Cicero on Lucilius, Lucilius on Cicero: Using Fragments of the Satires for Context

It is common practice for scholars who study fragmentary Greek and Latin literature to cannibalize later authors as sources for lost works: critical editions, sourcebooks, and translation series often cite the original text surrounding a fragment. This practice, on the one hand, offers due diligence with respect to the apparatus criticus (particularly where multiple authors preserve the same text); on the other hand, it frequently gives valued contextual data provided by the source material, such as the book to which a fragment belongs, or information about a speaker, *ad sim.* In this fashion and for this purpose, (relatively) intact works such as Nonius' *De Compendiosa Doctrina* or Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, to give both Latin and Greek examples, are commonly carved up in the search for elusive information about texts no longer extant.

Yet, as has been noted by James Zetzel (2007), this process risks misrepresentation, source bias, and rhetorical manipulation from later contexts, and gives the later authors power to misinform our understanding of the fragments themselves and their authors' historical circumstances (see, e.g., Goldberg 2005 and Hanchey 2013). By extension, this argument implies that the fragments themselves cannot be completely excised from their literary environments, but rather are affected by and, indeed, reflect the priorities of their preservers. It should, therefore, not only be necessary to evaluate seriously the rhetoric and purported intentions of excerptors when studying fragments, but also possible to allow the fragments to function within their new contexts and thus inform our understanding of the authors who quote them.

It is the purpose of this paper to re-evaluate fragments within the context that preserves them and use the fragments to shed light on their source. In this paper, as a case study, I will examine a selection of Lucilian fragments within Cicero's corpus, tracing how the orator's quotations of the *Satires* develop throughout his works and enhance his assertions, particularly in his dialogues and philosophical texts.

Unlike other excerptors of Lucilius, Cicero clearly has favorite passages of the *Satires* (see Svarlien 1994). One fragment (1300M), a paraphrase which describes Marcus Crassus' inclination to laughter, appears at both *Fin.* 5.92 and *Tusc.* 3.31 with almost verbatim phraseology; another fragment (149-152M), which relates the description of a spirited gladiator, occurs in Cicero's works on three separate occasions (*Opt. Gen.* 17, *Tusc.* 4.48, *QFr.* 2.3.4). This tendency toward repetition provides a unique opportunity for tracking the use and re-use of a fragment.

It is book two of Lucilius' *Satires* and its account of the lawsuit of Albucius and Scaevola to which Cicero returns most often, and the fragments therein that I have selected for analysis in this paper. Fragment 84-85M is given in full twice in the Ciceronian corpus—*de Orat.* 3.171 and *Orat.* 149—and is furthermore paraphrased at *Brut.* 274; additionally, the connected fragment 88-94M, taken from the court case, appears at *Fin* 1.9. All of the works featuring these fragments date to after Cicero's exile, a stage in his career marked by increasing concern with philosophy rather than practical politics (for chronology, see Steel 2013). The Lucilian fragments thus not only have an intertextual history in their passage from the *Satires* to Cicero's works, but also an intratextual context that developed over the final decade of Cicero's life as the orator revisited the fragment again and again. This paper will examine Cicero's implementation of these fragments, testing how Lucilius' fragmentary body can support our understanding of his later preserver in order to determine whether like fragments or authors may be similarly utilized.

Bibliography

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