being the only author, other than Cicero, to use this term.[111] He also retains the fancied image of the Archer, but moves it a step further in time, to the actual shooting of the arrows, so that the effect on the earth can be wrought in. Could the expression "pigra rigora", found again later in Tibullus I.2.31 (cf. Lucr. V.746: "pigrum rigorem"; Seneca, Thy. 863: "pigram hiemem"), have been an original combination of Quintus' own? The fragmentary nature of the survivals from Ciceronian and pre-Ciceronian poetry does not permit a confident answer one way or the other.

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111 Cf. Soubiran 98, n. 4.

L. 12: Marcus' corresponding line (Arat. 326) is: "post hunc ore fero Capricornus vadere pergit". Simple enumeration, with no mention of the effect. Quintus adds the effect, but, as usual, drawing his image from Marcus. Arat. 58-9 has: "gelidum valido de pectore frigus anhelans corpore semifero ... Capricornus" (cf. Arat. 91: "magni Capricorni corpora"). This forceful image of the imagined monster, breathing cold from his mighty breast, observes Soubiran,[112] is Marcus' own original conception, which owes nothing to the pale Aratean prototype in Ph. 285-6: " νειόθι μᾶλλον | κέκλιται Αἰγόκερως , ἵνα ἷς τρέπετ ' ἠελίοιο ".

L. 13: Marcus' corresponding line (Arat. 327), "umidus inde loci conlucet Aquarius orbe[m]", has again a simple enumeration, with no mention of the effect. Quintus makes the customary change, using the associated notion of humidity from "umidus" and from Arat. 274, "gelidum rivum fundentis Aquari", which again, as Soubiran observes,[113] is an original image of Marcus, additional to the unspectacular Aratean prototype.

LL. 14-16: In addition to repeating the theme of the closing couplet of Arat. 332-3, with the Sun as subject, "rota fulgida Solis" in l. 15 recalls "rota fervida solis" of Arat. 281, in precisely the same position at the end of the line. "Lumina" in l. 14 is the third time this word occurs in the fifth meter, after l. 1 and l. 5. Three occurrences out of sixteen lines make a high proportion, recalling the abuse

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112 Soubiran 205, n. 12; 91; Jonin 250.

113 Soubiran 182, n. 2; 91.

of this facile device by Marcus (Arat. fr. 9, l. 3; fr. 33, l. 3; 15; 37; 49; 60; 95; 107; 113; 127; 135; 137; 155; 161; 164; 175; 180; 237; 240; 242; 247; 263; 277; 287; 295; 298; 301; 306; 313; 322; 329; 332; 350; 369; 374; 380; 389; 390; 399; 405; 441; 452; 458; 464; 467; 473; 479; without counting "lucibus").[114]

The concluding four lines (17-20), as well, show resemblances in language and imagery with Cicero's Aratea. The fancied coils of Draco (l. 17) were probably suggested by Marcus' Arat. fr. 8, ll. 2-3: "torvu' Draco serpit supter superaque revolvens / sese, conficiensque sinus e corpore flexos", translating the image in Aratus' Ph. 46, 49, 50, 53. The scales of Quintus' Draco probably came from Arat. 143, where Marcus associates the image with Pisces: "squamoso corpore Pisces". The latter part of the hexameter in l. 20: "‖ rī|pa cūm | lūcĕ Bŏ|ōtēs", echoes the latter part of Marcus' hexameter in Arat. 394: "‖ lār|ga cūm | lūcĕ Bŏ|ōtes".

Study of these verses of Quintus has, therefore, shown a close resemblance with verses from Marcus Cicero's Aratea, with respect to subject-matter, structure, imagery and language. As a result, the unwarranted suspicions, hinted by a few sceptics as to their authenticity, must be rejected as quite illegitimate. The originality of Quintus consisted mainly in his systematisation of the fancied relation between the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the four seasons. Thus Pisces, Aries and Taurus bring about the earthly phenomena of humidity, equinox and

114 Cf. Soubiran 99-100.

flowers, which are the concomitants of Spring; Gemini, Cancer and Leo produce the dryness, brightness and heat of Summer; Virgo, Libra and Scorpio bring about the harvest, equinox and falling leaves associated with Autumn; Sagittarius, Capricorn and Aquarius produce winter's cold, ice and storms. Quintus produced thus a versified miniature season-calendar of the Zodiac, in monostichs which could be easily memorised. Ausonius knew and quoted it, because of his fondness for versified lists, as seen in Eclogues 8 to 26. He wanted it compared, quite certainly, with his own eclogue 16, not for inferiority or superiority, but for similarity and difference. In eclogue 16, Ausonius similarly enumerated the twelve signs in twelve monostichs, but replaced the seasonal effects of Quintus by the twelve months of the Julian calendar. By thus relating each sign to a month of the year, Ausonius produced another versified miniature calendar of the Zodiac, similar to Quintus Cicero's, and yet different, in that it was a month-calendar of the Zodiac.

5. EDITOR

Q. Cicero may have known Lucretius very well, discussed the De rerum natura with him and helped with its publication. The only contemporary allusion to Lucretius, which is extant, is in Q.F. II.10.3: "Lucreti poemata, ut scribis, ita sunt, multis luminibus ingeni, multae tamen artis". Munro explains that "ingenium" probably means "the native genius" of the older poets such as Ennius', and "ars" means the conscious skill of the νεώτεροι, such as Catullus'. This acute judgment is usually described as Cicero's, as in Tyrrell-Purser, when in fact, as

"ut scribis" shows, it was Quintus'. Hendrickson proposed to interpret "tamen" as marking not the antithesis between "ingenium" and "ars", but the point at which Marcus disagreed from Quintus. This interpretation was advanced largely in reaction to the unjustified insistence of older editors on interpolating a "non" before either "multis" or "multae". The most natural interpretation is that this balanced and perceptive judgment was entirely from Quintus, and Marcus agreed with it.[115]

In his famous biographical note on Lucretius, St. Jerome wrote: "quos [= libros Lucreti] postea Cicero emendavit". The statement has been seriously questioned, e.g. by Merrill, on the grounds of Jerome's known inaccuracies (essentially chronological), Cicero's well-known opposition to Epicureanism, his complete omission of Lucretius in his frequent allusions, in his philosophical works, to Epicurean authors, his silence about the matter in his Correspondence, and the casual way in which he refers to the De rerum natura in Q.F. II.10.3. But the statement is also widely accepted, e.g. by Munro, Ernout, C. Bailey, while the puzzles remain. Lachmann proposed a solution, which might solve the puzzles, that Jerome, by "Cicero", meant Q. Cicero. No one has taken this seriously, except very few, namely, H.W. Garrod, Stinchcomb and McDermott. Bücheler, Munro, Merrill, C. Bailey rejected it. Ernout was particularly emphatic and categorical: "Personne aujourd'hui n'adopte plus l'absurde hypothèse de Lachmann ... Cicero en latin ne désignait pas

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115 Munro, II, 17-19; Hendrickson, AJPh 1901, 438-9; T.P. ad loc. See also, on this question, J.G. Préaux, "Le jugement de Cicéron sur Lucrèce", R.B.Ph. XLII (1964) 57-73; G. Jachmann, "Lucrez im Urteil des Cicero", Athenaeum XLV (1967) 89-118.

d'autre personnage que l'orateur, de même qu'en français Corneille, Racine s'entendent implicitement par Pierre Corneille, Jean Racine, et non pas Thomas Corneille, Louis Racine." Munro adds to this point, as argument against Q. Cicero, that he "must have been thinking more of the art of war than the art of poetry."[116]

These are the only two points that have been adduced against Lachmann's suggestion. The second one is so feeble as not to be worth consideration: it arises from the widespread misconception, already dealt with, (above, 219-20) that Quintus was essentially a swordsman. The analogy of Ernout is not valid. Caesar in B.G., Orosius, VI.6.7 and 10.2; Plutarch, Caes. 24.2-3; Appian, B.G. 20; and Polyaenus VIII.23.6 use "Cicero" by itself for Q. Cicero. In Cicero's correspondence, "Cicero" by itself means Marcus Cicero Jr. and sometimes Quintus Cicero Jr. There is more strength in the argument of Merrill, borrowed from Bergk, that in Jerome "Cicero" by itself usually means M. Cicero. But even this is not conclusive. Jerome was reproducing from Suetonius, "De viris illustribus".[117] Even if Jerome meant M. Cicero, his source might have meant Q. Cicero. Q. Cicero is, in the circumstances, somewhat like a lectio difficilior. It is more likely that Q. Cicero should be taken for M. Cicero than vice-versa in the process of transmission. Thus

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116 Jerome, ad Eus. Chron., for the year 94 or 93; Merrill, 18-21; Munro, II, 1-5; Ernout, I, p. viii, n. 1; C. Bailey, I, 18-21; Lachmann, T. Lucreti Cari de rerum natura commentarius, 2nd ed. (1855), pp. 62-3; H.W. Garrod, Journal of Philology XXXI (1908) 78-81; Bücheler 23-4. Stinchcomb 6-7; McDermott 704.

117 Merrill 18; Jerome's source: Munro II, 1.

Lachmann's hypothesis was not as absurd as all that, but a very good possibility.

Quintus may also have been involved in the compilation of the three books of Cicero's jokes, which circulated in antiquity. Of all those who have written on Q. Cicero, W. Pütz is the only one to have associated him with these books, on the basis of Quintilian, Inst. Or. VI.3.5. Writing a century later, Stinchcomb noticed this, but found it "impossible ... to discover from the current editions of Quintilian whence Pütz derived this particular sentence (i.e. "Quintum libros de iocis Marci fratris edidisse tres"), or on what authority he ascribed it to Quintilian." Indeed the 1970 Oxford edition (as well the Teubner) reads:

> Utinamque libertus eius Tiro, aut alius, quisquis fuit, qui tris hac de re libros edidit, parcius dictorum numero indulsissent et plus iudicii in eligendis quam in congerendis studii adhibuissent.

Pütz was using some edition which had adopted a reading generally disfavoured by editors, which, however, has the support of some mss., as can be seen in the voluminous work of Spalding. Spalding himself does not adopt this variant, but gives it in his detailed apparatus: "Utinam Quintus et libertus eius Tiro, aut alius ..."[118]

In favour of retaining the name of Quintus are the following considerations: (a) "Indulsissent" and "adhibuissent" are the mss. reading. Editors have had either to emend them to the singular, or to explain the "aut" linking "Tiro" to "alius" as a conjunction rather than a

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118 Pütz 16; Stinchcomb 6, n. 120; Spalding, Quint. Inst. Or., vol. II, p. 519.

disjunction, for which there is a rare parallel in Quint. Inst. Or. III. 8.67. If the latter is the case, why then did Quintilian use the singular in the case of "edidit"? If we assumed that Quintus and Tiro were joint compilers, and Tiro alone the publisher (after the Ciceros' death presumably), the plurals in "indulsissent" and "adhibuissent" and the singular in "edidit" would make perfect sense. (b) Macrobius, Saturn. II.1, reads: "Cicero, inquit, quantum in ea re valuerit quis ignorat, qui vel liberti eius libros, quos is de patroni iocis composuit, quos quidam ipsius putant esse, legere curavit". This passage, where the compilation itself ("composuit") is ascribed to Tiro,[119] has been an important factor in editors' decision to drop Quintus from the Quintilian passage. But here, Macrobius says, some people thought that Cicero himself was the compiler. It is quite possible that this tradition of Cicero being the compiler was the result of Q. Cicero's participation in the compilation. (c) Quintus and Tiro were very good friends.[120] Quintus may well have compiled ("composuit"), perhaps in cooperation with Tiro, and Tiro later published ("edidit") the books. (d) Quintus admired his brother and loved jokes: such an undertaking was the most natural thing for him. One editor, Gesner, remarked on Quintilian's text, that Quintus could not have thus complimented his brother, with whom he was at war ("simultates Ciceronum fratrum obstare quo minus honorem aliquem a Quinto

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119 Cf. Schol. Bob. ad Sest. 135 (Hildebrandt p. 105): "Tiro ... inter iocos Ciceronis adnumerat".

120 See, above, 225.

habitum credamus Marco").[121] This is, of course, a complete misconception of the relationship between the brothers, which should be argument for, not against, Quintus' authorship of Cicero's three books of jokes.

The evidence supporting the theory that Q. Cicero occupied himself with compilation and editing of works done by some of his associates is admittedly uncertain and fraught with difficulties. But, for what it is worth, it exists, and deserves a fairer estimate than it has generally received. Above all, it is certainly not improbable and not inconsistent with all the other evidence attesting Quintus' literary interests and activities.

6. THE 'COMMENTARIOLUM PETITIONIS'

The only substantial work by Q. Cicero that has survived is the "Commentariolum petitionis".[122] It is so called from a description used by its author in its closing sentence: "Volo enim hoc commentariolum petitionis haberi" (s. 58). It is also sometimes called "De petitione consulatus", after an introductory description in the ms. L. 117. It is in the form of a letter, beginning with the conventional prescript of

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121 Ap. Spalding, Quint. Inst. Or., vol. II, p. 518; cf., above, 241-2; 244.

122 I include here only a brief description of the content, as appropriate for the present work. For a more detailed examination, see, above all, now Nardo 56-77. Wikarjak is also serviceable. On these and other material on C.P., see, further, below, 287-314. Bibliographical specifications on works hereafter mentioned on the present topic, if not in the notes, are to be found in the Bibliography, section II.

salutation from addressor to addressee, and it has been transmitted in the corpus of Cicero's correspondence. The longest letter in the Correspondence (58 sections), it is, as the title suggests, an Electioneering Guide. Section 1 is an introduction and section 58 is a postscript to the Guide itself, which consists of three parts.

In the first part (s. 2-12) the candidate is advised to remind himself that he is a novus homo, which is a disadvantage. But he has, to compensate for this, two assets. First (s. 2-6), he has made numerous friends among the publicani, the equites, the members of municipia and collegia and the young - and he can make more - with his services as a talented orator: all the gratia thus acquired must be converted into votes. He can also conciliate to himself many nobiles both by similar services and assurances that he is not a popularis: if he has ever seemed to be one, he must point out that his motive was to win the friendship of Pompey. Secondly (s. 7-12), his opponents, although nobiles, are extremely weak candidates, of whom the most dangerous, Antonius and Catiline, are easy targets for invective on grounds of moral turpitude, waste of patrimony, sexual licence and violence - their own and/or their close relatives'.

In the second part (s. 13-53), the candidate is reminded that he is seeking the consulship, the highest office of the state, the attainment of which requires a great deal of careful and hard work (s. 13-15). (A) Work upon amici (s. 16-40) and (B) work upon the populus (s. 41-53). (A) Amici for electioneering purposes range far beyond the circle of close associates in life. The latter must not only support, but be

seen to support the candidate zealously. Beyond them amici must be cultivated from diverse groups, particularly individuals who are in a leading position (a) with a political or electoral group (i.e. consuls, tribunes, influential members of centuriae and collegia), (b) with a regional group (i.e. notables of neighbourhoods, districts and municipia), (c) with a social group (i.e. senators, equites and liberti). To cultivate amici, the candidate must search for individuals who are favourably disposed to him and maximise that favourable disposition. An individual would be favourably disposed out of gratitude for service received, out of readiness to accept promise of service, or out of natural goodwill. Once secured, each amicus must be asked, and thanked accordingly, for an appropriate display of salutatio, deductio and adsectatio, commensurate with the extent to which he supports the candidate. Opposition to the candidate, which arises from harm received, natural dislike or obligation to a rival candidate, can be reduced or removed by appropriate conciliatory advances. (B) For work upon the populus, six tools must be used: nomenclatio, or familiarity with people by knowing or appearing to know their names; blanditia, or the art of saying yes; adsiduitas, or persistent canvassing; benignitas, or generosity in rendering services, accessibility to people in need of help, and the art of refusing or breaking a promise without giving offence; rumor, or the projection of a winner's image by advertising one's popularity with pomp and flourish; spes rei publicae, or the building of confidence in Senate, Equites and people, that the interests of each class will be served by the election of the candidate.

In the third part (s. 54-7), the candidate is warned that he is in Rome, where honest effort can be thwarted by deceit, corruption and violence. The candidate must serve notice to trouble-makers that he can damage them seriously by court action, since he holds in oratory a powerful deterrent.

From the obvious allusions to Cicero's candidature in the treatise in general and the specific remark, in the postscript, "scripta .. ad te proprie et ad hanc petitionem tuam", its composition was at first associated with the launching of Cicero's consular campaign in July 65. Bücheler observed that the situation implied in the treatise corresponded rather to a time when Cicero's campaign was well-advanced. It contains references to the Lex Manilia of 66 (s. 5; 14; 51), the defence of Cornelius in 65 (s. 51) and the acquittal of Catiline from his trial for extortion in Africa, which took place in November 65 (s. 10; cf. Att. I.2). Furthermore, whereas in July 65, Cicero was not even certain who the candidates would be (Att. I.1.10), in the Commentariolum the candidates are well-known, and Antonius and Catiline have emerged as the most dangerous ones (s. 7-8). The date of composition then must be a few months after July 65, at any rate after November 65. On the other hand, advice is contained in it on a considerable amount of canvassing that remains to be done, "paucorum mensum negotium" (s. 1), so that the date must be a few months before the election in July 64. As Quintus was released from the responsibilities of the aedileship at the end of 65, Bücheler suggested January 64 as the date of composition, which is now

generally accepted.[123]

The authenticity of the Commentariolum, as a genuine work of Q. Cicero, has been seriously questioned. Historians who have used it to reconstitute Roman politics in the late Republic, such as Gelzer, Syme, Taylor, have not been too disturbed by this problem, because, on the anti-authenticists' view, the work could not have been composed long after the fall of the Republic, in view of its Latinity and its insight. Whether or not it was composed by Quintus, its value as a historical document remains unassailed. But for a work like the present one, which essays a portrait of Quintus, it is most embarrassing that the only substantial work to have survived under Quintus' name may not be his after all. The biographer of Quintus, unlike the historian of Roman Republican politics, has to make a choice whether or not he will use the Commentariolum in elaborating the portrait of the man. He must take a stand on the question of authenticity. I chose to use the Commentariolum, because, having weighed the arguments on both sides, I have come to the conclusion that it is much more probable that the Commentariolum was written by Quintus than not. I review those arguments.[124]

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123 Bücheler 2-3; hence Beltrami 28; Drumann-Groebe 638; T.P. I, 118; 127; D. Romano 135; Wikarjak 8-9; 18-19; Nardo 9, n. 26; 74. Those who question the authenticity of C.P. concede Jan. 64 as the dramatic date.

124 At the time of the inception of the present work, such a review was badly required. There are now three excellent ones, all of which have appeared in recent years: L. Waibel (1969) 7-10; D. Nardo (1970) 3-56; Nicolet et alii, ap. Temporini I, 3 (1973) 248-256.

The authorship of Quintus has good mss. authority. The Commentariolum has been transmitted in several mss., including H (Harleianus 2682, of 11th century) and F (Berolensis 252, 12th C., previously Erfutensis), which have preserved Fam. IX-XVI, for which they are authoritative mss. The prescript in the mss. which have transmitted the Commentariolum usually bears the name of Quintus as addressor. G.L. Hendrickson, M.I. Henderson and L. Waibel have found cause for suspicion in (a) the fact that M (Mediceus 49.9), which has preserved Fam. I-XVI, and is the oldest and most authoritative ms. for them, does not contain the Commentariolum; and (b) the fact that in H and F, the Commentariolum comes at the end of ad Fam., following the Epistula ad Octavianum, known to be spurious. Waibel thinks that the Commentariolum was transmitted, not with ad Fam., but with ad Octavianum. Nardo has provided a satisfactory explanation, which accounts for the situation, without jeopardising the Commentariolum, and disproves Waibel's theory. Ad Octavianum is also found (without Commentariolum) in Parisinus Lat. 8538 R and Mediceus 49, 19 (1), between Q.F. and ad Att. Both ad Octavianum and Commentariolum are of book-length ("instar libri", " μονόβιβλοι "). Ad Octavianum in H and F was interpolated between two books, Fam. XVI and C.P., just as in the other case it was interpolated between two books, the end of a collection and the beginning of another.[125]

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125 Hendrickson 21-2; Henderson 8; Waibel 100-101; Nardo 31-3. On the mss. of C.P. and the numerous edd. from the princeps of 1471 to Nardo's, see, above all, Nardo 141-204. Also Nicolet et alii, ap. Temporini, 243-7; Watt 179-185 and 190-1, with CQ LII (1958) 32-44. On ad Oct., Watt 186-9.

Since C.P. is fairly safe on grounds of mss. and Latinity, the first systematic attack on its authenticity, by A. Eussner, in 1872, three years after Bücheler's publication of the Q. Cic. Reliquiae, was based mainly on reasons other than these. In the main, they were as follows.[126]

(i) If Quintus wished to give advice to his brother, why should he write a letter instead of simply telling him? The implication in C.P. is that they were both in Rome (s. 19: "hoc biennio ... interfui"; s. 58: "velim hoc mihi dicas.") (Eussner 5-6).

(ii) If Quintus wanted to advise on how to run an electoral campaign, why should he do it, as Bücheler had shown (see, above, 284-5), when the campaign was half over, rather than, as one would expect, at the beginning of it? (Eussner 4).

(iii) Why should Quintus give advice to Cicero on this subject? Cicero, as praetorius, had run three campaigns; Quintus, fresh from aedileship, had run only two. It would have been impudent of Quintus to give such advice to a much more experienced man (Eussner 4-5).[127]

(iv) There are confidentialities in C.P., especially in s. 5, 14 and 51, where Cicero's friendship with Pompey and its self-serving motive are mentioned. It would have been imprudent for Quintus to

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126 Eussner 3-23; of which, 21-3 comprise a few unconvincing arguments about Latinity and mss. tradition, marginal to the main thrust of the attack.

127 Cf. similar feeling: Henderson 8; S.B., Cic., 30: "Marcus must have felt like a grandmother instructed in the art of sucking eggs" or "like Minerva edified by the pig".

divulge such confidentialities, as well as the campaign tactics contained therein (Eussner 20-1).[128]

(v) In 1838, studying Asconius' excerpts from and commentaries on Cicero's In toga candida, speech delivered in the Senate shortly before the consular election, J. Tydeman had observed that there are striking resemblances between C.P. and T.C. in the invectives against Antonius and Catiline.

(a) On Antonius:

"vocem denique audivimus iurantis se Romae iudicio aequo cum homine Graeco certare non posse". (C.P. 8)

"in sua civitate cum peregrino negavit se iudicio aequo certare posse". (T.C. fr. 2, Clark p. 84)[129]

(b) On Catiline's murder of Marius Gratidianus:

"Quid ego nunc dicam petere eum tecum consulatum qui hominem carissimum populo Romano, M. Marium, inspectante populo Romano vitibus per totam urbem ceciderit, ad bustum egerit, ibi omni cruciatu lacerarit, vivo stanti collum gladio sua dextera secuerit, cum sinistra capillum eius a vertice teneret, caput sua manu tulerit, cum inter digitos eius rivi sanguinis fluerent". (C.P. 10)

"Populum vero cum inspectante populo collum secuit hominis maxime popularis quanti faceret ostendit". (T.C. fr. 9, Clark p. 87)

"Quod caput etiam tum plenum animae et spiritus ad Sullam usque ab Ianiculo ad aedem Apollinis manibus ipse suis detulit". (T.C. fr. 19, Clark p. 90)

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128 Especially if they were "Machiavellian" (which they were not: cf. above, 70-4).

129 Noteworthy also is the fact that, in his comment on the excerpt, Asconius (s. 75, Clark p. 84) says "... Antonius iuravitque se ideo eiurare", echoing the "iurantis" of C.P. 8.

(c) On Catiline's alleged incest with the Vestal Fabia:

"nullum in locum tam sanctum ac tam religiosum accessit in quo non, etiam si in aliis culpa non esset, tamen ex sua nequitia dedecoris suspicionem relinqueret". (C.P. 10)

"cum ita vixisti ut non esset locus tam sanctus quo non adventus tuus, etiam cum culpa nulla subesset, crimen afferret". (T.C. fr. 22, Clark p. 91)[130]

(d) On the consequence of a vote for Antonius and Catiline:

"quis enim reperiri potest tam improbus civis qui velit uno suffragio duas in rem publicam sicas destringere?" (C.P. 12)

"Qui postea quam illo quo conati erant Hispaniensi pugiunculo nervos incidere civium Romanorum non potuerunt, duas uno tempore conantur in rem publicam sicas destringere". (T.C. fr. 27, Clark p. 93)[131]

Furthermore, in both C.P. and T.C., similar ammunition is used against Catiline: C.P. 9 = T.C. fr. 7, 2 and 17 (Clark pp. 86, 83-4 and 89), C.P. 10 = T.C. fr. 12, 7, 8 and 4 (Clark pp. 88, 86, 86-7 and 85).[132] C.F. Kumaniecki has argued that the invectives in both followed a similar order. And R. Till has observed the omission of Catiline's alleged fratricide in both.[133] There is thus no doubt, as Bücheler concluded, that one of the two works served as a model for the other. For Eussner it was inconceivable that C.P. should have served as model for T.C.:

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130 It is Ascon. 82, who explains that there is allusion here to Fabia, discreet because she was Terentia's sister. Cf. Sall. Cat. 15.1.

131 Ascon. 83 explains that the "Hispaniensis pugiunculus" was Cn. Piso, and the "duae sicae" obviously Catiline and Antonius.

132 Cf. Nardo 37-9.

133 Kumaniecki 163-4; Till 329; cf. RE II A, 1695; Nardo 87, n. 33.

"humilis atque abiecti ingenii fuisse Marcum, hominem eloquentissimum, ut, quod ipsi emendandum esset commendatum fratris opusculum, expilaret".[134] Therefore C.P. must be posterior to T.C., hence posterior to the election, and therefore a fake.

With this hypothesis in hand, Eussner ransacked the Ciceronian corpus, and came up with fifteen passages from Pro Murena and seventeen from Q.F. I.1, which he argued to have been models for passages in C.P. which bore some resemblance with them (Eussner 14-19).[135]

(vi) Bücheler had observed that the style of C.P. was "sicca sobria invenusta" (7) and the style of the four extant letters of Quintus "prolixior paulo liberiorque" (21). Indeed, as will be seen later (below, 315-329), there are differences (but also similarities) of style between C.P. and Quintus' four letters. Marcus, as was previously seen (above, 255-6; 259), and will again be (below, 323-5), paid high compliments to Quintus' style. Hence, it is argued, there is inconsistency of style between C.P. and what one is entitled to expect from Quintus, in the light of other information (Eussner 6-14).[136]

(vii) Inconsistency between the cool calculating mind behind C.P. and the passionate character of Quintus. C.P. shows no sign of the

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134 Bücheler 8-10; Eussner 16: opinion shared by Henderson 8, and Nisbet 84 and 86.

135 See also Waibel, 11-52, for the most complete array of these and other adduced parallels, with detailed arguments.

136 Similarly Waibel 80-3.

prominent feature of his character, namely his iracundia (Eussner 20).[137]

(viii) An anachronism. C.P. 19: "sodalitates ... tibi obligasti ... Q. Galli". Ascon. 78, commenting on T.C. fr. 12 (Clark p. 88), observes: "Q. Gallium, quem postea reum ambitus defendit". Cicero appears to have defended Gallius after the delivery of T.C. and C.P. 19 to have anticipated that defence (Eussner 21).

From these arguments Eussner concluded that C.P. must belong to post-Republican literature, when it was current practice, as literary exercise or for purposes of forgery, to imitate previous writers and pass off compositions of a later date as genuine. The author of C.P. was a clever impersonator of Q. Cicero.

G.L. Hendrickson, writing in 1892 and then in 1903, added weight to the thesis against authenticity. Considering Eussner's thesis "inadequate", he furnished more passages not only from Cicero, but also from Horace and Publilius Syrus and showed verbal resemblances with passages in C.P: C.P. 17 = Cael. 16; C.P. 9 = Har. Resp. 42; C.P. 54 = Hor. Sat. I.3.58; C.P. 45 = Publ. Syr. ap. Aul. Gell. N.A. XVII.14.[138] Hendrickson's strongest point, however, consisted in reconsideration of four C.P. passages with four passages from Cicero, where the verbal resemblance had already been noted by Eussner: C.P. 12 = T.C. fr. 27 (quoted above, 289, (d)), C.P. 55-6 = Mur. 43, C.P. 52 = Mur. 44 and

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137 Similarly, with more substantial development, Waibel 83-8.

138 For details, see Hendrickson (1903) 9-10; criticisms of Eussner: 3; 5.

C.P. 43 = Mur. 21. He argued that, in each case, the C.P. passage did not only show identity of thought and verbal resemblance with the Cicero equivalent, but involved a misunderstanding, or a truncation, or a generalisation from a specific point, of the Cicero equivalent. Thus in T.C. fr. 27 (above, 289, (d)), the metaphor of the two daggers is antithetical to and an organic outgrowth from the Spanish stiletto. The image is natural and effective. In C.P. 12, on the other hand, the antithesis is between "uno suffragio" and "duas sicas", which has "frigid effect", is "trivial" and "a random shot at rhetorical pyrotechnics", result of a misunderstanding of the T.C. antithesis through the juxtaposition there of "duas" and "uno".[139] In C.P. 56, the advice against "accusationem meditari" is a generalisation from and therefore explainable by the particular case of the candidate Sulpicius who, in Mur. 43-6, ruined his chances of election by prosecuting rival candidates for bribery.[140] Thus Hendrickson attempted to show that the priority of the Ciceronian equivalents need not be assumed, because of Cicero's greatness, but was demonstrable by an examination of the passages themselves.

Noting that C.P. was written in observance of scholastic rules, with elaborate divisions and subdivisions, and of the Ciceronian canons of prose-rhythm; noting also some similarities of language and situation with the (pseudo?) Sallustian "ad Caesarem senem suasoriae", Hendrickson assigned C.P. to the literature of fictitious declamation ("suasoria")

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139 Hendrickson 5.

140 Hendrickson 6-7.

of the early Empire.[141]

Anti-authenticism made few converts. Mommsen, who, before Eussner's work, had thought that C.P. denoted both impudence and imprudence on the part of Quintus, now began to call it the "so-called" work of Quintus. A. Gudemann and L. Gurlitt were inclined to regard it as a fraud. But none of them gave any indication of such conviction as Hendrickson's, who felt he had "conclusive evidence", "conclusive proof", and did "not hesitate to reaffirm his certainty".[142]

Far more numerous scholars continued to maintain or came actively to the defence of authenticity: H. Wirz, Tyrrell, P. Koetschau, F. Antoine, A. Beltrami, F. Leo, J. Ziehen, H. Peter, Th. Schiche, W. Sternkopf, F. Luterbacher, E. Norden, E. Bruhn, Schanz and Strachan-Davidson.[143] The defence, varying in some details, consisted essentially of the following response.

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141 Hendrickson 11-21; cf. Bücheler 7-8. Pseudo Sallust: even of the Sallustian letters, the spuriousness is not proven to general satisfaction: see Taylor, PP, 185-6; for a detailed review of the problem, H. Last, "On the Sallustian 'Suasoriae'", CQ XVII (1923) 87-100, 151-162. (Last himself considers the second 'suasoria' as spurious, but the first one as possibly genuine).

142 Mommsen, De Collegiis et sodaliciis Romanorum, Kiel 1843, p. 41; RG III (1856) 169; RS III (1887) p. 484, n. 3; p. 497, n. 3 (see details and citations in Waibel 8, n. 10); Gudemann, TAPhA XXV (1894) 154, n. 2; Gurlitt, Burs. Jahresber. XXVI (1898) 3-4; Hendrickson 3; 10.

143 Wirz, Phil. Anz. V (1873) 498-505; Tyrrell, Hermathena, V (1877) 40-59, and T.P. I (1904) 116-132; Koetschau, De M. Tull. Cic. orat. in toga cand. habita, Leipzig, 1880, 14-21; Antoine (1888) pp. xvii and xlvi; Beltrami, "De comm. pet. Q. Tull. Cic. vindicando", Ann. del scuol. norm. sup. Pisa, IX (1892) 1-75; (again, "Il piccolo manuale del candidato attribuito a Q. Tull. Cicerone", Comm. dell'Ateneo di

(i) Quintus wrote a letter because either Marcus was away in Gaul for a few months as a legatus (Att. I.1.2, cf. Phil. II.76 = Broughton II, suppl. p. 64) when C.P. was composed (Wirz 501, Beltrami 25); or Quintus was away for a short while in early 64: "dicas" in s. 58, which Bücheler (3) had taken to imply the presence of both in Rome is often used for "scribas" (T.P. I, 121). This point is not to be laboured. Authentic or not, C.P. is not a genuine letter. It is artificial in the sense that it is polished up for a wider audience than the recipient. Hence the presence of addressor and addressee in the same place would be of no consequence.

(ii) Quintus wrote at this time, because there was research involved, and he was released from the aedileship at the end of 65. Besides Marcus wrote Q.F. I.1. with advice on how to govern a province after his brother had been governor for nearly two years (Bruhn 254, T.P. I, 120). Tyrrell observed that a forger would probably have timed C.P., as one would normally expect, at the beginning of the campaign, to which the opponent could reply that the "forger" was following T.C. and so timed C.P. in the same way. Nardo has now nailed the timing argument. He has pointed out that only Antonius and Catiline were mentioned in T.C.,

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Brescia, 1899, 101 ff.); Leo, Gött. Nachr., 1895, 447-50; Ziehen, "Echtheitsfragen der römischen Literaturgeschichte", Berichte des Fr. D. Hochstifts z. Frankf. a. M. XVII (1901) 84; Peter, Der Brief in der römischen Literatur, Leipzig 1901, 90; Schiche, WklPh. XXI (1904) 61-3; Sternkopf, BphW. XXIV (1904) 265-72; 296-301; Luterbacher, Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen XXXIX (1905) 287-92; Norden, Hermes, XL (1905) 525; Bruhn, Jlb. Iahr. XXI (1908) 254-263; Schanz, Röm. Lit. I, 2 (1909) pp. 407-9, s. 179; S. Davidson, Problems in Roman Criminal Law, Oxford 1912, II, 89 and Cic. (1894) 91-8.

among Cicero's competitors (Asc. 74: "contra solos Catilinam et Antonium"), whereas C.P. mentions P. Galba and L. Cassius too (s. 7). So, if there was a "forger", he was not following T.C. servilely, so that Tyrrell's argument, with this clarification, is valid. More importantly, Nardo has explained why C.P. names Galba and Cassius (but not Q. Cornificius and L. Licinius Sacerdos, also competitors, mentioned by Asc. 82) and how this is related to the timing of C.P. They were nobiles, and the composition of C.P. was undertaken, as a consequence of the coitio between Antonius and Catiline (cf. Asc. 74), in some measure, to alert and win over the nobiles.[144]

(iii) There was no impudence in the writing of C.P. Quintus himself conceded that he was not presuming to teach his brother who was more experienced ("non ut aliquid ex his novi addisceres" (s. 1); "haec ... putavi non melius scire me quam te" (s. 58)): he claimed simply that he had collected and classified information for his brother's convenience, because his brother had too much work to do this himself ("dispersa atque infinita ... ratione ac distributione sub uno aspectu ponerentur" (s. 1)); "facilius his tuis occupationibus conligere unum in locum" (s. 58)) (Beltrami 61, Leo 447-8, Bruhn 254, T.P. I, 120). Cicero appreciated help from Quintus (Q.F. I.1.18; 1.43: T.P. I, 119-122). Besides Cicero wrote Q.F. I.1 to give advice to Quintus on how to govern a province, when Quintus had been a governor for two years, and he, Cicero, had never governed a province (Schiche 63). Nardo (45-6) has

144 Nardo 56-113.

added two good points, on the first of which Bücheler (5-6) had already touched: Quintus had digested recent material on the law about ambitio and outlined how to run a legal campaign; he had also collected material on Antonius and Catiline which Cicero might use or threaten to use in accusations against them.[145]

(iv) One of several explanations is possible, without recourse to anti-authenticism. (a) C.P. was a purely private manual, so that the confidentialities were natural (Wirz 503, Koetschau 16, Leo 448-9, and, recently, Carotenuto 29, Till 316). (b) C.P. was meant to be published, but, consistently with Quintus' character, (cf. above, 106-9), it contained indiscretions, which caused Marcus not to polish it up for publication, as requested in s. 58 (Bruhn 258-60, Clift 102-3). (c) Quintus had in mind primarily a private manual for Marcus, and a published handbook as an ulterior design, when susceptibilities would have been healed by time (Beltrami 22, 70-1, T.P. I, 127). And now (d) C.P. was circulated in a very restricted circle, mainly nobiles. Pompey was not to read it, and besides he was far away (Nardo 76-7; 79-80; 112).

(v) That between C.P. and T.C., one used the other as a model in the passages noted is agreed among all. The T.C. versions are generally more delicate or more effective, although (Schiche 62) in T.C. fr. 27, the antithesis between "uno" and "duas" is not to be denied, pace Hendrickson. But it has not been demonstrated that they were prior.

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145 Cf. above, 68-9; 72-4. R. Till's thesis, 335-6, is that the collection of material for prosecution was the purpose of C.P. But this, if true, can only be true of the invective part, s. 8-12.

A priori it is probable that an improved version is the second, not the first. In the present case, it is even more so, since C.P. 58 included a request for improvements: "tu, si quid mutandum esse videbitur aut omnino tollendum, aut si quid erit praeteritum, velim ..." The T.C. passages were from the version of C.P. which Marcus had improved, so that they were not quite plagiaristic (Beltrami 51, T.P. I, 120-1). Alternatively, since Marcus did not consider it prudent to polish and publish C.P., he used passages from it to compliment his brother. It was not a theft from Quintus, but a homage to him (Leo 449, Sternkopf 297, Bruhn 258-63). C.F. Kumaniecki has made the acute observation that T.C. was delivered on the day immediately after an attack on Cicero in the Senate by the tribune Q. Mucius Orestinus (T.C. fr. 6, Clark p. 86: "hesterno die"), so that it had to be a hastily prepared speech in the afternoon before delivery. It is understandable that Cicero used readily available material prepared by Quintus.[146]

Resemblances of phrases from C.P. with phrases from other speeches of Cicero, Q.F. I.1, Horace and Publilius Syrus are as normal as could be when two writers touch a similar topic, write in the same language and are contemporary. This includes Pro Murena, as it was dealing with the subject of election, in the passages which have some resemblance with C.P. (Wirz 504, Beltrami 51-60, T.P. I, 125-6, Schiche

146 Kumaniecki 165-6; thus also Nardo 38. Great orators can very well use material and phrases prepared by lesser ones. For a modern comparison, see A. Schlesinger on J.F. Kennedy, "A thousand days"; Fawcett 1967, passim and esp. 71-2.

63). Leo (449), Sternkopf (296), Bruhn (257) were more inclined to admit the hypothesis of a direct relationship between C.P. and Mur., explainable in the same way as their explanation of the C.P.-T.C. relationship. In any case, the C.P.-Mur. relationship remains very uncertain.

(vi) Differences in style between C.P. and the four surviving letters from Quintus are due to the fact that it is a different kind of letter. Like Q.F. I.1, it is an artificial letter. Similar differences can be observed, in Marcus' case too, between Q.F. I.1 and most of his letters. The "inferiority" of C.P. must not be exaggerated, and, in speculating about Quintus' "superior" style, allowance must be made for Marcus' partiality when he complimented his brother (Beltrami 65-9, T.P. I, 119-20, 122-3).

(vii) Again, C.P. being a different kind of letter, an impersonal one, it is natural that Quintus' iracundia should not feature in it. A "forger" might have thought of including it (T.P. I, 123).

(viii) If there is a contradiction between C.P. 19 and Asc. 78 on the trial of Q. Gallius, why should it be assumed that Asconius, who was not a contemporary, was accurate, and the author of C.P. inaccurate? (T.P. I, 127). But there need not be contradiction, because one of several explanations is possible: (a) The Q. Gallius of Asconius was not the same person as the Q. Gallius of C.P. (Bücheler 39). (b) (A more probable explanation) C.P. says "obligasti", not "defendisti". Cicero had accepted Gallius' brief before C.P. and defended Gallius after T.C. (Beltrami 72-3; cf. Nisbet 84). (c) It is not quite clear what Asconius

meant by "postea". He could have meant not "post hanc orationem", but "post hoc gladiatorium munus", the matter (fr. 12) on which he was commenting (Wirz 502, Leo 450 n. 1, and, more recently, Carotenuto 24). (d) Cicero may have defended Gallius twice, the second time on the charge of ambitus, to which Asconius referred (Balsdon 249, Wikarjak 25-6, in response to Henderson's new attack, on which hereafter).[147]

In addition to refuting the points raised by Eussner and Hendrickson, the authenticists urged three main points in favour of authenticity.

(i) In general, references to Quintus in Q.F. tend to confirm authenticity. Two details of special interest: Epicharmus' dictum in C.P. 39 is repeated in Q.F. III.1.23. Quintus possessed Theophrastus' περὶ φιλοτιμίας (Att. II.3.3), which might have been a source for C.P. (T.P. I, 119).[148]

(ii) The content of C.P. includes such detailed and precise knowledge as only a contemporary of Cicero, intimately involved in his campaign, could have had. (T.P. I, 131-2). There is no hindsight wisdom or such knowledge as a later writer might have included. For example, Antonius the ultimate winner is not presented as more favourite than Catiline (T.P. I, 117-8). Nardo (132), more recently, has drawn attention to the absence of loci communes, present in other literature

147 See also Nardo 59, n. 13.

148 There could have been little resemblance between Theophrastus' treatise and C.P. which dealt with a Roman real situation. Anti-authenticists will argue that details in Q.F. do not confirm authenticity. The "forger" familiarised himself with Q.F. If that were true, he would have to be an extremely clever and painstaking forger indeed.

about Cicero the political figure, such as "concordia", "consensus bonorum". Strachan-Davidson noted, what he considered the best proof of authenticity: the absence of any mention of the first Catilinarian conspiracy, a myth which took shape after 64 and was current in stories about Catiline.[149]

(iii) C.P. can be ascribed to a genre which existed in the late Republic, so that there is no need to resort to later times to find its genre. The elaborate "partitio" or "distributio", which Hendrickson observed, was an archaic feature, not a post-Republican invention. Invent., Brut. 302 and Quinct. 35 prove that Cicero had known and practised it (Leo 448, T.P. I, 129, Sternkopf 271-2). Both C.P. and Q.F. I.1 observed this, as well as prose-rhythm, elevated diction and omission of Greek quotations. Unlike a "suasoria", where the speaker argued which course of action should be taken and why, both C.P. and Q.F. I.1 consist of instructions of how a job is to be done. Varro had written for Pompey, prospective consul but inexperienced politician, a "commentarius εἰσαγωγικός" on how to conduct proceedings in the Senate. He later wrote a second version of this in the form of a letter to a man called Oppianus (Aul. Gell. N.A. XIV.7.1). This letter, Q.F. I.1 and C.P. belonged to the same genre, the letter of instruction, the brochure commissioned for a specific person, but designed for ulterior use by a wider range of readers (Bücheler 6, Beltrami 38-47, T.P. I, 119, Bruhn 256-7).

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149 S. Davidson, Problems of the Roman Criminal Law, Oxford 1912, II, 89.

The authenticists were sometimes criticised for having merely refuted their opponents, rather than demonstrate authenticity. But, as Tyrrell remarked (I, 129), the burden of proof was on the anti-authenticists, and, in the nature of the case, refutation of their arguments was the most that authenticists could do. The vast majority of scholars were satisfied with these refutations, and continued to regard C.P. as an authentic work of Quintus. Thus Sihler, Petersson, Rice-Holmes, Hosius, Groebe, Wiemer, Last, Kroll, H.H. How, Gelzer, Ciaceri, Haskell, Münzer, E.H. Clift, Carcopino, Syme, L.R. Taylor and Constans. The words of Münzer appeared to mark the death of the controversy: "Die Bedenken gegen die Echtheit dieser Schrift können als beseitigt geiten."[150]

But there was a resurrection. Tyrrell had made a pointed remark on the nature of the evidence that would have to be adduced to prove spuriousness: the presence in C.P. of knowledge that Quintus could not have had in 64, or the ignorance therein of some fact that Quintus must have known (I, 126-7). In 1950, M.I. Henderson revived the controversy, with an attempt at proofs precisely of this nature.[151] Conceding the inconclusiveness of Hendrickson's determination of priority of passages on

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150 Sihler (1914) 121-5; Petersson (1919) 11; 194-8; R. Holmes, Rom. Rep. (1923) I, 450-1; Schanz-Hosius I (1927) 551, s. 179; Drumann-Groebe VI (1929) 638-9; Wiemer (1930) 2; 38-41; Last, CAH IX (1932) 894-5; Kroll, Kultur (1933) 71; How, Cic. Letters, (1926) II, 34; Gelzer, Nob. (1969) 11, n. 73; 35 (and again, Cic. (1969) 66-7); Ciaceri (1939) I, 173; Constans (1940) I, 61-3; Haskell (1942) 163-6; Münzer (1943) 1288-9; Clift (1945) 102-7; Carcopino, Secrets (1947) I, 156; César (1968) 145; Rev. Hist. CCII (1949) 76 (against Piganiol, Rev. Hist. CCI (1949) 234); Syme, Rom. Rev. (1939) 11; JRS XXXVII (1947) 200; Taylor, PP (1949) 64-6.

151 Henderson, JRS XL (1950) 8-21.

the basis of superiority, Henderson concentrated on subject-matter rather than style. She made five points.

(i) C.P. 9 describes Catiline as "natus in patris egestate, educatus in sororiis[152] stupris, corroboratus in caede civium". Catiline's father was not poor (Sall. Cat. 14.2): Clodius' father was (Varro, RR III.16.2). Catiline was never accused of incest with his sister, not by Cicero, Sallust or Asconius: this accusation against Clodius was a commonplace. The author of C.P. has slipped here, attributing to one arch-enemy of Cicero what was alleged about a later arch-enemy. Hendrickson previously observed the resemblance of this passage with Har. Resp. 42: "qui post patris mortem ... germanitatis stupris volutatus, deinde iam robustus ...", which is precisely about Clodius. Hence the resemblance is not fortuitous, but due to this error of the author of C.P. (Henderson 10).

(ii) C.P. 8 refers to Antonius as having suffered "bona proscripta". Cicero, T.C. fr. 11, Clark p. 87, and Asconius 75 are specific about the nature of Antonius' condemnation in 76: it was a "saltuum addictio", as a result of a civil trial, not a "proscriptio bonorum", a fate which he suffered later, in 59. Here C.P. has made a chronological error (Henderson 10-11).

(iii) The defence of Gallius again (cf. above, 291, 298-9) - another anachronism. Henderson insists on Asconius' precise knowledge of dates of Cicero's orations, as evidenced by Asc. 1 (In Pisonianam), and

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152 "Sororiis" is Watt's emendation. Mss read sorore H^1DV: sororis B: sororum: H^cF.

the date of Gallius' trial must be in the late fifties, rather than soon after T.C. in 64, because at the time of the trial, M. Calidius, the prosecutor was "summus orator", that is, had achieved his maturity, - which could not be the case earlier (cf. Brut. 277-8; Fam. VIII.4.1: Henderson 11).

(iv) In C.P. 19, "sodalitates" is used with the meaning of "political clubs" ("collegia sodalicia"), a meaning which the term did not acquire until, in 58, Clodius revived the collegia under this honorable name. Previously "sodalitates" had purely religious and social functions (cf. Asc. 6-7; 67; Q.F. II.3.5; Planc. 37: Henderson 12-3). Again then an anachronistic anticipation in C.P.

(v) In C.P. 33, reference to Cicero's "humanitas", anticipation of a Ciceronian concept developed in his philosophical works, written afterwards (Henderson 13).

In addition, Henderson argued against one point advocated by authenticists in favour of authenticity. She was not impressed by the information contained in C.P., and thought that information about such obscure persons as Sabidius and Panthera (Antonius' supporters: s.8), Sapala, Carvilius and Pompilius (Catiline's supporters: s. 10) could be obtained under the Principate. Asconius' detailed commentaries attest to great interest in details of the Late Republic (Henderson 14-5). Henderson explained why the first Catilinarian conspiracy was not included in C.P. (cf. above, 300) . C.P. shares the omission of the first Catilinarian conspiracy, in talking about Catiline, with Velleius, Livy, Dio, Plutarch and Florus. The myth was presumably killed by Sallust and

Livy. But it was a myth which came to be of interest primarily because of Caesar's alleged involvement in it. When Suetonius rediscovered it, he told it as a Caesar story, without mentioning Catiline's name (Iul. 9; 17). Hence the omission of this story in the invective against Catiline in C.P. is perfectly reconcilable with the hypothesis of post-Republican authorship. (Henderson 13-4).[153]

Henderson's attack shook the confidence of Syme. He, who had written in 1947, that C.P., an "admirable and contemporary treatise" was "secure", as regards authenticity, felt uncertain in 1958, when he hinted "something of a prepossession could subsist in favour" of the Commentariolum.[154] Watt, editing the Oxford text in the same year, became an ardent convert: "non possum", he wrote (179), "satis admirari quo modo illud aliquis sibi persuadere potuerit, hoc opusculum multis sane numeris ineptum a Quinto Cicerone re vera compositum esse atque ad Marcum fratrem epistulae loco missum". In 1961, another convert, R.G.M. Nisbet, made four additional points against authenticity.[155]

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153 Henderson concluded (16-21) by rejecting the classification of C.P., Q.F. I.1, and Varro's Commentarius in one genre, insisting on unepistolary features in C.P., such as invectives and rigid partitio, etc. She preferred to assign C.P. to "prosopopeia" under the Principate (cf. Quintil. Inst. Or. III.8.49), as against Hendrickson's "suasoria". Like most anti-authenticists, she believes Q.F.I.1 inspired the composition of C.P. Cf. Magie II, 1244, n. 13, rejecting Q.F. I.1 as well, as spurious. See also Waibel 56-79, for arguments about the genre, and 94-9, for arguments that all the factual information contained in C.P. could have been amassed by a post-republican author.

154 Syme, JRS XXXVII (1947) 200, and Mus. Helv. XV (1958) 48.

155 Nisbet JRS LI (1961) 84-7.

(i) C.P. 2: "non potest qui dignus habetur patronus consularium indignus consulatu putari". Another anachronism, since Cicero defended his first consularis, C. Piso, in 63 (Flacc. 98). In addition, it resembles T.C. fr. 6 (Clark p. 86), addressed to Q. Mucius Orestinus: "... me esse dignum consulatu negabas ... me potissimum fortunarum tuarum patronum esse voluisti". The C.P. rhetoric is artificial, generalised from the real rhetoric in T.C. applying to the specific defence of Orestinus (Nisbet 84-5).

(ii) C.P. 9: "Alter vero, di boni! quo splendore est? Primum nobilitate eadem qua † Catilina †. Num maiore? Non. Sed virtute. Quam ob rem? " Mur. 73 has a similar imaginary dialectic and "non" similarly employed. There the rhetoric is about a real case, here it is artificial. C.P. 9 must be a generalisation from Mur. 73 (Nisbet 86).

(iii) C.P. 10 (quoted above 288 (b)): it is not specified before whose "bustus" Catiline murdered Marius Gratidianus. The author seems to have assumed it was the bust of Marius, when in fact it was that of Lutatius Catulus (Sen. de ira III.18.2; Flor. III.21.26: Nisbet 86-7).

(iv) C.P. 10: "ex curia ... ab atriis ... ex equestri censu", A C B, is not the usual Ciceronian order, which is A B C (cf. Cat. I.21; Flacc. 4; Dom. 96; Sest. 30; etc: Nisbet 87).

The arguments of Henderson and Nisbet have been refuted by G. Carotenuto (1956), D. Romano (1961), R. Till (1962), J. Balsdon (1963), J. Wikarjak (1966), W. McDermott (1970), D. Nardo (1970), J.S. Richardson

(1971) and Cl. Nicolet (1972-3).[156]

Against Henderson:

(i) "Bona patria" in Sall. Cat. 14.2 concerns the general class of young men with Catiline, rather than Catiline himself. Catiline is taunted with "inopia rei familiaris" in 5.7. "Sororia stupra" in C.P. 9 need not mean the incest of Catiline with his sister Sergia, but the sexual enormities of Sergia with others (as Bücheler originally interpreted). Besides Catiline too was charged with sexual licence (Sall. Cat. 15.1). Charges of poverty and sexual perversion were standard commonplaces of invective, which account for the resemblance of C.P. 9 with

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156 Carotenuto, AFLN, VI (1956) 20-32 (The most original, systematic refutation of Henderson, whom Balsdon ignored. I have reservations, however, on his interpretation of Q.'s character: his argument is that the "mediocrity" of C.P. fits Q., the mediocre man). Romano, Atti Accad. di Palermo, XXII.4 (1961) 133-40 (v. general, only minor references to problem of authenticity). Till, Historia XI (1962) 315-338 (not a "waste of time", as Balsdon dismisses it: not primarily on the question of authenticity, it makes some good points in favour in the course of discussion). Balsdon, CQ XIII (1963) 242-50 (good systematic refutation of Henderson, but not fair to Carotenuto and Till). Wikarjak, Brochure électorale, (1966) (concerned with the aim of C.P. References, passim, to the problem of authenticity, and one section devoted to it (pp. 24-7), contain no new arguments.) McDermott, Historia, XIX (1970), 384-5, deals with Nisbet's point (i) (305, above). Nardo's whole part I (pp. 3-137) is the most valuable thing on the question: esp. 3-28, for a complete refutation of Nisbet; 29-58, for an abundantly documented refutation of other arguments; and 129-137, for the best arguments in favour. Richardson, Historia XX (1971), 436-42, points out the improbability of a rhetorical exercise including the opening s. 1 and closing s. 58, which break the illusion, and only make sense as a genuine covering note. Nicolet, REL L (1972) 163-186, Mélanges W. Seston, Paris (1974), 381-395, and ap. Temporini, Aufstieg, (1973), I, 3, 239-277, is valuable for the history of the controversy and, above all, for the full prosopographical study of names mentioned in C.P., as argument for authenticity.

Har. Resp. 42 (Carotenuto 21-2, Till 328, Balsdon 246-7, Nardo 38, n. 31). Richardson (437-8; 441-2) suggests that, even if there were a direct relationship between C.P. 9 and Har. Resp. 42, it could be explained by the fact that, at the time of the composition of Har. Resp. in 56, Cicero was going over material from the time of his candidature for consulship, including C.P. presumably (Sest. 11; Att. IV.6.4; 11.2; Fam. V. 12.8-10).

(ii) "Bona proscripta" can be used of a civil trial such as Antonius' in 76: witness Quinct. 56; Leg. Agr. I.4; Flacc. 74; Att. VI.1.23; Q.F. II.5.3 (Carotenuto 22-3, Till 323, Balsdon 247, Nardo 85, n. 25).

(iii) The defence of Gallius. Henderson's interpretation of "summus orator", as necessarily implying that the orator was great at the time of the speech and not before, is forced. But, even if Henderson were right, it would still leave open solutions (a) and (d) (see 298-9,above, which include references to Carotenuto, Balsdon, Wikarjak and Nardo).

(iv) "Sodalitates" in C.P. 19, as in C.P. 16, need not mean "collegia sodalicia" (cf. "sodalis" in Mur. 56). That "sodalitates" acquired the meaning of "collegia sodalicia" after the revival of the collegia in 58, is Henderson's own speculation (Carotenuto 25-7, Balsdon 247).

(v) Well before he elaborated his philosophical concept of "humanitas", Cicero referred to "humanitas" in himself, in 62 (Fam. V.2. 9), in Atticus, in 61 (Att. I.13.1), in Quintus, in 60-59 (see above, 110, n. 167) (Carotenuto 28-9, Balsdon 247).

On the omission of the first Catilinarian conspiracy, Strachan-Davidson's point remains valid, despite Henderson. The relevant consideration is that T.C. fr. 25 (Clark p. 92) refers to it, and the "forger" was supposed to have perused and imitated T.C. in the invective against Catiline (Balsdon 247, Nardo 42, n. 50).

Nisbet has been thoroughly refuted by Nardo.

(i) Piso, who was already consularis at the time of Cicero's candidature was undoubtedly expecting a trial well before his defence in 63. He is likely to have negotiated a defence by Cicero long before the trial in 63: for, already, in July 65, Cicero was on good terms with him (cf. Att. I.1.2: "excurremus ... legati ad Pisonem"). The phrase "[in] dignus consulatu" is too much a commonplace to postulate a relation between C.P. 2 and T.C. fr. 6 on the basis of its occurrence in the two places (Nardo 11-13, McDermott, Comm. Pet., 384-5).[157]

(ii) There is imaginary dialectic similar to C.P. 9, not only in Mur. 73, but also in Quinct. 71, Rosc. Amer. 54, Rosc. Com. 41, Div. Caec. 33, Verr. I.20, II.2.106, Cluent. 92 (Nardo 15-6). This kind of dialectic is a rhetorical commonplace.[158]

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157 McDermott goes on (385) to use the occurrence of "patronus consularium" in C.P. 2 as, in fact, argument for authenticity. An imperial rhetor, he suggests, would not have written this, because, in his whole career, Cic. defended only three consulares and lost two of the three cases. I find this too subtle.

158 Nardo also shows that other cases of verbal resemblances with Mur., advocated by Eussner, Hendrickson and Nisbet, are rhetorical commonplaces: (a) C.P. 17 = Mur. 69 (tribules, vicini, clientes): cf. Rosc. Amer. 47; Div. Caec. 57; Har. Resp. 56; Vat. 39; Planc. 43 (Nardo 17); (b) C.P. 24 = Mur. 47 (in suis vicinitatibus et municipiis

(iii) The hypothesis that a post-Republican "forger", as clever and meticulous as the presumed author of C.P., mistook the "bustus" of Catulus for that of Marius is unconvincing. It was a well-known fact in post-Republican antiquity that Marius Gratidianus had been murdered before the bust of Catulus (cf. Val. Max. IX.2.1; Oros. V.21.7). The omission of Catulus' name in C.P. 10 is dramatic and effective (Nardo 26-8).

(iv) The unusual order in C.P. 10 (A C B for the Ciceronian A B C) is not due to ignorance of the usual Ciceronian order on the part of the author of C.P. C.P. 29 and 53 show that he knew it. In C.P. 10, he deliberately changed the order as a rhetorical device (Nardo 28).

Moreover contemporary authenticists, in particular Nardo, have considerably strengthened two of the three arguments advanced by their predecessors, at the turn of the century, in favour (see, above, 299-300): (i) C.P. contains details which a later writer is unlikely to have known or given; (ii) C.P. can be ascribed to a well-known genre in the late Republic much more satisfactorily than to post-Republican "suasoria" or "prosopopeia".

(i) Thus Nardo observes that, whereas T.C. fr. 2 says "cum peregrino", its equivalent in C.P. 8 is "cum Graeco homine"[159] (see passage, above, 288, (a)). The C.P. version is more specific, hence not a copy

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gratiosi): cf. Rosc. Amer. 15; Cluent. 11; Planc. 21; 47; Fam. I.3.1 (Nardo 17-8); (c) C.P. 34-5 = Mur. 44: see Nardo 19-21; (d) C.P. 56 = Mur. 43 (accusationem meditari): see Nardo 22-4.

159 Asconius, though (Dr. Stockton aptly points out to me), in his comment (s. 75), does mention "Graeci".

of T.C. C.P. mentions several names connected with the two main adversaries: Sabidius and Panthera, henchmen of Antonius (s. 8); Curius, Annius, Sapala, Carvilius, Pompilius and Vettius, friends of Catiline (s. 10); Titinius, Nanneius, Tanusius, Q. Caecilius and Marius Gratidianus, victims of Catiline (s. 9). Sabidius, Panthera, Sapala, Carvilius and Pompilius are obscure supporters, not attested elsewhere. Henderson said that such names could be obtained from the missing parts of T.C. Nardo has now shown that in the case of the victims of Catiline, the supposed "forger" could not have obtained his additional information from the missing parts of T.C., because Asconius enumerates the victims of Catiline mentioned by Cicero, and the list does not include Titinius and Nanneius (Asc. 75: "Nominatim etiam postea Cicero dicit quos occiderit, Q. Caecilium, M. Volumnium, L. Tanusium. M. etiam Mari Gratidiani ...")[160] In his attempt to identify the friends of Catiline, named in C.P. 10, including Sapala (emended to Scapula), Carvilius and Pompilius, Nicolet has shown that these individuals may be attested in sources outside C.P. But these sources are so diverse, in literature and inscriptions, that it is highly improbable that a post-Republican writer would have carried out the elaborate research required to track down these obscure individuals.[161]

(ii) Even if Henderson is correct in rejecting the ascription of C.P. to the genre of the letter of instruction (cf. above, 300

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160 Nardo, 42-3, n. 51; cf. Henderson 14.

161 Nicolet, REL L (1972) 163-186; ap. Temporini, Aufstieg, 257-277.

and 304, n. 153, there is no need to resort to the Principate to find a genre into which it could fit. Nardo has argued strongly for the view that it was a letter of propaganda, a well-attested genre in the Late Republic. Cicero addressed such letters to Pompey (Schol. Bob. Planc. 85) and Caesar (Att. VIII.9.1-2; XII.40.2; IV.5.1). Petersson, Ciaceri, Carcopino and Wikarjak hold a similar view. So do probably Pichon, Jal and Fallu, who ascribe Q.F. I.1 to this genre.[162] This kind of hypothesis is a far more satisfactory solution to the problems presented by C.P. than the hypothesis of a post-Republican impersonator. More problems are created than solved by the hypothesis that, several years after the consular election of 63, somebody wrote an exercise on how a novus homo in 64-3 should have conducted his campaign, a subject of no practical value, unpromising of a debate about a moral or practical choice, of sustained invective or of particular antiquarian interest.

To this defence of C.P. as an authentic work of Quintus, I have two small contributions of my own to make. They are concerned with the problem of verbal resemblances between the writings of Quintus and Marcus.

1. Among the meagre remains of letters written by Quintus (other than C.P.), we have, by chance, one which dealt with a subject on which Marcus too wrote, at about the same time, in a letter which has survived. When, in 50-49, Tiro was held up by illness at Patrae, on the way home from Cilicia, both Quintus and Marcus wrote to him from Italy.

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162 Nardo, esp. 76-7; 79-80; 112; 114-6; Petersson 198, n. 11; Ciaceri I, 173-4; Carcopino, César, (1968) 145; Wikarjak, passim; for Pichon, Jal and Fallu, see, above, 112, n. 177.

(a) Quintus wrote (Fam. XVI.8):	(b) Marcus wrote (Fam. XVI.12.6):
"usum ... desiderando sentimus"	"operam desideravi tuam".
"ne ... navigationi et viae per hiemem committas"	"cave ... committas ... aut hieme naviges".
"valens ... venias"	"si salvus veneris".
"effice ... ut valeas et ..."	"da operam ut valeas et ..."

The resemblances in thought and terminology are obvious. The two brothers, as has been seen, shared much in upbringing, education, tastes, ideals, career and leisure, friends, problems, and a variety of experiences. There was exchange and mutual influence between them. Hence the resemblances noticed above are not surprising, but natural. And they make highly suspect the methodology which consists in attacking the authenticity of C.P. on the basis of verbal resemblances between parts of it and excerpts from the Ciceronian corpus.

2. It has already been observed by previous scholars that there is a resemblance between C.P. 39: "Ἐπιχάρμειον illud teneto, nervos atque artus esse sapientiae non temere credere", and Q.F. III.1.23: "soleo admirari ... nihil te recordari ... de praeceptis Epicharmi, γνῶθι πῶς ἄλλῳ κέχρηται ". It has not been noticed that there is another dictum in C.P., which recurs like this in Q.F. In C.P. 55, the author advises Marcus: "fac ut te bene noris, id est ut intellegas eum esse te qui ... possis". In Q.F. III.5.7, Marcus advises Quintus: "Cessator esse noli et illud 'γνῶθι σεαυτόν' noli putare ad adrogantiam minuendam solum esse dictum verum etiam ut bona nostra norimus". It is quite improbable that the two are unrelated occurrences of the

commonplace Delphic admonition, because, in both instances, the meaning is the reverse of the ordinary one: not "know your limitations", but "know your full potential ... and dare!" If this pair, as the pair about Epicharmus, are related, as they seem to be,[163] either of two hypotheses must be true. Either, C.P. being a fake, the "forger", in addition to all his other troubles, studied Q.F. with such patience and perspicacity, as to be able to produce such subtleties. Alternatively - and this demands less credulity from us - we see here reminiscences of dicta which the two brothers often quoted to each other in their life.

Many scholars of the present time continue to refer to C.P. as the work of Q. Cicero: e.g. Hellegouarc'h, R.E. Smith, Nicolet, Earl, Gelzer, Cugusi, Stockton.[164] But an increasing number of scholars indicate suspicion of the authorship with a query, a square bracket, or an explanatory note: thus, e.g. Scullard, Bailey, Brunt, Treggiari, Lintott, Wiseman.[165] These scholars append a caveat, usually to indicate their awareness that the authorship has been seriously questioned, rather than any conviction that the reasons adduced have satisfied them as to the

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163 In both pairs, the dictum is quoted in the original Greek in Q.F., and translated into Latin in C.P., because C.P. is written in a formal style.

164 Hellegouarc'h 9, n. 5; 11-2, n. 5; 42; 53; 55; 66; etc. Smith, Cic. Statesman, 92-3; Nicolet, L'Ordre Équestre, 290, n. 2; Earl, Sallust, 34, n. 4; 88, n. 4; Gelzer, Cic., 66-7 and passim; Cugusi 5; Stockton 53, n. 21; 76, n. 23 (Dr. Stockton, though, points out to me that he does not necessarily believe there is enough to prove authenticity).

165 Scullard 409, n. 4; S.B. I, p. 11, n. 6; Cic. 13; Brunt, ap. Seager's Crisis, 8; Treggiari 1, n. 1; Lintott 130, n. 2; Wiseman, New Men, 135.

spuriousness of the document. The proliferation of queries may well convey the impression that anti-authenticists are numerous, when in fact they have been very few.[166] And of the points they have adduced every one now stands refuted.

In sum, this review of the Commentariolum debate, which has lasted a century, shows that numerous arguments (but by a minority of scholars) have been adduced against authenticity, based on grounds of manuscript tradition, Latinity, form, style and content. But not one has proved really fatal. The arguments that have retained any strength after the numerous refutations (by a majority of scholars) are those having to do with form and style, namely the peculiarity of the form and the resemblances in style with certain parts of Cicero's works. There can be no certainty as to which form of Late Republican literature the Commentariolum should be ascribed: letter of memorandum or propaganda, or a mixture of both. Nor can there be certainty as to exactly why the resemblances occur: haste, compliment, natural outcome of daily communion, or a mixture of these. But the fact that no explanation can be certain, and more than one is possible, does not diminish the success of the efforts to find, for the form and the style of the work, a satisfactory account that confirms it as a genuine work of Q. Cicero.

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166 L. Waibel's dissertation, written in 1969, is the most recent and complete presentation of the case against authenticity (M. Van den Bruwaene's review of it in Lat. XXXII (1973) 441 is misleading about its purport). Waibel rests his case on the verbal resemblances, and produces no new argument. (See also Nardo's brief reference to him: Nardo 61, n. 16).

7. PROSE STYLE

Apart from C.P. only four short letters written by Quintus are extant: Fam. XVI.16 to Marcus from Gaul, in 53, concerning Tiro's manumission; Fam. XVI.8, to Tiro in Greece, in 49, about the latter's health; Fam. XVI.26 and 27 from Rome to Tiro, in 44, on Tiro's lapse in correspondence and the political situation in Rome. Many more letters are known to have been written by Quintus to Marcus, Tiro, Atticus, Pomponia and Quintus Jr. Stinchcomb has counted a total of 50 references to letters by Quintus in Cicero's correspondence, 34 of them from Asia and Gaul.[167] It is obvious that Tiro must have had a hand in the preservation of the four extant letters.

We can form an estimate of Quintus' prose style on the basis of these four letters, the C.P., those places in Q.F. where Marcus was evidently quoting from Quintus' letters, Marcus' references to his style, and, perhaps to some extent, his idiosyncrasies as dramatis persona in Cicero.

One marked feature in the letters of Quintus is the use of Greek. This feature is totally absent from C.P. for the same reason for which

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167 Stinchcomb 4. The period of Q.'s stay in Gaul is the one of Q.'s separations, during which we have most of M.'s correspondence with him. During this period, the frequency of correspondence both ways is attested by: Q.F. II.13.1; 13.3; 14.1; 15.1; 16.1; 16.4; III.1.2; 1.8; 1.11-25 passim; 3.1; 5.6; 5.7; 5.9; 6.1; 6.2; 6.3; 7.9; Att. IV.16.7; 15.10; 18.5; 19.2; Fam. VII.7.1. Q.F. II.10.2 refers to daily letters. Cf. also Att. III.17.1; 22.1; XIV.10.4; Flacc. 78 (for correspondence with M. at other periods); Fam. XVI.26.2 (with Tiro); Att. I.5.2 ("saepe scripta", with Pomponia). See also above, 131-3, for correspondence during M.'s exile.

it is absent from Marcus' own Q.F. I.1: they were both formal, and intended for publication.[168] The frequency of quotations from Greek drama, which has already been noted,[169] is illustrative of this Greekness. In addition, Fam. XVI.8, brief as it is, has room for a second piece of Greek: " ἀκίνδυνα μὲν χρονιώτερα δὲ " (s. 1). " ὀρθὰν τὰν ναῦν " (Q.F. I.2.13) was in fact the expression which Quintus used to describe his determination to straighten out things in Asia, and which Marcus repeated. " ἀμφιλαφία " is a rare word, whose meaning ("affluence") has been preserved by Hesychius. It is twice used in Cicero's correspondence, and both times, in letters to Quintus, because the word was one which Quintus himself liked to use.[170] " ἔα πάσας " (Q.F. II.9.2) was Quintus' exclamation, despairing of the Republic.[171] The word which got corrupted into ΑΜΠΩΕΙΣ (Q.F. III.5.4) and into ΠΛΕΟΣ (Q.F. III.5.7)[172] was a Greek word Quintus had used in his letter, to which Q.F. III.5 was the answer. " γνῶθι σεαυτόν " (Q.F. III.5.7) seems to have been a favourite quotation of Quintus, as implied by the "illud" immediately

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168 Cf. above, 298 and 310-1.

169 Cf. above, 246-7.

170 Q.F. II.5.1: " Ἀμφιλαφίαν autem illam quam tu soles dicere"; 15.3: "ἀμφιλαφίαν illam tuam". Cf. Liddell-Scott: ἀμφιλαφεία.

171 In accordance with the reading of most mss. and T.P. Watt follows Gurlitt's emendation to " ἔδρασας ". At any rate, this, and the preceding " εἰ δ' ἐν αἶα ἔζησας " (T.P.) or " εἰ δεῖν' ἔφησας " (Watt), were provoked by Greek quotations made in Q.'s letter.

172 Cf. above, 255.

preceding it, and its recurrence in Latin in C.P. 55. Marcus reciprocated with many Greek words, phrases and quotations of his own in his letters to Quintus. In the 24 letters - excluding Q.F. I.1 and the two letters from exile (I.3 and I.4), in which Greek would be out of tune - there are (in Watt's text) approximately thirty occasions of Greek,[173] not inclusive of Quintus' own, which Marcus repeated. To the besieged Quintus in Gaul, Caesar sent his letter written in Greek, or, at least, in Greek characters.[174]

In the discussion of the verses "De Duodecim Signis", it was noticed that the author was much preoccupied with equilibrium.[175] Even in the four extant informal letters, there is a remarkable preoccupation with explicit balancing of sentences, clauses, phrases and words, through pairs, and sometimes triads, of coordinate conjunctions and disjunctions, correlatives, subordinate conjunctions and antitheses. Fam. XVI.8 has: nobis ... tua; tametsi ... tamen; μὲν ... δὲ; at tamen quamquam ... tamen; ne ... nisi ... neve ... nisi; vix ... nedum; tu ... ego. 16: ita ... ut; et ... et ... et; tantae ... quanti; de maximis causis ... verum etiam; sic ... ut; et promisi ... et faciam. 26: sicut ... sic;

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173 Q.F. I.2.1; 2.3; II.3.6; 7.1; 9.1; 13.1; 14.5; 15.2; 15.4; 16.4; 16.5; III.1.5; 1.23; 2.2; 3.4; 4.4; 4.6; 5.4; 5.8; 7.1; 7.2; 7.3; 7.6; 7.8.

174 Caes. B.G. V.48.4: "Graecis conscriptam litteris". The precise meaning is doubtful. See the short discussion in R. Holmes, Conquest of Gaul, 730-1, who inclines to take it as meaning "written in Greek characters". Cf. Dio XL.9.3: " ἑλληνιστὶ " = "in Greek".

175 See above, 268.

etiamsi ... tamen. 27: mihi ...<tua?>; quae frater ... ea tu; nisi ...; nisi ...; aut ... aut; duo: ... alteri ... alteri; etiamsi ... In a letter from Asia, quoted by Marcus (Q.F. I.2.6), Quintus asked a certain Fabius: "ut et patrem et filium vivos comburat, si possit: si minus ...". From Gaul, he wrote of his clear-cut alternative (Q.F. II. 15.2): "petis ... utrum <ad>voles ...<an>commorere", requesting a frank reply with a triadic anaphora: "nihil occultans, nihil dissimulans, nihil ... indulgens". Report from Britain was framed in a pair of disjunctives (Q.F. III.1.10): "De Britannicis rebus cognovi ex tuis litteris nec quod metuamus nec quod gaudeamus".

In C.P. this preoccupation with equilibrium manifests itself in a variety of ways. In the first place there is almost an obsession with "partitio": explicitness about how the parts of the treatise relate to the whole. The three major Topics (who you are, what you seek, where you seek it) are introduced in the opening section of the treatise proper (i.e. s. 2), in three questions, followed by three answers in chiasmic relation: questions C B A - answers A B C. The transition from development of answer A to answer B is explicitly signalled in s. 13: "Quoniam ... [A] ... exposui, nunc de ... [B] dicendum videtur". Answer B itself consisting of two topics: (i) amici, and (ii) populus, the transition from (i) to (ii) is again explicitly signalled in s. 41: "Quoniam de ... [i] ... dictum est, dicendum est de illa altera parte [ii]". But topic (ii) goes on to include some discussion about amici as well, which strictly belongs to topic (i): so the author at this point (s. 49) explains precisely how the discussion about amici here relates

more to topic (ii) than to topic (i): "Ac ne videar aberrasse a distributione mea ...". Topic (ii) consisting of six points, transition from point 4 to point 5 is signalled in s. 50: "Sequitur enim ut ...". The final transition from Topic B to Topic C in s. 54 is clearly marked: "... de duabus illis ... Tertium restat".

Another feature of this equilibrium is a kind of mathematical theme running through the treatise. As there are 3 major topics, so in the second topic, there are 3 kinds of amici (s. 21-4), 3 degrees of support from amici (s. 34-7) and 3 kinds of inimici (s. 40). The populus is courted with 6 tools (= 2 x 3) (s. 41), and the campaign will have 6 features, double the three features of the opponents' (s. 52). In the third topic, there are 3 dangers in Rome, owing to 6 (= 2 x 3) evil characteristics in people. There are 3 things for the candidate to avoid, and 3 goals to aim at (s. 54). Victory is contingent upon the observance of 6 (= 2 x 3) conditions (s. 57).

Another feature of this preoccupation with equilibrium is the tautness and explicitness of the syntactical relations. There are eight pairs of the disjunctive "aut ... aut" (s. 1, 5, 18 (bis), 24, 27, 45 and 58); nine pairs of the connective "et ... et" (s. 2, 18, 19, 23, 31, 32, 33, 44 (bis)); four pairs of "alter ... alter" (s. 8-9, 10, 16, 45); and four of "primum" (or "maxime") ... "deinde" (s. 10, 18, 33, 42). The concessive pair "etiamsi" (or "etsi", "cum", "quamquam", "tametsi") ... "tamen" occurs eleven times (s. 1 (bis), 10, 18, 21, 24, 25, 42, 44, 49, 58). The pair "non solum" (or "modo") ... "sed etiam" (or "sed") occurs six times (s. 27, 32, 33, 43, 44 (bis)), and the pair "non" ...

"sed" six times (s. 1, 26, 50, 55, 58 (bis)). Comparative correlative pairs ("cum ... tum", "tam ... quam", "ita ... quasi", "quem ad modum ... sic", "quo ... hoc" + comparative) occur nine times (s. 2, 9, 12, 20, 36, 40, 42, 49, 55). A forthcoming final or causal clause is often signalled well ahead, as in "eo consilio ... ut" (s. 5), "ideo ... quod" (s. 47), "ita ... ut" (s. 58). Other connectives, such as quoniam, quam ob rem, praeterea, iam, et, atque, nam, autem and sed, are extremely frequent.

Antithetical pairs of words, phrases and clauses abound: e.g. "qui debent ... qui volunt" (s. 4), "ut habeas ... ut teneas" (s. 6), "illis nobilitatem ... tibi virtutem" (s. 7), "nobilitate ... virtute" (s. 9), "Antonius umbram suam metuit, hic ne leges quidem" (s. 9), "dextera ... sinistra" (s. 10), "inferior ... superior" (s. 11), "uno suffragio ... duas sicas" (s. 12), "nemo est quin ... multi qui" (s. 13), "in petitione ... in cetera vita" (s. 16, 25, 42), "maiore ... parum" (s. 24), "si ... si vero" (or "sin autem") (s. 31, 48), "ceteri ... ne norunt quidem ... tu nosti" (s. 31), "diurni ... nocturni" (s. 44), "discedant ... accesserint" (s. 49). Double antithetical pairs occur in the form AA BB, as in: "ex communibus proprii, ex fucosis firmi" (s. 35); or in the form AB AB, as in: "simulandum ... natura ... simulatio ... naturam" (s. 42);[176] or in chiasmus AB BA, as in: "non brevem et suffragatoriam sed firmam et perpetuam" (s. 26).

Triads abound. Thus: "commonendo et rogando et ... efficiendo" (s. 4); "tantum ... audaciae, tantum nequitiae, tantum denique in libidine

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176 In T.P.'s text, who accepts a transposition from s. 1 to s. 42.

artis et efficacitatis" (s. 10); "aut ... aut ... aut" (s. 16, 40, 52); "ut ... ut ... ut" (s. 22); "videre ... sentire ... meminisse" (s. 24); "conlegiorum ... pagorum, vicinitatum" (s. 30); "municipi ... vicinitatis ... conlegi" (s. 32); "generis ... ordinis ... aetatis" (s. 34); "significato ... ostendito ... descendito" (s. 36); "alii ... alii ... alii" (s. 38); "purgato ... commemorato ... adducito" (s. 40); "frons ... vultus ... sermo" (s. 42); "petere ... appellare ... non committere" (s. 43); "ostendas ... demonstres ... persuadeas" (s. 45); "labore ... arte ... diligentia" (s. 50); "in Pompeio ornando, Manili causa recipienda, Cornelio defendendo" (s. 51); "senatus ... equites ... multitudo" (s. 53); "et ... et ... et" (s. 55); "mutandum ... tollendum ... praeteritum" (s. 58). Often the triads are in ascending order of length, as the ones in s. 10 and 53. Sometimes there is a double triad, in the form AB: AB: AB, as in : "ex curia ... Curios et Annios, ab atriis Sapalas et Carvilios, ex equestri ordine Pompilios et Vettios" (s. 10); or in the form ABC : ABC, as in : "Id, si promittas, et incertum est et in diem et in paucioribus; sin autem [id] neges, et certe abalienes et statim et pluris" (s. 48); or in chiasmus ABC : CBA, as in: "ambo a pueritia sicarii, ambo libidinosi, ambo egentes (s. 8) ... natus in patris egestate, educatus in sororiis stupris, corroboratus in caede civium" (s. 9).[177]

177 Furthermore I suspect that, at times in the philosophical-rhetorical treatises, Cicero might have intended to imitate Q.'s love of equilibrium in his manner of style. Thus, (Q. being speaker), e.g. Div. I. 11: "alterum ... alterum"; 34: "unum ... alterum"; 110: "altera ..."; Leg. I.1: "tam ... quam"; I.2: "cum ... tamen"; I.5: "alias ...

As in verse, so also in prose, Quintus cultivated alliteration and assonance. Fam. XVI.8 has "te tota cogitatione cupio, tamen te ..."; "neve naviges nisi ..."; "frigus infirma valetudine vitatur"; "cui tu quantum credas nescio"; "valeas ... valens ... venias". 16: "exsilui gaudio et tibi et ago gratias et gratulor". 26: "non potes effugere ... poenam te patrono: ... vide ut probare possit te non peccasse ...". 27: "parcius frater perscripserat, verecundia videlicet et properatione ..." "libidinum et languoris ..." The description in Att. IV.16.7 of the approaches to Britain as "muratos mirificis molibus" is probably drawn from one of Quintus' letters. In C.P., among others: s. 31: "nomine nobis noti"; 35: "ei se dedunt, deserunt ceteros ... ex fucosis firmi suffragatores ..."; "numquam dubitasse nec debere dubitare"; "quo quisque animo sit, ut et quantum cuique confidas constituere possis"; 37: "adsidua adsectatorum copia"; 39: "temere credere"; 54: "civitas ex nationum conventu constituta".

Quintus had a predilection for the archaic form of the imperative, ending in -to. It occurs only once in the short letters (Fam. XVI.26.2: "scribito"). But in C.P. its frequency is in sharp contrast to its absence in the counterpart letter of instruction from Marcus, Q.F. I.1.

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alias"; I.8: "sic ... ut"; I.18: "tam ... quam"; I.56: "ita ... ut"; I.57: "cum ... tum"; II.7: "ita ut"; II.11: "aut ... aut"; II.13: "non modo ... sed ne ... quidem"; II.17: "tam ... quam"; "vel ... vel"; III.19: "primum ... deinde"; "et ... et"; III.20: "cum ... tamen"; III.21: "aut ... aut"; "et ... et"; "non modo ... sed"; III.22: "nec ... nec"; III.28: "et ... et"; III.34: "et ... et"; "primum ... deinde"; "neque ... nec"; III.37: "quam ob rem quoniam ..."; "aut ... aut"; "nec ... nec".

In C.P., although instructions are also conveyed with gerunds, gerundives, jussive subjunctives, imperatives, imperatives followed by ut (as in s. 3, 4, 6 (bis), 18, 20 (bis), 22, 24, 29, 30, 37, 40, 44, 52, 55), there are no fewer than 27 -to imperatives: "venito" (s. 2), "legito" (s. 10), "circumspicito" (s. 14), "elaborato" (s. 18, 24, 29), "iudicato", "perpendito" (s. 23), "appetito", "adlegato", "ostendito" (s. 24, 35, 36, 40), "habeto" (s. 30), "significato" (s. 35, 36), "dicito" (s. 35), "descendito" (s. 36), "curato", "exigito" (s. 37), "postulato" (s. 38), "cognoscito", "purgato", "commemorato", "adducito", "inservito" (s. 40).

Marcus considered Quintus' prose style to be "subtile" and "ornatum".[178] He was certainly partial to Asianic "ubertas". He was critical of rhetorical treatises and historical works that were dry or insufficiently polished, describing them as "agrestes" and "rudes". He wanted Marcus' De Oratore to be "politius", "perfectius".[179] Nardo notes the following items of Asianic pigments in the invective part of C.P.: antithesis, interrogations, epiphonemes, plurals of generalisation, anaphora, asyndeta, metaphors, parallels, homoeoteleuton, polyptoton,

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178 De Or. II.10: "quid enim tua potest oratione subtilius aut ornatius?"

179 De Or. I.5: "Vis enim, ut mihi saepe dixisti, ... aliquid ... politius a nobis perfectiusque proferri"; II.10: "rhetoricis nunc quibusdam libris, quos tu agrestis putas"; "rudia": cf. I.5; Q.'s criticism of historical works: cf. Leg. I.8.

annominatio, occupatio, διαλεκτικόν.[180]

Marcus often refers to the tone of Quintus' letters. In contrast to C.P., which was written in a cool and impersonal tone, because of its peculiar nature, the letters of Quintus were usually characterised by passion and wit. We hear of letters "plena stomachi et querelarum" (Q.F. III.6.1), "ardentis" (Att. XIV.10.4), "plenas probrorum" (Att. XI.9.2), letters written "acerbissime", "asperius", "asperioribus verbis", "spurcissime" (Att. XI.13.2), "non satis humane" (XIII.47a), letters showing "furor" (XI.10.1), "invidiosa atrocitas verborum", "orationis acerbitas", "natura paullo acrior ... dulcedo iracundiae" (Q.F. I.2.7). Conversely, we hear of letters "plenissimas humanitatis" (Flacc. 78), letters written "fraterne" (Q.F. II.15.5), letters in which Quintus

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180 Antithesis: s.8 ("homini navo ... ambo"... etc.); 9 ("Antonius umbram suam metuit, hic ne leges quidem"); 11 ("inferior ... genere, superior nulla re"). Interrogations: 7 ("quis ... putet?") 10 ("Quid ego nunc dicam ...? Quid ego nunc ... scribam?") 12 ("quis ... potest ...?"). Epiphonemes: 9 ("Alter vero, di boni!") 11 ("Quanto melior tibi ... data est!"). Generalisation plurals: 9 ("Titiniorum ac Nanneiorum ac Tanusiorum"); 10 ("Curios ... Annios ... Sapalas ... Carvilios ... Pompilios ... Vettios"). Anaphora: 8 ("ambo ... ambo ... ambo"); 10 ("qui ... qui ... qui ... qui ... qui"); 11 ("summa ... summus ... summa"); 12 ("quae ... quae ... quae"). Asyndeta: 9 ("natus ... educatus ... corroboratus"); 10 ("ceciderit ... egerit ... lacerarit ... secuerit ... tulerit"). Metaphors: 9 ("capita demetebant"); 10 ("rivi sanguinis"); 12 ("sicas"). Parallel: 9-10 (from "natus in patris egestate" to "Pompilios et Vettios": here again is noticeable the antithetical triad in chiasmus pattern: A B C - C B A). Homoeoteleuta: 9 ("natus ... educatus ... corroboratus"). Polyptoton: 10 ("hominem carissimum populo Romano, M. Marium, inspectante populo Romano"). Annominatio: 10 ("ex curia Curios"). Occupatio: 7 ("At Antonius et Catilina molesti sunt. Immo ..."). διαλεκτικόν: 9 ("Alter vero, di boni! quo splendore est? Primum nobilitate eadem qua †Catilina†. Num maiore? Non. Sed virtute. Quam ob rem? Quod ..."). Cf. Nardo 88-90.

"deplorat" (Att. II.16.4). We hear that he was of a "hilari animo ... prompto ad iocandum" (Q.F. II.12.1), so that there were frequently "litterae ... per iocum missae" (I.2.6), full of "dicendi sal facetiaeque" (2.7). A letter to his son was written "Aristophaneo modo" (III.1.19).

Quintus gave expression to this passion and wit - ranging from playful banter to bitter sarcasm - through a vehement style of writing. This vehemence is apparent in the use of strong words, repetition or accumulation of strong words, rare words or combinations, intensifying prefixes in compound verbs, emphatic adverbs. Thus, waiting for Tiro's recovery: "in magna consolatione ingens inest sollicitudo"; desire to see Tiro: "videre te tota cogitatione cupio";[181] request to Tiro: "te penitus rogo" (Fam. XVI.8.1);[182] joy at Tiro's manumission: "exsilui gaudio" (16.1);[183] threat and execution of (verbal) whipping for the ex-slave Tiro, for delinquency in correspondence: "verberavi ... cogitationis" (26.1) and "mirificam mihi verberationem cessationis epistula dedisti" (27.1); looking forward to reunion with Tiro: "tuosque [oculos] etiamsi te veniens in medio foro videro, dissaviabor" (27.2);[184] insight into people: "penitus novi" (27.1); remembering Marcus: "te

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181 Cugusi, 23, observes the unusual use of "cogitatione" (instead of "animo") with "videre".

182 "Piuttosto insolito", as Cugusi, 23, observes on "penitus" here and in 27.1.

183 As Cugusi, 22-3, aptly observes, "l'espressione è assai rara", occurring only once elsewhere, in Suet. Nero, 41.2.

184 "Dissaviabor" is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον .

totum in litteris vidi" (16.2); remembering Tiro: "te fero in oculis" (27.2). Twice the verb "efflagitare" is used to describe his requests (Q.F. II.10.1; III.1.11). Twice his requests are described as accompanied with "convicium" - playful "convicium", that is! (Q.F. II.10.1; Fam. XVI.26.1). Regarding the consequence of Statius' departure from his side in Asia, Quintus wrote: "ita scripsisti, direptum iri te a tuis" (Q.F. I.2.1). On the procedure for the pursuit of criminals, he was equally emphatic: "conquiri vero et elici blanditiis, ut tu scribis, ad iudicium necesse" (2.5). He damned people he disliked, without mincing his words: Mark Antony was a "latro", and, with Hirtius and Pansa, formed a "societas vitiorum" (Fam. XVI.27.2); Zeuxis, who earned his displeasure, was a "certissimus matricida";[185] and Licinius was a "plagiarius" and his son a "pullus milvinus" (Q.F. I.2.6). Examples of emphatic modifiers are: "mihi crede" (Fam. XVI.16.1), "incredibile est" (27.2), "maxime ... maximum" (27.1), "valde" (26.2; C.P. 17; 37), "prorsus magno opere" (C.P. 18), "vehementer omni studio atque opera elaborarunt" (C.P. 18), "etiam atque etiam" (C.P. 55).[186]

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185 Q.F. I.2.4: "quem scribis certissimum matricidam".

186 In Leg., Q., as dramatis persona, often makes emphatic ejaculations, in contradistinction from the other speakers. I suspect that the author was, here again, making the persona consistent with the person in life: cf. Leg. I.12: "At mehercule ego ..."; 13: "ego vero libenter ..."; "alte vero et ... a capite"; 20: "commodius vero ..."; "ego vero ..."; 35: "Tu vero ..."; II.8: "Optime vero ..."; "sane quidem hercle ..."; 12: "Ac maxumis quidem ..."; "prorsus adsentior"; 14: "Ego vero ne ... quidem ..."; 17: "habeo vero ..."; "admodum delector ..."; "prorsus adsentior"; 18: "Ita vero ..."; 23: "quidem ... sane ... quidem"; "immo prorsus ita ..."; 69: "nos vero ... et copiose quidem ..."; III.19: "at mehercule ego ..."; 28: "praeclara vero".

Quintus was very fond of metaphors and similes, although in C.P., he used them more sparingly. The metaphors and similes were often sustained through more than one sentence. In Fam. XVI.26, the language of the whole first section sustains the figure of Tiro as a prospective defendant in court, for delinquency in correspondence.[187] The second section, in the main, sustains the comparison of Tiro with Quintus' mother Helvia, Tiro writing even letters without news, Helvia sealing even empty wine bottles, to guard against the occurrence of theft in each case (literal theft in the latter case, metaphorical in the former).[188] Since he knew Hirtius and Pansa as soldiers, he describes their discharge of the consulship, in a sustained military metaphor, as inability to hold a position, and calling for fortifications.[189] The Platonic image of the statesman as a ship-captain, Quintus uses to describe himself, as well as Hirtius and Pansa as consuls.[190] Two trouble-makers are

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187 Fam. XVI.26.1: "... te patrono ... Marcus est adhibendus ... oratione vide ut probare possit ...".

188 Fam. XVI.26.2: "... sicut olim matrem nostram facere memini, quae lagonas etiam inanis obsignabat, ne dicerentur inanes aliquae fuisse quae furtim essent exsiccatae, sic tu, etiamsi quod scribas non habebis, scribito tamen, ne furtum cessationis quaesivisse videaris".

189 Fam. XVI.27.2: "quae ego illos scio oppositis Gallorum castris in aestivis fecisse ... Res est aut tribuniciis aut privatis consiliis munienda; nam isti duo sunt digni, quibus alteri Caesenam, alteri Cossutianarum tabernarum fundamenta credas". Four metaphors from military life, including two very elaborate ones, are used in Div. II.26 and 27; 37 and I.10, in addressing Q. as dramatis persona. They were probably contrived to appeal to the addressee, who in life was an experienced soldier.

190 Fam. XVI.27.1: "nisi a gubernaculis recesserint, maximum ab universo naufragio periculum est". Cf. Q.F. I.2.13: "Cetera fuerunt in eadem epistula graviora quam vellem, 'ὀρθὸν τὰν ναῦν' ".

threatened with roasting in fire, and, if that fails, with roasting in a trial.[191] Another is threatened with a similar roasting, but it is not clear whether it will be of the figurative or of the literal variety.[192] As dramatic speaker in De Legibus, Quintus speaks with more numerous, elaborate and even far-fetched metaphors than the other two speakers. This seems to be no accident, but a conscious attempt of the author to affect this feature of Quintus' style in life. Thus Quintus speaks in De Legibus of the "waves of habit sweeping" the interlocutors ("ne aestus nos consuetudinis absorbeat et ... trahat" (II.9)). The tribunate is like a deformed child, suppressed legitimately, but surviving to grow into a monster (III.19-22); it is also (III.20) a dagger ("mucro"), which enemies sharpen ("acuere"), a metaphor which recalls "duas sicas" in C.P. 12. L. Cassius' popularity-seeking is "rumusculos aucupari" (III.35). Gratidius makes a "storm in a tea-cup" ("fluctus in simpulo": III.36), in contrast to his son, who made one in the Aegean Sea (ibid.). In his short speech in Fin. V.96, Quintus introduces and sustains a rather strained metaphor, describing as a "supellex" the philosophical creed which, as a youth, he valued more than the "possessiones" of other schools, and which he found to be "dives".

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191 Q.F. I.2.6: "Deinde rogas Fabium, 'ut et patrem et filios vivos comburat, si possit: si minus, ad te mittat, uti iudicio comburantur'".

192 Q.F. I.2.6: "'illum crucem sibi ipsum constituere ex qua tu eum ante detraxisses: te curaturum fumo ut combureretur'..."

One can also detect, as part of Quintus' witty style, a love of paradoxes and puns. Marcus found amusing Quintus' description, in one of his letters, of incompatibilities as "atra nix".[193] In C.P., there is paradox in "dignus ... patronus consularium indignus consulatu" (s. 2), and in "nequaquam sunt tam genere insignes quam vitiis nobiles" (s. 12). In Fam. XVI.26.2, Quintus puns on "furtim ... furtum", in C.P., "cum multo inferior esset genere, superior nulla re paene, superavit" (s. 11), and "fucosis ... fucum facere" (s. 35).[194]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

It follows from the evidence examined in this chapter that Q. Cicero was pre-eminently an intellectual, who fed on a wide range of Greek and Latin literature. Bibliophile and far-travelled, he was yet no recluse, but a man of charming company. Hence, to Cicero, for whose works he had the greatest enthusiasm, he was a highly appreciated interlocutor for an intellectual discussion. In this historical fact lay the genesis of Quintus' literary role in Cicero's philosophical-rhetorical dialogues, in which Quintus appears as an advocate of otium, of conservatism in politics, and an eclectic inclined to the Peripatetic philosophy. A writer himself of satirical, dramatic, epic and didactic verse, and of

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193 Q.F. II.12.1: "Risi 'nivem atram'". Cf. Acad. II.72, for the attribution of the expression to Anaxagoras, and T.P. ad Q.F. II.12.1, for speculations as to the context in which Q. may have used it.

194 Cugusi, 26-30, observes also anacoloutha, loose constructions and some untidiness in the syntax of Q.'s four short letters: marks of his hasty temperament.

epistolary, and perhaps of historical, prose, possibly also an editor and compiler, he is one of those numerous Latin authors, whose writings were destined to be almost entirely lost. From the Commentariolum, his only surviving work, other meagre remains and Cicero's numerous references to his words and style, some estimate of his merits can be made. A writer of some talent and a good deal of skill, his style was characterised by wit and passion, vehemence and vividness, Isocratean richness, some quaintness and a structure highly elaborate.

To be able to devote himself to letters in this way, and (as seen in the previous chapter) to affairs of state, Q. Cicero had to have the material resources that freed him from the necessities of earning a living. To a consideration of his material circumstances we therefore next address ourselves.

V

A MAN OF PROPERTY

In a letter of 56, there is allusion to a house owned by Quintus, on the Carinae, which was let at the time to the Lamiae.[1] Drumann-Groebe are probably right in identifying this house with the paternal residence, which, according to Plutarch, Marcus ceded to Quintus, when he purchased his own house on the Palatine in 62.[2] Blase thought that the Carinae house and the paternal one were different, because he thought that the paternal house was on the Palatine, a hypothesis inconsistent with Plutarch's account, where it is said Cicero moved to the Palatine, so that the salutatores would no longer need to make a long walk.[3] This house on the Carinae seems then to have been Quintus' Roman residence, until in 61, he too planned to move to the Palatine.

In 61, he was hoping to purchase a "domus Paciliana".[4] There is no information whether this hope was fulfilled and whether this house was meant to be for his own residence. If both these suppositions are

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1 Q.F. II.3.7: "Tuam in Carinis mundi habitatores Lamiae conduxerunt". These Lamiae were perhaps related to L. Aelius Lamia, eques and friend of Cicero, on whom see Nicolet, L'Ordre éq. II, 762-5, No. 10.

2 Plut. Cic. 8.3: " οἰκίαν δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρώαν τῷ ἀδελφῷ παρεχώρησεν, αὐτὸς δ' ᾤκει περι τὸ Παλάτιον ". Cf. Drumann-Groebe 660.

3 Blase 11 and 19 (cf. Plut. Cic. 8.3). Wiemer, as often, ignores the question.

4 Att. I.14.7: "... ut, si possit, emat Pacilianam domum".

correct, then this "domus Paciliana" was no other than the Palatine residence into which he moved that year, contiguous to his brother's. For he must have moved into his newly purchased Palatine residence, before he departed for Asia in the summer of 61, since, in his absence, Pomponia and her son were already neighbours of Marcus: Pomponia was complaining about the state of the wall which separated Marcus' palaestra from Quintus' property.[5] On 3 November 57, Clodius and his gang threw stones and set fire to this house. Damage was extensive, so that Quintus and his family had to vacate the premises for several months.[6] Rebuilding was in progress from January to April 56, and was probably not completed until the latter part of 56. Quintus was living in the country and in Sardinia during much of this year. In Rome, he had to live in rented accommodation, in a "domus Liciniana", until the Palatine house was ready.[7] As late as September 54, there was still work being done on the house: but this need only have been in the nature of

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5 Att. II.4.7: "magni aestimo unius aestatis fructum palaestrae Palatinae, sed ita tamen ut nihil minus velim quam Pomponiam et puerum versari in timore ruinae"; cf. 6.2; 7.5.

6 Att. IV.3.2: "... ante diem tertium Nonas Novembres ... Quinti fratris domus primo fracta coniectu lapidum ex area nostra, deinde inflammata iussu Clodi ..."; Fam. I.9.5: "cum fratre eram domo expulsus ..."; Cael. 78: "meam domum diruit, mei fratris incendit"; Mil. 87: "domum mei fratris incenderat".

7 Q.F. II.2.2: "De aedificatione tua Cyrum urgere non cesso; spero eum in officio fore. Sed omnia sunt tardiora propter furiosae aedilitatis exspectationem"; 3.7: "Domus tibi ad lacum Pisonis Liciniana conducta est, sed, ut spero, paucis mensibus, post Kal. Quint. in tuam commigrabis"; 4.2: "Domus utriusque nostrum aedificatur strenue; redemptori tuo dimidium pecuniae curavi; spero nos ante hiemem contubernalis fore"; 6.3: "... in aream tuam veni. Res agebatur multis

embellishments and additional amenities, undertaken after Quintus had moved back into the house for some time.[8]

In 61, Quintus purchased, for 725,000 sesterces, the remaining three-quarters of an "Argiletanum". This was no doubt a block of apartments in the "Argilla" or "Publishers' Street", an income property, of which he had previously owned only a quarter.[9]

In Arpinum, Quintus had his "patrimonium" and "Arpinatia praedia".[10] One of these was the "Laterium", which included a restful country-house.[11] This was a simple house until, in 54, it was replaced by a more luxurious, if small, building ("aedificatiuncula"). It was on a hill, facing a village called Satricum, not far from a temple of Furina, past a small bridge. The road leading to it was magnificently paved, at his own expense, like an "opus publicum". We hear of its splendid landscaping with ivy, its covered promenade, its Greek statues,

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structoribus; Longilium redemptorem cohortatus sum; fidem mihi faciebat se velle nobis placere. Domus erit egregia; magis enim cerni iam poterat quam quantum ex forma iudicabamus".

8 Q.F. III.1.6: "Urbanam expolitionem urget ille quidem [et] Philotimus et Cincius sed etiam ipse crebro interviso, quod est facile factu; quam ob rem ea te cura liberatum volo"; 2.3: "Domi recte, et ipsa domus a redemptoribus tractatur non indiligenter"; 3.3: "Expolitiones utriusque nostrum sunt in manibus" (cf. also III.1.14 and 7.7).

9 Att. I.14.7: "Quintus frater, qui Argiletani aedifici reliquum dodrantem emit HS $\overline{\text{DCCXXV}}$ ..." Q. may have inherited the first quarter, as Drumann-Groebe, 660, and T.P., ad loc., suggest.

10 Att. I.6.2; Fam. I.9.24.

11 Q.F. II.6.4: "postridie autem in Laterio cogitabam, inde, cum in Arpinati quinque dies fuissem ..."; Att. X.1.1: "... cum in Laterium fratris venissem ... paulum respiravi".

the freshness of its apodyterium. We hear of an estimate for part of the works in 54 as at 16,000 sesterces. There were delicate negotiations with neighbours Varro and Lucusta about road maintenance and water-supply.[12] Two years earlier, the Arpinates had been furious with Quintus about the "Laterium". Presumably the neighbours were critical or envious of Quintus' projects.[13]

The "Arcanum", which was also in the district of Arpinum, between Aquinum and the town of Arpinum, near the modern Rocca d'Arce, included another country-house retreat.[14] There too a new "aedificatio" was projected in 56, and, when carried out by 54, it was of elaborate elegance: we hear of its statues, its palaestra, its fish-pond. The soil was extremely dry, but abundant water was supplied through an elaborately-contrived conduit.[15]

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12 Q.F. III.1.4-5; cf. 3.1.

13 Att. IV.7.3: "Arpinatium fremitus est incredibilis de Laterio. Quid quaeris? Equidem dolui, ὸ δ' οὐκ ἐμπάζετο μύθων ". Cf. Drumann-Groebe 660.

14 Att. X.2.1: "sustinui me in Arcano fratris, ut, dum aliquid certius adferretur, occultiore in loco essemus"; cf. V.1.3 (quoted 182, n. 375); and CIL X, p. 555, No. 706.

15 Q.F. II.6.4: "Aedificationem Arcani ad tuum adventum sustentari placebat"; III.1.1: "In Arcano a.d. IIII Id. Sept. fui, ibi Mescidium cum Philoxeno aquamque, quam ii ducebant non longe a villa, belle sane fluentem vidi, praesertim maxima siccitate, uberioremque aliquanto sese conlecturos esse ducebant"; 3.1: "sed tua † ad perfectum † iam res rustica Arcani et Lateri"; 7.7: "De Arcano Caesaris opus est <elegantia> vel me hercule etiam elegantioris alicuius; imagines enim istae et palaestra et piscina et nilus multorum Philotimorum est, non Diphilorum; sed et ipsi ea adibimus et mittemus et mandabimus".

The "Manilianum" was a third estate, not far from the "Arcanum". Perhaps Quintus had purchased it,[16] whereas he had inherited the "Laterium" and "Arcanum". Here too, work was in progress in 54 on a villa not lacking in amenities. It had an "ambulatio" and an "aviarium". It had bath-facilities ("balnearia"), with heating ("vaporarium"), sweating-room ("assa") and undressing-room ("apodyterium"). Its paved portico was impressive, with its columns meticulously polished, and erected with mathematical precision under the critical eye of Marcus. Its stuccoing ("tectorium") and arched roofs ("camerae", "honestas testitudinis") were similarly supervised with great care. The living-quarters included an "atriolum", which Quintus wanted in the portico. There were a summer-room ("boni aestivi locus"), a master-bedroom ("subgrande cubiculum"), a winter-room ("hibernum"), spacious ("ampla") and located with care to maximise use of heat from the balnearia, as well as other bedrooms ("cubicula", "eiusmodi membra").[17]

The "Fufidianum" was also in Arpinum, since it was linked to the "Manilianum" by a "Vitularia via" and was purchased on the Arpinum market from one of the Fufidii of Arpinum. The price was 100,000 s., and the

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16 There can be little doubt that the "Manilianum" belonged to Q., as Blase 20, Drumann-Groebe 661, Wiemer 21 and Constans III 252 recognise. T.P.'s alternative hypothesis (ad loc.), that it might be a neighbour's property can hardly be entertained, since Q. had been giving (Q.F. III.1.1-2) very specific instructions of work to be done on it. That it was not far from the "Arcanum" can be guessed from the easy transition of M., in Q.F. III.1.1, from one to the other.

17 Q.F. III.1.1-2.

purchase was made on behalf of the absent Quintus.[18] It is described as a farm ("fundus") and interest is expressed in the prospect of irrigating 50 acres of its "pratum", surely for farming purposes, perhaps cattle-grazing. Marcus, who confesses his incompetence in farming matters, goes on to find in it promise of a villa of immense charm for Quintus, with fish-pond ("piscina"), jets-d'eau ("salientes") and "palaestra".[19] But it is not clear whether these amenities already existed, at the time of purchase, or, more likely, could be profitably set up, in view of the shady and lush character of the estate.

Our text mentions, immediately after the "Fufidianum", a "Bovillanum", also a "fundus".[20] There are two problems here: (a) Is "Bovillanum" the correct reading? (b) What is the subject-matter of the sentences following mention of the "Bovillanum": are they about the "Bovillanum" or about the "Fufidianum", which is the subject-matter of the preceding part of Q.F. III.1.3?

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18 Q.F. III.1.3: "Ex eo loco recta Vitularia via profecti sumus in Fufidianum fundum, quem tibi proximis nundinis Arpini de Fufidio HS CCCIↃↃↃ CIↃ emeramus".

19 Q.F. III.1.3: "Ego locum aestate umbrosiorem vidi numquam; permultis locis aquam profluentem et eam uberem. Quid quaeris? iugera L prati Caesius inrigaturum facile te arbitrabatur. Equidem hoc quod melius intellego adfirmo, mirifica suavitate villam habiturum, piscina et salientibus additis, palaestra et silva †virdicata†." Rawson, ap. Finley 97, suggests cattle-grazing on the farmland, on the basis of "pratum" and "vitularia".

20 Q.F. III.1.3: "Fundum audio te hunc Bovillanum velle retinere; de eo quid videatur ipse constitues. †Calibus† aiebat aqua dempta et eius aquae iure constituto et servitute fundo illi imposita tamen nos pretium servare posse si vendere vellemus. Mescidium mecum habui; is sese ternis nummis in pedem tecum transegisse dicebat, sese autem mensum pedibus aiebat passuum III CIↃ. Mihi plus visum est; sed praestabo sumptum nusquam melius posse poni".

Assuming that the correct reading is "Bovillanum", the reading of N and most editors, including Tyrrell-Purser and Watt, Manutius observed that it could not refer to an estate at Bovillae, the well-known town in Latium, but to an obscure Bovillae in Arpinum. The observation was presumably based on the presence of "hunc" before "Bovillanum" and on the assumption that the sentences which follow concern the "Bovillanum", not the "Fufidianum": Marcus then described the "Bovillanum", as a man on the spot would, and we know he was in Arpinum at the time. Consequently Blase, Drumann-Groebe and Wiemer have understood the "Bovillanum" as another estate of Quintus in Arpinum.[21]

The position of Tyrrell-Purser on the problem is pretty confusing, and perhaps even self-contradictory. On the one hand, they concede the possibility of a "suburban residence" (not a happy rendering for "fundus", which is defined in Dig. 50 as meaning "ager cum aedificio") at Bovillae, the well-known town. They suggest the emendation of "hunc" into "nunc", and assume that the sentences which follow concern the "Fufidianum", not the "Bovillanum". On this interpretation, the "Bovillanum" was only brought into the context, because its sale was considered for the financing of the purchase of the "Fufidianum". On the other hand, Tyrrell-Purser applaud the interpretation of Roby, who assumed that "Bovillanum" and "Fufidianum" were different names for the same estate, the former name based on place, the latter based on previous owner.[22]

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21 Blase 20; Drumann-Groebe 661; Wiemer 21. For Manutius, T.P. ad loc.

22 H.J. Roby, CR I, (1887), 67 (cf. T.P. ad loc).

Favouring this identification, Constans emends "Bovillanum" to "Fufidianum".[23] This emendation I find highly improbable: how could one plausibly account for the theory that the word "Fufidianum", occurring the first time in s. 3, was faithfully transmitted in the ms. tradition, but, when repeated only a few lines later, the now familiar name was unanimously fouled up in all ms?

(a) Editors, as well as writers on Quintus, appear to have underrated the fact that almost the consensus of ms. read "bobil(l)ianum". It is a more possible hypothesis that this obscure name became corrupted in N into the more easily acceptable "bovillanum". Acceptance of "bobil(l)ianum" would be backed by superior ms. authority and would eliminate the problem raised by a Bovillae in Arpinum. We know of so few names of families from Arpinum, that the hypothesis of an otherwise unheard-of Bobil(l)ii family, who once would have owned the estate, is not outrageous. But, since the name is not attested anywhere, including the C.I.L, we cannot press the point.

(b) Whether called "Bovillanum", or a closely resembling name, this must have been an estate belonging to Quintus, in Arpinum, and different from the "Fufidianum". I have, for this conclusion, the following reasons: (i) The "Fufidianum" had just been purchased: the question about the "Bovillanum" was whether to sell it. (ii) There was mention of the possibility of selling the "Bovillanum", while retaining the right of drawing water from it. This arrangement would make sense only if there

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23 Constans III, 84; followed by Rawson, ap. Finley, 98 and 186-7.

was a contiguous estate of Quintus, to which the water would be drawn. Now, we have seen (above, p. 334) that this kind of work was being done at "Arcanum", and the architect there was Mescidius, the same man who undertook the construction of a canal three miles long at "Bovillanum". The obvious conclusion is that the "Bovillanum" was contiguous to the "Arcanum", and that water was being drawn from the former to the latter. (iii) It seems that Mescidius had surveyed and estimated the cost of the canal from the "Bovillanum" quite a while prior to the writing of Q.F. III.1, and, if conclusion (ii) above is correct, it seems that he had already carried out the work: The survey and estimate would be improbable, and the execution of the work quite impossible, except on an estate that had belonged to Quintus for some time. It could not then be identical with the "Fufidianum", which, at the time of writing of Q.F. I.3, had just been purchased "proximis nundinis".

At the end of 54, Cicero wrote his famous letter to P. Lentulus, governor of Cilicia since 56. In that letter, Cicero noted that Lentulus could not attend to the purchase of a "fundus", which Quintus had requested, because he had been prevented by ill-health from going to Cilicia proper the past summer; however Lentulus promised he would clinch the matter on his next trip. Tyrrell-Purser think that the allusion here is to an estate in Arpinum, which Quintus wanted to purchase from a man resident or sojourning at the time in Cilicia. If Tyrrell-Purser are correct, the estate alluded to here would be additional to the Arpinate estates of Quintus already mentioned: for, at the time of writing of the letter to Lentulus (Dec. 54), Quintus already owned the other estates.

But the more natural inference is Constans', that the allusion is to an estate in Cilicia, which Quintus intended to purchase and probably did. Several members of the Senatorial class were investing in land in the provinces: M. Caelius Rufus owned land in Africa, C. Cassius and C. Gallus in Sicily, Caerellia in Asia, Q. Lucienus in Epirus, T. Pompeius in Transalpine Gaul. Q. Cicero must have been venturing into investment in provincial land.[24]

Quintus also had a "Tusculanum", which he may have sold in 61, to finance purchase of the "Pacilianum" in Rome.[25]

In Q.F. I.1, Cicero advises Quintus that his suite should conduct themselves on Asian trips in the same way they would on the via Appia, and it should make no difference whether their destination were Tralles or Formiae. Although Tralles is found in Juvenal as a cliché

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24 Fam. I.9.24: "Quod de Quinti fratris negotio scribis te priore aestate, quod morbo impeditus in Ciliciam non transieris, confi-cere non potuisse, nunc autem omnia facturum ut conficias, id scito esse eius modi ut frater meus vere existimet adiuncto isto fundo patrimo-nium fore suum per te constitutum". Cf. T.P. ad loc. (II, 207) and Constans III, 261 and (for date of letter) 47-8. For senatorial class ownership of provincial land: Rufus: Cael. 30; 73; Cassius and Gallus: Verr. II.3.97; 152-3; Caerellia: Fam. XIII.72; Lucienus: Varro, RR II.5.22; Pompeius: Varro, RR III.12.2. Cf. T. Frank, Econ. Surv. I, 390-2; M. Jackzynowska, Historia XI (1962) 497-8. Shatzman, Table VII. Rawson, ap. Finley 90 and 183-4, n. 25, rigidly rejects several (but not all) of many instances listed particularly by Shatzman. Rawson believes, on the basis of Verr. II.5.45, that there was a law prohibiting senators from owning land outside Italy. If so, the law was certainly a deadletter ("antiqua lex et mortua": ibid.) at the time.

25 Att. I.14.7: "Tusculanum venditat ut, si possit, emat Pacilianam domum". Drumann-Groebe, 660, assumes Q. did sell it. Münzer, 1290, mistakes the contemplated sale as intended to finance purchase of the "Argiletanum". Wiemer, 21, overlooks it.

for a far-off place, it seems to be used here as appropriately suited to the addressee as governor of Asia. Formiae is not found in Latin literature as a cliché for a highly-frequented place, like Baiae or Rome. It seems to be therefore, like Tralles, used to suit the circumstances of Quintus specifically. Constans has therefore suggested that there must be allusion here to frequent trips of Quintus to Formiae, made because he too, like Marcus, had a "Formianum", just as each of them had a "Tusculanum". This is highly plausible, in view of the fact that Quintus is also known to have stayed for prolonged periods in Formiae. Since Marcus owned his "Formianum" before 67, Constans conjectures that it was a paternal legacy to the brothers.[26]

In 54, Quintus was expecting to purchase a "suburbanum", a villa, that is, not far from Rome. Cicero approved of the idea, but criticised Quintus for entrusting the transaction to a T. Anicius, without informing himself. He was pleased, subsequently, to hear that Quintus was not in as great a hurry as Anicius had said.[27] It is not known whether the purchase materialised.

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26 Q.F. I.1.17: "... ita se gerant in istis Asiaticis itineribus ut si iter via Appia faceres, neve interesse quicquam putent utrum Trallis an Formias venerint". For Tralles: cf. Juv. III.70; M.'s "Formianum": Att. I.3.2; 4.2; II.13.2; 14.2; 15.3; IV.2.7 and Schmidt, Villen, 23-30. Constans: III, 35 and 55 and REL XI (1933) 145, where he also conjectures that Q.F. II.10; 11; 12 (written Feb. 54) were addressed to Q. at Formiae. For Q. at Formiae, see, above, 198-9.

27 Q.F. III.1.23: "T. Anicius mihi saepe iam dixit sese tibi suburbanum si quod invenisset non dubitaturum esse emere ..."; "... de suburbano emendo ..."; 4.5: "De suburbano quod non properas laudo; ut habeas hortor".

The allusions in Sest. 76 to Quintus' "servi" and "liberti" and in Plut. Cic. 47.3 to his " οἰκέται " suggest that he had a sizeable familia of slaves and freedmen. Information on these individuals is very scarce, except for Statius. Statius, who has already been mentioned in connection with his contribution to the disruption of Quintus' marriage and with his role on the staff of Quintus as governor, remained in his master's service, after his manumission, until the end. In his master's absence, he managed Quintus' household, corresponded with Quintus, Marcus and Atticus, watched Quintus Jr. and administered Quintus' finances. In 46, he and Quintus' son were made Priests of Faunus.[28]

Not so well-known, Sulla, who served as nomenclator, was also a trusted slave or freedman, and had access to Quintus' seal in Asia.[29] Theopompus was another trusted slave, from whom Cicero extracted secrets of Quintus' official correspondence as governor, and through whom Cicero sent confidential instructions to Quintus: he was still, apparently, in his master's good books five years later, and was perhaps manumitted then.[30] Phaetho, the "libertus", who was entrusted with Q.F. I.3, after

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28 S. and Q.'s marriage: above, 43; 53-4; S. in Asia: 86-8; thereafter: Att. VI.2.2: "ad Statium scripserit"; IX.8.1: "Statius a te epistulam brevem attulit"; XII.5.1: "... laetetur Luperco filio et Statio"; XV.15.1: "de HS CX quae Statio curarentur"; 19.2: "Statius scripsit ad me ..."; 21.1: "scribit autem Statius".

29 Q.F. I.2.9: "Legi epistulam quam ipse scripsisse Sulla nomenclator dictus est, non probandam".

30 Q.F. I.2.9: "Illud tamen quod Theopompo mandavi cum essem admonitus ab ipso, vide ..."; II.11.4: "Theopompo satis faciemus".

presumably delivering to Cicero a letter from Quintus, is more likely to have been a freedman tabellarius - as Drumann-Groebe, Constans and Rupprecht think - of Quintus, rather than - as Treggiari thinks - of Marcus.[31] Philogonus was yet another freedman tabellarius in Quintus' service.[32] Philologus was, according to some sources familiar to Plutarch, a well-educated freedman of Quintus, who betrayed the Ciceros to their executioners. Drumann-Groebe and Rupprecht identify him with Philogonus, without any reason. They seem to have been two different persons, distinguishable not only by name, but also by the fact that Philogonus was already a "libertus" by 59, and Philologus is described as a "young man" in connection with the events of 43.[33] Ascanio was probably a slave of Quintus, as he is mentioned in the context of Quintus' private affairs: Marcus seems to have been unenthusiastic about some forthcoming action that Quintus intended to take about him, possibly manumission.[34] Scipio, mentioned in the same context, as having some control on Quintus' "fiscus", was probably another freedman of his.[35]

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31 Q.F. I.4.4: "Sed de hoc scripsi ad te in ea epistula quam Phaethonti dedi"; Att. III.8.2: "Phaetho libertus eum non vidit". Cf. Drumann-Groebe 662; Constans II, 53; Rupprecht 123; Treggiari 257.

32 Q.F. I.3.4: "dedi litteras ad te Philogono, liberto tuo".

33 Plut. Cic. 48.2: " λέγεται νεανίσκον τινὰ τεθραμμένον μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐν γράμμασιν ἐλευθερίοις καὶ μαθήμασιν , ἀπελεύθερον δὲ Κοΐντου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ , Φιλόλογον τοὔνομα , φράσαι ...". Cf. 49.2 (quoted, above, ch. 2, n. 95). Drumann-Groebe 662, n. 13; Rupprecht 123.

34 Q.F. III.4.5: "De Ascanione tu vero quod voles facies; me nihil interpono."

35 Q.F. III.4.5: "De fisco quid egerit Scipio quaeram".

Nicephorus, who was his "vilicus" at Laterium, was certainly a freedman, as he freely entered into a contract with Quintus for works on the estate.[36] So was probably Herus, his steward at Arcanum.[37] Philoxenus was, as Bailey suggests, probably another freedman of Quintus, since he was not only working on the conduit at Arcanum, but was still in Quintus' Roman house ten years later. Mescidius, however, who was working with him at Arcanum, and also expected to undertake the conduit on the Bovillanum, for which he gave an estimate, seems to have been an independent contractor.[38]

Cyrus and Longilius, architect and contractor respectively, for the rebuilding of Quintus' Palatine house, with their numerous workmen, as well as Diphilus, the lazy and second-rate architect on the Manilianum, and Cillo, who had at least four slaves under his supervision, and undertook work on the Bovillanum,[39] seem to have been hired persons, although it is not impossible that some were freedmen of Quintus. He

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36 Q.F. III.1.5: "Nicephorum, vilicum tuum, sane probavi quaesivique ex eo ecquid ei de illa aedificatiuncula Lateri de qua mecum locutus es mandavisses; tum is mihi respondit se ipsum eius operis HS XVI conductorem fuisse". Cf. Rupprecht 122; Treggiari 107.

37 Q.F. III.1.1: "apud Herum recte erat". Cf. Rupprecht 123; Treggiari 143.

38 Q.F. III.1.1 (cf. n. 15 above) ; 1.3 (cf. n. 20 above). Philoxenus: cf. Att. VII.2.5; XIII.8; S.B. III, 287; and, above, 221, n. 7. Against Mescidius there is also the consideration that the name presumably is a gentilice, ruling out Tullius.

39 Cyrus, Longilius and "multi structores": Q.F. II.2.2; 6.3; cf. 4.2; III.2.3 (see, above, n. 7). Longilius is ruled out as a probable freedman of Q., because of the name, which seems a gentilice. Diphilus: Q.F. III.1.1: "In Maniliano offendi Diphilum Diphilo

certainly had recourse to services from members of others' familia: Philotimus, the freedman of Terentia, and Cincius, the agent of Atticus, kept an eye on the rebuilding of his Palatine house; Dionysius, freedman of Atticus, tutored Quintus Jr.; Chrysippus, freedman of Marcus, worked for his library.[40]

Rupprecht thinks that the Hippodamus and Minucius, mentioned in Q.F. III.1.21, were also slaves or freedmen of Quintus, employed as tabellarii. It is highly improbable they were slaves of Quintus. Hippodamus, it is indicated, was acting very independently. Minucius is mentioned together with Salvius and Labeo, the latter of whom was an independent Roman. They seem to have been friends and protégés of Quintus, who were with him in Gaul.[41] Another slave of Quintus, with the name of Anteros, might be attested in Att. IX.14.2: this, however, is very uncertain, contingent on a double emendation, one by Bosius ("Anteros") and the other by Bailey ("Quinti").[42]

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tardiorem"; 1.2: "... Diphilus conlocarat ..."; "... opus Diphili ..."; 7.7: "... multorum Philotimorum est, non Diphilorum". Cillo: III.1.3: "Cillonem arcessieram Venafro; sed eo ipso die quattuor eius conservos et discipulos Venafri cuniculus oppresserat" (cf. Treggiari 99).

40 Philotimus: Q.F. III.1.6 (n. 8 above): cf. Att. II.4.7; 6.2; 7.5; IV.10.2 and Rupprecht 97; Cincius: Q.F. III.1.6 (n. 8 above): cf. II.2.1 and Rupprecht 98. For Dionysius and Chrysippus, see, respectively, below, 360, and, above, 221.

41 Cf. Q.F. III.1.9, for Hippodamus, where he seems, like Trebatius, to be a protégé, rather than a servant (see also, above, 167). Rupprecht 123. Münzer, 1296, also regards Hippodamus as Q.'s freedman. Minucius is also improbable on grounds of the name, which seems a gentilice.

42 Att. IX.14.2: "a te nihil ne Anteros quidem Quinti litterarum".

In sum, there are, with varying degrees of probability, twelve pieces of real estate which Quintus is attested to have owned: three urban domus and insula, six fundi mainly in Arpinum, and three resort villas. Of his familia, there are again, with varying degrees of probability, about a dozen attested slaves and freedmen. For Cicero himself, Wiseman counts twelve villas and Treggiari counts twenty attested slaves and freedmen.[43] Since evidence for Quintus is generally much more scarce than evidence for Cicero himself, it is probable that Quintus owned a good deal more than what there is evidence for, and that he was no less wealthy than Cicero himself.

Like his brother,[44] Quintus was wealthy, but without having much cash in hand at most times. He had, as was seen above, to consider selling his Tusculanum to find the money for purchasing the Paciliana domus.[45] He owed money to M. Antonius and Caepio and others, for the repayment of which he had to depend on the disbursement to him of his vasarium as propraetor.[46] He probably owed 30,000 s. to Castricius at

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43 Wiseman, New Men, 191-6; Treggiari 252-64.

44 The best (albeit hostile) survey of Cic.'s wealth is in Carcopino, Secrets, I, 69-146. See also Boren, CJ LVII (1961) 17, and, for a short bibliography, 23.

45 See above, n. 25.

46 Q.F. I.3.7: "cum de visceribus tuis et fili tui satis facturus sis quibus debes, ego acceptam ex aerario pecuniam tuo nomine frustra dissiparim. Sed tamen et M. Antonio, quantum tu scripseras, <et> Caepioni tantundem solutum est". Cf. Att. II.6.2; 16.4.

about the same time.[47] The assistance he was advised to seek from Crassus, in case of trouble, on his return from Asia, may have been partly financial.[48] That the need for money was part of his motivation for going to Gaul, has already been seen.[49] On the eve of the Civil War, he owed money to Atticus, which he could not repay, because, as Marcus stated, he had no cash in hand and could not raise a loan.[50] In 45, Marcus expected to loan him money from some of the proceeds of an inheritance from Cluvius: and Marcus probably did make him this loan, since, in the following year, he was expecting a repayment from Quintus.[51] In that year, Marcus stated, Quintus could not afford to purchase property. The repayment of Pomponia's dowry was a torture, and could only be

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47 Att. II.7.5: "Castricianum mendum nos corrigemus, et tamen Quintus HS CCIↃↃ IↃↃ scripserat". (Cf. S.B.'s n. ad loc., identifying C. with the individual of Att. XII.28.3 and 30.2, not with the individual of Verr. II.3.185: contrast T.P.'s n. ad loc).

48 Q.F. I.3.7: "Tu, si forte quid erit molestiae, te ad Crassum et ad Calidium censeo". I doubt, though, that "molestia" refers "solely to [Q.'s] financial difficulties", as McDermott, 707, and E.J. Parrish, 371, would have it. The word obviously refers to the threat of prosecution in Q.F. I.4.2 (as T.P. see, ad loc.). See also, above, 128, n. 235.

49 See above, 170-1.

50 Att. VII.18.4: "Quintus frater laborat ut tibi quod debet ab Egnatio solvat ... [cum] nec hoc tempore aut domi nummos Quintus habeat ... aut versuram usquam facere possit ..."; X.11.2: "Illa de ratione nummaria non sunt eius modi (saepe enim audio ex ipso) ut non cupiat tibi praestare et in eo laboret"; 15.4: "de Quinto fratre, scito eum non mediocriter laborare de versura, sed adhuc nihil a L. Egnatio expressit".

51 Att. XIII.46.4: "Quinto delegabo si quid aeri meo alieno superabit et emptionibus, ex quibus mi etiam aes alienum faciendum puto"; XV.20.4: "in eam diem cadere nummos qui a Quinto debentur".

effected with help from Egnatius, no doubt in the form of a loan.[52] Quintus Jr., as will be seen later, complained that he was not getting enough money from his father.[53]

Restricted though he was in cash, Quintus was ever ready, as many a Senator of his time, to indulge his love of opulence, and to assist others. Cicero acknowledged his "liberalitas", and claimed that no one was less close-fisted ("lentulus", "restrictus") than he.[54] Cicero cautioned him to be generous within his means.[55]

What then were the sources of Q. Cicero's wealth? One must reject the notion, such as Sihler's, that "provincial appointments and a career in the field" were the principal sources.[56] A substantial part of this wealth Quintus inherited from his father, and another part he undoubtedly acquired through his marriage with the rich Pomponia. Now the assets of this wealth consisted largely of real estate which was income-generating. M. Cicero's own real estate, although he drew rents from his Arpinum farm-lots, his Puteoli shops and his insulae in Rome, were largely directed towards prestige and pleasure property. Perhaps, as it seems,

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52 Att. XIV.13.5: "Quintus autem de emendo nihil curat hoc tempore; satis enim torquetur debitione dotis, in qua mirificas Egnatio gratias agit".

53 See below, 377-8.

54 Att. IV.3.6: "Q. fratris liberalitati ... respondimus"; X. 11.2: "an existimas illum in isto genere lentulum aut restrictum? nemo est minus."

55 Q.F. III.7.4: "cave ... nisi maximo tuo commodo et maxima tua facultate ...". See also, above, 133-4.

56 Sihler 99.

Quintus' assets were more intensively "fructus causa", rather than "delectationis causa", so that from his urban tenants and rural freeholders, he derived substantial income.[57]

For Cicero, gifts and bequests from clients and friends made up a considerable source of income.[58] Quintus, who was no orator and no consularis, could not have rendered services in the measure of his brother. But in his various minor capacities, as "patronus" of Arpinum, magistrate, senator and brother of Cicero, he must have rendered miscellaneous services, some of which brought him compensations of this kind. There are three passages suggestive of such compensations.

In Dec. 54, Quintus was complaining about the testament of a certain Felix. Cicero told him the truth of the matter was worse than Quintus' suspicions: a provision, which somehow affected Quintus, had been fouled up by the testator and his secretary, and the specifics of this provision have been fouled up in our ms. tradition. According to the text of Constans, who has produced an excellent emendation, that makes sense of the corrupt part, Quintus had been made heir to a quarter of Felix' estate or of an item therein. Quintus considered this inadequate. Felix, however, instead of signing the will containing this provision,

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57 Pomponia's wealth, and dowry: see above, 29-30; M.'s villas: Schmidt, passim; Arpinum rental lots ("mercedulas praediorum"): Att. XIII.11.1; Puteoli shops: Att. XIV.9.1; 11.2; insulae in Rome: Att. XII.7.1; 24.1; 32.2; XVI.1.5. On the distinction between "fructus causa" and "delectationis causa", see Varro, RR III.2.3-13. On urban property investment at the time (with particular reference to M. and A.), see P. Garnsey, ap. Finley, 123-36.

58 Boren, CJ, LVII (1961) 17-24 and Carcopino, Secrets, I, 147-181, have assembled the material on this topic.

signed an alternative one, which in some way left Quintus in a worse position.[59] Whether or not the emendation of Constans is right, the passage is at any rate indicative of Quintus' expectation of a bequest.

In the following year, Quintus wrote from Gaul that he would fulfil all his promises to the slaves of Sabinus. The individual concerned is almost certainly Q. Titurius Sabinus, who had perished in the famous débâcle amidst the Eburones.[60] The implication seems to be that Quintus could deal with (probably manumit) the slaves, as heir, or at least as executor, of part of Sabinus' possessions.

In March 45, Quintus was somehow a party involved in the matter of a settlement in money, in lieu of slaves, to be paid to a businessman called Castricius. The passage is obscure, but Shackleton-Bailey has proposed the most satisfactory explanation. The explanation is that Quintus and Marcus had a joint interest in the slaves as co-heirs to an estate, and that Castricius laid claim to them, but might accept a pecuniary settlement.[61]

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59 Q.F. III.7.8: "De Felicis testamento tum magis querare, si scias; quas enim tabulas se putavit obsignare, in quibus iii unciis firmissimum te, eas vero (lapsus est per errorem et suum et Sicurae servi) non obsignavit; quas noluit, eas obsignavit". (= Constans' text, which makes sense of the traditional reading, as in Watt, "in quibus †in unciis firmissimum tenes† eas vero"). Cf. Att. IV.19.2 ("Felicianae unciae").

60 Fam. XVI.16.2: "Sabini pueris et promisi omnia et faciam". Cf. Caes. B.G. V.26-37.

61 Att. XII.28.3: "De Castriciano negotio, si Castricius pro mancipiis pecuniam accipere volet eamque ei solvi ut nunc solvitur, certe nihil est commodius. sin autem ita actum est ut ipsa mancipia abduceret, non mihi videtur esse aequum ... nolo enim negoti Quintum fratrem quicquam habere ..."; cf. 30.2: "De Castricianis mancipiis ...". S.B.'s elucidation, V, 323 (n. ad Att. XII.28.3), includes reasons for rejecting T.P.'s interpretation (ad loc.), that the allusion is to a debt of Q. to C.

Another very probable source of income for Quintus was investment in tax-farming or other public contracts. There is nothing like clear evidence of this, but a couple of suggestive allusions. As governor of Cilicia in 51-50, Cicero wrote several letters to P. Silius, governor of Bithynia, commending to his attention individuals, such as P. Terentius Hispo, T. Pinnius, T. Claudius Nero, Servilius Strabo, M. Laenius, individuals who, as a rule, had investment interests in Silius' province. In fact P. Terentius Hispo is known to have been pro-magistro of the scriptura of Bithynia. Now in two of these letters, Cicero alluded to Quintus. In Fam. XIII.62, he asked Silius to treat Quintus with the same consideration as he would treat Cicero himself, the implication being either that Quintus made a rapid business-trip to Silius' province, or that Quintus had written to Silius concerning his business in Silius' province. In Fam. XIII.63, commending, to the same Silius, M. Laenius, who had "negotia" in Bithynia, Cicero observed that Silius' cooperation would be highly appreciated by Quintus. Whereas there was a prosperous company farming the taxes of Bithynia, with whose shareholders Cicero claimed to be on most intimate terms, it is a reasonable hypothesis that Quintus held non-voting shares in that company.[62]

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62 Fam. XIII.62: "Quintum fratrem meum, si me diligis, eo numero cura ut habeas quo me. Ita magnum beneficium tuum magno cumulo auxeris"; 63.1: "Incredibile est quanti faciamus et ego et frater meus, qui mihi carissimus est, M. Laenium ... (2) ... peto ut quod habet in tua provincia negoti expedias ... Id mihi fratrique meo gratissimum feceris". Cf. Fam. XIII.61; 64; 65; and similar commendaticiae to Q. Minucius Thermus, governor of Asia: Fam. XIII.53; 56; 55. On Hispo: Fam. XIII.65 and Att. XI.10.1, with Badian, P.S, 76. Bithynian publicani

Q. Cicero was a man of wealth: wealth in real estate property and furnishings, in slaves and in securities: wealth originating from inheritance, endowments, gifts and income generated by the assets of that wealth. That wealth was adequate to provide him with the material necessities which enabled him to devote himself to a public career and to intellectual pursuits, and to live a life of some opulence. It was not adequate, however, to lure him into the extravagances of those whom his brother contemptuously branded as "piscinarii". And it was not adequate for indulging the whims and ambitions of his only son, Quintus Jr.

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and Cic.'s intimacy: Fam. XIII.9, with Badian, P.S, 87-8; 99; 106-7. Senators and non-voting shares: Badian, P.S, 101-5. Stinchcomb's suggestion (2-3) that Q. was a trader in slaves (cf. Q.F. III.7.4) is wildly speculative.

VI

FATHER AND SON

It was once thought that Q.F. I.3.10: "Filiam meam et tuam", had, in the "tuam", an allusion to a daughter of Quintus. Long ago Blase removed this belief. Cicero, writing to Quintus, referred to his own daughter as "tua", in the same way as Quintus referred to her, when writing to Cicero, in Fam. XVI.16.1, as "meam Tulliolam".[1] No one doubts to-day that Quintus had only one child, Quintus Jr.

In the light of subsequent references to him, and the date he obtained his toga virilis,[2] it is certain that "soror praegnans est" (Att. I.10.5) referred to his forthcoming birth. This was written c. May 67. Had he been born afterwards in 67, one would have expected some reference to the event in one of the three subsequent letters to Atticus: Att. I.11 (Aug. 67), I.3 (end 67), I.4 (early 66). It is more likely then that he was born in 66 (as Drumann-Groebe and Wiemer state, and Stinchcomb implies) than in 67 (as Blase and Sihler state, and Cowell and Božić imply).[3] He was therefore a little more than a year older than Marcus Jr., born in the summer of 65.[4]

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1 Blase 6. Cf. (below, n. 14) the references of Cic. to Q. Jr. as "meus" and "noster".

2 See below, 360.

3 Drumann-Groebe 666; Wiemer 20; Stinchcomb, A, 442; Blase 6; Sihler 102; Cowell 296; Božić 11.

4 Att. I.2.1: cf. Drumann-Groebe 629, n. 1.

Since his parents were ill-matched and his father was absent from home for long periods, there have been suggestions that Quintus Jr. was neglected or lonely as a child.[5] Nothing could be farther from the truth.

Atticus, the boy's avunculus, resided in Rome at other times and during a good part of Quintus Sr.'s stays in Asia and Sardinia. In fact, during the first fifteen years of the boy's life, Atticus was resident in Italy, mainly in Rome, for a total of approximately nine years, at different times.[6] He often had the child live with him during those years, and looked after him, undoubtedly with the affection characteristic of maternal uncles.[7]

Quintus, the father, on his return from Sardinia, took so much pleasure in his son's company, and felt so much concern for his health, that he refused to leave the boy behind, and go on trips to the country.[8]

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5 Cf. Stinchcomb, A, 442: "neglected by mother ..."; "forlorn childhood"; Božić 11: "only really noticed ... when a nuisance".

6 The computation is based on clues from Att. I.2.2; 13.1; 18.1; II.2.3; 3.4; 18.1; 23.3; 25.2; III.15.4; III.25; IV.1.1; 4; 14.1; 19.1; V.18.1; 19.1; 21.1; and following the conclusion of Byrne, Atticus, 4-5, n. 31. The periods of A.'s residence in Italy were consequently: Jan. 64-Dec. 62; Dec. 60-May 59; end 59-Dec. 58; Jan. 56-May 54; Nov. 54-end 52.

7 Att. II.2.1: "Cura, amabo te, Ciceronem nostrum"; IV.7.1: "Nihil εὐκαιρότερον epistula tua ... de Quinto nostro ..."; 7.3: "Puerum Ciceronem curabis et amabis, ut facis"; 9.2: "Quintus frater ad me scripsit se, quoniam Ciceronem ... tecum haberes, ad te Nonis Maiis venturum".

8 Att. IV.9.2 (see above, n. 7); Q.F. II.9.1: "... ut te proficiscens non tollerem. Opposuisti semel ἀνανπίλεκτον causam, Ciceronis nostri valetudinem; conticui; iterum Cicerones; quievi"; 12.4: "Oblecta te cum Cicerone nostro quam bellissime".

His service in Gaul took his son out of his sight, but not out of his mind. He wrote repeatedly and urgently to Cicero, to give the boy affection and instruction. He was concerned that his absence might entail a lack of adequate supervision, and promised Cicero a fee of love, if Cicero filled the gap.[9] He wrote letters to the boy himself, who was hardly twelve years old - letters which the boy proudly showed to Uncle Cicero. One of them contained instruction that he should stick to Uncle Cicero as to a "magister". Another, containing serious advice, was written in a style of good-humoured familiarity.[10]

Cicero himself did not conform to the type of the distant and morose patruus.[11] In his exile, he passionately missed his nephew, along with his own children.[12] During Quintus' service in Sardinia, he had his nephew given private lessons in his own house: the tutor was Tyrannio, a grammaticus from Amisus, whom Cicero appreciated very much.[13] His

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9 Q.F. II.13.2: "Tua mandata persequar diligenter ... maximae vero mihi curae erit ut Ciceronem tuum nostrumque videam"; III.1.7: "De Cicerone quod me semper rogas ..."; "Id me scis antea gratis tibi esse pollicitum; quid nunc putas, tanta mihi abs te mercede proposita?" 1.14: "de eius eruditione quod labores nihil est ..."; 3.4: "magna enim nobis a te proposita merces est"; 7.9: "Ciceronem et ut rogas amo ...".

10 Q.F. III.1.19: "Dedit mihi epistulam legendam tuam, quam paulo ante acceperat, Aristophaneo modo valde me hercule et suavem et gravem ... Dedit etiam alteram illam mihi, qua iubes eum mihi esse adfixum tamquam magistro. Quam illum epistulae illae delectarunt ...!"

11 Cf. Cael. 25; Hor. Sat. II.3.88; Pers. I.11.

12 Q.F. I.3.3: "Quod vero tuum filium [desidero]".

13 Q.F. II.4.2: "Quintus [filius] tuus ... eruditur egregie; hoc nunc magis animum adverto, quod Tyrannio docet apud me". On Tyrannio, cf. III.4.5; 5.6; Att. II.6.1; IV.4b.1; 8a.2; XII.6.2; Treggiari 116.

nephew was to Cicero as much "puer meus" and "puer noster" as "puer tuus".[14] He was solicitous about the boy's health: for instance, on the occasion of Tullia's betrothal to Furius Crassipes, when the boy was indisposed, he had the boy retire, and the next day, he visited the boy and had a long quiet chat with him.[15] When Quintus departed for Gaul, Cicero considered it his duty to supervise daily the progress of his nephew's education. His tutor now was a rhetor with the name of Paeonius, an efficient and well-trained man.[16] But Cicero wanted to supplement Paeonius' teaching with some of his own. In his teaching of the art of persuasion, Paeonius stressed appeal to the emotions, whereas Cicero preferred the argumentative style, with stress on appeal to reason. As he had hardly any time in Rome for teaching, he used to take his own son with him on his retreats to the country, and there Marcus Jr. had intensive exposure to his influence. He wanted to do the same with

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14 Q.F. II.6.2: "tuus meusque"; 13.2: "tuum nostrumque"; III.1.10: "liberos nostros"; 1.14: "noster"; 3.4: "tuus nosterque"; Att. II.2.1: "nostrum"; IV.7.1: "nostro".

15 Att. IV.7.1: "me sollicitum de Quinto nostro"; cf. 7.3 and II.2.1 (in n. 7 above); Q.F. II.6.2: "huic convivio ... quod perleviter commotus fuerat, defuit. A. d. VII. Id. April. veni ad Quintum eumque vidi plane integrum, multumque is mecum sermonem habuit".

16 Q.F. II.13.2: "videam scilicet cottidie sed inspiciam quid discat quam saepissime"; III.1.14: "Cicero noster dum ego absum non cessavit apud rhetorem"; "studium ego video, cetera eius sic suscipio, ut me putem praestare debere"; 3.4: "summo studio est Paeoni sui rhetoris, hominis, opinor, valde exercitati et boni".

his nephew.[17] Failing this, he frequently had the boy come over to dinner. He proclaimed he loved the boy as much as the father did, and saw a great deal of him.[18]

Pomponia was possessive, rather than neglectful, of her son. If he did not accompany his uncle Cicero to the country, or did not stay too long with him, it was on account of Pomponia's reluctance.[19]

Marcus Jr. was constantly in the company of his cousin, whom, according to his father, he loved and respected as an elder brother.[20] When Cicero was in exile, Quintus was a father to Marcus Jr. and his sister Tullia.[21] And whether or not Quintus was away, the two cousins played and studied together and got along well.[22]

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17 Q.F. II.13.2: "nisi ille contemnet, etiam magistrum me ei profitebor, cuius rei non nullam consuetudinem nactus sum in hoc horum dierum otio Cicerone nostro minore producendo"; III.1.7: "Atque utinam [mihi] his diebus in Arpinati ... mecum fuisset!" "... si eum mecum habuero otiosus; nam Romae respirandi non est locus"; 3.4: "si nobiscum eum rus aliquo eduxerimus, in hanc nostram rationem consuetudinemque inducemus"; cf. ibid. on Paeonius' style, and 4.6: "in Tusculanum proficiscens ducensque mecum Ciceronem meum in ludum discendi, non lusionis".

18 Q.F. III.1.7: "non enim concedo tibi plus ut illum ames quam ipse amo"; 1.19: "venit ad nos Cicero tuus ad cenam ..."; 7.9: "Ciceronem ... amo et ut meretur et debeo"; "sumus una tamen valde multum".

19 Q.F. III.1.7: "quod ad Pomponiam, si tibi videtur, scribas velim, cum aliquo exibimus eat nobiscum puerumque educat"; 7.9: "dimitto autem a me et ut a magistris ne abducam et quod mater † Porcia non † discedit" (The text here, although obscure, is suggestive).

20 Q.F. I.3.3: "meus Cicero et amabat ut fratrem et iam ut maiorem fratrem verebatur".

21 See above, 134.

22 Q.F. II.7.2: "pueri nostri"; III.3.1: "Valent pueri, studiose discunt, diligenter docentur, et nos et inter se amant"; Att. VI.1.12: "Cicerones pueri amant inter se, discunt, exercentur".

Quintus Jr., as a child, looked "the image" of his father, and his health was as delicate as his father's.[23] There were also symptoms of high metabolism: hyperactivity and a big appetite.[24] Otherwise, Cicero saw nothing but virtues in him, and repeatedly referred to him as "puer optimus".[25] On the emotional side, he reciprocated the affection of his parents, his two uncles and his playmate cousin.[26] He was disturbed by the quarrels of Pomponia, but found in Uncle Cicero a sympathetic elder to talk to.[27] On the intellectual side, he was gifted with above-average intelligence, an interested and studious learner.[28] And, in his conversations, he showed some of the pleasant traits, which characterised

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23 Q.F. I.3.3: "imaginem tuam"; health: Att. II.2.1; IV.7.1; 7.3 (cf. n. 7 above); Q.F. II.6.2 (n. 15 above); 9.1 (n. 8 above). On Q. Sr.'s health: see above, 7-8.

24 Q.F. III.7.9: "edacitatem pueri pertimesco"; Att. XIII.31.4: "o gulam insulsam! pudet me patris" (S.B. V, 348, n. ad loc., agrees with most editors that the latter reference is to Q. Jr., but fails to see that the reason for thinking so is Q.F. III.7.9). On hyperactivity, below, 360-1.

25 "Puer optimus": Q.F. II.4.2; 6.2; Att. IV.7.1. Cf. Q.F. III.7.2: "delectant maximeque pueri nostri".

26 Q.F. III.1.19: "nihil nostri amantius"; 3.1: "pueri ... nos ... amant"; Att. II.2.1: "ei nos θεῖοι videmur"; VI.1.12 (see n. 22 above); 2.2: "videtur ... amare teque mirifice"; "ac mihi videtur matrem valde, ut debet, amare"; 3.8: "miram in eo pietatem ... perspexi"; 7.1: "pie sane".

27 Q.F. II.6.2: "mecum sermonem ... de discordiis mulierum nostrarum"; Att. VI.3.8: "Lacrimans mecum est questus".

28 Q.F. II.4.2 (n. 13 above); III.1.14 (n. 16 above); ibid: "ingenium eius nosti, studium ego video" (cf. Phil. III.18: "praestantissimum ingenium"); 3.1 (n. 22 above); 3.4 (n. 16 above); ibid: "puer ... illo declamatorio genere duci et delectari videtur"; Att. VI. 1.12 (n. 22 above).

his father: he was sensitive ("perhumanus"), witty ("festivus") and charming ("suavis").[29] Cicero had high hopes his nephew would one day become a great orator.[30]

Quintus Jr. was fifteen when Cicero was appointed governor of Cilicia. He and his cousin accompanied their fathers on that trip. The purpose was not to give the youngsters military training, or, as is sometimes erroneously believed, to give them schooling in rhetoric in Rhodes.[31] It was an educational tour. If the governor's outgoing and return trips were very slow and leisurely, it was partly due to his desire to show the sights to the boys. On the return trip, the party sailed out to Rhodes specifically for the boys' sake;[32] and Quintus went out to Buthrotum for the sake of his son.[33] From August to December 51, as the elder Ciceros were in the field, the boys, for their own protection, lived in the court of Deiotarus, the friendly king of

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29 Q.F. II.6.2: "sermonem ... perhumanum"; "nihil festivius"; III.1.19: "Nihil puero illo suavius"; Att. IV.19.2: "Ciceronem suavissimum"; VI.3.8: "miram in eo ... suavitatem humanitatemque"; Phil. III.18: "eius suavissimos atque optimos mores". Cf. for Q. Sr.: 222-4, above.

30 Q.F. III.1.7: "Clamores efficiam ..."; 3.4: "patiamur illum ire nostris itineribus; eodem enim perventurum esse confidimus".

31 Cf. Loeb ed. of Fam., vol. I, p. 150, n. (c): Glynn Williams' n. to Fam. II.17.1.

32 Att. V.18.4: "Si opus erit, deducentur Rhodum"; X.11.4: "recordor enim aestate cum <illis> [i.e. pueris] Rhodiorum ἀφράκτῳ navigans quam fuerim sollicitus"; Fam. II.17.1: "Rhodum Ciceronum causa puerorum accessurum puto"; cf. S.B. III, 268-9; Att. VI.8.4; Brut. 1.

33 See above, 196.

Galatia.[34] When the governor returned from his campaign, Deiotarus personally escorted the boys and delivered them to him at Laodicea.[35]

During the stay in Laodicea, Cicero continued to supervise the education of both his son and his nephew: for Quintus was away in winter-quarters. The private tutor now was Dionysius, a freedman of Atticus, who had accompanied his pupils to Deiotarus' court. It was the choice of Cicero, who thought highly of his scholarship and his loyalty, until, later, he considered the fellow impeachable on both counts. The pupils complained about his bad temper, and Quintus Sr. never really liked him.[36]

On 17 March 50, the Liberalia, Cicero, following his brother's instruction from camp, gave the toga virilis to his nephew, now turning sixteen.[37] At this time, when Quintus Jr. was becoming a man, Cicero

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34 Att. V.17.3: "Cicerones nostros Deiotarus filius ... secum in regnum. Dum in aestivis nos essemus, illum pueris locum esse bellissimum duximus"; 18.4: "Cicerones nostri sunt apud Deiotarum". Cf. Div. I.26: Deiotarus described as "hospes noster".

35 Att. V.20.9: "Deiotarus, cuius auxiliis magnis usus sum, ad me, ut scripsit, cum Ciceronibus Laodiceam venturus erat".

36 Att. V.9.3: "Cicero meus ..." etc.; "Dionysium semper equidem, ut scis, dilexi"; VI.1.12: "Dionysius quidem mihi in amoribus est. pueri autem aiunt eum furenter irasci. sed homo nec doctior nec sanctior fieri potest nec tui meique amantior"; VIII.4.1: "ut meum iudicium reprehendi a Quinto fratre vulgoque ab omnibus mallem ... Ciceronesque nostros meo potius labore subdoceri quam me alium iis magistrum quaerere". See further below, 366, on D. The numerous references to him are assembled and discussed by Treggiari, 119-121.

37 Att. V.20.9: "Ego cum Laodiceam venero, Quinto sororis tuae filio togam puram iubeor dare"; VI.1.12: "Quinto togam puram Liberalibus cogitabam dare; mandavit enim pater. ea sic observabo quasi intercalatum non sit"; 2.2: "Ciceronis ... iam adulescentis". On the Liberalia, see W. Fowler, Festivals, 54-7.

reflected a good deal on his character. He likened his son to a colt that needed the spurs, and his nephew to a colt that needed the curbing-reins. The latter was "bene sibi fidens", with a "multiplex ingenium". These need not be derogatory observations, as Blase and Božić, for instance, take them to be.[38] Quintus Jr. had drive, self-confidence and adaptability, which, if not properly controlled and directed, might develop into the serious blemishes of impulsiveness, self-importance and duplicity.

As the Civil War approached, the character of Quintus Jr. deteriorated rapidly. Cicero now described him as dangerously independent and impulsive, as aggressive and self-important, and as a scheming hypocrite, full of double-talk and opportunism, ready to make his fortune from the Civil War, at any cost.[39] There was still no question about his intelligence and ability: the problem was that they were outside the control of any ethical standards.[40] Even on the emotional side,

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38 Att. V.20.9: "cui moderabor diligentius"; VI.1.12: "alter, uti dixit Isocrates in Ephoro et Theopompo, frenis eget, alter calcaribus" (cf. 7.1: "currentem"); 2.2: "verum tamen multiplex pueri ingenium, in quo ego regendo habeo negoti satis"; 6.4: "puer bene sibi fidens". Cf. Blase 17-8; Božić 15.

39 Att. X.4.6: "neque unum eius nec parvum sed multa <et> magna delicta ..."; "simulatio pietatis"; 6.2: "mirabilia multa, nihil simplex, nihil sincerum"; 7.3: "avaritiam video fuisse et spem magni congiari. magnum hoc malum est ..."; "hoc autem vitium ..."; 10.6: "tam nescioquid cogitans ..."; 11.3: "mendacem ... avarum"; "ferocem ... adrogantem ... infestum".

40 Att. X.10.6: "nihil ego vidi tam ἀνηθοποίητον "; "mirum est enim ingenium, ἤθους ἐπιμελητέον "; 12 a.4: "est enim indoles, modo aliquod † hoc sit ἦθος ἀιίμολον †".

adolescence was hardening his feelings, and his affection for kith and kin appeared to be gone.[41] All the elders were struck with extreme grief, shame and anxiety over his conduct.[42]

The rake displayed his perversity, when he was staying with his father and uncle at Formiae, waiting for developments in the prelude to the Civil War. On 15 or 16 February, he left abruptly, presumably to visit his mother in Rome, possibly also to avoid accompanying the other Ciceros on their trip to Pompey at Luceria. When their trip proved abortive and they returned to Formiae, he joined them again,[43] but was writing to Caesar without the knowledge or approval of the elders.[44] At the end of March, he left again for Rome, probably, again, on the pretext of visiting his mother. But report came to the Ciceros that, in Rome,

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41 Att. X.10.6: "ab eo nos non amari plane intellego"; "tam aversum a suis"; 11.3: "non amantem suorum".

42 Att. X.4.5: "alter (o rem miseram! nihil enim mihi accidit in omni vita acerbius) ... eo progressus est quo non audeo dicere"; 4.6: "ita graviter tulimus ut te quidem celaremus ..."; "non audeo dicere"; "iacet in maerore meus frater ..."; 10.6: "vim incredibilem molestiarum".

43 Att. VIII.1.1: "iam subito fratris puer proficiscebatur"; cf. above, 44-5; 198-9. S.B., IV, 431, includes Q. Jr. in the trip to Luceria, on the basis of Att. VIII.11 D.1: "cum liberis nostris". I would exclude him on two grounds: (a) If he left by himself on 15 or 16 Feb. (VIII.1.1), how could he also have left with the Ciceros for Luceria on 17 Feb. at daybreak (VIII.2.4)? (b) On the night of 18-19, at Cales, he seems to have been absent from the company of the other Ciceros (VIII. 3.5: "cum fratre an sine eo cum filio an quo modo?"). The plural in "liberis" of VIII.11 D.1 need not be pressed.

44 Att. X.4.6: "litteras eius ad Caesarem missas ... ipsius vide <re>mur vitam insuavem reddidisse".

Hirtius arranged for him an interview with Caesar, in the course of which he denounced his uncle as being hostile to Caesar and planning to leave Italy out of cowardice.[45] As Cicero suspected and later discovered from a meeting with the young Curio, the report of treacherous accusation had been exaggerated, and there had not been an interview with Caesar himself, although the meeting with Hirtius was confirmed.[46] Atticus, who was in Rome and watched Quintus Jr.'s movements there, suspected he was acting in connivance with his father; but Cicero, rejecting this supposition, had no doubt that he was acting entirely by himself.[47] About

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45 Att. X.4.6: "hoc vero iter ..."; "tantum scio post Hirtium conventum arcessitum a Caesare, cum eo de meo animo a suis rationibus alienissimo et consilio relinquendi Italiam; et haec ipsa timide".

46 Att. X.4.6: "maxime quidem illam [consolationem] velim, ea quae ad nos delata sint aut falsa esse aut minora"; "sive iracundia sive dolore sive metu permotus gravius scripsi"; "si vera sunt, ignosces, sin falsa, me libente eripies mihi hunc errorem"; 4.11: "acquievi. levata est enim suspicio illa domestici mali et sermonis Hirtiani. quam cupio illum dignum esse nobis et quam ipse me invito †quae pro illo sit suspicandum†! sed opus fuit Hirtio convento? est profecto nescio quid, sed velim quam minimo". Meeting with Curio: 4.7-10.

47 Att. X.4.5: "exspecto tuas litteras; scripsisti enim te scripturum esse plura cum ipsum vidisses"; 4.6: "neque [frater] tam de sua vita quam de mea metuit. huic tu, huic tu malo adfer consolationes"; "quoquo modo vero se res habebit, nihil adsignabis nec patruo nec patri"; 11.1: "quae de fratre meo scribis ... me quidem [habet] se ipso cariorem. quod de puero aliter ad te scripsit et ad matrem de filio, non reprehendo". "Simulatio pietatis", which Cic. ascribes to Q. Jr. in 4.6, is problematic. The common view is that Q. Jr. pretended to be going to Rome to put in a good word for his father with the Caesarians. S.B. rejects this interpretation as "manifestly foolish", and suggests that "pietas" here refers to his pretence of maternal, rather than paternal, loyalty: Q. Jr.'s excuse then was his desire to visit his mother. This is all very well. But the common view can still stand, if we take "pietas" to be, not what Q. Jr. professed when he left the Ciceros at Formiae, but what he professed to the Caesarians in Rome: it was part of the rumours that came to Cic., who consequently branded it as "simulatio".

20 April, he returned from Rome to the Ciceros at Cumae, to receive a "hot" reception from his uncle.[48]

The two uncles agreed that the blame for their nephew's perversity must be imputed in part to his father. Quintus, as it has been seen in his relation with his brother and with Statius, was a man who could be easily influenced by persons for whom he had deep affection.[49] Similarly he allowed himself to be easily influenced by his son. The two uncles had feared that influence, in the contingency of Quintus being appointed acting-governor of Cilicia.[50] They had used that influence in their effort to prevent the divorce between Quintus and Pomponia in 51-50.[51] Quintus lacked firmness vis-à-vis his son: no sooner did he make a resolution than an emotional appeal (or sometimes an emotional blackmail) from Quintus Jr. would make him shift.[52] The two uncles agreed that the father was guilty of excessive "lenitas" and "indulgentia".[53] Sometimes

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48 Att. X.4.11: "et tamen eum nondum redisse miramur"; 7.3: "Quintum puerum accepi vehementer" (meaning surely "rough" (T.P.) rather than "warm" (S.B.)).

49 For Statius and other subordinates: see above, 86-8; 108-9. For brother: passim.

50 Att. VI.6.4; 9.3 (see above, 192, n. 403).

51 Att. VI.3.8; 7.1 (see above, 43-4, n. 71 and 72).

52 Att. X.11.1: "sunt ea quidem parum firma sed habent nihil ὕπουλον, nihil fallax, nihil non flexibile ad bonitatem, nihil quod non quo velis uno sermone possis perducere ... quod de puero aliter ad te scripsit et aliter ad matrem de filio ...".

53 Att. X.4.6: "patris autem lenitas amanda potius ab illo quam tam crudeliter neglegenda"; 6.2: "pater enim nimis indulgens ... relaxat"; 11.3: "indulsit illi quidem suus pater semper"; "... indulgentia ..."; "itaque habet haec quoque quae nascuntur ex indulgentia".

indeed he would be angry with the boy; but it would be one of those outbursts, from which he would soon relent.[54] In the moments when he was looking for sympathy with himself against one of the other elders, he would confide in Quintus Jr. about the shortcomings of the person concerned.[55] He was thus not only too indulgent, but also too impulsive, too emotional and too indiscreet to inculcate, in a son, discipline and respect for the elders.

Consequently the two uncles felt that there might be a better chance for disciplining the boy, if he were separated from his father. But Quintus was incensed at any such suggestion.[56] Writing from Rome during the prelude of the Civil War, Atticus urged Cicero repeatedly to discipline the boy. Cicero replied that this, under prevailing circumstances, had become a forbidding task, a "magnum opus": he jokingly compared the undertaking to the answer of the Delphic oracle, according to Herodotus, when the Lacedemonians asked for Arcadia. He wished that Atticus, rather, would undertake the task and have the boy with him in Rome, away from the father.[57] But, uncertain as the times were, Cicero

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54 Att. XIII.39.1: "hic [= Q.] autem iam languescit et ait sibi illum [= Q. Jr.] iure iratum"; 40.2: "mirum quam inimicus ibat, ut ego obiurgarem".

55 Att. XIII.41.1: "de te autem suam culpam quod saepe graviter ad filium scripsisset de tua in illum iniuria".

56 Att. VI.6.4: "te id censere moleste ferebat"; X.6.2: "... si sine illo possem, regerem".

57 Att. X.5.2: "Quod mihi mandas de quodam regendo, ' Ἀρκαδίαν ... ' tamen nihil praetermittam. atque utinam tu - sed molestior non ero"; 6.2: "De Quinto filio, fit a me quidem sedulo, sed - ... magnum

did not press the point, and promised to do his part and hope for the best.[58]

Despite all his criticism, Cicero continued to profess his affection for his nephew;[59] and it was no false claim. He continued to feel responsible for the boy's education, and his anxiety in that direction was increased by the desertion of Dionysius.[60] In his worries about the impending Civil War and the future in store for the next generation, he always included considerations of the safety and interests of, not just his son, but "the boys".[61]

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opus est"; "vellem suscepisses iuvenem regendum ... quod tu potes ... magnum, inquam, opus est"; 12 a.4: "Nos iuveni, ut rogas, suppeditabimus et Peloponnesum ipsam sustinebimus".

58 Att. X.7.3: "quem tamen nos disciplina regimus"; 10.6: "sed erit curae et est ut regatur"; 12.3: "utinam proficere possem!" 12 a.4: "quod si adhuc nullum est, esse tamen potest, aut ἀρετῆ non est διδακτόν , quod mihi persuaderi non potest"; 15.4: "de Quinto puero, datur opera; spero esse meliora".

59 Att. X.4.6: "tuus in illum amor aut meus"; 10.6: "Iuvenem nostrum non possum non amare"; 11.3: "... mihi quidem qui illum amo".

60 Dionysius: Att. VIII.4.2; 5.1; 10; IX.12.2; 15.5; X.2.2; 16.1; XIII.2b; 33 (a).1. Cf. above, n. 36.

61 Att. VII.12.3: "frangor saepe misericordia puerorum"; 13.3: "Itaque de Ciceronibus nostris dubito quid agam; nam mihi interdum amandandi videntur in Graeciam"; 17.1: "de pueris in Graeciam transportandis tum cogitabam cum fuga ex Italia quaeri videbatur"; 18.1: "in Formiano esse volui et una Cicerones"; 26.3: "nunc, ut video, pueri certe in Formiano videntur hiematuri"; X.4.5: "proficiscar ... propter pueros, quibus interdum videmur praestare etiam rem publicam debuisse"; 11.4: "de pueris quid agam? parvone navigio committam? "

Cicero himself was more severe with children than Quintus was.[62] In the opinion of his nephew, he was indeed a tyrant of a father,[63] - which was certainly an exaggeration. In his own opinion, however, Cicero thought he was too lax: the spontaneous docility of his own son and the worries of the time, he believed, had made him easy-going as an elder.[64] He was conscious of his own waverings in handling his rebellious nephew.[65] Atticus allayed his qualms and self-reproaches; and Cicero became convinced that Quintus Jr. was part of a bad crop, spoiled not so much by the negligence of the elders as by the bad climate of the times ("natura"): there were other examples, such as the sons of Hortensius and Curio.[66]

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62 Att. X.4.6: "Omne meum obsequium in illum fuit cum multa severitate"; "compressi"; 6.2: "quicquid ego adstrinxi"; 12.3: "Quintum filium severius adhibebo".

63 Att. XIII.37.2: "... Ciceronem vero meum vexari. sed id quidem arbitratu suo".

64 Att. X.4.6: "nam si haberemus rem publicam, consilium mihi non deesset nec ad severitatem nec ad diligentiam"; 11.3: "nam suas radices habent, quas tamen evellerem profecto, si liceret. sed ea tempora sunt ut omnia mihi sint patienda. ego meum facile teneo; nihil est enim eo tractabilius. cuius quidem misericordia languidiora adhuc consilia cepi". (Cf. on M. Jr., 4.5: "maiore pietate").

65 Att. XIII.40.2: "sed ego ipse πεπέφαμαι "; 41.1: "quod autem relanguisse me dicit".

66 Att. X.4.5: "indulgentia videlicet nostra depravatus ..."; 4.6: "sed nulla nostra culpa est, natura metuenda est. haec Curionem, haec Hortensi filium, non patrum culpa corrupit"; 7.3: "hoc autem vitium puto te existimare non <a> nostra indulgentia sed a natura profectum"; 11.3: "quae nascuntur ex indulgentia, sed ea sunt tolerabilia <quid enim dicam?> hac iuventute; ea vero ... miseriora, non sunt ab obsequio nostro". On Hortensius Jr.: cf. Att. VI.3.9; Curio Jr.: cf. Plut. Caes. 29.2; Lucan IV.816-20.

However, it escaped the notice of the two uncles that, if their nephew was guilty of effrontery, self-importance and duplicity, they too deserved blame, not so much for laxity, but for giving encouragement and setting bad examples in those directions. For instance, with the good intention of reconciling the boy's parents, they had incited him into believing that his interference in matters was vital. Cicero had even urged him to spy on his father, by secretly opening letters addressed to the latter.[67] Both uncles had less courage than they would admit, in facing up to their nephew. Eloquent in their secret exchange of criticisms, they reciprocated the mutual favour of destroying letters containing these criticisms, for fear they would leak to him.[68] In 45, when about to face the boy on his return from Spain, Cicero sought the advice of Atticus, whether he should reveal his true sentiments to the boy, or put on an act of good relations " σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις ". Atticus advised the latter, and the advice was followed.[69] A year later, Cicero double-crossed the boy, by giving him an open, commendatory testimonial, which he cancelled

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67 Att. VI.3.8: "Q. Cicero puer legit, ut opinor, et certe, epistulam inscriptam patri suo; solet enim aperire, idque de meo consilio, si quid forte sit quod opus sit sciri"; 7.1: "me quidem certe multum hortante"; "eum valde etiam tuae litterae excitarunt".

68 Att. X.12.3: "tu tamen eas epistulas quibus asperius de eo scripsi aliquando concerpito, ne quando quid emanet; ego item tuas".

69 Att. XIII.38.2: "Nunc iuva, mi Attice, consilio, ' πότερον δίκα τεῖχος ὕψιον ', id est utrum aperte hominem asperner et respuam, ' ἢ σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις ' ... omnino moribus meis illud apertius, sed hoc fortasse temporibus"; 39.2: "sed utar tuo consilio; σκολιὰ enim video placere"; 41.1: "ego ei tuis litteris lectis σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις significavi ...".

by a secret letter to the addressee.[70]

As it has been seen, Quintus Jr. had tried to conduct secret talks with Caesarians on his own. Hence, although Cicero did not exclude him from the relatives who allegedly urged him to leave Italy and join Pompey, he did point out that Quintus Jr. was not as insistent as his own son, Marcus Jr., that this was the right course.[71] When the elders left to join Pompey, despite some previous consideration about leaving the juniors behind or sending them to some safe place abroad, Quintus Jr. and his cousin went along.[72] Quintus Jr. continued thereafter to be with his father.[73]

When Pompey was defeated, it can be imagined how bitterly Quintus Jr. regretted that he had not been more insistent in his previous negotiations with the Caesarians and in his attempts to draw his father in that direction. In the subsequent negotiations of his father with Caesar, he, therefore, played a leading role. It was he who travelled to Asia to see Caesar, and had a meeting arranged through Hirtius, whose

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70 See below, 383-4.

71 Att. X.9.2: "... non sine magno fletu legerunt pueri nostri; etsi meus quidem est fortior eoque ipso vehementius commovet, nec quicquam nisi de dignatione laborat". Cf. above, 201, n. 428.

72 Att. VII.13.3; 17.1; 26.3; X.11.4 (quoted above, n. 61). Cf. above, 199.

73 Božić, 18, suggests that Q. Jr. was not at Pharsalus, since, in the aftermath of Pharsalus, he came to Patrae from Corcyra (Att. XI. 5.4). The reasoning is invalid: the assembly of Pompeians at Corcyra included refugees from Pharsalus (Dio XLII.10.2; Plut. Cato Min. 55.3; Lucan, IX.30-3). I have more reason to believe that the Quinti, father and son, were on the battlefield at Pharsalus: cf. above, 202-3.

friendship he had already cultivated.[74] In the quarrel of his father with Cicero, he participated heartily, adding fuel to his father's passion. In Ephesus, he showed to people a "volumen orationis" against his uncle, which he had prepared for delivery before Caesar.[75] To the letters which his father sent to Cicero, he appended his own, written "acerbissime", "mirifico odio".[76]

Following the reconciliation of the elder Ciceros, Quintus Jr. recuperated, to some extent, the good grace of his uncle. Cicero sponsored him, along with his son and M. Caesius, as one of the three chief magistrates ("aediles") of Arpinum. The letter, in which this information is given, is not dated, but was addressed to Brutus, when he was governor of Cisalpine Gaul, between the end of 47 and March 45: since Quintus Jr. was not back from the East until the second half of 47, and was in Spain for most of 45, the year of his magistracy was undoubtedly

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74 Att. XI.6.7: "de filio nihil audivi; sed quaere ex Diochare, Caesaris liberto ..."; 20.1: "... apud Caesarem vidisse Quintum filium cum Hirtio; eos de Quinto quae voluissent impetrasse nullo quidem negotio"; 21.3: "... Quinto filio omnia tribuisse ..."; 23.2: "is nuntiabat Quintum filium ad Caesarem profectum ...". Cf. above, 207, n. 449.

75 Att. XI.10.1: "P. Terentius ... eum [= Q. filium] sibi ita dixisse narrabat, se mihi esse inimicissimum, volumenque sibi ostendisse orationis quam apud Caesarem contra me esset habiturus. multa <a> se dicta contra eius amentiam"; cf. 8.2: "filium ... etiam accusatorem mei".

76 Att. XI.15.2: "Quintus ... acerbissime scripsit, filius vero mirifico odio"; 16.4: "Quintum filium ad me acerbissime scripsisse iam ante ad te scripsi".

46.[77] An inscription purporting to be a dedication of the Arpinates to the young Ciceros as "tresviri aedili potestate" was regarded by Pütz, Blase and Drumann as confirmatory evidence, but is now (with Mommsen) generally rejected as spurious.[78]

However, Quintus Jr. aimed his ambition beyond the obscurity of municipal administration. Under Caesar's Regnum, the unrivalled path to dignitas was Caesar's patronage. Both Quintus Jr. and Marcus Jr. were inclined to court it; but Quintus Jr. had a head start,[79] having shown leanings to Caesarism and cultivated Caesarian friends before the outcome of the Civil War, and having no opposition from his father. In 46, when he became member of the Luperci, Cicero dismissed it with contempt and derision, but his father was delighted: there was probably some significance in this for the boy's future, since only a year later Caesar founded the Luperci Iulii.[80] At the end of 46, whereas Marcus Jr. gave

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77 Fam. XIII.11.3: "Nam constituendi municipi causa hoc anno aedilem filium meum fieri volui et fratris filium et M. Caesium ... is enim magistratus in nostro municipio nec alius ullus creari solet". Brutus governor: Plut. Brut. 6.6 and G. Walter, Brutus et la fin de la république, Paris 1938, 90, n. 2. Q. Jr.'s whereabouts: above, 369-70; below, 371-4.

78 CIL X. p. 32*. No. 702: "q. et m. tullis q. et m. f.f. ciceronibus iii vir. aed. pot. municip. arpinatium d.d." Cf. Blase 20; Drumann-Groebe 670, n. 6; T.P. ad Fam. XIII.11.3.

79 Att. XII.7.1: "fore ut angeretur cum a fratre[i.e. Q. Jr.] familiaritate et omni gratia vinceretur". On Caesar's patronage and regnum, see, in particular, Syme, Rom. Rev., 78-96.

80 Att. XII.5.1: "'Quintus pater quartum' vel potius millesimum nihil sapit qui laetetur Luperco filio ... o stultitiam ...!" CIL X (p. 32*) No. 703: "q. tullio q. f. m. n. cor. cic. sulio (sic) luperco p" . On Luperci and Lupercalia, see W. Fowler, Festivals, 310-321.

up his project of going with Caesar to Spain, because of his father's scruples about fighting against Pompeians,[81] Quintus Jr. seems to have encountered no similar objection, and went along.

In Spain, Quintus Jr. stayed with Caesar throughout the Spanish campaign, returning with Caesar in September 45. He wrote home about his military feats, which Cicero ridiculed as empty boasts.[82] The young man does appear to have been aggressive in publicising himself.

As with his bravery, genuine or quixotic, so with his loyalty to Caesar, Quintus Jr. had to parade it. For this purpose, he made allegations against his uncle and, to a lesser extent, his father, that they were disloyal to Caesar. There were veritable "proelia" and "litigationes" around the camp-fires in Spain, in the course of which Quintus Jr. argued that his uncle was actually dangerous to Caesar's security, while others came to the defence of Cicero.[83] Mark Antony later accused him of having even conceived the murder of his father and uncle: but it

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81 Att. XII.7.1: "de Hispania ... non satis esse si haec arma reliquissemus? etiam contraria? ... cogitabo ... videbimus". Finally, M. Jr. went to Athens instead, to polish up his education: Att. XII.27.2; 32.2; XIII.1.2; 47 a.2; XIV.7.2; XV.15.4; 17.1; Fam. XVI.21; Plut. Cic. 24.6.

82 Att. XIII.29.3: "<Q.> Ciceronis epistulam tibi remisi. o te ferreum qui illius periculis non moveris! me quoque accusat! ... alteram de rebus gestis eodem exemplo puto". Return from Spain: see below, 374.

83 Fam. IX.11.2: "Proelia te mea causa sustinere"; "si qui mihi obtrectent, a te refutentur"; Att. XIII.37.2: "Hirtium cum Quinto acerrime pro me litigasse; omnibus eum locis facere maximeque in conviviis; cum multa de me tum redire ad patrem; nihil autem ab eo tam ἀξιοπίστως dici quam alienissimos nos esse a Caesare, fidem nobis habendam non esse, me vero etiam cavendum".

was stated as part of a rhetorical invective, and Cicero rejected it.[84] As for the "maledicta" uttered in Spain, although Quintus Jr. wrote to Cicero disclaiming them,[85] they were authenticated by different witnesses. Asinius Pollio wrote about it to Cicero; Dolabella hinted it in a letter and later confirmed it in a tête-à-tête; and Balbus Jr. reported it on at least two occasions.[86] In fairness to Quintus Jr., it must be conceded that he was at least correct in gauging his uncle's real sentiments vis-à-vis Caesar, as proved by Cicero's readiness to participate in the assassination of the dictator.[87]

But Cicero had a different idea of how a son (or, for that matter, a nephew) should conduct himself towards his parents. Filial loyalty, he thought, was a supreme obligation. In Off. III.90 - in progress at the time, written explicitly for his son, but surely not without the vagaries of his nephew too in mind - Cicero went so far as to say that, in case of conflict between loyalty to parent and loyalty

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84 Phil. III.18: "At etiam gladiator ausus est scribere hunc de patris et patrui parricidio cogitasse. o admirabilem impudentiam, audaciam, temeritatem, in eum adulescentem hoc scribere audere".

85 Att. XIII.38.1: "Est autem sic, 'ego enim quicquid non belle in te dici potest -'. posse vult in me multa dici non belle, sed ea se negat approbare".

86 Fam. IX.11.2 (to Dolabella): "Quod scribis ..."; Att. XII. 38.2: "Asinius Pollio ad me scripsit ... quod Balbus minor nuper satis plane, Dolabella obscure, hic apertissime"; XIII.9.1: "hodie mane Dolabella ... multus sermo ... ventum est tamen ad Quintum"; 37.2: "Balbus minor mecum ...".

87 See T.P. V, pp. xvi-xxviii, for a full array and interpretation of the passages relating to Cic.'s sentiments on Caesar at this period.

to state, a son should give priority to the former, except in the very rare and extreme case, when a parent, persistently and despite warnings and threats, were planning to betray the state or set himself up as a tyrant.[88] Since the situation, as Cicero saw it, was the reverse, with Caesar as the aspiring tyrant, and himself as the defender of the state, Cicero considered the conduct of his nephew as a betrayal of the most horrible kind. He now referred to Quintus Jr. as "impurus", an adjective suggestive of blood-guilt and its associated filth. Quintus Jr.'s crime was unmentionable and provoked revulsion.[89] Cicero ceased all attempts to give him company or instruction, and avoided him as much as he could. When, on his return from Spain, Quintus Jr. proposed to visit his uncle in Tusculum, Cicero was quite annoyed, and, on the advice of Atticus, decided to go to Rome himself, to scotch the visit.[90]

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88 Off. III.90: "'Quid? si pater fana expilet, cuniculos agat ad aerarium, indicetque id magistratibus filius?' 'Nefas id quidem est: quin etiam defendat patrem, si arguatur'. 'Non igitur patria praestat omnibus officiis?' 'Immo vero, sed ipsi patriae conducit pios habere cives in parentes'. - 'Quid? si tyrannidem occupare, si patriam prodere conabitur pater, silebitne filius?' 'Immo vero obsecrabit patrem, ne id faciat. Si nihil proficiet, accusabit, minabitur etiam, ad extremum, si ad perniciem patriae res spectabit, patriae salutem anteponet saluti patris.'" On the date of Off., see Holden's ed., pp. xiii-xv.

89 Att. XII.38.2: "... de impuro nostro cognato ..."; "ecquid impurius?" (On "impurus", see TLL and Ernout-Meillet, Dict. Etym.: "purus"); XIII.38.1: "hoc quicquam pote impurius?" cf. 9.1: "multa ἄφατα, ἀδιήγητα , sed unum eius modi quod, nisi exercitus sciret, non modo Tironi dictare, sed ne ipse quidem auderem scribere"; (cf. 38.1: "asperner"; "respuam").

90 Att. XIII.38.2: "vereor maxime ne in Tusculano opprimar. in turba haec essent faciliora"; 39.2: "Romam, ut censes, veniam, sed invitus"; 40.2: "illum hic excipere nolo"; 51.2: "mi scripsit Romam VIII Kal. sed misi qui invitaret".

Contemptuous and sarcastic as he was in those days, whenever he referred to his nephew,[91] Cicero did not underestimate the latter's capacity to do serious harm. He considered his nephew as a man to be feared and handled with caution.[92] He had no doubt that the young man enjoyed some popularity in Caesar's circle, and he listened with rising fear and hope for news of fluctuations in that popularity. When he considered writing a propitiatory letter to Caesar, he feared the effects of the nasty comments which his nephew would make.[93] A scrap of news, that somebody in Caesar's circle had said no good of Quintus Jr., was sheer delight.[94] He was very much afraid that, among the people whom Quintus Jr. had impressed, was Brutus, who had joined Caesar on his return journey from Spain. Quintus Jr. wrote letters giving the impression that Brutus and himself were buddies. Cicero was eager to verify to what extent this was true. It seems that Brutus persuaded the

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91 Examples of sarcasm: Att. XIII.29.3: "o te ferreum ...!" 38.1: "quam pie!" 51.2: "narro tibi ...".

92 Att. XII.38.2: "o hominem cavendum!" "ferrem graviter si novae aegrimoniae locus esset"; "tenendus dolor est"; XIII.37.2: "φοβερ<ὸν> ἂν ἦν ..."; 41.2: "in me graviores iniuriae"; "multae cautionis".

If "illo nostro" in Att. XIII.49.2 is indeed (as S.B. and some editors take it, though not T.P.) Q. Jr., then the young man was also somehow involved, at the time, in a complaint of M. Tigellius Hermogenes, musician of Sardinia, against Cic., for letting down his uncle Phamea in a court case (cf. Fam. VII.24). Q. Jr. may have exacerbated feelings and egged on the complainant against Cic.

93 Att. XIII.27.1: "incidissemus etiam in illos, in eis in cognatum tuum".

94 Att. XIII.40.1: "illud optime, 'sed ne is quidem qui omnium flagitiorum auctor bene de nostro'[i.e. Q. Jr.]".

wayward nephew to seek reconciliation with his uncle.[95]

While he was making gentle overtures from Spain to his uncle, Quintus Jr. was threatening his father with emotional blackmail. He wrote that he wanted an apartment rented for him in Rome. When his father ignored the instruction, he told the old man off, in a peremptory letter, and warned that his father would not see much of him, because he was sick and tired of that house of his.[96] The father's explanation was that the boy was at war with his mother and could not stand living under the same roof with her,[97] a position with which the long-suffering husband of Pomponia was in full sympathy. So the father was prepared to yield in this matter.[98] But the boy, as Cicero suspected and Quintus perhaps realised a few months later, was deceiving his father. He was adducing Pomponia as an excuse which he knew would move his father. In

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95 Att. XIII.38.1: "Bruti nostri cottidianis adsiduisque laudibus ... commotum istum aliquando scripsisse aliquid ad me credo; <credo> et ad te, idque ut sciam facies"; 40.1: "at ego verebar ne etiam Brutus eum diligeret; ita enim significarat iis litteris quas ad me: 'ac vellem aliquid degustasses de fabulis'"; 41.2: "si vero etiam Brutus aliquid adferet ...".

96 Att. XIII.38.1: "'volueram', inquit 'ut quam plurimum tecum essem, conduci mihi domum et id ad te scripseram. neglexisti. ita minus multum una erimus. nam ego istam domum videre non possum; qua de causa scis.'"

97 Att. XIII.38.1: "hanc autem causam pater odium matris esse dicebat".

98 Att. XIII.41.1: "cum ille quereretur filio cum matre bellum et se ob eam causam domo cessurum filio diceret ..." (According to this ms. reading, adopted by S.B., Q. proposed to vacate his own house for his son's use. This is rather odd. I prefer T.P.'s reading "de domo").

reality, he was writing friendly letters to his mother.[99] His true reason for wanting to be on his own, like his cousin in Athens, and like Caelius Rufus in Rome, was, undoubtedly, to be free to sow his wild oats.[100]

After the return of Quintus Jr. from Spain on 25 August 45,[101] the relation between father and son did not improve. They lived apart much of the time, and exchanged bitter letters.[102] Quintus Jr. found a temporary pretext for his rebellion in the rumour, (which he may have spread himself), that his father was planning another marriage, with Aquilia. He would not put up with that, he said.[103]

A major and more persisting irritant, in the relation between father and son, was the problem of money. Quintus Jr. was a prodigal son. He returned from Spain with creditors on his heels.[104] On at least one

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99 Att. XIII.39.1: "O incredibilem vanitatem! ad patrem domo sibi carendum propter matrem: <ad matrem> plena pietatis"; 41.1: "... dixi illum commodas ad matrem litteras"; XIV.10.4: "Quintus pater ad me gravia de filio, maxime quod matri nunc indulgeat cui antea bene merenti fuerit inimicus".

100 Cf. (for M. Jr.) Att. XII.32.2; Plut. Cic. 24.6; and (for Caelius) Cael. 17-8.

101 Att. XIII.40.2: "ad quem, ut audio, pater hodie ad Saxa ..."; 51.2: "Quintus cras ...". Caesar's return was at the same period: ibid.

102 Att. XIV.10.4: "ardentis in eum litteras ad me misit"; 17.3: "Quintus filius ad patrem acerbissimas litteras misit, quae sunt ei redditae cum venissemus in Pompeianum".

103 Att. XIV.13.5: "scribis enim esse rumores ... ut tibi Quintus filius dixerit"; 17.3: "... Aquiliam novercam non esse laturum. sed hoc tolerabile fortasse"; cf. above, 46-7.

104 Att. XIII.42.1: "Venit ille ad me ' καὶ μάλα κατηφής '. et ego '" σὺ δὲ δὴ τί σύννους "'; ... 'quae vis igitur?' inquam. 'aes' inquit 'alienum ...'"; XVI.1.6: "is hinc VII Id. ait enim attributionem in Idus. se autem urgeri acriter".

occasion, he made unauthorised use of his father's name, by debiting to him a draft which he drew upon a certain Lepta, probably a creditor.[105] Intending to leave again with Caesar on his projected Parthian campaign, he complained that he did not have even the means to cover expenses for the trip.[106] In addition, Quintus Jr. was obviously a very ambitious young man. But he was not endowed with the temperament, or encouraged by the times, to engage - as his ambitious uncle had done at his age - in the slow and patient task of training as an orator for the purpose of acquiring gratia. His consularis uncle was not much inclined to give him the benefit of his patronage; and even if he were, his patronage, at the time, could not take the beneficiary very far. The substitute, which the ambitious young man could always use for the promotion of his career, was money. Whenever he gave a hint of that, his two uncles, who might have helped, observed a discreet silence.[107] So, in his frustration, he turned against his father. He felt the least his father could do for his future was to give him more money, - which Quintus could not afford. So he complained that he owed nothing to his father, and everything to Caesar.[108] If he had not made enough from Caesar's Spanish campaign, he

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105 Att. XV.26.1: "De Quinti negotio video <a> te omnia facta. ille tamen dolet, dubitans utrum morem gerat Leptae an fidem infirmet filio"; 27.3: "o turpem sororis tuae filium!"

106 Att. XIII.42.1: "'rogas?' inquit, 'cui iter instet et iter ad bellum idque cum periculosum tum etiam turpe! ... et tamen ne viaticum quidem habeo'".

107 Att. XIII.42.1: "hoc loco sumpsi quiddam de tua eloquentia; nam tacui".

108 Att. XIV.17.3: "... se a Caesare habuisse omnia, nihil a patre".

was looking forward to Caesar's Parthian expedition. After Caesar's death, he turned to Mark Antony for money, claiming, on one occasion, that he had received 400,000 s. from him, and that he was expecting more.[109]

Atticus, who, of the three elders, could best afford to bail out the boy and financially support his initial career, thought of a way of getting his nephew some money, without spending his own. Atticus had an old friend, Q. Gellius Canus, who, according to Cornelius Nepos, had shared his interests and way of life,[110] and so was, undoubtedly, like Atticus, a wealthy Eques. On the other hand, there is allusion, in the correspondence with Atticus at the time, to a lady with the name of Cana, whom Quintus, Pomponia, Cicero and, particularly, Atticus wanted Quintus Jr. to marry. This Cana was, as Drumann-Groebe and Münzer saw, almost certainly the well-endowed daughter of Atticus' old friend. Quintus Jr. at first rejected the idea; but, under the combined pressure of the elders, he agreed to marry Cana, before departing for Parthia.[111] In the

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109 Att. XIV.17.3: "... reliqua sperare ab Antonio"; XV.21.1: "'... eum [= Antony] placavi. et quidem CCCC certa, reliqua in spe'".

110 Nep. Att. 10.2: "habebatque secum Q. Gellium Canum, aequalem simillimumque sui"; 10.3: "cum eo, quem puerum in ludo cognorat, adeo coniuncte vixit, ut ad extremam aetatem amicitia eorum creverit".

111 Att. XIII.41.1-2: "tum enim mentio Canai. omnino si id consilium placeret, esset necesse"; 42.1: "at ille: 'sed me maxime angit avunculus'. 'quidnam?' inquam. 'quod mihi' inquit 'iratus est'. 'cur pateris?' inquam 'malo enim ita dicere quam cur committis?' 'non patiar' inquit; 'causam enim tollam.' et ego: 'rectissime quidem; sed si grave non est, velim scire quid sit causae.' 'quia, dum dubitabam quam ducerem, non satis faciebam matri; ita ne illi quidem. nunc nihil mihi tanti est. faciam quod volunt.' 'feliciter velim' inquam, 'teque laudo.

end, the marriage did not take place, not, as Božić states, because Quintus Jr. stubbornly refused, but because there were difficulties in recuperating the coveted dowry of Cana from her previous husband.[112]

When the scheme of his uncle Atticus thus failed, Quintus Jr. came up with one of his own. He claimed that another lady, Tutia (Julia?) by name, was interested in his advances. This was again, it appears, a well-endowed divorcée, whose divorce had been completed, and dowry presumably restituted in full. When he imparted to his father his and the lady's mutual interest, Quintus Sr. appears to have been interested in the financial implications, and made enquiries on the reputation of the lady. Cicero said something or other about her mouth and her father, which was certainly not complimentary. At any rate, he suspected the egocentric beau was imagining things; so did Atticus; and nothing came of it.[113]

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sed quando?' 'nihil ad me' inquit 'de tempore, quoniam rem probo.' 'at ego' inquam 'censeo prius quam proficiscaris. ita patri quoque morem gesseris.' 'faciam' inquit 'ut censes.' hic dialogus sic conclusus est." (Cf. 31.4: "... si Kanum haberes"). Cf. Drumann-Groebe 671 (curiously! since they identify without citation of Nepos (n. 110 above)); Münzer 1310; also S.B. ad Att. XIII.31.4 and 41.1.

112 Att. XV.21.2: " Ἐποχὴν vestram de re Cani (deliberationis <enim>) probo. nihil eram suspicatus de tabulis, ἀμεραίως restitutam arbitrabar. quae differs ut mecum coram ..." Cf. Božić 21.

113 Att. XV.29.2: "ait hic sibi Tutiam ferre; constitutum enim esse discidium. quaesivit ex me pater qualis esset fama. dixi nihil sane me audisse (nesciebam enim cur quaereret) nisi de ore et patre. 'sed quorsus?' inquam. at ille filium velle. tum ego, etsi ἐβδελυττόμην , tamen negavi putare me illa esse vera. σκοπὸς huic est enim huic nostro nihil praebere. illa autem ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο '. ego tamen suspicor hunc, ut solet, alucinari, sed velim quaeras (facile autem potes) et me certiorem". XVI.2.5: "De Tutia ita putaram". (Tutia,

After the assassination of Caesar, Quintus Jr. remained loyal to Caesarism for a few months. Caesar had turned the Parilia, on 21 April 45, into a celebration of his victory at Munda. When, on 21 April 44, the Caesarians turned the Parilia into a commemoration of Caesar, Quintus Jr. participated. He wore a wreath in Caesar's honour, and removed it afterwards, as a manifestation of mourning, when Caesar's statue was brought in.[114] He became an adherent of Antony, although his claim that he was Antony's right hand was a typical exaggeration, treated with appropriate sarcasm by his two uncles.[115] All this was not to the liking of the elders, either Quintus or Marcus Cicero.[116] Quintus considered Antony a corrupt brigand.[117] Marcus was strongly critical of

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rather than Julia: S.B. VI, 279, ad XV.29.2). I fail to see ground for agreeing with Božić's apparent suggestion (21-2) of the now hackneyed scenario: Father Q. wanted son to marry Cana for money; son refused, and wanted to marry Tutia for love; father threatened cutting off son's allowance; Tutia, true love, would still marry son even penniless. Q. Sr. was interested in Tutia, as implied by "negavi ..." and ομοπὸς ..." in XV.29.2.

114 Att. XIV.14.1: "'Iteradum eadem ista mihi.' coronatus Quintus noster Parilibus! solusne?" 19.3: "rescripsit se coronam habuisse honoris Caesaris causa, posuisse luctus gratia; postremo se libenter vituperationem subire quod amaret etiam mortuum Caesarem". Cf. Dio XLIII.42.3; XLV.6.4. On the Parilia in general, see W. Fowler, Festivals, 79-85.

115 Att. XIV.17.3: "... reliqua sperare ab Antonio ..."; 20.5: "Quintus filius, ut scribis, Antoni est dextella. per eum igitur quod volemus facile auferemus".

116 Att. XIV.14.1: "demiror equidem; sed ... satis scio nisi improbum neminem"; 17.3: "o perditum hominem!" 19.3: "De coronatis, cum sororis tuae filius a patre accusatus esset ..."; XVI.5.2: "minime satis faciebat".

117 Fam. XVI.27.2.

all moves for the public honouring of Caesar's memory, which he regarded as an act put on to secure political advantages;[118] and he was contemptuous of Antony's depravity, if not yet suspicious of his schemes.[119] Quintus Jr. was again conducting himself as the black sheep of the Cicero family.

In June 44, however, Cicero received in Tusculum a letter from Statius, saying that Quintus Jr. had expressed emphatically to him his determination to transfer his support to Brutus and Cassius. Shortly after, Quintus Sr., who was at Tusculum with Cicero, received from his son a letter confirming and explaining the news. Early in July, the young man came to join his uncle and father at Formiae, and obtained his uncle's consent that he should accompany Cicero to Puteoli, to make his peace, as he said, with Brutus and Cassius. In the course of the days which, thereafter, he spent with Cicero, he promised, with much solemnity and verbiage, that he would loyally toe the family line, and begged his uncle to guarantee his good faith to Brutus and Atticus.[120]

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118 Cf. Fam. XII.1.1; Att. XIV.15.1; 17 A.7; 19.1; 19.5; 18.1.

119 Cf. Att. XIV.3.2; 5.1; Phil. passim.

120 Att. XV.19.2: "Statius scripsit ad me locutum secum esse Q. Ciceronem valde adseveranter ... certum sibi esse ad Brutum et Cassium transire"; 21.1: "scripsit enim filius se ... profugere ad Brutum voluisse"; 29.2: "Quintus filius usque Puteolos ... et quidem duas ob causas, et ut mecum et [ut] σπείσασθαι vult cum Bruto <et> Cassio"; XVI.1.6: "Quintus filius mihi pollicetur se Catonem"; 5.2: "Quintus <filius> fuit mecum dies compluris ..."; "... ut tali animo in rem publicam quali nos volumus futurus sit ..."; "egit mecum accurate multis verbis tibi ut sponderem se dignum et te et nobis futurum".

When Quintus Sr. first heard the news, he was at a loss what to make of this volte-face, because his son had spoken so highly of Antony. Soon he was convinced of the sincerity of the young man's declarations, and was overjoyed. He joined his son in asking Cicero to guarantee the boy's good faith. Cicero, however, remained sceptical and sarcastic.[121] Under pressure, he agreed to take the boy to Brutus and sponsor his request for friendship: Brutus, having previously liked the young Cicero, was happy to renew his friendship and seal it with ceremonial embrace and kiss.[122] Cicero also gave the boy an open letter for Atticus in Rome, stating how delighted he was, and how convinced that their nephew had turned over a new leaf, and expecting Atticus to confirm his opinion. But he was not sincere: he had written the letter, in consultation with his nephew, for the purpose of pleasing him. Hastily, he had written ahead to Atticus a confidential letter, warning him not to give

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121 Att. XV.19.2: "et nimirum ita est. sed tamen et ego vereor et pater conturbatus est. scit enim quae ille de hoc; mecum quidem ἄφατα olim. plane quid velit nescio". (The text makes good sense: Cic. concedes that Q. Jr.'s reported volte-face may well be true. Q. Sr. is confused, because it is inconsistent with the things which Q. Jr. ("ille") had said about Antony ("hoc"), things shocking to Cic. S.B. is not satisfied the text makes sense, because he takes "conturbatus" to mean "upset", and " ἄφατα " to mean "shocking"or "bad"). 21.1: "Narro tibi, Quintus pater exsultat laetitia" ... "id [pater] gaudet. ecquem tu illo certiorem nebulonem?" 29.2: "mirus civis, ut tu Favonium †asinium† dicas" (precise text uncertain, but no doubt about the sarcasm). XVI.1.6: "egit autem et pater et filius ut tibi sponderem ...".

122 Att. XVI.5.2: "duxi enim mecum adulescentem ad Brutum. sic ei probatum est quod ad te scribo ut ipse crediderit, me sponsorem accipere noluerit eumque laudans amicissime mentionem tui fecerit, complexus osculatusque dimiserit".

much credence to the open letter of recommendation.[123]

But Cicero underestimated the seriousness of Quintus Jr.'s intention of relinquishing Antony's camp. The young man did withdraw from Antony. He would have Cicero believe that it was out of principle, having been converted by his uncle's philosophy, particularly as outlined in the De Officiis.[124] In fact, as Cicero suspected, he had been disputing with Antony. He admitted this to his father, although, with characteristic boast, he said that it was due to his refusal to nominate Antony dictator. He refused, he said, for fear of offending his father. Antony was angry and might scheme against Quintus Sr., but Quintus Jr. was eager to be by his father's side.[125]

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123 Att. XVI.1.6: "huic ego litteras ipsius arbitratu dabo. eae te ne moverint. has scripsi in eam partem ne me motum putares. di faxint ut faciat ea quae promittit!" 5.2: "incredibile est quam me in omni genere delectarit ..."; "... hoc cum mihi non modo confirmasset sed etiam persuasisset ..."; "nisi fidem mihi fecisset iudicassemque hoc quod dico firmum fore ..."; "rogo ut, si quae minus antea propter infirmitatem aetatis constanter ab eo fieri videbantur, ea iudices illum abiecisse ..."; 3.3: "De Quinto filio, gaudeo tibi meas litteras prius a tabellario meo quam ab ipso redditas; quamquam te nihil fefellisset". (T.P. VI, pp. xviii-xix, believing Cic.'s assertions in 5.2, overlook 1.6 and 3.3).

124 Att. XVI.5.2: "commutatus ... et scriptis meis quibusdam quae in manibus habebam et adsuiditate orationis et praeceptis ...". (Cf. above, n. 88, for Off. Possibly, also De Gloria was in mind: Att. XVI.2.6).

125 Att. XV.19.2: "ego quid sit interpretari non possum. potest aliquid iratus Antonio, potest gloriam iam novam quaerere, potest totum esse σχεδίασμα"; 21.1: "... idcirco ... quod, cum sibi negotium daret Antonius ut eum dictatorem efficeret, praesidium occuparet, id recusasset; recusasse autem se ne patris animum offenderet; ex eo sibi illum hostem. 'tum me' inquit 'collegi, verens ne quid mihi ille iratus tibi noceret.'"

Whatever may have been Quintus Jr.'s motives, one should not subscribe to Tyrrell-Purser's rejection of all his claims as "comic" and "lunatic".[126] The black sheep was really returning to the Cicero fold.[127] On the other hand, one need not, with Stinchcomb, overstress Quintus Jr.'s sense of family solidarity.[128] Quintus Jr. had been a follower of Caesar and, subsequently, of Antony as the self-appointed heir of Caesar, while the other Ciceros were identified with the Senate and Brutus.[129] In June-July 44, the time of Quintus Jr.'s rift from Antony, Octavian was asserting himself as the true heir of Caesar, and the Senate and Cicero were soon to be allying themselves with him against Antony, the false heir.[130] Quintus Jr. transferred his allegiance to Octavian: a few months later, in Phil. III.17, Cicero referred to his nephew as a well-known "Caesaris [= Octaviani] consiliorum socius".[131] There was no conflict any more for Quintus Jr. between affiliation to Caesarism and family loyalty.

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126 Cf. T.P. VI, p. xviii.

127 Att. XV.21.1: "scribit autem Statius illum cum patre habitare velle".

128 Cf. Stinchcomb, A, 447.

129 M. Jr. soon left his studies to join Brutus in the East: Ad Brut. II.3.6; 4.6; 5.2; 5.6; I.4.6; 6.1; 12.3; 14.1-2; Fam. XII.14.8. For Cic.'s sympathy in the aftermath of the Ides of March, see Syme's account, Rom. Rev., 97-111.

130 See Syme's account, Rom. Rev., 114-145.

131 Phil. III.17: "Quid enim accidere huic adulescenti potuit optatius quam cognosci ab omnibus Caesaris consiliorum esse socium, Antoni furoris inimicum?".

In the struggle against Antony which ensued, Quintus Jr. participated actively. In Nov. 44, he wrote to his cousin that, on the Nones of December, he would call upon Antony to answer to the people what had happened to the money deposited by Julius Caesar in the temple of Ops. Božić dismisses the whole thing as "another daydream". Tyrrell-Purser, taking it more seriously, suggest that Quintus Jr. probably planned to work through one of the new quaestors coming into office on the Nones of December, as he was too young to be quaestor himself. Broughton does not list him as a quaestor. I am inclined to think that there is a good case for Bailey's view that Quintus Jr. proposed to take the action, on entering office as quaestor urbanus. The language Cicero uses for the occasion is very formal ("avi tui pronepos", "patris mei nepos", "ad populum"), reminiscent of the language used in the letters to Atticus on such ceremonious occasions as the birth of Marcus Jr. (Att. I.2.1), the adoption of Atticus by his uncle (Att. III.20.prescript), Quintus Jr.'s assumption of the toga virilis (Att. V.20.9). Quintus Jr. appears to have been planning his attack in an official capacity. He was too young to be quaestor, by the terms of the Lex Annalis, but the Lex Annalis was often transgressed at the time. The threat did not materialise, since Antony moved rapidly from his consulship to a proconsulship.[132]

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132 Att. XVI.14.4: "avi tui pronepos scribit ad patris mei nepotem se ex Nonis iis quibus nos magna gessimus aedem Opis explicaturum, idque ad populum". Cf. Božić 24; T.P. ad loc.; S.B. ad loc. and Cic., 256. On Antony and Ops: Att. XIV.14.5; Phil. I.17; II.35; 93; V.15; VIII.26. Antony's movements are conveniently summarised in T.P. VI, pp. xx-xxiii.

Antony considered the young Cicero an enemy of sufficient importance to attack him in an edict, along with Octavian, before leaving Rome.[133] Confronted with this bitter enemy, the Ciceros became united as they had not been for some time. Quintus Sr. renewed his old excessive affection for his son. Slower to come round,[134] Marcus Cicero defended his nephew in the Senate, when he delivered The Third Philippic, proclaiming that Quintus Jr. enjoyed the unqualified love of his father as well as of his uncle Marcus.[135]

So, a year later, in December 43, when Antony took his gruesome revenge, he wanted all the four Ciceros dead. The proscription, according to Appian, included, in addition to Cicero himself, the names of Marcus Jr., Quintus, Quintus Jr., and other associates and supporters of the family.[136] Marcus Jr., lucky to be away from Italy at the time, escaped.[137] The other three Ciceros perished.

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133 Phil. III.17: "Idem etiam Q. Ciceronem, fratris mei filium, compellat edicto, nec sentit amens commendationem esse compellationem suam."

134 Att. XVI.11.8: "Quinti litteras ad te misi ut scires quam valde eum amaret quem dolet a te minus amari". S.B. (ad loc.) and Münzer (1311) identify "eum"as Q. Jr. - which is highly probable. I see no reason, however, to interpret, with S.B., "valde amaret" as ironical.

135 Phil. III.18: "... quem ego et frater meus ... certatim amamus omnibusque horis, oculis, auribus, complexu tenemus".

136 Appian, B.C. IV.19: " Κικέρων δέ ... κατέγνωστο μὲν ἅμα τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν οἰκείοις τε καὶ στασιώταις καὶ φίλοις ". Cf. IV.5-7; Plut. Cic. 46.2.

137 Appian, B.C. IV.20; Plut. Cic. 49.4.

Plutarch, with Tiro's biography of Cicero at hand, has preserved some details of the last moments in the lives of Quintus and son. The Quinti were with Cicero at Tusculum, when they heard of their condemnation. Together with Cicero, they left for Astura, where they intended to sail for Macedonia, where Brutus was. On the way to Astura, the litter-bearers would make a halt now and then, to rest; and the two brothers would lament to each other from their litters. Quintus was more depressed than Marcus. As he reflected on their penury, he decided to let Marcus proceed, while he made a quick and secret journey back to Rome, to get some provisions from his house. With tears in their eyes, the brothers parted. This time, it was their last parting. For a few days later, presumably in Rome, Quintus and his son were betrayed by some servants to men who were looking for them, and put to death.[138]

Appian and Dio narrate the death of Quintus and son. According to Appian, when father and son were captured, each begged the executioners for the favour of being killed first, to be spared the sight of the other's execution. The soldiers granted both requests, separated father from son, and, on an agreed signal, executed both at the same

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138 Plut. Cic. 47.1-3. The brothers were killed within a short interval. It is not possible to determine which one was killed first. Drumann (659) thinks Q. died first, since in Plut., the narrative of Q.'s death precedes that of M.'s death (47.3 - 48.4). But, in Appian, the narrative of M.'s death (B.C. IV.19-20) precedes. Neither in Plut. nor in Appian is there any real indication of chronological priority.

time.[139] According to Dio, when the soldiers arrived, the son persuaded his father to hide, and would not reveal the hiding-place to the soldiers, even under cruel torture. But the father could not bear it any more, and, full of admiration and pity for his son, came out and gave himself up.[140] Appian recounts the incident as an illustration of " παίδων ἀγαθῶν ", and Dio, as an illustration of " ἀρετή " and " εὐσέβεια ", in the dark days of terror.[141]

As Plutarch omits these narrations, Münzer doubts their authenticity.[142] It needs to be observed, however, that both Appian and Dio are emphatic about the authenticity of these specific stories. Appian points out that there were numerous stories in circulation, in many books, concerning the massacres, but he was selecting to report a few only " ἐς πίστιν ἑκάστης " (B.C. IV.16). Dio observes that his other stories of ἀρετή and εὐσέβεια during the massacres were anonymous, whereas in the case of two, including Quintus Cicero, he could specify

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139 Appian, B.C. IV.20: " Κόιντος δέ, ὁ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀδελφός, ἅμα τῷ παιδὶ καταληφθεὶς ἐδεῖτο τῶν σφαγέων πρὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν· τὰ δὲ ἐναντία καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἱκετεύοντος, οἱ σφαγεῖς ἔφασαν ἀμφοτέροις διαιτήσειν καὶ διαλαβόντες ἕτερον ἕτεροι κατὰ σύνθημα φονεῖς ἀνεῖλον ὁμοῦ ".

140 Dio XLVII.10.6: " καὶ Κύιντον Κικέρωνα τὸν τοῦ Μάρκου ἀδελφὸν ὁ παῖς ἐξέκλεψε καὶ ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἔσωσεν. [7] αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ κατέκρυψε τὸν πατέρα ὥστε μὴ εὑρεθῆναι, καὶ στρεβλωθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάσαις βασάνοις οὐδὲν ἐξελάλησε· μαθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖνος τὸ γιγνόμενον, καὶ θαυμάσας τε ἅμα τὸν παῖδα καὶ ἐλεήσας, ἦλθεν ἐθελοντὴς ἐς τὸ ἔμφανὲς καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τοῖς σφαγεῦσι παρέδωκεν ". Cf. Zonaras X.17.

141 Appian, B.C. IV.21; Dio XLVII.11.1.

142 Münzer 1304.

names (XLVII.10.6). Plutarch's probable reason for omitting the narrations of the Quinti's death was not his scepticism of their authenticity, but their irrelevance to his biography of Cicero. However, true or not, the stories of Appian and Dio testify to one fact. In the catalogue of outstanding treacheries and loyalties in proscribed families, tradition had the name of Quintus Jr. enshrined as a son of more than ordinary pietas.

Thus died prematurely Quintus Cicero Jr., at the early age of twenty-three. He had had the good fortune of being born amidst parents and uncles who were affectionate, wealthy and prominent. He had enjoyed the benefits of his elders' personal supervision and of a private education given by well-qualified tutors. With such advantages and the gift of natural intelligence, he had been a promising boy. But as he blossomed, there was distemper in the minds of the elders, in the home on the Palatine, in the state of Rome. He became a rebellious, aggressive and impatient young man. Dissatisfied with his family's capacity and readiness to provide for his ambition, he sought in Caesarism the path to easy fame and fortune. This adventure alienated him from family and home; but, when its fruits turned sour, he came back. The last flicker of his short life was the finest. He was a loyal and brave Cicero when the family from Arpinum fell to the sword of Antony.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has shown how Q. Cicero, although born near the relatively obscure town of Arpinum, found himself early in life in a milieu where the aspiration for a Senatorial career in Rome was becoming current. His family name, however, had no goodwill in Rome, earned through nobility, wealth, oratory, jurisprudence or military service, which would facilitate the struggle to attain that career. Nor did Quintus himself, as a preliminary, achieve any signal wealth or military service, proficiency in oratory or jurisprudence. Two preliminary assets, transmitted by his father, namely the incentive to seek public office and introduction to influential individuals in Rome, were both damaged by the traumas of the Civil War between Marius and Sulla. Two other assets, one of which was to make that Senatorial career possible, the other of which was to leave its mark on the character of that career, survived the Civil War and flourished after it: firstly, his elder brother, through unprecedented achievements in oratory, developed the capacity to win votes; secondly, Quintus achieved and treasured his liberal education, completed in the leading centres of Greece.

The marriage of Quintus, contracted on the threshold of that career, much berated on account of the matrimonial quarrels which plagued it, must, however, be situated in the context of the aspirations of the Tullii Cicerones of Arpinum. Marriage into the family of the Pomponii, resident for some time in Greece, but long established, well-endowed and well-connected in Rome, was engineered by Marcus Cicero to secure social and financial advantages and strengthen the personal

friendship with Pomponius Atticus. The marriage paid off in that, as a result, Quintus became a wealthier man, and Atticus campaigned effectively for the elections of both Marcus and Quintus Cicero. In their personal relationship with each other, Quintus and Pomponia were deeply and for long unhappy, not just because of their incompatibility in character, but also because of the nature of the marriage sine manu, a form of contract in favour with the Senatorial class of the time, that tended to foster alienation between consorts.

Thanks to the patronage of M. Cicero and Pomponius Atticus, Quintus was successful in climbing the steps of the cursus as far as the praetorship, a rare distinction for a novus homo from Arpinum. The governorship of Asia, which followed, marked the peak, though not the end, of that public career. His brother's patronage and influence secured him, thereafter, three legateships successively, under Pompey in Sardinia, under Caesar in Gaul and under Cicero himself in Cilicia. And, at the end of that public career, at the outbreak of the Civil War, when he joined the side of Pompey against Caesar, despite his greater attachment and personal obligation to the latter, it was again, consistently with the course of his cursus, in conformity with and under the influence of his brother. M. Cicero's patronage and guidance brought, with its blessings, the sorrows consequent upon Cicero's own miseries. Quintus suffered threats of prosecution, physical violence from Clodius and his gang, humiliation from Pompey and reproaches from Caesar, because of what Marcus did or what Marcus led him to do.

As Quintus' public career was possible through Marcus Cicero's patronage, so, in his discharge of administrative duties involved in that career, Quintus, as evidenced particularly in the episode of his proconsulship of Asia, was governed by principles originating from his brother's ideas of statesmanship. In specific matters, he often acted independently and was criticised. But criticisms which retain any validity after close examination, have proved to be those aimed at the style rather than the substance of his actions. Passionate, impatient and somewhat permissive to his subordinates though he was, his honesty, justice and courage, and his concern for his subjects are not in doubt. As a soldier in Gaul and in Cilicia, consideration of the positions of responsibility in which Caesar and Cicero placed him, and the account given by Caesar of how he handled some of these military responsibilities can allow no conclusion other than that he was brave, able and resourceful.

Younger and by no means a genius, Q. Cicero was in no position to be as instrumental in the promotion of Marcus Cicero's career, as Marcus was in the promotion of Quintus'. Yet, the extent to which Quintus was useful in the advancement of Marcus' career was not, it is submitted, fully appreciated until this study. Quintus was an important campaign agent in Marcus Cicero's electioneering for the consulship, a moral supporter and moderating influence to the consul in the face of the Catilinarian crisis; through his proconsulate of Asia, he helped to cement the ties of Cicero with the publicani and enlarge the range of amici; in the struggle to bring about the return of Cicero from exile,

his role was crucial; by his services as legate in Sardinia and Gaul, he furthered Cicero's amicitia with Pompey and Caesar; by participating prominently in the military actions in Cilicia, he earned for Cicero the military honours which Cicero coveted so much; and finally, it is probable that at Pharsalus Quintus fought in the place of Marcus Cicero.

Dominated as he was by his brother's initiatives and ideas, there is yet enough evidence to suggest that, on a number of matters, as, for example, on the virtues of the tribunate and the secrecy of the ballot in voting procedures, Quintus Cicero had opinions of his own which did not quite coincide with those of his brother. But his disagreements were expressed through friendly discussions, without taking the form of a rebellious or even an independent line of conduct in public life. The Cicero brothers were bound in public life by a tight family solidarity, until, in the aftermath of Pharsalus, they were torn apart by one bitter and unusual quarrel.

Impatient of the demands and frustrations of public life, retiring and yet sociable in disposition, indefatigable as a lover of belles-lettres, Q. Cicero, it has been seen, was happier reading Greek and Latin books, of which he had an extensive collection in his library in Rome, and discussing them with friends who shared his interest in learning. Of those friends the best and closest was none other than Marcus Cicero himself. He had the greatest admiration for Cicero's writings of poetry and prose, and the deepest interest in Cicero's ideas of literature and philosophy of government and personal conduct. Thus he was for Cicero a favourite interlocutor for intellectual discussions,

a historical reality which accounts for his literary roles in five of Cicero's dialogues. These roles portray him as an advocate of otium and conventional prudence in politics, and an eclectic inclined to the Peripatetic philosophy.

Quintus himself is known to have been a writer of satirical, dramatic, epic and didactic-astronomical verse, as well as epistolary, and perhaps historical, prose. Suggestions of his having been also some kind of editor and compiler of excerpts from others' writings, notably of Lucretius and Cicero, although based on poor shreds of what can hardly be accepted as evidence, are verisimilar and need not be discarded with contempt. The remains of Quintus' writings are wretchedly meagre, but this fact in itself cannot constitute a basis for dismissing his efforts as unworthy. Estimate of him as a writer must be based on the De XII signis, the Commentariolum petitionis, his four surviving letters, quotations from his letters in Cicero's correspondence, and Cicero's remarks on his style. Here again, the results obtained from close examination show that he was considerably influenced by his brother in the substance and the manner of his writing. His style, marked by love of Greek quotations, dramatic vividness, vehemence, wit, metaphor, rhetorical flourish, elaborate structure, suggests a skilful writer, though certainly not of Cicero's stature.

One of the necessary conditions which, for Quintus, as for Marcus, Cicero, made both a public career and indulgence in academic leisure possible, was the inheritance of a measure of wealth from parents, and the increase of that wealth by means of marriage,

endowments and gifts. Examination of the evidence for Quintus' material circumstances has shown him to have been about as wealthy as his brother in real estate, slaves and securities. These assets provided him with amenities, manpower and income, to maintain a life of average opulence and leisure for a Senator of his time.

The last years of Quintus' life were marked by obscurity, impotence and frustrations, as he lived, withdrawn from political life, apparently unproductive of literary creation, constrained by financial stringencies, struggling with the fears and hopes for the one son he was raising. Hard as old age is, for Q. Cicero, living first under Caesar's regnum, then under the triumvirate, it was harder still. The worst fears he had had in his early years, when he had experienced the massacres under Marius and Sulla, were coming true. Proscriptions came again, and this time, he was no mere witness. During his lifetime, the Tullii Cicerones of Arpinum had achieved sufficient notoriety for their names to be included this time in the black list. His death was more complete than that of M. Cicero, since, with him, his only son died, his property fell into unknown hands, and his writings were not preserved for their own sake.

In the end, it is fitting that Q. Cicero's writings and memory survive only through the monumental opus of the great M. Cicero and the records of those who wished M. Cicero to be remembered. For Quintus' whole life and death were indeed in the shadow of the great orator, and their fates were tied together.

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Zangemeister, C., Orosius, Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII, Leipzig, Teubner, 1889 (Olms repr. 1967).
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FURTHER ABBREVIATIONS

(a) Of periodicals and reference works

AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJPh	American Journal of Philology
APh	Année philologique
Burs. Jahresber.	Bursians Jahresbericht über die fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CJ	Classical Journal
CPh	Classical Philology
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CR	Classical Review
CRAI	Comptes rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et belles lettres
Dar.-Saglio	Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines
Eos	Commentarii societatis philologae Polonorum
Ernout-Meillet	Ernout-Meillet, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine
GR	Greece and Rome
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IGR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes
IL	L'Information littéraire
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (Dessau)
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies

Lat.	Latomus
LS	Lewis and Short, A Latin Dictionary
Liddell-Scott	Liddell and Scott, A Greek-English lexicon
Mus. Helv.	Museum Helveticum
OGIS	Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae (Dittenberger)
PCPhS	Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society
RBPh	Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire
RE	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real-Encyclopädie
REL	Revue des études latines
Rev. Arch.	Revue archeologique
Rev. Hist.	Revue historique
Rev. Phil.	Revue de philologie de littérature et d'histoire anciennes
RIDA	Revue internationale de droit de l'antiquité
TAPhA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association
TLL	Thesaurus linguae Latinae

(b) Of ancient works

(In general, the text used is O.C.T; failing that, Teubner; failing that, Budé or Loeb. Where the text is used for more than passing references, the name in bracket specifies the editor whose text is used).

(i) Cicero:

Acad.	:	Academica
Ad Brut.	:	Ad Brutum
Am.	:	De Amicitia
Arat.	:	Carmina Aratea (Budé : Soubiran)
Arch.	:	Pro Archia (O.C.T: Clark)
Att.[1]	:	Ad Atticum (Shackleton-Bailey)
Balb.	:	Pro Balbo
Brut.	:	Brutus (Douglas)
Cael.	:	Pro Caelio
Cat.	:	In Catilinam (O.C.T: Clark)
Cluent.	:	Pro Cluentio (O.C.T: Clark)
C.P.	:	Commentariolum petitionis (O.C.T: Watt)
De Or.	:	De Oratore (Wilkins)
Div.	:	De Divinatione (Teubner : Ax)
Div. Caec.	:	Divinatio in Caecilium
Dom.	:	De Domo (O.C.T: Clark)
Fam.	:	Ad Familiares (Tyrrell-Purser)
Fat.	:	De Fato
Flacc.	:	Pro Flacco (O.C.T: Clark)
Fin.	:	De Finibus (Teubner : Schiche)
Font.	:	Pro Fonteio
Har. Resp.	:	De Haruspicum responsis
Invent.	:	De Inventione
Leg.	:	De legibus (Budé : Plinval)
Leg. Agr.	:	De lege agraria
Leg. Man.	:	Pro lege Manilia
Lig.	:	Pro Ligario
Marc.	:	Pro Marcello
Mil.	:	Pro Milone (O.C.T: Clark)
Mur.	:	Pro Murena (O.C.T: Clark)
Nat. Deor.	:	De Natura Deorum
Oct.	:	Ad Octavium
Off.	:	De Officiis
Or.	:	Orator

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1 Or Ad Att., occasionally, for clarity.

Paradox.	:	Paradoxa Stoicorum
Phil.	:	Philippica (O.C.T: Clark)
Planc.	:	Pro Plancio (O.C.T: Clark)
P. Red. ad Quir.	:	Post reditum ad Quirites (O.C.T: Clark)
P. Red. in Sen.	:	Post reditum in senatu (O.C.T: Clark)
Prov. cons.	:	De provinciis consularibus (O.C.T: Clark)
Quinct.	:	Pro Quinctio
Q.F.	:	Ad Quintum fratrem (O.C.T: Watt)
Rab. perd.	:	Pro Rabirio perduellonis reo
Rep.	:	De Republica (Teubner : Ziegler)
Rosc. Amer.	:	Pro Roscio Amerino
Rosc. Com.	:	Pro Roscio Comoedo
Scaur.	:	Pro Scauro (Ap. Asconius : O.C.T: Clark)
Senec.	:	De Senectute
Sest.	:	Pro Sestio (O.C.T: Clark)
Sull.	:	Pro Sulla
T.C.	:	In Toga candida (ap. Asconius : O.C.T: Clark)
Tusc. Disp.	:	Tusculanae disputationes
Vat.	:	In Vatinium
Verr.	:	In Verrem

(ii) Others:

Accius, Brut.	:	Accius, Brutus
Hec.	:	Hecuba
Acr. (Pseud.)	:	Acron (Pseudo)
Aeschylus, P.V.	:	Aeschylus, Prometheus Vinctus
Appian, Bell. Afr.	:	Appian, Bellum Africum
B.C.	:	Bellum civile (Loeb)
B.G.	:	Bellum Gallicum
Mith.	:	Mithridatica
Apul. Apol.	:	Apuleius, Apologia
Aratus, Ph.	:	Aratus, Phaenomena (Martin)
Asc.	:	Asconius (O.C.T: Clark)
Asc. (Ps.)	:	Asconius (Pseudo)
Athen.	:	Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae
Aul. Gell. N.A.	:	Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae
Auson. Ecl.	:	Ausonius, Eclogues (Teubner : Schenkl)
Caes. Bell. Afr.	:	Caesar, Bellum Africum
B.C.	:	Bellum Civile
B.G.	:	Bellum Gallicum (O.C.T: du Pontet)
Catull.	:	Catullus
Charisius	:	Charisius, Ars Grammatica
Columella, RR	:	Columella, De re rustica
Dig.	:	Digesta (Libri Pandectarum)
Dio	:	Dio Cassius (Loeb)

Diod.	:	Diodorus Siculus (Loeb)
Dion. Hal.	:	Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Antiquitates Romanae
Ennius Androm.	:	Ennius, Andromache
Euripides Hippol.	:	Euripides, Hippolytus
Suppl.	:	Supplices
Fest.	:	Festus
Flor.	:	Florus
Frontin. Strateg.	:	Frontinus, Strategemata
Gai.	:	Gaius, Institutionum Commentarii
Homer Il.	:	Homer, Iliad
Od.	:	Odyssey
Hor. Sat.	:	Horace, Satires
Jerome ad Eus. Chron.	:	Jerome, Chronicle of Eusebius
Juv.	:	Juvenal
Livy, Ep.	:	Livy, Epitome
Perioch.	:	Periochae
Lucan	:	Lucan, Bellum Civile
Lucr.	:	Lucretius, De rerum natura
Macrob. Saturn.	:	Macrobius, Saturnalia (Teubner : Willis)
Nep. Att.	:	Cornelius Nepos, Life of Atticus (Nipperdey)
Epam.	:	Life of Epaminondas
Praef.	:	Praefatio
Oros.	:	Orosius, Historiarum adversum paganos (Teubner : Zangemeister)
Ovid, Met.	:	Ovid, Metamorphoses
Pacuvius, Dulor.	:	Pacuvius, Dulorestes
Teuc.	:	Teucer
Chrys.	:	Chryses
Pers.	:	Persius
Petron. Satyr.	:	Petronius, Satyricon
Plato Rep.	:	Plato, Republic
Plaut. Aulul.	:	Plautus, Aulularia
Pliny	:	Pliny, Epistulae
Pliny, N.H.	:	Pliny, Naturales Historiae
Plut. Brut.	:	Plutarch, Brutus
Caes.	:	Caesar (Garzetti)
Cato	:	Cato
Cato Min.	:	Cato Minor
Cic.	:	Cicero (Magnino)
Crass.	:	Crassus
Dem & Cic.	:	Demosthenes and Cicero
Frat. Am.	:	De fraterno amore
C. Grac.	:	Caius Gracchus
T. Grac.	:	Tiberius Gracchus
Luc.	:	Lucullus
Mar.	:	Marius
Pomp.	:	Pompey
Sulla	:	Sulla

Polyaen.	:	Polyaenus, Strategemata
Polyb.	:	Polybius
Quint. Inst.	:	Quintilian, Institutio oratoria
Sall. Cat.	:	Sallust, Bellum Catilinae
Hist.	:	Historiae
Iug.	:	Bellum Iugurthinum
Schol. Bob.	:	Scholia Bobiensia ad Ciceronem (Hildebrandt)
Gronov.	:	Gronoviana ad Ciceronem (Stangl)
Bern.	:	Bernensia (Stangl)
Sen.	:	Seneca
Herc. Fur.	:	Hercules Furens
Thy.	:	Thyestes
Serv. Verg. Ecl.	:	Servius, Commentary on Vergil, Eclogues
Soph.	:	Sophocles
Suet. Aug.	:	Suetonius, Augustus
Iul.	:	Divus Iulius
Tib.	:	Tiberius
Symmachus, Ep.	:	Symmachus, Epistulae
Tac. Ann.	:	Tacitus, Annales
Dial.	:	Dialogus
Thuc.	:	Thucydides
Ulp.	:	Ulpian
Val. Max.	:	Valerius Maximus
Varro Ling. lat.	:	Varro, De lingua latina
RR	:	De re rustica
Vell.	:	Velleius Paterculus
Verg. Aen.	:	Vergil, Aeneid
Georg.	:	Georgics

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Other Abbreviations

A.	=	Atticus
Cicero	=	M. Cicero, the orator
M.	=	" " "
M. Jr.	=	Marcus, son of the above
Q.	=	Quintus Cicero
Q. Jr.	=	Quintus, son of the above
P.	=	Pomponia, wife of Quintus Cicero

Dates are B.C., unless otherwise stated.

Roman numerals, after ancient works, indicate books, and, after modern works, indicate volumes; Arabic numerals, after ancient works, indicate sections or lines, and, after modern works, indicate pages. Where there are deviations, specifics are given.

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ABSTRACT OF

Quintus Tullius Cicero: A Monograph on his Life and Work

This work assembles all known materials from antiquity which have to do with Q. Cicero, the younger brother of the famous orator, and attempts a portrait of him as complete as a critical interpretation of these materials permits. The work includes reviews and discussions of inconsistencies and contradictions arising from previous views on Q. Cicero, as expressed in short theses and articles, biographies of M. Cicero, editions of Cicero's correspondence and philosophical works, Roman histories and disputes on the Commentariolum petitionis. The aims and outline of the work, review of sources (the bulk of which is in the Ciceronian corpus) and of previous works are discussed in the introduction.

The opening chapter deals with the birth date, birth place, early upbringing and education of Quintus within the family environment of the Tullii Cicerones of Arpinum and the social milieu to which they belonged. Quintus inherited the incentive to seek public office in Rome and the patronage to facilitate it. However, as a result of the Civil War, what, in the end, really counted in making his career possible and marking its character was his brother's patronage and his own liberal education.

The second chapter turns to the aims, the course and the outcome of Quintus' marriage to Pomponia, the sister of Atticus. Marriage into the well-established family of the Pomponii, engineered by Marcus earlier than usually believed, promised financial and social advantages, from which both Ciceros profited for the furtherance of their careers. The

strained relations between the consorts, which ultimately led to divorce, are to be ascribed not only to incompatibility of characters, but also to the nature of the marriage sine manu.

The third chapter traces Q. Cicero's cursus through to his propraetorship of Asia, followed by his legateships under Pompey in Sardinia, under Caesar in Gaul and under M. Cicero in Cilicia. It also deals with his participation in M. Cicero's campaign for the consulship, in the struggle for M. Cicero's restoration from exile and in the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey. It is shown how Quintus attained the successive steps of his public career primarily under the patronage of his elder brother, and how, as a governor, he was guided by principles originating from Cicero's ideas of statesmanship. From examination of criticisms aimed at him, Quintus emerges as an essentially honest, just and courageous administrator, and a brave, able and resourceful soldier. Conversely, his contribution to the furtherance of M. Cicero's career is shown to be also extensive. Despite some disagreements and one great quarrel after the battle of Pharsalus, the two brothers worked closely together in promoting the family's dignitas; both gained and lost from the fluctuations in each other's fortunes.

In spite of his public life, Q. Cicero's main interest was in literature, the subject of chapter four. An account of his library, his travels and his friends leads to consideration of his discussions with M. Cicero, for whose literary works he had great appreciation. In these discussions lay the genesis of his literary role in Cicero's philosophical dialogues, in which he is portrayed as an advocate of otium, a defender

of conventional prudence in politics and a sympathiser with the Peripatetics in philosophy. His own works consisted of satirical, dramatic, epic and didactic verse, epistolary and, perhaps, historical prose, as well as, possibly, "editing" of Lucretius and compilation of Cicero's jokes. But estimate of his merits as a writer is limited to the small portion of his compositions that survives, of which, the De XII signis and the Commentariolum, despite attacks on their authenticity, are accepted as two of the main constituents. As a writer, Quintus displays some skill and peculiarities of his own, and, above all, the pervading influence of his brother.

Chapter five is an examination of the material circumstances which made possible Quintus' public life and intellectual pursuits. This involves the determination of what real estate and slaves he owned, how his cash flow was and what were his sources of income. Inheritance, endowments and gifts provided him with amenities, manpower and income, which enabled him to live a life of opulence and leisure fairly similar to that of M. Cicero.

Focussing on the principal issue of Quintus' marriage, his son, the sixth and final chapter treats the birth, upbringing, education and character of Quintus Jr., and the problems he raised by his rebelliousness and his allegiance to Caesarism. Here Quintus himself is seen as a father, affectionate and weak, tormented by his hopes and fears for his only son, maturing in the gloomy days of the approach and the aftermath of the Civil War. Father and son, with their fates tied to the great orator's, came to an end with Cicero, as they all fell to the sword of Mark Antony.