**Immigrants**

*Rome was traditionally said to have started as an asylum for runaway slaves, exiles, and others who could not return to their home cities for various reasons, as its first king, Romulus, needed citizens fast. Unfortunately for him it turned out that most of those who turned up were men, and women were necessary for there to be a next generation of Romans:*

The Roman state had now become so strong that it was a match for any of its neighbours in war, but its greatness threatened to last for only one generation, since because they had no women there was no hope of children and they had no right to intermarry with their neighbours. Acting on the advice of the Senate, Romulus sent envoys amongst the surrounding nations to ask for alliances and the right of intermarriage on behalf of his new community. These said that these cities, like everything else, sprung from the humblest beginnings, and those who were helped on by their own courage and the favour of heaven won for themselves great power and great renown. As to the origin of Rome, it was well known that while it had received divine assistance,[[1]](#footnote-1) it did not lack courage and self-reliance. There should, therefore, be no reluctance for men to mingle their blood with their fellow-men. Nowhere did the envoys meet with a favourable reception. Whilst their proposals were treated with disdain, there was at the same time a general feeling of alarm at the power so rapidly growing among them Usually they were dismissed with the question, "whether they had opened an asylum for women, for nothing short of that would secure for them intermarriage on equal terms." The Roman youth could barely tolerate such insults, and it began to look like there would be war.

Livy, *From the Founding of the City* 1.9

*Romulus solved that problem by abducting the women from a neighbouring people, the Sabines, at a giant set of games he had organized. Rome eventually expanded its citizenship to include those people and other Latin tribes, and eventually all of Italy. It also gave citizenship to local elites in the provinces, to soldiers in its auxilliary forces after they had served a set number of years, to all slaves freed by Roman citizens, and some others on individual bases. However, that said many Romans loathed foreignors and resented any expansion of the citizenship, even if they themselves had benefitted from such an expansion. They even had problems with Roman citizens who were born 70 miles outside Rome, like Cicero, and those issues were increased when Roman emperors began to be born to Roman citizens overseas. This section is focussed on immigrants in the city of Rome, though much of the attitudes in these can also be only understood by looking at wider Roman attitudes towards various nations, as in the collection assigned for this course, Race and Ethnicity in the Classical World: An Anthology of Primary Sources in Translation.*

*Only a tiny proportion of any non-Roman origin peoples living in Rome, or the Roman Empire, were citizens until all residents of the empire were made citizens automatically in the 3rd century CE.[[2]](#footnote-2) This means that most immigrants in Rome were not citizens; many were not there long term either – some settled permanently, some for a few years or even less. But most importantly:* ***many non-Romans in Rome were not immigrants, but slaves. Although some may have participated in immigrant communities to some degree, as slaves and free did join associations together, many arrived in Rome deeply traumatized, having been captured too young sometimes to know their language or where they had been first enslaved. They had usually been sold on and split up a number of times, as well. Under those conditions, forming a community along ethnic or tribal lines, even if they ran into members of the same group, would be near impossible.***

*In the Late Republic accusations about people not really coming properly from Rome were part and parcel of political invective and abuse, as this following ‘joke’ of Cicero’s reported by Plutarch shows:*

There was a certain Octavius, too, who was reputed to be of African descent; to this man, who said at a certain trial that he could not hear Cicero, the orator replied: "And yet your ear is pierced.”

Plutarch, *Life of Cicero* 26.9

*But in the same paragraph Plutarch reports that Cicero was also attacked by more established Roman aristocrats for not being Roman too – in this case of being really the son of a slave, so unknown was his father in Rome:*

Again, in a dispute with Cicero, Metellus Nepos asked repeatedly "Who is your father?"[[3]](#footnote-3) "In your case," said Cicero, "your mother has made the answer to this question rather difficult."

Plutarch, *Life of Cicero* 26.9

*During a particularly virulent law case, on which they were on opposing sides, Lucius Manlius Torquatus, accused Cicero of aiming at being a king (a common accusation in Rome) and of being a foreigner because of his birth in Arpinum. This is how Cicero responded:*

And if, jurors, it is fine for me and you to be considered foreigners by the rest of the patricians,[[4]](#footnote-4) still nothing ought to be said about this blot by Torquatus. For he himself is on his mother's side, a citizen of a municipal town; a man of a most honourable and noble family, but still he comes from Asculum. Either let him, then, show that the Picentians alone are not foreigners, or else let him congratulate himself that I do not put my family before his. So do not for the future call me a foreigner, in case you meet with a sterner refutation; and do not call me a king, in case you are laughed at.

Cicero, *In Defense of Sulla[[5]](#footnote-5)* 25

*Romans were not that enthused about emperors coming from citizens outside Italy:*

4 And so Trajan became Caesar and later emperor, although there were relatives of [the Emperor] Nerva alive. But Nerva did not place family relationships above the safety of Rome, nor was he less inclined to adopt Trajan because Trajan was Spanish instead of Italian or one of the Italian Greeks in, although no foreigner had previously held imperial power; for he believed in looking at a man's ability rather than at his nationality. Soon after this act Nerva passed away, having ruled one year, four months and nine days; his life prior to that time had comprised sixty-five years, ten months and ten days.

Cassius Dio 68.4.1-2

*The Emperor Septimius Severus, pictured with his family below, was a Roman citizen of Italian and North African origin, who took over power in 193 CE after the assassination of Commodus. The following story (which may also be entirely made up) hints at the personal consequences for having to present oneself as entirely Roman, even at this high level:*



Figure 1 Septimius Severus with family

7 Septimius’ sister from Leptis once came to see him, and, since she could scarcely speak Latin, she made the emperor very, very embarrassed. And so, after giving the purple stripe on the toga to her son and many presents to the woman herself, he sent her home again – as well as her son, who died a short time afterwards.

SHA, *Life of Septimius Severus.* 15.7

*It’s hard to say what level of group identity most ethnic or immigrant groups managed to maintain in Rome. For many, it seems to have often been lost in a generation, at least going by the languages and formats of their inscriptions. The exception were those with strong group identity, and particularly the Jews. The following description of the funeral of Julius Caesar is rare in that it shows a number of different groups acting together:*

The bier on the rostra was carried down into the Forum by magistrates and ex-magistrates; and while some were urging that it be burned in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, and others in the Hall of Pompey, on a sudden two beings with swords by their sides and brandishing a pair of darts set fire to it with blazing torches, and at once the throng of bystanders heaped upon it dry branches, the judgment seats with the benches, and whatever else could serve as an offering. 4 Then the musicians and actors tore off their robes, which they had taken from the equipment of his triumphs and put on for the occasion, rent them to bits and threw them into the flames, and the veterans of the legions the arms with which they had adorned themselves for the funeral; many of the women too, offered up the jewels which they wore and the amulets and robes of their children. 5 At the height of the public grief a throng of foreigners went about lamenting each after the fashion of his country, above all the Jews, who even flocked to the place for several successive nights.

Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 84.4-5

*When it suited them, Romans might celebrate the many non-Romans in Rome as a mark of Rome’s power, as the poet Martial did in this poem addressed to the Emperor Domitian (the Caesar of the first line, who ruled from 81-96 CE):*

What people is so distant from us, what people is so barbarian, O Caesar, that no spectator from it is present in your city! The cultivator of Rhodope [in Thrace] is here from Haemus, sacred to Orpheus. The Scythian who drinks the blood of his horses is here; he, too, who drinks the waters of the Nile close by their source and he also whose shore is washed by the most distant ocean. The Arabian has rushed here; the Sabaeans[[6]](#footnote-6) also, and here the Cilicians have anointed themselves with their own native perfume. Here come the Sicambrians[[7]](#footnote-7) with their hair all twisted into a knot, and here the frizzled Ethiopians. Yet though their speech is all so different, they all speak together hailing you, O Emperor, as the true father of your country.

Martial, *Epigrams* 9.3

*Despite Roman disdain for and endless wars with the Gauls they were quick to add them not just as citizens, but as senators with significant power and influence in Roman society after their conquest by Caesar and others. In this way Caesar got to hand out rewards to those Gauls who had supported him in his conquest, and also bribe any aristocrats still left alive and with power after his campaigns. As you might expect Roman senators did not approve of this, especially as Julius Caesar used Gauls to fight against the senatorial forces in the Civil War.*

24 When however Lucius Domitius, candidate for the consulship, openly threatened to achieve as consul what he had been unable to do as praetor, and to take his armies from him, Caesar compelled Pompey and Crassus to come to Luca, a city in his province, where he prevailed on them to stand for a second consulship, to defeat Domitius; and he also succeeded through their influence in having his term as governor of Gaul made five years longer. 2 Encouraged by this, he added to the legions which he had received from the state others at his own cost, one actually composed of men of Transalpine Gaul and bearing a Gallic name too (for it was called Alauda), which he trained in the Roman tactics and equipped with Roman arms; and later on he gave every man of it citizenship.

Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 24

With the same disregard of law and precedent he named magistrates for several years to come, bestowed the emblems of consular rank on ten ex-praetors, and admitted to the House men who had been given citizenship, and in some cases half-civilised Gauls.

Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 76

80 2 On the admission of foreigners to the Senate, a placard was posted: "God bless the State! Let no one consent to point out the Curia to a newly made senator." The following verses too were sung everywhere:

Caesar led the Gauls in triumph, led them to the Senate

Then the Gauls took off their trousers, and put on the purple stripe.

Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 80

*When Claudius decided to promote some more Gauls to senatorial status the reaction was equally adverse:*

In the consulship of Aulus Vitellius and Lucius Vipstanus [48 CE] the question of filling up the Senate was discussed, and the chief men of Gallia Comata, as it was called, who had long possessed the rights of allies and of Roman citizens, sought the privilege of obtaining public offices at Rome. There was much talk of every kind on the subject, and it was argued before the emperor with vehement opposition. "Italy," it was asserted, "is not so feeble as to be unable to supply its own capital with a senate. Once our native-born citizens sufficed for peoples of our own family, and we are by no means dissatisfied with the Rome of the past. To this day we cite examples which under our old customs the Roman character showed courage and renown. Is it a small thing that Veneti and Insubres have already burst into the Senate-house, unless a mob of foreigners, a troop of captives, so to say, is now forced upon us? What distinctions will be left for the remnants of our noble houses, or for any impoverished senators from Latium? Every place will be crowded with these millionaires, whose ancestors of the second and third generations at the head of hostile tribes destroyed our armies with fire and sword, and actually besieged the divine Julius [Caesar] at Alesia. These are recent memories. What if there were to rise up the remembrance of those who fell in Rome's citadel and at her altar by the hands of these same barbarians! Let them enjoy indeed the title of citizens, but let them not vulgarise the distinctions of the Senate and the honours of office."

These and similar arguments failed to impress the emperor. He at once addressed himself to answer them, and lectured the assembled Senate. "My ancestors, the most ancient of whom was made at once a citizen and a noble of Rome, encourage me to govern by the same policy of transferring to this city all conspicuous merit, wherever found. And indeed I know, as facts, that the Julii came from Alba, the Coruncanii from Camerium, the Porcii from Tusculum, and not to inquire too closely into the past, that new members have been brought into the Senate from Etruria and Lucania and the whole of Italy, that Italy itself was at last extended to the Alps, to the end that not only single persons but entire countries and tribes might be united under our name. We had unshaken peace at home; we prospered in all our foreign relations in the days when Italy beyond the Po was admitted to share our citizenship, and when, enrolling in our ranks the most vigorous of the provincials, under colour of settling our legions throughout the world, we recruited our exhausted empire. Are we sorry that the Balbi came to us from Spain, and other men not less illustrious from Narbon Gaul? Their descendants are still among us, and do not yield to us in patriotism. What was the ruin of Sparta and Athens, but this, that mighty as they were in war, they spurned from them as aliens those whom they had conquered? Our founder Romulus, on the other hand, was so wise that he fought as enemies and then hailed as fellow-citizens several nations on the very same day. Strangers have reigned over us. That freedmen's sons should be intrusted with public offices is not, as many wrongly think, a sudden innovation, but was a common practice in the old commonwealth. But, it will be said, we have fought with the Senones. I suppose then that the Volsci and Aequi never stood in array against us. Our city was captured by the Gauls. Well, we also gave hostages to the Etruscans, and passed under the yoke of the Samnites. On the whole, if you review all our wars, never has one been finished in a shorter time than that with the Gauls. Thenceforth they have preserved an unbroken and loyal peace. United as they now are with us by manners, education, and intermarriage, let them bring us their gold and their wealth rather than enjoy it in isolation. Everything, Senators, which we now hold to be of the highest antiquity, was once new. Plebeian magistrates came after patrician; Latin magistrates after plebeian; magistrates of other Italian peoples after Latin. This practice too will establish itself, and what we are this day justifying by precedents, will be itself a precedent."

The emperor's speech was followed by a decree of the Senate, and the Aedui were the first to obtain the right of becoming senators at Rome. This compliment was paid to their ancient alliance, and to the fact that they alone of the Gauls cling to the name of brothers of theRoman people.

*Tacitus, Annals Book 11*

*Like many modern racists some in Rome blamed foreigners, whether they came there willingly or not, for their own woes. In the following the poet Juvenal, a bigot of the first water, who hated all outsiders (he also hated women for good measure – in fact there was little that he did not hate) attacks various groups from the east that he believes are why he cannot make decent money as a satirist.*

Since at Rome there is no place for honest pursuits, no profit to be got by honest work (I have less money to-day than yesterday, and to-morrow I will make even less) I plan to emigrate to the spot where Daedalus put off his wearied wings,[[8]](#footnote-8) while I still only have a few grey hairs and my old age is green and erect; while something still remains for Lachesis[[9]](#footnote-9) to spin, and I can bear myself on my own legs, without a stick needed for my right hand. Let us leave our native land. There let Arturius and Catulus live. Let those stay in it who turn black to white; for whom it is an easy matter to get contracts for building temples, clearing rivers, constructing harbours, cleaning the sewers, setting out funerals, and selling under the spear.[[10]](#footnote-10)

Romans! I cannot tolerate that the city has become Greek - and yet how small the amount here is even of the dregs of Greece! The Syrian river Orontes has long since flowed into the Tiber,[[11]](#footnote-11) and brought with it its language, morals, and the crooked harps with the flute-player and its national tambourines, and girls made to stand for hire at the Circus Maximus. Go there, anyone who wants a barbarian whore with an embroidered turban. That rustic of yours, Quirinus, takes his Greek ‘off to dinner’ cloak and wears Greek medals on his neck smeared with foreign oil. One has left behind steep Sicyon, another Amydon, a third Andros, another Samos, and yet another Tralles, or Alabanda, to swarm to the Esquiline,[[12]](#footnote-12) and the hill called from its osiers,[[13]](#footnote-13) destined to be the very vitals, and future lords of great houses. These have a quick wit, desperate impudence, a ready speech, and more rapidly fluent even than Isaeus.[[14]](#footnote-14) Tell me, what do you think he is? He has brought with him whatever character you wish---grammarian rhetorician, geometer, painter, trainer, fortune-teller, ropedancer, physician, wizard---he knows everything.

Tell a hungry little Greek go to heaven! He'll go. In short, it was not a North African, a Sarmatian, or a Thracian that took wings, but one born in the heart of Athens. Shall I not shun these men's purple togas? Shall this person take precedence to me in signing his name, and recline pillowed on a more honourable couch[[15]](#footnote-15) than I, though imported to Rome by the same wind that brought the plums and figs? Is it completely worth nothing that in my infancy I inhaled the air of the Aventine, and fed on Sabine berries? Why add that this nation, most deeply experienced in flattery, praises the conversation of a moron, the face of a hideously ugly friend, and compares some weak fellow's crane-like neck to the brawny shoulders of Hercules holding Antaeus far from his mother Earth, and is in raptures at his squeaking voice, which sounds much like that of the cock as he leaps on the hen.

Besides, there is nothing that is held sacred by these people, or that is safe from their lust. Neither you wife, nor your virgin daughter, nor her suitor, still unable to shave, nor your son, untouched before this. If none of these are to be found, he assails his friend's grandmother. They aim at learning the secrets of the house, and from that knowledge be feared. And since we have begun to talk of the Greeks, let’s move on to their schools of philosophy, and hear the foul crime of the more dignified cloak. It was a Stoic that killed Bareas--the informer, his personal friend--the old man, his own pupil--bred on that shore on which the pinion of the Gorgonean horse lighted. There is no room for any Roman here, where some Protogenes, Diphilus, or Erimanthus reigns supreme; who, with the common vice of his race, never shares a friend, but keeps him entirely to himself. In exact proportion to the sum of money a man keeps in his chest, is the credit given to his oath. Though you were to swear by all the altars of the Samothracian[[16]](#footnote-16) and our own gods, the poor man is believed to despise the thunder-bolts and the gods, even with the sanction of the gods themselves. Why add that this same poor man furnishes material and grounds for ridicule to all, if his cloak is dirty and torn, if his toga is a little soiled, and one shoe gapes with its upper leather burst; or if more than one patch displays the coarse fresh darning thread, where a rent has been sewn up. Poverty, bitter though it be, has no sharper pang than this, that it makes men ridiculous. "Let him retire, if he has any shame left, and quit the cushions of the knights, that has not the income required by the law, and let these seats be taken by the sons of pimps, born in some brothel or other! Here let the son of the sleek crier applaud among the spruce youths of the gladiator, and the scions of the fencing-school.

Who was ever allowed at Rome to become a son-in-law if his estate was inferior, and not a match for the dowry of the young lady? What poor man's name appears in any will? When is he summoned to a consultation even by an aedile? All Roman citizens that are poor ought long ago to have emigrated in a body. Difficult indeed is it for those to emerge from obscurity whose noble qualities are cramped by narrow means at home; but at Rome, for men like these, the attempt is still more hopeless; it is only at an exorbitant price they can get a wretched lodging, keep for their slaves, and a frugal meal. A man is ashamed here to dine off pottery ware, which, were he suddenly transported to the Marsi and a Sabine board, contented there with a coarse bowl of blue earthenware, he would no longer deem discreditable. Here, in Rome, the splendour of dress is carried beyond men's means; here, something more than is enough, is taken occasionally from another's chest. In this fault all participate. Here we all live with a poverty that apes our betters. Why should I detain you? Everything at Rome is coupled with high price. What have you to give, that you may occasionally pay your respects to Cossus?[[17]](#footnote-17) So Veiento[[18]](#footnote-18) may give you a passing glance, though without deigning to open his mouth? One shaves the beard, another deposits the hair of a favourite; the house is full of venal cakes.[[19]](#footnote-19)

I need to live in a place where there are no fires, no nightly alarms. Ucalegon[[20]](#footnote-20) is already shouting for water and removing his possessions: the third story in the house you live in is already in a blaze. Yet you are unconscious! For if the alarm begin from the bottom of the stairs, he will be the last to be burnt whom a single tile protects from the rain, where the tame pigeons lay their eggs.[[21]](#footnote-21) Codrus had a bed too small for his Procula, six little jugs the ornament of his sideboard, and a little can besides beneath it, and a Chiron reclining under the same marble, and a chest now grown old in the service contained his Greek books, and mice gnawed poems of divine inspiration. Codrus possessed nothing at all - who denies that? Yes all that little nothing that he had, he lost. But the climax that crowns his misery is the fact, that though he is stark naked and begging for a few scraps, no one will lend a hand to help him to bed and board. But, if the great mansion of Asturicus has fallen, the matrons appear in mourning clothes, the senators too, the praetor adjourns the courts. Then it is we groan for the accidents of the city; then we loathe the very name of fire. The fire is still raging, and already there runs up to him one who offers to present him with marble, and contribute towards the rebuilding. Another will present him with naked statues of Parian marble, another with a masterpiece of Euphranor or Polycletus.[[22]](#footnote-22) Some lady will contribute some ancient ornaments of gods taken in our Asiatic victories; another, books and cases and a bust of Minerva; another, a whole bushel of silver. Persicus, the most splendid of childless men, replaces all he has lost by things more numerous and more valuable, and could reasonably be suspected of having himself set his own house on fire.

Juvenal, Satire 3

*Immigrants, even those with powerful allies and who had obtained Roman citizenship, could still be vulnerable. In the following speech Cicero defends a Greek poet, Aulus Licinius Archias, who was tried on charges of claiming Roman citizenship falsely. He was being tried as a way to getting at his powerful patrons, because there was certainly no real evidence against him, and plenty of evidence, as Cicero points out, in favour of him being a citizen. Cicero and he were friends as well, and he was a man Cicero respected as an individual and intellectual; here he takes a very different tone about living Greeks that he does elsewhere, and also celebrates the value of Greeks and Greek literature for Rome:*

…I will soon make you think that this man here, Aulus Licinius, is someone not only, now that he is a citizen, does not deserve to be expunged from the list of citizens, but that he is worthy, even if he were not one, of being now made a citizen. When first Archias left infancy, out of all the studies of those arts by which young boys are gradually trained and refined, he devoted himself to the study of writing. This was first of all at Antioch, (for he was born there, and was of high rank there,) formerly an illustrious and wealthy city, and full of learned men and of liberal sciences; there it was his fate to speedily show himself superior to all in ability and in recognition of his talents. Afterwards, in other parts of Asia and over all Greece, his arrival was so talked of wherever he came, that the anxiety with which he was expected was even greater than the fame of his genius;--but the admiration which he received when he had arrived, exceeded even the anxiety with which he was expected. 5 Italy was at that time full of Greek science and of Greek systems, and these studies were at that time cultivated in Latium with greater zeal than they now are in the same towns; here too at Rome, on account of the then tranquil state of our Republic, they were far from neglected. Therefore, the people of Tarento, Rhegium, and Naples presented him with the freedom of their cities and with other gifts; and all men who were capable of judging of genius thought him deserving of their acquaintance and hospitality. When, because of his great fame he became known to us *in absentia* he came to Rome, in the consulship of Marius and Catulus [102 BCE]. It was his fate to have those men as his first consuls, the former who could provide him with the most illustrious achievements to write about, the other could give him, not only exploits to celebrate, but his ears and judicious attention. Immediately the Luculli, though Archias was still a youth, received him in their house. But we should attribute not only his genius and his learning, but also his natural disposition and virtue, that the house which was the first to be opened to him in his youth, is also the one in which he lives most familiarly in his old age.

6 He at that time gained the friendship of Quintus Metellus, the great man who was the conqueror of Numidia, and his son Pius. He was eagerly listened to by Marcus Aemilius; he associated with Quintus Catulus (the father *and* the sons). He was highly respected by Lucius Crassus; and as for the Luculli, and Drusus, and the Octavii, and Cato, and the whole family of the Hortensii, he was on terms of the greatest possible intimacy with all of them, and was held by them in the greatest honour. For, not only did every one cultivate his acquaintance who wished to learn or to hear anything, but even every one pretended to have such a desire. In the meantime, after a sufficiently long interval, having gone with Lucius Lucullus into Sicily, and having afterwards departed from that province in the company of the same Lucullus, he came to Heraclea. And as that city was one which enjoyed all the rights of an allied city to their full extent, he became eager to become a citizen of that town. And, since they thought him worthy of such a favour for his own sake, when aided by the influence and authority of Lucullus, he easily obtained it from the Heracleans. 7 He was given their citizenship in accordance with the provisions of the law of Silvanus and Carbo: “If any men had been enrolled as citizens of the allied cities, and if, at the time that the law was passed, they had a residence in Italy, and if within sixty days they had made a return or themselves to the praetor.” As he had now had a residence at Rome for many years, he registered himself as a citizen to the praetor, Quintus Metellus, his most intimate friend. 8 If we have nothing else to speak about except the rights of citizenship and the law, I need say no more. The cause is over. For which of all these statements, O Gratius, can be invalidated? Will you deny that he was enrolled, at the time I speak of, as a citizen of Heraclea? There is a man present of the very highest authority, a most scrupulous and truthful man, Lucius Lucullus, who will tell you not that he thinks it, but that he knows it; not that he has heard of it, but that he saw it; not even that he was present when it was done, but that he actually did it himself. Deputies from Heraclea are present, men of the highest rank; they have come expressly on account of this trial, with a commission from their city, and to give evidence on the part of their city; and they say that he was enrolled as a Heraclean. On this you ask for the public registers of the Heracleans, which we all know were destroyed in the Italian war, when the register office was burnt. It is ridiculous to say nothing to the proofs which we have, but to ask for proofs which it is impossible for us to have; to disregard the recollection of men, and to appeal to the memory of documents; and when you have the conscientious evidence of a most honourable man, the oath and good faith of a most respectable municipality, to reject those things which cannot by any possibility be tampered with, and to demand documentary evidence, though you say at the same moment that that is constantly played tricks with.

9 “But he had no residence at Rome.” What, he who for so many years before the freedom of the city was given to him, had moved all his property and fortunes at Rome? “But he did not return himself.” Indeed he did, and in that return which alone obtains with the college of praetors the authority of a public document. For as the returns of Appius were said to have been kept carelessly, and as the trifling conduct of Gabinius, before he was convicted, and his misfortune after his condemnation, had taken away all credit from the public registers, Metellus, the most scrupulous and moderate of all men, was so careful, that he came to Lucius Lentulus, the praetor, and to the judges, and said that he was greatly vexed at an erasure which appeared in one name. In these documents, therefore, you will see no erasure affecting the name of Aulus Licinius. 10 And as this is the case, what reason have you for doubting his citizenship, especially as he was enrolled as a citizen of other cities also? In truth, as men in Greece were in the habit of giving rights of citizenship to many men of very ordinary qualifications, and endowed with no talents at all, or with very moderate ones, without any payment, it is likely, I suppose, that the Rhegians, and Locrians, and Neapolitans, and Tarentines should have been unwilling to give to this man, enjoying the highest possible reputation for genius, what they were in the habit of giving even to actors!...[[23]](#footnote-23)

12 You must rely wholly on what arguments you can find. For he will never be convicted either by his own opinion or his case, or by that which is formed of it by his friends. You ask us, O Gratius, why we are so exceedingly attached to this man. Because he supplies us with food whereby our mind is refreshed after this noise in the forum, and with rest for our ears after they have been wearied with bad language. Do you think it possible that we could find subject matter for our daily speeches, when discussing such a variety of matters, unless we were to cultivate our minds by the study of literature; or that our minds could bear being kept so constantly on the stretch if we did not relax them by that same study? But I confess that I am devoted to those studies, let others be ashamed of them if they have buried themselves in books without being able to produce anything out of them for the benefit of us all or anything which may bear the eyes of men and the light. But why need I be ashamed, who for many years have lived in such a manner as never to allow my own love of tranquillity to deny me to the necessity or advantage of another or my fondness for pleasure to distract, or even sleep to delay my attention to such claims? 13 Who then can reproach me or who has any right to be angry with me, if I allow myself as much time for the cultivation of these studies as some take for the performance of their own business, or for celebrating days of festival and games, or for other pleasures, or even for the rest and refreshment of mind and body, or as others devote to early banquets, to playing at dice, or at ball? And this ought to be permitted to me, because by these studies my power of speaking and those faculties are improved, which, as far as they do exist in me, have never been denied to my friends when they have been in peril. And if that ability appears to any one to be but moderate, at all events I know whence I derive those principles which are of the greatest value.

14 For if I had not persuaded myself from my youth upwards, both by the teachings of many masters and by much reading, that there is nothing in life greatly to be desired except praise and honour, and that while pursuing those things all tortures of the body, all dangers of death and banishment are to be considered but of small importance, I should never have exposed myself, in defence of your safety, to such numerous and arduous contests, and to the daily attacks of wicked men. But all books are full of such precepts, and all the sayings of philosophers, and all antiquity is full of precedents teaching the same lesson; but all these things would lie buried in darkness, if the light of literature and learning were not applied to them. How many images of the bravest men, carefully elaborated, have both the Greek and Latin writers bequeathed to us, not merely for us to look at and gaze upon, but also for our imitation! And I, always keeping them before my eyes as examples for my own public conduct, have endeavoured to model my mind and views by continually thinking of those excellent men. 15 Some one will ask, “What? were those identical great men, whose virtues have been recorded in books, accomplished in all that learning which you are extolling so highly?” It is difficult to assert this of all of them; but still I know what answer I can make to that question: I admit that many men have existed of admirable disposition and virtue, who, without learning, by the almost divine instinct of their own mere nature, have been, of their own accord, as it were, moderate and wise men. I even add this, that very often nature without learning has had more to do with leading men to credit and to virtue, than learning when not assisted by a good natural disposition. And I also contend, that when to an excellent and admirable natural disposition there is added a certain system and training of education, then from that combination arises an extraordinary perfection of character; 16 such as is seen in that god-like man, whom our fathers saw in their time, [Scipio] Africanus; and in Gaius Laelius and Lucius Furius, most virtuous and moderate men; and in that most excellent man, the most learned man of his time, Marcus Cato the Elder; and all these men, if they had derived no assistance from literature in the cultivation and practice of virtue would never have applied themselves to the study of it. Though, even if there were no such great advantage to be reaped from it, and if it were only pleasure that is sought from these studies, still I imagine you would consider it a most reasonable and liberal employment of the mind: for other occupations are not suited to every time, nor to every age or place; but these studies are the food of youth, the delight of old age; the ornament of prosperity, the refuge and comfort of adversity; a delight at home, and no hindrance abroad; they are companions by night, and in travel, and in the country.

17 And if we ourselves were not able to arrive at these advantages, nor even taste them with our senses, still we ought to admire them, even when we saw them in others. Who of us was of so ignorant and brutal a disposition as not lately to be grieved at the death of Roscius? who, though he was an old man when he died, yet on account of the excellence and beauty of his art, appeared to be one who on every account ought not to have died. Therefore, had he by the gestures of his body gained so much of our affections, and shall we disregard the incredible movements of the mind, and the rapid operations of genius?

18 How often have I seen this man. Archias, O judges,--(for I will take advantage of your kindness, since you listen to me so attentively while speaking in this unusual manner,)--how often have I seen him, when he had not written a single word, repeat extempore a great number of admirable verses on the very events which were passing at the moment! How often have I seen him go back, and describe the same thing over again with an entire change of language and ideas! And what he wrote with care and with much thought that I have seen admired to such a degree, as to equal the credit of even the writings of the ancients. Should not I, then, love this man? should I not admire him? should not I think it my duty to defend him in every possible way? And, indeed, we have constantly heard from men of the greatest eminence and learning, that the study of other sciences was made up of learning, and rules, and regular method; but that a poet was such by the unassisted work of nature, and was moved by the vigour of his own mind, and was inspired, as it were, by some divine wrath. Wherefore rightly does our own great Ennius call poets holy; because they seem to be recommended to us by some especial gift, as it were, and liberality of the gods. 19 Let then, judges, this name of poet, this name which no barbarians even have ever disregarded, be holy in your eyes, men of cultivated minds as you all are. Rocks and deserts reply to the poet's voice; savage beasts are often moved and arrested by song; and shall we, who have been trained in the pursuit of the most virtuous acts, refuse to be swayed by the voice of poets? The Colophonians say that Homer was their citizen; the Chians claim him as theirs; the Salaminians assert their right to him; but the men of Smyrna loudly assert him to be a citizen of Smyrna, and they have even raised a temple to him in their city. Many other places also fight with one another for the honour of being his birth-place. They, then, claim a stranger, even after his death, because he was a poet; shall we reject this man while he is alive, a man who by his own inclination and by our laws does actually belong to us? especially when Archias has employed all his genius with the utmost zeal in celebrating the glory and renown of the Roman people? For when a young man, he touched on our wars against the Cimbri, and gained the favour even of Caius Marius himself, a man who was tolerably proof against this sort of study.

20 For there was no one who hates the Muses so much as not willingly to endure that the praise of his labours should be made immortal by means of verse. They say that the great Themistocles, the greatest man that Athens produced, said, when some one asked him what sound or whose voice he took the greatest delight in hearing, “The voice of that by whom his own exploits were best celebrated.” Therefore, the great Marius was also exceedingly attached to Lucius Plotius, because he thought that the achievement which he had performed could be celebrated by his genius. 21 And the whole Mithridatic war, great and difficult as it was, and carried on with so much diversity of fortune by land and sea, has been related at length by him; and the books in which that is sung of, not only make illustrious Lucius Lucullus, that most gallant and celebrated man, but they do honour also to the Roman people. For, while Lucullus was general, the Roman people opened Pontus, though it was defended both by the resources of the king and by the character of the country itself. Under the same general the army of the Roman people, with no very great numbers, routed the countless hosts of the Armenians. It is the glory of the Roman people that, by the wisdom of that same general, the city of the Cyzicenes, most friendly to us, was delivered and preserved from all the attacks of the kind, and from the very jaws as it were of the whole war. Ours is the glory which will be for ever celebrated, which is derived from the fleet of the enemy which was sunk after its admirals had been slain, and from the marvellous naval battle off Tenedos: those trophies belong to us, those monuments are ours, those triumphs are ours. Therefore, I say that the men by whose genius these exploits are celebrated, make illustrious at the same time the glory of the Roman people.

22 Our countryman, Ennius, was dear to the elder Africanus; and even on the tomb of the Scipios his effigy is believed to be visible, carved in the marble. But undoubtedly it is not only the men who are themselves praised who are done honour to by those praises, but the name of the Roman people also is adorned by them. Cato, the ancestor of this Cato, is extolled to the skies. Great honour is paid to the exploits of the Roman people. Lastly, all those great men, the Maximi, the Marcelli, and the Fulvii, are done honour to, not without all of us having also a share in the panegyric. Therefore our ancestors received the man who was the cause of all this, a man of Rudiae, into their city as a citizen; and shall we reject from our city a man of Heraclea, a man sought by many cities, and made a citizen of ours by these very laws?

23 For if any one thinks that one gets less glory from Greek verses than from Latin ones, he is greatly mistaken, because Greek poetry is read among all nations, while Latin is confined to the limits of our territory, which are narrow enough. Wherefore, if those achievements which we have performed are limited only by the bounds of the whole world, we ought to desire that, wherever our vigour and our arms have penetrated, our glory and our fame should likewise extend. Because, as this is always an ample reward for those people whose achievements are the subject of writings, so especially is it the greatest inducement to encounter labours and dangers to all men who fight for themselves for the sake of glory. 24 How many historians of his exploits is Alexander the Great said to have had with him; and he, when standing on Cape Sigeum at the grave of Achilles, said--“O happy youth, to find Homer as the panegyrist of your glory!” And he said the truth; for, if the Iliad had not existed, the same tomb which covered his body would have also buried his renown. What, did not our own Magnus, whose valour has been equal to his fortune, present Theophanes the Mitylenaean, a relater of his actions, with the freedom of the city in an assembly of the soldiers? And those brave men, our countrymen, soldiers and country bred men as they were, still being moved by the sweetness of glory, as if they were to some extent partakers of the same renown, showed their approbation of that action with a great shout. 25 Therefore, I suppose, if Archias were not a Roman citizen according to the laws, he could not have contrived to get presented with the freedom of the city by some general! Sulla, when he was giving it to the Spaniards and Gauls, would, I suppose, have refused him if he had asked for it! a man whom we ourselves saw in the public assembly, when a bad poet of the common people had put a book in his hand, because he had made an epigram on him with every other verse too long, immediately ordered some of the things which he was selling at the moment to be given him as a reward, on condition of not writing anything more about him for the future. Would not he who thought the industry of a bad poet still worthy of some reward, have sought out the genius, and excellence, and copiousness in writing of this man?

26 What more need I say? Could he not have obtained the freedom of the city from Quintus Metellus Pius, his own most intimate friend, who gave it to many men, either by his own request, or by the intervention of the Luculli? especially when Metellus was so anxious to have his own deeds celebrated in writing, that he gave his attention willingly to poets born even at Cordova, whose poetry had a very heavy and foreign flavour. For this should not be concerned, which cannot possibly be kept in the dark, but it might be avowed openly: we are all influenced by a desire of praise, and the best men are the most especially attracted by glory. Those very philosophers even in the books which they write about despising glory, put their own names on the title-page. In the very act of recording their contempt for renown and notoriety, they desire to have their own names known and talked of. 27 Decimus Brutus, that most excellent citizen and consummate general, adorned the approaches to his temples and monuments with the verses of Attius. And lately that great man Fulvius, who fought with the Aetolians, having Ennius for his companion, did not hesitate to devote the spoils of Mars to the Muses. Wherefore, in a city in which generals, almost in arms, have paid respect to the name of poets and to the temples of the Muses, these judges in the dress of peace ought not to act in a manner inconsistent with the honour of the Muses and the safety of poets…

…31 Preserve then, O judges, a man of such virtue as that of Archias, which you see testified to you not only by the worth of his friends, but by the length of time during which they have been such to him, and of such genius as you ought to think is his, when you see that it as been sought by most illustrious men. And his cause is one which is approved of by the benevolence of the law by the authority of his municipality, by the testimony of Lucullus, and by the documentary evidence of Metellus. And as this is the case, we do entreat you, O judges, if there may be any weight attached, I will not say to human, but even to divine recommendation in such important matters, to receive under your protection that man who has at all times done honour to your generals and to the exploits of the Roman people,--who even in these recent perils of our own, and in your domestic dangers, promises to give an eternal testimony of praise in our favour, and who forms one of that band of poets who have at all times and in all nations been considered and called holy, so that he may seem relieved by your humanity, rather than overwhelmed by your severity. 32 The things which, according to my custom, I have said briefly and simply, O judges, I trust have been approved by all of you. Those things which I have spoken, without regarding the habits of the forum or judicial usage, both concerning the genius of the man and my own zeal in his behalf, I trust have been received by you in good part. That they have been so by him who presides at this trial, I am quite certain.

*When the Emperor Claudius took up the censorship, he decided to expel those of high rank he encountered who did not know Latin. Requiring Latin of all citizens would have been impossible, not least because the Roman state had no way to check this on a mass scale; expulsion for not knowing it would have been restricted to those among the elite, who were expected to know Latin, as they would appearing in Roman courts and ruled by Roman law, which was always in Latin.*

16 1 He also assumed the censorship, which had long been discontinued, ever since the term of Plancus and Paulus, but in this office too he was variable, and both his theory and his practice were inconsistent. In his review of the knights he left off a young man of evil character, whose father said that he was perfectly satisfied with him, without any public censure, saying "He has a censor of his own." Another who was notorious for corruption and adultery he merely admonished to be more restrained in his excesses, or at any rate more discrete, adding, "For why should I know what mistress you keep?" When he had removed the mark of censure affixed to one man's name, yielding to the entreaties of the latter's friends, he said: "But let the erasure be seen."[[24]](#footnote-24) 2 He not only struck from the list of jurors a man of high birth, a leading citizen of the province of Greece, because he did not know Latin, but even deprived him of the rights of citizenship; and he would not allow anyone to render an account of his life save in his own words, as well as he could, without the help of an advocate.[[25]](#footnote-25)

*Many immigrants were not citizens and that left them with very little legal protection unless they held Latin status. One action the Romans could take against immigrants was to expel them from the city, and they did so on a number of occassions and with a range of different groups from the Latins to astrologers.*

The Latin allies had never anything worse to submit to than (and it was a case of very rare occurrence) the being ordered by the consul to depart from the city. And they had the power then of returning to their own cities, to their own household gods; and in that general disaster no peculiar ignominy was attached by name to any single individual. But what is the case here? Is the consul to banish, by his edict, Roman citizens from their household gods?

Cicero, *In Defense of Sestius* 30

*Livy talks of another expulsion of foreignors in 187 BCE:*

In Gaul the praetor Marcus Furius, seeking in peace the appearance of war, had disarmed the Cenomani who had given no provocation: 2 as a result they complained about this before the senate at Rome, and were referred to the consul Aemilius, whom the senate had authorized to investigate and decide, and after engaging in great contention with the praetor won their case. 3 The praetor was ordered to restore their arms to the Cenomani and to leave the province. 4 Then ambassadors from the allies of the Latin confederacy, who had assembled from all Latium in great numbers from every side, were granted an audience by the senate. When they complained that a great number of their citizens had migrated to Rome and had been assessed there, 5. Quintus Terentius Culleo the praetor was instructed to search them out, and, on receiving from the allies proof that any person or the father of such person[4](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Liv.+39+3&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0148#note4) had been assessed among the allies in the censorship of Gaius Claudius and Marcus Livius[5](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Liv.+39+3&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0148#note5) or after that censorship, to compel such persons to return to the places where they had been registered. 6 As a consequence of this investigation twelve thousand of the Latins returned home, for even at that time a multitude of aliens was burdening the city.

Livy, *From the Founding of the City* 39.3-4

*Another expulsion of Latins took place in 177 BCE, after citizens of their home towns complained as they were still expected to supply the same number of soldiers despite the fact that many of their citizens had moved to Rome and just acted as citizens there.*

Ambassadors from the confederate states of Latium, who, after having ineffectually applied to the former consuls and censors, were at last introduced to an audience, made a powerful impression on the senate. [6] The amount of their complaints was, that “their citizens, having been regstered in the general survey at Rome, had most of them removed there; [7] and that if this practice were allowed, it would come to pass, in the course of a very few generations, that their deserted towns and country would be unable to furnish any soldiers.” [8] The Samnites and the Pelignians also said that four thousand families had emigrated to Fregellae; and that neither of these places gave less soldiers on that account. [9] That there had been practised two species of fraud in individuals changing their citizenship: there was a law, which granted liberty to any of the allies or Latins, who should not leave his offspring at home, to be enrolled a citizen of Rome; yet, by an abuse of this law, some did injury to the allies, others to the Roman people. [10] For, at first, to evade the leaving offspring at home, they made over their children as slaves to some Roman, under an agreement that they should be again set free, and thus become citizens by emancipation; and then those men, who had now no children to leave, became Roman citizens. [11] Afterwards, they neglected even these appearances of law; and, without any regard either to the ordinances or to progeny, passed indiscriminately into the Roman state by migration, and getting themselves included in the survey. [12] To prevent such proceedings in future, the ambassadors requested the senate to order the allies to return to their respective states, and to provide by a law that no one should make any man his property, or alienate such property for the purpose of a change of citizenship; and that if any person should by such means be made a citizen of Rome, he should not enjoy the rights of a citizen." [9] Then Caius Claudius, by direction of the senate, proposed a law and issued a proclamation, that “any of the allies and Latin confederates, who themselves, or whose ancestors, had been surveyed among the associated states of Latium in the censorship of Marcus Claudius and Titus Quintius, or at any time since, should all return, each to his respective state, before the calends of November.” [10] Inquiry concerning such as did not obey, was intrusted to Lucius Mummius the praetor. To the law and the proclamation of the consul, [11??] was added a decree of the senate, that “the dictator, consul, interrex, censor, or praetor, who then should be in office, before whom any slave should be brought, to receive manumission, should cause the said slave who was about to be made free, to make oath, that the person giving him liberty did not do it for the purpose of his changing his citizenship;” they [p. 1930]ordered that he, whoever would not swear this oath, should not be manumitted. [12] The cognizance and jurisdiction in this business was, for the future, assigned to Caius Claudius the consul.

41.8 , 41.9

*It was not just various ethnic groups that could be expelled from Rome. Cicero writes about an expulsion of philosophers in 126 BCE:*

They, too, do wrong who would prevent foreigners from enjoying the advantages of their city and would exclude them from its borders, as was done by Pennus in the time of our fathers, and in recent times by Papius. It may not be right, of course, for one who is not a citizen to exercise the rights and privileges of citizenship; and the law on this point was secured by two of our wisest consuls, Crassus and Scaevola. Still, to prevent foreigners from enjoying the advantages of the city is altogether contrary to the laws of humanity. There are splendid examples in history where the apparent expediency of the state has been set at naught out of regard for moral rectitude. Our own country has many examples to offer throughout her history, and especially in the Second Punic War, when news came of the disaster at Cannae, Rome displayed a loftier courage than ever she did in success and never showed a trace of cowardice, never a mention of making terms. The influence of moral right is so potent, at it eclipses the specious appearance of expediency.

Cicero, *On Moral Duties* 3.11

*Dio Cassius reports Agrippa, a friend and eventually son-in-law of Augustus, expelling astrologers, among many other actions, in 33 BCE:*

43 1 The next year Agrippa agreed to be made aedile, and without taking anything from the public treasury repaired all the public buildings and all the streets, cleaned out the sewers, and sailed through them underground into the Tiber. 2 And seeing that in the circus men made mistakes about the number of laps completed, he set up the dolphins and egg-shaped objects so that by their aid the number of times the course had been circled might be clearly shown. Furthermore he distributed olive-oil and salt to all, 3 and supplied the baths free of charge throughout the year for the use of both men and women; and in connection with the many festivals of all kinds which he gave — on such a scale, in fact, that the children of senators also performed the equestrian games called "Troy" — he hired the barbers, so that no one should be at any expense for their services. 4 Finally he rained upon the heads of the people in the theatre tickets that were good for money in one case, for cloth in another, and again for something else, and he also set out immense quantities of various wares for all comers and allowed the people to scramble for these things. 5 Besides doing this Agrippa drove the astrologers and charlatans from the city. During these same days a decree was passed that no one belonging to the senatorial class should be tried for piracy, and so those who were under any charge at the time were set free, and some were given a free hand to practice their villainy in the future.

Dio Cassius 49.43.1-5

*Tiberius did the same in 17 CE amid panic over a conspiracy to overthrow him involving a Roman aristocrat who was interested in astrology:*

Decrees of the Senate were also passed to expel from Italy astrologers and magicians. One of their number, Lucius Pituanius, was hurled from the Rock. Another, Publius Marcius, was executed, according to ancient custom, by the consuls outside the Esquiline Gate, after the trumpets had been bidden to sound.

Tacitus, *Annales* 2.32

*The legal scholar Ulpian provides more information about the law itself:*

Also banned is the crafty and stubbornly persuasive fraud of the astrologers. It is not just in modern times that this has been banned: rather, it is an old prohibition. In short, there is a decree of the senate dating to the consulship of Pomponius and Rufus that prescribes exile and property confiscation for mathematici, Chaldaeans, soothsayers, and all who do similar things, or death if the person is a foreigner.

*Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum* 15.2.1

*In 19 CE Tiberius expelled the Jews, along with worshippers of Isis:*

85 1 Another debate dealt with the proscription of the Egyptian and Jewish rites, and a senatorial edict directed that four thousand descendants of enfranchised slaves, tainted with that superstition and suitable in point of age, were to be shipped to Sardinia and there employed in suppressing banditry: "if they succumbed to the pestilential climate, it was a cheap loss." The rest had orders to leave Italy, unless they had renounced their impious ceremonial by a given date.

Tacitus, *Annals* 85

*Before Tiberius, Augustus went even further and expelled slaves and gladiators:*

Once indeed in a time of great scarcity when it was difficult to find a remedy, Augustus expelled from the city the slaves that were for sale, as well as the schools of gladiators, all foreigners with the exception of physicians and teachers, and a part of the household slaves; and when grain at last became more plentiful, he writes: "I was strongly inclined to do away forever with distributions of grain, because through dependence on them agriculture was neglected; but I did not carry out my purpose, feeling sure that they would one day be renewed through desire for popular favour." But from that time on he regulated the practice with no less regard for the interests of the farmers and grain-dealers than for those of the populace.

Suetonius, *Augustus* 42.3

*What the Romans thought about the Greeks and the East is complicated. They had a great deal of respect for ancient cultures, especially that of (but not limited to) Greece. They also based almost their entire literature on Greek models, and some became enthusiastic followers of Greek philosophy. However, they often thought far more highly of dead Greeks than they did actual living ones, and they still made Greece a Roman colony. Even people like Cicero, who was an enthusiastic supporter of Greek intellectuals and the role of Greek philosophy and literature in Roman life often did not think much of some of the Greeks he had to deal with. The following is much more scathing of Greeks than his defense speech for Archias. In the following letter to his brother Quintus in 59 BCE, who was governor of the Province of Asia (roughly covering much of modern Turkey) he suggests distrusting Greeks and locals was the way to go. It is important to remember that this letter was probably intended for publication and the advice to reach far more than his brother, so this is what Romans felt comfortable saying openly about Greeks:*

If, however, you have found in the province itself anyone, previously unknown to me, who has made his way into intimacy with you, take care how much confidence you place in him. There may, for sure, be many good provincials, but, though we may hope so, it is risky to be certain about it. For everyone's real character is covered by many wrappings of pretence and is concealed by a kind of veil: the face, eyes, and expression very often lie, and speech most often of all. And so how can you expect to find in that class any who, while enduring for the sake of money all from which we can scarcely tear ourselves away,will yet love you sincerely and not merely pretend to do so from interested motives? I think, indeed, it is a hard task to find such men, especially if we notice that the same persons care nothing for almost any man out of office, yet always with one consent show affection for the praetors.[[26]](#footnote-26) But of this group, if by chance you have discovered any one to be fonder of you--for it may so happen--than of your position, you should be happy to add such a person to your list of friends: but if you fail to perceive that, there is no group of people you must be more on your guard against admitting to intimacy, just because they are acquainted with all the ways of making money, do everything for the sake of cash, and have no consideration for the reputation of a man with whom they are not destined to pass their lives. And even among the Greeks themselves you must wary about allowing them to be close friends, except in the case of the very few, if such are to be found, who are worthy of ancient Greece. As things now stand, indeed, too many of them are untrustworthy, false, and schooled by long servitude in the arts of extravagant flattery. My advice is to entertain these men with courtesy, but only form close ties of hospitality or friendship with the best of them: excessive intimacies with them are not very trustworthy—for they do not venture to oppose our wishes—and they are not only jealous of our countrymen, but of their own as well.

*Letters to his Brother Quintus* 1.1

*The following letter was obviously* **not** *intended for publication. Cicero had received what was clearly an outraged letter from his brother, who was furious that Cicero had recommended to him a man who had killed his mother, and not mentioned that fact. In answering Cicero tries to defend himself by basically saying the Greeks are all pretty shifty.*

Now I will answer the letters delivered to me by L. Caesius, whom, as I see you wish it, I will serve in every way I can. One of them is about Zeuxis of Blaundus, whom you say was warmly recommended to you by me though a most notorious matricide. In this matter, and on this subject generally, please listen to a short statement, in case you should by chance be surprised at my having become so conciliatory towards Greeks. Seeing, as I did, that the complaints of Greeks, because they have a genius for deceit, were allowed an excessive weight, whenever I was told of any of them making complaint of you, I appeased them by every means in my power. First, I pacified the Dionysopolitans, who were very bitter, whose leader, Hermippus, I got on side not just by how I talked, but by treating him as a friend. I did the same to Hephaestus of Apameia; the same to that most untrustworthy fellow, Megaristus of Antandrus; the same to Nicias of Smyrna; I also embraced with all the courtesy I possessed the most worthless men, even Nymphon of Colophon. And all this I did from no liking for these particular people, or the nation as a whole: I was heartily sick of their fickleness and obsequiousness, of feelings that are not affected by our kindness, but by our position.

But to return to Zeuxis. When he was telling me the same story as you mention in your letter about what M. Cascellius had said to him in conversation, I stopped him from farther talk, and admitted him to my society. I cannot, however, understand your virulence when you say that, having sewn up in the parricide's-sack two Mysians at Smyrna, you desired to display a similar example of your severity in the upper part of your province, and that, therefore, you had wished to lure Zeuxis into your hands by every possible means. For if he had been brought into court, he ought perhaps not to have been allowed to escape: but there was no necessity for his being hunted out and lured by soft words to stand a trial, as you say in your letter--especially as he is one whom I learn daily, both from his fellow citizens and from many others, to be a man of higher character than you would expect from such an obscure town as his. But, you will say, it is only Greeks to whom I am indulgent. What! Did not I do everything to appease L. Caecilius? What a man! So irritable! Sp violent! In fact, who is there except Tuscenius, whose case no one can help, have I not softened?

*Letters to his Brother Quintus* 1.2

*Many ambitious Greeks might strike it out for Rome for potential monetary rewards tutoring Romans in philosophy. However, if the second century CE writer, Lucian’s, ‘On the Dependent Philosopher’ is right, that could be a terrible job. He starts with describing how the philosopher is first lured in by being invited by a Roman to a fancy dinner where he will be treated like a king, and how things all downhill from there:*

On the whole, your feelings are mingled, your spirit perturbed and stricken with awe. One moment you are envying your host his gold, his ivory, and all his magnificence; the next, you are pitying yourself as a miserable nonentity which calls its existence life. At intervals you think, 'how happy shall I be, sharing in this splendour, enjoying it as if it were my own!' For you dream of your future life as one continual feast…Presently toasts to health are drunk. The host calls for a large goblet, and drinks to 'the Professor,' or whatever your title is to be. You, in your innocence, do not know that you ought to say something in reply; you receive the cup in silence, and are thought rude. 17 In addition to this, your host's pledge has secured you the hatred of many of his old friends, with some of whom it was already a grievance that an acquaintance of a few hours' standing should sit above men who have been drinking the cup of slavery for years.[[27]](#footnote-27)

Tongues are busy about you at once. Listen to some of them. 'So! We are to give place to newcomers! It wanted only this. The gates of Rome are open to none but these Greeks. Now what is their claim to be placed over us? I suppose they think they are doing us a favour with their babble?' 'How he drank, to be sure!' says another. 'And did you see how he shovelled his food down, hand over hand? Mannerless starving pauper! He has never so much as dreamed of white bread before. It was the same with the capon and pheasant; much if he left us the bones to pick!' 'My dear sirs' (cries number three), 'I give him five days at the outside; after which you will see him at our end of the table, moaning with ourselves. He is a new pair of shoes just now, and is treated with all ceremony. Wait till he has been worn a few times, and the mud has done its work; he will be flung under the bed, poor wretch, like the rest of us, to be a receptacle for bugs.' Such are some among the many comments you excite; and, for all we know, mischief may be brewing at this moment…

… Such, my friend, is your first dinner, the best you will ever get. For my part, give me a dinner of herbs, with liberty to eat when I will and as much as I will. I shall spare you the recital of the nocturnal woes that follow your excess. The next morning, you have to come to terms as to the amount of your salary, and the times of payment. Appearing in answer to his summons, you find two or three friends with him. He bids you be seated, and begins to speak. 'You have now seen the sort of way in which we live--no ostentation, no fuss; everything quite plain and ordinary. Now you will consider everything here as your own. It would be a strange thing, indeed, were I to entrust you with the highest responsibility of all, the moral guidance of myself and my children'--if there are children to be taught--'and yet hesitate to place the rest at your disposal. Something, however, must be settled. I know your moderate, independent spirit. I quite realize that you come to us from no mercenary motive, that you are influenced only by the regard and uniform respect which will be assured to you in this house. Still, as I say, something must be settled. Now, my dear sir, tell me yourself, what you think right; remembering that there is something to be expected at the great festivals; for you will not find me remiss in that respect, though I say nothing definite at present; and these occasions, as you know, come pretty frequently in the course of the year. This consideration will no doubt influence you in settling the amount of your salary; and apart from that, it sits well on men of culture like yourself, to be above the thought of money.' Your hopes are blasted at the words, and your proud spirit is tamed. The dream of the millionaire and landed proprietor fades away, as you gradually catch his parsimonious drift. Yet you smirk appreciation of the promise. You are to 'consider everything as your own'; there, surely, is something solid? 'It is a draught (did you but know it)

That wets the lips, but leaves the palate dry.

After an interval of embarrassment, you leave the matter to his decision. He declines the responsibility, and calls for the intervention of one of the company: let him name a figure, at once worthy of your acceptance and not hard for him to pay, which has so many more urgent calls upon it. 'Sir,' says this officious old gentleman, who has been a toady from his youth, 'Sir, you are the luckiest man in Rome. Deny it if you can! You have gained a privilege which many a man has longed for, and is not like to obtain at Fortune's hands. You have been admitted to enjoy the company and share the hearth and home of the first citizen of our empire. Used aright, such a privilege will be more to you than the wealth of a Croesus or a Midas. Knowing as I do how many there are--persons of high standing--who would be glad to pay money down, merely for the honour and glory of the acquaintanceship, of being seen in his company, and ranking as his friends and intimates,--knowing this, I am at a loss for words in which to express my sense of your good fortune. You are not only to enjoy this happiness, but to be paid for enjoying it! Under the circumstances, I think we shall satisfy your most extravagant expectations, if we say'--and he names a sum which in itself is of the smallest, quite apart from all reference to your brilliant hopes. However, there is nothing21 for it but to submit with a good grace. It is too late now for escape; you are in the toils. So you open your mouth for the bit, and are very manageable from the first. You give your rider no occasion to keep a tight rein, or to use the spur; and at last by imperceptible degrees you are quite broken in to him….

*To save you I have cut some of the various horrible things you start to endure as a house-philosopher, most of which require you to realize your new job is going to be not just humiliating, but underpaid.*

…No, your employer has no need of your services in this direction. On the other hand, you have a long beard and a venerable countenance; the Greek cloak hangs admirably upon your shoulders, and you are known to be a professor of rhetoric, or literature, or philosophy; it will not be amiss, he thinks, to have such pursuits represented in the numerous retinue that proceeds him. It will give him an air of Grecian culture, of liberal curiosity in fact. Friend, friend! your stock-in-trade would seem to be not words of wisdom, but a cloak and a beard. If you would do your duty, therefore, be always well in evidence; begin your unfailing attendance from the early hours of the morning, and never quit his side. Now and again he places a hand upon your shoulder, and mutters some nonsense for the benefit of the passers-by, who are to understand that though he walk abroad the Muses are not forgotten, that in all his comings and goings he can find elegant employment for his 26mind. Breathless and perspiring, you trot, a pitiable spectacle, at the litter's side; or if he walks--you know what Rome is--, up hill and down dale after him you tramp. While he is paying a call on a friend, you are left outside, where, for lack of a seat, you are fain to take out your book and read standing.

Night finds you hungry and thirsty. You snatch an apology for a bath; and it is midnight or near it before you get to dinner. You are no longer an honoured guest; no longer do you engage the attention of the company. You have retired to make room for some newer capture. Thrust into the most obscure corner, you sit watching the progress of dinner, gnawing in canine sort any bones that come down to you and regaling yourself with hungry zest on such tough mallow-leaves--the wrappers of daintier fare--as may escape the vigilance of those who sit above you. No slight is wanting. You have not so much as an egg to call your own; for there is no reason why you should expect to be treated in the same way as a stranger; that would be absurd. The birds that fall to your lot are not like other birds. Your neighbour gets some plump, luscious affair; you, a poor half-chicken, or lean pigeon, an insult, a positive outrage in poultry. As often as not, an extra guest appears unexpectedly, and the waiter solves the difficulty by removing your share (with the whispered consolation that you are 'one of the family'), and placing it before the new-comer. [More indignities about food and being served at table have been cut.]

Many are your grievances; all is one huge grievance. 27 And the climax is reached when you find yourself eclipsed by some minion, some dancing-master, some vile Alexandrian rapper of Ionic songs. How should you hope to rank with the minister of Love's pleasures, with the stealthy conveyer of sexy letters? You cower shamefaced in your corner, and bewail your hard lot, as well you may; cursing your luck that you have never a smattering of such graceful accomplishments yourself. I believe you wish that *you* could write love-songs, or sing other men's with a good grace; perceiving as you do what a thing it is to be in demand. No, you could find it in you to play the wizard's, the fortune-teller's part, and to talk of thrones and in millions of money. For these, too, you observe, make their way in the world, and are high in favour. Gladly would you enter on any one of these vocations, rather than be a useless castaway. Alas, even these are beyond you; you lack plausibility. It remains for you to give place to others; to endure neglect, and keep your complaints to yourself…

[Lucian continues with more insults dealt out to the unfortunate philosopher, including the horrors of a trip to the countryside and being saddled with looking after the dog, as well as the difficulty of getting one’s promised pay, after suffering all of this.]

1. Supposedly Romulus’ father was the god Mars, who was in early Rome, an agricultural god. Their mother was a Vestal Virgin raped by Mars. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. At that point citizens were divided into two ranks, with one getting more privileges and rights than the others. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Asking someone this suggests either that they are a freed slave or their mother slept around. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Because their various towns were not among the original citizens of Rome, but had achieved their citizenship status later, sometimes after the expansion of Roman citizenship after the Social War. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. The son of the Dictator (and famous) Sulla. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. An Arabian people, often associated with the Biblical kingdom of Sheba. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. A German people, who lived on the Rhone. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Cumae, near Naples. Daedalus was from Athens and his feat in creating wings to fly on is mentioned again below. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. One the three Fates, who span the threads which were the individual fates of everyone. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. The spear was a traditional sign of a slave sale in Rome. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. The river that ran (and still runs) through Rome. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. One of the seven hills of Rome. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. The Viminal Hill, the least important of the seven hills. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. A famous Greek orator. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Romans dined reclining on couches, and the closer yours was to your host’s couch, the more honour was being done to you. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Samothrace had a temple complex to the ‘Great Gods’. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Otherwise unknown, but presumably means to refer to a noble who is hard to get access to. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. A senator and close advisor of the emperors Nero and Domitian among others. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. A type of gingerbread, presumably given as a gift. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. In myth a Trojan whose house was among the first to be set on fire by the Greeks when they left the Trojan Horse and began to set fire to Troy. His name began to be used as shorthand for any neighbour whose house was on fire. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. The attic rooms/the top floor of a Roman apartment building was the cheapest to rent. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Two famous Greek sculptors, hence these would be priceless, like someone giving you Michelangelo’s David *and* his Pieta. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. The cut section goes into more details about record keeping and so forth and its challenges after a civil war. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. I.e. the legal record would show that the erasure had once been made, even if it had been revoked. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. As this would have to be in Latin, this was an effective way to check on whether people knew Latin. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Praetors, like consuls, were of a rank to be able to be appointed governor. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Where you were positioned at a Roman feast indicated your status. The most honoured guests got to lie on couches [↑](#footnote-ref-27)