

Convegno Internazionale ‘Ritratti di Cicerone-Portraying Cicero’

Roma 15-17 Maggio 2019

Abstracts

Robert A. KASTER (Princeton)

Cicero portraying Cicero

Surely one of the most common forms that reception takes is simply story-telling: constructing characters plucked from a paradigmatic past and building narratives around them that suit the story-tellers' present needs: so, for example, the declaimers of the early first century CE portrayed a Cicero ready to choose death to preserve his oratory. It is my aim in this talk to use two parallel stories that Cicero told about himself, and about one of his most formative experiences, to suggest that through story-telling Cicero did for himself what the declaimers, and Petrarch, and Theodor Mommsen, and many, many others would do in constructing countless Cicerons in the course of 2000 years.

Rita DEGL'INNOCENTI PIERINI (Università di Firenze)

Cicerone esule: dall'autorappresentazione all'esemplarità letteraria

My essay focuses on Cicero's self-representation during his exile through his letters to Atticus, Terentia and Quintus frater and through passages from *post reditum* orations. In his brief exile, Cicero is not looking for consolations from Atticus and family, and he does not refrain from showing his *dolor*: on the contrary, he emphasizes his true pains defining exile as *calamitas* or *aerumna* and also using subtle allusions to well-known tragic lines. Cicero is a politician in exile, sad because he is far from the real life of his community; he doesn't bother to appear as a philosopher, since his only wish is to come back. After his return this attitude had been largely disapproved, thus Cicero never became a very important exemplary figure of *exul* from the philosophical point of view. In the long history of Cicero's reception there are few but interesting examples related to his exile, I will examine only some of them: Titus Livius' Camillus, *Oratio Pridie quam in exilium iret*, Petrarch, Ortensio Lando.

Alfredo CASAMENTO (Università di Palermo)

***Mihi cane et populo*. Cicerone e l'autorappresentazione del successo oratorio. La questione del consenso popolare**

In un passo intenso del *Brutus* (parr. 183-200), Cicerone affronta l'argomento, avvertito come molto importante, del giudizio popolare. Quando si tratta di valutare le qualità di un oratore, è fondamentale il consenso manifestato dal popolo; la valutazione del critico non può quindi essere in nessun caso difforme da quella espressa dall'uditorio, che l'Arpinate considera alla fine del passo in questione come autentico depositario dei criteri utili a valutare la performance oratoria. È in ultima analisi il successo riscosso dall'oratore a determinare le ragioni del consenso. D'altra parte, la trattazione di un tema così delicato e controverso si situa all'interno di una precisa strategia di self-fashioning, ma è anche elemento centrale di un ragionamento di cui si tornerà a discutere in epoche e tempo lontani entro i termini di un dibattito avvertito come compiutamente ciceroniano.

Alejandro DÍAZ FERNANDEZ (Malaga)

A Ciceronian Mirage? Cicero's Portrait as Provincial Commander through the Letters

Cicero's writings undoubtedly are an essential source for studying numerous aspects of the Late Republic and, particularly, of the Roman administration at the end of the first century BC. More concretely, his letters constitute our main source for knowing how Roman command worked in the provinces, presenting us at the same time a valuable portrait of the role played by the own orator during his stay in Cilicia as proconsul (51-50 BC); Cicero shows himself as an example of conduct and administration, thus projecting a paradigmatic image of what should be a provincial governor at the end of the Republic. However, whether this image corresponds to the reality of his government and, particularly, to the traditional standards of the Roman provincial administration is debatable. It seems no casual that Cicero's portrait as proconsul essentially agrees with the ideal of government presented by him in the letter sent to his brother Quintus during the latter's command in Asia as proconsul (Cic. Q. fr. 1.1). As several scholars have stressed, many of the virtues quoted in the letter seems related to the philosophical doctrines about the ideal ruler (Cicero significantly alludes to Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*) rather than to the day to day of a Roman commander in his province. Recent studies have pointed out indeed that Cicero's command in Cilicia was directly influenced as well by stoic doctrines, to the point of concluding that the orator was selected to govern Cilicia in 51 (under the *lex Pompeia* of 52) to serve as *exemplum* of provincial administration. Nonetheless, beyond his philosophical principles, it seems clear enough that Cicero's intention was to create a positive portrait of his provincial command through his letters: we should keep in mind that the preservation of Cicero's works necessarily determines our knowledge of the Late Republic and, especially, of his own role in Cilicia, so we run the risk of basing our conclusions about the Roman provincial administration on a 'Ciceronian mirage'. Thus, the main aim of this paper is to determine to what extent Cicero's own image as proconsul is a reliable portrait of the Roman provincial government at the late Republic.

Andrew SILLETT (Oxford)

***Quo usque tandem*. The reception of a catchphrase**

If ever a turn of phrase has captured the spirit of a man both in terms of his brilliance as an artist and of his importance as an historical actor, it is the rhetorical question with which Cicero opened his condemnation of Lucius Sergius Catilina in November of 63 BC: 'Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?' In this paper, I propose to chart the ancient reception of this apophthegm. I will begin with a brief investigation of the extent to which it gained notoriety during Cicero's own lifetime (relying both on Cicero's own speeches and on what can be recovered of those delivered by his opponents). Having laid this foundation, I will move on to discuss the varied uses that were made of this phrase after Cicero's death. I will trace this journey of reception from its use by Cicero's own son (as reported by Seneca the Elder), via three historians Sallust, Livy and Tacitus, ending in the unusual destination of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. There is already a far from insignificant bibliography relating to these instances of Ciceronian reception: Skard (1956), Vretska (1961), Syme (1964), Renehan (1976), Innes (1977) Seager (1977), Malcolm (1979), von Albrecht (1989), Oakley (1997), Wiseman (1979), Nousek (2010), Sillett (forthcoming). There has, however, been as yet no attempt to create a systematic study of how these individual moments of intertextuality relate to and build upon each other. It is my belief that by studying these items together we can shed a light on the complexity of Cicero's *Nachleben* and trace how different facets of his reception (hero, villain, politician, wordsmith) either waxed and waned or, perhaps more profitably, how they blended into and reinforced one another. As I suggested at the beginning of this proposal, 'Quo usque tandem' has become synonymous with Cicero in the

modern world, being most recently quoted by Ted Cruz in the United States Senate. A wealth of other modern examples has been collected in Beard (2013). No study of Cicero's contemporary reception, then, can avoid this phrase; it seems high time that a holistic treatment of its potency in the ancient world be created.

M. Rosalie STONER (Chicago)

***Voluntas* in Quintilian's Portrayal of Cicero**

Quintilian's portrayal of Cicero in Book 12, section 1 of his *Institutio Oratoria* is a remarkably complex assessment of his hero on moral and stylistic grounds. The passage is couched as an apology for Cicero against those who call into question his goodness and thus his fitness to be called an orator, which Quintilian has defined as a *vir bonus dicendi peritus*. At first glance Quintilian's staunch allegiance to Cicero seems to waver in this passage; he praises Cicero's meritorious conduct but concedes that he may lack *summa virtus*, and he claims that Cicero occupies the *fastigium* of eloquence but admits that his oratorical buoyancy could have used even more tempering. Quintilian's final judgment, that Cicero can be called a perfect orator in a casual sense but that he ultimately fell short of perfect excellence, seems to subordinate his enthusiasm for Cicero as model to the purity of the ideal orator he is seeking. This paper will explore how the concept of *voluntas* illuminates Quintilian's complex portrayal of Cicero as perfect orator. In *Institutio* 12, *voluntas* (which I translate flexibly as "will") emerges as the determining feature of the moral goodness of the *vir bonus dicendi peritus* as well as the motivating engine for his hard climb to oratorical excellence. *Voluntas* can remain stable even when the orator has to engage in morally questionable activities like deceiving the judge or helping acquit a guilty defendant (12.1.36-45). In addition to providing firm orientation towards the good, *voluntas* is also the operating mechanism that propels the student to apply himself diligently to the studies required for oratorical prowess (see 1.3 and 12.11ff). In our passage Quintilian describes Cicero as having the *voluntas* of an outstanding citizen (*nec M. Tullio defuisse video in ulla parte civis optimi voluntatem*- 12.1.16). Using the understanding of *voluntas* that emerges from a careful reading of Book 12, I argue that this concept enables Quintilian to reconcile his exaltation of Cicero with his hesitance to claim that he is technically perfect. Like the aspiring student of oratory, Cicero's moral and intellectual orientation pointed him towards perfection and brought him to outstanding achievements on the way, even if he never managed to attain the goal. Quintilian can thus propose Cicero as a model of rectitude and accomplishment for the students he is directing without taking on the impossible task of proving Cicero's moral and stylistic perfection.

Yelena BARAZ (Princeton)

Lucan's Cicero

In this paper I build on recent work on the reception of Cicero in the declamatory and educational traditions and in prose more broadly and turn my attention to Lucan's reception of Cicero in the *Bellum Civile*. I propose that the model of reception of Cicero operating in the poem is different from the reduction and simplification model stemming from declamation. I will suggest that, unlike the prose authors who engage with Cicero, the way in which Lucan splits and modifies his image is in line with the broader project of his poem as a historical epic preoccupied with civil war as dismemberment. I suggest that we consider Lucan's Cicero in the context of intertextual practice derived from Vergil and argue that Lucan treats Cicero the same way Vergil treats characters received from the earlier tradition, namely, breaking up characters that are important to the networks of allusion that he constructs and distributing their features among different characters in his own epic. Cicero in Lucan is treated not only, and perhaps not even primarily, as a historical actor in the events that the poem depicts, but as a literary character, the various features of his work and his

biography available for intertextual digestion and distribution within the poem, attaching not only to the character “Cicero”, but to Pompey, Cato, and, most importantly, the narrator. Vergil’s own skirting of Cicero in the historical portions of the *Aeneid* contributes to this treatment. The importance of the narrator, I further argue, has a different origin, in the historiographical tradition: Lucan’s treatment can in part be traced to Sallust’s displacement and overwriting of Cicero the consul in the *Bellum Catilinae*. In conclusion, I come back to dismemberment: this epic procedure, which can be traced back to Vergilian practice and be seen as prefigured in some of its particulars in Sallust acquires a distinctive resonance within the context of Lucan’s own poem in which this intertextual procedure, in itself value-free, begins to look like an act of dismemberment, which is especially resonant in the case of Cicero.

Catherine STEEL (Glasgow)

The Reception of Cicero’s Speeches in Early Imperial Period

Recent research has firmly established the complexity and range of Ciceronian receptions in the early empire. In response, this paper seeks to explore the Cicero who sits between the two poles of cultural icon and rhetorical model. Looking at the elder Seneca, Asconius and Quintilian I suggest that – despite considerable differences in emphasis and approach – they share an interest in exploring with their readers a Cicero whose speeches respond to individual, holistic and contextualised readings.

Henriette VAN DER BLOM (Birmingham)

Quintilian on Cicero’s Deliberative Oratory

The image of Cicero in the work on the orator’s education by M. Fabius Quintilianus (ca. AD 35-90s) has long been recognised as particularly influential on authors and orators of the imperial period, and Quintilian’s knowledge of Cicero’s speeches and rhetorical works is clear from his engagement throughout the *Institutio Oratoria*. Nevertheless, Quintilian was also a product of his own time and his engagement with oratory and rhetoric reflects concerns of his own period, as well as his knowledge of republican orators and their speeches. In my paper, I shall focus on Quintilian’s engagement with Cicero the deliberative orator in an attempt to better understand some of the ways in which Quintilian displays knowledge of republican senatorial and contional oratory and how he reflects contemporary concerns about the state of speech in the senate and the *contio*. The parameters for public oratory in the courts, the senate and the popular assemblies changed with the advent of the emperors bringing new power dynamics, expanded functions of the senate, altered electoral and judicial processes, and – of course – an all-powerful person at the top. These changes had impact on the parameters of forensic oratory, but arguably even more on deliberative oratory used in the senate and in the *contio*. Quintilian devotes a long chapter (3.8) on deliberative oratory, which I shall discuss before considering Quintilian’s direct engagement with Cicero as deliberative orator. That consideration takes into account the ratio between Cicero’s deliberative and non-deliberative speeches explicitly mentioned by Quintilian, Quintilian’s selection of such deliberative speeches, and the manner in which he engages with these deliberative speeches such as the levels of engagement and the messages presented through Quintilian’s engagement. I shall conclude by considering the ways in which Quintilian’s use of Cicero’s deliberative oratory furthers our understanding of the role and parameters of deliberative oratory in the imperial period and how Quintilian uses Cicero as a vehicle for his own agenda.

Carole MABBOUX (École Française de Rome)

Medieval Biographies of Cicero. Discovering the Political behind the *auctoritas*

Cicero had a specific and important role in medieval culture. As magister eloquentiae, he was the guardian authority of the art of rhetoric, one of the seven Liberal arts. This thematic prominence ensured the great transmission of some of his didactical works in monastic schools and, later, in universities. However, the Middle Ages constitute a blind spot in the studies historians dedicated to Cicero's reception. Tadeusz Zieliński, for instance, reduced the medieval period to a short chapter, fortunately achieved by Petrarch's insights. More recently, collective books considering the afterlife of Cicero gave only a limited position, if not nil, to the Late Middle Ages not fulfilling humanistic criteria. Nevertheless, medieval biographies of Cicero are a useful lab for considering the part of dependence on sources, interpretation and intellectual pragmatism in portraying his person. By observing the way Cicero is described from 12th to 15th century in didactic and narrative works (text commentaries, historical poems, humanistic letters) can be read the evolution of the Ciceronian character from a didactic disembodied figure to a historic character, from a consensual authority to a criticized individuality. Indeed, during this period, the way Cicero was designated and depicted evolved, due to multiple mutations, of which must be pointed out the combined effects. Firstly, Cicero was an *auctoritas*. As such, for a long time, it was impossible to speak of him without referring to his works. Yet, he was also known as an orator and a politician, engaged in Roman matters. Describing Cicero supposed a duality of functions and an anachronism between topicality of his authority and embodiment of a bygone era. Secondly, the corpus of Ciceronian texts available to medieval readers was enlarged by the researches of "unknown" manuscripts undertaken by the first humanists. The discovery of some parts of controlled privacy through his correspondence gave new information on his career, but at the same time led to revise deeply his moral figure. Beyond considering the access to sources, can be examined the new perception of the author's status developed by scholasticism and, later, by young humanists. A renewed conception of the construction of knowledge progressively allowed a competitive reading of authorities and spotlighted their fallibility as humans. Finally, must be considered an evolution of the ways "biographical genre" was written during the Late Middle Ages, from first encyclopaedias to literary cycles *De viris illustribus*. Less than a physical, narrative and moral portrait of a character, the medieval biography was the definition and the illustration of an ideal of life. Yet, across time, Ciceronian exemplarity changed topics and intensity.

Barbara DEL GIOVANE (Firenze)

Da *iocosus* a *consularis scurra*: Cicerone umorista da Seneca padre a Petrarca

In un recente volume sulla risata nell'antica Roma, Mary Beard definisce Cicerone «the most infamous funster, punster, and jokester of classical antiquity». Tale giudizio è un giusto tributo alla vena ironica e al gusto delle facezie proprio di Cicerone. Se è il *De oratore*, in particolare, a restituirci un'ampia trattazione teorica sull'umorismo necessario all'eloquenza forense, è soprattutto nelle orazioni e nell'Epistolario che si rintracciano numerosi *specimina* dello 'spirito' di Cicerone, in pieno accordo con la tradizione dei *facete dicta* ciceroniani, presumibilmente editi a opera del segretario Tirone. Dal punto di vista dell'analisi testuale della produzione ciceroniana, non mancano trattazioni interessanti sull'ironia e sull'individuazione dei motti di spirito. Oggetto del mio intervento sarà invece la percezione e la rappresentazione dell' 'uomo' Cicerone come esempio di personaggio caratterizzato da un'ironia che non sempre rispetta il conclamato ideale di *urbanitas*. È in primo luogo un passaggio di Seneca il Vecchio, testimone delle parole del retore Cassio Severo, a proporre un ritratto di Cicerone come 'uomo di spirito', in un aneddoto che vede l'Arpinate significativamente affiancarsi al mimo Decimo Laberio in una gara di facezie. Il giudizio critico stigmatizza

un'ironia che non sa misurarsi in entrambe le figure: *uterque elegantissime, sed neuter in hoc genere servat modum*. Dopo Seneca padre, una fonte imprescindibile per la rappresentazione di Cicerone come uomo *facetus* al limite del 'buffonesco' è Plutarco, nella biografia che affianca l'Arpinate al suo modello ideale, Demostene. Sin dall'inizio della vita ciceroniana, Plutarco si focalizza sulla sua vena scherzosa, ribadita nella sintetica comparazione finale con Demostene nei termini di un'indole caustica che però sfocia nella buffoneria (τῷ σκωπτικῷ πρὸς τὸ βωμολόχον ἐκφερόμενος), non curandosi del decoro (ἠφείδει τοῦ πρέποντος). Notevole è anche il giudizio di Catone Uticense riportato da Plutarco, che apostrofa Cicerone quale «console faceto», giudizio richiamato dal *consularis scurra* che, nella testimonianza di Macrobio, rivolgevano i nemici a Cicerone. L'*Institutio oratoria* dedica ampio spazio al ritratto del Cicerone 'faceto' e sarà utile analizzare la natura dell'ironia ciceroniana nella teorizzazione di Quintiliano, che ne riconosce, suo malgrado, la natura duplice, in oscillazione tra l'*urbanitas* e la tensione sconveniente verso il ridicolo propria del *mimus* e dello *scurra*. Anche Macrobio, la cui ispirazione 'ciceroniana' è inutile ricordare, nei *Saturnalia* ci restituisce un ritratto di Cicerone la cui natura 'alta' di filosofo, oratore e politico è surclassata da quella di uomo arguto, di un livello pari soltanto a Plauto. All'analisi del ritratto macrobiano farà seguito una breve trattazione su come anche nel Rinascimento si perpetui un'immagine di Cicerone, che, nella sua complessa e ammirata personalità, incarna anche l'emblema dell'intellettuale 'scherzoso' (e.g. Petrarca, *Rerum memorandarum libri* 2, 68 *Sed quis omnium iocator aut promptior aut mordacior Cicerone?*).

Thomas KEELINE (Washington Univ. St. Louis)

Cicero in the *Anthologia Latina*

Alexander Riese's *Anthologia Latina* contains a remarkable cycle of twelve "epitaphs" for the dead Cicero, themselves part of a larger twelve-part cycle of twelve poems each that is known today as the *Symposium XII Sapientum*. Doubtless originating in the late-antique rhetorical schoolroom, these poems provide a mostly unexamined window into Cicero's early reception. In the first place, they yield a piece of apparently accurate historical information not found elsewhere: Cicero's body was cremated and buried by his friend Lucius Aelius Lamia. The epitaphs otherwise focus mostly on three themes: Cicero's death, his literary immortality, and his suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy as consul. Their intertextual reworkings of this traditional material shed further light on earlier treatments in Seneca the Elder's declaimers, Velleius Paterculus, Martial, Juvenal, and others. Furthermore, the poems may even occasionally allow us to hear the muted echoes of early anti-Augustan voices. My paper explores all of these themes, situating and discussing these poems as participants in the tradition of Cicero's reception in the rhetorical schoolroom.

Giuseppe LA BUA (Sapienza)

***Novitas e nobilitas* nella tradizione biografica dell'Arpinate**

Cicero's *novitas* has elicited different reactions throughout the centuries. Starting from a re-examination of a passage of Velleius Paterculus (2, 128, 1-4), a celebration of a new notion of *nobilitas* founded on moral and political virtues, this paper revisits the role played by Cicero *novus homo* in the formation of a new ideal of nobility. It argues that the status of Cicero as both 'new man' and 'new *nobilis*' impacted on later reflections on human dignity and nobility throughout the Middle Ages and the Early Italian Renaissance. On the footsteps of Juvenal's praise of Cicero as the 'true' *nobilis*, later biographers and intellectuals elaborated on the figure of Cicero, seen as a supreme model of political man acting for the conservation of the *res publica* by *virtus* and *ingenium*.

Cristoph PIEPER, Bram VAN DER VELDEN, Leanne JANSEN (Leiden)

Performing Cicero's Voices

Fabio GATTI (Milano)

Diventare contemporanei di Cicerone. La *Quaestura* di S. Corradi (1555) nella tradizione biografica sull'Arpinate

Nel 1555 veniva pubblicata a Bologna la *Quaestura* del reggiano Sebastiano Corradi (ca. 1510-1556), formatosi a Venezia sotto l'egida del celebre umanista Battista Egnazio, e poi docente di 'umanità' a Reggio Emilia dal 1540 fino al 1544, quando ottenne la stessa cattedra a Bologna. L'opera, che si inserisce nel quadro di un prolifico studio dei classici, testimoniato altresì da una traduzione latina di sei dialoghi platonici (1543), da commenti al *De oratore* (1552) e al primo libro dell'*Eneide* (1555), e da un'edizione postuma di Valerio Massimo (1559), è una biografia di Cicerone dal carattere assai singolare: rifacendosi al fortunato genere umanistico del dialogo, Corradi immagina che i protagonisti dell'opera (lui stesso, il maestro Egnazio e un altro erudito, Pietro Valeriano), divengano in sostanza contemporanei dell'Arpinate, calandosi nel contesto storico-istituzionale della Roma antica. Corradi, di ritorno da un incarico di questore (dove il titolo), consegna ai consoli in carica (Egnazio e Valeriano) le monete riscosse in provincia, cioè, fuor di metafora, espone tutte le osservazioni ricavate dalla lettura delle opere ciceroniane, che divengono così una sorta di 'autobiografia' dell'Arpinate da porre a confronto e da integrare con le notizie di fonti antiche (Plutarco, Dione, Appiano) e moderne (Bruni), che Corradi, sollecitato dagli interlocutori, sottopone a vaglio critico (*multa comprobata, multa confutata*). Ne deriva un'opera elegante e con ambizioni letterarie, sorretta dalla convinzione che per comprendere appieno una personalità storica sia necessario conoscere a fondo anche gli aspetti istituzionali, sociali e culturali della sua epoca, e volta, come l'autore chiarisce nell'ampia prefatoria, a un'attenta riconsiderazione della tradizione biografica su Cicerone, con un approccio sostanzialmente apologetico e celebrativo (*M. T. Ciceronis vita undique collecta et defensa*), in linea con l'incondizionata ammirazione per l'opera e la figura ciceroniana radicata nel Cinquecento italiano, specie nel contesto veneziano. Nella *Quaestura* trovano peraltro spazio anche aspetti collaterali, ma utili per arricchire e completare il profilo di Cicerone, come la biografia del figlio e del fratello, oltreché la difesa dell'Arpinate contro l'invettiva pseudo-sallustiana. L'analisi dell'opera, di vasta fortuna all'epoca (fu ripubblicata nel 1556 a Basilea) e ristampata ancora nel 1754 a Lipsia, può contribuire, indagata nei suoi rapporti con l'ampia tradizione biografica ciceroniana, e soprattutto con i precedenti, a illuminare ulteriormente un momento importante del *Nachleben* dell'Arpinate, la cui autorità stilistica e concettuale veniva rilanciata con particolare vigore proprio nell'Italia dell'incipiente Controriforma.

Igor MORAES SANTOS (Minas Gerais- Brazil)

Montesquieu on Cicero. Historiographical, political and philosophical aspects

Cicéron selon moi est un des grans esprits qui aye jamais été. L'ame toujourns belle lorsqu'elle n'etoit pas foible" (*Pensées* I,773). This statement is emblematic to synthesize Montesquieu's portrait of Marcus Tullius Cicero. On the one hand, admiration is present since his early works, as in *Discurs sur Cicéron*. On the other hand, criticism about his sometimes hesitant personality already exudes in that panegyric. This mixture of praise and disapproval is part of a change in the authority of ancient examples carried out by the *Lumières*, which included the tradition built on Cicero. Still, Montesquieu is emphatic in asserting that "*on ne peut jamais quitter les Romains*" (*L'esprit des lois* XI,13). The peculiarity of this modern Ciceronian representation justifies an investigation on three of its aspects: Cicero as historiographical source, historical figure and philosopher. For this purpose, I intend to examine several works, either those discussing his life and ideas (*Discurs, Pensées, Notes sur Cicéron*), or using his texts for argumentative reasoning (*L'esprit,*

Dissertation sur la politique des Romains sur la religion). I will argue that Roman examples remained essential for Montesquieu's political reflections (*Pensées* I,9). The Republic is praised in contrast to the *Ancien Régime*, making Cicero one of the most referenced sources in *L'esprit* and *Considerations*. He is a witness, but also a writer aware of the signs of ruin, as in his letters, "*un monument bien authentique de la corruption romaine*" (*Pensées* III,1669). Despite this recognition, Cicero is seen as a halting political actor, responsible for grave errors. For this reason, Montesquieu attributes to him a small ethical role, preferring Cato's firm stance. However, he died as a martyr dedicated to civic duties lamentably lost in Modernity. Finally, as a philosopher, Cicero is also hesitant, but this is a signal of criticism of consolidated philosophical positions. For example, religions are condemned by reason (*Notes*), but can serve as instrument of politics and social control (*Dissertation*). I claim that, for this intellectual autonomy, Montesquieu sees Cicero as a model of solitary trajectory philosopher in struggle for recognition among peers, like himself. His prominent position amid ancient philosophers (*Pensées* II,969) is overshadowed only by the superiority of Modernity. Montesquieu's modern and enlightened portrait of Cicero lies between criticism and praise, but it does not prevent him from proclaiming the old consul as the ancient who "*a eu le plus de mérite personnel, et qui j'aimerois mieux ressembler*" (*Discours*).

Katherine EAST (Newcastle)

Believer or Unbeliever? Cicero as a Theologian in Enlightenment England

There are various incarnations of Cicero from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England with which scholars are familiar: the model politician, invoked by Whig politicians as an aspirational figure; the linguistic model, central to the education of young men pursuing a public career; the rhetorical model, consistently valued as the master of the discipline. Yet beyond these more mainstream Ciceros there were two further variations of the man, located in the furious exchange of ideas which marked the Enlightenment in England, an exchange which debated the relative merits of faith and reason, humanism and science, nature and providence. In this facet of English intellectual life, it was debated who Cicero the theologian was: atheist or theist, sceptic or believer, rationalist or providentialist? Was Cicero an unbeliever, challenging the traditional religion in Rome and the understanding of the universe it was based on, or was he a believer, accepting the Stoic rationale which allowed for divine intervention in accordance with Roman practice? This debate surrounded competing interpretations of two Ciceronian texts: *De Natura Deorum* and *De Divinatione*. As scholars to this day will attest, the ambiguity of these texts renders the question of which point of view represents that of Cicero himself almost impossible to answer. Nevertheless, among these English intellectuals the question proved of fundamental importance, as identifying Cicero's 'true' voice with a particular stance in those dialogues would allow them to claim his authority for their own position. If his voice could be identified with the Academic Sceptic – Cotta or Marcus – the sceptical and rational arguments wielded by these characters could be deemed Ciceronian by heterodox writers, who sought to champion a natural religion which denied divine providence. However, if Cicero's voice could be identified with the character bearing his name in *De Natura Deorum*, who deemed the Stoic argument the most 'probable', this would allow orthodox writers to characterise Cicero as a theist, who acknowledged the truth of a revelatory religion. This paper will explore these competing characterisations of Cicero the theologian, as pursued in the exchanges between heterodox and orthodox, from the Cambridge Platonist Ralph Cudworth in 1678, to the Newtonian Samuel Clarke, to the Freethinker Anthony Collins, and on to the clergyman Daniel Waterland in the 1730s. It will provide an overview of how these distinct understandings of Cicero were proposed and championed, thereby revealing a largely overlooked feature of the afterlife of Cicero in Enlightenment England.

Joanna KENTY (Nijmegen)

Tully the Naïve: John Adams' Representation of Cicero in 1808

In the early years of the United States, Cicero came to symbolize the failure of noble republican idealism. John Adams, the second president of the United States who lost his bid for a second term and retired from politics in disgrace, wrote that he saw his own career mirrored in that of Cicero. In several letters in 1808, to his son and to his friends, Adams quotes from Cicero (particularly the *Tusculan Disputations*) to explain the American political scene, and compares his contemporaries to Caesar, Catiline, and Clodius. In this paper, I argue that Adams sought to justify his own political actions by comparing himself to Cicero. Through this comparison, I demonstrate, he promulgated a representation of Cicero as an idealist whose political vision was spoiled by a sordid reality. He argues that Cicero, like himself, failed to prevent the republic's collapse because he was too naïve to anticipate the villainy of his opponents. Adams was particularly eager to defend Cicero against the charge of vanity (not least because Adams himself was accused of the same vice), arguing that Cicero was merely conscious of his own extraordinary merit, and defending himself against the slanderous attacks of others. He represents Cicero as simple and innocent, not as a masterful rhetorician or calculating political operator, and accepts Cicero's most damning portraits of his enemies as historical fact. Adams was an avid lifelong reader of Cicero's works, translating them with his eldest son John Quincy (later president himself), and took particular inspiration from *De Republica* when he wrote his *Defense of the Constitutions* during the Revolution. After this idealistic time came disappointment and frustration. Adams thought that he and the generation of "founding fathers" who had helped to inspire America's fight for independence had carried on the legacy of Cicero as a political thinker. They were deeply committed to republican institutions and the mixed constitution as described in *De Republica*. But like Cicero (in Adams' eyes), they had been stymied, relegated to political irrelevance by a new generation of politicians, whose cabals and demagoguery threatened to destroy the American republic. Cicero was powerless to stop their machinations, but he preserved his own integrity and was eventually vindicated by posterity, an idea in which Adams took much comfort. Adams thus understood Roman history through parallels with early American politics, and defended his own career through similarities with his portrait of Cicero.

Cristina MARTÍN PUENTE (Madrid)

Iconografía de Cicerón en la Historia del Arte

Desde la Antigüedad los autores griegos y latinos se representan en vasos, esculturas, mosaicos, anillos, etc. y se exponen en plazas, bibliotecas o domicilios privados. Los retratos señalan su excelencia literaria a través del arte. Algunas de estas obras son muy conocidas, como el vaso ático de figuras rojas de c. 470 a. C. en el que aparecen Safo y Alceo, el mosaico de Virgilio con las musas del Museo del Bardo en Túnez, la miniatura de Virgilio del fol. 14r. del manuscrito Vat. lat. 3867, la miniatura de Terencio del frontispicio del manuscrito Vat. lat. 3868, los retratos de autores griegos y latinos (entre ellos el de Cicerón) del *Liber Chronicarum* (1493) de Hartmann Schedel, "La muerte de Séneca" de Rubens, "Esopo" o "Menipo" de Velázquez, "Safo y Alceo" o "Tibulo y Delia" de Alma-Tadema, etc. Esta actividad iconográfica indica que un autor literario pertenece a un canon, ya aparezca solo o con otros autores. Así ocurre con Cicerón, uno de los autores más representados, cuya iconografía es muy variada, en parte debido a que en su biografía y en su actividad intelectual destaca en aspectos muy variados.

Kathryn STUTZ (John Hopkins)

Law and Orator: Modern detective Fiction tropes in reception of Cicero's life

Cicero's career as an advocate in the Roman law courts has been the topic of fictional narratives for millennia. Many modern portrayals of Cicero's legal work have taken the form of mystery stories, casting Cicero in the role of the heroic investigator, or at least the patron to some lesser-known sleuth. In classic detective literature, the quest that elevates the protagonist to hero status is the act of searching for 'the truth', but applying this mystery-quest to a figure like Cicero is awkward because Cicero was known to prioritize the acquittal of his clients above empirical truth. In this talk, I argue that the mystery tropes appearing in modern receptions of Cicero show a preoccupation with the question of Cicero's morality. This moral tension is expressed either through a modern discomfort with Cicero's perspective on the Roman justice system, or an integration of Cicero's legal philosophies into a broader political advocacy for the Roman republic as a form of government.

Francesca Romana BERNO (Sapienza)

Cicerone all'ombra della Bastiglia

The French revolutionarists did not intend to present itself as something radically different and new, but instead they tried hard to show their affinity with the most renowned Republic at all – the Roman one. Thus the idealization of Brutus, Cato, and also Cicero, for his battles against Clodius, Catilina and so on. This was eased by the fact that Cicero's speeches were the common ground of classical education in XVIII century France. Another well-known text was Sallust's monography about the conjuration of Catilina, of which we can count several editions in this period. I will offer an overview of the presence of Cicero as a character from 1789 to the fall of Robespierre (1794), trying to show how everyone, from every side, tried to present himself as Cicero and his enemy as Catilina. I will give a special focus to three aspects: the process against the King, in which the affinities with the process against the Catilinarians were striking; a process against a professor of latin who was accused of reading Cicero in a dangerous way; and, of course, Robespierre, whose fascinating and controversial character was compared both to Cicero and to Catilina.

Philippe ROUSSELOT (SIAC)

Hitler and Cicero

The portrait of Cicero is determined by the work of biographers, but also by the context offered by academic research and its perception in the public of non-specialists. As the dictatorial regimes of Europe, Germany, Italy and the USSR were emerging and then imposed, Cicero's influence and portrayal knew a new inflection. Indeed, from 1830 to 1930, the quarrel raged around the Arpinate, vilified by some and adulated by others. The old opposition between "for and against Cicero" falls in silence at the time of the rise of perils and the installation of dictatorships. It has been replaced, in authoritarian regimes, by a complete disappearance of Cicero, a kind of damnatio memoriae, of which we have to analyze the causes and factors. However, in endangered democracies, support for Cicero took another turn: it became a symbol and a moral resource against tyranny. Have the consequences of this moment been lasting?