

M. TVLLI CICERONIS
DE FINIBVS BONORVM ET MALORVM
LIBER PRIMVS

I. Non eram nescius, Brute, cum, quae summis ingeniis ex- 1
quisitaque doctrina philosophi Graeco sermone tractavissent, ea
Latinis litteris mandaremus, fore ut hic noster labor in varias
reprehensiones incurreret. Nam quibusdam, et eis quidem non
5 admodum indoctis, totum hoc displicet philosophari. Quidam
autem non tam id reprehendunt, si remissius agatur, sed tantum

4 eis quidem: *his quidem A*; *hys q. B* ut semper; 'ne semel quidem iis' Baier.
6 tam: *tantum* scriptum est ante Orellium.

§§ 1–12. Cic. defends his work against four classes of objectors: (1) those who hate philosophy altogether; (2) those who tolerate it only if it be carried on in a lax fashion; (3) those who prefer to read Greek literature on the subject; (4) those who prefer that Cicero should employ his pen on other themes. Similar apologies are prefixed to the *Lucullus* and the *De Natura Deorum*. Also Orator, § 140 and Acad. 1, 11; see Introd. to *Academica*, p. 23.

1. *eram...mandaremus*: this change from sing. to plur. is not very uncommon in Cic.; so Cato m. § 5: *sapientiam meam...in hoc sumus sapientes*. In his n. on that passage, Allen quotes a good many parallels. The subj. *mandaremus* is Hale's 'qualitative' time-clause, as opposed to 'determinative'; i.e. it describes the *kind* of time, not merely the *point* of time. The second subjunctive, *tractavissent*, merely follows the first.

nescius: see n. on 5, 51.

summīs ing.: not dependent on *tractavissent*, but qualitative.

3. *fore ut*: Cic. avoids *futurum ut* (Caec. 4 is not an ex.).

hic noster labor: De opt. d. g. 18 huic labori duo genera reprehensionum opponuntur; ib. 15 hic labor meus.

5. *totum hoc...philosophari*: so De Or. 2, 39: hoc totum diserte dicere; 2, 218: totum hoc risum movere; Tusc. 5, 33: totum hoc beate vivere; for other

exx. of infin. used as substantive see below, 2 §§ 9, 18, 19, 43, 86; 3 § 44, and Wölflin, Archiv 3, 70 sq.

6. *non tam*: Madv. contends that *non tam* and *non ita* do not in Cic. or the older writers take on them the force of *non admodum*, but that there is always a comparison either expressed or clearly implied, excepting where *non ita* (not *non tam*) goes with an adjective or an adverb. He however (ed. 3, p. lxviii) says that in Qu. Fr. 1, 1, 16 neque tam fideles sunt, the comparison is hardly apparent. The same may be said of Scaur. 33: neque vero tam haec ipsa cotidiana res Appium Claudium illa humanitate et sapientia praeditum per se ipsa movisset, nisi hunc C. Claudi, fratris sui competitorem fore putasset. Madv., rejecting several explanations of implied comparison (with Otto) supposes anacoluthon; Cic. should have said 'non tam id (ipsam rem) reprehendunt quam nimis magnum studium,' but, changing the construction, he substituted *sed tantum* etc. for the second limb of the comparison. In Virg. Ecl. 5, 83, we have *tantum...tam* with verb (but there is distinct ellipse). In illustration Madvig gives Brut. 58: quae (suaviloquentia) nunc quidem non tamen in plerisque; latrant enim iam quidam oratores, non locuntur; sed est ea laus eloquentiae certe maxima ('significat non tam esse suaviloquentiam nunc in oratoribus, quam ipsam laudandam et requirendam

studium tamque multam operam ponendam in eo non arbitrantur. Erunt etiam, et hi quidem eruditi Graecis litteris, contemnentes Latinas, qui se dicant in Graecis legendis operam malle consumere. Postremo aliquos futuros suspicor qui me ad alias litteras vocent, genus hoc scribendi, etsi sit elegans, per-
 2 sonae tamen et dignitatis esse negent. Contra quos omnis dicendum breviter existimo; quamquam philosophiae quidem vituperatoribus satis responsum est eo libro quo a nobis philosophia defensa et collaudata est, cum esset accusata et vituperata ab Hortensio. Qui liber cum et tibi probatus videretur et eis
 10 quos ego posse iudicare arbitrarer, plura suscepi, veritus ne movere hominum studia viderer, retinere non posse. Qui autem, si maxime hoc placeat, moderatius tamen id volunt fieri, difficilem

3 contemnentes Latinas: glossema suspicor esse. 9 collaudata: collata P.

esse'); also § 10 below (which see); and (in ed. 3) Leg. 1, 40 (already qu. by Boeckel), non tam iudiciis...sed; add Just. 11, 7, 4 qu. by Allen. [The use of *tam* with verbs is not so very common, so Tac. restricts admodum to adj. and part.; there is no ex. in Caesar.] The objection brought by Madv. against the order of the words given by the inferior mss. (*non id tam*) is hardly sound. Cic. loves to interpose a monosyllable between two words closely connected by grammar.

1. **tamque multam**: usage did not allow *tantam operam*, but Cic. might have said *tantum operae*.

1, 2. **non arbitrantur**: the negative coalesces very closely with the verb, as in *non censere*; see Allen's note.

erunt etiam, etc.: this view must be restricted to philosophic writing, and it is put into Varro's mouth by Cic. himself in Acad. 1, 4; cf. ib. §§ 8, 10.

3. **contemnentes Latinas**: i.e. such Latin philosophical literature as existed before Cicero's time; see Acad. 1, 5.

5. **litteras**: 'writings'; see n. on § 12. **genus hoc**: Hor. s. 1, 4, 24 quod sunt quos genus hoc minime iuvat, utpote plures | culpari dignos.

6. **dignitatis**: cf. § 11 and Acad. 1, 11, where a direct answer is given to these critics.

7. **philosophiae vituperatoribus**: i.e. those who totally reject it; cf. Tusc. 2, 4.

8. **eo libro**: the earliest in the series of Cicero's philosophical works. The most recent, and at the same time the fullest

and most accurate account of the dialogue is that by Plasberg (Leipzig, 1894).

11. **iudicare**: the word is rarely used in such a purely absolute sense, excepting when it is applied to the *iudices*. No exact parallel in Merguet. Perhaps there is a reference here to the courts 'qualified to sit in judgment.' In favour of this is the use of *defensa...accusata* above.

12. **movere...retinere**: so Cic. in Acad. 1, 9 says of Varro that he had written of philosophy 'ad impellendum satis, ad edocendum parum.' It is a mistake to suppose (with many scholars) that *movere* is dependent on *posse* to be supplied from *non posse*. Cic. could not leave a positive to be supplied from a coming negative verb in this fashion, though the usage is Tacitean, as in An. 12, 64; 13, 56.

13. **si maxime**: Goerenz strangely says that *si vel maxime* is usual; that phrase does not seem to occur, in Cicero at least; *si maxime* is common enough. Augustine vit. beata c. 25 has *si minime*, 'however little.'

hoc...id: the less emphatic pronoun is constantly in Cicero repeats thus the more emphatic *hic* or *ille* or *iste*; see my n. on Acad. 2, 29; Landgraf on Pro Rosc. Am. 6; add Plaut. Asin. 527 illos qui dant, eos derides; Ter. Ad. 357; Eun. 952; Haut. 591; Cic. Fam. 13, 26, 3; Quint. 10, 1, 10. Rarely is the same pronoun repeated, and rarely does *is* precede *hic*, *ille*, *iste*. See my n. on Acad. 2, 27 and Madv. on Fin. 5, 22; cf. below § 11; 2, 49.

1 3] *DE FINIBVS BONORVM ET MALORVM* 3

quandam temperantiam postulant in eo quod semel admissum coerceri reprimique non potest, ut propemodum iustioribus utamur illis qui omnino avocent a philosophia, quam his qui rebus infinitis modum constituent in reque eo meliore quo maior sit, mediocritatem desiderent. Sive enim ad sapientiam perveniri potest, non paranda nobis solum ea, sed fruenda etiam est; sive

1 admissum: *iam missum* AE et multi alii. 6 inter *etiam* et *est* interponunt *sapientia* mss. et edd. ante Madvigium, quod fort. retinendum est. Vide comm.

1. **quandam**: the indefinite pronoun has here an intensifying, but in many cases a frightening effect.

admissum: best taken (with Madvig) in a general sense, opposite to *exclusum*, 'when once accepted'; cf. Sen. De Ira 1, 7, 2 *facilius est excludere perniciosam quam regere, et non admittere quam admissa moderari*. But many scholars have found a metaphor in *admissum*, either from horsemanship (*admittere equum*) or from some other source. However, as Madvig objects, this metaphorical use needs support, and the general form *in eo quod* ill accords with a special metaphor, while the objectors to whom Cicero is giving an answer were far from wishing to allow the rein to philosophy. The same flaws affect *immissum*, used by Sen. De Ira 3, 6, 2 *quis se regere potuit immissum?* ('when he has once let himself go') and Ep. 40, 6 *oratio...reprimi immissa*. The reading *iam missum* (defended by Gustafsson, p. 34, and others) would easily arise from *ammissum*, a common substitute in mss. for *admissum*. The awkwardness of *iam*, and the unsuitability of *coerceri* and *reprimi* to a metaphor derived from launching a missile, point to the falseness of the reading. [In Caes. B. C. 2, 34, 3 *equis admissis* has been changed in nearly all mss. to *eq. amissis*.] A passage in the so-called 'Sententiae Varronis,' 79 (ed. Riese) seems to give an echo of Cicero's words here: 'odere multi philosophiam quia quum sciri multa necesse sit, non est res tanta nisi amplis contenta spatiis.'

2. **propemodum**: qualifies the whole clause 'I may almost say.'

3. **utamur**: 'find them to be'; so Fam. 1, 9, 14 *usus es quibusdam...fortioribus in me restituendo quam fuerant idem in tenendo*; ib. 9, 1, 2; 7, 33, 2; Mil. 34; Acad. 2, 53.

6. **etiam sapientia**: most editors from Manutius onwards have ejected *sapientia*. The mere fact that it occurs in the preceding line has no weight (cf. 2, 19). But

Madvig (partly following earlier scholars) brings two special objections: (1) that elsewhere a nominative in protasis is not repeated in the apodosis, if the apodosis immediately follows ('continuo subiecta'), excepting in certain passages which are syllogistic in form, when the repetition is intentional ('de industria'); (2) that the pronoun *ea*, referring to the nominative in the protasis, renders the repetition impossible. The rule laid down in (1) involving three conditions, viz. that the noun must be in the nominative case, that the apodosis must immediately follow, and that the passage must not be syllogistic in form, is over-subtle and artificial. If the rule accords with facts, the accord may well be accidental. It would be possible to lay down many similar refined canons, which could not be overthrown by appeal to the remnants of Latin literature now existing. Objection (2) is difficult to understand; there is nothing obviously inconsistent with Cicero's usage either in the meaning of *ea*, or in its position in the sentence. For the repetition cf. Fam. 12, 8, and 12, 30, 2; Pro Flacc. 53 *hunc auctorem*; Fam. 7, 30, 3; 11, 6, 1.

6. **fruenda**: Cic. generally avoids the gerundive where the corresponding verb does not govern an accusative, particularly if the nominative case be required, and substitutes the gerund with the appropriate case. There is doubtless here assimilation to *paranda*; cf. Tusc. 5, 50 *beata vita glorianda et praedicanda et prae se ferenda est*. So Cael. 51 *vel in legatis insidiandis vel in servis ad hospitem domini necandum sollicitandis*. Fam. 4, 3, 1 *in bello cavendo*. The verbs *utor fruor potior vescor glorior insidiari cavere* are the only verbs not governing an accusative which in the language of Cicero form gerundives; of course forms like *disserendus, respondendus* are accommodated to the transitive uses of the corresponding verbs.

hoc difficile est, tamen nec modus est ullus investigandi veri, nisi inveneris, et quaerendi defetigatio turpis est, cum id quod quaeritur sit pulcherrimum. Etenim si delectamur, cum scribimus, quis est tam invidus qui ab eo nos abducat? sin laboramus, quis est qui alienae modum statuatur industriae? Nam ut Terenti-
 5
 anus Chremes non inhumanus, qui novum vicinum non volt

Fodere aut arare aut aliquid ferre denique

2 defetigatio: sic A².

4 invidus: *timidus* E et *deducat* pro *abducat*.

1. **difficile est**: at first sight *non potest fieri* might have been expected. But the words in the text better represent the position of the Sceptics, who could not consistently make a statement so dogmatic as the doctrine that the discovery of truth is impossible.

modus...veri: the gen. is the prevalent construction with *modus est*, though the dat. occasionally occurs (Ad Herenn. 2, 50). With gerunds or gerundives the dat. is very rare, not merely after *modus est* or *fit*, but after such phrases as *modum facere, constituere*. (Below, *industriae* is probably dat.) Cf. *modum crescendi ponere* in Lucan 10, 331. In Plaut. Asin. 167 the mss. give *qui modus dandi*? where almost all editors have wrongly changed *dandi* to *dando*.

nisi inveneris: Acad. 2, 26 quaestionisque finis inventio.

2. **defetigatio**: probably this spelling (not *defatigatio*) was alone used in the Latin of the Republic. So in the Ambrosian ms. of Plaut. Trin. 225 (the only passage where any cognate is contained in the ms.). For the phrase cf. Aristotle 984 a 30 ἡττάσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς ζήτησεως.

3. **etenim**: the note of Madvig will show that the force of this particle has often been misconceived, from the idea that it must needs be confirmative of the sentence immediately preceding. Here it has almost the force of *porro* or *praeerea*. Indeed the word is rarely (never, I think, in Cicero) a causal particle, giving reason for words which immediately precede; nor (like *nam* or *enim*) is it ever elliptically used, so as to refer to some consideration which the writer has left the reader to supply for himself. It either continues the general argument, as here, or if it stands in close connexion with preceding words, merely emphasises an additional point; e.g. Verr. 4, 15 eius legationis princeps est Helus, etenim est primus civitatis,

not 'because he is the first man in the community' but 'and indeed he is.'

4. **eo**: often used, as here, without any substantival word in the context.

laboramus: 'trouble ourselves over it'; so below, 3, 8 and often.

5. **ut...non inhumanus...sic isti curiosi**: the omission of the verb is especially common in the Ciceronian writings, in short clauses where great stress lies on one word, such as a negative, pronoun, or adverb; cf. n. on 1, 18.

The employment of *ut* and *sic* with clauses which are not in correspondence but in contrast, as here, is very common; see below, 1, 49 and 67; 2, 67 and 100.

7. **fodere**, etc.: from Terence, Hautontim. 67 ff. (Chremes addresses Menedemus): numquam tam mane egredior neque tam vesperi | domum revortor, quin te in fundo conspicer | fodere aut arare aut aliquid ferre denique | nullum remittis tempus neque te respicis. There can be no doubt that Cicero found *ferre* in his mss. of Terence, and intended to connect *denique* with the preceding words. If this be done the sense of *aut...denique* (as Madvig shows) must be 'or at all events' (this use of *aut...denique* is common enough in Cicero); and it follows that the idea attaching to *ferre* (if right) should be slighter than those involved in *fodere* and *arare*, or else that the meaning of *ferre* should generalise the meanings of *fodere* and *arare*. It has been assumed that *ferre* cannot fit in with either of these conditions; but it may have the sense 'to bear some toil' in which case it may fairly be said to be general in meaning, or 'to carry something in the hand,' so that it would indicate a slighter exertion than those indicated by *fodere* and *arare*. There seems therefore to be no necessity (even on the assumption that Cicero is right in connecting *denique* with what goes before) to suppose that Terence really wrote *facere*, not *ferre*. This supposition

14] *DE FINIBVS BONORVM ET MALORVM* 5

(non enim illum ab industria, sed ab illiberali labore deterret), sic isti curiosi, quos offendit noster minime nobis iniucundus labor.

II. Eis igitur est difficilior satis facere, qui se Latina scripta 4
5 dicunt contemnere. In quibus hoc primum est in quo admirer, cur in gravissimis rebus non delectet eos sermo patrius, cum idem fabellas Latinas ad verbum e Graecis expressas non inviti legant.

4 Latina: *Latine* A⁴.

was made by Bentley, relying on a quotation by the scholiast who, in a note on Phormio 121, gives the line of the Haut. with *facere* instead of *ferre*. This was probably a mere slip, caused by the occurrence of *faceret* in the line on which he was commenting at the moment. [The scholiast wrongly interprets *denique* as equivalent to *deinde* or *postremum*.] Many scholars (including Madvig and Fleckeisen) make *ferre* end a sentence and *denique* begin the next. This measure, however, does not render *ferre* any easier to explain.

2. curiosi: *περλεπτοι*.

4. *igitur*: here, as often, not a particle of inference ('therefore') but merely continuative ('well, then'); so sometimes ergo (as in Tusc. Disp. 3, 55).

Latina scripta: the reading *Latine* is no doubt wrong, since we need the contrast with *Graeca*, and *Latina* is supported by *Latinas fabellas* and *Latinas litteras* below. But yet exception may be taken to the statement of Madvig that *Latine scripta* would of necessity mean 'res Latine dictae et verba recte et Latine posita,' that is to say that if *Latine* were attached to *scripta* the latter word would inevitably be participle, not noun. The neuter nouns derived from passive participles have this peculiarity, traceable to their origin, that they sometimes are linked with an adverb without ceasing to be nouns. Cf. pro Sull. 72 *ecquod est huius factum aut commissum*, non dicam audacius; Fam. 10, 16, 2 *ut ante factum aliquod a te egregium audiamus* (so mss.); Nep. Timoth. 1, 2 *multa huius sunt praeclara facta*; Lucret. 5, 1224 *nequod ob admissum foede dictumve superbe* (so mss.), Lachmann *nequid* ('a necessary change' says Munro, if it is joined with *admissum*). *Bene factum*, *recte factum* (wrongly written as compounds) afford other examples of the same usage.

5. *in quibus...in quo admirer*, etc.: the sentence is somewhat awkwardly

put together. The slight carelessness involved in the succession *in quibus...in quo*, has of course many parallels. In both cases the preposition *in* means 'in connexion with' as often, e.g. N.D. 2, 124 *est admiratio in bestiis* 'there is reason for astonishment in the case of animals.' The *cur*-clause is properly explanatory of *hoc*, but depends for its form on *admirer*; the indirect question being of common occurrence with this verb. Cf. Phil. 2, 49 *in quo demiror cur* ...; cf. also n. on 1, 39 below (*delectari in*). For a somewhat similar, but less complicated sentence, cf. N.D. 2, 124 *in quo admirandum est congressum aliquo inter se an iam inde ab ortu natura ipsa congregatae sint*. But for the intervention of *admirer*, the clause epexegetic of *hoc* would probably have taken its usual form of an infinitive clause.

7. *fabellas*: followed by *fabulis* below: so Cael. 64 *velut haec tota fabella veteris et plurimarum fabularum poetriae quam est sine argumento!*; also N.D. 1, 41; Tusc. 1, 113, 114.

e Graecis: but *de Graecis conversa* in § 6; cf. 3, 15 *exprimi verbum e verbo*. The Greek plays were *not* literally translated by the early Latins. See Ribbeck, Trag. 213. For different phrases used by Cicero to express literal translation see my n. on Acad. 2, 17. The use of the word *fabellas* seems to indicate that only some inferior Latin plays are alleged to have been literal translations from the Greek. In § 7 it is implied that Afranius, in borrowing from Menander, translated him literally in certain passages only. There is therefore no contradiction between the words of Cicero here and those which he applies to Roman playwrights generally in Acad. 1, 10, where he states that they conveyed the force rather than the language of the Greeks. A good deal of ingenuity has been expended in attempts to explain a supposed incongruity between the two passages.

Quis enim tam inimicus paene nomini Romano est, qui Enni Medeam aut Antiopam Pacuvi spernat aut reiciat, quod se isdem Euripidi fabulis delectari dicat, Latinas litteras oderit? Synephebos ego, inquit, potius Caecili aut Andriam Terenti quam
5 utramque Menandri legam? A quibus tantum dissentio ut, cum 5

5 tantum: fortasse *tamen* scripsit Tullius.

1. **inimicus...nomini R.:** so Nep. Han. 7 inimicissimum nomini Romano. The phrase *nomen Romanum* is here hardly like *n. Latinum*, *n. Volscum*, etc. (as Otto declared), but means 'the very name of Roman'; cf. e.g. below, 5, 62 cui Tubuli nomen odio non est? Off. 2, 2 vereor ne...philosophiae nomen sit invisum; Verr. 2, 1, 79 deficere ab nomine nostro.

paene: as Madvig notes, this word does not qualify *inimicus* but goes with *nomini*. In Cicero's writings *paene*, and *prope* with the sense of *paene*, far oftener refer to words that follow than to words preceding.

2. **spernat aut reiciat:** when Cicero uses (as he very frequently does) two nearly synonymous words, he generally places between them a copulative, not a disjunctive word. Probably *aut* for *ac* is due here to the form of the sentence, which involves a question equivalent to a negation. See n. on 3, 70, 71.

quod...dicat: see n. on § 24.

3. **Euripidi:** see n. on § 14.

Latinas litteras: as has often been pointed out, this phrase affords no exact contrast with *Euripidi fabulis*; hence scholars have proposed to omit *litteras*, but the omission leaves the contrast still imperfect. There are other inexactnesses in the passage. We set out with certain persons who dislike *Latina scripta* (when philosophy is in question) but yet are ready to read the most literal translations of Greek plays. Then the question is asked 'who is so unpatriotic as to scorn Latin renderings of Greek plays, on the ground that he loves the originals, but cannot bear Latin literature?' The question implies that there is no such man; yet immediately afterwards a speech is put into the mouth of such an one: 'am I to read the renderings of Menander by Caecilius or Terence, rather than the original text of Menander?' (Something very similar occurs in § 8 quis non legat? etc. and in § 11 the implied negative in the question *quis alienum putet* etc. contradicts the words in § 1, personae et dignitatis esse negent; see also my n. on

Acad. 2 § 89 quid loquar de insanis?)

Then Cicero pleads for even bad translations of Greek plays, coming back to the point from which he started. It is much more probable that these irregularities are chargeable to Cicero's haste than to any errors in the mss. tradition. [Jacob in Philol. vi, 480; Iwan Müller A¹¹.] There is a passage in De opt. gen. oratorum § 18 which contains arguments similar to those of our text, but has been corrupted by assimilation to this.

4. **inquit:** 'says such an one'; for the indefiniteness of the reference see illustrations in my n. on Acad. 2, 79.

Caecili...Terenti: note the avoidance of chiasmus.

5. **quibus:** transition from the (supposed) individual to the class of which he is a specimen. Cf. 5, 94 hic si Peripateticus fuisset, qui dicunt, where see n.

tantum dissentio: here and in pro Font. 30 for the more usual tanto opere dissentio (Acad. 2, 132; N.D. 1, 5; cf. Acad. 2, 147 (discrepant)). As Madvig says, this sense of *tantum* is rarely found, excepting where the correlative *quantum* is expressed, or where the verb is such that *tantum* indicates 'magis pro substantivo mensuram quam pro adverbio gradum,' as in *tantum abesse*. Madvig compares the not uncommon employment of *multum* in the sense of *magno opere* or *valde*, and of *plus* for *magis*. The assertion often made (as here by Madvig) that *multum* with verbs has the value of *saepe* is not precisely correct. There is no apparent difference between *multum* in Att. 14, 13, 3 multum me litterae consolantur, 'literature solaces me a great deal,' and in 8, 13, 2 multum mecum municipales homines locuntur, 'people in the country-towns talk to me a great deal'; yet in the one case Madvig interprets the word as *valde*, in the other as *saepe*. Of course the notion of frequency often lies close to that of extent or degree, and the transition is easily made from the one to the other (as in Brut. 310 multum...saepius), yet the two ideas are not confounded and 'multum et saepe' is a common phrase

15] *DE FINIBVS BONORVM ET MALORVM* 7

Sophocles vel optime scripserit Electram, tamen male conversam Atili mihi legendam putem, de quo Licinus: 'Ferreum scriptorem!' verum, opinor, scriptorem tamen, ut legendus sit. Rudem enim esse omnino in nostris poetis aut inertissimae segnitiae est 5 aut fastidi delicatissimi. Mihi quidem nulli satis eruditi videntur, quibus nostra ignota sunt. An

Vtinam ne in nemore...

nihilo minus legimus quam hoc idem Graecum, quae autem de bene beateque vivendo a Platone disputata sunt, haec explicari

3 tamen: fortasse excidit aut *Latinum* aut *nostrum*.

in Cicero's writings and elsewhere, in conjunction with verbs (e.g. Acad. 1, 4). *Tantum* for *tanto opere* is avoided altogether by some writers, as by Caesar.

2. **Atili**: apparently 'Atilius poeta durissimus,' from whom a quotation is made in Att. 14, 20, 3. After the assassination of Julius Caesar, a pathetic passage from the 'Electra,' capable of being applied to the disaster, was sung in the theatre (Suet. Iul. 84).

Licinus: in all probability Porcius Licinus, versifier and literary critic of the generation before Cicero, is meant. All available information concerning him will be found in the work by Büttner, 'Porcius Licinus und der literarische Kreis des Q. Lutatius Catulus' (Leipzig, 1893). Büttner sees an allusion to him in the *tonsor Licinus* of Horace (A.P. 301).

ferreum, etc.: many scholars from Voss onwards (including Weichert and Büttner) have assumed the quotation to extend from *ferreum* to *legendus sit*. But, as Madvig urged, it is exceedingly unlikely that Cicero would have found in the poet words so precisely adapted to his argument. Büttner contends, most improbably, that Cicero's whole argument in the context was suggested to him by Licinus. The fact that the words in question can be scanned as one whole trochaic septenarius with part of another, must be accidental. Büttner urges that verses in this metre are quoted from Licinus by Gellius, but this has really no bearing on the extent of Cicero's quotation here. Nor can any weight be attributed to the contention that if the words *ut legendus sit* are Cicero's own he was guilty of tautology, after having written *mihi legendam* just before (Büttner, Philol. XLII, 54, after Detlefsen). Madvig admits that the *direct* quotation of two words only from

an author is unusual with Cicero, but there are *exx.*

3. **scriptorem tamen**: one would have expected *Latinum* or *nostrum* to be added; or *poetam* instead of *scriptorem*; but perhaps the thought is 'no one can deny him a literary character, so that he ought to be read.' The form of the correction in *ferreum scriptorem, verum scriptorem tamen* is of frequent occurrence; cf. e.g. Brut. 221 non satis acutus orator sed tamen orator.

rudem: in contrast with *eruditi* below.

4. **inertissimae segnitiae**: not exactly pleonastic (Holstein and others); the reference in *inertissimae* is to 'has maximas artes quibus qui carebant, inertes a maioribus nominabantur' (Fin. 2, 115, where see n.).

5. **fastidi**: often used of great or excessive refinement in taste (literary or gastronomic); cf. especially De opt. gen. orat. 18 and Tusc. 4, 23 ad certas res vitiosam offensionem atque fastidium.

delicatissimi: the word conveys the notion of whimsicality or capriciousness or wantonness such as that of a spoilt child or other favourite; *deliciae* has corresponding applications.

6. **an**: the change from *at* to *an* is necessary. The form of argument, consisting of a bimembral question, the one limb comprising an admitted fact, while the other puts a fact cognate, yet not admitted, is exceedingly common in Cicero. The second limb is frequently placed side by side with the first, without any connecting link such as *autem* provides here. Cf. below § 12.

7. **utinam ne in nemore**: these often quoted first words of the Medea of Ennius are substituted for the name of the play.

9. **bene beateque vivendo**: see n. on

6 non placebit Latine? Quid si nos non interpretum fungimur munere, sed tuemur ea quae dicta sunt ab eis quos probamus, eisque nostrum iudicium et nostrum scribendi ordinem adiungimus? quid habent cur Graeca anteponant eis, quae et splendide dicta sint neque sint conversa de Graecis? Nam si dicent ab illis has res esse tractatas, ne ipsos quidem Graecos est cur tam multos legant quam legendi sunt. Quid enim est a Chrysippo

2 ea quae dicta: fort. *res quae dictae*.

5 dicta sint: ita P; *d. sunt* AE.

6 ipsos dett. P^a: *ipso* codd.

7 quam legendi sunt: glossema esse coniecit Ernesti.

§ 11. The reference in the words *a Platone* appears to be quite general. If there is any allusion to a particular dialogue, it can be no other than the *Philebus*. But Plato is here typical of Greek philosophers in general; Cicero chooses the noblest representative. So below, in § 7, where Plato and Aristotle are joined together. The words *quae... haec* refer not to the actual writings of Plato, but to the ethical problems debated in those writings. *Disputare aliquid* for *de aliqua re* is of course commonly found. Below, *ea quae dicta sunt* mean actual statements.

1. *interpretum*: often used of literal translators, as in Off. 1, 6 *Stoicos sequemur, non ut interpretes*.

2. *tuemur*: not 'defend' (as some of the translators understand the word) but 'keep to.' Without departing from the doctrines of the chosen authors, Cicero is to choose his own language and arrangement. Cf. 2, 11 where we have the succession *tenere, tueri, defendere*.

probamus: Seyffert in his *Scholae Latinae* curiously takes this as meaning 'to quote' probably because the meaning 'approve' is not suitable to the opposing philosophers who are followed in different parts of the treatise. But Cicero may be deemed to have 'approved' all of these as representatives of their schools.

3. *iudicium*: the context shows that the word here implies literary taste, not intellectual judgment. The usage is of course familiar.

scribendi ordinem: these words are applicable only to the employment of one book as an authority, and would be entirely out of place had Cicero drawn his material from numerous books or authorities.

4. *et...neque*: see Draeger, Hist. Synt. § 323, 5 (11, 84).

5. *dicta sint*: it is difficult to decide

whether *dicta sunt...conversa sunt*, should be read, or *d. sint...c. sint*. The previous sentence might suggest that Cicero had in his mind particular complete writings (the 'De Rep.,' 'De Legibus' and the 'Hortensius'), and not the *quality* of all his philosophical compositions, whether finished or contemplated. But even so, the indicative verbs might be drawn into the subjunctive in sympathy with the preceding clause. Baiter's omission of the *sint* after *dicta* can scarcely be right. Cicero would rather have dropped the *sint* before *conversa*. The omission of the earlier *sint* is made very awkward by the interposition of the *neque*, and the circumstances are quite different here and in § 30 *quam ob rem voluptas expetenda, fugiendus dolor sit*.

Graecis: quite possibly masc. although *Graeca* precedes. Cf. *illis* in the next sentence (which may however be κατὰ σὺνθεσιν like *ille* in 5, 16, where see n.); and § 7 *Platonem verterem*. Just below, in *Stoicis* is rather 'in treating the Stoic system' than 'among the Stoics' (as though referring to Chrysippus).

6. *ne ipsos*: there is a small ellipse in the introduction of the apodosis, 'I give the following answer'; cf. Nägelsbach, Stilistik, § 184, 1.

7. *legendi sunt*: in a masterly note Madvig refutes the opinion of Davies that these words bear the sense of *leguntur*, and that of others, who gave them the value of *legi possunt*. His view that there is slight ellipse ('quam legendi sunt, si quis doctus et eruditus haberi vult') is unquestionably true. Madvig lays down clearly the limits within which the gerundive assumed or bordered on the idea of possibility in the Latin of Cicero. But his quotations are confined to *vix ferendus*, or *non ferendus*, with the exception of In Cat. 2, 28 *vix optandum*, where, however, the sense of

16] *DE FINIBVS BONORVM ET MALORVM* 9

praetermissum in Stoicis? Legimus tamen Diogenem, Antipatrum, Mnesarchum, Panaetium, multos alios in primisque familiarem nostrum Posidonium. Quid? Theophrastus mediocriterne delectat, cum tractat locos ab Aristotele ante tractatos? 5 quid? Epicurei num desistunt de isdem, de quibus et ab Epicuro scriptum est et ab antiquis, ad arbitrium suum scribere? Quod

propriety clearly comes out, 'a thing for which we scarce should pray.' Cicero never, as M. says, adds words which render the sense of possibility conspicuous, as Velleius does (2, 46): 'res vix multis voluminibus enarrandae.' Poets and later prose writers not only introduce such negative phrases as *nulli cernendus*, but positive expressions, like Ovid, *Fast.* 6, 720 *continua Delphin nocte videndus erit*. Madvig also points out that the notion of simple futurity seems to be attached to the gerundive in only one passage of Latin before the time of Lactantius and Jerome, viz. *Liv.* 3, 45, 3 *promitto puellam sistendam*, 'I undertake that the girl shall be produced'; with which he compares *voveo aedem faciendam*. The two expressions are indeed strictly parallel. *Promittere puellam*, 'to promise a girl,' can stand by itself just as well as *vovere aedem*, and the extension in both cases is the same: 'I vow a temple, which is to be constructed,' and 'I promise a girl, who is to be produced'; so *habuit aedem tuendam* and many like phrases. It is therefore, perhaps, hardly correct to say that even in the passage of Livy the gerundive conveys the idea of simple futurity.

1. *légimus* or *légimus*? Probably the latter.

Diogenem: see n. on 2, 24.

2. *Mnesarchum, Panaetium*: the chronological order is here disturbed, since Mnesarchus was pupil of Panaetius. As a rule Cicero is careful in such enumerations to preserve the order of time. In *Tusc.* 5, 107 there is a similar disturbance, according to some of the mss., but recent editors have corrected the passage.

multos alios: the asyndeton at the end of the summation is usual but not universal. So with *cetera* in 4, 35, where see n. Also cf. 2, 23 his omnibus.

in primisque: Cicero does not attach *que* to *ex* or *in* (apart from a few examples of old-fashioned formulae, as *exque re publica* in *Phil.* 3, 38 and 5, 36 and 10, 26; cf. *Div.* 1, 102 *inque*) unless

a demonstrative pronoun follows. He also observes as a rule the condition accepted by nearly all writers for all prepositions, that *que* is only attached when the preposition is repeated. To many prepositions *que* is never joined; so *ad* (hence *ad easque* in 3, 72). See Landgraf on *Rosc. Am.* 114 (with additional remarks in appendix) also Krebs-Schmalz, *Antibarbarus*, s.v. *que*.

3. *familiarem*: Cicero had known P. both at Rome and at Rhodes, and had corresponded with him. In a fragment of the Hortensius (44 in C. F. W. Müller's text) he is called 'the greatest of all Stoics.' This statement of Cicero that, for the Stoic philosophy, he read Posidonius more than others, is of some importance.

quid? this little anticipative question (like *τί δέ;*) is almost invariably followed by a second question.

mediocriterne: the interrogative particle is often not attached to the earliest possible word in the sentence. Similarly *num* and *nonne* often come late.

4. *locos*: Horace, who uses *loca* in this sense (*ep.* 2, 1, 223), is not followed by any good writer, though later poets and later prose writers often use *loci* in the sense of *loca*. See Neue, *Formenlehre*, 1⁸, 543.

5. *Epicurei*, etc.: Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.* p. 105, seems to misunderstand the passage.

isdem: possibly neut. just as *omnibus* is used by Cic. for *omnibus rebus*; but perhaps *locis* is to be supplied.

et ab Epicuro...et ab antiquis: the *antiqui* here do not include Epicurus, but embrace his immediate followers, Hermarchus Metrodorus and one or two others; just as the phrase *vetus Academia* often includes Plato's immediate followers, while excluding Plato himself.

6. *ad arbitrium*: no more freedom of treatment is implied here than in the words *nostrum iudicium et nostrum scribendi ordinem* above. Cicero often reproaches the later Epicureans with a parrot-like adherence to the lessons of their founder; see n. on 2, 95.

si Graeci leguntur a Graecis isdem de rebus alia ratione compositis, quid est cur nostri a nostris non legantur?

7 III. Quamquam, si plane sic verterem Platonem aut Aristotelen, ut verterunt nostri poetae fabulas, male, credo, mererer de meis civibus, si ad eorum cognitionem divina illa ingenia transferrem. Sed id neque feci adhuc nec mihi tamen ne faciam interdictum puto. Locos quidem quosdam, si videbitur, transferam, et maxime ab eis quos modo nominavi, cum inciderit ut id apte fieri possit, ut ab Homero Ennius, Afranius a Menandro

1. *isdem de rebus...compositis*: Rath proposed to eject *de*, which might well have arisen, by dittographia, from *dem* (*dē*) of *isdem*. Although I have found no parallel to the phrase *legere aliquem de aliqua re*, it does not look un-Latin.

3. *plane sic*: the *plane* qualifies the *sic*; cf. *sic prorsus*.

Platonem...Aristotelen: the context would lead an unwary reader to suppose that the material for the *De Finibus* was found in one or other of these philosophers. But (as is the case with the mention of Plato in § 5) they are merely taken as typical. Plato, Aristotle and Theophrastus are similarly put forward in Acad. 1, 10. Yet *quos modo nominavi* (below, § 7) presents a real difficulty. It may refer back to the Stoics above. Cic. of course is not necessarily referring exclusively to the *De Finibus* but to the whole scheme of his philosophic writings and may here be expressing intentions never carried out.

5. *si ad eorum*, etc.: the second protasis, coming after the apodosis, has the effect of giving a new aspect to the first, pressing it with more vigour. The usage is so common that it is not worth while to give instances; cf. Nägelsbach, *Stilistik* § 149. The same kind of repetition is found with *cum*-clauses, and other clauses also; and the principal clause does not always stand in the middle; cf. e.g. Acad. 2, 97. See n. on 2, 112; and cf. Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, § 510. [Madvig quotes Q. Fr. 2, 15 a (13), 2 with a doubtful reading.]

sl..*transferrem*, etc.: the force of this passage is misunderstood by Prof. Sonnenschein in C.R. 1, 126.

6. *transferrem*: this verb is never used by Cicero *simpliciter*, in the sense of *translating*, a sense which would here fit ill with *ingenia*. The idea of close translation springs not from this verb, but from the context. So Att. 6, 2, 3, *istum ego locum totidem verbis a*

Dicaearcho transtuli: 'I have borrowed the passage from D., rendering it literally.' Madvig lays down, somewhat arbitrarily, that *transferre locos ex aliquo* for *ab aliquo*, would not be good Latin. But what essential difference is there between *intellegere aliquid e Platone*, 'something may be understood from Plato's pages' (2 § 2), and *transferre aliquid e Platone*, 'to borrow something from Plato's pages'?

7. *interdictum*: the word was originally used of an order issued by a magistrate, and retains in its secondary applications traces of its origin. Cf. De Or. 1, 215 *neque enim est interdictum aut a rerum natura, aut a lege aliqua atque more*. After *nec, quominus* would have been more usual; see Riemann, *Synt. Latine*, § 189, 1.

transferam...cum inciderit: in such sentences Cicero often resorts to the fut. perf. tense even where (as here) the future would stand. In 1, 63 *morati metus erimus cum didicerimus*, the tense is of course made necessary by the sense.

8. *inciderit*: the impersonal use occurs only here and Lael. 33 in the philosophical writings of Cicero, not at all in the speeches, and is rare in his other works. It is common in Livy.

9. *ab Homero*, etc.: Cicero purposely quotes an epic writer and a dramatist, both of whom dealt with Roman subjects, and were therefore not so slavishly dependent as other writers on the Greeks. Yet Afranius in his lifetime had to defend himself against the charge of borrowing too largely from Menander (Macrob. sat. 6, 1, 4); but the story itself testifies to his comparative originality. Cic. here certainly misleads by comparing the *togatae* of Afranius and the *Annales* of Ennius with his own dialogues. The only passages which he *openly* translates in these books are from Epicurus and Metrodorus in Fin. 1, 11.

Ennius of Rudiae said he had 'tria