THE RECEPTION OF CICERO IN THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Cicero was one of the most important political, intellectual, and literary figures of the late Roman Republic, rising to the consulship as a "new man" and leading a complex and contradictory life. After his murder in 43 BC, he was indeed remembered for his life and his works – but not for all of them. This book explores Cicero's reception in the early Roman Empire, showing what was remembered and why. It argues that early imperial politics and Cicero's schoolroom canonization had pervasive effects on his reception, with declamation and the schoolroom mediating and even creating his memory in subsequent generations. The way he was deployed in the schools was foundational to the version of Cicero found in literature and the educated imagination in the early Roman Empire, yielding a man stripped of the complex contradictions of his own lifetime and polarized into a literary and political symbol.

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The Rhetorical Schoolroom and the Creation of a Cultural Legend

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For Monica

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Preface

Feeling certain that I would write a dissertation on Latin poetry, in my third year of graduate studies at Harvard I thought I should choose a Latin prose author for my Special Examinations. To give myself a bit of breadth, I reasoned, before settling down in my narrow corner to dissertate. Thus began a fateful year of fortnightly meetings in Kathy Coleman's study in the Widener Library, reading and discussing Cicero. After my special exams were over, as I was casting (read: flailing) about for a suitable dissertation topic, Kathy suggested that I might consider the reception of Cicero in Tacitus and Pliny. I remember the moment quite distinctly: I was walking out of the back of the library, somewhat frustrated after an afternoon spent with Varro, and Kathy was walking in – unsurprisingly, she was getting ready to get back to work as I was getting ready to flop on the couch. I turned the idea over in my head as I headed home; I had taken her Pliny seminar the year before, and it all seemed to make good sense. Well, one thing led to another, and the scope of the dissertation soon broadened into a more general study of Cicero's reception in the early Empire. This book is a revised version of that dissertation. I should say that I still really like poetry.

The debts that I've accumulated along the way are larger than I'll ever be able to repay, but I can at least put some of them on public record. Emma Dench and Richard Tarrant were the other members of my dissertation committee and exemplary readers; both have also read parts of the present book. I have benefited greatly from discussions with and help in various forms from William Altman, Christopher Burden-Strevens, Sean Dolan, Alain Gowing, Brandon Jones, Tim Moore, Victoria Pagán, Carl Springer, Morris Tichenor, Chris van den Berg, Matthijs Wibier, and Andrew Wright. The Department of Classics at Washington University in St. Louis has provided the ideal environment for me to work in and the ideal colleagues for me to work with, and the members of the Ancient Mediterranean Studies Writing Group here also read and discussed the

book's fifth chapter. The two anonymous readers for the Press deserve particular thanks for improving every page of the book with their detailed and constructive comments. Michael Sharp has throughout been the ideal editor, nurturing this project from an unfinished dissertation into its final form. Iveta Adams is a copy-editor nonpareil: she has removed more authorial idiosyncrasies, inconsistencies, infelicities, and outright errors than I'd care to admit. Finally, Chris Whitton, in a feat of extraordinary generosity and chalcenteric endurance, read through the whole of my manuscript in less than 48 hours and offered countless insightful comments – all this without ever having met me in person. I am profoundly grateful to all of the above, and it goes without saying that after so much good help, whatever nonsense remains is entirely my fault.

It would take a Cicero to try to put into words what I owe to Kathy Coleman, and I don't think even he could manage. From the day she encouraged me to enroll in her Pliny seminar, she has taken me under her wing. She read every word of the original dissertation more times than I can count, and improved it immeasurably in style and substance. As if that were not enough, she did the same thing again with the present book, prompting me at a critical moment to get to work and reading and commenting on each chapter as I completed it. But this is typical: Kathy reads and comments on everything I send her, and so I end up sending her everything. I shudder to think of what she has not done over the past few years because she's been too busy licking my ill-formed ideas into shape, but I cannot imagine a better mentor.

My first son was born as I was finishing the dissertation; my second son as I was starting the book; and my daughter entered the world as the book went into production. Somehow my wife has found the time for all of us and for a more than full-time job besides. This book is dedicated to her.

Note on Texts and Abbreviations

Unless otherwise noted, translations are my own, although I have borrowed the occasional felicitous phrase from Loeb versions. Abbreviations for Latin authors follow the *TLL* but eschew the consonantal *v* (except schol. Bob. = scholia Bobiensia); Greek authors LSJ (except Cass. Dio = Cassius Dio); modern periodicals *L'Année philologique*. All other abbreviations are explained at the beginning of the bibliography. Asconius is cited by page number from Clark (1907) and the scholia Bobiensia by page and line number from Stangl (1964).