

**Zeitschrift:** Museum Helveticum : schweizerische Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft = Revue suisse pour l'étude de l'antiquité classique = Rivista svizzera di filologia classica

**Herausgeber:** Schweizerische Vereinigung für Altertumswissenschaft

**Band:** 74 (2017)

**Heft:** 1

  

**Artikel:** The Castricii in Cicero : some observations in Pro Flacc. 75

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**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-685792>

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## The Castricii in Cicero: Some Observations on *Pro Flacc.* 75

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*Abstract:* The article provides an analysis of Cicero's account of a certain Castricius in *Pro Flacc.* 75, which raises important issues concerning the Greek honorific practice towards *Romaioi* in the Republican period, the identification of this prominent figure and other members of the Castricii family as well as the significance of the passage in Cicero's legal strategy.

In his speech in defence of L. Valerius Flaccus (59 BC), who was faced with a charge of provincial maladministration during his governorship in Asia, Cicero briefly refers to a certain Castricius, who had been awarded extraordinary honours by the city of Smyrna:<sup>1</sup>

*Vellem tantum habere me oti, ut possem recitare psephisma Smyrnaeorum quod fecerunt in Castricium mortuum, primum ut in oppidum introferretur, quod aliis non conceditur, deinde ut ferrent ephebi, postremo ut imponeretur aurea corona mortuo. Haec P. Scipioni, clarissimo viro, cum esset Pergami mortuus, facta non sunt. At Castricium quibus verbis, di immortales, 'decus patriae, ornamentum populi Romani, florem iuventutis' appellant.*

I wish I had time enough to read out the decree of the Smyrnaeans, which they passed in honour of Castricius upon his death. First, that his body should be brought into the city, which is an honour not granted to others; secondly, that ephebes should carry it; and finally, that a golden crown should be placed upon his dead body. These honours were not granted to that most illustrious man, Publius Scipio, when he died at Pergamon. But with what words, immortal gods, do they praise Castricius, calling him 'the glory of his country, the ornament of the Roman people, the flower of the youth'.

Unfortunately, Cicero does not provide more details about Castricius, and, accordingly, there remain a number of puzzling points in this passage that deserve more attention: Who was Castricius, and in what way was he related to members of the Italian business family of the Castricii mentioned several times in Cicero's works? Why was Castricius, though obviously not a high-ranking Roman official, awarded by the Smyrnaeans the highest distinction of a public funeral and

\* I am grateful to A.B. Kuhn and S. Slattery for their helpful comments.

1 Cic., *Pro Flacc.* 75. In the last sentence of this passage, I follow the punctuation in the Latin text used by A. Du Mesnil, *Ciceros Rede für L. Flaccus, erklärt von A. Du Mesnil* (Leipzig 1883) 177. The expression *in oppidum introferretur* and Cicero's emphasis on the singularity of this honour make it clear that Castricius received an intramural burial: cf. J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'orient hellénique* (Paris 1919) 109 n. 7; H. Schörner, *Sepulturae Graecae intra urbem: Untersuchungen zum Phänomen der intraurbanen Bestattungen bei den Griechen* (Möhnesee 2007) 278; E. Schwertheim, "Ein postumer Ehrenbeschluss für Apollonius in Kyzikos", *ZPE* 29 (1978) 213–228, at 221–222; J. Delorme, *Gymnasion: Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce (des origines à l'Empire romain)* (Paris 1960) 134.

intramural burial<sup>2</sup> – honours which in the Classical and Hellenistic period were normally restricted to Greek kings, city founders, outstanding notables or eminent Roman generals? And, finally, in what way does this episode tie in with Cicero’s overall legal strategy as Flaccus’ advocate? In all its briefness, this passage raises a number of issues of wider significance for both ancient historians and classical philologists as regards the Greek honorific practice in the Republican period, the prosopography of *Romaioi* resident in Asia Minor, and Cicero’s judicious use of evidence in the defence of his clients. The following notes offer some observations and reappraisals that may help to shed more light on these questions.

### I.

Cicero underlines the extraordinariness of Smyrna’s award of a public funeral and intramural burial to Castricius by explicitly emphasizing that it was an honour not granted to others, and that not even the illustrious senator Publius Scipio Nasica Serapio (*cos.* 138 BC), who had died in Pergamon some seventy years before in 132 BC, had received this rare privilege.<sup>3</sup> In view of Cicero’s emphasis on the singularity of the award, the question naturally arises of why a Roman like Castricius, who is not recorded by any other extant source as a person of high social status or political significance, was awarded the highest honours by a Greek city. Scholars have had difficulties in coming up with a straightforward answer. H. Schörner suggested that Castricius was a travelling salesman who died at Smyrna, noting that the reason for his extraordinary honours remain unknown.<sup>4</sup> C. Nicolet, in contrast, held that Castricius cannot have been “un simple *privatus*” and, despite the lack of evidence for his equestrian status, included him among the catalogue of equestrians.<sup>5</sup> J.-L. Ferrary, in turn, assumed that Castricius was a Roman benefactor resident in Asia Minor and, in view of his unattested status as a Roman magistrate, noted with some amazement that “les cités grecques avaient leur logique propre, qui pouvait ne pas correspondre avec la hiérarchie sociale romaine”.<sup>6</sup> In the light of the discrepancies and uncertainties that come to the fore in the evaluation of Castricius’ social status, the issue of why Castricius was honoured in the way described by Cicero warrants further

2 On the honour of intramural burial in the Classical and Hellenistic period see especially Schörner, *loc. cit.* (n. 1).

3 Publius Scipio Nasica Serapio (*cos.* 138 BC): T.R.S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, vol. 1 (New York 1951) 483.

4 Schörner, *loc. cit.* (n. 1) 78–79, 116, 278.

5 C. Nicolet, *L’ordre équestre à l’époque républicaine (312–43 av. J.-C.)*, vol. 2 (Paris 1974) 831–832 (no. 87).

6 J.-L. Ferrary, “De l’évergétisme hellénistique à l’évergétisme romain”, in M. Christol, O. Masson (eds.), *Actes du X<sup>e</sup> congrès international d’épigraphie grecque et latine, Nîmes 4–9 Octobre 1992* (Paris 1997) 199–225, at 206.

consideration, particularly because it sheds light on an under-researched dimension of the Greek honorific practice towards Romans in the East.

Castricius obviously belonged to the important Castricii family of Italian *negotiatores*, whose members are recorded in various places in the Greek East.<sup>7</sup> Little is known about what their business exactly was, but like most *Romaioi* who were involved in commerce in the East, the Castricii are likely to have focussed their activities on banking, money lending and/or trade.<sup>8</sup> Smyrna was obviously the place of residence of the Castricius mentioned in *Pro Flacc.* 75,<sup>9</sup> and, *prima facie*, the idea suggests itself that he may have been honoured on account of extraordinary commercial activities for the benefit of the *polis*. After all, there is evidence that some *Romaioi* such as the Cloatii brothers, who were resident at Gytheum (Peloponnese), were awarded special (though not the highest) honours for the loans and concessions which they granted to Gytheum in the financially difficult period after the Mithridatic Wars.<sup>10</sup> It has accordingly been suggested that Castricius was awarded the highest honours by the Smyrnaeans on the grounds that he had cancelled the city's debts.<sup>11</sup> This explanation must, however, be viewed with caution since there is no evidence at all that money lending or the

7 On the Castricii in the Greek East see J. Hatzfeld, "Les Italiens résidant à Délos", *BCH* 36 (1912) 5–218, at 24–25; *ibid.*, *loc. cit.* (n. 1) 109–110; C. Müller, "Les *nomina romana* à Thespies du II<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. à l'édit de Caracalla", in A.D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East: Social and Political Aspects* (Athens 1996) 157–166, esp. 162; A.J.S. Spawforth, "Roman Corinth", in A.D. Rizakis, *loc. cit.* (n. 7) 167–182; C. Müller, "Les italiens en Béotie du II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. au I<sup>er</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.", in C. Müller, C. Hasenohr (eds.), *Les Italiens dans le monde grec: II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. – I<sup>er</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.* (Paris 2002) 89–100, esp. 95ff.

8 N.K. Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce: Religion, Economy, and Trade Society at Hellenistic Roman Delos, 166–87 BC* (Amsterdam 1993) 49, suggested that 'a principal component of Castrician activities at Sicily, Delos and Asia may very well have been slave-trading'. In contrast, Hatzfeld, *loc. cit.* (n. 1) 109, claimed that our Castricius was involved in banking. For the activities of *Romaioi* in the Greek world in the Republican period and Early Principate: C.E. Goodfellow, *Roman Citizenship: A Study of its Territorial and Numerical Expansion from the Earliest Times to the Death of Augustus* (Lancaster 1935) 50–53; C. Deplace, "Publicains, trafiquants et financiers dans les provinces d'Asie Mineure sous la République", *Ktéma* 2 (1977) 233–252; Müller, Hasenohr, *loc. cit.* (n. 7); N. Purcell, "Romans in the Roman World", in K. Galinsky (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus* (Cambridge 2005) 85–105; F. Kirbihler, "Die Italiker in Kleinasien, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Ephesos (133 v. Chr. – 1. Jh. n. Chr.)", in M. Meyer (ed.), *Neue Zeiten – neue Sitten: Zu Rezeption und Integration römischen und italischen Kulturguts in Kleinasien* (Vienna 2007) 19–35; T.T. Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World* (Leiden 2013) 171–221; N. Tran, "Les hommes d'affaires romains et l'expansion de l'Empire (70 av. J.-C. – 73 apr. J.-C.)", *Pallas* 96 (2014) 111–126.

9 On Castricius at Smyrna see esp. C.J. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna: The History of the City from the Earliest Times to 324 AD* (Oxford 1938) 161–162; Nicolet, *loc. cit.* (n. 5) 831 (no. 87).

10 *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 748 (= R.K. Sherck, *Rome and the Greek East to the Death of Augustus*, Cambridge 1984, no. 74). Cf. also F. Santangelo, "What did the Cloatii do for Gytheum? A Note on *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 748", *Historia* 58.3 (2009) 361–366.

11 B. Jenny, *Der römische Ritterstand während der Republik* (Affoltern a. Albis 1936) 74.

grant of debt relief by itself ever elicited honours as prestigious as a public funeral or intramural burial.

How far, then, is it possible to establish a historical context for Castricius' extraordinary honours and to illuminate the yet unexplored "logique propre" (Ferrary) behind the award of highest honours to a Roman *negotiator*? In his analysis of the award of cultic honours as a form of highest recognition, J.H.M. Strubbe identified two main groups of honorands in the cities of the Greek East: (a) those who had successfully negotiated important privileges for their cities with the Roman government, such as the grant of freedom or the exemption from taxation, and (b) those who had made a conspicuous benefaction towards the (re-)construction of buildings in their cities, especially towards the *gymnasion*.<sup>12</sup> However, it is noteworthy that Strubbe did not shed specific light on the group of Roman honorands as recipients of these highest honours. It is, therefore, expedient to explore whether *Romaioi*, and if so of which social status, are represented in these two groups and whether it is likely that Castricius belonged to one of the two categories.

As regards the first group, several individuals attested in our sources successfully negotiated constitutional privileges for their home towns after the Mithridatic Wars or during the Civil War period in the 40s. They include well-known personalities such as Diodoros Paspáros from Pergamon, Gaius Pompeius Theophanes from Mytilene, Gaius Iulius Artemidoros from Knidos or Asklepiades from Kyzikos.<sup>13</sup> One can easily imagine a similar scenario of ambassadorial and diplomatic activities carried out for the benefit of the city of Smyrna: Sulla seems to have acknowledged Smyrna's status as a *civitas libera* in c. 85/4 BC so that constitutional negotiations between the *polis* and Rome around this time would be feasible.<sup>14</sup> Yet, we must be wary of jumping to the conclusion that Castricius was involved in these negotiations. *Romaioi* are not attested among this group of honorands. Those whose honours were due to diplomatic successes are of Greek descent, even if their names reveal that they took Roman citizenship at some point in their career.<sup>15</sup>

This brings Strubbe's second category of honorands into focus: extraordinary honours due to extraordinary acts of munificence. This primarily concerns benefactions made to the *gymnasion*, the institution which by the late Hellenistic

12 J.H.M. Strubbe, "Cultic Honours for Benefactors in the Cities of Asia Minor", in L. de Ligt, E.A. Hemelrijk, H.W. Singor (eds.), *Roman Rule and Civic Life: Local and Regional Perspectives* (Amsterdam 2004) 315–330, at 329–330.

13 See Strubbe, *loc. cit.* (n. 12) 320–328; Ferrary, *loc. cit.* (n. 6) 203–204.

14 R.G. Lewis, "Sulla and Smyrna", *CQ* 41.1 (1991) 126–129.

15 See J.-L. Ferrary, "Les Grecs des cités et l'obtention de la *civitas Romana*", in P. Fröhlich, C. Müller (eds.), *Citoyenneté et participation à la basse époque hellénistique* (Geneva 2005) 51–75. On the issue of cultural identity in this period see A. Heller, "Des Grecs au service des *imperatores* romains, ou comment rester Grec tout en devenant Romain", in J.-C. Couvenhes, S. Crouzet, S. Péré-Noguès (eds.), *Pratiques et identités culturelles des armées hellénistiques du monde méditerranéen* (Bordeaux 2011) 227–244.

period had become the ‘second *agora*’ of the city. It was the city’s centre of athletic training, intellectual education and civic activity.<sup>16</sup> The preeminent position of the *gymnasion* in the civic life becomes *inter alia* apparent from the fact that, in several *poleis*, a memorably large benefaction towards the *gymnasion* (e.g. sponsoring important construction works) was put on a par with a ‘refoundation’ of the city. Accordingly, the supreme honorific title *ktistes* was often awarded to those who focussed their euergetic activities on the *gymnasion*.<sup>17</sup> It is of particular interest for our analysis that, besides the local Greek notables, some wealthy *Romaioi* distinguished themselves among this group of benefactors. To appreciate their strong commitment to the needs of their *polis* properly, we must bear in mind that, for the young *Romaioi* resident in the Greek cities, the *gymnasion* constituted the single most important point of access to Greek culture. In his analysis of the integration of Romans in the Greek East in this period, M. Errington noted that the presence of *Romaioi* in the Greek cities did not necessarily result in a “parasitic” relationship; it could also lead to a “sympathetic and symbiotic” co-existence between those *Romaioi* interested in accommodating themselves within the *polis* community and those Greeks willing to absorb and integrate the newcomers as fellow citizens.<sup>18</sup> The *gymnasion* played a pivotal role in this process: by joining in with the activities of the Greek youth, attending the *ephebate*, participating in contests, games, processions and festivals of the *polis*, young *Romaioi* became increasingly accustomed to their Greek environment.<sup>19</sup> For them, the *gymnasion* represented the institution to which they essentially owed their integration into Greek civic life. Some of them went on to gain high social status and play a vital role in the political culture of their host community; they even took Greek citizenship at the risk of losing their Roman one.<sup>20</sup>

Indeed, the epigraphic evidence yields valuable insights into the euergetism of these ‘Hellenized’ Romans. Aulus Aemilius Zosimus from Priene and L. Vaccius Labeo from Kyme are two cases in point.<sup>21</sup> The two most likely descended

16 On the *gymnasion* in the Hellenistic period see esp. P. Gauthier, “Notes sur le rôle du gymnase dans les cités hellénistiques”, in M. Wörrle, P. Zanker (eds.), *Stadt- und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus* (Munich 1995) 1–11; D. Kah, P. Scholz (eds.), *Das hellenistische Gymnasion* (Berlin 2007).

17 Cf. Strubbe, *loc. cit.* (n. 12) 329–330.

18 R.M. Errington, “Aspects of Roman Acculturation in the East under the Republic”, in P. Kneissl, V. Losemann (eds.), *Alte Geschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte: Festschrift für Karl Christ zum 65. Geburtstag* (Darmstadt 1988) 140–157, esp. 153. In the same vein, D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1950) 255–256.

19 Errington, *loc. cit.* (n. 18) 148–149. On the *ephebate* in Greek cities: C. Laes, J. Strubbe, *Youth in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge 2014) 104–135; N. Kennell, *Ephebeia: A Register of Greek Cities with Citizen Training Systems in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Hildesheim 2006).

20 On dual citizenship (with reference to the situation in Athens) see J.H. Oliver, “Civic Status in Roman Athens: Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 12.30”, *GRBS* 22 (1981) 83–88.

21 W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Priene* (Bonn 2014) nos. 68–70 [henceforth *Inscr. Priene*] (= F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene*, Berlin 1906, nos. 112–114); *I. Kyme* 19 (= *IGR IV* 1302).

from families of *negotiatores* that had become well integrated into the civic life of their home towns.<sup>22</sup> Zosimus and Labeo held important positions in civic government, and, what is most significant in the context of this analysis, excelled in their capacity as *gymnasiarchoi* through extraordinary gifts to the *gymnasion*, for instance by sponsoring the reconstruction of dilapidated buildings, training utensils or athletic contests for the *neoi* and *ephebes*.<sup>23</sup> The cities Priene and Kyme rewarded their services with the highest honours: a public funerary procession with the involvement of the *ephebes* and intramural burial in or near their beloved *gymnasion*.<sup>24</sup>

The cases of Zosimus and Labeo provide important analogies in our attempt to elucidate the motives for the conferment of the highest honours on Castricius. From Cicero's passage we may conclude that, in Smyrna, Castricius was likewise perceived as the epitome of a Roman, firmly rooted in the civic life of the *polis*, the perfect embodiment of the fusion of two cultures: he is praised by the Smyrnaeans as the 'glory of his country' (*decus patriae*) and 'ornament of the Roman people' (*ornamentum populi Romani*). These honorific epithets allude to two sections of the population and must be seen in their *Greek* civic context (even though Cicero, by translating the Greek decree into Latin, transposes them into a Roman milieu), with *patria* referring to the Greek Smyrnaeans and *populus Romanus* to the community of Romans in Smyrna (and the province of Asia).<sup>25</sup>

As regards the rationale behind their unique public distinctions, the decrees for Zosimus and Labeo reveal that the honorands' uncompromising commitment to the *gymnasion* figured most prominently in the decisions made by the civic institutions. It is quite possible that the same motives, i.e. generous donations to the *gymnasion*, probably in the capacity of *gymnasiarchos*, were decisive in Castricius' case. They would provide the most plausible explanation for

22 On Zosimus see Blümel, *loc. cit.* (n. 21) 183 and D. Kah, "Paroikoi und Neubürger in Priene", in M.-L. Günther (ed.), *Migration und Bürgerrecht in der hellenistischen Welt* (Wiesbaden 2012) 68, who make a compelling case for seeing him as the direct descendant of a well integrated Italian family of *negotiatores*. On L. Vaccius Labeo's social background: H. Engelmann, *Die Inschriften von Kyme* (Bonn 1976) 70; Strubbe, *loc. cit.* (n. 12) 329. For helpful discussion of the case of Zosimus I am grateful to J.-S. Balzat.

23 *Inscr. Priene* 68, ll. 27–116; *Inscr. Priene* 70, ll. 17–18 (Zosimus); *I. Kyme* 19, ll. 17–44 (Labeo).

24 Labeo: *I. Kyme* 19, ll. 4–11, 44–52. Zosimus: *Inscr. Priene* 69, ll. 110–118. Archaeological finds of a tomb *in situ* which may be connected with Zosimus suggest that this outstanding citizen was honoured with a burial within the city near his beloved *gymnasion*: J. Raeder, *Priene: Funde aus einer griechischen Stadt im Berliner Antikemuseum* (Berlin 1984) 29–30; F. Rumscheid, "Den Anschluss verpasst: Priene in der (frühen) Kaiserzeit", in C. Berns *et al.* (eds.), *Patris und Imperium: Kulturelle und politische Identität in den Städten der römischen Provinzen Kleinasien in der frühen Kaiserzeit* (Leuven 2002) 77–87, at 80–82 (see, however, Schörner, *loc. cit.* (n. 1) 248–250, who has dated this tomb to the Claudian period instead).

25 On these communities of *Romaioi* in Asia Minor, including Smyrna, which appear under the labels οἱ πραγματευόμενοι/κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, *Romani consistentes* or *conventus civium Romanorum*, see especially Kirbihler, *loc. cit.* (n. 8).

Smyrna's bestowal of such prestigious honours on a Roman who was not a Roman general or other Roman magistrate. And indeed, on closer reading it becomes evident that Cicero's brief reference to Castricius contains some allusions to a strong bond between Castricius and the Smyrnaean *gymnasion*. There is, first of all, the explicit mention of the *ephebes*: just as in the case of Zosimus' and Labeo's funerary processions, it was the *ephebes* of the Smyrnaean *gymnasion* who were entrusted with the honorable task of carrying Castricius' bier in the procession.<sup>26</sup> In view of the frequent participation of *ephebes* in public processions, the strength of this detail for the argument might, admittedly, be played down. There is, however, another vital clue: the most significant hint at Castricius' special relationship with the *gymnasion* can be found in Smyrna's designation of Castricius as *flos iuventutis*. Cicero translates into Latin what might have been the Greek expression ἄνθος ὀμηλικίης, attested, for instance, in a funerary epigram from Caria.<sup>27</sup> The expression is certainly not meant as a statement about Castricius' age in order to suggest that he died 'in the blossom of his youth'.<sup>28</sup> In analogy to the Greeks and Romans alluded to in Castricius' first and second honorific epithets (i.e. *decus patriae*, *ornamentum populi Romani*), *iuventus* must refer to another specific collective group in Smyrna, the *ephebes* and *neoi* of the *gymnasion* of his hometown. The expression *flos iuventutis*, which is reminiscent of the title *princeps iuventutis*, implies that Castricius was exalted as a figure *par excellence* of the youth of Smyrna.<sup>29</sup> Two scenarios suggest themselves, which are, however, not mutually exclusive: Castricius had excelled *among* the *ephebes*, i.e. his own age group, during the *ephebate*,<sup>30</sup> and/

26 Unfortunately, little is known about the Smyrnaean *gymnasion* in the Republican and Augustan periods; no archaeological remains have survived. However, Strabo's brief mention (14.1.37) of the *gymnasion* suggests that it was located in a plain towards the city's limits. The evidence for the *gymnasion*, especially for the imperial period, has been collected by Cadoux, *loc. cit.* (n. 9) 181. Interestingly, a *Homereion* and *Minnereion* are attested at Smyrna; it has been argued that they refer to the *gymnasia* of the *ephebes* and *neoi* respectively (cf. S. Aneziri, D. Damaskis, "Städtische Kulte im hellenistischen Gymnasion", in Kah, Scholz, *loc. cit.* (n. 16) 259–260).

27 Cf. L. Robert, *La Carie: Histoire et géographie historique avec le recueil des inscriptions antiques*, vol. 2 (Paris 1954) no. 88.

28 For the use of this expression as an age marker see Manil., *Astron.* 3.611–613, which refers to a 23-year old man. However, caution is necessary since the judgment of age is subjective: in a funerary inscription (*CIL* VIII 9158) from Mauritania (247 AD) a 50-year-old man is referred to as having died in the bloom of youth (*flos iuventutis*). See T. Parkin, *Old Age in the Roman World: A Cultural and Social History* (Baltimore 2003) 23.

29 On the title *princeps iuventutis*: *RE* XXII.2 (Stuttgart 1954), s.v. *princeps iuventutis*, cols. 2296–2311 (W. Beringer). For the use of this expression in the Republican period to designate the best among the group of young men see Liv. 2.12.15; 9.25.4; Cic., *In Vat.* 24. On the use of *flos iuventutis* as an honorific title for the youth of the equestrian order see Nicolet, *loc. cit.* (n. 5) 831.

30 An internal hierarchy obviously existed among the youth: the best boys stayed longer in the *ephebeia* than their peers, made significant gifts towards this institution and later took on the office of *ephebarchos*, the head (i.e. first) of the *ephebes* (cf. Laes, Strubbe, *loc. cit.* (n. 19) 110–

or – and this is certainly more likely in the context of the bestowal of extraordinary honours – Castricius had distinguished himself *for* the youth through generous donations towards the *gymnasion* or in his performance of the duty of *gymnasiarchos*.<sup>31</sup> If this hypothesis is correct, Castricius' honours suddenly appear in line with the attested practice of Greek cities to reward Hellenized *Romaioi* who made an extraordinary benefaction towards the *gymnasion* with the highest honours, especially in after-war periods when the Greek cities were economically ruined and their traditional elites unable to perform the necessary liturgies. It is obvious that, in this situation, a generous benefaction towards the *gymnasion* by a Roman had a strong symbolic meaning as regards the issue of integration: a donation meant an investment in the city's youth and thus in the future of the Greek *polis*. At the same time, it was also a manifestation of a Roman's clear recognition and affirmation of the Greek values represented by this traditional institution.

## II.

After focussing on the historical context for Castricius' extraordinary honours, I shall turn to the prosopographical debate about Castricius and his family. Apart from the mention of Castricius of Smyrna in *Pro Flacc.* 75 (= Castricius (I)), several further references to Castricii appear in Cicero's writings. The identification of these Castricii and their relationship with our Castricius (I) have been a point of scholarly controversy and warrant further consideration.

In the same speech (*Pro Flacc.* 54) Cicero alludes to a 'Castrician affair' (*illud Castricianum*) to account for the animosity of the city of Tralles towards the *propraetor*. We learn that a certain Castricius (= Castricius (II)) had 'for a long time' (*diu*) been a creditor to the city of Tralles. In a controversy about the repayment of the debts, Flaccus intervened in favour of Castricius: he forced the unwilling Tralleans to comply with the creditor's demands, through which he incurred the wrath of the whole *polis* community.

111). On the *ephebarchos*: N.M. Kennell, "The Status of the Ephebarch", *Tyche* 15 (2000) 103–108, who has argued that this position, which was sometimes held alongside the office of *gymnasiarchos*, developed into a civic magistracy and was normally undertaken by young adults at the start of their career whilst they still counted among the group of *neoi*, i.e. young men between the age of twenty and thirty years. See, however, Laes, Strubbe, *loc. cit.* (n. 19) 199, who argue that 'it is not inconceivable that ephebarchs generally were mature adults and supervised the conduct of the ephebes'.

31 On the office of *gymnasiarchos* see P. Fröhlich, "Les activités évergétiques des gymnasiarques à l'époque hellénistique tardive: la fourniture de l'huile", in O. Curty (ed.), *L'huile et l'argent: Gymnasiarchie et évergétisme dans la Grèce hellénistique* (Fribourg 2009) 57–94; O. Curty, *Gymnasiarchika. Recueil et analyse des inscriptions de l'époque hellénistique en l'honneur des gymnasiarques* (Paris 2015).

There is another reference to a Castricius in Cicero's *In Verrem* II.3.185, where he speaks of a M. Castricius, a trader in Sicily in the 70s BC (= Castricius (III)). Cicero describes him as 'a man of the greatest wealth, ability and influence' (*summo splendore ingenio gratia praeditum*). Together with Q. Rubrius and M. Cossutius, he is exposed as one of those Roman citizens who had received extraordinary gifts from Verres at a public assembly meeting in 73 BC.

Finally, in three *Letters to Atticus* (II.7; XII.28; XII.30), two of which date to March 45 BC, Cicero refers to a Castricius (= Castricius (IV)) who conducted business with Cicero's brother Quintus. It appears that Castricius was to receive payments from Quintus, most likely for some slaves, but the exact circumstances of the 'Castrician business' (*Castricianum negotium*, XII.28.3) remain unclear.

The scholarly debate has revolved around the question of whether, and if so, in which way the Castricii mentioned by Cicero in various places in his work were related with one another. It has usually been assumed that the two Castricii referred to in *Pro Flacco*, i.e. Castricius (I) and Castricius (II), were identical.<sup>32</sup> F. Münzer suggested that Castricius (III), attested in Sicily in the 70s, was identical with Castricius (I), and he saw in the Castricius (IV) of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* another relative of this family.<sup>33</sup> Like Münzer, D.R. Shackleton Bailey worked on the assumption that Castricius (I) and Castricius (III) were one and the same person and concluded that Castricius (III) was not identical with Castricius (IV).<sup>34</sup> Moreover, he suggested that the three Castricii who feature in Cicero's letters to Atticus (Castricius (IV)) were identical.<sup>35</sup> C.N. Osiander regarded Castricius (I) as the father of Castricius (IV),<sup>36</sup> while R. Klotz focussed on the expression *flos iuventutis* and argued that Castricius (I) had died young and was the son of Castricius (IV).<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, A. Du Mesnil considered the possibility that Castricius (I) was not identical with Castricius (II) and identified the latter with Castricius (IV).<sup>38</sup> In addition, he stressed that it is questionable whether Castricius (III) was the same person as the Castricius attested in Smyrna and Tralles. Finally, F. Coarelli associated Castricius (III) with the sena-

32 See e.g. Magie, *loc. cit.* (n. 18) 254; likewise Nicolet, *loc. cit.* (n. 5) 831; T.B.L. Webster, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Pro L. Flacco Oratio* (Oxford 1931) 86. Webster also considers the possibility of identifying Castricius (II) with Castricius (IV).

33 Thus F. Münzer in *RE* III.2 (Stuttgart 1899), s.v. Castricius (no. 6), col. 1776. Likewise Hatzfeld, *loc. cit.* (n. 1) 109, who suggests that Castricius (I) and Castricius (III) might be the same person.

34 D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus, vol. 1: 68–59 BC* (Cambridge 1965) 367.

35 *Ibid.* 367.

36 Quoted after Du Mesnil, *loc. cit.* (n. 1) 142.

37 R. Klotz (ed.), *Marcus Tullius Cicero's sämtliche Reden*, vol. 3 (Leipzig 1839) 892.

38 Du Mesnil, *loc. cit.* (n. 1) 142; likewise G. Maselli, *In difesa di Lucio Flacco* (Venice 2000) 176 n. 107; see also Webster, *loc. cit.* (n. 32) 86.

tor A. Castricius Myrio recorded in *CIL* XIV 2105,<sup>39</sup> who may have been the person that revealed the conspiracy of Murena and Caepio to Augustus.<sup>40</sup>

With regard to this prosopographical discussion some revisions must be proposed at this point. First, if we assume that Castricius (I) was a fully integrated Roman who had settled in Smyrna and focussed his business activities on Asia Minor, the argument of Münzer and Shackleton Bailey that Castricius (I) of Smyrna and Castricius (III) attested in Sicily were one and the same person is not compelling. We should note that the network of this trading family was quite complex and that Castricius (I) was only one member of this big clan in the Greek East – though, arguably, he was one of the most distinguished. Second, our analysis of the eulogising expression *flos iuventutis* has shown that it should not be understood as a reference to a stage of life. Hence Klotz’s argument that Castricius died young is not cogent. On the contrary, in the light of Castricius’ extraordinary honours, it is far more plausible to believe that Castricius died in his mature years and that he had been accorded the highest public recognition for his services, which were unparalleled in Smyrna. Consequently, Klotz’s thesis that Castricius (I) was the son of Castricius (IV) is equally doubtful. If a family relationship existed between the two men, the reverse case – that Castricius (I) was the father of Castricius (IV) – is more likely. Third, Du Mesnil’s argument that Castricius (I) and (II) were two different people deserves more attention than it has hitherto received: we cannot exclude the possibility that Cicero, in his judicial defense strategy, deliberately played with the ambiguity of homonymy to cast Castricius (II) in a positive light. In view of the charges of the Tralleans against Flaccus’ role in the ‘Castrician affair’, the extraordinary honours of Castricius (I) described in *Pro Flacc.* 75 would reflect extremely well on Castricius (II), the creditor of the city of Tralles. It would then appear that, in the conflict, the ‘honourable’ *propraetor*, far from joining a greedy moneylender in complicity in an unscrupulous bargain, had simply supported the legitimate claims of an extremely honourable Roman citizen.

It is noteworthy that the social prominence of the Castricii family in the civic life of Smyrna is also traceable in a later epigraphic document, which has not been given much attention. An inscription dating from the imperial period refers to a family tomb (*heroon*) for members of the Castricii.<sup>41</sup> As indicated by the

39 See F. Coarelli, “Iside Capitolina, Clodio e i mercanti di schiavi”, in N. Bonacasa, A. Di Vita, G. Barone (eds.), *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano: studi in onore di Achille Adriani* (Rome 1983–1984), 261–475, at 470. A. Castricius Myrio: *RE* III.2 (Stuttgart 1899), s.v. Castricius (no. 9), col. 1777 (A. Stein); *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 452. See also P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate, 139 B.C. – A.D. 14* (Oxford 1971) 222–223.

40 Suet., *Aug.* 56 with *RE* III.2 (Stuttgart 1899), s.v. Castricius (no. 2), col. 1776 (A. Stein) and *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 450. This identification was proposed by A. Stein in *RE* III.2 (Stuttgart 1899), s.v. Castricius (no. 9), col. 1777 and Coarelli, *loc. cit.* (n. 39) 470.

41 *I.Smyrna* 238 (= *CIG* 3282): τούτου τοῦ ἡρώου καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ἰ ἀποκειμένης σοροῦ Προκοννησισίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων ἰ κήδονται οἷς καὶ διαφέρουσιν ἰ κατὰ γένος Καστρίκιος Ἀττικὸς ἰ [κα]ὶ Καστρίκιος Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ καὶ ἰ [Κο]σμιανός· ὁ ἡρῶν κατεσκεύα[σα]ν οἱ πρό-

kinship term *πρόπαπποι*, the inscription covers three generations. It declares that a certain *Καστρικίος Ἀρτεμίδωρος* and a *Καστρικίος Ἀττικός* took care of a tomb, which their great-grandfathers, *Καστρικιανός* and *Ῥαριανός*, had erected. A point of onomastic interest in this inscription is *Castricius Artemidoros'* *agnomen* ὁ καὶ [Κο]σμιανός.<sup>42</sup> The circumstances of his adoption of this *agnomen* are unknown, but, in the context of our enquiry, the name is remarkable in so far as it suggests associations with *Castricius'* honorific designation *ornamentum populi Romani*. The Greek equivalent of *ornamentum* – *Castricius* had doubtless been referred to in Greek by the Smyrnaeans – is *κόσμος*. Viewed from this perspective it is worth considering whether *Castricius Artemidoros'* adoption of the *agnomen* *Κοσμιανός* was meant to be a veiled allusion to his ancestor's honorific distinction, *viz.* an onomastic device to keep the memory of the extraordinary benefactor in Smyrna alive and to employ it as a prestige factor in the self-presentation of the *Castricii*.

### III.

We should finally consider to what extent Cicero's legal and argumentative strategy may have affected the way *Castricius* is presented in *Pro Flacc.* 75. It is important to recall that in this passage *Castricius* is employed as a foil for C. Appuleius Decianus, one of Flaccus' prosecutors.<sup>43</sup> In his strategy to discredit and ridicule Decianus, who bragged about being praised by the Pergamenes as 'a man of distinction, of exceptional wisdom, of unique ability' (*clarissimum virum, praestantissima sapientia, singulari ingenio*),<sup>44</sup> Cicero tries to set these accolades into perspective by comparing and contrasting them with the extraordinary honours that *Castricius* had received from Smyrna. *Castricius* is presented as the shining light of Smyrna, who far exceeds Decianus in civic status and honours. In accordance with the practice common in Greek honorific decrees, the *psephisma* on *Castricius'* honours will have contained a list of the high public achievements that made Smyrna feel obliged to grant *Castricius* the great privilege of a public funeral and intramural burial. Cicero tells his audience that time does not allow him to read out the *psephisma* in detail. Is there, we may ask, a particular reason behind the fact that Cicero does not mention, at least briefly,

παπποι ἀντῶν Καστρικι[αν]ῶς καὶ Ῥαριανῶς. ταύτης τῆς ἐπι[γρα]φῆς ἐξσφράγισμα ἀπόκειται εἰς ἰ [τὸ ἀρ]χεῖον χρεοφυλάκιον.

42 In *CIG* 3282, A. Boeckh originally proposed to restore [Ἀμ]μιανός, but G. Petzl, in his re-edition of the inscription (*I. Smyrna* 238), suggested [Κο]σμιανός. An examination of the photo of the squeeze of the inscription (*I. Smyrna*, pl. 15, no. 238b) confirms that the traces of a *sigma* are visible and that there is space for no more than 2–3 letters preceding -σμιανός. The reverse index of *LGP*N, which was not available to Petzl at the time of the publication of *I. Smyrna*, demonstrates that Petzl's suggestion of *Κοσμιανός* is indeed the only plausible restoration of the *lacuna*.

43 C. Appuleius Decianus: *RE* II.1 (Stuttgart 1895), s.v. Appuleius (no. 22), col. 260 (E. Klebs).

44 Cic., *Pro Flacc.* 76.

either Castricius' status as an 'integrated Roman' or the Greeks' motives for the award of these honours? Is Cicero's 'silence' in this matter to be seen as a tactical manoeuvre?

Despite the great respect that Rome's intellectual elite showed towards high Greek culture and learning,<sup>45</sup> the relationship between Rome and the cities of Asia Minor in the late Republican period was not easy. We have merely to recall Rome's traumatic experience in the Mithridatic Wars when, during the 'Asiatic Vespers' of 88 BC, the Greeks of several cities of Asia Minor had collaborated with Rome's major enemy Mithridates VI and slaughtered thousands of Roman businessmen at the king's instigation.<sup>46</sup> Cicero reminds his audience of this (still) highly emotive event – "that barbarous massacre inflicted simultaneously upon all Roman citizens in every city".<sup>47</sup> We may assume that Cicero believed that his tactic of fuelling deep-seated resentments would meet with a positive response from the Roman court audience, not least because the massacre had occurred only three decades earlier. Significantly, throughout his speech, he makes a careful distinction between the 'Asiatic Greeks' and the 'true Greeks' on the Greek mainland.<sup>48</sup> While he presents the latter in a favourable light, the Asiatic Greeks are demonised as being inherently dishonest, unreliable, capricious and greedy.<sup>49</sup> His scathing attacks on the Asiatic Greeks served a clear strategy: they were first and foremost aimed at discrediting the Greek witnesses from Asia Minor present in the trial. In addition, by slandering the Asiatic Greeks, Cicero obviously hoped to be able to cast Decianus in a poor light. It is worth recalling at this point that Decianus had been brought by his father to Asia Minor in the 90s BC; he had been raised in the free Greek city of Apollonis and stayed in Asia Minor for thirty years – he was the epitome of an 'Asiatic Roman'.<sup>50</sup> Tellingly, it is precisely Decianus' involvement in Greek culture that Cicero holds against him at one point in the speech: he touches upon Decianus' participation in Greek gymnastic culture and mocks him, with a sideswipe at his same-sex relationship, on account of his friendship with a Greek man whom Decianus had met when he was an *epebe*.<sup>51</sup> It is evident that in Rome there was little sympathy or under-

45 See e.g. Cic., *Ad Quintum fratrem* 1.1.28.

46 Cf. App., *Mithr.* 22–23; Cic., *Manil.* 3.7.

47 Cic., *Pro Flacc.* 60.

48 See Cic., *Pro Flacc.* 62–64.

49 See e.g. Cic., *Pro Flacc.* 57, 60–61, 66. On Cicero's attitude towards the Greeks: H. Guite, "Cicero's Attitude to the Greeks", *G&R* 9 (1962) 142–159; M.A. Trouard, *Cicero's Attitude towards the Greeks* (Chicago 1942); J.P. Mahaffy, *The Silver Age of the Greek World* (Chicago 1906) ch. 7; Y. Syed, "Romans and Others", in S. Harrison (ed.), *A Companion to Latin Literature* (Malden, MA 2005) 360–371, at 363–366.

50 On the presence of *Romaioi* in free cities (including a discussion of Decianus) see J.-F. Ferrary, "La création de la province d'Asie et la présence italienne en Asie Mineure", in Müller, Hasenohr, *loc. cit.* (n. 7) 133–146, at 141–143.

51 Cic., *Pro Flacc.* 51. Cicero's use of the word *epebeus* to describe Decianus is significant, as it suggests Decianus' involvement in Greek gymnastic culture.

standing for those Romans resident in Asia Minor who had ‘betrayed’ their ‘Romaness’ and adapted themselves to their Greek environment, sometimes even going so far as to take Greek citizenship. As for Cicero’s brief portrayal of Castricius we may assume that Cicero, who always meticulously researched all the evidence and carefully prepared his cases, was fully aware of Castricius’ status as a Hellenized Roman in Smyrna. But, as a highly talented advocate, he was also well aware that Castricius could only be credibly employed as a foil to Decianus if his actual civic status and the degree of his cultural integration remained unmentioned. Cicero was a master of the rhetoric of ambiguity. As so often in his speeches, he knew well when to be silent about a fine detail that was counterproductive for his overall legal strategy.<sup>52</sup> No doubt, he perfectly mastered the art of adducing persuasive evidence but, at the same time, of withholding information when necessary.

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52 For an analysis of how skilfully Cicero distorts the truth in the case of Tralles in this speech see D. Erkelenz, “Cicero: *Pro Flacco* 55–59: Zur Finanzierung von Statthalterfesten in der Frühphase des Koinon von Asia”, *Chiron* 29 (1999) 43–57.