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Conditions and activities in the Italian communities and in the provinces as disclosed in Cicero's letters.

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Thesis

CONDITIONS AND ACTIVITIES IN THE ITALIAN COMMUNITIES AND
IN THE PROVINCES AS DISCLOSED IN CICERO'S LETTERS

by

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Marcus Tullius Cicero was born some two thousand years ago near lovely Arpinum, a town about sixty miles south of Rome and located within the Volscian mountains. Arpinum was a typical, small community of its day and as such had a definite influence on the social attitudes, interests, and thinking of the young Cicero.

In the De Legibus, during an imaginary discussion among Atticus, Quintus, and Cicero, a discussion that supposedly took place in Arpinum, Cicero had Atticus give this comment on the town: "Indeed, I cannot get enough of this place, especially as I have come at this season of the year.... Hence, I used to be surprised, I say, that you enjoyed this place so much; now, on the other hand, I wonder that you ever prefer to go elsewhere, when you leave Roma." 1

Writing to Atticus, Cicero made the following quotation from the Odyssey (IX 27), showing just how much his birthplace meant to him. (Ad Att. II 11, 59B.C.)

"τοιχεία, ἄλλ' ἀγνόθ' κομποτρόφος, οὐτ ἐπ' ἕκωγε ᾿Ης χαίνας δύναμις γλυκερωτερον ἀλλο ἱδέο·λας"

"My rugged native land, good nurse for men; None other would mine eyes so gladly see." 2

1 - De Legibus II 2 (Translation by Clinton Walker Keyes)
2 - Translation by E. O. Winstedt in The Loeb Classical Library
As a product of this rural spot and educated during his early years, under the guidance of his father, in the principles of a good, solid way of life, he frequently displayed in his writings a concern for the ordinary, every-day events and conditions of the average community outside Rome. Like many other great men whose roots were in small villages, but whose later interests lay some distance from the country towns of their birth, he took great pride in his native Arpinum "and indeed in the country towns of Italy generally." 1

Having once been called by one of his lesser admirers "an alien resident in the city of Rome" and a "foreigner", because he came not from the fashionable city of Rome but from lowly Arpinum, he is reported to have referred to Arpinum as "a town from which salvation has twice come to this city and state. His reference, as all his hearers knew, was to the salvation of Rome, first by Marius of Arpinum from invasion by the Germans, and second by Cicero himself." 2

In spite of occasional poor road conditions (via deterrima), 3 one of Cicero's greatest delights in his later years was to retire to his villa at Arpinum after a particularly strenuous bout in the Roman courts. To his brother, Quintus, in Britain, he wrote telling how he had come

1 - H. J. Haskell: This was Cicero, page 37
2 - H. J. Haskell: This was Cicero, page 37
3 - Ad Att. IX 9, 49 B.C.

(All translations of the Letters to Atticus are those of E.O. Winstedt in The Loeb Classical Library)
to Arpinum to refresh himself, having escaped the great heat of Rome. "In Rome there is no time to breathe." ¹

It was to Arpinum that he went to assuage his grief following the death of his daughter, Tullia. On this occasion, he described his country home as a place, "to find streams and solitary spots, the easier to keep up my spirits." ² Yet he did not always think of Arpinum as a place for solitude, a place in which to rest his troubled soul. On the contrary, he delighted in inviting his friends to this lovely spot, there to point out to them the well remembered scenes of his childhood and to engage with them in pleasant, philosophical conversation.

Just as he loved the town and its beauties, Cicero never failed to take an active interest in the affairs of his neighbors in Arpinum, and in their pleasures. Since Rome was "out of bounds" at the time of his son's coming of age, he held the celebration at his Arpinum villa, as a gesture of friendliness to his municipibus. To Atticus he wrote, "I celebrated my son's coming of age at Arpinum in preference to any other place, and so doing delighted my fellow-towns men." ³

When the question of collecting

1 - Ad Quintum III 1 1,54 B.C.
2 - H. J. Haskell: This was Cicero, page 36
3 - Ad Att. IX 19, 49 B.C.

(All translations of the Letters to Quintus are those of W. Glynn Williams in The Loeb Classical Library)
rents on some land which they owned in Gaul caused some difficulty to the people of Arpinum, they immediately appealed to their friend, Cicero, who in turn wrote to his friend, M. Junius Brutus, governor of Cisalpine Gaul, "I have always noticed that you take the greatest pains to be informed of anything that concerns my interests...it is my habit to support my fellow-citizens, the inhabitants of Arpinum...I appeal to you with more than ordinary urgency to charge yourself with the matter (that is, the collecting of rents on the holdings of Arpinum in Gaul) and to do your utmost to see that the business of our town so far as you yourself are concerned, is managed as happily, and settled as speedily, as possible."  

Yet Cicero could also see the amusing side of some of these small town problems, particularly certain phases of local self government. When writing to M. Marius, a rich Arpinate, he made the following comment: Non enim te puto Graecos aut Oscos ludos desiderare; praesertim cum Oscos ludos vel in senatu vestro spectare possis. Here Cicero was referring to the antics of the town council at Pompeii. Still he was not looking down upon this assembly; he appreciated their efforts and contributions to the Republic.

To be sure he loved too the mighty

1 - Ad Fam. XIII 11 1, 46 B.C.
2 - Ad Fam. VII 1 3,55 B.C.

(All translations of the Letters to his Friends are those of W. Glynn Williams in The Loeb Classical Library)
city of Rome; he enjoyed the part he played in developing Rome as a world capital; but through all this he remained an idealist, a conservative, undoubtedly bound by the influence and tradition of his small community origin. He could not envisage a mighty empire built on the remains of a destroyed Republic. He must have longed for an orderly government, created and carried along the lines of a small community town council. Great was the praise he gave to the governments of this type. To Atticus he wrote, referring to the town of Antium, "I am even debating settling down at Antium, and spending the rest of my life here; and I really wish I had been a magistrate here rather than in Rome."  

Cicero was extremely happy in Rome as he indicated thus: Urbem, Urbem, mi Rufe, cole et in ista luce vive; and he followed this remark with a statement on the unpleasantness of foreign service: "All foreign service (and this has been my conviction from the days of my youth) is obscurity and squalor for those whose active services at Rome can shine forth in splendour."  

He abhorred the idea of proconsular duty and served his governorship of Cilicia very reluctantly, at all times urging his political friends in Rome to see to it that his tour of service was not extended beyond the customary length of one year. To Curio, a

1 - Ad Att. II 6, 59 B.C.
2 - Ad Fam. II 12 2, 50 B.C.
3 - Ad Fam. II 12 3, 50 B.C.
quaestor, he wrote, "I adjure you, my dear Curio, in the name of your extraordinary friendship for me, and of mine, incomparable as it is, for you, not to allow any extension of time to be made in this irksome provincial government of mine." ¹

The difficulties of travel were particularly annoying to him and in several places in his letters he mentioned this fact. "The amount of traffic on the roads and the daily expectation of a change of government have prevented me from leaving Thessalonica at present." ² And later he wrote, "I am now engaged on a hot and dusty journey. I wrote yesterday from Ephesus; to-day I write from Tralles." ³

Yet when he was travelling, either as a government official or a military commander, in spite of his discomforts and homesickness, the towns and cities through which he passed held a strong interest for him. Aware of the importance of events in these places, seemingly insignificant in comparison to the mighty happenings in Rome itself, he took pains, particularly in the Letters to inform his intimates at home just what was taking place. The discernment which he employed in picking out details of interest and of importance has proved of real value to us.

¹ - Ad Fam. II 7 4, 51 B.C.
² - Ad Att. III 14, 58 B.C.
³ - Ad Att. V 14, 51 B.C.
...
The following information has been taken from the complete letters of Cicero - Ad Familiarum, Ad Quintum, and Ad Atticum. By selecting various incidents mentioned by Cicero throughout his letters, an attempt has been made to give a general picture of the Italian communities and of Cicero's province, Cilicia. Brief reference will be given to one or two other provinces through letters sent to Cicero by his friends. This picture, of course, is colored by Cicero's own personality, by his own views as to what might be typical in any single community. Yet nowhere can we get a truer idea of the cultural level, the economic problems, and the activities common to the people in towns and cities outside Rome during Cicero's lifetime. The writings of Cicero have proved an invaluable source of material. Tenney Frank says, "...written to all the great men of his time, Caesar, Pompey, Brutus, the various consuls and generals and the governors, to his intimate friends, and even to his slaves, [the letters] give us an indispensable picture of the times. In no other period of history does the student depend so constantly for accurate information upon a packet of personal correspondence." 1

1. - Tenney Frank: A History of Rome, page 328
Cicero's interests in the affairs of the Italian communities might be placed in two groups, those which had to do with him personally, and those which might be of possible interest to his friends and intimates at Rome. Under the former group would come, of course, his love for those towns where he had either built or bought country villas, places to which he might retreat from the exhausting activities of political life, such delightful spots as Antium, Formiae, Ostia, Pompeii, Astura, Cumae, Puteoli, and Arpinum. All these towns Cicero loved, but especially Arpinum, his birth place. In writing to his brother, Quintus, about Arpinum, he said, "After the great heat--indeed, I cannot remember greater--I have been recuperating at Arpinum, and enjoying the lovely scenery of the river while the games are on."¹ And in the same letter, commenting upon his brother's purchase of a new estate in Arpinum, he said, "A more shady spot in summer I never saw, water also gushing out in lots of places, and a plentiful supply of it too. To put it shortly, Caesius thought that you would have no difficulty in irrigating fifty jugera of meadow land."² On the other hand, Arpinum may have had its unpleasant aspects. Twice Cicero commented on the abundance of rain there. "I have not stirred a foot away from the house; we have had such heavy and continuous rain."³ Further, "Besides, I am afraid of

¹ - Ad Quintum III 1 1, 54 B.C.
² - Ad Quintum III 1 3, 54 B.C.
³ - Ad Att. XIII 16, 45 B.C.
Hurry now, hurry now, hurry now.

But hurry now, hurry now, hurry now.

And hurry now, hurry now, hurry now.

Now is the time, now is the time, now is the time.

Now is the time, now is the time, now is the time.

Now is the time, now is the time, now is the time.

Now is the time, now is the time, now is the time.
rain, if our Prognostics are right, for the frogs are holding forth."¹ He prefaced this statement thus: "I tell you what, this place is lovely, and certainly it is retired and free from overlakers, if you want to write. But somehow or other there's no place like home. So my feet are carrying me back to Tusculum."¹ His villa at Tusculum was always open to visits from his friends² with whom he delighted to carry on philosophical discussions. Decorating and furnishing this country estate was happy diversion for Cicero.³ When he happened upon a particularly suitable statue or work of art, he sent the following to Atticus: "I'm so pleased with my home at Tusculum that I am never really happy except when I am there."⁴ Yet several years later, in the midst of one of his financial muddles, he was forced to put his Tusculum villa up for sale, feeling that after all he could do without a suburban residence.⁵

Cumae and Puteoli, both seaside resorts where many of the leading men of Rome had residences, held great attractions for Cicero. Of Cumae he said, "My villa at Cumae was a miniature Rome; there were such a lot of

¹ - Ad Att. XV 16a, 44 B.C.
² - Ad Fam. XVI 18 1, 44 B.C.
³ - Ad Att. I 4, 66 B.C.
⁴ - Ad Att. I 6, 68 B.C.
⁵ - Ad Att. IV 2, 57 B.C.
people in the neighborhood." In these places too, there were features not so agreeable, for example, "the boisterous equinox," which was delaying his plans, and "the crowds of visitors" which flocked there during the season. Sunt enim permulti optimi viri, qui valetudinis causa in haec loca veniant.

The beauty of the scenery at Pompeii and the charm of its natural setting made Cicero envious of those who might enjoy it while he, at Rome, was forced to "gaze at farces on the public stage...and could scarcely keep awake." Thus he wrote to M. Marius, who had apparently cut a large opening in his Pompeian villa that he might better enjoy the view across the bay.

Much as he enjoyed his various villas, the trip was not always an easy one for Cicero. In one case he spoke of a journey to Astura when he had to rest for three hours at Lanuvium in order to avoid the heat of the day. But Astura must have been worth the difficulties of travel, "more charming than you can imagine, the villa, the shore, the sea view, the hillocks and everything." Antium was similar to Astura: "Nothing could be quieter or fresher or prettier: this be my own sweet home."

1 - Ad Att. V 2, 51 B.C.
2 - Ad Att. X 17, 49 B.C.
3 - Ad Att. XIV 16, 44 B.C.
4 - Ad Att. XIV 17a, 44 B.C.
5 - Ad Fam. VII 1 1, 55 B.C.
6 - Ad Att. XIII 34, 45 B.C.
7 - Ad Att. XII 9, 45 B.C.
8 - Ad Att. IV 7, 56 B.C.
As a guest of his friend, Trebatius, in the town of Velia, Cicero wrote to the former commending the beauties of the place: "a city where the inhabitants are devoted to you, and secondly, a house of your own and on your own estate, and that in some secluded, salubrious, and beautiful spot."¹ Baiae too was a favorite site for those who desired to be at the fashionable resorts at the proper season. Cicero mentioned the sea-bathing,² the fact that it had "suddenly become salubrious,"³ and he gave the impression that, in spite of its natural beauty, it was not the place for him with its hordes of pleasure seeking Romans. Brundisium, on the other hand, was scarcely salubrious. Cicero complained heartily of the weather there: "For already I am scarcely capable physically of bearing this bad climate, which adds ill health to my troubles."⁴ This was written during the strain of the Civil War, and naturally his attitude towards Brundisium was highly colored by his low spirits at the time and by the fact that he was far away from his own familiar surroundings.

Decorating, furnishing, and building were some of the hobbies of the great orator. He was not one to let his property fall into disrepair. At one time he was forced to send for Chrysippus to restore two of his shops at Puteoli.⁵ The contemplated memorial for his beloved Tullia

1 - Ad Fam. VII 20 2, 44 B.C.
2 - Ad Fam. IX 12 1, 46 B.C.
3 - Ad Fam. IX 11 5, 45 B.C.
4 - Ad Att. XI 22, 47 B.C.
5 - Ad Att. XIV 9, 44 B.C.
occupied his attention for some time. To his friend, Atticus, to whom he poured out his sorrow after the death of his daughter, he wrote, "In trying to escape from the painful sting of recollection I take refuge in recalling something to your memory. Whatever you think of it, please pardon me. The fact is I find that some of the authors over whom I am pouring now consider appropriate the very thing that I have often discussed with you, and I hope you approve of it. I mean the shrine. I shall use all the opportunities of this enlightened age to consecrate her memory by every kind of memorial borrowed from the genius of all the masters, Greek and Latin."¹ Again to Atticus, "I think at times of buying some gardens across the Tiber, especially for this reason: I don't see any other place that can be so much frequented. But what gardens, we will consider together; provided only that the shrine must be completed this summer."² Having selected the site of the shrine as some public gardens, he then had to decide on the type of memorial. "I want it to be a shrine, and that idea cannot be rooted out of my mind. I am anxious to avoid its being taken for a tomb, not so much on account of the legal penalty as to get as near to deification as possible. That would be possible if it were in the actual house where she died; but, as I have often said, I am afraid of its changing hands. Wherever I build it in the open, I think I can contrive that posterity shall respect its sanctity."³

¹ - Ad Att. XII 18, 45 B.C.
² - Ad Att. XII 19, 45 B.C.
³ - Ad Att. XII 36, 45 B.C.
In answer to these communications, Atticus had apparently suggested Tusculum as an appropriate place for the shrine, but Cicero preferred some place more public and more accessible to the city of Rome.\(^1\)

In 50 B.C., some few years before building the shrine to Tullia, he wished to erect a porch in the Academy at Athens as a memorial of himself as a successful governor. He was somewhat in doubt as to whether this was a fitting thing to do, although his predecessor, Appius, was planning to put up a porch at Eleusis. He asked the advice of Atticus: "Shall I look a fool, if I do so in the Academy? I dare say you may think so; say so plainly, if you do. I am very fond of the city of Athens. I should like it to have a memorial of myself. I dislike lying titles on the statues of other folk."\(^2\) And later to the same, "Still do you encourage me in the matter of the porch for the Academy, when Appius has abandoned his design of a porch at Eleusis?"\(^3\) This may have been vanity on the part of Cicero, but still it showed his interest in the beautifying of a city which he loved as he did Athens, "that is the material city, its embellishments and the kind feeling shown to me."\(^4\)

In discussing Cicero's interest in building and restoration, it might be well to mention the incident of the ruined house, once the home of Epicurus. Through

1 - *Ad Att.* XII 37, 45 B.C.
2 - *Ad Att.* VI 1, 50 B.C.
3 - *Ad Att.* VI 6, 50 B.C.
4 - *Ad Att.* V 10, 51 B.C.
a decree of the Areopagus, this house fell into the hands of Gaius Memmius, at that time in exile in Athens. His intention was to tear down the dilapidated building and erect new houses on the site. However, he ran afool of Patro, head of the Epicurean Society, who appealed to Cicero, visiting in Athens on his way to Cilicia. Cicero, although emphatically disagreeing with the Epicurean philosophy, must have sympathized with the desire of Patro to save this sacred shrine. Fortunately, the matter was settled without undue influence having to be put on either party. Memmius abandoned his building plans. Some of the story Cicero wrote to Atticus, taking a good deal of amusement from the situation since "Patro and the other blockheads" were concerned.

If Cicero was unable to buy or restore estates himself because of his ever present financial difficulties, ("I am delighted with my places at Tusculum and Pompeii, except that, champion of creditors as I am, they have overwhelmed me not so much with Corinthian bronze as with debts in the common copper coin of the realm"), he was still interested in his friends' purchases of real estate. He felt that Atticus would acquire a real bargain if he purchased the estate at Lanuvium of the deceased Phamea. He could not buy it himself, but he longed for one of his friends to live there. Of the estate he said, "Nowadays I suppose all such property is

1 - Ad Fam. XIII 1 2-6, 51 B.C.
2 - Ad Att. V 11 51 B.C.
3 - Ad Att. II 1, 60 B.C.
depreciated on account of the scarcity of money. It will suit me admirably, or rather us, if you buy it."¹

Not only improvements to buildings but also diversion of water ways caused some concern both to Cicero and to his brother, Quintus. In referring to Quintus' estate at Arpinum, his words, "There is a tremendous outcry here at Arpinum about Laterium (Quintus' estate). Of course I am much distressed about it."² This seemed to suggest the fact that Quintus had diverted a watercourse to the annoyance of his neighbors. At another time Cicero was asked by the people of Reate to "plead their cause before the consul and ten commissioners, because the Veline lake, drained by the channel cut by M¹. Curius through the mountain, flowed into the Nar."³ As a result their own water supply had been greatly decreased. In another letter to Atticus, there is a vague reference to more water difficulties, either a claim of Cicero on some pipes on property adjoining his own or Cicero's refusal to buy more property on which there are some pipes with a disputed claim.⁴

¹ - Ad Att. IX 9, 49 B.C.
² - Ad Att. IV 7, 56 B.C.
³ - Ad Att. IV 15, 54 B.C.
⁴ - Ad Att. XV 26, 44 B.C.
Just as Cicero took a warm personal interest in the affairs of many of these small communities, so the people in turn had a great fondness for Cicero. On many occasions they appealed to their patron for advice and help. Cicero was not boasting when he told of the devotion of the people of Dyrrachium for him, "quod mei studiosos habeo Dyrrachinos." 1 Also, "I have come to Dyrrachium, because it is not only a free state, but devoted to me." 2 Another amusing comment on the friendly attitude of the people was given in a letter to Trebatius. Cicero was taking over the duties of patron of Ulubrae in the absence of the regular patron, Trebatius. Said Cicero, "For everybody knows that at Ulubrae a powerful chorus of dear little frogs have exerted themselves to do me honor." 3 The reference was to the proximity of Ulubrae to the Pontine marshes and the resultant hordes of frogs to which Cicero's temporary clients were compared.

The only regret which Cicero had as he visited the different Italian communities was the lessening of the good, old Roman wit and humor. He bemoaned this loss to L. Papirius Paetus, the Epicurean, "$...humor, and most of all the home-grown kind, has a wonderful fascination, especially when I see that it was overlaid with the coarseness first of Latium." 4 With the introduction of bracatis et Transalpinis

1 - Ad Att. III 22, 58 B.C.
2 - Ad Fam. XIV 1 7, 58 B.C.
3 - Ad Fam. VII 18 3, 53 B.C.
4 - Ad Fam. IX 15 2, 46 B.C.
nationibus there was no more to be seen the "fine old style of pleasantry." To Cicero "the good old Roman style, which is the speech of men of the world" was without equal.

In matters of general interest to his intimates at Rome on the subject of the Italian towns, Cicero had much to say. He felt that those at Rome might be out of touch with events and should be kept informed. Municipalities in Italy frequently owned land in foreign countries as a source of revenue for themselves. In some instances Cicero was called upon to act as intermediary when a particular municipality desired either exemption or abatement of taxation on the property. While governor in Cilicia, he received a letter from Caelius at Rome, asking him to help a certain Marcus Ferialdius, a Roman knight, who had just arrived in Cilicia for the following purpose: "that the lands which certain municipalities hold as a means of profit, should, by an act of kindness as easy as it is honorable for you to perform, be exempted from taxation." In many cases the entire wealth of the community might depend on the rent it received from its foreign holdings. Atella, the town famous for its first productions of the fabulae Atellanae, was at one time in grave financial distress. The revenue due it from its lands in Gaul was being held up by Caesar and his agents. Cicero, having been appealed

1 - Ad Fam. IX 15 2, 46 B.C.
2 - Ad Fam. VII 5 3, 54 B.C.
3 - Ad Fam. VIII 9 4, 57 B.C.
to, wrote to his friend, Gaius Cluvius, asking him to intercede in behalf of Atella, because "this same municipality is oppressed with very heavy burdens and involved in very serious difficulties" and furthermore, "I should like you to believe me when I asseverate that there is no municipality to which I am more deeply indebted; that there has never been a time either in the days of my triumph or of my trouble when the devotion shown to me by this municipality did not stand out as something wholly out of the common."  

Arpinum, Cicero's own home town, had holdings in Gaul and mention has already been made of Cicero's intercession in that case.  

In addition to the fear of lost revenues, Italian communities many times had reason to fear lest their local properties be divided up for distribution among the veterans of some conquering general. Here again Cicero often came to their defense.  

One of the most notable cases of land-taking was that of the the town of Buthrotum in Greece. Buthrotum had been selected for confiscation and distribution among Caesar's veterans. The first visit of the land commissioners to Buthrotum turned out disastrously for them. The head man, Plancus, and his "land grabbers had been ejected by the Buthrotians." "Well done they" commented Cicero on this.

1 - Ad Fam. XIII 7 1, 45 B.C.  
2 - cf. note 1, page 9  
3 - Ad Att. XIV 10, 44 B.C.  
4 - XV 29, 44 B.C. Ad Att.  
5 - Ad Att. XVI 4, 44 B.C.
In another letter, "Some say that the land grabbers were cut to pieces, others that Plancus pocketed the money and fled, leaving them in the lurch."\(^1\) Eventually with the intervention of Cicero, and Atticus, who agreed to pay any debts owed by the people of Buthrotum, the matter was settled by decree of Caesar and the consuls.\(^2\) However, this decree, signed by persons of importance, apparently did not satisfy Plancus and his commissioners who were greedy for land. Cicero was forced to appeal to Plancus: "For my part, though one cannot approve of many of Caesar's arrangements—as was natural in the case of a person so busy—still I am wont to uphold them staunchly for the sake of peace and quietness; and I am strongly of the opinion that you should do the same, though I am not writing as an adviser but as a suppliant."\(^2\) In addition he wrote to Capito, "Now, Capito, I know the influence you always have over those with whom you are, especially with so amiable and good-natured a person as Plancus; please use all your energy, or rather all your powers of persuasion, and make Plancus, who I hope will be sufficiently kindly himself, still more kindly."\(^3\) And finally to C. Cupien-nius, on the same matter: "So I beg you with more than usual earnestness to assist the city of Buthrotum, and to make it your business that our friend Plancus should confirm and verify the decree which the consuls made in favour of the Buthrotians,

1 - Ad Att. XVI 4, 44 B.C.
2 - Ad Att. XVI 16a,b, 44 B.C.
3 - Ad Att. XVI 16c, 44 B.C.
when they had been granted the power of settling the question both by a statute and by a senatorial decree."¹ Confiscation of lands about Veii and Capena and of those near Cicero's Tusculum estate were thought probable, since Caesar's agents were to be seen there in the process of surveying.² Cicero did not show excessive alarm at this, feeling possibly that any material possessions which he owned could be given to Caesar, the man who had forgiven him and actually granted him his life. He was very philosophical about the whole affair, stating that Caesar "does not know what to do, so inextricably has he tied himself up with his multitude of counsellors."²

Levy and quartering of troops caused considerable inconvenience to the towns and cities outside Rome. Particularly during the Civil War did the townspeople have to face this problem. Some of the leaders did their best to ease the situation. "As for Caesar's professional fighting men at Capua, about whom I misinformed you in the authority of A. Torquatus, Pompey has very cleverly distributed them two a-piece to heads of families."³ Recruiting of soldiers, although attempts at force was sometimes used, was not always successful. "Capua and the levy are in stagnation; our cause is despaired of; every one is in flight."⁴ The latter statement was made at the time when Cicero, with misgivings, took charge at Capua: "With reluctance I took charge of Capua, not that I would shirk the duty, but with the reluctance which one would

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¹ - Ad Att. XVI 16d,e, 44 B.C. ³ - Ad Att. VII 14, 49 B.C.
² - Ad Fam. IX 17 2, 46 B.C. ⁴ - Ad Att. VII 23, 49 B.C.
have in a cause in which neither ranks nor individuals had expressed any feeling, though there was some feeling amongst the loyalists, sluggish as usual."¹ Yet in a prior letter to Pompey, in regard to the situation at Capua, Cicero wrote, "On arrival I found that T. Ampius was holding a levy with the greatest energy, and that the troops raised were being taken over by Libo, a local man of energy and influence,"² and "Capua has a good position and is an important town, not to speak of its loyal inhabitants and to my mind tenable."² That must have been written at a time when Cicero thought that things looked a bit brighter for the Pompeians, for about a month later, in commenting on the attitude of the towns, he wrote, "Pompey is of the opinion that I saw clearer than he did about the weakness of the municipal towns, the levies, peace, the city, the public funds."³ There was one place, however, where a levy seemed successful, namely, Sicily. "It is said the Sicilians have gathered round Cato, prayed him to resist and promised every support; and that he has been induced to begin making a levy."⁴

In other cases of municipal difficulty, Cicero lent his aid. Volaterrae, in Etruria, had had its lands confiscated by Sulla for having given shelter to some of those who had been proscribed by him. Fortunately the confiscation and annulment of citizenship were never recognized

¹ - Ad Att. VIII 3, 49 B.C.
² - Ad Att. VIII 11b, 49 B.C.
³ - Ad Att. IX 2a, 49 B.C.
⁴ - Ad Att. X 12, 49 B.C.
by the Roman courts. In a letter to Q. Valerius Orca, one of Caesar's land commissioners, Cicero requested that the lands of Volaterrae be freed for all times of the possibility of confiscation, since the town had once at the hands of Sulla suffered so much anxiety. 1 When an agrarian law, supported by Pompey, seemed destined to encroach on private rights of the citizens, Cicero proposed exemptions to the law, "to allow the people of Volaterrae and Arretium to retain in their holding, their land which Sulla had made public land, but had not distributed." 2

Cicero was the man at Rome to whom the patrons of the municipia appealed when they wished their case to be stated fairly before the Senate. D. Brutus, patron of the Vicetini, when a legal matter concerning his town was to come up before the Senate, wrote immediately to Cicero, saying, "I beg you not to allow these people to have any injustice done them in the Senate." 3 And Cicero, the friend of such small towns, would see to it that justice was done at all costs. Cicero rejoiced when events turned out favorably for the Latin towns. At the time when the "assembly was summoned to vote on the proposal that the towns north of the Padus should become municipia and receive the full Roman franchise" 4 M. Caelius Rufus, knowing that Cicero would be interested wrote him, "For those rumors about the comitia of the Transpadani were

1 - Ad Fam. XIII 4, 45 B.C.
2 - Ad Att. I 19, 60 B.C.
3 - Ad Fam. XI 19 2, 43 B.C.
4 - note on Ad. Fam. VIII 1 by T.E. Page from Loeb Cl. Library
rife enough."¹ This news was handed on to Atticus by Cicero, "and there was a report too that the Transpadani were ordered to create a board of four municipal officers."²

Feasting and games occupied a good deal of the time of the Romans visiting in the resort towns of Italy, although this type of pleasure was for the most part denied the towns-people themselves. At Brundisium: "What dinners according to Sextus they are giving and receiving, how lavish and how early."³ Cicero himself was not above enjoying a good dinner occasionally. To Atticus: "I reached Actium on the 14th of June after feasting like an alderman both at Corcyra and the Sybota islands, thanks to your gifts which Araus and my good friend Eutychides heaped on me with lavish kindness."⁴ But this must have been the exception in Cicero's case who entertained rather simply in his own homes. On one occasion, though, Cicero was compelled to entertain on a very lavish scale. Caesar was a guest of his at Puteoli. Cicero, incidentally quoting from Lucilius, reported the affair to Atticus as follows: "It was a lordly dinner and well-served, and not only that, but, 'bene cocto et condito sermone bono et, si quaeris, libenter.'⁵ Besides, his chosen circle were entertained very liberally in three rooms;

¹ - Ad Fam. VIII 1 2, 51 B.C.
² - Ad Att. V 2, 51 B.C.
³ - Ad Att. IX 13, 49 B.C.
⁴ - Ad Att. V 9, 51 B.C.
⁵ - "Well cooked, and seasoned, and, the truth to tell with pleasant discourse all went very well" T.E. Page
and freedmen of lower degree and slaves could not complain of stint. The upper sort were entertained in style. In fact, I was somebody. Still he was not the sort of guest to whom one would say: 'Be sure to look me up on the way back'. Once is enough. There was no serious talk, but plenty of literary. In a word he was pleased and enjoyed himself.¹ Nor did Cicero care about attending the games. In one instance he wrote, "There are games at Antium from the 4th to the 6th of May, and Tullia wants to see them."² Yet prior to this he had written, "I have decided not to see the games at Antium."³ The desires of Tullia won out in this case. He scorned the pleasure seekers at Praeneste: "Meanwhile there are games at Praeneste. That's where Hirtius and all that crew are; and there are eight days of games. Picture their dinners and their extravagant goings on. What people they are."⁴ Still another form of entertainment not pleasing to Cicero was the new type of Atellan farce. He spoke disparagingly of this in a letter to Paetus, whom he was accusing of adopting some of the cheap qualities of this new type of drama.⁵

1 - Ad Att. XIII 52, 45 B.C.
2 - Ad Att. II 9, 59 B.C.
3 - Ad Att. II 10, 59 B.C.
4 - Ad Att. XII 2, 46 B.C.
5 - Ad Fam. IX 16 7, 46 B.C.
A bit of scandal was enjoyed both by Cicero and his friends, and hints of affairs worth a raised eye-brow are found in several letters. The affair between Antony and the actress, Cytheris, deserved a few lines: "Antony carries about Cytheris with him in an open litter as his second wife, and besides he had seven other litters of friends, male or female," and "This is better behaviour than that of my fellow augur Antony, who carries an actress in a sedan among his lictors." Cicero's opinion of Cytheris was not very high, especially after he had attended a dinner party where "Next below Eutrapelus reclined Cytheris." Such was not the custom of ladies of honor.

Cicero did not have much faith in the system of divination devised by the schools of the Lucumones in Etruria, attended by many of the young Roman nobles of that time. On the contrary, he felt that his own methods, learned from studying the great philosophers, were of far greater authenticity. To Aulus Caecina he made this observation: "If you have not been misled by a certain scientific system of Etruscan lore bequeathed you by your illustrious and excellent father, neither shall I be misled by my own skill in divination, which I have acquired not only from the writings and precepts of the greatest philosophers and my extensive

1 - Ad Att. X 10, 49 B.C.
2 - Ad Att. L 16, 49 B.C.
3 - Ad Fam. IX 26 2, 46 B.C.
study, as you yourself know, of their teaching, but also from a wide experience in dealing with public affairs, and the many vicissitudes of my political life."¹ In the same letter, he said, "Well, then, the augury I give you is not based on the flight of a fowl of the air, nor on the cry of a bird of omen on the left, as in our system of augury, nor on the healthy eagerness of feeding fowls, or the rattle of their food on the ground; no, I have other signs for my observation, and if not more infallible than those others, they are at any rate clearer and less likely to mislead."²

Thus with these preceding observations it can be clearly seen that Cicero had diversified interest in the events taking place in the communities of the Italian district, whether discussing the price of food at Arpinum,³ harvesting at Tusculum⁴ or the attitude of the people of Formiae to Pompey⁵ and that of the people of Alsium to their neighbor Caesar.⁶ In every case he has displayed a keen perception and discernment of detail which help us greatly in building the complete picture of what went on in Italy during Cicero's lifetime.

¹ - Ad Fam. VI 6 3, 46 B.C.
² - Ad Fam. VI 6 7, 46 B.C.
³ - Ad Fam. XIV 7 3, 49 B.C.
⁴ - Ad Att. XIV 3, 44 B.C.
⁵ - Ad Att. II 13, 59 B.C.
⁶ - Ad Fam. IX 6 1, 46 B.C.
In addition to Cicero's interest in the events taking place in the districts of Italy, as governor of Cilicia, he necessarily became interested in the activities of the towns and cities of his province. Many of his comments and pictures of Cilician communities are tinged with the feelings of unhappiness and dissatisfaction at being away from his beloved Italy, yet always with an accuracy of detail and an entertaining commentary. Following his consulship in 63 B.C., Cicero had resigned his chance of governing a province, not caring for life away from home. However, in 51 B.C., the Senate passed a decree that all qualified ex-magistrates must assume leadership of some province. Cicero was compelled to draw lots for his assignment, and he drew Cilicia. He did not object to Cilicia particularly; he simply did not want any foreign office and entered upon his duties with very low spirits. To his predecessor, Appius Pulcher, he wrote, "Though it has come about both against my inclination and contrary to my expectation that I am obliged to set out for a province with imperium, amid my many and varied annoyances and reflections the one consolation that suggests itself to me is, that you could not have a better friend that I am as your successor."¹

To Atticus, the recipient of many of his unhappy thoughts, he complained, "To think that I hold court in Laodicea, while A. Plotius does so at Rome, and that I have the nominal command of two skeleton legions, while Caesar 1 - Ad Fam. III 2 1, 51 B.C.
has a huge army. However, it is not these advantages I miss; it is the world, the Forum, the city, my home, and you. I will bear as best I can a year of office; an extension would kill me." In the same vain he wrote to his friend Caelius, the aedile, "It is surprising how I yearn for Rome; you cannot believe how I yearn for my friends, and particularly for you; but as to the province, I am heartily sick of it." While he wrote to the consul, M. Marcellus, "For my own part, I would sooner be at home and in my own country, even if it meant my facing death, than in any strange and foreign land;" this he wrote some time after his governorship but with the memory of it still fresh in his mind.

One of the annoyances of foreign duty which bothered Cicero most of all was the difficulty of receiving news from Rome. His keen interest in affairs of state had to be satisfied and at once. Yet weather conditions, difficulties of travel, and the presence of highway men prevented the news from coming to him as regularly as he would have liked. From Laodicea, in February of 50 B.C., he wrote in regard to the scarcity of news, "I am eagerly awaiting news of affairs at Rome, indeed I am pining for it; and most particularly do I want to know how you are. The winter has been so severe that it is now ever so long since we had any news at all." In congratulating Caelius Rufus on his election as

1 - Ad Att. V 15, 51 B.C.
2 - Ad Fam. II 11 1, 50 B.C.
3 - Ad Fam. IV 7 4, 46 B.C. 4 - Ad Fam. II 14, 50 B.C.
aedile, he wrote, "I am rather late in the day, not through any negligence on my part; but because I know nothing at all of what is going on. For I am here in a district [near Taurus] where news penetrates very slowly; it is so far away, and there are brigands about." 1

Some years before his governorship, in 59 B.C., Cicero had written to Atticus saying that he was eager to pay a visit to Alexandria and the rest of Egypt, feeling that if he could get away from Rome for a while, he might be more appreciated upon his return; 2 but that was at a time when he didn't have to travel. In Cilicia, when his duties took him on several trips throughout the province, he complained frequently of the difficulties involved. The Etesian Winds caused many delays in his plans. "If I am not delayed at all by the Etesian Winds, I shall see you, I hope, pretty soon." 3 "For myself, unless I am delayed on my voyage, which exactly coincides with the Etesian winds, I shall see you, I hope, at an early date." 4 One might assume that Cicero was not fond of sailing, especially under the conditions of those times. To Atticus, on this matter he wrote, "The Etesian winds have hindered me much; the open Rhodian boats caused me a delay of exactly twenty days....I have had to wait for fair weather owing to the undecked boats, and other war vessels of the

1 - Ad Fam. II 9 1, 51 B.C.
2 - Ad Att. II 5, 59 B.C.
3 - Ad Fam. II 15 5, 50 B.C.
4 - Ad Fam. XV 12 2, 50 B.C.
Rhodians."¹ "A sea voyage is a big business, especially in the month of July. You know by this time what the open boats of Rhodes are like, poor things in a rough sea. So I have made up my mind not to hurry and not to stir from Delos until I see 'all the peaks of Gyrae' clear."² Some years later, during the confusion of the Civil War, he wrote to Atticus, wondering what to do with his family: "What shall I do about the boys? Shall I entrust them to a small boat? What courage do you suppose I shall have on the voyage? For I remember sailing in the summer in an open Rhodian boat with them and how anxious I was; and how do you suppose it will be in the bad season in a tiny pinnace? Misery everywhere."³

Although Cicero went to his province reluctantly, he went with the idea of doing as much for the provincial communities as he could. To Appius Pulcher, the man whom he was succeeding as governor, he wrote asking for his co-operation in the handing over of office. "You see that by a decree of the Senate I am obliged to take a province. If, so far as you find it feasible in the circumstances, you hand it over to me as unencumbered with difficulties as you can, it will be the easier for me to run the whole race (if I may so call it) of my term of office. What you can effect in that connection it is for you to judge; I earnestly beg you to do what occurs to you as being of importance to me."⁴ However,

1 - Ad Att. VI 8, 50 B.C.
2 - Ad Att. V 12, 51 B.C.
3 - Ad Att. X 11, 49 B.C.
4 - Ad Fam. III 2 2 , 51 B.C.
at first, Appius' attitude to his successor was not a friendly or co-operative one. He made no attempt to greet Cicero, as the new governor, nor did he cease his own official duties at the proper time and report back to Rome. The unfriendly attitude bothered Cicero, but the fact that Appius was carrying on official duties when no longer a governor seemed an advantage to Cicero. "I considered that if you were busying yourself officially, I was being relieved of some irksome toil, and I rejoiced that a year's government of the province, a long time as it appeared to me, had now been reduced to a government of hardly more than eleven months, if one month's work had been taken off my shoulders before I arrived."¹ Yet later, when Cicero became fully aware of the criticism and fault-finding of Appius, he berated him for his assuming duties no longer his own. "Do you suppose that I have never been told anything about you? Not even that, when you had expressed a wish that I should come to Laodicea, you yourself crossed the Taurus? That on the very days I was holding assizes at Apamea, Synnada, and Philomelium, you were holding them at Tarsus? I shall quote no more instances, lest I appear to imitate what I condemn in you."²

One of Cicero's first necessities upon his arrival in the province was to obtain the current coin of the province for all money given him for his domestic establishment. "On July 31, I think I shall be at Laodicea,

¹ - Ad Fam. III 6 5, 51 B.C.
² - Ad Fam. III 8 6, 51 B.C.
where I shall stay for a very few days, while I receive some
money due to me on the Treasury Bill of Exchange." ¹

One problem which Cicero had to face
as soon as he arrived in Cilicia was that of the building situ-
ation in Appia, a town in Phrygia. In a tone of bitterness,
he reported the affair to Appius. "A deputation from Appia
have delivered to me a roll from you full of the most unfair
complaints, because as you say, I hindered their building oper-
ations by the letter I wrote. In the same despatch also you
request me to release them from my objection and enable them
to go on building as soon as possible, so that they may not
find winter suddenly upon them; and at the same time you complain
with much bitterness that I forbade them to exact a tax before
I had investigated the matter and given them leave to do so,
which you said practically meant putting a stop to their build-
ing, since I could only make the investigation after I returned
from Cilicia for the winter." ² Cicero then went on to say that
his decision on the matter was the only sensible one, namely,
that the builders should cease their work until he had inves-
tigated thoroughly and as for their being delayed by the ap-
proach of winter, "Anyhow, what they did was ludicrous; the
letter they brought me, asking that it might be possible for
them to do the work in the summer, that letter they did not
put into my hands till after midwinter. So no more about the
Appian deputation." ²

1 - Ad Fam. III 5 4, 51 B.C.  2 - Ad Fam. III 7 2, 50 B.C.
Cicero's next problem was that of the legates to Rome. It was customary in the province for legates to go to Rome for the purpose of commending the reti-
ing governor and of helping him in his claims for a triumph. The expense was carried by the province and had grown to be an excessive burden. Such was the case with the Cilicians as Cicero entered the province. Appreciating their feelings, Cicero ordered that legates be permitted to go to Rome but that any expense involved be borne by the legates themselves. Im-
mediately, Appius, who was concerned in the affair, felt that the order was directed against him personally and objected strenuously. Cicero, telling Appius the facts in the case, wrote that actually there was no need of provincials to go to Rome to let the world know what a fine job Appius had done, that Appius "had won credit in the eyes of the Senate and Roman people not on the strength of the testimony of the inhabitants of Midaeum (that was the state in which the matter was men-
tioned), but by doing what his nature prompted him to do."¹ If a deputation desired to go to Rome in spite of all this, Cicero had no objection provided it did not prove to be a financial drain upon the province. Unfortunately, Appius took the whole affair as a direct insult to himself from Cicero, who chided him severely upon this attitude: "And anyhow there is this also that I would have you know, that I made no decree respecting

¹ - Ad Fam. III 8 3, 51 B.C.
² - Ad Fam. III 8 5, 51 B.C.
either the reduction of the repayment of the expenses of the
deputation beyond what the leading men of the states demanded
of me—that quite unnecessary expenses should not be piled upon
the sale of the taxes and that bitterly resented exaction (you
know all about it) of the poll-tax and the door-tax."¹ The
poll tax was indeed a great burden upon the provincials. On
his tour through the cities, Cicero heard the same story
everywhere. "I heard the same tale. People could not pay the
poll-tax; they were forced to sell out their investments; groans
and lamentations in the towns."²

Cicero did his best, insofar as he
could, to relieve many of the financial loads carried by the
people of the province of Cilicia. In the first days of his
governorship he wrote to M. Cato, "Having held important as-
sizes at all those towns, I succeeded in delivering a large
number of communities from very harsh taxation, exorbitant
interest, and fraudulent debt-claims."³

Still another way in which Cicero
endeavored to leave some money in the pockets of the provin-
cials was to do away with the practice of having the governor
and his retinue quartered and supported by the local inhabi-
tants. "So far no public body or private person has spent
money on me or on my staff. I have not even taken the barest

¹ - Ad Fam. III 8 5, 51 B.C.
² - Ad Att. V 16, 51 B.C.
³ - Ad Fam. XV 4 2, 50 B.C.
necessities allowed by the law of Julius, nor have I billeted myself on anyone. My staff have made up their minds that they must uphold my good name. So far everything has gone well; the Greeks have noted it and are full of outspoken praise."¹

"However, the poor towns are relieved that they have had to spend nothing on me, my legates, or a quaestor or anyone. For you must know that I not only refused to accept pay, or what is a proper perquisite under the Julian law, but that none of us will take firewood or anything beyond four beds and a roof; and in many places we do not accept even a roof, but remain mostly under canvas. So extraordinary throngs of people have come to meet me from farms and villages and every homestead. Upon my word, my very coming seems to revive them."² To Atticus:

"Asia has given me an astonishing welcome. My coming has cost no one a penny. I trust that my staff are cherishing my good name."³

With great pleasure Cicero wrote to Atticus, telling of the fine things he was doing in Cilicia:

"I have done wonders. See how many states have been freed from debt and how many have had their burden lightened. All have revived on acquiring home rule, and using their own enactments in law."⁴ He then went on to say how he had offered two chances of freedom from debt: first, by causing no expense during his

1 - Ad Att. V 10, 51 B.C.
2 - Ad Att. V 16, 51 B.C.
3 - Ad Att. V 14, 51 B.C.
4 - Ad Att. VI 2, 50 B.C.
administration; and second, by forcing the corrupt ex-magistrates to return to the people the money which they had extorted from them for the past ten years, with the result that the people in turn could pay the tax farmers."\(^1\) Cicero's governorship must have seemed a happy contrast to that of several of his grasping predecessors. "I cannot describe how the cities in Cilicia and especially the people of Tarsus looked up to me. "\(^2\) "I allow neither statues, nor shrines, nor sculptured chariots; and I don't annoy the states in any other respects."

To relieve the famine conditions, brought on by the failure of the crops, Cicero, by his personal influence, "induced Greeks and Roman citizens who had stored corn to promise a large quantity to the communities."\(^2\)

One of the most serious cases of oppression which Cicero had to deal with, was that of the people of Salamis. Instead of paying the regulation 12 per cent interest, they were being charged 48 per cent by their creditors at Rome. In fact, as Cicero discovered, their leading creditor was none other than the great Marcus Brutus. To enforce this bit of thievery, Appius had permitted Scaptius, the prefect, and his cavalry "to beset the Senate at Salamis in their own chamber, so that five Members of the House died of starvation."\(^3\) Cicero immediately ordered that Scaptius'

1 - Ad Att. VI 2, 50 B.C.
2 - Ad Att. V 21, 50 B.C.
3 - Ad Att. VI 2, 50 B.C.
cavalry should leave the island of Cyprus. However, the end of the case was not very fortunate, since Cicero, not wishing to antagonize the financial interests at Rome, left the entire matter unsettled and to be reopened by his successor.

Since Cicero was a loyal member of the equites, he made a special point of always supporting the publicani, who, for the most part, were drawn from that order. While in Cilicia, he had occasion to recommend to P. Furius Crassipes, later his son-in-law, certain officials of the Bithynian company. "I would have you believe that while it has always been the greatest pleasure to me to make much of the order of publicani as a whole, and, considering the great services that order has rendered me, it has been my duty to do so, I am in a special sense a friend to this Bithynian company, a company which constitutes a most important factor in the State."¹ Thus do we have a good example of Cicero's feelings toward his friends, the publicani of the equestrian order. "You ask how I am dealing with the tax-gatherers. I pet them, indulge them, praise and honor them: and take care they trouble no one. It is very odd that the rates of interest specified in their bonds were upheld even by Servilius. My procedure is this. I name a day fairly remote, before which, if the debtors pay up, I lay down that I shall allow only 12

¹ - Ad Fam. XIII 9 1, 51 B.C.
per cent. But, if they have not paid, judgment will be according to the bond. Accordingly, the Greeks pay their debts at a fair rate of interest, and the farmers are gratified.\textsuperscript{1}

In matters political and judicial, Cicero used the following procedure: "I have followed Scaevola in many details, among them in the stipulation which the Greek cases are to be settled according to Greek law."\textsuperscript{1} This would deal with town accounts, debt, the rate of interest, contracts, inheritance ownership and sale, and appointment of official receivers. In other cases decrees would be based on the laws used at Rome. "The Greeks are jubilant."\textsuperscript{1}

At one time Cicero was forced to take up the military defence of the province. Some of the Cilician hill tribes were in a state of revolt, and Cicero, capably aided by his brother, Quintus, an experienced soldier, led an expedition against them. He captured their stronghold Pindenissus; "and because the town was on a very elevated and strongly fortified site, and was inhabited by men who had never submitted even to the kings, and not only harboured fugitives but were also looking forward with the utmost eagerness to the coming of the Parthians, I considered it of importance to the prestige of the Empire that I should put a stop to their audacity; and this would make it all the easier to

\textsuperscript{1} - Ad Att. VI 1, 50 B.C.
break the spirit of all the other tribes who showed hostility to our rule." \(^1\) The fear of Parthian invasion occupied Cicero's mind during his stay in Cilicia and he was compelled to take precautionary measures against their encroachment. Although Cicero was not an outstanding military leader, still his exploits on behalf of the provincials gained him the title of Imperator, and later a Thanksgiving was decreed him by the Senate, although he never was granted the triumph he expected.

An interesting sideline in the activities of the Cilicians was that of capturing panthers and other wild beasts for the games and spectacles at Rome. M. Caelius Rufus, aedile at Rome during Cicero's absence, flooded Cicero with requests for such animals: "I beg you to interest yourself in the matter of the panthers." \(^2\) "Also about the panthers, that you should send for some men from Cibyra, and see that the animals are shipped to me." \(^3\) "It will be a disgrace to you if I have to go without any Greek panthers." \(^4\)

"...my games might have been altogether dispensed with; as it is, since give them I must, I should be glad if you would take the trouble--I have been perpetually asking you this favor--to let me have something in the way of beasts from where you are." \(^5\) In answer to these numerous requests, Cicero had the

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1 - Ad Fam. XV 4 10, 50 B.C.
2 - Ad Fam. VIII 2 2, 51 B.C.
3 - Ad Fam. VIII 4 5, 52 B.C.
4 - Ad Fam. VIII 6 5, 50 B.C.
5 - Ad Fam. VIII 8 10, 51 B.C.
following to say to Caelius: "About the panthers, the business is being carefully attended to according to my orders with the aid of those who hunt them regularly; but it is surprising how few panthers there are; and they tell me that those there are bitterly complain that in my province no snares are set for any living creatures but themselves; and so they have decided, it is said, to emigrate from this province into Caria. Still my people are busy in the matter, and nobody more so than Patiscus. All the animals caught will be at your service; but how many there are, I have no idea." ¹

Regardless of the fact, then, that Cicero went to his province unwillingly, he felt at the close of his year of duty that he had done his very best and had managed to accomplish something. "Now that I have finished my judicial duties, put the states on a sound financial basis, secured for the publicani the arrears (just think of it) of the past five years without the slightest protest on the part of the allies, and have made myself pleasant to private persons of all ranks from highest to lowest...." ² "As to my booty, with the exception of the city quaestors, in other words the Roman people, not a soul has touched or will touch a farthing of it." ³ "I have ordered my quaestor Mescinius to wait at Laodicea, so that in accordance with the Julian law I may

¹ - Ad Fam. II 11 2, 50 B.C.
² - Ad Fam. II 13 4, 50 B.C.
³ - Ad Fam. II 17 4, 50 B.C.
leave copies of my accounts in two cities."¹ "I can tell you my exile has been worth while, for I did not understand myself nor realize of what I was capable in this line. I may well be puffed up. It is splendid."² Cicero had tried to follow the advice he had given to his brother Quintus, who some years before this had set out on his official duties in Asia: "And my personal opinion is, that those who govern others must gauge their every act by this one test—the greatest possible happiness of the governed; and that this principle is and has been from the beginning, from the moment you set foot in Asia, of primary importance in your eyes is a fact bruited abroad by unvarying report and the conversation of all. And indeed it is the duty not only of one who governs allies and citizens, but also of one who governs slaves and dumb animals, to be himself a slave to the interests and well-being of those he governs."³

Besides his interest in the activities and conditions in towns and cities in Italy, and those of his province of Cilicia, Cicero showed considerable awareness of events taking place in other places, in the Eastern provinces, in Gaul, and Britain. With the extension of Roman occupation in these territories, Cicero would naturally wish to be informed of what the communities there were doing. This information he acquired in communications from his friends and from reports sent back to Rome. He, in turn, passed the news

¹ - Ad Att. VI 7, 50 B.C.
² - Ad Att. V 20, 51 B.C.
³ - Ad Quintum I 113, 60 B.C.
on to his intimates through the medium of his own letters to them. Publius Vatinius, in command of Illyricum, had been called *Imperator* by his soldiers because of his successful campaign against the Dalmatians. He wrote to Cicero something about the expedition: "the cold of Dalmatia which drove me thence has again frozen me up here."¹ "For if I have got to wait till I have brought the whole war to a close, well, Dalmatia has twenty towns to start with, and those they have annexed are over sixty."² "I set out for Dalmatia; six towns I stormed by force and captured....This single town, the largest of them all, I have now taken four times; for I took four towers and four walls, and their whole citadel, as well, whence I was forcibly dislodged by snow, cold, and rain."²

Cicero's legal mind would naturally be interested in any instance of criminal cases in a community and in the resulting punishment. His brother, Quintus, was at one time dealing with cases of parricide and matricide in Smyrna. Wishing to set an example of his strict discipline in his province, he had already carried out the supreme penalty in the case of two Mysians in Smyrna, convicted of parricide. The customary punishment was for the convicted persons to be tied up in a sack with a dog, a cock, a snake, and an ape, and then hurled into the sea or attacked by wild beasts. This

¹ - Ad Fam. V 10a 1, 44 B.C.
² - Ad Fam. V 10b 1, 44 B.C.
penalty, Quintus wished to carry out in the case of one Zeuxis, (certissimus matricida) but Cicero felt that Quintus was being a little too severe, especially toward a man "who, as I learn more clearly every day from his own fellow-citizens and many others, is of a nobler character perhaps than any of his community."\(^1\) He commended Quintus on his solving other criminal practices: "that brigandage has been exterminated in Mysia, murder suppressed in various places, and peace established throughout the province; that thefts and robberies, not only those on the highways and in the county, but also those (and they are far more frequent and serious) in towns and temples, have been effectually checked."\(^2\) Other governors also had their instances of criminality within their provinces, and not always on the part of the provincials themselves, as was shown in the famous case of Balbus, quaestor to governor C. Asinius Pollio of Further Spain. This Balbus "...with a large sum of ready money, a large quantity of gold, and a larger of silver, amassed from the public revenues, and without even paying his soldiers, took himself off from Gades with quite a nice little nest-egg in his pocket."\(^3\) "But besides his thefts and robberies...at the gladiatorial shows there was a certain Fadius, a soldier of Pompey...without being paid for it, he objected to binding himself over to be a gladiator and

1 - Ad Quintum I 25, 59 B.C.
2 - Ad Quintum I 1 25, 59 B.C.
3 - Ad Fam. X 32 3, 59 B.C.
had sought refuge among the people; so Balbus first let loose four Gallic horsemen among the crowd (for stones were thrown at him when Fadius was being dragged away) and then carried off Fadius, buried him up to the waist in the gladiators' school, and burnt him alive, while he himself, having lunched, strolled about bare-footed with his tunic ungirdled and his hands behind his back....It is a fact that he has thrown Roman citizens to the wild beasts....This is the kind of monster I have had to deal with."  

The situation among the Gallic communities held great interest for Cicero, whether canvassing for votes: "as Gaul's vote counts high, I shall probably get a free pass and take a run up to visit Piso;" or worrying about the war-like attitude of some of the Gallic states; "In politics then at the present minute fears of war in Gaul are the main topic; for our brothers, the Aedui have had a disastrous battle recently, and the Helvetii are undoubtedly in arms and making raids on our province." To his young friend, Trebatius Testa, who was in Gaul on official duties and heartily sick of them, Cicero wrote, gently chiding him on his discomforts, "What would you have done had I sent you, not to Samarobriva, but to Tarentum?" with the idea that if the harshness of life in Gaul was not making a man of him, what would life at some easy spot like Tarentum have done for him? In still another

1 - Ad Fam. X 32 3, 43 B.C.
2 - Ad Att. I 1, 65 B.C.
3 - Ad Att. I 19, 60 B.C.
4 - Ad Fam. VII 12 1, 53 B.C.
letter to Trebatius, he said, "It is my opinion that you should fight shy of the Treviri. I hear that they are like our Tresviri, who see to it that malefactors die; I had rather it were the 'die' used by our other Tresviri, for coining gold, silver, and copper. But we can have our joke some other time."

Britain was not so well known to Cicero. His only source of information was an occasional report, many times untrue. To Trebatius: "I hear that in Britain there is not an ounce of either gold or silver. If that is so, I advise you to capture some war-chariot." To Atticus: "The result of the war in Britain is looked forward to with anxiety. For it is proved that the approach to the island is guarded with astonishing masses of rock, and it has been ascertained too that there is not a scrap of silver in the island, nor any hope of booty except from slaves; but I don't fancy you will find any with literary or musical talents among them." And in a letter also written to Atticus, later that month: "On the 24th of October, I received a letter from my brother, Quintus, and from Caesar, dated from the nearest point on the coast of Britain on the 25th of September. Britain is settled, hostages taken, no booty, but a tribute imposed."

1 - Ad Fam. VII 13 2, 53 B.C.
2 - Ad Fam. VII 7 1, 54 B.C.
3 - Ad Att. IV 17, 54 B.C.
4 - Ad Att. IV 18, 54 B.C.
There were many examples of Italian or provincial communities borrowing money from wealthy Romans at the customary rate of 12 per cent. Payment on these debts often fell off. Cicero, interested both in the particular communities and also in the creditors, frequently interceded on behalf of either party. He sent a short note to P. Silius, propraetor of Bithynia and Pontus, in the interests of the son of T. Pinnius. "His (T. Pinnius') son, a remarkably studious, erudite, and unassuming youth, is owed a large sum of money (about eight million sesterces) by the people of Nicaea; and according to what I hear, they are desirous of paying him among their first creditors. You will therefore do me a great kindness (and the other trustees who know how highly you esteem me, as well as the youth himself, are fully persuaded that there is nothing you will not do for me) if you make every effort, so far as your integrity and position permit, to get as much of the money as possible paid to Pinnius on behalf of the people of Nicaea." And still another case of this kind, to propraetor Q. Minucius Thermus: "The people of Mylasa and Alabanda owe money to Cluvius [a wealthy banker of Puteoli], Euthydemus told me, when I was at Ephesus, that he would see that ecdici [counsel sent by a provincial town to defend their cause at Rome] were sent by the people of Mylasa to Rome. That was not done, and now I hear that legates have been sent, but

1 - Ad Fam. XIII 60, 51 B.C.
I prefer ecdici, so that something definite may be done. Furthermore, Philotes of Alabanda has given Cluvius a mortgage, and that mortgage has lapsed. I should be glad if you would see that he either surrenders the mortgaged property, and hands it over to Cluvius' agent, or else pays the money."¹ On the same kind of affair, Cicero wrote to Proconsul L. Culleolus, asking that he use his influence in seeing that the inhabitants of Bullis, a town on the coast of Illyria, fulfill their payments on money lent to them by one L. Lucceius.²

On the other hand, we have the case of money owed by an individual to a community. This involved Hippias of Calacte, son of Philoxenus: "His property, as the matter has been reported to me, is being held by the State, in contravention of the laws of Calacte, on account of a debt for which he is not responsible. But howsoever the matter stands, I beg of you for my credit's sake to release him from his difficulties, and to oblige him both in this and in every other respect so far as it is compatible with your honor and position."³ This request was addressed to the proconsul, Manius Acilius Glabrio, governor of Sicily.

¹- Ad Fam. XIII 56 1, 51 B.C.
²- Ad Fam. XIII 42 1, 59 B.C.
³- Ad Fam. XIII 37, 45 B.C.
On the advice of Atticus, Cicero cultivated the friendship of Brutus while in his Cilician province. The result was that Brutus gave Cicero several commissions to be carried out. Said Cicero to Atticus, "He gave me a volume of commissions.... I have done my best with all of them; first of all I induced Ariobarzanes to pay him the money he promised me." Ariobarzanes, head of an impoverished kingdom, was greatly in debt both to Brutus and Pompey, and obviously was in no easy position to pay either creditor. However, at first, at the insistence of Cicero, the king paid part of his debt to Brutus. But at the arrival of Pompey's agents, what little money he could gather, was turned over to them, because, as Cicero told Atticus, "Pompey has more influence than anyone for many reasons and because it is rumored that he will come to conduct the war against the Parthians." The money paid to Pompey's agents amounted actually to very little, hardly covering the amount of monthly interest. "The king has no treasury and no regular tribute.... His highness has two or three very wealthy friends, but they look after their own pockets as well as you or I.... I can quite believe it, for I have never seen a kingdom more plundered or a king more needy." So, in many cases of financial difficulty on the part of friends or communities, Cicero, who in his own personal finances was not very successful, stepped in and used his influence in an attempt to straighten matters out.

1 - Ad Att. VI 1, 50 B.C.
Cicero's interest in these provincial towns was not merely financial; most of them he loved simply because he understood them and their problems so well. Many times, when some Roman official was setting out on his foreign service, Cicero wrote to him commending to his care and interest the inhabitants of particular communities. To Gaius Sextilius Rufus, sent as quaestor of Cyprus, he sent the following: "I commend to you all the inhabitants of Cyprus and more particularly those of Paphos, and whatever favors you bestow upon them will be most gratifying to myself; and I do so with all the more pleasure--I mean commend them to you--because I think that it will conduce to your own reputation."¹

To Servius Sulpicius Rufus, proconsul of Achaia, in recommending the Lacedaemonians: "I do not suppose that the Lacedaemonians are in any doubt as to their having been already sufficiently recommended to your sense of loyalty and justice by their own high claims and those of their ancestors, nor have I myself, because I know you so very well, ever doubted that you were thoroughly acquainted with the rights and merits of nationalities. And so, when asked by Phillippus, the Lacedaemonian, to recommend that state to you, although I remembered that I was under every obligation to that state, yet I replied that the Lacedaemonians stood in no need of any recommendation with you."²

¹ - Ad Fam. XIII 48 47, 50 B.C.
² - Ad Fam. XIII 23b 1, 46 B.C.
A third example of Cicero's support is the case of the inhabitants of Tenedos who unsuccessfully had petitioned the Senate for independence. His brother, Quintus, received this statement: "Well, then, the liberty of the Tenedians has been cut short with a Tenedian axe, since there was nobody to defend them except myself, Bibulus, Calidius and Favonius."¹

As further proof of Cicero's widespread interest in foreign states, there is the Ptolemy affair. Ptolemy, appealed to the Roman Senate for help after having been driven from his throne by his subjects. The Senate were well disposed and the matter should have been handled by Publius Lentulus Spinther, proconsul of Cilicia at this time. Pompey, however, desired the commission for himself, which fact led to some confusion on the part of the Senate which did not care to offend Pompey by refusing him outright. They were saved from an embarrassing decision by the tribune, C. Cato, who produced a Sibylline oracle "forbidding the restoration of Ptolemy cum multitudine hominum;² thus eliminating Pompey's chances. As a result, final decision was deferred; nothing was done until a year later when Ptolemy was restored by A. Gabinius for a bribe of 10,000 talents. Cicero had favored Lentulus and wrote to him, "As regards Pompey, I never cease

¹ - Ad Quintum II 11 2, 54 B.C.
² - Ad Fam. I 1, 56 B.C.
urging and imploring him—nay, even frankly rebuking him, and warning him not to incur a storm of public obloquy. "My own loyalty will be acknowledged by everybody, and my affection for you, far away as you are, by your friends on the spot. Were there any sense of honor in those in whom, above all others, it should be found, there would be no difficulties in our way. Farewell." 2

1 - Ad Fam. I 1 2, 56 B.C.
2 - Ad Fam. I 1 4, 56 B.C.
In the preceding writing, an attempt has been made to show just how accurately Cicero-lawyer, statesman, and writer-has given us a general picture of the average community of his age, both in Italy and in the provinces. Through the medium of his letters, in a series of incidents which he had reported to his friends, we are able to understand the life and problems of those times. The picture is clearer, not only because of the fact that Cicero was vitally interested himself in what he was reporting, but also because of the manner of his writing. Rarely do we find in the correspondence of so important a figure the literary style and mastery of composition which Cicero so consistently has displayed.

As one reads the letters and the references to events and incidents occurring two thousand years ago, one is struck immediately with the timelessness of these events and incidents. Practically all of them could have taken place in the 20th century. Tax problems, the crowds at beach resorts, squabbles over water rights, appropriations for the army, restoration of old buildings, the good old days, and comments on the weather, all these one can find in any present day correspondence. And the modernity of Cicero's approach to these matters makes them seem even more like to-day's. Whether giving advice to his brother, Quintus, on the governing of provincials, settling a tax dispute, or
gently encouraging a young man on duty for the first time in some lonely province, he has revealed his remarkable wisdom, far beyond that of the average statesman of his time. His concerns were for the community as a whole rather than for an individual. And the communities appreciated and loved the man who befriended them; they accepted his advice, thus becoming the true foundation of the mighty Roman Empire.

To be sure, there are several aspects of community life which Cicero has failed to mention in his letters. Naturally, he was primarily interested in those events and conditions which affected him and his friends—financial transactions, legal cases, military maneuvers, and political obligations—all matters which necessarily seemed of great importance to the leaders of the changing Republic. Every man of consequence at Rome had at least a few financial, political, or military interests, either in the Italian communities or in some of the provinces. Cicero's reports on what was happening along these lines proved of value to men who had but very limited means of keeping in touch with their affairs outside the city. So, particularly in this respect has Cicero given us a good picture.

What we seem to miss in the letters is a detailed account of the towns-people themselves, what they were doing each day. Cicero has not told us the means of livelihood in the various communities, whether it was farming, pottery-making, or some type of manufacturing. We cannot tell
whether commerce meant anything to them. We do know that the people made a very meagre living, as was proved by their frequent appeals to Cicero for aid in tax reduction; but Cicero has not told us the source of this meagre living.

The cultural development of small villages was not fully commented upon except for the fact that Cicero bemoaned the lack of the old-time Latin wit and humor, with the introduction of the foreign element into Latin communities. Apparently he felt that the friends to whom he wrote were not interested in a detailed report of the cultural level of the inhabitants of Antium or Formiae. No account has been given of the conditions of the fine arts. Possibly because of the fact that artists of that time were migrating to Rome from small cities where men were too poor to support them made these same cities seem bare of cultural interest to Cicero.

Nor do we note from a reading of the letters much about the social problems and the family life of communities outside Rome. Frequent reference was made to Cicero's own friendly relations with his neighbors in places such as Arpinum or Tusculum; but practically nothing was said of the relations of the neighbors to each other. Since Cicero was so occupied with his own domestic problems, family life among the provincials impressed him not at all.

Cicero, of course, has written fully about the beauties of his own villas, how he had
decorated and furnished them, but not a word about the average home, the theaters, bridges, temples, all the material things in the complete picture of a town. There is no doubt that Cicero was interested in this particular phase of community growth, but he must have felt that his own villas, which were to be visited by his friends, would be of more interest to them than some local town hall or temple.

Thus the picture of community life which Cicero has drawn for us in his letters is one made up of isolated incidents and conditions. He has made it an interesting picture, filled with brilliant bits of commentary on each problem and event he has related. Without these letters, the complete history of the Italian communities and those in the provinces never could have been written.

THE END
A comprehensive abstract of Conditions and Activities in the Italian Communities and in the Provinces as Disclosed by Cicero's Letters.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, a native of Arpinum, a town some sixty miles south of Rome, has revealed in his letters many facts about the communities outside Rome, not only those in Italy but also those in many of the provinces. Influenced by his life and early education in Arpinum, Cicero had a real understanding and love for many of these small towns and cities. Although often looked down upon because of his humble origin in lowly Arpinum, he always took great pride in his native village "and indeed in the country towns of Italy generally."

Arpinum proved to be for Cicero the spot to which he might return when affairs at Rome became too strenuous. It was there he found contentment after the death of his daughter, Tullia; it was there he could invite his friends for pleasant companionship and delightful conversation. In return for the many happy hours which Arpinum gave him, Cicero took an active interest in the problems of the inhabitants and used his influence constantly on their behalf.

To be sure, Cicero loved too the mighty city of Rome; he enjoyed the part he played in developing Rome as a world capital. But he feared the direction into which the government was turning. He would have preferred

1 - H. J. Haskell: This was Cicero, page 37
the type of political system represented by the small town council. In fact, he himself said that he might have been happier as a magistrate in some small town like Antium. Yet, he was always loyal in his affection for Rome and regretted the time he had to spend on foreign duty.

Although even when he was on foreign duty, as governor of the province of Cilicia, in spite of the discomforts of travelling and his homesickness, the towns and cities through which he passed held a keen interest for him.

Cicero's comments on municipalities outside Rome can be divided into two groups, those which reveal his personal interest, and those which he thought would be of significant interest to his friends at Rome.

Those towns in Italy which had a strong personal attraction for Cicero were naturally those in which he had villas, places such as Arpinum, Pompeii, Puteoli, and Cumae. The beauty and charm of these places delighted him, and he came to regard all the inhabitants as his special neighbors. However, when resorts like Cumae or Puteoli suddenly became fashionable, spots to which the wealthy Romans flocked, they lost some of their charm for Cicero.

Various problems of the inhabitants of these towns occupied much of Cicero's time, whether they concerned minor squabbles over water rights or involved collecting rents from foreign holdings. Threats of confiscation

1 - Ad Att. II 6, 59 B.C.
and distribution of property owned in one family for generations frequently troubled the people and it was to Cicero that they turned for aid. Levy and quartering of troops caused considerable hardship and here again Cicero used his influence to lighten this particular burden.

Feasting and entertainment of a lavish sort played its part in the activities of Italian towns, particularly the resort towns; but this kind of pleasure held but little interest for Cicero. He preferred the friendly, intimate type of entertaining.

Provincial towns and their problems differed not too much from the towns and problems in Italy. Cicero entered upon his foreign tour of duty in Cilicia with the greatest reluctance, demanding of his friends that they see to it that his term of office not be extended beyond the customary year; but this feeling did not prevent his taking a keen interest in what was going on in his province. Here, as in Italy, he made it his practice to help the people. He tried his best to be the finest kind of governor. Unlike many of his predecessors, he avoided bringing too great expense to the towns through which he passed with his staff. It was his boast that not one of them had to spend a penny on him. Unfortunately he became involved in a rather unpleasant situation with his immediate predecessor, Appius, when he discontinued the usual practice of having the province send legates to Rome to commend the retiring governor. Cicero realized the
unnecessary expense and thought that a governor's actions, while on duty, would speak for themselves. Appius, however, took the matter as a direct insult to himself from Cicero.

Weather conditions and the difficulties of travel in Cilicia caused Cicero much discomfort; but still he went ahead with his job—reducing the heavy taxes, settling legal tangles, and defending the towns against the hill tribes. The publicani, members of the equestrian order, were one of Cicero's chief concerns, since he himself was of the same order. By alleviating other debts, Cicero saw to it that the tax gatherers received their due.

The provincials appreciated Cicero's services, and at the end of his term, he too felt great pride in what he had accomplished.

Affairs in Britain, Gaul, the Eastern Provinces were reported to Cicero through the letters of his friends, who were engaged in these particular places on official assignments. What they reported to him, he handed on or commented upon to others. The military situation in Gaul, the tributes imposed on the Britons, the suppression by his brother, Quintus, of brigandage and murder in Mysia, all these items were considered of importance enough to be related to Cicero's friends.

As one reads of the events and problems in the communities of Cicero's time, one is struck by the timelessness of them. They all might have occurred
in any average sized town or city of to-day. The modernity of Cicero's approach to the solution of many of the problems, his discernment in selection of important details, and his mastery of composition all have proved of inestimable value to give us a picture of communities which came to be the foundation of the mighty Roman Empire.

It is true that there are several aspects of community activity which Cicero has failed to mention in his letters: the cultural development, means of livelihood, social problems, and family life. Cicero himself, no doubt, was interested in these phases of life in the Italian towns; but he probably felt that the men to whom he was writing, men whose interests in towns outside Rome was primarily economic or political, would not be concerned about the small-town, local problems, what the every-day happenings were. As a result, Cicero's picture has turned out to be one of isolated incidents, a picture filled with brilliant bits of commentary on each incident. The complete history of communities in Italy and in the provinces two thousand years ago could never have been written without the background revealed in Cicero's letters.
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