

#### CICERO ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION

During the months before and after he saw Julius Caesar assassinated on the Ides of March, 44 BC, Cicero wrote two philosophical dialogues about religion and theology: On the nature of the gods and On divination. This book brings to life his portraits of Stoic and Epicurean theology, as well as the skepticism of the new Academy, his own school. We meet the Epicurean gods who live a life of pleasure and care nothing for us, the determinism and beauty of the Stoic universe, itself our benevolent creator, and the reply to both that traditional religion is better served by a lack of dogma. Cicero hoped that these reflections would renew the traditional religion at Rome, with its prayers and sacrifices, temples and statues, myths and poets, and all forms of divination. This volume is the first fully to investigate Cicero's dialogues as the work of a careful philosophical author.

J. P. F. WYNNE is Associate Professor of Classics in the Department of World Languages and Cultures at the University of Utah. He is a scholar of later ancient Greek and Roman philosophy and religion, and a specialist on Cicero, Stoic and skeptical philosophy, and the philosophy of religion in the ancient world.



# CICERO ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION

On the Nature of the Gods and On Divination

J. P. F. WYNNE

University of Utah





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107683563

DOI: 10.1017/9781107707429

© J. P. F. Wynne 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2019 First paperback edition 2023

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-I-107-07048-6 Hardback ISBN 978-I-107-68356-3 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



> parentibus meis



# Contents

Acknowledgn	nents	page viii
List of Abbre	viations	х
Introduction Greece to R	a: Cicero and the Translation of Philosophy from ome	I
Chapter 1:	Cicero's Project in <i>On the Nature of the Gods</i> and <i>On Divination</i>	50
Chapter 2:	Velleius the Epicurean	83
Chapter 3:	Balbus the Stoic and Cotta the Skeptic	III
Chapter 4:	Quintus' Stoic Case for Divination	182
Chapter 5:	Marcus' Arguments against Divination	222
Chapter 6:	Marcus' Stance on the Central Question	264
Appendix 1:	Terminology in DND and Div. for Religious Virtues and Vices, and Greek Equivalents	279
Appendix 2:	Velleius' Strategies against his Opponents	282
* *	Balbus' Classification of the Gods	283
Bibliography		284
General index		295
Index locorum antiquorum		300

vii



# Acknowledgments

This book began as a 2008 dissertation at Cornell. I would like to thank my doctoral committee members, Terence Irwin and Hayden Pellicia. To my committee chair Charles Brittain, I owe a particular and ongoing debt of thanks. Other Cornellians, present or former, to whom I owe thanks from some part of the genesis of the book include Tobias Torgerson, Aaron Kelsh, Erik Kenyon, Brent Hannah, Anthony Hunter, Scott MacDonald, Michael Fontaine, Tad Brennan, and Gail Fine.

I am very lucky in my colleagues and students (again present or former) at Northwestern, a wonderful place to study and to teach the classics and philosophy. My sincerest thanks for all their various help, kindness, advice, undeserved patience, and intellectual company to Sara Monoson, Richard Kraut, Ann Gunter, Will West, Robert Wallace, Marianne Hopman, Reginald Gibbons, Francesca Tataranni, David Ebrey, John Schafer, Baron Reed, and Kenneth Seeskin.

Malcolm Schofield was kind enough to read a draft of this book and discuss it with me at length. I am very grateful for this experience, and for all the ways in which he improved my work.

The 'Second Saturdays' work-in-progress group of the Chicago Area Consortium in Ancient Greek and Roman Philosophy read and commented on a number of pieces relevant to this book. My thanks to the ancient philosophy community in Chicago, and in the Midwest at large, among whom are (or were) Elizabeth Asmis, Agnes Callard, Gabriel Richardson Lear, Constance Meinwald, Emily Fletcher, Jason Rheins, and Dhananjay Jagannathan. An audience at the 2011 Northwestern—Pisa conference at the University of Pisa heard and helped to improve an early version of Chapter 1.

During my final editing of the manuscript while on leave from Northwestern in 2017–2018, the Tanner Humanities Center at the University of Utah was kind enough to arrange facilities for me as a visiting scholar.



#### Acknowledgments

ix

The anonymous readers from the Press have improved the book immeasurably, as has my editor Michael Sharp. He has also shown the patience of Job.

Despite the many sources of advice and improvement I have mentioned, I am a stubborn individual, and the errors or infirmities in the book are firmly and entirely my own.

Above all, to my family ShawnaKim, Jack, and Elizabeth: thanks.



# Abbreviations

DL	Diogenes Laërtius, Lives of the eminent philosophers
DRN	Lucretius, De rerum natura (On the nature of things)
LS	Long and Sedley (1987)
LSJ	Liddell, Scott, Jones et al. (1996)
OLD	Oxford Latin dictionary (2nd ed.) = Glare (2012)
RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft =
	Wissowa et al. (1893–1980)
SB	Shackleton Bailey (1965–1970) or (2002)
SVF	Stoicorum veterum fragmenta = von Arnim (1903–1924)
TLL	Thesaurus linguae latinae (1900–)

When I cite certain of Cicero's works central to understanding his philosophical writing, I abbreviate or translate their conventional Latin titles as shown in the table below. I cite all other works by a commonly used title, whether in English or in the original language.

My label	Latin title	Other common titles
Consolation	Consolatio	
Div.	De divinatione	On divination
DND	De natura deorum	(On) the nature of the gods
Hortensius	Hortensius	, ,
Laws	De legibus	On the laws
Letters to Atticus	Epistolae ad Atticum	
Letters to his friends	Épistolae ad familiares	
Letters to Quintus	Épistolae ad Quintum fratrem	
On augury	De auguriis	
On duties	De officiis	On obligations
On ends	De finibus (bonorum et malorum)	On the ends of goods and evils, On moral ends



# List of Abbreviations

хi

### (cont.)

My label	Latin title	Other common titles
On fate	De fato	
On friendship	(Laelius) de amicitia	Laelius
On glory	De gloria	
On invention	De inventione	
On old age	(Cato) de senectute	Cato
On the orator	De oratore	On the ideal orator
On the parts of	De partitione oratoria	
rhetoric	-	
Republic	De re publica	
Timaeus	Timaeus	
Tusculans	Tusculanae disputationes	Tusculan disputations

What I cite, following convention, as the *Academica*, is a portmanteau text. Its books are the surviving parts of two of the drafts Cicero made of his dialogue about the skeptical Academy:

Academica	Part of the first book of the second of the two drafts. Cicero
book 1	called this draft the Academic books (Academici libri). Scholars
	sometimes call it the Academica posteriora.
Academica	What Cicero called the Lucullus, one of the books of the first
book 2	draft. Scholars sometimes call this draft the Academica priora.