M. TVLLI CICERONIS TVSCVLANARVM DISPVTATIONVM LIBRI QVINQVE.

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A REVISED TEXT
WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY
AND A COLLATION OF NUMEROUS MSS.

BY

THOMAS WILSON DOUGAN, M.A.,

FORMERLY FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;
PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST;
FELLOW OF THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND

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VIRO EGREGIO

NOSTRAE AETATIS PHILOLOGORVM CORYPHAEO

IOHANNI E. B. MAYOR.

PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH many excellent editions of the Tusculan Disputations have been produced on the Continent within the last hundred years, yet, if we except Orelli's Oxford edition of 1834 and a translation of Tischer and Sorof brought out by the Rev. T. K. Arnold, not one has appeared in the British Islands since that of Davies, whose first edition was printed at Cambridge in 1709.

The present edition of the Tusculan Disputations has grown out of lectures delivered in Queen's College, Belfast. Originally intending the critical notes to be a very secondary portion of my work, I had supposed that I could obtain the necessary readings from existing editions, especially from those of Orelli, Kühner and Moser. I soon, however, became dissatisfied with the *apparatus criticus* supplied by the works, otherwise excellent, of these scholars. In the first place the method of citing readings from the Oxford MSS ("*duo Oxx.*, *quattuor Oxx.*, *7 Oxx. etc.*") no particular Oxford MS except Ball. (and there are *two* Balliol MSS) being separately indicated, proved very irritating. These MSS were admitted not to be very valuable but they have been consulted by scholars ever since the Renaissance and have therefore had considerable influence upon the formation of the text. The citations of Küh. Mo. and Or. are derived from an edition published at Oxford in 1783 containing readings from nine Oxford MSS. I have not seen this edition but my collation of the twelve MSS now in Oxford shews that the references made to the Oxford MSS by the above-mentioned scholars are usually very inaccurate, and the inaccuracy of the edition of 1783 is no doubt the cause. Later on, being in Berne, I consulted the Berne MS to see how the whole passage I § 88 stands in it. I was surprised to find that instead of reading *carere in malo* as stated by Orelli on the authority of Usteri, a Berne Professor,

who supplied him with an account of its readings, this MS very plainly and clearly reads *morte*.

More recently I visited Wolfenbüttel and examined the three less important MSS of the Tusculans contained in the Library there, the best MS having been thoroughly collated already by Seyffert. Kühner's edition is one for which I have the highest admiration. There is perhaps no work from which I have learned more Latin. It was therefore surprising to me to find readings constantly attributed by him to G 2 G II or Aug. which are not contained in those MSS. He even confuses G II with Aug. in his preliminary notice of these MSS. When a scholar so eminent deals so inaccurately with the readings of MSS contained in a town not fifty miles distant from his own, a new collation of MSS seems desirable.

The fact is that no MS of the Tusculan Disputations has been fully collated hitherto except Gudianus 294.

I have looked into upwards of eighty MSS and examined several test passages with a view to ascertaining the value of each. Thirty of these MSS I have carefully read through and collated in detail.

All these thirty are in my opinion worth collating, in some cases for their intrinsic merit, in others for their influence upon the development of the printed text, in others for the light which they throw upon the grouping of the MSS. Some of these MSS have never been referred to in any edition up to the present time. Amongst these are K E E 2 B 2 and J.

K is a first-class MS contained in the Bibliothèque Communale, Cambrai. My attention having been drawn to it by the article of Dr Rossbach, mentioned below, I collated it in the British Museum to which it was lent for me by the courtesy of the French Government.

E is a first-class MS contained in the British Museum (15 C XI). It was formerly in the King's Library and its collation had been begun by Bentley, as shewn in my introduction. The first published reference to this MS that I have seen occurs in *Philologus*, Feb. 1904, vol. 63, p. 101 in an article by Dr Otto Rossbach. I fully collated it two years ago in the British Museum and had my whole edition ready for the press when this article appeared.

E 2 is a good second-class MS contained in the British

Museum (15 B XV). This MS also belonged formerly to the King's Library and its collation had been begun by Bentley (see Introduction).

B 2 though a late MS is faithfully copied from an early one and is worthy of a place in the first class. It has never been collated before, nor, so far as I know, referred to by any scholar.

J is a good MS of the second class, preserved in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge. This MS, which has never been collated before, very closely approaches one of the Vienna MSS (Kühner's Vind. 1, my W 2).

Other MSS here collated have never been fully collated in any previous edition. Some of these are very important.

The Vatican MS 3246 is second to none and the corrections which it contains are as important as are the original readings.

The Vienna, Munich, and Duisburg MSS have had very great influence upon the formation of the text. The citations of editors from these MSS and especially from D are very frequently wrong.

Five Palatine MSS are referred to in Gruter's Hamburg edition of 1618 as having been collated for the editor by Andreas Schottus. I have only found four Palatine MSS of the Tusculans in the Vatican Library. Of these P 1 distinctly belongs to the first class.

The necessity for a proper collation of the Berne MS is I think obvious. The Peterhouse MS (Π) is referred to here and there by Davies and subsequent editors but has never been fully collated. A Cambridge MS is also referred to as Cantab. If this is identical with the MS now in the Cambridge Univ. Library (my C) its readings have often been very inaccurately quoted by Davies and subsequent editors. C is very closely related to D and Π to E 2. Both C and Π are good second-class MSS.

The previous editions of which I have most frequently made use in writing the explanatory notes are those of J. Davies (here referred to as Dav.); J. C. Orelli, Zurich, 1829 and Oxford, 1834 (Or.); G. H. Moser, Hanover, 1836 (Mo.); G. Tischer edited by G. Sorof, 6th ed. Berlin, 1872 (TS.); R. Kühner, 5th ed. Hanover, 1874 (Küh.); O. Heine, 4th ed. Leipzig, 1892 (Hei.).

The following editions are also referred to:

C. Cratander, Bâle, 1528 (Crat.), with marginal readings from

a good source; M. Manutius, Venice, 1555 (Man.); D. Lambinus, Paris, 1566 (Lamb.); Bouhier, Amsterdam (3rd vol.), 1739 (Bouh.); J. N. Lallemand, Paris, 1768 (Lall.); Ernesti, Halle, 1776 (Ern.); F. A. Wolf, Leipzig, 1792, 1807, 1825 (F.A.W.); C. G. Schütz, Halle, 1816 (Sch.); P. H. Tregder, Copenhagen, 1841 (Tr.); R. Klotz, Teubner text, Leipzig, 1852 (Kl.); Baiter and Kayser, Leipzig, 1863 (Bai.); M. Seyffert, Leipzig, 1864 (Sff.); C. F. W. Müller, Teubner text, Leipzig, 1878 (Ml.); Th. Schiche, Leipzig, 1888.

Notae ineditae of Bentley are frequently referred to; these are contained in a reprint of Davies' 3rd ed. published at Oxford in 1805.

I have to express my deep sense of the kindness and courtesy which I invariably experienced from the Librarians of the several libraries in which the MSS which I have collated are preserved.

Since the MS of this work was accepted by the Cambridge University Press it has been read through by my friend, Prof. J. S. Reid, who has contributed those explanatory notes which are enclosed in square brackets. My indebtedness to Dr Reid dates from my undergraduate days. It would be difficult to estimate how much I owe to the lectures and tuition then received from him and to his published works, especially to his masterly edition of the Academics, the work which introduced me to the study of ancient philosophy.

My best thanks are due to my friend and former pupil, Prof. R. K. M'Elderry, M.A., for much assistance in the revision of the proofs of this work as it passed through the press; also to my friend and former pupil, Mr R. M. Henry, M.A., for notes acknowledged in the commentary; and to both gentlemen for the detection of several oversights that otherwise would probably have escaped my notice.

The labour of revision, necessarily heavy at the best in a work involving so many references, was considerably lightened owing to the marked efficiency of the readers at the Cambridge University Press.

THOS. W. DOUGAN.

BELFAST,
1st Nov. 1904.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

(a) *Cicero's Philosophical Works—two groups.*

When Caesar won the battle of Pharsalus, on Aug. 9th, 48 B.C., Cicero was in the Pompeian camp at Dyrrhachium. Dreading the violence of the war-party among the Pompeians he sailed, about the 7th of October, from Patrae to Brundisium. There he spent eleven months in great anxiety. He had separated from the Pompeian war-party and was uncertain as to Caesar's ultimate triumph. He had been with Pompey and feared the victor's resentment. From time to time indications of Caesar's attitude towards him, ever increasingly reassuring, came to his knowledge. But such reassurances were qualified by the fear that the Pompeians might ultimately triumph or that they might seize Italy before the dictator's arrival there. The return of Caesar to Italy towards the end of September 47 B.C. brought Cicero's apprehensions to an end. Nothing could be more kind or considerate than the manner of the dictator, whom he presently met as the latter approached Brundisium from Tarentum. And the Pompeians, who had not taken advantage of Caesar's difficulties in Egypt and Asia Minor to make a descent upon Italy, would hardly attack the conqueror after his return, but would, Cicero felt sure, seek terms of peace. Cicero returned to his Tusculan villa and soon afterwards to Rome. He had now access to his books and, for the first time since the outbreak of the Civil War, he had the mental calm necessary for the resumption of his literary work.

Cicero was by nature and training peculiarly fitted for a literary career. Before his entry upon public life he had appeared as an author. The *De Inuentione* and his early translations were perhaps little more than the academic exercises of an enthusiastic student; yet the translations from Aratus proved worthy to be made by Lucretius one of his models of style. His services to literature constitute his principal

merit. On these, and not on his genius as an orator, rests his chief title to fame. Beside these his achievements as a statesman sink into insignificance. Yet literary fame was never the special object of Cicero's ambition. Throughout his best literary period it is for the law courts and the senate and the popular assembly that we find him constantly yearning, and it is only when these are inaccessible that he betakes himself to writing. His speeches arose in the main out of the circumstances of his political career. These and the writings inspired by his consular achievements are almost his only contributions to literature from the time of his entry upon public life to the time when his prosperous course was checked by the circumstances that led to his exile. When his wings had been clipped and he found on his return in 57 B.C. that the ascendency of the Triumvirs and the jealousy or indifference of the Optimates prevented them from growing again, his energy found vent in literary activity. The three books *De Oratore* were given to the world in 55 B.C. The books *De Re Publica* were begun in the summer of 54[1], and were in everybody's hands at Rome in May, 51[2]. The work *De Legibus* seems to have been begun in 52 B.C. Cicero's studies were interrupted by his government of Cilicia and the subsequent outbreak of the Civil War. When he returned to Rome towards the end of 47 he found no opportunity for a renewal of his triumphs in public life in a state in which the senate and popular assembly merely registered the decrees of an autocrat, and political trials were for the most part conducted *in camera* in Caesar's presence. Literature alone was open to him. His resumed activity was chiefly directed towards the continuation of his works on oratory. The *Brutus*, begun in the latter part of 47, and the *Orator*, important works, were completed in 46, as were probably the *Partitiones Oratoriae* and the *Libellus de Optimo Genere Oratorum*. His non-rhetorical works of this year—the *Paradoxa*, probably begun before 53 B.C., and the *Laudatio Catonis*—had a political motive.

So far Cicero's philosophical works, with the unimportant exception of the *Paradoxa* and the early work *De Inuentione*, had dealt with oratory and the science of politics: his energy, when restricted to literary work, was directed towards that department of literary work which was most closely connected with the public life which he loved; its direction is now changed, and the beginning of 45 B.C. marks an epoch in the history of his writings. His dissatisfaction with the political situation continued; the news of the battle of Munda, fought on the 17th of March, reported in Rome on the 20th of April, 45,

[1] Att. iv 16, 2. [2] Fam. viii 1 end.

dispelled the last hope from the direction of the Pompeians. Domestic troubles increased; in the end of 47, or early in 46, he had divorced Terentia, to whom he had been married for about thirty years, and his marriage with Publilia in December, 46, brought him nothing but disappointment. These circumstances contributed to render the consolations of philosophy necessary to Cicero. But the event that decisively influenced the course of his studies was the death of his daughter Tullia in February, 45 B.C. From that time onward his philosophic writings, with the single exception of the *Topica*, a slight work written in the summer of 44 B.C., deal with ethics and theology. And he wrote very little besides. The *epistula ad Caesarem de ordinanda re publica* was indeed written, though never delivered. The projected πολιτικὸς σύλλογος, *more Dicaearchi*[1], was never worked out.

The death of Tullia plunged her father into unutterable grief. Fleeing from the Tusculan villa, where the sad event occurred, he shut himself up for some three weeks in the house of Atticus in Rome. From thence he moved to Astura, where he arrived on the 7th of March. There spending his days in the woods adjacent to his villa he sought relief in uninterrupted work[2], and between the 7th and 15th of March[3], 45 B.C., he wrote the *Consolatio* or *de Luctu Minuendo*. On the 16th we find him making inquiries from Atticus with a view to writing the *Hortensius*. This work served as an introduction to the series of philosophical writings now projected by him, the *Consolatio* having been directed to the particular end of mitigating his own grief. The *Hortensius* was finished in the middle of April, 45 B.C. Next, between that time and the 13th of May, the two-book edition of the *Academica* ("Catulus" and "Lucullus") was written[4]. The first book of the *De Finibus* had been sent to Atticus for publication by the 29th May, and the edition of the *Academica* in two books earlier than that date[5]. The recasting of the *Academica* in four books was made in the end of June, and the books were actually delivered to Varro on the 19th or 20th July. By the end of June the last four books *De Finibus* were completed[6]. After the completion of the four-book edition of the *Academica* and of the *De Finibus*, Cicero wrote the Tusculan Disputations[7].

[1] Att. xiii 30, 3.
[2] Att. xii 20, "totos dies consumo in litteris."
[3] O. E. Schmidt, *Briefwechsel des Cicero* pp. 51 and 276, and Att. xii 20 *ad fin.*
[4] O. E. S. p. 55 and Reid, *Academics*, Introd. pp. 30, 31.
[5] Att. xiii 32, 3.
[6] Att. xiii 19, 4.
[7] De Diuinatione, ii 1, 2, quoted on next page, note 2.

(b) *The date of the Tusculan Disputations.*

The precise date of composition of the Tusculan Disputations cannot be positively determined. The facts which bear upon the solution of this question are:—

1. several references contained in the work itself;
2. the passage in *De Diu.* ii 1, 2–4;
3. two allusions in the letters to Atticus;
4. the dates of composition of most of his subsequently written philosophical works.

Taking these in detail:—

1. (*a*) the *discessus* of Brutus referred to in *Tusc. Disp.* i 4, 7 took place on the 20th of July, 45 B.C. Cicero was in his Tusculan villa from the 20th to the 24th July and left for Astura on the 25th. See the commentary *ad locum.* The subjects of the five books of the Tusculan Disputations are represented to have been discussed on these five days, 20th to 24th July, and the books were no doubt planned during those days, as Dr O. E. Schmidt assumes[1].

(*b*) The fourth book *De Finibus* is mentioned in *Tusc. Disp.* v 11, 32 as lately read (*quia legi tuum nuper quartum de Finibus*). That book was finished, as we have seen above, by the end of June, 45.

The facts which I have just stated in sections (*a*) and (*b*) above suffice to discredit the view of Heine that when on the 28th and 29th of May he writes to Atticus (*Att.* xiii 31 and 32) for certain books of Dicaearchus, Cicero is collecting material for the Tusculan Disputations. That work had not then been planned. A thoroughly satisfactory theory is given by O. E. Schmidt (*Briefw.* p. 375). The materials referred to were wanted by Cicero for the πολιτικὸς σύλλογος *more Dicaearchi* of *Att.* xiii 30, 3.

2. In *De Diu.* ii 1, 3 Cicero states that the three books *De Natura Deorum* were completed (*perfectis*) after the publication of the five books of the Tusculan Disputations, and he announces his intention of adding a work *De Fato.* As he mentions the *De Senectute* in § 3, that work was also written before the *De Diuinatione*[2].

If we were to take the statement strictly that the Tusculan Dis-

[1] *Briefwechsel*, pp. 58 *ad fin.* and 430.

[2] Diu. ii 1, 2. "Totidem subsecuti libri Tusculanarum disputationum res ad beate uiuendum maxime necessarias aperuerunt.... § 3. quibus editis tres libri perfecti sunt de natura deorum...quibus, ut est in animo, de fato si adiunxerimus, erit abunde satis factum toti huic quaestioni....interiectus est etiam nuper liber is quem ad nostrum Atticum de senectute misimus."

putations were published (*editis*) before the books *De Natura Deorum* were written (so the word *perfectis* seems generally understood), since we find the collection of material for the latter work begun on the 5th August, we should place the date of composition of the Tusculan Disputations between the 20th July and the 5th August. If the books could be spoken on five afternoons they could no doubt be written out in fifteen days. But this would have involved working twice as fast as he worked over the writing of the *De Finibus*. There would seem to be no reason for this acceleration of the rate of speed at which he worked, and, as we shall see below that the second at least of the books *De Diuinatione* was not written till after Caesar's death, this theory would allow Cicero seven months and ten days for the writing of the *De Natura Deorum*, the *Cato Maior*, and the first book *De Diuinatione*. As he was in or near Rome during most of that time, this sudden change from double speed to a little over quarter speed would be unaccountable, especially as we find him working fast again during the period between the middle of March and the end of October in the year 44 B.C.

It is true that Cicero does not seem usually to have had more than one philosophic work in hand at a time. The recasting of the characters and rearranging the division into books of the Academics is hardly an exception. But there are remarkable internal resemblances between the Tusculan Disputations and the *De Natura Deorum*. No other two works of Cicero have so much in common, and I think it very probable that for some reason Cicero may have worked at both of these subjects during the same period. And this theory, if correct, may throw light upon the meaning of the word *perfectis* in the passage in *De Diuinatione* referred to above. After Cicero had got the Tusculan Disputations off his hands by publication (*editis*) he proceeded to complete (*perfectis*) the *De Natura Deorum* with which he had also been occupied.

3. In Att. xv 2, 4 we find Cicero writing, on the 18th May, 44, *quod prima disputatio Tusculana te confirmat sane gaudeo*. And in Att. xv 4, 2 on the 23rd May, *redeamus igitur ad Tusculanas disputationes*. These extracts shew that the work had been published before the 18th May, 44, but they do not prove, as Heine (*Einl.* p. iii) and others seem to assume, that Atticus received the book only about that time. Cicero was very anxious at that time. In a letter of the 4th May he says that it was less dangerous to speak against the party of the tyrant during his life than after his death. Atticus was also anxious, certainly on Cicero's account, possibly on his own. It is evident that he had written to Cicero (mainly perhaps to fortify him) stating that he

was fortified by the first book of the Tusculan Disputations (*de contemnenda morte*), i.e. that he learnt from Cicero himself that, if the worst came to the worst, death was to be despised. This remark could be made only when the occasion for making it arose, whether the book had been recently received or long before.

4. (*a*) In *De Diu.* i 5, 8 Quintus says *perlegi tuum paullo ante tertium de natura deorum.*

(*b*) In *De Diu.* ii 9, 22 Caesar is referred to as dead.

(*c*) In *De Diu.* ii 2, 7 Cicero uses the expression *nunc, quoniam de re publica consuli coepti sumus.*

(*d*) The *De Fato* was written after the death of Caesar, and probably not long after that event, cf. § 2 above. It probably followed immediately upon the *De Diuinatione*, cf. § 2.

(*e*) On the 11th May, 44 B.C., Cicero writes *legendus mihi saepius est Cato Maior ad te missus*[1].

(*f*) On the 3rd July Cicero promises to send the *De Gloria* to Atticus, and he sends it on the 11th[2].

(*g*) The *Laelius* was written before the *De Officiis*[3].

(*h*) The first two books *De Officiis* were written by the 5th Nov. 44 B.C.[4]

It is to be noted that the reference to Caesar as dead and the expression *nunc, quoniam de r. p. consuli coepti sumus* both occur in the *second* book *De Diuinatione.* That book was, therefore, written after the death of Caesar. The words *de r. p. consuli coepti sumus* would seem to fit the few weeks that followed the death of Caesar, 15th March to 11th April, 44 (the senate being prorogued on the latter date).

Cicero was in or near Rome during those weeks and could attend the senate, and for a time he had expectations of a return to constitutional government. They would not apply to a later date as he was presently undeceived and writes to Atticus the words referred to in § 3 above, with reference to the danger of speaking freely.

I cannot see how the words in question could point to the end of September or beginning of October, 44, as they are taken to do by Prof. Reid in an *obiter dictum* in his introduction to the *Cato Maior*, p. 9 note, for, besides other considerations, the *De Gloria* was sent to Atticus on the 11th July, and as it is not mentioned in the *De Diuinatione* ii 1, 2–4 it is reasonable to infer that it had not been written when that work was published.

I take the second book *De Diuinatione* to have been written very soon

[1] *Att.* xiv 21, 3.
[2] *Att.* xv 27, 2 and xvi 2, 6.
[3] *Off.* ii 9, 31.
[4] *Att.* xvi 11, 4.

after Caesar's death, while Cicero still had some hopes of a return to constitutional government. The first book I take to have been written before that event. The *Cato Maior*, as we have seen above, was written before the second book *De Diuinatione*, and no doubt also before the first. The statement contained in Cicero's letter of the 11th May, quoted above, may seem to conflict with this view. But the reference in that passage is not an ordinary reference to the sending of a new work. It is very similar to the reference to the Tusculans discussed in § 3 above. Cicero must read and take to heart (to fortify him in that dangerous time) his own work on old age (which has much in common with his book on despising death), a work which he had dedicated to Atticus. It would be very different if Cicero had merely written *misi tibi Catonem maiorem*, 'I herewith send you my new work, the *Cato Maior*, dedicated to you.' The book may have been and probably was published four months earlier.

The *De Natura Deorum* had not been published very long before the *De Diuinatione*, cf. the words *paulo ante* in i 5, 8 quoted above. The question what length of time can be denoted by *paulo ante* is precisely similar to the question what length of time can be denoted by *nuper* in *Tusc. Disp.* v 11, 32 quoted on p. xvi. The difficulties that would arise from making either expression denote much less or much more than about three months are I think obvious. If we take *nuper* to denote three months we should have Cicero writing the fifth book of the Tusculan Disputations about the end of September, 45 B.C., a view which would agree with that of Dr O. E. Schmidt, who does not indicate the process by which he has worked the question out,—"Die Ausarbeitung fand aber erst im August und September statt[1]." Similarly, if we take the first book *De Diuinatione* to have been finished by the end of February, 44, and go back three months (*paulo ante*), we have the end of November, 45, as the date of publication of the *De Natura Deorum*.

The results thus arrived at appear to me to give us approximate dates for the composition and publication of the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, *De Natura Deorum*, *Cato Maior*, and *De Diuinatione* completely consistent with all the facts that bear upon the question.

(c) *The dedication to Brutus.*

Cicero dedicates this work to M. Junius Brutus. To Brutus Cicero also dedicated the *De Claris Oratoribus*, *Paradoxa*, and *Orator*, all in 46 B.C., the *De Finibus* in 45, and the *De Natura Deorum* published after the Tusculan Disputations.

[1] *Briefwechsel*, p. 58.

The motives that prompted to such complimentary notice of Brutus were various.

The friendship of the two men dated from before the year of Cicero's proconsulship of Cilicia, when it was temporarily weakened by Brutus' endeavours to induce Cicero to coerce the Salaminians of Cyprus to pay off with exorbitant interest a loan that they had received from him. After the battle of Zela, Brutus, by order of Caesar, sent to Cicero the letter which let the first ray of sunlight into his long anxious soul[1]. On receiving this letter in autumn 47 B.C. Cicero began his work *De Claris Oratoribus*.

Cicero and Brutus were in intellectual sympathy. Both were philosophers of the Academic school, both were orators, both were students and writers.

Brutus was also in favour with Caesar.

Dr O. E. Schmidt[2] holds that Brutus accepted Caesarism hoping to succeed the childless despot, his mother Servilia also influencing him.

Brutus married Cato's daughter Porcia on the 22nd June, 45 B.C. This event may have contributed to bring about the altered feeling that found vent on the 15th March, 44 B.C.

Cicero's relations with Brutus are well treated of in Dr Sandys' *Orator*, Introd. liv–lviii.

SECTION II.

On Cicero's Sources for the Tusculan Disputations, Books I—II.

Book I.

In a well-known passage in a letter to Atticus (*Att.* xii 52, 3) Cicero states the general plan upon which he wrote his philosophical treatises—"'Απόγραφα *sunt*, ...*uerba tantum adfero, quibus abundo*." And this statement is in harmony with what we know as to the rapidity with which Cicero wrote these works. We may therefore be predisposed to believe that the material for most of Cicero's philosophical works was derived from Greek sources and that he copied wholesale, with little recasting, from the source or sources which he used in each instance.

As to the particular source from which Cicero obtained his material

[1] *De Claris Oratoribus* § 11. Cf. O. E. Schmidt, *Briefw.* p. 33.
[2] *Briefwechsel*, p. 243.

for the first book of the Tusculan Disputations very conflicting opinions have been held.

P. Corssen[1] thought that Posidonius was marked out as the source for the entire book by the many facts which we know with regard to the views of Posidonius, and by the predominance of Stoic lore throughout the book.

Rudolf Hirzel[2] thought the Stoic views so vague and general that Cicero could have developed them himself; that much that coincides with Posidonius' known views may be common property of all philosophers; that Cicero's work throughout is that of a Sceptic, and that he must have had the work of a Sceptic before him; and that the style of the scepticism displayed points to Philo.

L. Reinhardt[3] thinks §§ 1–18 Cicero's own; §§ 19–22 from Dicaearchus; §§ 23–38 Cicero's own; §§ 39–52 from Posidonius, but § 41 from Dicaearchus; §§ 53–77 Cicero's own; §§ 78–81 of uncertain source; §§ 82–119 Cicero's own.

Kühner[4] holds almost the whole of the Tusculan Disputations, and Cicero's works on ethics generally, to be derived from Stoic sources. But he thinks that in §§ 26–49 some views derived from other systems are intermixed with Stoic material, and that in §§ 50–81 Stoic doctrines are intermixed with material mainly drawn from Plato.

He thinks it clear from §§ 42 and 78 that Cicero had the work of Panaetius before him. For §§ 82–94 he takes Crantor περὶ Πένθους to be the source; for §§ 97–99 Plato's *Apologia* 40 c foll.; for §§ 102–108 Chrysippus.

O. Heine[5] thinks it certain that a Stoic work is the source for §§ 26–81. He rightly finds little trace of scepticism, while the arguments throughout have a Stoic colouring. He notices the argument from the *consensus gentium* as specially valued by the Stoics, and the doctrine that the soul consists of the finest particles and therefore ascends at death to the aether, which is similar in nature, as purely Stoic. He notes the Stoic view of the three powers of the soul (*natura*, *sensus*, *ratio*) (§ 56) as found also in *De Natura Deorum* ii 12, 33 where it is probably to be referred to Posidonius. Now Posidonius was a Stoic who blended Platonic with Stoic views, so that he attributed to the soul pre-existence and immortality, and abandoning the view of previous Stoics, separated the seat of the

[1] *de Posidonio Rhodio dissertatio*, Bonn, 1878.
[2] *Untersuchungen zu Cicero's phil. Schriften*, Leipzig, 1877–83, iii 405.
[3] *N. Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed.* vol. 153, pp. 475 foll.
[4] Ed. of 1874, *Proleg.* p. 6.
[5] 4th edn *Einl.* p. xix.

passions and desires from that of the reason. Heine therefore concludes that he was well fitted to supply the material for all this part (§§ 26–81) including the arguments drawn from the Phaedo, Phaedrus and Meno, which he finds[1] so interwoven with Stoic views and expressions that they can hardly, as he thinks, be taken directly from Plato. In the second part of the book (§§ 82–117) the numerous passages which are common to the Tusculan Disputations and Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Apollonium* shew that these two works must have had a common source, and Plutarch expressly refers in four places to Crantor's περὶ Πένθους as his source. Cicero was familiar with this work of Crantor and drew from it material for his own *Consolatio*. The coincidences are set forth in detail by O. Heine[2], § 91 *natura si se sic habet ut quo modo initium*..., with Plut. c. 15; § 92 *habes somnum imaginem mortis* with Plut. c. 12; § 93 *ante tempus mori miserum* with Plut. cc. 18, 23, 24, 28; § 94 *apud Hypanim fluuium...bestiolas* with Plut. c. 17. Both works also contain the stories of Cleobis and Biton, Trophonius and Agamedes, Silenus, Midas, and the Terinean Elysius. I may add that Plut. also notices the death of Theramenes, p. 105 b.

The quotation from Callimachus *Tusc. Disp.* i § 93 is given in Plutarch without mention of Callimachus (c. 24) μεῖον γὰρ ὄντως Τρωίλος ἐδάκρυσεν ἢ Πρίαμος. Heine thinks that Crantor (who was dead by 270 B.C.) can scarcely have quoted Callimachus (who died about 240 B.C.). He thinks that Cicero and Plutarch had a later source in common. The epigram of Callimachus upon Cleombrotus, quoted by Cic. 1 § 84, is not in Plutarch, but Heine thinks that it was probably in their common source. Corssen[3] thought that Posidonius was the source for all the matter contained in the first book of the Tusculan Disputations. In that case Cicero might have found Callimachus' epigram in Posidonius. But Heine seems right in finding it improbable that Posidonius should have copied a work so well known and so widely read in his day as that of Crantor, and in laying stress on the fact that Plutarch always refers to Crantor, and not to Posidonius, as his source.

To take book 1 in greater detail :—

§§ 1–8, introductory, are admitted to be Cicero's own.

§§ 9–17 Kühner seems to refer to the same source as §§ 82 foll., i.e. to Crantor, since the argument is the same. Heine notes, *inter alia*, that Crantor employed this argument (that the dead are not unhappy since they have not any consciousness nor even any existence), comparing *Tusc. Disp.* i § 87 foll. with Plut. *Cons. ad Apoll.* c. 15, but says that Cicero's argument is specially Epicurean and thinks Cicero's treatment

[1] p. xx. [2] pp. xx, xxi. [3] *op. cit.*

suggestive of Epicurus. L. Reinhardt[1] thinks that we have here an attempt of Cicero to solve a philosophic problem by means of rhetoric, or an attempt to shew how far he can go when he philosophises by means of his own resources alone.

§§ 18–25. Kühner is uncertain whether the various views of philosophers here stated with regard to the soul have been collected by Cicero or copied from the work of some Greek philosopher. Heine is uncertain whether these views have been derived from the same source as the matter for the discussion that follows, but is certain that they were not collected by Cicero. L. Reinhardt thinks that the remarks about the theory that *cor = animus* and about *concordes* etc., shew that § 18 belongs to Cicero himself and not to a philosopher who had thought out the contrast between soul and body. From § 21 he finds that Cicero had Dicaearchus' Κορινθιακοὶ λόγοι before him and that Dicaearchus in his first book brings in many philosophers as speaking, and he therefore sets down Dicaearchus as the source for §§ 19–22 and also for § 41, which he shews to be very closely parallel to these sections. I take it to be clear that § 41 is derived from the same source as §§ 19–22, but I think it probable that that source was Posidonius.

§§ 26–49. The arguments contained in these sections Kühner thinks derived from Stoic sources, with Roman illustrations introduced by Cicero, and some views drawn from other systems or put forward as his own.

Chapters 22–34 (§§ 50–81 incl.) Kühner regards as almost wholly taken from Plato. That Cicero had a work of Panaetius before him he thinks clear from §§ 42 and 78. That somebody (? Posidonius the pupil of Panaetius) had Panaetius before him seems clear from the present sections. The view of Heine which derives §§ 26–81 throughout from a Stoic source, and in fact from Posidonius, seems far more satisfactory. There seems to be very little in these sections that Posidonius might not have written if we except the Roman illustrations, and these are unusually few. I see no evidence to shew that in §§ 56–65 Cicero may not have derived the basis of his arguments from Posidonius. It is quite possible that Posidonius used the argument from Ἀνάμνησις, as Heine evidently thinks, but on the other hand he may not have accepted this doctrine, and Cicero may have worked it in independently of his source. Cicero deals with this doctrine in a very inaccurate and perfunctory manner, and the attempt at *contaminatio* may be one cause of the confusion of thought which is very noticeable in these sections. The argument from the simple nature of the soul is Platonic, but may

[1] In *N. Jahrb.* cited above.

have been adopted by Posidonius also. § 66. This extract inserted from the *Consolatio* gives the substance of the argument of the preceding sections. Was this extract derived from Crantor, and if so whence were the preceding sections derived? Rather I think that this and the preceding sections and the arguments put forward in the *Consolatio* for the immortality of the soul were derived from Posidonius, for we know that he held this doctrine and we do not know that it was held by Crantor. §§ 68–70. Here we have Stoic teleology. § 71 continues the argument begun in § 56 (see explanatory notes). §§ 72–6 are derived ultimately from Plato, especially Phaedo pp. 80 foll., but perhaps directly from Posidonius. §§ 77–81 probably from Posidonius, the Roman example of *P. Crassi nepos*, and perhaps that of *Africani fratris nepos*, being Cicero's own. Compare *De Diuinatione* ii 9, 22 'clarissimorum hominum nostrae ciuitatis gravissimos exitus in Consolatione collegimus.'

§§ 82–97 from Crantor, directly or indirectly, with Roman examples of his own.

§§ 97–99. This extract from Plato's *Apologia* may have been used by Crantor.

§§ 100–102. The illustrations here given were probably found by Cicero in his source.

§§ 102–8. These extracts from Chrysippus (cf. *permulta alia colligit Chrysippus*) cannot have been used by Crantor who belonged to the previous generation. Heine thinks it doubtful whether they were taken from a work of Chrysippus by Cicero himself, or were merely reminiscences of lectures, since some of his examples are found in Sext. Hyp. iii 226, and in connexion with them the stories of Silenus and of Cleobis and Biton, and the quotation from Euripides' Cresphontes.

The contrast between the treatment of funeral honours etc. here and in the first part of the book (§§ 27 foll.) is noteworthy. There men's view of the importance of sepulture is made an argument for immortality. It may have occurred to Cicero that this argument had to be met in part II, and he may have resorted to Chrysippus for material.

§§ 109–111 from Crantor, directly or indirectly, with Roman illustrations inserted by Cicero.

§§ 113–117 from Crantor directly or indirectly.

§§ 112, 118, 119 Cicero's own.

Book II.

There are fewer and less clear indications of the source from which Cicero drew his material for the second book. The book contains much pure Stoicism. Heine[1] cites the following instances:—§ 31 the doctrine that without *prudentia* no virtue is conceivable, and that the four cardinal virtues enjoin the endurance of pain; § 32 that virtue cannot be lost, and that the possession of one virtue implies the possession of all virtues; § 43 the definition of virtue as *recta animi adfectio*; § 47 the expression *quae conixa per se et progressa longius fit perfecta uirtus*, this being the doctrine of προκοπή; § 51 the statement that there is no known example of the ideal wise man; § 63 the same distinction between *perfecta uirtus* and the *opinio honestatis* of the unphilosophic multitude which we find in *Off.* iii § 17. Hence a pure Stoic source has been thought of. Kühner[2] says that Chrysippus seems to have been chiefly followed by Cicero in the first four books. But Chrysippus could not have written § 47 *est enim animus in partes tributus duas quarum altera rationis est particeps, altera expers* (see explan. n. *ad locum*), and the criticism of Stoic syllogism could not come from him. Hence Hirzel and Heine reject Chrysippus. Hirzel[3] thinks Philo the source for Book II as well as for Book I. Heine objects that if Philo had employed such Stoic arguments as we find in Book II, and in the first part of Book I, his contemporaries would have set him down as a Stoic and not as an Academic.

There is more to be said in favour of Panaetius or Posidonius as source. Panaetius wrote a letter to Tubero *de dolore patiendo*[4]. Zietschmann[5] thought this Cicero's source. And Cicero derived his material for *de Officiis* i–ii from Panaetius. But there are no facts to connect Panaetius with the second book of the Tusculans except the letter above referred to. Cicero was also beholden to Posidonius for material. He had a book of Posidonius before him when writing the third book *de Officiis*[6] and probably drew more from it than the statement in *de Officiis* iii 2, 8 would lead us to suppose. His probable obligation to Posidonius in the first book of the Tusculans has been already dealt with. Bake[7] gives good reason for believing that Cicero drew upon the Προτρεπτικά of Posidonius for his Hortensius. The division of the soul into a rational and irrational part in § 47 is in

[1] *Einl.* xxii. [2] Ed. 1874, p. 8. [3] *op. cit.* p. 406 foll.
[4] Fin. iv 9, 23; Acad. ii 44, 135; T. D. iv 2, 4.
[5] *de Tusc. Disp. fontibus dissertatio*, Halle 1868.
[6] Att. xvi 11, 4. [7] *de Posidonio* p. 245.

harmony with what we know of the views held by Posidonius. See explanatory note there. The criticisms of Stoic extreme views contained in Book ii of the Tusculans seem also possible to Posidonius, while it is difficult to think of any other philosopher who could have been at once the author of these criticisms and of the Stoic utterances cited above.

Much of the argument employed in Book I to shew that death is to be despised also serves to prove that pain is to be endured. Cicero, having in consequence less material available for Book II, uses more padding here than in Book I. Thus the introduction §§ 1–13 is longer. He quotes frequently from Latin poets and translates at considerable length from Greek poets. He indulges in § 35 in fallacious criticism of the Greek language, *de suo*. He illustrates from the XII Tables, and introduces several Roman examples.

SECTION III.

On the MSS of the Tusculan Disputations.

(a) *Their classification.*

All MSS of the Tusculan Disputations are descended from an archetype which cannot have been later than the 6th or 7th century A.D., and may have been much earlier.

From this archetype two groups of MSS are derived: group α comprising all the best MSS now extant along with others of less value; group β comprising the source of the lost MS from which the bulk of the corrections in V, as well as several MSS of the second and third class, are derived.

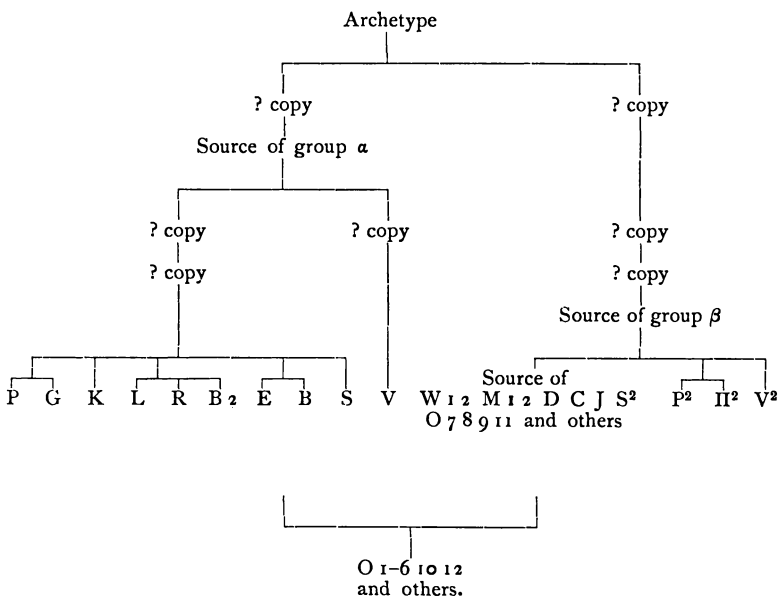
Besides these two groups there are several MSS, including O 1–6 10 12 which have been copied from MSS that had, by correction or eclectic compilation, received readings from both groups.

The archetype of group α was an uncial MS belonging probably to the 7th or perhaps to the 6th century A.D. The errors presented by the MSS of this group have to a large extent arisen from the misreading of symbols and contractions; there was less fixity with regard to the use of these in the 6th and 7th centuries than at a later date, while earlier they were much more sparingly used.

The archetype of group β was probably not much earlier than that of group α. V^2 presents a remarkable number of readings which are

evidently correct and which are not found in the MSS of group α, but on the other hand, as shewn a little further on, it presents a great number of errors, several of which are clearly due to the use of contractions in the original from which its corrections were taken.

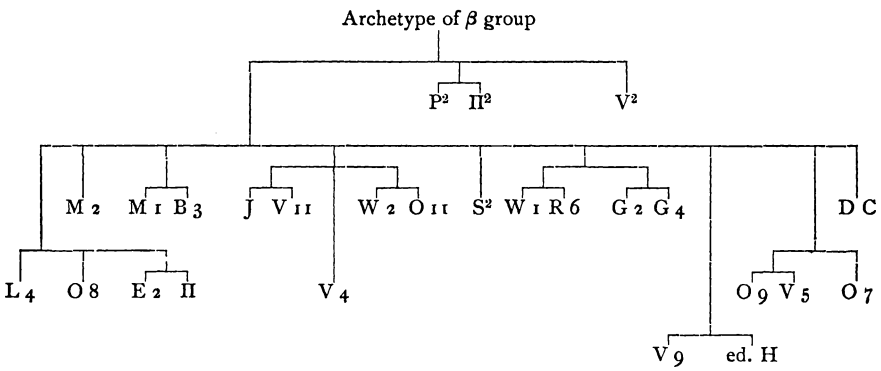
There is so much difference between the readings of V^2 and those of the MSS of group α, that it seems probable that several stages intervened between the two sources of groups α and β and their common archetype.



The MSS of group α are obviously derived from a common source. I have arranged them in the table in the order of their nearness one to another. R and B 2 are very closely related: as also are R and L; so too are E and B. K is related to R but not quite so closely as either L or B 2.

V is the most independent member of the group. It is the only early MS that has not the words *iussu tyrannorum* after *ponamus* in I § 75. This MS marks the nearest point of contact between group α and group β. Hence I think that it has probably been copied from an earlier MS than that from which the other members of group α are derived.

The inter-relationship of the most important MSS of group β is indicated in the following table:—



Where V² is rightly altered it very commonly agrees with D C O 7 W 1 and often with M 1. Where the alteration of V² seems wrong but may be right it agrees in one case with W 1, in two with D C, and in three it is alone in its reading. Where V² is obviously wrong it agrees in only one instance with D C. This shews that the peculiarities in D C have not come down from the immediate source of V².

Among the MSS which have been due to compilation from both groups are O 2 12 (closely related); O 3 4 (very closely related); O 6 10 (closely related); O 5 (related to O 6 10 but not so closely); and O 1. Of these MSS the last stands nearest in the main to the MSS of group β. R 7 R 17 and G 3 are noteworthy MSS which elude classification in either group and seem to have had their text formed on an eclectic principle.

The same principle seems to have been at work upon W 1 2 M 1 2, which belong mainly to the β group, but their texts seem to owe something to the α group and still more to shew signs of interchange of readings within the β group.

(b) *Their description.*

The following MSS of the Tusculan Disputations are referred to in this edition:—

In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

R (R 1). No. 6332. Written on parchment, in brown ink, apparently in the 9th century. Corrected here and there in darker ink by an early hand. This MS is written στιχηδόν. For specimens see Tregder's edition (Copenhagen 1841) Introd. p. 7, and Graux, *Stichométrie*, in the *Revue de Philologie* II 127. Besides the Tusculan Disputations this MS contains also *Cato Maior* down to the words *quondam nominati* near the end of that work.

R 2. No. 6333 in the Paris Catalogue, in which it is thus referred

to:—"*Membranaceus, olim Mazarinaeus;* 13° *saec. uid. exaratus.*" Contains also *Timaeus* and *Partitiones Oratoriae.* At the top of the first written page are the words "*ex bibliotheca Dn̄i Guillelmi Sacheri ac dono dedit A.E.D., Desfontaines fratribus.*" This MS often agrees with the best. In II 50 it reads *pudens* and in II 60 *quem cum* with some of the best and in II 20 *latere* with the best. In I 48 it has *leto nubila*, with BS¹ and others, against the best, and in II 39 *continuatur* with a few against the best.

R 3. No. 6334. "*Membranaceus, saec. dec. quarto uid. exaratus.*" Contains *T.D.*, *N.D.*, and *de Diu.* Many signs of carelessness and much interpolation. In II 49 it reads *dubitant* with others.

R 4. No. 6335. "*Membranaceus, saec. dec. quinto uid. exaratus.*" Contains *T.D.* and *Somnium Scipionis.*

In I 4 it reads *grecię* with others; in I 62 *animo* with V 5 9 O 7 ed. H.

R 5. No. 6336. "*Chartaceus, saec. XV uid. exaratus.*"

It reads I 16 *aueo*, II 46 *utor*, II 49 *dubitant* with a few others.

R 6. No. 6337. Contains *T.D.* and *Paradoxa.* This MS has copious marginal notes written in the same clear hand as that of the text, and it is beautifully illuminated. It has the correct reading in several instances along with very few others. In II 47 it alone has *connixa*: in II 42 *permanantibus* with V² alone; in I 88 *carere enim in malo* with V 6 marg. alone; in I 112 *aueo* with O 2 alone; in II 2 *liberemur* with L 4 alone; in II 60 *epigonis* with O 10 alone; in II 26 *et proprium numerum* with E 12 O 11 ed. P alone.

It has the right reading along with others in I 4 *graeciae*; I 13 *recordere*; I 15 *aestimo* (the best have *estimo*); I 16 *aueo*; I 91 *animum*; I 92 *cum in eius*; I 107 *sensu omni*; II 30 *sint*; II 52 *obuersentur*; *animo*; *nicocreontis*; II 57 *quo est missa*; II 60 *tantum operae*; II 60 *amphiarae.*

But I 19 *nominari*; I 20 *disclusit*; I 78 *id certe*; II 46 *ita utar ut* are bad readings.

R 7. No. 6342. "*Membranaceus* 1376 *exaratus.*" Contains also *De Off.*, *Paradoxa*, *Laelius*, *Cato M.*, *in Cat.*, *p. Marcello*, *post Red. in Sen.*, *Philippics*, *p. r. Deiotaro.*

In II 5 where V² alone has *transferant* R 7 has *trafferrant* (? arising out of *trāfferant*). In I 91 it has *animum* with others, and in I 13 *recordere* with others, and in II 49 *dubitant* with others.

R 8. No. 6349. "*Membranaceus, sub fin. XIV saec. exaratus uidetur.*" Contains only *T.D.* I, II, III.

R 9. No. 6362. "*Membranaceus, olim Nicolai Heinsii. XV saec. ineunte uid. exaratus.*" Carelessly written; contains several works besides the Tusculan Disputations.

R 10. No. 5802. "*Membranaceus.*" At the end is written "*L'an mil CCCVIII le premier jour de Jenvier entrerent pouregent en mal an.*" Contains *Suetonius*, *Florus*, *Frontinus*, *Philippics I—IV* and *T. D.* The readings of this MS often agree with those of the best, and it is less interpolated than most of the Paris MSS except R 1 and R 2. In I 48 it has *leto nubila* with V^2 B S^1 and others, and in II 50 *pudens* with others.

R 11. No. 6592. "*Membranaceus XV saec. uid. exaratus.*" Contains *T. D.* alone.

R 12. No. 6593. "*Membranaceus, XV saec.*"

R 13. No. 6594. "*Chartaceus; XV saec. olim D. D. de Bethune.*" In I 73 it has *reuetens* (a noticeable reading); in I 91 *animum*; in II 49 *dubitant* with others.

R 14. No. 6595. "*Membranaceus, XV saec.*" Recently acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale.

R 15. No. 6596. "*Membranaceus, XV saec. olim Colbertinus.*" II 49 *dubitant* with others.

R 16. No. 6606. "*Chartaceus, XV saec.*" The readings often agree with those of the oldest MSS, e.g. II 50 *pudens*.

R 17. No. 7698. "*Membranaceus, XIV saec. uid. exaratus.*" Contains most of Cicero's philosophical works and much of Seneca. The readings often agree with those of the oldest MSS.

In II 23 it has *cluet* with V^2 B 2 alone; in II 39 *eloquere eloquere* with R^1 V G B O 1 alone; in II 31 *intuens* with others.

R 18. No. 5755. "*Membranaceus, XV saec. uid. exaratus.*" Contains only a fragment of *T. D.* bk I ending at *tolle hanc*, § 30.

In the Vatican Library.

V (V 1). No. 3246. Entered in the catalogue as of 900 A.D. Written on parchment in folio, στιχηδόν, with two columns to the page. V has been known since 1618; readings from it were used by Gebhard in Gruter's edition, published at Hamburg in that year. But no accurate or complete collation of this MS has hitherto been used for any edition. An excellent article upon it was published in 1890, in *Philologus* vol. 49, continued in vol. 50, by Ed. Stroebel. The MS is there estimated at its proper value, and the character and significance of the corrections of V^2 are clearly set forth. I had unfortunately not seen these articles until after I had collated the Vatican MS, as I went through the classical journals in detail only after my work had been almost completed.

The conjecture stated by Stroebel, on p. 60, that several later MSS