

## CATULLUS, CICERO, AND A SOCIETY OF PATRONS

This is a study of the emergence, development, and florescence of a distinctly "late Republican" sociotextual culture as recorded in the writings of this period's two most influential authors, Catullus and Cicero. It reveals a multi-faceted textual – rather than more traditionally defined "literary" – world that both defines the intellectual life of the late Republic and lays the foundations for those authors of the Principate and Empire who identified this period as their literary source and inspiration. By first questioning, and then rejecting, the traditional polarization of Catullus and Cicero, and by broadening the scope of late Republican socioliterary studies to include intersections of language, social practice, and textual materiality, this book presents a fresh picture of both the sociotextual world of the late Republic and the primary authors through whom this world would gain renown.

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# CATULLUS, CICERO, AND A SOCIETY OF PATRONS

The Generation of the Text

SARAH CULPEPPER STROUP





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Tibi
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... at certe semper amabo.



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Quo uis cumque loco potes hunc finire libellum: uersibus explicitumst omne duobus opus. lemmata si quaeris cur sint adscripta, docebo, ut, si malueris, lemmata sola legas. Mart. Ep. 14.2

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## Preface and acknowledgments

At many places in the writing of this book – a book about texts, and about textual culture, and about the peculiarly and painfully self-conscious sort of writing by which these texts are dedicated and this culture is defined – I have not been entirely sure what it is I need to do (or rather, to write) in order to make my point. This, I am happy to say, is not one of them (I attribute this fortuity to the fact that I have read several books myself). This is the part of the book where I am, first, to write of the deeply personal origins of this work. This is the part of the book where I am, second, to detail for you the ways in which these origins blossomed into the text you hold in your hands. This is the part of the book where I am, third, to thank solemnly the many people who saw this work to its fruition. This is the part of the book where I am, fourth, to express my deep affection for the many people in my life whose friendship, advice, and patience saw me through this work. In other words, this is the part of the book where I am to engage in a process of dedication. And so this is what I shall do.

Although I could not have said so at the start of this study, I know now that I wrote this book about texts and textual culture in part because I grew up in a household shaped (almost literally) by texts and (less literally, but only just) by textual culture. Every member of my family wrote and published; books were the most affectionate gifts we gave each other; we gave them on all occasions; we marked the act of prestation (what we used to call "giving") with an inscription in order to set that moment apart from all others. I wrote this book about texts – I'll just call them "books" for now – because growing up I had naturalized the world of the book qua object of affective social interaction, and I recognized the roots of this naturalization in the textual communities of the late Roman Republic.

This work began as a dissertation on a somewhat similar topic. As is the case with many dissertations, its most salient characteristic is that I completed it. I have to confess that I really enjoyed writing the dissertation – these were some of the best fifty years of my life – though I could not



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have done so, and certainly would not have enjoyed it as much, without the indescribable patience, sage advice, and indefatigable support of my committee at the University of California, Berkeley: my chair, Kathleen McCarthy, and my readers Erich Gruen and Andrew Stewart. I could not have hoped for better. I was also greatly aided by the guidance of Leslie Kurke, an inspirational scholar and exceptionally devoted teacher who led the dissertation group in which I participated in 1998–1999, and by Tony Long, my personal advisor throughout graduate school, a professor who always had the time to lead a reading group in whatever obscure philosophical text had struck my fancy, and, in a time of need, a friend. *Sine quibus non.* 

Along the way, portions of this work have been read by a variety of individuals I am happy and humbled to have known. *In primis* are Alain Gowing and Brian Krostenko: the two individuals who taught me how to read – really *read* – Cicero and, not coincidentally, two of my most influential and inspiring professors. Thanks are due similarly to Tom Habinek and Nellie Oliensis, who graciously agreed to read portions of my drafts, picked up on things I'd not yet noticed, and guided me in better directions. Finally, I am grateful to my intellectually exhilarating cohort at the University of Washington's Simpson Center for the Humanities, where I was fortunate to be a fellow in 2002–2003.

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Parts of this project were delivered as talks at the 2001 APA meeting in San Diego (this talk later became an article in *MD*, and is rehashed and expanded here in Chapter 8), the 2004 APA meeting in San Francisco (delivered *in absentia* by Alain Gowing), a conference at Stanford University in 2005, the 2006 APA meeting in Montréal, and at the University of Calgary in 2006. Thanks are due to the University of Notre Dame Press for their permission to use, gratis, an excerpt of Michel Camille's chapter in *The Book and The Body* as the epigraph to Part Three.



#### Preface and acknowledgments

In general, I must thank the following individuals for the many discussions, emails, arguments, irritated asides, and encouragement that helped things along: Elaine Fantham (a continuous inspiration and support), Brian Krostenko, Dylan Sailor, James Ker, Jed Parsons, Laurel Fulkerson, Amy Richlin, Larry Kim, Tom Habinek, John Dugan (an invaluable *sodalis*), Charles Murgia, Nellie Oliensis, Stephen Hinds, Cathy Connors, Ruby Blondell, Jim Clauss, John Morgan, Alessandro Barchiesi, Enrica Sciarrino, and the late Emanuele Narducci. To these usual suspects I must add the unexpected but delightful conversations I have had with rabbis Jonathan Singer and Will Berkovitz, both of whom have helped me think more meaningfully about dialogic and textual interaction in antiquity.

It is no surprise that I have learned a great deal from my students. *In primis* I count Marco Zangari, Alexander Dresser, Ryan Boehler, Christina Franzen, Erika Nesholm, Sam Beckelhymer, and Michael Seguin. I have amazing students, and this fact makes me happy beyond repair.

David Banta, the 1998–1999 fellow at the *TLL*, deserves special note. David helped me figure out *munus* (which had not yet been published). As much as this work is a *munus* to many, it is certainly a *munus* to David.

This work was first proofread, in a touching act of goodwill, by Paul Sherrard: I met Paul as a Stranger, and then I asked him to read my book, and then we became friends. Paul's humor, sincerity, intellect, and love of words and literature have been an inspiration both in the revisions of this text and, strangely, in how I think of future projects. Although we shall forever disagree on the proper use of the semicolon, em-dash, and a variety of other things (he is doubtless correct), I am glad to have met him. And so it goes.

To the bar staff at both Flowers and the Ravenna Alehouse: I am not sure I brought the wit, but you never failed to bring the wine. *Gratias ago*.

I am deeply grateful to the following individuals for the encouragement, friendship, support, humor, and love they have shown me throughout the years: Steph and Len Lvovich, David Summerlin, Lisa Kelman, Ryan Boehler, Trevor Layman, Chops and Jane Wong, Bryan Fujimoto, Scott Edwards, Miguel Pizarro, Jesse Anarde, Nancy Hartunian, Scott Barnett, Ilan Sharon, Ayelet Gilboa, and Mary LeBlanc. I ask merely that you all read Cicero, *Laelius* 88 (the Loeb translation will suffice). In short: little that is good in this world amounts to anything at all unless you have a person with whom to share the experience.

To my husband Richie: you are my best friend, greatest love, and trusted confidant: *plus oculis meis*. To my son Max: sweet one, you humble me: *sis* 

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in sinu semper et complexu meo. To my brother, David Lewis Stroup: I'm not only glad you are my brother; I am glad you are my friend. I am glad you like books as much as do I.

To my parents, Edward Dixon Stroup and Marion Culpepper Stroup (z"l): you were my first teachers, and my best ones. If I love books (and I do), if I love teaching (and I do), if I do any of this (and I do): it is because of you. I miss you, and I regret that you are not here to remind me not to think too fondly of my own writing. In any other situation, this book would be given to you, who have given me so much. And yet —

During the revisions of this book, my niece, Mira Naomi Lvovich (z"l), died. Mira was the daughter of my best friends, Stephanie and Leonard Lvovich, and the sister of my beloved nieces Hannah Margaret and Ava Sarah. I remember vividly the day of Mira's birth and, even more vividly, the days of her passing. I have lived through loss: but the loss of a child in one's family is – as I am sure anyone who has experienced it knows – devastating.

Classical texts are sometimes unhelpful in the extreme. But sometimes they're a little bit of OK. Both Catullus and Cicero lost close family members during the course of their writing – Catullus, his brother; Cicero, his daughter – and both wrote deeply and painfully and honestly about their loss. Each man understood that the most pressing urge one feels when one has lost a loved one is that the world should never forget that this person existed. Each man sought to create in his writing a *monumentum* – a memorial – for the one he had lost: and, in the end, each man did. In some small way, then, I should like this book to be a *monumentum* for my Mira. It is not enough, but nothing would be.

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## Abbreviations

For the most part, I have adhered throughout this text to the *OLD* standard citations for the abbreviation of classical works. In the citation of Cicero's works, however, I have chosen occasionally to diverge from the *OLD* standard in favor of what has seemed to me both a more logical and consistent system of citation and one that speaks more directly to the arguments presented herein. Thus, for example, I preface all letter collections with the abbreviation *Ep.* (for *Epistulae*: thus *Ep. Att., Ep. Brut., Ep. Fam.*, etc.) and have standardized my references to the *technica* as follows: *de Inv.* (*de Inventione*), *DND* (*de Natura Deorum*), *de Off.* (*de Officiis*), *de Div.* (*de Divinatione*), *de Orat.* (*de Oratore*), and *Lael.* (*Laelius uel de Amicitia*). The following works are referred to by abbreviation only.

ARV	Beazley, J. D. 1942. Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters. Oxford
	University Press.

- Bergk Bergk, T. 1863. *Emendationes aliquot Catullianorum carminum*. Halae: Formis Hendeliis.
- CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. 1863–.
- CVA Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. 1925–.
- E–M Ernout, A., and Meillet, A. 1959–1960. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, 4th edn. Paris: Klincksieck.
- FgrH Jacoby, F. (ed.). 1923–1999. Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill.
- GLK Keil, H. (ed.). 1855–1880. *Grammatici Latini.* 7 vols. and suppl. Leipzig: Teubner.
- IE<sup>2</sup> West, M. L. 1992. Lambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum Cantati, vol. 2. Oxford University Press.
- OCD Hornblower, S., and Spawforth, A. (eds.). 1996. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn. Oxford University Press.
- OLD Glare, P. G. W. (ed.). 1982. Oxford Latin Dictionary. Oxford University Press.

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PE	Gentili, B., and Prato, C. (eds.). 2002. <i>Poetae elegiaci testimonia et fragmenta. Pars altera.</i> Leipzig: Saur.
RE	Pauly, A. F. von 1980. <i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classicshen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , 2nd edn. Eds. G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, and K. Mittelhaus, Munich: Alfred Druckenmüller.
TLL	Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. 1900–.