

INTRODUCTION

Cicero, who had not wanted a province in 62, after his consulship, was caught out by the legislation of 52 which prescribed a five-year gap between office in Rome and tenure of a provincial command. Ex-magistrates who had never governed a province had to be recruited to supply the resulting temporary shortage of governors. A *senatusconsultum* gave Cicero a one-year term in an enlarged province of Cilicia in Asia Minor. His territory included areas which were normally part of the province of Asia and extended from Pamphylia in the west to the borders of Syria in the east.

Leaving Rome early in May 51, Cicero loitered on the way, with the excuse that he was expecting his legate Pomptinus to catch up with him. He reached Athens on 24 June, left there on 6 July and entered the province of Asia at Ephesus on 22 July, to a warm welcome. Setting out again on 26 July, he finally entered his own province at Laodicea on 31 July, despite the fact that his term was supposed to start on 1 July. This meant that his twelve months would run until 30 July 50. He eventually left the province by the sea route from Tarsus, landed at Side in Pamphylia on 3 August and then sailed to Athens, calling at Rhodes *en route*.

The enlarged province

Phrygia	Assize centres at Laodicea, Apamea and Synnada (part of Cilicia 56–50), (serving Cibyra from Laodicea).
Pamphylia	Assize centre at Side.
Isauria	Assize centre at Philomelium.
Lycaonia	Assize centre at Iconium.
Cilicia Pedias (Lowland Cilicia)	Assize centre at Tarsus.
Cyprus	An assize district by itself.
Cilicia Tracheia (Rough Cilicia)	A military area.

The road runs from Ephesus via Laodicea, Apamea, Synnada, Philomelium, Iconium, Cybistra, to Tarsus.

Cicero's staff

Cicero held the rank of proconsul, and acquired the title of *imperator* as is attested by the correspondence and by coins.

- (a) *Legates* (governor's deputies, particularly for military duties):

Marcus Anneius, a man of considerable military experience (*To his friends* 13.57.1).

Gaius Pomptinus, praetor 63, promagistrate (?proconsul) in Transalpine Gaul 62–59, where he suppressed a native uprising.

Lucius Tullius, at some time held a quaestorship; probably no relation to Cicero, since he was recommended by an outsider (Letter 13.5, page 27).

Quintus Tullius Cicero, Marcus' younger brother, aedile 65, praetor 62, proconsul of Asia 61–58, legate to Pompeius 57–56, legate to Caesar in Gaul 54–52.

(b) *Military tribunes:*

Quintus Fufidius

Marcus Scaptius (in Cappadocia, accepted this job but then changed his mind).

(c) *Prefects:*

Decimus Antonius, *praefectus evocatorum* (51).

Quintus Paconius Lepta (50), *praefectus fabrum* (in command of engineers).

Quintus Volusius, sent to hold assizes in Cyprus.

Lucius Gavius (51) } given prefectures to attend to business of Brutus
 Marcus Scaptius (51) } in Cappadocia.

(d) *Quaestors:*

Lucius Mescinius Rufus

Gaius Coelius Caldus, arrived just before Cicero left in 51, given command of the province until a new governor should arrive.

(e) *Professional Civil Servants (apparitores):*

Scriba:

Marcus Tullius, mostly working with the quaestor. Though he was closely connected with Cicero (*necessarius: To Atticus* 8.11b.4), and a trusted member of the staff (*To Atticus* 8.1.2), we do not know whether his name denotes any other connection.

Accensus (attached to the governor):

Pausanias, freedman of Cicero's friend Lentulus.

There were also minor officials such as lictors, orderlies and criers. Cicero's own personal secretary, Tiro, was with him and gave much help with provincial business. Less important members of his own slave and freedmen staff no doubt filled in when the official civil servants did not suffice. His own entourage included his son and nephew and their tutor Dionysius. Mescinius relied on the help of his cousin Mindius, a banker, in compiling accounts.

The sources on the magistrates among the above staff will be found in T. R. S. Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, vol. 2, under the relevant years. On the civil servants there is a short collection of material in S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* (O.U.P. 1969), pp.153–159, but note that M. Tullius should probably not be regarded as a freedman of Cicero.

DATE CHART

(Based on Hunter, Shackleton Bailey and Marshall)

51 BC

24 June	Cicero arrives at Athens
6 July	Cicero leaves Athens
22 July	Cicero arrives at Ephesus in the province of Asia
26 July	Cicero leaves Ephesus
27 July	Cicero arrives at Tralles (Ephesus to Tralles, 32 Roman miles)
28 July	Cicero leaves Tralles
31 July	Cicero arrives at Laodicea in his province (Tralles to Laodicea, 81 Roman miles) Assizes
3 August	Cicero leaves Laodicea
5 August	Cicero arrives at Apamea (Laodicea to Apamea, 70 Roman miles) Assizes
9 August	Cicero leaves Apamea
10 August	Cicero arrives at Synnada (Apamea to Synnada, 50 Roman miles) Assizes
14 August	Cicero leaves Synnada
16 August	Cicero arrives at Philomelium (Synnada to Philomelium, 60 Roman miles) Cicero settles mutinous cohorts and sends them to Iconium under Anneius. Assizes
20 August	Cicero leaves Philomelium
23 August	Cicero arrives at Iconium town (Philomelium to Iconium, 91 Roman miles)
24 August	Cicero leaves Iconium town, arrives at Iconium camp
28 August	Cicero reviews army
1 September	Cicero leaves Iconium town
2 September	Cicero returns to Iconium town (hoping to meet Ap. Claudius)
3 September	Cicero leaves Iconium town for the second time (Ap. Claudius had apparently failed to come).
18 September	Cicero arrives at Cybistra Cicero meets Ariobarzanes
22 September	Cicero leaves Cybistra
5 October	Cicero arrives at Tarsus
7 October	Cicero leaves Tarsus Cicero camps at Mopsuestia and Epiphanea
12–13 October	Night march

Date chart

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13 October	Cicero saluted as <i>imperator</i>
14–18 October	Cicero camps at Altars of Alexander near Issus
21 October	Cicero lays siege to Pindenissum in Amanus mountains (exact site unknown) for eight weeks
17 December	Cicero takes Pindenissum Cicero goes to Tarsus and holds assizes.
50 BC	
5? January	Cicero leaves Tarsus
11 February	Cicero arrives at Laodicea
13 February –	
14 March	Assizes held in Laodicea for districts of Cibyra and Apamea.
15 March –	
1 May	Assizes held in Laodicea for districts of Synnada, Pamphylia, Lycia and Isauria
Mid-April	Senate votes a <i>supplicatio</i> for Cicero's victories.
7 May	Cicero leaves Laodicea for Cilicia
5 June	Cicero arrives at Tarsus Because of Parthian threat, moves to the River Pyramus, arriving by 26 June
by 17 July	Cicero arrives at Tarsus
30? July	Cicero takes ship, formally quitting his province
3 August	Cicero arrives at Side in Pamphylia
1 October	Cicero arrives at Athens
2 November	Cicero leaves Patras for Italy

Note: 1 Roman mile = 1.480 km.
 1 English mile = 1.609 km.

CICERO'S CILICIAN LETTERS

1 *To Atticus 5.15* = SB A.108 = TP 207

3 August 51

Laodicea.

- 1 I reached Laodicea on 31 July. You can start crossing off the days of my year from there. Nothing could have been more warmly looked forward to or more welcome than my arrival. But I'm incredibly sick of the whole business. You'll say "Has your galloping brain, which I know so well, no room to itself and can your energetic mind find no scope to work?" That's precisely the trouble. Think of me pronouncing judgement here and A. Plotius (*sc. the praetor*) doing it in Rome. Imagine our friend (*Pompey*) having such a huge army and me with two nominal sub-strength legions. But that's not what I miss: I'm missing you, being in the public eye, the forum, the city, home. But I'll bear it as well as I can as long as it only lasts a year. If my term is extended, it is all up with me. But that can easily be scotched, as long as you're at Rome.
- 2 Do you want to know what I'm doing here? Running into vast expense and thoroughly enjoying it. I'm so wonderfully particular about other people's money, just as you advised me to be, that I'm afraid I shall have to raise a loan to pay back the bank-draft you gave me. I'm not scratching the scabs on the wounds Appius dealt the province, but they show up too clearly to be hidden.
- 3 At the time of writing on 3 August, I am *en route* from Laodicea to camp in Lycaonia; then I'm thinking of going to the Taurus to do battle with Moeragenes to determine who wins your slave. (*A runaway slave of Atticus had probably taken refuge with the chieftain Moeragenes.*) "Panniers on an ox, not the right sort of job for me" (= *I'm a square peg in a round hole*), but I'll grin and bear it as long as I'm only here a year, *please*: and you make sure to be there on the dot to wake the whole senate up. I'm very worried because I haven't heard any home news for so long. So, as I said in an earlier letter, make sure I hear about public affairs as well as the rest. I know it will take a long time for you to get this letter, but I am giving it to a confidential friend, Gaius Andronicus of Puteoli. But you will be able to send your letters often by the tax company couriers (*Tabellarii Publicanorum*) and by courtesy of the Rome directors of land tax and customs dues for my districts.

2 *To Atticus 5.16* = SB A.109 = TP 208

14? August 51

= Stockton 23 = How 29.

On the road between Synnada and Philomelium.

- 1 Although I am on the road in the middle of my journey and the tax company couriers are on the point of leaving, I have decided to steal a moment so that you won't think I've forgotten your instructions. So I've