LETTERS OF RECOMMENDATION:
CICERO-FRONTO

by

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VOLUME II

Notes to Part I, Chapter 1

1. M. Gelzer, The Roman Nobility, Eng. Trans. (1968), 69.

2. Cf. K. Treu, 'Christliche Empfehlung-Schemabriefe auf Papyrus', Zetesis (1973), 629, and Addenda §1, p. 11.

3. However, it is not only in archaic societies that the need arises: the Jewish diaspora (cf. Addenda §2) and the persecuted Christian communities had to resort to the same practice, cf. Treu, op. cit., 635-6. Cf. also H. Leclercq, 'Litterae commendatitiae et Formatae', D.A.C. IX, 2 (1930), 1571. For general treatments of the subject cf. the article 'Gastfreundschaft', RAC 63 (1972), 1061, C. Phillipson, The International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome (1911), I, ch. 5, 6, 9, 10; G. Glotz, La Solidarité de la Famille dans le Droit Criminel en Grèce (1904), Liv. I, ch. 5; M.I. Finley, The World of Odysseus (1956), 109f.; idem, 'Marriage, Sale and Gift in the Homeric World', Seminar 12 (1954), 7; T. Gaudemet, Institutions de l'Antiquité (1967), index under étrangers, hospitalité, hospitum, and a linguistic discussion by E. Beneveniste, La Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européeennes (1969), sec. 3, chs. 5, 7.

4. For example; it was only natural that, conceived as a token of identification, the letter of recommendation should be entrusted to the man for whose sake it was written. This practice is reflected in the opening formula of many papyrus letters of recommendation: Αλέξανδρος ὁ ἀποδιδούς σου τὴ[ν ἐπ]ιστολήν (P. Cair. Zen., 59042, ll. 1-2), or in the slight inversion ὁ τὴν ἐπιστολήν σοι ἀποδιδούς (P. Cair. Zen., 59283, ll. 1-2). In Cicero's letters of recommendation, on the other hand, the formula appears but once: 'P. Cornelius, qui tibi litteras [has] dedit' (Fam. XIII, 6a) although we have other evidence for resorting to this practice (Fam. VI, 8.3; VII, 30.3). However the letter could hardly be conceived as merely a token of identification when the person recommended was already known to the recipient (e.g. Fam. XIII, 47: 'Quid tibi commendo eum, quem tu ipse diligis?') or when he was not in the company of the recipient at the time (for which examples could be multiplied). It comes as a surprise therefore to come across a passage in the Digest, dating from Paulus' time, which implies that the letter of recommendation becomes the property of the interested party: 'si miseris ad me tabellarium tuum et ego rescribendi causa litteras tibi misero, simul atque tabellario tuo tradidero, tuae fient.

idem accidet in his litteris, quae tuae dumtaxat rei gratia misero, veluti si petieris a me, uti te alicui commendarem, et eas commendaticias tibi misero litteras' (Dig. 41, 1.65pr.). This attitude could be a relic of the old conception which regarded such letters as a sort of passport.

5. For a discussion of the date and provenance of this manual cf. A. Brinkmann, 'Der älteste Briefstellen', Rheinisches Museum N.F. 64 (1909), 310. He concludes that the work was written in Egypt (ibid., 311-12) between 200 B.C. and the middle of the first century A.D. (ibid., 317). However, new material moved the terminus ante quem to A.D. 300, C.W. Keyes, 'The Greek Letter of Introduction', AJP 56 (1935), 30.

6. 'The verb συνίστημι is used in literature from Xenophon through Plutarch in the sense of "introduce"', Keyes, op. cit., 39. The adjective συστατικός is used for the first time (as far as we know) by Aristotle: τὸ κάλλος παντὸς ἔλεγεν ἐπιστολίου συστατικώτερον (quoted by D.L., 5. 18; Stob., 65. 11, cf. also Plb., 31, 16. 3). L.-S.-T.'s translation 'a better introduction' seems better than the Loeb's 'a better recommendation' in view of the limited sense of the verb.

7. Hercher, Epistolographi Graeci (1873), 2.

8. Ibid.

9. This work belongs to the early Byzantine period. Sykurtis, 'Epistolographie', RE, Supp. V (1931), 191. The exact date is debated: H. Koskenniemi, Studien zu Idee und Phraseologie des Griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr. (1956), puts it between the 4th and the 6th century A.D. with preference for the later date (ibid., 56, and see n. 2 for literature).

10. Hercher, op. cit., 8.

11. Brinkmann, op. cit., 313 and for a full discussion of the relationship between the handbooks and the real practice cf. Koskenniemi, op. cit., 61-3 and Keyes, op. cit., 31.

12. Keyes, op. cit., 31-2.

13. H. Rabe, 'Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften: Griechische Briefsteller', Rhein. Mus., N.F. 64 (1909), 297.

14. For a discussion of the formal aspect of papyrus letters of introduction cf. Keyes, op. cit., and for a thematic treatment, M. Piątkowska, 'The Letter of Recommendation in Ptolemaic Egypt', Meander 21 (1969), 277 (in Polish; for an English translation I am greatly indebted to Dr. J.R. Rea). Cf. also Addenda §3. p. 13 ff.

15. Keyes, op. cit., 39-40.

16. Cf. supra, n. 5.

17. Keyes, op. cit., 31.

18. Ibid., 42.

19. Rabe, op. cit., 297.

20. See Keyes' own remark: 'The similarities of vocabulary and style ... seem rather to indicate influence in the other direction - the inevitable influence of the current styles of letter writing upon such a handbook' (op. cit., 31). Cf. also Koskenniemi, op. cit., 63.

21. K. Thraede, Grundzüge griechisch-romischer Brieftopik, Zetemata (1970), 9.

22. The date of Demetrius' Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, which contains the famous excursus on letter-writing (226ff), is still much debated, but few put it before the first century B.C. (cf. D.A. Russell and M. Winterbottom, Ancient Literary Criticism (1972), 172). However, the comments made there can hardly be called a systematic rhetorical treatment of the subject. On the whole issue cf. Rabe, op.cit., 289ff; Sykurtis, op. cit., 189ff.

23. Rabe, op. cit., 290.

24. Ibid., 289-90.

25. Of the two alternatives mentioned by Rabe: 'Ist es also Zufall, dass wir von alten Briefstellern nichts wissen, oder sind keine geschrieben?' (op.cit., 289), Koskenniemi chooses the first and therefore proceeds to unfold the development of this theory (op. cit., 19-63). Sykurtis, although accepting Rabe's first premise, i.e. that there was no rhetorical treatment of letter writing at an early date, nevertheless does not doubt the existence of such a theory (op. cit., 189), and his heuristic method uncovers certain rules which to him suggest a latent existence of such a theory (ibid., 192f.).

26. The passages which are usually quoted in this connection are Fam., II, 4.1; IV, 13.1; VI, 10.4-6. The first, which is the most famous, is worth quoting here: 'Epistularum genera multa esse non ignoras, sed unum illud certissimum, cuius causa inventa res ipsa est, ut ceteriores faceremus absentes, si quid esset, quod eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset ... reliqua sunt epistularum genera duo, quae me magnopere delectant, unum familiare et iocosum, alterum severum et grave.' The genus commendaticium is not mentioned in any of these passages. Cf. infra, p.4 and nn. 32, 33 there.

27. Koskenniemi, while accepting Cicero's acquaintance with the presumed Greek theory of letter writing ('Cicero über die Briefarten (genera epistularum)', Arctos n.s. I (1954), 97-8), rejects H. Peter's assertion (Der Brief in der römischen Literatur (1901), 24) that it manifested itself mainly in the division into types of letters (cf. also by the same writer Studien ... (1956), 33, n.2).

28. Keyes, op. cit., 30; Brinkmann, op. cit., 310-11.

29. Keyes, loc. cit.

30. This is in fact Rabe's reconstruction of the development of the two Greek handbooks mentioned before (op. cit., 291 and 297).

31. Peter, op. cit., 21-2.

32. Koskenniemi, 'Cicero über die Briefarten ...' op. cit., 99.

33. Koskenniemi, ibid., 102; cf. also Thraede, op. cit., 31 and 32.

34. Thraede, op. cit., 30.

35. Fam., IV, 13.1.

36. Fam., VI, 10.4.

37. Keyes, op. cit., 42-3.

38. Ibid., 44, accepted by Koskenniemi, Studien ... (1956), 32-3 and by Thraede, op. cit., 27-8. Contra, Addenda §4.p. 14ff.

39. Keyes, op. cit., 36-8.

40. For a discussion of commendare and commendatio as social concepts cf. infra, p. 16 ff.

41. Cf. F. Lossmann, 'Die Empfehlung', Cicero und Caesar im Jahre 54: Studien zur Theorie und Praxis der Romischen Freundschaft (1962), 12-13.

42. 'Tabellas ... commendaticias' in II Verr. IV, 66. 148, mean probably litterae commendaticiae, and tabellas is needed there to sustain the parallel contrast with tributarias. However, I shall restrict my discussion to the occurrence of the term in letters only.

43. Fam. V, 5.1.

44. Lossmann (op. cit., 15) observes that friendship shows itself, amongst other manifestations, by an exchange of letters of recommendation between two friends. Later on he cites Fam., V, 5.1 as an example. It might have been claimed that a very superficial friendship is sufficient for writing such letters if they continued to be written even after a rupture occurred between Cicero and Antonius. This might be so, but Cicero's words here are no proof, since it is in order to avoid publicity for their recent animosity that Cicero continues to write them, and not as the last vestiges of their former friendship.

45. Here Lossmann's interpretation differe significantly from the one suggested above. By 'aliquid' in 'aliquid mihi scribendum putavi', he understands something more than a recommendation of Atticus (op. cit., 16-17, n. 1), but the 'praesertim cum aliter ipse Pomponio satis facere non possum' seems to me to exclude such an interpretation.

46. Fam. XIII, 26.3.

47. Even those who see in the consul's letter 'in höflichen Formen einen Befehl der regierung' (cf. T. Mommsen, Staatsr.^{3}, III, 3, 1214, n.2 and also A.H.M.Jones, 'Imperial and Senatorial Jurisdiction in the Early Principate', Studies in Roman Government and Law (1960), 76-77) will have to concede that Cicero does his best not to suggest it, and the 'quasi commendaticias' is intended precisely in order to dispel such a suspicion. Further on this cf. infra, pp. 111 ff.

48. L. Gurlitt, De M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistulis Earumque Pristina Collectione, Diss. Götting. (1879), 14f. Generally accepted: cf. Büchner, op. cit., 1217f.; Peter, op. cit., 35f., 57f., 78f.; D.R. Shackleton-Bailey, Cicero's Letters to Atticus (1965), I, 59. Lossmann, op. cit., 13 and n. 3, 23. Gurlitt bases his hypothesis on Att., XVI, 5, 5., from 9 July 44 B.C. where Cicero says: 'Mearum epistularum nulla est συναγωγή , sed habet Tiro instar septuaginta, et quidem sunt a te quaedam sumendae. Eas ego oportet perspiciam, corrigam. Tum denique edentur.' 'Instar septuaginta' corresponds more or less to the 79 (or 81 rather) letters of book XIII. Moreover, the latest letter in this book dates from 1.1.44, although other

recommendations were written after this date (for a list cf. Büchner, op. cit., 1219). Although as a rule in the rest of the collection Ad Familiares letters addressed to the same person are put together, Book XIII contains letters to people who appear in the other books, and conversely no letter of Book XIII occurs elsewhere (Büchner, loc. cit.). Gurlitt concludes the discussion with the suggestion that Cicero himself might have edited Book XIII: 'Quoniam igitur ordo librorum IX-XVI fortuitus est, et siquidem recte locum illum (ad Att., 16.5.4.) referemus ad librum XIII, non est quantum video, cur Ciceronem ipsum hunc librum edidisse negemus' (op. cit., 25).

49. Büchner, op. cit., 1217. Cf. also Peter, op. cit., 23, 57, 58, Lossmann, op. cit., 13.

50. The schema is delineated by Lossmann, op. cit., 13: 'Name des Empfohlenen/Beziehung des Adressaten zum Empfohlenen/Darlegung des Falls, für den Unterstutzung erbeten wird/eigentliche Bitte (in verschiedenen Weise eindrunglich gestaltet und modifiziert)/des Empfohlene soll die Wirkung des Empfehlung an sich erfahren/Dank des Adressanten.' Although deviations are found, there is a great measure of constancy, especially in assigning the name of the recommended to the beginning, on which cf. J.M. Kelly, Roman Litigation (1960), 60: 'The habit discernible in Cicero of placing at the very beginning of the commendatio the name of the person recommended turns up again in Fronto'. For the schema cf. also W. Kroll, Die Kultur der Ciceronischen Zeit (1933), I, 60; O. Plasberg, Cicero in seinen Werken und Briefen, Erbe der Alten II, XI (1926), 27f.; Gurlitt, 'Die Briefe an M. Brutus', Philologus (1884), suppl. IV, 593f.

51. For these cf. infra, p.44ff.

52. Gurlitt, 'Die Briefe an M. Brutus', op. cit., 593f., goes to the extent of using certain conventions associated with the decorum of the recommendation as criteria in textual criticism. Thus the reasons he gives for detaching the first two paragraphs of Ad Brut., I, 15 from the rest of the letter are based mainly on his contention that it would have been a violation of the rules laid down by decorum of writing recommendations and a disparagement of the recommendation itself, to use the occasion of recommending M. Valerius Messala Corvinus for other purposes 'gleichsam, um porto zu sparen' (ibid., 595-6). However, there are cases in which the recommendation is clearly subordinate to other matters, e.g. Fam., XIII, 77, in which it seems that M. Bolanus earned himself a recommendation (cf. § 2) through possessing information concerning the whereabouts of Dionysius, who had made away with Cicero's library (cf. § 3). Recommendations of messengers also fall into this group (cf. infra, p.10 n.71). As for Ad Brut., I, 15, one may consult Tyrrell and Purser's reply to Gurlitt's strictures (The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero^2, VI, 301).

53. Fam. XIII, 27.1: 'Licet eodem exemplo saepius tibi huius generis litteras mittam ...' to Servius Sulpicius is the best example. But cf. also Fam. XIII, 6.3: 'nova quaedam postulat et putat me eius generis artificium quoddam tenere' and indirectly Fam. XIII, 15.3: 'Genere novo sum litterarum ad te usus ...'.

54. Lossmann, op. cit., 12-13; 14.

55. Fam. XIII, 6.3.

56. 'reliquis epistulis tantum faciam ut notam apponam eam, quae mihi tecum convenit', ibid., § 2.

57. G.E.M. de Ste Croix, 'Suffragium: from Vote to Patronage', B.J.S. (1954), 42, n. 4. Gurlitt, 'Die Briefe an M. Brutus', op. cit., 593-4 takes the nota as evidence that in accordance with urbanitas the letter was given to the person recommended unsealed, otherwise there would have been no need for a secret nota.

58. Fam. XIII, 15.

59. Eleven if the governor of Greece, Acilius, to whom Fam., XIII, 50 is addressed is the same as the proconsul of Sicily to whom Fam., XIII, 30-39 are addressed (cf. Broughton, MRR, II, 285, n.8).

60. Fam., XIII, 35.

61. Fam., I, 3.2.

62. Cf. supra, p.6.

63. Cf. supra, p.8.

64. Fam., XIII, 70.

65. Cf. Lossmann, op. cit., 15, n.3.

66. Fam., XIII, 32.1 (to M. Acilius).

67. Fam., XIII, 16.

68. Ibid., § 3.

69. Cf. Appendix to Part Two, Tables III, IV and list.

70. For striking similarities in both language and argument one may look at requests for support in the election campaign (suffragationes) made by Cicero and Pliny: Fam., XI, 16.3 (to D. Junius Brutus on behalf of L. Aelius Lamia): 'Quapropter persuade tibi, mi Brute, me petere praeturam'. 'Quamquam enim Lamia summo splendore, summa gratia est magnificentissimo munere aedilico, tamen quasi ea ita non est ego suscepi negotium'. With this one may compare Ep., VI, 6.9 (to C. Minicius Fundamus on behalf of Iulius Naso): 'Suscepi candidatum, et suscepisse me notum est; ego ambio, ego periclitor; in summa, si datur Nasoni quod petit, illius honor, si negatur, mea repulsa est'.

In the other version of the same letter Cicero writes: 'sed is ambitus excitari videtur ut ego omnia pertimescam totamque petitionem mihi sustinendam putem' (Fam., XI, 17.1). Pliny expresses himself in a similar vein in the same letter (Ep., VI, 6.1): 'Petit honores Iulius Naso; petit cum multis, cum bonis, quos ut glorisum sic est difficile superare. Pendeo ergo et exerceor spe, adficior metu et me consularem esse non sentio; nam rursus mihi videor omnium quae decucurri candidatus'; or in his recommendation of Sex. Erucius Clarus to L. Domitius Apollinaris (Ep., II, 9.1), Pliny announces: 'Anxium me et inquietum habet petitio Sexti Eruci mei. Adficior cura et, quam pro me sollicitudinem non adii, quasi pro me altero patior; et alioqui meus pudor, mea existimatio, mea dignitas in discrimen adducitur.'

The insertion of 'a saving clause' especially in sollicitations for judicial favours are common to both Cicero and Fronto: let us start the comparison with a few of its occurrences in Cicero's letters:

- operamque des, quoad tibi aequum et rectum videbitur, ut quam commodissima condicione libertus Strabonis ... negotium conficiat ad nummosque perveniat (Fam., XIII, 14.2).

- peto a te ut honoris mei causa eum expedias tantumque ei commodes et in hac re et in ceteris, quantum tua fides dignitasque patietur (Fam., XIII, 37)

- In eius controversiis quid decernas a te non peto (servabis, ut tua fides et dignitas postulat, edictum et institutum tuum), sed ut ... quae erunt aequa libente te impetret (Fam., XIII, 59).

With these examples one may compare Fronto's expression in his letter to C. Arrius Antoninus (the passage is lacunose but the meaning is clear): 'Baburiana ... caros mihi viros et magno opere iis obsequi cupiam, ita tamen ut ⟨pri⟩ma mihi a ⟨c⟩ potissima sit iustitiae tuae ratio habenda ... tuae humanitati congruens videbatur' (Ad Am. II, 8.2).

Caution and respect are required when recommending a man to a provincial governor for special treatment. Both Cicero and Marcus Aurelius are aware of this need as the striking resemblances between their language prove. In a letter to Q. Minucius Thermus, the governor of Asia, Cicero writes (Fam., XIII, 55. 2): 'Ius enim quem ad modum dicas clarum et magna cum tua laude notum est; nobis autem in hac causa nihil aliud opus est nisi te ius instituto tuo dicere. Sed tamen cum me non fugiat quanta sit in praetore auctoritas, praesertim ista integritate, gravitate, clementia, qua te esse inter omnis constat, peto abs te pro nostra coniunctissima necessitudine plurimisque officiis paribus ac mutuis ut volunatate, auctoritate, studio tuo perficias ut M. Anneius intellegat te et sibi amicum esse ...' Marcus Aurelius writes to his teacher Fronto, who is about to depart for his provine, with similar tactfulness: 'Nam ius et aequum omnibus Asianeis erit apud te paratissimum, sed consilium, comitatem, quaeque amicis sine ullo quoiusquan incommodo propria impetrire fides ac religio proconsulis permittit, peto Themistocli libens impertias' (Ad. M. Caes., V, 51).

As a final example one may mention a common rhetorical argument: although many appeal to the recommender to use his gratia with the recipient, as an honourable man he refrains from overstretching his gratia in order not to abuse his friendship with the recipient. Cicero writes to Cluvius to show favour to Atella because of his own restraintaand moderation: 'praesertim cum ego pro his unis petam, habeam autem qui simili causa laborent compluris necessarios' (Fam, XIII, 7. 4). Similarly, but with more elaboration, Fronto writes to Arrius Antoninus: 'Eo fit, ut ad me decurrant plurimi, qui tuam gratiam cupiunt. Quos ego non temere nec sine delectu audio sed probe petentibus suffragium meum impertio'. (Ad Am., II, 8.1)

71. The messengers and agents of provincial governors and other citizens who reside in the provinces probably received recommendations in the letters they delivered. Hence Cicero's acknowledgement of their fidelity and trustworthiness: e.g. Fam., I, 5a. 4 (Q. Selicius); III, 1.2 (Cilix); 5.1 (L.Lucilius); 6.1 (Phania); IV, 9.1 (Theophilus); X, 1.4; 3.1; 4.1 (C. Furnius); Att., I, 19.1 (L. Cossinius); II, 20.1; 22.7 (Numerius Numestius); IV, 16.1 (M. Paccius); Ad Brut, I, 15. 1-2 (M. Valerius Messala Corvinus). On the last cf. supra, n. 52.

72. E.G. Fam., III, 1.3 (L. Valerius); VIII, 8.10 (the syngrapha Sittiana, Philon and Diogenes); 9.4 (M. Feridius); IX, 25. 2-3 (M. Fabius Gallus); XII, 16.4 (Cornificius' mother and family); 24.3 (T. Pinarius); XIII, 71.2 (M. Bolanus); Att., I, 20.7 (L. Papirius Paetus); V, 1.5 (A. Manlius Torquatus); 20.10 (Pamenes); QF., I, 2. 10-11; 14 (L. Flavius,

Attalus and Aesopus); I, 3.10 (Terentia, Tullia and Cicero junior); II, 13.3 (M. Orfius); III, 1.22 (T. Pina ius); Ad Brut., I, 6.2;4 (Glycon and C. Flavius Hemicillus); 15.1-2 (M. Valerius Messala Corvinus).

73. E.g. Fam., VI, 8.3; XIII, 3; 6.1; 7.1; 9.1; 55.1; 57.2; 72.1; 78.1; Att., V, 20.10.

74. Cf. Appendix to Part Two, Tables II and III which contain references to and acknowledgements of recommendations written by Cicero and others.

Notes to Part I, Chapter 2 - pp. 16-19

1. Supra, p.5.

2. S.V. Col. 1840, ll. 35-6.

3. Digest, 16, 3.24; cf. also 50, 16.186. The Greek verbs παρατίθεμαι and παρακατατίθεμαι which are used in later letters of recommendation where συνίστημι could have been used, have this very concrete meaning. (Cf. Keyes, op. cit., 39 and P.Giss., 88 (early second century A.D.) and P. Oxy., 1663 (second or third century A.D.).) The Libanius-Proclus ἐπιστολιμαῖοι χαρακτῆρες gives παραθετική as a synonym of συστατίκη Hercher, op. cit., p. 8, quoted supra, p. 2.

4. Lewis and Short, A Latin Dictionary, s.v.

5. Fam., XIII, 53.1.

6. Ibid., XIII, 1.2 and see also Fam. VII, 17.2; Att., V, 13.2, Phil., 2.45; Sallust, Cat., 35, 6.

7. Ter, Eun., 886.

8. Att., III, 20.2.

9. Col., 1844, ll. 26-27.

10. Fam., XIII, 64.1.

11. Ibid., XIII, 17.3.

12. M. Fustel de Coulanges, Institutions politiques de l'ancienne France: Les Origines du système féodal (1890), 216-17.

13. Fam., VII, 17.2.

14. Op. cit., 212, n. 4.

15. Fustel de Coulanges, op. cit., 217-225; R. Heinze, 'fides', Vom Geist des Römertums (1960), 56-86; M. Gelzer, op. cit., 65-9; E. Badian, Foreign Clientelae (1958), 1-14.

16. Gelzer, op. cit., 67.

17. Fam., XIII, 49.

18. Ibid., 69.2.

19. Ibid., 78.2.

20. Ibid., 51.

21. Ibid., 19.2.

22. Ibid., 4.3.

23. Ibid., 23.

24. Ibid., 19.3.

25. Op. cit., 205. In another place he states it explicitly: 'Clientela et patrocinium s'appliquaient à d'autres sortes de patronage; fides, ne s'appliquaient qu'au patronage que nous étudions ici.' (218).

26. To a certain extent, Fustel de Coulanges is aware of the metaphorical use of the terms and even mentions this fact: 217, n. 5, but he does not seem to modify his argument as a result.

27. Gelzer, op. cit., 69.

28. Fam., VII, 5.3.

29. Badian, op. cit., 9-10.

30. Gelzer, op. cit., 69.

31. Ibid.

32. Badian, op. cit., 8-9.

33. De Benef., II, 18.5; cf. Cicero, Planc., 68; De Off., II, 69.

34. E.R. Wolf, 'Kinship, Friendship and Patron-Client Relations', The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies, ed. M. Banton (1968), 16.

35. Cf. Cicero, de Amic., 50: 'nihil esse quod ad rem ullam tam adliciat et tam trahat quam ad amicitiam similitudo'. Cf. against this ideal the finding of anthropology in the Zagare villages of northern Greece: 'Although liking and sympathy are alleged to be the premises on which friendship between village equals is based, it would be more true to say that villagers who are able to do each other reciprocal favours sometimes discover from this experience confidence in one another', J.K. Campbell, Honour, Family and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community (1964), 229.

36. Cicero, de Amic., 50.

37. E.g. EN 1156a 6f.

38. The concept of φιλία δι' ἀρετήν is not free from difficulties derived from the conflict between the empirical belief that friendships could be stable only when based on virtue and the doctrine that virtue is self-sufficient: hence virtuous men do not need friends. This is the theme of Plato's dialogue, Lysis. The tensions in the Greek view of ἀρετή and φιλία account for 'the curious nature of the arguments Aristotle is obliged to use to explain the fact that ἀγαθοί do have φίλοι (A.W.H. Adkins, 'Friendship and Self-Sufficiency in Homer and Aristotle', CQ, n.s. XIII (1963), 45. Cf. the whole argument there). It would make a fascinating study to see the approach of the different philosophic schools to friendship and their attempts to integrate it within the system they propounded, especially because 'it could be said that all the philosophic schools of the ancient world have the appearance of groups of friends', A.J. Festugière, Epicurus and the Gods, Eng. Trans. (1955), 27. Most noteworthy of all is the concept of friendship arrived at by the so called utilitarian school of Epicurus. Cf. T. Bollack, 'Les Maximes de l'Amitié', Association G. Budé Actes du du VIIIe Congres (1969), 222; J.M. Rist, Epicurus: An Introduction (1972), 127. The latter concludes his chapter on Epicurean friendship with the

following remark: 'The Epicurean theory of friendship deserves the attention of the student of antiquity not only because of Epicurus' philosophical attempt to base a theory of friendship on a doctrine of utilitarianism but also because in his concept of friendship, Epicurus shows himself at the opposite pole from the majority of the social thinkers of antiquity' (139).

39. Cf. Campbell, op. cit., ch. 9; J.A. Pitt-Rivers, The People of the Sierra (1954), chs. 10; 13; M. Kenny, A Spanish Tapestry (1961), part II, cha. 2; Wolf, op. cit., 16-18.

40. F. Schulz, Principles of Roman Law, Engl. trans. (1936), 233-4.

41. Pro Rosc.Amer., 39.111.

42. Wolf, op. cit., 16-17.

43. Heinze, op. cit., 68.

44. Op. cit., 140.

45. Heinze, op. cit., 68-69.

46. Wolf, op. cit., 18.

47. 'Amicitia in the late Roman Republic', Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society 191 n.s. 11 (1965), 1, who concludes: 'The range of amicitia is vast. From the constant intimacy and goodwill of virtuous or at least of like-minded men to the courtesy that etiquette normally enjoined on gentlemen, it covers every degree of genuinely or overtly amicable relation'.(20).

48. Infra, p. 25ff.

49. Fam., XIII, 66.1.

50. This theory could adduce the wording here (Fam., XIII, 66.1) to support the connection between patronage and fides: 'scirem qua fide in tuos'.

51. Supra, p. 19.

52. Fam., XIII, 70; cf. also 21, 23, 27, for other freedmen serving as procurators in the provinces.

53. Fam., XIII, 64.2. On provincial clientelae of Gelzer, op. cit., 86f.; Badian, op. cit., passim.

54. On this letter cf. infra, p. 54ff.

55. Badian, op. cit., 155. Cf. Also J. Hellegouarc'h, Le Vocabulaire de Relations des Partis Politiques sous la République (1963), 50f.; Gelzer, op. cit., 90-92, and infra, pp. 152 ff.

56. Fam., XIII, 36.1.

57. Ibid., XIII, 32.1. For other hospites of Cicero cf. ibid., XIII, 19; 34; 37; 52; 67; 69; 73; 78.

58. De Off., II, 20.69, cf. Brunt, op. cit., 8.

59. Fustel de Coulanges, op. cit., 209-10.

60. Such famous and influential presentations of this view are for example Gelzer's The Roman Nobility, Eng. Trans. (1968), L.R. Taylor, Party Politics in the Age of Caesar (1949) and E. Badian, Foreign Clientelae (1958).

61. The courting of influence at senatorial level is amply documented in Pliny's letters: II, 9; IV,15; VI, 6; 9, all of which are letters of recommendation for suffragium; cf. also various comments by the same writer in other letters: II, 1.18; IV, 17.6; VIII, 32.2; VI, 19.2. For the militia equestris cf. E. Birley, 'The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Army', Roman Britain and the Roman Army (1953), 133. For the army cf. G.R. Watson, The Roman Soldier (1969), 37-8, 87, 167, nn. 73-5. The accumulating evidence makes one wonder if the following statement, in spite of the modifications, represents the true working of the system: 'Though always liable to be disturbed by favour, personal antagonism and court politics, the system of promotion develops a strong tendency to regularity in the period from Vespasian to Hadrian', R. Syme, 'C. Vibius Maximus, Prefect of Egypt', Historia VI (1957), 483-4.

62. Cf. F. Millar, 'Review of H.G. Pflaum: Les Carrières Procuratoriennes Equestres sous le Haut-Empire Romain, I-III (1960-1)', J.R.S. LIII (1963), 198: From then (i.e. the last part of the first century A.D.) on there are certainly established patterns of promotion but there is nothing to show that any prescriptive rules governed them ... At all times men might enter at different points in the scale or might miss a grade with no trace of expressions comparable to ... [those] which indicate the exceptional advancement of a senator'. Cf. by the same writer, in a similar vein: 'The Emperor, the Senate and the Provinces', J.R.S. LVI (1966), 158; 'Emperors at Work', J.R.S. LVII (1967), 9 and The Emperor in the Roman World (1977), passim but esp. Part I, chs. 3, 5, and Part II, chs.6 & 7.

63. Supra, p.23

64. Kenny, op. cit., 209-10.

65. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit.,155.

66. Campbell, op. cit., 259f.

67. F. Millar, The Emperor in the Roman World, Part III, ch. 6, §2; cf. also G.E.M. de Ste Croix, op. cit., 37-8: 'The old principles of election from below combined with advancement according mainly to a recognized cursus honorum were superseded by personal selection by the emperor ... But how was the emperor to decide whom to appoint to the vast number of offices in his gift? Clearly, by the advice of his trusted friends and subordinates. And how could they allocate all the minor posts within their spheres of authority except on the recommendation of their own underlings?' And similarly, W. Liebeschuetz, 'Did the Pelagian Movement have Social Aims?' Historia, XII (1963), 241: 'As for the problem of 'gratia', we must remember that the bureaucracy of the Roman Empire administered a very large area, under, by modern standards, primitive economic conditions. Communications were extremely slow. The State could only afford a low salary to so large a clerical civil service. The standards of public life suited a city-state rather than a large territorial empire. Under these conditions the prevalence of 'Gratia' was inevitable'.

68. Infra, p.57ff.

69. The same metaphor is used by Lossmann, op. cit., 14.

70. Cf. D. Ducrot, Dire et ne pas dire (1972), for interesting observations.

71. C. Moussy, Gratia et sa Famille (1966); G. Williams, 'Some Uses of Gratus and Gratia in Plautus: Evidence for Indo-European?', CQ n.s. IX (1959), 155; E. Wistrand, 'Gratus, grates, gratia, gratiosus', Opera Selecta (1972), 11; J.M. Kelly, 'Improper Influence in Roman Litigation', Roman Litigation (1966), ch. 3; J.N.L. Myres, 'Pelagius and the End of Roman Rule in Britain', J.R.S. L (1960), 21; Liebeschuetz, op. cit., 227. M. Gelzer, op. cit., passim.

72. Moussy, op. cit., 477.

73. Moussy, op. cit., 49f; Wistrand, op. cit., 11f; Williams, op. cit., 155f.

74. Gelzer, op. cit., 76.

75. Moussy, op. cit., 363f.

76. Ibid., 357.
76a. Cf. D. Daube, Roman Law (1969), 167.
77. Cf. Moussy, op. cit. Cf. also E. Beneveniste, La vocabulaire des institutions indo-européens (1969) ch. 5, 'don et échange'; ch. 16 'gratuité et reconaissance'.

78. M. Mauss, The Gift, Eng. Trans. (1969), 1.

79. Cf. Beneveniste, op. cit., ch. 7 ' 'hospitalité, 94: 'L'hospitalité s'éclaire par référence au potlatch dont elle est une forme, atténuée. Elle est fondée sur l'idée qu'un homme est lié à un autre (hostis a toujours une valeur reciproque) par l'obligation de compenser une certain prestation dont il a été beneficiare.'

80. Mauss, op. cit., 10-11.

81. J.Beattie, Other Cultures (1964), 200. See further, Addendum 'Anthropology of the Gift: Reciprocity and Friendship', §1, p. 36 ff.

82. R. Firth, 'Themes in Economic Anthropology', Themes in Economic Anthropology, ed. R. Firth (1967), 16.

83. C.G. Jung, Psyche and Symbol: A Selection from the Writings of C.G. Jung (1958), 206, quoted in R. Firth, op. cit., 16.

84. M. Mauss, op. cit., 73f.; B. Malinowski, Argonauts of the Western Pacific (1922), 95, 178; Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., 140; J.K. Campbell, op. cit., 109; Heinze, op. cit., 67f., and cf. also Addendum §2. p. 38 ff.

85. Infra. p. 52 ff.

86. Cf. Moussy, op.cit., 264f.; 357f.; A.M. Guillemin, 'Sénèque directeur d'âmes II', REL XXXI (1953), 232, sums up the development: 'On pourait donc croire que bienfaits et amitié ont apartenu d'abord au domain de l'utilité, associations de secours mutuels, ligues en vue de certains intérêts surtout politiques, et, la civilisation se développant se sont peu à peu pénétrés de sentiment. La mouvement était déjà en grande partie realisé lorsque fut écrit le traité de l'amitié d'Aristote; il s'est continué à travers Cicéron jusqu'à Sénèque, qui apporte à enseigner la délicatesse

réclamée par l'échange des bienfaits une sorte de rancune contre la forme utilitaire qu'elle avait d'abord revêtue'. (Her account seems, however, to underestimate the role of sentiment in archaic friendships).

87. Benef., IV, 1.1.

88. Ibid., IV, 3.3. Cf. Guillemin, op. cit., 230: 'Dès l'instant que le bienfait tire sa valeur de l'âme et non du coffre-fort, sa première qualité doit être le désintéressement'.

89. Benef., IV, 18.1.

90. Ibid., I, 2.31.

91. Ibid., I, 1.12.

92. Ibid., III, 14.4.

93. Ibid., I, 1.9.

94. Ibid., IV, 40.4.

95. Ibid., II, 22, cf. Guillemin, op. cit., 230.

96. Benef., VI, 43.2.

97. Ibid., I, 1.3.

98. Ibid., III, 9.3.

99. Fam., XIII, 5.3. Lossmann sees the significance of this phrase in an entirely different aspect: 'Wer seine Bitte zu stark auf zwingende Gründe stützt, trägt eigentlich keine Bitte mehr vor: er stellt ihre Erfüllung, nicht mehr dem Wohlwollen des Adressaten anheim, sondern allenfalls seiner vernünftigen Einsicht und ändert damit den Charakter der Commendatio völlig; statt auf die wohlwollende Art Zwang, dem sich der Gebetene schwerlich noch entziehen kann' (op. cit., 19). Yet both readings can exist happily together. Cf. also Pliny, Ep., II, 9.5: 'quantumque vel auctoritate vel gratia valeam, precibus experiar'. It is worth noting that in the preceding sentence, gratia was used in the entirely different sense of an acknowledgement and expression of a debt of gratitude.

100. An attempt to manipulate gratia at the expense of historical truth - which is the avowed duty of the historian on Cicero's own admission: 'non nescit primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? deinde ne quid veri non audeat, ne quae suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo?' (De Or, II, 62) - is found in the famous letter to Lucceius: 'te plane etiam atque etiam rogo, ut et ornes ea vehementius etiam quam fortasse sentis (the reference is to Cicero's part in putting down the Catiliniarian conspiracy), et in eo leges historiae neglegas, gratiamque illam ... eam si me tibi vehementius commendabit, ne aspernere amorique nostro plusculum etiam quam concedit veritas largiare' (Ad Fam., V, 12.3).

101. For this view backed by examples form the sources cf. Gelzer, op. cit., 75f; Wistrand, op. cit., 22f; Moussy, op. cit., 376f; 395f; L. Hellegouarc'h, op. cit., ss. vv. officium 152f, beneficium, 163f., gratia, 202f.

102. In his less guarded moments or maybe less inspired, Cicero himself lapses into this infelicitous language of Wall Street described above, and the crude 'do ut des relationship' crops up: 'you are investing your effort and favour with a grateful man', he says in a few places. On which cf. de Ste Croix, op. cit., 43, and infra, p. 51 But could it be that the metaphorical use of bene locare or bene ponere gained the upper hand to the extent of causing their literal meaning to disappear almost completely? In a similar way our expressions, 'you will profit by' or 'benefit by' have sometimes lost their original frame of reference. Cf. Moussy, op. cit., 254: 'la langue technique de la bienfaisance compte nombre de métaphores tirées du langage de l'usure'.

103. Supra, p. 21ff.

104. Fam., XIII, 70.

105. Ibid., XIII, 71.

106. Ibid., II, 6.1.

107. Ibid., V, 5.2.

108. 'der Brief für Atticus ist eines des härtesten Schreiben, die Cicero jemals verfasst hat', Lossmann, op. cit., 16.

109. Fam., XIII, 4.4.
109a. Cf. the prayer formula from Homer (e.g. Thetis to Zeus in Il., I, 503ff).
110. Ibid., XIII, 7.5.

111. Ibid., XIII, 56.1.

112. Ibid., II, 6.1.

113. Cf. supra, p. 31 and n. 99 there.

114. Fam., XIII, 36.1.

115. On which cf. A.N. Sherwin-White, 'The Tabula of Bansa and the Constitutio Antoniniana', J.R.S. LXIII (1973), 86.

116. Text in W. Seston and M. Euzennat, 'Un dossier de la chancellerie romain', CRAI (1971), 470-2.

117. F. Millar, 'Personal Status: Citizenship and freedmen', The Emperor in the Roman World, Part III, ch. 8 §2. On the term indulgentia which also had a long history cf. infra, p. 219 ff.

Notes to Part I, Chapter 3, pp. 40-42

1. Brunt, op. cit., 8.

2. Fam., XIII, 70.

3. Ibid., XIII, 71.

4. Ibid., XIII, 32.1.

5. Q.F., III, 1.10.

6. Ep. II, 82. Cf. also Fronto, Ad Am. II, 8.1.

7. Ibid., IX, 60. Cf. also VII, 87; IX, 90.

8. J.F. Matthews, 'The letters of Symmachus', Latin Literature of the Fourth Century, ed. J.W. Binns (1974), 62-3.

9. Cf. supra, p. 7ff.

10. Cf. Lossmann, op. cit., 14

11. Fam., I, 3.1.

12. Fam., XIII, 3.

13. Ibid., III, 1.3.

14. Ibid., XIII, 65.2.

15. Ibid., XIII, 43.

16. Ibid., XIII, 59.

17. Q.F., II, 13.3.

18. Fam., XIII, 4.1.

19. Ibid., XIII, 14, 1.

20. Ibid., XIII, 26.1.

21. Ibid., XIII, 33.

22. Ibid., XIII, 5.2.

23. Ibid., XIII, 19.1.

24. Ibid., XIII, 33.

25. Ibid., XIII, 52.

26. Ibid., XIII, 78: This declaration is belied by many similar protestations of the existence of friendship with Greeks, side by side with a tie of hospitality, cf. nn. 20, 25 above, and infra, p. 152 ff.

27. Ep., II, 13.5-6.

28. Ibid., III, 2.3-4.

29. Ibid., IV, 15.1.

30. Ibid., VI, 8.1.

31. Ibid., VII, 22.2.

32. Ibid., X, 26.1.3.

33. Ibid., X, 87.1.

34. Ad Ver. Imp., II, 7.1.

35. Ad. Ant. Pium, 9.2.

36. Ad Amic., I, 5.2.

37. Ibid., I, 8.1.

38. Ibid., I,9.

39. Cicero, Fam., XIII, 34.

40. Ibid., VI, 9.1.

41. Ibid., XIII, 38.

42. Ibid., XIII, 15.1.

43. Ibid., XIII, 17.1. For more examples cf. ibid., XIII, 54; 66; 79; IX, 13.1; XIII, 1.5; 23;6.2;6a;12.1; 22.1; 31.1; 8.1; 56.3; 41. Ad Att., XVI, 16. For Pliny cf. Ep., II, 9.4.5; IV, 4; 15; VI, 6.3; X, 51. For Fronto, cf. Ad Am., I, 7.1; 10.1; II, 6.

44. Cf. Hellegouarc'h, op. cit., 41f. Fustel de Coulanges, op. cit., 213, seems to ignore completely the transformation such terms as familiaris and necessarius have gone through when he says there: 'On désignait aussi un client par le terme de familiaris; ils faisaient en effet partie de la grande familia du patron, c'est-a-dire de sa maison. Le terme necessarius marquait les liens étroits qui unissaient les deux hommes.'

45. Orator, 21, 71; cf. also de off., I, 97-99; one can discern in Cicero's writings the influence of Panaetius' theory of τὸ πρεπόν. Cf. K. Pohlenz, 'Τὸ πρεπόν: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des griechischen Geistes', Kleine Schriften (1965), I, 100-139 and especially, 119-131.

46. On decorum in letters of recommendation cf. L. Gurlitt, 'Die Briefe Ciceros an M. Brutus', Philologus suppl. IV (1884), 593f; Lossmann, op. cit., 14-24.

47. Cf. supra, p. 31ff and infra, p. 52ff.

48. Fam., XIII, 56.1.

49. For a full discussion of the Roman concept of verecundia as revealed in Cicero's writings cf. Lossmann, op. cit., 65f. Verecundia belongs properly in

the realm of social etiquette rather than in that of ethical behaviour. A man may be held back by his verecundia not because he is about to make a request that will not meet with approbation but because of the presumption or tactlessness that may be involved in the very act of requesting. This is why Cicero would ask a favour more 'shyly' (verecundius) from a man who was under obligation to him: 'Ego, si mea in te essent officia solum, Curio, tanta, quanta magis a te ipso praedicari quam a me ponderari solent, contenderem' (Fam., II, 6.1). Cf. also QF., III, 1.10, where Cicero tells his brother that Caesar had remonstrated with him for having been too shy when requesting a military tribunate from him: 'meamque in rogando verecundiam obiurgavit'.

50. Fam., XIII, 2.

51. Ibid., XIII, 58.

52. Cf. Lossmann, op. cit., 18.

53. Cf. Schulz, op. cit., 233ff, cited supra, p. 21.

54. Cf. Lossmann, op. cit., 15.

55. Fam., XIII, 1.5. Cf. also Ad Att., V, 11.6.

56. Fam., XIII, 19.3.

57. Ep., I,9; for an analysis cf. Lossmann, op. cit., 23f.

58. Fam., XIII, 17.3.

59. Ibid., XIII, 37.

60. Ibid., XIII, 5.3.

61. Ibid., XIII, 7.4; cf. also 32.1, cited on supra, p. 40.

62. Cf. Kelly, op. cit., 58f. on the 'saving formulae' and infra, p. 76ff; 100ff.

63. Fam., XIII, 14.

64. Ibid., XIII, 37.

65. Ibid., XIII, 58.

66. Ibid., XIII, 58.

67. Ibid., XIII, 53.

68. Ibid., XIII, 55.2.

69. Ibid., XIII, 37.

70. Ibid., XIII, 2; cf. also XIII, 33.2; 35.2; 67.2; 70.

71. Ibid., XIII, 56.1.

72. For other reasons, mainly technical, cf. infra, pp. 55-6.

73. It must be admitted, though, that Cicero did not hesitate to enter into details and specify the methods the recipient should adopt when the case could not otherwise be resolved in favour of his protege (Fam., XIII.26; 28) where the inheritance of Cicero's quaestor is at stake. On such cases more will be said later, cf. infra, p. 111ff .Pliny's letters to Trajan do go into detail; Pliny is appealing for specific beneficia, e.g. ius Quiritium for Latini Juniani, Ep., X, 104. But then it is precisely because the Emperor alone could bestow such beneficia that Pliny does not have to avoid being specific, cf. infra, p. 216ff.

74. Fam., XIII, 13.

75. Ibid., XIII, 27.3.

76. Ibid., XIII, 22.2.

77. Ibid., XIII, 58.

78. Op. cit., 18.

79. Cf. infra., p. 92ff for a discussion of the formula: 'ut facilis (quam facillimos) ad te aditus habeat': to a certain extent it may be regarded as a definite request.

80. E.g. Mathews, op. cit., 62-63, cited supra, p. 40.

81. Fam., XIII, 59. For Fabius rather than Fadius as in the O.C.T. cf. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, CR., n.s. 12 (1962), 195-6.

82. Fam., II, 14.

83. Ibid., IX, 25. 2-3.

84. Ibid., 14.1.

85. Ibid., VII, 23-26.

86. Ibid., XIII, 55.2.

87. Supra, p. 16 ff.

88. Fam., XIII, 5.3.

89. Infra, p. 104 ff.

90. Supra, p. 9.

91. Ad Brut., I, 1.1.

92. Cf. also Fam., V, 17.2: 'Publio tuo neque opera neque consilio, neque labore, neque gratia, neque testimonio defui': 'testimonio' may well refer to letters of recommendations written for Publius.

93. promittere, spondere, in me recipere, confirmare, adfirmare, polliceri, cf. Gelzer, op. cit., 69 and nn. 87, 88 there.

94. Cf. Lossmann, op. cit., 23 who mentions also in this context Horace, Ep., I, 18.76-81.

95. Fam., XIII, 17.3.

96. Gelzer, op. cit., 76.

97. R. Syme, The Roman Revolution (1939), 12, who says there also: 'amicitia or factio as it was variously labelled'.

98. Cf. supra, p. 21ff.

99. Fam., XIII, 3.

100. Ibid., XIII, 4.2.

101. Ibid., XIII, 9.3. Cf. also ibid., XIII, 10.3: 'promitto in meque recipio fore eum tibi et voluptati et usui'; 28.3: 'Illud, quod supra scripsi, id tibi confirmo in meque recipio, te ea quae fecisti Mescini causa quaeque feceris ita bene conlocaturum, ut ipse iudices homini te gratissimo, iucundissimo benigne fecisse'; 31.2: 'Sed praeterea tibi adfirmo ... te C. Flavi officio et observantia et praeterea splendore atque inter suos gratia magnam voluptatem esse capturum'. Cf. also 27.3; 41.2.

102. Fam., XIII, 55.2.

103. Ad Att., VI, 1.7.

104. Fam., II, 14.

105. Ibid., XIII, 53.

106. Ibid, XIII, 69.2.

107. Ibid., II, 6.3.

108. Ep., II, 9.5.

109. Op. cit., 15.

110. Ibid., 16.

111. Fam., V, 5.1.

112. Lossmann, op. cit., 16.

113. Fam., XII, 29.3. Cf. also ibid., XIII, 25; 30; 34; 36; 38; 39; 42; 44; 45; 46; 52; 58; 59; 60; 71; 78.

114. Party politics in the Age of Caesar (1949), 41.

115. Fam., XIII, 28a.2.

116. Ibid., XIII, 65.2.

117. F. Millar, Part II, ch. VI, §2 The Emperor in the Roman World (1977), referring to Pliny's recommendation of Suetonius, Ep. III, 8 and Fronto's Ad Ant. Pium, 9.1. Cf. also Liebeschuetz, op. cit., 230: 'The best protection was to have close relations with prominent officials of the administration and to have the fact published as widely as possible. The strongest evidence for the existence of such close relations was the ability to claim favours for a third party.'

118. Ep., X, 26.3.

119. Fam., II, 6: Recommending Milo to the younger Curio; ibid., XI, 16; 17: recommending L. Lamia to D. Brutus; Pliny, Ep., II, 9; VI, 6; 9 on which cf. infra, p. 211 ff.

120. Fam., XI, 16.3.

121. Ep., VI, 6.9.

122. Ibid., II, 9.1.

123. Fam., XI, 17.1.

124. Ep., VI, 6.1. On the reality of the elections in the Senate under the Empire cf. B.M. Levick, 'Imperial Control of the Elections under the Early Empire', Historia XVI (1967), 207; M.L. Paladini, 'Le Votazioni del Senato Romano nell'Eta di Traiano', Athenaeum, XXXVII (1958), 3 and infra, p. 211 ff.

125. For the compelling force of the notion of constantia cf. Cicero's words to Antonius Hibrida, after they have fallen out: 'Ego quae tua causa ante feci voluntate sum adductus posteaque constantia' (Fam., V, 5.3.). Cf. also Fam., XIII, 42.2, where Cicero expresses his confidence that the governor, who had already shown favours to L. Lucceius on Cicero's account, will continue doing so now 'tuae constantiae gratia.'

126. Fam., XIII, 4.1. As to whether Cicero is telling the truth in posing here as the saviour of the Volaterrani in his consulate cf. E.G. Hardy, Some Problems in Roman History (1924), 88-9 and P.A. Brunt, Italian Manpower (1971), 306, 313, 323 and infra, p. 6 ff. However, we are not concerned here with historical truth but with what people considered to be their moral obligation, and as far as that goes we can use Cicero's declaration as a faithful representation of what was considered proper and acceptable.

127. Ep., II, 13.9.

128. Fam., XIII, 64.2.

129. Fam., XIII, 41 follows chronologically 42; 24 refers back to 19; 28 to 26; 27 to 21; 57 to 55; 44 to 43; 12 to 11.

130. Fam., VI, 8.3. It is worth noting that letters of recommendation took the place of oral recommendations when the persons concerned were at a distance: there are no letters of recommendation exchanged between persons both of whom are at Rome.

131. Ibid., cf. also XIII, 3; 6.1; 7.1; 9.1; 55. 1-2; 57.2; 72.1; 75.1.

132. Fam., XIII, 53.2. For a flagrant abuse of this cf. Amm., XV, 5.3f. where after the text was destroyed the signature of the recommender served to subscribe a considerably different text. (My attention was drawn to this source by Dr. J. Matthews).

133. For the necessity of committing something to writing to avoid forgetfulness see Cicero's advice to Gallus: 'Velim memoriae tuae causa des litterarum aliquid, quae tibi in provincia reddantur, sed ita conscribas ut tum, cum eas leges,

facile recordari possis huius meae commendationis diligentiam' (Fam., XIII, 43.2). Could that be another piece of evidence - beside the placing of the name of the recommended at the beginning of the commendatio - for Kelly's tentative proposal of imagining 'the desk of a proconsul loaded with such recommendations' (op. cit., 60, n. 6)? Cf. infra, p. 92 ff.

134. Fam., XIII, 6a; VII, 30.3; VI, 8.3; Dig., 41, 1.65 quoted supra, p.1, n.4.

135. QF., I, 2.11.

Notes to Part I, Chapter 4, pp. 57-60

1. On the date of Fronto's death cf. E. Champlin, 'The Chronology of Fronto', J.R.S. 64 (1974), 137 ff.

2. E.S. Gruen, The Last Generation of the Republic (1974), passim. The author's comment on p. 504, 'Civil war caused the fall of the Republic, and not vice versa', could have served as a motto to his work.

3. P.A. Brunt, Review and Discussion of Peter Garnsey, Social Status and Legal Privileges in the Roman Empire (Oxford, 1970), J.R.S. 62 (1972), 169.

4. For Pliny cf. Ep., I, 24; II, 9; 13; III, 2; IV, 4; 15; VI, 6; 23; VII, 22; 31. For Fronto cf. Ad Am., I, 1-10; II, 6-8.

5. Cf. Fam., XIII, 15; 16 (45 B.C.) and Fam., VII, 5 (54 B.C.).

6. Cf. supra, p.23 and W. Kroll, Die Kultur der ciceronischen Zeit (1933), I, 62: 'Man seht auch hier, wie sehr das ganze politische und geschäftliche Leben aus persönliche Beziehungen eingestellt war' and see the whole discussion there, ch. 3.

7. Supra, p.25.

8. For bibliography on the subject up to 1963 cf. J.H. Collins, 'A Selective Survey of Caesar Scholarship since 1935', The Classical World 57 (1963), 45f; 81f. And for trends and fashions in the history of research on the subject cf. Z. Yavetz, 'Caesar, Caesarism and the historians', Journal of Contemporary History 6 (1971), 184, and by the same writer (in Hebrew) a thorough analysis and evaluation of Caesar's dictatorship: Caesar and Caesarism (1971).

9. F. Millar, 'Triumvirate and Principate', J.R.S. 63 (1973), 65.

10. Fam., II, 17.

11. Ibid., II, 17.6

12. Ibid.

13. Supra, ch.2, esp. p. 32 ff.

14. On the improbability of identifying the man with the historian (as the RE, 2A, 1913 and 1919 does) cf. Broughton, MRR, II, 247, n. 2.

15. Fam., II, 17.7.

16. Ad Att., XI, 12.

17. Ibid., §2.

18. To possible objections that too much has been read here into the single phrase, italicised on p. 60 , and that the phrase is no more than a cordial manner of speaking whose content is in fact belied by what follows,

one can reply that, as in the case of other specious assertions, the underlying assumptions matter more than what is actually said.

19. On clementia and especially clementia Caesaris cf. J. Hellegouarc'h, op. cit., 261f. and bibliography there. In addition: M.P. Charlesworth, 'The Virtues of the Roman Emperor', Proceedings of the British Academy XXIII (1937), 105; Ch. Wirszubski, Libertas as a political idea at Rome during the late Republic and early Principate (1950), 151f.; R. Syme, 'Imperial Virtues', Tacitus (1958), II, App. 66; S. Weinstock, Divus Julius (1971), ch. XI.

20. Cf. Seneca, De Clem., II, 3.1: 'Clementia est temperantia animi in potestate ulciscendi vel lenitas superioris adversus inferiorem in constituendis poenis'.

21. Hellegouarc'h, op. cit., 262.

22. Of letters of recommendation addressed directly to Caesar we have two specimens from this period (Fam., XIII, 15; 16) but they do not belong to the category discussed here. In fact the free jocular tone of the first is reminiscent of a pre-Civil War letter (Fam., VII, 5 recommending Trebatius Testa) even if the hyper-sensitive ear can detect something strained in the overdone jokes. Lossmann, op. cit., 21, n. 2, considers the very effort to produce a 'novum genus litterarum' (Fam., XIII, 15.3) as 'ein deutliches Zeichen für die Stellung Caesars als Alleinherscher'.

23. Fam., XIII, 19, cf. also 24.

24. In Fam., XIII, 24 it appears that Sulpicius harboured suspicions that Lyso offended his dignity and Cicero's letter (Fam., XIII, 19) helped in dispelling them. One wonders whether Lyso was aware of these suspicions and therefore insisted on obtaining a warm letter of recommendation from Cicero in addition to the letter from Caesar; Cicero's letter was intended to serve a different purpose. If this is so then Lyso certainly did not take Cicero into his confidence, for there is no need to doubt his sincerity when he appears to have been completely ignorant of the rumours incriminating Lyso. However, our analysis of Fam. XIII. 19 remains unaffected by this.

25. That provincials as well were inculpated and in need of pardon should not surprise us in view of the totality of the war which swept all the provinces into its orbit and in view of the tightening ties between the provincial élite and the Roman upper classes. On the latter cf. G.W. Bowersock, Augustus and the Greek World (1965), ch. 1.
A similar situation is at the bottom of Fam., XIII, 73, on behalf of Antipater of Derbe and his sons who are held in custody by Q. Marcus Philippus, governor of Cilicia in 47-6. It is probable that like other Eastern dynasts the man was a client of Pompey and out of favour with Caesar, and Philippus may have taken him to task for his choice of sides during the Civil War. R. Syme, 'Observations on the Province of Cilicia', Anatolian Studies Presented to W.H. Buckler (1939), 306-12.

26. Fam., XIII, 19.1.

27. Ibid., 19.2.

28. C. Nicolet, L'Ordre Équestre II (1974), no. 64, identifies our man as the son of the man in Pro Caec. The father (ibid, no. 63) is, according to him, referred to in Fam., VI, 6.3; 9.1.

29. Bell. Afr. 89 where Caesar pardoned him, yet he might only have spared his life.

30. Fam., VI, 2.1. Suet., Div. Jul., 75,5.

31. Fam., V, 8.1-2

32. Ibid., 8.2.

33. Ibid.

34. Fam., VII, 9.

35. Fam., XIII, 66.

36. Cf. supra, p. 23.

37. Fam., VI, 7.5: 'De Asiatico itinere quamquam necessitas premebat, ut imperasti, feci'.

38. Fam., IX, 13.

39. In all probability a contrived confusion.

40. Fam., XIII, 36, and cf. supra, p. 34 ff

41. F. Millar, 'Personal Status: Citizenship and Freedmen', The Emperor in the Roman World (1977). For a later flagrant use of 'venal citizenship' cf. G.E.M. de Ste Croix, op. cit., 41f.

42. Cf. P.A. Brunt, 'The Army and the Land in the Roman Revolution', J.R.S. 52 (1962), 69, and by the same writer Italian Manpower (1971), passim.

43. Fam., XIII, 29.

44. Broughton, M.R.R. II, 302.

45. Probably the tribune of 55 B.C., cf. Wiseman, New Men in the Roman Senate (139 B.C.-A.D. 14) (1971), Prosopography no. 53.

46. Broughton, op. cit., II, 249.

47. Fam., XIII, 29.3. Cicero says 'neque si sucessum esset' which will make him a proquaestore. Cf. J.P.V.D. Balsdon, 'Roman History 65-50 B.C.: Five Problems', J.R.S. 52 (1962), 134-5, and E. Badian, 'M. Porcius Cato and the Annexation and Early Administration of Cyprus', J.R.S. 55 (1965), 110ff., who accepts and reinforces Balsdon.

48. In fact he does not try to justify it: 'Cum signaretur argentum Apolloniae, non possum dicere eum praefuisse neque possum negare adfusse, sed non plus duobus aut triubs mensibus' (XIII, 29.4).

49. P.A. Brunt, Italian Manpower, 321.

50. F. Millar, 'Appeals to the Emperor', The Emperor in the Roman World, 507.

51. XIII, 29. 6-7.

52. Att., XI, 12.1.

53. Cf. Brunt, op. cit., 319-326.

54. Praetor in 57 B.C. and legatus propraetore in our letters.

55. Fam., XIII, 4.

56. Fam., XIII, 5.

57. Hence Brunt's supposition that 'his (i.e. Cicero's) more general advocacy of the interests of Volaterrae had been rejected', op. cit., 323.

58. For the man cf. Wiseman, New Men ..., 37, 117, 228. Nicolet, l'ordre équestre II (1974), no. 128.

59. 'Quem ordinem ille ista possessione amissa tueri vix potest' Fam., XIII, 5.2.

60. Fam., XIII, 6.

61. Attempts to identify this man with several known personalities were not successful, cf. PIR^2 nos. 1203, 1204 (Groag contra Mommsen), Nicolet, op. cit., II, no. 106. Recently even the widely accepted identification of the man with the praefect C. Clovius, who issued coins in 45 B.C., which had been established by M. Grant (From Imperium to Auctoritas (1946), 7-11), has been contested by M.H. Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage (1974), I, 94 and n. 1 there.

62. In fact our letter specifies only Gallia. Brunt, combining the information given in Fam., XIII, 11 about the ager vectigalis of Arpinum there, conjectures that 'Some lands, probably in Transpadane Gaul, belonged in 45 to municipalities such as Atella, Arpinum, Regium Lepidi and others', op. cit., 196, n. 1.

63. Fam., XIII, 8.

64. R. Syme in review of Broughton's The Magistrates of the Roman Republic, CP (1955), 130-1, identifies the man with M. Sempronius Rutilius who was legate under Caesar in Gaul in 52 B.C. (Bell. Gal., VII, 90).

65. Father-in-law of P. Sestius (Sest., 6 and our letter).

66. On the aestimationes cf. Caesar, Bell. Civ., III, 1.1-2 and M.W. Frederiksen, 'Caesar, Cicero and the Problem of Debt', J.R.S. 56 (1966), 128.

67. 'Cum Caesar Sullanas venditiones et adsignationes ratas esse velit, quo firmiores existimentur suae, si ea praedia dividentur, quae ipse Caesar vendidit, quae tandem in eius venditionibus esse poterit auctoritas?' (Fam., XIII, 8.2.).

68. Brunt, op. cit., 323-4, who regards Cicero's statement in Fam., XIII, 4.2 that 'C. Caesar primo suo consulatu ... agrum ... Volaterranum et oppidum omni periculo in perpetuum liberavit' as misleading; 'Caesar cannot have formerly confirmed the Volaterrans in possession optimo iure' (ibid., 313) 'we may suppose that Caesar had then exempted the Ager Volaterranus from redistribution without giving the possessores a better title than they had before'. (ibid., 323). Contra, Hardy, op. cit., 88-9 who is convinced

that in 59 B.C. Caesar carried into effect Rullus' agrarian law of 63 B.C. which was 'intended ... to restore full ownership to the town and so put an end to the state of uncertainty and suspense' (ibid.)

69. Brunt, op. cit., 323 conjectures that 'the purchaser had failed to pay the full sum when due'.

70. Cf. supra, n. 67.

71. Fam., XIII, 7.4.

72. If Cluvius and M. Rutilius had the powers of the republican viri agris dandis adsignandis, then they should not have had an imperium (cf. Mommsen, Staatsr^3, II, 631). Nicolet deduces it independently of this consideration, from Fam., XIII, 7.1: 'tibi negotium datum ... non iudicium': 'Cluvius a des pouvoirs technique (potestas), mais non juridiques, il n'a pas d'imperium' ('Procurateurs et préfets à l'époque républicaine', Mélanges Carcopino (1966), 705). But one wonders whether iudicium is used here in the technical sense that Nicolet assigns to it or rather in the sense of a power of decision over the whole project. Moreover, the republican viri agris dandis adsignandis were sometimes given judicial competence which did not imply full imperium (Mommsen, ibid., 633).

73. Mommsen, Staatsr.^{3}, II, 656-7.

74. Fam., XIII, 7.1. Cf. supra, n. 72.

75. Fam., XIII, 4.1.

76. Ibid., XIII, 5.2.

77. Ibid., XIII, 8.2 (cf. supra, n.67).

78. Ibid., XIII, 7.3.

79. Ibid., XIII, 4.2 (cf. supra, n.68).

80. Cf. the intimate letter of recommendation he wrote to him in 56 (Fam., XIII, 6) and Red. in Sen., 23.

81. We may interpret, therefore, the 'at certe' which introduces the alternative course of action in the following way: 'in case the decision does not lie with you, you certainly can suspend the matter pending Caesar's decision'.

82. Fam., XIII, 5.1.

83. Ibid., XIII, 7.4.

84. Cf. supra, p. 46ff.

85. Ad Att., XV, 29.3; XVI, 1.2; 4.3. Cf. Gelzer, Caesar: Politician and Statesman, Eng. Trans. (1968), 283f.

86. Ad Att., XVI, 16A. 4-5.

87. Ibid., XIV, 19.4; 20.2; XV, 1.2 etc.

88. Broughton, MRR II, 332 on the commission headed by L. Antonius. Cicero advises Atticus to put pressure on him through his brother Marcus (Ad Att., XV, 17.1).

89. Ad Att., XV, 14.2-3.

90. Ibid., XVI, 16A; 16B; 16E.

91. Ibid., XVI, 16C; 16F to Capito, 16D to Cupiennius. For the controversy concerning the men's status, cf. Broughton, op. cit., 332.

92. We know, for example, that L. Antonius put obstacles in the way: Ad Att., XV, 15.1; 17.1; 19.1. Cf. supra, n. 88.

93. Pliny, HN, IV.4.

94. 'tota potestas eius rei tua sit', Ad Att., XVI; 16E.15; 'omnia posita ... in Planci tui liberalitate', ibid., 16F.18.

95. Cf. Broughton, op. cit., II, 339 for the evidence.

96. Ad Att., XVI, 16B, 9. Cf. also 16C.12.

Notes to Part II, Chapter 1, pp. 71-72

1. For auctoritas versus potentia cf. Hellegouarc'h, op. cit., 309-10. For auctoritas cf. Heinze, 'Auctoritas', Vom Geist des Römertum (1960), 43 and Schulz, Principles of Roman Law (1936), Ch. IX. It may be noted in passing that auctoritas may be but is not necessarily connected with the man's official position. Hence its frequent occurrence in letters of recommendation addressed to privati. One may take as an example Cicero's recommendation of M. Fabius Gallus to his intimate friend L. Papirius Paetus (Fam., IX, 25. 2-3), an Epicurean knight with whom Cicero exchanges jocular letters filled with Roman and Greek erudition. Paetus held no official position when Cicero declared to him: 'Auctoritate tua nobis opus est et consilio et etiam gratia' (ibid., § 3). Similarly, Cicero held no official position when the consul Antonius begged his permission to allow the restoration of Sex. Cloelius, a follower of P. Clodius. Nevertheless he ended his letter with: 'Quod si non impetro, per me Cloelio daturus non sum, ut intellegas quanti apud me auctoritas tua sit, atque eo te placabiliorem praebeas' (Att., XIV, 13A. 3).

Conversely an official may be requested to exercise his auctoritas outside his province. D. Brutus, the governor of Cisalpine Gaul is asked to protect App. Claudius Pulcher in spite of the latter's connection with Antonius: 'Peto a te maiorem in modum vel humanitatis tuae vel mea causa ut eum auctoritate tua, quae plurimum valet, conservatum velis' (Fam., XI, 22.1)

The references to auctoritas in letters written to officials are not unequivocal: they may be references to personal influence gained not by virtue of one's official position, unlike potestas.

2. Fam., XIII, 42.

3. For the implausibility of identifying this man with Rubrius, the governor of Macedonia in 67 B.C. cf. Broughton M.R.R. II, 250, n. 12. Broughton (ibid., 190) suggests that he was governor of Illyricum, before Caesar in 59 B.C. The Byllis mentioned in our letter is situated in Macedonia, hence Münzer R.E. s.v. 'Culleolus' (1) leaves the possibility of Macedonia open.

4. Fam., XIII, 42.2.

5. Fam., XIII, 6.

6. Ibid., § 4.

7. Fam., XIII, 9.

8. Ibid., § 3.

9. Fam., XIII 55.

10. Ibid., § 2.

11. Fam., XIII, 27.3.

12. Fam., XIII, 49.

13. Fam., XIII, 26.

14. Ibid., § 2.

15. Fam., VII, 5.3.

16. Fam., VII, 8.1.

17. Fam., XIII, 9.3.

18. Fam., XIII, 64.1.

19. Fam., XIII, 65.1.

20. Fam., XIII, 24.3.

21. Fam., XIII, 11.2.

22. Fam., XIII, 31.

23. Fam., XIII, 4.3.

24. Fam., XIII, 28a.2.

25. Fam., XII, 29.2.

26. Fam., XIII, 6.4.

27. Fam., XIII, 40.

28. Fam., XIII, 55.2.

29. Fam., XIII, 78.2.

30. Fam., XIII, 19.2.

31. Fam., XIII, 43.

32. Fam., XIII, 17.3.

33. Fam., XIII, 21.2.

34. Fam., XIII, 23.2.

35. Fam., XIII, 25.

36. Fam., XIII, 11.3.

37. Fam., XIII, 13.

38. Fam., XIII, 14.2.

39. Fam., XIII, 35.2.

40. Fam., XIII, 67.2.

41. Fam., XIII, 69.2.

42. Fam., XIII, 49.

43. Fam., XIII, 51.

44. Fam., VIII, 9.4.

45. Fam., XV, 14.1.

46. Att., II, 20.1, cf. also II, 22.7.

47. Fam., XIII, 75.2.

48. Fam., XIII, 63.2.

49. Fam., XIII, 22.2.

50. Fam., XIII, 11.2, cf. also Fam., XIII, 32: 'iis omnibus in rebus ... commodes'; Fam., XIII, 35: 'omnibus rebus ... ei commodes'; Fam., XIII, 37: 'eum expedias tantumque ei commodes et in hac re et in ceteris, quantum tua fides dignitasque patietur'; Fam., XIII, 67.2: 'quibuscumque rebus honeste ac sine molestia tua poteris adiuveris; Fam., XIII, 69.2: 'in ea controversia, quam habet cum quodam Colophonio, et in ceteris rebus ... commodes'. The last example is instructive: even when the governor is requested to interfere in a legal controversy, Cicero employs untechnical and vague terminology. Further on this cf. infra, p. 85 ff.

51. Cf. Lossmann, Cicero und Caesar im Jahre 54: Studien zur Theorie und Praxis der Romischen Freundschaft (1962), 15.

52. Supra, pp. 43 ff.

53. QF., I, 1.22.

54. Ibid.

55. Asconius, In Cornelianam, 52 (Clark).

56. Cf. B.D. Hoyos, 'Lex Provinciae and Governor's Edict', Antichthon 7 (1973), 47, for a discussion of the relationship between the lex provinciae and subsequent legislation by individual governors. The writer criticizes the rigid notion which assumes that there was a lex provinciae in the case of all provinces and that it enjoyed a superior status to that of the governors' edicts. Demonstrating that such a lex was not an ordinance of a special cast, he concludes that it was not illegal for a later governor to disregard its provisions (pp. 50; 53).

57. Cf. Mommsen, Staatsr.^{3} 111, 1211 ff, and infra, pp. 116 ff.

58. Cf. infra, pp. 135 ff.

59. For a thorough discussion of this concept cf. Z. Yavetz, 'Existimatio, Fama, and the Ides of March', HSCPh 78 (1974), 35.

60. QF., I, 1.42.

61. The same simile appears in one of the letters of recommendation: the province of Bithynia is the theatre in which the young noble, T. Claudius Nero, can acquire glory by re-attaching to himself, with the governor's help, his 'hereditary' clientelae: 'Magnum theatrum habet isła provincia, non ut haec nostra, ad adulescentis nobilis, ingeniosi, abstinentis commendationem atque gloriam' (Fam., XIII, 64.2). Cf. supra, p. 54 ff.

62. A partial list is given above, p. 47.

63. Various themes discussed in the context of the decorum of letters of recommendation receive here further explanation: the reluctance to be molestus, the insistence on lack of ambitio on the part of the recommender, the acceptance of full responsibility for the recommended person's character and requests, the fact that most recommendations read like testimonials of character, the declarations that the recommended persons deserved to be received into the governor's circle of friends and hosts, and above all the constant harping on the friendship between the recommender and the recommended which is the main proof for the latter's trustworthiness and good character. Cf. supra, pp. 43 ff.

64. Fam., XIII, 73.2.

65. Fam., XIII, 14.2.

66. Fam., XIII, 22.2.

67. Fam., XIII, 26.1.

68. Ibid., § 3.

69. Fam., XIII, 28.2.

70. Fam., XIII, 28a. 2.

71. Fam., XIII, 31.1.

72. Fam., XIII, 32.2.

73. Fam., XIII, 37.

74. Fam., XIII, 53.1.

75. Fam., XIII, 54.

76. Fam., XIII, 55.2.

77. Fam., XIII, 61.

78. Fam., XIII, 63.

79. Fam., XIII, 67.

80. Fam., XIII, 69.

81. Fam., XIII, 72.2.

82. QF., I, 1.18.

83. Ibid., § 20.

84. Ibid., § 32.

85. Cf. Att., V, 21. 10-12; VI, 1. 3-8; 2. 7-9; 3. 5-7. and infra, pp. 144 ff.

86. Att., V, 21. 10.

87. Att., VI, 1.5.

88. Att., V, 21. 10.

89. Ibid.

90. Att., V, 21. 10 ('Negavi me cuiquam negotianti dare, quod idem tibi ostenderem (Cn. Pompeio petenti probaram institutum meum)'); Att., VI, 1.4; 6; 2, 8 etc . Cf. especially his vehemence in the following extract from a letter to Atticus: 'plane te intellegere volui mihi non excidisse illud quod tu ad me quibusdam litteris scripsisse, si nihil aliud de hac provincia nisi illius (scil., Bruti) benevolentiam deportassem mihi id satis esse. Sit sane, quoniam tu ita vis, sed tamen cum eo, credo quod sine peccato meo fiat....Sed noli me putare ἐγκελεύσματα illa tua abiecisse, quae mihi in visceribus haerent. Elens mihi meam famam commendasti; quae epistula tua est in qua ⟨non eius⟩ mentionem facias? Itaque irascetur qui volet, patiar; "τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ' ἐμοῦ"...' (Att., VI, 1. 7-8).

91. QF., I, 1. 35.

92. Att., V, 21. 11.

93. It is true that Cicero threatened to use force before he realized the reason for the Salaminians' refusal to pay their debt ('dixi denique me coacturum'- Att., V, 21. 11). However, as soon as he realized that the interest demanded by Scaptius exceeded that stipulated in his own edict, he did not put any more pressure on the provincials.

94. 'Thermum, Silium vere audis laudari; valde se honeste gerunt', Att., VI, 1. 13.

95. Fam, XIII, 55. 2.

96. Fam, XIII, 65. 1.

97. Ibid.

98. Less upright governors were not insensitive to the question of their existimatio as Verres' efforts to keep it prove (cf. Yavetz, op. cit., 42 and n. 23, for references) or App. Claudius Pulcher's indignation at the obstacles put on the way of the provincial legationes sent to sing his praises at Rome (Fam., III, 8. 1 ff; 10. 6 ff).

99. This view is held by F. Millar with regard to the imperial government, cf. 'The Emperor, the Senate and the Provinces', J.R.S. 56 (1966), 158; 'Emperors at Work', J.R.S. 57 (1967), 9; The Emperor in the Roman world (1977), all by the same writer. No such work has been done with regard to the Republic but one could suggest here an argumentum a minori ad maius: experience and continuity would make the imperial institutions less passive than the republican.

100. Roman Public Life (1901), 324.

101. The quotations are taken from Max Weber's discussion of the 'ideal type' of bureaucracy in Economy and Society, edd. G. Roth and C. Wittich (1968), III, pp. 975, 979. Different versions of the same can be found in M. Weber, Law in Economy and Society, ed. M. Rheinstein (1966), 350-355 and in From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, edd. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (1948), 214-221.

102. For the date cf. J.H. Oliver, The Ruling Power (1953), 886-7.

103. Roman Oration, 63 (Keil).

104. For expositions of this view cf. E.W. Gray's review of D. Magie's Roman Rule in Asia Minor (1950) in J.R.S. 42 (1952), 121 whose call for a new approach to the study of Rome and the Greek World, that which examines 'the relations between members of the local aristocracies in the Greek cities and the Roman governing class' (ibid., 123), is answered by G.W. Bowersock in two studies devoted to the subject: Augustus and the Greek World (1965) and Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire (1969). Cf. also R. Syme, 'The Greeks under Roman Rule', Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society 72 (1960), 3, and Colonial Elites (1958), 1-23. For the identification of the Greeks with Rome's history cf. F. Millar, A study of Cassius Dio (1964), ch. V, esp. pp. 190-2. (Contrast with the older view held by A.H.M. Jones, 'The Greeks under the Roman Empire', in The Roman Economy, ed. P.A. Brunt (1974), 102 and 110.)

In connection with the last reference, one might mention the recommendation of P. Crassus' libertus, Apollonius to Caesar. The man 'incensus studio rerum tuarum eas litteris Graecis mandare cupiebat' (Fam., XIII 16.3). The desire to write Roman history in Greek is neither new nor by itself connected with the process we are describing here. The motivation behind it is all that matters. Yet the man's attachment to the senatorial class (being a freedman of P. Crassus and a protégé of Cicero) puts him in the same tradition of Greek writers of Roman history which will reach its culmination in a historian like Cassius Dio, who 'took as his own the political and national traditions of the Roman State, while retaining unimpaired the cultural outlook of the Greek world in which he was born'. (F. Millar, ibid., 191).

Finally for an approach which tries to explain the phenomenon in terms employed by sociologists cf. K. Hopkins, 'Elite Mobility in the Roman Empire', Studies in Ancient Society, ed. M.I. Finley (1974), 103 (first published in Past and Present 32 (1965)) and by the same writer: 'Structural Differentiation in Rome (200-31 B.C.)', History and Social Anthropology, ed. I.M. Lewis (1968), 63, giving the background for later developments.

105. Bowersock, Augustus and the Greek World (1965), ch. 1.

106. Bowersock, ibid., 12-13, and notes there for such evidence.

107. The creation of a network of alliances with local aristocracies is a deeply rooted Roman custom. The process we are tracing here repeats in fact the practice of the early Republic vis-à-vis the Italian communities. For a recent study cf. T.P. Wiseman, New Men in the Roman Senate 139 B.C. - A.D. 14 (1971), 33.

108. The traditional view, that Rome protected, supported and sometimes established the oligarchies in the Greek cities (e.g. A.H.M. Jones, The Greek City (1940), 175) overlooks the wider implication such a gesture had, especially in individual cases; those oligarchies and individuals, when given privileges by the Romans, cease to be merely a local oligarchy and become an

imperial one. From here to the crystallization of their privileged position in legal terms, the way is not long. The system of honestiores and humiliores 'does not seem to have been set up by formal enactments ... differential punishment was already a feature of the judicial system, and had been tacitly if not overtly approved and sanctioned by judges, jurists and emperors' (P. Garnsey, 'Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire', Studies in Ancient Society, ed. M.I. Finley (1974), 158-9, published for the first time in Past and Present 41 (1968). Cf. also by the same writer Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire (1970)).

109. Cf. F. Càssola, 'Romani e Italici in Oriente', Dial. di Archeologia 4-5 (1970-71), 305, especially 311, 319-21 and R. Syme's comment on it, ibid., 542-3. For extensive treatments of the Italian and Roman immigration to the East cf. J. Hatzfeld, Les Traficants Italiens dans l'Orient Hellenique (1919); A.J.N. Wilson, Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome (1966) and P.A. Brunt, Italian Manpower (225 B.C.-A.D.14) (1971), Part 3, for estimations in terms of numbers.

110. The evidence of Cicero's letters of recommendation supports Brunt's view (op. cit., 105, n.2) against Wilson's (op. cit., 107; 109, n.7; 213, n.2) that Roman capitalists would have entrusted their interests in the provinces to freedmen and slaves. On the whole, as Càssola points out (op. cit., 320-322) Roman upper-class opinion looked down on those who lived or worked in the provinces. The small fry might settle in the provinces, whereas the richer negotiatores stayed there only temporarily.

111. The provincial edict, for example, according to some views, came to regulate precisely the judicial relations reflected in our letters, cf. infra, p. 134, n. 305.

112. Cf. C. Nicolet, L'ordre équestre I (1966); E. Badian, Publicans and Sinners (1972); I. Shatzman, Senatorial Wealth and Roman Politics (Coll. Lat. 142) (1975), to mention some of the recent writers.

113. Cf. infra., Appendix to Part II, Volume II.

114. Cf. supra, p. 47ff.

115. Fam., XIII, 51.

116. Fam., XIII, 60.

117. Infra, p. 152ff.

118. Fam., XIII, 78.2.

119. Supra, pp. 43ff.

120. Supra, pp. 55ff.

121. E.g. Fam., XIII, 71 (T. Agusius); 77.2 (M.Bolanus) 13 (L. Castronius Paetus).

122. Fam., XIII, 17.1.

123. Fam., XIII, 22.1.

124. Cf. R.R., II, 1.2.

125. See in brief Wilson, op. cit., 4ff and Càssola, op. cit., 307.

126. Cf. supra, p. 74.

127. Fam., XIII, 63.2.

128. Fam., XIII, 43.

129. Fam., XIII, 21.

130. Fam., XIII, 51.

131. Fam., XIII, 66.2.

132. Fam., XII, 21.

133. Fam., XII, 29.2.

134. Fam, XIII, 79.

135. Cf. Fam., XIII, 26; 28 (the procuratores of L. Mescinius); 42 (of L. Lucceius); 72 (of Caerellia). Cf. Nicolet, 'Procurateurs et préfets à l'époque républicaine', Mélanges d'Archéologie, d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire offerts à Jerome Carcopino (1966), 691 ff for the judicial function of procuratores.

136. Ibid., 699.

137. Fam., I, 3.

138. Broughton (M.R.R., II, 245) suggests that he was a 'legate in a province important for the grain supply, probably just after the conclusion of Pompey's term in charge of the grain supply'. Cf. infra., App. I, no. 21 for a conjecture that it may have been Sicily.

139. Fam, XIII, 75.2.

140. Fam., XIII, 49.

141. Cf. supra, p. 10 and n. 73 there.

142. Fam., XIII, 43.2.

Notes to Part II, Chapter 2, pp. 90-92

1. C. Nicolet, L'Ordre Équestre à l'Époque Républicaine (1966), 680, n. 5, comments on the absence of a special study and promises to attend to it elsewhere.

2. H.F. Jolowicz and B. Nicholas, Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law[3] (1972), 103.

3. A comprehensive study along the lines drawn by J. A. Crook (Law and Life of Rome (1967), 284) is certainly desirable, despite Crook's reservations there.

4. Fam., XII, 30.1.

5. QF., I, 1.20.

6. Cf. G. P. Burton, 'Proconsuls, Assizes and the Administration of Justice under the Empire', J.R.S. 65 (1975), 92.

7. Cf. A. J. Marshall, 'Governors on the Move', Phoenix 20 (1966), 206.

8. Marshall, op. cit.

9. Att., V, 21.9; VI, 2.4. Cf. Burton, op. cit., 99; who contrasts the freedom enjoyed by the Republican governor with the more limited one of his imperial successor.

10. Cf. P. F. Girard, 'Les assises de Ciceron en Cilicie', Mélanges Boissier (1903), 218, for a refutation of the view that an assize could not last less than thirty days.

11. For examples cf. Burton, op. cit., 99-102. Cf. also Dig., I, 16. 9.4 (Ulpian in de officio proconsulis): 'observare itaque eum oportet, ut sit ordo aliquis postulantium, scilicet ut omnium desideria audiantur, ne forte dum honori postulantium datur vel improbitati ceditur, mediocres desideria sua non proferant'. Such advice, as Burton rightly observes (op. cit., 101), would make sense only if there was not a fixed order. The evidence of Gaius (Inst., I, 20) that manumission took place on the last day of the assize does not necessarily imply that there was a fixed order of cases and in any event the evidence adduced by Burton successfully proves the contrary to be true.

12. Cf. QF., I, 1.21: 'Adiungenda etiam est facilitas in audiendo'; ibid. § 32: 'facilem te in rebus cognoscendis, in hominibus audiendis admittendisque praebere praeclarum magis est quam difficile'.

13. QF., I, 1.25: (about Quintus) 'facillimos esse aditus ad te'; Att., VI, 2.5: (about himself) 'Iam cetera iuris dictio nec imperita et clemens cum admirabili facilitate: aditus autem ad me minime provinciales; nihil per cubicularium; ante lucem inambulabam domi ut olim candidatus'; Imp. Pomp., 41 (about Pompeius): 'Iam vero ita faciles aditus ad eum privatorum'.

14. This last is an inference. However, both Verres as praetor and Antonius as consul are censured for their inaccessibility: II Verr I, 136: 'omnis ad istum adlegationes difficilis, omnis aditus arduos ac potius interclusos'; Phil., V, 20: 'nullus aditus erat privato'.

15. Burton, op. cit., 102.

16. For the latin terms cf. Dig., I, 16. 9.4 cited above, n.11.

17. Fam., XIII, 58.

18. Fam., XIII, 59.

19. I know of no explicit evidence for the existence of such a queue, but cf. A. H. J. Greenidge, The Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time (1901), 135 ff., for a discussion of the times of jurisdiction: the comparatively few days on which court could be held permits us to assume its existence. Perhaps one may draw on later evidence which explains the replacement of the public courts by that of the urban prefect as caused 'ob magnitudinem populi ac tarda legum auxilia' (Tac. Ann., VI, 11.3).

20. Cf. supra, p.48.

21. Fam., XIII, 72.1.

22. E.g. Fam., XIII, 9.1; 55.1; 72.1; 78.1; Att., V, 20.10.

23. Fam., XIII, 41 refers to Fam., XIII, 42; Fam., XIII, 28 refers to Fam., XIII, 26; Fam., XIII, 24 refers to Fam., XIII, 19; Fam., XIII, 57 refers to Fam., XIII, 55; Fam., XIII, 27 refers to Fam., XIII, 21 and Fam., XIII, 44 refers to Fam., XIII, 43. Cf. also Fam., XIII, 75.

24. Fam., XIII, 75.1.

25. Fam., XIII, 27.1.

26. Fam., XIII, 28.2. 'Quod reliquum est velis augeas tua in eum beneficia seems to be a case in point, and so is Fam., XIII, 41.2: 'quod superest, quamquam mihi non est dubium quin, cum antea nostra causa, nunc iam etiam tuae constantiae gratia mansurus es in eadem ista liberalitate ... etc'.

27. Fam., XIII, 58.

28. Fam., XIII, 59.

29. Fam., XIII, 58.

30. Fam., XIII, 59.

31. Cf. Marshall, 'Governors on the Move', op. cit., 234, n.13.

32. Fam., XIII, 53.2.

33. Fam., XIII, 30.1.

34. Fam., XIII, 19.2.

35. Fam., XIII, 54.

36. Fam., XIII, 64.1.

37. Fam., XIII, 64.2.

38. Fam., XIII, 65.

39. Fam., XIII, 55; 57.

40. Fam., XIII, 42; 41.

41. Cf. infra, p 135ff.

42. Fam., XIII, 56.1.

43. II Verr., 2, 32: 'Quod privatus a populo petit aut populus a privato, senatus ex aliqua civitate qui iudicet datur, cum alternae civitates reiectae sunt'.

44. Fam., XIII, 37.

45. Fam., XIII, 26.3 and cf. infra., p. 111 ff.

46. M. Kaser, 'Gli inizi della 'cognitio extra ordinem', Antologia Giuridica Romanistica ed Antiquaria I (1968), 192 .

47. M. Kaser, Das romische Zivilprozessrecht (1966), 123.

48. Fam., XIII, 69.2.

49. Fam., XIII, 61.

50. 'Cognoscas' here does not refer to the cognitio procedure as M. Kaser assumes (ZPR, 123, n.57), but as in Fam., XIII, 55.1 ('cognosces') it means 'inquire into'. Cf. Tyrrell-Purser, op.cit. III^2, 140 n.

51. Fam., XIII, 56.3.

52. Fam., XIII, 59.

53. For 'Fabius' and not 'Fadius' as in the OCT cf. D.R. Shackleton Bailey CR., N.S.12 (1962), 195.

54. Supra, p. 48 ff.

55. Cf. Fam., 11, 14; IX, 25.2-3; XV, 14.1.

56. Fam., XIII, 58.

57. Fam., IX, 25.2. Apparently this letter preceded the one sent to the praetor, for Cicero is only anticipating litigation: 'Noli pati litigare fratres' (§ 3). However, his efforts to avoid litigation give us no clue to the nature of the societas; they do not necessarily imply that the odds are against his protégé. But bearing in mind that an actio pro socio might result in infamia the desperate efforts to avoid litigation can be easily accounted for. For actio pro socio cf. W.W.Buckland, A Text-Book of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian^3 (1966), 509-512 and A. Watson, The Law of Obligations in the Later Roman Republic (1965), 144ff.

58. 'Was advertised for sale', R.Y. Tyrrell and L.C. Purser, The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero^2 (1914), III, 174, n. 3.

59. A societas of sui heredes which the Fabii brothers could easily constitute; cf. Gaius, 3.154a on which F. de Zulueta, 'The New Fragment of Gaius: Part II of societas ercto non cito', J.R.S. 25 (1935), 19, and W.W. Buckland, A Text-Book of Roman Law^3 (1966), 404.

60. 'The proprium of this form of societas ... was that even a single socius by manumitting could make a common slave free and the libertus of all, and by mancipating a res communis - but here the fragment breaks off; it seems safe to infer that he passed the entire property in the thing to the alliance and that the price received belonged to the common fortune' - de Zulueta, op. cit., 24.

61. 'Contracts of a socius could, on general principle, bind and entitle only himself' - Buckland, op. cit., 509.

62. de Zulueta, op. cit., 24 who adds that this provision is 'sufficiently effective in a small community'. For evidence that this form was not obsolete in our period cf. Jolowicz and Nicholas, Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law[3] (1972), 296, n. 7 who refers to Kunkel's study in Annales de la Faculté de Droit d'Istanbul 4-5 (1955), 56ff, where it is argued that the 'original, natural consortium retained some life'.

63. Fam., XIII, 14.

64. FIRA,[2] I, 169ff. 49 B.C. rather than 42 B.C. is generally accepted as the correct date. Cf. M.W. Frederiksen, 'The Lex Rubria: Reconsiderations', J.R.S. 54 (1964), 129.

65. The 'pro magistratu' of XX, 50 is probably one of the local magistrates mentioned in XX, 41-42 (cf. Frederiksen, op. cit., 132, n.19) and not an allusion to the proconsul of Cisalpine Gaul as Hardy thinks (Roman Laws and Charters (1912), 128, n.15. For a full discussion one may consult E.J. Bruna, Lex Rubria (1972), 128-9). One may add to the evidence of our letter the episode of C. Albucius Silus (Suet. Rhet., 6) which shows L. Piso as proconsul in the triumviral period holding a criminal trial at Mediolanum (cf. Mommsen, Staatsr.[3] II, 239, n.7).

66. For example, we know that even later it was possible, if the parties agreed, to hold a case locally though the sum at issue might be above the limit (Dig., 50, 1.28 and cf. Kaser, ZPR, 128 and n.149).

67. J.M. Kelly, Roman Litigation (1966). For criticism of certain points brought up by Kelly, cf. the reviews of his book by M.W. Frederiksen, J.R.S. 57 (1967), 254 and J.A. Crook and R. Stone, CR., N.S.17 (1967), 83.

68. This is the title of chapter II of Kelly's study, op. cit., 69-84, in which the letters of recommendation are discussed.

69. Op. cit., 61.

70. Cf. Ch. Wirszubski, Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome during the Late Republic and Early Principate (1950), 1ff.

71. Cic., De Rep., I, 32.

72. Op. cit., 58.

73. Op. cit., 61.

74. Caec., 71.

75. For a discussion cf. Kelly, op. cit., 32ff.

76. QF., I, 2.

77. Ibid., § 10.

78. Cic. De Off., III, 43.

79. Since the duties of iustitia take precedence over those of beneficentia one must not harm others while doing a favour to one's friend: 'videndum est igitur, ut ea liberalitate utamur, quae prosit amicis, noceat nemini'; for 'qui aliis nocent, ut in alios liberales sint, in eadem sunt iniustitia, ut si in suam rem aliena convertant' (De Off., I, 42-43). In fact friendships should be terminated once wrongful claims are made in the name of friendship (Amicit., 33ff).

80. Op. cit., 61.

81. Cf. supra, p. 95.

82. Cf. J.M. Kelly, 'Loss of Face' as a factor inhibiting litigation', Studies in the Civil Judicature of the Roman Republic (1976), Ch.IV, for some of the evidence. The distaste for the courts goes hand in hand with regarding leges as a necessary evil. Legislation, as Tacitus in the digression on law-making points out, reflects the breaking down of the old standards (Ann., III, 26-27): 'corruptissima respublica plurimae leges'.

83. E.g. Fam., XIII, 37, on behalf of Hippias the Sicilian whose property was confiscated by the city authorities although this was forbidden by local law: 'Id si ita est, etiam sine mea commendatione ab aequitate tua res ipsa impetrare debet ut ei subveniaS' .

84. Fam., XIII, 5.3.

85. Cf. supra, p 50ff for the resemblance between commendatio and testimonium.

86. Quintil., Inst. Or., III, 7.2.

87. Ascon., Pro Scauro, 25 (Clark).

88. Ad Am., I, 1. van den Hout, 164.

89. J. Ph. Lévy, 'La formation de la théorie romaine des preuves', Studi in onore di Siro Solazzi (1948), 418; idem. 'Cicéron et la preuve judiciaire', Mélanges Henry Lévy-Bruhl (1959), 187; idem., 'Dignitas, gravitas, auctoritas testium', Studi in onore di B. Biondi (1965), II, 27; G. Pugliese, 'La preuve dans la procès romain de l'époque classique', La Preuve, Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin 16 (I) (1965), 277; Kelly, op. cit., 31; Garnsey, Social Status ... (1970), 210.

90. 'Ciceron et la preuve judiciaire', op. cit., 194.

91. Topica, 73.

92. Levy, 'Dignitas, gravitas, auctoritas testium', op. cit., 264-5.

93. Cluent., 70.

94. De Or., II, 100.

95. Cf. P. Garnsey, Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire (1970), 210ff and passim.

96. De Rep., I, 27.

97. The younger Pliny's advice to Calestrius Tiro, the proconsul of Baetica echoes Cicero's statement (Ep., IX, 5.3): 'discrimina ordinum dignitatumque custodias; quae si confusa turbata permixta sunt, nihil est ipsa aequalitate inaequalius'.

98. Just., Inst., I, 1.1; cf. also Dig., I, 1.10. F. Schulz, History of Roman Legal Science (1946), 136, maintains that such definitions come from 'the Greek, storehouse': the Roman jurists did not indulge in theoretical speculation on the relationship between justice and law, leaving it to the rhetoricians to expound, which the latter did not fail to do under the benevolent inspiration of Greek Philosophy (Schulz, op. cit., 70ff, 135ff and cf. also by the same writer, Principles of Roman Law (1936), Ch.IV: 'Abstraction'). This may be so, but we should not dismiss such definitions as irrelevant to the Roman way of thinking merely on the grounds of their Greek origin. Presumably they were adopted because they seemed adequate. Moreover, the work of the rhetoricians may well have influenced, albeit indirectly, later legal thinking. For a rhetorical exposition cf. ps. Quintilian, Decl., 77, 14ff (Ritter): in the context of aequatio patrimoniorum.

99. Cf. V. Polácěk, 'Suum cuique tribuere', Studi in onore di B. Biondi II (1965), 486.

100. Cic. De Inv., II, 160. Cf. also Ad Her., III, 3: 'Iustitia est aequitas ius uni cuique rei tribuens pro dignitate cuiusque'. Cf. P. Garnsey, 'Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire', Studies in Ancient Society, ed. M. Finley (1974), 141, (first published in Past and Present 41 (1968)), who sums up the argument with: 'The Romans rejected judicial equality, the equality of all citizens before the law, as easily as they rejected political equality ... This attitude may have been universal among those who dominated politics and the administration of justice in both Republican and Imperial rule' (Ibid., 165).

101. Fam., XIII, 57.2.

102. Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire (1970).

103. The incompatibility of dignitas and ius aequum had become complete under the dual penalty system when social position influenced the verdicts directly and not through the mediation of the notion of 'good character'. Influences which are branded by Kelly as improper were now considered perfectly proper: 'It was considered perfectly proper that verdicts should be influenced in this way: justice and equity were thought thereby to have been achieved rather than compromised' (Garnsey, op. cit. in previous note, 213).

104. Cf. supra, p. 75ff.

105. Roman Litigation, 61.

106. E.J. Champlin, An Historical Study of Fronto of Cirta (unpublished D.Phil. thesis submitted to the University of Oxford, 1975), ch.V.

107. Cf. infra, p. 186 ff (for Pliny).

108. Fam., XIII, 55. 1-2.

109. 'qui ultro ei detulerim legationem, cum multis petentibus denegassem', ibid., § 1.

110. L. Gurlitt, De M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistulis Earumque Pristina Collectione (Diss. Gottingen, 1879), 25, thinks it is not unlikely that Cicero himself published Book XIII of Ad Familiares.

111. Q.F. I, 1.6.

112. Ibid., 7.

113. Recently this view has been forcefully put forward by M. Finley, The Ancient Economy (1973). See review by M.W. Frederiksen in J.R.S. 65 (1975), 164.

114. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, Eng. Trans., T. Parsons (1930), 17.

115. On Brutus' Salamis affair cf. infra, p 144 ff.

116. Cf. E. Badian, Publicans and Sinners (1972), 102ff.

117. Supra, p. 82.

118. Supra, p. 43 ff

119. Supra, p. 81.

120. A.H.M. Jones, 'Imperial and Senatorial Jurisdiction', Studies in Roman Government and Law (1960), 75ff.

121. Cf. M. Kaser, Das Römische Zivilprozessrecht (1966), 181, n. 10: 'eine Vorentscheidung in der Sache selbst, gegen die appelliert würde, ist hier nicht vorausgesetzt'. For the view that there was no appeal before sentence cf. P. Garnsey, 'The Lex Iulia and Appeal under the Empire', J.R.S. 56 (1966), 180ff; Social Status and Legal Privilege under the Roman Empire (1970) 75ff.

122. A.H.J. Greenidge, The Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time (1901), 292.

123. Jones, op. cit., 75.

124. Garnsey, 'The Lex Iulia ...', op. cit., 182-3; Social Status ..., 263-4; 'The Criminal Jurisdiction of Governors', J.R.S. 58 (1968), 56-7.

125. D. Daube, Roman Law (1969), 11ff. for criticism of this anachronistic tendency which falsifies the pace of conceptual advance in Roman legal thinking. The combination reiectio Romam never appears in legal sources, and I am not sure whether revocatio Romae in the Fragmentum Atestinum (Riccobono, FIRA^2, I, 176) is used as a technical term. However it is of a later date than the examples discussed here. I even doubt whether the verb reicere was

the proper technical term, for a challenge of a judge or a court. The technical term seems to have been eierare; cf. II Verr. 3,60.137-8; De. Or., II, 70, 285; De Fin., II, 35.119; Asconius, 75 (Clark).

126. Fam., XIII, 26.3.

127. Staatsr.^{3}, III, 1214, n. 2.

128. Op. cit., 76.

129. Greenidge, op. cit., 292.

130. Fam., XIII, 26.2. For frater as cousin cf. Tyrrell and Purser, op. cit., IV^2, 505 n. 'frater patruelis'.

131. Fam., XIII, 26.2.

132. Tyrrell and Purser, op. cit., IV^2, p. 505.

133. Fam., XIII, 28.2: 'deinde, cum fere consistat hereditas in iis rebus, quas avertit Oppia, quae uxor Mindi fuit, adiuves ineasque rationem quem ad modum ea mulier Romam perducatur. Quod si putarit illa fore, ut opinio nostra est, negotium conficiemus.'

134. Ibid.

135. Fam., XIII, 26.3.

136. Op. cit., 76-77.

137. Cf. supra, n. 124.

138. A.W. Lintott, 'Provocatio - From the Struggle of the Orders to the Principate', Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt I, 2 (1972), 264.

139. Ibid., 239, n. 68.

140. Ibid., 264-5.

141. II Verr. 3, 60. 138.

142. 'The Criminal Jurisdiction of Governors', op. cit., 57.

143. Ibid., but cf. also his 'The Lex Iulia ...' op. cit., 183.

144. 'The Criminal Jurisdiction ...' op cit., 57 and n. 50 there. Contra, F. De Martino, Storia della costituzione romana II^2 (1973), 385.

145. In the case of Seleucus the nauarch a distinction is made between cases where there is choice of court and cases which might lead to a remittal to Rome. Cf. Sherk, RDGE, 'Epistulae', no. 58 II, 11, 53-59 and 11. 60-63 respectively.

146. 'The Criminal Jurisdiction ...' op. cit., 57.

147. Staatsr.^{3} II, 267-8 and n. 1 on 268; III, 748 and n. 5 there; III, 1214 and nn. 2,3 there. Cf. also M. Wlassak, Römische Processgesetze (1891), II, 256.

148. III, 1214, n.2. But it might be pointed out that Mommsen considers this an abuse III, 1214.

149. Fam., XIII, 26.3.

150. The issue has often been raised in the context of Augustus' consular imperium. Cf H. Last, 'Imperium Maius: A Note', J.R.S. 37 (1947), 157; A.H.M. Jones, 'The Imperium of Augustus', J.R.S. 41 (1951), 112; M.I. Henderson, 'Potestas Regia', J.R.S. 47 (1957), 82. The consul's letter is adduced by Jones as a proof that the consul could exercise maius imperium on proconsuls (op. cit., 113, n.7). Contra Henderson, op. cit., 83 and n.13, who dismisses the whole issue as idle and trivial theorizing which in any case could not have practical implications.

151. Cic., II Verr., 2, 30; QF., I, 1.22 adduced by Greenidge, op. cit., 289, n.2.

152. Greenidge, op. cit., 289.

153. Fam., XIII, 26.3.

154. Supra, p. 112.

155. On Cicero's correspondence with Caerellia cf. Quint., Instit., VI, 3.112. For an alleged affair cf. Cass. Dio, 46, 18.4. She is often mentioned in the later books to Atticus.

156. On the man, cf. Att., VI, 1.25; 3.5.

157. Fam., XIII, 72.2.

158. Mommsen, Staatsr.[3] III, 1211ff; Jolowicz and Nicholas, op.cit., 42.

159. Ibid., 1213-1214.

160. Att, VI, 1.5: Cicero discovered that it was Brutus' own loan. Frank's objection (E.S.A.R., I, 388-9) that we have only his agents' word for Brutus' personal involvement does not seem to me convincing.

161. This law is known to us only from the present letters; Att., V, 21.12; VI, 2.7, cf. Rotondi, Leges publicae populi romani (1912), 373; Frank, E.S.A.R., I, 347-8; Broughton, ibid., IV, 552; 556; D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, (1950), II, 1243, n.9.

Recently an attempt at reconstructing the terms of the law was made by M. Bianchini ('Cicerone e le singrafi', BIDR 73 (1970), 268ff). Her main point is that the lex did not forbid every kind of syngrapha but only those which contravened its terms. For which she adduces Att., VI, 2,7: 'vetabat autem ea lex ius dici de ita sumpta pecunia' (ibid., 270).

162. Att., V, 21.10: 'Quos mihi maiorem in modum commendavit'.

163. Att., V, 21.12. On the Senate's right to dispense individuals from the operation of the law, cf. Mommsen, op. cit., III, 337-8; 1230ff; A. Watson, Law Making in the Later Roman Republic (1974), 22. Cf. Asconius, In Cornelianam Ciceronis, 51 (Clark).

164. Att., V, 21.2. Cf. E. Costa, Cicerone Giureconsulto (1927), 174-5; 328-9; Bianchini, op. cit., 273ff.

165. Asconius, In Cornelianam, 51 (Clark).

166. Mommsen, Staatsr.^{3}, III, 1231, n.2.

167. Att., V, 21.11.

168. Att., V, 21.12.

169. Att., VI, 2.7.

170. For Appius' co-operation cf. Att., V, 21.10; VI, 1.6; 2.8.

171. Asconius, In Cornelianam, 52 (Clark).

172. Cf. J.M. Kelly, Roman Litigation (1966), 86ff.

173. Asconius, In Cornelianam, 52 (Clark), cf. also Cassius Dio's account, 36.40.2.

174. Att., VI, 1.5, cf. also V, 21.12; VI, 2.7;

175. Att., V, 21.10, cf also VI, 1.6; 2.8; 3.5.

176. Att., VI, 1.7.

177. Watt's correction. The other suggestions idque, itaque, will give the same sense.

178. Fam., XIII, 56.2.

179. Shackleton Bailey, Cicero's Letters to Atticus (1968), III, 242, thinks that the suggested correction needlessly changes the sense. Cicero wants to point out that when he says 'interest' he is not thinking of Scaptius' 4% but of the legitimate 1% ... the text is intelligible as it stands'.

180. Supra., p. 116.

181. Fam., XIII, 72.2.

182. For the concept cf. Hellegouarc'h, Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis politiques sous la république (1963), 388-415, esp. 400ff.; Ch. Wirszubski, 'Cicero's Cum Dignitate Otium: a Reconsideration', The Crisis of the Roman Republic, ed. R. Seager (1968), 183.

183. Cicero, Leg., III, 18; Agr. I. 8; II, 45; Flacc., 86; Dig., 50, 7.15 (14).

184. For lictors our letter is the only evidence. For commeatus; Dig., 51, 1.22.6. For the provincials' resentment cf. Cicero, Agr., I, 8; II, 45; Flacc., 86.

185. Mommsen, Staatsr.^{3}, II, 691: 'Ihre Entstehung liegt im Dunkeln'.

186. 'Le désir d'entourer de toute la considération possible les sénateurs, quand ils sont en province, introduisit aux derniers siècles de la République le ius legationis liberae' P. Willems, Le Sénat de la République Romaine I[2] (1885), 148-9. His last observation for which he refers to Mommsen (loc. cit., supra, n.185) is imprecise.

187. For 'Rule by Notables' cf. M. Weber, Economy and Society, Edd. G. Roth and C. Wittich (1968), III, 948ff.

188. V. Arangio-Ruiz, Storia del Diritto Romano[5] (1947), 97, 120.

189. M. Weber, op. cit., III, 957.

190. De Leg., III, 18.

191. E.g. Willems, op. cit., 150.

192. Cicero's statement that his proposal was made 'adprobante senatu frequentissimo' (Leg., III, 18) might well be an exaggeration.

193. Cf. Att., XV, 11.4: 'Et habent, opinor, liberae legationes definitum tempus lege Iulia nec facile addi potest adeo genus legationis ut, cum velis, introire exire liceat'.

194. Mommsen, Staatsr.[3], II, 691.

195. Ibid., III, 913, n.1.

196. Att., VI, 1.8; 2.8.

197. Att., XI, 10.1.

198. E.g. G. Ürögdi, 'Publicani', RE., Suppl. XI, 1199. A.H.M. Jones, The Greek City (1940), 125; 323, n.56, repeated in The Roman Economy, ed. P.A. Brunt (1974), 163, and n.71 there; 164, n.75. E. Badian, Publicans and Sinners (1971), 76; 107.

199. Badian, op. cit., 106.

200. R. Laurent-Vibert, 'Les Publicains d'Asie en 51 avant J.-C.; D'après la correspondence de Cicéron en Cilicie', Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, 28 (1908), 174; E. Badian, op. cit., 76.

201. V. Ivanov, De societatibus vectigalium publicorum populi Romani, Zapiski of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society 6 (1910), 24, n.132, cf. also, 105-6 and nn. there.

202. Cf, Att., V, 13.1; Fam., III, 5.5.

203. This will mean of course that Fam., XIII, 65 belongs to the later part of Silius' governorship. Incidently, Pliny, on his way to Bithynia, landed at Ephesus (Ep., X, 15; 17A).

204. Laurent-Vibert, op. cit., 174; contra, Ivanov, op. cit., 19-32.

205. On Ephesus in that period, cf. R. Bernhardt, Imperium und Eleutheria, Diss. Hamburg (1971), 123-4 and nn. there.

206. Laurent-Vibert, op. cit., 171ff. For the overbidding of the Asian company cf. Cicero, Att., 1, 17.9; Planc., 34ff with Schol. Bob. 157ff. (Stangl)

207. Laurent-Vibert, ibid., who adduces Att., V, 13.1 and Fam., V, 20.9 in support of his view of the central role played by Ephesus.

208. Laurent-Vibert, op. cit., 175.

209. Fam., XIII, 9. It seems to me that Balsdon does not do justice to Laurent-Vibert when claiming that Fam., XIII, 9.2 is his only evidence for the hypothetical post-61'merger' of all the publican companies ('Roman History 65-50B.C.: Five Problems', J.R.S. 52 (1962), 136. n.22). The evidence he produces aginast the hypothesis - the existence of a variety of companies in the fifties who are concerned with the provinces of Asia Minor - is irrelevant, for Laurent-Vibert concedes the multiple nature of the so-called monopoly (op. cit., 175-6).

210. Badian, op.cit., 107, 153 n.115 rightly observes: 'I do not see how the Latin can be taken in any other sense whatever: there is not a clearer sentence in the whole of Cicero. We must explain it as we find it.'

211. Cf. supra, p.123 and n. 104 there.

212. Ivanov, op. cit., 25.

213. Ibid., 25-26. He himself renders 'ceteris' as 'variis'. On the exclusive sense of ceteri=cf. the observations of F. De Visscher, 'La dualité des droits de cité et la "Mutatio civitatis"', Bulletin de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique, 5e Sér. 33 (1954), 63 and n.1.

214. Ivanov, op. cit., 26, n. 137.

215. Ibid.

216. E.S.A.R., I, 345-6.

217. E.S.A.R., IV, 539 (D. Magie, Roman Rule ... (1950), 11, 1255 n.72 gives an inaccurate and misleading paraphrase of both Frank and Broughton).

218. Op.cit., 107.

219. If we exclude Fam., XIII, 48 addressed to the quaestor of Cyprus C. Sextilius Rufus. But opinions vary about the nature of this quaestorship. R. Syme ('Observations on the Province of Cilicia', Anatolian Studies, Buckler (1939), 324 n.6) takes the language of Cicero to imply 'that he was an independent governor of Cyprus' in 49 B.C. But this is open to the objection that he should have been called quaestor pro praetore (J.P.V.D. Balsdon, op.cit., 135). Yet, Cicero's use of 'primus' and the exhortation 'ea te instituere quae sequantur alii' certainly implies that Sextilius visited the island in possession of some new status or power which enabled him to set precedents for successors (Cf. A.J. Marshall, 'Cicero's letter to Cyprus', Phoenix 18 (1964), 212). This leaves us with a choice between Marshall's special commissioner, sent there to collect the direct tax (op.cit., 214) and Badian's rejection of this hypothesis in favour of a twofold one: Sextilius was either a second quaestor of the governor of Cilicia sent to Cyprus or the only quaestor of this governor sent to Cyprus on a special mission and the first quaestor to be sent there, since till then only representatives were sent, as we know from Cicero, Att., V, 21.6. (E. Badian, 'M. Porcius Cato and

the Annexation and Early Administration of Cyprus', J.R.S. 55 (1965), 114 ff).
The letter to Sextilius is a special case therefore, and whatever interpretation we adopt, the question of preferring to approach the quaestor rather than his superior does not arise there.

220. The quaestor in question is P. Furius Crassipes, Cicero's former son-in-law. That Tullia's separation from Crassipes did not prevent Cicero from writing a letter should not surprise us, but the fact that no less than six letters of recommendation are addressed to the governor himself excludes the possibility that Cicero was not on good terms with P. Silius and approached his quaestor instead. Moreover, we learn that Cicero entertained a high opinion of Silius' governorship (Att., VI, 1.13) and was sure of his support when mobilizing votes in the Senate for a triumph (Att., VII, 1.8: 'habes Silium'), whereas Crassipes was one of the two people to whom he sent no letter requesting support (ibid., 'ad eum (Hirrum) enim solum et ad Crassipedem non scripseram'. Cf. also W.W. How, Cicero: Select Letters, (1926) II, 269, who observes that 'Cicero, though he refrained from asking for his support in the Senate ... might quite well write to him on business'.

221. Cf. Mommsen, Staatsr.^{3}, I, 703ff; II 564ff.

222. Fam., XIII, 9.3.

223. Cf. supra, p.123.

224. Att., VI, 1.13 on Thermus and Silius: 'valde honeste se gerunt', and supra, p.80ff.

225. Att., VI, 1.16. Gabinius may have annulled the pactiones in Syria because they imposed excessive rates of interest or had been made under pressure (Prov. Cons., 5).

226. Cf. II Verr. 3, 47.112: 'ea est ratio decumanorum ut sine plurimis litteris confici non possit: singula enim nomina aratorum et cum singulis pactiones decumanorum litteris persequi et conficere necesse est'. On their contents in Sicily cf. J. Carcopino, La loi de Hiéron et les Romains (1914), 12ff; 60ff. M. Rostovtzeff, Geschichte der Staatspacht in der Römischen Kaiserzeit bis Diokletian (1902), 351 ff, and recently R.T. Pritchard, 'Cicero and the Lex Hieronica', Historia 19 (1970) 357ff. No such information is given about the pactiones in Asia Minor: 'The contents of the pactiones are unknown. But it is certain that they included the amount to be paid, the mode of payment, and the treatment of arrears' (Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, 967) Rostovtzeff holds them to be annual 'Dass die pactio jährlich erneuert wurde, schliesse ich aus der Tatsache, dass jeder Proconsul in seinem Edicte darüber verfügte' (Geschichte der Staatspacht, 357, n. 49). He gives another reason in SEHHW, 1569, n. 50: 'I cannot see how in a country like Asia the yields of crops could be foreseen five years in advance'. Broughton (E.S.A.R. IV, 537, n. 18) regards them as quinquennial, in support of which one can adduce Att., VI, 2.5: 'Populi autem nullo gemitu publicanis, quibus hoc ipso lustro nihil solverant, etiam superioris lustri ⟨reliqua⟩ rediderunt'.

227. Broughton, op. cit., 537, who restricts it only to the new Pompeian provinces: 'under Pompey's settlement the collectors of the tithe were no longer permitted to deal directly with the individual owners or cultivators of the land ... thus the Sempronian system continued in Asia and the Pompeian in Bithynia and Cilicia' (ibid., 537-8). Most scholars take the practice

of concluding pactiones with cities rather than with individuals to be ubiquitous. Rostovtzeff (SEHHW, 966), holds that Sulla abolished the tax-farming system in Asia and resorted to direct taxation of the cities: 'When the publicani in 70 B.C., succeeded in regaining their hold on the decuma, the basis of Sulla's system, that is, the collection of the decuma by the cities, was retained. The publicani were superimposed on the cities as underwriters and guarantors to the Senate and the people of Rome of the full payment of the vectigalia'. P.A. Brunt accepts the last statement, although he holds that Sulla 'had no intention of abolishing the publican system for ever, and in fact it was restored as soon as he had re-established order in Italy and the unity of the Empire' ('Sulla and the Asian Publicans', Latomus XV (1956), 17. Cf. D. Magie, Roman Rule ..., I, 164; II, 1054, n. 17; Jones, The Greek City, 124-5; 322-3, nn. 56, 57, 58; idem., The Roman Economy, 165 and n. 83 there; and Addendum II 180-1 by P.A. Brunt; A.H.J. Greenidge, The Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time (1901), 125. E. Badian, Publicans and Sinners, 79.

228. Max Weber, 'Excursus on Tax-Farming', Economy and Society, III, 965-6.

229. P.A. Brunt, 'The Equites in the Late Republic', Second International Conference on Economic History, 1962 (1965), 123.

230. 'En termes stricts de droit public, les sociétés de publicains ne semblent avoir reçu aucune délégation de la puissance publique', C. Nicolet, L'Ordre équestre ... I, 338. Yet, they enjoyed certain privileges and as we shall try to show later had recourse to special legal procedures. Cf. Nicolet, op. cit., 320ff.

231. Jones, The Greek City, 124.

232. Pritchard, op. cit., 357.

233. Greenidge, Legal Procedure ..., 126. The governor could rescind pactiones of which he did not approve; cf. Cicero, Prov. Cons., 5. For Verres' edictorial measures cf. II Verr. 3.10, 25-26; 13, 34; 14, 35; 14, 36; 15, 38. Cf. Nicolet, op. cit., 339. E. Badian, op. cit., 79ff. for the governor's wide discretion.

234. Att., VI. 1.15; cf. also Fam., III, 8.4: 'Romae composui edictum, nihil addidi, nisi quod publicani me rogarunt ... ut de tuo edicto totidem verbis transferrem in meum'.

235. The rate of interest in Cicero's provincial edict: 'centesimas ... cum anatocismo anniversario' (Att., V. 21.11) was applied to the pactiones between publicans and provincials: 'diem statuo satis laxam, quam si ante solverint, dico me centesimas ducturum' (Att., VI, 1.16). The pactiones would be called syngraphae in Greek (cf. Rostovtzeff, Geschichte der Staatspacht, 351ff; idem., SEHHW, 967; Carcopino, op. cit., 60ff) and it is conceivable that they were treated as such. On the syngrapha cf. infra, p. 144 ff.

236. The chief exponent of this view with regard to all the provisions in the genus provinciale is W.W. Buckland, 'L'edictum provinciale', RHDFE 4 ser., 13 (1934) 81ff. But cf. Greenidge, op. cit., 121: 'even matters which seem purely connected with private law assumed, in a province, an administrative aspect that they never represented at Rome ... such legal relations between ... provincial corporations on the one hand and Roman bankers or companies of publicani on the other, required special regulation'.

237. G. Pugliese, 'Riflessioni sull'editto di Cicerone in Cilicia', Synteleia V. Arangio-Ruiz (1964), II, 985.

238. Greenidge, op.cit., 124.

239. On the iudicia cf. II Verr. 2.2.13.32 'Inter aratores et decumanos lege frumentaria quam Hieronicam appellant, iudicia fiunt'; ibid., 13, 34: 'lege Hieronica iudicia plurimarum controversiarum'. On their composition cf. Carcopino, op.cit., 144ff. (recuperatores from the conventus). On the penalties iudicium in quadruplum against the arator and in octuplum against the decumanus cf. II Verr. 3, 13.34. For the opinion that these were taken from the Lex Hieronica cf. Carcopino, op.cit., 38-40, Pritchard, op.cit., 363-4. Kelly, on the other hand, attributes these penalties to Verres, Roman Litigation (1966), 171-2.

240. R. Martini, Richerche in Tema di Editto Provinciale (1968), 32.

241. On insertion of clauses from the urban edicts (or rather from the urban Edict) cf. Watson, Law Making in the Later Roman Republic (1974), 63-82.

242. According to Pugliese (op.cit., 986), the genus provinciale referred to in Att., VI, 1.15 was intended to resolve particular problems of Cilicia and was made of provisions designed specially for it. Therefore, he concludes 'every province, in every year, could have had its own distinct judicial system'. Cf. also Bianchini, op.cit., 230ff; 242ff.

243. So Bianchini, op.cit., 255ff.; 263ff; 276ff who suggests a cognitio.

244. 'De publicanis quid agam videris quaerere. Habeo in deliciis, obsequor, verbis laudo orno; efficio ne cui molesti sint. Τὸ παραδοξότατον, usuras eorum quas pactionibus adscripserant servavit etiam Servilius. Ego sic: diem statuo satis laxam, quam ante si solverint, dico me centesimas ducturum, si non solverint, ex pactione; itaque et Graeci solvunt tolerabili faenore et publicanis res est gratissima ...' Att., VI, 1.16, cf. also Att., VI, 2.5.

245. These inscriptions are: (1) S.C. de agro Pergameno (129 B.C.), Sherk, RDGE, no. 12, to determine the boundaries between the city territory which was not subject to taxation and the royal-land. (2) I Priene 111, 112-120, a dispute concerning the salt-works of Athena Polias. (3) S.C. aliaque acta de Oropiorum et publicanorum controversiis, Sherk, RDGE, no. 23 (73 B.C.), a dispute over the temple-land of Amphiaraus. (4) OGI, 440 concerning the and of Athena Ilias. (5) S.C. de agris Mytilenaeorum, Sherk, RDGE, no. 25 (55 B.C.) concerning 'a right of pasturage' over some territory and immunity of the city's land. Finally in Strabo XIV, 1.26 the embassy of Artemidorus the geographer to Rome to represent Ephesus against the attempt of the publicans to appropriate the fisheries of Artemis. Most of these are listed and discussed by C. Nicolet, op.cit., 347-353 and by Th.Drew-Bear, 'Déux decrets hellénistiques d'Asie Mineure B.C.H. 96 (1972), 450-2 and nn. there. Nicolet (op.cit., 353) observes that, as one can see from this evidence, the publicans were far from being all powerful in imposing their will. Although the nature of these documents is partly to account for it, it is still striking that all of them demonstrate the publicans' defeat.

246. Drew-Bear, op.cit., 444, 1.2.

247. Cf. F. De Martino, Storia della costituzione romana II^2 (1973), 387.

248. Gaius, Inst., IV, 28.

249. F. de Zulueta, The Institutes of Gaius (1953), II, 248: 'The idea of distress is that of bringing compulsion to bear on a person who is thereby forced into doing something undone; it is not a means whereby the distrainer can satisfy the debt due to him' (quoted there from Pollock and Maitland, I, 353)

250. W.W. Buckland, A Text-Book of Roman Law[3] ... (1966), 624. Cf. also Greenidge, op. cit., 67-8.

251. Jolowicz and Nicholas, Historical Introduction ... [3] (1972), 190, n.8.

252. A Watson, The Law of Property in the Later Roman Republic (1968), 131. Cf. Greenidge, op. cit., 124.

253. Inst., IV, 32.

254. A. Watson, Law of Property, 131; Zulueta, op. cit., II, 250. Buckland (op. cit., 625) puzzled by the unusual 'luere debere', which is not easy to understand if the actio fictitia was designed to give an action, points at the solution 'that the word forma does not mean the formula, but the forma of the censors issued for publicani' (ibid., 625, n. 7).

255. Watson, Law of Property ... , 130. The other signs of the hardening attitude, according to Watson, are the edicts Quod familia publicanorum furtum fecisse dicetur, Quod publicanus vi ademerit and Quod publicanus illicite exegerit (Lenel, Edictum Perpetuum, 335ff.; 387ff.; 388ff. respectively).

256. H. Hill, 'The History of Pignoris capio', A.J.Ph. 67 (1946), 66, cf. also C. Nicolet, op. cit., 338-9 who accepts Hill's opinion. For the terms of the lex agraria cf. Riccobono, FIRA[2], 111, 37.

257. G. Pugliese, 'Gai 4, 32 e la pignoris capio', Mél. Meylan I (1963), 287.

258. Ibid., 288.

259. Ibid., 292.

260. II Verr. 3, 10.27.

261. An alternative reading is 'petitor aut pignerator'.

262. Pugliese, 'Gai 4.32 e la pignoris capio', op. cit., 286; cf. also Greenidge, op. cit., 124 and n. 1 there; Rostovtzeff, Geschichte der Staatspacht, 354, n. 41; Carcopino, op. cit., 142-3. Buckland, op. cit., 625 dismisses the text as 'a rhetorical utterance' and H. Hill, op. cit., 65 regards pignerator as synonymous with petitor and not as one with a right of pignoris capio.

263. Cf. lex agraria, loc. cit., supra, n.200 and for Sicily, Carcopino, loc. cit., supra, n. 239.

264. J.M. Kelly, Studies in the Civil Judicature of the Roman Republic (1976), 41.

265. Kelly, ibid., 53.

266. Ibid., 49.

267. Kelly, ibid., 66.

268. Kelly, ibid., 52.

269. Kelly, ibid., 52.

270. Cf. supra, p.123.

271. For the concept cf. M. Wlassak, Römische Processgesetze II (1891), 129.

272. The issue is treated thus in most of the standard works about the subject. See in particular A.H.M. Jones, 'Civitates Liberae et Immunes in the East', Anatolian Studies presented to W.H. Buckler (1939), 103, and recently F. De Martino, Storia della Costituzione Romana II^2 (1973), 359.

273. Att., VI, 1.15.

274. H. Lewald, 'Conflits de lois dans le monde grec et romain', Labeo V (1959), 334 (originally published in Ἀρχεῖον ἰδιωτικοῦ δικαίου 13 (1946), 33).

275. Lewald, op. cit., 334. Schönbauer (Iura, IV (1953), 379, 390-1) seems to me to be splitting hairs when denying on principle the existence of 'conflict of laws' in a unified Empire and regarding it as an internal arrangement.

276. E.g. the treaty between Ephesus and Sardes, I.G.R. IV, 297.

277. E.g. the letter of Antigonos Doson to the city of Teos (ca. 303 B.C.) Welles, Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period, n. 3 and the decree of Euergetes II (118 B.C.) P. Tebt I, 5, 11. 207-220.

278. Cf. Lewald, op. cit., 338-350 on Classical and Hellenistic times, and R. Taubenschlag, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri (332 B.C.-640 A.D.)^2 (1955), 1-27 for the situation in Egypt. Cf. also V. Arangio-Ruiz, 'Sul problema della doppia cittadinanza nella repubblica e nell 'impero', Scritti giuridici in onore di Francesco Canelutti (1950), IV, 65ff.

279. Cic. II, In Verr., 2, 13.32.

280. Epistula Octaviani de Seleuco Nauarcha, Sherk, RDGE, no. 58, 1.55.

281. S.C. de Asclepiade, Sherk, RDGE, no. 22, 11. 18-19.

282. Arangio-Ruiz, op. cit., 64; contra L. Gallet, 'Essai sur le senatus-consulte de Asclepiade sociisque', RHDFE 4 ser 16 (1937) 400, who maintains that κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους νόμους means constitution of courts and not substantive law.

283. Lewald, op. cit., 339.

284. Lewald, op. cit., 336ff. Cf. also R. Martini, Ricerche in Tema di editto provinciale (1969), 47ff; contra, G. Pugliese, 'Riflessioni sull' editto di Cicerone in Cilicia', Synteleia V. Arangio-Ruiz (1964), II, 975, n. 6, who thinks that special law was needed in legal disputes between Greek citizens who belong to different cities.

285. J.A.Crook, Law and Life of Rome (1967), 29. Cf. Lewald, op. cit., 352.

286. F. Schulz, History of Roman Legal Science (1946), 73, cf. also ibid., 137, 163.

287. Arangio-Ruiz, Storia del diritto romano[7] (1968), 148.

288. Jolowicz and Nicholas, Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law[3] (1972), 104.

289. Lewald, op. cit., 353.

290. I.e. Asclepiades and socii (cf. supra, n.281). Cf. Gallet, op. cit., 400; Arangio-Ruiz ('Sul problema della doppia cittadinanza ...', op. cit., 69-70) while rejecting Gallet's interpretation of the phrase suis legibus, accepts the conclusion that choice of courts did not entail choice of substantive law: Roman courts could dispense local law. Cf. also F. de Visscher, 'Le Statut Juridique des Nouvaux citoyens Romains' II, L'Antiquite Classique (1945), 42ff.

291. The expression 'justice de grace' is used to describe the interference of the governor in local jurisdiction by Gallet, op. cit., 290ff. Cf. also F. De Visscher 'La justice romaine en Cyrenaique', RIDA 11 (1964), 324 ff and idem., 'Le Statut Juridique II', op. cit., 42ff. For ξενοκρίται cf. J.A.O. Larsen, 'Tituli Asiae Minoris, 11, 508' CP 38 (1943), 177-90; 246-55, idem, 'Foreign Judges in Cicero's Ad Atticum VI.1.15', CP. 43 (1948), 187; D. Magie, Roman Rule ... II, 969; 1383, n. 36; Rostovtzeff, SEHHW II, 613; 1109; 1114; Jones, The Greek City, 119; Lewald, op. cit., 339; J. & L. Robert, REG., 57 (1944), 230-1.

R. Martini, op.cit., 24ff. regards Verres' interference in litigation between Sicilians who belong to the same city as a response to the request of the litigants themselves, rather than case of cognitio (as Kaser, Das römische Civilprozessrecht (1966), 123; n. 37, 137, n. 62 regards it). Similarly A.J. Marshall, 'Verres and Judicial Corruption', CQ n.s. 17 (1967) 408.

292. Pugliese, op. cit., 979, cf. Mommsen, Staatsr.[3], 111, 747, who too regards the provincial edict as a 'Localstatut'.

293. W.W. Buckland, 'L'Edictum provinciale', RHDFE 4 ser 13 (1934), passim.

294. Buckland, op. cit., 91-92.

295. Ibid., 92.

296. Ibid., 87.

297. Ibid., 87.

298. Cic., Att., VI, 1.15.

299. Pugliese, op. cit., 976, and n. 7 there; Jones, The Greek City, 122; De Martini, op. cit., II[2], 370ff.

300. On the relationship between the edicts and the leges provinciae cf. B.D. Hoyos, 'Lex Provinciae and Governor's Edict', Antichthon 7 (1973), 47.

301. On Q. Mucius Scaevola and the governorship of Asia cf. E. Badian, 'Q. Mucius Scaevola and the Province of Asia', Athenaeum 44 (1956), 104.

302. Att., VI, 1.15.

303. Cf. Buckland, op. cit., 82ff, for explanation of the phrase.

304. Cf. A.J. Marshall, 'The Structure of Cicero's Edict', A.J.Ph. 85 (1964), 185.

305. Op. cit., 41.

306. Att., V.21.10-13; VI, 1.3-8; 2.7-9; 3.5-7: Brutus' Salamis affair; also the syngrapha Sittiana recommended by Caelius, Fam., VIII, 2.2; 4.5; 8.10; 9.3; 11.4 and cf. infra, p.146.

307. Cf. preceding note and Att., VI, 1.16 (the pactiones).

308. Cf. preceding two notes.

309. 'Breve autem edictum est propter hanc διαίρεσιν, quod duobus generibus edicendum putavi; quorum unum est provinciale, in quo inest de rationibus civitatum, de aere alieno, de usura, de syngraphis, in eodem omnia de publicanis; alterum quod sine edicto satis commode transigi non potest', Att., VI.1,15.

310. Mommsen, Staatsr.^{3}, III, 688-90; Abbott and Johnson, Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire (1926), 43; S. Accame, Il dominio romano in Graecia dalla guerra acaica ad Augusto (1946), 63-4; De Martino, op. cit., II^{2}, 360;

311. R. Bernhardt, Imperium und Eleutheria (1971), 99.

312. Bernhardt, op. cit., 98-99.

313. SIG^{3} II, 785 = Sherk, RDGE, 'Epistula' no. 70 (A.D. 4/5) mentioned in the letter of the proconsul of Asia to the people of Chios.

314. Sherk, op.cit., 352, ll. 17-18.

315. As Marshall points out ('Romans under Chian Law', GRBS 10 (1969), 260, n. 16) other documents have been made to yield the same information only when read in the light of the s.c. de Chiis.

316. For a list of those writers who take this view cf. Marshall, 'Romans under Chian Law', op. cit., 259, n. 13. Add to it Gallet, op. cit., 288.

317. Accame, op. cit., 64.

318. De Martino, op. cit., II^{2}, 334.

319. 'Romans under Chian Law', op. cit., 255. In fact his conclusions were anticipated by other scholars who were sceptical about the wider implications of the senatus consultum, cf. Lewald, op. cit., 358; Arangio-Ruiz, Storia del diritto romano^{7} (1968), 330 and n. 1 there; J. Hatzfeld, Les traficants italiens dans l'Orient hellénique (1919), 319, n. 3.

320. On the right to approach the Senate directly cf. Mommsen, Staatsr.^{3}, III, 704-5; Accame, op. cit., 64; Bernhardt, op. cit., 99; 113.

321. Marshall, op. cit., 265.

322. Ibid., 271.

323. Ibid., 266.

324. The case of Sardis' debt to M. Anneius (Fam., XIII.55;57) will be treated below among the unfree cities, cf. Bernhardt, op. cit., 106 and n. 98 there. Magie, op. cit., II 1046 n. 35 and A.H.M. Jones, The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces^{2} (1971), 59 consider it free.

325. Prov. Cons., 6.

326. Ibid., 7.

327. The references to lex Clodia de provinciis consularibus, on which cf. G. Rotondi, Leges publicae populi romani (1912), 993-4.

328. Att., I, 19.9.

329. Att., I, 20.4.

330. On Sicyon cf. Accame, op. cit., 157; Bernhardt, op. cit., 92, 94, 118, 153, 154 and nn. there.

331. On the Sicyon affair cf. A.H. Byrne, Titus Pomponius Atticus (1920), 6ff whose main lines of reconstruction are followed here.

332. Att., I.13,1.

333. On the position of the governor of Macedonia vis-a-vis Greece cf. Accame, op. cit., 14ff; 63ff.

334. For this conjecture cf. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Cicero's Letters to Atticus (1965), I, 302. The background to this letter (Fam., V, 5) - the trial of C. Antonius - may be hinted at in the words: 'sed reliqua, mihi crede, multo maius meum studium maioremque gravitatem et laborem desiderant' (Fam., V, 5.3), cf. E.S. Gruen, 'The Trial of C. Antonius', Latomus (1973), 301.

335. Att., I, 19.9; 20.4.

336. Att., I, 19.9.

337. Att., I, 20.4.

338. Att., II, 1.12.

339. Att., II, 13.2. If it is legitimate to read this into the phrase: 'Tu si litteras ad Sicyonios habes, advola in Formianum ...'.

340. Fam., V, 5.3.

341. Att., II, 1.12.

342. Jolowicz and Nicholas, op. cit., 66.

343. On M. Cluvius' activities cf. C. Nicolet, L'Ordre équestre (1966), 364-5; E. Badian, Roman Imperialism in the late Roman Republic[2] (1968), 83, embraces the suggestion that Cluvius was Pompey's financial agent. Cf. Fam., XIII, 56.3: 'agitur res Cn. Pompei etiam ... is magis etiam mihi laborare videtur quam ipse Cluvius'.

344. The omission is telling in itself. The titles amica, libera, foederata, are never mentioned in the letters; is it a case of an assumed common knowledge or a warning that these counted less than scholars are in the habit of assuming?

345. Jones, The Greek City, 115.

346. Bernhardt, op. cit., 91ff; 113ff.

347. On Caria cf. Jones, The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces,[2] 28-32; 43-45; 49-54; 56-62; 76-7.

348. On Alabanda cf. Bernhardt, op. cit., 67 and n. 132 there, 188 and n. 492 there; Pliny, NH., 5.108; Magie, op.cit., II, 994, n. 32.

349. On Mylasa cf. Bernhardt, op. cit., 127 and n. 201 there; 188 and n. 492 there; Pliny, NH., 5.108.

350. Probably Heracleia ad Latmum, Magie, op. cit., 1131, n. 64. For the assumption that it was free, based on its inclusion in our letter, cf. Bernhardt, op. cit., 127 and n. 198 there.

351. The text in Pliny, NH., 5.107 reads: 'Temera libera Bargylia'. Jones (Cities,[2] 396, n. 79), puts the comma after Temera and declares that the city was free. Contra, Magie, op. cit., II, 1335, n. 17, who, however, thinks that the libera might have been lost from the text. He assumes on the basis of our letter that the city was free in 51/50 B.C.

352. Jones (Cities,[2] 77; The Greek City, 130) thinks that the city was freed by Augustus himself, hence its appearance as free in Pliny NH., 5.104. Bernhardt suggests, mainly on the basis of our letter, that it became free around 51/50 B.C. (op. cit., 141-2); cf., however, ibid., 142, n. 252.

353. On the ecdici cf. Magie, op. cit., I, 648-9; II, 1518, n. 49; 1131, n. 64.

354. For fructus as a reference to contracts for the collection of local revenues of a Greek city cf. T.R.S. Broughton, 'On Two Passages of Cicero Referring to Local Taxes in Asia', A.J.Ph. 57 (1936), 173; Frank, E.S.A.R. I, 344; Broughton, E.S.A.R. IV, 541; D. Magie, op. cit., II, 1129, n. 53. A similar case could be that of M. Feridius whom Caelius recommends to Cicero when the latter was governor of Cilicia. Caelius requests that 'Agros, quos fructuarios habent civitates ... immunes esse'. (Fam., VIII, 9.4), cf. Magie, op. cit., II, 1251, n. 51; C. Nicolet, op. cit., I, 299 and n. 34 there, II, no. 143.

Greenidge, (Legal Procedure, 125-6, n. 2) suggests that we may see the same phenomenon in the affair of Atticus and the Sicyonians. Contra, Tyrrell and Purser, op. cit., I[2], 231, n.

355. On deposit of money to stop the interest from running cf. Att., VI, 1.7, and on its being an item in the provincial edict cf. supra, p.118ff.

356. Jolowicz and Nicholas, op. cit., 303. On the hypotheca in Greek and Roman law, cf. P. Vinogradoff, Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence (1922), II, 250ff; W.W. Buckland, A Text-Book of Roman Law^{3} (1966), 475ff; Taubenschlag, op. cit., 277ff; A. Watson, The Law of Obligations in the Later Roman Republic (1965), 179ff.

357. Marshall, 'Romans under Chian Law', op. cit., 266, n. 39.

358. Marshall, ibid., 265 and n. 32 there.

359. Marshall, ibid., 269-270, thinks that 'Romans would naturally use local procedural law except when serious conflict arose with local authority; if this happened the governor will be approached to take up a matter which does not normally concern him.

360. Arangio-Ruiz, 'Sul problem della doppia cittadinanza ...', op. cit., 69, n. 2.

361. Att., V, 21.6.

362. Arangio-Ruiz, 'Sul problema della doppia cittadinanza ... ', op. cit., 66.

363. Iura, IV (1953), 392.

364. Cf. supra, p. 111ff.

365. Cf. supra, n. 343.

366. Fam., XIII, 53.2.

367. He is called 'libertus Postumi' probably the libertus of C. Curtius, the father of C. Rabirius Postumus; cf. Nicolet, op. cit., II, nos. 126; 297. On freedmen's negotia in the provinces cf. S. Treggiari, Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic (1969), 102ff., on our man, there, 104.

368. Fam., XIII, 69.2.

369. Fam., XIII, 53 was written in 51/50 B.C. and Fam., XIII, 69, was written in 46 B.C.

370. Bernhardt, op. cit., 135 and n. 233 there.

371. Cf. Pliny, NH., IV, 48; V, 141. Bernhardt, op. cit., 164 and n. 349 there. Most writers think that it was a Caesarian colony (cf. P.A. Brunt, Italian Manpower (1971), 600). Jones, Cities^{2}, 86 thinks it was Augustan.

372. Bernhardt, op. cit., 126. For its former freedom cf. Magie, op. cit., II, 959, n. 75.

373. For the assize system cf. P.F. Girard, 'Les assises de Cicéron en Cilicie', Mélanges Boissier (1903), 218; A.J. Marshall, 'Governors on the Move', Phoenix 20 (1966), 231; G.P. Burton, 'Proconsuls, Assizes and the Administration of Justice under the Empire', J.R.S. 65 (1975), 92.

Marshall ('Governors on the Move', op. cit., 234, n. 13) observes that our letter does not establish a separate Hellespontine conventus at this time, since 'illam διοίκησιν' may simply mean 'the assize centre of the area, i.e. Adramyttium'. Cf. also Burton, op. cit., 92-93, Magie, op. cit., II, 1062.

374. Bernhardt, op. cit., 164, assumes that it was at the time that Caesar established it as a colony. Marshall, 'Romans under Chian Law', op. cit., 266, calls it 'unprivileged', i.e. not free.

375. Cf. also Fam., XIII, 41, which must have followed 42 chronologically.

376. Cf. Jones, Greek City, 61. Appears as a colony in Pliny NH., 4.35 but this belongs to the time of the Principate.

377. Cf. Broughton, MRR, II, 191, 'perhaps governor of Illyricum before Caesar', but on p. 558: 'Promag. (Propr.?) Macedonia or Illyricum'. The identification of the province depends on the location of Byllis.

378. C. Nicolet, 'Procurateurs et préfets à l'époque républicaine', Mélanges d'Archéologie, d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire offertes à Jérôme Carcopino (1966), 699.

379. On Nicaea, cf. Jones, Cities^{2}, 159-161; 164-166.

380. Cf. T.P.Wiseman, New Men in the Roman Senate (139 B.C. - A.D. 14) (1971), Prosopography, no. 28; C. Nicolet, L'ordre équestre, II, no. 21, distinguishes him from M. Anneius (Carseolanus, R.E. no. 4); cf. R. Syme, 'Senators, Tribes and Towns', Historia 13 (1964), 111.

381. On Sardis cf. supra, n. 324.

382. Fam., XIII, 55.1.

383. Cf. supra, p. 80 ff.

384. Cf. supra, p. 117ff.

385. R. Dareste, 'Sur la συγγραφή en droit grec et en droit romain', BCH 7 (1884), 364ff. Followed by M. Bianchini, 'Cicerone e le singrafi', BIDR 73 (1970), 278ff.

386. RE, IVA, 1384. Contra J. Pugliese, 'Riflessioni sull'editto di Cicerone in Cilicia', Synteleia V. Arangio-Ruiz (1964), II, 983, n. 25, who objects to the view that a syngrapha was a public document, since, as he maintains, this view is based on biassed documentation. Cf. R. Martini, Richerche in tema di editto provinciale (1969), 39ff. Bianchini, (op. cit., 44-5), observes that even if there is no a priori reason for excluding a syngrapha between Roman citizens, this would have happened only in the provinces where the Romans would sometimes adopt the local practice. The Romans stood to gain nothing by concluding a syngrapha among themselves since the Roman law regarded it as 'genus obligationis proprium peregrinorum' (Gaius, Inst., III, 134).

387. Dareste, op. cit., passim and especially 375-6.

388. Ibid., 367.

389. Ibid., 367.

390. Vinogradoff, op. cit., 247; Bianchini, op. cit., 238-9; Taubenschlag, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt[2] (1955), 344ff.

391. Vinogradoff, op. cit., 244. Gaius, Inst., III, 134, mentions it as a 'genus obligationis proprium peregrinorum'. 'The only "formal" or "abstract" written contract known to Roman law' was the litteris obligatio (G.E.M. de Ste Croix, 'Greek and Roman Accounting', Studies in the History of Accounting (1956), 73). On this contract cf. Jolowicz and Nicholas, op. cit., 414ff.; A. Watson, Obligations, 18ff.

392. Cf. G. Grosso, '"syngraphae", "stipulatio" e "ius gentium"', Labeo 17 (1971), 10ff. Cf. also Bianchini, op. cit., 229, who dedicates the greater part of her discussion to the probable reasons the Romans had for resorting to the Greek syngrapha in the late Republic in the eastern provinces.

393. Att., V, 21.11. Bianchini (op. cit., 255) reached the same conclusion, independently arrived at in my discussion. She observes there that, since the formulary system could not be applied, the legal proceedings will take the form of a cognitio (cf. also, ibid., 263ff., 277ff.). But in another place (ibid., 265) she maintains that 'the governor interfered not so much by exercising a judicial competence but rather by virtue of his authority, personal prestige and the influence he could exert on the parties concerned'.

394. Recently J.M. Kelly, Studies in the Civil Judicature of the Roman Republic (1976), 69, has suggested that Appius Claudius Pulcher bestowed a praefecture on Brutus' agent M. Scaptius, in order to enable him to carry out the exaction by a manu militari, as an actual enforcement of judgement. Such a procedure, according to Kelly, was possible even before judgement (ibid. n. 3).

395. Fam., VIII, 2.2.

396. Ibid., VIII, 4.5.

397. Ibid., VIII, 8.10.

398. Ibid., VIII, 11.4.

399. Cf. Tyrrell and Purser, op. cit., III[2], 32 n. and supra, p. 117.

400. Op. cit., 36, n.

401. L'Ordre équestre I (1966), 379.

402. Cf. Fam., V, 17; Sull., 56-8; Sall., Cat., 21.3.

403. I. Shatzman, Senatorial Wealth and Roman Politics (1975), 312.

404. Cf. supra, p.137.

405. Many of the articles consulted are quoted in previous notes: for two brief summaries of the controversies cf. L. Wenger, 'Neue Diskussionen zur Problem "Reichsrecht und Volksrecht"', RIDA 3 (1949), 521 and Jolowicz and Nicholas, op. cit., 71ff.

406. Sherk, RDGE, 'Epistulae', no. 58, ll. 53-56.

407. Against the view that choice of jurisdiction was part and parcel of the grant of citizenship cf. De Visscher, 'Le Statut Juridique des Nouveaux Citoyens Romains et l'inscription de Rhosus II', L'Antiquité Classique (1946), 39; 41ff.; P. Garnsey, 'The Criminal Jurisdiction of Governors', J.R.S.58 (1968). 57. n. 50. De Martino, Storia della cistituzione Romana II^2 (1973), 385 draws the wrong conclusions.

408. Arangio-Ruiz, 'Sul problema della doppia cittadinanza ...', op. cit., 69.

409. The comparison between the Senatus consultum de Asclepiade Sociisque and the inscription of Rhosus is often made by both camps to draw diametrically opposed conclusions: cf. Arangio-Ruiz, op. cit., 64, on the one hand and contra De Visscher, 'Le Statut Juridique ... ' , op. cit., 45ff; 'La dualité des droits de cité et la "mutatio civitatis"', Bulletin de l'Acad. Royale de Belgique 5sér 33 (1954), 53; Schönbauer, Iura IV (1953), 385.

Against Gallet, 'Essai sur le senatus-consulte "de Asclepiade sociisque"' RHDFE 4 ser 16 (1937), 266, 282, 387, whose view is that the judicial privileges were part and parcel of amicitia cf. A.J. Marshall, 'Friends of the Roman People', A.J. Ph. 89 (1968), 39.

410. De Visscher, 'Le Statut Juridique ... II', op. cit., 42ff; idem., 'La dualite des droits de cite ...', op. cit., 53; Schonbauer, op. cit., 385.

411. Fam., XIII, 30.

412. Cic., Pro Archia, 4, 7.

413. Fam., XIII, 19.2.

414. Op. cit., (supra, n.403), 59.

415. Ibid.

416. Op. cit., 393.

417. Ibid., 392.

418. 'La dualité des droits de cité ... ' op. cit., 65.

419. II Verr., II, 13.32.

420. Cf. Tyrrell and Purser, The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero^2, V, 220, n. for explanation of the terms.

421. On Alabanda cf. supra, n. 348.

Notes to Part II, Chapter 3, pp. 152-154

1. Cf. supra, p. 83 ff.

2. Cf. supra, p. 24 . The prevailing belief, much too simplified, in my opinion, finds its chief exponents in such works as M. Gelzer, The Roman Nobility (Eng. Trans. 1969), 86ff; E. Badian, Foreign Clientelae (1958), 1ff; 154ff (some of his statements which we contest are quoted, supra, p.24), as well as many other modern works, the list of which is too long to be given here.

3. M. Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, ed. T. Parsons (1947), 340 and see his whole study of modern bureaucracy, there, 329-337.

4. Fam., XIII, 67.

5. It was part of the province of Asia at the time the letter was sent (46 B.C.) but belonged to Cilicia until 50 B.C.: 'Ex provincia mea Cilicensi, cui scis τρεῖς διοικήσεις Asiaticas attributas fuisse ...' (Fam., XIII, 67.1); cf. R. Syme, 'Observations on the Province of Cilicia', Anatolian Studies Buckler (1939), 299.

6. Macrobius, Sat., II, 3.12.

7. Probably 'itaque eum Romae libentissime vidi' in our letter is a reference to his embassy.

8. If Andron was the host of the Roman governor by virtue of being a proxenos he might belong to the same category of proxenoi employed on diplomatic missions after acquiring knowledge of foreign affairs; cf. C. Phillipson, The International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome (1911), I, 324.

9. For other examples cf. G.W. Bowersock, Augustus and the Greek World (1965), 7ff. For examples from the Empire by the same writer, Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire (1969), passim.

10. Fam., XIII, 73; for the man cf. Strabo, 535, 569, 679.

11. Op.cit., 309-312.

12. So Tyrrell and Pureser, op.cit., II, 234, n.

13. Fam., XIII, 1 on the same man in the same affair, cf. Att., V, 11.6; 19.3; VII, 2.4-5 and supra, p. 44 ff.

14. Phlegon apud Photium, Paradox. Gr. 210 (Westermann).

15. Fam., XIII, 25.

16. Ibid., XIII, 78.1.

17. Ibid., XIII, 30.1.

18. Ibid., XIII, 34.

19. II Verr. 4, 17.37.

20. Ibid., 4, 26.59; cf. also V.M. Scramuzza, 'Roman Sicily', E.S.A.R., III, 288-9 on the textile industry.

21. Cic., Pro Balb., 46ff; Badian, op.cit., 259ff; 281ff; F. Millar, 'Personal Status: Citizenship and Freedom', The Emperor in the Roman World (1977). Badian, op.cit., App. B (302ff.) gives a list of Singillatim civitate donati which takes it to Caesar's time. For persons enfranchised by Caesar, cf. C.E. Goodfellow, Roman Citizenship (1935), 90ff.

22. Fam., XIII, 30. For the Lex Plautia Papiria cf. Cic., Pro. Arch., 7.

23. Fam., XIII, 32.

24. Badian, op.cit., App. B., 305.

25. Fam., XIII, 35. Brunt (Italian Manpower (1972), 239, n.4) puts a question mark on his Sicilian origin. His friend C. Avianius Flaccus (Fam., XIII, 75) was a corn-dealer and during Pompey's term of cura annonae (57-52 B.C.) had special privileges as regards the place and time of exporting the corn. Since his sons are recommended to the governor of Sicily (Fam., XIII, 79) it is probable that his privilege was connected with that province. I would not venture any conclusions here but it might be conjectured that Sicily was the ground where the two formed their friendship.

26. Cf. Strabo, 213. E.G. Hardy ('Caesar's colony at Novum Comum in 59 B.C.', Some Problems in Roman History (1924), 126) goes into a long discussion of the Roman status of the colony. His conclusions are accepted by U. Ewins, 'The Enfranchisement of Cisalpine Gaul', PBSR 23 n.s. 10 (1955), 86. n.48. Contra, F. Millar, loc.cit., 402-3, who maintains that it was a Latin colony.

27. Hardy, op.cit., takes Strabo's τούτοις δὲ καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδωκεν (to the 500 Greeks) as the outcome of being enrolled in Novum Comum. It could be an additional boon.

28. Fam., XIII, 36. Cf. supra, p. 63 for a full treatment.

29. Fam., XIII, 52.

30. 'diutius in causa est quam nos commoratus'.

31. On the etymology cf. E. Benveniste, Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes (1969), section II, ch. 7. T. Kleberg (Hôtels, Restaurants et Cabarets dans l'Antiquité Romain (1957), 12), remarks that in Cicero's writings hospes is still far from signifying an hotel-keeper but stands always for a friend-host: ('l'ami-hôte d'un chacun').

32. Fam., XIII, 19.1. Cf. also ibid., 24.1: 'Lysonem, hospitem et familiarem meum'.

33. Fam., XIII, 25.

34. Fam., XIII, 32.1.

35. Fam., XIII, 34.

36. Fam., XIII, 35.

37. Fam., XIII, 36.

38. Fam., XIII, 37.

39. Fam., XIII, 52.

40. Fam., XII, 73.1.

41. Fam., XIII, 78.1.

42. Fam., XIII, 67.1.

43. Fam., XIII, 1.2.

44. For standard works cf. Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romains (1884-), under hospitium. Th. Mommsen, 'Das römische Gastrecht und die römische Clientel', Römische Forschungen (1864-79), I, 319-360; idem., Staats^3, III, 590: 1152 ff; P. Willems, Le droit public romain (1883), 389-397; F. De Martino, Storia della costituzione romana (1954), I, ch. 2; Phillipson, op.cit., I, ch. IX, XIII.

45. Bowersock, Augustus and the Greek World, 13.

46. On προξενία cf. Phillipson, op.cit., I, 148ff.

47. Cf. J.H. Oliver, The Ruling Power (1953), 956.

48. A.J. Marshall, 'Governors on the Move', Phoenix 20 (1966), 238.

49. II Verr. 1, 25.65.

50. Ibid., 2, 34.83.

51. Hospitium and amicitia, hospes and amicus are frequent collocations in our letters, e.g. Fam., XIII, 78.2.

52. Off., II, 64.

53. Marshall, op.cit.

54. For the assize-system cf. Marshall op.cit.; P.E. Girard, 'Les Assises de Cicéron en Cilicie', Mélanges Boissier (1903), 18; G.P. Burton, 'Powers and Functions of the Proconsuls in the Roman Empire 70-260 A.D.' (unpublished D.Phil thesis submitted to the University of Oxford, 1973), part of which is published in J.R.S. 65 (1975), 92, and supra, p. 91ff.

55. The following is not an exhaustive list of references to hospitium given to governors in the provinces. The main evidence comes from the Verrines, where we can name the individual hosts: Att., V, 10.2; 16.3; 18.2; 21.7; QF., I, 1.9; 16; de leg agr., II, 46; In Pis., 38; 83; 85; Pro reg. Deiot., 10, 17; Phil., II, 76; 94. II Verr., I, 63ff. (Ianitor and Philodamus from Lampascus); II Verr. 2. 83ff (Sthenius of Thermae); II Verr. 2.38ff. (Diodorus of Melita); II Verr. 2.23ff. (Q. Caecilius Dio of Halaesa); II Verr. 4.48 (Gnaeus Pompeius Philo of Tyndaris); II Verr. 4.49 (Eupolemos of Calacte); II Verr. 4.3ff. (Gaius Heius of Messana); II Verr. 5, 108 (Dexo of Tyndaris).

56. Andron (Fam XIII, 67) and Antipater of Derbe (Fam., XIII, 73) from Cilicia Hagesaretus (Fam., XIII, 25), Lyso (Fam., XIII, 34), M. and C. Clodii Archagathus and Philo (Fam., XIII, 32), C. Avianius Philoxenus (cf. n.25), Demetrius Megas (Fam., XIII, 36), Hippias (Fam., XIII, 37), A. Licinius Aristoteles (Fam., XIII, 52), all from Sicily.

57. For the dates cf. Att., V, 15; 21, 4.9. For a full description of Cicero's Cilician governorship 'on circuit' cf. Girard, op.cit., 18; A.J. Marshall, 'Governors on the Move', op.cit., 231; idem., 'The Lex Pompeia de provinciis (52 B.C.) and Cicero's Imperium in 51-50 B.C.: Constitutional Aspects', Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt I. 1 (1972), 887;

58. II Verr., 4.37.

59. R. Syme, 'Observations on the Province of Cilicia', op.cit., 309. Cf. also, L.W. Hunter, 'Cicero's Journey to his province in Cilicia 51 B.C.', J.R.S. 3 (1913), 173.

60. II Verr., 1.16; 2.118; these are references to hosts in general. He names quite a few. However, only Lyso reappears in the letters of recommendation.

61. Fam., XIII, 19.1.

62. Fam., XIII, 20. In Fam., XVI, 9.2 we are told that he took care of Tiro when the latter fell sick.

63. Fam., XIII, 78.

64. Fam., XIII, 1.2 for the history of his acquaintance with the man.

65. Fam., XIII, 67.2; 78.2.

66. Fam., XIII, 19.1; 24.2.

Notes to Part II, Chapter 4, pp. 160-164

1. The entire discussion relies heavily on the Appendix to Part II in Volume II of this thesis. The references will be to table (Roman number) and letter-number (Arabic numbers).

2. Cf. supra, p.10 and nn. 73; 74 there.

3. Cf. supra, p.93.

4. Cf. supra, p.71 but cf. Appendix, Table I.

5. Cf. supra, p.86ff but cf. App. Table I.

6. Cf. P.A. Brunt, 'The Equites in the Late Republic', Second International Conference on Economic History, 1962 (1965), 125.

7. For a brief survey of Cicero's relations with the publicani cf. I.Shatzman, Senatorial Wealth and Roman Politics (1975), 178ff.

8. E.g. II Verr., 2,175.

9. Domo, 74; 142.

10. Cf. Brunt, op.cit., 124.

11. QF., I, 1.32, cf. supra, p.78ff.

12. Ibid., § 35, and supra, p.80ff.

13. Fam., I, 9.26.

14. For the background to the publicans' hostility towards Scaevola cf. E.Badian, 'Q. Mucius Scaevola and the Province of Asia', Athenaeum, N.S. 34 (1956), 104, with Shatzman's modifications, op.cit., 190-191.

15. Fam., III, 8.4.

16. Att., VI, 1.16.

17. Att., VI, 2.5; Fam., 11, 13.3.

18. Att., VI, 2.5.

19. App., Table I, nos. 9; 10; 24; 32 = Fam., XIII, 6; 6a; 8; 65.

20. For the concept ordo cf. T. Béranger, 'Ordres et Classes d'après Cicéron', Recherches sur les Structures Sociales dans l'Antiquité Classique (1970), 226.

21. L. Aelius Lamia and M. Terentius Varro Gibba who had connections with the public companies (for Lamia's connection with the Syrian publicani cf. QF., II, 11.2, and for Terentius cf. Fam., XIII, 10.2: 'mature se contulit in societates publicorum') received recommendations from Cicero but not qua being publicani. Cf. Fam., XIII, 29 = I, 107; XIII, 10 = I, 63). Hence they do not belong to the discussion above.

22. Fam., XIII, 9.2.

23. Fam., XIII, 65.2.

24. Fam., XIII, 9 = I, 24.

25. Fam., XIII, 6 = I, 9.

26. Fam., XIII, 6.2.

27. Cf. supra, p.8.

28. 'Cicero's Legacies', TAPhA 63 (1932), 73, cf. Shatzman, op.cit.,409ff.

29. I, 64; 65.

30. Cf. C. Nicolet, 'Arpinum, Aemilius Scaurus et les Tullii Cicerones', REL 45 (1967), 297ff.

31. Att., XI, 13.3; 14,3; 15, 4.

32. Fam., XIII, 12.1.

33. Fam., XIII,11.3; 12.1; QF., III, 1.2.

34. I, 26 = Fam., XIII, 61.

35. Cf. supra, p. 143ff.

36. I, 48 = XIII, 46

37. I, 49; 93 = Fam., XIII, 17; 50.

38. Fam., XIII, 17.1.

39. II, 13 = Fam., XVI, 4.2; 9.4.

40. Fam., XIII, 17.1.

41. Fam., VI, 28 - 31.

42. Supra, n.37.

43. Fam., VII, 29.1.

44. Fam., VII, 31.1.

45. Att., VII, 2.3.

46. I, 29 = XIII, 56.

47. Cf. supra, p. 141.

48. Supra, p. 139ff.

49. Att., XIV, 10.3; 11.2.

50. Fam., XIII, 56.1.

51. Supra, n. 37.

52. Fam., XIII, 17.

53. Cf. Fam., VII, 31.2, although this letter was written at a later date than the two recommendations.

54. Caes., BC, 3, 15-16; 39-40; Cass. Dio, 42, 12.1.

55. 46-45 B.C.

56. Fam., XIII, 30 - 39 = I, 68 - 77.

57. The identification of the procos. of Sicily in 46-5 with the legate of Greece in 45 is generally accepted. Cf. Broughton, MRR 11, 308.

58. Fam., XIII, 17. 1 - 3.

59. Fam., XIII, 50.1.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid., § 2.

62. Fam., V, 5.3.

63. Cf. Gruen, 'The Trial of C. Antonius', Latomus 32 (1973), 301.

64. Fam., XIII, 43.1 = I, 43.

65. Ibid., § 2.

66. Fam., VII, 30.3.

67. Ibid.

68. Fam., VII, 31.1.

69. Fam., XIII, 43.2.

70. Fam., XIII, 72, cf. supra, p. 98.

71. E.g. Fam., XIII, 50, cf. VII, 31.1.

72. Fam., XIII, 6.1.

73. Fam., XIII, 72.2.

74. Supra, p. 166, n. 29.

75. Fam., XIII, 11, 1.

76. Fam., XIII, 12, 1.

77. Cf. Fam., XII, 11.3: 'Nam constituendi municipi causa hoc anno aedilem filium meum fieri volui et fratris filium et M. Caesium, hominem mihi maximum necessarium': these are the other reasons for Cicero's personal interest in the embassy.

78. I, 106 = Fam., XII, 27.

79. I, 105 = Fam., XII, 26.

80. I, 87 = Fam., XIII, 5.

81. I, 86 = Fam., XIII, 4.

82. P.A. Brunt, Italian Manpower (225 B.C. - A.D. 14) (1971), 323.

83. I, 51 and 56 (Fam., XIII, 19; 24); 53 and 59 (Fam., XIII, 21; 27); 58 and 60 (Fam., XIII, 26; 28); 7 and 6 (Fam., XIII, 42; 41); 43 and 44 (Fam., XIII, 43; 44); 28 and 34 (Fam., XIII, 55; 57).

84. Fam., XIII, 24 (the first, ibid., 19).

85. Ibid., § 1.

86. Fam., XIII, 27 (the first, ibid., 21).

87. Ibid., § 2.

88. Supra, p. 111ff.

89. Fam., XIII, 28 (the first, ibid., 26).

90. Ibid., § 1.

91. Ibid., § 2.

92. Supra, p. 111ff; [illegible].

93. Fam., XIII, 41 (the first, ibid., 42).

94. Ibid., § 2.

95. Ibid.

96. Fam., XIII, 44 (the first, ibid., 43).

97. Cf. Fam., XIII, 55.1; 57, 2.

98. Supra, p. 144.

99. Fam., XIII, 57.

100. I, 21 = Fam., XIII, 75.

101. Ibid., § 1.

102. Fam., XIII, 54 = I, 33.

103. Fam., XIII, 40.

104 Fam., XIII, 52.

105. Fam., XIII, 16, 3.

106. Fam., XIII, 43.

107. Fam., XIII, 54.

108. Fam., XIII, 55.1.

109. Fam., XIII, 27.1.

110. Fam., XIII, 28.1.

111. Fam., XIII, 42.2.

112. Fam., XII, 26.2.

113. Fam., XII, 30.1.

114. Fam., XIII, 70.

115. Fam., XIII, 71.

116. Fam., XIII, 11.

117. Fam., XIII, 32.

118. Fam., V, 5.1.

119. The following discussion relies mainly on Table II of the Appendix.

120. II, 1 = Att., II, 1.12.

121. Supra, p. 138.

122. II, 3 = QF., I, 2.4 - 5.

123. Ibid., 4.

124. Ibid., 5.

125. Cf. Tyrrell and Purser, op.cit., I^2, 327. How, adopting the same version, translates: 'Possibly, if brought to trial, he ought not to have been released' (op.cit., II, 122).

126. II, 5 = Fam., I, 10.

127. Fam., III, 1.3 = I, 17.

128. Fam., VII, 5 = I, 13.

129. Fam., VII, 6.1

130. Fam., VII, 7.1

131. Fam., VII, 8.1 = II, 9.

132. Fam., VII, 8.1; 17.2.

133. Fam., VII, 8.1.

134. Fam., VII, 8.1. From this it is impossible to determine whether or not he served as tribunus militum (cf. P. Sonnet, RE, VIA, 2259ff).

135. Fam., VII, 5.3: 'Huic ego neque tribunatum neque praefecturam neque ullius benefici certum nomen peto, benevolentiam tuam et liberalitatem peto ...'

136. E.g. Fam., VII, 17.3.

137. Fam., VII, 10.1; 11.2; 13.2.

138. Fam., VII, 14.2.

139. Fam., VII, 16.3.

140. Att., VII, 17.3 - 4.

141. Fam., VII, 8.2 = II.6.

142. QF., II, 14.3; III, 1.10 = 11, 7.

143. Fam., II, 17.6 - 7 = II, 12.

144. Ibid., § 7.

145. Ibid., § 7

146. Fam., V, 10a. 1 - 2 = II, 17. P. Garnsey ('The Criminal Jurisdiction of Governors', J.R.S. 58 (1968), 51), overlooks this case of a criminal trial involving citizen-defendants in the provinces.

147. Ibid., § 2.

148. For Q. Volusius, cf. Table II, 17.

149. Ibid., § 2.

150. Att., II, 22.7 = III, 4.

151. QF., I, 2.4 = III, 5.

152. Att., IV, 16.1 = III, 8.

153. Fam., XII, 25a 1 = III, 36.

154. Fam., XII, 30.5 = III, 36.

155. Fam., IX, 24.1 = III, 35.

156. Fam., XV, 14.1 = III, 15.

157. Fam., IX, 25.2 - 3; II, 14; XIII, 59 = I, 35; 36; 37.

158. Cf. supra, p. 93ff.

159. Fam., IX, 25.2 - 3.

160. Fam., II, 14.

161. Fam., XIII, 59.

162. Fam., IX, 25.3.

163. Fam., XV, 14.1.

164. Att., XIV, 13A (= IV, 5;6); 13B.

165. Att., XIV, 13A.

166. Cf. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, 'Sex. Clodius - Sex. Cloelius', CQ., n.s. 10 (1960), 41.

167. Cf. Asconius, In Milonianam, 29; 40; 49 (Clark).

168. For the background cf. T. Rice Holmes, The Architect of the Roman Empire (1928), 1ff. The lex de actis Caesaris confirmandis (Phil., V, 10), following the decision of the Senate of March 17 had already been passed by April 19 (Att., XIV, 10.1).

169. Att., XIV, 13.6.

170. On Antonius' forgeries cf. Att., XIV, 12.1; Fam., XII, 1.1; Phil., II, 35; 92; 97.

171. Cf. Phil., II, 7ff for a vehement defence of his letter which Antonius read to the Senate, especially: 'Quod enim verbum in istis litteris est non plenum humanitatis, offici, benevolentiae' (§ 9).

172. Cf. infra., p. 248ff.

Notes to Part III, chapter 1, pp. 186-188

1. Cf. A.M. Guillemin, Pline et la vie littéraire de son temps (1929), 113ff; A.N. Sherwin-White, The Letters of Pliny (1966), 2;55.

2. Pliny's augurship belongs about 103 A.D. (cf. R. Syme, Tacitus (1958), II, 659.

3. On the man cf. infra, p. 196.

4. Ep. IV, 8.4.

5. I, 5.12.

6. III, 20.10-11.

7. IX, 2.2-4.

8. Tacitus, Dial. de Or., 40.

9. To mention only two of the numerous studies: R. Syme, Tacitus (1958), 2 vols.; H. Bardon, Les Empereurs et les lettres latines d'Auguste à Hadrien (1940).

10. Opinions vary a great deal. For a discussion of the range of opinions and bibliography cf. K. Zelzer, 'Zur Frage der Charakter der Briefsammlung des jüngeren Plinius', Wien. Stud. 77 (1964), 144ff.

11. In addition to Zelzer's study (cf. preceeding note), three studies dedicated to corrections of the data in Sherwin-White's The Letters of Pliny, should be mentioned: 1) C.P. Jones, 'A New Commentary of the Letters of Pliny', Phoenix 22 (1968), 111; 2) F. Millar's review in J.R.S. 58 (1968), 218; 3) R. Syme, 'People in Pliny', J.R.S. 58 (1968), 135. But cf. also, P. White, 'The Friends of Martial, Statius and Pliny, and the Dispersal of Patronage', HSCPh 79 (1975), 265. For individuals, cf. the abundant bibliographical notes in the above articles.

12. My discussion relates only to the letters of recommendation. For the rest we may agree with Syme's judicious statement: 'Nobody would be so incautious as to believe that every item represents a genuine letter, written as and when it purports to have been written' (Tacitus, II, 663). Cf. by the same writer, 'Pliny and the Dacian Wars', Danubian Papers (1970), 245 (first published in Latomus 23 (1964), 750), for an explanation of Pliny's methods.

13. Sherwin-White, op. cit., 12-13.

14. Ibid., 12.

15. Cf. esp. Part I, ch. 3, p. 40 ff.

16. Ep. VI, 6.9.

17. On the question of dates cf. Syme, Tacitus, II, 660ff.; Sherwin-White, op. cit., 20-65.

18. Cf. R. Syme, 'Pliny's Less Successful Friends', Historia 9 (1960), 367.

19. As Syme's study quoted in the preceding note proves.

20. Cass. Dio, 40, 54.3.

21. On the public nature of the letters of recommendation cf. supra, pp 51ff.

22. Cf. Guillemin, op. cit., ch. 1.

23. The exceptions discussed below (p. 154ff) are Ep. IV.4 and VII, 22. cf. for similar observations K. Thraede, Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Brieftopik, Zetemata H. 48 (1970), 74ff.

24. Cf. supra, p. 44ff.

25. Fam., XIII, 5.3.

26. Ep. II, 13.11.

27. Cf. supra, p. 44ff.

28. Fam., XIII, 2.

29. Ibid., XIII, 58.

30. Ep. II, 13.1-2.

31. Ibid., II, 13.7.

32. Fam., XIII, 28.

33. Ibid., XIII, 23.2.

34. Ep., VII, 31.7.

35. Ibid., VII, 22.3.

36. Cf. supra, Part I, Ch. 2, p. 16ff

37. Ep. III, 2.1.

38. Ibid., VI, 8.5.

39. Cf. supra, p. 30; 51.

40. Fam., XII, 29.3.

41. Cf. supra, p. 53ff and Z. Yavetz, 'Existimatio, Fama and the Ides of March', HSCPh 78 (1974), 35.

42. Fam., XI, 16.3.

43. Ep., VI, 6.9.

44. Ep., III, 8.3.

45. In contrast with some of Pliny's letters one should compare the non-literary letters of recommendation of the imperial period preserved in

papyri, inscriptions and tablets. Cf. infra, Addendum, p. 232 ff. Yet there are similarities as well, especially in conforming to the rules of decorum.

46. Ep., I,1.1.

47. Cf. supra, p. 8, n. 50.

48. Cf. supra, p 56, n. 133.

49. Pliny's readiness to take upon himself legal cases in compliance with the wish of other recommenders (e.g. I,7; IV,17; VI,12; 18) makes it likely that letters requesting judicial preference were written but discreetly suppressed.

50. Cf. G.E.M. de Ste Croix, 'Suffragium: from vote to Patronage', BJS (1954), 38, for lack of distinction between the two terms in our period.

51. Cf. Tac. Hist., IV. 7: 'nullum maius boni imperii instrumentum quam bonos amicos esse'; Pliny, Paneg., 85.6: 'Etenim cum plurimis amicitiis fortuna principum indigeat, praecipuum est principis opus amicos parare', and cf. F. Millar, A Study of Cassius Dio (1964), 186.

52. Cf. supra, p. 32 ff.

53. Ep., II, 9.1-3.

54. Cf. supra, p. 61 ff.

55. Cf. supra, p 67 ff.

56. Cf. supra, pp. 61-64.

Notes to Part III, Chapter 2, pp. 195, 196 .

1. R. Syme, 'Pliny's Less Successful Friends', Historia 9 (1960), 364.

2. cf. K. Zelzer,'Zum Frage des Charakter der Briefsammlung des jüngeren Plinius', Wien Stud. 77 (1964), 152-3.

3. Syme, Tacitus (1958), I, 86. G.E.F. Chilver (Cisalpine Gaul (1941), 101), will go even further: 'Pliny's letters suggest that Rome had a Cisalpine clique in political and literary circles'. For criticism of this view cf. R. Syme, 'People in Pliny', J.R.S. 58 (1968), 135ff.

4. Ep., II, 1.8 (note: 'utrique (i.e. Pliny and Verginius) eadem regio, municipia finitima'.) For Mediolanum cf. ILS, 982.

5. Ep., IV, 17.6-9. The letter is a reply to a request to take up the case of Corellius' daughter against the designate consul C. Caecilius. cf. Syme, 'People in Pliny', op. cit., 147, for Corellius and his daughter.

6. Ep., I, 14.4.

7. Ep., VII, 22.2. For the circumference of Pliny's regio cf. Syme, 'People in Pliny', op. cit., 135ff.

8. Syme, 'People in Pliny', op. cit., 136.

9. For local patriotism in Cisalpine Gaul cf. Chilver, op. cit., 86ff., and for Pliny's in particular cf. R. Duncan-Jones, 'The Finances of the Younger Pliny', PBSR N.S. 20 (1965), 177. Cf. also, M. Bonjour, Terre Natale (1975), 178ff, on Pliny's attachment to Comum.

10. Ep., III, 2.2.

11. I, 2; II, 11; 12; IV, 8; 12; VI, 2; VIII, 21.

12. 'cum dico princeps, non de facultatibus, quae illi large supersunt ...' (III, 2.2). For a similar mode of expressing a man's wealth of Cicero, Fam., XIII, 13: 'L. Castronius Paetus, longe princeps municipi Lucensis, est honestus, gravis, plenus offici, bonus plane vir et cum virtutibus tum etiam fortuna, si quid hoc ad rem pertinet, ornatus'.

13. I, 2; IV, 8; VIII, 21: on oratory and recitations.

14. Cf. also Zelzer, op. cit., 154-5.

15. For this man cf. infra, p. 205.

16. IV, 4.

17. V, 7.4.

18. II, 20; III, 1; 19; V, 7; VIII, 2; IX, 6. cf. Zelzer, op. cit., 157-8.

19. Cf. ILS 2722 which the PIR^2 C 1406 identifies with Pliny's friend. Contra, E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army (1953), 141 and n. 17.

20. VII, 22.2.

21. Cf. supra, n. 19.

22. III, 9; IV, 11; VIII, 12.

23. II, 9.

24. Cf. Syme, 'Pliny's Less Successful Friends', op. cit., 374.

25. II, 9.4.

26. I.1; 15; VII, 28; VIII, 1.

27. For the method of publication cf. Syme, Tacitus, II, 660ff, and for a different opinion Sherwin-White, op. cit., 30.

28. I, 1.1.

29. Lydus, De Mensibus, II, 6.

30. X, 12.

31. CIL, V, 876.

32. The inscription proving it is quoted in Syme, Tacitus, II, 801, n.3.

33. On Minicius and Plutarch cf. RE, XV, 1820ff; C.P. Jones, Plutarch and Rome (1971), 58ff; 'Towards a Chronology of Plutarch's Works', J.R.S. 56 (1966), 61.

34. IV, 15.2. cf. Syme, Tacitus, II, 801.

35. IV, 15 and VI, 6 are recommendations. The two others are I,9 and VII, 12. The latter is asigned by Sherwin-White (op. cit., 416) to Cornelius Minicianus. See, however, Syme, Tacitus, II, 661; 669 for the observation that VII, 22 fits our man admirably.

36. VII, 22: Fundanus stood for the 'Attic' style.

37. Pliny's appreciation of Fundanus' culture is apparent in a letter notifying a common friend of the premature death of Fundanus' daughter (V, 15).

38. V, 14.8; IX, 20.2. cf. Syme, Tacitus, I, 84ff.

39. Pliny's first book contains letters from A.D. 97 and some from 98. cf. Syme, Tacitus, II, App. 21. For recent discussion of Suetonius cf. Syme, ibid., App. 76; AE (1953), 73 for the inscription from Hippo Regius; Pflaum, Carrières, no. 96; G. Townend, 'The Date of Composition of Suetonius' Caesares', CQ N.S. 9 (1959), 285; 'The Hippo Inscription and the Career of Suetonius', Historia 10 (1961), 99; G.W. Bowersock, 'Suetonius and Trajan', Mélanges Renard I (1969), 119.

40. I, 24.4.

41. I, 18.

42. III.8 to L. Neratius Marcellus, governor of Britain by January A.D. 103 (cf. CIL, XVI, 48 and E. Birley, Epig. Stud. 4 (1967), 68). cf. Syme, A. Tacitus, II, App. 14, no. 27 on the date of the letter. L. Neratius Marcellus might be the Marcellus mentioned on one of the Tablets from Vindolanda (cf. A.K. Bowman - J.D. Thomas - R.P. White, Britannia 5 (1974), 472 and A.K. Bowman - J.D. Thomas, 'The Vindolanda Tablets and their Significance: An Interim Report', Historia 24 (1975), 475.

43. V, 10. If Bowersock's hypothesis is accepted (op. cit., supra, n. 39) it could be a reference to the later Vitae which according to him preceded the first group of Vitae.

44. IX, 34.

45. X, 94.1: 'nunc propius inspexi', this emendation of the manuscript's 'hunc' is generally accepted. cf. Syme, Tacitus, II, App. 76; Sherwin-White, op. cit., 690.

46. Cf. further, infra, p. 217ff; 229; 231.

47. X, 4.1. Cf. also II, 13.5: 'Hunc ego cum simul studeremus, arte familiariterque dilexi; ille meus in urbe ille in secessu contubernalis'.

48. For a general background to the rise of the provincials, cf. Syme, Tacitus, Part IX: 'The New Romans', II, 585ff, Colonial Élites (1958), 1-23.

49. CIL, II, 3865 and Ep. II, 13.4: 'pater ei equestri gradu clarus'.

50. II, 13.4: 'Ipse citerioris Hispaniae (scis quod iudicium provinciae illius, quanta sit gravitas) flamen proxime fuit'. For evaluation of the priesthood and the flaminate in Spain cf. R. Étienne, La culte impériale dans la péninsule iberique d'Auguste à Dioclétien (1958), 121; 152 who considers the tenure of these offices as a means of gaining access to an equestrian career. This was not always the case; cf. R. Duncan-Jones, 'Equestrian Rank in the Cities of the African Provinces under the Principate: An Epigraphical Survey', PBSR N.S. 22 (1967), 147; many of the provincial equestrians did not pursue a career outside the province, although their new rank allowed it.

51. II, 13.6-7; X, 4.4.

52. II, 13.7.

53. IX, 28.1.

54. I,5; II, 1; III, 13; VI, 15; 33; VIII, 8; IV, 7; 28 cf. Syme, 'Pliny's Less Successful Friends', op. cit., 365-7 for a full reconstruction and Zelzer, op. cit., 159.

55. X, 4.

56. II, 13.8.

57. II, 13. Syme's dating of this letter as subsequent to the letter to Trajan (X, 4) seems to me entirely convincing (cf. supra, n. 51 for the reference). For Iavolenus Priscus' governorship of Syria of Syme, Tacitus, II, 631-2 who puts it in 98-100. For arguments in favour of Syme's conjecture against Sherwin-White's (op. cit., 370ff) cf. C.P. Jones, 'A New Commentary on the Letters of Pliny', Phoenix 22 (1968), 119-121.

58. II, 9.3. On Domitius Apollinaris cf. infra, p. 204.

59. Gellius, XIII, 18.2.

60. Ibid., XIII, 11; VII, 6.12.

61. Cf. supra, p. 196.

62. For the date cf. Syme, 'Pliny's Less Successful Friends', op. cit., 367. Contra, Sherwin-White, op. cit., 156 who suggests late 97 to coincide with Apollinaris' consulate.

63. Further on this, infra, p. 212.

64. For a delayed subsequent career of Syme, 'Pliny's Less Successful Friends', op. cit., 367.

65. 'Julius Naso and Julius Secundus', HSCPh 72 (1968), 27.

66. Inst. X, 3.12; 1. 120.

67. Ep., VI, 6.3-4. Plutarch's testimony that Julius Secundus was the ab epistulis of Otho (Otho, 9) probably as an eques should not be irreconcilable with the fact that in our letter he is said to have been a senator. As Jones points out (op. cit., supra, n. 65) he might have become a senator before his death.

68. The brother's death is mentioned in Ep., VI, 6.6-7.

69. The father's death was also premature. cf. Quint. Inst. X, 1, 120: 'Julio Secundo, si longior contigisset aetas, clarissimum profecto nomen oratoris apud posteros foret'. On the unfavourable consequences of his death for his son's career of Pliny, Ep., VI, 6.4: 'vir alioqui clarus et gravis et qui prodesse filio memoria sua debeat. Sed multi nunc in senatu quibus ignotus ille, multi quibus notus sed non nisi viventes reverentur. Quo magis huic, amissa gloria patris in qua magnum ornamentum gratia infirma, ipsi enitendum est ipsi elaborandum est.'

70. The full force and appeal of Jones' reconstruction seems to me to lie in its accounting for Ep., VI, 9; it is the only personal letter from Pliny to Tacitus who recommended Julius Naso to him. Being one of the most devoted disciples of Julius Secundus, Tacitus will certainly be working for his dead teacher's son (cf. Dial. de Or., 2, for Tacitus' devotion).

71. VI, 6.3.

72. VI, 6.5-6.

73. cf. Gelzer, The Roman Nobility (1968), 76 and n. 132 for references to the tie between quaestors and their commanders. Cf. also L.A. Thompson, 'The Relationship between Provincial Quaestors and their Commanders in-chief', Historia 11 (1962), 339 who attacks the current view of a parental tie resting on religious law but leaves intact the commonplace dictated by custom and political expediency. Whether or not the existence of such a tie is a fallacy, we have nevertheless some evidence in Cicero for attempts to strengthen these ties by means of letters of recommendation: cf. Fam., XIII, 10 to M. Iunius Brutus on behalf of M. Terentius Varro Murena; Fam. II, 18, an attempt to persuade Q. Minucius Thermus to hand the province over to his quaestor. In addition Cicero himself acknowledges having received such letters on behalf of his quaestor C. Coelius Caldus (Fam., II, 19.2). Finally, he refers to a request by Sallustius to recommend the latter to his commander, Bibulus (Fam., II, 17.6 and see supra, p. 59 on this letter.

74. His full name is T. Priferinus Paetus Rosianus Geminus, adopted son or close kin of T. Priferinus Paetus (Suff. 96) of whom nothing is known, cf. Syme, 'Pliny's Less Successful Friends', op. cit., 368-9; 371-2 for family and subsequent career.

75. X, 26.

76. X, 26.1.

77. VII, 1; 24; VIII, 5; 22; IX, 11; 30.

78. VII, 31.2.

79. His command is mentioned in our letter and in his inscription CIL, VI, 31032 = ILS, 1418 (cf. PIR^2, c 966; Pflaum, Carrières, no. 54; as Pflaum points out there is no reason to deny the identification of the ala miliaria in our letter with the ala Flavia miliaria of the inscription as PIR^2 does). On the importance of this command cf. E. Birley, 'Alae and Cohortes Miliariae', Corolla Memoriae E. Swoboda Dedicata (1966), 54, esp. 58.

80. VII, 31.2.

81. § 3: 'postea promotus ad amplissimas procurationes'.

82. Cf. supra, n. 79; the man was a praef. gentium in Africa, Procurator Alpium Graiarum and Proc. Aug. vicessimae hereditatum.

83. VII, 31.3.

84. For Corellius Rufus cf. supra, p. 195.

85. VII, 31.4.

86. VII, 31.5.

87. Suff. 71? Leg. of XI Claudia in 69 (Tac. Hist., III, 50.2). The same man was the procos. of Cyprus in 66 mentioned in IGR, III, 971(1) cf. PIR^2 A 637 and Syme, Gnomon 31 (1959), 516.

88. VII, 31.7. On Cornutus Tertullus cf. infra, p 205.

89. X, 87. The father was a praefectus in Syria. Sherwin-White (op. cit., 683), suggests that it was a praefectura castrorum (adopting Hardy's view in C. Plini Caecilii Secundi Epistulae ad Traianum ... (1889), ad loc.), since he assumes that Nymphidius the father lacked equestrian status. Cf., however, B. Dobson's introductory notes to A. von Domaszewski, Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres (1967), XXI, where it is maintained that the primipilares received equestrian rank, and moreover that being a primipilaris carried more prestige than the mere possession of an equestrian rank. Pliny might easily have omitted to mention the latter.

90. X, 87.3. The commanders are Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator (PIR, P. 143) and Ti. Julius Ferox (PIR^2 I 306); their provinces are unknown.

91. The full significance of this fact will be seen later. cf. F. Millar, The Emperor in the Roman World (1977), Part III, ch. 6, §2, for a commentary on this letter.

92. IV, 15.10. The father's virtues are described at great length in §§1-3. Cf. Syme, Tacitus, II, 800 for a conjecture that he might be the legate to the proconsul, Q. Pomponius Rufus in Africa in 109-110.

93. Ibid., §6.

94. Ibid., §1.

95. For other distinguished young men who look to Pliny as their guide in eloquence cf. Ep., VI, 11: Fuscus Salinator and Urmidius Quadratus. On the first cf. supra, n. 90. On the second cf. Syme, Tacitus II, 479-480 and Jones, 'A New Commentary ...', op. cit., 130.

96. According to Syme ('People in Pliny', op. cit., 147), he is identical with the boy ministrant to the Fratres Arvales in 87 (CIL, VI, 2065, col. II, 52), and son of the cos. suff. of 81.

97. VI, 23.

98. The three testimonials of officials serving with Pliny in Bithynia (X, 85; 86A; 86B) and requests for citizenship for peregrini and ius quiritium for Junian Latins, all addressed to the Emperor, constitute a special case, cf. infra, p. 216ff.

99. Cf. supra, p. 71, n. 1.

100. Cf. supra, p. 27ff.

101. In fact only in two letters is he specific: IV, 4 and VII, 22, but from III, 8 we learn that he was so also in Suetonius' case, but we do not possess the letter itself, if there were any; he could have approached Neratius Marcellus by word of mouth.

102. II, 13.2.

103. III, 2.1. Cf. infra, n. 121 for Vibius Maximus.

104. II, 9.6.

105. IV, 15.13.

106. VI, 6.8. On the elections in the Senate of M.L. Paladini, 'Le Votazioni del Senato Romano nell'Età di Traiano', Athenaeum 37 (1958), and infra, p. 211ff.

107. Cf. Syme, Tacitus, I, 87 and 'People in Pliny', op. cit., 141: 'Some "circles" in high favour with the histories of Latin literature crack or disaggregate under sharp inspection ... The Plinian company stands the test and comes out with credit. It is authentic. And not over-embellished. The author was polite and subtle. He was not at pains to solicit illustrious names. Negative testimony avails' and so on.

108. II, 9.5.

109. Pliny could requite a person by taking up a legal case for him or for his protégés, especially in his own arena, the centumvirate court (cf. VI, 12: 'itaque Vettio Prisco quantum plurimum praestabo, praesertim in harena mea hoc est apud centumviros'). We have 3 letters showing such undertakings on Pliny's part: IV, 17; VI, 12; VI, 18 and one letter in which Pliny complies with a request not to appear in a legal case against his correspondent's friend.

110. Cf. infra, p. 228.

111. This is a summary of the long argument contained in ch. 2 of the Introduction, p. 16 ff.

112. II, 13.11.

113. I, 24.4.

114. IV, 15.11.

115. VI, 6.8.

116. Ibid., §9.

117. VII, 22.1. On Pompeius Flaco cf. infra, p. 205

118. Cf. supra, p. 53 ff, 191.

119. VI, 6.1.

120. A much later instance of the multiplicity of letters of recommendation is documented in P. Abinn. 1 (H.I. Bell, V. Martin, E.G. Turner, D. van Berchem, The Abinnaeus Archive (1962), no. 1. The date of the petition is ca. 341. Cf. also supra. pp. 13-14 and infra, p. 246.

121. So for example no certainty can be achieved with regard to Vibius Maximus, cf. III, 2. He might be the Prefect of Egypt in 103-107, but as P. White points out there were at least three different contemporary Vibii Maximi ('Vibius Maximus, the Friend of Statius', Historia 22 (1973), 295). He convincingly refutes Syme's ('C. Vibius Maximus: Prefect of Egypt', Historia 6 (1957), 480) and Pflaum's (Carrières, no. 65) identification of the Prefect of Egypt with Statius' friend (Silvae, IV, preface; ode 7) of the same name. He also questions the identification of Statius' friend with Martial's Vibius Maximus (XI, 106).

122. Unless a compelling reason makes us do so, there is no need to assign any of the letters addressing a Maximus to the recipient of III, 2. cf. Jones, 'A New Commentary ..., op. cit., 122-3 for the difficulties involved in sorting out the various Maximi; also, Syme, 'People in Pliny', op. cit., 143.

123. PIR^2 D. 133. Appears in Ep., IX, 13.3 from 97 as consul designatus. cf. Syme, Tacitus, II, 631; 641.

124. V, 16.

125. Cf. supra, p. 197 and nn. 32-37.

126. PIR^2, I 13; Syme, 'The Jurist Neratius Marcellus', Hermes 85 (1957), 480; Tacitus, II, 631-2; 645; 761; W. Kunkel, Herkunft und soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen (1967), 138ff.

127. VI, 15. On the literary circles cf. A.M. Guillemin, Le public et la vie littéraire à Rome (1937), ch. III and P. White, 'The Friends of Martial, Statius and Pliny and the Dispersal of Patronage', HSCPh 79 (1975), 265.

128. He was the head of the Sabinian school (Dig. I, 2.2.53) and the teacher of P. Salvius Julianus (Dig. 40, 2.5). Cf. also Pliny's words about him in VI, 15.3: 'interest ... officiis, adhibetur consiliis atque etiam ius civile publice respondet'.

129. Syme, Tacitus, I, 84.

130. Cf. C.P. Jones, 'Sura and Senecio', J.R.S. 60 (1970), 98, discussing CIL, VI, 1444 = ILS, 1022.

131. I, 13.

132. Cf. Jones, Plutarch and Rome, 54.

133. Cf. Schürer, History of the Jewish People I, edd. Vermes and Millar (1973), 516-17, for the evidence on this man. cf. also Jones, 'Sura and Senecio' (op. cit., supra, n. 130), 103.

134. I, 23; IV, 27; IX, 15.

135. Cf. S. Jameson, 'Cornutus Tertullus and the Plancii of Perge', J.R.S. 55 (1965), 54; S. Mitchell, 'The Plancii in Asia Minor', J.R.S. 64 (1974), 27.

136. VII, 21.

137. Cf. Syme, Tacitus, I, 82-3.

138. V, 14, esp. §§4-6 and Paneg., 90-93.

Notes to Part III, Chapter 3, pp. 206-208

1. Danubian Papers (1971), 245 (first published in Latomus 23 (1964), 750-9.

2. In marked contrast as Syme notes there (249, n. 18) with the letters to the Emperor, where Pliny does give such details.

3. The concept whose chief exponents were E. Birley ('Senators in the Emperor's Service', Proceedings of the British Academy 39 (1953), 197), and Syme, Tacitus, passim and elsewhere) is now under attack. cf. B. Campbell, 'Who were the 'viri mililitares?', J.R.S. 65 (1975), 11.

4. Syme, 'Pliny and the Dacian Wars', op. cit., 249.

5. Syme, Tacitus, I, 98 and cf. 'Pliny and the Dacian Wars', op. cit., 245; 252.

6. Syme, Tacitus, II, App. 3 and supra, p.204, n.126.

7. Syme, 'Pliny's less Successful Friends', op. cit., 365.

8. II, 13.10.

9. Some juristic texts imply that the names of the amici were referred to the aerarium or to the imperial archives. cf. Dig. 4,6.32; 27,1.41.2. As for the exercise of free choice in the selection of the governor's comites or amici cf. Fronto, Ad Ant. Pium, 8.

10. II, 13.10.

11. Ibid.

12. On the man cf. P. Sonnet, 'C. Trebatius Testa', RE, VIA, 2251ff; W. Kunkel, Herkunft und Soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen (1967), 28ff; C. Nicolet, L'ordre équestre, II, no. 350; cf. also the remarks of E. Fraenkel in connection with Hor, Sat, II.1 (Horace (1957), 145ff). For Trebatius' relationship with Cicero, cf. P. Sonnet, op. cit., and G. Boissier, Cicéron et ses amis[9] (1892), 244ff.

13. Fam., VII. 5 (April, 54 B.C.). For the background cf. the study of F. Lossmann dedicated to the correspondence between Cicero and Caesar in this year: Cicero und Caesar im Jahre 54: Studien zur Theorie und Praxis der römischen Freundschaft (1962), esp. 24-33; 56-59.

14. Fam., VII, 5.3.

15. Of the many studies which describe this relationship only a few can be mentioned here: G. Boissier, op. cit., 221ff; M. Gelzer, Caesar: Politician and Statesman, Eng. trans. (1968), 134ff; 'Caesar und Cicero', SB Frankfurt 7 (1968), 5; Cicero (1969), 191ff. and at great length Lossmann, op. cit., supra, n. 13.

16. Fam., VII. 5.2: 'Casus vero mirificus quidam intervenit quasi vel testis opinionis meae vel sponsor humanitatis tuae'.

17. In the same letter Cicero quotes Caesar's enthusiastic response to a previous recommendation of Cicero: 'Mi ..., quem mihi commendas, vel regem Gallide faciam, vel hunc Leptae delega, si vis. Tu ad me alium mitte

quem ornem' (Fam., VII, 5.2). cf. also, Fam., VII, 8.1 and 17.2, where Caesar's response is related to Trebatius.

18. One can infer this from Cicero's words: 'De quo tibi homine haec spondeo non illo vetere verbo meo, quod cum ad te de Milone scripsissem, iure lusisti' (VII, 8.3). cf. Tyrrell and Purser, The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero^2, II, 131 and Lossmann, op. cit., 27.

19. Cf. supra, p. 189ff.

20. Fam., XIII, 15 (March, 45 B.C.).

21. Cf. E. Fraenkel, 'Some Notes on Cicero's Letters to Trebatius', J.R.S. 47 (1957), 66.

22. Cf. Fam. VII, 6.1: 'In omnibus meis epistulis, quas ad Caesarem aut ad Balbum mitto, legitima quaedam est accessio commendationis tuae, nec ea vulgaris sed cum aliquo insigni indicio meae erga te benevolentiae'. (For the concept commendatio vulgaris cf. supra, p. 9), and again Fam., VII, 7.1: 'Ego te commendare non desisto', ibid. §2 'commendationem certe singularem' but especially VII, 17.2: 'Sic ei [i.e. Caesari] te commendavi et tradidi, ut gravissime diligentissimeque potui'; this letter (VII, 17) stands out from the rest of the correspondence with Trebatius for its sustained seriousness and gravity, (cf. Fraenkel, 'Some Notes on Cicero's Letters to Trebatius', op. cit., 70) and Cicero's words should be taken literally.

23. Fam., XIII, 15.3.

24. Pliny: Ep., II,13.4-7 and infra, p. 237ff. Cicero: Fam. VII, 5.3. cf. P. Sonnet, op. cit., 2252-3 for a cautious interpretation of 'familiam ducit'.

25. Trebatius, even if we discount Cicero's mockery of his well-known cowardice (cf. Fam., VII, 10.2; 18.1), has no taste for army life as the correspondence makes abundantly clear. Moreover, Caesar dispensed him from actual service, as we learn from Cicero: 'sum admiratus cur tribunatus commoda, dempto praesertim labore militiae contempseris'. As has been pointed out by Sonnet (op. cit., 2259ff) it cannot be inferred from this sentence whether or not Trebatius served nominally as a tribunus militum (contra, Nicolet, loc. cit., who thinks he must have held the tribunate).

On the Roman attitude to specialization cf. P.A. Brunt, 'The Administration of Egypt', J.R.S. 65 (1975), 124, who, taking the government of Egypt as a test-case, demonstrates that there is no reason to believe that specialization has become increasingly favoured under the Empire; 'the conception is anachronistic'. (144).

26. Cf. Lossmann, op. cit., 49 and n. 1 there. Lossmann dedicates a long excursus to the concept of 'alter ego' (ibid., 23-47).

27. Although, as has been observed, the argument is turned upside down in a studied conceit: 'Et tu occasiones obligandi me avidissime complecteris' (Ep. II, 13.1, cf. supra, p. 190).

28. Pliny says 'Extenderem preces nisi et tu rogari diu nolles et ego tota hoc epistula fecissem' (II, 13.11). Cicero concludes with the enigmatic phrase: 'Simus enim putidiusculi quamquam per te vix licet' (VII, 5.3) which has received many explanations. For one which fits the interpretation offered above cf. Manutius, apud Lossmann op. cit., 30: 'excusat se, quod in Trebatio commendando plura verba consumpserit quam Caesaris humanitas patiatur ... etc.'

29. III, 2.

30. Cf. preceding chapter, p. 204, n. 121.

31. III, 2.5.

32. There is no reason to doubt Pliny's sincerity when he claims to be acting without the man's expectation, knowledge or even will. Nor is there any reason to label the recommendation 'curious' (cf. Sherwin-White, op. cit., 211) or to assume a revision for publication when the words 'inopinantis nescientis, immo etiam nolentis' were inserted. It is not true that they were 'enough to lose the petition' (Sherwin-White, ibid.); a recipient, when complying with a request, is accommodating his friend, the recommender, rather than the latter's protégé.

33. VII, 31.

34. The book-date of VII, 31 is early 107 (cf. Syme, Tacitus, II, App. 21), Cornutus Tertullus' last documented post before the governorship of Aquitania in 111/112 is the cura of the Via Aemilia about 104. (Syme, Tacitus, I, 71, n. 6 citing ILS 1024 and Pliny, Ep., V, 14.1). However the possibility that Claudius Pollio is recommended for some post cannot be ruled out. The letter expatiates at great length upon his previous responsibilities.

35. VII, 31.7.

36. Cf. II, 13.2: 'Regis exercitum amplissimum ... longum praeterea tempus quo amicos tuos exornare potuisti ...', and the 'nunc iure' in III, 2.1 does not necessarily mean that Maximus' appointment is recent as Sherwin-White takes it (op. cit., 211).

37. Ep., IV, 4; III, 8; VII, 22.

38. III, 8.4.

39. VII, 22.1. On the man cf. supra, p. 205.

40. In fact Pliny's evidence on the right of the imperial legates to appoint to military tribunates conflicts with the majority of the sources which regard it as an imperial prerogative. However, the legates might have had the right to appoint some of them (cf. Mommsen, Staatsr.,^{3} II, 266).

41. In the letter recommending Trebatius he mentions another person whose name cannot be rescued from the corrupte Mss. (VII, 5.2). But we know that he requested and received a tribunate for M. Curtius (on whom cf. Nicolet, op. cit., no. 129). cf. QF., II, 14.3: 'M. Curtio tribunatum ab eo petivi ... sed in alterum annum;' and QF., III, 1.10 'De tribunatu ... ego vero nominatim petivi Curtio et mihi ipse Caesar nominatim Curtio paratum esse perscripsit'.

42. Cf. QF., III, 1.10: 'Si cui praeterea petiero ... facile patior mihi negari, quoniam illi qui mihi molesti sunt sibi negari ⟨a⟩ me non facile patiuntur'; the interpretation offered above explains their insistence.

43. The bitter remark of the consul of 54, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, quoted by Cicero is of singular interest in this context: 'se ne tribunum militum quidem facere' (QF., II, 14.3); it is the ability to obtain such posts for one's protégés that reveals the influential man, the gratiosus. Caesar's monopoly over these sources of patronage galled his rivals who keenly felt the loss to their own prestige.

44. Ep., IV, 4. For the man cf. supra, p. 205.

45. For the man cf. supra, p. 196.

46. CIL XIII, 3162. cf. H.G. Pflaum, Le marbre de Thorigny (1958), 26-7.

47. M.L. Paladini, 'Le Votazioni del Senato Romano nell' Età di Traiano', Athenaeum 37 (1958), 3; 'Elezione dei magistrati al tempo di Plinio il Giovane e di Traiano: completamento al Campo Marzio della "destinatio" senatoriale', Hommages Hermann (Col. Lat. 44 (1960), 571.

48. From the reign of Tiberius it is certain that the consulate was a gift of the emperor: no one calls himself candidatus Caesaris as consul in inscriptions: 'for what was true of all did not need to be stated', F. Millar, The Emperor in the Roman World (1977), Part III, Chapter 6 §4: 'Senatorial Office'.

49. The letters dealing with elections in the Senate are III, 20; IV, 25; VI, 19. For suffragium of others for Pliny cf. II, 1.8 (Verginius Rufus), IV, 17.6 (Corellius Rufus). Pliny mentions his suffragium for Iunius Avitus in VIII, 23.8. cf. also Paneg. 65-75, analysed by Paladini, 'Le Votazioni ...' op. cit., 41ff, which describes the elections of A.D. 100.

50. Ep., II. 9. Cf. supra, p. 193ff and F. Millar, loc. cit., supra, n. 48 who rightly points out that it can be inferred from this passage that the Emperor could have refused to let Erucius have the ius tribunatus petendi.

51. The methods, a controversial matter, are discussed by B. Levick, 'Imperial Control of the Elections under the Early Principate: Commendatio, Suffragatio and Nominatio', Historia 16 (1967), 207.

52. Paneg., 66.4.

53. Cf. Wirszubski, Libertas as a Political Idea ... (1950), 129ff. and esp. 167ff for an analysis of the Panegyricus.

54. Paneg., 70,9.

55. Cf. G.E.M. de Ste Croix, 'Suffragium: From Vote to Patronage', B.J.S. (1954), 38 and Paladini, 'Le Votazioni ... op. cit., 17; 62-63; 67, n. 209.

56. II, 9.5-6.

57. VI, 6.8.

58. II, 9.1.

59. Ibid., §2-3.

60. VI, 6.9.

61. Ep., IV, 25.1.

62. IV, 15.

63. M.L. Paladini, ('Le Votazioni ...', op. cit., 32ff) entertains no doubt that this is so against the straightforward meaning of the Latin, cf. infra, nn. 72; 73.

64. IV, 15.5.

65. CIL, I, p.59: Fasti Fer. Lat.

66. Cf. Sherwin-White, op. cit., 291.

67. On the election-date for the suffect consuls we know from the Calendar of Polemius Silvius from 448/9 A.D. (CIL, I, p.257): on 9 January 'Senatus legitimus suffecti consules designantur ...'.

68. Loc. cit., supra, n. 66.

69. As Hammond (The Antonine Monarchy (1959), 313, n. 51) points out, a decision on this matter depends on the interpretation of Pliny, Ep. VIII, 23.5: 'quaestor consulibus suis, et plures habuit, non minus iucundus et gratus quam utilis fuit.'

70. For the date of the designation of quaestors cf. CIL, I, 267 (cited supra, n. 66).

71. IV, 15.6.

72. Paladini translates the phrase: 'Asinio Basso concorre per essere questore nel medesimo anno' (cf. 'Le Votazioni...', op. cit., 34) and enlists, wrongly, the T.L.L.'s support for her interpretation (ibid., nn. 98, 99). The construction 'concurrere ut ...' with the subjunctive does not yield the meaning she wants, i.e. 'competed with' but 'it coincides that', 'it happens simultaneously that' (cf. T.L.L., IV, Col. 116, 40-46 citing the present passage and Gaius, Inst. I, 17; Dig. 30, 68.1; 18, 1.1; all yielding the meaning 'it coincides that').

As an additional proof of her hypothesis, Paladini (op. cit., 35) bring up the reference to Fundanus' suffragium in the Senate mentioned in the later part of the letter (IV, 15.13), which according to her must mean his support and vote for Asinius Bassus in the coming elections to the quaestorship. However, her argument could be met either by Sherwin-White's assertion (op. cit., 293) that it refers to future elections or by supposing that the term is used loosely here; Fundanus' preference for Asinius Bassus - i.e. his suffragium - might help the latter in the future.

73. IV, 15.8. 'eligeres' is never used in the sense of casting one's vote for a candidate; the term in the latter case would be suffragari. This is another argument against Paladini.

74. IV, 15.9-10. On the filial-paternal relationship between quaestors and their consuls cf. supra, p. 199, n. 73.

75. VI, 6.9.

76. IV, 15.11.

77. Cf. supra, p. 193 and infra, chapter 4, p. 219 ff.

78. The following comments are based mainly on the Prologue to The Emperor in the Roman World (1977).

79. F. Millar, op. cit., Part I, ch. 5, §4, 'Answers to Written Petitions: Libelli and Subscriptiones'. Similar phrasing could be found in the writer's 'The Emperor, the Senate and the Provinces', J.R.S. 66 (1966), 166.

80. X, 4. cf. supra, p. 198.

81. Cf. Syme, 'Pliny's Less Successful Friends', op. cit., 365-7.

82. Cf. Millar, The Emperor in the Roman World, part III, ch. 6 § 4: 'Senatorial Office'.

83. Millar, op. cit., Part III, ch. 6 § 4: 'Senatorial Office'.

84. X, 12.1.

85. X, 26.2-3. Syme ('Pliny's less Successful Friends', op. cit., 368) suggests on the basis of a comparison with the language of X, 13, that Pliny might be requesting a priesthood.

86. X, 26.3.

87. Paneg., 15.5; 19.3.

88. The concept was introduced into the study of Roman administration by K. Hopkins in 'Structural Differentiation in Rome (200-31 B.C.)', History and Social Anthropology, 1968; 63. Cf. by the same writer: 'Elite Mobility in the Roman Empire' Studies in Ancient Society, ed. M.I. Finley (1974), 103 (first published in Past and Present, 32 (1965).

89. H.G. Pflaum, Les Procurateurs Equestres sous le Haut-Empire Romain (1950), 198ff, although later he makes some concessions towards not regarding the forma as 'toute-puissante' (206ff). But cf. ibid., 210.

90. Pflaum's theory rests on Fronto's Ad M. Caes. V, 52 (Van den Hout, 81) and in particular on the phrase 'ex forma suo loco ac iu ⟨st⟩o tempore'. The Ms. reads 'ea orma suo loco ac ius tempore'. 'Ex forma' is a marginal emendation. Cf. though a detailed discussion in E.J. Champlin, A Historical Study of Fronto of Cirta (unpublished D.Phil. thesis submitted to the University of Oxford, 1975), 341-343.

91. Cf. M. Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, ed. T. Parsons (1947), 333ff for the properties of an official career in modern officialdom: the gap between the latter and the Roman equestrian cursus can be detected immediately.

92. Cf. F. Millar's review of Pflaum's Carrières in J.R.S. 53 (1963), 194.

93. So Pflaum, op. cit., (supra, n.89), 2)5.

94. Ep., X, 85; 86A. The acephalous letter, X, 86B, is somewhat different and reads more like a personal testimonium rather than an official one. Note especially the use of 'indulgentia tua' which is characteristic of Pliny's personal recommendations to the Emperor (cf. infra, p. 220)

95. Cf. 85: 'Maximum libertum et procuratorem tuum ...' and 86A: 'Gavium Bassum, domine, praefectum orae Ponticae ...'.

96. E. Birley, 'The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Army', Roman Britain and the Roman Army (1953), 142; F. Millar, The Emperor in the Roman World, Part III, ch. 6 2: 'The Equestrian Order: the "Public Horse", the Jury Panels and Equestrian Offices'.

97. Cf. previous note.

98. L. Vidman (Étude sur la correspondence de Pline le Jeune avec Trajan (1960), ch. 6) assumes though that these officials were subordinate to Pliny. There is no proof of this.

99. On this man cf. a recently discovered inscription: D. Knibbe, 'Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos II, JÖAI 49 (1968-71, publ. 1973), Beiblatt 4 p. 15, no. 2 = AE. 1972, 573.

100. Cf. G. Barbieri, 'Ancora sul "praefectus orae maritimae"', Riv. di Fil. N.S. 24 (1947), 166.

101. On the Republic cf. supra, pp. 110 ff.

102. X, 87.3.

103. Cf. Brunt, op. cit., 124 on the Prefects of Egypt: 'the most distinguished career tells us that the man enjoyed the favour of emperors, not that he deserved it'.

104. X, 94.

105. Millar, The Emperor ..., Part III, Ch. 8 §2: 'Personal Status: Citizenship and Freedom'.

106. X, 5.

107. X, 6.

108. X, 7.

109. Millar, loc. cit., supra, n. 105.

110. X, 11.

111. Gaius, Inst. I, 93-4.

112. Millar, supra, n. 105.

113. On auxiliary centurions cf. J.F. Gilliam, 'The Appointment of Auxiliary Centurions', TAPA 38 (1975), 155. On diplomata and citizenship for auxiliary soldiers and their children cf. H. Nesselhauf, 'Das Bürgerrecht der Soldatenkinder', Historia 8 (1959), 434; K. Kraft, 'Zum Bürgerrecht der Soldatenkinder', ibid., 10 (1961), 120; G. Alföldy, 'Zum Beurteilung der Militärdiplome der Auxiliarsoldaten', ibid., 17 (1968), 215. And finally on the procedure of covering epistula attached to a libellus cf. W. Williams, 'The libellus procedure and the Severan Papyri', J.R.S. 64 (1974), 86. It should be pointed out that Ep. X, 107 and 108 show striking similarities to the letters in the Tabula Banasitana. cf. W. Seston, M. Euzennat, CRAI (1971), 468.

114. X, 5.2: II, 2: 104. On the Latini Juniani cf. Millar, op. cit., Part III, ch. 8 §2 and App. 4; A.M. Duff, Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire (1928), 75ff; A.N. Sherwin-White, The Roman Citizenship^2 (1973), 328ff.

115. X, 5.2.

116. X, 11.2.

117. Gaius, Inst. III, 72; Justinian, Inst. III, 7.4.

Notes to Part III, Chapter 4, pp. 219-221

1. For bibliography until 1960 cf. J. Beaujeu, 'Pline le jeune 1955-1960', Lustrum 6 (1961), 272, who also lists earlier bibliographies. For the problem of the authorship of Trajan's replies cf. A.N. Sherwin-White, 'Trajan's Replies to Pliny: Authorship and Necessity', J.R.S. 52 (1962), 114 reproduced more or less in The Letters of Pliny (1966), 530ff. and contra F. Millar, 'Emperors at Work', J.R.S. 57 (1967), 9 and The Emperor in the Roman World (1977), Part II, ch. 8.

2. It might be pointed out that except for a chronological study by L. Vidman, Etude sur la correspondence de Pline le Jeune avec Trajan (1960), ch. 2, the pre-Bithynian letters are completely ignored in studies on the correspondence.

3. For the chronology of Pliny's letters cf. R. Syme, Tacitus (1958), II, 660ff. and Sherwin-White, op. cit., 20-65 and for the pre-Bithynian letters in particular, ibid., 62-65.

4. For another reason cf. R. Syme, 'Pliny and the Dacian Wars', Danubian Papers (1971), 345-6.

5. Ep., X, 4.1; 5; 5.1; 6.2; 10.2; 11.1; 12.7; 26.2; 51.2; 87.3; 94; 104; 106.

6. Ep., X, 3A.1; 8.6; 13.1; 868/92; 120.

7. Gratia here should be taken in the sense given to it in ch. 2 of the Introduction, cf. supra, p. 27ff.

8. For general studies cf. M.P. Charlesworth, 'The Virtues of the Roman Emperor', Proc. of the Brit. Acad. 23 (1937), 105; H. Mattingly, 'The Emperor and his Clients', Todd Memorial Lecture No. 2 (1948), now published in Essays on Roman Culture, ed. A.J. Dunstan (1976), 159. Cf. also the articles on 'Legends and Types' in the introductions to each volume of the Catalogue of The Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum 6 vols (1923-1962); H. Mattingly and E.A. Sydenham, The Roman Imperial coinage (1926), cf. the introductions to the coins of each emperor; J. Béranger, Récherches sur l'aspect idéologique du principat (1953), passim; C.H.V. Sutherland, Coinage in Imperial Policy (31 B.C.-A.D. 68) (1951), passim; J. Beaujeu, La Religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire (1955), esp. I, 424ff.; M. Grant, Roman Imperial Money (1954), esp. ch. XII; 'Roman coins as Propaganda', Archaeology 5 (1952), 79; Roman History from coins (1958), passim. R. Syme, 'The Imperial Virtues', op. cit., 754ff. For studies on special virtues one should refer to the bibliographies given in the works listed above.

9. Cf. Ch. Wirszubski, Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome during the late Republic and Early Principate (1950), 153ff.

10. Paneg., 3.4.

11. Cf. Sall., Cat. 52, 11; Jug., 31.15; Hist., III, 48.13 and discussion by R. Syme, Sallust (1964), 117ff.; 255ff.

12. Syme, The Roman Revolution (1939), 154. But see the whole discussion there, ch. XI: 'Political Catchwords', 149ff. and Tacitus I, 412ff.; II, 754ff.

13. Cf. Tacitus, Hist., I, 2-3 and discussion in Wirszubski, op. cit., 154ff.; 164ff.

14. Paneg. 2,2-3.

15. Syme, Tacitus, II, 754.

16. But also 'indulgentia principalis' as in the Tabula Banasitana, CPAI (1971), 470-472, or 'indulgentia principis' or 'indulgentia imperatoris' etc.

17. Cf. Mattingly, 'The Emperor and his Clients', op. cit., 24.

18. Charlesworth, op. cit., 25.

19. Amm., XV, 1.3: 'confestim a iustitia declinavit ita intemperanter ut 'Aeternitatem meam' aliquotiens subsereret'.

20. Ep., X, 25.2 but cf. also X, 6.1; 8.4; 10.1; 14.3; 45; 46.2.

21. Symm., Ep., X, 13.1; 35.1.

22. Ibid., X, 4.1; 13.1; 16.1; 20.1; 26.1; 36.1; 39.1; 43.1; 44.1.

23. Ibid., X, 24.1; 48.2.

24. Ibid., X, 40.1.

25. Symmachus' usage shows no correlation between the context and the employment of any particular form of address; they seem to be chosen completely at random.

26. I am in doubt whether indulgentia in CIL, X, 1211 (A.D. 170): 'impetrata editione ab indulgentia maxima principis' is merely an 'appellatio principis honorifica' as the T.L.L. maintains listing it under this title (VII, 1, col. 1247, l. 52). Nor am I certain that indulgentia in CIL, III, 7000, 3 (Epist. Const. A.D. 331) and in CIL, VI, 8916 (an imperial letter to an a memoria) should be listed under this title; the combination of indulgentia and privilegium in both will suggest that the term indulgentia here has still preserved some of its original meaning. However the 'speciali adnotatione nostrae indulgentiae' of Cod. Theod. VIII, 4.29 (cf. Cod. Just. XII, 57,13.1) probably does belong under 'appellatio honorifica'. By Cassiodorus' time the last stage has certainly been reached and 'indulgentia nostra' in Var. V, 10.3 means no more than 'I, the Emperor'.

27. The T.L.L. (loc. cit., ll. 48ff) although listing some of the Plinian uses under 'appellatio principis honorifica', expresses doubt; they could belong to the previous category.

28. E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, Eng. trans. (1952), 84, calls the 'maiestas tua' of Horace (Ep. II, 1.258) a title. He seems to me to be wrong. Nor can I accept that 'pietas tua' in Pliny (Ep., X, 1.1) is a title; here the context makes it quite clear: 'Tua quidem pietas, imperator sanctissime, optaverat, ut quam tardissime succederes patri'.

29. J. Gaudemet, Indulgentia Principis, Istituto di Storia del Diritto 3, Conferenze romanistiche 6, Trieste (1962) and W. Waldstein, Untersuchungen zum römischen Begnadigungsrecht (abolitio - indulgentia - venia) (1964).

30. Cf. Gaudemet, op. cit., 11; Waldstein, op. cit., 156ff.

31. In the following discussion I have benefited greatly from the studies mentioned supra, n. 29.

32. Att., IX, 7A.

33. Ibid., §2. Cf. also, Caesar, BG., VII, 63.8: 'Magno dolore Aedui ferunt se deiectos principatu, queruntur fortunae commutationem et Caesaris indulgentiam in se requirunt.'

34. Ad Polyb., 7.1.

35. Ibid., 12,4. Cf. Waldstein, op. cit., 85.

36. Silvae, I, 2.174-5.

37. Ibid., V, 2.125.

38. A. Alföldi, 'Die Geburt der kaiserlichen Bildsymbolik', MH 8 (1951), 190; 9 (1952), 204; 10 (1953), 103; 11 (1954), 133.

39. Although a reference to Augustus as 'indulgentissimo' is found in Domitian's letter from 82 (CIL, IX, 5420 = FIRA^2 I, no. 75).

40. Pliny, Ep., X, 58.8.

41. On the alimenta cf. R.P. Duncan-Jones, 'The Purpose and Organisation of the Alimenta', PBSR 32 (1964), 123; the argument is now revised in The Economy of the Roman Empire (1974), 286ff. Cf. A.R. Hands, Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome (1968), 108ff.

42. CIL, V.875 (Aquileia).

43. CIL, XI, 1147 (98-102 A.D.) = FIRA^2, II, no. 116.

44. CIL, IX, 1455 (101 A.D.) = FIRA^2, II, no. 117.

45. E.g. CIL, VI, 1492 (= ILS, 6106) (Ca. A.D. 101) where 'secundum liberalitatem eius' clearly refers to the Emperor as H. Kloft points out (Liberalitas Principis (1970), 97, n. 62) and not to T. Pomponius Bassus who had the cura, as P. Garnsey thought ('Trajan's Alimenta: Some Problems', Historia 17 (1968), 381).

46. CIL, IX, 5825 (probably Trajanic, cf. restoration there).

47. CIL, X, 6310 (= ILS, 282): 'providentiae imp. Caesaris Nervae. Traiani. Augusti. Germanici'.

48. H. Kloft, op. cit., 161; 181. However in Tacitus, the verb indulgere is used for financial help. Cf. Ann., II, 38.8; I, 52.8; Hist., III, 9.21.

49. Cf. supra, pp. 204-5 and nn. 126, 127 there.

50. Dig., I, 4.3.

51. Cf. Waldstein, op. cit., 131-2.

52. Ep. X, 5.1.

53. Ibid., X, 92.

54. CIL, V, 875.

55. Ep. X, 104.

56. Ibid., X, 4.1.

57. Mattingly-Sydenham, op. cit., 364, 381, 390, 432 and Mattingly, BMC III, Introduction, CXLff.

58. For 'clementia' cf. supra, p. 60 ff.

59. Mattingly-Sydenham, op. cit., 354, 363-4; 381, 430-2; 435-6.

60. Charlesworth, op. cit., says that 'clementia' fell into disrepute as being too suggestive of the despotic, but cf. C.H.V. Sutherland, 'Two Virtues of Tiberius', J.R.S. 28 (1938), 129.

61. Wirszubski, op. cit., 167-171, esp. 170; Béranger, op. cit., 232ff. esp. 277-8.

62. Waldstein, op. cit., 61, observes that if it appears in the speeches, it must have been a well known concept by then.

63. II Verr., I, 44.112; V, 42.109.

64. II, 168.

65. §79.

66. Cf. van Wageningen's paraphrase for this sense (M. Tulli Ciceronis Oratio Pro Caelio (1968), ad. loc.) cf. also Pro Sulla, 64.

67. 21, 4.

68. Ep., X, 8.6 cf. also X, 9; 13.

69. The amici principis in official nomenclature has absolutely nothing to do with the amicitia meant here and discussed above (Part I, ch. 2, p. 16ff). cf. J. Crook, Consilium Principis (1955), 21ff.; R. Syme, 'Some Friends of the Caesars', A.J.Ph. 87 (1956), 264; F. Millar, The Emperor in the Roman World (1977), Part II, ch. 3 §7: 'Friends and Advisers'.

70. Cf. Hands, op. cit., 26-61 and esp. 48; Kloft, op. cit., 178-182 and esp. 180.

71. Cf. supra, p. 21ff.

72. Ep., X, 5.1-2.

73. Ep., X, 11.1.

74. Paneg., 85,8.

75. Ep., III, 2.1 and cf. supra, p. 191.

76. X, 4.1.

77. X, 12.2.

78. X, 94.4.

79. I, 24.4.

80. II, 9.6.

81. III, 2.6.

82. IV, 4.3.

83. IV, 15.4.

84. VII, 22.3.

85. X, 10.1.

86. X, 51.1.

87. Cf. F. Millar, The Emperor in the Roman World, Part II, ch. 5, 'The Emperor at Work' and Part III 'Subject and Emperor' esp. ch. 7 and 8.

88. Ep., I, 24.1.

89. X, 94.1.

90. X, 4.

91. II, 13.

92. X, 4.4.

93. X, 26.2.

94. Unknown.

95. Cf. supra, p. 200.

96. VI, 23.4.

97. X, 87.3.

98. X, 26.3.

99. II, 9.5.

100. VI, 6.6.

101. X, 26.3.

102. Cf. supra, pp. 191; 201; 211ff. .

103. Ep. III, 8, cf. supra, p 191.

104. Cf. supra, p. 53 and n. 117 for F. Millar's comment quoted there.

105. X, 94.3.

106. II, 13.3.

Notes to Part IV, pp. 242-244

1. Cf. F. Millar, review of H.G. Pflaum, Les Carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain, I-III (1960-1) in J.R.S. 53 (1963), 198, quoted supra, p. 25 , n. 62.

2. Cf. supra, p. 23, 25-6.

3. I do not exclude direct access to the emperor; it is only far less effective if the person is not well-placed. Cf. F. Millar, The Emperor in the Roman World (1977), Part III, ch. 7, §1: 'Introduction: Imperial Benevolence and Individual Access'.

4. Cf. supra, p. 23; 25-26; 110-111.

5. The use of 'emperor' to describe an event which took place in B.C. 30 is no more anachronistic than its usage in later contexts, cf. R. Syme, 'Imperator Caesar: A Study in Nomenclature', Historia VII (1958), 172. At any event, Octavian in this letter speaks indeed like a monarch, cf. F. Millar, 'Triumvirate and Principate', J.R.S. 63 (1973), 58.

6. Sherk, RDGE, 'Epistulae', no. 58, IV.

7. F. Millar in The Emperor in the Roman World fully substantiates this claim. The concept 'petition-and-response' appears in Part I: Prologue, 'Marcus Aurelius at Sirmium'.

8. Further on this letter cf. supra, Part I, Addenda §4, pp. 14ff.

9. Cf. F. Millar, The Emperor in the Roman World, Part II, ch. 3, §5: The Equestrian 'Secretaries': Intellectuals, Orators and Jurists', commenting on the incident related in Plutarch, Ant. 80, 1-3 where Octavian tells the people of Alexandria that he will spare the city because of the memory of Alexander, the city's beauty and as a favour to Areus, his friend: Ἀρείῳ τῷ ἑταίρῳ χαριζόμενος.

10. Cf. F. Millar, loc. cit., supra, n. 7.

11. The best description of this historical phenomenon is G.W. Bowersock's Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire (1969), but see also for the beginning of this process the same writer's Augustus and the Greek World (1965) and supra, p. 83 ff; 152 ff.

12. For this consult again F. Millar, The Emperor in the Roman World, passim.

13. For the history of the concept of suffragium cf. G.E.M. de Ste Croix, 'Suffragium: from Vote to Patronage', BJS (1954), 33. For the Late Empire, cf. C. Collot, 'La Pratique et l'Institution du Suffragium au Bas-Empire', RHDFE 4 sér 43 (1965), 185; J.N.L. Myres, 'Pelagius and the End of Roman Rule in Britain', J.R.S. 50 (1960), 21; J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, 'Did the Pelagian Movement have Social Aims?' Historia 12 (1963), 227; 'Patronage in City and Territory', Antioch: City and Imperial Administration under the Empire (1972), 192ff. (on Libanius); J. Matthews, 'The Letters of Symmachus', Latin Literature of the Fourth Century', ed. J.W. Binns (1975), 58.

14. de Ste Croix, op. cit., 46.

15. I, 309, written c. A.D. 570-6 (Mon. Germ. Hist. Auct. antiq. IV, 1, 306, ed. F. Leo).

16. For the date cf. E.J. Champlin, An Historical Study of Fronto of Cirta (unpublished D.Phil. Thesis submitted to the University of Oxford, 1975), 134-5, where it is proved that it occurred after Hadrian's death in the summer of 138, that is, in the course of 139 or very late in 138.

17. Champlin, op. cit., 341.

18. As E.J. Champlin admits and proves, op. cit., 340.

19. Ad Ant. Pium, 9. For an analysis of the letter cf. H.G. Pflaum, Les procurateurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain (1950), 165-169; 200-205 and Champlin, op. cit., 333-7; the two interpretations differ significantly.

For the date of the letter (140's) cf. Champlin, 'The chronology of Fronto', J.R.S. 64 (1974), 149. All dates cited hereafter are taken from this article which has a useful Appendix of 'Proposed Dates' at the end, 158-9.

20. On Appian cf. PIR^2 A 943 and Bowersock, Greek Sophists ..., 112-113.

21. On the importance of the concept of contubernium in Fronto's correspondence cf. Champlin, op. cit., 188ff. We should be reminded that Pliny too used it in his own letters of recommendation, cf. Ep. II, 13.5; about Voconius Romanus: 'ille meus in urbe ille in recessu contubernalis', and X, 94.1: 'Suetonium Tranquillum ... in contubernium adsumpsi'.

22. Ad. Ant. Pium, 9, 1.

23. Ibid., §2.

24. Cf. Champlin, op. cit., 336, contra, Pflaum, loc. cit., supra, n. 19. Admittedly, Appian's words in his Preface to the Roman History cited above, p. 190, are compatible with both interpretations but I tend to agree with E.J. Champlin that he did not serve as procurator.

25. Praef., 15.

26. Ep. III, 8.3 cited above, p. 191.

27. ILS, 1071: Legatus legionis x Fretensis: 'a cuius cura se excusavit'; 1011 'Hic sorte [procos. fac]tus provinciae Asiae se excusavit'.

28. Ad Ant. Pium, 9.3 (Loeb translation).

29. Cf. supra, n. 24: both interpretations admit that Fronto succeeded in getting the post for Appian.

30. P. Abinn. 1 (H.I. Bell, V. Martin, E.G. Turner, D. van Berchem, The Abinnaeus Archive (1962), no. 1).

31. Supra, Part I, Addenda §3, pp. 13-14.

32. On court intrigue under the Antonines, cf. Champlin, op. cit., ch. VII: 'The Courtier'.

33. X, 26.2.

34. Cf. II, 13.10; III, 2.5 and supra, pp. 206ff.

35. Ad Ant. Pium, 9.2: 'Supplicavi tibi iam per biennium pro Appiano amico meo'. Pflaum certainly misinterprets the text in order to make it compatible with his theory when he represents it as referring to two auditions which took place each year at the same time (op. cit., 203-4).

36. Ad Ant. Pium, 9.2.

37. Ad M. Caes. V, 49. The date of the letter cannot be fixed with certainty. On the man cf. ILS, 1463: a dedication by the man's wife which proves that Q. Saenius Pompeianus was conductor IIII publicorum Africae. On the background of the class of conductores cf. Champlin, op. cit., 184ff. For his probable African origin cf. ibid., 36.

38. Cf. supra, p. 8, n. 50.

39. Cf. S.J. de Laet, Portorium (1949), 437 for the legal measures against fraudulent or over-zealous conductores and the legal institutions before which their trials came up. Fronto might have defended the man before one of the courts mentioned there (p. 446).

40. Ad M. Caes. V, 50: 'Pompeianus meritis isdem, quibus te sibi conciliavit, me quoque promeruit. Quare cupio omnia ei ex indulgentia domini mei patris obsecundare. Nam ea, quae tibi ex sententia procedunt, gaudia sunt mea.' Note the reference to the Emperor's indulgentia, on which cf. supra, pp. 219ff.

41. A similar case could be made for Ad M. Caes., V, 52. However, the letter has been subjected to a thorough investigation by E.J. Champlin (op. cit., 341ff.), who forcefully and convincingly challenges the edifice reared by H.G. Pflaum almost exclusively on the basis of the crucial phrase which in van den Hout's text (p. 81) reads: 'Petit nunc procurationem ex forma suo loco ac iu⟨st⟩o tempore.' Champlin's suggestion that the translation could be 'Aridelus is now petitioning in the proper manner, on his own behalf and at the proper time' and his conclusion that 'the sentence is seen to be not a demonstration of the "rules" governing promotion, but rather one of the etiquette of seeking patronage' (ibid., 343) seems to me to be entirely convincing.

42. Ad M. Caes. V, 51.

43. For a challenge to the common opinion that Fronto obtained an excusatio and never departed for his province, cf. Champlin, op. cit., 136ff.

44. Similar evidence for the dispersal of patronage and commendationes is contained in the dedication of the De Metris by Marius Plotius Sacerdos (Gramm. Lat. VI, 496 (Keil)), where the writer relates that after having written two books under the auspices of his patron Uranius, the latter then introduced him to two more prospective patrons: 'nunc in hoc ... libro, ab eodem summo viro commendatus vobis viris amplissimis, nobilitatis praedito Maximo et omni laude praedicabili Simplicio ...'

45. Cf. PIR^2, A 929. For Marcus' high regard for him cf. Meditationes, I, 8; HA Pius 10, 4; Lucian, Demon., 31.

46. Cf. supra, pp. 46ff, 100ff.

47. Fam., XIII, 55.2.

48. Ad Am., I, 1. Cf. supra, 104 ; see however the whole argument there, pp. 100ff.

49. No agreement has been achieved as to whether Fronto's correspondent is the father, Cn. Claudius Severus Arabianus, PIR^2, C 1027, or the son Cn. Claudius Severus, PIR^2, C 1024, the son-in-law of Marcus Aurelius. Hence the dating of the letter differs accordingly.

50. The man might be the ab epistulis graecis in the late 170s and the patron of the grammarian Phrynichus. On Cornelianus the ab epistulis, cf. Bowersock, Greek Sophists ..., 54-5.

51. Ad Am., I, 2.

52. This amicitia based on cultural interests which underlines all of Fronto's recommendations to friends has received an admirable treatment by E.J. Champlin, op. cit., ch. IV: 'The Man of Letters'. The letters themselves are subjected to a rigorous investigation which dispenses the present writer from treating them here. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Champlin for making it available to me before an unnecessary reduplication could have occurred.

53. Ad Am., II, 8. On Arrius Antoninus' career cf. ILS,1118 (a dedication erected to him in Cirta). He became cos. suff. c. 167. The letter might be assigned to the 160s.

54. Cf. the prescript to Ad Am. II, 7.

55. Fam., XIII, 70.

56. Ibid., 71.

57. Ibid., 70.

58. Ibid., 71.

59. Ibid., 32.1.

60. Ad Am. I, 7; II, 6; 7; 8. Cf. commentary on these letters and the personalities involved in Champlin, op. cit., ch. IV.

61. Ep. II, 82.

62. de Ste Croix, op. cit., 39; Collot, op. cit., supra, n. 13.

63. H.A. Marcus, 10, 2. Cf. however there §§1-9.

64. Cf. W. Eck, Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian (1970), 133.

65. Ep., X, 58.5.

66. Cf. the discussion of Archippus' case and its implications in F. Millar, The Emperor in the Roman World, Part III, ch. 7, §1: 'Imperial Benevolence and Individual Access' and Bowersock, Greek Sophists ... ch. III for the privileges of philosophers.

67. On the letter, Fam. XIII, 1, cf. supra, 44ff. and on Patro, the successor of Phaedrus as head of the Epicurean School cf. Phlegon apud Photium, Paradox Gr. 210 (Westermann).

68. For the background cf. Att. V, 11.6. As in the case of Themistocles, here too many interests interplay. From the letter we are discussing we know that Atticus showed great interest in Patro's request (Fam. XIII, 1.5).

69. IV, 264, n. 146 (Ed. Bury). The phrase is taken from the following context: 'A single epistle (ad Familiares XIII, 1) displays the injustice of the Areopagus, the fidelity of the Epicureans, the dexterous politeness of Cicero, and the mixture of contempt and esteem with which the Roman senators considered the philosophy and philosophers of Greece'.

70. Hor., Ep. II, l. 156-7.

71. Fam., XIII, 78.1.

72. Supra, pp. 83ff; 152 ff.

73. Cf. F. Millar, A Study of Cassius Dio (1964), ch. 5: 'Dio and Rome', pp. 174-192.

Appendix to Part two.

Recommendations and References to Recommendations in Cicero's Correspondence.

In 'recommendations' we include formal letters of recommendation as well as recommendations embedded in other letters. References to oral recommendations are excluded.

The information is divided into five groups of which the first four are arranged in tables:

Table I. Cicero's recommendations to others.

Table II. References to recommendations written by Cicero to others.

Table III. References to recommendations written by other people to Cicero.

Table IV. Recommendations written by other people to Cicero.

Finally there is a short list of references to recommendations found in Cicero's correspondence but neither written by Cicero nor to him.

The tables are arranged in a chronological order. Names of senators are given with the relevant number in RE and their highest magistracy. Names of knights are given with the relevant number in C. Nicolet's L'Ordre Equestre II (1974).

Under the heading 'classification of request' we have avoided lengthy explanations : for controvertial and/or complicated issues the reader is referred under 'notes' to the relevant pages in the discussion. Under 'notes' we have included also relevant facts about the relationship between the personalities involved in the recommendation-process. We have not, however, repeated data which concern well-known ties, thoroughly discussed elsewhere, e.g. Cicero's relationship with T. Pomponius Atticus, Q. Tullius Cicero, M. Caelius Rufus, etc.

Abbreviations

Kunkel	=	Kunkel W., Herkunft und soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen : Forschungen zum römischen Recht 4^2 (1967).
MRR	=	Broughton T.R.S., The Magistrates of the Roman Republic, I - II (1951-2).
NM	=	Wiseman T.P., New Men in the Roman Senate : 139 B.C. - A.D. 14 (1971).
OE	=	Nicolet C., L'Ordre Équestre à l'Époque Républicaine (312-43 av. J.-C.), I (1966) II (1974).
RE	=	Pauly-Wissowa, Real - Encyclopädie der classichen Altertumswissenschaft.
S.B.	=	Shackleton Bailey D.R., Cicero's Letters to Atticus, I - VII (1965-70).
SMRR	=	Broughton, Supplement to the Magistrates of the Roman Republic (1960).
SWRP	=	Shatzman I., Senatorial Wealth and Roman Politics (Coll. Lat. 142) (1975).
T.P.	=	Tyrrell R.Y. and Purser L.C., The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero^2, I - VII (1885-1915).

Table I: Cicero's Recommendation to Others.

Letter	Date (B.C.)	Addressee	Office/ Social position	Person recommended	Office/ Social position	Classification of request	Notes
1) Fam.,V.5.	62	C.Antonius Hibrida[1]. (RE.,19) Cos.,63	Procos. Macedonia	T.Pomponius Atticus (OE.,283)	A rich and influential knight (banking, money-lending and estates in the provinces).	General recommendation negotium (in Epirus?)[2].	(1) Relations with Cicero strained but cf.,Att., I,12.1; Fam.,V,6.4. (2) Cf. supra, pp. 6 ff
2) Att.,I,20.7	60	T.Pomponius Atticus (cf. no.1)	Cf. no.1.	L.Papirius Paetus[1]. (OE.,261)	A knight (estates in Italy: Fam., IX,17).	Negotia (in Greece?)	(1) Cf. Fam.,IX,15-26 for the intimate relationship between Cicero and Paetus. Paetus used Cicero's services as an advocate. (Att.,I,20.7).
(3) QF.,I,2.10-11	59	Q.Tullius Cicero (RE.,31,OE.,363) Pr.,62.	Procos. Asia	L.Flavius (17)Pr.,58	Praetor designate.	A request to cancel the seizure of the man's inheritance in Asia.[1].	(1) Caesar and Pompey sent recommendation as well. Cf. supra, p. 101 ff.
(4) QF.,I,2,14	59	Q.Tullius Cicero (cf. no.3)	Cf. no.3.	Attalus of Hypaepa (Lydia)	A Greek provincial	Permission to defray expenses from public funds(?)	
(5) QF.,I,2.14	59	Q.Tullius Cicero (cf. no.3)	Cf. no.3.	Aesopus[1]	A Greek tragic actor in Rome.	The governor's assistance in retrieving Aesopus' runaway slave.	(1) Cf. Sest.,120ff for Cicero's regard and affection for Aesopus.

(6) Fam.,XIII,42	59	L.Culleolus (RE.,1)Pr.,60(?)	Procos. Macedonia[1] or Illyricum	L.Lucceius (RE.,6)Pr.,67	Praetorian senator and a historian (Fam.,5,12).	The governor's assistance in collecting a debt from the people of Byllis[2]	(1) Byllis is located in Macedonia, but perhaps the governor of the neighbouring province of Illyricum is appealed to (cf. supra, p. 71 n.3. (2) Pompeius had some interest in the matter (§ 1 and Fam.,XIII,41.2)
(7) Fam.,XIII,41	59	L.Culleolus cf. no.6	Cf. no.6	L.Lucceius cf. no.6	Cf. no.6	A request to bring the matter described in no.6 to its conclusion.	
(8) QF.,I,3.10	58	Q.Tullius Cicero cf. no.3	Praetorian senator	Tullia - Daughter of Cicero M.Tullius Cicero(filius) - Son " " Terentia - Wife " "		C. in exile, recommends his wife and children to his brother.	
(9) Fam.,XIII,6	56	Q.Valerius Orca[1] (RE.280) Pr.,57	Procos. Africa	P.Cuspius - (OE,132) and the members of the African public company, especially L.Julius -	A knight and magister of the African public company. A publican	General recommendation.	(1) Valerius Orca supported Cicero's recall from exile (Red.in Sen.,23).
(10) Fam.,XIII,6a	56	Q.Valerius Orca cf. no.9	Cf. no.9	P.Cornelius	A publican (the African public company).	General recommendation.	

(11) Fam.,1,3	56	P.Cornelius Lentulus Spinther[1]. (RE.,238) Cos.,57	Procos. Cilicia	A.Trebonius	Probably a knight (cf. OE,under no.357) with property in Cilicia.	'negotia, libertos procuratores, familiam' (continuation of the former governor's favourable treatment).	(1) Fam.,I,1-9 addressed to Lentulus reveal a cordial but not intimate relationship. However Lentulus strongly supported Cicero's recall (Red.in Sen.,8).
(11a)Fam.,I,8.1.	55	P.Cornelius Lentulus Spinther cf.no.11.	Cf. no.11.	M.Plaetorius	Unknown	General recommendation of a messenger.	
(12) Fam.,XIII,40	55/4	Q.Ancharius (RE.,3)Pr.,56	Procos. Macedonia	L. and C. Aurelii (L. filii)	Unknown	General recommendation.	
(13) Fam.,VII,7	54	C.Julius Caesar (RE.,131) Cos.,59	Procos. Cisalp. Gaul, Transalp. Gaul and Illyricum.	C.Trebatius Testa[1]. (OE.,350)	A knight and jurisconsult.	General recommendation. (cf. § 3)	(1) Cf. Fam.,VII,6-18 from the same period: Trebatius was a young protégé of Cicero. Cf. supra, pp.207ff.
(14) QF.,II,13.3	54	Q.Tullius Cicero cf. no.3	Legate under Caesar in Gaul.	M.Orfius (OE.,253)	A knight from Atella[1] and a tribunus militum in Gaul.	General recommendation.	(1) 'est ex municipio Atellano, quod scis esse in fide nostra' (ibid.) and cf.no.88.
(15) QF.,III,1.22	54	Q.Tullius Cicero cf. no.3	Cf. no.14	T.Pinarius[1]	Unknown 'adulescentem'.	General recommendation.	(1) Perhaps the same man as Fam.,XII,24.3 (no.104) cf.Table III,no.23 where Atticus has recommended him to Cicero.

(16)	Fam.,II,6	53	C.Scribonius Curio[1] (RE.,11)Tr.Pl.50	Q. or proq. in Asia.	T.Annius Milo (RE.,67)Pr.,55	Candidate for the consulship	Suffragatio[2]	(1) Fam.,II,1-7 demonstrate Cicero's affection and respect for Curio's talents and antecedents (2) Cf. supra, pp. 53ff; 191.
(17)	Fam.,III,7.3	53/2	Ap. ~~A~~.Claudius Pulcher (RE.,297) Cos.,54	Procos.Cilicia	L.Valerius	A jurisconsult[1]	General recommendation.	(1) Kunkel (no.43,p.28) thinks he may be a knight and a landowner in Apulia.
(18)	Fam.,XIII,2	52	C.Memmius (RE.,8) Pr.,58	An exile in Athens	C.Avianius Evander	A freedman of M.Aemilius Avianius (cf. no.53), a sculptor.	Extension of residence in Memmius' sacrarium.	
(19)	Fam.,XIII,3	52/1	C.Memmius cf. no.18	Cf. no.18	A. Fufius	Unknown	General recommendation.	
(20)	Fam.,XIII,1	51	C.Memmius cf. no.18	Cf. no.18	Patro[1].	Head of the Epicurean school in Athens (Phlegon, apud Photium, Paradox. Gr., 210 (Westermann).	A request to hand over to the Epicurean school the ruins of Epicurus which were in Memmius' possession by the decree of the Areopagus.[2]	(1) Cf. supra, pp. 252-3. (2) Atticus stood behind Patro's request (§ 3 and Att.,V,11.6).
(21)	Fam.,XIII,75	51	T.Titius (RE.,26) Leg.51[1]	Legate in an unknown province (MRR,II,245).[2]	C.Avianius Flaccus[3]	A corn-dealer.	Continuation of the privileges Avianius enjoyed under Pompey's cura annonae.	(1) The date is fixed by this letter which should coincide with the termination of Pompeius' term of office.

(21) Continued							(2) Perhaps in Sicily. cf. Fam.,XIII,79 (=no. 41) where Avianius' sons are recommended to the governor of that province. (3) Cf. Fam.,XIII,35 (=no.73)
(22) Att.,V,1.5	51	T.Pomponius Atticus cf. no.1	Cf. no.1	A.Manlius Torquatus[1] (RE.,13,76) Pr.Ca.70	Praetorian senator	General recommendation.[2]	(1) He was a friend of Atticus, who managed his affairs (Nepos, Att., 15.3) and helped him after Philippi (Ibid., 11.2). Fin.,11,72 Cicero acknowledges Torquatus' loyalty during his exile. Fam.,VI,1-4 are letters of consolation to Torquatus after the Civil War. Cicero worked for his restoration. (Att.,XIII, 9.1; 21,2; 45.2). (2) Cicero's words: 'cui me ad te scripsisse aliquid in sermone significes velim' may be taken as self-recommendation rather than as a recommendation of Torquatus.

(23)	Att.,V,20.10	51	T.Pomponius Atticus cf. no.1	Cf. no.1	Pammenes		Perhaps the son or grandson of a rhetor of this name: 'vir longe eloquentissimus Graeciae', who was Brutus' teacher (Brut.,332)	Protection of the boy's interest; that nothing should be done to upset his tenure.	
(24)	Fam.,XIII,9	51/50	P.Furnius Crassipes[1] (RE.,54) Q.,51.	Quastor Bithynia-Pontius under P.Silius (cf.no.25)	The Bithynian public company and especially P.Rupilius[2] (OE,307) and Cn.Pupius	- -	A knight and magister of the company. Probably a promagistro of the company.	General recommendation.[3]	(1) Crassipes is Cicero's ex son-in-law. For their relations cf. supra, p.125 n.120. (2) For the identification with P.Rupilius Rex (RE.10; Pr.,43) cf. Wiseman, CQ (1964),129; Badian, Historia (1963), 143. (3) Cf. supra, 124ff.
(25)	Fam.,XIII,47	51/50	P.Silius (Nerva)[1] (RE.,8)Pr.58(?) 52(?).	Propr. Bithynia-Pontus	L.Egnatius Rufus[2] (OE,134)		A rich knight, a banker who had business affairs in Bithynia, Asia and Cilicia (cf. nos.43-5; 47).	General recommendation.	(1) In 45 Cicero wanted to buy Sitius' horti (cf. S.B.,V,406ff). He recommends him in 44 to Trebatius (cf.no.94) (2) Both Marcus and Quintus received financial aid from this rich banker.

(26)	Fam.,XIII,61	51/50	P.Silius (Nerva) cf. no.25	Cf. no.25	Son of T.Pinnius[1]	Unknown	The governor's assistance in recovering the debt owed to the son by the city of Nicaea.[2]	(1) Cicero was second heir to T. Pinnius. (2) Cf. supra, p. 143.
(26a)	Fam.,XIII,62	51/50	P.Silius (Nerva) cf. no.25	Cf. no.25	Q.Tullius Cicero cf. no.3	Legate under Marcus in Cilicia	General recommendation	
(27)	Fam.,XIII,53	51/50	Q.Minucius Thermus[1] (RE,67)Pr.,58(?) 53(?)	Propr. Asia	L.Genucilius Curvus	A man who has business affairs in the Hellespont and land bestowed by Parium.	Help in the man's negotia and a request to remit controversies with people from the Hellespont to the governor's own court.[2]	(1) Cf.Fam.,II,18 for a letter of advice to Thermus. (2) Cf. supra, p. 142.
(28)	Fam.,XIII,55	51/50	Q.Minucius Thermus cf. no.27	Cf. no.27	M.Anneius[1] (RE,2)	Legate under Cicero in Cilicia in 51/50.	Request for interference in the controversy between M.Anneius and the people of Sardis.	(1) Cf. OE, under no.21 for possible connections with M.Anneius Carseolanus. (2) Cf. supra, p. 144.
(29)	Fam.,XIII,56	51/50	Q.Minucius Thermus cf. no.27	Cf. no.27	M.Cluvius[1]	A banker from Puteoli who lent money in Asia.	Assistance in recovering Cluvius' loans to cities in Caria.[2]	(1) He probably represented Pompeius' interests as well (§ 3). He left Cicero part of his estate when he died in 45, cf supra, p. 167. (2) Cf. supra, pp. 139ff.

(30) Fam.,XIII,63	50	P.Silius (Nerva) cf. no.25	Cf. no.25	M.Laenius Flaccus (OE, 194)	A knight with business affairs in Bithynia.	General recommendation. (negotia).	(1) On the man's loyalty to Cicero at the time of his exile cf. Fam.,XIV,4.2; Planc.,97; Sest.,131. He was a friend of Quintus as well (cf. § 2).
(31) Fam.,XIII,64	50	P.Silius (Nerva) cf. no.25	Cf. no.25	T.Claudius Nero[1]	- A patrician ('pluris enim ex omni nobilitate neminem facio')	Helping Nero to re-attach his parental clientelae to himself by showing them special favour:	(1) At this time Nero visited Cicero to ask for his daughter's hand but Terentia and Tullia in Rome preferred Dolabella (Att.,VI,6.1).
				Pausanias of Alabanda	- A Greek provincial	- 1. delay of Pausanias' trial.	
				The people of Nysa	- A provincial community.	- 2. general recomm. of Nysa.	
				Strabo Servilius	- A Greek with Roman citizenship.	- 3. favour in Strabo's litigation.	
(32) Fam.,XIII,65	50	P.Silius (Nerva) cf. no.25	Cf. no.25	P.Terentius Hippo[1] (OE.,337) and the public company which collects the scriptura[2]	A knight and promagistro of the public company which collects the scriptura.	Assistance in concluding the pactiones of the scriptura with the provincial cities.[3]	(1) Cf. Att.XI,10.1 where the man is presented as a former promagistro of the Asian public company in charge of the scriptura and customs. (2) Cf. supra, pp.122 ff for the province in which it operated. (3) Cf. supra, pp.122 ff.

(33) Fam.,XIII,54	50	Q.Minucius Thermus cf. no.27	Cf. no.27	M.Marcilius	Son of Cicero's interprès	A request to prevent court proceeding against the man's mother-in law 'ut ... rea ne fiat'.	
(34) Fam.,XIII,57	50	Q.Minucius Thermus cf. no.27	Cf. no.27	M.Anneius cf. no.28	Cf. no.28	Repetition of no.28: an expedient conclusion of the controversy with Sardis.	
(35) Fam.,IX,25.2-3	50	L.Papirius Paetus cf. no.2	Cf. no,2	M.Fabius[1] Gallus	A landowner in Herculaneum.	Intercession in order to prevent litigation between M.Fabius and his brother who put up for sale an estate they held in common.[2]	(1) Fabius and not Fadius (cf.Shackleton-Bailey, CR n.s.12 (1962),195-6. Cf. Fam.,VII,23-26 for Cicero's intimacy with the man. The man was recommended to Cicero, probably in the same affair, by Cassius Longinus (Fam.,XV,14.1 - Table III, no.14). (2) Cf. supra, p. 98 ff; 130 ff.
(36) Fam.,11,14	50	M.Caelius Rufus (RE,35;OE,68) Pr.,48	Aed.Cur. and one of the important patroni in the Roman courts.	M.Fabius Gallus	Cf. no.35	A request to take up the man's case (as a patronus i.e. advocate), cf. no.35	

(37) Fam.,XIII,59	50	C.(M.) Curtius Peducaeanus[1] (RE.,23,8) Pr.,50	Pr. Urb.	M.Fabius Gallus	Cf. no.35	'ut quam facillimos ad te aditus habeat'.[2]	(1) His father by adoption, Sex.Peducaeus was Cicero's superior in Sicily. The son supported, as.Tr.Pl., Cicero's recall (Red. in Sen.,21). (2) For its meaning cf. supra, p.92ff.
(38) Fam.,XIII,58	50	C.Titius Rufus (RE.,37) Pr.,50	Pr. Urb.	L. Custidius	A man from Arpinum, otherwise not known.	'ut facilis ad te aditus habeat'.[1]	(1) Cf. no.37.
(39) Fam.,XIII,48	49[1]	L.Sextilius Rufus (RE.,23) Q.,49	Quaestor, Sicily.[2]	The Cyprians and especially the people of Paphos.	Provincial communities	General recommendation as well as an exhortation to preserve the rules established by former governors (Lentulus and Cicero himself). The two are probably complementary actions.	(1,2) For the date and the man's position in Cyprus cf. supra, p.125 n.219.
(40) Fam.,XIII,78	48-6	A.Allienus (RE.,1)Pr.,49(?)	Procos. Sicily	Democritus of Sicyon.	A Greek host of Cicero who is 'paene Achaiae principem'.	General recommendation.	
(41) Fam.,XIII,79	48-6	A.Allienus cf. no.40	Cf. no.40	Gaius and Marcus Avianii	Sons of C.Avianius Flaccus the corn-dealer of no.21. Both have business affairs in Sicily but only Gaius is there.	General recommendation ('rem utriusque defendas')	

(42) Att.,XI,12.2	47	C.Julius Caesar cf. no.13	Dictator	Q.Tullius Cicero cf. no.3	Praetorian senator who joined Pompey in the civil war.	Cicero exonerates his brother from the charge of having influenced his choice of sides in the civil war.[1]	(1) Cf. supra, p. 60.
(43) Fam.,XIII,43	47/6	Q.Gallus (RE.,7)Pr.,43	Quaestor or legate under Q.Marcius Phillipus in Cilicia. (cf. no.45)	L.Oppius and L.Egnatius Rufus cf. no.25	A negotiator in Philomelium and a procurator of Egnatius Rufus' affairs there.	General recommendation. (negotia; res)	
(44) Fam.,XIII,44	47/6	Q.Gallus cf. no.43	Cf. no.43	L.Oppius and L.Egnatius Rufus	Cf. no.43	Strengthening the previous recommendation, no.43.	
(45) Fam.,XIII,74	47/6	Q.Marcius Phillipus (RE.,83)Pr.,48(?)	Procos. Cilicia	L.Oppius and L.Egnatius Rufus	Cf. no.43	General recommendation (negotia)	
(46) Fam.,XIII,73	47/6	Q.Marcius Phillipus cf. no.45	Cf. no.45	Antipater of Derbe	A local dynast who probably took Pompey's side in the civil war.	A request to pardon Antipater's sons held in the governor's custody.[1]	(1) Cf. on the whole affair : Syme, Anat.Stud.Buckler (1939),306-12 and supra, p. 154 and n. 11 there.

(47)	Fam.,XIII,45	47/6	(M.) Appuleius[1] (RE.,2,13) Cos.,20	Proq. Asia	L.Egnatius Rufus cf. no.25	Cf. no.25	Recommendation of Egnatius' slave Anchialus who looks after his master's negotia in Asia.	(1) On the identification of our Appuleius with M. Appuleius cf. MRR,II,327 In Ad Brut.,I,7.2 he is said to be 'per se commendatissimus' to Cicero.
(48)	Fam.,XIII,46	47/6	M.Appuleius cf. no.47	Cf. no.47	L.Nostius Zoilus	A freedman who is a coheres with Cicero to his patron.	General recommendation.	
(49)	Fam.,XIII,17	46	Ser.Sulpicius Rufus[1] (RE.,95)Cos.,51	Governor of Achaia (probably as Procos., cf. Fam.,VI,6.10), a patrician and the foremost jurist of his time.	M.Curius[2]	Probably a knight (OE, I,364-5). A negotiator in Patrae.	General recommendation.	(1) Cf. Fam.,IV,1-6; 12, for the exchange of letters between Cicero & Sulpicius. (2) Curius was Cicero's host during the civil war. He looked after the sick Tiro Also a friend of Atticus, he made both him and Cicero heirs to part of his property. Cf.Fam.,VII, 28-31 for exchange of letters between them.
(50)	Fam.,XIII,18	46	Ser.Sulpicius Rufus cf. no.49	Cf. no.49	T.Pomponius Atticus cf. no.1	Cf. no.1	Expression of gratitude to Sulpicius for having favoured Atticus without being asked to do so turns into a recommendation of Atticus and especially of his interests in Epirus.	

(51) Fam.,XIII,19	46	Ser.Sulpicius Rufus cf. no.49	Cf. no.49	Lyso of Patrae[1] and his son	- A Greek host of Cicero - adopted by the exiled Roman C.Maenius Gemellus	A letter of propitiation attempting to show that Lyso who joined Pompey is now a 'safe' man and favoured by the regime.[2]	(1) A host of Cicero in Patrae who looked after the sick Tiro. Spent a year at Cicero's in Rome.
						A request to recognize the ius hereditatis of the son adopted by a Roman.[3]	(2) A letter sent by Caesar is mentioned (§ 1) to strengthen Cicero's argument (cf. supra, p. 61).
							(3) Cf. supra, p. 149 ff.
(52) Fam.,XIII,20	46	Ser.Sulpicius Rufus cf. no.49	Cf. no.49	Asclapo	A Greek doctor[1]	General recommendation.	(1) Took care of Tiro (Fam.,XVI,9.2)
(53) Fam.,XIII,21	46	Ser.Sulpicius Rufus cf. no.49	Cf. no.49	M.Aemilius Avianius[1] and C.Avianius Hammonius[2]	- A negotiator in Sicyon - A freedman of Aemilius and his procurator in Sicyon.	General recommendation ('rem familiarem', 'domum', 'negotium').	(1) Cf. no.18. (2) 'tibi etiam suo nomine commendo' may mean that he had an independent business there.
(54) Fam.,XIII,22	46	Ser.Sulpicius Rufus cf. no.49	Cf. no.49	T.Manlius	A negotiator in Thespiae	General recommendation[1]	(1) This letter strengthens a recommendation sent by A.Terentius Varro Murena (cf. Table II, no.14).

(55)	Fam.,XIII,23	46	Ser.Sulpicius Rufus cf. no.49	Cf. no.49	L.Cossinius[1] (OE,120) and L.Cossinius Anchialus	- A knight who raised cattle in Epirus (Varro, RR,II) - Cossinius' freedman	General recommendation.	(1) Was introduced to Cicero by Atticus (Att.,I,19,11, cf. Table III,no.1)
(56)	Fam.,XIII,24	46	Ser.Sulpicius Rufus cf. no.49	Cf. no.49	Lyso of Patrae	Cf. no.51	Strengthening the previous recommendation (no.51) and a request to abandon any suspicion which Sulpicius entertained that Lyso had offended his dignity.[1]	(1) Cicero, apparently, did not know of such a suspicion when writing the first letter (no.51), cf. supra, p.61 n.24.
(57)	Fam.,XIII,25	46	Ser.Sulpicius Rufus cf. no.49	Cf. no.49	Hagesaretus of Larissa	A Greek host of Cicero in Thessaly	General recommendation.	
(58)	Fam.,XIII,26	46	Ser.Sulpicius Rufus cf. no.49	Cf. no.49	L.Mescinius Rufus[1] (RE.,2;OE.,231) Q.,51-50	A Quaestorian senator, served as Cicero's quaestor in Cilicia. A cousin of the negotiator M.Mindius whom he inherited.	Assistance in securing Mescinius' inheritance and a request to remit the case to Rome in case of recalcitrate opponents (for this a letter 'quasi commendaticias' has been secured from the consul).[2]	(1) Cicero had a low opinion of his quaestor (cf.Att.,VI,3.1; 4.1) but cf. Fam.,V,19-21: Cicero's letters to Mescinius. (2) Cf. supra, p.111 ff.

(59) Fam.,XIII,27	46	Ser.Sulpicius Rufus cf. no.49	Cf. no.49	M.Aemilius Avianius and C.Avianius Hammonius	Cf. no.53	Strengthening the previous recommendation (no.53)	
(60) Fam.,XIII,28	46	Ser.Sulpicius Rufus cf. no.49	Cf. no.49	L.Mescinius Rufus cf. no.58	Cf. no.58	Cf. no.58[1]	(1) For the various compli cations involved in this case cf. supra, pp. 111 ff.
(61) Fam.,XIII,28a	46	Ser.Sulpicius Rufus cf. no.49	Cf. no.49	The Lacedaemonii	Provincial community	General recommendation[1]	(1) Cicero was prompted to write the recommendation by Philippus, the Lacedaemonian.
(62) Fam.,XIII,29	46	L.Munatius Plancus[1] (RE.,30)Cos.,42	Legate under Caesar in Africa.	C.Ateius Capito[2] (RE.,7)Tr.Pl.55	A senator	A request for intercession with Caesar in order to prevent the confiscation of Capito's inheritance left to him by his cousin T. Antistius who was at Pompeius' camp in the civil war?[3]	(1) For Cicero 'paterna amicitia' with Plancus cf. 1; Fam.,X,3.2; 4.1; 5.1. and cf.Fam., X,1-24 for exchange of letters between the two. (2) Capito gave Cicero financial aid (§ 2). Cf. Att.,XVI,16 nos.99, 102 for recommendations addressed to Capito. (3) Cf. supra, p.64 ff.
(63) Fam.,XIII,10	46	M.Junius Brutus (Q.Servilius Caepio Brutus) (RE.,53) Pr.,44.	Legate (Propr.?) Cisalpine Gaul.(cf. Fam,VI,6.10)	M.Terentius Varro Gibba[1] (RE.,2;OE.,43) Tr.Pl.43	Quaestor of Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul.	General recomdation of a quaestor to his commander in-chief.[2]	(1) Varro carried letters between Caesar and Cicero in 48 (§ 3) (2) Cf. supra, p.199, n.73.

(64) Fam.,XIII,11	46	M.Junius Brutus cf. no.63	Cf. no.63	Arpinum and its three legates: 1) Q.Fufidius (OE.,153) 2) M.Faucius (OE.,141) 3) Q.Mamercius(OE.,218)	A municipium[1] knights and legates of Arpinum in-charge of the collection of its vectigal in Cisalpine Gaul.	The governor's assistance in the collection of the vectigal on which the municipium depends for its public expenditure.	(1) Arpinum is Cicero's home-town. This year he is particularly involved in its affairs since his son, his nephew and his friend M.Caesius will become aediles there.
(65) Fam.,XIII,12	46	M.Junius Brutus cf. no.63	Cf. no.63	Q.Fufidius[1] (OE.,141)Tr.Mil.,51-50	A knight who served as Tr.Mil. under Cicero in Cilicia. Now a legate of Arpinum.	Cf.no.65; but the emphasis lies now on the particular interest of Q.Fufidius in the success of the mission.	(1) He is the son-in-law of M.Caesius, a friend of Cicero. (cf. no.64).
(66) Fam.,XIII,13	46	M.Junius Brutus cf. no.63	Cf. no.63	L.Castronius Paetus	A rich man from Luca who is 'longe princeps' of his municipium.	General recommendation.	
(67) Fam.,XIII,14	46	M.Junius Brutus cf. no.63	Cf. no.63	C.Titius Strabo (OE.,349)	A knight who lent money in Cisalpine Gaul.	A request to help Strabo's libertus in collecting the debt owed to his master. The case has been referred to the province by the praetor, L.Volcacius Tullus.[1]	(1) Cf. supra, p. 99ff.

(68)	Fam.,XIII,30	46	M.Acilius Caninus (Caninianus)[1] (RE.,15) Pr.47?	Procos. Sicily	L.Manlius Sosis	A Sicilian who was given the citizenship in 90 B.C. together with the rest of the people of Neapolis where he was a decurio. He still has business affairs in Sicily.	A request to secure the inheritance left to Manlius by his brother in Sicily as well as to help him in his old negotia.	(1) If he is the same as the legate sent to Greece (Fam.,VII,30.3; 31.1), then he is under great obligation to Cicero who defended him twice successfully for capital offences. Cf. no.93
(69)	Fam.,XIII,31	46	M.Acilius Caninus cf. no.68	Cf. no.68	C.Flavius[1] (OE.,149)	A knight whose brother or father[2] was a procurator of C.Matrinius, a farmer and stock-breeder in Sicily.	General recommendation.	(1) He was an intimate friend of Cicero's loyal son-in-law C. Calpurnius Frugi. (2) The L.Flavius of the Verrines can be either the same as the homonym in our letter or father of C. and L.Flavii.
(70)	Fam.,XIII,32	46	M.Acilius Caninus cf. no.68	Cf. no.68	M. and C.Clodii Archagathus[1] and Philo.	Sicilians from Halaesa with Roman citizenship.	General recommendation.	(1) Cicero is on friendly terms with the whole familia.
(71)	Fam.,XIII,33	46	M.Acilius Caninus cf. no.68	Cf. no.68	Cn.Otacilius Naso. (OE.,254)	A knight who has business affairs in Sicily.	General recommendation (negotia and three freedmen who are Naso's procurators in Sicily: Hilarus, Antigonus and Demostratus).	

(72)	Fam.,XIII,34	46	M.Acilius Caninus cf. no.68	Cf. no.68	Lyso of Lilybaeum[1]	A son of a hospes of Cicero in Lilybaeum where Cicero had been quaestor. He comes from a 'nobilissima familia'.	General recommendation ('rem domumque eius')	(1) The father is described as the first man in Lilybaeum (II verr., 4.37). He entertained Verres in his house (ibid.)
(73)	Fam.,XIII,35	46	M.Acilius Caninus cf. no.68	Cf. no.68	C.Avianius Philoxenus	A newly made citizen[1] and a close friend of the corn-dealer C. Avianius Flaccus (no.21).	General recommendation.	(1) He received the citizenship by being enrolled among the citizens of Novum Cornum through Cicero's intercession with Caesar.
(74)	Fam.,XIII,36	46	M.Acilius Caninus cf. no.68	Cf. no.68	Democritus Megas	A newly made citizen.[1]	A request to safe-guard the man's newly acquired citizenship.[2]	(1) Received the citizenship through Dolabella's intercession with Caesar. Dolabella acted by Cicero's request. (2) Cf. supra, p.63.
(75)	Fam.,XIII,37	46	M.Acilius Caninus cf. no.68	Cf. no.68	Hippias, son of Philoxenus of Calacte.	A Sicilian host of Cicero.	A request to interfere in the controversy between Hippias and the city's authorities who had illegally confiscated his property.[1]	(1) Cf. supra, p.150.
(76)	Fam.,XIII,38	46	M.Acilius Caninus cf. no.68	Cf. no.68	L.Bruttius[1] (OE.,54)	A knight with business affairs in Sicily.	General recommendation 'domum... rem familiarem et procuratores'.	(1) Bruttius' father was Cicero's friend from his quaestorship in Sicily.

(77)	Fam.,XIII,39	46	M.Acilius Caninus cf. no.68	Cf. no.68	M.Titurnius Rufus[1]	Unknown	General recommendation.	(1) Cicero is close to the whole family.
(78)	Fam.,XIII,77	46	P.Sulpicius Rufus (RE, 93) Cens.,42	Governor of Illyricum ('Imperator')	M.Bolanus	Unknown	General recommendation.[1]	(1) Attached to the recommendation there is a personal request of Cicero to apprehend Dionysius, his slave, who had run away with his library. Bolanus possesses the information about the runaway's whereabouts. (cf.Fam.,V,9.2;10a,1;11.3).
(79)	Fam.,XIII,67	46	P.Servilius Isauricus[1] (RE,67) Cos.,48	Procos. Asia.	Andron	A Greek from Laodicea (Phrygia) who was Cicero's host there, returning now from Rome where he was sent as a legate 'de libertate patriae' (Macr., Satur.II,3.12)	General recommendation.	(1) Cicero refers to Servilius as 'collega' because both of them belong to the collegium of the Augurs.
(80)	Fam.,XIII,69	46	P.Servilius Isauricus cf. no.79	Cf. no.79	C.Curtius Mithres	A freedman of C.(Curtius) Rabirius Postumus.[1] He has an estate in Colophon.	A request for the governor's intervention in the controversy Mithres has with a Colophonian.[2]	(1) The freedman carries the name of Postumus' natural father, C.Curtius (OE., 126). Postumus was defended by Cicero in 54 (cf. OE, 297). (2) Cf. supra, p. 142.

(81) Fam.,XIII,70	46	P.Servilius Isauricus cf. no.79	Cf. no.79	T.Ampius Balbus[1] - (RE.,1)Pr.,59 and T.Ampius Menander-	A praetorian senator, a henchman of Pompeius in exile after the civil-war.[2] A freedman	General recommendation.	(1) His governorship of Asia in 58-7 may explain the presence of his libertus there. (2) Fam.,VI,12 (written in 46 B.C.) informs Ampius that Cicero's (as well as others) intercession with Caesar has secured his recall from exile.
(82) Fam.,XIII,71	46	P.Servilius Isauricus cf. no.79	Cf. no.79	T.Angusius[1]	Unknown	General recommendation.	(1) Cicero's 'comes' during exile.
(83) Fam.,XIII,72	46	P.Servilius Isauricus cf. no.79	Cf. no.79	Caerellia	A wealthy and cultivated lady. A close friend of Cicero.[1] One of the heirs to the negotiator C.Vennonius[2] in Asia.	The governor is requested to interpret the S.C. made in favour of C.Vennonius' heirs in a way which will benefit Caerellia.[3]	(1) She lent Cicero money and had a correspondence with him. (2) C.Vennonius, Cicero's friend bought a house in Laodicea (Att.,VI,1.25) during Cicero's governorship. Cicero refused him a praefectura (Att.,VI,3.5) (2) Cf. supra, p. 116.
(84) Fam.,VI,9	46	T.Furfanius Postumus[1] (RE,1)Pr,46?	Procos. Sicily	A.Caecina[2] (OE.,64)	A knight who belongs to an aristocratic Etruscan family. Had business affairs in Asia. Took Pompey's side and after being pardoned wrote an invective against Caesar which led to his exile.	General recommendation of a 'calamitosus', an exile, to ensure his safety.[3]	(1) From Att.,VII,15.2, it can be inferred that the Senate wanted to replace Furfanius because he was suspected to be a Caesarian. (2) The son of the man whom Cicero defended (OE,63). Cf. Fam.,VI,5-8 for an exchange of intimate letters between him and Cicero. (3) Cf. supra, p. 62.

(85) Fam.,XIII,66	45	P.Servilius Isauricus cf. no.79	Cf. no.79	A. Caecina[1] cf. no.84	Cf. no.84	The same as No.84 but in addition the governor is asked to help Caecina in his old negotia in Asia.[2]	(1) He is called here a 'cliens' of Servilius' family. (2) Cf. Fam.,VI,8.2 for Caecina's intention to go to Asia. Cf. supra, p.62α n.37.
(86) Fam.,XIII,4	45	Q.Valerius Orca cf. no.9	Leg. Propr. under Caesar, in charge of assignment of land in Etruria to Caesar's soldiers.	Volaterrae	A municipium in Etruria which lost its lands and rights under Sulla but was left with de-facto possession of its lands at least until 58.[1]	A request to spare the lands of Volaterrae or to refer the whole matter back to Caesar.[2]	(1) For the legal position after 59 B.C. cf. supra, p. 66 n. 68. (2) Cf. supra, 67ff.
(87) Fam.,XIII,5	45	Q.Valerius Orca cf. no.9	Cf. no.87	C. Curtius (RE.,6;OE.,128)	Suffered prosecution and exile under Sulla.[1] Was enrolled in the senate by Caesar. A landowner in Volaterrae.	A request to exclude Custius' land from the general confiscation.[2]	(1) SWRP, no.136, p.338 suggests senatorial status before Sulla deprived him of it, Contra, OE, no.128. (2) Cf. supra, p. 66 n.57.
(88) Fam.,XIII,7	45	Cluvius (RE.,4)	Title not known.[1] In charge of assignment of land in Gaul to Caesar's soldiers.	Atella	A municipium in Campania (in Cicero's fides).	A request to spare the ager vectigalis of Atella in Gaul[2] by referring the matter back to Caesar.[3]	(1) Cf. supra, p.67, n.72. (2) Cisalpine Gaul (cf. supra, p.66 n.62). (3) Cf. supra, p.67 ff

(89) Fam.,XIII,8	45	M. (Sempronius)[1] Rutilius (RE.,Sempronius 82; Rutilius 5)	Title not known.[2] In charge of assignment of land to Caesar's soldiers.	C. Albinius (RE.,1).	A senator, father-in-law of P.Sestius (Sest.,6)[3]	A request to spare the land Albinius received in aestimationem since the title to it is derived from a sale by Caesar.[4]	(1) For the identification with Caesar's legate in 51 (B6, VII,90) cf. Syme, CP (1955), 130-1. (2) Cf. supra, p.67, n.72. (3) Sestius' assistance in Cicero's recall and Cicero's two successful defences of Sestius are the highlights of a long sustained friendship. (4) Cf. supra, p.67ff.
(90) Fam.,IX,13	45	P.Cornelius Dolabella.[1] (RE.,141) Cos. Suff.44	Legate under Caesar in Spain.	M.Plancius Heres (OE.,274) and C.Suberinus	Two men from Cales. Plancius may be a knight.[2] Both were on Pompeius' side. They are very impoverished now.	A request to obtain from Caesar, who already spared their lives, permission for them to return to Italy.	(1) For other instances in which Cicero's son-in-law has been instrumental in obtaining favour from Caesar on behalf of exiles and others cf. Fam., VI, 11.1 (Trebianus), Att., XIII,9.1 (A.Manlius Torquatus). Fam.,XIII,36 (Demetrius Megas, no. 74). (2) 'res familiaris ... vix equestris' may imply this. Plancius was a knight. He was a friend of Q.Lepta (OE.,258) Cicero's praef.fab. who probably stands behind this recommendation.
(91) Fam.,XIII,15	45	C.Julius Caesar cf. no.13	Dictator	Precilius	Unknown.[1]	General recommendation (probably for some service in Caesar's army).	(1) A L.Precilius (not in RE) was Tr.Pl. in the late Republic. (Cf. MRR.,II,173).

(92) Fam.,XIII,16	45	C.Julius Caesar cf. no.13	Cf. no.92	Apollonius[1]	A freedman of the young P.Licinius Crassus (RE.,63)[2] and a historian.	A testimonial for a man who desires to write Caesar's res gestae in Greek.	(1) Caesar knows the man from the Bellum Alexandrinum (§2). He lived in Cicero's house together with the stoic philosopher Diodotus (§4). (2) Served with distinction under Caesar in Gaul (BG,III,20-27) Respected Cicero as an 'alter parens' (Fam.,V,8.4)
(93) Fam.,XIII,50	45/4	M.Acilius Caninus (Caninianus) cf. no.68	Governor of Greece	M. Curius	Cf. no.49	General recommendation.	(1) Cf. Fam.,VI,29.1 where Curius asks for this recommendation which was attached to Fam., VII,30 (§ 3) but was never delivered (Fam.,VII,31.1).
(94) Fam.,VII,21	44	C.Trebatius Testa cf. no.13	Cf. no.13	P. Silius (Nerva) cf. no.25	Praetorian senator.	A request for legal advice: the right sponsio to use in Silius' claim for the inheritance left to him by Turpillia.[1]	(1) In fact Trebatius has already given his opinion. However, it was not acceptable to the famous jurist Ser. Sulpicius Rufus and to his pupil A. Ofilius.
(95) Fam.,XII,21	44	Q.Cornificius[1] (RE.,8)Pr.,45?	Procos. Africa Vetus.	C. Anicius[2] (RE.,1)	A senator who has business affairs in Africa and is now on a legatio libera[3] to the province.	A request to show respect for the senator's dignitas by giving him lictors,and to help him in his provincial negotia.	(1) Cornificius became augur in 47, hence the 'collega' in the prescript. Cicero stood surety for Cornificius's or his father's debt (Att., XII, 17). (2) Was Cicero's neighbour at Cumae (QF.,II, 8.3). (3) Cf. supra, pp. 119 ff.

(96) Att.,XV.,14.2-3	44	P.Cornellius Dolabella cf. no.90	Consul (after Caesar's assassination).	T. Pomponius Atticus and the Buthrotii - A provincial community in Epirus whose lands Caesar intended to confiscate on account of an unpaid debt.[1]	Cf. no.1	A request to take the community under his protection which in view of Att.,XVI, 16A-F means that he will see to it that their lands would not be confiscated and Caesar's veterans settled on them.[1]	(1) On the whole affair cf. supra, pp. 69 ff.
(97) Att.,XVI,16A	44	L. Plotius Plancus[1] (C.Munatius) (RE.,10)Pr.,43	Praetor designate and in charge of settling veterans in Buthrotum	T. Pomponius Atticus and the Buthrotii	Cf. no.96	(Cf. no.96). A request to follow the consuls' decision, the senatus consultum and the law confirming Caesar's acta and therefore to protect the Buthrotii against confiscation of land and settlement of veterans on it.	(1) Brother of L. Munatius Plancus (cf. no.62) who later (43) acted as a link between Plancus in Cisalpine Gaul and the Senate.
(98) Att.,XVI,16B	44	L. Plotius Plancus cf. no.97	Cf. no.97	T. Pomponius Atticus and the Buthrotii	Cf. no.96	Repetition of the previous request (no.97).	
(99) Att.,XVI,16C	44	C. Ateius Capito cf. no.62	A subordinate of Plancus or a privatus who has some influence with him.[1]	T. Pomponius Atticus and the Buthrotii	Cf. no.96	A request to influence Plancus to comply with Cicero's request (no.97).	(1) Cf. MRR, II, 332

(100)	Att.,XVI,16D	44	Cuppienus	Cf. no.99[1]	T. Pomponius Atticus and the Buthrotii	Cf. no.96	Cf. no.99	
(101)	Att.,XVI,16E	44	L. Plotius Plancus cf. no.97	Cf. no.97	T. Pomponius Atticus and the Buthrotii	Cf. no.96	Strengthening the previous requests (nos. 97;98)	
(102)	Att.,XVI,16F	44	C. Ateius Capito cf. no.62	Cf. no.99	T. Pomponius Atticus and the Buthrotii	Cf. no.96	Strengthening the previous request (no.99).	
(103)	Fam.,X,1.4	44	L. Munatius Plancus cf. no.62	Procos. Transalpine Gaul.	C. Furnius[1] (RE.,3)PR.,42	Legate under L. Munatius Plancus.	General recommendation.	(1) Cicero relied on Furnius as Tr.Pl. to prevent the prerogation of his provincial command. Furnius carried letters between Caesar and Cicero. Fam.,X,25 and 26 are letters of advice to Furnius.
(104)	Fam.,XII,24.3	43	Q. Cornificius cf. no.95	Cf. no.95	T. Pinarius (cf. no.15) and Dionysius[1]	Procurator of Dionysius negotia in Africa Vetus.	General recommendation (negotia)	(1) He may be M. Pomponius Dionysius, the tutor of the young Ciceros, who lent money and employed slaves (Att., VIII,10). He and Cicero have become friends again before the date of this letter. Or it can be the Attius Dionysius of Fam., XII, 30.5.

(105) Fam.,XII,26	43	Q. Cornificius cf. no.95	Cf. no.95	Cn. Saturninus Sex. Anfidius (OE.,43) C. Anneius (OE.,20) Q. Considius Gallus (OE.,112) L. Servilius Postumus C. Rubellius (OE.,302)	Heirs of Q. Turius (OE.,368) a knight and a negotiator. Probably all of them are knights. C. Considius Gallus is either a senator himself or a son of a senator (N.M.no.132)	Help in retrieving their inheritance which had been appropriated by Turius's freedman, Eros.	
(106) Fam.,XII,27	43	Q. Cornificius cf. no.95	Cf. no.95	Sax. Aufidius cf. no.97	Cf. no.97. His negotia in Africa may include more than the inheritance.	General recommendation. (negotia)	
(107) Fam.,XII,29	43	Q. Cornificius cf. no.95	Cf. no.95	L. Aelius Lamia[1] (RE.,75;OE.,10) Pr.,42?	Belongs to municipal nobility (Formiae). In the 50's he was 'princeps equestris ordinis' and had connections with the publican companies. Aed. in 45. Landowner in Africa.[2]	General recommendation. ('negotia... procuratores, libertos, familiam').	(1) Lamia worked vigorously for Cicero's recall and was exiled for it. (2) The Saltus Lamianus is attested in CIL, VIII,25943; 26416.
(108) Fam.,XI,16	43	D. Junius Brutus Albinus (RE.,55a,Sup.5)	Procos. Cisalpine Gaul.	L. Aelius Lamia cf. no.107	(cf. no.107) Candidate for the praetorship.	Suffragatio but especially to secure the votes of the equestrian centures.	

(109) Fam.,XI,17	43	D. Junius Brutus Albinus cf. no.108	Cf. no.108	L. Aelius Lamia cf. no.107	Cf. no.108	Suffragatio.[1]	(1) The two letters (Fam., XI,16 and XI,17) may have been given to two different messengers or one of them is a draft (cf.T.P. ,VI,[2] 246)
(110) Fam.,XI,22	43	D. Junius Brutus Albinus cf. no.108	Cf. no.108	A. Claudius Pulcher (RE.,298)Cos.,38	A patrician, son of C. Claudius Pulcher (cos.56) who attached himself to Antonius because of pietas; Antonius restored his exiled father.	Reconciliation: the young man's attachment to Antonius has to be accounted for if he is to be reconciled with the Republicans.[1]	(1) Cf. Fam.,X,29 where Cicero notifies Appius that he is working for his safety.
(111) Fam.,XII,6	43	C. Cassius Longinus[1] (RE.,59) Pr.,44	Procos.Syria and the East.	C. Titius Strabo.	Unknown.[2]	General recommendation (employment under Cassius' command?)	(1) Cf. Fam.,XV, 14-19 for exchange of friendly letters from the years 51-45. (2) Cf. OE.,no.34 where it is suggested that he might be son or brother of L.Titius Strabo (Fam.,XIII,14,no.67)
(112) Ad Brut.,I,1	43	M. Junius Brutus cf. no.63	Procos.(with Imperium maius) Macedonia and the East.	L. Clodius (RE.,9)Tr.Pl.42?	Tribune designate.	Reconciliation: L.Clodius was indebted to Antonius but now he chooses to join the Republicans.	

(113)	Ad Brut.,I,8	43	M. Junius Brutus cf. no.63	Cf. no.112	C. Nasennius	Served as *princeps* of the eighth cohort under Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus in the Cretian war (68-66). Later, by attending to his *res familiaris* he has become rich.	General recommendation of a volunteer who wants to serve under Brutus.	
(114)	Ad Brut.,I,15.1-2	43	M. Junius Brutus cf. no.63	Cf. no.112	M. Valerius Messala Corvinus[1] (RE.,261) Cos.Suff.31	The father M.Valerius Messala Niger was a friend of Cicero. He brought the consulship back to this patrician house after a lapse of a century (61 B.C.). The son is a legate under Brutus.	General recommendation.[2]	(1) Studied with Cicero's son in Athens. (2) Cf. supra, p.8 n.52.

UNDATED RECOMMENDATIONS

(115)	Fam.,XIII,49	Before 44	Curius[1] (RE.,2,8)	Procos. of an unnamed province.	Q. Pompeius	Unknown	General recommendation.	(1) Cf. MRR,II,308 (45 B.C.)
(116)	Fam.,XIII,51	Unknown	P. Caesius	Perhaps son of the *eques Romanus* of *Pro Balbo*,50 who received the citizenship from Gn. Pompeus Strabo.[1]	P. Messienus (OE.,232)	A knight	General recommendation.	(1) Cicero's mentions in our letter 'paterna amicitia'.

(117)	Fam., XIII,52	Between 48 and 43	Rex (Marcius Rex, RE.,88? or P.Rupilius Rex, RE.,10,Pr.43?)	Leg.in Sicily?[1]	A. Licinius Aristoteles	A man from Melita with Roman citizenship who took Pompey's side during the civil war.	General recommendation.	(1) Cf. SMRR,40
(118)	Fam.,XIII,60	After Cicero's exile.	C. Munatius	Unknown.	L. Livineius Tripho.	A freedman of L.Livineius Regulus, praetor at an unknown date (RE.,2)[1]	General recommendation.	(1) Cf. SMRR,35
(119)	Fam.,XIII,76	Unknown	IIII Viri and Decuriones of a municipium in Italy.	Unknown.	C.Valgius Hippianus.	Unknown.	A request to render the land he possesses in the Ager Fregellinus, bought from the municipium, 'free and immune'.	(1) Cf. SMRR,35

Table II: References to Recommendations written by Cicero to Others

Letter	Date	Addressee	Office/ Social position	Person recommended	Office/ Social position	Classification of request	Notes
(1) Att.,II,1.12	60	C. Octavius (RE.,15;OE.,249)	Procos. Macedonia	T. Pomponius Atticus cf.I,no.1	Cf. I, no.1.	Probably in connection with the debt of Sicyon.[1]	(1) Cf. I,no.1 and supra, p.137ff.
(2) QF.,I,2.3	59	Statius	Quintus Cicero's libertus who was with him during his governorship of Asia. Was in charge of Quintus' correspondence (QF.,1,2.8) and had a great influence over the conduct of affairs.	Many people		'quam multos enim mecum egisse putas ut se Statio commendarem'.	
(3) QF.,I,2.4-5	59	Q.Tullius Cicero cf.I,no.3	Cf. I,no.3.	Zeuxis of Blaundus	A Greek provincial guilty of matricide according to Quintus.	The recommendation is probably subsequent to the man's escape.[1]	(1) Cf. supra,p.177.
(4) Fam.,I,9.24	54	P.Cornelius Lentulus Spinther cf.I,no.11	Cf. I,no.11.	Q.Tullius Cicero cf.I,no.3	Cf. I,no.14	Lentulus' help is sought in connection with Quintus' desire to enlarge his patrimonium in Arpinum by attaching adjacent lands.[1]	(1) Cf. Att.,IV,7.3; 10,1; QF.,II,5.4; III,1.4-5; 3,1.

(5) Fam.,I,10	54	P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther cf. I,no.11	Cf. I,no.11	L. Valerius	Cf. I,no.17	Cicero notifies Valerius that he thanked Lentulus for him, probably for complying with Cicero's recommendation.	
(6) Fam.,VII,8.2	54	Precianus	A jurisconsult.[1]	C. Trebatius Testa. cf. I,no.13	Cf. I,no.13	'ego te ei (i.e. Preciano) non desino commendare; scribit enim ipse mihi te sibi gratias agere debere.'	(1) Cf. Kunkel no.38,p.23. Perhaps the same man who left Cicero an inheritance in 50 ('hereditas Preciana') cf. Fam.,XIV,5.2; Att.,VI,9.2.
(7) QF.,II.14.3 III,1.10	54	C. Julius Caesar cf. I,no.13	Cf. I,no.13	M. Curtius (Postumus?)[1] OE.,129	A knight who served as a tribunus militum under Caesar after Cicero's recommendation.	Cicero recommended Curtius for the military tribunate.	(1) Perhaps the same as the Curtius Postumus of Att.,IX,2a.3; IX,6.2.
(8) Fam.,VII,7.1	54	L. Cornelius Balbus. (RE.,69;OE.,118) Cos.Suff.40	Caesar's agent at Rome.	C. Trebatius Testa. cf. I,no.13	Cf. I,no.13	Presumably Cicero's intention in writing to Balbus is that the latter will write to Caesar and strenthen Cicero's own recommendation of Trebatius.	

(9) Fam.,VII,8.1	54	C. Julius Caesar cf. I,no.13	Cf. I,no.13	C. Trebatius Testa cf. I,no.13	Cf. I,no.13	'Cui (sc. Caesari) ego rescripsi, quam mihi gratum esset futurum, si quam plurimum in te studi, offici, liberalitatis suae contulisset'. i.e. reference to the previous recommendation I,no.13.	
(10) Fam.,XIII,75.1	51	T. Titius cf. I,no.21	Cf. I,no.21	C. Avianius Flaccus	Cf. I,no.21	Cicero wrote to Titius a recommendation, which has not been preserved for us, before writing the present letter.	
(11) Att.,V,20.10	51	Q. Minucius Thermus cf. I,no.27	Cf. I,no.27	T. Pomponius Atticus M. Seius (OE.,317) Philogenes Xeno of Apollonia	- Cf. I,no.1 - A knight and a man of business. Famous as a producer of poultry. - Atticus' freedman and agent. - A provincial.	The recommendation of these people had been made orally (cf. Att.,V,13.2) and now in writing.	
(12) Fam.,II,17.6-7	50	M. Calpurnius Bibulus (RE.,28)Cos.,69	Procos.Syria	+ Canini Sallustius (RE.,IA 1913, 1919, Caninius No.14)Q.,50	Proq. under Bibulus in Syria.	Sallustius asked Cicero to recommend him to his superior. Cicero did it reluctantly because of Bibulus' recent hostility to himself.[1]	(1) Cf. supra, p.59ff

(13) Fam.,XVI,4.2 XVI,9.4	49	M. Curius - Cf. I,no.49 Lyso of Patrae - Cf. I,no.51 Asclapo - Cf. I,no.52		M. Tullius Tiro	Cicero's freedman and secretary.	Cicero recommends concern for Tiro's health.	
(14) Fam.,XVI,12.6	49	A. Terentius Varro Murena[1] (RE.,91,92) Aed. Cur.44 (Cos.23 if identical with RE.,92).	Son of L. Licinius Murena (RE., 123,Cos.62) who was defended by Cicero.	M. Tullius Tiro	Cf. II,no.13	Cicero recommends concern for Tiro's health and return home.[2]	(1) Cf. I,no.54. (2) The recommendation was made orally before Varro's departure from Italy and therefore, in fact, outside the scope of this survey.
(15) Fam.,XIV,7.2	49	Cicero's familiares		Terentia and Tullia.	Cicero's wife and daughter who were left in Rome.	'conscribam ad nostros familiares epistulas quibus et te et Tulliolam nostram diligentissime commendabo'.	
(16) Att.,VIII,4.1	49	Various people.		M. Pomponius Dionysius.	Atticus' freedman and the tutor of the Ciceros who seems to have business of his own.[1]	'quae etiam ad ceteros contempti cuiusdam hominis commendatio defuit?'	(1) Cf. I,no.104 which could be precisely such a recommendation (although at a later date) if the Dionysius there is the same man.

(17) Fam.,V,10a.1-2	44	P. Vatinius[1] (RE.,2),Cos.47	Procos. Illyricum	Catilius	Unknown; a brigand according to Vatinius; defended by Q. Volusius (OE.,404) who was prefect under Cicero in Cilicia (AH.,V,21.6 with MRR.,II,636).	Perhaps Q. Volusius is standing behind this recommendation for Vatinius calls him Cicero's disciple.[2]	(1) Cf. III,no.33 (2) It seems that the famous jurist Ser. Sulpicius Rufus also recommended the man, cf. § 1.

Table III: References to Recommendations Written by Other People to Cicero.

	Letter	Date	Recommender	Office/ Social position	Person recommended	Office/ Social position	Classification of request (as can be inferred from Cicero's replies)	Notes
(1)	Att.,I,19.11	60	T. Pomponius Atticus cf.II,no.1	Cf. I,no.1	L. Cossinius cf. I,no.55	Cf. I,no.55[1]	'valde mihi bonus homo et non levis et amans tui visus est et talis qualem esse eum tuae mihi litterae nuntiarunt'.	(1) Cossinius, while travelling between Greece and Italy, delivered Cicero's and Atticus' letters to each other.
(2)	Att.,II,19.5	59	T. Pomponius Atticus cf. I,no.1	Cf. I,no.1	Q. Caecilius (QE,60)	A very rich knight and money lender. Adopted Atticus (his nephew) and left him his name and fortune.	'Hic Caecilium colimus et observamus diligenter' (II,19.5); 'Caecilium quibus rebus possum tueor diligenter' (II,20.1).	(1) In 65 Cicero refused to defend Caecilius against Satyrus (Att.,I,1. 3-4), but now he cultivates him.
(3)	Att.,II,20.1	59	T. Pomponius Atticus cf. I,no.1	Cf. I,no.1	Anicatus	Unknown	'Anicato, ut te velle intellexeram, nullo loco defui'.	
(4)	Att.,II,20.1 (cf.II,22.7)	59	T. Pomponius Atticus cf. I,no.1	Cf. I, no.1	Numerius Numestius	Unknown	'Numestium ... libenter in amicitiam recepi' (II,20.1) 'Numerium Numestium libenter recepi in amicitiam et hominem gravem et prudentem et dignum tua commendatione cognovi' (II,22.7).	

(5) QF.,I,2.4	59	Q. Tullius Cicero cf. I,no.3	Cf. I,no.3	L. Caesius (QE.,73)	A knight, member of Q. Cicero's cohors.[1] (QF.,I,1.14)	'L. Caesius, cui, quoniam ita te velle intellego, nullo loco deero'.	(1) Nicolet (QE.,73) makes him son of M. Caesius (cf.I, no.64,65 = Fam., XIII,11,12).
(6) Fam.,V,17.4-5	57	P. Sittius	A negotiator who had estates in Italy and lent money in the provinces (Cic., Sull,56-9;Sall., Cat.,21.3) now in exile.[1]	Son of P. Sittius		Although it is not said so expressly, it may be inferred from Cicero's promises (§5) that the son was recommended by the exile.	(1) Perhaps the same man whose syngrapha Caelius recommends to Cicero (cf.IV, no.1).
(7) Fam.,I,5a.4	56	P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther cf. I,no.11	Cf. I,no.11	Q. Selicius	Probably Lentulus' agent in Rome.	'utor ad omnia Q.Selicio, neque enim prudentiorem quemquam ex tuis neque fide maiore esse iudico neque amantiorem tui'.	
(8) Att.,IV,16.1	54	T. Pomponius Atticus cf. I,no.1	Cf. I,no.1	M. Paccius	Unknown. A guest of Atticus.	'Paccio et verbis et re ostendi quid tua commendatio ponderis haberet; itaque in intimis est meis, cum antea notus non fuisset'.	
(9) Att.,IV,16.4	54	T. Pomponius Atticus cf. I,no.1	Cf. I,no.1	Pilia	Atticus' wife.	'De re Piliae quod scribis erit mihi curae'.	

10)	Att.,IV,16.4	54	T. Pomponius Atticus cf. I,no.1	Cf. I,no.1	C. Vestorius	A businessman from Puteoli.[1]	'Vestorio non desum;gratum enim id esse intellego, et ut ille intellegat curo'.	(1) A close friend of Atticus (cf. Att.,VI,2.3)
11)	Fam.,III,1.2	53/2	Ap.Claudius Pulcher cf. I,no.17	Cf. I,no.17	Cilix	Appius' freedman and agent in Rome.	From Cicero's praise perhaps one may infer a recommendation by Appius.	
12)	Fam.,III,5.1	51	Ap.Claudius Pulcher cf. I,no.17	Cf. I,no.17	L. Lucilius	Appius' messenger	'quo quidem hominem neminem potuisti nec mihi amiciorem nec ... ad ea cognoscenda, quae scire volebam, aptiorem prudentioremve mittere'.	
(13)	Fam.,III,6.1	51	Ap.Claudius Pulcher cf. I,no.17	Cf. I,no.17	Phania	Appius' freedman and messenger (cf.Fam.,III,1.2)	'cuius (sc. Phaniae) mihi videbar et fidelitatem erga te perspexisse et nosse locum, quem apud te is teneret'.	
(14)	Fam.,III,6.2	51	Ap.Claudius Pulcher cf. I,no.17	Cf. I,no.17	L. Clodius (cf.I,no.112)	Appius' praefectus fabrum sent as a messenger to Cicero.	'hominem ita tibi coniunctum, ut mihi cum illo cum loquerer tecum loqui viderer'.	
(15)	Fam.,XV,14.1	51	C.Cassius Longinus cf. I,no.111	Proquaestor in Syria	M. Fabius Gallus	Cf. I,no.35	Cicero replies that M.Fabius being a close friend, hardly needs another's recommendation. It is not clear, though, whether Cassius' recommendation led to the three others by Cicero.[1]	(1) Cf. I,nos.35, 36,37, and supra,p.180ff.

(16)	Fam.,XV,2.4 XV,4.6	51	The Senate and the Magistrates (M.Porcius Cato was the auctor).		Ariobarzanes	King of Cappadocia	'vestra auctoritas intercessisset ut ego regem Ariobarzanem Eusebem et Philoromaeum tuerer eiusque regem salutem et incolumitatem regnumque defendorem regi regnoque praesidio essem' (Fam.,XV,2.4). 'cuius (sc.Ariobarzanis) salutem a senatu te (scil.Catone) auctore commendatam habebam'.
(17)	Fam.,XV,4.6	51/50	M. Porcius Cato (Uticensis) (RE.,16)Pr.,54	A leading praetorian senator.	Athenaeus	A dignitary at the court of Ariobarzanes who was exiled because of the queen mother's hostility.	Cicero restored Athenaeus' auctoritas and gratia with the King.
(18)	Att.,V,18.4 (cf.Att.,VI,1.3)	51	T. Pomponius Atticus cf. I,no.1	Cf. I,no.1.	M. Junius Brutus cf. I,no.63	In 53 Brutus accompanied his father-in-law, Ap.Claudius Pulcher, to Cilicia as quaestor. It was then probably that he lent money to Ariobarzanes.	Atticus asked for Cicero's help in recovering Brutus' loan to Ariobarzanes. Cicero complied with the request.
(18a)	Att.,V,21.4 (cf.V,20.8)	51	T. Pomponius Atticus cf. I,no.63	Cf. I,no.1.	M. Laenius	Atticus' friend who probably has business in Cilicia. (cf.III,no.21).	'Laenio tuas commendationes et statim verbis et reliquo tempore re probabo'.

(19)	Att.,V,21.10 (cf.Att.,VI,1.5)	50	M. Junius Brutus cf. I,no.63	No official position at this time	M, Scaptius (OE.,315) and P. Matinius (OE.,227)	Both are knights and procurators of Brutus in Cilicia and Cyprus,[1] although in his recommendation Brutus presents them as independent money-lenders. M. Scaptius received a praefectura from App. Claudius Pulcher to exact money from Salamis. He was a close friend of Brutus and his family (cf. Att.,XV,13.4;Ad Brut., 26.1).	A request to bestow praefecturae on the two men in order to enable them to recover the loan and the interest from the people of Salamis.[2] Cicero refused the request for a praefectura but was ready to help the two men to recover the debt at the official rate of interest.	(1) Brutus' connection with Salamis dates to his service with Cato in Cyprus (58-56 B.C.) (Plut.,Brut.,3) (2) On the whole affair cf. supra, pp. 78ff; 117ff; 144ff.
(20)	Att.,V,21.10 (cf.VI,1.5)	50	Cn. Pompeius Magnus	Procos. Spain	Sex. Statius (cf.Att., V,1.5)	Unknown	Pompeius asked Cicero to confer a praefectura on Statius which Cicero refused to do.[1] Probably, here too, in order to recover a loan.	(1) Perhaps Statius was a procurator of Pompeius and we have the same case as that of Brutus. We do not know though, if Pompe like Brutus, would have concealed his own interest in the matter.
(21)	Att.,V,21.10 (cf.VI,1.5)	50	A. Manlius Torquatus.[1] cf. I,no.22	A senator cf. I,no.22	M. Laenius	Cf. III,no.18a	A request for a praefectura probably to exact a debt.[2] Cicero refused.	(1) As Leg. of Pompeius in Cilicia, Torquatus had probably lent money there. (2) M. Laenius is like Statius, M. Scaptius and P.Matinius only a procurator and not an independent money lender.

22)	Att.,VI,1.4 (cf.VI,3.6)	50	M. Junius Brutus cf. I,no.63		M. Scaptius (OE.,315)[1] L. Gavius (OE.,168)	Procurators of Brutus in Cappadocia who received praefecturae from Cicero.	A request for praefecturae with which Cicero complies since it is not in his province. (cf.III,no.19)	(1) OE, does not distinguish this man from the homonym (III, no.19) but cf.S.B.,III,241. This is probably the same man mentioned in Att.,VI, 3.5 = III,no.26.
23)	Att.,VI,1.23	50	T. Pomponius Atticus cf. I,no.1	Cf. I,no.1	T. Pinarius (cf. I,no.15	Was commended to Quintus in Gaul (I,no.15)[1]	'Pinarium, quem mihi commendas, diligentissime Deiotarus curat graviter aegrum'.	(1) Perhaps the same as the homonym who was Dionysius' procurator in Africa (I,no.104).
(24)	Fam.,II,19.2	50	C. Vergilius Balbus (RE.,2,3) Pr.,62[1]	Praetorian senator, a relative of Coelius Caldus.	C. Coelius Caldus[2] (RE.,14) Q.,50	Quaestor under Cicero in Cilicia.	'item C. Vergilius ... de te accuratissime scripsit'.[3]	(1) In Planc., 95-6 we hear of a vetustas amicitia between Cicero and Vergilius strengthened by the latter's being a colleague of Quintus as praetor. However he would not let the exiled Cicero stop at Sicily where he was a governor. (2) Cicero left Caldus as proqaestor in Cilicia for lack of better choice in order not to alienate a young noble but not out of respect for Coelius' abilities. (cf. esp. Att.,VI,6.3-4). (3) For recommendations of quaestors to their commanders in-chief cf. I,no.63 and supra, p. 199 n.73.

25)	Fam.,II,19.2	50	Curius[1]	Unknown (Coelius Caldus' cousin).	C. Coelius Caldus cf. no.27	Cf. no.27	'ad me Curius ... de te accuratissime scripsit'.	(1) Curius is 'mihi, ut scis, maxime familiarissimus' but one does not know who the man is.
(26)	Att.,VI,3.5	50	M. Junius Brutus cf.I,no.63		M. Scaptius (OE.,315 but cf. III,no.22	Cf. III,no.22	Brutus requested a military tribunate for Scaptius which Cicero conceded but the man later refused it.	
(27)	Att.,VII,8.1	50	T. Pomponius Atticus cf. I,no.1	Cf. I,no.1	M. Pomponius Dionysius	Cf. I,no.104	Atticus tried to reconcile Dionysius with the offended Cicero.[1]	(1) For the quarrel between Cicero and the tutor cf. also Att.,VIII,4.1; 10; IX, 12.2.
(28)	Att.,VIII,4.1	49	T. Pomponius Atticus cf. I,no.1	Cf. I,no.1	M. Pomponius Dionysius	Cf. I,no.104	Cicero mentions 'many a testimonial' which Atticus used to give to Cicero on Dionysius' behalf.	
(29)	Att.,X,11.5	49	T. Pomponius Atticus cf. I,no.1	Cf. I,no.1	Vettienus	A businessman (perhaps a money-changer), cf.S-B,IV,417.	Atticus attempted to restore harmony between Cicero and Vettienus whose relations became somewhat strained.	
(30)	Att.,X,16.1	49	T. Pomponius Atticus cf. I,no.1	Cf. I,no.1	M. Pomponius Dionysius	Cf. I,no.14	Again Atticus attempted to reconcile Dionysius with Cicero (cf.III,no.27).	

(31) Fam.,IV,9.1	46	M. Claudius Marcellus[1] (RE.,229) Cos.,51	A consular senator, now in exile (after consistent opposition to Caesar).	Theophilus	Marcellus' freedman and messenger.	'cuius (Theophili) ego fidem erga te benevolentiamque perspexeram'.	(1) Cicero worked for his recall from exile and made the speech Pro Marcello in the Senate when this was obtained from Caesar. (Fam.,IV,4.4)
(32) Fam.,VI,10.1	46	Postumulenus - Unknown P. Sestius (cf.I,no.89) - Cf. I,no.89 T. Pomponius Atticus (cf.I,no.1) - Cf. I,no.1		Trebianus[1] (OE.,352)	A knight who took Pompeius' side and is now in exile.	These people probably interceded with Cicero to obtain Trebianus' recall from exile.[2]	(1) Cf.OE.,352 for a possible relationship between Trebianus and Atticus' wealthy Epicurean friend L.Saufeius (OE., 313). (2) It was obtained through Dolabella (cf.Fam., VI,11.1).
(33) Fam.,V,11.2	45	P. Vatinius cf. II,no.17	Cf. II,no.17	Pompeia	Vatinius' wife.	P. Vatinius recommended his wife to Cicero who takes it upon himself to help her in whatever needed.	

34)	Fam.,X,1.4 (cf.X,3.1;4.1)	44	L. Munatius Plancus cf. I,no.62	Cf. I,no.103	C. Furnius cf. I,no.103	Cf. I,no.103	Cf. I,no.103: it seems that Plancus and Cicero constantly recommended Furnius to each other.
35)	Fam.,IX,24.1	43	L. Papirius Paetus cf. I, no.2	Cf. I,no.2	Rufus	Unknown	Paetus recommended the man several times, and Rufus himself wrote to Cicero who firmly asserted his readiness to help: 'Quam ob rem iste tuus amicus apud me commendatione non eget. Utinam ea fortuna rei p.sit, ut ille me unum gratissimum possit cognoscere'.
(36)	Fam.,XII,25A.1 (cf.XII,30.5)		Q. Cornificius cf. I,no.95	Cf. I,no.95	P. Lucceius	Unknown	Cicero promises to help Lucceius in whatever he can and in Fam.,XII,30.1 declares: 'De P.Lucceio nihil tibi concedo, quo studiosior tu sis quam ego sum'.

Table IV: Recommendations Written by Other People to Cicero.

	Letter	Date	Recommender	Office/ Social position	Person recommended	Office/ Social position	Classification of request	Notes
(1)	Fam.,VIII, 2.2 - VIII, 4.5 - VIII, 8.10 - VIII, 9.3 - VIII,11.4	51-50	M. Caelius Rufus cf. I,no.36	Cf. I,no.36	P. Sittius? cf. III,no.6	Cf. III,no.6	Caelius recommends the syngrapha Sittiana three times to Cicero (Fam.,VIII,2.2;4.5; 8.10) and sent people to attend to it (Fam.,VIII,9.3). Cicero looked after it (Fam.,VIII,11.4).	(1) If the syngrapha was given to Caelius by P. Sittius, as Shatzman claims (SWRP, 312), then we do not have a recommendation of Sittius. T-P (III^3, 32) takes Sittius to be Caelius' agent. Could Caelius be working on Sittius' behalf although he too had some interest in it (cf.Fam.,VIII, 4.5)? Cf.,supra, p. 146.
(2)	Fam.,VIII,8.10	51	M. Caelius Rufus cf. I,no.36	Cf. I,no.36	Philon and Diogenes Graecus.	Philon was a freedman of Caelius. Diogenes is not known.	The two men looked after Caelius' business with Adiatorix, the son of the Galatian dynast (cf.Fam.,II,12.2).	

(3)	Fam.,VIII,9.4	51	M. Caelius Rufus cf. I,no.36	Cf. I,no.36	M. Feridius[1] (OE.,143)	A Roman knight who was a negotiator in Cilicia.[2]	'Agros, quos fructuarios habent civitates, vult tuo beneficio...immunis esse'. - a request for the man himself or for the cities which he represents.	(1) He is a son of Caelius' friend. (2) Cf. supra,p.140,n.354, for a conjecture that he collected local taxes. (3) Cf.IV,no.2 and SWRP, p.313 and n.176.
(4)	Att.,XIV,13A.2	44	M. Antonius (RE.,30)Cos.,44	Consul	Sex.Cloelius (RE.,Clodius 12)[1]	Exiled in 52 for his leadership in the riots following Clodius' murder.[2]	Antonius, who obtained Cloelius' restitution from Caesar,desires to have Cicero's consent.[3]	(1) Cf.S-B,CQ,n.s.10 (1960),41. (2) Apparently of a humble origin (cf.Att.,IV, 13,B.3 'humiliores'). (3) For Cicero's favourable reply cf.Att.,XIV, 13 B.3 and supra, p.183f.
(5)	Att.,XIV,Ba.2-3	44	M. Antonius cf. no.4	Cf. IV,no.4	P. Claudius Pulcher (RE.,306; Clodius 49) Pr.,31?	Son of P. Clodius Pulcher (RE.,48) and Fulvia who is now married to Antonius.	Reconciliation of Cicero with the son of his dead enemy.[1]	(1) For Cicero's favourable reply cf.Att.,XIV, 13 B.4-5 and supra,p.183f.
(6)	Fam.,XII,16.4	44	C. Trebonius[1] (RE.,6;OE.,355) Cos.Suff.45	Procos. Asia.	Trebonius' mother and family.		'matrem meosque tibi commendatos habe'.	(1) Cf.Fam.,X,27;XII,16; XV,20;21 for exchange of letters between Cicero and Trebonius.

7) Ad Brut.,I,6.2	43	M. Junius Brutus cf. I,no.63	Cf. I,no.112	Glycon[1]	A doctor	Brutus asks Cicero to set free Glycon who has been arrested on suspicion of having poisoned the consul, Pansa.[2]	(1) Glycon was brother-in-law of Brutus' friend (or freedman) Achilles who is probably behind this recommendation. (2) Cf. Suet.,Aug.,11,1;Tac., Ann.,I,10.
8) Ad Brut.,I,6.4	43	M. Junius Brutus cf. I,no.63	Cf. I,no.112	C. Flavius Hemicillus (RE.,11)Leg. (pro.pr.), 43-2 or Praef.Fab.42[1]	Served under Brutus either as legate or as praefectus fabrum.	Cicero, as patron[2] of Dyrrachium should persuade the city to return the loan they owe Flavius as part of his inheritance.	(1) Cf. MRR.,II,353. (2) Cf. Planc.,97: 'erat in mea fide'.
(9) Ad Brut.,I,7	43	M. Junius Brutus cf. I,no.63	Cf. I,no.112	L.Calpurnius Bibulus (RE.,27) Pr.Desig.,36	A legate (or Prefect) under Brutus.	A request for nomination for the augurate.[1]	(1) Cf. Ad Brut.,I,14.1 for Cicero's compliance with the request.
(10) Ad Brut.,I,11	43	M. Junius Brutus cf. I,no.63	Cf. I,no.112	C. Antistius Vetus (RE.,47), Cos.Suff.30	A legate under Brutus who is about to stand for the praetorship.	Brutus asks Cicero to encourage the man to stand for the praetorship.[1]	(1) Cf. Ad Brut.,I,12.3 for Cicero's acceptance.
(11) Ad Brut.,I,13	43	M. Junius Brutus cf. I,no.63	Cf. I,no.112	The children of M.Aemilius Lapidus[1] (RE.,73) Cos.46	Lepidus who is proconsul of Gallia Narbonensis and Nearer Spain allied himself with Antonius and was about to be declared a public enemy by the Senate.	In anticipation of the Senate's act to declare Lepidus a public enemy, Brutus intercedes with Cicero for Lepidus' children.	(1) Lepidus married Brutus' half-sister. Brutus's mother and sister stand behind the recommendation. (2) In Ad.Brut.,I,12 Cicero, who has not yet received Brutus' letter refuses to comply with Servilia's and Junia's request. However in I,18 he notifies Brutus that he took measures to ensure their safety even before he received Brutus' letter.

V: References to Recommendations neither written by Cicero nor to him.

1) QF., I, 2.11 (59 B.C.) Caesar and Pompey wrote to Q. Tullius Cicero a recommendation of L. Flavius (cf. I, No.3).

2) QF., II, 11(10) 4-5 (54 B.C.) L. Cornelius Balbus probably recommended Q. Tullius Cicero to Caesar in Gaul (cf. QF., III, 1.9).

3) Fam., XIII, 19.1 (46 B.C.) Caesar recommended Lyso of Patrae to Ser. Sulpicius Rufus (cf. I, No.51).

4) Fam., XIII, 22 (46 B.C.) A. Terentius Varro Murena recommended T. Manlius to Ser. Sulpicius Rufus (cf. I, No.54 and II, No.11).

5) Ad Brut., I, 17.7 (43 B.C.) T. Pomponius Atticus recommended someone (not named) to M. Junius Brutus.

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II	,	9	Fam.,	VII,	8.	1

II	,	10	Fam.,	XIII,	75.	1
II	,	11	Att.,	V,	20.	10 (V,21.14)
II	,	12	Fam.,	II,	17.	6 - 7
II	,	13	Fam.,	XVI,	4.	2 (XVI,9.5)
II	,	14	Fam.,	XVI,	12.	6
II	,	15	Fam.,	XIV,	7.	2
II	,	16	Att.,	VII,	4.	1
II	,	17	Fam.,	V,	10a.	1 - 2
III	,	1	Att.,	I,	19.	11
III	,	2	Att.,	II,	19.	5 (II,20.1)
III	,	3	Att.,	II,	20.	1
III	,	4	Att.,	II,	20.	1 (II,22.7)
III	,	5	QF.,	I,	2.	4
III	,	6	Fam.,	V,	17.	4 - 5
III	,	7	Fam.,	I,	5a.	4
III	,	8	Att.,	IV,	16.	1
III	,	9	Att.,	IV,	16.	4
III	,	10	Att.,	IV,	16.	4
III	,	11	Fam.,	III,	1.	2
III	,	12	Fam.,	III,	5.	1
III	,	13	Fam.,	III,	6.	1
III	,	14	Fam.,	III,	6.	2
III	,	15	Fam.,	XV,	14.	1
III	,	16	Fam.,	XV,	2.	4 (XV,4.6)
III	,	17	Fam.,	XV,	4.	6

III ,	18	Att.,	V,	18.	4 (VI,1.3)
III ,	18a	Att.,	V,	21.	4 (V,20.8)
III ,	19	Att.,	V,	21.	10 (VI,1.5)
III ,	20	Att.,	V,	21.	10 (VI,1.5)
III ,	21	Att.,	V ,	21.	10 (VI,1.5)
III ,	22	Att.,	VI,	1.	4 (VI,3.6)
III ,	23	Att.,	VI,	1.	23
III ,	24	Fam.,	II,	19.	2
III ,	25	Fam.,	II,	19.	2
III ,	26	Att.,	VI,	3.	5
III ,	27	Att.,	VII,	8.	1
III ,	28	Att.,	VIII,	4.	1
III ,	29	Att.,	X,	11.	5
III ,	30	Att.,	X,	16.	1
III ,	31	Fam.,	IV,	9.	1.
III ,	32	Fam.,	VI,	10.	1
III ,	33	Fam.,	V,	11.	2
III ,	34	Fam.,	X,	1.	4 (X,3.1; 4.1)
III ,	35	Fam.,	IX,	24.	1
III ,	36	Fam.,	XII,	25a.	1 (XII,30.5)

IV ,	1	Fam.,	VIII,2.2; 4.5; 8,10; 9.3; 11.4		
IV ,	2	Fam.,	VIII,	8.	10
IV ,	3	Fam.,	VIII,	9.	4
IV ,	4	Att.,	XIV,	13A.	2
IV ,	5	Att.,	XIV,	13A.	2 - 3

IV	,	6	Fam.,	XII,	16.	4
IV	,	7	Ad Brut.,	I,	6.	2
IV	,	8	Ad Brut.,	I,	6.	4
IV	,	9	Ad Brut.,	I,	7	
IV	,	10	Ad Brut.,	I,	11	
IV	,	11	Ad Brut.,	I,	13	

Concordance II

Book and Letter			Table and Number	
Fam.,	I,	3	I,	11
"	I,	5a. 4	III,	7
"	I,	8. 1	I,	11a
"	I,	9. 24	II,	4
"	I,	10	II,	5
"	II,	6	I,	16
"	II,	14	I,	36
"	II,	17. 6 - 7	II,	12
"	II,	19. 2	III,	24
"	II,	19. 2	III,	25
"	III,	1. 2	III,	11
"	III,	1. 3	I,	17
"	III,	5. 1	III,	12
"	III,	6. 1	III,	13
"	III,	6. 2	III,	14
"	IV,	9. 1	III,	31
"	V,	5	I,	1
"	V,	10a. 1 - 2	II,	17
"	V,	11. 2	III,	33
"	V,	17. 4 - 5	III,	6
"	VI,	9	I,	84
"	VI,	10. 1	III,	32
"	VII,	5	I,	13
"	VII,	7. 1	II,	8

Fam.,	VII,	8.	1	II	,	9
-	VII,	8.	2	II	,	6
-	VII,	21		I	,	94
-	VIII,	2.2; 4,5; 8,10; 9.3; 11,4		IV	,	1
-	VIII,	8.	10	IV	,	2
-	VIII,	9.	4	IV	,	3
-	IX,	13		I	,	90
-	IX,	24.	1	III	,	35
-	IX,	25.	2 - 3	I	,	35
-	X,	1.	4	I	,	103
-	X,	1.	4 (3,1; 4.1)	III	,	34
-	XI,	16		I	,	108
-	XI,	17		I	,	109
-	XI,	22		I	,	110
-	XII,	6		I	,	111
-	XII,	16.	4	IV	,	6
-	XII,	21		I	,	95
-	XII,	24.	3	I	,	104
-	XII,	25a	1 (30,5)	III	,	36
-	XII,	26		I	,	105
-	XII,	27		I	,	106
-	XII,	29		I	,	107
-	XIII,	1		I	,	20
-	-	2		I	,	18
-	-	3		I	,	19
-	-	4		I	,	86
-	-	5		I	,	87

Fam.,	XIII,	6	I	,	9
"	"	6a	I	,	10
"	"	7	I	,	88
"	"	8	I	,	89
"	"	9	I	,	24
"	"	10	I	,	63
"	"	11	I	,	64
"	"	12	I	,	65
"	"	13	I	,	66
"	"	14	I	,	67
"	"	15	I	,	91
"	"	16	I	,	92
"	"	17	I	,	49
"	"	18	I	,	50
"	"	19	I	,	51
"	"	20	I	,	52
"	"	21	I	,	53
"	"	22	I	,	54
"	"	23	I	,	55
"	"	24	I	,	56
"	"	25	I	,	57
"	"	26	I	,	58
"	"	27	I	,	59
"	"	28	I	,	60
"	"	28a	I	,	61
"	"	29	I	,	62
"	"	30	I	,	68

Fam.,	XIII,	31	I	,	69
"	"	32	I	,	70
"	"	33	I	,	71
"	"	34	I	,	72
"	"	35	I	,	73
"	"	36	I	,	74
"	"	37	I	,	75
"	"	38	I	,	76
"	"	39	I	,	77
"	"	40	I	,	12
"	"	41	I	,	7
"	"	42	I	,	6
"	"	43	I	,	43
"	"	44	I	,	44
"	"	45	I	,	47
"	"	46	I	,	48
"	"	47	I	,	25
"	"	48	I	,	39
"	"	49	I	,	115
"	"	50	I	,	93
"	"	51	I	,	116
"	"	52	I	,	117
"	"	53	I	,	27
"	"	54	I	,	33
"	"	55	I	,	28
"	"	56	I	,	29
"	"	57	I	,	34

Fam.,	XIII,	58			I	,	38
"	"	59			I	,	37
"	"	60			I	,	118
"	"	61			I	,	26
"	"	62			I	,	26a
"	"	63			I	,	30
"	"	64			I	,	31
"	"	65			I	,	32
"	"	66			I	,	85
"	"	67			I	,	79
"	"	69			I	,	80
"	"	70			I	,	81
"	"	71			I	,	82
"	"	72			I	,	83
"	"	73			I	,	46
"	"	74			I	,	45
"	"	75			I	,	21
"	"	75.	1		II	,	10
"	"	76			I	,	119
"	"	77			I	,	78
"	"	78			I	,	40
"	"	79			I	,	41
"	XIV,	7.	2		II	,	15
"	XV,	2.	4	(4, 6)	III	,	16
"	XV,	4.	6		III	,	17
"	XV,	14.	1		III	,	15
"	XVI,	4.	2	(9, 5)	II	,	13

Fam.,	XVI,	12.	6		II	,	14
Att.,	I,	19.	11		III	,	1
-	I,	20.	7		I	,	2
-	II,	1.	12		II	,	1
-	II,	19.	5	(20, 1)	III	,	2
-	II,	20.	1		III	,	3
-	II,	20.	1	(22, 7)	III	,	4
-	IV,	16.	1		III	,	8
-	IV,	16.	4		III	,	9
-	IV,	16.	4		III	,	10
-	V,	1.	5		I	,	22
-	V,	18.	4	(VI, 1.3)	III	,	18
-	V,	20.	10		I	,	23
-	V,	20.	10	(21, 14)	II	,	10
-	V,	21.	4	(20, 8)	III	,	18a
-	V,	21.	10	(VI, 1.5)	III	,	19
-	V,	21.	10	(VI, 1.5)	III	,	20
-	V,	21.	10	(VI, 1.5)	III	,	21
-	VI,	1.	4	(VI, 3.6)	III	,	22
-	VI,	1.	23		III	,	23
-	VI,	3.	5		III	,	26
-	VII,	8.	1		III	,	27
-	VIII,	4.	1		II	,	16
-	VIII,	4.	1		III	,	28
-	X,	11.	5		III	,	29
-	X,	16.	1		III	,	30
-	XI,	12.	2		I	,	42

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-	XIV,	13A.	2 - 3		IV	, 5
-	XV,	14.	2 - 3		I	, 96
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-	XVI,	16B			I	, 98
-	XVI,	16C			I	, 99
-	XVI,	16D			I	, 100
-	XVI,	16E			I	, 101
-	XVI,	16F			I	, 102
QF.,	I,	2.	3		II	, 2
-	I,	2.	4		III	, 5
-	I,	2.	4 - 5		II	, 3
-	I,	2.	10 - 11		I	, 3
-	I,	2.	14		I	, 4
-	I,	2.	14		I	, 5
-	I,	3.	10		I	, 8
-	II,	13.	3		I	, 14
-	II,	14.	3	(III, 1.10)	II	, 7
-	III,	1.	22		I	, 15
Ad Brut.,	I,	1			I	, 112
-	I,	6.	2		IV	, 7
-	I,	6.	4		IV	, 8
-	I,	7			IV	, 9
-	I,	8			I	, 113
-	I,	11			IV	, 10
-	I,	13			IV	, 11
-	I,	15.	1 - 2		I	, 114

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