

Clodia

A Sourcebook

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CICERO: LETTERS

This letter from Clodia's husband, Quintus Metellus Celer (the only letter in this volume written by someone other than Cicero), shows Celer's anger at Cicero for attacking Celer's brother, Quintus Caecilius Metellus Nepos. Nepos had become tribune on 10 December 63 B.C., five days after the execution of the Catilinarian conspirators (which Cicero had pushed through), and threatened Cicero with prosecution. The Senate passed its "Ultimate Decree" to remove Nepos, but he was reinstated shortly afterward. Celer seems to have written before he had heard of the reinstatement.

Letters to Friends 5.1

from Celer, Cisalpine Gaul, January 62 B.C.

[1] I hope you are well.

I had thought, on the basis of our reciprocal understanding and renewed goodwill, that I would not be made an object of ridicule in my absence, and that my brother Metellus would not have his person and property attacked by you on account of a phrase.¹ If his own propriety was not enough to defend him, either the prestige of our family or my own devotion to you and to the Republic should have been enough to support

The notes on Cicero's letters are based upon the commentaries of Shackleton Bailey (1965-70, 1980). Unless otherwise noted, citations of "SB" refer to the corresponding place in his commentary.

1. *Fam.* 5.1.1 on account of a phrase: Probably something said during Nepos' *contio* ("public meeting"), in which he attacked Cicero; Cicero counterattacked with his own speech, *Against the Contio of Quintus Metellus*.

him. Now I see that he has been thwarted, and I have been deserted, by those for whom such conduct was least appropriate.

[2] And so I am in mourning and squalor²—I who am leading a province, I who am leading an army, I who am waging a war!³ Since you have dealt these things out with neither the reasonableness nor the clemency of our ancestors, it will be no wonder if you regret them. I did not expect you to be of such shifting mind toward me and my family. Meanwhile, neither grief for my family nor injury by any man will drag me away from my public duties.

Cicero's response to the preceding letter seems to have brought about the desired reconciliation with Celer. It is the only passage in Cicero's writings that depicts Clodia in a wholly positive light, as a friend (or at least friendly acquaintance) whom Cicero asks to negotiate on his behalf with her brother-in-law. As such, it gives us a rare glimpse into the sort of informal yet essential role that women could play in the male world of politics.

Letters to Friends 5.2

to Celer, Rome, January or February 62 B.C.

[1] I hope you and the army are well.

You write me that you “had thought, on the basis of our reciprocal understanding and renewed goodwill, that you would never be made an object of ridicule” at my hands. I can’t quite figure out what this means. But I suspect it’s gotten back to you that, as I was arguing in the Senate that many people were unhappy about my saving the Republic, I said that your relatives, to whom you couldn’t say no, had prevailed upon you to keep back the praises of me you had previously decided to proclaim in the Senate. As I was saying this, I added that the duty of preserving the Republic’s safety had been divided between us in such a way that I was to defend the City from domestic plots and civil crime, you to defend it from armed enemies and secret conspiracies; and that our alliance in such a great and illustrious cause had been undermined by your relatives, who had feared that, as I had showered you with such abundantly honorific praise, you too might show me some token of our mutual goodwill.

2. *Fam.* 5.1.2 in mourning and squalor: Relatives of people threatened with public disgrace dressed in mourning garb; compare note on *Cael.* 4 gloom and squalor of his father.

3. *Fam.* 5.1.2 waging a war: Celer was currently in command of one of the two armies opposing Catiline.

[2] As I was talking in this vein, revealing what my eager expectation of your speech had been and how utterly wrong I was, my speech struck some people as funny, and it raised a few laughs—not at you, but at my mistake, and because I was confessing so openly and sincerely how much I longed for your praise. Now, this can hardly be construed as anything but a compliment to you, that even in my most stunning triumph I should feel the need of some commendation from your lips.

[3] As for “our reciprocal understanding,” I don’t know what you’d say “reciprocal” means in friendship; for my part, I’d say it means when equal goodwill is received and given. If I were to say I’d renounced a province⁴ for you, you’d undoubtedly think me a bit disingenuous; my own reasons led me to this decision, and it brings me greater pleasure and reward daily. But I will say this, that as soon as I’d renounced the province at the public meeting, I began at once to plan how to hand it over to you. I say nothing about your lottery;⁵ I only want you to imagine that nothing here was done by my colleague without my knowledge. Remember, further, how quickly I convened the Senate that day after the lots had been assigned, and how much I said about you: you yourself told me my speech had been not only a compliment to you, but even an insult to your colleagues!

[4] Now, the preamble of the decree the Senate passed that day is such that, while it exists, my friendly service to you can’t be in the dark. And later, after you had set out, I’d like you to remember what I did for you in the Senate, what I said at public meetings, what letters I sent you. I’d like you to judge for yourself whether your recent arrival in Rome offered a “reciprocal” response to all these things put together.

[5] As for “our renewed goodwill,” I don’t see how you can say something is “renewed” that has never been diminished.

[6] As for “it is not appropriate for Metellus, my brother, to be attacked by you because of a phrase,” I’d like you to realize, first, that I strongly approve of your sentiment and your brotherly feeling, full of humanity and loyalty; second, that if I oppose your brother in anything for the sake

4. *Fam.* 5.2.3 renounced a province: Consuls and praetors generally became governors of provinces after their terms expired. *SB* (1980) notes that Cicero’s decision not to do so “may have been one of the worst mistakes of his career.”

5. *Fam.* 5.2.3 lottery: The praetors drew lots to determine which province each would receive; the presiding consul (here Gaius Antonius, Cicero’s “colleague”) apparently had some way of stacking the cards.

of the Republic, you must forgive me (for I am a friend of the Republic second to none). But if I've defended my own safety against his extremely cruel attack on me, you should be content that I have not complained to you about the injury done me by your brother. When I'd discovered that the whole intent of his tribunate was to scheme and devise mischief against me, I appealed to your wife **Claudia**⁶ and your sister Mucia (whose devotion to my cause through my connection with Gnaeus Pompeius I'd seen in many situations) to discourage him from doing me that injury.

[7] And yet that man—as I'm sure you've heard—on December 31 inflicted upon me, the consul and the savior of the Republic, an injury greater than any that has been inflicted on the most wicked citizen holding the lowest office in the State: he deprived me of the right to hold a public meeting as I was leaving office. This injury, however, brought me the greatest honor; for when he allowed me nothing except to swear an oath, I swore in a loud voice an oath most true and beautiful⁷—and the people in an equally loud voice swore that I had sworn it truly.

[8] Though I'd received such an egregious injury, yet that same day I dispatched some common friends to Metellus to beg him to abandon his plan. He answered them that in his mind the matter was closed; and in fact, shortly before, he'd said at a public meeting that one who had inflicted capital punishment on others without a hearing⁸ ought to be denied the right

6. *Fam.* 5.2.6 **Claudia**: An alternate spelling of Clodia. The implications of this alternation are a subject of unresolved scholarly debate. The following facts are fairly certain: (1) "o" for "au" was a variation characteristic of the Umbrian dialect and gave words a rustic, nonelite flavor; (2) the fact that Clodius and Clodia both adopted this spelling indicates their closeness; (3) both patrician and plebeian branches of the family used "Claudius"; (4) the spelling "Clodius" predates Clodius' adoption into a plebeian family in 59 B.C. Riggsby (2002a) attributes the spelling to Clodius' wish to curry favor with the populace by using a nonelite form; Tatum (1999) 247–48 speculates that Clodia's "faddism" was responsible. In any event it is notable that Cicero, in writing to the husband of Clodia/Claudia, tactfully chooses the spelling that recalls her distinguished ancestry rather than her fashionable slumming or her brother's revolutionary leanings.

7. *Fam.* 5.2.6 **an oath most true and beautiful**: As *SB* (1980) notes, "Nepos and another Tribune used their constitutional power of 'blocking' (*intercessio*) to stop Cicero addressing a public meeting after laying down his office as Consul. They would only allow him to take the customary oath—that as a magistrate he had done nothing against the law. Cicero turned the tables by changing the usual form of the oath and swearing that he and he alone had saved the state and the City. He was fond of recalling this incident in after years."

8. *Fam.* 5.2.8 **inflicted capital punishment on others without a hearing**: Cicero maintained until the end that he had done the right thing in having Catiline's co-conspirators executed without trial (63 B.C.), claiming that by making war on the State they had relinquished their rights as Roman citizens, who were entitled to due process. Clodius would soon have Cicero exiled (March 58 B.C.) on the basis of this allegedly illegal action.

to speak himself. What a worthy human being and outstanding citizen, opining that the punishment decreed by the Senate with the consensus of all good men for those who wanted to burn the City, slaughter the magistrates and the Senate, and ignite the most terrible war—that this punishment was right for the man who freed the Senate from slaughter, the City from flames, Italy from war! And so I stood up to Metellus, your brother, in person. For on January 1 I argued with him in the Senate about the Republic in such a way that he could tell he had a strong and stubborn man to contend with. On January 3, when he began to develop his proposal [to recall Pompey], with every other word of his speech he challenged me, threatened me; and his greatest scheme was to get rid of me in any way he could, not by legal procedure but by violent assault. If I hadn't resisted this attack of his with courage and spirit, who wouldn't have thought my strength during my consulate came from chance rather than wisdom?

[9] If you were unaware that Metellus was scheming against me, then you should realize that your brother has been concealing extremely important affairs from you; if, on the other hand, he let you in on his plan at all, you should consider me quite gentle and easygoing for not complaining to you about these same affairs. And if you now understand that I've been moved to action not by Metellus's "phrase," as you say, but by his deliberate, scheming hostility, please also recognize my humanity—if "humanity" is the word for laxity and weakness of spirit in the face of bitterest injury! I never spoke a word in the Senate against your brother; whenever some proposal was made, I kept my seat and assented to whoever seemed to me to take the most lenient position. I'll say this too, that although I shouldn't at that point have lifted a finger, yet I endured without ill will—and even for my part helped bring about—that my personal enemy, because he was your brother, should by decree of the Senate be released from penalties.

[10] Therefore, I did not *fight* against your brother, I *fought back* against your brother; nor, as you say, was I of "shifting mind" toward you, but rather of such constant mind that I remained firm in my goodwill toward you even when I no longer received your favors. And at this very moment, in response to your letter, which is practically an open threat against me, I reply: Not only do I forgive your grief, but I even give you the highest praise (for my own sensibility reminds me how great is the strength of brotherly love); I beg you, too, to be a fair-minded judge of my own grief; and, if I have been attacked by your relatives bitterly, cruelly, and without

cause, to recognize that I should not only have refused to yield, but even have employed your help and that of your army in such a serious cause.

I've always wanted you to have friendly feelings toward me, and I've always tried to make you understand that I have the friendliest feelings toward you. I stand fast and, if you'll let me, shall keep standing fast in my goodwill; and I'd rather cease hostilities with your brother through my love for you than see our friendship cool in any way because of my hostility toward him.

Written over a year after the Bona Dea trial, this letter shows a phase in Cicero's relationship with Clodius characterized by barbed witticisms: Clodius is a "boor" who must be "taught to behave" but not yet the deadly enemy he would soon become. It is also the first appearance of the slur about incest with Clodia.

Letters to Atticus 2.1 (SB 21)

Antium (?), c. June 3 (?) 60 B.C.

[1] As I was going to Antium on June 1, eager to leave Marcus Metellus' gladiators behind, your boy intercepted me. He gave me a letter from you and a sketch of my "Consulship" in Greek. I was happy that, some time before, I'd given Lucius Cossinius a book on the same topic, likewise in Greek, to pass on to you; for if I'd read yours first, you would say I'd plagiarized from you. Although those verses of yours (for I was glad to read them) struck me as a bit shaggy and unkempt, nevertheless they were adorned by the very fact that they had neglected all ornament, and, like women, seemed to smell good precisely because they didn't smell at all. My book, on the other hand, soaked up the whole box of Isocratean perfume, plus the little boxes of his disciples, and even a good deal of Aristotelian rouge.⁹ You skimmed it at Corcyra, as you indicate to me in another letter, but afterward, I suppose, you received it from Cossinius.

9. Att. 2.1.1 *Isocratean perfume . . . Aristotelian rouge*: As SB (1965) notes, Isocrates and Aristotle represented "the two main traditions of rhetorical study as opposed to hack teaching." Cicero also wrote Latin verse on the subject of his own consulship, with regard to which the poet Juvenal, quoting one of Cicero's infamous lines, made the following observation:

Because of his genius his hand and neck were severed, nor have puny pleaders ever stained the Rostra with blood.
"Oh Rome, so fortunate to be born when I was consul!"
He could have scorned the swords of Antony, if he had always spoken that way. (*Satire* 10.120-24)

[2] I wouldn't have dared to send it to you if I hadn't scrutinized it slowly and scrupulously. Though Posidonius wrote me back from Rhodes that when he read my little memoir, which I had sent him so he could write more ornately on the same topic, not only was he not spurred on to write, he was positively scared away! What more can I say? I've confounded the Greek nation. Those who were pressing me on all sides to give them something to adorn have now stopped pestering me. If you like the book, you'll make sure it appears in Athens and the other towns of Greece. For it seems it could shine some light on my achievements.

[3] I'll also send you my little speeches, both the ones you ask for and more besides, since you too enjoy what I write spurred on by the enthusiasm of my young fans. Seeing how in those speeches called "Philippics" that compatriot of yours, Demosthenes, shone brilliantly, and how he distanced himself from that pugnacious, forensic speaking style in order to appear more august and statesmanlike, I decided it would be to my advantage to make sure I too had some speeches that could be called "Consular."¹⁰ Of these, (1) is in the Senate on January 1, (2)¹¹ to the people about the Agrarian Law, (3) on Otho,¹² (4) in defense of Rabirius,¹³ (5) on the children of proscribed persons,¹⁴ (6) when I resigned my province in public assembly,¹⁵ (7) when I sent Catiline away,¹⁶ (8) when I addressed the people the day after Catiline fled, (9) in the public assembly the day the Allobroges informed on

Less flamboyant but equally damning is the assessment of Cicero's poetry put forth by SB (1971) ix: "not much survives, but enough."

10. Att. 2.1.3 *some speeches that could be called "Consular"*: As Cape (2002) 119 notes, "Cicero's selection of a few of his own speeches as a coherent and aesthetic unity is the first evidence we have for such a phenomenon in antiquity."

11. Att. 2.1.3 (1) . . . (2): When Publius Servilius Rullus (tribune 63 B.C.) introduced a bill (supported by Crassus and Caesar) to redistribute public land in Rome and the provinces, "Cicero, presenting himself as a *popularis* (see OPTIMATES) and as defending Pompey's interests, secured the withdrawal of the bill by his (largely extant) speeches *De lege agraria* ["On the Agrarian Law"]" (OCD).

12. Att. 2.1.3 *on Otho*: Lucius Roscius Otho (tribune 67 B.C.) carried a law assigning the first fourteen rows in the Theater to knights; when the general public hissed him during his praetorship in 63 B.C., Cicero wrote a speech defending him (only a fragment survives).

13. Att. 2.1.3 *Rabirius*: Rabirius had been accused of treason (*perduellio*).

14. Att. 2.1.3 *on the children of proscribed persons*: "In opposition to a tribunician proposal inspired by Caesar for the removal of the political disabilities imposed by Sulla on the children of his victims" (SB [1965]). Nothing of this speech survives.

15. Att. 2.1.3 *when I resigned my province in public assembly*: See note on Fam. 5.2.3 *renounced a province*. Nothing of this speech survives.

16. Att. 2.1.3 *when I sent Catiline away*: This and the next three speeches constitute the four surviving "Catilinarians."

him, (10) in the Senate on December 5. There are also two short ones, fragments, so to speak, of the ones on the Agrarian Law. I'll make sure you have this whole corpus. And since you enjoy both my writings and my doings, from the same books you'll see both what I've done and what I've said—or else you shouldn't have asked! I wasn't forcing myself on you.

[4] You ask why it is I'm summoning you, and at the same time you suggest that you're tied up with business—though you don't refuse to come running, not only if I need you but even if I just want you. To be honest, there's no real need, but still, it seems to me you could have arranged your travel times more conveniently. You're gone too long, especially since you're really quite close, but I'm not enjoying your company and you're missing mine! And of course everything's quiet right now, but if Little Beauty's¹⁷ insanity were able to progress a little further, I'd surely be fetching you from there. However, Metellus¹⁸ is holding him back brilliantly, and will continue to hold him back. What more can I say? He's a patriotic consul and, as I've always maintained, a good man by nature.

[5] He [Clodius], on the other hand, is not pretending, but really wants to become a tribune of the people.¹⁹ When this issue was being handled in the Senate, I crushed the man and rebuked his fickleness for seeking a tribunate in Rome when he had repeatedly said he was seeking an inheritance in Sicily. And I said we really didn't have to trouble ourselves, since he'd have no more chance of wrecking the Republic as a plebeian than his kindred spirits among the patricians had when I was consul. Now, when he said that he had come on the seventh day from the Straits and that no one had been able to greet him and that he had entered by night, and he flaunted this in the public assembly, I said that this was nothing new for him. From Sicily to Rome in a week: but from Rome to Interamna in three hours.²⁰ Entry by

17. Att. 2.1.4 **Little Beauty's**: Latin *Pulchellus*, a contemptuous diminutive of *Pulcher* ("Beautiful"), the *cognomen* of Clodius.

18. Att. 2.1.4 **Metellus**: Clodia's husband. Although Metellus had at first reluctantly supported his brother-in-law Clodius' scheme to become tribune, by this point he had turned against it.

19. Att. 2.1.5 **to become a tribune of the people**: See introduction, "Patricians and Plebeians." Clodius tried by various means for a "transfer to the *plebs*" (*transitio ad plebem*) in order to become tribune. The Senate debate Cicero refers to probably concerns whether Clodius' *sacrorum detestatio*, or "abjuration of [his family's] sacred rites," was sufficient to establish this transfer. See Tatum (1999) 96–102.

20. Att. 2.1.5 **from Rome to Interamna in three hours**: Cicero testified that he saw Clodius in Rome the evening of the Bona Dea incident; Clodius claimed that he was at Interamna (about forty miles from Rome) at the time.

night: same as before. "No one came in your way: not at that time, either, when it was most crucial for someone to get in your way." What more can I say? I'm making this boor behave, not only through the constant gravity of my orations, but also through this sort of witticism. And so now even with the man himself I trade banter and jokes. Yes, when we were introducing a candidate to the Forum, he asks me whether I'd been in the habit of giving a place to the Sicilians²¹ at the gladiatorial shows. I said No. He said, "Yet I, as their new patron,²² shall institute that practice. But **my sister**, who has so much consular space,²³ gives me just one foot." "Don't complain about one foot²⁴ from your sister," I said; "you can always hoist the other one!" You'll say, "Not a very consular witticism": I confess it. But I really can't stand that consular woman: "for she is mutinous, she wages war with her man,"²⁵ and not only with Metellus but also with Fabius,²⁶ because he's annoyed at their worthlessness.²⁷

[6] You mention the Agrarian Law; it really seems to have cooled down. As for your reproaching me "with gentle arm" about my friendship with Pompey, I wouldn't want you to think I've joined up with him for my own safety's sake; but things had fallen out in such a way that if there were any dissension between us, there would necessarily have been tremendous discord in the Republic. I'd foreseen and taken precautions against this, not by departing from that excellent conduct of mine, but by his becoming better and casting aside some of his crowd-pleasing frivolity. And know that he proclaims more glorious praise of my deeds—which many had encouraged him to attack—than of his own; for he testifies that the Republic was well

21. Att. 2.1.5 **giving a place to the Sicilians**: Cicero was the quaestor in charge of Sicily in 75 B.C., Clodius in 61 B.C. (after his acquittal in the Bona Dea incident). The seating at gladiatorial shows was carefully segregated by rank (and gender), reinforcing the social hierarchy.

22. Att. 2.1.5 **new patron**: As SB (1965) notes, "at least in his own estimation"; this is the sort of conceited remark Cicero made a career of deflating.

23. Att. 2.1.5 **consular space**: As consul, Clodia's husband would have seating at his disposal; that this space is referred to as belonging to Clodia tells us something about the distribution of power in their relationship.

24. Att. 2.1.5 **one foot**: In English as in Latin, "foot" is both a unit of measurement and a body part, thus setting up one of Cicero's innumerable jokes about incest between Clodius and Clodia.

25. Att. 2.1.5 **"for she is mutinous, she wages war with her man"**: This appears to be a line from a (lost) Roman comedy. On the importance of comedy in Cicero's treatment of Clodia, see note on *Cael.* 1 **public festivals and games**.

26. Att. 2.1.5 **Fabius**: Fabius must have been Clodia's lover; possibly he is Quintus Fabius (Maximus) Sanga, who helped reveal the plans of the Catilinarians to Cicero.

27. Att. 2.1.5 **their worthlessness**: That is, the worthlessness of Clodius and Clodia.

served by him, but preserved by me. I don't know what advantage I get from his saying this; but surely there's great advantage for the Republic. What if I make even Caesar, who's enjoying quite favorable winds right now, a better man? I suppose I'm doing great harm to the Republic?

[7] Why, even if no one bore me ill will, and if all were on my side (as they should have been), still, the medicine that healed the corrupted parts of the Republic should have been no less worthy of praise than that which amputated them. But now, seeing as the knights I'd stationed on the Capitol Rise²⁸ with you as their standard-bearer and leader have deserted the Senate, while the leaders of our order think they're reaching out and touching heaven if the bearded mullets in their fishponds²⁹ eat out of their hands, while they ignore everything else—doesn't it seem to you that I'm doing enough good if I make sure those capable of doing harm choose not to?

[8] I love our Cato just as much as you do; but still, even with his excellent soul and his outstanding integrity, he sometimes does harm to the Republic. For he pronounces his opinions as if he were in the Republic of Plato,³⁰ not the Sewer of Romulus. What could be more just than for jurors to be prosecuted for taking bribes? Cato made this motion and the Senate agreed. So knights are at war with the Senate (not with me, since I dissented). What could be more irresponsible than tax farmers³¹ defaulting on their contracts? And yet, to retain the loyalty of that order, it was worth the loss. Cato opposed this and won. And so now, with a consul locked in prison³² and one riot after another, not one of those men whose joined forces I and all consuls after me used to count on to defend the Republic

28. Att. 2.1.7 **knights I'd stationed on the Capitol Rise**: During the exposition of the Catilinarian conspiracy, the knights gathered on the road from the Forum to the Capitoline Hill, where the Senate was meeting, to protect the senators.

29. Att. 2.1.7 **bearded mullets in their fishponds**: Both Cicero and Clodius make fun of the upper class's passion for pisciculture (see note on 2.9.1 "Those Tritons of the Fishponds"). See Syme (1939) 23: "Secluded like indolent monsters in their parks and villas, the great *piscinarii* ['fishpond fanciers'], Hortensius and the two Luculli, pondered at ease upon the quiet doctrines of Epicurus and confirmed from their own careers the folly of ambition, the vanity of virtue." Griffin (1985) 7 observes that these fishponds became a "symbol for Rome of plutocratic inertia." For further references, see Holland (2003) 175–85, "Shadows in the Fishpond," and D'Arms (1970) 40–42.

30. Att. 2.1.8 **Republic of Plato**: Plato's *Republic* (fourth century B.C.) depicts an ideal totalitarian state run by perfectly wise philosopher-kings.

31. Att. 2.1.8 **tax farmers**: Latin *publicani* (our "publicans") would essentially purchase from the state the right to extract taxes from the provinces; they would realize as profit whatever exceeded the amount they promised the state. They were little loved.

32. Att. 2.1.8 a **consul locked in prison**: Metellus (Clodia's husband) had been sent to prison for obstructing the Agrarian Law.

has lifted a finger. You'll ask, "What are you saying? Are we to keep these men on as mercenaries?" What else can we do, if it's impossible otherwise? Or should we be slaves to our own freedman and slaves? But, as you would say, enough angst.

[9] Favonius carried my tribe³³ more handsomely than his own but lost Lucceius' tribe. He prosecuted Nasica unhandsomely, and nastily at that; from his speech it seemed that at Rhodes he'd thrown his effort into the mills, not Molo.³⁴ He was slightly annoyed with me for taking the defense. But now he's running for office again, for the sake of the Republic. I'll write you about what Lucceius is doing when I see Caesar; he'll be here in two days.

[10] As for the harm the Sicyonians are doing you,³⁵ you can chalk that up to Cato and his emulator Servilius. What do you expect? Doesn't that blow fall upon many good men? But if such was their pleasure, let's applaud, and then be left all to ourselves when the quarrels begin.

[11] My Amalthea³⁶ waits for you and needs you. I'm really happy with my properties at Tusculum and Pompeii, except that they've buried me—yes me, the avenger of *aes alienum*³⁷—not in Corinthian bronze but in that vulgar kind. We hope all's quiet in Gaul. Expect my "Weather Signs"³⁸ along with my little speeches any day now, but still, write me your thoughts about when you'll return. For Pomponia had word sent me that you'd be in Rome in the month of Quintilis. That didn't agree with the letter you'd sent me about your census.³⁹

33. Att. 2.1.9 **tribe**: The electorate was divided into thirty-five "tribes," with the majority within each tribe determining its vote.

34. Att. 2.1.9 **the mills, not Molo**: Molo was a highly regarded teacher of rhetoric in Rhodes; "mills" in Latin is *moli*.

35. Att. 2.1.10 **the harm the Sicyonians are doing you**: Atticus, a prosperous businessman, was involved in some financial transactions with the people of Sicyon (a Greek city in heavy debt to Rome); at Cato's prompting, Servilius introduced a decree that helped the Sicyonians at the expense of Roman knights. See *SB* (1965) on Att. 1.13.1, 1.19.9.

36. Att. 2.1.11 **Amalthea**: Atticus had a shrine of Amalthea (a nymph who nursed the infant Zeus) on his estate; Cicero wanted to create a similar one on his own estate at Arpinum, and had asked Atticus for architectural and mythological details (Att. 1.16.18).

37. Att. 2.1.11 **aes alienum**: The Latin phrase for "debt," meaning literally, "bronze [money] belonging to another." "Corinthian bronze" refers to statues (such as wealthy Romans would like to show off in their homes).

38. Att. 2.1.11 **"Weather Signs"**: Cicero in his youth did a Latin translation of part of the famous poem by Aratus (*Phaenomena*) on astronomy and weather.

39. Att. 2.1.11 **your census**: This has something to do with Atticus' being present in order to be enrolled on the list of citizens, though it could sometimes be done through representatives (why Atticus had to be present himself is not entirely clear).

[12] Paetus, as I wrote you before, donated to me all the books his brother had left him. This gift from him now depends on your attention. If you love me, make sure they're preserved and sent along to me. Nothing could please me more than this. I'd like you to preserve carefully not just the Greek ones, but the Latin ones too. Then I'll feel this little gift is truly yours.

I sent a letter to Octavius. I hadn't spoken with him at all in person; for I didn't think that that business of yours was a province matter, nor did I reckon you among the usurers. But I wrote, as I ought, attentively.

In the following three letters to Atticus, we see Cicero's increasing fear for his position (and the Republic) now that Clodius has been adopted into a plebeian family and is thus eligible to become tribune. Clodia—who, despite her enmity with Cicero, remained friends with Atticus—appears not only as a source of sensitive information, but as the “bugle blower” for her brother (i.e., leading the charge in what Cicero would characterize as Clodius' attacks on the Republic).

Letters to Atticus 2.9 (SB 29)

Antium, 16 or 17 (?) April 59 B.C.

[1] Since Quaestor Caecilius had suddenly told me he was sending a boy to Rome, I wrote this quickly in order to *** <thank you for> your wonderful conversations with Publius, both the ones you write about and the one you hide and say it's too long to set down all the responses you had to it. But as for the one that hasn't yet taken place, which the infamous **Ox-Eyes**⁴⁰ is going to report to you⁴¹ when she gets back from Solonium—please realize I'm so eager for that one that nothing could please me more! However, if such agreements as have been made concerning myself are not honored, I'm on cloud nine, as long as our dear Jerusalemian bestower of plebeian status⁴² finds out what fine recompense he's made for those stinking speeches

40. *Att. 2.9.1 Ox-Eyes*: Cicero's favorite nickname for Clodia. The word, which Cicero usually writes in Greek, is an epithet of Hera in Homer's *Iliad*. (It designates large, beautiful eyes, not a bovine insult.) It was appropriate (in Cicero's view) for Clodia because, like Hera, she had striking eyes, was involved in an incestuous relationship with her brother (Hera and her husband Zeus were siblings), and henpecked her husband. See Griffith (1996) 381–82.

41. *Att. 2.9.1 report to you*: As *SB* (1965) notes, “It looks as though Atticus and Clodius conducted their ‘dialogues’ only or mainly through her as go-between.”

42. *Att. 2.9.1 Jerusalemian bestower of plebeian status*: Pompey, who had captured Jerusalem in 63 B.C. Plebeian status allowed Clodius to become a tribune; see introduction, “Patricians and Plebeians.”

of mine. Look out for a magnificent palinode!⁴³ And in fact, so far as I can prophesy by guesswork, if that scoundrel is to be in favor with these ruling powers, he's not going to be able to puff himself up with either “The Canine Consular”⁴⁴ or “Those Tritons of the Fishponds.”⁴⁵ For we can't possibly be unpopular if we're stripped of resources and that “senatorial sway.”⁴⁶ But if he has a break with them, it'll be ridiculous for him to rail against us. But let him rail. Very prettily, believe me, and with less noise than I'd thought, this political wheel has come full circle⁴⁷ much faster than seemed possible. This is Cato's fault, but it's also through the sleaziness of those who ignored the auspices,⁴⁸ the Lex Aelia, and the Junia-Licinia, and the Caecilia-Didia;⁴⁹ who threw out all remedies for the Republic; who have bestowed kingdoms on tetrarchs like private estates, gobs of money on a handful of men.

[2] I now see which way the wind of ill will is blowing and where it's going to settle. You may conclude that I learned nothing either from experience or from Theophrastus⁵⁰ if you don't see longing for that era of mine

43. *Att. 2.9.1 palinode*: That is, a recantation of previous praise of Pompey. *SB* (1965) notes, “Once again C. tries to blind himself to the mortifying truth, that his security really depended upon Caesar's forbearance and Pompey's protection.”

44. *Att. 2.9.1 “The Canine Consular”*: Clodius' scornful nickname for Cicero. “Canine” translates Latin *cynicus*. “Cynic” (the name of a Greek philosophical school) is derived from the Greek word for “dog”; the implication of the nickname here (apparently) is that Cicero's rhetoric was biting, sycophantic, and shameless.

45. *Att. 2.9.1 “Those Tritons of the Fishponds”*: Another coinage by Clodius (it seems), referring to the upper classes (see note on *Att. 2.1.7 bearded mullets in their fishponds*).

46. *Att. 2.9.1 “senatorial sway”*: As in the previous sentence, Cicero appears to be quoting scornful sobriquets from the opposition.

47. *Att. 2.9.1 political wheel has come full circle*: *SB* (1965) interprets, “Time was when the Senate stood firm, based on the *concordia ordinum* [“harmony among the social classes”]. Then the alienation of the *equites* led to the collapse of its authority. Now it is back in favour. The first half of the revolution (the speed of it anyhow) was Cato's fault, the second can be put down to the misdeeds of the dynasts. Such is the sense, but the metaphor . . . will not stand too much pressure. The power of the Senate had not been restored, and as for popularity, the masses, who (allegedly) hated the ‘Triumvirs’ now, had not loved the Senate in 61.”

48. *Att. 2.9.1 ignored the auspices*: Before important undertakings, Romans took a reading on the gods' attitude by having “augurs” (one of many classes of religious official) observe the behavior of birds in various quarters of the sky—a complex pseudoscience. The tribune Vatinius had willfully ignored the auspices in the matter of Clodius' adoption, among other things.

49. *Att. 2.9.1 Lex Aelia . . . Caecilia-Didia*: Caesar and Vatinius had disregarded these laws when summoning the assembly to ratify Clodius' adoption.

50. *Att. 2.9.2 Theophrastus*: This successor of Aristotle wrote extensively on political topics and in particular on how policies needed to be manipulated to suit changing times (see Cicero, *De Finibus*, 5.11).

soon. Indeed, if the Senate's power was a cause of ill will, what do you think will happen when that power has been transferred, not to the people, but to three exorbitant men?⁵¹ So let them make whomever they want consuls and tribunes of the people—let them even wrap Vatinius' scrofula⁵² in a priest's double-dyed toga; you'll soon see not only those who never stumbled become heroes, but even Cato, the very one who blundered.

[3] As for me, if your pal Publius will allow it, I'm planning to sophisticize; if he forces me, then I'll just defend myself, and, as befits the sophistic art, I profess "to ward off the man who is the first to attack."⁵³ May the fatherland be with me! It's gotten from me, if not more than it was owed, at least more than it demanded. I'd really rather be a passenger on someone else's ship than a fine captain with such ungrateful passengers. But this more easily in person.

[4] Now to answer your question. I'm planning to return to Antium from Formiae on May 3. From Antium I want to set out for Tusculum on May 7. But when I get back from Formiae (I want to be there until April

51. *Att.* 2.9.2 **three exorbitant men**: In 60 B.C. Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus had formed what is called the First Triumvirate ("Group of Three Men"), though this alliance had no official legal status. Cicero had been invited to join in as the group was being formed; he was tempted, but declined. He describes his response to overtures by Cornelius Balbus, one of Caesar's intimates (*Att.* 2.3.3 = *SB* 23, December 60 B.C.):

He assured me that Caesar would follow my and Pompey's advice in all things and that he would make an effort to unite Crassus with Pompey. Here's the plus side: the greatest intimacy with Pompey—with Caesar too, if I want it; a return to grace with my personal enemies; peace with the multitude; leisure in my old age. But I'm moved by that finale of mine in the third book [of the poem on his consulship: see note on *Att.* 2.1.1 **Isocretan perfume . . . Aristotelian rouge**]:

"Meanwhile the course that from the very first in your youth,
the one you sought with virtue and spirit when you were consul—
stay that course and increase your fame and the praise of good men."

Since Calliope herself has prescribed these things to me in that book containing many aristocratic sentiments, I don't think I can hesitate to make this my motto: "The one best bird-sign is to fight for the fatherland" [*Iliad* 12.243, a famous statement by Hector—the Trojan hero who, in his courage, ignored unfavorable bird-signs and lost the war].

52. *Att.* 2.9.2 **Vatinius' scrofula**: On the continual references by Vatinius' opponents to his *strumae* ("glandular swellings of pus and blood"), see Corbeill (1996) 45–56. The Romans considered physical deformities as *prima facie* evidence of moral failings.

53. *Att.* 2.9.3 **"to ward off the man who is the first to attack"**: *Iliad* 24.369. The Sophists (an intellectual movement popular in late fifth-century Athens) answered questions but did not initiate arguments.

29), I'll let you know right away. Terentia sends you her greetings and "Cicero the Small salutes Titus the Athenian."⁵⁴

Letters to Atticus 2.12 (*SB* 30)

Tres Tabernae, 19 April 59 B.C.

[1] So they'd deny that Publius has been made a plebeian?⁵⁵ Really, this is tyranny, and absolutely not to be put up with! Let Publius send me some men to sign and seal it; I'll swear that our friend Gnaeus, the colleague of Atilius Balbus,⁵⁶ told me he assisted at the auspices. Oh, sweet letters of yours, given to me both at once! I have no idea what glad tidings I can give in return, though I certainly confess they're owed you.

[2] But look at this coincidence. I'd just come out from the Antium district onto the Appian Way at Three Taverns, on the very Festival of Ceres, when my friend Curio runs into me on his way from Rome. Right then and there, your boy arrives with the letters. Curio asked me whether I'd heard anything new. I said "No." He says, "Publius is running for tribune of the people." "What are you saying?" "Yes, and as Caesar's arch-enemy," he says, "and so he can get rid of all those laws." "What about Caesar?" says I. "He says he had nothing to do with his [Clodius'] adoption." Then he declared his own hatred and that of Memmius and Metellus Nepos. I embraced the youth and sent him off and rushed to the letters. What are they talking about with this "living voice"? I saw so much better what was really going on from your letters than from his conversation—about the

54. *Att.* 2.9.4 **"Cicero the Small salutes Titus the Athenian"**: These words, in Greek, were probably written by Cicero's son. "Titus" was Atticus' *praenomen*; "Atticus" is a *cognomen* meaning "living in Athens" ("Attica" is the region in which Athens lies).

55. *Att.* 2.12.1 **So they'd deny . . . plebeian**: Atticus had reported that Caesar and Pompey were threatening to declare Clodius' adoption illegal. Cicero's tone here is, of course, ironic. After his exile he attempted, unsuccessfully, to make the case that Clodius' adoption had in fact been illegal and that therefore his tribunate was invalid: see Tatum (1999) 105.

56. *Att.* 2.12.1 **our friend Gnaeus, the colleague of Atilius Balbus**: The precise point of this sarcastic reference is difficult to pin down: see *SB* (1965). As we know from Suetonius (*Augustus* 4), Balbus was the grandfather of Augustus, was related on his mother's side to the family of Pompey ("our friend Gnaeus" here), and sat on the Board of Twenty (*Vigintiviri*) set up by Caesar in connection with the Agrarian Law. *SB* conjectures that Balbus "was the 'triumviral' choice for the vacant Augurate [a quasi-political priesthood]. . . . His close family ties with Pompey and Caesar would more than atone for absence of *nobilitas*, when even such a parvenu as Vatinius could be seriously considered; on the other hand its lack would give point to C.'s sneer; Atilius Balbus might be a suitable *Vigintivir*, but for the Augural College he was socially well below standard."

daily gossip-gathering, about Publius' ruminations, about **Ox-Eyes'** bugle,⁵⁷ about Athenio the standard-bearer,⁵⁸ about the letter sent to Gnaeus, about Theophanes' and Memmius' talk! And more, how much you excite me about that lascivious dinner party! I'm ravenous with curiosity, but still, I'll happily allow you not to write me about that symposium; I'd rather hear it in person.

[3] As for your urging me to write something, my material grows daily, as you say, but even now the whole thing is in ferment, raw wine in autumn. Once it settles down, what I write will be more clarified. If you can't get it from me right away, still, you'll be the first to have it, and for a while the only one.

[4] You're right to like Dicaearchus.⁵⁹ He's a splendid fellow, and a much better citizen than those unjust rulers of ours.

I wrote this letter at four o'clock on Ceres' Day, just as soon as I'd read yours, but I thought I was going to give it the next day to whoever came my way. Terentia enjoyed your letter. She wishes you all the best, and "Cicero the Philosopher sends greetings to Titus the Politician."⁶⁰

Letters to Atticus 2.14 (SB 34)

Rome, c. 26 April 59 B.C.

[1] What longing you arouse in me to hear about the conversation with Bibulus, about the chat with **Ox-Eyes**, about that luscious dinner party as well! So please hurry and quench my thirsty ears, though I think we have nothing more to fear than that our dear friend Sampsiceramus⁶¹ may run amuck when he senses that he's getting a lashing from every man's tongue

57. *Att.* 2.12.2 **Ox-Eyes' bugle**: Clodia is humorously depicted as blowing the *lituus* or war trumpet to sound the charge for her brother's "army." Such symbolism is applied to women rarely, to say the least.

58. *Att.* 2.12.2 **Athenio the standard-bearer**: Athenio was the leader of the Sicilian slave revolt of 104–100 B.C. Cicero is insinuating that Clodius' following consisted largely of slaves; his lieutenant Sextus Cloelius, who is probably the one nicknamed "Athenio" here, may also have borne the family *cognomen* Siculus or "Sicilian." As SB (1965) notes, "According to C. his relations with Clodia . . . were even less respectable than her brother's"; see *Dom.* 25.

59. *Att.* 2.12.4 **Dicaearchus**: A student of Aristotle, Dicaearchus wrote on a variety of topics (politics, philosophy, literature, geography, etc.) and was a favorite with Atticus. "Dicaearchus" means "just ruler."

60. *Att.* 2.12.4 "**Cicero the Philosopher sends greetings to Titus the Politician**": Like the end of the previous letter, this tag was written in Greek, presumably by Marcus Cicero (Cicero's son).

61. *Att.* 2.14.1 **Sampsiceramus**: A ruler in Syria whom Pompey had confirmed as such, "Sampsiceramus" becomes Cicero's nickname for Pompey.

and sees that these proceedings are easy to overturn.⁶² For my part, I'm so washed out that I'd rather be tyrannized over in this leisure⁶³ we're rotting away in than fight with the most supreme hope.

[2] As for that composition you're always urging me to do, it's hopeless. I have a chamber of commerce here, not a villa, so many Formians ****. But never mind the crowd; after ten o'clock the rest are not too troublesome. Gaius Arrius is my next-door neighbor—no, call him my tent mate: he even says he's avoiding going to Rome expressly so he can philosophize with me all day long! Then on the other side there's Sebosus, that friend of Catulus. Whither should I turn? I declare, I'd go to Arpinum at once, only it's clear it would be the most convenient to wait for you at Formiae—provided it's no later than May 6. See to what sort of men my ears are held hostage! What a splendid opportunity for anyone who might want to buy the Formian estate from me, with them right on the premises! And yet you say, very properly, "Let us attempt some great thing worthy of much leisurely contemplation." At any rate, my promise will be made good, no labor will be spared.

The following two letters were probably written after Clodius had become tribune-elect, and they clearly reflect Cicero's increasing anxiety. Clodia appears once again as a source of sensitive information. Clodius, whom Cicero invariably calls by various nicknames, is mocked as the "blood-brother of our dear Ox-Eyes."

Letters to Atticus 2.22 (SB 42)

Rome, August (?) 59 B.C.

[1] How I wish you were in Rome! Surely you would have stayed if we'd thought these things would come about. For then we'd be holding onto our Little Beauty very easily, or at least, we'd be able to find out what he was about to do. Now this is how the matter stands: he flits about, he rages; he's sure of nothing, he threatens all kinds of people with all kinds of things; he seems to be about to do whatever Chance puts in his

62. *Att.* 2.14.1 **sees that these proceedings are easy to overturn**: Caesar's legislation on land for Pompey's veterans and the ratification of Pompey's arrangements in the East were of questionable legality. Cicero fears that Pompey may turn to violence if these "proceedings" are "overturned."

63. *Att.* 2.14.1 **leisure**: Latin *otium*, a problematic concept for the Romans: see D'Arms (1970) 70–72, "Leisure and Politics," on the changes in Cicero's attitude toward *otium* as the Republic deteriorated and he found that "he had more of it than he could bear" (72).

way. When he sees how the current regime is hated, he seems on the point of attacking those who brought it about; but when on the other hand he recalls their wealth, their power, their armies, he turns against good men;⁶⁴ more, he threatens me myself both with violence and with legal action.

[2] Pompey⁶⁵ had a talk with him, and as he told me himself (for I have no other witness), he [Pompey] dealt with him quite strongly, in that he said that he [Pompey] would be in utter disgrace for his treachery and wickedness if danger were to come to me from the one he himself had armed by letting him become a plebeian. But that both [Clodius] and Appius had given him their word about me. That if [Clodius] did not keep it, he [Pompey] would make sure everyone understood there was nothing more deeply engrained in him than our friendship. When [Pompey] had said this and much else to the same effect, he said that [Clodius] at first, of course, had offered much resistance, but finally gave up and agreed to do nothing against [Pompey's] will. But afterward, even so, [Clodius] did not stop saying the ugliest things about me. Even if he weren't doing that, I still wouldn't trust him in the least, and I'd be making all preparations, just as I'm doing.

[3] Now, I'm conducting myself in such a way that both my popularity and my wealth are increasing daily. I don't so much as dip a finger in politics; I apply myself to lawsuits and to my work in the Forum with the greatest diligence, which I think ingratiates me very much, not only with those who make use of such services but with the crowd as well. My house is thronged, people come up to me, the memory of my consulship is renewed, enthusiasm for me is made clear. My hopes are getting so high that occasionally it seems to me that I shouldn't even avoid the impending conflict.

[4] Now I need both your advice and your affection and your loyalty; so hurry! Everything will be made easier for me if I have you. Much can be done through our friend Varro⁶⁶ that will be still more secure with pressure from you, much can even be extracted from Publius himself, much be known that cannot stay hidden from you, much too—but it's ridiculous to list these things one by one when I need you for everything.

64. *Att.* 2.22.1 **good men**: See note on *Cael.* 77 **one of the good men**.

65. *Att.* 2.22.2 **Pompey**: In the rest of this paragraph, the names "Pompey" and "Clodius" do not appear at all in the Latin; they have been added to the English for the sake of intelligibility.

66. *Att.* 2.22.4 **Varro**: Marcus Terentius Varro, a polymath who produced some 620 books (only the ones on "The Latin Language" and "Agriculture" survive), was a supporter of Pompey.

[5] I wish you could be persuaded of this one thing: if I see you, everything will be straightened out for me; but all depends upon this happening before he enters his magistracy. I think under pressure from Crassus Pompey may <waver, but> if you're here—you who can find out from the man himself through **Ox-Eyes** how genuine their intentions are⁶⁷—I'll be either free from harassment, or at least free from error. You don't need my prayers and exhortations. You know what my desire, the time, and the gravity of the situation call for.

[6] About politics, I have nothing to report to you other than people's utter hatred of those who have all the power. Yet there's no hope of a change. But, as you can well believe, Pompey himself is sick of it and regrets it passionately. I can't foresee clearly what outcome I should expect; but things are surely bound to blow up at some point.

[7] I'm sending you back the book of Alexander,⁶⁸ a careless person and not a good poet, but still not without his uses. I'm glad to have become friends with Numerius Numestius,⁶⁹ and I've found him a serious person and responsible and worthy of your recommendation.

Letters to Atticus 2.23 (SB 43)

Rome, August (?) 59 B.C.

[1] Never before, I think, have you read a letter of mine that wasn't written by my own hand. From this one you'll be able to gather how terribly preoccupied I am. For since I had no free time at all and I had to take a walk to refresh my poor little voice, I dictated this⁷⁰ while walking.

[2] First, then, I want you to know that our friend Sampsiceramus deeply regrets his position and longs to be restored to the place from which he fell, and is sharing his grief with me and sometimes asking openly for a remedy, which I don't think can be found by any means. Second, the leaders and allies of that whole party are getting feeble, even

67. *Att.* 2.22.4 **from the man himself . . . intentions are**: That is, Clodia can report to Atticus what the intentions of Clodius and Pompey are with regard to Cicero (among other things).

68. *Att.* 2.22.7 **Alexander**: Probably a contemporary of Cicero, this Alexander wrote poems on astronomy and geography; Cicero was apparently still gathering materials for his own book on geography.

69. *Att.* 2.22.7 **Numerius Numestius**: A friend of Atticus, who had recommended him to Cicero (*Att.* 2.20.1 = SB 40)—Roman networking in action.

70. *Att.* 2.23.1 **I dictated this**: It is a convention of Roman epistolary style to view time from the standpoint of the reader, not the writer. We would more likely say "I am dictating this."

though there's no opposition; never has there been greater unanimity of will and opinion.

[3] I, however (I really want you to know this!), am taking part in no political deliberations whatsoever and have devoted myself entirely to the work and business of the court. Consequently, as can easily be imagined, I'm the subject of much reminiscence about and nostalgia for my former achievements. But the blood brother of our dear **Ox-Eyes**⁷¹ is flinging about no small terrors and making threats—he denies it to Sampsiceramus, flaunts and parades it to everyone else. Therefore—if you love me as much as you do in fact love me—if you're sleeping, wake up! If you're standing still, walk! If you're walking, run! If you're running, fly! It's incredible how much I depend on your advice and wisdom and, most of all, your love and loyalty. The enormity of this matter perhaps demands a lengthy discourse, but the intimacy of our minds is content with a short one. It's terribly important to me that you be at Rome, if not for the voting, then at least after he's been elected.⁷² Take care of yourself.

This letter, written six months after Cicero's return from exile, shows the sort of violent disorder into which the Republic had degenerated. Incest with Clodia has become a weapon in the battle—both verbal and physical—between what Cicero would characterize as Clodius' gangs and the supporters of the true Republic.

Letters to His Brother Quintus 2.3

Rome, 12 and 15 February 56 B.C.

[1] I wrote you before about what happened earlier; now hear what was done next. On February 1 the embassies were postponed until February 13. That day they didn't take place. On February 2 Milo was present [for

71. Att. 2.23.3 **blood brother of our dear Ox-Eyes**: Latin *Boopidis nostrae consanguineus*. This is the one place where Clodia's nickname is written in Roman letters, not Greek (perhaps because the letter was dictated). The word *nostrae* literally means "our," but with connotations (here ironic, of course) of affection. There may be some (presumably obscene) pun in *consanguineus*, which literally means "blood relative"; compare the description of Sextus Cloelius (Dom. 25) as a "sharer in your [Clodius'] blood" (*socius tui sanguinis*).

72. Att. 2.23.3 **after he's been elected**: It is not entirely clear when the elections for tribune took place; this passage seems to imply that they had not yet been held, but Att. 22.5, "before he enters his magistracy," seems to imply that they had: see Tatum (1999) 111. In any case, Clodius' tribunate was regarded as a certainty once he assumed plebeian status. Three months after he took office (December 59 B.C.), Cicero went into exile: see note on Fam. 5.2.8 **inflicted capital punishment on others without a hearing**.

his trial].⁷³ Pompey came as supporting counsel. Marcus Marcellus spoke, at my request. We came off creditably. The trial was adjourned until February 6. Meanwhile, since the embassies were put off until the 13th, the provinces for the quaestors and the equipping of the praetors came up. But with the interruptions of multiple complaints about public affairs, nothing was accomplished. Gaius Cato⁷⁴ proposed a law abrogating Lentulus' command. His son changed clothes.⁷⁵

[2] On February 6 Milo was present. Pompey spoke—or at least he wanted to; for as he stood up, the Clodian gangs started yelling; and so it happened that throughout his whole speech, he was impeded not only by shouting, but by abuse and curses. As he reached his conclusion—for he was really brave despite it all, he wasn't deterred, he delivered the whole thing, and from time to time he even commanded silence through his personal authority⁷⁶—but as he reached his conclusion, Clodius stood up. There was such an outcry against him from our side (for it was a pleasure to return the favor) that he kept his composure neither of mind nor of tongue nor of countenance. That went on from the time Pompey had finished his speech, around noon, until about two o'clock, when all kinds of curses and even some extremely obscene verses about Clodius and **Clodia** were recited. Enraged and pale with fury, he was asking his supporters, right in the midst of the shouting, who it was who was murdering the people through hunger.⁷⁷ His gangs responded, "Pompey." Who wanted to go to Alexandria? They answered, "Pompey." Whom did they want to go there? They answered, "Crassus." He was present then, with no friendly intent toward Milo. About three o'clock, as if at a signal, the Clodians began to spit on our men. Our rage flared up. They pressed against us to move us from the place. An attack by our side: flight of the gangs! Clodius was thrown off the Rostra; I fled then too, in case something should happen in

73. Q. fr. 2.3.1 **Milo was present [for his trial]**: Clodius, who had just been elected curule aedile, accused Milo of seditious violence (*vis*).

74. Q. fr. 2.3.1 **Gaius Cato**: Tribune in 56 B.C.; not related to the famous Cato (Uticensis).

75. Q. fr. 2.3.1 **changed clothes**: That is, changed into mourning garb; see note on Fam. 5.1.2 **in mourning and squalor**. It was a rare and disgraceful event for a magistrate to be relieved of command. Father and son were both named Cornelius Lentulus Spinther. The father was consul in 57 B.C.; on the son, see note on Att. 12.52.2 **Spinther getting a divorce**.

76. Q. fr. 2.3.2 **personal authority**: Latin *auctoritas* designates not legal power, but rather the personal qualities that inspire respect; when a man with *auctoritas* talks, people listen.

77. Q. fr. 2.3.2 **murdering the people through hunger**: Pompey was *curator annonae* or superintendent of the grain supply.

that riot. The Senate was summoned to the courthouse; Pompey went home. Still, I didn't go to the Senate, to avoid either keeping silent about such atrocities or offending the minds of good men by defending Pompey (for he was being harried by Bibulus, Curio, Favonius, Servilius Junior). The matter was postponed until the next day. Clodius put off the day until the Quirinalia [February 17].

[3] On February 7 the Senate was convened in Apollo's temple, so that Pompey could be there.⁷⁸ The matter was handled gravely by Pompey. Nothing was accomplished that day. On the 8th, at Apollo's temple, a Decree of the Senate was handed down: "That which was done on February 6 was done against the State." That same day [Gaius] Cato railed against Pompey vehemently and throughout his speech accused him as if he were a criminal. About me—against my will—he said much that contained the highest praise. When he denounced Pompey's treachery toward me, my ill-wishers listened to him in deep silence. Pompey answered him with vehemence and alluded to Crassus, and said plainly that he would be better equipped to guard his own life than Africanus⁷⁹ had been, whom Gaius Carbo had murdered.

[4] And so it seems to me that important things are happening. Pompey realizes this, and he shares with me his suspicion that a plot is being hatched against his life; that Gaius Cato is being supported by Crassus; that money is being supplied to Clodius; that both of them are being strengthened both by him and by Curio, Bibulus, and the rest of his detractors; that he absolutely must make sure he is not overwhelmed, with that assembly-loving populace practically alienated from him, the nobility hostile, the Senate unfair, the youth traitorous. And so he's arming himself, he's calling up men from the fields. But Clodius is strengthening his own gangs. A troop is being gathered for the Quirinalia; for that, we are far superior, with Pompey's own forces. But a great troop is expected from Picenum and Gaul, so that we can resist even [Gaius] Cato's motions about Milo and Lentulus.

78. *Q. fr.* 2.3.3 **Apollo's temple, so that Pompey could be there:** The temple was outside the city boundaries (*pomerium*). It was unlawful for military commanders to enter the city proper without special dispensation.

79. *Q. fr.* 2.3.3 **Africanus:** Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus (grandson of the Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus who defeated Hannibal), a ruthless military leader. Though the facts of his case are not entirely clear, it seems that he was murdered (129 B.C.) on account of his opposition to the reforms of Tiberius Gracchus.

[5] On February 10 Sestius was indicted for bribery by the informer Gnaeus Nerijs, of the Pupinian clan, and the same day for seditious violence by one Marcus Tullius.⁸⁰ He was sick. I came to him at home (as I should) right away and put myself entirely at his disposal; and this I did beyond the expectation of men who thought I was right to be angry at him; so that I appeared most decent and most amiable both to him and to everyone; and so I will act. But this same Nerijs the informer also gave the names of Gnaeus Lentulus Vatia and Gaius Cornelius as additional intermediaries. The same day a Decree of the Senate was passed: "The political fraternities and caucuses shall depart; and the condition shall be imposed upon them that whoever does not depart will be liable to the same punishment as that for seditious violence."

[6] On the 11th I defended Bestia on a charge of bribery before the praetor Gnaeus Domitius, to a huge throng in the middle of the Forum. I happened upon that point in my speech when Sestius, having received many wounds in the temple of Castor, was saved by Bestia's intervention. Here I conveniently preempted some of the charges that are being trumped up against Sestius, and I embellished him with true praises, to the great applause of all. That was extremely gratifying to the man. I write this to you because you have often admonished me in your letters to retain Sestius' goodwill.

[7] On the 12th of February I wrote this before dawn. That day, I was to dine with Pomponius for his wedding feast.⁸¹ Everything else about my affairs (as you predicted to me, though I scarcely believed you) is characterized by prestige and goodwill; which, my brother, have been restored to you and to me through your patience, virtue, righteousness, and even charm. A Licinian house near Piso's lake⁸² has been rented for you. But I hope in a few months, after July 1, you'll move back into your own.⁸³ The Lamiae, respectable tenants, have leased your house in the Carinae. I've gotten no letter from you after that one from Olbia. I'm eager to know what you're doing and how you're enjoying yourself, and most of all to see you

80. *Q. fr.* 2.3.5 **one Marcus Tullius:** This man's identity is not known. Some editors read "Publius Tullius."

81. *Q. fr.* 2.3.7 **Pomponius for his wedding feast:** Atticus (here "Pomponius") was marrying Pilia.

82. *Q. fr.* 2.3.7 **Licinian house near Piso's lake:** The text here is uncertain, as is what is meant by "Licinian [Lucinian?] house" and "Piso's lake [grove?]."

83. *Q. fr.* 2.3.7 **your own:** Quintus had a house on the Palatine next to Cicero's.

in person as soon as possible. Take care of your health, my brother; and although it's winter, still remember it's Sardinia.⁸⁴

February 15.

The remaining letters given here were written in the wake of the death of Cicero's daughter, Tullia, in the middle of February 45 B.C. (her baby son, born in January, died a few months later).⁸⁵ For a few weeks Cicero stayed with Atticus, then he retired to his retreat at Astura. These letters touch on his obsession with building a shrine to Tullia, for which he considered buying the horti (variously translated "gardens," "estate," or "pleasure grounds") of Clodia.⁸⁶ The letters are remarkable both for the power and autonomy Cicero ascribes to Clodia and for the apparent absence of animosity between them.

Letters to Atticus 12.38a (SB 279)

Astura, 7 May 45 B.C.

[1] So you say you think the soundness of my mind now needs to be made clear, and certain men are talking about me in harsher terms than either you or Brutus use in your letters. Well, if those who think I'm mentally shattered and decrepit should find out what kind and quantity of writing I'm producing, I believe—if they have any human decency—they'd decide either that I shouldn't be criticized, if I'm sufficiently recovered to bring a clear mind to write on a difficult subject, or that I should be praised, if I've chosen the distraction from grief most appropriate for a man of culture and learning.

[2] But since I'm doing everything I can to help myself, make sure you bring about what I see is a concern for you no less than for me. It seems to me that I owe this, and that I won't be able to recover unless I either pay the debt or see that I'm able to pay it—that is, find the sort of place I want. If Scapula's heirs are thinking of dividing the property in four parts and auctioning them, as you say Otho told you, obviously there's no place for a buyer; but if they'll sell, we'll see what can be done. That Publician place now belonging to Trebonius and Cusinius⁸⁷ had been mentioned to me;

84. *Q. fr.* 2.3.7 although it's winter, still remember it's Sardinia: Sardinia was unhealthy at all times, but especially in summer.

85. On Cicero's grief and his search for a "practical" cure, see Erskine (1997).

86. On the probability that this Clodia was in fact Clodia Metelli, see introduction, "Who Was Clodia?"

87. *Att.* 12.38a.2 Trebonius and Cusinius: These men were probably in Spain with Caesar at the time.

but you know it's just an empty field. I don't like it at all. Clodia's place is quite nice, but I don't think it's for sale. As for Drusus' property, though you dislike it, as you say, still I'll have to resort to it if you don't find something else. The building doesn't concern me. For I'll be building the same thing I'd build even if I don't get those properties.

I liked "Cyrus II" as much as the other works of Antisthenes, a fellow with more cleverness than learning.

Letters to Atticus 12.42 (SB 282)

Astura, 10 May 45 B.C.

[1] I didn't want any "letter day" from you; for I saw what you say in your letter, and anyway I suspected, or rather understood, that there was nothing for you to write. As for the 8th, I of course supposed you were gone and saw clearly that you had nothing to say. Still, I'll send to you pretty much every day; I'd rather do that for nothing than have you have no one to give your letter, if anything should happen to come up that you think I should know about. So on the 10th I received your letter with nothing in it. For what did you have to write about? Still, it didn't bother me to have that one such as it was—if nothing else, I knew you had no news.

You did however say something or other about Clodia. Where is she then, or when will she come back? I like the idea so much that, after Otho, nothing would please me more.

[2] But I don't think she'll sell (for she enjoys the place and she's rich), and it doesn't escape you how difficult the other option is. But I beg you, let's work hard to come up with something to get what I desire.

[3] I think I'll leave here on the 16th, but I'll go either to the Tusculan place or home, then maybe to Arpinum. I'll write you when I know for sure.

Letters to Atticus 12.41 (SB 283)

Astura, 11 May 45 B.C.

[1] I had nothing to write. But I still wanted to know where you were, and if you're gone or are planning to be gone, when you were going to return. So let me know. And since you wanted to know when I was leaving here, I decided to stay at Lanuvium on the 16th, then go to the Tusculan place or Rome the next day. You'll know on the day itself which I plan to do.

[2] You know how misfortune loves to find fault, very little with you, of course, but still, I'm longing deeply for the shrine. If it's not—I won't

say "accomplished," but such that I can see it under way (I'll be bold to say this and you, as usual, will understand), my grief will turn itself upon you, not of course justly; but still you'll put up with this I'm writing as you put up with everything of mine and always have. I wish you'd turn all your consolations toward this one matter.

[3] If you're asking what I want, first Scapula's, then **Clodia's**, then (if Silius is unwilling and Drusus is being unreasonable) that of Cusinius and Trebonius. I think there's a third owner; at least I know Rebilus used to be. But if you like the Tusculan place, as you indicated in one of your letters, I'll defer to you. In any case you'll get this done if you want me to be comforted, me whom you scold even more harshly than your usual practice allows—but you do this with the greatest affection and, perhaps, overcome by my fault—but still, if you want me to be comforted, this is the greatest comfort, or if you want to know the truth, the only one.

[4] Once you've read Hirtius' letter, which seems to me like a sort of rough draft of that criticism Caesar wrote about Cato,⁸⁸ let me know what you think, if it's convenient.

I come back to the shrine. If that obligation is not fulfilled this summer—you see the entire season remains—I'll consider myself guilty of a crime.

Letters to Atticus 12.43 (SB 284)

Astura, 12 May 45 B.C.

[1] It had occurred to me to advise you to do exactly what you're doing. For I thought you could do the same thing more comfortably at home, with no interruptions.

[2] As I wrote you before, I decided to stay at Lanuvium on the 16th; from there, either Rome or Tusculum—you'll know which one beforehand.

You do well in saying that you know this project will be a comfort to me; believe me, it's a greater comfort than you can imagine. Just how much I desire it is clear from the fact that I'm daring to confess it to you, who I don't think are entirely in favor of it. But in this matter you should put up with my deviance. Put up with it? No, you should even help it along.

88. *Att.* 12.41.4 rough draft of that criticism Caesar wrote about Cato: Cicero had written a book (now lost) in praise of Cato; Caesar responded with a two-book "Anti-Cato." Of Hirtius' pamphlet, Cicero observes (*Att.* 12.40.1 = SB 281), "Hirtius catalogues the faults of Cato, but along with the greatest praises of me."

[3] I'm not confident about Otho,⁸⁹ perhaps because I desire it. But also, the place is beyond my resources, especially with an opponent who's eager and rich and an heir. My second choice is **Clodia's** place. But if those are less possible to attain, get whatever. I consider myself under a greater religious obligation than anyone ever constrained by a vow. You'll see about Trebonius' place, too, even if the owners are absent. But, as I wrote you yesterday, you'll take Tusculum into consideration too, so that the summer doesn't slip away; that definitely mustn't be allowed to happen.

Letters to Atticus 12.44 (SB 285)

Astura, 13 May 45 B.C.

[1] I'm both happy that Hirtius wrote you something sympathetic about me (it was decent of him) and far happier that you didn't send me his letter; that was even more decent of you. I want that pamphlet of his⁹⁰ he sent me about Cato to be circulated by your people, so that from that lot's abuse, his eulogy will be even greater.

[2] As for your dealings with Mustela, you have in him quite a suitable fellow and one very much in my camp ever since Pontianus. So get something established. And what better move than making an opening for a buyer? That can be done through any of the heirs. But I think Mustela will put it through, if you ask. I think you'll actually be giving me both the place I want for our present purpose and also a retreat for my old age. For those places of Silius and Drusus don't seem to me the right thing for a paterfamilias. As if I'm going to sit around in the villa all day long! So I'd prefer the other two, first Otho's, then **Clodia's**. If nothing happens, we'll either have to get Drusus into the game or use the Tusculan place.

[3] You were right to shut yourself in at home; but please, finish it up and make yourself available to me. From here, as I wrote before, I'll stay at Lanuvium on the 16th, then to Tusculum the next day. I've pulverized my spirit and perhaps conquered it, if I can just remain firm. So you'll know tomorrow, maybe, the day after at the latest.

But what is this, please? Philotimus says that Pompey isn't detained at Carteia (about which Oppius and Balbus had sent me a copy of the letter to Clodius Patavinus and said they thought it was the case), and that no small

89. *Att.* 12.43.3 about Otho: That is, "about my ability to outbid Otho in an auction."

90. *Att.* 12.44.1 that pamphlet of his: See note on *Att.* 12.41.4 rough draft of that criticism Caesar wrote about Cato.

war remains. He [Philotimus] tends to be an utter faux-Favonius.⁹¹ But still, whatever you have. I also want to know what's up with Caninius' shipwreck.

[4] Here, I've finished two big sections; for in no other way am I able to stray away from my misery, so to speak. But you, even if you have nothing to write me (which I see will be the case), still, I'd like you to write this very thing—"I had nothing to write"—just not in those exact words!

Letters to Atticus 13.26 (SB 286)

Astura, 14 May 45 B.C.

[1] About Vergilius' share, I quite approve. So act accordingly. And indeed, that one will be first, **Clodia's** second. But if neither one, I'm afraid I may be distraught and rush to Drusus. I'm reckless in my desire for this thing, as you know. And so every day I keep turning back to the Tusculan place. Anything rather than not have this resolved this summer.

[2] As my situation is now, I've got no place where I can be happier than at Astura. But because those who are with me—I think because they can't bear my gloom—are hurrying home, even if I could stay, still, as I wrote you, I'll set out from here so I don't appear abandoned. Where, then? From Lanuvium I'm trying, anyway, for Tusculum. But I'll let you know at once. Please finish the letter. As for me, it's incredible how much I write, at night, too; sleep is out of the question. Yesterday I even did a letter to Caesar,⁹² since you thought it was a good idea. It wasn't a bad thing to write, if you might possibly think it's useful; as things stand now, of course, there's certainly no need to send it. But whatever you think best, I'll send you a copy anyway, perhaps from Lanuvium, unless I happen to go to Rome. But you'll know tomorrow.

Letters to Atticus 12.47 (SB 288)

Lanuvium, 16 May 45 B.C.

[1] As for Mustela, it's as you say, even if it's a big project. So I'm inclining more toward **Clodia**. Though in either case, Faberius' debt⁹³

91. *Att.* 12.44.3 **faux-Favonius**: As SB (1966) observes, "since Cato's death Favonius stood as the type of a republican zealot."

92. *Att.* 13.26.2 **letter to Caesar**: In *Att.* 12.40.2 (SB 281), Cicero says that he is trying to write a "Letter of Advice" to Caesar on the model of Aristotle's and Theopompus' letters to Alexander the Great. It was never sent or published.

93. *Att.* 12.47.1 **Faberius' debt**: Faberius was Caesar's secretary (*scriba*) and handled some of his finances. Caesar (through Faberius) owed Cicero a great deal of money.

needs to be looked into. It won't hurt for you to talk about him a bit with Balbus and tell him that in fact, as the matter stands, we want to buy and can't without that money and don't dare while it's uncertain.

[2] But when is **Clodia** going to be in Rome and how much do you guess she wants? I'm definitely looking that way, not that I'd prefer it, but because it's a big thing and tough to compete with an eager man, a rich man, an heir. Even if I'm second to none in eagerness, I'm the loser as regards the other things. But more on this in person.

Letters to Atticus 12.52 (SB 294)

Tusculum, 21 May 45 B.C.

[1] You know Lucius Tullius Montanus, who set out with [Marcus] Cicero. I got a letter from his sister's husband saying that Montanus owes Plancus⁹⁴ twenty thousand sesterces as a surety for Flaminus, and that you'd received a request about this from Montanus. I'd certainly like you to help him, whether by making a request to Plancus or by helping him in some other way. If you happen to know more about this than I do, or if you think a request should be made to Plancus, I'd like you to write me, so I'll know how the matter stands and what request should be made.

[2] I'm waiting to hear what you did about the letter to Caesar. I'm really not so concerned about Silius. You need to get me either Scapula's place or **Clodia's**. But you seem to have some doubt about **Clodia**; is it about when she's coming or about whether she'll sell? But what's this I hear about Spinther getting a divorce?⁹⁵

94. *Att.* 12.52.1 **Montanus owes Plancus**: SB (1999) 23: "As City Prefect, nominated by Caesar before he left for Spain, L. Munatius Plancus was concerned with the disposal of confiscated property. Flaminus Flamma owed money on the purchase of such property and called upon Montanus as his surety."

95. *Att.* 12.52.2 **Spinther getting a divorce?**: This question may be a clue to determining whether the property Cicero seeks to buy is that of our Clodia Metelli or of one of her sisters: see introduction, "Who Was Clodia?" Here is a slightly more detailed summary of the complex argument of SB (1966) 412–13:

That Cicero mentions Lentulus Spinther's divorce right after discussing Clodia would suggest that Spinther was connected with her in some way. In *Att.* 13.7 (SB 314), Cicero says he has heard that "Lentulus [i.e., Lentulus Spinther] has definitely divorced Metella"—that is, a woman whose father was named Metellus, like our Clodia's husband; Metella may well be Clodia's daughter. Furthermore, in *Att.* 12.40.4 (SB 281), while discussing the possibility of purchasing various properties, Cicero writes, "As for what you write me about Lentulus, it doesn't rest with him." It is probable that, in response to Cicero's statement in 12.38a.2 (SB 279) that "Clodia's place is quite nice, but I don't think it's for sale," Atticus had said something to the effect that Lentulus might

[3] About the Latin Language,⁹⁶ put your mind at ease. You'll say, "What's that compared to your writings?" These are mere copies, they come about with rather little work; I just supply words, of which I have an abundance.

Letters to Atticus 13.29 (SB 300)

Tusculum, 27 May 45 B.C.

[1] I've learned about the property from your letter and from Chrysippus. In the house, whose awkwardness I was well acquainted with, I see little or no change; but he approves of the bigger baths and says the smaller ones could be made into winter apartments. So a little covered path should be added; if I make it the same size as the Tusculan, it will be almost cheaper by half than the one there. As for the model temple I want, nothing looks more suitable than the grove, with which I was familiar; it used to get no traffic at all, but now, I hear, it gets a great deal. There's nothing I'd like more. By the gods, indulge my fever⁹⁷ about this! As for the rest, if Faberius settles that debt⁹⁸ with me, don't ask how much; I want you to beat out Otho. Yet I don't think he'll go crazy—I believe I know the fellow. I hear he's been so badly pummeled that I don't think it's likely he'll be the buyer.

[2] For why else would he be letting it happen? But why am I making a case? If you settle Faberius, let's buy it, no matter how expensive; if you don't, we can't, no matter how cheap. **Clodia** then. I think there's some hope of getting it from her directly,⁹⁹ both because it's a lot cheaper and because Dolabella's debt¹⁰⁰ now seems to be on its way to settlement, so I'll be sure I can pay even in cash. Enough about the property. Tomorrow, either you or your excuse; I think it'll be a Faberian one. But do what you can.

have some pull with Clodia—which would make perfect sense if Lentulus was indeed married to Clodia's daughter.

96. *Att.* 12.52.3 **the Latin Language**: The text and the sense of this paragraph are uncertain. Cicero may be referring to the work on the Latin Language by Varro, to some contemplated work of his own, or to the Latin language itself.

97. *Att.* 13.29.1 **By the gods, indulge my fever**: Cicero writes these words in Greek. The word "fever" (Greek *typhos*) could also be translated as "foolish passion" or "hobby"; it would seem that Cicero realizes the folly of his obsession even as he begs Atticus to put up with it.

98. *Att.* 13.29.1 **Faberius settles that debt**: See note on *Att.* 12.47.1 **Faberius' debt**.

99. *Att.* 13.29.2 **getting it from her directly**: Cicero hopes to be able to buy directly from Clodia without having to bid at an auction.

100. *Att.* 13.29.2 **Dolabella's debt**: Dolabella divorced Cicero's daughter in 46 B.C. and never did repay the dowry, despite Cicero's confidence here that he will.

[3] I've sent you back Quintus Cicero's letter. Oh thou man of iron, who art not moved by his perils!¹⁰¹ He accuses me too—I'm sending the letter with yours. That other one about the campaign I think is a copy. I sent a courier to Cumae today. I gave him your letter to Vestorius, which you'd given through Pharnaces.

This is the only one of Cicero's "Clodia" letters written after the assassination of Julius Caesar (15 March 44 B.C.).

Letters to Atticus 14.8 (SB 362)

Sinuessa, 16 April 44 B.C.

[1] When you wrote, you thought I was at my beach house; but actually I got your letter on the 15th in my little Sinuessan lodge. That's great about Marius,¹⁰² grieved as I am about Lucius Crassus' grandson! Best of all, though, that Antony has the approval of even our friend Brutus. You say that Junia brought a mild and friendly letter, yet Paulus gave me one sent to him by his brother,¹⁰³ at the end of which he says that a plot is being made against him, and that he discovered this from reliable sources. That pleased me little and him much less. I'm not worried about the queen's flight.¹⁰⁴ I'd like you to write me what **Clodia** has done.¹⁰⁵ As for the Byzantines, please take care, among other things, to send for Pelops.¹⁰⁶ As per your request, I'll write you as soon as I figure out about the Baiae characters.¹⁰⁷

101. *Att.* 13.29.3 **perils**: Cicero's nephew Quintus Cicero was on military campaign in Spain.

102. *Att.* 14.8.1 **Marius**: This imposter claimed to be the grandson of the great Gaius Marius and Lucius Licinius Crassus; he gained a large following on the strength of this lineage and was banished by Caesar. He seems really to have been one Gaius Amatius (Herophilus?), perhaps a runaway slave. When he returned from exile after Caesar's death and agitated against Caesar's assassins, he was thrown into prison and executed by Antony in April of 44 B.C. Atticus' letter had mentioned the imprisonment and possibly the execution (Cicero's "grief" here is sarcastic).

103. *Att.* 14.8.1 **Junia ... his brother**: Junia was Lepidus' wife; both of the letters were from Lepidus. Paulus' suspicion of a plot against himself would be borne out when his brother Lepidus allowed (or caused) him to be proscribed.

104. *Att.* 14.8.1 **the queen's flight**: Apparently, Cleopatra had just left Rome. Many Romans had been distressed when Caesar had brought her there.

105. *Att.* 14.8.1 **what Clodia has done**: Presumably, about selling her estate—but we can only guess.

106. *Att.* 14.8.1 **Byzantines ... Pelops**: Plutarch (*Cic.* 24.7) singles out Cicero's letter to Pelops as "petty and whining, since Pelops had neglected to bring about certain honors and decrees [for Cicero] from the Byzantines."

107. *Att.* 14.8.1 **Baiae characters**: Caesarians (such as Hirtius and Balbus) currently staying at Baiae.

and that song and dance you want to know about, so you won't be in the dark about anything.

[2] I'm dying to hear about what the Gauls, the Spaniards, and Sextus are doing. No doubt you'll relate all that along with the rest. I'm glad your little sickness has at any rate given you an excuse to rest; it seemed to me as I read your letter that you were resting for a little while. Do always write me everything about Brutus, where he is, what he's planning; I really hope he can now roam safely throughout the whole City. But in any case.