

Introduction

Ciceronis, cuius linguam fere omnes mirantur, pectus non ita
(Aug. *Conf.* 3.4.7)

Augustine's sentence, a reassessment of the grandeur of Cicero's eloquence, echoes general admiration for the intellect and mastery of Latin language by the new man from Arpinum.¹ Appreciated as the *nomen eloquentiae* from Quintilian onwards,² remembered and reputed as the supreme model of Latin prose, Cicero embodied the essence of *Latinitas*, classical Latin whose learning was thought as essential to the intellectual maturation of the young.³ Augustine was just one of the countless admirers of Cicero. Within an extensive use of Cicero's works, from the lost *Hortensius* in the *Confessions* to the *De re publica* in the recreation of the *civitas Dei* in the *City of God*, he looked at Cicero as a source of wisdom and model of correct speaking and writing, re-adapting Cicero's thoughts and rhetorical precepts to Christian philosophy and education and redirecting readings of the republican orator towards the instruction and cultural formation of male élite students.⁴

Yet Augustine also points to another significant aspect of the reception of Cicero, that is, criticism on Cicero's life and morals. As it has been noted, Cicero as a writer was distinct from Cicero as a man. Eulogized as the icon of Roman eloquence,⁵ Cicero encountered reproval for his ambiguous involvement in Roman politics and his lack of self-control and steadfastness, *constantia*.⁶ In particular, his dealing with the experience of exile,⁷ from the one hand, and the role he played in the transition from the Republic to the principate,⁸ on the other, placed him at the heart of a fierce debate, revolving around his perceived absence of morality and the behavior he held towards the leading political figures of his time.

1 Clark 1995, 143.

2 Quint. 10.1.112 (*non hominis nomen, sed eloquentiae*); Clarke 1965.

3 La Bua 2019, 125–130.

4 McCormack 2013. For the “Christian Cicero”, see Kendeffer 2015.

5 On the transformation of Cicero into an abstraction, pure intellect, in the declamation schools, see Kaster 1998.

6 Sen. *contr.* 2.4.4.

7 See Kaster and Pierini in this volume.

8 Dench 2013. The recent volume edited by Pieper/van der Velden 2020 sheds light on the interpretation of the political Cicero in the years following the death of Caesar.

A controversial man and, at the same time, an undisputed model of Latin prose: the reception of Cicero had centered around the oscillation between praise and censure throughout the ages, from Cicero's lifetime to modern times. Modern scholarship has long concentrated on the ambivalent approach to Cicero in early Empire and Late Antiquity.⁹ Gowing and McCormack have illuminated significant aspects of the re-use of Cicero in the early Imperial age and during the first centuries of the Christian era.¹⁰ Good attention has also been paid to the detachment of Cicero as a historical figure from Cicero as the embodiment of a classic in the schoolrooms and to the related inclusion of Cicero as *idoneus auctor* in the school curriculum.¹¹ Altman's *Companion to the reception of Cicero* has enormously contributed to our understanding of how the republican orator, statesman and philosopher has been recast and reworked over the centuries.¹² Since the reception of an author starts with the author himself, recent scholarly works have placed emphasis on Cicero's strategy of self-fashioning, showing also that Cicero's construction of his *persona*, as both ideal orator and politician, serving the republican institution by his words and actions, impacted on later reception and elicited different, contrasting reactions from intellectuals and men of culture over the time.¹³

Adding to this impressive mass of Ciceronian bibliography, this volume collects papers on the reception of Cicero in literature, philosophy and politics in a time span which goes from Late Republic to 21st century. It offers a new and fresh perspective of the multiple, divergent ways by which Cicero was received throughout the centuries. It sees Cicero not as much as an author as a character. The title itself of the volume, *Portraying Cicero*, intends to attract attention to a specific aspect of the reception of Cicero, that is, the 're-creation' of the figure of the republican orator in different times and cultures. It is not the reception of Cicero's textual corpus that triggers interest from the contributors to this book. Cicero's literary output, a wondrous assemblage of speeches, philosophical and rhetorical essays, and epistles, serves here as a means of understanding and evaluating the multiplicity of portraits of Cicero throughout the ages. Most significantly, taking Cicero's self-portrait as a jumping-off point for our reconstruction of what it might be called the 'art' of portraying Cicero, we are also able to revisit significant moments of Western culture and politics. As Zieliński

⁹ Gowing 2013; Degl'Innocenti Pierini 2003; La Bua 2019, 100 – 182. On the reception of Cicero in the early imperial age see also Richter 1968; Winterbottom 1982.

¹⁰ Gowing 2013; McCormack 2013.

¹¹ Keeline 2018; La Bua 2019.

¹² Altman 2015. See also Kapust/Remer 2021 (on Cicero in modern political theory).

¹³ Dugan 2005; van der Blom 2010; Bishop 2019.

clarified in his seminal study more than hundred years now, every age had its own Cicero.¹⁴ Appreciated as an exemplary orator and a master of language from the early empire onwards, Cicero also emerged as a philosopher and a source of wisdom, as it appears in late antiquity and the Medieval times.¹⁵ Cicero as a wise statesman and politician became the dominant paradigm during the Humanism and Renaissance. Likewise, in the Enlightenment and the two following centuries intellectuals and men of culture interpreted Cicero as the embodiment of republican values, the ‘new man’ ennobling his persona by personal talents. Dictatorial regimes, however, silenced Cicero, never regarded as a politician worth emulating. Amid setbacks and lavish praises, invectives and positive judgments, every age reacted to Cicero with its own sensibility. So, every age had its ‘portrait’ of Cicero.

Following in the footsteps of Zieliński’s suggestion, this volume aims to shed further light on *how* Cicero was seen and depicted by intellectuals, men of culture, politicians, and artists over the ages. It focuses on the reception of Cicero as a ‘character’ from old and new perspectives, by approaching Cicero not only as a model of prose writing and icon of *Latinitas* from early empire to the Renaissance but also examining the influence he exercised on the formation of modern political and philosophical thought. Many essays in this volume point to the role Cicero played in modern and contemporary politics (from the Enlightenment to the 20th century dictatorial regimes). The representation of Cicero in art and his character in modern fiction stories and movies are also considered. *Portraying Cicero* is a book that offers new possibilities in the study of the reception of the republican orator. It allows scholars to look at the impact exerted by the *persona* of Cicero on history, literature, rhetoric, politics, art, and culture from antiquity to modern times. A common thread links all the essays in the volume: the ‘art of portraying Cicero’ is a way through which we are enabled to understand how Cicero was reworked and re-imagined over the times and, above all, how changes in culture, politics, and aesthetics affected divergent responses to the personality and character of the ‘new man’ from Arpinum.

1 Portraying (and Defending) Himself

A self-referential author, Cicero devised a coherent long-term strategy of self-fashioning designed to construct his public persona of orator and statesman. No-

¹⁴ Zieliński 1912.

¹⁵ See Ward 2015 (on Cicero in the Middle Ages).

tably, he was a sophisticated narrator of himself. He himself laid the groundwork for canonizing his persona by providing his contemporary and future readers with an idealized version of his public and private life experiences. The opening essay of this volume, *Cicero Portraying Cicero* (Robert A. Kaster), introduces the figure of Cicero as a brilliant first-person storyteller. It shows that, by building a private narrative of his exile in the letters and offering a different public story of his ‘heroic’ return to Italy in the *post reditum* speeches, Cicero presented a two-sided image of himself. Contrasting with Cicero’s private self-portrait as a feeble and timid man, terribly aware of inflicting sufferance on himself and his beloved Terentia and children because of his cowardice, the story narrated in the speeches depicts Cicero as a good man and good citizen, a patriot destroying his civic self for the sake of the Republican liberty. Adapting his narrative to present needs Cicero did for himself what later intellectuals and writers would do over the course of many centuries. He built – and propagated – different *personae* of himself.

Cicero’s texts are also an exercise in self-justification. Repeatedly under attack for his ambiguous deeds and his controversial political choices, Cicero felt obliged to defend himself by revisiting – and propagating – his image in self-gratulatory terms. This first section of the volume illuminates Cicero’s policy of self-defense as an integral part of his art of ‘narrating himself’. As Cicero states on more than one occasion, popular consensus played a key role in the acquisition of power and prestige by the orator. Re-examining a brilliant passage from the dialogue *Brutus* (sections 183–200), the second contribution (Alfredo Casamento, *Mihi cane et populo. Cicerone e l'autorappresentazione del successo oratorio. La questione del consenso popolare*) focuses on Cicero’s self-presentation as the ideal orator and reconsiders the relevance of the *audientium adprobatio* to the creation of the ‘good man skilled in speaking’ (*vir bonus dicendi peritus*). Though admitting to the decadence of eloquence in current times, in the *Brutus* Cicero integrates the key issue of the popular consensus into his self-fashioning strategy. Good eloquence relies on public approbation. In treating such a delicate and controversial topic Cicero paves the way for future debates on the nature of eloquence and rhetoric, debates perceived as ‘Ciceronian’ by generations to come.

Building essentially upon Cicero’s private correspondence, the third contribution of the section (Alejandro Díaz Fernández, *A Ciceronian exemplum? Cicero’s Portrait as Provincial Governor Throughout his Letters*) explores Cicero’s experience as governor of the province of Cilicia (52–51 BCE), interpreted as a good example of provincial administration in late Republic. Through an accurate reading of the letters, it appears that Cicero depicted himself as the ideal governor, exercising his power with *aequitas*, *continentia* and *moderatio*. Cicero offered

his deeds as models of political virtue. Within this process of self-canonization Cicero eulogized his governorship as an exemplary case of virtuous administration, radically opposed to past provincial commands and the praetorship in Asia held by his brother Quintus (*Q. fr.* 1.1). In presenting himself as a positive model and blaming predecessors for their negligence and irresponsibility, Cicero championed a Stoic-sounding ideal of governance sharing canonical elite virtues and showing lenience towards the provincial population.

Cicero's paradigmatic experience as exiled, a privileged target of criticism in later receptions, elicits further reflections on his strategy of self-fashioning. The fourth essay of this section (Rita Degl'Innocenti Pierini, *Cicerone esule: dall'auto-rappresentazione all'esemplarità letteraria (da Livio a Petrarca e Ortensio Lando)*) points to Cicero's negative, non-philosophical attitude towards exile, defined in tragic terms as *calamitas*. Refusing consolations from Atticus and his family and, at the same time, playing up his *dolor*, Cicero portrayed himself as a 'tragic hero', afflicted with physical and mental illness and not capable of overcoming adversity. This impacted unavoidably on later receptions of Cicero's exile. From Livius (Camillus' exile is probably modeled on Cicero's self-portrait as *exul*) and declamatory texts (the spurious *Pridie quam in exilium iret*) to Petrarch and Ortensio Lando's *Cicero relegatus et Cicero revocatus*, Cicero never achieved the status of exemplary *exul*. It might be tempting to say that Cicero himself was responsible for the flop of his strategy of self-justification.

Cicero's self-gratulatory portrait is advocated by Quintilian. As is well known, Quintilian's Ciceronianism put an end to the early empire debate over Cicero's style and the perceived mismatch between his perfection of language and his disputable personal and political life. The last contribution of the section (Rosalie Stoner, *The Difficult Defense of Cicero's Goodness in Institutio Oratoria* 12.1), focuses on Quintilian's rehabilitation of Cicero as both a man and orator in Book 12 of the *Institutio Oratoria*. Replying to earlier criticisms of Cicero as a 'good man' Quintilian portrays Cicero as a complex personality who acted in the supreme interest of the collectivity and committed himself to the common good with courage. In so doing Quintilian justifies and minimizes Cicero's flaws of anxiety, self-glorification, and questionable actions as advocate and consul, at the same time protecting his definition of the orator as *vir bonus dicendi peritus*.

2 Ciceros' Exemplarity

If it is true that Cicero never entered the canon of exemplary Republican heroes, it is undeniable that his charismatic personality elicited admiration throughout

the centuries. His astonishing achievements represented a source of inspiration for generations of intellectuals and politicians. From the early empire to the Renaissance, men of culture, philosophers and artists depicted him not only as an icon of eloquence but also as a symbol of wisdom and *sapientia*, an intellectual never concealing his thirst for knowledge. At the same time, Cicero's heroic death, revisited and manipulated by declaimers and poets from the late republic onwards, offered an example of 'good death', teaching how to die and, above all, how to react to forms of political despotism.

Cicero's life provided the prominent reference point for debates about politics and society. Cicero embodied the ideals of a new political elite: his status as *homo novus* ascending the pinnacle of political career by virtue of his personal merits encouraged reflective musings on the significance of nobility and the development of a modern idea of society (and state), in which the acquisition of power depended on the public display of personal talents and the exercise of ancestral virtues. The first contribution of this second section (Giuseppe La Bua, *Homo Novus and Nobilis: Cicero and the Formation of the 'Modern' Aristocracy*) demonstrates that Cicero's persona as a new man played a key role in the formation of a modern ideology of nobility. Starting from a fresh reading of Velleius Paterculus (2.128.1–4) and Juvenal's praise of Cicero as the 'true' *nobilis* in Satire 8, it argues that the status of Cicero as 'new man' and 'new *nobilis*', a model of political man acting for the conservation of the *res publica* by *virtus* and *ingenium*, impacted on later reflections on human dignity and nobility throughout the Middle Ages and the Early Italian Renaissance.

Cicero's death at the hands of Antony represented a watershed in the history of his reception. Historians, poets, and declaimers read Cicero's final moments as the extreme manifestation of the Republican orator's fight for Republican liberty. The second contribution (Tom Keeline, *Cicero at the Symposium XII Sapientum*) elaborates on this topic and examines the cycle of twelve 'epitaphs' for the dead Cicero contained in the *Anthologia Latina* (*Anth. Lat.* 603–614 R²), themselves part of a larger twelve-part cycle of twelve poems each, the *Carmina XII Sapientum* (*Anth. Lat.* 495–638 R²). Doubtless originating in the late-antique rhetorical schoolroom, these poems provide a mostly unexamined window onto Cicero's early reception. These epitaphs focus mostly on three themes: Cicero's heroic death, his eloquence and literary immortality, and his suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy as consul. They offer an interesting view on later receptions of Cicero in the rhetorical schoolroom.

The two following contributions deal with Cicero's status as *exemplar* and model of style as well as good behavior, with emphasis on the reception of Cicero in figurative art and political literature. The third contribution (Cristina Martín Puente, *Iconografía de Cicerón en manuscritos*), analyzes portraits of Cicero in

manuscripts from the 13th to the 15th centuries. As Cicero's image appears next to the personification of *Rhetorica* on more than one occasion, it follows that Cicero belonged to the medieval literary canon, especially as rhetorician and, to a lesser extent, as philosopher. This paper also considers a miniature in the French version of *De casibus virorum illustrium* by Boccaccio, portraying Cicero as a statesman before he was murdered and beheaded.

The fourth contribution of this section (Fabio Gatti, *Il "santissimo" Cicerone. La Quaestura di Sebastiano Corradi (1555) nella tradizione biografica sull'Arpinate*), illustrates the most important biography of Cicero of the 16th century, the *Quaestura* composed by the Venetian ecclesiastic and humanist Sebastiano Corradi, an imaginary dialogue between some learned men of the Renaissance, transposed in the late Roman Republic. Drawing on ancient (Plutarch, Cassius Dio, Appian) and modern (Bruni) sources, the dialogue rejects censure of Cicero along times and points to his moral integrity and intellectual level, depicting him as a *vir sanctissimus*, in tune with the pedagogic guidelines of the contemporary Counterreformation.

Shifting the focus to the early political history of the United States of America, the fifth contribution (Joanna Kenty, *Tully the Naïve: John Adams on Cicero*), discusses the reception of Cicero in John Adams, the second president of the United States. As an avid lifelong reader of Cicero's works, the 'new man' Adams was inspired from *De re publica* in the composition of his *Defense of the Constitutions*. As attested by several letters written in 1808–1809, he explained the American political scene by relying on Cicero and comparing his contemporaries to Caesar, Catiline, and Clodius. To Adams' eyes, Cicero embodied the ideal politician, a simple and innocent man acting for the safety of his fellow-citizens.

The last contribution (Kathryn H. Stutz, *Law and Orator: Depicting Cicero through Modern Mystery Fiction*), gets away from politics to confront contemporary narrative and tv series, showing another, captivating aspect of Cicero's afterlife. In the form of mystery stories, many modern fictions cast Cicero as a heroic all-in-one lawyer-detective, or at least as the patron to some lesser-known sleuth. This contribution argues that the mystery tropes appearing in modern receptions of Cicero show a preoccupation with the question of Cicero's morality. Whether Cicero is portrayed as the morally corrupt defender of a guilty client, or as the brilliant Sherlockian detective searching for the truth amidst the chaos of late Republican Rome, the fusion of detective tropes with popular portrayals of Cicero reveals a tension between Cicero's own competitive and persuasive priorities and our modern valorization of truth and virtue in our legal 'heroes'.

3 The Portrait of the Ideal Orator

Abstulit una dies aevi decus, ictaque luctu / conticuit Latiae tristis facundia linguae (“A single day snatched away the glory of the age, and, struck by grief, the eloquence of the Latin tongue sadly fell silent”: *FRP* 219.10–11 H.).¹⁶ In the funeral eulogy of the orator, killed by Antony, Cornelius Severus laments the loss of the voice of Roman eloquence, a standard formula for identifying and immortalizing the memory of Cicero. One of the Roman historians and declaimers relating the death of Cicero (in *Suasoria* 6 of Seneca the Elder), Severus testifies to the process of reduction of Cicero to intellect and pure form in the schools. It was in the school environment, as demonstrated by Robert Kaster,¹⁷ that Cicero was transformed into the embodiment of a classic, entering the canon of *idonei auctores* as the symbol of Latin’s stylistic excellence. In reconfiguring him as verbal *ingenium*, students turned the Republican orator into a new authorial figure. And ‘becoming’ Cicero was thought as essential to the acquisition of power and prestige in Roman elite society.

Needless to say, no one had ever questioned Cicero’s prominent role in Latin language and in the intellectual formation of the young. The third section of this volume (*The Portrait of the Ideal Orator*) tries to shed further light of the reception of Cicero as a master of the Roman language, at the same time exploring the impact exercised by Ciceronian *Latinitas* on ancient and modern education. The first contribution (Catherine E. W. Steel, *The Reception of Cicero’s Speeches in the Early Empire*) reads the reception of Cicero’s speeches in Seneca the Elder’s collection, Asconius Pedianus’ historical commentary and Quintilian’s pedagogical handbook as instrumental in determining the diversity of Ciceronian images which cultured readers were familiar with. As demonstrated by the variety of approaches by which students and scholars looked at the *Pro Milone*, in the early empire there were different ways to be a reader of Cicero’s speeches. Textual Cicero was not only used for didactic purposes. It was open to a plurality of readings reflecting the complexity of Cicero’s figure.

The second contribution (Henriette van der Blom, *Quintilian on Cicero’s Deliberative Oratory*) is specifically centered on Quintilian and his presentation of deliberative speeches. By re-examining Quintilian’s discussion of deliberative oratory (3.8) and observing how and at what extent changes in deliberative speeches and *contiones* mirrored new power dynamics in the Imperial age, this paper argues that Quintilian’s use of Cicero as a primary source for under-

¹⁶ Translation: Hollis 2007.

¹⁷ Kaster 1998.

standing Republican and Imperial deliberative oratory sets out rhetorical theory and oratory in historical perspective, serving as well the purpose to train contemporary would-be orators under a monarchical regime. For Quintilian, Cicero's speeches in the Senate and *contiones* illustrate the true nature of great oratory and represent a perfect example of how the *vir bonus dicendi peritus* displays his oratorical qualities in debate speeches at best. In portraying a multi-faceted Cicero, deeply influenced by Cicero's self-presentation and later reworkings of the Republican orator, and stressing the importance of deliberative speeches for Republican and contemporary society, Quintilian advocates the ideal of good oratory and instructs his pupils in building their careers as orators on Cicero, the undisputed champion of deliberative oratory.

In the third contribution (Andrew J. Sillett, *Quousque tandem: The Reception of a Catchphrase*) Cicero's consular *persona* is revisited through the reception of the famous motto opening the first Catilinarian speech, *quousque tandem*, a catchphrase becoming synonymous with Cicero in the modern world. Looking at contemporary resonances and echoes of Cicero's words, acquiring a canonical status through the times, this paper follows the fascinating journey of the Ciceronian formulation, starting with Sallust's inversion in the mouth of Cicero's archetypical foe (Sall. *Cat.* 20.9) and Livy's redeployment in Manlius' speech (6.18.5) to end with Pliny the Younger (*ep.* 2.10.1–2), Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.28–4–6; 1.13.4) and the unusual, parodic treatment in Apuleius *Metamorphoses* (3.27). It suggests that the manipulation of Cicero's phrase in different works and times reflects the moral ambivalence of its author, at the same time responding to the early empire process of simplification of Cicero into a caricatural figure.

The following contribution (Barbara Del Giovane, *Da iocosus a consularis scurra. Rappresentazioni del Cicerone umorista*), analyzes a minor but interesting aspect of Cicero's reception, i.e., the portrait of Cicero as a humourist. Starting from a re-examination of the ancient literary judgments on Cicero as a master of irony, it points to the commonly perceived absence of moderation in Cicero's use of jests and verbal jokes and observes that later receptions tended to focus on the opposition between the ideal of wit declared by Cicero in his works and the irony displayed outside theoretical and 'programmatical' contexts of his rhetorical *corpus*.

In the last contribution (Leanne Jansen, Christoph Pieper, Bram van der Velde, *Reperforming Cicero's Voice: Constructions and Negotiations of His Vox Publica*), Cicero's public persona as orator is revisited in connection with his self-portrait as a textualized 'voice'. After examining how the orator staged and re-invented his voice in his speeches, this paper turns its attention to the restaging and rewriting of Cicero's voice in later authors, also offering a comparative Renaissance example of re-vocalizing Cicero.

4 Cicero in Politics

The last section of the volume (*Cicero in Politics*) provides readers and scholars with a fresh account of the history of the reception of Cicero as a statesman in the latest centuries. Cicero as historical and political figure was crucial to the interpretation of some of the most dramatic political events occurring in the latest centuries of our era. Idealized as the ideal politician and at the same time heavily censured for his political deeds, Cicero represented a constant point of reference for intellectuals and politicians from the Enlightenment to the dictatorial regimes of the 20th century. The first contribution (Igor Moraes Santos, *Montesquieu on Cicero. Historiographical, Political and Philosophical Dimensions of a Modern Portrait*) illustrates Montesquieu's portrait of Cicero and its relevance to European culture of the following two centuries. It highlights three aspects of the French philosopher's interpretation of Cicero: Cicero as historiographical source, historical figure, and philosopher. By examining Montesquieu's several works, in which Cicero's life and ideas are discussed or his texts are used for argumentation, this paper is purposed to offer a comprehensive view on the role played by Cicero in Montesquieu's historical and political thought.

The second contribution (Francesca Romana Berno, *Cicero in the Shadow of the Bastille*), concentrates on modern politics, focusing on that critical moment of Western history which was the French revolution. Indeed, the *révolutionnaires* tried hardly to show their affinity with the most renown Republic at all – the Roman one. Hence the idealization of Cicero, for his Republican ideals and battles against Clodius, Catilina and Antony. This paper shows how everyone, from every side, tried to present himself as Cicero, and his enemy as Catilina. Special focus is given to the famous trial against the King, which presents striking affinities with the trial against the Catilinarians, and to another, less known trial against a professor of Latin who was accused of reading Cicero in a dangerous way. In a similar way, this paper touches upon the figure of Robespierre, whose fascinating and controversial character was compared to both Cicero and Catilina.

The third contribution (Philippe Rousselot, *Cicéron face aux dictateurs, 1920–1945*), finally, calls our attention to Europe and dictatorship and totalitarianism of the first decades of the 20th century, a period that witnessed a significant lack of interest in the personage of Cicero. In three different ways, but with salient common features, the regimes of Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler forgot Cicero. While celebrating other figures of Antiquity, an Antiquity disguised by totalitarian ideology – Spartacus, Caesar, Augustus – they showed radical indiffer-

ence to Cicero, reputed as a man incapable of understanding the reasons behind historical and political changes.

As we said at the outset of this Introduction, every age had its Cicero. Appreciated and despised, eulogized for his mastery of eloquence and at the same time heavily censured for his ambiguous involvement in politics, acclaimed as a martyr of the free Republic yet criticized for the limits of his endurance in unpleasant life experiences: Cicero had been at the very center of the debate over morality, politics, and literature since his lifetime. Nonetheless, Cicero had never ceased to be read, reworked, imitated, and depicted in different, often contrasting, ways. The multifaced portrait of Cicero is the portrait of one of the most discussed, yet most read, writers in Antiquity. The long history of the reception of Cicero demonstrates that it had never existed a single Cicero. Different *personae* in different cultures and ages: the wide spectrum of portraits of Cicero, from orator and model of *sapientia* to statesman and defender of Republican ideals, teaches us that when we look at the reception of Cicero, we must first think about *what* Cicero we are reading and examining, a ‘special’ Cicero, constantly revisited in tune with the social, political, and aesthetic changes occurring throughout the times. With a very few classical authors, Cicero has exerted so a durable impact on European and Western culture. Our civilization would not have been the same without Cicero. We might add that Western culture would not have been the same without such a great, fascinating variety of ‘Ciceros’.

