Previous scholarship on classical \textit{pseudepigrapha} has generally aimed at proving issues of attribution and dating of individual works, with little or no attention paid to the texts as literary artifacts. Instead, this book looks at Latin fakes as sophisticated products of a literary culture in which collaborative practices of supplementation, recasting, and role-play were the absolute cornerstones of rhetorical education and literary practice. Texts such as the \textit{Catalepton}, the \textit{Consolatio ad Liviam}, and the \textit{Panegyricus Messallae} thus illuminate the strategies whereby Imperial audiences received and interrogated canonical texts and are here explored as key moments in the Imperial reception of Augustan authors such as Virgil, Ovid, and Tibullus. The study of the rhetoric of these creative supplements, irreverently mingling truth and fiction, reveals much not only about the neighboring concepts of fiction, authenticity, and reality, but also about the tacit assumptions by which the latter are employed in literary criticism.

\textsc{Irene Peirano} is Assistant Professor of Classics at Yale University.
THE RHETORIC OF THE
ROMAN FAKE

*Latin* Pseudepigrapha *in Context*

IRENE PEIRANO
Nutrici dilectissimae, paene matri alteri,
Anna Fastelli Valgimigli,
et
in memoriam aviarum non solum amoris fontium sed etiam uirtutis
auctoritatisque exemplorum,

Cilli Mangel Peirano
(Nowy Sącz, 21/6/1909; Firenze, 10/3/2001)

Luciana Odiardo Zuffa
(Venasca, Cuneo, 22/10/1921; Prato, 23/10/2010)
Contents

Acknowledgments viii
List of abbreviations x

Introduction 1

1 Literary fakes and their ancient reception 36

2 Constructing the young Virgil: the Catalepton as pseudepigraphic literature 74

3 Poets and patrons: Catalepton 9, the Panegyricus Messallae, the Laus Pisonis, and the pseudo-panegyric 117

4 Prefiguring Virgil: the Ciris 173

5 Recreating the past: the Consolatio ad Liviam and Elegiae in Maecenatem 205

Epilogue: towards a rhetoric of the Roman fake – the Helen episode in Aeneid 2 242

Selected editions and commentaries of Latin texts discussed in the book 264
Bibliography 267
Subject index 290
Index locorum 296
Acknowledgments

This book began as a doctoral dissertation in the Department of Classics at Harvard University under the knowledgeable supervision of Richard Tarrant. I am immensely grateful to him as well as to the other two members of my committee, Kathleen Coleman and Richard Thomas, who have continued to challenge my approach and improve my writing in countless ways.

For the last four years, I have had the fortune of calling home the Department of Classics at Yale. I am deeply grateful to all the colleagues, students, and staff who make this an ideal working environment and an intellectual haven. For their generous and unrelenting support of my endeavors, I am especially grateful to Egbert Bakker, Victor Bers, Emily Greenwood, Veronika Grimm, John Matthews, and Joe Solodow. If Kirk Freudenburg did not exist, one would certainly have to invent him: his generous critique of my work and his kindness and wisdom have made all the difference. I owe special thanks to Milette Gaifman, Pauline LeVen, and Barbara Sattler for their support, comradery, and friendship at different stages of the project.

Much of the work for this book was carried out during a year of leave generously funded by Yale. During this time, I greatly benefited from a month-long stay at the Fondation Hardt. I am grateful to the staff of the Fondation for this opportunity and to Damien Nelis for hospitality and invigorating conversation. Next, I spent a happy Michaelmas term as a visiting scholar at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. I wish to thank Ewen Bowie, Jaš Elsner, Stephen Harrison, John Ma, Anna Marmodoro, and Tobias Reinhardt for many enlightening discussions. It is no coincidence that it was while in this intellectually enlivening company that I rethought many of the critical arguments of this book. The heart-warming hospitality of Helen Wilton-Godberfforde made all of this possible and all the more enjoyable. I am also deeply grateful to Gian Biagio Conte, who welcomed me at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa, where I spent many productive months in the most ideal working environment. Audiences at Brown,
Rutgers, Toronto, Yale and at the APA provided me with generous feedback on different aspects of the arguments advanced in this book.

Many individuals have contributed directly and indirectly to this project. I am grateful to Michael Sharp of Cambridge University Press for his work on my behalf, and to the two anonymous readers for the Press for their constructive criticism. Nicholas Horsfall read several drafts of many chapters and lent his vast expertise at several critical junctures. This book would not be conceivable without the precedent of his pioneering scholarship in this field as well as countless other aspects of Roman poetry and literary culture, and it certainly would not have been finished were it not for his generous support of my efforts. My heartfelt gratitude goes to Rona Johnston Gordon and Mary Morton for their invaluable help in the final stages of preparing the manuscript and index for publication. The arguments of this book were also substantially improved by feedback on written drafts that I received from Adela Yarbro Collins, Lowell Edmunds, Jaš Elsner, Michael Reeve, and Andreola Rossi. Conversations and exchanges electronic or otherwise with the following greatly helped me correct or clarify my ideas on both small and large points: Alex Beecroft, Jane Chaplin, Anthony Corbeill, Emma Dench, Denis Feeney, Roberta Frank, Roy Gibson, Alex Hardie, Doreen Innes, Robert Kaster, Sandro La Barbera, Andrew Laird, Matthew Leigh, Teresa Morgan, Jay Reed, Michael Winterbottom, and James Zettel. I have greatly learned and benefited from conversations with Scott McGill, whose work on Roman plagiarism I look forward to reading. I wish to thank him as well as James Burbidge, Sabine Seelentag, James Ker, and Andrew Laird for sharing with me unpublished work.

Among the friends and family members who supported me throughout the years, I wish to thank Julia Theill, Andreola Rossi, Masa Culumovic, Melissa Haynes, Valeria Sergueenkova, Danka Putnam, Tommaso Gazzarri, Ornella Rossi, Lorna Patterson, and Carey Williams. None of this would have been remotely thinkable without the love and friendship of Emilia Wilton-Godberfforde.

For the past fifteen years, I have had the great fortune of being taught, guided, and inspired by Christina Kraus: quant’io l’abbia in grado, mentr’io vivo, convien che ne la mia lingua si scerna. There are hardly any pages at all in this book that have not benefited from her incisive comments and corrections, and none whatsoever that were not shaped in a deeper sense by her intellectual example.

Finally, I thank my families: Franco, Giovanna and Maria, and above all my parents, Grazia and Oles, who for most of my adult life have been following me around two continents with a mixture of puzzlement and pride without ever losing either their patience or their enthusiasm.
List of abbreviations

Authors and works are abbreviated following the practice of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, and journals according to that of *L’Année philologique*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CIL</td>
<td><em>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCT</td>
<td><em>Oxford Classical Texts</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter, HRR</td>
<td>Peter, H. (ed.) <em>Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae</em>, vol. 1² (1914), 2 (1906)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TLL</td>
<td><em>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</em> (1900–)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>