

CICERO AND THE GREEK WORLD

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I. The relationships between the Roman ruling class and the political and cultural elite of the Greek East have recently been the subject of important analyses by Professors E. Badian and G. W. Bowersock.¹ Although both of these scholars utilized Ciceronian information and discussed some of Cicero's contacts with leading Greeks, neither provided a comprehensive account. Some of Cicero's relationships with Greeks—slaves and freedmen—are evidence as much of his relationships with leading Romans as with Greeks but are nonetheless important for the light they shed on the penetration of Greek culture into Roman life.

P. Licinius Apollonius was a freedman of P. Crassus whom Cicero esteemed while Crassus was alive (*magni faciebam et probabam*); after Crassus' death, Apollonius seemed worthy of being received into Cicero's *fides* and *amicitia* because he thought he had to respect and be devoted to (*observare et colere*) those to whom Crassus had been dear and whom he had loved.² Apollonius was useful³ to Cicero during the

¹ E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae (264–70 B.C.)* (Oxford 1958); G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford 1965). Bowersock studies the Ciceronian period on pages 1–13 ("The Late Republican Background").

² See J. Hellegouarc'h, *Le Vocabulaire latin des Relations et des Partis politiques sous la République* (Paris 1963) (hereafter, Hellegouarc'h), 23–35 and 275–76 (*fides*), 41–62 (*amicitia*), 158–59, 214 (*observare* and *observantia*), 214 (*colere*).

³ However repugnant "using" friends and friendships, *familiariter* or not, might be to us, it is a common idiom in Cicero. It is the proper function of *virtus* to win men's hearts and minds *et ad usus suos adiungere* (*Off.* 2.17); but more than usefulness is necessary—there must be *amor* and *studium* (*Amic.* 51) else the friendship will, in due time, dissolve (*Amic.* 32). Those whose friendships Cicero "used" are: L. Aelius Lamia (*Fam.* 11.16.2); many of the people of Alatrium (*Cluent.* 49); Andro of Laodicea (*Fam.* 13.67); Asclapo of Patrae (*Fam.* 13.20); C. Ateius Capito (*Fam.* 13.29.2); C. Aurelius, his brother Lucius, and their father (13.40); C. Avianius Evander and his patron M. Aemilius (13.2); A. Caecina (*Fam.* 6.9) and his father (13.66.1); Caninius Satyrus (*Att.* 1.1.3); Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus (*Cluent.* 117); L. Cossinius (*Fam.* 13.23.1); M'. Curius (7.29.1);

proconsulate and had previously spent much time in Cicero's house along with Diodotus the Stoic. He also served Caesar at Alexandria and in Spain and desired to write an account of Caesar's deeds in Greek. *Doctus* and devoted to learning, he provides a good example of the cultured, efficient Greek in the service of the Greek world's rulers (*Fam.* 13.16). C. Avianius Evander, freedman of M. Aemilius Avianianus—one of Cicero's *familiarissimi atque intimi* and *maxime necessarius*:⁴ *Fam.* 13.27.2; cf. 13.21.1—was an important sculptor (*Hor. Sat.* 1.3.90 with *Porph.*, *ad loc.*; *Plin. HN.* 36.32) whom Cicero used *familiarissime* (*Fam.* 13.2). Similarly, C. Avianius Hammonius of Sicyon, likewise a freedman of M. Aemilius Avianianus, was *probatas* by Cicero because of his *fides* and *officium* to his patron and, much more to the point, because of his *magna officia*, *fides*, and *benevolentia*⁵ to Cicero during the latter's "time of troubles" (*Fam.* 13.21.2). A certain Chaerippus, friend, slave, or freedman of Cicero's *necessarius* Q. Cornificius, was *aptus* and *suavis* to Cicero (*Fam.* 12.30.3), who also calls him *noster* (*Fam.* 12.22a.4).⁶ Ap. Claudius' freedman Cilex became Cicero's *familiaris* in almost record time: only two days (*Fam.* 3.1.2). L. Cossinius Anchialus, freedman of Cicero's friend and *necessarius* L. Cossinius (*Fam.* 13.23; *Att.* 13.46.4), loved Cicero (*diligere*) and was a man of *summa probitas*, *humanitas*, and *observantia*;⁷ he was recommended as if he were Cicero's own freedman (*Fam.* 13.23). Likewise, M. Curtius Mithres, freedman of Cicero's *familiarissimus* and *necessarius*

C. Curtius (13.5.2: *ab ineunte aetate*); L. Egnatius (13.43.1, 45); M. Fadius (2.14; 9.25.2); C. Flavius (13.31.1); L. Genucilius Curvus (13.53.1); C. Iulius Caesar (6.6.4); Iuventus Laterensis (*Planc.* 5); L. Manlius Torquatus (*Sull.* 11); L. Mescinius (*Fam.* 13.26); C. Mustius (2 *Verr.* 1.139); Cn. Otacilius Naso (*Fam.* 13.33.1); L. Pinnius (13.61); Plancius' father (*Planc.* 25); Cn. Pompeius Magnus (*Att.* 1.17.10); Q. Selicius (*Fam.* 1.5.4); the *societas scripturae* (*Fam.* 13.65.2); L. Titius Strabo (13.14.1); A. Trebonius (1.3.1); Volumnius senator (7.32.1).

⁴ See Hellegouarc'h, 68–71 (*familiaris*), 71–76 (*necessarius*). Hellegouarc'h does not study *intimus*, a word which Cicero uses rarely (and with discrimination?): *Fam.* 13.69 (C. Curtius Mithres); 13.30.2 (L. Manlius Sosis); 13.3 (A. Fufius); 1.1.4 (Pompey's *intimi ac domestici*); *Att.* 4.16 (M. Paccius). For the Avianii, see now J. H. D'Arms, "CIL X, 1792: a Municipal Notable of the Augustan Age," *HSCP* 76 (1972) 207–16, esp. 211–23.

⁵ See Hellegouarc'h, 152–63 (*officium*), 149–50 (*benevolentia*).

⁶ He may be identified with the Chaerippus who was with Q. Cicero in Asia (*QFr.* 1.1.14; *Att.* 4.7.1; 5.4.2). For *noster* see *Att.* 7.1.1 (Cicero's slave Acastus), *Fam.* 9.10.1–2 (Curtius Nicias), *Fam.* 6.11.2 (Siro), *Att.* 5.10.5 (Xeno of Athens), *QFr.* 1.2.14 (Clodius Aesopus), *Tusc.* 2.61, *Div.* 1.6, 2.47 (Posidonius).

⁷ See Hellegouarc'h, 143–46 (*diligere*), 285–86 (*probitas*), 267–71 (*humanitas*).

M. Curtius Postumus, cultivated and "observed" Cicero as much as he did his own patron; whenever Cicero was in Ephesus, he says, he was as much at home in Mithres' house as in his own, frequently experiencing Mithres' *benevolentia* and *fides* (*Fam.* 13.69.1). Eutyichides was a freedman of Atticus whom Cicero calls *amicus* after their meeting in 51 (*Att.* 5.9.1) and who had been "sympathetic" to Cicero in his exile (*Att.* 4.15.1). A. Licinius Aristoteles, from Malta, was an *antiquissimus hospes*⁸ of Cicero, joined to him by *magnus usus familiaritatis*; Cicero secured his freedom from Caesar, presumably before Aristoteles showed himself a die-hard Pompeian (*Fam.* 13.52). L. Livineius Trypho, freedman of Cicero's *familiaris* L. Livineius Regulus, performed *officia* for Cicero during the latter's exile (*Fam.* 13.60.2; cf. *Att.* 3.17.1). Regulus suffered some unstated calamity which caused Cicero to be *officiosior* (for "he could not be *benevolentior*"), but he loved (*diligere*) Trypho *per se ipsum* and recommends him *ut homines grati et memores bene meritos de se*⁹ *commendare debent* (*Fam.* 13.60.1-2). Nicanor was one of Atticus' slaves who was with Cicero in Cilicia performing excellent services (*Att.* 5.3.3) and *officia* for Cicero (*Att.* 5.20.9). L. Nostius Zoilus is recommended by Cicero as a co-heir—a *causa amicitiae*; his patron thought him *probus* and Cicero recommends him *ut usus ex nostra domo* (*Fam.* 13.46). Phantias, freedman of Ap. Claudius, testified to his patron of Cicero's *officia* to Claudius (*Fam.* 2.13.2) to whom Cicero had earlier written *Phaniam valde sim desideraturus* (*Fam.* 3.1.2). And, of course, Cicero's own devoted and loved slave, later freedman, Tiro,¹⁰ cannot remain un-noted; nor can Dionysius, young Marcus' teacher with whom Cicero had a rather stormy and variable relationship.¹¹

II. Still other Greeks, whose status is not noted, men of apparently modest station, played an important role in unifying the Roman world and in Hellenizing the masters of that world. Alexio was one of Cicero's doctors and a friend whose *amor*, *humanitas*, and *suavitas* Cicero sorely missed (*Att.* 15.1) and whose heir he was (15.2.4; cf. 3.2).

⁸ See Hellegouarc'h, 50-63 for *hospitium* and cf. below, part IV.

⁹ See Hellegouarc'h, 169-70 (*meritum*).

¹⁰ For Tiro, see now W. C. McDermott, "M. Cicero and M. Tiro," *Historia* 21 (1972) 259-86.

¹¹ For Dionysius, see *Att.* 4.15.1; 5.9.3; 7.3.10; 7.7.1; 7.8.1; 8.4.1-2; 8.5; 8.10; 9.12.2; 9.15.5; 13.2B; *Fam.* 12.24.3.

Aristo of Patrae was Tiro's doctor in 51 (*Fam.* 16.9.2) whom Cicero used *valde familiariter* (*Fam.* 13.20). Another Aristo was a friend of Minucius Thermus who visited Cicero in Cilicia (*Fam.* 2.18.2), while Cicero performed some *officium* for another friend of Minucius, Rhodo by name, likewise in Cilicia (*Fam.* 2.18.1).

III. There was also a number of intellectuals included in Cicero's circle of Greek friends; he spent six months with Antiochus of Ascalon, the Academic philosopher, in 79/78 (*Brut.* 315; *Fin.* 5.1.1; 2.6; *Acad.* 2.98) and calls him *familiaris* (*Leg.* 1.54). The famous tragic actor Clodius Aesopus was *noster familiaris* (*QFr.* 1.2.14) and *familiaris tuus* (*Div.* 1.80: Quintus speaking). Diodotus, Cicero's Stoic teacher (*NatD.* 1.3.6; *Brut.* 309), lived with Cicero for many years (*Acad.* 2.115; *Tusc.* 5.113; *Fam.* 13.16.1) and was loved by Cicero (*Acad.* 2.115: *amavi a puero*; *Tusc.* 5.113: *diligio*). A. Licinius Archias, a poet from Antiocheia, was in Rome from time to time from 102; in defending Archias' claim to citizenship, Cicero says "*hunc ego non diligam?*" (*Arch.* 18). Later, speaking in the person of Quintus, he speaks of *noster Archias* (*Div.* 1.79) even though Archias seems not to have written about Cicero (*Att.* 1.16.15). L. Manlius Sosis, from Catana, was a citizen of Naples before the Social War, hence a Roman citizen, and *decurio* of that city; he was a *vir optimus*, a *familiarissimus* of Cicero, and among his *intimi* and *maxime necessarii*. He was interested in literature and learning, *quibus ego maxime delector* (*Fam.* 13.30). Curtius Nicias, perhaps tyrant of Cos,¹² was a *grammaticus*, an adherent of Cn. Pompey and L. Memmius who violated his ties with them (*Suet. Gramm.* 14). He was also a *familiaris* of Cicero (*ibid.*). Cicero wrote to Dolabella concerning his prospective defense of *Nicias noster . . . symbiôtês noster*; in this letter, Cicero recalls dining and conversing at Nicias' house with Dolabella (*Fam.* 9.10.1-2). Nicias was with Cicero in December of 50 (*Att.* 7.3.10); his *humanitas* is praised (cf. *Att.* 13.28.4), but Cicero laments being unable to enjoy it: if he could, *in primis vellem illum mecum habere* (*Att.* 12.26.2). But Nicias soon came (*Att.* 12.51.1; 53.13.1, 3), leaving later to set out for the East with Dolabella, against Cicero's will, but on his advice (*Att.* 13.28.3; cf. 14.9.3; 15.20.1).

Head of the Epicurean school was Patro, of whom Cicero wrote to

¹² For Curtius Nicias, see Bowersock (above, n. 1), 45-46; Shackleton Bailey *ad Att.* 7.3.10 (his number 126).

C. Memmius: *me coluit in primis* . . . and he regards me as *fere princeps* of his defenders and *amici* (*Fam.* 13.1.1); however, in the matter of Epicurus' house, Cicero did not exert himself much in Patro's behalf (*Att.* 5.11.6; 19.3). His last appearance is as a deliverer of mail to Cicero at Brundisium (*Att.* 7.2.4). Siro, another Epicurean philosopher, is called *noster amicus* in a letter to Trebianus (*Fam.* 6.11.2; cf. *Fin.* 2.119); still another Epicurean was Xeno of Athens. A friend of Atticus, he is called *Xeno tuus vel noster potius* (*Att.* 5.10.5); Cicero loved him (*diligo*) as much as Atticus did (5.11.6). Of different philosophical persuasion was Posidonius of Apameia who, like Archias, also did not write about Cicero (*Att.* 2.1.2), but he remained *noster* (*Tusc.* 2.61; *Div.* 1.6; 2.47) and *familiaris noster* (*Fin.* 1.6; *NatD.* 2.88). Cicero had heard him in 77 (*NatD.* 1.6; *Plut. Cic.* 4) and had possibly first met him when Posidonius came to Rome in 87 (*Plut. Mar.* 45).

IV. From a political, diplomatic, and administrative point of view, the most important Greeks whom Cicero was pleased to call friend were the *domi nobiles* (cf. *Flacc.* 52), those local notables whose good will and collaboration made it possible for the Romans to govern the Eastern half of the Empire. Indispensable in this category were *hospites*, those who threw open their doors to Rome's itinerant officials in return for power and influence both in Rome and at home. Many of Cicero's *hospites* were Sicilians, with most—if not with all—of whom Cicero came into contact during his quaestorship. Apollonius Geminus from Panormus, son of Diocles, was Cicero's *amicus atque hospes* (2 *Verr.* 5.20). C. Avianius Philoxenus, presumably from Sicily, was an *antiquus hospes* and *valde etiam familiaris*; he was enrolled by Caesar among the citizens of Novum Comum by Cicero's *beneficium*, probably being one of the five-hundred Greeks settled there (*Strabo* 5.1.6). He may have been a freedman of the grain merchant of Puteoli, C. Avianius Flaccus, one of whose sons was in Sicily in 46 (*Fam.* 13.79). Philoxenus received from Cicero the additional benefice of a not *vulgaris* recommendation (*Fam.* 13.35). M. Clodius Archagathus and C. Clodius Philo were two men from Halesa joined to Cicero by *hospitium* and *familiaritas*; the family and especially the two individuals named were *maxime coniuncti* to Cicero by *vetustas*, *officia*, and *benevolentia* (*Fam.* 13.32). Demetrius Megas was a Sicilian with whom Cicero had *vetustum hospitium* and *familiaritas tanta quanta cum Siculo*

nullo; at Cicero's request, Dolabella obtained citizenship for Demetrius (who thus became P. Cornelius). Further, when Caesar's grants of citizenship were revoked, he told Dolabella, in Cicero's presence, that Demetrius was not affected (*Fam.* 13.36.1). Hippias of Calacte was a *hospes* and *necessarius* of Cicero who asked M'. Acilius' aid in Hippias' recovering his property (*Fam.* 13.37).¹³ In 45, Cicero recommended a certain Lyso of Lilybaeum with whom Cicero was bound by ties of *hospitium* dating from the days of Lyso's grandfather—ties which were, obviously, maintained by Lyso (*valde ab eo observor*) (*Fam.* 13.34). Lilybaeum also provided Cicero with the *amicitia* and *hospitium* of a certain Pamphilus (2 *Verr.* 4.32), while Cn. Pompeius Basiliscus, a wealthy citizen of Messana, was Cicero's *hospes* there (2 *Verr.* 4.25). A very important personage because of his large number of patrons and *hospites* whose support he was able to mobilize in Rome was Sthenius of Thermae,¹⁴ *amicus atque hospes* of Cicero, who claims to have loved him much (*singulariter dilexissem*) and who intervened on Sthenius' behalf with the tribunes in Rome (2 *Verr.* 2.100; 117).

During his career of public service, Cicero acquired *hospites* in other parts of the Eastern Empire (except for Sardinia, there is none in the West), not only in Cilicia (where we would expect to find them), but elsewhere as well. In 46 Cicero wrote that in his whole province he had used nobody more familiarly than Andro of Laodicea, son of Artemo, both a *hospes* and a man greatly accommodated to the *ratio* and *consuetudo*¹⁵ of his life; Andro was a *gratus homo meique memor: itaque eum Romae libentissime vidi* (*Fam.* 13.67). Cicero had *hospitium* and *summa familiaritas* with Antipatros of Derbe (*Fam.* 13.73.2), a town which was in Cilicia in 51; Strabo (12.1.4) tells us that Antipatros was its most powerful and influential citizen. Deiotarus, the tetrarch of Galatia who was defended by Cicero before Caesar in 45, is frequently spoken of in friendly terms by Cicero: he and his son kept the young Cicerones from the summer of 51 to the winter (*Att.* 5.17.3, 18.4, 20.9); he manifested *studium* and *officium* to Rome and to Cicero while he and his troops served in Cicero's army (*Fam.* 15.4.5; cf. *Att.* 6.1.4); he is called *familiaris* and *necessarius* (*Div.* 2.20; *Deiot.* 39) and *hospes* (*Div.*

¹³ Hippias was the son of a certain Philoxenos, who may be the individual in *IG* 14.352.74 (Halesa).

¹⁴ For Sthenius, see Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* (above, n. 1), 282–83.

¹⁵ See Hellegouarc'h, 76–79, for *consuetudo*.

1.26). Near the end of his defense, Cicero sums up as follows: *quocum* (i.e., *cum Deiotaro*) *mihi amicitiam res publica conciliavit, hospitium voluntas utriusque coniunxit, familiaritatem consuetudo attulit, summam vero necessitudinem magna eius officia in me et in exercitum meum effecerunt* (*Deiot.* 39). Later, Cicero adds that he always supported Deiotarus in the latter's absence (*Phil.* 2.95; cf. *HarResp.* 29). A similar relationship—although the word *hospitium* is not used—existed between Cicero and Ariobarzanes III, king of Cappadocia with whom Cicero had *necessitudo* arising from Cicero's *summum beneficium* to Ariobarzanes (*Att.* 13.2a.2); hence, Cicero invited his brother Ariarathes to stay with him when he came to Rome "to buy a kingdom from Caesar" as Cicero put it. The *beneficium* was partly Cicero's bringing Ariobarzanes the senate's recognition (*Fam.* 2.17.7) and, more to the point, Cicero's supporting and defending Ariobarzanes against a conspiracy while Cicero was governor of Cilicia—a matter of *fides* (*Att.* 5.20.6; *Fam.* 15.2.4–8; 4.6). Likewise in 51 (cf. *Fam.* 15.1.2; 3.2), Cicero established a friendly relationship with Antiochus II of Commagene whom Cicero always loved and by whom he perceived himself to be loved (*diligere*) (*Ep. ad Pansam*, fr. 1.1);¹⁶ their friendship will have been renewed in Pompey's camp (cf. *Caes. BCiv.* 3.4.5; *App. BCiv.* 2.49).

Democritus of Sicily, *Achaiae paene princeps*, was not only Cicero's *hospes* but also—a remarkable assertion—*valde familiaris, quod non multis contigit, Graecis praesertim*; he was a man of *summa probitas, summa virtus, summa in hospites liberalitas*¹⁷ *et observantia, meque praeter ceteros et colit et observat et diligit* (*Fam.* 13.78.1). Cn. Domitius Sincaius was a Sardinian *hospes et familiaris* of Cicero—a relationship which may have arisen through Quintus; he was given citizenship by Pompey (*Scaur.* 43), perhaps in part through the influence of the Cicerones. Cicero also had relationships with Sardinians even before Quintus' service on that island, as we learn from the strange chase of Phamea, grandfather of M. Tigellius, who was angry at Cicero for having failed Phamea after undertaking the latter's case, a defense which Cicero had accepted *non libenter, sed Phameae causa volebam*: Phamea had promised, through

¹⁶ Cicero's correspondence with Pansa regarding Antiochus will have been a recommendation to Pansa regarding Antiochus after Caesar's victory, presumably in 47 or 46 when Pansa was governor of Bithynia (cf. *MRR* 2.290; 299).

¹⁷ See Hellegouarc'h, 215–21, for *liberalitas*.

Atticus, to assist Cicero in his campaign for the consulate—*quod ego perinde tuebar ac si usus essem* (*Att.* 13.49). To Fabius Gallus, Cicero wrote that Phamea was *sane familiaris* (*Fam.* 7.24.2), and he explains to Gallus and to Atticus why he wasn't able to carry through with his promise to Phamea (who, because of his friendship with Caesar, had the capability of harming Cicero); of Phamea Cicero now says *non laboravi scilicet nec hominis alieni (!) iniustissimam iracundiam mihi curandam putavi?* (*Att.* 13.49) and the famous *habes Sardos venales, alium alio nequiores* (*Fam.* 7.24.2).¹⁸

Hegesaretus of Larissa was honored by Cicero in 63 with (unspecified) *magna beneficia* and was suitably *memor* and *gratus*; he *diligentissime* cultivated Cicero, who recommended him as a *hospes* and *familiaris* (*Fam.* 13.25).¹⁹ A passing remark in Caesar (*BCiv.* 3.35.2) gives some indication of the power and influence of many of these individuals whose very names would have perished were it not for their carefully cultivated relationship with one representative of the Roman government whose letters happened to survive: Caesar, not easily impressed by second-rate big-shots, notes that Hegesaretus (a Pompeian) was a man of *vetus potentia*. Hermippus, *princeps* of Dionysopolis (in Phrygia), although his fellow townspeople were *inimicissimi* to Cicero (for no stated reason), became linked to Cicero by *familiaritas* (*QFr.* 1.2.4), while another Hermippus (of Temnos) was a *vetus*²⁰ *amicus* and *hospes* (*Flacc.* 48). Lyso of Patrae was a *hospes* and *familiaris* of Cicero,

¹⁸ Phamea's case, Cicero explains, was called for the same day on which the jury was to reach a verdict in Sestius' case. For Phamea and Tigellius, see P. Meloni, "Note su Tigellio," *Studi Sardi* 7 (1947) 117–51; S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the late Republic* (Oxford 1969) 186, 269–70. Perhaps the real reason behind Cicero's change of mind, Meloni conjectures (p. 122), was the identity of Phamea's opponents, the sons of Cn. Octavius, perhaps the consul of 76 (a guess) whom Cicero called *familiaris meus* (*Fin.* 2.93). If this were the case, Cicero's obligations to Roman nobles will have far out-weighted promises to a foreigner (*alienus*), however prominent. Mrs. Treggiari, not knowing Meloni (who argues against the identification), identifies Tigellius with Horace's Tigellius Hermogenes; then, quoting Ullman (*CP* 10 [1915] 271) on Phamea's "foreign name," she concludes that both were probably freedmen. However, Phamea appears to be Punic: cf. Polyb. 36.6; App. *Pun.* 97–109. Like Aris (*Cic. Scaur.*, frg. 2.6) and Bostar (*id.*, 2.1), Phamea will have been a Romano-Punic notable. Domitius Sincaius may also have been of Punic origin; his cognomen is nowhere else on record—it may be theophoric, based on Sin. The only parallels I can find are Sinaeus (*CIL* 2.4970.322) and Sindaeus (10.6543).

¹⁹ See Hellegouarc'h, 206 (*gratus*), 251–52 (*diligentia*).

²⁰ See Hellegouarc'h, 78–79 (*vetustas*).

who performed for him the *officium* of writing to Ser. Sulpicius, governor of Achaea, a letter which proved extremely helpful to Lyso (*Fam.* 13.24). At some point in 47 or 46, Lyso was with Cicero almost daily in Rome (*Fam.* 13.19.1) and even lived with him (13.24.3). In *Fam.* 13.19, Cicero speaks of their *hospitium vetus—quam ego necessitudinem sancte colendam puto*—and their *familiaritas tanta nullo cum hospite*, increased by many *officia* and by daily *consuetudo, ut nihil sit familiaritate nostra coniunctius*.²¹ Lyso had been an ardent Pompeian on whose behalf Cicero and other *hospites* (*n.b.*) lobbied with Caesar, successfully. Lyso's son was adopted by Cicero's client, C. Maenius Gemellus who had spent his exile in Patrae (*Fam.* 13.19.2). Certainly not the least of Lyso's services to Cicero was the fact that when Tiro was ill in 50, Lyso helped in nursing him back to good health (*Fam.* 16.4.2, 5.1, 9.3). Tito brings up another *hospitium*, one with Xenomenes of Thyreion (in Akarnania), a *hospes* who loved (*diligit*) Tiro as much as if they had lived together (*Fam.* 16.5.1). Although no specific relationship is mentioned, Cicero performed a (requested) *officium* for a certain Philippus, a Lacedaemonian who asked Cicero to write to Ser. Sulpicius to commend Sparta to him; remembering that *me ei civitati omnia debere*,²² Cicero accordingly wrote *Fam.* 13.28b. Finally, to illustrate how impersonal many of these "friendships" were and yet how important they were perceived to be, we have the case of Zeuxis of Blandus (in Mysia): even though he was undoubtedly a matricide, Cicero received him into friendship (*familiaritas*) and recommended that Quintus do likewise—to ease Quintus' task of governing Asia (*QFr.* 1.2.4; 5).

V. So, culture, services (mutual and one-way, public and private), and governmental efficiency provided the necessity and purpose for Greeks to cultivate Romans and for Romans to cultivate and utilize the Greeks. Because of the accidents of literary survival, Cicero's friendships and the details of his relationships and services given and received—although often shadowy—are better attested than those of any other Republican figure. Had he never engaged in politics and statesmanship, he would undoubtedly have acquired friendships with sculptors and philosophers (e.g.); but the large number of attested

²¹ See Hellegouarc'h, 80–86 (*coniunctio*).

²² See Hellegouarc'h, 155 (*debere*).

friendships (granted the frequent meaninglessness of that term) with powerful and influential Greeks acquired by a new man in relatively brief tours of duty abroad is an important testimony to the workings of the Roman system of provincial government—in fact, to the workings of the Roman system.

PROSOPOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

1. Acastus (not in *RE*): *Att.* 7.1.1.
2. Alexio (*RE*, 4).
3. Andro of Laodicea (not in *RE*): *Fam.* 13.67. He was son of Artemo (*RE*, 12).
4. Antiochus of Ascalon (*RE*, 62).
5. Antiochus II of Commagene (*RE*, 37).
6. Antipatros of Derbe (*RE*, 20); cf. R. Syme, "Observations on the Province of Cilicia," *Anatolian Studies* . . . Buckler (Manchester 1939), 309–12.
7. Apollonius (*RE*, 60).
8. Apollonius Geminus of Panormus (*RE*, 61).
9. Ariobarzanes III of Cappadocia (*RE*, 7).
10. Aristo (*RE*, 46).
11. Asclapo of Patrae (*RE*, 3).
12. C. Avianus Evander (*RE*, 5).
13. C. Avianus Hammonius (*RE*, 7).
14. C. Avianus Philoxenus (*RE*, 8).
15. Q. Caecilius Niger (*RE*, 101): he may have been a *familiaris* of Cicero, but it is more likely that the orator is using courtesy or irony when he says "Now I speak to you *familiariter*" (*Div. Caec.* 37).
16. Chaerippus (not in *RE*): *Fam.* 12.22a.4; 30.3.
17. Cilex (not in *RE*): *Fam.* 3.1.2.
18. Clodius Aesopus (*RE*, 16).
19. M. Clodius Archagathus (not in *RE*): *Fam.* 13.32.
20. Clodius Philhetaerus (not in *RE*): *Fam.* 14.4.6.
21. C. Clodius Philo (not in *RE*): *Fam.* 13.32.
22. L. Cossinius Anchialus (*RE*, 4).
- 22a. Cratippus of Pergamum (*RE*, 3).
23. M. Curtius Mithres (*RE*, 20).
24. Deiotarus of Galatia (*RE*, 2).
25. Demetrius Megas (*RE*, s.v. "Cornelius, 46").
26. Democritus of Sicyon (not in *RE*): *Fam.* 13.78.1.
27. Diodotus (*RE*, 11).

28. Dionysius (*RE*, s.v. "Pomponius, 14a").
29. Cn. Domitius Sincaius (*RE*, 82).
30. Eutychides (*RE*, 1).
31. Hegesaretus of Larissa (*RE*, 1).
32. Hermippus of Dionysopolis (*RE*, 3).
33. Hermippus of Temnos (*RE*, 4).
34. Hippias of Calacte (*RE*, 12).
35. A. Licinius Archias (*RE*, 35).
36. A. Licinius Aristoteles of Malta (*RE*, 36).
37. L. Livineius Trypho (*RE*, 6).
38. Lyso of Lilybaeum (cf. *RE*, 1).
39. Lyso of Patrae (*RE*, 2).
40. L. Manlius Sosis (*RE*, 65).
41. Nicanor (*RE*, 17).
42. Nicias of Cos (*RE*, s.v. "Curtius, 22").
43. L. Nostius Zoilus (*RE*, 1).
44. Pamphilus of Lilybaeum (*RE*, 12).
45. Patro (*RE*, 8).
46. Phamea (*RE*, 1).
47. Phantias (*RE*, 2).
48. Philippus (*RE*, 31).
49. Cn. Pompeius Basiliscus (*RE*, 23).
50. Posidonius of Apameia (*RE*, 3).
51. Rhodo (*RE*, 1).
52. Siro (*RE*, 1).
53. Sthenius (*RE*, 2).
54. M. Tigellius (*RE*, 1).
55. M. Tullius Tiro (*RE*, 52).
56. Xeno (*RE*, 9).
57. Xenomenes of Thyrraeon (*RE*, 1).
58. Zeuxis of Blandus (*RE*, 5): *QFr.* 1.2.4, 5.