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Tully's the Fashion: Ciceronian Fame in Frances Burney's *Cecilia*

KIRSTEN HALL

In one of *Cecilia*'s great comic scenes, Frances Burney entertains her readers with a parade of "ridiculous" and "ludicrous" guests at the Harrels' fashionable London masquerade (106). Separated by over two hundred years from Burney and her original audience, modern readers might find it difficult to track the flight of her satiric darts. This is especially true when Cecilia catches sight of a gentleman dressed in Ciceronian costume:

> Soon after, a gentleman desiring some lemonade whose toga spoke the consular dignity, though his broken English betrayed a native of France, the school-master followed him, and, with reverence the most profound began to address him in Latin; but, turning quick towards him, he gayly said "Monsieur, j'ai l'honneur de representer Ciceron, le grand Ciceron, pere de sa patrie! mais quoique j'ai cet honneur lá, je ne suit pas pedant!—mon dieu, Monsieur, je ne parle que le François dans la bonne compagnie!" And, politely bowing, he went on.[1] (122)

At first glance, this brief scene is utterly forgettable because today Cicero is "at best an interesting politician and a master of a certain Latin style; at worst he is a bore or an unknown" (Gay 106). But to Burney and her readers, this scene is richly satirical. Burney's portrait suggests that Cicero's name evokes an ideal of elegance and enlightenment—a fashionable ideal from which the French masquerader comically falls short.

By the time of *Cecilia*'s publication, the "great Cicero" of the eighteenth century was famous to a wide London public and equally at home in Parliament and at parties.[2] At the heart of this fame was an ideal of virtue that deeply appealed to many of Cicero's admirers in the Enlightenment. But Cicero was not without his critics, as his character came under scrutiny: readers had begun to notice that Cicero's public persona in his orations and treatises was far more virtuous than his

character in his private correspondence. As a result, Cicero's rhetorical self-fashioning in his public writings was sometimes seen as reinforcing his own fame at the expense of truth. At the same time, the desire to be like Tully, as he was frequently and affectionately called during this period, persisted alongside these controversies. His popularity was newly manifest in eighteenth-century material culture as it had become the height of fashion for his name and face to appear on books, jewelry, clothing, shop signs, prints, and home décor. Burney's portrait of the masquerader reflects this precarious balance between admiration and critique. While she shared her culture's admiration for Tully, she had misgivings about those, like the Ciceronian Frenchman, for whom emulation was an affectation and an opportunity for celebrity mongering.

This essay will explore the nature of Cicero's fame and Burney's response to that popularity in her novel *Cecilia*. I will argue that Burney exposes her society's affectation of Ciceronian virtue—an affectation that mirrors the hypocritical self-fashioning of which Cicero himself may have been guilty. As an antidote to the object of her satire, Burney posits a heroine who is capable of exceeding her Ciceronian model. Like Cicero's treatise *De Officiis*, *Cecilia* can be seen as a meditation on fame and virtue. The novel presents a heroine who, like Cicero, strives for virtue and fame. Coming in the wake of Cicero's biographical controversies, the novel also contemplates the nature of ambition and whether ambition and virtue can coexist. Burney enjoyed Cicero in translation, and as I will show, found herself torn between admiration of his practical ethics and anxiety that reading his works would make her appear intellectually affected. As a result, there are few overt mentions of Cicero in her works, making his appearance at the masquerade an exceptional moment that, in keeping with the tradition of disguise, hides a larger intellectual purpose.[3]

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A philosopher, politician, and orator, Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC) lived in a turbulent political climate of civil wars, the assassination of Julius Caesar, and the fall of the Roman Republic. After ascending the political ladder to become a consul and one of Rome's most respected legal advocates, he was forced

into periodic retreats from political life because of his defense of old Republican ideals. It was during these times that Cicero composed his philosophical, political, and rhetorical treatises, including *De Officiis, Laelius De Amicitia*, and *De Legibus*. He was also a prodigious correspondent, and his letters to his friends and family provide a remarkable portrait of the man and an intimate glimpse of Roman political life.[4] Since his assassination at the hands of the Second Triumvirate, Cicero has enjoyed a monumental legacy, and it is impossible to do justice to his impact on two thousand years of European intellectual and political history.

That every Londoner knew Cicero's name was in large part due to affordable translations of Cicero's works by fashionable booksellers, making his work accessible to those, like Burney herself, without the benefit of a classical education. William Guthrie (1708–70) and William Melmoth (1710–99) were two of Cicero's more widely read translators, and both were part of Samuel Johnson's literary circle. When Burney was introduced to Melmoth in 1780, however, he did not make a good impression on her. "Mr. Melmouth," she writes, "seems intolerably self-sufficient; appears to look upon himself as the first man in Bath; & has a proud conceit in look & manner mighty forbidding" (*EJL* 4: 99–100). Several of Guthrie's and Melmoth's English editions would have been available to Burney in her father's library as well as in the Thrales' home at Streatham Park, where she was a frequent visitor between 1778 and 1783.[5]

Beyond a relish for translations of Cicero's works, there was a flourishing market for works about his life. An interest in the personality behind the pen was a relatively late development in the history of Cicero's fame. Howard Jones has pointed out that while Cicero was a popular writer in the Middle Ages, "his career as an orator and statesman, his political ideals, the affairs of his life, these were matters of no interest, even to those who cite him most often" (64). Petrarch's discovery of Cicero's personal letters in 1345 marked the beginning of a more integrated view of Cicero's writings and life that would continue through the eighteenth century (Jones 81). Between 1684 and 1688, Dryden and a team of scholars translated Plutarch's *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, and George,

Lord Lyttelton supplemented it with *Observations on the Life of Cicero* fifty years later in 1733. The most famous and controversial biography of Cicero was Conyers Middleton's bestselling *Life of Cicero*, which was published in 1741 and went through a remarkable eight London editions by 1767 (Smith 169). "I have just finished Middleton's History of Cicero," writes Burney in 1771, "which I read immediately after Hooke's Roman History: it is a Delightful Book: the style is manly & elegant, & though he may be too partial to Cicero, the fine writings he occasionally translates of that great man, Authorise & excuse his partiality" (*EJL* 1: 167). Burney was not the only one who felt Middleton's biography had been too complimentary. In fact, her comment hints at the growing sense in the eighteenth century that Cicero's virtue was little more than a self-fashioned façade that masked inefficient and corrupt political decisions. Colley Cibber, for example, responded with *The Character and Conduct of Cicero Considered* (1741) in which he made it clear that his goal was to give a more balanced account of Cicero's character and legacy than Middleton had (Fox 333). The debate over Cicero's character is of central importance to understanding his fame during the Georgian era, and it is a question to which I will return later in this essay.

Ciceronian works were proudly displayed in storefront windows of bookshops, where they were apparently thought so saleable that, in one instance, some volumes were shoplifted and sold to another bookseller.[6] The theft of valuable Ciceronian tomes was apparently not uncommon, as the Old Bailey records similar thefts.[7] Booksellers took advantage of the growing market for Cicero and emblazoned his face on their store signage. Before the advent of street numbers, businesses marked their storefronts with trade signs that featured familiar cultural symbols and icons (Hamling 88). Literary heads were particularly popular for booksellers (Raven 276). As Cicero's features were iconic and instantly recognizable by the London public, a number of "Tully's Head" and "Cicero's Head" bookshops graced the fashionable district of London: Herman Noorthouck's Cicero's Head in Maiden Lane in Covent Garden, Thomas Becket's Tully's Head in the Strand, Thomas Walker at Cicero's Head in Dame Street, and John Nichols and William Bowyer at Cicero's Head in Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street.

The most notable of these bookshops was Robert and James Dodsley's Tully's Head, located at a modish Pall Mall address. Strategically choosing a location that was close "to the coffee houses, rumour mills, and smart meeting places of St James and Whitehall," Robert Dodsley opened Tully's Head in Pall Mall in 1735 (Raven 188). He partnered with his younger brother James in 1750, and upon Robert's retirement in 1759, James took over the business until his death in 1797. According to James Raven, "Tully's Head was to become one of the most distinguished bookshops of the century," publishing the works of the most celebrated literary names in the eighteenth century, including Johnson, Pope, Burke, Sterne, and Akenside (187). The reputation of Tully's Head sheds light on Burney's aspirations, for she sent her manuscript of *Evelina* to James Dodsley in 1776. Unfortunately, Dodsley would not consider an anonymous submission, so she instead took *Evelina* to Thomas Lowndes in Fleet Street (Harman 92). Regardless, the fact remains that for Burney, as for other writers like Edward Young (1683-1765) whose title page to his *Night Thoughts* (1743) features an image of Tully's bust (Figure 1), the Ciceronian brand on the title pages of their volumes had become a way to promote their own literary fame.[8]

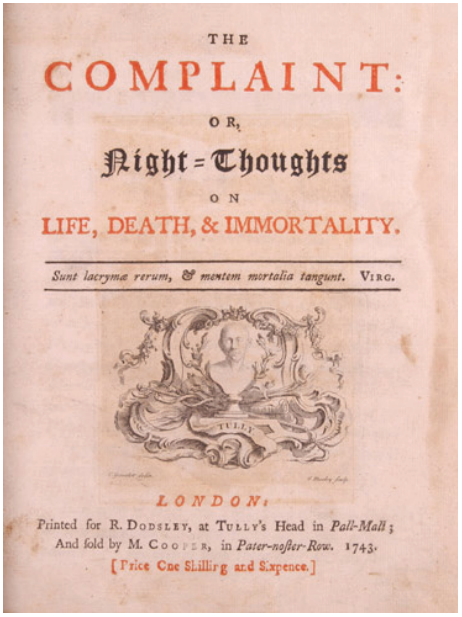
THE
COMPLAINT:
OR,
Night-Thoughts
ON
LIFE, DEATH, & IMMORTALITY.
Sunt lacrymæ rerum, & mentem mortalia tangunt. VIRG.
LONDON:
Printed for R. DODSLEY, at TULLY's Head in *Pall-Mall*;
And sold by M. COOPER, in *Pater-noster-Row*. 1743.
[Price One Shilling and Sixpence.]

Figure 1: Title page to *Night Thoughts*. London, 1743.

Cicero's celebrity spread well beyond bookshops into the streets, public houses, and private residences of Londoners. Celebrity in the eighteenth century relied not only on an individual's cult of personality but also on commercializing that fame through material objects—a phenomenon that often started at the highest levels of society (Postle 17, Barchas and Straub 9). Amongst the British aristocracy, Cicero worship started with the practice of collecting ancient Roman treasures—including marbles, gems, vases, and medals—on the Grand Tour of Italy. Lord Burlington brought back a statue of Cicero from Rome to adorn Chiswick House while Lord Chesterfield acquired an antique bust of Cicero for his library at Chesterfield House (Ayres 138). The printer John Brooks shows the bust displayed in a niche in the background of his portrait of Chesterfield (Figure 2). Viccy Coltman describes how "Rome was as much a marketplace as a museum: a commercial site of buyers, agents, dealers, artists, sculptors, and bureaucrats" (58). In her *Observations and Reflections made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany* (1789), which Queen Charlotte read aloud to Burney to their "mutual delight" while Burney was at court, Hester Thrale Piozzi describes the culture of collecting ancient Roman artifacts: "Every dish and plate, however, being the portrait as one may say of some famous Etruscan vase, or other antique, dug out of the ruins of these newly discovered cities, with an account of its supposed story engraved neatly round the figure, makes it interesting and elegant, and worthy of one prince to accept, and another to bestow" (Franklin; Piozzi 42). While it seems that Piozzi looked on the practice with a certain skepticism, she undoubtedly participated herself: after returning to England, she redecorated Streatham Park in "Italianate splendor," crowned with two Etruscan vases that had supposedly been discovered among the ruins of Cicero's villa at Tusculum (Franklin; *Auction catalogue*).

Figure 2: Print by John Brooks. *Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield.* © National Portrait Gallery, London.

According to his letters, Cicero was a passionate collector who filled his villas with *objets d'art*, a practice that inspired the British taste for collecting (Ayres 136). But Cicero also kindled a desire for travelers on the Grand Tour to collect what he had collected. The fever for relics from Cicero's villas was a passion with which Burney would have been familiar. At Anna, Lady Miller's (1741–1781) notorious gatherings in Batheaston, she requested that her guests—who included contemporary celebrities such as David Garrick, Samuel Johnson, Anna Seward, and Horace Walpole—place a copy of verses as tribute into an antique vase (Lee; Walpole 407). This vase, which Walpole described sardonically as "a Roman vase dressed with pink ribbons and myrtles," was supposedly rescued, like Hester Thrale Piozzi's Etruscan vases, from the ruins of Cicero's villa at Tusculum in 1759 (Walpole 407). After dancing and dining, a panel of judges would read and select the best original poetry, and Lady Miller would crown the triumphant poets with wreaths of myrtle. To guarantee her guests' *kleos*, Lady Miller collected and published the vase's poetry in a bestselling work entitled *Poetical Amusements at a Villa Near Bath* (1775–81), in which she pays tribute to her vase with a short account of its Ciceronian origins and a "tolerable representation in the Frontispiece, with its decorations of Laurel Branches, &c. upon its present modern altar" (vii; Figure 3).[9] By the time Burney was famous enough to be invited to visit Lady Miller in Bath in 1780, "the Vase," for better or for worse, had become legendary enough to warrant her comment on its absence: "Thursday is still their public Day for Company, though the Business of the Vase is over for this season … I saw the place appropriated for the Vase, but at this Time it was removed" (*EJL* 4: 166). Unsurprisingly, Burney shared Johnson's and Walpole's distaste for Lady Miller's tawdry, "tonish" desire to be the center of Bath's fashionable world (*EJL* 4: 127). It seems remarkable that members of Burney's social circle owned three authentic relics from Cicero's villa, leading one to suspect that Roman antiquities dealers had swindled her friends.

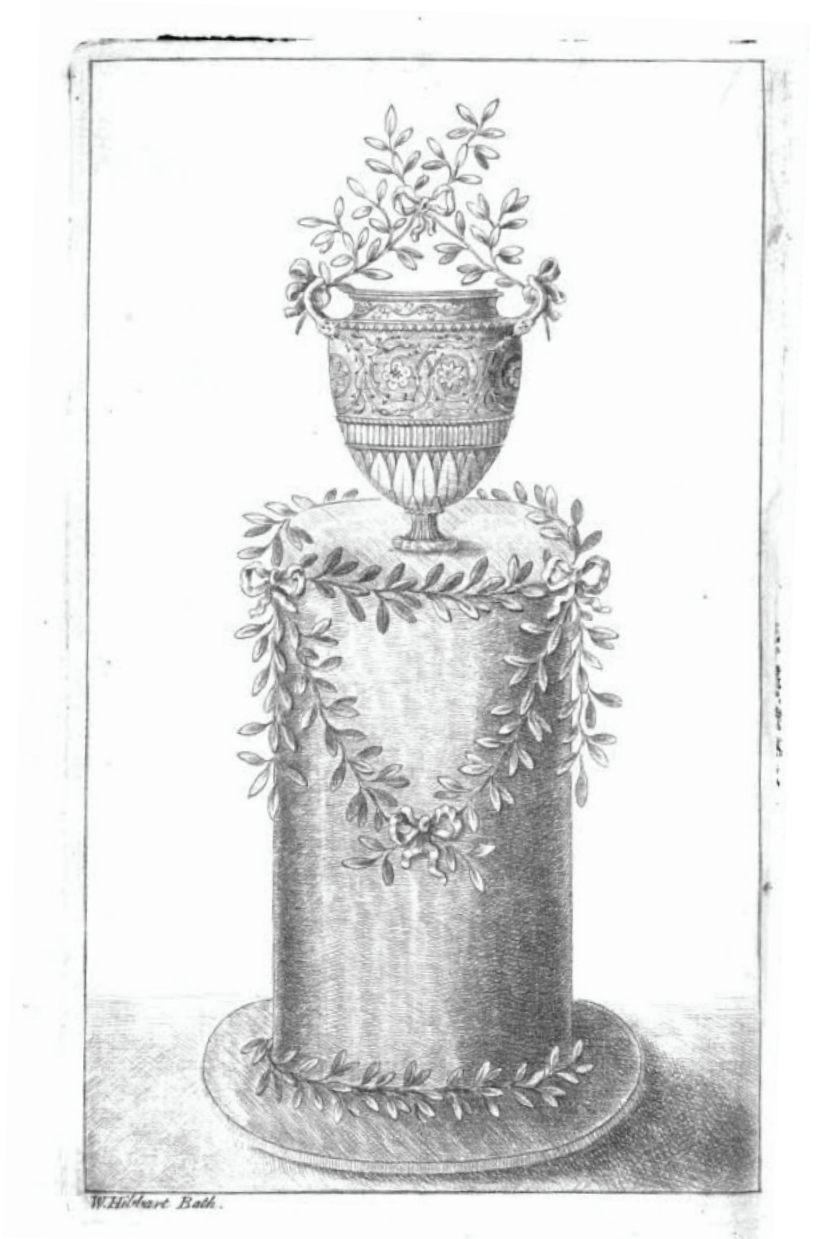

Figure 3: Frontispiece to Lady Miller's *Poetical Amusements at a Villa Near Bath*. London, 1776.

But the possibility of a market in fakes only reinforced Cicero's fame: Ciceronian wares had become so desirable that by the middle of the eighteenth century they had to be duplicated either as illegal copies or as honest reproductions sold at affordable prices.[10] While only an elite few could afford a genuine Ciceronian vase, many could own mass-produced reproductions of one.[11]

Josiah Wedgwood embraced the tenet that to succeed commercially in the world of fashion and fame, one must "monopolize the aristocratic market, and thus win for his ware a special distinction, a social cachet which would filter through to all classes of society" (McKendrick 110). Or, as Wedgwood himself put it in 1771, one must "begin at the *Head* first, & then proceed to the inferior members" (McKendrick 110). Wedgwood and Richard Bentley harnessed the prestige associated with aristocratic collecting in their 1772 catalogue, which introduced novel products to the English pottery market: vases, plaques, cameos, intaglios, rings, and busts inspired by Roman and Greek antiquities that the genteel classes could purchase at a reasonable price (Young 13). To design his products, Wedgwood consulted antiquarians and architects and was granted permission by members of the nobility to access their collections of authentic antique treasures (Young 14). In the preface to the catalogue, Wedgwood reassured his customers that reproducing aristocratic rarities would not lessen their value, but enhance it: "Nor can these be any surer way of rendering an exquisite piece, possessed by an individual, famous, without diminishing the value of the original; for the more copies there are of any works, as of the 'Venus de' Medici,' for instance, the more celebrated the original will be, and the more honour derived to the possessor" (Wedgwood 29). Wedgwood and Bentley's business success, it seems, was based on wisdom as old as the Bible: glory miraculously grows when the multitudes are fed.

Based on the catalogue's contents, portraits of Cicero in the form of busts, cameos, and medallions appear to have been among the most sought-after designs.

Figure 4: Wedgwood's Library
Bust of Cicero (1775)
The Wedgwood Museum.

Basalt library busts of Cicero—along with busts of Horace and George II—were the first three busts that Wedgwood produced between 1770 and 1773. (See Figure 4 for a slightly later version and design of the Ciceronian bust.) The black body of basalt was chosen to mimic the appearance of Etruscan vases, perhaps like those Hester Thrale Piozzi and Lady Miller owned (Meteyard 18–19). But while the stoneware was a more affordable alternative to Etruscan bronze, Wedgwood advertised it as just as, if not more, durable: "for after time has destroyed even marbles and bronzes," Wedgwood wrote, "these copies will remain, and will transmit the productions of genius and the portraits of illustrious men, to the most distant times" (55). The choice of material reinforced the immortality of Cicero and, by association, the fame and prestige of both the manufacturer and owner.

Tellingly, as the Cicero tchotchke in Figure 5 suggests, other manufacturers followed suit, flooding the market with a range of further Tully-inspired porcelain collectables and accessories in the

period. Intaglios, as in Figure 6, and cameos, as in Figure 7, were an especially fashionable way to show Tully devotion. In ancient Rome, cameos had "not only advertised the taste and wealth of the men and women who wore them but also, through the images they bore, professed their wearers' virtue and devotion to the gods or to political forces" (Draper 6).

Figure 5: Pearlware Bust of Cicero (ca. 1810).
Martyn Edgell Antiques Ltd.

Figure 6: Intaglio, ca. 1810-1820 of Cicero. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

In Georgian England, cameos and intaglios played a similar role, allowing wearers to associate themselves with the reputations of the classical personages that adorned their jewelry. These intaglios, if set in rings, could be used to seal and add *gravitas* to letters that imitated Cicero's popular epistolary style.

Beyond seals and jewelry, it was possible to run into painted, printed, sculpted, and even embroidered representations of Rome's greatest orator. For example, the men's court waistcoat from the 1780s shown in Figure 8 features an elaborate Ciceronian motif.

Figure 7: Cameo, early 19th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The circular silk medallions, which recall Wedgwood's cameos, evoke the wall paintings that had been recently discovered at Cicero's Villa in Herculaneum, which had been published in an eight-volume collection called *The Antiquities of Herculaneum* between 1757 and 1792. Contrary to Cecilia's miserly guardian Mr. Briggs's words that waistcoats are "nothing but tinsel, all shew and no substance" (96), the lavish silks and laces of court fashion could serve as a canvas on which aristocrats could represent political ideals, alliances, or oppositions.[12] In the case of the Ciceronian coat, the design could be interpreted in a number of ways. One possibility is that this waistcoat projects the original owner's non-partisan position in favor of political liberty and civic virtue. As Ayres has argued, members of Britain's ruling class, Tory and Whig alike, strove to "image themselves as virtuous Romans" shaping Britain "as a land of liberty, opportunity and democracy" (xiii, 13).

Figure 8: Men's court waistcoat. ca. 1780–1790. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Some, like John Toland, explicitly advised that the British state turn to Cicero's theory of the ideal government and constitution in *De republica* as the model that could best secure civil liberty and freedom under the law (Gawlick 665–67). In partisan politics, Tories and Whigs found it rhetorically effective to assert their superiority over the opposing party by claiming that they truly upheld Ciceronian *amor patriae*.

It is also possible that the coat's design speaks to particular political events. The proliferation of Cicero in political cartoons and prints of the 1780s and early '90s goes to show just how germane

he was to the political climate in the decade *Cecilia* was published.[13] The trial of Warren Hastings (1788–95) was the most important of these Ciceronian political moments. John Boyne's "Cicero Against Verres" (1787) shows Edmund Burke, who modeled his prosecution of Hastings on Cicero's *Verrine Orations*, in the costume and posture of the Roman orator (Figure 9).[14] The trial, which Burney attended and vividly recorded in her diary, charged Hastings with misconduct during his time as Governor-General of India and famously and brilliantly drew on the similarities to Caius Verres' "vicious misgovernment" of Sicily (Ayres 42).[15] Burney remarks on the effectiveness of Burke's classical references, writing in her diary, "his allusions & quotations, as far as they were english and within my reach, were apt and ingenious" (*CJL* 3: 139). Because Cicero led the prosecution against Verres in 70 BC, it is clear that Burke, through these allusions and quotations, was attempting to establish his Roman political lineage, fashioning himself as a British Cicero who would safeguard his nation's foreign interests. Yet for every serious imitator of Cicero, there were at least as many shallow acolytes. In the case of the waistcoat, it is reasonable to suspect that, like Burney's Frenchman, its original owner donned his Ciceronian garb without any better reason than the time's vogue for Roman political ideals.

In short, *Cecilia* was published in the midst of an era when it was hardly an exaggeration to say, as one Londoner did as early as 1732, "Every one fancies himself to be a Cicero" (*Old Bailey* 1732). The appearance of a toga-wearing gentleman at a masquerade is not an anomaly, but just one of the many ways Tully filled the private and public spaces of Burney's London. His fame was marketed to polite and popular consumers alike: artisans and manufacturers like Wedgwood drew on and reinforced the fashionable status of Tully amongst elite consumers by producing affordable products that made his fame desirable and accessible to the London public. As is evident from these wide-ranging items, from glass paste intaglios to authentic Etruscan vases, Cicero was not only on the mantelpieces but also on the minds of Londoners. It is worth reiterating that these fashionable objects are the trappings of a more deeply rooted preoccupation with Cicero. In a society that increasingly insisted on the virtues of trade

and consumerism, it makes sense that commercial goods were a way to disseminate virtue itself.[16]

Figure 9: John Boyne (ca. 1750–1810). "Cicero Against Verres" (1787). Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

Or, as Horace Walpole put it, "the tongue runs over *with virtù*" when one's "fingers are loaded with cameos (Walpole 406). As we have seen already, items like the waistcoat, cameos, and the proliferation of biographies point to the heart of Cicero's celebrity: the ideal of private and civic virtue that he came to represent. Cicero was not just the philosopher who wrote about virtue but was also the politician who practiced virtue and "embodied the *vita activa*" (Gay 192). Burney's world is one in which objects point to a larger concern for fame and for public and private virtue—an ethical view, in other words, refracted through the glittering prism of fashion and celebrity.

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Cicero's cultural significance in the eighteenth century is further reflected in Burney's *Cecilia*. After looking more closely at Burney's satire of the Ciceronian gentleman's pretensions and affectation of celebrity, I will explore how the novel's preoccupation with virtue and fame comments upon her era's Ciceronian inheritance. Burney's ambivalent attitude towards Cicero in the novel suggests that the desire for Cicero's fame, and particularly for his practice of virtue, must be mediated by awareness that ostentation and pedantry undermine virtue and turn it into mere affectation. Burney's ambivalence may have been fueled by her cultural context, for Burney wrote *Cecilia* during a time when the authenticity of Cicero's own virtue was under debate. As the poet Robert Jephson puts it in his *Roman Portraits*, "Though fond of virtue, more he lov'd the fame" (1217). Eighteenth-century readers had begun to suspect that Cicero's portrayals of his own virtue were an attempt to be remembered and celebrated for his character rather than an accurate portrayal of his actions. In other words, Cicero was perhaps guilty of the same affectation Burney reflects upon almost two thousand years later: aspiring to fame for the sake of fame rather than for the sake of virtue.

As we return to Cicero's appearance at the masquerade, it becomes clear that Burney's satire aims at those who affect Cicero's fame in the absence of true knowledge. The words at the beginning of the chapter set the scene's governing motif of pretense: "the conceited efforts at wit, the total thoughtlessness of consistency, and the ridiculous incongruity of the language with the appearance,

were incitements to surprise and diversions without end" (106). The Frenchman's most obvious offense is an incongruity between language and appearance. Mr. Gosport, who is dressed as a schoolmaster, approaches and begins to address the Ciceronian gentleman in Latin only for him to respond in French. In one sense, the scene exposes the shortcomings of contemporary education, thus placing Burney in a tradition of British novelists like Tobias Smollett and Henry Fielding, who satirize Georgian society's abuse of classical learning.[17] Mr. Gosport's disguise as a schoolmaster puns on *cicerone*, a word that refers generally to a tutor or instructor and more specifically to a guide who explained the curiosities of antiquity to travelers on the Grand Tour. Of course, it is fitting that throughout the rest of the novel, Mr. Gosport serves as Cecilia's own personal *cicerone* for the human curiosities of "the ton." For centuries, Cicero had been the cornerstone on which elite educations were built in childhood and abandoned in adulthood.[18] Like the gentlemen in *Evelina* who struggle to recite Horatian odes long forgotten since their university days or Lady Smatter who misattributes her readings in *The Witlings*, the French Cicero unwittingly exposes what is really a pretense to, and a shallow grasp of, classical reading. Lady Smatter's words best capture his attitude: "if my pursuits were not made public, I should not have any at all, for where can be the pleasure of reading Books, and studying authors, if one is not to have the credit of talking of them?" (16). Lady Smatter and the French Cicero's "desire for celebrity" (16) through their reading is a marked contrast to Burney's own anxiety over public displays of learning, an anxiety she also expressed when Johnson attempted to teach her Latin in 1779.[19] Burney reverses Lady Smatter's sentiment in another remark to Johnson: "Sir, quoth I, courageously, I am always *afraid* of being caught Reading, lest I should pass for being *studious* or *affected*, & therefore, instead of making a *Display* of books, I always try to *hide* them" (*EJL* 3: 172). Her personal fear of pedantic display suggests just how pressing it was for her to move beyond ridicule in search of a solution: how can a sincere regard for the classics be put to good use in a society where displays of learning often amount to little more than ornament?

Affectation adds to the comedy in *Cecilia*, for not only does

the masquerader fail to speak Latin but he also speaks French rather than English. The French *philosophes* were particularly fervent in their admiration of Cicero's civic virtue and eloquence: Cicero was "*le plus grand philosophe des Romains, aussi bien que le plus eloquent*," as Voltaire once wrote (Sharpe 329).[20] A young Montesquieu expressed his own fancy to be Cicero: "*Cicéron est, de tous les anciens, celui qui a eu le plus de mérite personnel, et à qui j'aimerois mieux ressembler*" (Gawlick 659). The sentiment of Burney's Ciceronian Frenchman was so frequently repeated in England's own political literature during the eighteenth century that the Frenchman's encomium to Cicero as "the father of his country" would have struck readers in the 1780s as the most hackneyed of opinions (Ayres 6–7). At the same time, the moment reads as a satiric evocation of another platitude: Lord Chesterfield's famous advice to his son that the ideal gentleman ought to combine Roman *gravitas* with the easy elegance and *politesse* of the French (Ayres 53). The French Cicero's clumsy attempt to reassert his dignity by using a threadbare phrase that the *philosophes* had used one too many times, and his weak defense that, like the perfect gentleman, he will speak only French in "polite" company ensures that he appears neither polite nor enlightened in the eyes of Burney's audience.

While Burney satirizes the French gentleman's fashionable Ciceronian affectations, she reaffirms in her heroine a virtuous ideal embodied by Cicero—or at least the virtuous ideal Cicero had crafted. From the beginning, *Cecilia* explores the possibility of virtue in the face of ambition and affectation as Cecilia attempts to put her classical reading to good use. The novel opens with Cecilia's prayer for the immortality of her parents' virtue: "Peace to the spirits of my honoured parents, respected be their remains, and immortalized their virtues! may time, while it moulders their frail relicks to dust, commit to tradition the record of their goodness" (5). This remarkable first sentence recalls a similar panegyric to parental virtue in Cicero's *De Officiis*. Composed as a letter to his son Marcus, *De Officiis* lays out what Cicero calls the "noblest Inheritance that can ever be left by a Father to his Son, and far exceeding that of Houses and Lands, is the Fame of his Virtues and glorious Actions" (L'Estrange 111).[21] Central to Cicero's *De Officiis* and Burney's *Cecilia* is the desire to chronicle virtuous legacies

and, moreover, to recognize that virtue is inherited. In Cicero's time, Romans believed that good character, or *ethos*, was passed on from generation to generation (May 6). This is evident from *De Officiis*, which distills a lifetime of experiential wisdom and passes it on to the next generation of Romans. Similarly, the beginning of *Cecilia* takes seriously the Roman concept of *mos maiorum* (ancestral precedent), showing the heroine honoring and vowing to carry the torch of her parents' legacy in the use of her finances and the regulation of conduct. From this perspective, Cecilia's status as an heiress gives her both a material and an ethical responsibility.

Because Cicero's fame in the eighteenth century stems in part from his ethical teachings, his work was deeply influential on moral philosophy throughout the period, and works such as James Beattie's *Elements of Moral Science* (1790–93) and Thomas Reid's *Essays on the Active Powers of Man* (1788) extensively cite and discuss Cicero (Heydt 370–71). Others, such as Edward Bentham's *Introduction to Moral Philosophy* (1746), include Ciceronian epigraphs on their title pages while Sterne's narrator in *Tristram Shandy* playfully names Cicero as among the "best ethick writers" (2). But from Cicero's own canon, no work was better seen to celebrate his lifetime's achievement of thought and action than *De Officiis*. To Hume, it was the work in which "the fame of Cicero flourishes" (Schofield 86). Burney, too, once commented on the usefulness of Cicero's philosophy to the conduct of daily life. In a letter to her son, she advises that his "Cicero reading … must, in every way, & upon every project, be good for your taste as well as instruction" (*JL* 11: 53). Part of what makes Cicero's philosophy so appealing during the Enlightenment was its practical bent. Not only did his philosophy seem simple and accessible, Gawlick argues, but Cicero himself also emphasized again and again the need to fuse thought and action (658). The philosopher, Cicero said, must also be a statesman.

But the more interesting, and certainly more difficult, question that vexed eighteenth-century Ciceronians was whether Tully had practiced the philosophy he preached or whether his own ambition for fame and glory had undermined the virtue he was hoping to attain. Indeed, this issue will recall this paper's earlier discussion of

the controversies surrounding biographies about Cicero in which biographers and readers began to notice the ways in which Cicero's virtuous self-representation had actually fallen short of reality. To address this, we will need to begin with Cicero's and Burney's shared impulses to chronicle legacies of virtue. In order to succeed in the world of Roman oratory and politics, it was essential to secure *auctoritas, gratia, gloria, existimatio, and dignitas* (May 7). For the Romans, it was not enough to wield *ethos* as a mere rhetorical tool of persuasion as it had been for the ancient Greeks since ethos had to be established in all aspects of a Roman politician's life: his bearing, his actions, and his family's reputation (May 9). Cicero arrived in Rome as a young *novus homo,* meaning that he was the first in his family to serve in the Roman senate as elected consul. Because the young orator "had no ancestral deeds to commend his character or waxen images to decorate his halls," Cicero understood how crucial it was to deliberately self-fashion *ethos* (May 13). In his book *Making a New Man*, John Dugan argues that throughout his life Cicero took seriously the notion "*talis oratio, quails vita*": the orator's words reflect his character and actions (3). Without family legacy and without military achievements to establish his virtue, Cicero, Dugan argues, turned to publishing his orations and his philosophical works to fashion a virtuous persona and secure *ethos* among his contemporaries and future readers. When Burney and her contemporaries picked up a copy of *De Officiis*, they were reading Cicero's attempt to provide Roman citizens with a guide to the moral duties that regulate daily life as well as the culmination of a lifetime of promoting his own renown as a virtuous leader of the Republic.

When Cicero's readers turned with interest from his *oratio* to his *vita*, they were surprised and dismayed to discover, especially in his letters, a different side to his personality than that of the virtuous *rhetor* familiar from his orations and treatises.[22] Lyttelton's biography was the first in the eighteenth century to call attention to Cicero's hypocrisy: "If we may take his own word, Rome had not a more unspotted Patriot to boast of than himself: But I doubt when we look strictly into his Conduct, we shall often find it very different from theirs who really deserve that Name; and it will appear even from the Testimony of his

own Letters, in which he spoke more naturally and with less vanity than he does in his Orations, that his publick character was far from being Perfect" (2). This was a shock to those in the eighteenth century who had adopted the neo-Ciceronian ideal of "*talis oratio, quails vita,*" and the debate over Middleton's later biography of Cicero only threw the question of the orator's ethical disposition and the formation of private and public virtue into sharper relief (Smith 171). An exchange between the characters in Maria Edgeworth's novel *Belinda* (1801) elegantly captures what had evidently been a conversation repeated in other drawing rooms over the course of the century:

> "Cicero was certainly right," continued [Clarence Hervey], addressing himself to Mr Vincent, "in his definition of a great orator, to make it one of the first requisites, that he should be a good man."
>
> Mr. Vincent coldly replied, "This definition would exclude too many men of superior talents, to be easily admitted."
>
> "Perhaps the appearance of virtue," said Belinda, "might, on many occasions, succeed as well as the reality."
>
> "Yes, if the man be as good an actor as Mr. Hervey," said Lady Delacour, "and if he suit 'the action to the word'— 'the word to the action.'" (349)

These comments are fairly representative of the responses readers would have had in the debate over Cicero's character, but it is Mr. Vincent's more jaded outlook that most closely reflects the backlash of Lyttelton, Cibber, and others against Middleton's biography. "Superior talents," Mr. Vincent seems to say, imply the existence of ambition. Indeed, ambition was perceived to be at the heart of Cicero's hypocrisy. Much earlier, Plutarch insisted that Cicero's thirst for fame verged on "intemperate" and was symptomatic of a "vanity" that "interrupted the prosecution of his wisest designs" (Dryden 465). "Thy mad and memorable Desire for Fame," Cibber wrote in his witty apostrophe at the beginning of *The Character and Conduct of Cicero Considered*, "at last, has made thee Famous for thy Desire!" (Introduction). Cibber, Mr. Vincent, and Plutarch's assessment all point to the same crux, which Burney will explore in *Cecilia*: is it possible to be both ambitious

and virtuous? Or must ambition always undermine the practice of virtue? And as a related question: is it possible to be ambitious of virtue?

Unlike Cicero's *De Officiis*, which he wrote reflecting back on a life of political prestige, Burney wrote *Cecilia* at the height of her literary celebrity. It makes sense that Burney's second novel shares with *De Officiis* a preoccupation with the relationship between virtue and renown as well as a concern for the corrupting influence of ambition. Part of this interest may be attributed to Burney's personal experience with literary fame. As Margaret Anne Doody has observed, the composition and publication of *Cecilia* was a celebrity affair: "Rumours of its advent created long waiting lists at the circulating libraries … The first edition sold out rapidly. The book was discussed everywhere in London" (Introduction xi). The success of *Evelina* had also introduced Burney to London's elite literary circles, a development that she incorporates into *Cecilia*: "The novel entertains us with its nervous comic scenes of fashionable high life, introducing us to the cults of the 'Insensibilists', the 'Supercilious', and the 'Volubles'. The mannerisms betray the meaningless cultivation of personality as one of the diversions of the high bourgeoisie" (Introduction xviii). Immersed as she was in a world of pedantic conversations with Melmoth and frivolous parties at Lady Miller's home in Bath, it is no wonder that Burney turns her satiric eye to the affectations of fashionable society in *Cecilia*.

Doody's point about personalities as meaningless façades brings to mind the Frenchman's ridiculous attempts to cultivate Ciceronian refinement and virtue. In the same way that Mr. Gosport becomes Cecilia's *cicerone* for the absurdities of the ton, so too does Mr. Albany expose her to the underbelly of fashionable London behavior. Throughout the novel, he warns her against dissimulation and the "annihilation of virtue" (66). In a world where it is the fashion to don a personality as easily as one would don a costume, Cecilia's mask-less presence at the Harrels' party becomes a visual emblem for the way Burney's heroine stands apart from the false practitioners of virtue in the novel.

It is here that Cecilia's behavior begins to reflect upon Cicero

and the accusations that Cicero himself was a false practitioner of virtue. Just because Cicero had fallen short of his own philosophical principles did not devalue the ideal of virtue he espoused. If anything, what made Cicero's shortcomings all the more egregious was that he was still considered an expert on the theoretical practice of virtue: "What makes him the less excusable is, that none ever understood the Rules of Virtue or saw the Beauty of it more than he!" (Lyttelton 3). But at the same time, it also worth reiterating that Lyttelton's contempt was far from universal. In all likelihood, veneration for Cicero's character was as mixed as the opinions in *Belinda*: ranging from Mr. Hervey's faith in Cicero's word to Mr. Vincent's skepticism to Belinda's critical yet ultimately forgiving perspective. Even Cicero's greatest critics ultimately found much to admire in his character: "Notwithstanding this imputed Frailty, O Cicero! Our Admiration does not yet forsake thee; still is thy Store of Excellence too great for little Losses to impoverish! Nor can that self-wounded Fame, which temporary perishable Part so arduously laboured to perpetuate, ever die while Rome shall be remember'd!" (Cibber). However little or much Cicero may have been guilty of affectation, it did not stop people from aspiring after the ideal he had set. After all, biographies were not simply intended to reveal a famous historical subject's character but were also supposed to lead the reader towards self-reflection and moral improvement (Duff 5). In other words, where Cicero fell short, others could excel through his ideals.

In a world where the false virtue of the French Cicero, and even Cicero himself, runs rampant, Cecilia surprises those around her by proving her virtue genuine. Her character withstands the various attempts in the plot to undermine her virtue and to "defame" her, including Mr. Monckton's slander against her reputation and Mrs. Delvile's attempts to dissuade her from marrying Mortimer. As astonished as if Cecilia had singlehandedly saved Rome from the tyranny of Caesar, friends and acquaintances cannot help but praise her for possessing "true greatness of mind!" (549) and "virtue in its highest majesty" (572). In his letter to her, Mortimer Delvile even rhapsodizes, "her virtues, her attractions, and her excellencies, [which] would reflect lustre upon the highest station to which human grandeur could

raise her, and would still be more exalted than her rank, though that were the most eminent upon earth" (563). Cicero's dictum rings true that "Glorious is the Life of that Man whose Virtue and Practice are glorious" (Guthrie 340).

It is important that Cecilia's virtue not only wins her glory but that she also desires that fame. In one particularly striking incident, Mr. Albany's representation of her as virtue incarnate is, if somewhat eccentric, also surprisingly lucid:

> Albany, who listened to these directions with silent, yet eager attention, now clasped both his hands with a look of rapture, and exclaimed "Virtue yet lives,—and I have found her?"
>
> Cecilia, proud of such praise, and ambitious to deserve it, chearfully said, "where, Sir, shall we go now?" (768)

Here, Cecilia has become the allegorized image of virtue, embodying virtue so completely as to become fully identified with it. The details about Mr. Albany's "rapture" and hands clasped in prayerful reverence paint this moment as an almost ecstatic vision, as if Cecilia had been lifted from the earthly realm and ascended into heaven as a celestial being. What is more interesting is Cecilia's response to that possibility of apotheosis, which inspires her with "pride" and "ambition." The scene seems to suggest that it is possible to be ambitious of virtue. In *De Officiis*, Cicero is interested in the conditions under which ambition can be acceptable. While he may have attempted to justify his own ambition for glory, Cicero makes the important distinction that fame can only follow from what is *honestum*, or morally upright: "for true Glory takes deep rooting, and grows and flourishes more and more; but that which is only in Shew and more Outside, quickly decays and withers like Flowers" (L'Estrange 178). L'Estrange's English translation provides an unusual pagan Roman modification of the *vanitas* motif in Ecclesiastes: not all human glory withers—only human glory that has not taken root in the fertile soil of human excellence. Cicero's distinction strikes at the heart of the difference between the French Cicero and Cecilia: desire for glory is acceptable when oriented towards the practice rather than performance of virtue.

At the end of the novel, Cecilia's achievement ends in a

paradox that was all too familiar to Cicero. Faced with moderate, human happiness, Cecilia comes to terms with mortality and the ordinariness of her future life with Mortimer: "Rationally, however, she surveyed the world at large, and finding that of the few who had any happiness, there were none without some misery, she checked the rising sigh of repining mortality, and, grateful with general felicity, bore partial evil with chearfullest resignation" (941). Similarly, Cicero and the Peripatetic philosophers of ancient Greece acknowledged that even as virtue soars above earthly limits, it also must reside in the middle of life, following a straight and narrow path between extremes. As Cicero wrote, "mediocritas optima est"—or, "the best rule is the golden mean" (Cicero I. 130). Burney alludes to this principle at the start of the novel: "to approach that golden mean, which, like the philosopher's stone, always eludes our grasp, yet always invites our wishes" (131). When Burney writes in a letter to Samuel Crisp that her heroine achieves the "middle state" of human contentment, the reader should see this as a moment in which happiness in the world of Cecilia is possible and the practice of moderation and virtue celebrated (*EJL* 5: 44). Indeed, the novel leaves us where it begins: with a legacy of virtue. For while Cecilia cannot step beyond the realm of human possibility or achieve "unhuman" or everlasting happiness, her real glory exists for generations of Burney's readers. As Cicero would say, "the Glory you pursue does not terminate in your own Person … but you are to share it with me, and it is to descend to our Posterity" (Guthrie 399).

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In August 1778, Burney opened her diary entry with an almost palpable excitement, professing it had been "the most consequential Day I have spent since my Birth" (*EJL* 3: 66). In the wake of *Evelina*'s recent publication and its growing popularity amongst London's literary elite, at twenty-six, Burney found herself on the threshold of fame. Anticipating that evening's dinner party with Hester Thrale and Dr. Johnson, she recorded her visit to Streatham's library:

> I prevailed upon Mrs. Thrale to let me amuse *myself*, & she went to obey her master's order & Dress. I then *prowled* about, to chuse some Book, & I saw, upon the Reading Table, Evelina;—I had just fixed upon a new Translation

> of Cicero's Laelius, when the Library Door was opened, & Mr. Seward Entered. I instantly put away my Book, because I dreaded being thought *studious* & affected. He offered his service to find any thing for me, & then, in the same Breath, ran on to speak of the Book with which I had, myself, favoured the World! (*EJL* 3: 71)

In a moment that might be easy to overlook but which Burney, nevertheless, thought significant enough to record, it is appropriate that she places Melmoth's new translation of Cicero's *Laelius De Amicitia* away just as the conversation turns to *Evelina*. Exchanging Cicero for her own novel evocatively captures a turning point in Burney's career—a turn that places a novel about a young woman's entrance into the world on the same shelf with the philosophical works of Ancient Rome. By the time she published *Cecilia*, Burney was a celebrity in her own right and acclaimed as a writer who, as Burke pointed out, edifies her readers with a "comprehensive and noble moral" *(EJL* 5: 88). Like the heroine herself, Burney's novel achieves that which is at the heart of Cicero's fame during the Enlightenment: "the union of virtue and abilities with elegance" (460). The entrance of Cicero at a party, then, is not so unremarkable as might first appear and reveals Burney's keen awareness of a society that collected busts, coats, and jewelry in order to display a deep desire to live a life of virtue and renown. For the Age of Burney, Tully was the fashion: as likely to be seen with an arm outstretched in passionate delivery of an oration before the senate as in polite acceptance of a glass of lemonade at a party.

NOTES

[1] "Sir, I have the honour to represent Cicero, the great Cicero, father of his country! But although I have that honour, I am no pedant!—for heaven's sake, Sir, I speak only French in polite society!" (trans. Doody and Sabor).

[2] As William Altman discusses in his introduction to *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Cicero*, Thaddäus Zielinksi's seminal

work *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte* (1897) identifies the Enlightenment, along with the Renaissance and late antiquity, as one of the most crucial moments in Cicero's afterlife. Considering Cicero's importance during the eighteenth century, scholarship on his influence is surprisingly sparse. For some excellent introductions to eighteenth-century Cicero, see Fox, Gawlick, Gay, and *Brill's Companion*.

[3] The only other time Burney mentions Cicero by name in her novels occurs in the second volume of *The Wanderer*: "To Juliet scarcely a word of their narrations was intelligible; but, to the ears of their mother, accustomed to their dialect, their lisping and their imperfect speech, these prattling details were as potent in eloquence, as the most polished orations of Cicero or Demosthenes, are to those of the classical scholar" (233).

[4] For an introduction to Cicero's life and times, see *The Cambridge Companion to Cicero*, Rawson, and Everitt. *Cicero's Practical Philosophy*, published by University of Notre Dame Press, offers insight into scholarly efforts over the last two decades to revive serious interest in Cicero's political philosophy.

[5] The auction catalogue of Dr. Burney's library includes Melmoth's *Cato and Laelius* (1777) and *Letters to his Friends* (1753) as well as Thomas Francklin's translation of *Nature of the Gods* (1775), Edward Jones' *Brutus and Orator* (1776), and Thomas Cockman's frequently reprinted *Tully's Offices* (1732). The 1816 Streatham auction catalogue lists three English translations of Cicero's works: Guthrie's *Cicero's Orations* (1743), Guthrie's *The Morals of Cicero* (1744), and "The Nature of the Gods" (I suspect this is Francklin's translation, the same owned by Dr. Burney). Guthrie also published a collection including Cicero's *Offices*, *Cato Major*, *Laelius*, *Moral Paradoxes*, *The Vision of Scipio*, and the *Letter Concerning the Duties of a Magistrate* (1755). Melmoth published three volumes of *The Letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero to Several of his Friends* (1755), *Laelius; Or, an Essay on Friendship* (1777), and *Cato* (1773) at Dodsley's Tully's Head in Pall Mall.

[6] *Old Bailey Session Papers*: trial December 10, 1783. James Johnson and David Birmingham indicted for shoplifting. In the trial, John Hayes, the book-seller at Holborn, describes how he noticed that

his Olivet Cicero and Hooke's *Roman History* had gone missing on November 28, only to discover that the thieves, James Johnson and David Birmingham, had sold a couple of the volumes to a bookseller in Middle Row, St. Giles. Hayes's companion John Marsom humorously describes how they apprehended Johnson and Birmingham after the two thieves returned to sell the rest of the stolen books: "we waited till the two prisoners came in, I then went into the shop, Mr. Hayes went for an officer; I looked at the books, and asked Johnson what he expected for the books; Johnson said, half a guinea; I observed they were Latin, I said, did he read Latin; he said, no, he could not read Latin; I then said they were not compleat, there were other volumes of the work, and it was extraordinary he should have books he could not read, I asked him where he got them, he said, he bought them of a man in Wapping the night before, he said he did not know who he was, he believed he was a smuggler, he bought them in the street; this was merely for the purpose of amusing them till Mr. Hayes returned with an officer, I then expressed my suspicions, that they were not honestly come by, he said he gave eight shillings for them, then Mr. Hayes, came in, and they were taken before the justice."

[7] Two such examples of Ciceronian theft recorded in the Old Bailey proceedings include the trial of John Johnson, who was accused of stealing a "Chrystal with Cicero's Head" in September 1732, and a trial from July 1750 in which Thomas Wilson was indicted for stealing an edition of Cicero's letters. Furthermore, Burney's family was drawn into a minor scandal when thirty-five classical volumes stolen from the University library were discovered in her brother Charles's rooms at Cambridge (Harman 89–90).

[8] In a poem published in 1756, Richard Graves (1715–1804) potentially suggests the ambivalence that some of Burney's contemporaries felt towards invoking Cicero's name as a marketing tactic: "Where Tully's Bust and honour'd Name / Point out the venal Page, / Where Dodsley consecrates to Fame / The Classics of his Age" (Solomon 170). If Graves is using the word "venal" to mean corrupt or unprincipled business practice rather than in its more benign sense of "saleable," the lines could be read as a critique of writers who attempt to artificially immortalize themselves through a Ciceronian association.

[9] For more first-hand accounts of Lady Miller's ritual, see the preface to Miller's *Poetical Amusements*; Hester Thrale's January 3, 1778 entry in *Thraliana*; Boswell's *Life of Johnson* 2: 150–51; and Walpole's letter to H. S. Conway dated January 15, 1775. After Lady Miller's death in 1781, the rituals ended, and Edwyn Dowding of Bath purchased the vase and installed it in a public park (Lee).

[10] In addition to apocryphal relics, Cicero's works were subject to theft and forgery. In his own lifetime, misattributed texts and Ciceronian knock offs were commonplace enough to prompt Cicero's almost gleeful remark, "for my own part, if I am credited with an epigram which I think clever and worthy of a scholar and a gentleman of sense, I make no objection; but I take umbrage when I am reputed to have uttered words which are unworthy of me and belong to others" (qtd. in East 109). Interestingly, John Toland's *Cicero Illustratus* (a 1712 scholarly prospectus outlining a new edition of Cicero's works that was never published) describes a plan to include eleven apocryphal works from the Ciceronian canon. Katherine A. East's article, "Apocryphal Cicero: John Toland's *Cicero Illustratus* and Notions of Authority in the Early Enlightenment," tackles Toland's unusual decision, making for a compelling argument about scholarly authority and spuria in the eighteenth century.

[11] For more on the importance of commercial duplication to the cultivation of celebrity, see Barchas and Straub.

[12] For more on court fashion and politics, see McShane and Greig.

[13] Other appearances of Cicero in political cartoons of the 1780s, which were more frequent than in other decades of the eighteenth century, include James Sayers's "The Patriot Exalted" (1792) and "Cicero in Catilinam" (1785), William Dent's "Black Carlo's White Bust" (1791), and "A Ciceronian Attitude" (1790).

[14] For more on Cicero's *Verrine Orations* as a model for Burke's prosecution of Hastings, see Canter.

[15] It was during her time as Keeper of the Robes for Queen Charlotte that Burney attended the first day of the trial on February 13, 1788. Burney was captivated by the trial and continued to attend the proceedings. Part of what made the trial so disturbing to her was its

personal significance. Acquainted with both Hastings (she had met him at her brother-in-law Clement Francis's house in Aylsham the previous year) and Burke, it was distressing to see, from her perspective, Burke's "perversion of his genius" loosed upon an innocent man (Harman 212). While she supported Hastings, Burney could not help but admire Burke's captivating oratorical performance: "Yet, at times I confess, with all that I felt, wished, and thought concerning Mr. Hastings, the whirlwind of his eloquence nearly drew me into its vortex" (*CJL* 3: 139).

[16] See Pocock.

[17] Though Smollett and Fielding poke fun at their characters' scholarly pretensions with some frequency, we might think of two representative examples from their novels: the episode of the Horace-quoting innkeeper in Chapter X of *Roderick Random* and Partridge, the schoolmaster who can always be relied on for his Latin *non sequiturs* in *Tom Jones*. While she focuses exclusively on the work of Fielding, Nancy Mace provides insight into the ethical ends to which other authors like Burney and Smollett could have put their satiric uses of the classics.

[18] For an overview of the state of classical education in the early eighteenth century, see the first chapter of Mace's *Fielding and the Classical Tradition*.

[19] According to Doody, "Burney had mixed feelings about devoting 'so much time to acquire something I shall always dread to have known'. The dread was partly inspired by Charles Burney, who mocked the scheme, thinking Latin grammar 'too masculine for misses' and eventually forbade Fanny to continue" (241).

[20] An excellent place to start for Cicero's reception in France would be Peter Gay's *The Rise of Modern Paganism and The Party of Humanity*. *Brill's Companion* also contributes two especially strong essays: Kathy Eden's "Cicero's Portion of Montaigne's Acclaim" and Matthew Sharpe's "Cicero, Voltaire, and the *Philosophes* in the French Enlightenment."

[21] A note on translations of *De Officiis*: for this paper, I have cited from L'Estrange's *Tully's Offices* (1680) and Guthrie's *Offices* (1755) in addition to consulting the standard Loeb translation.

[22] The debates over Cicero's character in the eighteenth century sowed seeds of dissent that would finally bring him toppling from his pedestal in the nineteenth century (see Nicholas P. Cole's essay "Nineteenth-century Ciceros" in the *Cambridge Companion to Cicero*). For most of the twentieth century too, Cicero's reputation suffered not just in terms of his *vita* but also his *oratio*: Cicero was seen as a cowardly, hypocritical politician *and* a second-rate philosopher. Evidence for attempts at a Ciceronian revival can be seen in the recent number of biographies and Notre Dame University Press's 2012 volume *Cicero's Practical Philosophy*. Catherine Tracy's essay "Cicero's *Constantia* in Theory and Practice," for example, makes a compelling defense of Cicero's character in which she argues for Cicero's commitment to *constantia*. Even if he did not always succeed, Cicero believed that acting the role of a virtuous man is not a temporary way to achieve political goals but is impossible to do unless the virtue is genuine (93).

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