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(KAAM)  
YAYINLARI-XVII

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Olba is printed once a year in May. Deadline for sending papers is November of each year.

The Journal 'Olba', being published since 1998 by the 'Research Center of Cilician Archaeology' of the Mersin University (Turkey), includes original studies done on prehistory, protohistory, classical archaeology, classical philology (language and culture), ancient history, numismatics and Byzantine History of Art.

The studies select their material mostly from Asia Minor but articles (papers) dealing with the Mediterranean area and Near East also form the content of Olba.

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## ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT OF CILICIA IN THE TIME OF CICERO

Hatice PALAZ ERDEMİR\*

### ABSTRACT

Different kinds of exploitation can be ascertained after the Roman annexation of Asia Minor in 133 B.C. A number of governors were corrupt, cruel, and inefficient. Those with corrupt governments did great damage to the image of their successors and to Roman administration in general. Governors had to deal with a number of problems, including relations with the *publicani* in the province and senators in Rome.

The first problem concerned economic management, particularly, malpractice in the field of tax gathering. Up to the time of Cicero, numerous decrees had been passed on this subject, and tax collecting was almost settled. Based on derisive comments contained in a dispatch by Cicero to the Senate, however, it appears that the Senate gave governors authority to collect money for public needs in the province in difficult times. Cicero would not allow tax collectors to get away with abuses under his governorship.

The second problem was the debt and interest that the people of Cilicia owed Roman moneylenders, who were in general members of the Roman élite. After the annexation of the province of Asia, the inhabitants there were forced to borrow money from the Roman élite in order to pay their taxes and relieve their situation. This, however, often resulted in debt problems arising between provincials and Roman senators and, rather than relieving the people in the provinces, placed them in an impossible situation. The resolution of these problems was as important as tax collection, because the state sought neither to lose its sources of revenues through the bankruptcy of cities or individuals in the provinces nor to vex senators.

Cicero, as a provincial governor of Cilicia, played an important role in contacts between Rome, the Roman élite, Roman businessmen, and native peoples of Asia Minor. He is a good example of a governor who knows how to use initiative, in light of his rights, to preserve and ensure the rights of his friends in the provinces

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through friendly involvement and the subtle (and sometimes not so subtle) use of privilege.

**Key words:** Cicero, Brutus, Cilicia, Senate, Rome, Cyprus, provincial government, tax, exploitation, money-lending, interest.

## ÖZET

### Cicero Döneminde Kilikia'nın Ekonomik Yönetimi

İ.Ö. 133'te Romalılar'ın Küçük Asya'yı ele geçirmesinden sonra, farklı durum ve ortamlarda değişik türden sömürü ve kötü uygulamalar görülmektedir. Tamamı değil, ancak pekçok eyalet yöneticisinin, idari konularda yoz, gaddar ve yetersiz oldukları anlaşılmaktadır. Bunlardan kötü uygulamalarda bulunanlar, kendilerinden sonra idareye gelecek olan eyalet yöneticilerinin itibarına ve bir bütün halinde Roma yönetimine fevkalade zarar vermişlerdir.

Eyalet yöneticilerinin, eyaletlerde ilgilenmek zorunda oldukları çok sayıda sorun bulunmaktaydı. Bunlar içerisinde eyalet yöneticilerinin, eyaletlerde *publicani* ve Roma'da senatörlerle ilişkileri olmak üzere karşı karşıya buldukları iki önemli problem vardı.

Eyalette mali yönetimle ilgili en önemli meselelerin ilki vergilerin toplanmasıyla bağlantılıydı. Cicero dönemine kadar bu konuda çok sayıda hüküm verilmiş ve vergilerin toplanması aşağı yukarı belli bir yapı kazanmıştı. Ancak, Cicero döneminde Senato'ya gönderilmiş olan mektuplar halen bu konuyla ilgili ilginç görüşleri de ifade etmektedir. Ayrıca Senato'nun yöneticilere eyaletlerde kamusal ihtiyaçlar için zor durumlarda para toplama yetkisi verdiği de gözlemlenmektedir. Fakat, Cicero yöneticiliği döneminde vergi toplayıcılarına suistimal fırsatı veremeyecektir.

İkinci problem Cilicia halkından bir kısmının Romalı sermaye sahiplerine (Roma seçkin sınıfından olanlara) olan borçları ve borçlarını geri ödeme konusunda içine düştükleri sıkıntılardı. Asya eyaletinin ilhakından sonra bölgenin yerli halkı vergilerini ödemek ve durumlarını hafifletmek için Romalı bu seçkin sınıftan borç almak zorunda kalmıştır. Bu durum sık sık taşradaki halk ve Roma senatörleri arasında borçlanma problemlerinin ortaya çıkmasına sebep olmuş ve onların durumlarını hafifletmekten ziyade, içinden çıkılması zor bir durum meydana getirmişti. Devlet ne şehirlerin ne de kişilerin iflaslar yoluyla varlıklarını kaybetmelerini, ne de senatörleri kızdırmayı istemediği için, bu problemlerin çözümüne vergilerin toplanması kadar önem vermemekteydi.

Cilicia'nın eyalet yöneticisi olarak Cicero, bu yüzden Roma, Roma elit tabakası, Romalı iş adamları ile Küçük Asya'nın yerli halkı arasında bağlantı kurmakta önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Eyaletlerde kendi imtiyazlarını, arkadaşlarının haklarını gözetmek ve ustalıkla (her zaman bu şekilde olmasa da) korumak ve garantiye almak için nasıl kullanması gerektiğini bilen Cicero, Cilicia ve Küçük Asya'da eyalet yönetimi açısından iyi bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Cicero, Cilicia ve Küçük

Asya'da kendisine verilen hak ve yetkiler doğrultusunda arkadaşlarının haklarını ustalıkla (bazen de acemice) koruma ve garantiye alma inisiyatifini nasıl kullanacağını bilen yöneticilere güzel bir örnektir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Cicero, Brutus, Cilicia, Senato, Roma, Kıbrıs, eyalet yönetimi, vergi, usulsüzlük, borç verme, faiz.

The aim of this study is to analyse one of the important duties of provincial governor in Asia Minor, especially in Cilicia. It can be suggested that among others, economic management of the provinces required special attention, capacity and capability of provincial governor under the Roman rule. Since Cicero's works are the best documented example of a late Republican governor in action, his economic management of Cilicia is taken as the core of this paper. Although his many letters give us considerable information relating to this period, they cannot reflect all the problems and characteristics of economic management. Therefore in this study, Cicero's writings will be compared and contrasted with previous and subsequent literary sources.

At this point, Cicero's Cilician correspondence gives considerable information. These can be divided into two categories according to their contents and addresses as official and unofficial letters. Communication from provincial governors was made via official letters, sent directly to the senate informing members about all kinds of provincial works or passing on requests. As a conscientus governor Cicero frequently reported minor events from Cilicia. On the other hand as a politician Cicero was also concerned with important actual and serious problems in Rome and discussed them in his letters. Being away from Rome meant being away from the source of power for Cicero. Therefore he wrote unofficial letters to his close friends or individual members of the senate (who were well known, effective and assertive politicians) who dealt with various and differing subjects, on personal and provincial matters. There is no doubt that Cicero knew that even if he did not write to the senate directly, information which he wished to reach the ears of the senators would be passed on by means of these "unofficial" letters.<sup>1</sup> Therefore the letters sent and received by Cicero are considerably important at this point.<sup>2</sup> Apart from

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<sup>1</sup> For his desire to seek glory in his achievements in Cilicia is discussed in Allen (Jr.) 1954, 125-144.

<sup>2</sup> Though the communication with provinces, especially with Cilicia was not easy. See Shaw 1990,

these, a wide range of ancient literary sources such as Cicero's Speeches, Appian's *Mithridateios*, Plutarch's *Lives on Lucullus* and Cicero have been analysed and examined. These have been supplemented by modern literature on Cicero and Roman administrative practice. Various modern synoptic works on socio-political, financial and cultural structure of Cilicia such as Holmes, Rawson, Sherwin-White, Hunter, Thompson, Rowland, Broughton, Smethurst, Marshall, Balsdon, Frank, Mitchell, Brunt, Hopwood, Hopkins, Howgego and Shaw's writings were benefited to interpret the financial situation and economic administration in Cilicia especially in the time Cicero.

The province of Cilicia was an extensive one at the time of Cicero's appointment. The plain of maritime Cilicia had been added by Pompey, and, north of the Taurus, although the Sullan régime had separated the district of Cybistra from the province and transferred it to Cappadocia, it was part of Cicero's province in 51 BC and was included the route to the Cilician Gates. Later, it had been further extended towards the west, from the coast of Pamphylia through Pisidia, and included the districts of eastern Caria and central Phrygia from Laodicea to Apamea.<sup>3</sup>

Cicero was appointed to Cilicia as a provincial governor by the senate in 52 BC. However this was not Cicero's personal wish. He had twice previously evaded appointment as a provincial governor. Cicero's appointment and his constitutional position in Cilicia was strictly unique to that year.<sup>4</sup> He reveals his disgruntlement with his appointment in a letter to Atticus, saying 'The rest is of such a nature that I often blame my unwisdom in not having found some way of escaping this job. It's so hopelessly uncongenial to me. ...Early days, you may say and point out that I'm not yet in harness. Too true, I expect there is worse to come'.<sup>5</sup> His reluctance to travel to

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223-224; Smethurst 1953, 218. About Cicero's letters see also Allen (Jr.) 1954, 121-122. For Cicero's journey to his province see Hunter 1913, 73-97.

<sup>3</sup> Sherwin-White 1984, 290-1; Syme 1979, 121; Hunter 1913, 73-97.

<sup>4</sup> As a consul he was sent to a praetorian province (though the legal status of the province changed, it still requested military experience). Cicero, *ad Att.*, V. 9. 1; Marshall 1972, 888, fn. 4 and 901, fn. 56; for changes and problems about the appointment of provincial governors. See also Cobban 1935, 71-98; Balsdon 1939, 57-73; Balsdon 1962, 134-141. For a detailed discussion about Cicero's appointment to Cilicia see also Thompson 1965, 375-386. For Cicero's provincial time-table see Marshall 1966, 231 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero, *ad Att.* (103 S. B.) V.10.3.

Cilicia is another proof of his discontent.<sup>6</sup> Despite his unwillingness to take on this duty, he was put in charge for one year to organise the province.<sup>7</sup>

This study is organized mainly in three parts. After the introductory section, the first part of this paper deals with the taxes and tax gathering in the time of Cicero while the second deals with the practice of interest, usury and the administration of Cicero and it ends with conclusion.

Before undertaking his other obligations, the governor had to ensure internal security in the province.<sup>8</sup> This, in simple terms, depended upon keeping the local people happy and united. Initially the governor needed to win the provincials' confidence. In almost every case the most pressing problem in the provinces were complaints by the native population against the burden of fiscal exploitation and abuse. After the Roman annexation of Asia Minor, especially, we meet different kinds of exploitations in various circumstances. Many of the governors, though not all, were corrupt, cruel and inefficient. Those who had corrupt governments had done an enormous damage to the image of their successors and to Roman administration as a whole. Appius Pulcher, Cicero's predecessor was one of those who was described by Cicero as 'some sort of a horrible beast' because the province was 'damned and virtually ruined forever' by his irresponsible attitude.<sup>9</sup>

## I. Taxes and Tax Gathering in the Time of Cicero

In the last century of the Republic tax gathering was almost settled in the colonized land as well as money lending and trade.<sup>10</sup> In the Roman province of Asia during the Republic, Roman taxes were collected by *publicani*, who were not civil servants but, private contractors. A *publicanus* often seems to have been simply a person engaged in the public contracts in any capacity, but in general tax collection was operated on behalf of companies by individual tax collectors. The tax company and its *publicani* had to be registered in Rome to have the right to collect taxes in the provinces.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See Smith 1966, 212.

<sup>7</sup> Marshall 1972, 887-921.

<sup>8</sup> In necessity for military use see, Shaw 1990, 224-227.

<sup>9</sup> Cicero, *ad Att*, V. 15. 2; 16. 2. See Tan 2007, 15.

<sup>10</sup> North 1981, 3, 7.

<sup>11</sup> Brunt 1981, 161-172.

Until the reorganisation of the Asian system in 123 BC, the *publicani* interest was restricted by the fact that they were not employed simply for the collection of revenue. As businessmen they had scope for investment, trade and the acquisition of land in the new provinces, and, even more profitably, in the dependent states and kingdoms, far from the eye of a zealous provincial governor. The Senate sometimes intervened to secure them favoured treatment in such regions. However the direct influence of this class on policy was slight before the end of the second century BC, because they lacked a constitutional role in the formation of policy, although they formed part of the wealthy majority whose votes dominated the magisterial elections in the weighted oligarchical system of the *Comitia Centuriata*. Their later control of a new style of political courts, manned by juries drawn from the wealthiest class, enabled them to put pressure on the proconsul in the management of their provinces by threats of subsequent prosecution, but did nothing to increase their influence on the determination of policy; it was more suited to the prevention than the encouragement of war. The influence of the financial classes was only effective when in the later Republic they were able at times to secure the support of radical tribunes, who interfered with the direction of foreign policy by legislative enactments.<sup>12</sup>

Yet in reality, taxation was not based on a single simple system, and it took a wide variety of forms throughout the empire, as the Romans arranged different collection methods in various provinces.<sup>13</sup> However, although the regulations for tax collection were gradually reorganized there were always abuses, extortion<sup>14</sup> and exploitation as money flowed into the governors' or tax collectors' pockets. It was the result of accumulated malpractices of *publicani* everywhere in the Roman world that they began to be known as "sinners".<sup>15</sup> Cicero, suggests that, under Verres' administration, the amount of corn actively collected in Sicily was sometimes as much as three times the lawful tithe. There is no figure for other provinces but conditions may have been even worse.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Sherwin-White 1984, 16-17.

<sup>13</sup> Jones 1974, 183 in addendum II (the *addendum* is the editor Brunt's note), says, the Roman government never sought to impose uniformity in taxation on all provinces. Rome normally took over the existing tax system and though changes were occasionally introduced, diversity persisted even after Diocletian." For the application of different kinds of tribute see also Warmington 1972, 114-116.

<sup>14</sup> Cicero, *Verr*; II 3, 94; Diodorus, XXXIV-V 2, 31 and 25; Jones 1974, 175.

<sup>15</sup> The Holy Bible, Mat. 11. 19; Lu. 5. 30, 7. 34, 15. 2, 19. 7.

<sup>16</sup> Cicero, *Verr*; II. 3, 110-116; Jones 1974, 164.

Therefore another problem which confronted a provincial governor was that of his relations with the *publicani*. Cicero made tactful attempts to control the tax gathering which was conducted by this body (not always in a fair or just manner). His own words throw light on his motives and methods. 'I dote upon them (tax farmers), defer to them, butter them up with compliments and arrange so that they harm nobody'. The provincial governor had the right to organise and control tax farmers, and all kinds of businesses in his province if necessary. There were certain decrees passed by the Senate, although, in general terms, economic management and organisation was in the hands of the governor. Cicero's description of his relations with the tax-farmers is a typical example of this. According to Cicero's explanations, the rates of the interest specified in the tax-farmers' agreements with the provincials were such that both the natives and tax-farmers were delighted with the arrangement.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, although he already had a tax agreement with the local collectors, he found the agent Thermus not entirely reliable in Ephesus, and so appointed Philogenes and Seius to control the tax affairs in that area.

The first problem connected with this was malpractice in the field of tax gathering. Up to the time of Cicero, many decrees had been passed on this subject and tax gathering was almost settled. However the derisive comments contained in Cicero's dispatch to the Senate 'thanks to the harshness and injustice of our rule they (i. e. the tax collectors) are either too weak to give much help or else so alienated that nothing can be expected from them or entrusted to them'; emphasizes how the taxes were still unfairly and unevenly exacted in the provinces.<sup>18</sup> For example, the amount of poll-tax and door-tax were fixed by the senate, but during the time of Appius Pulcher we are told that the people of Laodicea, Apamea and Synnada had to sell their properties in order to find sufficient resources to pay their poll-tax.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> According to "Cicero's system: He fixed a time, giving plenty of time, and said that if they pay before that date he shall apply a rate of 1% per month or 12 % per year; if not, then the rate in the agreement. So the natives paid a tolerable interest and the tax-farmers were delighted with the agreement." Cicero, *ad Att*, (106 S. B.) V. 13. 1; (115 S. B.) VI. I. 15. About Cicero's relations with publicani see Smethurst 1953, 225. About debt problem see Hopkins 1980, 112 especially fn. 32.

<sup>18</sup> Cicero, *ad fam*, XVI. I. 5; Stockton 1971, 233. In the imperial period some of the abusing practices were restricted although not totally eliminated. See also Hopkins 1980, 120; Wamington 1972, 114-116.

<sup>19</sup> Taxation and for the local taxes see Broughton 1936, 17-176.

It also appears that the senate gave the governors authority to collect money for public needs in the province when they were in difficulties. This does not mean however that they could abuse the people for their profit. This was unlawful in a real sense and if a governor was accused and found guilty then he would be punished. For instance, a governor could collect money to produce a fleet to protect the province, as did Pompey and Q. Cicero. An abuse of this right however occurred at the time of Valerius Flaccus' governorship of Asia in 63 BC when, apparently, Flaccus collected money to relieve the navy, but seems to have spent considerably less money on this than the amount he collected. Cicero would not give an opportunity to the tax collectors to practise abuses such as these under his governorship and for this reason he did not accept the Appian envoy's request to collect a special tax from the people of Appia for the completion of a building.<sup>20</sup>

## **II. The Practice of Interest, Usury and The Administration of Cicero**

The second problem was the pressure of debt and the interest payments which the people of Cilicia owed to the Roman money-lenders (who were in general members of the Roman élites).<sup>21</sup> After the annexation of the province of Asia in 133 BC, the local people in Asia were forced to borrow money from the Roman élite in order to pay their taxes and relieve their situation. This, however, often resulted in debt problems arising between provincials and Roman senators, and rather than relieving the people in the provinces, placed them in an impossible situation. The resolution of these problems was as important as the tax collection, since the state desired neither to lose its sources of revenues by the bankruptcy of cities or individuals in the provinces nor to vex the senators. During this period, despite such complications in the provinces, a state economic policy cannot be discerned and all the work was left to the governors' individual contrivance and initiative. The governors were expected to conciliate not in an

<sup>20</sup> Cicero, *ad fam.*, (71 S. B. ) III. 7. 2-3. It is not clear what kind of building the envoy of Appia wanted to complete in their city. Cicero has not given them permission either for the completion of building or for the special tax. See also Mitchell 1979, 17 ff.

<sup>21</sup> For money lending see Andreau 1999, 1-12. For debt problems in the provinces see Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 20. 3-5; Appian, *Mithridates*, 83, Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 32; *Q Fr.*, I. I. 33; Sherwin-White 1984, 244, n. 21, 247 and 270. See also Smethurst 1953, 218; Howgego 1992, 14; tax for military use see page 23, fn. 218.

intrusive manner but, on the contrary, without startling the provincials, yet at the same time protecting the senators rights so that neither party would suffer damage.<sup>22</sup> When Cicero arrived in Cilicia in 51-50 BC the situation regarding money lending was riddled with corruption. As has been stated before, Cicero was not solely concerned with Cilicia but at the same time he looked after the problems of Syria and Cyprus.<sup>23</sup> Many difficulties lay in wait for him as he wanted to deal fairly with his subjects in their quarrels with Appius Claudius. Nevertheless, by the end of Cicero's administration he could claim that 'a great number of communities have been entirely cleared of debt, many others substantially relieved'.<sup>24</sup>

On the other hand the provincial governor also had to preserve the interests of the lender. In the province of Asia, the towns of Mylasa and Alabanda owed money to Pompey with interest. Pompey's agent Cluvius wanted to consolidate his hold on the money and attempted to obtain deposits from these towns by an edict or decree of the governor. Cicero explained that there was no need to do this and that these towns were having difficulty in paying the interest. Even so he too was interested in retrieving Pompey's money. In the province of Cilicia, Cicero did not accept the behaviour of Brutus' agent Scaptius in Cyprus. There was more than one problem connected with Scaptius, but the most interesting one again concerned money owing and the problem of interest. Brutus (who had gone out to Cyprus with his uncle Cato and subsequently served Appius as *quaestor* in Cilicia), was naturally interested in the province, and had given Cicero a memorandum about the people. Brutus had lent money to the people of Cyprus but he could not get his money and interest back. When the disagreement between the Salaminians and Brutus' agent M. Scaptius about the debt became a problem, and Cicero witnessed Brutus' disreputable behaviour in Salamis, he became personally involved. The problem was that the Salaminians had borrowed some money from Brutus, but they could not repay the money and its interest. Scaptius, who seems to be an intriguer,<sup>25</sup> produced a senatorial decree passed in the consulship of Lentulus and Philippus providing that 'the governor of Cilicia should give

<sup>22</sup> For Cicero's application see Smethurst 1953, 223-224.

<sup>23</sup> Cicero's actions in Cyprus see Marshall 1964, 209 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Cicero, *ad Att.*, (116 S. B.), VI 2. 3.

<sup>25</sup> He was refused by Cicero for this reason. Cicero, *ad Att.*, (114 S. B.) V. 21; (115 S. B.) VI. 1; (116 S. B.) VI. 2; (117 S. B.) VI. 3. See also Smethurst 1953, 224.

judgement in accordance with that bond'. According to this law Roman money-lenders who transacted business in the provinces, forbade provincials to borrow in the capital, but Brutus, unwilling to neglect a profitable investment, had secretly offered to advance the money, arranging that a Cilician banker, Scaptius, should pose as the lender, and charging interest at the rate of 48%.<sup>26</sup> However, they did not want to pay this rate of interest. These decrees were ruinous for the Salaminians, but the transaction was legalised under the influence of Brutus although the original loan had been made some years earlier.<sup>27</sup> The Salaminians therefore came to see Cicero in Tarsus and in Laodicea, and Scaptius met with them at the same place to try to resolve this problem. The Salaminians were in difficulty because the two senatorial decrees were against them. Although Cicero suggested to Scaptius that he accept 12% interest together with the money owing and entreated Scaptius to accept this proposal, the problem was left unsolved because of the incompatible and unsatisfactory behaviour of Scaptius who refused to agree.<sup>28</sup>

We are not told whether Cicero brought a radical resolution to the debt problem in Cyprus in general, but he probably evaded the responsibility by leaving the affair to be settled by his successor. In one sense it was impossible for the governor to resolve some of the problems. The pressure put by the Roman elite on provincial governors, in particular concerning problems of debt, should not be underestimated. On the one hand there was Brutus, who was an influential and assertive Roman senator, on the other the people of the province who seemed to be unable to pay the debt. We do not have the original letters of Brutus' and Cicero's close friend Atticus but it is clear from Cicero's letters that Atticus was expected by the Senate to influence Cicero to favour Brutus.<sup>29</sup> When, in a previous instance Atticus

<sup>26</sup> Holmes 1923, II. 258. See also Özbayoğlu 1998, 135-136; Tan 2007, 8; Allen 1887, 11.

<sup>27</sup> Stockton 1971, 240.

<sup>28</sup> Cicero, *ad Att.* (114 S. B.) V. 21. 11-12; 116(VI.2).5-8. For discussion about Roman provincial policy on taxation and money lending see Hawthorn 1962, 58-60; Tan 2007, 8-9. For other example of short term loan at high interest Pythius in Syracuse see Tan 2007, 3, 21. For Cicero's correspondence with Cyprus see also Marshall 1964, 209-215; Cicero held only brief assizes in the province in a year see Marshall 1966, 242-246. The *lex unciaria* of Sulla in 88 BC. See partially annualled debts as well as interest rates. In partly preserved legislation the interest rate was probably accepted as 12 %. About discussion on this legislation see Frank 1933, 54-58.

<sup>29</sup> Cicero, *ad Att.* (116 S. B.) VI. 2; (117 S. B. VI. 3. See also Özbayoğlu 1998, 136. For Brutus' loan to Cyprus see Marshall 1964, 212. About Cicero's relations with the Senate see Smethurst 1958, 73-78.

and the Senate had charged Cicero to protect Brutus' credit and interest against the King of Cappadocia, Cicero had responded, 'I am looking after Atticus' friend Brutus' interest more zealously than he would himself'<sup>30</sup> and said that if he 'brought nothing back from his province but Brutus' good will'<sup>31</sup> he would have good reason to be satisfied.

However supporting his Roman friends was not always possible.<sup>32</sup> Brutus was known to have been a patron of Salamis and undoubtedly had extensive *clientelae* in the area too. Sometimes a strong patron could defend provincials against an oppressive governor; but here the system was working the opposite way round. When we consider Cicero's antipathy towards Scaptius and Brutus<sup>33</sup> this will become clear. Cicero does not make it clear whether it was Brutus or Scaptius who made the claim and insisted on taking 48% interest. Brutus had probably closed his eyes to Scaptius' behaviour and covered for him, but did not himself appear on the scene. Nevertheless, the close friendship of the governor with the Roman money lender seems to have been an important factor in this case.<sup>34</sup>

As a prudent governor, Cicero, was not expected to interfere between a patron and his clients, although he found Brutus' attitude towards the people of Cyprus distasteful. Cicero did not emerge well from this affair and worse was to follow, since Brutus was 'one of those whose blackness was deepened by the liberal coats of whitewash'.<sup>35</sup> The view of the Senate and the Roman élite in general on such matters is aptly summed up by Seneca who although not suggesting that any governor should behave immorally, says that 'It is well not to see everything, not to hear everything. Many affronts may pass by us; in most cases the man who is unconscious of them escapes them'.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Cicero, *ad Att.*, (111 S. B.) V. 18. 4; (115 S. B.) VI. I. 3-5.

<sup>31</sup> Cicero, *ad Att.*, (115 S. B.) VI. I. 8. Roman economy and imperial policy was strongly connected with the town and country and with the producers of town and demands of consumer elite and cities. See Hopwood 1999, 197-199.

<sup>32</sup> Jones 1974, 164. Provincial governors, wishing to placate the equestrian order for political reasons, and to avoid a conviction for extortion, were reluctant to protect the provincials from the *publicani*, and would approve grossly exaggerated *pactiones*. For discussion see Tan 2007, 16.

<sup>33</sup> Brutus' personal relations with Cicero seem never to have been marked by the decree of cordiality that Cicero would have liked. Both of them were in different wings in Roman politics. Cicero, Brutus, editor Douglas' introduction, XVII-XXV; Cicero, *ad Att.*, VI. I. 7, 3. 7; Cicero, Oration, 34.

<sup>34</sup> Mitchell 1991, 223-4, fn. 62.

<sup>35</sup> Rawson 1975, 179. Özbayoğlu suggests that Brutus had a contradicting character in Roman politics. See Özbayoğlu 1998, 136, esp. fn. 22.

<sup>36</sup> Seneca, *De ira*, III. XI. 1.

Perhaps this type of conduct would have been unethical in Cicero's case but it might have saved him from further opposition from the aristocrats in Rome.

In another case Cicero acted in quite a different manner. The people of Nicaea (Izmit) had borrowed money from T. Pinnius, but the latter died before the money was returned. His son Pinnius was convinced that the townsfolk wanted to pay back the loan, but P. Silius, who was *propraetor* in town, would not set about collecting it. Cicero, making use of his influence and close friendship urged Silius to collect and send the money to the younger Pinnius, although this was not really Cicero's responsibility. This shows that he intervened in problems in provinces, other than his own, because Nicaea was definitely not included in the province of Cilicia.

## Conclusion

The provincial governor was both officially and unofficially obliged to resolve the debt problem between the local people and the Roman senators in his province. However, it was the duty of the provincial governor to preserve Roman rights rather than the rights of the people wherever possible when these were in conflict with each other. The provincials naturally viewed the Roman administration in a different light. Although Cicero boasts of certain achievements during his term of administration in Cilicia, some were displeased with his well-intentioned interventions into the internal affairs of the cities. When the richer citizens (who were compelled to give grain to the poorer during a famine)<sup>37</sup> and local magistrates (who were content with corrupt administration)<sup>38</sup> were castigated by Cicero's administration there were many who were peeved. No government could expect to satisfy all the people on both sides. However from the tone of Cicero's letters, 'communities saved from bankruptcy, tax farmers more than satisfied, nobody insulted, only a very few offended by the strict justice of a ruling (but none daring to complain)...'.<sup>39</sup> It is clear that he had considered pleasing the majority to be essential, that he knew what was best for those who were committed to his charge, and that he saw it as his duty to act accordingly.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Cicero, *ad Att*, (114 S. B.) V. 21. 8.

<sup>38</sup> Cicero, *ad Att*, (116 S. B.) VI. 2. 5.

<sup>39</sup> Cicero, *ad Att*, (117 S. B.) VI. 3. 2.

<sup>40</sup> This behaviour and practice fits to Cicero's theory of a self-sufficient state and imperialism. See Smethurst 1953, 216-226. For Cicero's relationship, friendship with the Greek world and attitude to the Greeks see Rowland 1972, 451-461; Guite 1962, 142-159.

The provincial governor therefore played an important role in the contact between Rome, the Roman élite, Roman businessmen and the native people in Asia Minor. A good governor, would know how to use his initiative in the light of his rights<sup>41</sup> to preserve and ensure his friends' rights in the provinces by friendly involvement and the subtle, (and sometimes not so subtle) use of privilege.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> The provincial governor had some authority to execute his duty in the province. He could issue edicts, collect money to protect the province for both the natives and Romans' sake, tightening the expenses in the province according to the need [Cicero, *ad Att.*, (110 S. B.) V. 17. 2; (114 S. B.) V. 21. 7; (116 S. B.) VI. 2. 3;] 'not a penny piece is spent on anyone'. [Cicero, *ad Att.*, (110 S. B.) V. 17. 1-6; (113 S. B.) V. 20. 1-11; (114 S. B.) V. 21. 6-9], taking all necessary precautions in the province for peace and security.

<sup>42</sup> For Cicero's use of power in Cilicia see Smethurst 1953, 224-226.

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