

## THE SISTERS OF P. CLODIUS

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THE CHILDREN of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (*cos.* 79) gained fame beyond that of their father. Their aptitudes and accomplishments were quite varied; of the sons, Appius was staid and old-fashioned, consul, censor, and an augur who believed in the augural lore; Gaius was a shadow of his brother; Publius was a demagogue, fantastic even for those days. Three daughters were *consulares*, if one may use that adjective in the feminine as Cicero did in a unique passage (*Att.* 2.1.5: *sed ego illam odi male consularem*). The Clodia who married Celer gained immortality for her immorality from Cicero—and Catullus; for it seems reasonable to conclude that the Medea of the Palatine was Lesbia. The Clodia who married L. Lucullus was just as infamous, but less famous. The oldest Clodia, wife of Marcius Rex, was surely of a character more like that of her brother Appius, as I shall attempt to demonstrate below.<sup>1</sup>

### BIRTH DATES

Appius *pater* was certainly a man of mediocre ability and gained little distinction for a member of a notable patrician *gens*. His own father, four generations after the famous Ap. Caecus, was Ap. Pulcher (*salus*, *augur*, *cos.* 143, *censor* 136, *princeps senatus* in 136) who in 133 was the third member of the Gracchan commission (*III viri agris iudicandis assignandis*).<sup>2</sup> He had a brother and three sisters: Gaius (*cos.* 92); Claudia *virgo Vestalis*; the wife of Ti. Gracchus; the wife of Q. Marcius Philippus. Since his father was dead by 129 (*Cic. Rep.* 1.31) the evidence is clear that his official career was retarded: *quaestor* 99, *praetor* 89, *consul* 79.<sup>3</sup> He married Caecilia Metella, daughter of Balaricus (*cos.* 123).

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Drumann-Groebe, *Geschichte Roms* 2 (Leipzig 1902) 159–160 (32: Ap. *pater*), 160–171 (35: Ap. *filius*), 171–172 (36: C.), 172–313 (37: P.), 313–314 (38: Clodia Regis), 314–319 (39: Clodia Celeris), 319 (40: Clodia Luculli); Muenzer in *RE*, s.v. “Claudius 296, 297, 303” (Ap. *pater*, *filius*, C.); *ibid.* s.v. “Clodius 48, 66, 67, 72” (P., Celeris, Luculli, Regis). On Lesbia cf. C. J. Fordyce, *Catullus* (Oxford 1961) xiv–xviii (some reservations about the identification of Clodia Celeris as Lesbia). Dates of offices from T. R. S. Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (2 volumes and supplement, New York 1951–1960).

<sup>2</sup>Muenzer in *RE*, s.v. “Claudius 295.” Cf. the *stemma* (“Patricische Claudier,” Drumann-Groebe 2.140–141).

<sup>3</sup>Mommsen argued that in the pre-Sullan period the minimum ages were 27 for *quaestor*, 30 for *praetor* (without the *curule aedileship*) or 33 (after *aed. cur.*), 33 or 36 for *consul* (*Roemisches Staatsrecht* 1 [3rd ed., Leipzig 1887] esp. 564–567). However I prefer the conclusions of A. E. Astin that the *quaestorship* could be held as early as 25,

We have a very interesting item on his death in 76 in Varro, whose *De Agricultura* includes Appius *filius* as an interlocutor: *nam cum pauper cum duobus fratribus et duabus sororibus essem relictus, quarum alteram sine dote dedi Lucullo, a quo hereditate me cassa primum . . .* (Rust. 3.16.2). The oldest sister was already married, hence *duabus sororibus*. We might add that it was to the credit of Appius *pater* that he died *pauper* after having been an officer of Sulla.

Of the six children only one can be supplied with a clear and conclusive birth-date. In 53 Publius was standing for the praetorship of 52, but Cicero categorically states that the praetorship of 53 would have been *suo anno* for him (*Mil.* 24). Hence the year 93 for his birth. If the two elder brothers held their praetorships *suis annis* (Appius, *pr.* 57; Gaius, *pr.* 56) they were born in 97 and 96. The wife of Celer was older than Publius (Cic. *Cacl.* 36) so I place her birthdate in 94. The wife of Lucullus was the youngest (Plut. *Cic.* 29.5), so I suggest 92. The wife of Rex was certainly the oldest, as is clearly indicated by the order of the names in Plutarch (29.4), so I suggest 95.<sup>4</sup> However it is also clear from Plutarch that she had the name Tertia as well as Clodia. In families in which the girls all received their names from the family *nomen*, numeral adjectives would distinguish them. Drumann-Groebe suggested that two older sisters had died before 76, perhaps quite early.<sup>5</sup> This is certainly correct. However let us go one step further and assume Quarta and Quinta also as the second names of her two surviving sisters.<sup>6</sup> Then the children of Appius are:

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but 36, 39, 42 were the minimum ages for the higher offices; see "The *Lex Annalis* before Sulla," *Latomus* 16 (1957) 588–613; 17 (1958) 49–64 (esp. 61, 63–64). There is no evidence that Appius was curule aedile. Since he was at least 30 in 99, and 50 in 79 (and probably several years older), he was well beyond the minimum age both as quaestor and consul.

<sup>4</sup>Mommsen's suggestion that Tertia was older than Appius is quite possible: *CIL* 12.2.775 (comm. pp. 545–546: a *propylum* at Eleusis, vowed by Ap. as consul, completed by his son and nephew). However his argument from the age of Rex Marcius her son and that of a son of Appius is not conclusive since her son might well have been the oldest grandson of the consul of 79, even though she was younger than Appius. We do not know the names of the wives of Ap. and C., much less the dates of their marriages. Muenzer and Drumann-Groebe both agree on the sequence of the three daughters. G. D. Chase argued inconclusively from Plutarch that Tertia was the middle daughter (*HSCP* 8 [1897] 169–170). Also Clodia Luculli may have been older than Publius.

<sup>5</sup>2.313 (doubt expressed in text: certainty in n.10). Chase (*loc. cit.*) approached this idea.

<sup>6</sup>For numeral adjectives to distinguish similarly named daughters cf. H. Thylander, *Étude sur l'épigraphie latine* (Lund 1952) 74; H. Petersen, "The Numeral *Praenomina* of the Romans," *TAPA* 93 (1962) 349. For mortality among young children cf. the six sons and six daughters of Ti. Gracchus (*cos.* 177, 163) of whom only the two famous tribunes and Sempronia, the wife of Africanus Minor, survived to maturity (Sen. *Marc.* 16.3; *Helv.* 16.6; Plin. *HN* 7.57; Plut. *Gracch.* 1.3–5).

- Clodia Prima, born ca. 99, died young.  
 Clodia Secunda, born ca. 98, died young.  
 Appius Claudius Pulcher, born ca. 97, *cos.* 54.  
 Gaius Claudius Pulcher, born ca. 96, *pr.* 56.  
 Clodia Tertia, born ca. 95, wife of Marcus Rex, *cos.* 68.  
 Clodia Quarta, born ca. 94, wife of Celer, *cos.* 60.  
 Publius Clodius Pulcher, born 93, *tr. pl.* 58.  
 Clodia Quinta, born ca. 92, wife of Lucullus, *cos.* 74.

We can see that Appius *pater* worn out by child-rearing died soon after his consulship. History does not tell the fate of his wife.

By 76 Tertia had married Rex; she was under twenty, an appropriate age in the Roman aristocracy. Quinta married Lucullus, probably shortly after her father's death as the passage in Varro implies, at latest before he left for the East late in 74 or early in 73.<sup>7</sup> Probably Quarta's marriage to Celer was about the same time, since teen-age brides were the rule, rather than the exception.

#### CLODIAE QUARTA ET QUINTA

Cicero at one point in his scurrilous attack upon Clodia while defending Caelius refers to her as *mulier potens quadrantaria* (62).<sup>8</sup> Since this phrase occurs in the section on the supposed exchange of poison in the *balneum*, Cicero may be making an indirect reference to the *quadrans* which was the fee there.<sup>9</sup> Actually the phrase looks back to an even more violent thrust in the earlier speech of Caelius in his own defence. Quintilian in speaking of figurative language says, *sed allegoria, quae est obscurior, 'aenigma' dicitur, . . .* (8.6.52). He cites the riddle in Virgil's third Eclogue (104–105), and then adds:

*et oratores nonnumquam, ut Caelius 'quadrantariam Clytemestram,' et 'in triclinio coam, in cubiculo nolam.' namque et nunc quidem solvuntur et tum erant notiora, cum dicerentur: aenigmata sunt tamen . . .* (53).<sup>10</sup>

What is perfectly clear is that both of these phrases used by Caelius are riddles, that the answers were known to Caelius' and Cicero's audience, that Quintilian knew the answers, and that no source gives us the answers. The second I will pass over as, in my opinion, insoluble.<sup>11</sup> Most editors note that *quadrantaria* is taken from *quadrans*, and give it

<sup>7</sup>Cf. *MRR* 2.106–108.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Austin's ed. of *Cic. Cael.* (3rd ed., Oxford 1960) ad 62.

<sup>9</sup>At the end of 69 *quadrare* picks up the pun again.

<sup>10</sup>Text of Rademacher (repr. add. et. corr. Buchheit, 1959). Cf. Malcovati, *ORF* (3rd ed., 1966) p. 486.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. F. Arnaldi, *RivFC* 55 (1927) 352–354 where he apparently takes *coam* (*vestem*) and *nolam* from *nolo*. But if *coam* from *Cos* perhaps *nolam* from *Nola* (for its licentious reputation cf. Ausonius, 19, *Epigr.* 79).

various shades of insulting meaning; thus, Friedrich cites parallels and comments: "Hiernach waere *quadrantaria Clytaemnestra* etwa eine 'minderwertige, eine Talmi-Clytaemnestra.'" <sup>12</sup> This is no answer to a riddle, and even worse there is derogation of the wit of both Caelius and Cicero.

Plutarch at least recognized the presence of a riddle and invented a solution, or copied an invention. To be sure it is so obviously fictitious that it merits the word "ungereimt." <sup>13</sup> I have cited more from Plutarch than is necessary at this point since several items are germane below. <sup>14</sup>

... Cicero seems not to have given evidence for the sake of the truth, but as a defense against his wife Terentia. 3. For she was hostile to Clodius because of his sister Clodia since she wished to marry Cicero and was attempting to accomplish this through a certain Tullus of Tarentum who was Cicero's companion and especially his intimate in this matter. He was always running up and down and cultivating Clodia who lived nearby and aroused the jealousy of Terentia. 4. . . . And Lucullus brought forward female slaves to testify that Clodius had intercourse with the youngest of his sisters when she was married to Lucullus. 5. The opinion was common that Clodius had intercourse with his other two sisters also, of whom Marcus Rex had as his wife Tertia, and Metellus Celer had the Clodia whom they called Quadrantaria since one of her lovers put copper coins into a purse instead of silver and so deceived her. The Romans call the smallest of the copper coins *quadrans*. Clodius was of ill-repute especially on account of this one of his sisters. (Cic. 29.2-5)

However if the three surviving sisters were known in their family and to their intimates as Tertia, Quarta, and Quinta, then *quarta*, *quadrans* lead into the pun of *quadrantaria*. We know how fond Cicero was of puns on the names of men (e.g., the *ius Verrinum* of 70 B.C.), and we even have a brilliant example of what he could do with the name Tertia. Suetonius mentions Caesar's sale of *praedia* at a reduced price to Servilia (Iul. 50.2) and continues: . . . *cum quidem plerisque vilitatem mirantibus facetissime Cicero: quo melius, inquit, emptum sciatis, tertia deducta; existimabatur enim Servilia etiam filiam suam Tertiam Caesari conciliare*. Whether this

<sup>12</sup>G. Friedrich, *Catullus* (Leipzig 1908) 66.

<sup>13</sup>Drumann-Groebe, 2.318. Austin (*loc. cit.*, above, n.8) accepts Plutarch's story.

<sup>14</sup>Text (and subdivisions of the chapter) of Ziegler (1964). There are variants. In 29.3 N has *Ταραντίου* which is omitted by the manuscripts denominated by the siglum T. Gudeman discussed the inaccuracy of N in the matter of proper names and deleted this word ("The *codex Matritensis* of Plutarch and Plut. Cic. 29," *AJP* 11 [1890] 312-318; cf. later discussion between him and Klotz, *BPhW* 43 [1923] 1110; 44 [1924] 307-309). In this Gudeman was surely correct, but his valid argument against a *Tullus Tarentinus*, based on a study of the proper names in this pair of Lives, was weakened by his failure to connect Tullus with the son of the consul of 66 (see below), and by his fantastic emendation of *τύλλου* (T) *θυλλου*(N) to *Κατύλλου*. In 29.5 *Τερτίαν* is the certain emendation of Amyot for *τερεντίαν*. Note that the Greek is thus a transliteration of *Tertiam*: for a discussion of this point cf. Drumann-Groebe, 2.313-314. Also on 29.5 Ziegler cites Cicero and rejects *κουαδραντίαν* of T, which may well have been what Plutarch wrote (with the Latin *quadrans* in mind).

is wit or scurrility is debatable, but Suetonius obviously chooses the former with his word *facetissime*. We might recall Cato's bitter remark about Cicero (Plut. *Comp. Cic. Dem.* 1.5): γελοῖος ὕπατος. I would latinize to *scurra consularis*. A further possible oblique reference to the names of the three Clodias may be in the citation (in words as if from the mouth of Appius Caecus) of the famous Claudia Quinta whose chaste exploit in 204 B.C. became legendary.<sup>15</sup> Here the innuendo may be directed at Quinta, the scandalously divorced wife of Lucullus.

#### CLODIA AND CICERO

Plutarch is not always a trustworthy source, and his statement in the passage quoted above that Cicero testified against Clodius in the famous trial of 61 to allay the suspicions of his wife Terentia is certainly false. Cicero's letters referring to this period indicate that he had spoken in public too freely and testified only because he could not avoid appearing without belying former statements (see especially *Att.* 1.16.2). However, other elements in that story may be true and need further discussion. When Plutarch says that Terentia thought that the sister of Clodius wished to marry Cicero, and that Tullus acted as an agent in the matter, we have details which may yield results.

The general assumption has been that the Clodia must be the wife of Celer, and as a consequence Plutarch's evidence is usually rejected.<sup>16</sup> Cicero would hardly have risked offending Celer who, however dull he may have been, was usually a firm political ally (cf. *Att.* 2.1.4).<sup>17</sup> It is true that early in 62 Celer outrageously blamed Cicero for his quarrel with Metellus Nepos (*Fam.* 5.1), but Cicero had smoothed the matter over and had among other actions asked Clodia to intercede with her husband (*Fam.* 5.2.6: the only passage with her name as Claudia). It is clear that the bitter feud between this *femina consularis* and the Arpinate, which may have arisen as a result of the testimony in the trial of 61, had not yet begun. Moreover, even before the testimony was given about Clodia's immorality, her reputation was no doubt already lurid. Surely incest had already occurred (*Cael.* 36); and no one becomes evil

<sup>15</sup>Muenzer in *RE* s.v. "Claudius 435". Cicero has reference to Quinta Claudia again (*Har. Resp.* 27). Cf. Liv. 29.14.12; Ovid, *Fast.* 4.305-344. Also Frazer's note in his edition, 3 (London 1929) 238-241 (*ad* 4.305).

<sup>16</sup>Boissier went so far as to say: "... she (Terentia) embroiled him with Clodius, from dislike to Clodia, whom she suspected of wishing to allure him" (*Cicero and his Friends* [English ed.] 92). Gelzer labelled it "Ein gehaessiges Maerchen seiner Feinde" and cited Sallust's *Invektiva in Ciceronem* (3) as contemporary evidence of derogation of Terentia (*RE*, s.v. "Tullius 27," col. 898.43-52). Even if this work is ps. Sallust and to be dated later there is a reflection here of earlier material.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. Muenzer in *RE*, s.v. "Caecilius 86."

suddenly—if we may trust Juvenal (*quisnam hominum est quem tu contentum videris uno/flagitio?* [13.243–244]). Dorey's suggestion that the offer was made, but in 63, and that when Cicero refused, Clodia married Celer is unlikely because it would mean that Clodia Quarta was still unmarried at thirty.<sup>18</sup> Who can doubt that Cicero would have considered such a marriage highly undesirable?

Two items should first be mentioned briefly. Would Cicero have been willing to divorce Terentia at this time? It seems credible that the chief bar would have been the repayment of Terentia's rather considerable dowry (100,000 *denarii*, according to Plut. *Cic.* 8.2), but later he did not hesitate. The other item is the identity of the Tullus here mentioned. I reject the Tarentine origin of Tullus and identify him as L. Volcatius Tullus (*cos.* 33), the son of the consul of 66.<sup>19</sup> The father had as consul refused to accept the candidacy of Catiline (Sall. *Cat.* 18.3; Asconius, 69.10–13 St.), approved of Cicero's consulship (*Phil.* 2.12), and is referred to by Cicero as *egregius vir* (*Planc.* 51). The son was probably born about 76, as Gundel suggested, and although the first reference to him is in 46 (*Cic. Fam.* 13.14.1) he may well have been serving his *tirocinium fori* with Cicero in 62. This identification of this young man, obscure in 62, gives verisimilitude to the anecdote.

Plutarch does not identify the sister involved, and another possibility arises—namely that the offer was in 62 (but before the famous night in December), and that the Clodia was Clodia Tertia, widow of Marcus Rex.<sup>20</sup> At the end of 63 Rex was in Italy *cum imperio* waiting for a triumph (Sall. *Cat.* 30.3–4) which he never celebrated (Degrassi, *II* 13.1, pp. 565–566). No further reference occurs until Cicero alludes to his death in a letter to Atticus written early in July 61, but with reference to a meeting of the senate on the Ides of May (*Att.* 1.16.10). He could have died, and very probably did, somewhat earlier.

In the passage quoted above, Plutarch specifically says that Clodius committed incest with his three sisters. For Quinta Cicero confirms this and relates that Lucullus after an investigation stated it on oath at the trial of Clodius in 61 (*Mil.* 73; cf. Plut. *Luc.* 34.1, 38.1). Plutarch further notes that the charge relating to Quarta was particularly rife, and of course Cicero frequently implies this or states it explicitly, especially in his speech for Caelius. Nothing is added regarding Tertia, and this is the only reference categorically involving her in the charge.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup>"Cicero, Clodia, and the *pro Caelio*," *G & R* 2.5 (1958) 175–180.

<sup>19</sup>On the text cf. note 14 above. For the Volcatii see Gundel in *RE*, s.v. "Volcatius 8–9."

<sup>20</sup>Cf. Muenzer in *RE*, s.v. "Marcus 92".

<sup>21</sup>The text of Plutarch speaking of Clodia Quinta's reputation is an example of his carelessness (*Luc.* 38.1): . . . ἡ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαβολή. Nowhere else is there a suggestion of this scandal touching Appius or Gaius.

Three references to Cicero are regularly cited to buttress the reference in Plutarch: a letter to Lentulus Spinther and two comments in *De Haruspicum Responso*:

*Primum illa furia mulebrium religionum, qui non pluris fecerat Bonam Deam quam tris sorores (Fam. 1.9.15).*

*... quorum intemperantia expleta in domesticis est germanitatis stupris volutatus (Har. Resp. 42).<sup>22</sup>*

*quis umquam nepos tam libere est cum scortis quam hic cum sororibus volutatus? (ibid. 59).*

Only in the first item do we find reference to "three" sisters. A second look at that passage shows that it need not, and surely does not, charge all three with incest. We can easily expand "he disgraced two sisters by incest, the third by his evil reputation." I suspect Plutarch made his error because of a faulty memory of, or a careless reading of one or all of these passages. No other reference ever cites Tertia for immorality. I suggest that, just as Appius' reputation was good, Publius' bad, so the reputations of Quarta and Quinta were evil, but that of Tertia excellent.

However another question arises. Would the Claudii have been eager for *adfnitas* with a *novus homo*? I suggest that they were, and that the offer came within the first eleven months of the year 62. The status of the two families forms a marked contrast at this time. After the termination of his consulship Cicero's influence was at its height. From a letter to Atticus we know that in 61 he was called on second in consular debate only because M. Pupius Calpurnianus Piso called on his cousin Cn. Calpurnius Piso (*cos.* 67) first, to the surprise of the senate (*Att.* 1.13.2). Consequently we may assume that in 62 the senior consul, D. Iunius Silanus called on Cicero first (cf. *Q. fr.* 2.1.3).<sup>23</sup> As *primus rogatus* Cicero was probably influential in the *senatus consultum ultimum* early in the year, which gave him revenge upon the tribune Metellus Nepos (Dio 37.43). Moreover seven men were accused in the early months of 62 of participation in the conspiracy of Catiline. Five senators (L. Vargunteius, P. Autronius Paetus, P. and Ser. Sullae, nephews of the dictator, M. Porcius Laeca) and one *eques* (C. Cornelius) were convicted, largely through Cicero's activity as *testis* (*Cic. Sull.* 6-7). The seventh, P. Cornelius Sulla, was saved from conviction by his *patronus* Cicero (*Sull. passim*). Add the fact that Quintus was *praetor urbanus*,<sup>24</sup> and we find the newly ennobled Tullii riding the crest of the wave.

<sup>22</sup>Cf. Lactantius who probably had this passage in mind (*Div. Inst.* 1.10.14): *stultus autem Marcus Tullius ... qui Publio Clodia sororis incestum, at illi optimo Maximo eadem fuit et soror et coniunx.*

<sup>23</sup>Cf. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus*, 1.1 (Cambridge 1965) ad 13 (1.13) 2.

<sup>24</sup>MRR 2.173 ("Pr. Urbanus?").

To be sure Pompey, at that time *unicus imperator*, was a thunder-cloud in the East. Cicero, whose *pro lege Manilia* must have been most welcome to Pompey and the *Pompeiani*, could be expected to gain prestige on Pompey's return. His role as liaison between *optimates* and Magnus had not yet been proved to be an illusion.

To turn now to the Claudii—the three daughters had married well, but Rex surely died early in the year, Celer was under obligation to Cicero through whose efforts he had gained his proconsulship of Cisalpine Gaul (*Fam.* 5.2.3–4), Lucullus had divorced his wife in unsavory circumstances. Appius and Gaius were no more than *senatores quaestorii* and Publius was canvassing for the quaestorship to which he was elected. In 63 during the crucial days Cicero had chosen four senators to record the senatorial sessions (*Sull.* 42):

*at quos viros! non solum summa virtute et fide . . . sed etiam quos sciebam memoria, scientia, consuetudine et celeritate scribendi . . . , C. Cosconium, qui tum erat praetor, M. Messallam, qui tum praeturam petebat, P. Nigidium, App. Claudium . . . .*

Certainly Appius must have appreciated the honor in 63 and the flattering words in 62. The intellectual ties between Appius and Cicero, now beginning, were not shattered by the violence of the orator's quarrel with Publius, for in 51 Appius dedicated his *liber auguralis* to Cicero (*Fam.* 3.4.1),<sup>25</sup> not long after Cicero had defended Milo, the assassin of Publius. Even Publius was at this time on good terms with Cicero, although hardly so intimate as Plutarch said (*Cic.* 29.1).

Consequently it is not beyond belief that the Claudii might consider the newly ennobled Cicero as an attractive *adfinis*, that Clodia Tertia, the respectable widow of Rex, would be a suitable wife for the orator, or that Cicero would consider such an alliance seriously. As events turned out, if the offer was made, and I strongly incline to believe it was, Cicero turned it down. Even in the first eleven months of 62 he must have had political and personal reservations about such a marriage. Politically his position would have been less flexible. Personally he must have hesitated about some of his new *adfines*. Publius had already shown his erratic opportunism in the East under Lucullus and Rex (*Cic. Har. Resp.* 42; *Plut. Luc.* 34), and in Gaul under Murena (*Cic. loc. cit.*). Also, as was pointed out above, the actions of Quarta and Quinta were already scandalous.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Although some of the foregoing arguments are speculative, the following items may be regarded as having some substantial basis.

<sup>25</sup>For the interconnections between this work and Cicero's *De auguriis* cf. P. T. Heesen, *Cicero's Literary Career to 50 B.C.* (University of Pennsylvania dissertation 1965) 166–168.



(1) The oldest surviving daughter of Ap. Pulcher (*cos.* 79) was named Tertia because of the early death of two sisters.

(2) The other two surviving sisters were named Quarta and Quinta.

(3) Approximate dates can be established for the siblings of P. Pulcher.

(4) The marriages of these three sisters are to be dated shortly before and after the year of their father's death.

(5) Quarta as a second name for the wife of Celer may be significant in explaining the riddle of the jest *quadrantaria*.

(6) Quinta as a name for the wife of Lucullus may account for Cicero's references to Quinta Claudia.

(7) Plutarch's evidence must be sifted: Terentia did not motivate his evidence against Clodius; his explanation of *quadrantaria* is fiction; his aspersions on the wife of Rex are in error.

(8) The wife of Rex was not involved in incest with her brother, and Cicero's references have been misinterpreted by Plutarch and modern scholars.

(9) Cicero's friend Tullus is Volcatius Tullus (*cos.* 33).

(10) The Claudii definitely proposed the marriage of the widow of Rex with Cicero, and Cicero refused the proposal.

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