Cicero's Philosophical Works

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Introduction

Cicero (106–43 BCE) was a Roman statesman, orator, and philosopher. As well as speeches, letters, and rhetorical treatises, Cicero wrote numerous philosophical works. These can be divided into two periods—those written before the civil war between Julius Caesar and Pompey the Great (pre-49 BCE), and those written during and after it (46 BCE onward). Those written before are in dialogue form and the central topics are political: the ideal orator (*De Oratore*), the best citizen and the best state (*De Re Publica*), the best laws (*De Legibus*). Those following are predominately part of an ambitious project to bring philosophy to Rome in a systematic fashion; they are also mainly in dialogue form. Cicero composed an exhortation to philosophy (*Hortensius*), followed by books on epistemology (*Academica*, *Lucullus*) and works on broadly ethical concerns—the nature of good and evil (*De Finibus*); honor and glory (*De Gloria*); old age and friendship (*De Senectute*, *De Amicitia*); the soul, death, and suffering (*Tusculans*); consolation (*Consolatio*); the nature of the gods, divination, and providence (*De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione*, *De Fato*). Cicero's final philosophical work is the *De Officiis*, presented as a letter to his son. Philosophy also figures prominently throughout Cicero's letters, speeches, and rhetorical works. Indeed, it should be noted that Cicero felt his rhetorical works *Orator* and *Brutus* should be included in his philosophical corpus (*Div*. 2.4). There are two schools of thought on the novelty and value of Cicero's philosophical works: (1) he is essentially just repackaging Greek material in Latin, offering renditions of existing ideas that are invaluable for saving much of the lost tradition of Hellenistic philosophy; (2) he is doing something more than that, developing distinctive philosophical contributions of his own. Most recent studies stress the innovative elements of Cicero's philosophical thinking. Cicero's own philosophical convictions are varied. Stoicism figures largely, as does his sympathy with Plato, Aristotle, and the Academic and Peripatetic traditions that follow them. He is strongly anti-Epicurean in both periods of his philosophical activity. Most scholars maintain that he is a pragmatic and flexible Academic skeptic, who weighs both sides of every argument and gives his assent to whatever he finds most compelling given the particular circumstances. Ostensibly a lack of political opportunity motivated Cicero to write philosophy. In the prefaces to his philosophical works he insists that it is not an escape from politics, but an intervention in it by other means.

General Overviews

Woolf 2015 is an excellent and accessible introduction to Cicero's philosophical thought for the general reader. MacKendrick 1989 offers useful plot summaries of each work. The papers in Powell 1995 cover a wide range of topics and are suited for the more advanced reader. Lévy 1992 is an important but challenging book-length treatment of Cicero's philosophical contributions, in French. Baraz 2012 and Gildenhard 2007 explore the tension between politics and philosophy. Schofield 2009 is excellent on Cicero's use of the dialogue form. Bishop 2019 focuses on Cicero's efforts to present Latin equivalents of the Greek philosophical classics. May 2002 contains a number of papers that examine how Cicero's rhetorical treatises relate to his philosophical works.

Baraz, Y. 2012. *A written republic: Cicero's philosophical politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

On philosophy as intervention in politics; good study of prefaces.

Bishop, C. 2019. *Cicero, Greek learning, and the making of a Roman classic*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Literary focus, chapter on Cicero composing philosophical dialogue as the new Plato in a new Latin canon of classics.

Gildenhard, I. 2007. *Paideia Romana: Cicero's Tusculan Disputations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Philological Society.

On Cicero's use of philosophy as intervention in politics and Roman society; ostensibly a case-study but much of general relevance.

Lévy, C. 1992. *Cicero Academicus. Recherches sur les Académiques et sur la philosophie de Cicerón*. Rome: École Française.

Derivative versus innovative contributions debated at much length; very comprehensive in providing intellectual background; promotes Academic skeptic viewpoint as consistent throughout; long and in French—a challenging book.

MacKendrick, P. 1989. *The philosophical books of Cicero*. London: Duckworth.

A systematic summary of each of Cicero's philosophical works; quite idiosyncratic and controversial in many details, and to be used with caution; but still a good starting point.

May, J., ed. 2002. *Brill's companion to Cicero: Oratory and rhetoric*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

A broad overview of Cicero's oratorical theory and practice, with chapters on individual speeches, rhetorical treatises, their relationship with philosophy, and a very valuable bibliography for these and related matters.

Powell, J. G. F., ed. 1995. *Cicero the Philosopher*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Volume seeking to bring Cicero's philosophical achievements back into focus; quite advanced but a good range of papers.

Schofield, M. 2009. Ciceronian dialogue. In *The end of dialogue in Antiquity*. Edited by S. Goldhill, 63–84. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

The distinctive style of Cicero's dialogues, contrasted favorably with Plato; relationship between skeptical Academic approach and the dialogue form.

Woolf, R. 2015. *Cicero: The philosophy of a Roman Sceptic*. London and New York: Routledge.

The Academic skeptic angle pushed hard; detailed arguments for Cicero's philosophical relevance for the contemporary analytic philosopher.

De Oratore (On the Orator)

Cicero finished the work in 55 BCE. It is a dialogue in three books set at the country villa of M. Antonius in 91 BCE. Cicero focuses on identifying the defining characteristics of the ideal orator, a task that involves detailed discussion of a wide variety of subjects. A central thesis is that the ideal orator requires a wide-ranging liberal education including the study of history, literature, philosophy, and law. The first book focuses on the nature of oratory and emphasizes its importance for the state, for the simple fact that orators exert considerable influence in politics. The characters seek to identify the ideal form of the orator and to define a systematic discipline of rhetorical education that will allow people to develop into such a figure. The book concludes with a list of the key attributes of the ideal orator, derived from practical experience and observed example. The second book questions whether oratory can in fact be made into a systematic discipline. How do theory and practice relate to each other and which is the more important? Arguments are given on either side of the issue, and it emerges that a combination is best: theory is useful but there is the need for constant practice and training. The third book focuses on style and how form relates to content. There is an important discussion of the relationship between rhetoric and philosophy in the Hellenistic philosophical tradition. The two disciplines had been made to oppose to each other as a result of Plato's writings: philosophy seeks the truth, and there is nothing more persuasive than that; rhetoric seeks to persuade people that what is false is true and is thus a problematic discipline. Cicero rejects the opposition and develops a position where philosophy and rhetoric, truth and eloquence, are brought into harmony. May and Wisse 2001 is the best English translation of the dialogue, with a useful introduction and notes. Fantham 2004 is an eminently readable book-length study of the dialogue, covering a wide range of topics. Wisse 2002 is an accessible and informative introduction to the key themes and arguments of the dialogue. Hall 1994 and Hall 1996 focus on Cicero's anxieties about the place of philosophy in Roman culture. The commentaries of Leeman and Pinkster 1981; Leeman and Pinkster 1985; Leeman, et al. 1989; Leeman, et al. 1996; and Wisse, et al. 2008 are magisterial in their scope and detail, and essential for the advanced reader.

Fantham, E. 2004. *The Roman world of Cicero's De Oratore*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Comprehensive and accessible study of the dialogue; particularly sensitive to literary, cultural, and sociopolitical elements; the best resource in English for the general reader.

Hall, J. 1994. Persuasive design in Cicero's *De Oratore*. *Phoenix* 48:210–225.

On the argumentative structure of the dialogue.

Hall, J. 1996. Social evasion and aristocratic manners in Cicero's *De Oratore*. *American Journal of Philology* 117:95–120.

On anxieties about doing philosophy, Greek versus Roman tension.

Leeman, A. D., and H. Pinkster. 1981. *De oratore libri III, Kommentar I: Buch I 1–165*. Heidelberg, Germany: Winter.

Analysis of the key arguments pertaining to the opening of the dialogue and the nature of oratory; information on Cicero's source material; comprehensive commentary on the Latin text; in German.

Leeman, A. D., and H. Pinkster. 1985. *De oratore libri III, Kommentar II: Buch I 166–265; Buch II, 1–98*. Heidelberg, Germany: Winter.

Analysis of the key arguments pertaining to the key attributes of the ideal orator and the relationship between rhetorical theory and practice; information on Cicero's source material; comprehensive commentary on the Latin text; in German.

Leeman, A. D., H. Pinkster, and E. Rabbie. 1989. *De oratore libri III*, *Kommentar III*: *Buch II, 99–290*. Heidelberg, Germany: Winter.

Analysis of the key arguments pertaining to whether or not oratory can be made a systematic discipline; information on Cicero's source material; comprehensive commentary on the Latin text; in German.

Leeman, A. D., H. Pinkster, and J. Wisse. 1996. *De oratore libri III, Kommentar 4, Buch II, 291–367; Buch III, 1–95*. Heidelberg, Germany: Winter.

Analysis of the key arguments pertaining to the subjects of wit and humor, and the nature of the relationship between rhetoric and philosophy; information on Cicero's source material; comprehensive commentary on the Latin text; in German.

May, J. M., and J. Wisse, eds. and trans. 2001. *Cicero: On the ideal orator*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Good English translation of the dialogue, with excellent introduction and notes.

Wisse, J. 2002. *De Oratore*: Rhetoric, philosophy, and the making of the ideal orator. In *Brill's companion to Cicero: Oratory and rhetoric*. Edited by J. M. May, 375–400. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

A good introduction to the key themes and arguments of the dialogue.

Wisse, J., M. Winterbottom, and E. Fantham. 2008. *De oratore libri III. 5. A Commentary on Book III, 96–230*. Heidelberg, Germany: Winter.

Analysis of the key arguments pertaining to oratorical style, and the conclusion that oratory must be adapted to the occasion; information on Cicero's source material; comprehensive commentary on the Latin text; in English.

De Re Publica (Republic or On the Commonwealth)

Cicero composed the work between 54 and 51 BCE. It is a dialogue in six books set at the house of Scipio Aemilianus in 129 BCE. The first two books are fairly well preserved, but the text as a whole is fragmentary. The first book concludes that the mixed constitution is superior to the simple forms of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. The second book provides a purportedly historical account of the development of the Roman republican constitution to its best state. The surviving part of the third book contains a debate whether injustice is better than justice, with the case for justice triumphant; there is also a debate regarding the natural and the civil law, in which the natural law is shown to be supreme. The fragmentary fourth book addresses ancestral customs and institutions. The very fragmentary fifth book concerns the virtues of the ideal statesman. The final book appears to have focused on the ideal statesman in a time of crisis; it concludes with the Dream of Scipio. Cicero writes in his own voice in the prefaces to Books 1, 3, and 5, where he argues for the superiority of the political life over that of philosophical contemplation and emphasizes the importance of virtuous statesmen, if the state and everyone in it is to flourish. The dialogue demonstrates Cicero's blending of Aristotelian and Stoic ideas within a broadly Platonic framework, but the work is foremost a philosophical meditation on the Roman republican constitution. Cicero offers a critical reflection on present realities in light of the ideal models on display in the dialogue, and he puts forward a straightforward model for remedying political strife and decay—morally upright statesmen are needed, who will exercise rule with justice and reason. Zetzel 1999 has an excellent and accessible introduction—along with Zetzel 2013, it is the best starting point for the general reader. Schmidt 1973 covers earlier scholarly debates and is a useful resource. The essays in Powell and North 2001, Nicgorski 2012, and Höffe 2017 are more advanced. Atkins 2013 is an important book-length

treatment of the *De Re Publica*, with a particular focus on the practicability of political theory. Zarecki 2014 focuses on the figure of the ideal statesman. Büchner 1984 offers detailed scholarly commentary. Powell 2013 is particularly good on the influence of Plato. The *De Re Publica* is connected closely to the *De Legibus* (see De Legibus (On the Laws)).

Atkins, J. W. 2013. *Cicero on politics and the limits of reason*: *The* Republic *and* Laws. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A particular focus on Cicero's views on the limits of ideal models and the need to adapt to what is achievable in practice.

Büchner, K. 1984. *M. Tullius Cicero: De Re Publica. Kommentar*. Heidelburg, Germany: Carl Winter.

Analysis of the key arguments in the dialogue; information on Cicero's source material; comprehensive commentary on the Latin text; in German.

Höffe, O., ed. 2017. *Ciceros Staatsphilosophie: Ein kooperativer Kommentar zu De re publica und De legibus*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Good collection of papers on various aspects of the dialogue.

Nicgorski, W., ed. 2012. *Cicero's practical philosophy*. Notre Dame, IN: Univ. of Notre Dame Press.

Good collection of essays, many of which concern issues in Cicero's *De Re Publica*.

Powell, J. G. F. 2013. Cicero's reading of Plato's *Republic*. In *Ancient approaches to Plato's Republic*. Edited by A. Sheppard, 35–58. London: Institute of Classical Studies.

Accessible discussion of the influence of Plato, both stylistic and in terms of content.

Powell, J. G. F., and J. A. North, eds. 2001. *Cicero's Republic*. London: Institute of Classical Studies.

Good collection of papers covering each book of *De Re Publica*.

Schmidt, P. L. 1973. Cicero '*De re publica*': *Die Forschung der letzen fünf Dezennien*. Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Berlin: De Gruyter. 1.4: 262–333.

Still a useful resource, with discussions of major issues; in German.

Zarecki, J. 2014. *Cicero's ideal statesman in theory and practice*. London: Bloomsbury.

Includes discussion of the practical application of the ideal in Cicero's own political life.

Zetzel, J. E. G. 1999. *Cicero: On the Commonwealth and On the Laws*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Excellent general introduction with the best English translation.

Zetzel, J. E. G. 2013. Political philosophy. In *The Cambridge companion to Cicero*. Edited by C. Steel, 181–195. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Accessible account of core aspects of Cicero's political philosophy.

De Legibus (On the Laws)

This work was most likely composed at the same time as *De Re Publica* (54–51 BCE), but it appears to have been unpublished in Cicero's lifetime. It is a dialogue set at Cicero's villa at Arpinum. The discussion concerns the laws for the best state described in *De Re Publica*. The extant text comprises three books; there are some missing books. In the first book Cicero presents a detailed account of the theory of natural law. The natural law is the supreme, highest law. It rests on right reason, which humans and god share; reason itself allows humans to discern the natural law and their affinity with god. Further, justice is the concern of all virtues, and human beings have a natural propensity for virtue and justice owing to the possession of right reason and the natural affection they feel for one another—natural law thus guides human beings to virtue. The second book contrasts the supreme natural law with civil law: just laws accord with the natural law, unjust laws do not—the test is whether they promote virtue, security, and the preservation of states. Cicero then presents several religious laws that promote virtue and deference to right reason as embodied in god. The third book contains a series of laws pertaining to magistrates and the just exercise of political power, with the rule of law being the overarching concern. The work is famous for containing the most complete account of the theory of natural law from antiquity. Zetzel 1999 has an excellent introduction and offers a reliable, modern translation. Rawson 1973 is still excellent for orientating the reader in the scholarly debates pertaining to the dialogue. Atkins 2013 is an important book-length treatment that contains useful discussion of Cicero's theory of natural law. Girardet 1983 offers a controversial argument that Cicero is pursuing a reformist agenda; Powell 2018 also explores the ways in which Cicero uses philosophy to reflect on Roman political realities. Ferrary 1995 and Annas 2013 are excellent scholarly treatments of the Platonic elements of Cicero's political thought. The papers in Höffe 2017 cover a wide range of issues but are more advanced. Schmidt 2001 presents the evidence pertaining to the composition and publication of the dialogue. Dyck 2004 is a detailed scholarly commentary in English. The *De Legibus* is connected closely to the *De Re Publica* (see De Re Publica (Republic or On the Commonwealth)).

Annas, J. 2013. Plato's *Laws* and Cicero's *De Legibus*. In *Aristotle, Plato and Pythagoreanism in the first century BC*. Edited by M. Schofield, 206–224. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

On the Platonic dimension of the work; the ethical purpose of the laws.

Atkins, J. W. 2013. *Cicero on politics and the limits of reason: The* Republic *and* Laws. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Chapters dedicated to the tension between natural law and practicable civic law.

Dyck, A. R. 2004. *A commentary on Cicero, De Legibus*. Ann Arbor: Michigan Univ. Press.

Detailed commentary, and a very useful critical introduction.

Ferrary, J. -L. 1995. The statesman and the law in the political philosophy of Cicero. In *Justice and generosity: Studies in*

***Hellenistic social and political philosophy*. Edited by A. Laks and M. Schofield, 48–73. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.**

A more advanced analysis linking *De Legibus* to *De Re Publica*.

Girardet, K. 1983. *Die Ordnung der Welt: Ein Beitrag zur philosophischen und politischen Interpretation von Ciceros Schrift De Legibus*. Weisbaden, Germany: Franz Steiner.

Ambitious argument for reforming agenda behind Cicero's dialogues *De Legibus* and *De Re Publica*, in German.

Höffe, O., ed. 2017. *Ciceros Staatsphilosophie: Ein kooperativer Kommentar zu De re publica und De legibus*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Two chapters discussing Cicero on the natural law.

Powell, J. G. F. 2018. Philosophising about Rome: Cicero's *De Re Publica* and *De Legibus*. In *Philosophie in Rome—römische Philosophie? kultur-, literatur- und philosophiegeschichtliche Perspektiven*. Edited by G. M. Müller and M. -Z. Fosca, 249–267. Berlin: De Gruyter.

On the distinctly Roman context of Cicero's philosophical thinking.

Rawson, E. 1973. The interpretation of Cicero's *De Legibus*. Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Berlin: De Gruyter. 1.4: 334–356.

Still a very useful resource for the key debates and controversial issues.

Schmidt, P. L. 2001. The original version of the *De Re Publica* and the *De Legibus*. In *Cicero's Republic*. Edited by J. G. F. Powell and J. A. North, 7–16. London: Institute of Classical Studies.

On the composition of *De Legibus*, its relationship to *De Re Publica*, its dating.

Zetzel, J. E. G. 1999. *Cicero: On the Commonwealth and On the Laws*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Excellent introduction that covers Cicero's sources and the key themes and arguments of the dialogue; the best English translation.

Paradoxa Stoicorum (Stoic Paradoxes)

Cicero composed the work probably in the early months of 46 BCE. He dedicates it to Brutus, the nephew of the Roman Stoic Cato the Younger. It comprises six short rhetorical exercises written in an accessible and even popularizing manner. Each exercise addresses a contentious Stoic ethical doctrine that Cato, as a model Stoic, maintained: (1) that moral worth is the sole good; (2) that virtue is sufficient for happiness; (3) that all good deeds are equally good and all bad deeds equally bad; (4) that every foolish person is mad; (5) that only the wise man is free, and every foolish person is a slave; (6) that only the wise man is rich. Cicero stresses that these Stoic doctrines conflict with the views of most people (hence why they are paradoxes or contrary to ordinary opinion), and that plain Stoic rhetoric, as employed by Cato and other Stoics, does little to make them more palatable or intelligible.

A major aim of the work is to present the Stoic doctrines in a more compelling fashion, by using the full array of rhetorical embellishment available to the Academic philosopher. The exercises all exhibit a very high degree of rhetorical polish, and they are littered with examples that make them, to a significant extent, Cicero's critical commentary on the corrupt political culture at Rome. Drawing on examples from Rome's history, Cicero restates the need for morally upright statesmen. Ronnick 1991 is the most comprehensive treatment of the work in English, covering all aspects in a systematic fashion. Mehl 2002 is an accessible starting point for the general reader. Englert 1990 offers a good treatment of the popularizing element of the work. Stern 2005 focuses on the importance of the Stoic Cato the Younger and the tension between Stoic and Academic rhetoric. Kumaniecki 1957 remains a sound introduction into the political dimensions of the work.

Englert, W. G. 1990. Bringing philosophy to the light: Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum*. *Apeiron* 23:117–142.

On the popularizing element of the work.

Kumaniecki, K. 1957. Ciceros *Paradoxa Stoicorum* und die römische Wirklichkeit. *Philologus* 101:13–34.

Detailed reading with a focus on the political dimension of the work, in German.

Mehl, D. 2002. The Stoic Paradoxes according to Cicero. In *Vertis in Usum: Studies in honour of Edward Courtney*. Edited by J. F. Miller, C. Damnon, and K. S. Myers, 39–46. Munich: Saur.

An accessible discussion of the motives and aims of the work.

Ronnick, M. V. 1991. *Cicero's Paradoxa Stoicorum: A commentary, an interpretation and a study of its influence*. Frankfurt: Lang.

A book-length treatment; the most comprehensive resource in English.

Stern, R. 2005. The first eloquent Stoic: Cicero on Cato the Younger. *Classical Journal* 101:37–49.

A focus on Cicero's engagement with the Stoic Cato.

Hortensius

Cicero composed the work in early 45 BCE. It is set at the villa of Lucullus around 61, shortly after Cicero's consulship in 63, and the characters Hortensius, Catulus, Lucullus, and Cicero are all distinguished Roman statesmen and orators. The work appears to have been framed around a debate over the superiority of rhetoric, history, or philosophy, with each character championing a particular genre—Hortensius rhetoric, Lucullus history, and Catulus and Cicero philosophy. The work is no longer fully extant, but a good number of fragments survive that allow the argumentative structure of the work to be recovered. It is an exhortation to philosophy, reflecting earlier "protreptic" works by Aristotle and others: Hortensius makes objections about the value of philosophy, and Cicero provides a defense. The central objections are that philosophy is needlessly complicated and involves idle arguments and disagreements; philosophy is essentially useless when it comes to practical matters. Traditional values and practices, and simply following nature, are sufficient guides for people to live wisely and virtuously. The main element of Cicero's defense is the claim that human beings all desire happiness, which requires virtue. It is here that philosophy has practical value, for in order to be virtuous one must know what virtue is, and the practice of philosophy is the means to that end. The work also contains a critique of

bodily pleasure, an account of the relationship between the body and the soul, and a survey of different views to be found among the Greek schools of philosophy. The success of *Hortensius* spurred Cicero to embark on his ambitious philosophical project of the 40s BCE. The *Hortensius* is most famous for the influence it had on the young St. Augustine, who recounts that his conversion to Christianity was a result of reading it. The work does not appear to have survived into the Renaissance. Coleman-Norton 1939 remains the most helpful and accessible starting point in English for information on the *Hortensius*. Grilli 1962 and Straume-Zimmermann 1976 offer editions of the Latin text with critical commentary, and are essential resources for the advanced reader. Testard 2001 is a scholarly account of the importance of the dialogue for early Christian figures. There is no major work on the lost *Hortensius* in English, but Brink 1961 offers a substantive account of the state of the evidence.

Brink, C. O. 1961. Review of Ruch, M. 1958. *L'Hortensius de Cicéron. Historie et reconstitution*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres. *Journal of Roman Studies* 51:216–222.

A detailed and highly critical review of Ruch's edition; the most comprehensive discussion of the evidence pertaining to the *Hortensius* in English.

Coleman-Norton, P. R. 1939. The fragmentary philosophical treatises of Cicero. *Classical Journal* 34:213–228.

Still the most accessible starting point in English for analysis of *Hortensius* and other fragmentary works.

Grilli, A. 1962. *Hortensius*. Milan: Cisalpino.

The standard edition of testimonia and fragments; a useful commentary in Italian, although quite speculative in places.

Straume-Zimmermann, L. 1976. *Ciceros Hortensius*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

A more conservative reconstruction of the Latin text, together with a German translation and useful commentary on each potential fragment.

Testard, M. 2001. Observations sur la pensée de Cicéron, orateur et philosophie: consonances avec la tradition judéo-chrétienne. 3,: L'*Hortensius*. *Revue des Études Latines* 79:54–69.

Exploration of the influence of *Hortensius* on early Christian figures, in French.

Consolatio

Cicero composed the work in early 45 BCE. Following the death of his daughter Tullia in February of that year, Cicero had fallen into a deep grief and depression, and the *Consolatio* is a therapeutic work intended to alleviate his own emotional suffering. It took the form of a consolatory epistle to himself. In a letter to Atticus Cicero says that this was a literary innovation on his part, as letters of consolation were sent from one person (the consoler) to another (the consoled); examples of such letters of consolation appear in Cicero's correspondence. The *Consolatio* now survives only in a few fragments. The *Consolatio* drew on the Academic Crantor's work *On Grief*, as well as other sources. Letters to Atticus suggest that in it Cicero promoted the view that grief and suffering are valid to some extent—it is a natural response to the death of a daughter to feel grief, and grief is fitting so long as it is proportionate and does not persist too long. This accords closely with the Peripatetic approach to the issue, in which the wise man suffers proportionate states of disturbance in the soul, an appropriate emotional mean. In the *Tusculan Disputations*, however, Cicero

advocates the more austere Stoic line that the emotion of grief should be eliminated completely, presenting at length the Stoic proofs for the incompatibility of wisdom and virtue with such disturbances of the soul. After the death of his daughter Tullia, Cicero's peers clearly criticized him for both the magnitude of his grief and its excessive duration, and he expresses to Atticus his hope that the *Consolatio*, as well as being an exercise in self-therapy, would present to others an image of his propriety in grieving, even if it were at odds with reality. The *Consolatio* was read by Lactantius, who is the source of the majority of the fragments, and there is the possibility that a manuscript survived into the early Renaissance period. Baltussen 2013 is the most accessible starting point in English, offering a reconstruction with helpful and informative critical analysis. Englert 2017 explores the impact of Tullia's death on Cicero, and his efforts to commemorate her as well as cope with his grief. White 1995 is excellent on Cicero's engagement with the Greek consolatory tradition more generally. Hutchinson 1998 examines other extant letters of consolation in Cicero's collected correspondence. Vitelli 1979 is the standard edition of the Latin fragments.

Baltussen, H. 2013. Cicero's *Consolatio ad se*: Character, purpose and impact of a curious treatise. In *Greek and Roman consolations*. Edited by H. Baltussen, 67–92. Swansea, UK: The Classical Press of Wales.

An engaging reconstruction and analysis of the *Consolatio*.

Englert, W. 2017. *Fanum* and philosophy: Cicero and the death of Tullia. *Ciceroniana Online* I.1: 41–66.

An article exploring the impact of Tullia's death and Cicero's efforts to commemorate her, in terms of a shrine and in literature.

Hutchinson, G. 1998. *Cicero's correspondence: A literary study*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Good chapter on the letters of consolation in Cicero's correspondence.

Vitelli, C., ed. 1979. *M. Tullii Ciceronis Consolationis fragmenta*. Florence: Mondadori.

The standard collection of fragments.

White, S. 1995. Cicero and the therapists. In *Cicero the philosopher*. Edited by J. G. F. Powell, 219–246. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Detailed analysis of Cicero's engagement with the Greek tradition of consolation.

Academica

This is Cicero's most explicit treatment of epistemology and one of his more technical works. It is also a critical source for two fragmentary thinkers of great importance to Cicero and Hellenistic philosophy, his former teachers Philo of Larissa and Antiochus of Ascalon. Through a debate over these figures' epistemological controversies we gain rare insight into Hellenistic epistemology and the changes that the Platonic Academy in Athens went through in the 2d and 1st centuries BCE. What we call the *Academica* is in fact two different versions of the work: Book 2 of the first draft, and parts of Book 1 of the final version. In the surviving part of Book 1 (*Varro* or *Academic Posterior*), Varro gives a conspectus of Antiochus's doctrines. This includes comments on Antiochus's views on ethics, physics, and epistemology that underline his interest in synthesizing Platonic, Stoic, and Aristotelian views. This history of doctrines is combined with a history of philosophy which minimizes doctrinal differences. Book 2 (*Lucullus* or *Academic Prior*) discusses the epistemological views of Antiochus, Philo, and the Stoics. The debate is framed as a discussion of Philo's slide from

mitigated skepticism to a guarded dogmatism (i.e., moving from allowing provisional beliefs to a stronger view about knowledge), against Antiochus's confident belief in the possibility of knowledge, but in the process we are introduced to the views of the Academics Carneades, Clitomachus, Metrodorus, and their conflicts with the Stoics. Prominent issues covered are the coherence of Academic mitigated skepticism and the Stoic theory of the "cataleptic impression" (an impression of qualities which are sufficient to guarantee it provides reliable information about an external object perceived by an observer). Many examples are debated in order to undermine the coherence of this concept. Brittain 2006 offers a brief but valuable introduction to this technical work along with a reliable, modern translation. An influential specialist collection of articles is Inwood and Mansfeld 1997. Brittain 2001 and Sedley 2012 offer a critical discussion of the Academic background, and the ideas of the protagonists in the epistemological debate in the work (Philo and Antiochus). The complicated background of revision and alterations to the work, only touched upon here, is analyzed by Gurd 2007 and Griffin in Inwood and Mansfeld 1997—this publication history has proven valuable for our understanding of the writing and revision of ancient treatises.

Brittain, C. 2001. *Philo of Larissa: The last of the Academic Sceptics*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

An important specialized work with critical background on the Academic Philo, whose views are discussed in detail in the *Lucullus*.

Brittain, C. 2006. *Cicero: On Academic Skepticism*. Indianapolis: Hackett.

A reliable modern translation with valuable commentary and notes.

Brittain, C., and J. Palmer. 2001. The New Academy's appeals to the Presocratics. *Phronesis* 46:38–72.

An investigation of the influence and use of Presocratic philosophy in Academic skepticism.

Gurd, S. 2007. Cicero and editorial revision. *Classical Antiquity* 26:49–80.

An article examining Cicero's editorial and revisions process, with respect to the *Academica* and beyond.

Inwood, B., and J. Mansfeld, eds. 1997. *Assent and argument: Studies in Cicero's Academic Books*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

A key specialist volume containing important contributions on a range of topics, from epistemology and theories of language to the composition and revisions of the work.

Reid, J. S. 1885. *M. Tulli Ciceronis*, Academica. London: Macmillan.

An older but still valuable commentary on the treatise.

Sedley, D., ed. 2012. *The philosophy of Antiochus*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A critical edited volume on Antiochus of Ascalon, with important articles on Antiochus's epistemology, his approach to the history of philosophy, and Varro's Antiochean perspective.

Thorsrud, H. 2012. Radical and mitigated skepticism in Cicero's *Academica*. In *Cicero's practical philosophy*. Edited by W.

Nicgorski, 133–151. Notre Dame, IN: Univ. of Notre Dame Press.

A recent discussion of different types of skepticism discussed in the *Academica*.

De Finibus (On Ends)

De Finibus is a critical work for the study and history of Hellenistic ethics. It offers Roman (and modern) readers a readable introduction to the major themes and debates of post-classical ethics. The treatise discusses the three major schools of Cicero's time: Epicureanism is the subject of Books 1–2; Stoicism Books 3–4; and the Old Academy of Antiochus of Ascalon in Book 5. In each book Cicero allows a prominent Roman spokesperson—Lucius Torquatus, Cato the Younger, and Marcus Piso, respectively, with Cicero playing a major role as a cross-examiner, in good Academic fashion—to give an account of their school's position on the end or supreme good for a human being. The discussions range widely, however, and include treatments of related issues such as friendship, politics, and virtue. Although the speakers and the vivid settings of the individual books differ, several prominent themes and argument-types run throughout. To take one example, there are repeated references to the so-called Cradle argument: Epicureans, Stoics, and Antiochians all appealed, in different ways, to the observation of infant behavior for insight into human nature, our natural inclinations, and/or the nature of our *summum bonum*. Cicero also makes extensive use of the so-called Carneadean Division, which was a grid-like system that was used to classify and critique ethical systems based on their views on the highest human good—it is particularly interesting to see how Cicero uses the same argumentative tool differently when dealing with different schools. Like most of Cicero's philosophical works, there is no clear verdict, though the Epicureans (typically) come away poorly. Intriguingly, there is no explicit, separate critique of Antiochus (as there was of Epicureanism and Stoicism in Books 2 and 4), though recent scholarship has suggested that Antiochus's position as presented is not without problems. Annas and Betegh 2015 provides the new baseline for further work on *De Finibus*. Annas and Woolf 2001 provides a modern English translation. An influential article on Cicero's approach to discussing philosophical views is Algra 1997. There are several important individual articles engaging with themes arising from Cicero's treatment of different schools. Brunschwig 1986 examines the Cradle argument. Inwood 1990 and Stokes 1995 examine Cicero's critique of Epicureanism. Wright 1995 treats Stoic cosmopolitanism in Book 3. Sedley 2012 provides background and analysis of the "Antiochean" Books 4 and 5.

Algra, K. 1997. Chrysippus, Carneades, Cicero: The ethical divisions in Cicero's *Lucullus*. In *Assent and argument*. Edited by B. Inwood and J. Mansfeld, 107–139. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

An important article which excavates and analyzes the so-called *Carneadea divisio*, which is deployed extensively in *De Finibus* to analyze and attack ethical positions of various schools.

Annas, J., and G. Betegh, eds. 2015. *Cicero's De Finibus: Philosophical approaches*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A fundamental recent collection of essays on all aspects of the work.

Annas, J., and R. Woolf, ed. and trans. 2001. *Cicero. On moral ends*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A vigorous (if sometimes liberal) modern translation with valuable annotations.

Brunschwig, J. 1986. The Cradle argument in Epicureanism and Stoicism. In *The norms of nature: Studies in Hellenistic ethics*. Edited by M. Schofield and G. Striker, 113–144. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A famous article discussing Epicurean and Stoic appeals to infant behavior to offer insight into human nature and the *summum*

bonum.

Inwood, B. 1990. *Rhetorica Disputatio*: The strategy of *De Finibus* II. *Apeiron* 23:143–164.

An article which offers a charitable reading of Cicero's use of *exempla* and his broader rhetorical/argumentative strategy.

Leonhardt, J. 1999. *Ciceros Kritik der Philosophenschulen*. Munich: Beck.

Contains a good deal of analysis and insight into Cicero's engagement with the Hellenistic schools in *De Finibus* (and beyond). In German.

Madvig, J. N. 1876. *M Tullii Ciceronis De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum Libri Quinque*. Copenhagen: Gyldendalian Library.

An old masterpiece of scholarship: parts of the work are now dated but the commentary still contains a wealth of information, particularly on textual matters. In Latin.

Sedley, D., ed. 2012. *The philosophy of Antiochus*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A critical collection of articles on Antiochus of Ascalon, who looms large in Books 3–5 of *De Finibus*.

Stokes, M. 1995. Cicero on Epicurean pleasures. In *Cicero the philosopher*. Edited by J. G. F. Powell, 145–170. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

An influential defense of Cicero's critique of Epicurean pleasure in Books 1–2.

Wright, M. R. 1995. Self-Love and love of humanity in *De Finibus* 3. In *Cicero the philosopher*. Edited by J. G. F. Powell, 171–195. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

An article offering a useful overview of Stoic ethics in Book 3.

Tusculan Disputations

Written after the devastating loss of his daughter Tullia and drawing on his lost *Consolatio*, the five books of the *Tusculan Disputations* tackle a series of related ethical issues that help readers cope with fear, suffering, and loss. The work, especially Books 3 and 4, discusses emotions in detail and owes much to the Stoic account of the topic, which asserts that our emotions are under our own control. The dialogue is set in Cicero's Tusculan estate. The speakers are not named, but it is common practice to associate the main speaker, identified in the manuscripts as "M" with Cicero himself; there is also a junior auditor, "A," whose precise role is still subject to debate. Cicero declares, unusually for his philosophical works, that he will offer a series of *scholae*, or lectures, in the manner of the Greeks. In each book the auditor proposes a theme and Cicero discourses on the topic. The issues include, book by book, the fear of death; enduring pain; mental pain; other perturbations of the mind; and whether virtue is a sufficient condition for a happy life. This treatise thus joins works like *De Officiis* in exploring specific topics relevant to ethics. Of particular importance is the detailed account of emotions in Books 3–4. This is not only a valuable source of information on early Hellenistic views on emotional therapy, it also provides fertile material for Cicero's efforts to create a technical philosophical vocabulary in Latin. The issue of translation also raises broader cultural issues which Cicero explores throughout the work. Recent

work has emphasized his attempts, especially in the prefaces, to offer a version of philosophical education informed by Greek thought and Roman cultural norms. See also the entry on Cicero's *Consolatio*, which looms in the background to the *Tusculans*. Douglas 1985, Douglas 1989, and Graver 2002 are the most accessible translations for this work. The *Tusculans* have traditionally been used as a mine for fragments and *comparanda* to Hellenistic, especially Stoic, philosophy. Some more recent, and far less mechanical, works locate Cicero's treatise within broader currents of Hellenistic emotional therapy, e.g., Graver 2002 and White 1995. There has been a renewed interest in the cultural politics of this treatise, with particular emphasis on how Cicero negotiates Roman tradition and Greek philosophy. See especially Gildenhard 2007, Baraz 2012, and Lefèvre 2008. Görler 2004 remains an essential analysis of the structure and nature of the *Tusculans*.

Baraz, Y. 2012. *A written republic: Cicero's philosophical politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

Contains important insights and readings into the cultural politics of philosophy, including but not limited to the *Tusculans*.

Douglas, A. E. 1985. *Cicero: Tusculan Disputations Book I*. Liverpool, UK: Aris and Phillips.

Latin texts with a basic, mostly linguistic commentary, with a facing English translation.

Douglas, A. E. 1989. *Cicero: Tusculan Disputations Books II and V*. Liverpool, UK: Aris and Phillips.

Latin texts with a basic, mostly linguistic commentary, with a facing English translation.

Gildenhard, I. 2007. *Paideia Romana*: *Cicero's Tusculan Disputations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Philological Society.

An important monograph on Cicero's pedagogical and cultural goals in this work, conducted through close readings of the prefaces.

Görler, W. 2004. Zum literarischen Character und zur Struktur der Tusculanae disputationes. In *Kleine Schriften zur hellenistisch-römischen Philosophie*. Edited by C. Catrein, 212–239. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

An important article on the synthesis of rhetorical and philosophical form in the *Tusculans* that argues for the work's sophisticated and original structure.

Graver, M. 2002. *Cicero on the emotions*: *Tusculan Disputations 3 and 4*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Excellent translation and commentary on books 3 and 4, with a wide-ranging introduction and useful appendices.

Lefèvre, E. 2008. *Philosophie Unter Der Tyrannis: Ciceros 'Tusculanae Disputationes*.' Heidelberg, Germany: Winter.

A reassessment of the dialogue which includes detailed discussion of the social/political context of its production as well as reflections on its literary, rhetorical, and philosophical form.

White, S. 1995. Cicero and the therapists. In *Cicero the philosopher*. Edited by J. G. F. Powell, 219–246. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

An analysis of Cicero's use of consolation and philosophical therapy in the *Tusculans*.

De Natura Deorum (On the Nature of the Gods)

De Natura Deorum is Cicero's most explicit foray into theology (and to a lesser extent physics). The work is an extended presentation of argumentation *in utramque partem*: Epicurean and Stoics views on the gods are presented by spokespersons of each school and then refuted from the perspective of Academic skepticism. The dialogue is set in the villa of C. Cotta, a pontifex and Academic skeptic (these dual allegiances are interrogated at points in the work). The Epicurean and Stoic perspectives are provided by two senators, C. Velleius and Q. Balbus, respectively; Cicero himself is a minor character and auditor. The preface is notable for Cicero's explicit statement of his Academic skepticism as well as his assertion that it is unreasonable for readers to expect to learn Cicero's own opinion (1.10-11). This latter caution is underlined by the character Cicero's aporetic conclusion at the end of Book 3. The dialogue provides valuable information on a range of topics. In addition to general information on Epicurean and Stoics doctrines, *De Natura Deorum* has proven useful on a range of more specialized topics. In particular, the discussion of Epicurean theology has long been a battleground for the so-called realist and idealist interpretations of Epicurean gods. Likewise, the Stoic section offers insight into Stoic ideas of teleology, theodicy, and additionally provides valuable information on the positions of lost or fragmentary Greek Stoic authors. There are, furthermore, intriguing discussions of ancient atheism as well as reflections on how a Roman might harmonize philosophical theory and Roman tradition and religion. Wynne 2020 is the first modern treatment of *De Natura Deorum* (along with *De Divinatione*) and should serve as the starting point for further research. An older but very detailed commentary is Pease 1955, which still deserves consultation (Dyck 2003 is a recent commentary on only Book 1). Walsh provides a readable, modern English translation. Konstan 2011 and Sedley 2011 offer paired opposing speeches arguing for realist and idealist accounts of Epicurean gods, respectively—a topic of much debate. McKirahan 1996 examines Cicero's borrowing from the Epicurean Philodemus's *De Pietate*. Momigliano 1984 is an older but seminal article discussing the interest in religion at the end of the Late Republic.

Dyck, A. 2003. *Cicero: De Natura Deorum I*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A recent commentary on Book 1 with a valuable general introduction.

Konstan, D. 2011. Epicurus on the gods. In *Epicurus and the Epicurean tradition*. Edited by J. Fish and K. Sanders, 53–71. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

An important article arguing for the material existence of Epicurean gods (the "realist" position); to be contrasted with Konstan 2011.

McKirahan, R. 1996. Epicurean doxography in Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* Book I. In *Epicureismo Greco e Romano*. Edited by G. Giannantoni and M. Gigante, 865–878. Naples, Italy: Bibliopolis.

An article detailing Cicero's use of Philodemus's *On Piety* in Book.

Momigliano, A. 1984. The theological efforts of the Roman upper classes in the first century B.C. *Classical Philology* 79:199–211.

A classic article providing background on investigations into the philosophy of religion in the Late Republic.

Pease, A. 1955. *M. Tulli Ciceronis De Natura Deorum*. 2 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

An older but very thorough and detailed commentary on the entire work.

Sedley, D. 2011. Epicurus' theological innatism. In *Epicurus and the Epicurean tradition*. Edited by J. Fish and K. Sanders, 29–52. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

An important article arguing for an idealist reading of the Epicurean gods as moral ideals in our minds; to be contrasted with Konstan 2011.

Walsh, P. G., trans. 2008. *Cicero: The nature of the gods*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A widely available translation that is more recent than Rackham's 1933 Loeb edition.

Wynne, J. P. F. 2020. *Cicero on the philosophy of religion: On the nature of the gods and On divination*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

The most cutting-edge monograph on *De natura deorum*.

De Divinatione (On Divination)

De Divinatione has long been a text of great interest to historians of Roman religion. Its extensive discussions of Roman and philosophical divinatory practices as well as plethora of *exempla* from Roman history make this focus understandable. Recently, however, attention has been given to the philosophical content, though there is certainly still work to be done on this treatise. The work is set in Cicero's Tusculan estate). The interlocutors are Cicero himself, who argues against divination, and his brother Quintus, who supports it in a speech heavily influenced by Stoicism. Quintus's argument, which has often been maligned, has increasingly found defenders. Quintus makes no claims to understand the precise details or mechanics of divination, nor does he claim all forms have equal plausibility. Instead, he argues that a lack of precise knowledge of the workings of divination is no refutation of its existence; likewise, the fact that some predictions do not yield accurate results no more denies its status as an *ars* than the failure of medicine to cure all patients. His strategy is to draw upon the practice of divination across cultures and try to make the case that if at least one case of divination can be substantiated, then his case is proven (even if many other practices fail or if the mechanics remain unclear). Cicero, on the other hand, rebuts Quintus's argument in Book 2 at length. The modern reader cannot but help but have sympathy with Cicero's arguments: they sound highly contemporary. And so until quite recently it has been seen as straightforward that Book 2 represents Cicero's own views. Recently this view has been questioned: not that Book 1 is Cicero's unvarnished opinion, but rather the entire work is an elaborate interrogation of a highly contested religious and philosophical practice, without a clear result. Wynne 2019 offers the first modern philosophical treatment of this work (as well as of *De Natura Deorum*) and the starting point for future research. An older but exhaustive commentary is Pease 1920–1923. A more modern commentary, predominantly historical, is Schultz 2014. Beard 1986 and Schofield 1986 engage in a lively reconsideration of Cicero's authorial philosophical stance in the work. See Denyer 1985 for a discussion of the nature of Cicero's arguments about prediction. Linderski 1995 is a classical historical article. Falconer 1923 is an English translation of the entire work; Wardle 2006 offers a modern translation of Book 1.

Beard, M. 1986. Cicero and divination: The formation of a Latin discourse. *Journal of Roman Studies* 76:33–46.

An important reconsideration of the old opinion that Cicero clearly sided with the skepticism of Book 2 (along with a useful summary of the history of philosophy in Rome). To be read in conjunction with Schofield 1986.

Denyer, Nicholas. 1985. The case against divination: An examination of Cicero's *De Divinatione*. *Classical Journal* 31:1–10.

An early attempt to take *De Divinatione* seriously from a philosophical perspective, with interesting parallels to the way that modern science justifies their own (not always correct) predictions.

Falconer, W. A., trans. 1923. *Cicero: On old age On friendship On divination*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

The most available translation of the entire work in English. A more recent translation of Book 1 alone is Wardle 2006.

Linderski, J. 1995. Cicero and Roman Divination. In *Roman questions: Selected papers*. By J. Linderski, 458–484. Stuttgart: Steiner.

An interpretation of Cicero's views of divination by a distinguished Roman historian.

Pease, A. S. 1920–1923. *M. Tulli Ciceronis de Divinatione*. 2 vols. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press.

An older but comprehensive and detailed commentary.

Schofield, M. 1986. Cicero for and against Divination. *Journal of Roman Studies* 76:47–65.

An important reconsideration of the old opinion that Cicero clearly sided with the skepticism of Book 2. To be read in conjunction with Beard 1986.

Schultz, C. 2014. *Commentary on Cicero De Divinatione I*. Ann Arbor: Michigan Univ. Press.

A recent, predominantly historical commentary on Book 1.

Wardle, D. 2006. *Cicero: On divination book I*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

An accessible and fresh translation of Book 1.

Wynne, J. P. F. 2019. *Cicero on the philosophy of religion: On the nature of the gods and On divination*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

One of the few works in the recent renaissance of Cicero scholarship to consider *De Divinatione* in detail.

De Fato (On Fate)

Like the *Academica*, *De Fato* is one of Cicero's more challenging and technical works. Scholars interested in the history of debates about determinism, free will, and the nature and logic of causation have often turned to this text. As a result of this technical subject matter, work on *De Fato* often deploys approaches from modern analytic philosophy, something relatively unusual in the scholarship on Cicero's philosophical works. The treatise is imperfectly preserved: the beginning and end are missing, leaving around two-thirds of the text. It is ostensibly a dialogue between Cicero and Aulus Hirtius, Caesar's military associate and the future

consul of 43 BCE, with whom Cicero was in constant political negotiations at the time of writing (44 BCE). However, much of the work is an extended monologue reminiscent more of a Late Platonic work than Cicero's earlier dialogues. The topic is the concept of fate, and the nature of free will within a deterministic framework. Related issues of divination crop up from time to time; *De Fato* serves as a companion to the theological investigations of *De Natura Deorum* and *De Divinatione*. As with these other works, Stoicism looms large, and Cicero devotes a great deal of time to discussing, refuting, and building upon Stoic ideas about free will. Aristotle's treatment of the subject is always lurking in the background, though Cicero's direct knowledge of Aristotelian thought is a hotly debated issue. Epicurean views on free will and determinism, including the notorious notion of the atomic swerve, are also critiqued, and there is a lively discussion of the Master Argument of Diodorus Cronus. Cicero ultimately rejects determinism and argues that free will is a prerequisite for virtue if virtue is to have any substantive meaning at all. Thus, even in this most technical of works Cicero has his eye on the ethical implications of the doctrine under discussion. Sharples 1993 offers a reliable translation and facing Latin text; Schallenberg 2008 provides commentary (in German). Much secondary scholarship on this work engages with larger debates about determinism, contingency, and free will: readers who are not familiar with these issues or the Stoic and Aristotelian background to them may wish to consult general studies like Frede 2012 or Bobzein 1998. Some treatments of Cicero's work engage widely with these issues (e.g., Kreter 2006); others are more specialized in looking at specific problems (e.g., Hunter 1994 or Sharples 1995).

Bobzein, S. 1998. *Determinism and freedom in Stoic philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A thorough, advanced analysis of Stoic ideas about casual determination.

Frede, M. 2012. *A free will: Origins of the notion in ancient thought*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

A general overview of many of the topics which appear in Cicero's treatise.

Hunter, G. 1994. A Ciceronian critique of Chrysippus. *Apeiron* 27:17–23.

A specialized analysis of Cicero's attempt to show how Chrysippus's position on divination and logic are incoherent and incompatible.

Kreter, F. 2006. *Kann Fabius bei einer Seeschlacht sterben? Die Geschichte der Logik des Kontingenzproblems von Aristoteles, De interpretatione 9 bis Cicero, De fato*. Trier, Germany: Wvt Wissenschaftlicher Verlag.

An analysis, in German, of the problem of contingency from Aristotle to Cicero.

Schallenberg, M. 2008. *Freiheit und Determinismus. Ein philosophischer Kommentar zu Ciceros Schrift 'De fato'*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

A recent commentary in German; the detailed analysis makes use of modern analytical philosophy to reconstruct Cicero's arguments.

Sharples, R. 1993. *Cicero, On Fate and Boethius, The consolation of philosophy IV.5–7, V*. Warminster, UK: Aris and Phillips.

The best English translation, with a facing Latin text, and select commentary.

Sharples, R. 1995. Causes and necessary Conditions in the *Topica* and *De Fato*. In *Cicero the philosopher*. Edited by J. G. F. Powell, 247–272. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A technical article discussing different conceptions of fate and causation in *De Fato* and the *Topica*.

Cato Maior De Senectute (On Old Age)

Cicero composed the work probably in the early months of 44 BCE. It is a dialogue set at the house of Cato the Elder in 150 BCE, where Scipio and Laelius listen to the eighty-three-year-old Cato provide a series of consolatory arguments against four key complaints about old age: that it calls one back from active pursuits, 15–26; that it makes the body weaker, 27–38; that it deprives one of almost all pleasures, 39–66; that it is not far removed from death, 66–85. The consolatory arguments are drawn from an established tradition on the topic that goes back to the Greeks, but there are also numerous examples drawn from Roman history and culture. The work has long been celebrated for its superb Latin prose and its congenial humanism; it was even translated into Greek by Theodore Gazes in the Renaissance. Cicero speaks in his own voice in the preface where he dedicates the work to his close friend Atticus and explains the motivation behind it: the contemporary political scene is in an unhappy state and both men have grown old, but both may find consolation in philosophy. Cicero also declares that Cato will serve as his faithful mouthpiece on the topic of old age. The central philosophical position is that old age is not a burden to the wise and virtuous, and that living in accordance with nature instantiates that wisdom and virtue. Powell 1988 has an excellent introduction that covers Cicero's sources and the key themes and arguments of the dialogue; he also offers a detailed commentary on the Latin text that is invaluable for the advanced reader. The most accessible starting point for the general reader, however, is Griffin 2017, which also contains a modern English translation. Parkin 2003 is a comprehensive treatment of old age in the Roman world, and *De Senectute* figures throughout. Stull 2013 considers the influence of Plato, and Sjöblad 2009 focuses on some of the striking literary aspects of the dialogue.

Griffin, M. T., ed. 2017. *Cicero on life and death*. Translated by J. Davie. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Modern English translation; very helpful introduction.

Parkin, T. 2003. *Old age in the Roman world: A cultural and social history*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Univ. Press.

Detailed study using the methods of the social historian, with some comments on *De Senectute*.

Powell, J. G. F. 1988. *Cicero Cato Maior de Senectute*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Excellent introduction and commentary; by far the best resource in English.

Sjöblad, A. 2009. *Metaphors Cicero lived by: The role of metaphor and simile in De Senectute*. Lund, Sweden: Lund Univ. Press.

Literary analysis with some useful observations.

Stull, W. 2013. On encountering Cephalus in *De Senectute*. *American Journal of Philology* 134:37–47.

On the influence of Plato.

Laelius de Amicitia (On Friendship)

Cicero composed the work in mid-44 BCE. It is a dialogue in which the characters Scaevola and Fannius listen to Laelius, their father-in-law, speak on the topic of friendship (*amicitia*). The work is dedicated to Cicero's close friend Atticus. In the preface Cicero says that in the same way that he wrote *On Old Age* as one old man to another, he writes *On Friendship* as a friend to a friend. Laelius is chosen as the main speaker owing to his famous friendship with the late Scipio; he serves as Cicero's mouthpiece on the topic. Scipio is praised by Laelius in the early parts of the dialogue for his fine character and great achievements. This is important, as the central philosophical claim is that true friendship cannot exist except among "good men." Laelius uses Scipio and further Roman examples to show that "good men" are not philosophers or sages but rather those who are ordinarily judged "good" on account of their deeds and personal qualities. Throughout the dialogue Laelius is keen to bring the discussion down from the level of theoretical ideals and philosophical speculation, and much of his account of friendship concerns the everyday practical realities of being a friend. There are thus significant descriptive passages outlining the positive and negative elements of friendships, how they are formed and maintained, the risks involved, the demands and expectations, what behaviors befit friendship and what do not, and so forth. The dialogue also presents a powerful anti-hedonist argument that rejects the model of friendship put forward by the Cyrenaic and Epicurean schools of philosophy. Laelius posits that friendship arises from the natural attraction of virtue and not because of need or a desire for security; friendships are motivated by a feeling of love and not from calculations of profit. He claims that friendship is primarily a good in itself but also for the goods that it brings, which are far greater than wealth and power; however, a friendship based on instrumental calculations of gain is no true friendship at all. The dialogue concludes with the advice that there is nothing better than to seek virtue and friendships based on virtue. Griffin 2017 has an accessible introduction that covers the key themes and arguments of the dialogue. Powell 1990 has a useful commentary. Powell 1995 examines the philosophical topic of friendship more generally, including discussion of *De Amicitia*. Brunt 1965 is a classic treatment of friendship in Roman political and social life. Griffin 1997 examines Cicero's treatment of the topic in detail, also incorporating certain important letters. There is still no systematic book-length treatment of *De Amicitia* in English.

Brunt, P. A. 1965. *Amicitia* in the Late Roman Republic. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 11:1–20.

Classic study on *amicitia* in Roman social and political life.

Griffin, M. T. 1997. From Aristotle to Atticus: Cicero and Matius on Friendship. In *Philosophia Togata 2: Plato and Aristotle at Rome*. Edited by J. Barnes and M. T. Griffin, 86–109. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Detailed discussion of Cicero's philosophical treatment of friendship, as explored also in certain letters.

Griffin, M. T., ed. 2017. *Cicero: On life and death*. Translated by J. Davie. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A good English translation of *On Friendship*, and a useful and accessible introduction to the dialogue.

Powell, J. G. F. 1995. Friendship and its problems in Greek and Roman thought. In *Ethics and rhetoric: Classical essays for Donald Russell on his seventy-fifth birthday*. Edited by D. C. Innes, H. M. Hine, M. Harry, and C. B. R. Pelling, 31–45. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A general overview of the topic of friendship in the philosophical tradition; accessible starting point.

Powell, J. G. F., ed. 1990. *Cicero: On friendship and the Dream of Scipio*. Warminster, UK: Aris and Phillips.

A solid introduction to the dialogue together with a very helpful commentary linked to an English translation.

De Gloria (*On Glory*) and Other Lost Philosophical Works

Cicero composed the lost two-book dialogue *De Gloria* in 44 BCE. It is mentioned in Cicero's letters to Atticus, including the memorable admission that he had taken the original preface from a pre-prepared collection without realizing that he had already used it for a previous work, and thus it needed replacing. This episode offers a telling insight into how Cicero composed his philosophical works. A manuscript of the work appears to have been known to Petrarch in 1374 CE. In all likelihood the *De Gloria* challenged the prevailing notion of *gloria* in Roman political culture, namely that it simply involved fame and popular acclaim. Cicero may also have developed the distinction between true and false glory that appears most clearly in the second book of *De Officiis*. There the central claim is that glory is not simply fame and popular acclaim: true glory relies on justice and virtue that shines out and demands acclaim, false glory arises when there is popular acclaim without justice and virtue; true glory is eternal and everlasting, whereas false glory is ephemeral, relying on the whim of the crowd; the Roman statesman rightly seeks glory, but the means to the end is strictly justice, virtue, and selfless service to the state. Other known lost works are the *De Virtutibus* (*On the Virtues*), probably of 44 BCE; the *De Auguriis* (*On Augury*), probably of 44 BCE; the *Oecenomicus* (a youthful translation of Xenophon's dialogue—date unknown); the *Protagoras* (a translation of Plato's dialogue—date unknown); the *De Iure Civili in Artem Redigendo* (*On Bringing the Civil Law into a Systematic Discipline*—date unknown); and an aborted *De Geographia* (*On Geography*) of 60–59 BCE. Coleman-Norton 1939 is an accessible starting point for information about Cicero's lost and fragmentary philosophical works. Garbarino 1984 is the standard scholarly edition of the Latin fragments. Long 1995 is the best critical treatment of Cicero's philosophical views on glory.

Coleman-Norton, P. R. 1939. The fragmentary philosophical treatises of Cicero. *Classical Journal* 34:213–228.

Still the most accessible starting point in English for analysis of Cicero's fragmentary works.

Garbarino, G., ed. 1984. *Cicero, fragmenta ex libri philosophicis, ex aliis libris deperditis, ex scriptis incertis*. Milan: Mondadori.

A good collection of all the relevant fragments and testimonia.

Long, A. A. 1995. Cicero's politics in *De Officiis*. In *Justice and generosity: Studies in Hellenistic social and political philosophy*. Edited by A. Laks and M. Schofield, 213–240. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Excellent scholarly discussion of Cicero's philosophical views on glory.

De Officiis (On Duties)

Cicero was working on *De Officiis* before his final, unsuccessful struggle against Marc Antony. Addressed to his son Marcus, whom Cicero had hoped to visit in Athens before being called back into the political fray, the work is presented as an educational letter, thus recalling Cato the Elder's letter of advice to his son. It offers practical ethical advice suitable for young Roman aristocrats; it is heavily influenced by Stoic ideas about human nature and virtue. Cicero tells us that *De Officiis* followed a treatise by the Stoic Panaetius, *On Appropriate Action*, though Cicero makes clear he did not simply translate and has added his own judgment (*iudicium*). Indeed, he occasionally notes where he has added something Panaetius missed. Such statements have given rise to a lively debate on the originality of the work: while many scholars increasingly view Cicero as an independent thinker, others still see this treatise as heavily dependent on Panaetius. Book 1 of the treatise outlines a Stoic theory of virtue. The virtues are presented

as reflecting human nature, with particular emphasis on human sociability as a fundamental ground for ethics. This virtue theory undergirds much of the advice in the treatise. This practical advice ranges widely and includes reflections on, for example, the appropriate duties of an advocate, how to dissolve a friendship, how to choose a path in life or advance politically, and even thoughts on the proper type of villa *De Officiis* also contains some of Cicero's most explicit surviving reflections on the role of glory (*gloria*) in political life, particularly in Book 2. Book 3, which Cicero presents as being mostly or entirely original, discusses situations where there is an apparent conflict between virtue and expediency. The example of M. Atilius Regulus, who voluntarily returned to Carthage to undergo torture, is presented as a potent example for the work's general thesis that the honorable, the *honestum*, is the only thing that has per se value. The *status quaestionis* of Cicero's originality can be surveyed in the works of Atkins 1990 (originality), Brunt 2013 (dependence), and Lefèvre 2001 (originality). Dyck 1996 adopts a nuanced approach and provides rich commentary on the entire work. There are a variety of recent topical discussions, e.g., Griffin 2011 (Cicero's audience and goals), Long 1995 (Cicero's attempt to provide a new honor code for Roman aristocrats), and Woolf 2013 (Cicero's use of Plato in Book 3).

Atkins, E. M. 1990. '*Domina et Regina Virtutum*': Justice and *Societas* in *De Officiis*. *Phronesis* 35:258–289.

An article arguing for Cicero's originality, especially in his positive evaluation of the social virtues of justice and *societas* in Book 1 and more generally.

Atkins, E. M., and M. Griffin, trans. 1990. *Cicero*: *On duties*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A reliable translation with an important introduction.

Brunt, P. A. 2013. Panaetius in *De Officiis*. In *Studies in Stoicism*. Edited by M. Griffin, A. Samuels, and M. Crawford, 180–242. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Powerful restatement of the traditional view that Cicero was heavily dependent upon Panaetius for the structure, arguments, and even many of the *exempla* in *De Officiis*.

Dyck, A. 1996. *A commentary on Cicero, De Officiis*. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press.

A comprehensive specialist commentary covering all aspects of the work.

Griffin, M. 2011. The politics of virtue: Three puzzles in Cicero's *De Officiis*. In *Episteme, etc.*: *Essays in honour of Jonathan Barnes*. Edited by B. Morison and K. Ierodiakonou, 310–326. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Article exploring Cicero's rather narrow intended audience of politicians, his choice to follow Panaetius, and his overall goals in the work.

Lefèvre, E. 2001. *Panaitios' und Ciceros Pflichtenlehre. Vom philosophischen Traktat zum politischen Lehrbuch*. Stuttgart: Historia Einzelschriften.

A monograph that argues that Cicero fundamentally reshaped Panaetius's original work in order to appeal to a distinctly Roman reader. The polar opposite of Brunt's view.

Long, A. A. 1995. Cicero's politics in *De Officiis*. In *Justice and generosity: Studies in Hellenistic social and political*

***philosophy*. Edited by A. Laks and M. Schofield, 213–240. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.**

An article that argues that *De Officiis* aimed to reform the Roman honor code and political system and offered a radical re-evaluation of Roman ethical praxis.

Woolf, R. 2013. Cicero and Gyges. *Classical Quarterly* 63:801–812.

A useful comparison of Cicero's use of Plato in Book 3 of *De Officiis* and thus a contribution to the larger issue of Cicero's relationship with Plato.

Philosophy in Letters and Speeches

Cicero's letters are littered with philosophical references and allusions, making them valuable as sources for details on the intellectual environment of the 1st century BCE. In particular, philosophy's role in humor and badinage allows an insight into the refined culture of upper-class Roman intellectuals. At times Cicero uses philosophy as a congenial means to talk with his friends about sensitive political and personal issues: philosophical arguments are used to justify decisions and actions, both before and after the fact. This is particularly apparent at times of crisis, such as his deliberations about what actions he should take in the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, and at times of failure. The letters provide a window into Cicero's working methods and the resources that he drew on when composing his philosophical dialogues and treatises. Cicero also composes some philosophical letters on Greek models, including a long letter of advice to his brother Quintus. Cicero is perhaps most famous as an orator, and he circulated numerous published speeches. Some of these contain philosophical content. The use of philosophy depends largely on the particular context of the speech. For instance, in *Pro Murena* (63 BCE) and *In Pisonem* (55 BCE) a deriding of philosophy is part of the attacks on the Stoic Cato and the Epicurean Piso respectively. On the other hand, in *Pro Sestio* (56 BCE) a vision of virtuous statesmanship is presented similar to that in the philosophical works of the 50s, and in *Pro Marcello* (46 BCE) philosophical arguments about the true nature of glory are presented to sway Caesar. Other speeches also contain much of philosophical relevance, although, unsurprisingly, matters of virtue and vice are more often than not addressed in terms of traditional Roman cultural norms and expectations. McConnell 2014 is a detailed book-length study of philosophy in Cicero's letters, pitched at an advanced reader. Griffin 1995 and Griffin 1997 illustrate how the letters may serve as evidence for Cicero's philosophical thought and practice, and they remain the best starting points for the general reader. Baraz 2012 contains a useful chapter on the tension between politics and philosophy in the letters. Boes 1990 is a radical and challenging work, in French, which should be used with caution. Less has been written on philosophy in the speeches: Gildenhard 2011 is the best resource in English, offering a comprehensive book-length study of the subject.

Baraz, Y. 2012. *A written republic: Cicero's philosophical politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

Contains a good chapter on Cicero's presentation of philosophy in his letters.

Boes, J. 1990. *La philosophie et l'action dans la correspondence de Cicéron*. Nancy, France: Presses Univ.

An ambitious, if controversial, attempt to assess all of Cicero's actions in terms of a Platonic philosophical framework, in French.

Gildenhard, I. 2011. *Creative eloquence: The construction of reality in Cicero's speeches*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Comprehensive examination of the use of philosophy in Cicero's speeches.

Griffin, M. 1995. Philosophical badinage in Cicero's letters to his friends. In *Cicero the philosopher*. Edited by J. G. F. Powell, 325–346. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

The best introduction to philosophy in Cicero's letters.

Griffin, M. 1997. The composition of the *Academica*: Motives and versions. In *Assent and argument: Studies in Cicero's academic books*. Edited by B. Inwood and J. Mansfeld, 1–35. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

Excellent case study of how the letters provide insights into Cicero's working methods

McConnell, S. 2014. *Philosophical life in Cicero's letters*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Detailed exploration of Cicero's use of philosophy in his letters, with a focus on his dealings with Caesar.

Cicero as Translator

Cicero translated works of Greek philosophy into Latin. The most notable example is the partially extant translation of Plato's *Timaeus* (45 BCE), and he also appears to have started a translation of Plato's *Protagoras*. His youthful translation of Aratus's poem *Phaenomena*, the *Aratea* (*c.* 89 BCE), can be seen in a philosophical light, owing to the poem's importance to the Stoics. In his philosophical works there are often substantial passages of translation of Plato or other Greek sources. At times Cicero offers reflections on his own translation practice. He stresses that translation is more than just directly flipping Greek words into Latin in an uncritical fashion; translation involves interpretation and capturing the distinctive force of the original. As a result, Cicero claims that the worth of his philosophical works is increased because they are not mere translations of the works of others into Latin. Cicero translated myriad technical Greek philosophical terms into Latin, often coining new Latin words to capture the sense of the Greek. He claims that the Latin language is a richer philosophical language than Greek, and that even those fluent in Greek enjoy and benefit from reading philosophical works in Latin, such as his own. Some of Cicero's translation decisions and changes of mind can be seen in his letters. His most scathing criticisms of the work of other contemporary prose writers who were translating Greek philosophy into Latin, such as that of the Epicureans Amafinius, Catius, and Rabirius, concern their literary shortcomings and poor translation choices more than a lack of philosophical erudition per se. He is famously silent about the efforts of Lucretius, who makes similar boasts for translating technical philosophical Greek into Latin. Cicero seeks to position himself as the prime developer of a technical and sophisticated Latin philosophical vocabulary, and as the prime exponent of effective philosophical writing in Latin. Jones 1959 remains a good introductory account of Cicero's general practice as a translator. Powell 1995 has a more targeted focus on philosophy and is essential for the advanced reader. Liscu 1930 and Liscu 1937 are foundational works in French. Smith 1995 examines Cicero's critique of other Latin prose writers and the literary elements of his philosophical writing. Bishop 2019 contains informative chapters on how Cicero used his Greek models. Sedley 2013 and Lévy 2003 are the most accessible works on the *Timaeus* translation in English.

Bishop, C. 2019. *Cicero, Greek learning, and the making of a Roman classic*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Chapters on Cicero's claiming the place of Plato, Aristotle, and other Greek philosophical "classics" in the Latin canon.

Jones, D. M. 1959. Cicero as a translator. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 6:22–34.

An accessible starting point regarding Cicero's general practice as a translator.

Lévy, C. 2003. Cicero and the *Timaeus*. In *Plato's Timaeus as cultural icon*. Edited by G. Reydams-Schils, 95–110. Notre Dame: Univ. of Notre Dame Press.

Detailed analysis of Cicero's *Timaeus* translation that stresses his debt to Stoicism.

Liscu, M. 1930. *Étude sur la langue de la philosophie morale chez Cicéron*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Detailed study of Cicero's translation of Greek moral terms into Latin; in French, and quite advanced.

Liscu, M. 1937. *L'expression de idées philosophiques chez Cicéron*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Detailed study of a wide range of philosophical Latin terms and Cicero's translation of the Greek; in French, and quite advanced.

Powell, J. G. F. 1995. Cicero's translations from Greek. In *Cicero the philosopher*. Edited by J. G. F. Powell, 273–300. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A more advanced starting point, with a particular focus on Cicero's philosophical activities.

Sedley, D. 2013. Cicero and the *Timaeus*. In *Aristotle, Plato and Pythagoreanism in the first century BC: New directions for philosophy*. Edited by M. Schofield, 187–205. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A very accessible scholarly assessment of Cicero's *Timaeus* translation.

Smith, P. R. 1995. 'A self-indulgent misuse of leisure and writing'? How not to write philosophy: Did Cicero get it right? In *Cicero the Philosopher*. Edited by J. G. F. Powell, 301–323. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

On Cicero as best exponent of philosophical writing in Latin; his critique of the Epicurean prose writers.

back to top