LATIN SERIES · VOLUME 4

Duty

Cicero

De Officiis · Paradoxa Stoicorum

Duty

Three Books on Duties, and Six Stoic Paradoxes

---

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



CANES NOBILES · MMXXVI

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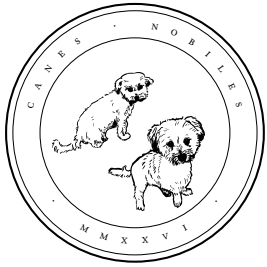

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Both editions print v for consonantal u. The metrical accents Miller sets over the archaic verse Cicero quotes are not reproduced.

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CICERO

De Officiis

On Duties · Three Books

BOOK I

I · GREEK AND LATIN TOGETHER

Cicero writes to his son Marcus, who has been a year with Cratippus at Athens, and urges him to join Latin to Greek as he himself has done, in speaking as well as in philosophy. He asks Marcus to read not only his speeches but also these books on philosophy. Conceding a knowledge of philosophy to many, he claims for himself, after a lifetime in the courts, the power to speak fitly, clearly, and with ornament.

Quamquam te, Marce fili, annum iam audientem Cratippum, 1
although you O-Marcus son for-a-year now hearing Cratippus
idque Athenis, abundare oportet praeceptis institutisque
and-that at-Athens to-abound it-behooves in-precepts and-in-teachings
philosophiae propter summam et doctoris auctoritatem
of-philosophy on-account-of the-highest both of-(your)-teacher authority
et urbis, quorum alter te scientia augere potest, altera
and of-the-city of-whom the-one you with-knowledge to-increase is-able the-other
exemplis, tamen, ut ipse ad meam utilitatem semper cum
with-examples nevertheless as I-myself for my advantage always with
Graecis Latina coniunxi neque id in philosophia solum,
Greek-(writings) Latin-(writings) have-joined and-not that in philosophy only
sed etiam in dicendi exercitatione feci, idem tibi censeo
but also in of-speaking the-practice I-have-done the-same by-you I-judge
faciendum, ut par sis in utriusque orationis facultate.
(to-be)-done so-that equal you-may-be in of-each language the-command
Quam quidem ad rem nos, ut videmur, magnum attulimus
which indeed to thing we as we-seem great have-brought
adiumentum hominibus nostris, ut non modo Graecarum
help to-men our so-that not only of-Greek

litterarum rudes, sed etiam docti aliquantum se
letters the-unskilled but also the-learned somewhat themselves
arbitrentur adeptos et ad dicendum et ad iudicandum.
may-think (to-have)-gained both for speaking and for judging
2 Quam ob rem disces tu quidem a principe huius
which on-account-of thing you-will-learn you indeed from the-foremost of-this
aetatis philosophorum, et disces, quam diu voles; tam
age of-philosophers and you-will-learn how long you-will-wish so
diu autem velle debebis, quoad te, quantum proficias,
long moreover to-wish you-will-be-bound so-long-as you how-much you-advance
non paenitebit; sed tamen nostra legens non multum a
not it-will-displease but nevertheless our-(writings) reading not much from
Peripateticis dissidentia, quoniam utrique Socratici et Platonici
the-Peripatetics differing since both-of-us Socratics and Platonists
volumus esse, de rebus ipsis utere tuo iudicio (nihil
we-wish to-be about the-matters themselves use your judgment nothing
enim impedio), orationem autem Latinam efficies profecto
for I-hinder speech moreover Latin you-will-make assuredly
legendis nostris pleniorem. Nec vero hoc arroganter dictum
by-reading our-(writings) fuller nor indeed this arrogantly said
existimari velim. Nam philosophandi scientiam concedens
to-be-thought I-would-wish for of-philosophizing the-knowledge conceding
multis, quod est oratoris proprium, apte, distincte, ornate
to-many what is of-an-orator proper fitly distinctly ornately
dicere, quoniam in eo studio aetatem consumpsi, si id mihi
to-speak since in that pursuit (my)-life I-have-spent if that for-myself
assumo, videor id meo iure quodam modo vindicare.
I-assume I-seem that by-my-own right in-a-certain manner to-claim
3 Quam ob rem magnopere te hortor, mi Cicero, ut
which on-account-of thing greatly you I-exhort my Cicero that
non solum orationes meas, sed hos etiam de philosophia
not only speeches my but these also about philosophy

libros, qui iam illis fere se aequarunt, studiose
books which now to-those nearly themselves have-equaled zealously
legas; vis enim maior in illis dicendi, sed hoc quoque
you-should-read force for greater in those of-speaking but this also
colendum est aequabile et temperatum orationis genus.
to-be-cultivated is even and tempered of-speech kind
Et id quidem nemini video Graecorum adhuc contigisse,
and that indeed to-no-one I-see of-the-Greeks hitherto to-have-fallen
ut idem utroque in genere elaboraret sequereturque et
that the-same-man both in kind should-labor and-should-follow both
illud forense dicendi et hoc quietum disputandi genus, nisi
that forensic of-speaking and this quiet of-arguing kind unless
forte Demetrius Phalereus in hoc numero haberi potest,
perhaps Demetrius Phalereus in this number to-be-held is-able
disputator subtilis, orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen,
a-reasoner subtle a-speaker too-little forceful sweet nevertheless
ut Theophrasti discipulum possis agnoscere. Nos
so-that of-Theophrastus a-pupil you-may-be-able to-recognize we
autem quantum in utroque profecerimus, aliorum sit
moreover how-much in each we-have-advanced of-others let-it-be
iudicium, utrumque certe secuti sumus.
the-judgment both certainly pursued we-have
Equidem et Platonem existimo, si genus forense dicendi 4
indeed both Plato I-judge if the-kind forensic of-speaking
tractare voluisset, gravissime et copiosissime potuisse dicere,
to-handle he-had-wished most-weightily and most-copiously to-have-been-able to-speak
et Demosthenem, si illa, quae a Platone didicerat,
and Demosthenes if those-things which from Plato he-had-learned
tenuisset et pronuntiare voluisset, ornate splendideque facere
he-had-retained and to-deliver he-had-wished ornately and-splendidly to-do

potuisse; eodemque modo de Aristotele et Isocrate iudico,
to-have-been-able and-in-the-same way about Aristotle and Isocrates I-judge
quorum uterque suo studio delectatus contempsit alterum.
of-whom each in-his-own pursuit delighted despised the-other

II · WHY DUTY IS THE SUBJECT

Cicero chooses duty because no part of life is free of it: nothing public or private, alone or with another, can be done without it. He warns that some schools destroy duty by the way they define the highest good, so he will follow the Stoics — not as a translator, but drawing from their sources by his own judgment. He begins by asking what duty is, a question Panaetius left unanswered.

Sed cum statuissem scribere ad te aliquid hoc tempore,
but when I-had-resolved to-write to you something at-this time
multa posthac, ab eo ordiri maxime volui, quod et aetati
many-things hereafter from that to-begin especially I-wished which both for-age
tuae esset aptissimum et auctoritati meae. Nam cum multa
your might-be most-fitting and for-authority my for although many-things
sint in philosophia et gravia et utilia accurate copioseque a
are in philosophy both weighty and useful carefully and-copiously by
philosophis disputata, latissime patere videntur ea, quae
philosophers discussed most-widely to-extend seem those-things which
de officiis tradita ab illis et praecepta sunt. Nulla enim
about duties handed-down by them and prescribed have-been no for
vitae pars neque publicis neque privatis neque forensibus neque
of-life part either in-public or in-private or in-forensic or
domesticis in rebus, neque si tecum agas quid, neque si cum
domestic in matters or if with-yourself you-do anything or if with

altero contrahas, vacare officio potest, in eoque et colendo
another you-deal to-be-free from-duty is-able in and-it both in-cultivating
sita vitae est honestas omnis et neglegendo turpitudo.
placed of-life is the-honorableness all and in-neglecting baseness
Atque haec quidem quaestio communis est omnium 5
and this indeed question common is of-all
philosophorum; quis est enim, qui nullis officii praeceptis
philosophers who is for who by-no of-duty precepts
tradendis philosophum se audeat dicere? Sed sunt
being-handed-down a-philosopher himself would-dare to-call but there-are
non nullae disciplinae, quae propositis bonorum et
not none schools which having-been-proposed of-goods and
malorum finibus officium omne pervertant. Nam qui
of-evils the-ends duty every overturn for who
summum bonum sic instituit, ut nihil habeat cum
the-highest good so establishes that nothing it-may-have with
virtute coniunctum, idque suis commodis, non honestate
virtue joined and-that by-his-own advantages not by-honorableness
metitur, hic, si sibi ipse consentiat et non interdum
measures this-man if with-himself he-himself should-agree and not sometimes
naturae bonitate vincatur neque amicitiam colere possit
of-nature by-the-goodness be-overcome neither friendship to-cultivate could
nec iustitiam nec liberalitatem; fortis vero dolorem summum
nor justice nor generosity brave indeed pain the-highest
malum iudicans aut temperans voluptatem summum bonum
evil judging or temperate pleasure the-highest good
statuens esse certe nullo modo potest.
establishing to-be certainly in-no way is-able
Quae quamquam ita sunt in promptu, ut res disputatione 6
which although so are in the-open that the-matter discussion
non egeat, tamen sunt a nobis alio loco disputata.
not needs nevertheless they-have-been by us in-another place discussed

Hae disciplinae igitur si sibi consentaneae velint esse,
these schools therefore if with-themselves consistent should-wish to-be
de officio nihil queant dicere, neque ulla officii praecepta
about duty nothing could say nor any of-duty precepts
firma, stabilia, coniuncta naturae tradi possunt nisi aut
firm stable joined to-nature to-be-handed-down are-able unless either
ab iis, qui solam, aut ab iis, qui maxime honestatem propter
by those who alone or by those who chiefly honorableness for
se dicant expetendam. Ita propria est ea praeceptio
its-own-sake say to-be-sought so proper is that teaching
Stoicorum, Academicorum, Peripateticorum, quoniam Aristonis,
of-the-Stoics of-the-Academics of-the-Peripatetics since of-Aristo
Pyrrhonis, Erilli iam pridem explosa sententia est; qui
of-Pyrrho of-Herillus now long-ago hissed-off the-opinion has-been who
tamen haberent ius suum disputandi de officio, si rerum
nevertheless would-have right their-own of-arguing about duty if of-things
aliquem dilectum reliquissent, ut ad officii inventionem
some choice they-had-left so-that to of-duty the-discovery
aditus esset. Sequemur igitur hoc quidem tempore
an-approach there-might-be we-shall-follow therefore at-this indeed time
et hac in quaestione potissimum Stoicos non ut interpretes,
and this in question chiefly the-Stoics not as translators
sed, ut solemus, e fontibus eorum iudicio arbitrioque
but as we-are-wont from the-springs of-them by-judgment and-by-discretion
nostro, quantum quoque modo videbitur, hauriemus.
our how-much and-in-what manner it-shall-seem we-shall-draw

7 Placet igitur, quoniam omnis disputatio de officio futura
it-pleases therefore since the-whole discussion about duty about-to-be
est, ante definire, quid sit officium; quod a Panaetio
is beforehand to-define what may-be duty which by Panaetius
praetermissum esse miror. Omnis enim, quae a ratione
passed-over to-be I-wonder every for which by reason

suscipitur de aliqua re institutio, debet a definitione
is-undertaken about some matter instruction ought from a-definition
proficisci, ut intellegatur, quid sit id, de quo disputetur.
to-set-out so-that it-may-be-understood what may-be that about which is-discussed

III · THE DIVISIONS OF DUTY

Every question about duty is twofold: one kind concerns the end of goods, the other the rules that shape daily life. Duty itself is either perfect, which the Greeks call right action, or middle, for which a plausible reason can be given. Panaetius made deliberation threefold; Cicero counts two more comparisons and arrives at five.

Omnis de officio duplex est quaestio: unum genus est,
every about duty twofold is question one kind is
quod pertinet ad finem bonorum, alterum, quod positum est
which pertains to the-end of-goods the-other which placed is
in praeceptis, quibus in omnis partis usus vitae conformari
in precepts by-which in all parts the-practice of-life to-be-shaped
possit. Superioris generis huius modi sunt exempla: omniane
may-be-able of-the-former kind of-this sort are examples whether-all
officia perfecta sint, num quod officium aliud alio
duties perfect are whether any duty one than-another
maius sit, et quae sunt generis eiusdem. Quorum autem
greater is and which are of-kind the-same of-which moreover
officiorum praecepta traduntur, ea quamquam pertinent ad
duties precepts are-handed-down these although pertain to
finem bonorum, tamen minus id apparet, quia magis ad
the-end of-goods nevertheless less this appears because more to
institutionem vitae communis spectare videntur; de quibus
the-ordering of-life common to-look they-seem about which

est nobis his libris explicandum. Atque etiam alia divisio
is by-us in-these books to-be-set-forth and also another division
est officii.
is of-duty

8 Nam et medium quoddam officium dicitur et perfectum.
for both middle a-certain duty is-called and perfect
Perfectum officium rectum, opinor, vocemus, quoniam Graeci
the-perfect duty right I-think let-us-call since the-Greeks
κατόρθωμα, hoc autem commune officium καθῆκον vocant.
right-action this moreover common duty fitting-act they-call
Atque ea sic definiunt, ut, rectum quod sit, id officium
and these thus they-define that right what is that duty
perfectum esse definiant; medium autem officium id esse
perfect to-be they-define middle moreover duty that to-be
dicunt, quod cur factum sit, ratio probabilis reddi possit.
they-say for-which why done it-was a-reason plausible to-be-given is-able

9 Triplex igitur est, ut Panaetio videtur, consilii capiendi
threefold therefore is as to-Panaetius it-seems of-counsel of-taking
deliberatio. Nam aut honestumne factu sit an turpe
the-deliberation for either whether-honorable in-the-doing it-is or base
dubitant id, quod in deliberationem cadit; in quo considerando
they-doubt that which into deliberation falls in which considering
saepe animi in contrarias sententias distrahuntur. Tum
often minds into opposite opinions are-drawn then
autem aut anquirunt aut consultant, ad vitae commoditatem
moreover either they-inquire or they-deliberate for of-life the-comfort
iucunditatemque, ad facultates rerum atque copias, ad opes,
and-the-pleasantness for the-means of-things and abundance for wealth
ad potentiam, quibus et se possint iuvare et suos,
for power by-which both themselves they-may-be-able to-help and their-own
conducat id necne, de quo deliberant; quae deliberatio
is-conducive that or-not about which they-deliberate which deliberation

omnis in rationem utilitatis cadit. Tertium dubitandi genus
all into the-account of-usefulness falls the-third of-doubting kind
est, cum pugnare videtur cum honesto id, quod videtur
is when to-fight seems with the-honorable that which seems
esse utile; cum enim utilitas ad se rapere, honestas
to-be useful when for usefulness to itself to-carry-off honorableness
contra revocare ad se videtur, fit ut distrahatur
on-the-contrary to-call-back to itself seems it-happens that is-torn
in deliberando animus afferatque ancipitem curam cogitandi.
in deliberating the-mind and-brings-in a-doubtful care of-thinking
Hac divisione, cum praeterire aliquid maximum vitium 10
by-this division since to-pass-over anything the-greatest fault
in dividendo sit, duo praetermissa sunt; nec enim
in dividing is two-things passed-over have-been and-not for
solum utrum honestum an turpe sit, deliberari solet, sed
only whether honorable or base it-is to-be-deliberated is-wont but
etiam duobus propositis honestis utrum honestius,
also two having-been-proposed honorable-things which more-honorable
itemque duobus propositis utilibus utrum utilius. Ita,
and-likewise two having-been-proposed useful-things which more-useful so
quam ille triplicem putavit esse rationem, in quinque partes
which he threefold thought to-be the-method into five parts
distribui debere reperitur. Primum igitur est de honesto,
to-be-divided to-be-bound is-found first therefore is about the-honorable
sed dupliciter, tum pari ratione de utili, post de
but in-two-ways then with-equal method about the-useful afterward about
comparatione eorum disserendum.
the-comparison of-them to-be-discussed

Every creature guards its own life and cares for its young, but man alone shares in reason. By it he sees causes and consequences, links what is to come with what is present, and is drawn to his fellows by speech and shared life. Proper to him too are the search for truth, a refusal to obey any but a just teacher or ruler, and a sense of order, fitness, and beauty; from these the honorable is formed.

11 Principio generi animantium omni est a natura tributum,
in-the-beginning to-the-kind of-living-things every is by nature granted
ut se, vitam corpusque tueatur, declinet ea,
that itself life and-body it-should-guard it-should-turn-from those-things
quae nocitura videantur, omniaque, quae sint ad vivendum
which about-to-harm seem and-all-things which are for living
necessaria, anquirat et paret, ut pastum, ut latibula,
necessary it-should-seek and provide as food as lairs
ut alia generis eiusdem. Commune item animantium
as other-things of-kind the-same common likewise of-living-things
omnium est coniunctionis adpetitus procreandi causa et
all is of-union the-desire of-begetting for-the-sake and
cura quaedam eorum, quae procreata sint; sed inter
care a-certain of-those which begotten have-been but between
hominem et beluam hoc maxime interest, quod haec
man and beast in-this most there-is-a-difference that this
tantum, quantum sensu movetur, ad id solum, quod adest
only as-much-as by-sense it-is-moved to that alone which is-at-hand
quodque praesens est, se accommodat paulum admodum
and-which present is itself it-adapts a-little very
sentiens praeteritum aut futurum; homo autem, quod rationis
perceiving the-past or the-future man moreover because of-reason
est particeps, per quam consequentia cernit, causas rerum
is a-sharer through which consequences he-discerns the-causes of-things

videt earumque praegressus et quasi antecessiones non
he-sees and-of-them the-antecedents and as-it-were the-forerunners not
ignorat, similitudines comparat rebusque praesentibus
he-is-ignorant-of likenesses he-compares and-to-things present
adiungit atque annectit futuras, facile totius vitae cursum
he-joins and he-links future-things easily of-the-whole of-life the-course
videt ad eamque degendam praeparat res necessarias.
he-sees for and-it to-be-passed he-prepares things necessary
Eademque natura vi rationis hominem conciliat homini 12
and-the-same nature by-the-force of-reason man unites to-man
et ad orationis et ad vitae societatem ingeneratque in
both for of-speech and for of-life the-fellowship and-implants in
primis praecipuum quendam amorem in eos, qui procreati
the-first a-special a-certain love toward those who begotten
sunt, impellitque, ut hominum coetus et celebrationes et
have-been and-drives that of-men gatherings and assemblies both
esse et a se obiri velit ob easque causas
to-be and by himself to-be-attended he-should-wish on-account-of and-those causes
studeat parare ea, quae suppeditent ad cultum et ad
he-should-strive to-provide those-things which may-supply for refinement and for
victum, nec sibi soli, sed coniugi, liberis ceterisque,
livelihood and-not for-himself alone but for-wife for-children and-for-the-rest
quos caros habeat tuerique debeat; quae cura exsuscitat
whom dear he-holds and-to-protect he-ought which care rouses
etiam animos et maiores ad rem gerendam facit.
also spirits and greater for a-matter to-be-carried-on it-makes
In primisque hominis est propria veri inquisitio 13
and-among the-first of-man is proper of-truth the-search
atque investigatio. Itaque cum sumus necessariis negotiis
and the-investigation and-so when we-are from-necessary business
curisque vacui, tum avemus aliquid videre, audire, addiscere
and-cares free then we-crave something to-see to-hear to-learn

cognitionemque rerum aut occultarum aut admirabilium ad
and-the-knowledge of-things either hidden or wonderful for
beate vivendum necessariam ducimus. Ex quo intellegitur,
happily living necessary we-reckon from which it-is-understood
quod verum, simplex sincerumque sit, id esse naturae
what true simple and-sincere is that to-be to-the-nature
hominis aptissimum. Huic veri videndi cupiditati adiuncta
of-man most-fitting to-this of-truth of-seeing to-the-desire joined
est appetitio quaedam principatus, ut nemini parere animus
is a-craving a-certain of-pre-eminence so-that to-no-one to-obey a-mind
bene informatus a natura velit nisi praecipienti aut docenti
well formed by nature wishes except to-one-instructing or teaching
aut utilitatis causa iuste et legitime imperanti; ex quo
or of-advantage for-the-sake justly and lawfully commanding from which
magnitudo animi exsistit humanarumque rerum contemptio.
greatness of-spirit arises and-of-human things the-contempt

14 Nec vero illa parva vis naturae est rationisque, quod
nor indeed that small the-force of-nature is and-of-reason that
unum hoc animal sentit, quid sit ordo, quid sit, quod
alone this animal perceives what is order what is what
deceat, in factis dictisque qui modus. Itaque eorum ipsorum,
is-fitting in deeds and-words what measure and-so of-those themselves
quae aspectu sentiuntur, nullum aliud animal pulchritudinem,
which by-sight are-perceived no other animal beauty
venustatem, convenientiam partium sentit; quam similitudinem
gracefulness the-fitness of-parts perceives which likeness
natura ratioque ab oculis ad animum transferens multo
nature and-reason from the-eyes to the-mind transferring much
etiam magis pulchritudinem, constantiam, ordinem in consiliis
even more beauty constancy order in counsels
factisque conservandam putat cavetque, ne quid indecore
and-deeds to-be-preserved thinks and-takes-care lest anything unbecomingly

effeminateve faciat, tum in omnibus et opinionibus et
or-effeminately it-should-do then in all both opinions and
factis ne quid libidinose aut faciat aut cogitet.
deeds lest anything wantonly either it-should-do or think
Quibus ex rebus conflatur et efficitur id, quod quaerimus,
which from things is-formed and is-produced that which we-seek
honestum, quod etiamsi nobilitatum non sit, tamen
the-honorable which even-if ennobled not is nevertheless
honestum sit, quodque vere dicimus, etiamsi a nullo
honorable is and-which truly we-say even-if by no-one
laudetur, natura esse laudabile.
it-is-praised by-nature to-be praiseworthy

V · THE FOUR SPRINGS OF THE HONORABLE

Everything honorable rises from one of four parts: the search for truth, the keeping of human fellowship and good faith, the greatness of an unconquered spirit, and order and measure in all that is said and done. The four are bound together, but each yields its own kind of duty. The first is wisdom, and its material is truth.

Formam quidem ipsam, Marce fili, et tamquam faciem 15
the-form indeed itself O-Marcus son and as-it-were the-face
honesti vides, quae si oculis cerneretur, mirabiles amores, ut
of-the-honorable you-see which if by-eyes were-discerned wondrous loves as
ait Plato, excitaret sapientiae. Sed omne, quod est honestum,
says Plato would-arouse of-wisdom but everything which is honorable
id quattuor partium oritur ex aliqua: aut enim in perspicientia
that of-four parts arises from some either for in the-discernment
veri sollertiaque versatur aut in hominum societate tuenda
of-truth and-in-skill it-is-engaged or in of-men the-fellowship to-be-guarded
tribuendoque suum cuique et rerum contractarum fide
and-in-assigning his-own to-each and of-things contracted in-the-good-faith

aut in animi excelsi atque invicti magnitudine ac robore
or in of-a-spirit lofty and unconquered in-the-greatness and strength
aut in omnium, quae fiunt quaeque dicuntur, ordine et
or in of-all-things which are-done and-which are-said in-the-order and
modo, in quo inest modestia et temperantia.
measure in which there-is modesty and temperance
Quae quattuor quamquam inter se colligata atque
which four although among themselves bound-together and
implicata sunt, tamen ex singulis certa officiorum genera
interwoven are nevertheless from each-one definite of-duties kinds
nascuntur, velut ex ea parte, quae prima discripta est, in
arise just-as from that part which first assigned was in
qua sapientiam et prudentiam ponimus, inest indagatio atque
which wisdom and prudence we-place there-is the-tracking and
inventio veri, eiusque virtutis hoc munus est proprium.
the-discovery of-truth and-of-that virtue this function is proper

16 Ut enim quisque maxime perspicit, quid in re quaque
as for each-man most discerns what in matter each
verissimum sit, quique acutissime et celerrime potest et videre
most-true is and-who most-keenly and most-quickly is-able both to-see
et explicare rationem, is prudentissimus et sapientissimus
and to-unfold the-reason he most-prudent and most-wise
rite haberi solet. Quocirca huic quasi materia, quam
rightly to-be-held is-wont wherefore to-this as-it-were the-material which
tractet et in qua versetur, subiecta est veritas.
it-may-handle and in which it-may-be-engaged laid-under is truth

17 Reliquis autem tribus virtutibus necessitates propositae
to-the-remaining moreover three virtues necessities set-before
sunt ad eas res parandas tuendasque, quibus actio
have-been for those things to-be-provided and-to-be-guarded by-which the-conduct
vitae continetur, ut et societas hominum coniunctioque
of-life is-maintained so-that both the-fellowship of-men and-the-union

servetur et animi excellentia magnitudoque cum in
may-be-preserved and of-spirit the-excellence and-the-greatness both in
augendis opibus utilitatibusque et sibi et suis
to-be-increased resources and-advantages both for-himself and for-his-own
comparandis, tum multo magis in his ipsis despiciendis
to-be-procured and much more in these themselves to-be-despised
eluceat. Ordo autem et constantia et moderatio et ea,
may-shine-out order moreover and constancy and moderation and those-things
quae sunt his similia, versantur in eo genere, ad quod
which are to-these like are-engaged in that kind to which
est adhibenda actio quaedam, non solum mentis agitatio.
is to-be-applied an-action a-certain not only of-the-mind the-activity
Iis enim rebus, quae tractantur in vita, modum quendam
to-those for things which are-handled in life a-measure a-certain
et ordinem adhibentes honestatem et decus conservabimus.
and an-order applying honorableness and comeliness we-shall-preserve

VI · TWO FAULTS IN THE PURSUIT OF TRUTH

All men are drawn to knowledge, and think it fine to excel in it. Two faults must be avoided: taking unknown things for known and assenting rashly, and spending great labor on questions that are obscure and of no use. Study must not draw a man away from action, since the whole praise of virtue lies in doing.

Ex quattuor autem locis, in quos honesti naturam vimque 18
from four moreover heads into which of-the-honorable the-nature and-the-force
divisimus, primus ille, qui in veri cognitione consistit,
we-divided the-first that which in of-truth the-knowledge consists
maxime naturam attingit humanam. Omnes enim trahimur
most the-nature touches human all for we-are-drawn
et ducimur ad cognitionis et scientiae cupiditatem, in qua
and we-are-led to of-knowledge and of-science the-desire in which

excellere pulchrum putamus, labi autem, errare, nescire,
to-excel fine we-think to-slip moreover to-err to-be-ignorant
decipi et malum et turpe ducimus. In hoc genere et
to-be-deceived both bad and base we-reckon in this kind both
naturali et honesto duo vitia vitanda sunt, unum, ne
natural and honorable two faults to-be-avoided are one lest
incognita pro cognitis habeamus iisque temere assentiamur;
unknown-things for known we-hold and-to-them rashly we-assent
quod vitium effugere qui volet (omnes autem velle debent),
which fault to-escape who will-wish all moreover to-wish ought
adhibebit ad considerandas res et tempus et diligentiam.
will-apply to to-be-considered matters both time and diligence

19 Alterum est vitium, quod quidam nimis magnum studium
the-other is the-fault that some too great zeal
multamque operam in res obscuras atque difficiles conferunt
and-much labor on things obscure and difficult bestow
easdemque non necessarias.
and-the-same not necessary

Quibus vitiis declinatis quod in rebus honestis et cognitione
which faults having-been-avoided what on matters honorable and of-knowledge
dignis operae curaeque ponetur, id iure laudabitur, ut
worthy of-labor and-of-care shall-be-spent that with-right will-be-praised as
in astrologia C. Sulpicium audivimus, in geometria Sex.
in astronomy Gaius Sulpicius we-have-heard-of in geometry Sextus
Pompeium ipsi cognovimus, multos in dialecticis, plures in
Pompeius we-ourselves have-known many in dialectic more in
iure civili, quae omnes artes in veri investigatione versantur;
law civil which all arts in of-truth the-investigation are-engaged
cuius studio a rebus gerendis abduci contra officium
of-which by-the-pursuit from things to-be-done to-be-drawn-away against duty
est. Virtutis enim laus omnis in actione consistit; a qua
is of-virtue for the-praise all in action consists from which

tamen fit intermissio saepe multique dantur ad studia
nevertheless is-made a-pause often and-many are-given to studies
reditus; tum agitatio mentis, quae numquam acquiescit, potest
returns then the-stirring of-the-mind which never rests is-able
nos in studiis cognitionis etiam sine opera nostra continere.
us in the-pursuits of-knowledge even without effort our to-hold-fast
Omnis autem cogitatio motusque animi aut in consiliis
every moreover thought and-motion of-mind either in counsels
capiendis de rebus honestis et pertinentibus ad bene beateque
to-be-taken about matters honorable and pertaining to well and-happily
vivendum aut in studiis scientiae cognitionisque versabitur.
living or in the-pursuits of-science and-of-knowledge will-be-engaged
Ac de primo quidem officii fonte diximus.
and about the-first indeed of-duty source we-have-spoken

VII · JUSTICE AND THE OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY

The widest of the remaining parts is the fellowship of men, and its first half is justice. Justice asks that no one harm another unless provoked, and that common things be used as common and private as one's own; nothing is private by nature, since ownership comes from occupation, conquest, or from law, agreement, and lot. Injustice is twofold: doing a wrong, and failing to ward one off when you could.

De tribus autem reliquis latissime patet ea ratio, qua 20
about three moreover remaining most-widely extends that principle by-which
societas hominum inter ipsos et vitae quasi communitas
the-fellowship of-men among themselves and of-life as-it-were the-community
continetur; cuius partes duae, iustitia, in qua virtutis est
is-held-together of-which parts two justice in which of-virtue is
splendor maximus, ex qua viri boni nominantur, et huic
the-splendor greatest from which men good are-named and to-this

coniuncta beneficentia, quam eandem vel benignitatem vel
joined beneficence which the-same either kindness or
liberalitatem appellari licet.
generosity to-be-called it-is-allowed
Sed iustitiae primum munus est, ut ne cui quis
but of-justice the-first office is that not to-anyone anyone
noceat nisi lacessitus iniuria, deinde ut communibus pro
should-harm unless provoked by-wrong then that common-things as
communibus utatur, privatis ut suis.
common he-should-use private-things as his-own
21 Sunt autem privata nulla natura, sed aut vetere
there-are moreover private-things none by-nature but either by-old
occupatione, ut qui quondam in vacua venerunt,
occupation as (those)-who once into empty-lands came
aut victoria, ut qui bello potiti sunt, aut lege,
or by-victory as (those)-who by-war got-possession have or by-law
pactione, condicione, sorte; ex quo fit, ut ager Arpinas
by-agreement by-compact by-lot from which it-comes that the-field of-Arpinum
Arpinatium dicatur, Tusculanus Tusculanorum; similisque est
of-the-Arpinates is-called of-Tusculum of-the-Tusculans and-like is
privatarum possessionum discriptio. Ex quo, quia suum
of-private possessions the-assignment from which because his-own
cuiusque fit eorum, quae natura fuerant communia, quod
of-each becomes of-those which by-nature had-been common what
cuique obtigit, id quisque teneat; e quo si quis sibi
to-each fell that let-each hold from which if anyone for-himself
appetet, violabit ius humanae societatis.
shall-grasp he-will-violate the-right of-human society
22 Sed quoniam, ut praeclare scriptum est a Platone, non
but since as excellently written it-is by Plato not
nobis solum nati sumus ortusque nostri partem patria
for-ourselves only born we-are and-of-birth our a-part the-fatherland

vindicat, partem amici, atque, ut placet Stoicis, quae in terris
claims a-part friends and as it-pleases the-Stoics what on the-lands
gignantur, ad usum hominum omnia creari, homines autem
are-produced for the-use of-men all to-be-created men moreover
hominum causa esse generatos, ut ipsi inter se
of-men for-the-sake to-be begotten so-that they among themselves
aliis alii prodesse possent, in hoc naturam debemus ducem
to-others some to-be-of-use might-be-able in this nature we-ought as-guide
sequi, communes utilitates in medium afferre mutatione
to-follow common advantages into the-midst to-bring by-the-exchange
officiorum, dando accipiendo, tum artibus, tum opera, tum
of-services by-giving by-receiving now by-arts now by-labor now
facultatibus devincire hominum inter homines societatem.
by-means to-bind-fast of-men among men the-fellowship
Fundamentum autem est iustitiae fides, id est dictorum 23
the-foundation moreover is of-justice good-faith that is of-things-said
conventorumque constantia et veritas. Ex quo, quamquam
and-of-things-agreed the-constancy and truth from which although
hoc videbitur fortasse cuipiam durius, tamen audeamus
this will-seem perhaps to-someone rather-harsh nevertheless let-us-dare
imitari Stoicos, qui studiose exquirunt, unde verba sint ducta,
to-imitate the-Stoics who zealously search-out whence words are derived
credamusque, quia fiat, quod dictum est, appellatam fidem.
and-let-us-believe because is-done what said was (to-have-been)-named good-faith
Sed iniustitiae genera duo sunt, unum eorum, qui inferunt,
but of-injustice kinds two are one of-those who inflict
alterum eorum, qui ab iis, quibus infertur, si possunt, non
the-other of-those who from those to-whom it-is-inflicted if they-can not
propulsant iniuriam. Nam qui iniuste impetum in quempiam
drive-off the-wrong for who unjustly an-attack on anyone
facit aut ira aut aliqua perturbatione incitatus, is quasi
makes either by-anger or by-some disturbance stirred-up he as-it-were

manus afferre videtur socio; qui autem non defendit
hands to-lay seems on-a-comrade who moreover not defends
nec obsistit, si potest, iniuriae, tam est in vitio, quam
nor withstands if he-can the-wrong as-much is in fault as
si parentes aut amicos aut patriam deserat.
if parents or friends or fatherland he-should-desert

24 Atque illae quidem iniuriae, quae nocendi causa de industria
and those indeed wrongs which of-harming for-the-sake of set-purpose
inferuntur, saepe a metu proficiscuntur, cum is, qui
are-inflicted often from fear proceed when he who
nocere alteri cogitat, timet ne, nisi id fecerit, ipse
to-harm another plans fears lest unless that he-shall-have-done he-himself
aliquo afficiatur incommodo. Maximam autem partem ad
with-some may-be-visited harm (for)-the-greatest moreover part to
iniuriam faciendam aggrediuntur, ut adipiscantur ea,
wrong to-be-done they-set-about that they-may-obtain those-things
quae concupiverunt; in quo vitio latissime patet avaritia.
which they-have-coveted in which fault most-widely extends avarice

VIII · RICHES, POWER, AND THE TWO KINDS OF WRONG

Riches are sought both for the necessities of life and for pleasure, and men of larger spirit want them for power and for the means of obliging others. The desire for command, honor, and glory carries most men into forgetting justice: Ennius says there is no sacred fellowship in kingship, and Caesar overturned every law, human and divine, for a supremacy he had imagined for himself. Wrong done on a sudden impulse is lighter than wrong studied and prepared.

25 Expetuntur autem divitiae cum ad usus vitae necessarios, tum
are-sought moreover riches both for the-uses of-life necessary and
ad perfruendas voluptates. In quibus autem maior est animus,
for to-be-enjoyed pleasures in whom moreover greater is the-spirit

in iis pecuniae cupiditas spectat ad opes et ad gratificandi
in those of-money the-desire looks to power and to of-obliging
facultatem, ut nuper M. Crassus negabat ullam satis magnam
the-means as lately Marcus Crassus used-to-deny any enough great
pecuniam esse ei, qui in re publica princeps vellet esse,
money to-be for-him who in the-thing public the-first wished to-be
cuius fructibus exercitum alere non posset. Delectant
of-which by-the-revenues an-army to-maintain not he-could delight
etiam magnifici apparatus vitaeque cultus cum elegantia et
also splendid appointments and-of-life the-style with elegance and
copia; quibus rebus effectum est, ut infinita pecuniae
abundance by-which things brought-about it-has-been that boundless of-money
cupiditas esset. Nec vero rei familiaris amplificatio nemini
the-desire should-be nor indeed of-property family the-increase to-no-one
nocens vituperanda est, sed fugienda semper iniuria est.
harming to-be-blamed is but to-be-shunned always wrong is
Maxime autem adducuntur plerique, ut eos iustitiae capiat 26
most moreover are-led most-men that them of-justice may-seize
oblivio, cum in imperiorum, honorum, gloriae cupiditatem
forgetfulness when into of-commands of-honors of-glory the-desire
inciderunt. Quod enim est apud Ennium:
they-have-fallen what for is in Ennius

Nulla sancta societas
no sacred fellowship
nec fides regni est.
nor good-faith of-kingship is

Id latius patet. Nam quicquid eius modi est, in quo non
that more-widely extends for whatever of-that sort is in which not
possint plures excellere, in eo fit plerumque tanta contentio, ut
are-able several to-excel in it arises generally so-great a-struggle that

difficillimum sit servare sanctam societatem. Declaravit id modo
most-difficult it-is to-keep sacred the-fellowship declared this lately
temeritas C. Caesaris, qui omnia iura divina et humana
the-recklessness of-Gaius Caesar who all rights divine and human
pervertit propter eum, quem sibi ipse opinionis errore
overthrew on-account-of that which for-himself he-himself of-opinion by-the-error
finxerat, principatum. Est autem in hoc genere molestum,
had-imagined the-supremacy there-is moreover in this kind (a-thing)-troublesome
quod in maximis animis splendidissimisque ingeniis plerumque
that in the-greatest spirits and-most-brilliant natures generally
exsistunt honoris, imperii, potentiae, gloriae cupiditates.
arise of-honor of-command of-power of-glory the-desires
Quo magis cavendum est, ne quid in eo genere peccetur.
by-which the-more to-be-guarded it-is lest anything in that kind be-done-amiss
27 Sed in omni iniustitia permultum interest, utrum perturbatione
but in every injustice very-much it-matters whether by-a-disturbance
aliqua animi, quae plerumque brevis est et ad tempus,
some of-mind which generally brief is and for a-time
an consulto et cogitata fiat iniuria. Leviora enim sunt
or of-set-purpose and premeditated is-done the-wrong lighter for are
ea, quae repentino aliquo motu accidunt, quam ea,
those-things which by-a-sudden some impulse happen than those
quae meditata et praeparata inferuntur.
which studied and prepared are-inflicted
Ac de inferenda quidem iniuria satis dictum est.
and about to-be-inflicted indeed wrong enough said has-been

Men neglect the defense of others because they will not take on enmity, toil, or expense, or because their own pursuits absorb them. Cicero says the philosophers Plato praises are only half just: they wrong no one, but they desert those they ought to protect. Because we feel our own fortunes more keenly than other men's, we should do nothing whose fairness we doubt.

Praetermittendae autem defensionis deserendique officii plures 28
of-neglecting moreover the-defense and-of-deserting duty several
solent esse causae; nam aut inimicitias aut laborem aut
are-wont to-be the-causes for either enmities or toil or
sumptus suscipere nolunt aut etiam neglegentia, pigritia,
expense to-undertake they-are-unwilling or also by-negligence by-sloth
inertia aut suis studiis quibusdam occupationibusve
by-indolence or by-their-own pursuits certain or-by-occupations
sic impediuntur, ut eos, quos tutari debeant, desertos esse
so are-hindered that those whom to-protect they-ought deserted to-be
patiantur. Itaque videndum est, ne non satis sit id, quod
they-allow and-so to-be-seen it-is lest not enough may-be that which
apud Platonem est in philosophos dictum, quod in veri
in Plato is concerning philosophers said that in of-truth
investigatione versentur quodque ea, quae plerique
the-investigation they-are-engaged and-that those-things which most-men
vehementer expetant, de quibus inter se digladiari
vehemently seek about which among themselves to-fight
soleant, contemnant et pro nihilo putent, propterea iustos
they-are-wont they-despise and for nothing they-count therefore just
esse. Nam alterum iustitiae genus assequuntur, ut inferenda
to-be for the-one of-justice kind they-attain that by-inflicting
ne cui noceant iniuria, in alterum incidunt; discendi
not to-anyone they-harm wrong into the-other they-fall of-learning

enim studio impediti, quos tueri debent, deserunt. Itaque
for by-the-zeal hindered whom to-protect they-ought they-desert and-so
eos ne ad rem publicam quidem accessuros putat nisi
them not to the-thing public even about-to-approach he-thinks unless
coactos. Aequius autem erat id voluntate fieri; nam hoc
compelled more-equitable moreover it-was that by-will to-be-done for this
ipsum ita iustum est, quod recte fit, si est voluntarium.
itself so just is what rightly is-done if it-is voluntary

29 Sunt etiam, qui aut studio rei familiaris tuendae aut
there-are also who either by-zeal of-property family to-be-guarded or
odio quodam hominum suum se negotium agere
by-a-hatred certain of-men their-own themselves business to-mind
dicant nec facere cuiquam videantur iniuriam. Qui altero
say and-not to-do to-anyone they-seem wrong who from-one
genere iniustitiae vacant, in alterum incurrunt; deserunt
kind of-injustice are-free into the-other they-run they-desert
enim vitae societatem, quia nihil conferunt in eam studii,
for of-life the-fellowship because nothing they-contribute to it of-zeal
nihil operae, nihil facultatum.
nothing of-labor nothing of-means

Quando igitur duobus generibus iniustitiae propositis
since therefore two kinds of-injustice having-been-set-out
adiunximus causas utriusque generis easque res ante
we-have-added the-causes of-each kind and-those things before
constituimus, quibus iustitia contineretur, facile, quod
we-established by-which justice is-held-together easily what
cuiusque temporis officium sit, poterimus, nisi nosmet
of-each moment the-duty may-be we-shall-be-able unless our-very
ipsos valde amabimus, iudicare;
selves greatly we-shall-love to-judge

est enim difficilis cura rerum alienarum. Quamquam 30
is for hard the-care of-affairs another's although
Terentianus ille Chremes humani nihil a se alienum
the-Terentian that Chremes of-human nothing from himself foreign
putat; sed tamen, quia magis ea percipimus atque
thinks but nevertheless because more those-things we-perceive and
sentimus, quae nobis ipsis aut prospera aut adversa
we-feel which to-us ourselves either favorable or adverse
eveniunt, quam illa, quae ceteris, quae quasi longo intervallo
befall than those which to-others which as-it-were a-long interval
interiecto videmus, aliter de illis ac de nobis
having-been-set-between we-see otherwise about them than about ourselves
iudicamus. Quocirca bene praecipiunt, qui vetant quicquam
we-judge wherefore well they-teach who forbid anything
agere, quod dubites aequum sit an iniquum. Aequitas enim
to-do which you-doubt fair it-is or unfair fairness for
lucet ipsa per se, dubitatio cogitationem significat iniuriae.
shines itself through itself doubt a-thought signifies of-wrong

X · WHEN CIRCUMSTANCES CHANGE A DUTY

Occasions arise when what usually befits a just man turns into its opposite: a deposit need not be returned, nor a promise kept, when keeping it would harm the man it was made to or the man who made it. Promises extorted by fear or fraud are annulled, most of them by the praetor's law. Cicero also condemns the crafty reading of law that made "the highest right is the highest wrong" a worn proverb.

Sed incidunt saepe tempora, cum ea, quae maxime 31
but there-arise often occasions when those-things which most
videntur digna esse iusto homine eoque, quem virum
seem worthy to-be of-a-just man and-of-him whom a-man

bonum dicimus, commutantur fiuntque contraria, ut reddere
good we-call are-changed and-become the-opposite as to-return
depositum, facere promissum quaeque pertinent ad veritatem
a-deposit to-keep a-promise and-what pertain to truth
et ad fidem, ea migrare interdum et non servare fit
and to good-faith these to-depart-from sometimes and not to-keep becomes
iustum. Referri enim decet ad ea, quae posui
just to-be-referred for it-is-fitting to those-things which I-laid-down
principio, fundamenta iustitiae, primum ut ne cui noceatur,
at-the-outset the-foundations of-justice first that not to-anyone harm-be-done
deinde ut communi utilitati serviatur. Ea cum tempore
then that the-common advantage be-served these when with-time
commutantur, commutatur officium et non semper est idem.
are-changed is-changed the-duty and not always is the-same
32 Potest enim accidere promissum aliquod et conventum,
it-can for happen a-promise some and an-agreement
ut id effici sit inutile vel ei, cui promissum
that it to-be-carried-out is unprofitable either for-him to-whom promised
sit, vel ei, qui promiserit. Nam si, ut in fabulis est,
it-was or for-him who has-promised for if as in the-stories it-is
Neptunus, quod Theseo promiserat, non fecisset, Theseus
Neptune what to-Theseus he-had-promised not had-done Theseus
Hippolyto filio non esset orbatus; ex tribus enim
of-Hippolytus (his)-son not would-have-been bereft of three for
optatis, ut scribitur, hoc erat tertium, quod de Hippolyti
wishes as it-is-written this was the-third which about of-Hippolytus
interitu iratus optavit; quo impetrato in maximos luctus
the-death enraged he-wished which having-been-granted into the-greatest griefs
incidit. Nec promissa igitur servanda sunt ea, quae sint iis,
he-fell nor promises therefore to-be-kept are those which are to-those
quibus promiseris, inutilia, nec, si plus tibi ea noceant
to-whom you-have-promised unprofitable nor if more to-you they may-harm

quam illi prosint, cui promiseris, contra officium est
than to-him may-benefit to-whom you-have-promised against duty is
maius anteponi minori; ut, si constitueris cuipiam te
the-greater to-be-put-before the-less as if you-have-arranged with-someone yourself
advocatum in rem praesentem esse venturum atque interim
as-counsel to the-matter present to-be about-to-come and meanwhile
graviter aegrotare filius coeperit, non sit contra officium
grievously to-fall-ill (your)-son has-begun not it-is against duty
non facere, quod dixeris, magisque ille, cui promissum
not to-do what you-have-said and-more he to-whom promised
sit, ab officio discedat, si se destitutum queratur. Iam
it-was from duty departs if himself abandoned he-complains now
illis promissis standum non esse quis non videt, quae
to-those promises to-be-stood-by not to-be who does-not see which
coactus quis metu, quae deceptus dolo promiserit? Quae
compelled anyone by-fear which deceived by-guile has-promised which
quidem pleraque iure praetorio liberantur, non nulla legibus.
indeed most by-law praetorian are-released not none by-statutes
Exsistunt etiam saepe iniuriae calumnia quadam et nimis 33
arise also often wrongs by-a-chicanery certain and too
callida, sed malitiosa iuris interpretatione. Ex quo illud
crafty but malicious of-law by-an-interpretation from which that
summum ius summa iniuria factum est iam tritum
the-highest right the-highest wrong made has-been now a-worn
sermone proverbium. Quo in genere etiam in re publica
in-speech proverb which in kind also in the-thing public
multa peccantur, ut ille, qui, cum triginta dierum
many-things are-done-amiss as that-man who when thirty of-days
essent cum hoste indutiae factae, noctu populabatur agros,
had-been with the-enemy a-truce made by-night was-ravaging the-fields
quod dierum essent pactae, non noctium indutiae. Ne noster
because of-days had-been agreed not of-nights the-truce not our-man

quidem probandus, si verum est Q. Fabium Labeonem
even to-be-approved if true it-is Quintus Fabius Labeo
seu quem alium (nihil enim habeo praeter auditum) arbitrum
or some other nothing for I-have beyond hearsay as-arbiter
Nolanis et Neapolitanis de finibus a senatu datum, cum
to-the-Nolans and to-the-Neapolitans about boundaries by the-senate given when
ad locum venisset, cum utrisque separatim locutum, ne
to the-place he-had-come with both separately to-have-spoken that-not
cupide quid agerent, ne appetenter, atque ut regredi quam
greedily anything they-should-do not graspingly and that to-go-back than
progredi mallent. Id cum utrique fecissent, aliquantum
to-go-forward they-should-prefer this when both had-done a-good-deal
agri in medio relictum est. Itaque illorum finis sic, ut
of-land in the-middle left was and-so their boundaries thus as
ipsi dixerant, terminavit; in medio relictum quod erat,
they-themselves had-said he-marked in the-middle left what was
populo Romano adiudicavit. Decipere hoc quidem est, non
to-the-people Roman he-adjudged to-deceive this indeed is not
iudicare. Quocirca in omni est re fugienda talis sollertia.
to-judge wherefore in every is matter to-be-shunned such cleverness

Some duties are owed even to those who have wronged us, since vengeance has a limit. War is a beast's way of settling a quarrel and a last resort, waged only so that peace may follow; the defeated who fought without cruelty should be spared. The fetial law makes no war just unless satisfaction was demanded or war declared, and Cato made his discharged son swear anew before fighting.

Sunt autem quaedam officia etiam adversus eos servanda,
there-are moreover certain duties even toward those to-be-kept
a quibus iniuriam acceperis. Est enim ulciscendi et
from whom a-wrong you-have-received there-is for of-avenging and
puniendi modus; atque haud scio an satis sit eum,
of-punishing a-measure and not I-know whether enough it-is him
qui lacessierit, iniuriae suae paenitere, ut et ipse ne
who has-provoked of-wrong his-own to-repent so-that both he-himself not
quid tale posthac et ceteri sint ad iniuriam tardiores.
anything such hereafter and the-rest may-be to wrong slower
Atque in re publica maxime conservanda sunt iura 34
and in the-thing public especially to-be-preserved are the-laws
belli. Nam cum sint duo genera decertandi, unum per
of-war for since there-are two kinds of-contending one through
disceptationem, alterum per vim, cumque illud proprium
discussion the-other through force and-since that proper
sit hominis, hoc beluarum, confugiendum est ad posterius,
is of-man this of-beasts to-be-resorted it-is to the-latter
si uti non licet superiore.
if to-use not it-is-allowed the-former
Quare suscipienda quidem bella sunt ob eam causam, 35
wherefore to-be-undertaken indeed wars are on-account-of that cause
ut sine iniuria in pace vivatur, parta autem
that without wrong in peace it-may-be-lived having-been-won moreover

victoria conservandi ii, qui non crudeles in bello, non
the-victory to-be-spared (are)-those who not cruel in war not
immanes fuerunt, ut maiores nostri Tusculanos, Aequos,
savage have-been as forefathers our the-Tusculans the-Aequi
Volscos, Sabinos, Hernicos in civitatem etiam acceperunt,
the-Volsci the-Sabines the-Hernici into citizenship even received
at Carthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt;
but Carthage and Numantia utterly destroyed
nollem Corinthum, sed credo aliquid secutos,
I-would-not-have-wished Corinth but I-believe something to-have-followed
opportunitatem loci maxime, ne posset aliquando ad bellum
the-convenience of-the-site chiefly lest could sometime to war
faciendum locus ipse adhortari. Mea quidem sententia paci,
to-be-made the-place itself urge (in)-my indeed opinion for-peace
quae nihil habitura sit insidiarum, semper est consulendum.
which nothing about-to-have is of-treachery always is to-be-provided
In quo si mihi esset optemperatum, si non optimam,
in which if to-me it-had-been complied if not the-best
at aliquam rem publicam, quae nunc nulla est, haberemus.
yet some thing public which now none is we-should-have
Et cum iis, quos vi deviceris, consulendum est,
and both for-those whom by-force you-have-conquered to-be-provided it-is
tum ii, qui armis positis ad imperatorum fidem
and those who arms having-been-laid-down to of-commanders the-protection
confugient, quamvis murum aries percusserit, recipiendi. In
shall-flee although the-wall the-ram has-struck to-be-received in
quo tantopere apud nostros iustitia culta est, ut ii, qui
which so-greatly among our-people justice cultivated has-been that those who
civitates aut nationes devictas bello in fidem recepissent,
states or nations conquered in-war into protection had-received
earum patroni essent more maiorum.
of-them the-patrons were by-the-custom of-the-forefathers

Ac belli quidem aequitas sanctissime fetiali populi Romani 36
and of-war indeed the-fairness most-sacredly in-the-fetial of-the-people Roman
iure perscripta est. Ex quo intellegi potest nullum
law written-out has-been from which to-be-understood it-can no
bellum esse iustum, nisi quod aut rebus repetitis
war to-be just except what either things having-been-demanded-back
geratur aut denuntiatum ante sit et indictum. Popilius
is-waged or given-notice-of before has-been and declared Popilius
imperator tenebat provinciam, in cuius exercitu Catonis filius
as-general was-holding a-province in whose army of-Cato the-son
tiro militabat. Cum autem Popilio videretur unam dimittere
a-recruit was-serving when moreover to-Popilius it-seemed-good one to-disband
legionem, Catonis quoque filium, qui in eadem legione
legion of-Cato also the-son who in the-same legion
militabat, dimisit. Sed cum amore pugnandi in exercitu
was-serving he-discharged but when by-love of-fighting in the-army
remansisset, Cato ad Popilium scripsit, ut, si eum patitur in
he-had-remained Cato to Popilius wrote that if him he-allows in
exercitu remanere, secundo eum obliget militiae sacramento,
the-army to-remain by-a-second him he-should-bind of-service by-the-oath
quia priore amisso iure cum hostibus pugnare non
because the-former having-been-lost by-right with the-enemy to-fight not
poterat. Adeo summa erat observatio in bello movendo.
he-could so-far the-highest was the-scruple in war to-be-set-in-motion
M. quidem Catonis senis est epistula ad M. filium, 37
of-Marcus indeed of-Cato the-elder there-is a-letter to Marcus (his)-son
in qua scribit se audisse eum missum factum esse
in which he-writes himself to-have-heard him discharged made to-have-been
a consule, cum in Macedonia bello Persico miles esset.
by the-consul when in Macedonia in-the-war Persian a-soldier he-was

Monet igitur, ut caveat, ne proelium ineat; negat enim
he-warns therefore that he-take-care lest battle he-enter he-denies for
ius esse, qui miles non sit, cum hoste pugnare.
right to-be who a-soldier not is with the-enemy to-fight

XII · ENEMY AND STRANGER

Cicero notes that his ancestors called a public enemy by the same word they used for a stranger, and that age has since made the word harsher. Wars for empire, unlike wars for survival, should be waged less bitterly. He quotes Pyrrhus refusing a price for his prisoners and offering to decide the war by valor.

Equidem etiam illud animadverto, quod, qui proprio nomine
indeed also this I-observe that who by-a-proper name
perduellis esset, is hostis vocaretur, lenitate verbi
an-enemy-in-war was he a-stranger was-called by-the-softness of-the-word
rei tristitiam mitigatam. Hostis enim apud maiores
of-the-thing the-harshness softened a-stranger for among forefathers
nostros is dicebatur, quem nunc peregrinum dicimus.
our he was-called whom now a-foreigner we-call
Indicant duodecim tabulae: aut status dies cum hoste,
they-show the-twelve tables or an-appointed day with a-stranger
itemque: adversus hostem aeterna auctoritas. Quid ad hanc
and-likewise against a-stranger eternal the-right what to this
mansuetudinem addi potest, eum, quicum bellum geras,
gentleness to-be-added can him with-whom war you-wage
tam molli nomine appellare? Quamquam id nomen durius
so soft by-a-name to-call although that name harsher
effecit iam vetustas; a peregrino enim recessit et
has-made now age from a-foreigner for it-has-withdrawn and
proprie in eo, qui arma contra ferret, remansit.
properly in him who arms against bore it-has-remained

Cum vero de imperio decertatur belloque quaeritur gloria, 38
when indeed about empire it-is-contended and-by-war is-sought glory
causas omnino subesse tamen oportet easdem, quas dixi
causes altogether to-underlie nevertheless it-behooves the-same which I-said
paulo ante iustas causas esse bellorum. Sed ea bella,
a-little before just causes to-be of-wars but those wars
quibus imperii proposita gloria est, minus acerbe gerenda
in-which of-empire set-before the-glory is less bitterly to-be-waged
sunt. Ut enim cum civi aliter contendimus, si est
are as for with a-fellow-citizen in-one-way we-contend if be-is
inimicus, aliter, si competitor (cum altero certamen honoris
a-foe in-another if a-rival with the-one the-struggle of-honor
et dignitatis est, cum altero capitis et famae), sic cum
and of-rank is with the-other of-life and of-repute so with
Celtiberis, cum Cimbris bellum ut cum inimicis gerebatur,
the-Celtiberians with the-Cimbri war as with foes was-waged
uter esset, non uter imperaret, cum Latinis, Sabinis,
which-of-two should-be not which-of-two should-rule with the-Latins the-Sabines
Samnitibus, Poenis, Pyrrho de imperio dimicabatur.
the-Samnites the-Carthaginians Pyrrhus about empire it-was-fought
Poeni foedifragi, crudelis Hannibal, reliqui iustiores.
the-Carthaginians treaty-breaking cruel Hannibal the-rest juster
Pyrrhi quidem de captivis reddendis illa praeclara:
of-Pyrrhus indeed about prisoners to-be-returned those splendid

Nec mi aurum posco nec mi pretium dederitis,
nor for-me gold I-ask nor to-me a-price shall-you-give
nec cauponantes bellum, sed belligerantes
nor huckstering war but warring
ferro, non auro vitam cernamus utrique.
with-iron not with-gold life let-us-decide both-of-us

Vosne velit an me regnare era, quidve ferat Fors,
whether-you she-wishes or me to-reign the-mistress or-what may-bring Chance
virtute experiamur. Et hoc simul accipe dictum:
by-valor let-us-try and this at-once receive the-saying
quorum virtuti belli fortuna pepercit,
of-whom to-the-valor of-war fortune has-spared
eorundem libertati me parcere certum est.
of-the-same to-the-liberty me to-spare resolved is
Dono, ducite, doque volentibus cum magnis dis.
I-give lead-them-away and-I-grant willing with the-great gods

Regalis sane et digna Aeacidarum genere sententia.
kingly truly and worthy of-the-Aeacidae of-the-race a-sentiment

XIII · FAITH KEPT WITH AN ENEMY

Regulus, captured by the Carthaginians and sent to Rome on his oath to return, advised the senate against exchanging prisoners and went back to punishment rather than break his word. Of the ten men Hannibal sent from Cannae under oath, the censors degraded those who broke it, and the senate handed back the deserter who offered to poison Pyrrhus. Justice is owed to the lowest too, and fraud deserves the greater hatred.

39 Atque etiam si quid singuli temporibus adducti hosti
and also if anything individuals by-circumstances led to-the-enemy
promiserunt, est in eo ipso fides conservanda, ut primo
have-promised is in that itself good-faith to-be-kept as in-the-first
Punico bello Regulus captus a Poenis cum de captivis
Punic war Regulus captured by the-Carthaginians when about prisoners
commutandis Romam missus esset iurassetque se
to-be-exchanged to-Rome sent he-had-been and-had-sworn himself

rediturum, primum, ut venit, captivos reddendos in senatu non
about-to-return first as he-came the-prisoners to-be-given-back in the-senate not
censuit, deinde, cum retineretur a propinquis et ab amicis, ad
he-advised then when he-was-detained by kinsmen and by friends to
supplicium redire maluit quam fidem hosti datam fallere.
punishment to-return he-preferred than good-faith to-the-enemy given to-break
Secundo autem Punico bello post Cannensem pugnam quos 40
in-the-second moreover Punic war after the-Cannae battle whom
decem Hannibal Romam astrictos misit iure iurando se
ten Hannibal to-Rome bound sent by-an-oath sworn themselves
redituros esse, nisi de redimendis iis, qui capti erant,
about-to-return to-be unless about to-be-ransomed those who captured had-been
impetrassent, eos omnes censores, quoad quisque eorum
they-had-prevailed them all the-censors as-long-as each of-them
vixit, qui peierassent, in aerariis reliquerunt nec minus
lived who had-forsworn among the-tax-payers left and-not less
illum, qui iuris iurandi fraude culpam invenerat. Cum
that-man who of-the-oath sworn by-a-trick guilt had-incurred when
enim Hannibalis permissu exisset de castris, rediit
for of-Hannibal by-the-leave he-had-gone-out from the-camp he-returned
paulo post, quod se oblitum nescio quid diceret;
a-little after because himself to-have-forgotten I-know-not what he-said
deinde egressus e castris iure iurando se solutum
then having-gone-out from the-camp from-the-oath sworn himself released
putabat, et erat verbis, re non erat. Semper autem in
he-thought and he-was in-words in-fact not he-was always moreover in
fide quid senseris, non quid dixeris, cogitandum.
good-faith what you-have-meant not what you-have-said is-to-be-thought-of
Maximum autem exemplum est iustitiae in hostem
the-greatest moreover example has-been of-justice toward an-enemy
a maioribus nostris constitutum, cum a Pyrrho perfuga
by forefathers our set-up when from Pyrrhus a-deserter

senatui est pollicitus se venenum regi daturum et
to-the-senate has promised himself poison to-the-king about-to-give and
eum necaturum, senatus et C. Fabricius perfugam Pyrrho
him about-to-kill the-senate and Gaius Fabricius the-deserter to-Pyrrhus
dedidit. Ita ne hostis quidem et potentis et bellum
gave-up so not of-an-enemy even both powerful and war
ultro inferentis interitum cum scelere approbavit.
unprovoked bringing-on the-destruction with crime it-approved
41 Ac de bellicis quidem officiis satis dictum est.
and about military indeed duties enough said has-been
Meminerimus autem etiam adversus infimos iustitiam esse
let-us-remember moreover also toward the-lowest justice to-be
servandam. Est autem infima condicio et fortuna servorum,
kept there-is moreover the-lowest condition and lot of-slaves
quibus non male praecipiunt qui ita iubent uti, ut
whom not badly they-teach who so bid to-treat as
mercennariis: operam exigendam, iusta praebenda.
(with)-hired-men labor to-be-exacted their-dues to-be-furnished
Cum autem duobus modis, id est aut vi aut fraude, fiat
since moreover in-two ways that is either by-force or by-fraud is-done
iniuria, fraus quasi vulpeculae, vis leonis videtur; utrumque
wrong fraud as-it-were of-a-little-fox force of-a-lion seems each
homine alienissimum, sed fraus odio digna maiore. Totius
from-man most-alien but fraud of-hatred worthy greater of-all
autem iniustitiae nulla capitalior quam eorum, qui tum,
moreover injustice none more-deadly than of-those who then
cum maxime fallunt, id agunt, ut viri boni esse videantur.
when most they-deceive this they-do that men good to-be they-may-seem
De iustitia satis dictum.
about justice enough said

Cicero turns to beneficence and generosity, which suit man's nature better than anything, and sets three cautions: that the kindness harm neither its object nor anyone else, that it not exceed the giver's means, and that each man receive according to his worth. He condemns those who take from some to lavish on others. Nothing is generous that is not also just.

Deinceps, ut erat propositum, de beneficentia ac de 42
next as was proposed about beneficence and about
liberalitate dicatur, qua quidem nihil est naturae
generosity let-it-be-spoken than-which indeed nothing is to-the-nature
hominis accommodatius, sed habet multas cautiones. Videndum
of-man more-suited but it-has many cautions to-be-seen
est enim, primum ne obsit benignitas et iis ipsis,
it-is for first lest may-hurt the-kindness both to-those themselves
quibus benigne videbitur fieri et ceteris, deinde ne maior
to-whom kindly it-shall-seem to-be-done and to-the-rest then lest greater
benignitas sit quam facultates, tum ut pro dignitate
the-kindness be than the-means then that according-to worth
cuique tribuatur; id enim est iustitiae fundamentum, ad quam
to-each it-be-given this for is of-justice the-foundation to which
haec referenda sunt omnia. Nam et qui gratificantur cuipiam,
these to-be-referred are all for both who bestow-on someone
quod obsit illi, cui prodesse velle videantur, non benefici
that-which may-hurt him whom to-benefit to-wish they-seem not beneficent
neque liberales, sed perniciosi assentatores iudicandi sunt, et
nor generous but ruinous flatterers to-be-judged are and
qui aliis nocent, ut in alios liberales sint, in eadem
who to-some do-harm that toward others generous they-may-be in the-same
sunt iniustitia, ut si in suam rem aliena convertant.
are injustice as if into their-own property another's-goods they-turn

43 Sunt autem multi, et quidem cupidi splendoris et gloriae,
there-are moreover many and indeed greedy of-display and of-glory
qui eripiunt aliis, quod aliis largiantur, iique arbitrantur
who snatch from-some what to-others they-may-lavish and-they think
se beneficos in suos amicos visum iri, si
themselves beneficent toward their-own friends seen about-to-be if
locupletent eos quacumque ratione. Id autem tantum abest
they-enrich them by-whatever means that moreover so-far is-distant
ab officio, ut nihil magis officio possit esse contrarium.
from duty that nothing more to-duty could to-be contrary
Videndum est igitur, ut ea liberalitate utamur, quae prosit
to-be-seen it-is therefore that that generosity we-use which may-benefit
amicis, noceat nemini. Quare L. Sullae, C. Caesaris
friends may-harm no-one wherefore of-Lucius Sulla of-Gaius Caesar
pecuniarum translatio a iustis dominis ad alienos non debet
of-moneys the-transfer from lawful owners to strangers not ought
liberalis videri; nihil est enim liberale, quod non idem iustum.
generous to-seem nothing is for generous which not the-same just
44 Alter locus erat cautionis, ne benignitas maior esset quam
the-second head was of-caution lest the-kindness greater should-be than
facultates, quod, qui benigniores volunt esse, quam res
the-means because who kinder wish to-be than the-estate
patitur, primum in eo peccant, quod iniuriosi sunt in
allows first in this they-err that unjust they-are toward
proximos; quas enim copias his et suppeditari aequius
(their)-nearest which for resources to-these both to-be-supplied more-fair
est et relinqui, eas transferunt ad alienos. Inest autem in
it-is and to-be-left those they-transfer to strangers there-is moreover in
tali liberalitate cupiditas plerumque rapiendi et auferendi
such generosity a-desire generally of-seizing and of-carrying-off
per iniuriam, ut ad largiendum suppetant copiae. Videre
through wrong so-that for lavishing may-suffice the-means to-see

etiam licet plerosque non tam natura liberales quam
also it-is-allowed most-men not so by-nature generous as
quadam gloria ductos, ut benefici videantur, facere multa,
by-a-certain glory led that beneficent they-may-seem to-do many-things
quae proficisci ab ostentatione magis quam a voluntate
which to-proceed from display more than from goodwill
videantur. Talis autem simulatio vanitati est coniunctior
may-seem such moreover a-pretense to-vanity is nearer-akin
quam aut liberalitati aut honestati.
than either to-generosity or to-honorableness
Tertium est propositum, ut in beneficentia dilectus esset 45
the-third is the-proposal that in beneficence a-choosing should-be
dignitatis; in quo et mores eius erunt spectandi, in
of-worth in which both the-character of-him will-be to-be-looked-at on
quem beneficium conferetur, et animus erga nos et
whom the-kindness shall-be-bestowed and the-disposition toward us and
communitas ac societas vitae et ad nostras utilitates officia
the-community and the-fellowship of-life and to our advantages services
ante collata; quae ut concurrant omnia, optabile est; si
before rendered which that they-should-meet all desirable is if
minus, plures causae maioresque ponderis plus habebunt.
less more-numerous causes and-greater of-weight more will-have

Since we do not live among perfect men, no one who shows any sign of virtue should be neglected. In weighing goodwill, judge by steadiness rather than by youthful ardor, and remember that returning a kindness is the most necessary duty of all. Where all else is equal, help should go first to whoever needs it most, though most men serve instead whoever can give them most.

46 Quoniam autem vivitur non cum perfectis hominibus
since moreover it-is-lived not with perfect men
planeque sapientibus, sed cum iis, in quibus praeclare agitur
and-wholly wise but with those in whom excellently it-goes
si sunt simulacra virtutis, etiam hoc intellegendum puto,
if there-are semblances of-virtue also this to-be-understood I-think
neminem omnino esse neglegendum, in quo aliqua significatio
no-one at-all to-be to-be-neglected in whom some sign
virtutis appareat, colendum autem esse ita quemque maxime,
of-virtue may-appear to-be-cultivated moreover to-be so each-man most
ut quisque maxime virtutibus his lenioribus erit ornatus,
as each-man most with-virtues these gentler shall-be adorned
modestia, temperantia, hac ipsa, de qua multa iam
modesty temperance this very about which many-things already
dicta sunt, iustitia. Nam fortis animus et magnus in
said have-been justice for a-brave spirit and great in
homine non perfecto nec sapiente ferventior plerumque est,
a-man not perfect nor wise more-fiery generally is
illae virtutes bonum virum videntur potius attingere.
those virtues a-good man seem rather to-touch
Atque haec in moribus.
and these in character

De benivolentia autem, quam quisque habeat erga nos, primum 47
about goodwill moreover which each-man may-have toward us first
illud est in officio, ut ei plurimum tribuamus, a quo
this is in duty that to-him most we-should-give by whom
plurimum diligamur, sed benivolentiam non adulescentulorum
most we-may-be-loved but goodwill not of-young-lads
more ardore quodam amoris, sed stabilitate potius et
in-the-manner by-an-ardor a-certain of-love but by-steadiness rather and
constantia iudicemus. Sin erunt merita, ut non ineunda,
by-constancy let-us-judge but-if there-shall-be services so-that not to-be-begun
sed referenda sit gratia, maior quaedam cura adhibenda est;
but to-be-returned is the-thanks greater a-certain care to-be-applied is
nullum enim officium referenda gratia magis necessarium est.
no for duty than-returning thanks more necessary is
Quodsi ea, quae utenda acceperis, maiore mensura, 48
but-if those-things which to-be-used you-have-received with-a-greater measure
si modo possis, iubet reddere Hesiodus, quidnam beneficio
if only you-can bids to-return Hesiod what-then by-a-kindness
provocati facere debemus? an imitari agros fertiles, qui multo
challenged to-do ought-we or to-imitate fields fertile which by-much
plus efferunt quam acceperunt? Etenim si in eos, quos
more bring-forth than they-received for-indeed if toward those whom
speramus nobis profuturos, non dubitamus officia conferre,
we-hope us about-to-benefit not we-hesitate services to-bestow
quales in eos esse debemus, qui iam profuerunt? Nam cum
of-what-sort toward those to-be ought-we who already have-benefited for since
duo genera liberalitatis sint, unum dandi beneficii, alterum
two kinds of-generosity there-are one of-giving a-kindness the-other
reddendi, demus necne, in nostra potestate est, non reddere
of-returning we-should-give or-not in our power is not to-return
viro bono non licet, modo id facere possit sine iniuria.
for-a-man good not is-allowed provided that to-do he-can without wrong

49 Acceptorum autem beneficiorum sunt dilectus habendi,
of-received moreover kindnesses are distinctions to-be-made
nec dubium, quin maximo cuique plurimum debeatur.
and-not doubtful that to-the-greatest each most is-owed
In quo tamen in primis, quo quisque animo, studio,
in which nevertheless in the-first with-what each-man mind zeal
benivolentia fecerit, ponderandum est. Multi enim faciunt
goodwill has-acted to-be-weighed it-is many for do
multa temeritate quadam sine iudicio vel morbo in
many-things with-a-rashness certain without judgment either by-a-disease toward
omnes vel repentino quodam quasi vento impetu animi
all or by-a-sudden a-certain as-it-were wind impulse of-mind
incitati; quae beneficia aeque magna non sunt habenda atque
stirred which kindnesses equally great not are to-be-held as
ea, quae iudicio, considerate constanterque delata sunt.
those which with-judgment considerately and-consistently conferred have-been
Sed in collocando beneficio et in referenda gratia, si cetera
but in bestowing a-kindness and in returning thanks if the-rest
paria sunt, hoc maxime officii est, ut quisque maxime opis
equal are this most of-duty is as each-man most of-help
indigeat, ita ei potissimum opitulari; quod contra fit
stands-in-need so to-him chiefly to-give-aid which contrariwise is-done
a plerisque; a quo enim plurimum sperant, etiamsi ille
by most-men from whom for most they-hope even-if he
iis non eget, tamen ei potissimum inserviunt.
them not needs nevertheless to-him chiefly they-serve

The widest fellowship is that of all men with all men, and its bond is reason and speech. Ennius says that the man who courteously shows a lost man the way acts as though he kindled a light from his own, which shines no less for himself; so whatever can be given without loss should be given even to a stranger. But private means are small and the needy are countless, so general giving must be kept within limits.

Optime autem societas hominum coniunctioque servabitur, 50
best moreover the-fellowship of-men and-the-union will-be-preserved
si, ut quisque erit coniunctissimus, ita in eum benignitatis
if as each-man shall-be most-closely-joined so upon him of-kindness
plurimum conferetur.
most shall-be-bestowed
Sed, quae naturae principia sint communitatis et societatis
but what of-nature the-beginnings are of-community and of-fellowship
humanae, repetendum videtur altius; est enim primum,
human to-be-traced it-seems more-deeply there-is for first
quod cernitur in universi generis humani societate. Eius
what is-discerned in of-the-whole race human the-fellowship of-it
autem vinculum est ratio et oratio, quae docendo, discendo,
moreover the-bond is reason and speech which by-teaching by-learning
communicando, disceptando, iudicando conciliat inter se
by-sharing by-debating by-judging unites among themselves
homines coniungitque naturali quadam societate; neque
men and-joins by-a-natural a-certain fellowship nor
ulla re longius absumus a natura ferarum, in quibus
in-any thing further we-are-distant from the-nature of-beasts in which
inesse fortitudinem saepe dicimus, ut in equis, in leonibus,
to-be-in courage often we-say as in horses in lions

iustitiam, aequitatem, bonitatem non dicimus; sunt enim
justice fairness goodness not we-say they-are for
rationis et orationis expertes.
of-reason and of-speech destitute

51 Ac latissime quidem patens hominibus inter ipsos, omnibus
and most-widely indeed extending to-men among themselves to-all
inter omnes societas haec est; in qua omnium rerum, quas
among all the-fellowship this is in which of-all things which
ad communem hominum usum natura genuit, est servanda
for the-common of-men use nature has-produced is to-be-kept
communitas, ut, quae discripta sunt legibus et iure
the-common-right so-that what assigned have-been by-laws and by-law
civili, haec ita teneantur, ut sit constitutum legibus
civil these so be-held as it-has-been settled by-the-laws
ipsis, cetera sic observentur, ut in Graecorum proverbio est,
themselves the-rest so be-observed as in of-the-Greeks the-proverb is
amicorum esse communia omnia. Omnium autem communia
of-friends to-be common all-things of-all moreover common
hominum videntur ea, quae sunt generis eius, quod ab
of-men seem those-things which are of-the-kind that which by
Ennio positum in una re transferri in permultas potest:
Ennius set-down in one case to-be-transferred to very-many can

Homo, qui erranti comiter monstrat viam,
a-man who to-one-straying courteously shows the-way
quasi lumen de suo lumine accendat, facit.
as-if a-light from his-own light he-should-kindle he-acts
Nihilo minus ipsi lucet, cum illi accenderit.
by-nothing less for-himself it-shines when for-that-man he-has-kindled

Una ex re satis praecipit, ut, quicquid sine detrimento
one from case enough he-teaches that whatever without loss
commodari possit, id tribuatur vel ignoto;
to-be-lent can that be-granted even to-a-stranger
ex quo sunt illa communia: non prohibere aqua 52
from which are those common-rules not to-forbid from-water
profluente, pati ab igne ignem capere, si qui velit,
flowing to-allow from fire fire to-take if anyone wishes
consilium fidele deliberanti dare, quae sunt iis utilia, qui
counsel faithful to-one-deliberating to-give which are to-those useful who
accipiunt, danti non molesta. Quare et his utendum est
receive to-the-giver not burdensome wherefore both these to-be-used it-is
et semper aliquid ad communem utilitatem afferendum. Sed
and always something for the-common advantage to-be-contributed but
quoniam copiae parvae singulorum sunt, eorum autem, qui
since the-means small of-individuals are of-those moreover who
his egeant, infinita est multitudo, vulgaris liberalitas referenda
these need boundless is the-multitude general generosity to-be-referred
est ad illum Ennii finem: Nihilo minus ipsi lucet,
is to that of-Ennius limit by-nothing less for-himself it-shines
ut facultas sit, qua in nostros simus liberales.
so-that the-means may-be by-which toward our-own we-may-be generous

Fellowship has degrees: nation and language, city, kindred, marriage and household, and finally the friendship of good men, which is the strongest of all. Yet country embraces every affection, and a good man would die for it. Country and parents have the first claim, then children and household, then kinsmen.

53 Gradus autem plures sunt societatis hominum. Ut enim ab
degrees moreover several are of-the-fellowship of-men that for from
illa infinita discedatur, propior est eiusdem gentis, nationis,
that boundless-one it-may-be-departed nearer is of-the-same race nation
linguae, qua maxime homines coniunguntur; interius etiam
tongue by-which most men are-joined more-inward still
est eiusdem esse civitatis; multa enim sunt civibus inter
is of-the-same to-be state many-things for are to-citizens among
se communia, forum, fana, porticus, viae, leges, iura,
themselves common the-forum shrines colonnades streets laws rights
iudicia, suffragia, consuetudines praeterea et familiaritates
courts votes acquaintances besides and friendships
multisque cum multis res rationesque contractae.
and-by-many with many affairs and-accounts contracted
Artior vero colligatio est societatis propinquorum; ab
closer indeed the-bond is of-the-fellowship of-kinsfolk from
illa enim immensa societate humani generis in exiguum
that for immense fellowship of-human race into a-small
angustumque concluditur.
and-narrow it-is-confined

54 Nam cum sit hoc natura commune animantium, ut habeant
for since is this by-nature common of-living-things that they-have
libidinem procreandi, prima societas in ipso coniugio est,
a-desire of-begetting the-first fellowship in the-very marriage is

proxima in liberis, deinde una domus, communia omnia; id
the-next in children then one household common all-things this
autem est principium urbis et quasi seminarium rei
moreover is the-beginning of-a-city and as-it-were the-seed-plot of-the-thing
publicae. Sequuntur fratrum coniunctiones, post consobrinorum
public there-follow of-brothers the-ties then of-first-cousins
sobrinorumque, qui cum una domo iam capi non possint,
and-of-second-cousins who since in-one house now to-be-held not can
in alias domos tamquam in colonias exeunt. Sequuntur
into other houses as-it-were into colonies go-out there-follow
conubia et affinitates, ex quibus etiam plures propinqui; quae
marriages and connections from which also more kinsfolk which
propagatio et suboles origo est rerum publicarum. Sanguinis
propagation and offspring the-origin is of-things public of-blood
autem coniunctio et benivolentia devincit homines et caritate;
moreover the-tie both by-goodwill binds-fast men and by-affection
magnum est enim eadem habere monumenta maiorum, 55
great it-is for the-same to-have memorials of-forefathers
eisdem uti sacris, sepulcra habere communia.
the-same to-use rites tombs to-have common
Sed omnium societatum nulla praestantior est, nulla firmior,
but of-all fellowships none more-excellent is none firmer
quam cum viri boni moribus similes sunt familiaritate
than when men good in-character alike are by-friendship
coniuncti; illud enim honestum quod saepe dicimus, etiam
joined that for honorable which often we-speak-of even
si in alio cernimus, tamen nos movet atque illi, in quo
if in another we-discern nevertheless us it-moves and to-him in whom
id inesse videtur, amicos facit.
it to-be-in seems friends it-makes

56 Et quamquam omnis virtus nos ad se allicit facitque,
and although every virtue us to itself draws and-makes
ut eos diligamus, in quibus ipsa inesse videatur, tamen
that those we-love in whom itself to-be-in seems nevertheless
iustitia et liberalitas id maxime efficit. Nihil autem est
justice and generosity this most brings-about nothing moreover is
amabilius nec copulatius quam morum similitudo bonorum;
more-lovable nor more-binding than of-characters the-likeness good
in quibus enim eadem studia sunt, eaedem voluntates, in
in whom for the-same pursuits are the-same wishes in
iis fit ut aeque quisque altero delectetur ac se
those it-happens that equally each-man in-the-other delights as in-himself
ipso, efficiturque id, quod Pythagoras vult in amicitia,
the-very and-is-brought-about that which Pythagoras wishes in friendship
ut unus fiat ex pluribus.
that one may-be-made from many
Magna etiam illa communitas est, quae conficitur ex beneficiis
great also that fellowship is which is-formed from kindnesses
ultro et citro datis acceptis, quae et mutua et grata dum
to and fro given received which both mutual and welcome while
sunt, inter quos ea sunt, firma devinciuntur societate.
they-are between whom these are by-a-firm they-are-bound fellowship
57 Sed cum omnia ratione animoque lustraris, omnium
but when all-things by-reason and-mind you-have-surveyed of-all
societatum nulla est gravior, nulla carior quam ea, quae
fellowships none is weightier none dearer than that which
cum re publica est uni cuique nostrum. Cari sunt
with the-thing public is to-one each of-us dear are
parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium
parents dear children kinsfolk intimates but all of-all
caritates patria una complexa est, pro qua quis bonus
the-affections the-fatherland alone embraced has for which what good-man

dubitet mortem oppetere, si ei sit profuturus? Quo
would-hesitate death to-meet if to-her be-may-be about-to-benefit by-which
est detestabilior istorum immanitas, qui lacerarunt omni
is more-detestable of-those the-savagery who have-torn with-every
scelere patriam et in ea funditus delenda occupati et
crime the-fatherland and in it utterly to-be-destroyed busied both
sunt et fuerunt.
are and have-been

Sed si contentio quaedam et comparatio fiat, quibus 58
but if a-contest a-certain and comparison should-be-made to-whom
plurimum tribuendum sit officii, principes sint patria et
most to-be-given is of-duty first let-be the-fatherland and
parentes, quorum beneficiis maximis obligati sumus, proximi
parents whose by-services greatest bound we-are next
liberi totaque domus, quae spectat in nos solos neque aliud
children and-the-whole household which looks to us alone and-not other
ullum potest habere perfugium, deinceps bene convenientes
any can to-have refuge next well agreeing
propinqui, quibuscum communis etiam fortuna plerumque est.
kinsfolk with-whom common also fortune generally is
Quam ob rem necessaria praesidia vitae debentur iis
which on-account-of thing necessary supports of-life are-owed to-those
maxime, quos ante dixi, vita autem victusque communis,
most whom before I-said life moreover and-living shared
consilia, sermones, cohortationes, consolationes, interdum
counsels talks encouragements consolations sometimes
etiam obiurgationes in amicitiis vigent maxime, estque ea
even reproaches in friendships flourish most and-is that
iucundissima amicitia, quam similitudo morum coniugavit.
most-delightful friendship which the-likeness of-characters has-yoked

In assigning duties, consider what each man most needs and what he can obtain without us; the order of claims is not the same as the order of occasions. Rules alone give no skill, any more than for doctors or generals: practice is needed. Of the four parts, the one that draws most praise is greatness of spirit.

59 Sed in his omnibus officiis tribuendis videndum erit, quid
but in these all duties to-be-assigned to-be-seen it-will-be what
cuique maxime necesse sit, et quid quisque vel sine nobis
for-each most needful is and what each-man even without us
aut possit consequi aut non possit. Ita non iidem erunt
either can to-obtain or not can so not the-same will-be
necessitudinum gradus, qui temporum; suntque officia,
of-ties the-degrees which of-occasions and-there-are duties
quae aliis magis quam aliis debeantur; ut vicinum citius
which to-some more than to-others are-owed as a-neighbor sooner
adiuveris in fructibus percipiendis quam aut fratrem aut
you-would-help in crops to-be-gathered than either a-brother or
familiarem, at, si lis in iudicio sit, propinquum potius
an-intimate but if a-suit in court there-is a-kinsman rather
et amicum quam vicinum defenderis. Haec igitur et
and a-friend than a-neighbor you-would-defend these therefore and
talia circumspicienda sunt in omni officio et consuetudo
such to-be-looked-round-at are in every duty and habit
exercitatioque capienda, ut boni ratiocinatores officiorum esse
and-practice to-be-acquired so-that good reckoners of-duties to-be
possimus et addendo deducendoque videre, quae reliqui
we-may-be-able and by-adding and-by-subtracting to-see what of-remainder
summa fiat, ex quo, quantum cuique debeatur, intellegas.
the-sum is-made from which how-much to-each is-owed you-may-understand

Sed ut nec medici nec imperatores nec oratores, quamvis artis 60
but as neither physicians nor generals nor orators although of-the-art
praecepta perceperint, quicquam magna laude dignum sine
the-rules they-have-learned anything of-great praise worthy without
usu et exercitatione consequi possunt, sic officii conservandi
use and practice to-achieve can so of-duty of-keeping
praecepta traduntur illa quidem, ut facimus ipsi, sed
the-rules are-handed-down those indeed as we-do ourselves but
rei magnitudo usum quoque exercitationemque desiderat.
of-the-matter the-greatness use also and-practice demands
Atque ab iis rebus, quae sunt in iure societatis humanae,
and from those things which are in the-law of-fellowship human
quem ad modum ducatur honestum, ex quo aptum est
which to manner is-derived the-honorable from which fitted is
officium, satis fere diximus.
duty enough nearly we-have-said
Intellegendum autem est, cum proposita sint genera 61
to-be-understood moreover it-is since set-out have-been kinds
quattuor, e quibus honestas officiumque manaret,
four from which honorableness and-duty might-flow
splendidissimum videri, quod animo magno elatoque
the-most-splendid to-seem what by-a-spirit great and-lofty
humanasque res despiciente factum sit. Itaque in probris
and-human things despising done has-been and-so in reproaches
maxime in promptu est si quid tale dici potest:
most in readiness is if anything such to-be-said can

Vos enim, iuvenes, animum geritis muliebrem,
you for young-men a-spirit you-bear womanish
illa virgo viri
that maiden of-a-man

et si quid eius modi:
and if anything of-that sort

Salmacida, spolia sine sudore et sanguine.
Salmacian spoils without sweat and blood

Contraque in laudibus, quae magno animo et fortiter
and-on-the-contrary in praises what with-great spirit and bravely
excellenterque gesta sunt, ea nescio quo modo quasi
and-excellently done have-been those I-know-not in-what way as-it-were
pleniore ore laudamus. Hinc rhetorum campus de Marathone,
with-a-fuller mouth we-praise hence of-rhetoricians the-field about Marathon
Salamine, Plataeis, Thermopylis, Leuctris, hinc noster Cocles,
Salamis Plataea Thermopylae Leuctra hence our Cocles
hinc Decii, hinc Cn. et P. Scipiones, hinc M. Marcellus,
hence the-Decii hence Gnaeus and Publius the-Scipios hence Marcus Marcellus
innumerabiles alii, maximeque ipse populus Romanus animi
countless others and-most itself the-people Roman of-spirit
magnitudine excellit. Declaratur autem studium bellicae
in-greatness excels is-shown moreover the-zeal for-warlike
gloriae, quod statuas quoque videmus ornatu fere militari.
glory because statues also we-see in-dress mostly military

XIX · COURAGE WITHOUT JUSTICE IS NOT COURAGE

Loftiness of spirit shown in danger is a vice if it lacks justice and fights for private advantage; the Stoics rightly define courage as fighting for what is right, and Plato calls a spirit driven by private desire rashness. Yet great spirits most easily crave supremacy and breed bribers and party-men. The truly great man repels wrong rather than doing it and puts honor in deeds, not in glory.

Sed ea animi elatio, quae cernitur in periculis et laboribus, 62
but that of-spirit the-loftiness which is-seen in dangers and toils
si iustitia vacat pugnatque non pro salute communi,
if justice it-lacks and-fights not for safety common
sed pro suis commodis, in vitio est; non modo enim
but for its-own advantages in fault is not only for
id virtutis non est, sed est potius immanitatis omnem
that of-virtue not is but is rather of-a-savagery all
humanitatem repellentis. Itaque probe definitur a Stoicis
humanity repelling and-so rightly is-defined by the-Stoics
fortitudo, cum eam virtutem esse dicunt propugnantem pro
courage when it the-virtue to-be they-say fighting for
aequitate. Quocirca nemo, qui fortitudinis gloriam consecutus
fairness wherefore no-one who of-courage the-glory gained
est insidiis et malitia, laudem est adeptus; nihil enim
has by-treachery and malice praise has won nothing for
honestum esse potest, quod iustitia vacat.
honorable to-be can which justice lacks
Praeclarum igitur illud Platonis: Non, inquit, solum scientia, 63
splendid therefore that of-Plato not says-be only knowledge
quae est remota ab iustitia, calliditas potius quam sapientia
which is removed from justice craft rather than wisdom
est appellanda, verum etiam animus paratus ad periculum,
is to-be-called but also a-spirit ready for danger

si sua cupiditate, non utilitate communi impellitur,
if by-its-own desire not by-advantage common is-driven
audaciae potius nomen habeat quam fortitudinis. Itaque
of-rashness rather the-name should-have than of-courage and-so
viros fortes et magnanimos eosdem bonos et simplices,
men brave and great-souled the-same good and straightforward
veritatis amicos minimeque fallaces esse volumus; quae sunt
of-truth friends and-least-of-all deceitful to-be we-wish which are
ex media laude iustitiae.
from the-midst of-the-praise of-justice

64 Sed illud odiosum est, quod in hac elatione et magnitudine
but that odious is that in this loftiness and greatness
animi facillime pertinacia et nimia cupiditas principatus
of-spirit most-easily obstinacy and excessive desire of-supremacy
innascitur. Ut enim apud Platonem est, omnem morem
springs-up as for in Plato it-is the-whole character
Lacedaemoniorum inflammatum esse cupiditate vincendi, sic,
of-the-Lacedaemonians inflamed to-be with-the-desire of-conquering so
ut quisque animi magnitudine maxime excellet, ita maxime
as each-man of-spirit by-greatness most shall-excel so most
vult princeps omnium vel potius solus esse. Difficile autem est,
wishes first of-all or rather alone to-be difficult moreover it-is
cum praestare omnibus concupieris, servare aequitatem, quae est
when to-surpass all you-have-desired to-keep fairness which is
iustitiae maxime propria. Ex quo fit, ut neque disceptatione
of-justice most proper from which it-comes that neither by-debate
vinci se nec ullo publico ac legitimo iure patiantur,
to-be-beaten themselves nor by-any public and lawful right they-suffer
exsistuntque in re publica plerumque largitores et factiosi,
and-there-arise in the-thing public generally bribers and party-men
ut opes quam maximas consequantur et sint vi potius
that resources as greatest they-may-gain and may-be by-force rather

superiores quam iustitia pares. Sed quo difficilius, hoc
superior than by-justice equal but by-how-much harder by-this-much
praeclarius; nullum enim est tempus, quod iustitia vacare debeat.
finer no for is time which justice to-lack ought
Fortes igitur et magnanimi sunt habendi, non qui faciunt, 65
brave therefore and great-souled are to-be-held not who do
sed qui propulsant iniuriam. Vera autem et sapiens animi
but who drive-off wrong true moreover and wise of-spirit
magnitudo honestum illud, quod maxime natura sequitur,
the-greatness honorable that which most nature follows
in factis positum, non in gloria iudicat principemque se
in deeds placed not in glory judges and-first himself
esse mavult quam videri; etenim qui ex errore imperitae
to-be prefers than to-seem for-indeed who from the-error of-an-ignorant
multitudinis pendet, hic in magnis viris non est habendus.
crowd hangs this-man among great men not is to-be-held
Facillime autem ad res iniustas impellitur, ut quisque altissimo
most-easily moreover to things unjust is-driven as each-man of-a-loftiest
animo est, gloriae cupiditate; qui locus est sane lubricus, quod
spirit is of-glory by-the-desire which ground is truly slippery because
vix invenitur, qui laboribus susceptis periculisque
scarcely is-found who toils having-been-undertaken and-dangers
aditis non quasi mercedem rerum gestarum desideret gloriam.
faced not as-it-were as-a-wage of-things done should-desire glory

XX · THE TWO MARKS OF A GREAT SPIRIT

A brave and great spirit shows itself in two ways: in contempt for outward things, so that a man admires and seeks nothing but the honorable, and in doing deeds that are great and useful but also hard and full of danger. The cause lies in the first: to hold only the honorable good, and to be free of every disturbance of mind. So the desire for money and for glory must both be shunned, and some men have left public affairs to keep that freedom.

66 Omnino fortis animus et magnus duabus rebus maxime
altogether a-brave spirit and great in-two things chiefly
cernitur, quarum una in rerum externarum despicientia ponitur,
is-discerned of-which one in of-things external the-contempt is-placed
cum persuasum est nihil hominem, nisi quod honestum
when convinced it-is nothing that-a-man except what honorable
decorumque sit, aut admirari aut optare aut expetere oportere
and-seemly is either to-admire or to-wish-for or to-seek ought
nullique neque homini neque perturbationi animi nec fortunae
and-to-none neither to-a-man nor to-a-disturbance of-mind nor to-fortune
succumbere. Altera est res, ut, cum ita sis affectus animo,
to-yield the-other is the-thing that when so you-are disposed in-mind
ut supra dixi, res geras magnas illas quidem et maxime utiles,
as above I-said things you-do great those indeed and most useful
sed ut vehementer arduas plenasque laborum et periculorum
but though exceedingly hard and-full of-toils and of-dangers
cum vitae, tum multarum rerum, quae ad vitam pertinent.
both of-life and of-many things which to life pertain

67 Harum rerum duarum splendor omnis, amplitudo, addo etiam
of-these things two the-splendor all the-greatness I-add also
utilitatem, in posteriore est, causa autem et ratio efficiens
the-usefulness in the-latter is the-cause moreover and the-principle producing
magnos viros in priore; in eo est enim illud, quod excellentes
great men in the-former in it is for that which excelling

animos et humana contemnentes facit. Id autem ipsum
spirits and human-things despising makes this moreover itself
cernitur in duobus, si et solum id, quod honestum sit, bonum
is-discerned in two-things if both only that which honorable is good
iudices et ab omni animi perturbatione liber sis. Nam et
you-judge and from every of-mind disturbance free you-are for both
ea, quae eximia plerisque et praeclara videntur, parva
those-things which choice to-most and splendid seem small
ducere eaque ratione stabili firmaque contemnere fortis
to-reckon and-them by-a-reasoning steady and-firm to-despise of-a-brave
animi magnique ducendum est, et ea, quae videntur acerba,
spirit and-great to-be-reckoned it-is and those-things which seem bitter
quae multa et varia in hominum vita fortunaque versantur,
which many and various in of-men the-life and-fortune move
ita ferre, ut nihil a statu naturae discedas, nihil a
so to-bear that nothing from the-state of-nature you-depart nothing from
dignitate sapientis, robusti animi est magnaeque constantiae.
the-dignity of-a-wise-man of-a-sturdy spirit is and-of-great constancy
Non est autem consentaneum, qui metu non frangatur, eum 68
not is moreover consistent (that)-who by-fear not is-broken he
frangi cupiditate nec, qui invictum se a labore praestiterit,
to-be-broken by-desire nor who unconquered himself by toil has-shown
vinci a voluptate. Quam ob rem et haec vitanda
to-be-conquered by pleasure which on-account-of thing both this to-be-shunned
et pecuniae fugienda cupiditas; nihil enim est tam angusti
and of-money to-be-fled the-desire nothing for is so of-a-narrow
animi tamque parvi quam amare divitias, nihil honestius
spirit and-so of-a-petty as to-love riches nothing more-honorable
magnificentiusque quam pecuniam contemnere, si non habeas,
and-more-magnificent than money to-despise if not you-have
si habeas, ad beneficentiam liberalitatemque conferre.
if you-have to beneficence and-generosity to-devote

Cavenda etiam est gloriae cupiditas, ut supra dixi;
to-be-guarded also is of-glory the-desire as above I-said
eripit enim libertatem, pro qua magnanimis viris omnis
it-snatches-away for freedom for which for-great-souled men every
debet esse contentio. Nec vero imperia expetenda ac potius
ought to-be the-struggle nor indeed commands to-be-sought and rather
aut non accipienda interdum aut deponenda non numquam.
either not to-be-accepted sometimes or to-be-laid-down not never
69 Vacandum autem omni est animi perturbatione, cum
to-be-free moreover from-every it-is of-mind disturbance both
cupiditate et metu, tum etiam aegritudine et voluptate
from-desire and fear and also from-distress and pleasure
nimia et iracundia, ut tranquillitas animi et securitas
excessive and anger so-that tranquility of-mind and freedom-from-care
adsit, quae affert cum constantiam, tum etiam dignitatem.
may-be-present which brings both constancy and also dignity
Multi autem et sunt et fuerunt, qui eam, quam dico,
many moreover both are and have-been who that which I-speak-of
tranquillitatem expetentes a negotiis publicis se
tranquility seeking from affairs public themselves
removerint ad otiumque perfugerint; in his et nobilissimi
have-withdrawn to and-leisure have-fled among these both the-noblest
philosophi longeque principes et quidam homines severi et
philosophers and-by-far the-foremost and certain men austere and
graves nec populi nec principum mores ferre potuerunt,
grave neither of-the-people nor of-leaders the-ways to-bear could
vixeruntque non nulli in agris delectati re sua familiari.
and-they-lived not none in the-fields delighted with-property their family

His idem propositum fuit, quod regibus, ut ne qua re 70
to-these the-same aim was as to-kings that not in-any thing
egerent, ne cui parerent, libertate uterentur, cuius
they-should-want not to-anyone they-should-obey freedom they-should-use of-which
proprium est sic vivere, ut velis.
the-property is so to-live as you-wish

XXI · PUBLIC LIFE AND PRIVATE LEISURE

Those who seek power and those who seek quiet both want freedom from want and from obedience, and neither view is to be despised. The leisured life is easier, safer, and less burdensome to others; the public life is more fruitful and better fitted for renown. Men with natural gifts for affairs should take office, and should bring to it the same greatness and calm of mind.

Quare cum hoc commune sit potentiae cupidorum cum
wherefore since this common is of-power of-the-desirous with
iis, quos dixi, otiosis, alteri se adipisci id posse
those whom I-said the-leisured the-one-party themselves to-attain it to-be-able
arbitrantur, si opes magnas habeant, alteri, si contenti
think if resources great they-have the-other-party if content
sint et suo et parvo. In quo neutrorum omnino
they-are both with-their-own and with-little in which of-neither at-all
contemnenda sententia est, sed et facilior et tutior et minus
to-be-despised the-view is but both easier and safer and less
aliis gravis aut molesta vita est otiosorum, fructuosior
to-others burdensome or troublesome the-life is of-the-leisured more-fruitful
autem hominum generi et ad claritatem amplitudinemque
moreover of-men for-the-race and for renown and-greatness

aptior eorum, qui se ad rem publicam et ad magnas
fitter of-those who themselves to the-thing public and to great
res gerendas accommodaverunt.
affairs to-be-managed have-fitted

71 Quapropter et iis forsitan concedendum sit rem publicam
on-which-account also to-those perhaps to-be-conceded it-is the-thing public
non capessentibus, qui excellenti ingenio doctrinae sese
not undertaking who with-outstanding talent to-learning themselves
dediderunt, et iis, qui aut valetudinis imbecillitate aut aliqua
have-given and to-those who either of-health by-the-weakness or by-some
graviore causa impediti a re publica recesserunt, cum
graver cause hindered from the-thing public have-withdrawn when
eius administrandae potestatem aliis laudemque concederent.
of-it to-be-administered the-power to-others and-the-praise they-yielded
Quibus autem talis nulla sit causa, si despicere se dicant
to-whom moreover such no is cause if to-despise themselves they-say
ea, quae plerique mirentur, imperia et magistratus, iis
those-things which most-men admire commands and magistracies to-those
non modo non laudi, verum etiam vitio dandum puto;
not only not for-praise but even for-a-fault to-be-given I-think
quorum iudicium in eo, quod gloriam contemnant et pro nihilo
of-whom the-judgment in that that glory they-despise and for nothing
putent, difficile factu est non probare; sed videntur labores
they-count hard in-the-doing it-is not to-approve but they-seem toils
et molestias, tum offensionum et repulsarum quasi quandam
and troubles then of-rebuffs and of-defeats as-it-were a-certain
ignominiam timere et infamiam. Sunt enim, qui in rebus
disgrace to-fear and infamy there-are for who in matters
contrariis parum sibi constent, voluptatem severissime
opposite too-little with-themselves are-consistent pleasure most-severely

contemnant, in dolore sint molliores, gloriam neglegant,
they-despise in pain they-are softer glory they-neglect
frangantur infamia, atque ea quidem non satis constanter.
they-are-broken by-infamy and that indeed not enough consistently
Sed iis, qui habent a natura adiumenta rerum gerendarum, 72
but for-those who have from nature the-aids of-things to-be-managed
abiecta omni cunctatione adipiscendi magistratus et
having-been-cast-off all hesitation to-be-attained are-magistracies and
gerenda res publica est; nec enim aliter aut regi
to-be-managed the-thing public is and-not for otherwise either to-be-ruled
civitas aut declarari animi magnitudo potest. Capessentibus
the-state or to-be-shown of-spirit the-greatness can by-those-undertaking
autem rem publicam nihilo minus quam philosophis, haud
moreover the-thing public by-nothing less than by-philosophers not
scio an magis etiam et magnificentia et despicientia
I-know whether more even both loftiness and contempt
adhibenda est rerum humanarum, quam saepe dico, et
to-be-applied is of-things human which often I-speak-of and
tranquillitas animi atque securitas, siquidem nec anxii
tranquility of-mind and freedom-from-care if-indeed not anxious
futuri sunt et cum gravitate constantiaque victuri.
about-to-be they-are and with dignity and-constancy about-to-live
Quae faciliora sunt philosophis, quo minus multa 73
which easier are for-philosophers by-how-much less many-things
patent in eorum vita, quae fortuna feriat, et quo minus
lie-open in their life which fortune may-strike and by-how-much less
multis rebus egent, et quia, si quid adversi eveniat, tam
many things they-need and because if anything of-adverse befalls so
graviter cadere non possunt. Quocirca non sine causa maiores
heavily to-fall not they-can wherefore not without cause greater
motus animorum concitantur maioraque studia efficiendi rem
stirrings of-minds are-roused and-greater zeals of-achieving the-thing

publicam gerentibus quam quietis, quo magis iis et
public for-those-managing than for-the-quiet by-which the-more for-them both
magnitudo est animi adhibenda et vacuitas ab angoribus.
greatness is of-spirit to-be-applied and freedom from anxieties
Ad rem gerendam autem qui accedit, caveat, ne id
to a-matter to-be-managed moreover who approaches let-him-beware lest this
modo consideret, quam illa res honesta sit, sed etiam
only he-consider how-far that thing honorable is but also
ut habeat efficiendi facultatem; in quo ipso considerandum
that he-have of-achieving the-means in which very to-be-considered
est, ne aut temere desperet propter ignaviam aut nimis
it-is lest either rashly he-despair on-account-of sloth or too-much
confidat propter cupiditatem. In omnibus autem negotiis,
he-trust on-account-of desire in all moreover undertakings
prius quam aggrediare, adhibenda est praeparatio diligens.
sooner than you-approach to-be-applied is preparation careful

XXII · CIVIL DEEDS AGAINST MILITARY

Most men rate military affairs above civil ones, and Cicero sets out to reduce that opinion. Solon's council did more lasting good than Themistocles' victory, and Lycurgus' laws count for more than Pausanias or Lysander. He quotes his own line — let arms yield to the toga — and points to his consulship, when the weapons fell from the boldest citizens' hands.

74 Sed cum plerique arbitrentur res bellicas maiores esse
but since most-men think affairs military greater to-be
quam urbanas, minuenda est haec opinio. Multi enim bella
than civil to-be-lessened is this opinion many for wars
saepe quaesiverunt propter gloriae cupiditatem, atque id
often have-sought on-account-of of-glory the-desire and this

in magnis animis ingeniisque plerumque contingit, eoque
in great spirits and-talents generally happens and-by-that
magis, si sunt ad rem militarem apti et cupidi bellorum
the-more if they-are for the-thing military fit and desirous of-wars
gerendorum; vere autem si volumus iudicare, multae res
to-be-waged truly moreover if we-wish to-judge many affairs
exstiterunt urbanae maiores clarioresque quam bellicae.
have-arisen civil greater and-more-famous than military
Quamvis enim Themistocles iure laudetur et sit eius 75
however-much for Themistocles with-right is-praised and is his
nomen quam Solonis illustrius citeturque Salamis clarissimae
name than of-Solon more-illustrious and-is-cited Salamis of-a-most-famous
testis victoriae, quae anteponatur consilio Solonis ei, quo
the-witness of-victory which is-set-before to-the-counsel of-Solon that by-which
primum constituit Areopagitas, non minus praeclarum hoc
first be-established the-Areopagites not less splendid this
quam illud iudicandum est; illud enim semel profuit, hoc
than that to-be-judged it-is that for once profited this
semper proderit civitati; hoc consilio leges Atheniensium,
always will-profit to-the-state by-this counsel the-laws of-the-Athenians
hoc maiorum instituta servantur; et Themistocles quidem
by-this of-the-forefathers the-institutions are-kept and Themistocles indeed
nihil dixerit, in quo ipse Areopagum adiuverit, at ille vere
nothing could-say in what he-himself the-Areopagus has-helped but he truly
a se adiutum Themistoclem; est enim bellum gestum
by himself (to-have-been)-helped Themistocles was for the-war waged
consilio senatus eius, qui a Solone erat constitutus.
by-the-counsel of-a-senate that which by Solon had-been established
Licet eadem de Pausania Lysandroque dicere, quorum 76
it-is-allowed the-same about Pausanias and-Lysander to-say whose
rebus gestis quamquam imperium Lacedaemoniis partum
by-things done although empire for-the-Lacedaemonians won

putatur, tamen ne minima quidem ex parte Lycurgi
is-thought nevertheless not the-least even from part of-Lycurgus
legibus et disciplinae conferendi sunt; quin etiam ob
to-the-laws and to-discipline to-be-compared they-are nay even on-account-of
has ipsas causas et parentiores habuerunt exercitus et
these very causes both more-obedient they-had armies and
fortiores. Mihi quidem neque pueris nobis M. Scaurus
braver to-me indeed neither (when)-boys us Marcus Scaurus
C. Mario neque, cum versaremur in re publica, Q.
to-Gaius Marius nor when we-were-engaged in the-thing public Quintus
Catulus Cn. Pompeio cedere videbatur; parvi enim sunt
Catulus to-Gnaeus Pompey to-yield seemed of-little for are
foris arma, nisi est consilium domi; nec plus Africanus,
abroad arms unless there-is counsel at-home nor more Africanus
singularis et vir et imperator, in exscindenda Numantia
a-singular both man and commander in to-be-destroyed Numantia
rei publicae profuit quam eodem tempore P. Nasica
to-the-thing public profited than at-the-same time Publius Nasica
privatus, cum Ti. Gracchum interemit; quamquam haec
a-private-man when Tiberius Gracchus he-slew although this
quidem res non solum ex domestica est ratione (attingit
indeed matter not only from domestic is a-reckoning it-touches
etiam bellicam, quoniam vi manuque confecta est), sed
also the-military since by-force and-hand accomplished it-was but
tamen id ipsum est gestum consilio urbano sine exercitu.
nevertheless that itself was done by-counsel civil without an-army

Illud autem optimum est, in quod invadi solere ab 77
that moreover best is upon which to-be-attacked to-be-wont by
improbis et invidis audio:
the-wicked and the-envious I-hear

Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi.
let-yield arms to-the-toga let-give-way the-laurel to-praise

Ut enim alios omittam, nobis rem publicam gubernantibus
that for others I-pass-over us the-thing public governing
nonne togae arma cesserunt? neque enim periculum in
did-not to-the-toga arms yield and-not for danger in
re publica fuit gravius umquam nec maius otium.
the-thing public was graver ever nor greater the-peace
Ita consiliis diligentiaque nostra celeriter de manibus
so by-counsels and-diligence our quickly from the-hands
audacissimorum civium delapsa arma ipsa ceciderunt.
of-the-most-daring citizens slipped arms themselves fell
Quae res igitur gesta umquam in bello tanta? qui triumphus 78
what thing therefore done ever in war so-great what triumph
conferendus? licet enim mihi, M. fili, apud te
to-be-compared it-is-allowed for to-me O-Marcus son before you
gloriari, ad quem et hereditas huius gloriae et factorum
to-boast to whom both the-inheritance of-this glory and of-deeds
imitatio pertinet. Mihi quidem certe vir abundans bellicis
the-imitation belongs to-me indeed certainly a-man abounding in-warlike
laudibus, Cn. Pompeius, multis audientibus hoc tribuit,
praises Gnaeus Pompey with-many hearing this granted
ut diceret frustra se triumphum tertium deportaturum
that he-would-say in-vain himself a-triumph third about-to-bring-home

fuisse, nisi meo in rem publicam beneficio, ubi
to-have-been unless by-my toward the-thing public service where
triumpharet, esset habiturus.
he-might-triumph he-would-be about-to-have
Sunt igitur domesticae fortitudines non inferiores militaribus;
there-are therefore domestic braveries not inferior to-military
in quibus plus etiam quam in his operae studiique ponendum
in which more even than in these of-effort and-of-zeal to-be-placed
est.
is

XXIII · DECIDING RATHER THAN FIGHTING

The honorable comes from the mind, not from bodily strength, though the body must be trained to obey. The method of deciding is more to be sought than the courage of fighting it out, and war should be undertaken so that peace alone seems to be the aim. A great mind foresees what may happen and never has to say: I had not thought of that.

79 Omnino illud honestum, quod ex animo excelso
altogether that honorable which from a-spirit lofty
magnificoque quaerimus, animi efficitur, non corporis
and-magnificent we-seek of-the-mind is-wrought not of-the-body
viribus. Exercendum tamen corpus et ita afficiendum
by-the-strength to-be-exercised nevertheless the-body and so to-be-conditioned
est, ut oboedire consilio rationique possit in exsequendis
is that to-obey counsel and-reason it-may-be-able in to-be-carried-out
negotiis et in labore tolerando. Honestum autem id, quod
affairs and in toil to-be-endured honorable moreover that which
exquirimus, totum est positum in animi cura et cogitatione;
we-search-out wholly is placed in of-mind the-care and thought

in quo non minorem utilitatem afferunt, qui togati rei
in which not a-less usefulness bring who in-the-toga to-the-thing
publicae praesunt, quam qui bellum gerunt. Itaque eorum
public preside than who war wage and-so by-their
consilio saepe aut non suscepta aut confecta bella sunt,
counsel often either not undertaken or finished wars have-been
non numquam etiam illata, ut M. Catonis bellum
not never also brought-on as of-Marcus Cato the-war
tertium Punicum, in quo etiam mortui valuit auctoritas.
third Punic in which even of-the-dead availed the-authority
Quare expetenda quidem magis est decernendi ratio quam 80
wherefore to-be-sought indeed more is of-deciding the-method than
decertandi fortitudo, sed cavendum, ne id bellandi magis
of-fighting-it-out the-courage but to-be-guarded lest that of-warring more
fuga quam utilitatis ratione faciamus. Bellum autem ita
from-flight than of-usefulness by-the-reason we-do war moreover so
suscipiatur, ut nihil aliud nisi pax quaesita videatur.
let-it-be-undertaken that nothing else except peace sought may-seem
Fortis vero animi et constantis est non perturbari in rebus
of-a-brave indeed spirit and steady it-is not to-be-troubled in circumstances
asperis nec tumultuantem de gradu deici, ut dicitur, sed
harsh nor panicking from footing to-be-thrown as it-is-said but
praesenti animo uti et consilio nec a ratione discedere.
a-ready mind to-use and judgment and-not from reason to-depart
Quamquam hoc animi, illud etiam ingenii magni est, 81
although this of-spirit that also of-talent great is
praecipere cogitatione futura et aliquanto ante constituere,
to-anticipate in-thought future-things and somewhat before to-settle
quid accidere possit in utramque partem, et quid agendum
what to-happen may-be-able in either direction and what to-be-done

sit, cum quid evenerit, nec committere, ut aliquando
is when anything shall-have-happened and-not to-allow that at-some-time
dicendum sit: Non putaram.
to-be-said it-is not I-had-thought
Haec sunt opera magni animi et excelsi et prudentia
these are the-works of-a-great spirit and lofty and in-prudence
consilioque fidentis; temere autem in acie versari et
and-in-judgment trusting rashly moreover in the-battle-line to-move and
manu cum hoste confligere immane quiddam et beluarum
hand-to-hand with the-enemy to-clash savage a-something and of-beasts
simile est; sed cum tempus necessitasque postulat, decertandum
like is but when the-time and-necessity demands to-be-fought-out
manu est et mors servituti turpitudinique anteponenda.
hand-to-hand it-is and death to-slavery and-to-disgrace to-be-preferred

XXIV · DANGER, CRUELTY, AND SILENCE

In destroying cities nothing should be done rashly or cruelly; a great man punishes the guilty and spares the multitude. Danger must neither be courted without cause nor shunned from cowardice, as physicians risk dangerous remedies only for graver diseases. Callicratidas lost everything by refusing sound advice, while Ennius praises Quintus Maximus for restoring the state by delay; in civil affairs too, some fear odium too much to say what they think.

82 De evertendis autem diripiendisque urbibus valde
about to-be-overthrown moreover and-to-be-plundered cities greatly
considerandum est ne quid temere, ne quid crudeliter.
to-be-considered it-is lest anything rashly lest anything cruelly
Idque est magni viri, rebus agitatis punire sontes,
and-this is of-a-great man matters having-been-stirred to-punish the-guilty
multitudinem conservare, in omni fortuna recta atque
the-multitude to-spare in every fortune the-right and

honesta retinere. Ut enim sunt, quem ad modum supra
honorable to-hold-to as for there-are which to manner above
dixi, qui urbanis rebus bellicas anteponant, sic reperias
I-said who to-civil affairs military prefer so you-may-find
multos, quibus periculosa et calida consilia quietis et
many to-whom dangerous and hot counsels than-quiet and
cogitatis splendidiora et maiora videantur.
considered more-splendid and greater seem
Numquam omnino periculi fuga committendum est, ut 83
never at-all of-danger by-flight to-be-allowed it-is that
imbelles timidique videamur, sed fugiendum illud etiam, ne
unwarlike and-timid we-seem but to-be-shunned that also lest
offeramus nos periculis sine causa, quo esse nihil
we-offer ourselves to-dangers without cause than-which to-be nothing
potest stultius. Quapropter in adeundis periculis consuetudo
can more-foolish wherefore in to-be-approached dangers the-practice
imitanda medicorum est, qui leviter aegrotantes leniter
to-be-imitated of-physicians is who lightly the-ailing gently
curant, gravioribus autem morbis periculosas curationes et
treat for-graver moreover diseases dangerous treatments and
ancipites adhibere coguntur. Quare in tranquillo tempestatem
doubtful to-apply are-compelled wherefore in a-calm a-storm
adversam optare dementis est, subvenire autem tempestati
adverse to-wish-for of-a-madman it-is to-meet moreover a-storm
quavis ratione sapientis, eoque magis, si plus adipiscare
by-any means of-a-wise-man and-by-that the-more if more you-may-gain
re explicata boni quam addubitata mali.
the-matter settled of-good than (it)-left-in-doubt of-ill
Periculosae autem rerum actiones partim iis sunt, qui
dangerous moreover of-things the-actions partly to-those are who
eas suscipiunt, partim rei publicae. Itemque alii de
them undertake partly to-the-thing public and-likewise some about

vita, alii de gloria et benivolentia civium in discrimen
life others about glory and the-goodwill of-citizens into hazard
vocantur. Promptiores igitur debemus esse ad nostra pericula
are-called readier therefore we-ought to-be for our-own dangers
quam ad communia dimicareque paratius de honore et
than for common and-to-fight more-readily about honor and
gloria quam de ceteris commodis.
glory than about the-other advantages
84 Inventi autem multi sunt, qui non modo pecuniam, sed
found moreover many have-been who not only money but
etiam vitam profundere pro patria parati essent, iidem
also life to-pour-out for the-fatherland ready were the-same
gloriae iacturam ne minimam quidem facere vellent, ne
of-glory a-sacrifice not the-least even to-make would-wish not
re publica quidem postulante; ut Callicratidas, qui,
the-thing public even demanding as Callicratidas who
cum Lacedaemoniorum dux fuisset Peloponnesiaco bello
when of-the-Lacedaemonians leader he-had-been in-the-Peloponnesian war
multaque fecisset egregie, vertit ad extremum omnia,
and-many-things had-done excellently overturned at the-last everything
cum consilio non paruit eorum, qui classem ab Arginusis
when the-counsel not he-obeyed of-those who the-fleet from Arginusae
removendam nec cum Atheniensibus dimicandum putabant;
to-be-withdrawn and-not with the-Athenians to-be-fought thought
quibus ille respondit Lacedaemonios classe illa amissa aliam
to-whom he replied the-Lacedaemonians the-fleet that having-been-lost another
parare posse, se fugere sine suo dedecore non posse.
to-provide to-be-able himself to-flee without his-own dishonor not to-be-able
Atque haec quidem Lacedaemoniis plaga mediocris, illa
and this indeed for-the-Lacedaemonians a-blow moderate that

pestifera, qua, cum Cleombrotus invidiam timens temere cum
deadly by-which when Cleombrotus odium fearing rashly with
Epaminonda conflixisset, Lacedaemoniorum opes corruerunt.
Epaminondas had-clashed of-the-Lacedaemonians the-power collapsed
Quanto Q. Maximus melius! de quo Ennius:
by-how-much Quintus Maximus better about whom Ennius

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.
one man for-us by-delaying restored the-state
Noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem.
not rumors he-put before safety
Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.
therefore and-after and-more of-the-man now the-glory shines

Quod genus peccandi vitandum est etiam in rebus urbanis.
which kind of-erring to-be-shunned is also in affairs civil
Sunt enim, qui, quod sentiunt, etsi optimum sit, tamen
there-are for who what they-think even-if best it-is nevertheless
invidiae metu non audeant dicere.
of-odium by-fear not dare to-say

Plato's two rules for statesmen are to guard the interest of the citizens and to care for the whole body of the state, not one part. A magistracy is a trust held for those committed to it, and those who serve one party while neglecting another bring in sedition. Anger must be kept out of punishment, and every penalty must be free of insult.

85 Omnino qui rei publicae praefuturi sunt, duo Platonis
altogether who to-the-thing public about-to-preside are two of-Plato
praecepta teneant, unum, ut utilitatem civium sic tueantur,
precepts let-them-hold one that the-advantage of-citizens so they-guard
ut, quaecumque agunt, ad eam referant obliti commodorum
that whatever they-do to it they-refer forgetful of-advantages
suorum, alterum, ut totum corpus rei publicae curent,
their-own the-other that the-whole body of-the-thing public they-care-for
ne, dum partem aliquam tuentur, reliquas deserant. Ut
lest while a-part some they-guard the-rest they-desert as
enim tutela, sic procuratio rei publicae ad eorum
for a-guardianship so the-charge of-the-thing public for of-those
utilitatem, qui commissi sunt, non ad eorum, quibus
the-advantage who entrusted have-been not for of-those to-whom
commissa est, gerenda est. Qui autem parti civium
entrusted it-has-been to-be-managed it-is who moreover for-a-part of-citizens
consulunt, partem neglegunt, rem perniciosissimam in
provide a-part they-neglect a-thing most-ruinous into
civitatem inducunt, seditionem atque discordiam; ex quo
the-state they-bring sedition and discord from which
evenit, ut alii populares, alii studiosi optimi cuiusque
it-comes-about that some popular others devoted to-the-best each
videantur, pauci universorum.
seem few to-all

Hinc apud Atheniensis magnae discordiae, in nostra re 86
hence among the-Athenians great discords in our thing
publica non solum seditiones, sed etiam pestifera bella civilia;
public not only seditions but also deadly wars civil
quae gravis et fortis civis et in re publica dignus
which a-weighty and brave citizen and in the-thing public worthy
principatu fugiet atque oderit tradetque se totum
of-leadership will-shun and will-hate and-will-give-over himself wholly
rei publicae neque opes aut potentiam consectabitur
to-the-thing public and-not resources or power will-pursue
totamque eam sic tuebitur, ut omnibus consulat; nec vero
and-the-whole of-it so will-guard that for-all he-provides nor indeed
criminibus falsis in odium aut invidiam quemquam vocabit
by-charges false into hatred or odium anyone will-call
omninoque ita iustitiae honestatique adhaerescet, ut, dum
and-altogether so to-justice and-to-honorableness will-cleave that while
ea conservet, quamvis graviter offendat mortemque
these he-keeps however grievously he-may-suffer-harm and-death
oppetat potius quam deserat illa, quae dixi.
he-may-meet rather than he-desert those which I-said
Miserrima omnino est ambitio honorumque contentio, de 87
most-wretched altogether is canvassing and-of-honors the-struggle about
qua praeclare apud eundem est Platonem, similiter facere
which excellently in the-same it-is Plato similarly to-act
eos, qui inter se contenderent, uter potius rem
those who among themselves should-contend which-of-two rather the-thing
publicam administraret, ut si nautae certarent, quis eorum
public should-administer as if sailors should-strive who of-them
potissimum gubernaret. Idemque praecipit, ut eos adversarios
chiefly should-steer and-the-same he-teaches that those adversaries
existimemus, qui arma contra ferant, non eos, qui suo
we-reckon who arms against bear not those who by-their-own

iudicio tueri rem publicam velint, qualis fuit inter P.
judgment to-guard the-thing public wish such-as was between Publius
Africanum et Q. Metellum sine acerbitate dissensio.
Africanus and Quintus Metellus without bitterness the-disagreement
88 Nec vero audiendi, qui graviter inimicis irascendum putabunt
nor indeed to-be-listened-to who grievously at-foes to-be-angry will-think
idque magnanimi et fortis viri esse censebunt; nihil
and-that of-a-great-souled and brave man to-be will-judge nothing
enim laudabilius, nihil magno et praeclaro viro dignius
for more-praiseworthy nothing of-a-great and illustrious man worthier
placabilitate atque clementia. In liberis vero populis et in
than-placability and mercy in free indeed peoples and in
iuris aequabilitate exercenda etiam est facilitas et altitudo
of-right the-evenness to-be-practiced also is affability and loftiness
animi, quae dicitur, ne, si irascamur aut intempestive
of-mind which is-so-called lest if we-grow-angry either untimely
accedentibus aut impudenter rogantibus, in morositatem
at-those-approaching or impudently at-those-asking into a-peevishness
inutilem et odiosam incidamus. Et tamen ita probanda est
useless and hateful we-fall and nevertheless so to-be-approved is
mansuetudo atque clementia, ut adhibeatur rei publicae
gentleness and mercy that may-be-applied of-the-thing public
causa severitas, sine qua administrari civitas non potest.
for-the-sake severity without which to-be-governed a-state not can
Omnis autem et animadversio et castigatio contumelia
every moreover both censure and chastisement of-insult
vacare debet neque ad eius, qui punitur aliquem aut verbis
to-be-free ought and-not to of-him who punishes anyone or with-words
castigat, sed ad rei publicae utilitatem referri.
chastises but to of-the-thing public the-advantage to-be-referred

Cavendum est etiam, ne maior poena quam culpa sit, et 89
to-be-guarded it-is also lest greater the-penalty than the-fault be and
ne isdem de causis alii plectantur, alii ne appellentur quidem.
lest the-same for causes some be-punished others not be-summoned even
Prohibenda autem maxime est ira in puniendo; numquam
to-be-forbidden moreover especially is anger in punishing never
enim, iratus qui accedet ad poenam, mediocritatem
for angry who shall-approach to punishment the-mean
illam tenebit, quae est inter nimium et parum, quae
that will-keep which is between too-much and too-little which
placet Peripateticis, et recte placet, modo ne laudarent
pleases the-Peripatetics and rightly pleases provided not they-would-praise
iracundiam et dicerent utiliter a natura datam. Illa
irascibility and would-say usefully by nature (to-have-been)-given that
vero omnibus in rebus repudianda est optandumque, ut ii,
indeed all in matters to-be-rejected is and-to-be-wished that those
qui praesunt rei publicae, legum similes sint, quae ad
who preside to-the-thing public of-laws like may-be which to
puniendum non iracundia, sed aequitate ducuntur.
punishing not by-anger but by-fairness are-led

In prosperity pride, disdain, and arrogance must be avoided, and the same look and brow kept in every fortune. Panaetius reports Africanus saying that men made unruly by success should be led into the ring of reason, as horses are handed to their breakers. In the best fortune a man should heed his friends and shut his ears to flatterers; a great spirit shows in private life too, with property honestly gotten and shared.

90 Atque etiam in rebus prosperis et ad voluntatem nostram
and also in circumstances prosperous and to the-wish our
fluentibus superbiam magnopere, fastidium arrogantiamque
flowing pride greatly disdain and-arrogance
fugiamus. Nam ut adversas res, sic secundas immoderate
let-us-shun for as adverse circumstances so favorable immoderately
ferre levitatis est, praeclaraque est aequabilitas in omni vita
to-bear of-fickleness is and-splendid is evenness in all life
et idem semper vultus eademque frons, ut de Socrate
and the-same always the-look and-the-same the-brow as about Socrates
itemque de C. Laelio accepimus. Philippum quidem,
and-likewise about Gaius Laelius we-have-heard Philip indeed
Macedonum regem, rebus gestis et gloria superatum a
of-the-Macedonians the-king in-things done and glory surpassed by
filio, facilitate et humanitate video superiorem fuisse;
(his)-son in-affability and kindness I-see superior to-have-been
itaque alter semper magnus, alter saepe turpissimus; ut
and-so the-one always great the-other often most-base so-that
recte praecipere videantur, qui monent, ut, quanto superiores
rightly to-teach they-seem who advise that by-how-much higher
simus, tanto nos geramus summissius. Panaetius quidem
we-are by-so-much ourselves we-should-bear more-humbly Panaetius indeed
Africanum, auditorem et familiarem suum, solitum
Africanus a-hearer and an-intimate his-own (to-have-been)-accustomed

ait dicere, ut equos propter crebras contentiones proeliorum
says to-say as horses on-account-of frequent contentions of-battles
ferocitate exsultantes domitoribus tradere soleant, ut iis
with-fierceness prancing to-breakers to-hand-over they-are-wont that them
facilioribus possint uti, sic homines secundis rebus
more-manageable they-may-be-able to-use so men in-favorable circumstances
effrenatos sibique praefidentes tamquam in gyrum
unbridled and-in-themselves over-confident as-it-were into the-ring
rationis et doctrinae duci oportere, ut perspicerent rerum
of-reason and of-teaching to-be-led it-behooves that they-may-see of-things
humanarum imbecillitatem varietatemque fortunae.
human the-weakness and-the-changefulness of-fortune
Atque etiam in secundissimis rebus maxime est utendum 91
and also in the-most-favorable circumstances especially is to-be-used
consilio amicorum iisque maior etiam quam ante
the-counsel of-friends and-to-them greater even than before
tribuenda auctoritas. Isdemque temporibus cavendum est, ne
to-be-given authority and-at-the-same times to-be-guarded it-is lest
assentatoribus patefaciamus auris neve adulari nos sinamus,
to-flatterers we-open ears and-not to-fawn us we-allow
in quo falli facile est; tales enim nos esse putamus,
in which to-be-deceived easy it-is such for ourselves to-be we-think
ut iure laudemur; ex quo nascuntur innumerabilia
that with-right we-are-praised from which are-born countless
peccata, cum homines inflati opinionibus turpiter irridentur
errors when men puffed-up by-notions basely are-mocked
et in maximis versantur erroribus.
and in the-greatest are-involved errors
Sed haec quidem hactenus.
but these indeed thus-far

92 Illud autem sic est iudicandum, maximas geri res
that moreover thus is to-be-judged the-greatest to-be-carried-on affairs
et maximi animi ab iis, qui res publicas regant, quod
and of-the-greatest spirit by those who things public govern because
earum administratio latissime pateat ad plurimosque pertineat;
of-them the-management most-widely extends to and-very-many reaches
esse autem magni animi et fuisse multos etiam in
to-be moreover of-a-great spirit and to-have-been many also in
vita otiosa, qui aut investigarent aut conarentur magna
a-life leisured who either investigated or attempted great
quaedam seseque suarum rerum finibus continerent
certain-things and-themselves of-their-own affairs within-the-bounds kept
aut interiecti inter philosophos et eos, qui rem publicam
or set between philosophers and those who the-thing public
administrarent, delectarentur re sua familiari non eam
administered took-delight in-property their family not it
quidem omni ratione exaggerantes neque excludentes ab
indeed by-every means piling-up nor shutting-out from
eius usu suos potiusque et amicis impertientes et
its use their-own and-rather both to-friends sharing and
rei publicae, si quando usus esset. Quae primum
to-the-thing public if ever need there-was which first
bene parta sit nullo neque turpi quaestu neque odioso,
well gotten let-it-be by-no either base gain or hateful
deinde augeatur ratione, diligentia, parsimonia, tum quam
then let-it-be-increased by-method diligence thrift then to-as
plurimis, modo dignis, se utilem praebeat nec libidini
many only worthy itself useful let-it-show and-not to-lust
potius luxuriaeque quam liberalitati et beneficentiae pareat.
rather and-to-luxury than to-generosity and to-beneficence let-it-obey

Haec praescripta servantem licet magnifice, graviter
these precepts one-keeping it-is-allowed splendidly gravely
animoseque vivere atque etiam simpliciter, fideliter, vere
and-spiritedly to-live and also simply faithfully truly
hominum amice.
of-men in-a-friendly-way

XXVII · THE SEEMLY AND THE HONORABLE

The fourth part covers modesty, self-control, and order and measure in all things; it is what Latin calls the seemly and Greek the becoming. The seemly cannot be parted from the honorable: whatever is seemly is honorable, and whatever is honorable is seemly. It is of two kinds — one general, agreeing with man's excellence, and one belonging to the several parts of the honorable.

Sequitur, ut de una reliqua parte honestatis dicendum sit, 93
it-follows that about one remaining part of-honorableness to-be-spoken it-is
in qua verecundia et quasi quidam ornatus vitae, temperantia
in which modesty and as-it-were a-certain adornment of-life temperance
et modestia omnisque sedatio perturbationum animi et
and restraint and-all calming of-disturbances of-mind and
rerum modus cernitur. Hoc loco continetur id, quod
of-things the-measure is-discerned in-this place is-contained that which
dici Latine decorum potest; Graece enim πρέπον dicitur.
to-be-called in-Latin the-seemly can in-Greek for the-becoming it-is-called
Huius vis ea est, ut ab honesto non queat separari;
of-this the-force that is that from the-honorable not it-can to-be-separated
nam et, quod decet, honestum est et, quod honestum est, 94
for both what is-seemly honorable is and what honorable is
decet; qualis autem differentia sit honesti et decori,
is-seemly of-what-sort moreover the-difference is of-the-honorable and of-the-seemly

facilius intellegi quam explanari potest. Quicquid est enim,
more-easily to-be-understood than to-be-explained can whatever is for
quod deceat, id tum apparet, cum antegressa est honestas.
which is-seemly that then appears when gone-before has honorableness
Itaque non solum in hac parte honestatis, de qua hoc loco
and-so not only in this part of-honorableness about which in-this place
disserendum est, sed etiam in tribus superioribus quid deceat
to-be-discussed it-is but also in the-three former what is-seemly
apparet. Nam et ratione uti atque oratione prudenter et agere,
appears for both reason to-use and speech wisely and to-do
quod agas, considerate omnique in re quid sit veri videre
what you-do carefully and-every in matter what is of-truth to-see
et tueri decet, contraque falli, errare, labi, decipi
and to-uphold is-seemly and-on-the-contrary to-be-deceived to-err to-slip to-be-tricked
tam dedecet quam delirare et mente esse captum; et iusta
as-much is-unseemly as to-rave and in-mind to-be seized and just
omnia decora sunt, iniusta contra, ut turpia, sic indecora.
all-things seemly are unjust on-the-contrary as base so unseemly
Similis est ratio fortitudinis. Quod enim viriliter animoque
like is the-account of-courage what for manfully and-with-spirit
magno fit, id dignum viro et decorum videtur, quod
great is-done that worthy of-a-man and seemly seems what
contra, id ut turpe, sic indecorum.
on-the-contrary that as base so unseemly

95 Quare pertinet quidem ad omnem honestatem hoc, quod dico,
wherefore pertains indeed to all honorableness this which I-call
decorum, et ita pertinet, ut non recondita quadam ratione
the-seemly and so pertains that not by-a-hidden a-certain reasoning
cernatur, sed sit in promptu. Est enim quiddam, idque
it-is-discerned but it-is in the-open there-is for a-something and-it
intellegitur in omni virtute, quod deceat; quod cogitatione
is-understood in every virtue which is-seemly which in-thought

magis a virtute potest quam re separari. Ut venustas
more from virtue can than in-fact to-be-separated as gracefulness
et pulchritudo corporis secerni non potest a valetudine,
and beauty of-the-body to-be-severed not can from health
sic hoc, de quo loquimur, decorum totum illud quidem est
so this about which we-speak the-seemly wholly that indeed is
cum virtute confusum, sed mente et cogitatione distinguitur.
with virtute mingled but in-mind and in-thought it-is-distinguished
Est autem eius discriptio duplex; nam et generale quoddam 96
there-is moreover of-it a-division twofold for both a-general a-certain
decorum intellegimus, quod in omni honestate versatur,
seemly we-understand which in all honorableness is-engaged
et aliud huic subiectum, quod pertinet ad singulas partes
and another to-this subordinate which pertains to the-several parts
honestatis. Atque illud superius sic fere definiri solet:
of-honorableness and that former thus generally to-be-defined is-wont
decorum id esse, quod consentaneum sit hominis excellentiae
the-seemly that to-be which agreeable is of-man to-the-excellence
in eo, in quo natura eius a reliquis animantibus differat.
in that in which the-nature of-him from the-rest of-living-things differs
Quae autem pars subiecta generi est, eam sic definiunt, ut
which moreover part subordinate to-the-genus is it thus they-define that
id decorum velint esse, quod ita naturae consentaneum
that seemly they-would-have to-be which so to-nature agreeable
sit, ut in eo moderatio et temperantia appareat cum
is that in it moderation and temperance may-appear with
specie quadam liberali.
an-appearance a-certain gentlemanly

Poets keep the seemly by making each character speak as befits him; nature has given us our part, with great excellence over the other creatures. A certain respect is owed to all men, and it differs from justice: justice does not injure men, modesty does not offend them. The mind has two parts, appetite, which drives, and reason, which teaches.

97 Haec ita intellegi possumus existimare ex eo decoro,
these so to-be-understood we-can to-judge from that seemly
quod poëtae sequuntur; de quo alio loco plura dici
which poets follow about which in-another place more-things to-be-said
solent. Sed tum servare illud poëtas, quod deceat, dicimus,
are-wont but then to-keep that poets what is-seemly we-say
cum id, quod quaque persona dignum est, et fit et
when that which of-each character worthy is both is-done and
dicitur; ut, si Aeacus aut Minos diceret:
is-said as if Aeacus or Minos should-say

oderint, dum metuant,
let-them-hate provided they-fear

aut:
or

natis sepulchro ipse est parens,
for-(his)-children as-a-tomb himself is the-father

indecorum videretur, quod eos fuisse iustos accepimus; at
unseemly it-would-seem because them to-have-been just we-have-heard but
Atreo dicente plausus excitantur; est enim digna persona
with-Atreus speaking applause is-roused is for worthy of-the-character

oratio. Sed poëtae, quid quemque deceat, ex persona
the-speech but poets what each-man befits from the-character
iudicabunt; nobis autem personam imposuit ipsa natura
will-judge for-us moreover a-character has-imposed itself nature
magna cum excellentia praestantiaque animantium reliquarum.
great with excellence and-superiority of-living-things the-rest
Quocirca poëtae in magna varietate personarum, etiam vitiosis 98
wherefore poets in great variety of-characters even for-the-faulty
quid conveniat et quid deceat, videbunt, nobis autem cum
what suits and what is-seemly will-see for-us moreover since
a natura constantiae, moderationis, temperantiae, verecundiae
by nature of-constancy of-moderation of-temperance of-modesty
partes datae sint, cumque eadem natura doceat non
the-parts given have-been and-since the-same nature teaches not
neglegere, quem ad modum nos adversus homines geramus,
to-neglect which to manner ourselves toward men we-bear
efficitur, ut et illud, quod ad omnem honestatem pertinet,
it-is-brought-about that both that which to all honorableness pertains
decorum quam late fusum sit, appareat et hoc, quod spectatur
the-seemly how widely spread is may-appear and this which is-observed
in uno quoque genere virtutis. Ut enim pulchritudo corporis
in one each kind of-virtue as for the-beauty of-the-body
apta compositione membrorum movet oculos et delectat
by-the-fit arrangement of-limbs moves the-eyes and delights
hoc ipso, quod inter se omnes partes cum quodam
by-this very that among themselves all the-parts with a-certain
lepore consentiunt, sic hoc decorum, quod elucet in vita,
charm agree so this seemly which shines-out in life
movet approbationem eorum, quibuscum vivitur, ordine et
moves the-approval of-those with-whom it-is-lived by-the-order and
constantia et moderatione dictorum omnium atque factorum.
constancy and moderation of-words all and of-deeds

99 Adhibenda est igitur quaedam reverentia adversus homines
to-be-shown is therefore a-certain respect toward men
et optimi cuiusque et reliquorum. Nam neglegere, quid
both of-the-best each and of-the-rest for to-neglect what
de se quisque sentiat, non solum arrogantis est,
about himself each-man thinks not only of-an-arrogant-man is
sed etiam omnino dissoluti. Est autem, quod differat in
but also altogether of-a-dissolute-one there-is moreover what differs in
hominum ratione habenda inter iustitiam et verecundiam.
of-men the-account to-be-had between justice and modesty
Iustitiae partes sunt non violare homines, verecundiae non
of-justice the-parts are not to-injure men of-modesty not
offendere; in quo maxime vis perspicitur decori.
to-offend in which most the-force is-seen of-the-seemly
His igitur expositis, quale sit id, quod decere
these therefore having-been-set-out of-what-kind is that which to-be-seemly
dicimus, intellectum puto.
we-say understood I-think

100 Officium autem, quod ab eo ducitur, hanc primum habet
duty moreover which from it is-derived this first has
viam, quae deducit ad convenientiam conservationemque
road which leads to the-agreement and-the-preservation
naturae; quam si sequemur ducem, numquam aberrabimus
of-nature which if we-shall-follow as-guide never we-shall-stray
sequemurque et id, quod acutum et perspicax natura est, et
and-we-shall-follow both that which keen and clear-sighted by-nature is and
id, quod ad hominum consociationem accommodatum, et id,
that which to of-men the-association fitted and that
quod vehemens atque forte. Sed maxima vis decori in hac
which vigorous and strong but the-greatest force of-the-seemly in this
inest parte, de qua disputamus; neque enim solum corporis,
is-in part about which we-are-discussing and-not for only of-the-body

qui ad naturam apti sunt, sed multo etiam magis animi
which to nature suited are but much even more of-the-mind
motus probandi, qui item ad naturam accommodati sunt.
the-motions to-be-approved which likewise to nature fitted are
Duplex est enim vis animorum atque natura; una pars 101
twofold is for the-force of-minds and the-nature one part
in appetitu posita est, quae est ὁρμή Graece, quae hominem
in appetite placed is which is impulse in-Greek which a-man
huc et illuc rapit, altera in ratione, quae docet et
hither and thither hurries the-other in reason which teaches and
explanat, quid faciendum fugiendumque sit. Ita fit, ut
explains what to-be-done and-to-be-shunned is so it-happens that
ratio praesit, appetitus obtemperet.
reason presides appetite obeys

XXIX · REASON, APPETITE, AND JEST

Every action should be free of rashness, and nothing done for which no plausible reason can be given. Appetite must obey reason and neither outrun it nor desert it; when it strays, the face, voice, and bearing change. Men were not made for play, but jest is allowed in its place, and it should be gentlemanly and witty rather than coarse.

Omnis autem actio vacare debet temeritate et neglegentia
every moreover action to-be-free ought from-rashness and negligence
nec vero agere quicquam, cuius non possit causam
and-not indeed to-do anything of-which not one-can a-reason
probabilem reddere; haec est enim fere discriptio officii.
plausible to-give this is for nearly the-definition of-duty

102 Efficiendum autem est, ut appetitus rationi oboediant
to-be-brought-about moreover it-is that appetites to-reason obey
eamque neque praecurrant nec propter pigritiam aut
and-it neither outrun nor on-account-of sloth or
ignaviam deserant sintque tranquilli atque omni animi
cowardice desert and-may-be calm and from-every of-mind
perturbatione careant; ex quo elucebit omnis constantia
disturbance may-be-free from which will-shine-out all constancy
omnisque moderatio. Nam qui appetitus longius evagantur
and-all moderation for which appetites too-far wander
et tamquam exsultantes sive cupiendo sive fugiendo non
and as-it-were prancing whether in-desiring or in-avoiding not
satis a ratione retinentur, ii sine dubio finem et modum
enough by reason are-held-back those without doubt the-limit and measure
transeunt; relinquunt enim et abiciunt oboedientiam nec
overstep they-abandon for and cast-off obedience and-not
rationi parent, cui sunt subiecti lege naturae; a quibus
to-reason submit to-which they-are subjected by-the-law of-nature by which
non modo animi perturbantur, sed etiam corpora. Licet
not only minds are-disturbed but also bodies it-is-allowed
ora ipsa cernere iratorum aut eorum, qui aut libidine
the-faces themselves to-behold of-the-angry or of-those who either by-a-lust
aliqua aut metu commoti sunt aut voluptate nimia gestiunt;
some or by-fear stirred have-been or with-pleasure excessive exult
quorum omnium voltus, voces, motus statusque mutantur.
of-whom all the-looks voices movements and-postures are-changed
103 Ex quibus illud intellegitur, ut ad officii formam revertamur,
from which that is-understood that to of-duty the-pattern we-return
appetitus omnes contrahendos sedandosque esse excitandamque
appetites all to-be-restrained and-to-be-calmed to-be and-to-be-roused
animadversionem et diligentiam, ut ne quid temere ac
attention and diligence that not anything rashly and

fortuito, inconsiderate neglegenterque agamus. Neque enim ita
by-chance inconsiderately and-negligently we-do and-not for so
generati a natura sumus, ut ad ludum et iocum facti esse
begotten by nature are-we that for play and jest made to-be
videamur, ad severitatem potius et ad quaedam studia graviora
we-seem for seriousness rather and for certain pursuits graver
atque maiora. Ludo autem et ioco uti illo quidem licet,
and greater play moreover and jest to-use that indeed it-is-allowed
sed sicut somno et quietibus ceteris tum, cum gravibus
but just-as sleep and rests other then when to-weighty
seriisque rebus satis fecerimus. Ipsumque genus iocandi non
and-serious matters enough we-have-done and-the-very kind of-jesting not
profusum nec immodestum, sed ingenuum et facetum esse
extravagant nor immoderate but gentlemanly and witty to-be
debet. Ut enim pueris non omnem ludendi licentiam damus,
ought as for to-boys not every of-playing license we-give
sed eam, quae ab honestatis actionibus non sit aliena, sic
but that which from of-honorableness the-actions not is foreign so
in ipso ioco aliquod probi ingenii lumen eluceat.
in the-very jest some of-an-upright nature light should-shine-out
Duplex omnino est iocandi genus, unum illiberale, petulans, 104
twofold altogether is of-jesting the-kind one ungentlemanly insolent
flagitiosum, obscenum, alterum elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum,
shameful obscene the-other elegant polished clever
facetum. Quo genere non modo Plautus noster et
witty with-which kind not only Plautus our and
Atticorum antiqua comoedia, sed etiam philosophorum
of-the-Attic-writers the-old comedy but also of-philosophers
Socraticorum libri referti sunt, multaque multorum facete
Socratic the-books crammed are and-many-things of-many-men wittily
dicta, ut ea, quae a sene Catone collecta sunt, quae
said as those which by the-old Cato collected have-been which

vocant ἀποφθέγματα. Facilis igitur est distinctio ingenui et
they-call sayings easy therefore is the-distinction of-gentlemanly and
illiberalis ioci. Alter est, si tempore fit, ut si remisso
ungentlemanly jest the-one is if at-the-right-time it-is-done as if with-a-relaxed
animo, gravissimo homine dignus, alter ne libero
mind of-a-most-serious man worthy the-other not of-a-free-man
quidem, si rerum turpitudini adhibetur verborum obscenitas.
even if of-things to-the-baseness is-added of-words the-obscenity
Ludendi etiam est quidam modus retinendus, ut ne nimis
of-playing also is a-certain measure to-be-kept that not too-much
omnia profundamus elatique voluptate in aliquam
everything we-pour-out and-carried-away by-pleasure into some
turpitudinem delabamur. Suppeditant autem et campus
baseness we-slip supply moreover both the-field
noster et studia venandi honesta exempla ludendi.
our and the-pursuits of-hunting honorable examples of-playing

XXX · THE TWO PERSONS EACH MAN BEARS

The nature of man surpasses that of the beasts, which feel nothing but pleasure; bodily pleasure is unworthy of him and must be kept within measure. Each man bears two persons: the common nature that gives him reason, and the particular character that is his own. Cicero lists men of very different tempers, from Socrates and Crassus to Hannibal and Solon.

105 Sed pertinet ad omnem officii quaestionem semper in promptu
but it-pertains to every of-duty question always in readiness
habere, quantum natura hominis pecudibus reliquisque beluis
to-have how-far the-nature of-man cattle and-the-other beasts
antecedat; illae nihil sentiunt nisi voluptatem ad eamque
surpasses those nothing feel except pleasure to and-it

feruntur omni impetu, hominis autem mens discendo alitur
are-borne with-every rush of-man moreover the-mind by-learning is-nourished
et cogitando, semper aliquid aut anquirit aut agit videndique
and by-thinking always something either it-seeks or it-does and-of-seeing
et audiendi delectatione ducitur. Quin etiam, si quis est paulo
and of-hearing by-the-delight it-is-led nay even if anyone is a-little
ad voluptates propensior, modo ne sit ex pecudum genere
to pleasures more-inclined provided not he-is from of-cattle the-kind
(sunt enim quidam homines non re, sed nomine), sed si
there-are for certain men not in-fact but in-name but if
quis est paulo erectior, quamvis voluptate capiatur, occultat
anyone is a-little more-upright however-much by-pleasure he-is-caught he-conceals
et dissimulat appetitum voluptatis propter verecundiam.
and dissembles the-appetite for-pleasure on-account-of shame
Ex quo intellegitur corporis voluptatem non satis esse 106
from which it-is-understood of-the-body the-pleasure not enough to-be
dignam hominis praestantia, eamque contemni et reici
worthy of-man of-the-excellence and-it to-be-despised and to-be-rejected
oportere; sin sit quispiam, qui aliquid tribuat voluptati,
it-behooves but-if there-is anyone who something grants to-pleasure
diligenter ei tenendum esse eius fruendae modum. Itaque
carefully by-him to-be-kept to-be of-it to-be-enjoyed the-measure and-so
victus cultusque corporis ad valetudinem referatur et ad
the-diet and-care of-the-body to health let-be-referred and to
vires, non ad voluptatem. Atque etiam si considerare volumus,
strength not to pleasure and also if to-consider we-wish
quae sit in natura excellentia et dignitas, intellegemus,
what is in nature the-excellence and dignity we-shall-understand
quam sit turpe diffluere luxuria et delicate ac molliter
how is base to-melt-away in-luxury and daintily and softly
vivere quamque honestum parce, continenter, severe, sobrie.
to-live and-how honorable sparingly continently strictly soberly

107 Intellegendum etiam est duabus quasi nos a natura indutos
to-be-understood also it-is in-two as-it-were us by nature clothed
esse personis; quarum una communis est ex eo, quod
to-be characters of-which one common is from this that
omnes participes sumus rationis praestantiaeque eius, qua
all sharers we-are of-reason and-of-the-excellence of-it by-which
antecellimus bestiis, a qua omne honestum decorumque
we-surpass the-beasts from which all honorable and-seemly
trahitur, et ex qua ratio inveniendi officii exquiritur,
is-drawn and from which the-method of-finding duty is-sought-out
altera autem, quae proprie singulis est tributa. Ut
the-other moreover which properly to-individuals has-been assigned as
enim in corporibus magnae dissimilitudines sunt (alios
for in bodies great unlikenesses are some
videmus velocitate ad cursum, alios viribus ad luctandum
we-see by-swiftness for running others by-strength for wrestling
valere, itemque in formis aliis dignitatem inesse, aliis
to-be-strong and-likewise in figures in-some dignity to-be-in in-others
venustatem), sic in animis exsistunt maiores etiam varietates.
grace so in minds arise greater even varieties
108 Erat in L. Crasso, in L. Philippo multus lepos, maior
there-was in Lucius Crassus in Lucius Philippus much charm greater
etiam magisque de industria in C. Caesare L. filio;
even and-more of set-purpose in Gaius Caesar of-Lucius the-son
at isdem temporibus in M. Scauro et in M. Druso
but at-the-same times in Marcus Scaurus and in Marcus Drusus
adulescente singularis severitas, in C. Laelio multa hilaritas,
the-young singular sternness in Gaius Laelius much cheerfulness
in eius familiari Scipione ambitio maior, vita tristior.
in his intimate Scipio ambition greater life more-austere
De Graecis autem dulcem et facetum festivique sermonis
among the-Greeks moreover sweet and witty and-of-lively speech

atque in omni oratione simulatorem, quem εἴρωνα Graeci
and in every utterance a-dissembler whom an-ironist the-Greeks
nominarunt, Socratem accepimus, contra Pythagoram
named Socrates we-have-heard on-the-other-hand Pythagoras
et Periclem summam auctoritatem consecutos sine ulla
and Pericles the-highest authority having-attained without any
hilaritate. Callidum Hannibalem ex Poenorum, ex nostris
cheerfulness cunning Hannibal from of-the-Carthaginians from our
ducibus Q. Maximum accepimus, facile celare, tacere,
leaders Quintus Maximus we-have-heard easily to-conceal to-keep-silent
dissimulare, insidiari, praeripere hostium consilia. In quo
to-dissemble to-lie-in-wait to-forestall of-the-enemy the-plans in which
genere Graeci Themistoclem et Pheraeum Iasonem ceteris
kind the-Greeks Themistocles and the-Pheraean Jason to-the-rest
anteponunt; in primisque versutum et callidum factum
prefer and-among the-first crafty and cunning the-act
Solonis, qui, quo et tutior eius vita esset et plus
of-Solon who in-order-that both safer his life might-be and more
aliquanto rei publicae prodesset, furere se simulavit.
somewhat to-the-thing public he-might-profit to-rave himself he-feigned
Sunt his alii multum dispares, simplices et aperti, qui 109
there-are to-these others much unlike straightforward and open who
nihil ex occulto, nihil de insidiis agendum putant, veritatis
nothing from concealment nothing of ambush to-be-done think of-truth
cultores, fraudis inimici, itemque alii, qui quidvis perpetiantur,
cultivators of-fraud enemies and-likewise others who anything endure
cuivis deserviant, dum, quod velint, consequantur, ut Sullam
to-anyone are-slaves provided what they-wish they-obtain as Sulla
et M. Crassum videbamus. Quo in genere versutissimum
and Marcus Crassus we-used-to-see which in kind most-crafty
et patientissimum Lacedaemonium Lysandrum accepimus,
and most-enduring the-Lacedaemonian Lysander we-have-heard

contraque Callicratidam, qui praefectus classis proximus
and-on-the-contrary Callicratidas who commander of-the-fleet next
post Lysandrum fuit; itemque in sermonibus alium quemque,
after Lysander was and-likewise in conversation another each
quamvis praepotens sit, efficere, ut unus de multis
however very-powerful he-is to-bring-about that one of many
esse videatur; quod in Catulo, et in patre et in filio,
to-be he-may-seem which in Catulus both in the-father and in the-son
itemque in Q. Mucio Mancia vidimus. Audivi ex
and-likewise in Quintus Mucius Mancia we-have-seen I-have-heard from
maioribus natu hoc idem fuisse in P. Scipione Nasica,
elders in-birth this same to-have-been in Publius Scipio Nasica
contraque patrem eius, illum qui Ti. Gracchi conatus
and-on-the-contrary the-father of-him that-one who of-Tiberius Gracchus the-attempts
perditos vindicavit, nullam comitatem habuisse sermonis ne
ruinous punished no affability to-have-had of-speech not
Xenocratem quidem, severissimum philosophorum, ob
Xenocrates even the-sternest of-philosophers on-account-of
eamque rem ipsam magnum et clarum fuisse.
and-that thing itself great and famous to-have-been
Innumerabiles aliae dissimilitudines sunt naturae morumque,
countless other unlikenesses there-are of-nature and-of-character
minime tamen vituperandorum.
least-of-all nevertheless to-be-blamed

A man should keep whatever is his own, provided it is not vicious, since nothing becomes him against Minerva's will and consistency becomes him most. Death was right for Cato and would have been wrong for the others who surrendered to Caesar; Ulysses endured every servitude, where Ajax would have died a thousand times. Each should choose his part as an actor does.

Admodum autem tenenda sunt sua cuique non vitiosa, sed 110
very moreover to-be-held are his-own to-each not faulty but
tamen propria, quo facilius decorum illud, quod quaerimus,
nevertheless peculiar so-that more-easily seemly that which we-seek
retineatur. Sic enim est faciendum, ut contra universam
may-be-kept so for it-is to-be-done that against universal
naturam nihil contendamus, ea tamen conservata propriam
nature nothing we-strive it nevertheless having-been-kept peculiar
nostram sequamur, ut, etiamsi sint alia graviora atque
our-own we-follow so-that even-if there-are other-things weightier and
meliora, tamen nos studia nostra nostrae naturae regula
better nevertheless we pursuits our of-our-own nature by-the-rule
metiamur; neque enim attinet naturae repugnare nec quicquam
should-measure and-not for it-avails nature to-fight-against nor anything
sequi, quod assequi non queas. Ex quo magis emergit, quale
to-pursue which to-attain not you-can from which the-more emerges of-what-kind
sit decorum illud, ideo quia nihil decet invita
is seemly that for-this-reason because nothing befits with-unwilling
Minerva, ut aiunt, id est adversante et repugnante natura.
Minerva as they-say that is with-opposing and resisting nature
Omnino si quicquam est decorum, nihil est profecto magis 111
altogether if anything is seemly nothing is assuredly more
quam aequabilitas cum universae vitae, tum singularum
than evenness both of-the-whole life and of-the-several

actionum, quam conservare non possis, si aliorum naturam
actions which to-keep not you-could if of-others the-nature
imitans omittas tuam. Ut enim sermone eo debemus
imitating you-neglect your-own as for speech that we-ought
uti, qui innatus est nobis, ne, ut quidam, Graeca verba
to-use which inborn is to-us lest as certain-men Greek words
inculcantes iure optimo rideamur, sic in actiones
cramming-in with-right the-best we-be-laughed-at so in actions
omnemque vitam nullam discrepantiam conferre debemus.
and-all life no discordance to-bring we-ought

112 Atque haec differentia naturarum tantam habet vim, ut non
and this difference of-natures so-great has force that not
numquam mortem sibi ipse consciscere alius debeat,
never death for-himself himself to-inflict the-one ought
alius in eadem causa non debeat. Num enim alia in causa
the-other in the-same case not ought surely-not for another in case
M. Cato fuit, alia ceteri, qui se in Africa Caesari
Marcus Cato was in-another the-rest who themselves in Africa to-Caesar
tradiderunt? Atqui ceteris forsitan vitio datum esset, si
surrendered and-yet to-the-rest perhaps for-a-fault given it-would-have-been if
se interemissent, propterea quod lenior eorum vita et mores
themselves they-had-killed for-this-reason that gentler their life and manners
fuerant faciliores, Catoni cum incredibilem tribuisset natura
had-been easier to-Cato when an-incredible had-given nature
gravitatem eamque ipse perpetua constantia roboravisset
seriousness and-it be-himself by-unbroken constancy had-strengthened
semperque in proposito susceptoque consilio permansisset,
and-always in the-purpose and-undertaken resolve had-remained
moriendum potius quam tyranni vultus aspiciendus fuit.
to-be-died rather than of-a-tyrant the-face to-be-looked-on it-was

Quam multa passus est Ulixes in illo errore diuturno, 113
how many-things suffered has Ulysses in that wandering long
cum et mulieribus, si Circe et Calypso mulieres appellandae
when both to-women if Circe and Calypso women to-be-called
sunt, inserviret et in omni sermone omnibus affabilem et
are he-was-a-slave and in every conversation to-all affable and
iucundum esse se vellet! domi vero etiam contumelias
pleasant to-be himself wished at-home indeed even the-insults
servorum ancillarumque pertulit, ut ad id aliquando,
of-slaves and-of-maids he-endured that to that at-last
quod cupiebat, veniret. At Aiax, quo animo traditur,
which he-desired he-might-come but Ajax with-what spirit he-is-reported
milies oppetere mortem quam illa perpeti maluisset.
a-thousand-times to-meet death than those to-endure would-have-preferred
Quae contemplantes expendere oportebit, quid quisque habeat
which considering to-weigh it-will-behoove what each-man has
sui, eaque moderari nec velle experiri, quam se
of-his-own and-these to-regulate and-not to-wish to-try how-far him
aliena deceant; id enim maxime quemque decet, quod
another's-(things) befit that for most each-man befits which
est cuiusque maxime suum.
is of-each most his-own
Suum quisque igitur noscat ingenium acremque se 114
his-own each-man therefore let-him-know nature and-a-keen himself
et bonorum et vitiorum suorum iudicem praebeat, ne
both of-the-good and of-the-faults his-own judge let-him-show lest
scaenici plus quam nos videantur habere prudentiae. Illi
the-stage-players more than we seem to-have of-good-sense they
enim non optimas, sed sibi accommodatissimas fabulas
for not the-best but to-themselves the-most-suited plays
eligunt; qui voce freti sunt, Epigonos Medumque, qui
choose who on-voice relying are the-Epigoni and-the-Medus who

gestu, Melanippam, Clytemnestram, semper Rupilius, quem
on-gesture the-Melanippe the-Clytemnestra always Rupilius whom
ego memini, Antiopam, non saepe Aesopus Aiacem. Ergo
I remember the-Antiope not often Aesopus the-Ajax therefore
histrio hoc videbit in scaena, non videbit sapiens vir in vita?
an-actor this will-see on the-stage not will-see a-wise man in life
Ad quas igitur res aptissimi erimus, in iis potissimum
to which therefore things most-fitted we-shall-be in those chiefly
elaborabimus; sin aliquando necessitas nos ad ea
we-shall-work but-if at-some-time necessity us to those-things
detruserit, quae nostri ingenii non erunt, omnis adhibenda
shall-have-thrust which of-our nature not will-be all to-be-applied
erit cura, meditatio, diligentia, ut ea si non decore, at
will-be care thought diligence that them if not becomingly yet
quam minime indecore facere possimus; nec tam est
as least unbecomingly to-do we-may-be-able and-not so-much is
enitendum, ut bona, quae nobis data non sint, sequamur,
to-be-striven that goods which to-us given not have-been we-pursue
quam ut vitia fugiamus.
as that faults we-shun

A third person is laid on us by chance or circumstance, and a fourth we take up by our own judgment. Many men follow the calling of their fathers, and some add a distinction of their own to what they inherit. Choosing a way of life is the hardest deliberation of all, because it falls in early youth, when judgment is weakest; Hercules could weigh the two roads at leisure, but most men are carried along by their parents or the crowd.

Ac duabus iis personis, quas supra dixi, tertia adiungitur, 115
and to-two those characters which above I-said a-third is-added
quam casus aliqui aut tempus imponit; quarta etiam, quam
which chance some or circumstance imposes a-fourth also which
nobismet ipsi iudicio nostro accommodamus. Nam regna,
on-our-very selves by-judgment our we-fit for kingdoms
imperia, nobilitas, honores, divitiae, opes eaque, quae sunt
commands noble-birth honors riches resources and-those which are
his contraria, in casu sita temporibus gubernantur; ipsi
to-these contrary on chance placed by-circumstances are-governed ourselves
autem gerere quam personam velimus, a nostra voluntate
moreover to-play which character we-wish from our will
proficiscitur. Itaque se alii ad philosophiam, alii ad ius
proceeds and-so themselves some to philosophy others to law
civile, alii ad eloquentiam applicant, ipsarumque virtutum
civil others to eloquence apply and-of-the-very virtues
in alia alius mavult excellere.
in one one-man prefers to-excel
Quorum vero patres aut maiores aliqua gloria praestiterunt, 116
of-whom indeed the-fathers or forefathers in-some glory excelled
ii student plerumque eodem in genere laudis excellere, ut
these strive generally the-same in kind of-praise to-excel as
Q. Mucius P. f. in iure civili, Pauli filius Africanus
Quintus Mucius of-Publius son in law civil of-Paulus the-son Africanus

in re militari. Quidam autem ad eas laudes, quas a
in service military some moreover to those praises which from
patribus acceperunt, addunt aliquam suam, ut hic idem
fathers they-have-received add some their-own as this same
Africanus eloquentia cumulavit bellicam gloriam; quod idem
Africanus by-eloquence crowned warlike glory which the-same
fecit Timotheus Cononis filius, qui cum belli laude non
did Timotheus of-Conon the-son who although of-war in-praise not
inferior fuisset quam pater, ad eam laudem doctrinae et
inferior had-been than the-father to that praise of-learning and
ingenii gloriam adiecit. Fit autem interdum, ut non nulli
of-talent the-glory added it-happens moreover sometimes that not none
omissa imitatione maiorum suum quoddam institutum
having-been-dropped the-imitation of-forefathers their-own a-certain plan
consequantur, maximeque in eo plerumque elaborant ii,
pursue and-most in that generally labor those
qui magna sibi proponunt obscuris orti maioribus.
who great-things for-themselves propose from-obscure sprung forefathers
117 Haec igitur omnia, cum quaerimus, quid deceat, complecti
these therefore all when we-ask what is-seemly to-embrace
animo et cogitatione debemus; in primis autem
in-mind and in-thought we-ought among the-first moreover
constituendum est, quos nos et quales esse velimus
to-be-settled it-is what-men ourselves and of-what-sort to-be we-wish
et in quo genere vitae, quae deliberatio est omnium
and in what kind of-life which deliberation is of-all
difficillima. Ineunte enim adulescentia, cum est maxima
the-hardest at-the-entering for of-youth when is the-greatest
imbecillitas consilii, tum id sibi quisque genus aetatis
weakness of-judgment then that for-himself each-man kind of-a-life
degendae constituit, quod maxime adamavit; itaque
to-be-passed settles-on which most he-has-fallen-in-love-with and-so

ante implicatur aliquo certo genere cursuque vivendi, quam
before he-is-entangled in-some fixed kind and-course of-living than
potuit, quod optimum esset, iudicare.
he-could what best was to-judge
Nam quod Herculem Prodicus dicit, ut est apud Xenophontem, 118
for what Hercules Prodicus says as it-is in Xenophon
cum primum pubesceret, quod tempus a natura ad
when first he-was-coming-of-age which time by nature for
deligendum, quam quisque viam vivendi sit ingressurus, datum
choosing which each-man road of-living is about-to-enter given
est, exisse in solitudinem atque ibi sedentem diu
has-been to-have-gone-out into solitude and there sitting long
secum multumque dubitasse, cum duas cerneret vias, unam
with-himself and-much to-have-doubted when two he-saw roads one
Voluptatis, alteram Virtutis, utram ingredi melius esset, hoc
of-Pleasure the-other of-Virtue which-of-two to-enter better it-was this
Herculi Iovis satu edito potuit fortasse contingere, nobis
to-Hercules of-Jupiter from-the-seed born could perhaps to-befall to-us
non item, qui imitamur, quos cuique visum est, atque
not likewise who imitate whom to-each-man seemed-good it-has and
ad eorum studia institutaque impellimur; plerumque autem
to their pursuits and-practices we-are-driven generally moreover
parentium praeceptis imbuti ad eorum consuetudinem moremque
of-parents with-precepts steeped to their habit and-custom
deducimur; alii multitudinis iudicio feruntur, quaeque
we-are-led others of-the-crowd by-judgment are-carried and-what
maiori parti pulcherrima videntur, ea maxime exoptant; non
to-the-greater part most-beautiful seem those most they-long-for not
nulli tamen sive felicitate quadam sive bonitate naturae
none nevertheless whether by-a-luck certain or by-the-goodness of-nature
sine parentium disciplina rectam vitae secuti sunt viam.
without of-parents training the-right of-life followed have road

Few men have the gifts and the leisure to deliberate at length about their whole life. Nature should guide the choice, and a man who has chosen well should hold to it; one who finds he has chosen wrongly must change, easily if the times help and step by step if they do not. Ancestors are to be imitated, though not in their faults, and the best inheritance a father leaves is the glory of virtue.

119 Illud autem maxime rarum genus est eorum, qui aut
that moreover most rare kind is of-those who either
excellenti ingenii magnitudine aut praeclara eruditione atque
with-outstanding of-talent greatness or with-splendid learning and
doctrina aut utraque re ornati spatium etiam deliberandi
teaching or with-both thing adorned space also of-deliberating
habuerunt, quem potissimum vitae cursum sequi vellent; in
have-had which chiefly of-life course to-follow they-wished in
qua deliberatione ad suam cuiusque naturam consilium est
which deliberation to his-own of-each nature the-decision is
omne revocandum. Nam cum in omnibus, quae aguntur, ex
whole to-be-referred for while in all-things which are-done from
eo, quo modo quisque natus est, ut supra dictum est, quid
this in-what way each-man born was as above said has-been what
deceat, exquirimus, tum in tota vita constituenda multo est
is-seemly we-search-out then in the-whole life to-be-settled much is
ei rei cura maior adhibenda, ut constare in perpetuitate
to-that matter care greater to-be-applied that to-be-consistent in the-continuance
vitae possimus nobismet ipsis nec in ullo officio claudicare.
of-life we-may-be-able with-our-very selves and-not in any duty to-limp
120 Ad hanc autem rationem quoniam maximam vim natura
to this moreover consideration since the-greatest force nature
habet, fortuna proximam, utriusque omnino habenda ratio
has fortune the-next of-each altogether to-be-had account

est in deligendo genere vitae, sed naturae magis; multo enim
is in choosing the-kind of-life but of-nature more by-much for
et firmior est et constantior, ut fortuna non numquam
both firmer she-is and steadier so-that fortune not never
tamquam ipsa mortalis cum immortali natura pugnare videatur.
as-if herself mortal with immortal nature to-fight seems
Qui igitur ad naturae suae non vitiosae genus consilium vivendi
who therefore to of-nature his-own not faulty the-kind the-plan of-living
omne contulerit, is constantiam teneat (id enim maxime
whole shall-have-directed he constancy let-him-keep that for most
decet), nisi forte se intellexerit errasse in deligendo
befits unless perhaps himself he-shall-have-perceived to-have-erred in choosing
genere vitae. Quod si acciderit (potest autem accidere),
the-kind of-life which if shall-have-happened it-can moreover to-happen
facienda morum institutorumque mutatio est. Eam mutationem
to-be-made of-manners and-of-practices a-change is that change
si tempora adiuvabunt, facilius commodiusque faciemus; sin
if circumstances shall-help more-easily and-more-conveniently we-shall-make but-if
minus, sensim erit pedetemptimque facienda, ut amicitias,
less gradually it-will-be and-step-by-step to-be-made as friendships
quae minus delectent et minus probentur, magis decere
which less please and less are-approved more to-be-fitting
censent sapientes sensim diluere quam repente praecidere.
judge the-wise gradually to-dissolve than suddenly to-break-off
Commutato autem genere vitae omni ratione curandum 121
having-been-changed moreover the-kind of-life by-every means to-be-taken-care
est, ut id bono consilio fecisse videamur.
it-is that that with-good judgment to-have-done we-may-seem
Sed quoniam paulo ante dictum est imitandos esse
but since a-little before said it-has-been to-be-imitated to-be
maiores, primum illud exceptum sit, ne vitia sint imitanda,
forefathers first that excepted let-it-be lest faults are to-be-imitated

deinde si natura non feret, ut quaedam imitari possit (ut
then if nature not shall-allow that certain-things to-imitate he-can as
superioris filius Africani, qui hunc Paulo natum adoptavit,
of-the-elder the-son of-Africanus who this-man to-Paulus born adopted
propter infirmitatem valetudinis non tam potuit patris
on-account-of the-weakness of-health not so could of-the-father
similis esse, quam ille fuerat sui); si igitur non poterit
like to-be as he had-been of-his-own if therefore not he-shall-be-able
sive causas defensitare sive populum contionibus tenere sive
either cases to-plead or the-people with-speeches to-hold or
bella gerere, illa tamen praestare debebit, quae erunt in
wars to-wage those nevertheless to-furnish he-will-be-bound which will-be in
ipsius potestate, iustitiam, fidem, liberalitatem, modestiam,
of-himself the-power justice good-faith generosity restraint
temperantiam, quo minus ab eo id, quod desit, requiratur.
temperance by-which less from him that which is-lacking is-demanded
Optima autem hereditas a patribus traditur liberis
the-best moreover inheritance from fathers is-handed-down to-children
omnique patrimonio praestantior gloria virtutis rerumque
and-than-every patrimony more-excellent the-glory of-virtue and-of-things
gestarum, cui dedecori esse nefas et vitium iudicandum est.
done to-which for-a-disgrace to-be a-sin and a-fault to-be-judged it-is

Duties differ with age and with station. A young man should revere his elders and choose the best of them as guides, and should train mind and body; an old man should lighten bodily labor and increase the work of the mind. Magistrates bear the person of the state, private men should live on equal terms, and foreigners should mind their own business.

Et quoniam officia non eadem disparibus aetatibus tribuuntur 122
and since duties not the-same to-unequal ages are-assigned
aliaque sunt iuvenum, alia seniorum, aliquid etiam de hac
and-others are of-the-young others of-the-elder something also about this
distinctione dicendum est.
distinction to-be-said it-is
Est igitur adulescentis maiores natu vereri exque iis deligere
it-is therefore of-a-young-man elders in-birth to-revere and-from them to-choose
optimos et probatissimos, quorum consilio atque auctoritate
the-best and the-most-approved whose by-counsel and authority
nitatur; ineuntis enim aetatis inscitia senum constituenda
he-may-lean of-the-entering for age the-ignorance of-old-men to-be-settled
et regenda prudentia est. Maxime autem haec aetas a
and to-be-ruled by-the-wisdom is especially moreover this age from
libidinibus arcenda est exercendaque in labore patientiaque et
lusts to-be-kept is and-to-be-trained in toil and-endurance both
animi et corporis, ut eorum et in bellicis et in civilibus
of-mind and of-body so-that of-them both in warlike and in civil
officiis vigeat industria. Atque etiam cum relaxare animos et
duties may-flourish the-energy and also when to-relax minds and
dare se iucunditati volent, caveant intemperantiam,
to-give themselves to-enjoyment they-shall-wish let-them-beware excess

meminerint verecundiae, quod erit facilius, si ne in eius
let-them-remember modesty which will-be easier if not in of-that
modi quidem rebus maiores natu nolent interesse.
sort even matters elders in-birth will-be-unwilling to-take-part
123 Senibus autem labores corporis minuendi, exercitationes
for-the-old moreover the-toils of-the-body to-be-lessened the-exercises
animi etiam augendae videntur; danda vero opera, ut et
of-mind even to-be-increased seem to-be-given indeed effort that both
amicos et iuventutem et maxime rem publicam consilio
friends and the-young and especially the-thing public by-counsel
et prudentia quam plurimum adiuvent. Nihil autem magis
and by-wisdom as most they-help nothing moreover more
cavendum est senectuti, quam ne languori se desidiaeque
to-be-guarded is for-old-age than lest to-listlessness itself and-to-sloth
dedat; luxuria vero cum omni aetati turpis, tum senectuti
it-give luxury indeed both for-every age base and for-old-age
foedissima est; sin autem etiam libidinum intemperantia
most-foul is but-if moreover also of-lusts the-excess
accessit, duplex malum est, quod et ipsa senectus dedecus
has-been-added twofold the-evil is because both itself old-age disgrace
concipit et facit adulescentium impudentiorem intemperantiam.
contracts and makes of-the-young more-shameless the-excess
124 Ac ne illud quidem alienum est, de magistratuum, de
and not that even out-of-place is about of-magistrates about
privatorum, de civium, de peregrinorum officiis dicere.
of-private-men about of-citizens about of-foreigners the-duties to-speak
Est igitur proprium munus magistratus intellegere se
it-is therefore the-proper office of-a-magistrate to-understand himself
gerere personam civitatis debereque eius dignitatem et
to-bear the-character of-the-state and-to-be-bound its dignity and

decus sustinere, servare leges, iura discribere, ea fidei
honor to-uphold to-keep the-laws rights to-assign these to-good-faith
suae commissa meminisse.
his-own entrusted to-remember
Privatum autem oportet aequo et pari cum civibus iure
a-private-man moreover it-behooves on-equal and like with fellow-citizens terms
vivere neque summissum et abiectum neque se efferentem,
to-live neither humble and abject nor himself exalting
tum in re publica ea velle, quae tranquilla et honesta
then in the-thing public those-things to-wish which peaceful and honorable
sint; talem enim solemus et sentire bonum civem et dicere.
are such-a-man for we-are-wont both to-think a-good citizen and to-call
Peregrini autem atque incolae officium est nihil praeter 125
of-a-foreigner moreover and of-a-resident the-duty is nothing beyond
suum negotium agere, nihil de alio anquirere minimeque
his-own business to-do nothing about another to-inquire and-least-of-all
esse in aliena re publica curiosum.
to-be in another's thing public meddlesome
Ita fere officia reperientur, cum quaeretur, quid deceat,
so generally duties will-be-found when it-is-asked what is-seemly
et quid aptum sit personis, temporibus, aetatibus. Nihil
and what fitting is for-characters for-times for-ages nothing
est autem, quod tam deceat, quam in omni re gerenda
is moreover which so befits as in every matter to-be-managed
consilioque capiendo servare constantiam.
and-in-counsel to-be-taken to-keep constancy

The seemly shows itself in beauty, in order, and in adornment suited to action. Nature covered the parts of the body she made for necessity, and human modesty has imitated her care. Cicero refuses to hear the Cynics, who mock us for calling shameful in words what is not shameful in deed; we should follow nature and shun whatever offends the eye and the ear.

126 Sed quoniam decorum illud in omnibus factis, dictis,
but since seemly that in all deeds words
in corporis denique motu et statu cernitur idque
in of-the-body finally the-movement and the-posture is-discerned and-it
positum est in tribus rebus, formositate, ordine, ornatu ad
placed is in three things beauty order adornment for
actionem apto, difficilibus ad eloquendum, sed satis erit
action fit hard for expressing but enough it-will-be
intellegi, in his autem tribus continetur cura etiam illa,
to-be-understood in these moreover three is-contained the-care also that
ut probemur iis, quibuscum apud quosque vivamus, his
that we-be-approved by-those with-whom before whomever we-live these
quoque de rebus pauca dicantur.
also about matters a-few-things let-be-said
Principio corporis nostri magnam natura ipsa videtur habuisse
in-the-beginning of-body our great nature itself seems to-have-had
rationem, quae formam nostram reliquamque figuram, in qua
regard which the-form our and-the-rest-of-the shape in which
esset species honesta, eam posuit in promptu, quae partes
there-was an-appearance seemly it she-placed in the-open which parts
autem corporis ad naturae necessitatem datae aspectum essent
moreover of-the-body for of-nature the-need given a-look were
deformem habiturae atque foedum, eas contexit atque abdidit.
unshapely about-to-have and foul those she-covered and hid

Hanc naturae tam diligentem fabricam imitata est hominum 127
this of-nature so careful workmanship imitated has of-men
verecundia. Quae enim natura occultavit, eadem omnes, qui
the-modesty what for nature has-hidden the-same all who
sana mente sunt, removent ab oculis ipsique necessitati
of-sound mind are remove from the-eyes and-to-the-very necessity
dant operam ut quam occultissime pareant; quarumque
they-give effort that as most-secretly they-obey and-of-which
partium corporis usus sunt necessarii, eas neque partes
parts of-the-body the-uses are necessary those neither the-parts
neque earum usus suis nominibus appellant; quodque
nor of-them the-uses by-their-own names they-call and-what
facere turpe non est, modo occulte, id dicere obscenum
to-do base not is provided in-secret that to-say obscene
est. Itaque nec actio rerum illarum aperta petulantia
is and-so neither the-doing of-things those open from-wantonness
vacat nec orationis obscenitas.
is-free nor of-speech the-obscenity
Nec vero audiendi sunt Cynici, aut si qui fuerunt Stoici 128
nor indeed to-be-heard are the-Cynics or if any there-have-been Stoics
paene Cynici, qui reprehendunt et irrident, quod ea,
almost Cynics who blame and mock because those-things
quae turpia non sint, verbis flagitiosa ducamus, illa autem,
which base not are in-words shameful we-reckon those moreover
quae turpia sint, nominibus appellemus suis. Latrocinari,
which base are by-names we-call their-own to-rob
fraudare, adulterare re turpe est, sed dicitur non
to-cheat to-commit-adultery in-fact base is but it-is-said not
obscene; liberis dare operam re honestum est, nomine
obscenely to-children to-give effort in-fact honorable is in-name
obscenum; pluraque in eam sententiam ab eisdem contra
obscene and-more-things to that opinion by the-same against

verecundiam disputantur. Nos autem naturam sequamur
modesty are-argued we moreover nature let-us-follow
et ab omni, quod abhorret ab oculorum auriumque
and from everything which shrinks from of-the-eyes and-of-the-ears
approbatione, fugiamus; status incessus, sessio accubitio,
the-approval let-us-flee the-standing the-walking the-sitting the-reclining
vultus oculi manuum motus teneat illud decorum.
the-face the-eyes of-the-hands the-movement let-keep that seemly
129 Quibus in rebus duo maxime sunt fugienda, ne quid
which in matters two-things chiefly are to-be-shunned lest anything
effeminatum aut molle et ne quid durum aut rusticum sit. Nec
effeminate or soft and lest anything hard or boorish be nor
vero histrionibus oratoribusque concedendum est, ut iis haec
indeed to-actors and-to-orators to-be-granted it-is that for-them these
apta sint, nobis dissoluta. Scaenicorum quidem mos tantam
fitting are for-us slovenly of-stage-players indeed the-custom so-great
habet vetere disciplina verecundiam, ut in scaenam sine
has from-old training modesty that onto the-stage without
subligaculo prodeat nemo; verentur enim, ne, si quo casu
a-loincloth comes-forward no-one they-fear for lest if by-some chance
evenerit, ut corporis partes quaedam aperiantur, aspiciantur
it-shall-happen that of-the-body parts certain be-uncovered they-be-seen
non decore. Nostro quidem more cum parentibus puberes filii,
not becomingly by-our indeed custom with parents grown-up sons
cum soceris generi non lavantur. Retinenda igitur est huius
with fathers-in-law sons-in-law not bathe to-be-kept therefore is of-this
generis verecundia, praesertim natura ipsa magistra et duce.
kind the-modesty especially with-nature herself as-mistress and as-guide

There are two kinds of beauty: grace, which is womanly, and dignity, which is manly. Ornament unworthy of a man should be removed, and the same fault avoided in gesture; complexion is kept by exercise and dress by moderation. Neither a mincing gait nor a breathless haste is becoming, and the motions of the mind must not depart from nature.

Cum autem pulchritudinis duo genera sint, quorum in altero 130
since moreover of-beauty two kinds there-are of-which in the-one
venustas sit, in altero dignitas, venustatem muliebrem ducere
gracefulness is in the-other dignity gracefulness womanly to-reckon
debemus, dignitatem virilem. Ergo et a forma removeatur
we-ought dignity manly therefore both from the-figure let-be-removed
omnis viro non dignus ornatus, et huic simile vitium
every of-a-man not worthy adornment and to-this like a-fault
in gestu motuque caveatur. Nam et palaestrici
in gesture and-movement let-be-guarded-against for both of-the-wrestling-school
motus sunt saepe odiosiores, et histrionum non nulli
movements are often rather-offensive and of-actors not none
gestus ineptiis non vacant, et in utroque genere quae
gestures from-absurdities not are-free and in each kind what
sunt recta et simplicia, laudantur. Formae autem dignitas
are straight and simple are-praised of-the-figure moreover the-dignity
coloris bonitate tuenda est, color exercitationibus
of-complexion by-the-goodness to-be-guarded is the-complexion by-exercises
corporis. Adhibenda praeterea munditia est non odiosa neque
of-the-body to-be-applied besides neatness is not offensive nor
exquisita nimis, tantum quae fugiat agrestem et inhumanam
studied too-much only such-as shuns boorish and unrefined

neglegentiam. Eadem ratio est habenda vestitus, in quo,
negligence the-same account is to-be-had of-dress in which
sicut in plerisque rebus, mediocritas optima est.
just-as in most things the-mean best is
131 Cavendum autem est, ne aut tarditatibus utamur in ingressu
to-be-guarded moreover it-is lest either slownesses we-use in gait
mollioribus, ut pomparum ferculis similes esse videamur,
too-soft so-that of-processions to-the-litters like to-be we-seem
aut in festinationibus suscipiamus nimias celeritates, quae cum
or in hurryings we-take-on excessive speeds which when
fiunt, anhelitus moventur, vultus mutantur, ora torquentur;
happen pantings are-stirred faces are-changed mouths are-twisted
ex quibus magna significatio fit non adesse constantiam.
from which a-great sign is-made not to-be-present constancy
Sed multo etiam magis elaborandum est, ne animi motus
but much even more to-be-labored it-is lest of-mind the-motions
a natura recedant; quod assequemur, si cavebimus, ne in
from nature depart which we-shall-attain if we-shall-take-care lest into
perturbationes atque exanimationes incidamus, et si attentos
agitations and panics we-fall and if attentive
animos ad decoris conservationem tenebimus.
minds to of-the-seemly the-keeping we-shall-hold
132 Motus autem animorum duplices sunt, alteri cogitationis,
the-motions moreover of-minds twofold are the-ones of-thought
alteri appetitus; cogitatio in vero exquirendo maxime
the-others of-appetite thought in the-true to-be-searched-out chiefly
versatur, appetitus impellit ad agendum. Curandum est igitur,
is-engaged appetite drives to acting to-be-taken-care it-is therefore
ut cogitatione ad res quam optimas utamur, appetitum
that thought to things as best we-use the-appetite
rationi oboedientem praebeamus.
to-reason obedient we-render

XXXVII · CONVERSATION AND THE VOICE

Speech is twofold: the set oratory of courts and assemblies, and conversation, for which the rhetoricians give no rules. The voice should be clear and pleasant. Conversation should be gentle, never obstinate, should allow others their turn, should suit its subject, and should never disparage the absent.

Et quoniam magna vis orationis est, eaque duplex,
and since great the-power of-speech is and-it twofold
altera contentionis, altera sermonis, contentio disceptationibus
the-one of-debate the-other of-conversation debate to-the-disputes
tribuatur iudiciorum, contionum, senatus, sermo in circulis,
let-be-assigned of-courts of-assemblies of-the-senate conversation in gatherings
disputationibus, congressionibus familiarium versetur, sequatur
discussions meetings of-friends let-be-engaged let-it-attend
etiam convivia. Contentionis praecepta rhetorum sunt, nulla
also banquets of-debate the-rules of-rhetoricians are none
sermonis, quamquam haud scio an possint haec quoque
of-conversation although not I-know whether could these also
esse. Sed discentium studiis inveniuntur magistri, huic
to-be but of-learners by-the-zeal are-found teachers for-this
autem qui studeant, sunt nulli, rhetorum turba referta
moreover who are-eager there-are none of-rhetoricians with-a-crowd crammed
omnia; quamquam, quae verborum sententiarumque praecepta
all-things although what of-words and-of-thoughts the-rules
sunt, eadem ad sermonem pertinebunt.
are the-same to conversation will-apply
Sed cum orationis indicem vocem habeamus, in voce 133
but since of-speech as-the-index the-voice we-have in the-voice
autem duo sequamur, ut clara sit, ut suavis, utrumque
moreover two-things we-pursue that clear it-be that sweet each

omnino a natura petundum est, verum alterum exercitatio
altogether from nature to-be-sought is but the-one practice
augebit, alterum imitatio presse loquentium et leniter.
will-increase the-other imitation closely of-those-speaking and smoothly
Nihil fuit in Catulis, ut eos exquisite iudicio
nothing there-was in the-Catuli that them exquisitely with-judgment
putares uti litterarum, quamquam erant litterati; sed
you-would-think to-use of-letters although they-were lettered but
et alii; hi autem optime uti lingua Latina putabantur;
also others these moreover best to-use the-tongue Latin were-thought
sonus erat dulcis, litterae neque expressae neque oppressae,
the-sound was sweet the-letters neither over-pronounced nor slurred
ne aut obscurum esset aut putidum, sine contentione
lest either indistinct it-should-be or affected without straining
vox nec languens nec canora. Uberior oratio L.
the-voice neither drooping nor sing-song fuller the-speech of-Lucius
Crassi nec minus faceta, sed bene loquendi de Catulis
Crassus and-not less witty but well of-speaking about the-Catuli
opinio non minor. Sale vero et facetiis Caesar, Catuli
the-repute not less in-wit indeed and in-humor Caesar of-Catulus
patris frater, vicit omnes, ut in illo ipso forensi
of-the-father the-brother surpassed all so-that in that very forensic
genere dicendi contentiones aliorum sermone vinceret.
kind of-speaking the-set-speeches of-others by-conversation he-overcame
In omnibus igitur his elaborandum est, si in omni re
in all therefore these to-be-labored it-is if in every matter
quid deceat exquirimus.
what is-seemly we-search-out

134 Sit ergo hic sermo, in quo Socratici maxime excellunt,
let-be therefore this conversation in which the-Socratics most excel
lenis minimeque pertinax, insit in eo lepos; nec vero,
gentle and-least-of-all obstinate let-there-be in it charm and-not indeed

tamquam in possessionem suam venerit, excludat alios, sed
as-if into a-possession his-own he-has-come let-him-shut-out others but
cum reliquis in rebus, tum in sermone communi vicissitudinem
both the-other in matters and in conversation common a-taking-turns
non iniquam putet; ac videat in primis, quibus de
not unfair let-him-think and let-him-see among the-first which about
rebus loquatur; si seriis, severitatem adhibeat, si iocosis,
matters he-speaks if serious seriousness let-him-apply if jesting
leporem; in primisque provideat, ne sermo vitium
charm and-among the-first let-him-take-care lest the-talk a-fault
aliquod indicet inesse in moribus; quod maxime tum solet
some indicate to-be-in in character which most then is-wont
evenire, cum studiose de absentibus detrahendi causa aut
to-happen when eagerly about the-absent of-disparaging for-the-sake either
per ridiculum aut severe maledice contumelioseque dicitur.
through jest or gravely abusively and-insultingly it-is-spoken
Habentur autem plerumque sermones aut de domesticis 135
are-held moreover generally conversations either about domestic
negotiis aut de re publica aut de artium studiis
affairs or about the-thing public or about of-the-arts the-pursuits
atque doctrina. Danda igitur opera est, ut, etiamsi aberrare
and learning to-be-given therefore effort is that even-if to-stray
ad alia coeperit, ad haec revocetur oratio, sed
to other-things it-shall-have-begun to these be-called-back the-talk but
utcumque aderunt; neque enim isdem de rebus nec
according-as they-shall-be-present and-not for the-same about matters nor
omni tempore nec similiter delectamur. Animadvertendum
at-every time nor alike we-are-delighted to-be-noticed
est etiam, quatenus sermo delectationem habeat, et, ut
it-is also how-far the-talk delight has and as
incipiendi ratio fuerit, ita sit desinendi modus.
of-beginning the-reason has-been so let-be of-ending the-measure

XXXVIII · ANGER AND REBUKE

Conversation should be free of anger, desire, sloth, and every excess, and should show respect and affection for those we speak with. Rebukes are sometimes necessary, and may call for a raised voice and sterner words, but they should be rare, reluctant, and free of insult. It should be plain that the rebuke is meant for the good of the man rebuked.

136 Sed quo modo in omni vita rectissime praecipitur, ut
but in-what way in all life most-rightly it-is-taught that
perturbationes fugiamus, id est motus animi nimios rationi
agitations we-shun that is motions of-mind excessive to-reason
non optemperantes, sic eius modi motibus sermo debet
not obeying so of-that sort from-motions conversation ought
vacare, ne aut ira exsistat aut cupiditas aliqua aut pigritia
to-be-free lest either anger arise or desire some or sloth
aut ignavia aut tale aliquid appareat, maximeque curandum
or cowardice or such-like something appear and-most to-be-taken-care
est, ut eos, quibuscum sermonem conferemus, et vereri
it-is that those with-whom conversation we-shall-hold both to-respect
et diligere videamur.
and to-love we-may-seem
Obiurgationes etiam non numquam incidunt necessariae, in
rebukes also not never occur necessary in
quibus utendum est fortasse et vocis contentione maiore
which to-be-used it-is perhaps both of-voice with-a-straining greater
et verborum gravitate acriore, id agendum etiam, ut ea
and of-words with-a-weight sharper this to-be-done also that these
facere videamur irati. Sed, ut ad urendum et secandum,
to-do we-may-seem angry but as to cauterizing and cutting
sic ad hoc genus castigandi raro invitique veniemus nec
so to this kind of-chastising rarely and-unwillingly we-shall-come and-not

umquam nisi necessario, si nulla reperietur alia medicina;
ever unless of-necessity if no shall-be-found other remedy
sed tamen ira procul absit, cum qua nihil recte fieri,
but nevertheless anger far let-be-away with which nothing rightly to-be-done
nihil considerate potest.
nothing considerately can
Magnam autem partem clementi castigatione licet 137
(in)-a-great moreover part with-mild chastisement it-is-allowed
uti, gravitate tamen adiuncta, ut severitas adhibeatur
to-use with-weight nevertheless joined so-that sternness be-applied
et contumelia repellatur, atque etiam illud ipsum, quod
and insult be-driven-off and also that very which
acerbitatis habet obiurgatio, significandum est, ipsius id
of-bitterness has the-rebuke to-be-signified it-is of-himself that
causa, qui obiurgetur, esse susceptum.
for-the-sake who is-rebuked to-have-been undertaken
Rectum est autem etiam in illis contentionibus, quae cum
right it-is moreover also in those disputes which with
inimicissimis fiunt, etiamsi nobis indigna audiamus,
the-bitterest-foes take-place even-if of-us unworthy-things we-hear
tamen gravitatem retinere, iracundiam pellere. Quae enim
nevertheless dignity to-keep irascibility to-drive-off what for
cum aliqua perturbatione fiunt, ea nec constanter fieri
with some agitation are-done those neither consistently to-be-done
possunt neque iis, qui adsunt, probari.
can nor by-those who are-present to-be-approved
Deforme etiam est de se ipsum praedicare falsa
unbecoming also it-is about oneself himself to-proclaim false-things
praesertim et cum irrisione audientium imitari militem
especially and with the-mockery of-hearers to-imitate the-soldier
gloriosum.
braggart

A public man's house should serve its use and add to his dignity, but its owner is not honored by it: the house is honored by the owner. Cicero warns against building beyond measure, since the example does harm. In every action three things are to be kept: that appetite obey reason, that the effort match the case, and that nothing exceed a gentlemanly measure.

138 Et quoniam omnia persequimur, volumus quidem certe,
and since all-things we-pursue we-wish indeed at-least
dicendum est etiam, qualem hominis honorati et principis
to-be-said it-is also of-what-sort of-a-man honored and leading
domum placeat esse, cuius finis est usus, ad quem
the-house it-pleases to-be of-which the-end is use to which
accommodanda est aedificandi descriptio et tamen adhibenda
to-be-adapted is of-building the-plan and nevertheless to-be-applied
commoditatis dignitatisque diligentia.
of-convenience and-of-dignity the-care
Cn. Octavio, qui primus ex illa familia consul factus
to-Gnaeus Octavius who first from that family consul made
est, honori fuisse accepimus, quod praeclaram aedificasset
was for-honor to-have-been we-have-heard because a-splendid he-had-built
in Palatio et plenam dignitatis domum; quae cum vulgo
on the-Palatine and full of-dignity house which when by-the-crowd
viseretur, suffragata domino, novo homini, ad consulatum
was-visited having-voted-for its-master a-new man to the-consulship
putabatur; hanc Scaurus demolitus accessionem adiunxit
was-thought this Scaurus having-pulled-down as-an-annex he-joined
aedibus. Itaque ille in suam domum consulatum primus
to-his-house and-so he into his-own house the-consulship first
attulit, hic, summi et clarissimi viri filius, in domum
brought this-man of-a-highest and most-famous man the-son into a-house

multiplicatam non repulsam solum rettulit, sed ignominiam
enlarged not a-rejection only brought-back but disgrace
etiam et calamitatem.
also and ruin
Ornanda enim est dignitas domo, non ex domo tota 139
to-be-adorned for is dignity by-a-house not from a-house wholly
quaerenda, nec domo dominus, sed domino domus
to-be-sought and-not by-a-house the-master but by-the-master the-house
honestanda est, et, ut in ceteris habenda ratio non sua
to-be-honored is and as in the-rest to-be-had account not of-one's-own
solum, sed etiam aliorum, sic in domo clari hominis, in
only but also of-others so in the-house of-a-famous man into
quam et hospites multi recipiendi et admittenda hominum
which both guests many to-be-received and to-be-admitted of-men
cuiusque modi multitudo, adhibenda cura est laxitatis; aliter
of-every sort a-throng to-be-applied care is of-roominess otherwise
ampla domus dedecori saepe domino fit, si est in
a-large house for-a-disgrace often to-its-master becomes if there-is in
ea solitudo, et maxime, si aliquando alio domino
it emptiness and especially if once under-another master
solita est frequentari. Odiosum est enim, cum a
accustomed it-has-been to-be-thronged hateful it-is for when by
praetereuntibus dicitur:
passers-by it-is-said

O domus antiqua, heu quam dispari
O house ancient alas how by-an-unlike
dominare domino!
you-are-ruled a-master

quod quidem his temporibus in multis licet dicere.
which indeed in-these times in many-(cases) it-is-allowed to-say

140 Cavendum autem est, praesertim si ipse aedifices, ne extra
to-be-guarded moreover it-is especially if yourself you-build lest beyond
modum sumptu et magnificentia prodeas; quo in genere
measure in-expense and magnificence you-go-forth which in kind
multum mali etiam in exemplo est. Studiose enim plerique
much of-harm even in the-example is eagerly for most-men
praesertim in hanc partem facta principum imitantur, ut
especially in this direction the-deeds of-leaders imitate as
L. Luculli, summi viri, virtutem quis? at quam multi
of-Lucius Lucullus of-a-highest man the-virtue who but how many
villarum magnificentiam imitati! quarum quidem certe est
of-villas the-magnificence have-imitated of-which indeed certainly is
adhibendus modus ad mediocritatemque revocandus. Eademque
to-be-applied a-measure to and-moderation to-be-recalled and-the-same
mediocritas ad omnem usum cultumque vitae transferenda est.
moderation to every use and-refinement of-life to-be-transferred is
Sed haec hactenus.
but these thus-far

141 In omni autem actione suscipienda tria sunt tenenda,
in every moreover action to-be-undertaken three-things are to-be-held
primum ut appetitus rationi pareat, quo nihil est ad
first that appetite to-reason obey than-which nothing is for
officia conservanda accommodatius, deinde ut animadvertatur,
duties to-be-kept more-suited then that it-be-noticed
quanta illa res sit, quam efficere velimus, ut neve maior
how-great that thing is which to-accomplish we-wish so-that neither greater
neve minor cura et opera suscipiatur, quam causa postulet.
nor less care and effort be-undertaken than the-case demands
Tertium est, ut caveamus, ut ea, quae pertinent ad
the-third is that we-take-care that those-things which pertain to
liberalem speciem et dignitatem, moderata sint. Modus
gentlemanly appearance and dignity moderate be the-measure

autem est optimus decus ipsum tenere, de quo ante
moreover is best comeliness itself to-keep about which before
diximus, nec progredi longius. Horum tamen trium
we-spoke and-not to-go further of-these nevertheless three
praestantissimum est appetitum optemperare rationi.
the-most-excellent is appetite to-obey to-reason

XL · ORDER AND TIMELINESS

Order and timeliness belong to the same knowledge the Greeks call good ordering, which the Stoics define as knowing where to place what is done and said. Actions must fit each other as words fit in a consistent speech. Pericles rebuked Sophocles, his colleague in the praetorship, for praising a boy's beauty: the same words at an inspection of athletes would have deserved no blame.

Deinceps de ordine rerum et de opportunitate temporum 142
next about the-order of-things and about the-fitness of-times
dicendum est. Haec autem scientia continentur ea, quam
to-be-said it-is these moreover in-the-knowledge are-contained that which
Graeci εὐταξίαν nominant, non hanc, quam interpretamur
the-Greeks good-order name not this which we-translate
modestiam, quo in verbo modus inest, sed illa est εὐταξία,
restraint which in word measure is-in but that is good-order
in qua intellegitur ordinis conservatio. Itaque, ut eandem nos
in which is-understood of-order the-keeping and-so that the-same we
modestiam appellemus, sic definitur a Stoicis, ut modestia
restraint may-call thus it-is-defined by the-Stoics that restraint
sit scientia rerum earum, quae agentur aut dicentur,
is the-knowledge of-things those which shall-be-done or shall-be-said
loco suo collocandarum. Ita videtur eadem vis ordinis
in-place their-own to-be-set so seems the-same the-force of-order

et collocationis fore; nam et ordinem sic definiunt:
and of-arrangement to-be-about-to-be for also order thus they-define
compositionem rerum aptis et accommodatis locis; locum autem
the-arranging of-things in-fit and suitable places the-place moreover
actionis opportunitatem temporis esse dicunt; tempus autem
of-action the-fitness of-time to-be they-say the-time moreover
actionis opportunum Graece εὐκαιρία Latine appellatur occasio.
of-action fitting in-Greek good-timing in-Latin is-called occasion
Sic fit, ut modestia haec, quam ita interpretamur, ut dixi,
so it-happens that restraint this which so we-translate as I-said
scientia sit opportunitatis idoneorum ad agendum temporum.
the-knowledge is of-the-fitness of-suitable for acting times

143 Sed potest eadem esse prudentiae definitio, de qua
but can the-same to-be of-prudence the-definition about which
principio diximus; hoc autem loco de moderatione et
at-the-outset we-spoke in-this moreover place about moderation and
temperantia et harum similibus virtutibus quaerimus. Itaque,
temperance and to-these like virtues we-inquire and-so
quae erant prudentiae propria, suo loco dicta sunt; quae
what were of-prudence proper in-their place said have-been what
autem harum virtutum, de quibus iam diu loquimur,
moreover of-these virtues about which now long we-speak
quae pertinent ad verecundiam et ad eorum approbationem,
which pertain to modesty and to of-those the-approval
quibuscum vivimus, nunc dicenda sunt.
with-whom we-live now to-be-said are

144 Talis est igitur ordo actionum adhibendus, ut, quem ad
such is therefore the-order of-actions to-be-applied that which to
modum in oratione constanti, sic in vita omnia sint apta
manner in a-discourse consistent so in life all-things are fitted
inter se et convenientia; turpe enim valdeque vitiosum in
among themselves and agreeing base for and-very faulty in

re severa convivio dignum aut delicatum aliquem inferre
a-matter serious of-a-banquet worthy or dainty some to-bring-in
sermonem. Bene Pericles, cum haberet collegam in praetura
talk well Pericles when he-had as-colleague in the-praetorship
Sophoclem poëtam iique de communi officio convenissent
Sophocles the-poet and-they about the-common duty had-met
et casu formosus puer praeteriret dixissetque Sophocles: O
and by-chance a-handsome boy was-passing and-had-said Sophocles O
puerum pulchrum, Pericle! At enim praetorem, Sophocle, decet
boy beautiful O-Pericles but indeed a-praetor O-Sophocles it-befits
non solum manus, sed etiam oculos abstinentes habere. Atqui
not only hands but also eyes restrained to-keep and-yet
hoc idem Sophocles si in athletarum probatione dixisset, iusta
this same Sophocles if in of-athletes an-examination had-said just
reprehensione caruisset. Tanta vis est et loci et
blame he-would-have-lacked so-great the-force is both of-place and
temporis. Ut, si qui, cum causam sit acturus, in itinere
of-time as if anyone when a-case he-is about-to-plead on a-journey
aut in ambulatione secum ipse meditetur, aut si quid
or on a-walk with-himself he-himself ponders or if anything
aliud attentius cogitet, non reprehendatur, at hoc idem si
else more-attentively he-thinks not he-would-be-blamed but this same if
in convivio faciat, inhumanus videatur inscitia temporis.
at a-banquet he-does uncivil he-would-seem by-ignorance of-the-occasion
Sed ea, quae multum ab humanitate discrepant, ut si 145
but those-things which much from good-breeding differ as if
qui in foro cantet, aut si qua est alia magna perversitas,
anyone in the-forum should-sing or if any is other great perversity
facile apparet nec magnopere admonitionem et praecepta
easily appears and-not greatly warning and rules
desiderat; quae autem parva videntur esse delicta neque a
it-requires which moreover small seem to-be offenses and-not by

multis intellegi possunt, ab iis est diligentius declinandum.
many to-be-understood can from these it-is more-carefully to-be-turned-aside
Ut in fidibus aut tibiis, quamvis paulum discrepent, tamen
as in lyre-strings or pipes however little they-jar nevertheless
id a sciente animadverti solet, sic videndum est in vita
that by one-who-knows to-be-noticed is-wont so to-be-seen it-is in life
ne forte quid discrepet, vel multo etiam magis, quo
lest by-chance anything jar or by-much even more by-how-much
maior et melior actionum quam sonorum concentus est.
greater and better of-actions than of-sounds the-harmony is

XLI · READING MEN, AND WHOM TO HONOR

Small signs — the eyes, the brows, silence, the pitch of the voice — show what is fitting and what departs from duty, and it is easier to see faults in others than in ourselves. Where custom and civil institutions rule, they are themselves the precept. Those whose lives are proved in honorable affairs deserve regard, and old age its due.

146 Itaque, ut in fidibus musicorum aures vel minima sentiunt,
and-so as in lyre-strings of-musicians the-ears even the-least perceive
sic nos, si acres ac diligentes esse volumus animadversoresque
so we if keen and careful to-be we-wish and-observers
vitiorum, magna saepe intellegemus ex parvis. Ex oculorum
of-faults great-things often we-shall-understand from small from of-the-eyes
optutu, superciliorum aut remissione aut contractione, ex
the-gaze of-the-brows either the-relaxing or the-knitting from
maestitia, ex hilaritate, ex risu, ex locutione, ex reticentia,
sadness from cheerfulness from laughter from speech from silence
ex contentione vocis, ex summissione, ex ceteris similibus
from the-straining of-the-voice from the-lowering from the-other like-things
facile iudicabimus, quid eorum apte fiat, quid ab officio
easily we-shall-judge which of-them fitly is-done which from duty

naturaque discrepet. Quo in genere non est incommodum,
and-nature jars which in kind not it-is inconvenient
quale quidque eorum sit, ex aliis iudicare, ut, si quid
of-what-sort each of-them is from others to-judge so-that if anything
dedeceat in illis, vitemus ipsi; fit enim nescio quo
is-unbecoming in them we-may-shun ourselves it-happens for I-know-not in-what
modo, ut magis in aliis cernamus quam in nobismet ipsis,
way that more in others we-see than in our-very selves
si quid delinquitur. Itaque facillime corriguntur in discendo,
if anything is-amiss and-so most-easily are-corrected in learning
quorum vitia imitantur emendandi causa magistri.
whose faults imitate of-correcting for-the-sake the-teachers
Nec vero alienum est ad ea eligenda, quae dubitationem 147
nor indeed out-of-place it-is for those to-be-chosen which doubt
afferunt, adhibere doctos homines vel etiam usu peritos et,
bring to-call-in learned men or even by-experience skilled and
quid iis de quoque officii genere placeat, exquirere. Maior
what to-them about each of-duty kind seems-good to-inquire the-greater
enim pars eo fere deferri solet, quo a natura ipsa
for part thither generally to-be-carried is-wont whither by nature itself
deducitur. In quibus videndum est, non modo quid quisque
it-is-led in which to-be-seen it-is not only what each-man
loquatur, sed etiam quid quisque sentiat atque etiam de qua
says but also what each-man thinks and also from what
causa quisque sentiat. Ut enim pictores et ii, qui signa
reason each-man thinks-so as for painters and those who statues
fabricantur, et vero etiam poetae suum quisque opus a vulgo
make and indeed also poets his-own each work by the-public
considerari vult, ut, si quid reprehensum sit a pluribus, id
to-be-examined wishes so-that if anything blamed has-been by more that
corrigatur, iique et secum et ab aliis, quid in eo peccatum
be-corrected and-they both with-themselves and from others what in it done-amiss

sit, exquirunt, sic aliorum iudicio permulta nobis et
has-been inquire so of-others by-the-judgment very-many-things for-us both
facienda et non facienda et mutanda et corrigenda sunt.
to-be-done and not to-be-done and to-be-changed and to-be-corrected are
148 Quae vero more agentur institutisque civilibus, de iis nihil
what indeed by-usage shall-be-done and-by-institutions civil about these nothing
est praecipiendum; illa enim ipsa praecepta sunt, nec
is to-be-taught those for themselves rules are and-not
quemquam hoc errore duci oportet, ut, si quid Socrates aut
anyone by-this error to-be-led it-behooves that if anything Socrates or
Aristippus contra morem consuetudinemque civilem fecerint
Aristippus against usage and-custom civil have-done
locutive sint, idem sibi arbitretur licere; magnis
or-having-spoken they-have the-same for-himself he-should-think to-be-allowed by-great
illi et divinis bonis hanc licentiam assequebantur. Cynicorum
they and divine goods this license obtained of-the-Cynics
vero ratio tota est eicienda; est enim inimica verecundiae,
indeed the-system whole is to-be-cast-out it-is for hostile to-modesty
sine qua nihil rectum esse potest, nihil honestum.
without which nothing right to-be can nothing honorable
149 Eos autem, quorum vita perspecta in rebus honestis atque
those moreover whose life proved in matters honorable and
magnis est, bene de re publica sentientes ac bene
great is well about the-thing public thinking and well
meritos aut merentes sic ut aliquo honore aut imperio
having-deserved or deserving so as with-some honor or command
affectos observare et colere debemus, tribuere etiam multum
invested to-regard and to-honor we-ought to-grant also much
senectuti, cedere iis, qui magistratum habebunt, habere
to-old-age to-yield to-those who a-magistracy shall-hold to-have
dilectum civis et peregrini in ipsoque peregrino,
a-distinction of-a-citizen and of-a-foreigner in and-the-very foreigner

privatimne an publice venerit. Ad summam, ne agam de
whether-privately or publicly he-has-come to the-sum lest I-treat about
singulis, communem totius generis hominum conciliationem
particulars the-common of-the-whole race of-men the-union
et consociationem colere, tueri, servare debemus.
and the-fellowship to-cherish to-protect to-keep we-ought

XLII · TRADES AND CALLINGS

Trades that earn men's hatred are disapproved, and so is any wage paid for labor rather than skill, since the wage is the bond of slavery. Retailers who lie, craftsmen in workshops, and the ministers of pleasure are all base. Medicine, architecture, and teaching suit those whose rank they fit; but nothing is better than farming.

Iam de artificiis et quaestibus, qui liberales habendi, qui 150
now about crafts and trades which gentlemanly to-be-held which
sordidi sint, haec fere accepimus. Primum improbantur ii
mean are these generally we-have-heard first are-disapproved those
quaestus, qui in odia hominum incurrunt, ut portitorum,
trades which into the-hatreds of-men run as of-tax-collectors
ut faeneratorum. Illiberales autem et sordidi quaestus
as of-money-lenders ungentlemanly moreover and mean the-trades
mercennariorum omnium, quorum operae, non quorum artes
of-hired-men all whose labors not whose skills
emuntur; est enim in illis ipsa merces auctoramentum
are-bought is for in them the-very wage a-bond
servitutis. Sordidi etiam putandi, qui mercantur a
of-slavery mean also to-be-reckoned who buy from
mercatoribus, quod statim vendant; nihil enim proficiant,
wholesalers what at-once they-may-sell nothing for they-would-gain
nisi admodum mentiantur; nec vero est quicquam turpius
unless very-much they-lie and-not indeed is anything baser

vanitate. Opificesque omnes in sordida arte versantur; nec
than-falsehood and-craftsmen all in a-mean craft are-engaged and-not
enim quicquam ingenuum habere potest officina. Minimeque
for anything free-born to-have can a-workshop and-least-of-all
artes eae probandae, quae ministrae sunt voluptatum:
crafts those to-be-approved which handmaids are of-pleasures

Cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores,
fishmongers butchers cooks poulterers fishermen

ut ait Terentius; adde huc, si placet, unguentarios, saltatores
as says Terence add hither if it-pleases perfumers dancers
totumque ludum talarium.
and-the-whole game of-dice
151 Quibus autem artibus aut prudentia maior inest aut non
in-which moreover arts either prudence greater is-in or not
mediocris utilitas quaeritur, ut medicina, ut architectura, ut
a-slight benefit is-sought as medicine as architecture as
doctrina rerum honestarum, eae sunt iis, quorum ordini
the-teaching of-things honorable these are for-those whose to-rank
conveniunt, honestae. Mercatura autem, si tenuis est, sordida
they-suit honorable trade moreover if petty it-is mean
putanda est; sin magna et copiosa, multa undique
to-be-reckoned it-is but-if great and abundant many-things from-everywhere
apportans multisque sine vanitate impertiens, non est
bringing and-to-many without falsehood imparting not is
admodum vituperanda, atque etiam, si satiata quaestu vel
very to-be-blamed and also if sated with-gain or
contenta potius, ut saepe ex alto in portum, ex ipso
content rather as often from the-deep into harbor from the-very
portu se in agros possessionesque contulit, videtur iure
harbor itself into fields and-estates it-has-betaken it-seems with-right

optimo posse laudari. Omnium autem rerum, ex quibus
the-best to-be-able to-be-praised of-all moreover things from which
aliquid acquiritur, nihil est agri cultura melius, nihil
anything is-got nothing is of-the-field the-tilling better nothing
uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine libero dignius; de qua
richer nothing sweeter nothing of-a-man free worthier about which
quoniam in Catone Maiore satis multa diximus, illinc
since in the-Cato the-Elder enough many-things we-have-said thence
assumes, quae ad hunc locum pertinebunt.
you-will-take what to this place will-pertain

XLIII · FELLOWSHIP BEFORE KNOWLEDGE

When two honorable things are compared, the duties that come from fellowship rank above those that come from knowledge. A wise man given every resource and perfect leisure would leave life if he could not see another man. Knowledge without action is maimed, and no one is so eager in study that he would not drop it at his country's danger.

Sed ab iis partibus, quae sunt honestatis, quem ad modum 152
but from those parts which are of-honorableness which to manner
officia ducerentur, satis expositum videtur. Eorum autem
duties are-derived enough set-forth it-seems of-those moreover
ipsorum, quae honesta sunt, potest incidere saepe contentio et
themselves which honorable are can to-arise often a-contest and
comparatio, de duobus honestis utrum honestius, qui locus
comparison about two honorable-things which more-honorable which topic
a Panaetio est praetermissus. Nam cum omnis honestas
by Panaetius has-been passed-over for since all honorableness
manat a partibus quattuor, quarum una sit cognitionis, altera
flows from parts four of-which one is of-knowledge the-second

communitatis, tertia magnanimitatis, quarta moderationis, haec
of-fellowship the-third of-greatness-of-soul the-fourth of-moderation these
in deligendo officio saepe inter se comparentur necesse est.
in choosing duty often among themselves be-compared necessary it-is
153 Placet igitur aptiora esse naturae ea officia, quae ex
it-pleases therefore more-suited to-be to-nature those duties which from
communitate, quam ea, quae ex cognitione ducantur, idque
fellowship than those which from knowledge are-derived and-that
hoc argumento confirmari potest, quod, si contigerit ea
by-this argument to-be-confirmed can because if there-should-fall that
vita sapienti, ut omnium rerum affluentibus copiis quamvis
life to-a-wise-man that of-all things with-overflowing supplies although
omnia, quae cognitione digna sint, summo otio secum
all-things which of-knowledge worthy are in-the-highest leisure with-himself
ipse consideret et contempletur, tamen, si solitudo
he-himself he-may-consider and he-may-contemplate nevertheless if a-solitude
tanta sit, ut hominem videre non possit, excedat e
so-great is that a-man to-see not he-can he-would-depart from
vita. Princepsque omnium virtutum illa sapientia, quam
life and-the-chief of-all virtues that wisdom which
σοφίαν Graeci vocant — prudentiam enim, quam Graeci
wisdom the-Greeks call prudence for which the-Greeks
φρόνησιν dicunt, aliam quandam intellegimus, quae est
practical-wisdom call another a-certain we-understand which is
rerum expetendarum fugiendarumque scientia; illa autem
of-things to-be-sought and-to-be-shunned the-knowledge that moreover
sapientia, quam principem dixi, rerum est divinarum et
wisdom which chief I-called of-things is divine and
humanarum scientia, in qua continetur deorum et hominum
human the-knowledge in which is-contained of-gods and of-men
communitas et societas inter ipsos; ea si maxima est, ut est
the-community and the-fellowship among themselves it if greatest is as it-is

certe, necesse est, quod a communitate ducatur officium,
certainly necessary it-is that-what from fellowship is-derived duty
id esse maximum. Etenim cognitio contemplatioque naturae
that to-be greatest for-indeed the-knowledge and-contemplation of-nature
manca quodam modo atque inchoata sit, si nulla actio
maimed in-a-certain way and unfinished would-be if no action
rerum consequatur. Ea autem actio in hominum commodis
of-things should-follow that moreover action in of-men the-interests
tuendis maxime cernitur; pertinet igitur ad societatem
to-be-guarded chiefly is-seen it-pertains therefore to the-fellowship
generis humani; ergo haec cognitioni anteponenda est.
of-the-race human therefore this to-knowledge to-be-preferred is
Atque id optimus quisque re ipsa ostendit et iudicat. Quis 154
and that the-best each-man by-the-fact itself shows and judges who
enim est tam cupidus in perspicienda cognoscendaque rerum
for is so eager in to-be-examined and-to-be-known of-things
natura, ut, si ei tractanti contemplantique res cognitione
the-nature that if to-him handling and-contemplating things of-knowledge
dignissimas subito sit allatum periculum discrimenque
most-worthy suddenly should-be brought a-danger and-a-crisis
patriae, cui subvenire opitularique possit, non illa omnia
of-the-fatherland which to-succor and-to-help he-could not those all
relinquat atque abiciat, etiamsi dinumerare se stellas aut
he-would-leave and cast-away even-if to-number himself the-stars or
metiri mundi magnitudinem posse arbitretur? atque hoc
to-measure of-the-universe the-size to-be-able he-thinks and this
idem in parentis, in amici re aut periculo fecerit.
same in of-a-parent in of-a-friend a-matter or danger he-would-do

155 Quibus rebus intellegitur studiis officiisque scientiae
by-which things it-is-understood to-the-pursuits and-duties of-knowledge
praeponenda esse officia iustitiae, quae pertinent ad hominum
to-be-preferred to-be the-duties of-justice which pertain to of-men
utilitatem, qua nihil homini esse debet antiquius.
the-benefit than-which nothing for-a-man to-be ought more-important

XLIV · THE LEARNED HAVE SERVED MEN

Even those who gave their whole lives to knowledge did not withdraw from men's advantage: they trained citizens, and by their writings they teach after death. It is not true, Cicero says, that men joined together because they could not meet nature's wants without help; as bees make combs because they are gregarious and not the reverse, so men are gathered by nature. So the duty of fellowship outranks the duty of knowledge.

Atque illi, quorum studia vitaque omnis in rerum cognitione
and those whose pursuits and-life all in of-things the-knowledge
versata est, tamen ab augendis hominum utilitatibus et
engaged has-been nevertheless from to-be-increased of-men the-benefits and
commodis non recesserunt; nam et erudiverunt multos, quo
advantages not have-withdrawn for both they-have-trained many that
meliores cives utilioresque rebus suis publicis essent, ut
better citizens and-more-useful to-affairs their public they-should-be as
Thebanum Epaminondam Lysis Pythagoreus, Syracosium
the-Theban Epaminondas Lysis the-Pythagorean(-trained) the-Syracusan
Dionem Plato multique multos, nosque ipsi, quicquid
Dion Plato(-trained) and-many(-trained) many and-we ourselves whatever
ad rem publicam attulimus, si modo aliquid attulimus, a
to the-thing public we-have-brought if only anything we-have-brought by
doctoribus atque doctrina instructi ad eam et ornati accessimus.
teachers and by-learning equipped to it and adorned we-came

Neque solum vivi atque praesentes studiosos discendi erudiunt 156
and-not only living and present the-eager of-learning they-train
atque docent, sed hoc idem etiam post mortem monumentis
and teach but this same even after death by-the-monuments
litterarum assequuntur. Nec enim locus ullus est
of-letters they-achieve and-not for topic any has-been
praetermissus ab iis, qui ad leges, qui ad mores, qui ad
passed-over by those which to laws which to manners which to
disciplinam rei publicae pertineret, ut otium suum ad
the-ordering of-the-thing public pertained so-that leisure their to
nostrum negotium contulisse videantur. Ita illi ipsi doctrinae
our business to-have-devoted they-seem so those very of-learning
studiis et sapientiae dediti ad hominum utilitatem suam
to-the-pursuits and to-wisdom devoted to of-men the-benefit their-own
prudentiam intellegentiamque potissimum conferunt; ob
prudence and-understanding chiefly bring on-account-of
eamque etiam causam eloqui copiose, modo prudenter, melius
and-that also cause to-speak copiously provided wisely better
est quam vel acutissime sine eloquentia cogitare, quod
is than even most-keenly without eloquence to-think because
cogitatio in se ipsa vertitur, eloquentia complectitur eos,
thought in itself it-itself turns eloquence embraces those
quibuscum communitate iuncti sumus.
with-whom by-fellowship joined we-are
Atque ut apium examina non fingendorum favorum causa 157
and as of-bees the-swarms not of-to-be-shaped combs for-the-sake
congregantur, sed, cum congregabilia natura sint, fingunt
gather but since gregarious by-nature they-are they-shape
favos, sic homines, ac multo etiam magis, natura congregati
combs so men and by-much even more by-nature gathered
adhibent agendi cogitandique sollertiam. Itaque, nisi ea
apply of-acting and-of-thinking the-skill and-so unless that

virtus, quae constat ex hominibus tuendis, id est ex
virtue which consists in men to-be-guarded that is in
societate generis humani, attingat cognitionem rerum, solivaga
the-fellowship of-the-race human touches the-knowledge of-things a-solitary
cognitio et ieiuna videatur, itemque magnitudo animi remota
knowledge and barren would-seem and-likewise greatness of-soul removed
communitate coniunctioneque humana feritas sit quaedam
from-fellowship and-from-union human a-wildness would-be a-certain
et immanitas. Ita fit, ut vincat cognitionis studium
and savagery so it-happens that overcomes of-knowledge the-pursuit
consociatio hominum atque communitas.
the-association of-men and the-fellowship

158 Nec verum est, quod dicitur a quibusdam, propter
nor true it-is what is-said by certain-men on-account-of
necessitatem vitae, quod ea, quae natura desideraret,
the-necessity of-life because those-things which nature required
consequi sine aliis atque efficere non possemus, idcirco
to-obtain without others and to-accomplish not we-could therefore
initam esse cum hominibus communitatem et societatem;
entered-into to-be with men the-community and fellowship
quodsi omnia nobis, quae ad victum cultumque pertinent,
but-if all-things for-us which to livelihood and-refinement pertain
quasi virgula divina, ut aiunt, suppeditarentur, tum optimo
as-if by-a-wand divine as they-say were-supplied then of-the-best
quisque ingenio negotiis omnibus omissis totum se
each-man talent business all having-been-dropped wholly himself
in cognitione et scientia collocaret. Non est ita; nam
in knowledge and science would-place not it-is so for
et solitudinem fugeret et socium studii quaereret, tum
both solitude he-would-flee and a-partner of-study he-would-seek now
docere tum discere vellet, tum audire tum dicere. Ergo
to-teach now to-learn he-would-wish now to-hear now to-speak therefore

omne officium, quod ad coniunctionem hominum et ad
every duty which to the-union of-men and to
societatem tuendam valet, anteponendum est illi officio,
the-fellowship to-be-guarded avails to-be-preferred is to-that duty
quod cognitione et scientia continetur.
which by-knowledge and science is-contained

XLV · WHERE FELLOWSHIP YIELDS

Fellowship does not always come before moderation: some acts are so foul that a wise man would not do them even to save his country, and Posidonius collected many of them. But the case cannot arise, since it can never be in the state's interest for a wise man to do such a thing. Cicero closes by ranking the duties of fellowship: first to the immortal gods, then to country, then to parents, then by degrees to the rest.

Illud forsitan quaerendum sit, num haec communitas, 159
that perhaps to-be-asked is whether this fellowship
quae maxime est apta naturae, sit etiam moderationi
which most is suited to-nature is also to-moderation
modestiaeque semper anteponenda. Non placet; sunt enim
and-to-restraint always to-be-preferred not it-pleases there-are for
quaedam partim ita foeda, partim ita flagitiosa, ut ea ne
certain-things partly so foul partly so shameful that them not
conservandae quidem patriae causa sapiens facturus sit.
of-to-be-saved even the-fatherland for-the-sake a-wise-man about-to-do is
Ea Posidonius collegit permulta, sed ita taetra quaedam, ita
these Posidonius collected very-many but so loathsome certain-ones so
obscena, ut dictu quoque videantur turpia. Haec igitur
obscene that in-the-saying also they-seem base these therefore
non suscipiet rei publicae causa, ne res publica
not he-will-undertake of-the-thing public for-the-sake not the-thing public

quidem pro se suscipi volet. Sed hoc commodius
even for itself to-be-undertaken will-wish but by-this more-conveniently
se res habet, quod non potest accidere tempus, ut
itself the-matter holds because not can to-happen an-occasion that
intersit rei publicae quicquam illorum facere sapientem.
it-matters to-the-thing public any of-those to-do a-wise-man
160 Quare hoc quidem effectum sit, in officiis deligendis id
wherefore this indeed established let-it-be in duties to-be-chosen that
genus officiorum excellere, quod teneatur hominum societate.
kind of-duties to-excel which is-held-by of-men the-fellowship
Etenim cognitionem prudentiamque sequetur considerata
for-indeed (upon-)knowledge and-prudence will-follow considered
actio; ita fit, ut agere considerate pluris sit quam
action so it-happens that to-act considerately of-more-worth is than
cogitare prudenter.
to-think prudently
Atque haec quidem hactenus. Patefactus enim locus est
and these indeed thus-far laid-open for the-topic has-been
ipse, ut non difficile sit in exquirendo officio, quid cuique
itself so-that not hard it-is in searching-out duty what to-each
sit praeponendum, videre. In ipsa autem communitate
is to-be-preferred to-see in the-very moreover fellowship
sunt gradus officiorum, ex quibus, quid cuique praestet,
there-are degrees of-duties from which what to-each takes-precedence
intellegi possit, ut prima dis immortalibus, secunda
to-be-understood can that the-first to-the-gods immortal the-second
patriae, tertia parentibus, deinceps gradatim reliquis
to-the-fatherland the-third to-parents then by-degrees to-the-rest
debeantur.
are-owed

Quibus ex rebus breviter disputatis intellegi potest 161
which from things briefly having-been-discussed to-be-understood it-can
non solum id homines solere dubitare, honestumne an
not only that men to-be-wont to-doubt whether-honorable or
turpe sit, sed etiam duobus propositis honestis utrum
base it-is but also two having-been-set-out honorable-things which
honestius sit. Hic locus a Panaetio est, ut supra dixi,
more-honorable is this topic by Panaetius has-been as above I-said
praetermissus. Sed iam ad reliqua pergamus.
passed-over but now to the-remaining let-us-go-on

BOOK II

I · PHILOSOPHY IN A SILENCED REPUBLIC

Cicero turns from the honorable to the useful, and first explains why he writes philosophy at all. While the republic was governed by those it had trusted, he gave it all his care; once everything was held by one man's rule, there was no room left for counsel or authority. Deprived of the forum and the senate, he took up the studies of his youth.

Quem ad modum officia ducerentur ab honestate, Marce fili, 1
which to manner duties are-derived from honorableness O-Marcus son
atque ab omni genere virtutis, satis explicatum arbitror libro
and from every kind of-virtue enough explained I-think in-the-book
superiore. Sequitur, ut haec officiorum genera persequar, quae
former it-follows that these of-duties kinds I-pursue which
pertinent ad vitae cultum et ad earum rerum, quibus
pertain to of-life the-refinement and to of-those things with-which
utuntur homines, facultatem, ad opes, ad copias; in quo tum
use men the-command to power to abundance in which now
quaeri dixi, quid utile, quid inutile, tum ex utilibus quid
to-be-asked I-said what useful what useless now from the-useful what
utilius aut quid maxime utile. De quibus dicere aggrediar, si
more-useful or what most useful about which to-speak I-shall-set-about if
pauca prius de instituto ac de iudicio meo dixero.
a-few-things first about the-plan and about the-judgment my I-shall-have-said
Quamquam enim libri nostri complures non modo ad legendi, 2
although for books our several not only to of-reading
sed etiam ad scribendi studium excitaverunt, tamen interdum
but also to of-writing the-zeal have-roused nevertheless sometimes

vereor, ne quibusdam bonis viris philosophiae nomen sit invisum
I-fear lest to-certain good men of-philosophy the-name is hateful
mirenturque in ea tantum me operae et temporis ponere.
and-they-wonder on it so-much (that)-I of-effort and of-time to-lay-out
Ego autem, quam diu res publica per eos gerebatur,
I moreover as long the-thing public through those was-carried-on
quibus se ipsa commiserat, omnis meas curas
to-whom itself she-herself had-entrusted all my cares
cogitationesque in eam conferebam; cum autem dominatu
and-thoughts on it I-was-bringing when moreover by-the-mastery
unius omnia tenerentur neque esset usquam consilio aut
of-one all-things were-held and-not there-was anywhere for-counsel or
auctoritati locus, socios denique tuendae rei publicae,
for-authority a-place the-partners finally of-to-be-guarded the-thing public
summos viros, amisissem, nec me angoribus dedidi, quibus
the-highest men I-had-lost and-not myself to-anguish I-gave-up by-which
essem confectus, nisi iis restitissem, nec rursum
I-should-have-been worn-out unless to-them I-had-resisted and-not again
indignis homine docto voluptatibus.
to-unworthy of-a-man learned pleasures
3 Atque utinam res publica stetisset, quo coeperat,
and would-that the-thing public had-stood in-which it-had-begun
statu nec in homines non tam commutandarum quam
state and-not upon men not so of-to-be-changed as
evertendarum rerum cupidos incidisset! Primum enim, ut
of-to-be-overthrown things desirous it-had-fallen first for as
stante re publica facere solebamus, in agendo plus
with-standing the-thing public to-do we-were-wont in acting more
quam in scribendo operae poneremus, deinde ipsis scriptis
than in writing effort we-should-lay-out then to-the-very writings
non ea, quae nunc, sed actiones nostras mandaremus, ut
not those-things which now but the-deeds our we-should-commit as

saepe fecimus. Cum autem res publica, in qua omnis mea
often we-have-done when moreover the-thing public in which all my
cura, cogitatio, opera poni solebat, nulla esset omnino,
care thought effort to-be-laid was-wont none there-was at-all
illae scilicet litterae conticuerunt forenses et senatoriae.
those of-course writings fell-silent forensic and senatorial
Nihil agere autem cum animus non posset, in his studiis 4
nothing to-do moreover since the-mind not could in these studies
ab initio versatus aetatis existimavi honestissime molestias
from the-beginning engaged of-life I-judged most-honorably the-troubles
posse deponi, si me ad philosophiam rettulissem.
to-be-able to-be-laid-down if myself to philosophy I-should-have-returned
Cui cum multum adulescens discendi causa temporis
to-which when much as-a-youth of-learning for-the-sake of-time
tribuissem, posteaquam honoribus inservire coepi meque
I-had-given after-that to-offices to-devote-myself I-began and-myself
totum rei publicae tradidi, tantum erat philosophiae
wholly to-the-thing public I-handed-over so-much there-was for-philosophy
loci, quantum superfuerat amicorum et rei publicae
of-room as-much had-remained-over of-friends and of-the-thing public
temporibus; id autem omne consumebatur in legendo,
from-the-claims that moreover all was-consumed in reading
scribendi otium non erat.
of-writing leisure not there-was

Cicero praises philosophy as the pursuit of wisdom, the knowledge of things divine and human. Learned men object that he is inconsistent, since he holds that nothing can be perceived and yet lays down rules of duty. He answers that his mind does not wander: he calls some things probable and others not, and follows the probable while shunning the arrogance of assertion.

5 Maximis igitur in malis hoc tamen boni assecuti
the-greatest therefore in evils this nevertheless of-good having-attained
videmur, ut ea litteris mandaremus, quae nec erant
we-seem that those-things to-letters we-committed which not were
satis nota nostris et erant cognitione dignissima. Quid
enough known to-our-people and-yet were of-knowledge most-worthy what
enim est, per deos, optabilius sapientia, quid praestantius,
for is by the-gods more-desirable than-wisdom what more-excellent
quid homini melius, quid homine dignius? Hanc igitur qui
what for-man better what of-man worthier this therefore who
expetunt, philosophi nominantur, nec quicquam aliud est
seek philosophers are-named and-not anything else is
philosophia, si interpretari velis, praeter studium sapientiae.
philosophy if to-translate you-wish beyond the-pursuit of-wisdom
Sapientia autem est, ut a veteribus philosophis definitum
wisdom moreover is as by the-old philosophers defined
est, rerum divinarum et humanarum causarumque, quibus
it-has-been of-things divine and human and-of-the-causes by-which
eae res continentur, scientia; cuius studium qui vituperat,
those things are-held the-knowledge of-which the-pursuit who blames
haud sane intellego, quidnam sit, quod laudandum putet.
not truly I-understand what-then it-is which to-be-praised he-thinks

Nam sive oblectatio quaeritur animi requiesque curarum, 6
for whether delight is-sought of-mind and-rest from-cares
quae conferri cum eorum studiis potest, qui semper
which to-be-compared with of-those the-pursuits can who always
aliquid anquirunt, quod spectet et valeat ad bene beateque
something seek which looks-to and avails to well and-happily
vivendum? sive ratio constantiae virtutisque ducitur,
living or the-principle of-constancy and-of-virtue is-drawn
aut haec ars est aut nulla omnino, per quam eas
either this art is or none at-all through which those-things
assequamur. Nullam dicere maximarum rerum artem esse,
we-may-attain none to-say of-the-greatest things an-art to-be
cum minimarum sine arte nulla sit, hominum est parum
when of-the-least without art none there-is of-men it-is too-little
considerate loquentium atque in maximis rebus errantium.
considerately speaking and in the-greatest matters erring
Si autem est aliqua disciplina virtutis, ubi ea quaeretur,
if moreover there-is any discipline of-virtue where it will-be-sought
cum ab hoc discendi genere discesseris?
when from this of-learning kind you-shall-have-departed
Sed haec, cum ad philosophiam cohortamur, accuratius disputari
but these when to philosophy we-exhort more-carefully to-be-argued
solent, quod alio quodam libro fecimus; hoc autem tempore
are-wont which in-another a-certain book we-have-done at-this moreover time
tantum nobis declarandum fuit, cur orbati rei publicae
only by-us to-be-declared it-was why bereft of-the-thing public
muneribus ad hoc nos studium potissimum contulissemus.
of-the-offices to this ourselves pursuit chiefly we-had-betaken
Occurritur autem nobis, et quidem a doctis et eruditis 7
it-is-objected moreover to-us and indeed by learned and erudite
quaerentibus, satisne constanter facere videamur, qui, cum
men-asking whether-enough consistently to-act we-seem who when

percipi nihil posse dicamus, tamen et aliis de rebus
to-be-perceived nothing to-be-able we-say nevertheless both other about matters
disserere soleamus et hoc ipso tempore praecepta officii
to-discourse we-are-wont and at-this very time the-rules of-duty
persequamur. Quibus vellem satis cognita esset nostra
we-pursue to-whom I-could-wish enough known were our
sententia. Non enim sumus ii, quorum vagetur animus
view not for we-are those whose may-wander the-mind
errore nec habeat umquam, quid sequatur. Quae enim
in-error and-not may-have ever what it-may-follow what for
esset ista mens vel quae vita potius non modo disputandi,
would-be that mind or what life rather not only of-arguing
sed etiam vivendi ratione sublata? Nos autem, ut
but also of-living the-principle having-been-taken-away we moreover as
ceteri alia certa, alia incerta esse dicunt, sic ab his
others some-things certain others uncertain to-be say so from these
dissentientes alia probabilia, contra alia dicimus.
dissenting some-things probable on-the-contrary others we-call

8 Quid est igitur, quod me impediat ea, quae probabilia
what is therefore which me hinders those-things which probable
mihi videantur, sequi, quae contra, improbare atque
to-me seem to-follow what the-contrary to-disapprove and
affirmandi arrogantiam vitantem fugere temeritatem, quae a
of-affirming the-arrogance shunning to-flee rashness which from
sapientia dissidet plurimum? Contra autem omnia disputatur
wisdom differs most against moreover all-things is-argued
a nostris, quod hoc ipsum probabile elucere non posset,
by our-school because this very probable to-shine-out not could
nisi ex utraque parte causarum esset facta contentio.
unless from each side of-the-cases had-been made a-contest

Sed haec explanata sunt in Academicis nostris satis, ut
but these explained have-been in the-Academica our enough as
arbitror, diligenter. Tibi autem, mi Cicero, quamquam in
I-think carefully to-you moreover my Cicero although in
antiquissima nobilissimaque philosophia Cratippo auctore
the-most-ancient and-noblest philosophy with-Cratippus as-teacher
versaris iis simillimo, qui ista praeclara pepererunt,
you-are-engaged to-those most-like who those splendid(-doctrines) brought-forth
tamen haec nostra finitima vestris ignota esse nolui.
nevertheless these our neighboring to-yours unknown to-be I-have-not-wished
Sed iam ad instituta pergamus.
but now to the-plans let-us-go-on

III · THE USEFUL AND ITS CORRUPTION

Of the five headings of duty, the two on the honorable are finished; what follows is the useful. Common usage has strayed and set the honorable apart from the useful, holding some things honorable but not useful and others useful but not honorable; no worse ruin could befall human life. Cicero then divides what serves men into the lifeless and the living, and shows that even the lifeless things are mostly the work of men's hands.

Quinque igitur rationibus propositis officii persequendi, 9
five therefore heads having-been-set-out of-duty to-be-pursued
quarum duae ad decus honestatemque pertinerent, duae ad
of-which two to comeliness and-honorableness pertained two to
commoda vitae, copias, opes, facultates, quinta ad eligendi
the-advantages of-life abundance power means the-fifth to of-choosing
iudicium, si quando ea, quae dixi, pugnare inter se
the-judgment if ever those-things which I-said to-conflict among themselves

viderentur, honestatis pars confecta est, quam quidem
seemed of-honorableness the-part finished has-been which indeed
tibi cupio esse notissimam.
for-you I-desire to-be best-known
Hoc autem, de quo nunc agimus, id ipsum est, quod utile
this moreover about which now we-treat that very is which useful
appellatur. In quo verbo lapsa consuetudo deflexit
is-called in which word having-slipped usage has-turned-aside
de via sensimque eo deducta est, ut honestatem
from the-road and-gradually thither brought has-been that honorableness
ab utilitate secernens constitueret esse honestum aliquid,
from usefulness separating it-established to-be honorable something
quod utile non esset, et utile, quod non honestum, qua
which useful not was and useful which not honorable than-which
nulla pernicies maior hominum vitae potuit afferri.
no ruin greater of-men to-life could to-be-brought
10 Summa quidem auctoritate philosophi severe sane atque
of-the-highest indeed authority the-philosophers strictly truly and
honeste haec tria genera confusa cogitatione distinguunt.
honorably these three kinds (though)-confused in-thought distinguish
Quicquid enim iustum sit, id etiam utile esse censent,
whatever for just is that also useful to-be they-hold
itemque quod honestum, idem iustum; ex quo efficitur,
and-likewise what honorable the-same just from which it-follows
ut, quicquid honestum sit, idem sit utile. Quod qui
that whatever honorable is the-same is useful which who
parum perspiciunt, ii saepe versutos homines et callidos
too-little discern they often crafty men and cunning
admirantes malitiam sapientiam iudicant. Quorum error
admiring wickedness (to-be)-wisdom judge of-whom the-error
eripiendus est opinioque omnis ad eam spem traducenda,
to-be-torn-away is and-the-notion all to that hope to-be-brought-over

ut honestis consiliis iustisque factis, non fraude et malitia
that by-honorable counsels and-just deeds not by-fraud and malice
se intellegant ea, quae velint, consequi posse.
themselves they-understand those-things which they-wish to-attain to-be-able
Quae ergo ad vitam hominum tuendam pertinent, partim 11
what therefore to the-life of-men to-be-guarded pertain partly
sunt inanima, ut aurum, argentum, ut ea, quae gignuntur
are lifeless as gold silver as those-things which are-produced
e terra, ut alia generis eiusdem, partim animalia, quae
from the-earth as other-things of-kind the-same partly living which
habent suos impetus et rerum appetitus. Eorum autem alia
have their-own impulses and of-things appetites of-them moreover some
rationis expertia sunt, alia ratione utentia; expertes rationis
of-reason destitute are others reason using destitute of-reason
equi, boves, reliquae pecudes, apes, quarum opere efficitur
horses oxen the-rest cattle bees whose by-work is-produced
aliquid ad usum hominum atque vitam; ratione autem utentium
something for the-use of-men and life reason moreover of-those-using
duo genera ponunt, deorum unum, alterum hominum. Deos
two kinds they-set of-gods one the-other of-men the-gods
placatos pietas efficiet et sanctitas, proxime autem et secundum
appeased piety will-make and holiness next moreover and after
deos homines hominibus maxime utiles esse possunt.
the-gods men to-men most useful to-be can
Earumque item rerum, quae noceant et obsint, eadem divisio 12
and-of-those likewise things which harm and hinder the-same division
est. Sed quia deos nocere non putant, iis exceptis
is but because the-gods to-harm not they-think these having-been-excepted
homines hominibus obesse plurimum arbitrantur.
men to-men to-hurt most they-judge

Ea enim ipsa, quae inanima diximus, pleraque sunt hominum
those for very-things which lifeless we-called most are of-men
operis effecta; quae nec haberemus, nisi manus et ars
by-labor wrought which and-not we-should-have unless the-hand and skill
accessisset, nec iis sine hominum administratione uteremur.
had-come-in and-not them without of-men the-management we-should-use
Neque enim valetudinis curatio neque navigatio neque agri
and-not for of-health the-care nor navigation nor of-the-field
cultura neque frugum fructuumque reliquorum perceptio et
the-tilling nor of-crops and-of-fruits the-other the-gathering and
conservatio sine hominum opera ulla esse potuisset.
the-keeping without of-men the-work any to-be could-have
13 Iam vero et earum rerum, quibus abundaremus, exportatio
now indeed both of-those things in-which we-abound the-export
et earum, quibus egeremus, invectio certe nulla esset,
and of-those which we-lack the-import certainly none would-be
nisi his muneribus homines fungerentur. Eademque ratione
unless these services men performed and-by-the-same reason
nec lapides ex terra exciderentur ad usum nostrum
and-not stones from the-earth would-be-cut for the-use our
necessarii, nec ferrum, aes, aurum, argentum effoderetur
necessary nor iron bronze gold silver would-be-dug-out
penitus abditum sine hominum labore et manu.
deeply hidden without of-men the-toil and hand

Without men there would be no roofs against cold and heat, no aqueducts, no diverted rivers, no harbors made by hand. What beasts yield depends on men too: men first found out the use of each, and men feed, tame, and guard them. Cicero adds the arts, and the cities that only human gathering can build, from which came laws, custom, and a settled way of living.

Tecta vero, quibus et frigorum vis pelleretur et
roofs indeed by-which both of-colds the-force might-be-driven-off and
calorum molestiae sedarentur, unde aut initio generi
of-beats the-annoyances might-be-allayed whence either at-the-outset to-the-race
humano dari potuissent aut postea subveniri, si aut
human to-be-given could-they or afterward to-be-relieved if either
vi tempestatis aut terrae motu aut vetustate
by-the-force of-a-storm or of-the-earth by-a-shaking or by-age
cecidissent, nisi communis vita ab hominibus harum rerum
they-had-fallen unless the-common life from men of-these things
auxilia petere didicisset?
the-aids to-seek had-learned
Adde ductus aquarum, derivationes fluminum, agrorum 14
add the-channels of-waters the-diversions of-rivers of-fields
irrigationes, moles oppositas fluctibus, portus manu factos,
the-irrigations breakwaters set-against the-waves harbors by-hand made
quae unde sine hominum opere habere possemus? Ex
which whence without of-men the-work to-have could-we from
quibus multisque aliis perspicuum est, qui fructus
which and-from-many other-things plain it-is what fruits
quaeque utilitates ex rebus iis, quae sint inanimae,
and-what advantages from things those which are lifeless

percipiantur, eas nos nullo modo sine hominum manu
are-gathered them we in-no way without of-men the-hand
atque opera capere potuisse.
and work to-take to-have-been-able
Qui denique ex bestiis fructus aut quae commoditas, nisi
what finally from beasts fruit or what advantage unless
homines adiuvarent, percipi posset? Nam et qui principes
men helped to-be-gathered could for both who the-first
inveniendi fuerunt, quem ex quaque belua usum habere
of-finding-out were what from each beast use to-have
possemus, homines certe fuerunt, nec hoc tempore sine
we-could men certainly were and-not at-this time without
hominum opera aut pascere eas aut domare aut tueri aut
of-men the-work either to-feed them or to-tame or to-guard or
tempestivos fructus ex iis capere possemus; ab eisdemque et,
seasonable fruits from them to-take we-could by and-the-same both
quae nocent, interficiuntur et, quae usui possunt esse, capiuntur.
what harm are-killed and what for-use can to-be are-caught
15 Quid enumerem artium multitudinem, sine quibus vita omnino
why should-I-count of-the-arts the-multitude without which life at-all
nulla esse potuisset? Qui enim aegris subveniretur, quae esset
none to-be could-have how for to-the-sick would-be-relieved what would-be
oblectatio valentium, qui victus aut cultus, nisi tam multae
the-delight of-the-healthy what the-food or the-refinement unless so many
nobis artes ministrarent? quibus rebus exculta hominum vita
for-us arts served by-which things cultivated of-men the-life
tantum distat a victu et cultu bestiarum. Urbes vero
so-far stands-apart from the-food and refinement of-beasts cities indeed
sine hominum coetu non potuissent nec aedificari nec
without of-men the-gathering not could-have either to-be-built or
frequentari; ex quo leges moresque constituti, tum iuris aequa
to-be-peopled from which laws and-customs were-established then of-right an-even

discriptio certaque vivendi disciplina; quas res et mansuetudo
assignment and-a-fixed of-living discipline which things both gentleness
animorum consecuta et verecundia est effectumque,
of-minds followed and modesty has(-followed) and-it-was-brought-about
ut esset vita munitior, atque ut dando et accipiendo
that might-be life better-protected and that by-giving and by-receiving
mutuandisque facultatibus et commodandis nulla re egeremus.
and-by-borrowing resources and by-lending in-no thing we-should-want

V · WHAT MEN CAN DO FOR AND AGAINST MEN

No general in war and no leader at home has done anything great without men's support, and Panaetius proves it from Themistocles, Pericles, Cyrus, Agesilaus, and Alexander. But man is the deadliest plague to man: Dicaearchus reckoned that wars and factions have destroyed more than flood, plague, or wild beasts. Cicero then divides virtue into three parts, the last of which is dealing with our fellow men with moderation and understanding.

Longiores hoc loco sumus, quam necesse est. Quis est 16
longer in-this place we-are than necessary it-is who is
enim, cui non perspicua sint illa, quae pluribus
for to-whom not plain are those-things which in-more
verbis a Panaetio commemorantur, neminem neque ducem
words by Panaetius are-recounted that-no-one either a-leader
bello nec principem domi magnas res et salutares sine
in-war or a-chief at-home great things and salutary without
hominum studiis gerere potuisse? Commemoratur ab eo
of-men the-support to-carry-out to-have-been-able there-is-recounted by him
Themistocles, Pericles, Cyrus, Agesilaus, Alexander, quos negat
Themistocles Pericles Cyrus Agesilaus Alexander whom he-denies

sine adiumentis hominum tantas res efficere potuisse.
without the-aids of-men so-great things to-accomplish to-have-been-able
Utitur in re non dubia testibus non necessariis.
he-uses in a-matter not doubtful witnesses not necessary
Atque ut magnas utilitates adipiscimur conspiratione hominum
and as great advantages we-gain by-the-agreement of-men
atque consensu, sic nulla tam detestabilis pestis est, quae
and by-consent so no so detestable plague is which
non homini ab homine nascatur. Est Dicaearchi liber
not for-a-man from a-man arises there-is of-Dicaearchus a-book
de interitu hominum, Peripatetici magni et copiosi, qui
about the-destruction of-men of-a-Peripatetic great and copious who
collectis ceteris causis eluvionis, pestilentiae, vastitatis,
having-been-collected the-other causes of-flood of-plague of-desolation
beluarum etiam repentinae multitudinis, quarum impetu
of-beasts even sudden of-a-multitude whose by-onset
docet quaedam hominum genera esse consumpta, deinde
he-shows certain of-men kinds to-have-been consumed then
comparat, quanto plures deleti sint homines hominum
he-compares by-how-much more destroyed have-been men of-men
impetu, id est bellis aut seditionibus, quam omni reliqua
by-the-onset that is by-wars or by-seditions than by-every remaining
calamitate.
calamity

17 Cum igitur hic locus nihil habeat dubitationis, quin homines
since therefore this topic nothing has of-doubt but-that men
plurimum hominibus et prosint et obsint, proprium hoc
most to-men both benefit and harm proper this
statuo esse virtutis, conciliare animos hominum et ad usus
I-lay-down to-be of-virtue to-win-over the-minds of-men and to uses
suos adiungere. Itaque, quae in rebus inanimis quaeque
one's-own to-attach and-so what in things lifeless and-what

in usu et tractatione beluarum fiunt utiliter ad hominum
in the-use and handling of-beasts are-done usefully for of-men
vitam, artibus ea tribuuntur operosis, hominum autem
the-life to-crafts these are-assigned laborious of-men moreover
studia ad amplificationem nostrarum rerum prompta ac
the-support for the-increase of-our affairs ready and
parata virorum praestantium sapientia et virtute excitantur.
prepared of-men outstanding by-the-wisdom and by-virtue is-roused
Etenim virtus omnis tribus in rebus fere vertitur, quarum 18
for-indeed virtue all three in things generally turns of-which
una est in perspiciendo, quid in quaque re verum
one is in discerning what in each matter true
sincerumque sit, quid consentaneum cuique, quid consequens,
and-genuine is what agreeable to-each what consequent
ex quo quaeque gignantur, quae cuiusque rei causa sit,
from which the-several-things are-produced what of-each thing the-cause is
alterum cohibere motus animi turbatos, quos Graeci πάθη
the-second to-restrain the-motions of-mind disturbed which the-Greeks passions
nominant, appetitionesque, quas illi ὁρμάς, oboedientes efficere
name and-the-appetites which they impulses obedient to-make
rationi, tertium iis, quibuscum congregemur, uti moderate
to-reason the-third those with-whom we-consort to-treat with-moderation
et scienter, quorum studiis ea, quae natura desiderat,
and with-knowledge whose by-support those-things which nature requires
expleta cumulataque habeamus, per eosdemque, si quid
filled-out and-heaped-up we-may-have through and-the-same-men if anything
importetur nobis incommodi, propulsemus ulciscamurque
is-brought on-us of-harm we-may-drive-off and-may-avenge-ourselves-on
eos, qui nocere nobis conati sint, tantaque poena
those who to-harm us tried have and-with-so-great a-penalty
afficiamus, quantam aequitas humanitasque patitur.
we-may-affect as-great fairness and-humanity allows

Whatever men grant to a man they grant from goodwill, from esteem for his virtue, from trust in him, from fear of his power, from hope of gain, or lastly for a price. That last is the basest method of all, and it fouls both the men held by it and the men who resort to it. Fortune counts for much either way, but none of the great reverses or successes happens without men's help.

19 Quibus autem rationibus hanc facultatem assequi possimus,
by-which moreover means this power to-attain we-may-be-able
ut hominum studia complectamur eaque teneamus, dicemus,
that of-men the-support we-may-embrace and-it we-may-hold we-shall-say
neque ita multo post, sed pauca ante dicenda sunt.
and-not so much afterward but a-few-things before to-be-said are
Magnam vim esse in fortuna in utramque partem, vel
great the-force to-be in fortune in either direction either
secundas ad res vel adversas, quis ignorat? Nam et,
favorable to circumstances or adverse who is-ignorant for both
cum prospero flatu eius utimur, ad exitus pervehimur
when with-a-prosperous breeze of-it we-use to the-ends we-are-carried
optatos et, cum reflavit, affligimur. Haec igitur ipsa
desired and when it-has-blown-against we-are-struck-down this therefore the-very
fortuna ceteros casus rariores habet, primum ab inanimis
fortune the-other chances rarer has first from lifeless-things
procellas, tempestates, naufragia, ruinas, incendia, deinde a
squalls storms shipwrecks collapses fires then from
bestiis ictus, morsus, impetus; haec ergo, ut dixi, rariora.
beasts blows bites onsets these therefore as I-said rarer
20 At vero interitus exercituum, ut proxime trium, saepe
but indeed the-destruction of-armies as lately of-three often
multorum, clades imperatorum, ut nuper summi et
of-many the-disasters of-commanders as recently of-a-highest and

singularis viri, invidiae praeterea multitudinis atque ob
singular man the-hatreds besides of-the-multitude and on-account-of
eas bene meritorum saepe civium expulsiones, calamitates,
these well of-deserving often of-citizens the-banishments the-ruins
fugae, rursusque secundae res, honores, imperia,
the-flights and-again favorable circumstances honors commands
victoriae, quamquam fortuita sunt, tamen sine hominum
victories although accidental they-are nevertheless without of-men
opibus et studiis neutram in partem effici possunt.
the-resources and support neither in direction to-be-brought-about can
Hoc igitur cognito dicendum est, quonam modo
this therefore having-been-recognized to-be-said it-is in-what way
hominum studia ad utilitates nostras allicere atque excitare
of-men the-support to advantages our to-attract and to-rouse
possimus. Quae si longior fuerit oratio, cum magnitudine
we-may-be-able which if longer shall-be the-discourse with the-greatness
utilitatis comparetur; ita fortasse etiam brevior videbitur.
of-the-benefit let-it-be-compared so perhaps even shorter it-will-seem
Quaecumque igitur homines homini tribuunt ad eum 21
whatever therefore men to-a-man grant for him
augendum atque honestandum, aut benivolentiae gratia
to-be-increased and to-be-honored either of-goodwill for-the-sake
faciunt, cum aliqua de causa quempiam diligunt, aut
they-do when some from cause someone they-love or
honoris, si cuius virtutem suspiciunt, quemque dignum
of-honor if of-anyone the-virtue they-look-up-to and-whom worthy
fortuna quam amplissima putant, aut cui fidem habent
of-a-fortune as most-ample they-think or in-whom trust they-have
et bene rebus suis consulere arbitrantur, aut cuius opes
and well affairs their to-consult-for they-judge or of-whom the-power
metuunt, aut contra, a quibus aliquid exspectant, ut
they-fear or on-the-contrary from whom something they-expect as

cum reges popularesve homines largitiones aliquas proponunt,
when kings or-popular men largesses some hold-out
aut postremo pretio ac mercede ducuntur, quae sordidissima
or lastly by-a-price and by-hire they-are-led which most-sordid
est illa quidem ratio et inquinatissima et iis, qui ea
is that indeed a-method and most-defiled both for-those who by-it
tenentur, et illis, qui ad eam confugere conantur;
are-held and for-those who to it to-flee try
22 male enim se res habet, cum, quod virtute effici
badly for itself the-matter holds when what by-virtue to-be-effected
debet, id temptatur pecunia. Sed quoniam non numquam
ought that is-attempted with-money but since not never
hoc subsidium necessarium est, quem ad modum sit
this help necessary is which to manner it-is
utendum eo, dicemus, si prius iis de rebus, quae virtuti
to-be-used it we-shall-say if first those about things which to-virtue
propiores sunt, dixerimus.
nearer are we-shall-have-spoken
Atque etiam subiciunt se homines imperio alterius et
and also submit themselves men to-the-rule of-another and
potestati de causis pluribus. Ducuntur enim aut benivolentia
to-the-power from causes several they-are-led for either by-goodwill
aut beneficiorum magnitudine aut dignitatis praestantia aut spe
or of-kindnesses by-the-greatness or of-rank by-the-eminence or by-hope
sibi id utile futurum aut metu ne vi parere cogantur,
for-themselves it useful about-to-be or by-fear lest by-force to-obey they-be-compelled
aut spe largitionis promissisque capti aut postremo, ut
or by-hope of-largesse and-by-promises caught or lastly as
saepe in nostra re publica videmus, mercede conducti.
often in our thing public we-see by-hire engaged

Nothing is better fitted to guard power than to be loved, and nothing worse than to be feared: Ennius says that whom men fear they hate, and whom they hate they wish dead. Harshness may suit a master with slaves, but in a free state nothing is madder. Fear is a bad guardian of long possession, and goodwill a faithful one.

Omnium autem rerum nec aptius est quicquam ad opes 23
of-all moreover things and-not more-fitted is anything for power
tuendas ac tenendas quam diligi nec alienius quam
to-be-guarded and to-be-held than to-be-loved and-not more-alien than
timeri. Praeclare enim Ennius:
to-be-feared excellently for Ennius

Quem metuunt, oderunt; quem quisque odit, periisse expetit.
whom they-fear they-hate whom each hates dead he-wants

Multorum autem odiis nullas opes posse obsistere, si
of-many moreover to-the-hatreds no power to-be-able to-withstand if
antea fuit ignotum, nuper est cognitum. Nec vero
before it-was unknown lately it-has-been learned and-not indeed
huius tyranni solum, quem armis oppressa pertulit civitas ac
of-this tyrant only whom by-arms crushed endured the-state and
paret cum maxime mortuo, interitus declarat, quantum
obeys even-now most to-(him)-dead the-death shows how-much
odium hominum valeat ad pestem, sed reliquorum similes
the-hatred of-men avails for destruction but of-the-rest like
exitus tyrannorum, quorum haud fere quisquam talem
the-ends of-tyrants of-whom hardly nearly anyone such

interitum effugit; malus enim est custos diuturnitatis metus
a-death escaped a-bad for is guardian of-long-duration fear
contraque benivolentia fidelis vel ad perpetuitatem.
and-on-the-contrary goodwill faithful even to perpetuity
24 Sed iis, qui vi oppressos imperio coercent, sit sane
but for-those who by-force the-crushed by-rule restrain let-there-be truly
adhibenda saevitia, ut eris in famulos, si aliter teneri
to-be-used harshness as to-masters toward servants if otherwise to-be-held
non possunt; qui vero in libera civitate ita se instruunt,
not they-can who indeed in a-free state so themselves equip
ut metuantur, iis nihil potest esse dementius. Quamvis
that they-be-feared than-these nothing can to-be more-mad however-much
enim sint demersae leges alicuius opibus, quamvis timefacta
for are sunk the-laws of-someone by-the-power however-much cowed
libertas, emergunt tamen haec aliquando aut iudiciis
liberty they-emerge nevertheless these at-some-time either by-judgments
tacitis aut occultis de honore suffragiis. Acriores autem
silent or by-secret about office ballots sharper moreover
morsus sunt intermissae libertatis quam retentae. Quod igitur
the-bites are of-interrupted liberty than of-retained what therefore
latissime patet neque ad incolumitatem solum, sed etiam
most-widely extends and-not to safety only but also
ad opes et potentiam valet plurimum, id amplectamur, ut
to power and influence avails most that let-us-embrace that
metus absit, caritas retineatur. Ita facillime, quae volemus,
fear be-away affection be-kept so most-easily what we-shall-wish
et privatis in rebus et in re publica consequemur.
both private in matters and in the-thing public we-shall-attain
Etenim qui se metui volent, a quibus metuentur,
for-indeed who themselves to-be-feared shall-wish by whom they-shall-be-feared
eosdem metuant ipsi necesse est.
the-same should-fear they-themselves necessary it-is

Quid enim censemus superiorem illum Dionysium quo 25
what for do-we-think the-elder that Dionysius by-what
cruciatu timoris angi solitum, qui cultros metuens
torture of-fear to-be-tormented accustomed who knives fearing
tonsorios candente carbone sibi adurebat capillum? quid
barber's with-a-glowing coal for-himself used-to-singe the-hair what
Alexandrum Pheraeum quo animo vixisse arbitramur?
Alexander the-Pheraean with-what spirit to-have-lived do-we-judge
qui, ut scriptum legimus, cum uxorem Theben admodum
who as written we-read although (his)-wife Thebe very-much
diligeret, tamen ad eam ex epulis in cubiculum veniens
he-loved nevertheless to her from the-banquet into the-chamber coming
barbarum, et eum quidem, ut scriptum est, compunctum
a-barbarian and him indeed as written it-is tattooed
notis Thraeciis, destricto gladio iubebat anteire
with-marks Thracian with-a-drawn sword he-used-to-bid to-go-before
praemittebatque de stipatoribus suis, qui scrutarentur arculas
and-he-sent-ahead of the-guards his-own who should-search the-caskets
muliebres et, ne quod in vestimentis telum occultaretur,
womanly and lest any in the-clothing weapon should-be-hidden
exquirerent. O miserum, qui fideliorem et barbarum et
they-should-hunt-out O wretched-man who more-faithful both a-barbarian and
stigmatiam putaret quam coniugem! Nec eum fefellit; ab ea
a-branded-slave thought than a-wife and-not him it-deceived by her
est enim ipsa propter pelicatus suspicionem interfectus.
he-was for herself on-account-of of-concubinage the-suspicion killed
Nec vero ulla vis imperii tanta est, quae premente metu
and-not indeed any force of-rule so-great is which with-pressing fear
possit esse diuturna.
can to-be lasting

26 Testis est Phalaris, cuius est praeter ceteros nobilitata
a-witness is Phalaris whose is beyond the-rest famed
crudelitas, qui non ex insidiis interiit, ut is, quem modo
the-cruelty who not from a-plot perished as he whom just-now
dixi, Alexander, non a paucis, ut hic noster, sed in
I-named Alexander not by a-few as this our-man but upon
quem universa Agrigentinorum multitudo impetum fecit.
whom the-whole of-the-Agrigentines multitude an-onset made
Quid? Macedones nonne Demetrium reliquerunt universique
what the-Macedonians did-not Demetrius abandon and-all-together
se ad Pyrrhum contulerunt? Quid? Lacedaemonios iniuste
themselves to Pyrrhus betake what the-Lacedaemonians unjustly
imperantes nonne repente omnes fere socii deseruerunt
ruling did-not suddenly all nearly the-allies desert
spectatoresque se otiosos praebuerunt Leuctricae calamitatis?
and-spectators themselves idle show of-the-Leuctran disaster

VIII · EMPIRE BY KINDNESS, AND ITS LOSS

While Rome held her empire by kindness rather than wrongs, the senate was a haven for kings and nations, and magistrates sought praise by defending the provinces. Sulla's victory destroyed that: wrong to allies ceased to seem wrong when such cruelty had been used to citizens. Cicero says the walls of the city stand, but the republic has been lost.

Externa libentius in tali re quam domestica recordor.
foreign-things more-gladly in such a-matter than domestic I-recall
Verum tamen, quam diu imperium populi Romani beneficiis
but nevertheless as long the-rule of-the-people Roman by-kindnesses
tenebatur, non iniuriis, bella aut pro sociis aut de imperio
was-held not by-wrongs wars either for allies or about rule

gerebantur, exitus erant bellorum aut mites aut necessarii,
were-waged the-ends were of-wars either mild or necessary
regum, populorum, nationum portus erat et refugium senatus,
of-kings of-peoples of-nations a-haven was and a-refuge the-senate
nostri autem magistratus imperatoresque ex hac una re 27
our moreover magistrates and-commanders from this one thing
maximam laudem capere studebant, si provincias, si socios
the-greatest praise to-win strove if the-provinces if the-allies
aequitate et fide defendissent; itaque illud patrocinium
with-fairness and good-faith they-had-defended and-so that a-protectorate
orbis terrae verius quam imperium poterat nominari.
of-the-circle of-the-earth more-truly than an-empire could to-be-named
Sensim hanc consuetudinem et disciplinam iam antea
gradually this practice and discipline already before
minuebamus, post vero Sullae victoriam penitus amisimus;
we-were-weakening after indeed of-Sulla the-victory utterly we-lost
desitum est enim videri quicquam in socios iniquum, cum
ceased it-has for to-seem anything toward allies unjust when
exstitisset in cives tanta crudelitas. Ergo in illo secuta est
there-had-arisen toward citizens so-great cruelty therefore in him followed has
honestam causam non honesta victoria; est enim ausus dicere,
an-honorable cause not an-honorable victory he-has for dared to-say
hasta posita cum bona in foro venderet et bonorum
the-spear having-been-set-up when goods in the-forum he-was-selling both of-good
virorum et locupletium et certe civium, praedam se suam
men and of-rich and certainly of-citizens booty himself his-own
vendere. Secutus est, qui in causa impia, victoria etiam
to-sell followed has who in a-cause impious with-a-victory even
foediore non singulorum civium bona publicaret, sed universas
fouler not of-individual citizens the-goods would-confiscate but whole
provincias regionesque uno calamitatis iure comprehenderet.
provinces and-regions by-one of-calamity rule would-embrace

28 Itaque vexatis ac perditis exteris nationibus ad
and-so having-been-harassed and having-been-ruined foreign nations for
exemplum amissi imperii portari in triumpho Massiliam
a-sign of-lost empire to-be-borne in triumph Massilia
vidimus et ex ea urbe triumphari, sine qua numquam nostri
we-have-seen and over that city to-be-triumphed without which never our
imperatores ex Transalpinis bellis triumpharunt. Multa
commanders from Transalpine wars have-triumphed many-things
praeterea commemorarem nefaria in socios, si hoc uno
besides I-would-recount wicked against allies if than-this one
quicquam sol vidisset indignius. Iure igitur plectimur. Nisi
anything the-sun had-seen more-shameful with-right therefore we-are-punished unless
enim multorum impunita scelera tulissemus, numquam ad unum
for of-many unpunished crimes we-had-borne never to one
tanta pervenisset licentia; a quo quidem rei familiaris
so-great would-have-come license from whom indeed of-property family
ad paucos, cupiditatum ad multos improbos venit hereditas.
to a-few of-desires to many wicked came the-inheritance
29 Nec vero umquam bellorum civilium semen et causa
and-not indeed ever of-wars civil the-seed and cause
deerit, dum homines perditi hastam illam cruentam et
will-be-lacking while men ruined the-spear that bloody both
meminerint et sperabunt; quam P. Sulla cum vibrasset
shall-remember and shall-hope-for which Publius Sulla when he-had-brandished
dictatore propinquo suo, idem sexto tricesimo anno
with-the-dictator a-kinsman his the-same-man in-the-sixth thirtieth year
post a sceleratiore hasta non recessit; alter autem, qui in
after from a-more-criminal spear not withdrew the-other moreover who in
illa dictatura scriba fuerat, in hac fuit quaestor urbanus. Ex
that dictatorship a-clerk had-been in this was quaestor of-the-city from

quo debet intellegi talibus praemiis propositis numquam
which it-ought to-be-understood with-such rewards set-out never
defutura bella civilia.
about-to-be-lacking wars civil
Itaque parietes modo urbis stant et manent, iique ipsi
and-so the-walls only of-the-city stand and remain and-they themselves
iam extrema scelera metuentes, rem vero publicam penitus
now the-utmost crimes fearing the-thing indeed public utterly
amisimus. Atque in has clades incidimus (redeundum est
we-have-lost and into these disasters we-have-fallen to-be-returned it-is
enim ad propositum), dum metui quam cari esse et diligi
for to the-subject while to-be-feared than dear to-be and to-be-loved
malumus. Quae si populo Romano iniuste imperanti accidere
we-prefer which if to-the-people Roman unjustly ruling to-happen
potuerunt, quid debent putare singuli? Quod cum perspicuum
could what ought to-think individuals which since plain
sit, benivolentiae vim esse magnam, metus imbecillam,
is of-goodwill the-force to-be great of-fear weak
sequitur, ut disseramus, quibus rebus facillime possimus
it-follows that we-discuss by-what means most-easily we-may-be-able
eam, quam volumus, adipisci cum honore et fide caritatem.
that which we-wish to-gain with honor and good-faith affection
Sed ea non pariter omnes egemus; nam ad cuiusque vitam 30
but of-it not equally all we-need for to of-each the-life
institutam accommodandum est, a multisne opus sit an
established to-be-adapted it-is by whether-many need there-is or
satis sit a paucis diligi. Certum igitur hoc sit, idque et
enough it-is by a-few to-be-loved settled therefore this let-be and-that both
primum et maxime necessarium, familiaritates habere fidas
first and most necessary intimacies to-have trusty
amantium nos amicorum et nostra mirantium; haec enim
of-loving us friends and our-things of-admiring this for

una res prorsus, ut non multum differat inter summos et
one thing quite so-that not much it-differs between the-highest and
mediocris viros, aeque utrisque est propemodum comparanda.
middling men equally by-both is well-nigh to-be-procured
31 Honore et gloria et benivolentia civium fortasse non aeque
of-honor and of-glory and of-goodwill of-citizens perhaps not equally
omnes egent, sed tamen, si cui haec suppetunt, adiuvant
all have-need but nevertheless if to-anyone these are-at-hand they-help
aliquantum cum ad cetera, tum ad amicitias comparandas.
somewhat both for the-rest and for friendships to-be-procured

IX · THE THREE PARTS OF GLORY

Full glory rests on three things: that the multitude loves you, trusts you, and thinks you worthy of honor. Goodwill is won chiefly by kindnesses, and by the repute of generosity, justice, and good faith. Trust needs prudence joined to justice, and of the two justice does far more, since cunning without honesty only makes a man suspected.

Sed de amicitia alio libro dictum est, qui inscribitur
but about friendship in-another book said it-has-been which is-entitled
Laelius; nunc dicamus de gloria, quamquam ea quoque de
Laelius now let-us-speak about glory although that also about
re duo sunt nostri libri, sed attingamus, quandoquidem
subject two there-are our books but let-us-touch-on-it since
ea in rebus maioribus administrandis adiuvat plurimum.
it in affairs greater to-be-managed helps most
Summa igitur et perfecta gloria constat ex tribus his:
the-highest therefore and perfect glory consists of three these
si diligit multitudo, si fidem habet, si cum admiratione
if loves the-multitude if trust it-has if with an-admiration

quadam honore dignos putat. Haec autem, si est simpliciter
a-certain of-honor worthy it-thinks these moreover if it-is plainly
breviterque dicendum, quibus rebus pariuntur a singulis,
and-briefly to-be-said by-what means are-won from individuals
eisdem fere a multitudine. Sed est alius quoque
by-the-same generally from the-multitude but there-is another also
quidam aditus ad multitudinem, ut in universorum animos
a-certain approach to the-multitude that into of-all the-minds
tamquam influere possimus.
as-it-were to-flow we-may-be-able
Ac primum de illis tribus, quae ante dixi, benivolentiae 32
and first about those three which before I-said of-goodwill
praecepta videamus; quae quidem capitur beneficiis maxime,
the-rules let-us-see which indeed is-won by-kindnesses chiefly
secundo autem loco voluntate benefica benivolentia movetur,
in-a-second moreover place by-a-will beneficent goodwill is-moved
etiamsi res forte non suppetit; vehementer autem
even-if means by-chance not is-at-hand strongly moreover
amor multitudinis commovetur ipsa fama et opinione
the-love of-the-multitude is-stirred by-the-very report and repute
liberalitatis, beneficentiae, iustitiae, fidei omniumque earum
of-generosity of-beneficence of-justice of-good-faith and-of-all those
virtutum, quae pertinent ad mansuetudinem morum ac
virtues which pertain to gentleness of-manners and
facilitatem. Etenim illud ipsum, quod honestum decorumque
affability for-indeed that very which honorable and-seemly
dicimus, quia per se nobis placet animosque omnium
we-call because through itself us it-pleases and-the-minds of-all
natura et specie sua commovet maximeque quasi
by-nature and by-appearance its-own it-stirs and-most as-it-were
perlucet ex iis, quas commemoravi, virtutibus, idcirco illos,
shines-through from those which I-have-named virtues therefore those

in quibus eas virtutes esse remur, a natura ipsa diligere
in whom those virtues to-be we-think by nature herself to-love
cogimur. Atque hae quidem causae diligendi gravissimae;
we-are-compelled and these indeed the-causes of-loving the-weightiest
possunt enim praeterea non nullae esse leviores.
can for besides not none to-be slighter

33 Fides autem ut habeatur, duabus rebus effici potest, si
trust moreover that be-had by-two things to-be-brought-about can if
existimabimur adepti coniunctam cum iustitia prudentiam.
we-shall-be-thought having-attained joined with justice prudence
Nam et iis fidem habemus, quos plus intellegere quam nos
for both to-those trust we-have whom more to-understand than we
arbitramur quosque et futura prospicere credimus et, cum
we-judge and-whom both future-things to-foresee we-believe and when
res agatur in discrimenque ventum sit, expedire rem
a-matter is-in-hand to and-a-crisis come it-has to-clear the-matter
et consilium ex tempore capere posse; hanc enim utilem
and a-plan on the-spot to-take to-be-able this for useful
homines existimant veramque prudentiam. Iustis autem et fidis
men reckon and-true prudence to-just moreover and trusty
hominibus, id est bonis viris, ita fides habetur, ut nulla sit in
men that is to-good men so trust is-had that no there-is in
iis fraudis iniuriaeque suspicio. Itaque his salutem nostram,
them of-fraud and-of-wrong suspicion and-so to-these safety our
his fortunas, his liberos rectissime committi arbitramur.
to-these fortunes to-these children most-rightly to-be-entrusted we-judge

34 Harum igitur duarum ad fidem faciendam iustitia plus pollet,
of-these therefore two for trust to-be-made justice more avails
quippe cum ea sine prudentia satis habeat auctoritatis,
since when it without prudence enough has of-authority
prudentia sine iustitia nihil valet ad faciendam fidem.
prudence without justice nothing avails for to-be-made trust

Quo enim quis versutior et callidior, hoc invisior
by-how-much for anyone craftier and more-cunning by-so-much more-hated
et suspectior est detracta opinione probitatis. Quam
and more-suspected he-is having-been-taken-away the-repute of-honesty which
ob rem intellegentiae iustitia coniuncta, quantum
on-account-of thing to-intelligence justice joined as-much-as
volet, habebit ad faciendam fidem virium; iustitia sine
it-shall-wish will-have for to-be-made trust of-strength justice without
prudentia multum poterit, sine iustitia nihil valebit prudentia.
prudence much will-avail without justice nothing will-avail prudence

X · WHY THE VIRTUES ARE SPOKEN OF APART

Cicero answers those who ask why he separates virtues that all philosophers agree cannot be separated: exactness belongs to debate, but when speaking to common opinion one must use the words the crowd uses. Admiration goes to men thought to surpass others in virtue and to be free of the faults that most cannot resist.

Sed ne quis sit admiratus, cur, cum inter omnes 35
but lest anyone should-be surprised why although among all
philosophos constet a meque ipso saepe disputatum sit,
philosophers it-is-agreed by and-me myself often argued it-has-been
qui unam haberet, omnes habere virtutes, nunc ita seiungam,
that-who one had all to-have virtues now so I-separate
quasi possit quisquam, qui non idem prudens sit, iustus
as-if could anyone who not the-same prudent is just
esse, alia est illa, cum veritas ipsa limatur in disputatione,
to-be one is that when truth itself is-filed in a-debate
subtilitas, alia, cum ad opinionem communem omnis
the-subtlety another when to the-opinion common all
accommodatur oratio. Quam ob rem, ut volgus, ita
is-fitted the-discourse which on-account-of thing as the-crowd so

nos hoc loco loquimur, ut alios fortes, alios viros bonos, alios
we in-this place speak that some brave others men good others
prudentes esse dicamus; popularibus enim verbis est agendum
prudent to-be we-say in-popular for words it-is to-be-dealt
et usitatis, cum loquimur de opinione populari, idque
and usual when we-speak about the-opinion popular and-that
eodem modo fecit Panaetius. Sed ad propositum revertamur.
in-the-same way did Panaetius but to the-subject let-us-return
36 Erat igitur ex iis tribus, quae ad gloriam pertinerent,
there-was therefore from those three which to glory pertained
hoc tertium, ut cum admiratione hominum honore ab
this third that with the-admiration of-men of-honor by
iis digni iudicaremur. Admirantur igitur communiter illi
them worthy we-should-be-judged they-admire therefore in-common they
quidem omnia, quae magna et praeter opinionem suam
indeed all-things which great and beyond expectation their-own
animadverterunt, separatim autem, in singulis si perspiciunt
they-have-observed separately moreover in individuals if they-discern
necopinata quaedam bona. Itaque eos viros suspiciunt
unlooked-for certain goods and-so those men they-look-up-to
maximisque efferunt laudibus, in quibus existimant
and-with-the-greatest they-extol praises in whom they-think
se excellentes quasdam et singulares perspicere virtutes,
themselves excelling certain and singular to-discern virtues
despiciunt autem eos et contemnunt, in quibus nihil
they-look-down-on moreover those and despise in whom nothing
virtutis, nihil animi, nihil nervorum putant. Non enim
of-virtue nothing of-spirit nothing of-sinew they-think not for
omnes eos contemnunt, de quibus male existimant. Nam
all those they-despise about whom badly they-think for
quos improbos, maledicos, fraudulentos putant et ad
whom wicked slanderous fraudulent they-think and for

faciendam iniuriam instructos, eos haud contemnunt quidem,
to-be-done wrong equipped those not they-despise indeed
sed de iis male existimant. Quam ob rem, ut ante
but about them badly they-think which on-account-of thing as before
dixi, contemnuntur ii, qui nec sibi nec alteri, ut
I-said are-despised those who neither for-themselves nor for-another as
dicitur, in quibus nullus labor, nulla industria, nulla cura est.
it-is-said in whom no toil no industry no care is
Admiratione autem afficiuntur ii, qui anteire ceteris virtute 37
with-admiration moreover are-affected those who to-go-before the-rest in-virtue
putantur et cum omni carere dedecore, tum vero iis vitiis,
are-thought and both every to-lack disgrace and indeed those faults
quibus alii non facile possunt obsistere. Nam et voluptates,
which others not easily can to-withstand for both pleasures
blandissimae dominae, maioris partis animos a virtute
most-alluring mistresses of-the-greater part the-minds from virtue
detorquent et, dolorum cum admoventur faces, praeter
turn-aside and of-pains when are-brought-near the-torches beyond
modum plerique exterrentur; vita mors, divitiae paupertas
measure most-men are-terrified life death riches poverty
omnes homines vehementissime permovent. Quae qui in
all men most-violently stir which who in
utramque partem excelso animo magnoque despiciunt,
either direction with-a-lofty spirit and-great look-down-on
cumque aliqua iis ampla et honesta res obiecta est,
and-when some to-them ample and honorable matter put-before has-been
totos ad se convertit et rapit, tum quis non admiretur
(them)-wholly to itself turns and hurries then who not would-admire
splendorem pulchritudinemque virtutis?
the-splendor and-beauty of-virtue

Contempt for outward things earns admiration, and justice earns most of all, since it is the virtue from which good men take their name. No man can be just who fears death, pain, exile, or poverty, or who sets their opposites above fairness. Justice is so necessary that even robbers must share their plunder evenly or lose their power.

38 Ergo et haec animi despicientia admirabilitatem magnam
therefore both this of-spirit contempt admirableness great
facit et maxime iustitia, ex qua una virtute viri boni
makes and especially justice from which one virtue men good
appellantur, mirifica quaedam multitudini videtur, nec
are-named marvelous a-certain to-the-multitude it-seems and-not
iniuria; nemo enim iustus esse potest, qui mortem, qui
without-reason no-one for just to-be can who death who
dolorem, qui exsilium, qui egestatem timet, aut qui ea,
pain who exile who want fears or who those-things
quae sunt his contraria, aequitati anteponit. Maximeque
which are to-these contrary to-fairness prefers and-most
admirantur eum, qui pecunia non movetur; quod in quo
they-admire him who by-money not is-moved which in what
viro perspectum sit, hunc igni spectatum arbitrantur.
man proved has-been him by-fire tested they-judge
Itaque illa tria, quae proposita sunt ad gloriam omnia
and-so those three which set-out have-been for glory all
iustitia conficit, et benivolentiam, quod prodesse vult
justice achieves both goodwill because to-benefit it-wishes
plurimis, et ob eandem causam fidem et admirationem,
very-many and on-account-of the-same cause trust and admiration

quod eas res spernit et neglegit, ad quas plerique
because those things it-scorns and neglects to which most-men
inflammati aviditate rapiuntur.
inflamed by-greed are-hurried
Ac mea quidem sententia omnis ratio atque institutio vitae 39
and in-my indeed opinion every plan and ordering of-life
adiumenta hominum desiderat, in primisque ut habeat,
the-aids of-men requires and-among the-first that he-has
quibuscum possit familiares conferre sermones; quod est difficile,
with-whom he-can familiar to-hold conversations which is difficult
nisi speciem prae te boni viri feras. Ergo etiam solitario
unless the-appearance before you of-a-good man you-bear therefore even for-a-solitary
homini atque in agro vitam agenti opinio iustitiae necessaria
man and in the-country a-life leading the-repute of-justice necessary
est, eoque etiam magis, quod, eam si non habebunt, iniusti
is and-by-that even the-more because it if not they-shall-have unjust
habebuntur, nullis praesidiis saepti multis afficientur iniuriis.
they-will-be-held by-no defenses fenced with-many they-will-be-affected wrongs
Atque iis etiam, qui vendunt emunt, conducunt locant 40
and for-those also who sell buy hire let-out
contrahendisque negotiis implicantur, iustitia ad rem
and-in-contracting business are-involved justice for a-matter
gerendam necessaria est, cuius tanta vis est, ut ne illi
to-be-managed necessary is of-which so-great the-force is that not those
quidem, qui maleficio et scelere pascuntur, possint sine
even who by-crime and wickedness are-fed can without
ulla particula iustitiae vivere. Nam qui eorum cuipiam, qui
any particle of-justice to-live for who of-them from-anyone who
una latrocinantur, furatur aliquid aut eripit, is sibi ne in
together rob steals something or snatches he for-himself not in
latrocinio quidem relinquit locum, ille autem, qui archipirata
robbery even leaves a-place he moreover who a-pirate-chief

dicitur, nisi aequabiliter praedam dispertiat, aut interficiatur
is-called unless evenly the-booty he-divides either is-killed
a sociis aut relinquatur; quin etiam leges latronum esse
by his-comrades or is-abandoned nay even laws of-robbers to-be
dicuntur, quibus pareant, quas observent. Itaque propter
are-said which they-obey which they-observe and-so on-account-of
aequabilem praedae partitionem et Bardulis Illyrius latro, de
the-even of-the-booty division both Bardulis the-Illyrian robber about
quo est apud Theopompum, magnas opes habuit et multo
whom it-is in Theopompus great resources had and much
maiores Viriathus Lusitanus; cui quidem etiam exercitus
greater Viriathus the-Lusitanian to-whom indeed even armies
nostri imperatoresque cesserunt; quem C. Laelius, is qui
our and-commanders yielded whom Gaius Laelius he who
Sapiens usurpatur, praetor fregit et comminuit ferocitatemque
the-Wise is-styled as-praetor broke and crushed and-the-fierceness
eius ita repressit, ut facile bellum reliquis traderet.
of-him so checked that easily the-war to-those-remaining he-handed-over
Cum igitur tanta vis iustitiae sit, ut ea etiam latronum
since therefore so-great the-force of-justice is that it even of-robbers
opes firmet atque augeat, quantam eius vim inter leges
the-resources strengthens and increases how-great of-it the-force among laws
et iudicia et in constituta re publica fore putamus?
and courts and in an-established thing public to-be-about-to-be do-we-think

Kings were first set up so that justice might be enjoyed: the helpless multitude fled to some man of outstanding virtue, who kept high and low on equal terms. Laws were devised for the same reason, to speak to all with one voice. Glory, like money, must be both won and invested by method, and Socrates said the nearest road to glory is simply to be what you wish to be thought.

Mihi quidem non apud Medos solum, ut ait Herodotus, 41
to-me indeed not among the-Medes only as says Herodotus
sed etiam apud maiores nostros iustitiae fruendae causa
but also among forefathers our of-justice to-be-enjoyed for-the-sake
videntur olim bene morati reges constituti. Nam cum
seem once well mannered kings to-have-been-set-up for when
premeretur inops multitudo ab iis, qui maiores opes
was-oppressed the-helpless multitude by those who greater resources
habebant, ad unum aliquem confugiebant virtute praestantem;
had to one some they-used-to-flee in-virtue outstanding
qui cum prohiberet iniuria tenuiores, aequitate constituenda
who when he-kept-off from-wrong the-weaker by-fairness to-be-established
summos cum infimis pari iure retinebat. Eademque
the-highest with the-lowest on-equal terms he-used-to-hold and-the-same
constituendarum legum fuit causa, quae regum.
of-to-be-established laws was the-cause which of-kings
Ius enim semper est quaesitum aequabile; neque enim 42
right for always has-been sought impartial and-not for
aliter esset ius. Id si ab uno iusto et bono viro
otherwise it-would-be right that if from one just and good man
consequebantur, erant eo contenti; cum id minus
they-obtained they-were with-him content when that less

contingeret, leges sunt inventae, quae cum omnibus semper
befell laws were devised which with all always
una atque eadem voce loquerentur.
one and the-same voice should-speak
Ergo hoc quidem perspicuum est, eos ad imperandum
therefore this indeed plain is that-those for to-command
deligi solitos, quorum de iustitia magna esset opinio
to-be-chosen accustomed of-whom about the-justice great was the-opinion
multitudinis. Adiuncto vero, ut idem etiam prudentes
of-the-multitude with-it-being-added indeed that the-same also prudent
haberentur, nihil erat, quod homines iis auctoribus non
were-held nothing there-was which men with-them as-leaders not
posse consequi se arbitrarentur. Omni igitur ratione
to-be-able to-obtain themselves thought by-every therefore means
colenda et retinenda iustitia est cum ipsa per sese (nam
to-be-cultivated and to-be-kept justice is both itself through itself for
aliter iustitia non esset), tum propter amplificationem
otherwise justice not it-would-be and on-account-of the-increase
honoris et gloriae.
of-honor and of-glory
Sed ut pecuniae non quaerendae solum ratio est, verum
but as of-money not of-to-be-sought only a-method there-is but
etiam collocandae, quae perpetuos sumptus suppeditet, nec
also of-to-be-invested which continual expenses may-supply and-not
solum necessarios, sed etiam liberales, sic gloria et quaerenda
only necessary but also generous so glory both to-be-sought
et collocanda ratione est.
and to-be-invested by-method is
43 Quamquam praeclare Socrates hanc viam ad gloriam
and-yet excellently Socrates this road to glory
proximam et quasi compendiariam dicebat esse, si quis
the-nearest and as-it-were a-short-cut used-to-say to-be if anyone

id ageret, ut, qualis haberi vellet, talis esset. Quodsi
this should-do that of-what-sort to-be-held he-wished such he-should-be but-if
qui simulatione et inani ostentatione et ficto non
any by-pretense and by-empty display and by-a-feigned not
modo sermone, sed etiam voltu stabilem se gloriam
only speech but also look a-lasting themselves glory
consequi posse rentur, vehementer errant. Vera gloria radices
to-obtain to-be-able think greatly they-err true glory roots
agit atque etiam propagatur, ficta omnia celeriter tamquam
drives and even is-propagated feigned all-things quickly as-it-were
flosculi decidunt, nec simulatum potest quicquam esse
little-flowers fall and-not counterfeit can anything to-be
diuturnum. Testes sunt permulti in utramque partem, sed
lasting witnesses there-are very-many on either side but
brevitatis causa familia contenti erimus una. Ti. enim
of-brevity for-the-sake with-a-family content we-shall-be one Tiberius for
Gracchus P. f. tam diu laudabitur, dum memoria rerum
Gracchus of-Publius son so long will-be-praised while the-memory of-things
Romanarum manebit; at eius filii nec vivi probabantur
Roman shall-remain but his sons and-not alive were-approved
bonis et mortui numerum optinent iure caesorum.
by-the-good and dead the-number they-hold with-right of-the-slain

A man born to fame is watched from the first, and nothing he says or does can stay hidden. One born obscure should aim high as soon as he is grown, for youth is favored rather than envied. War gives one road to praise; restraint, dutifulness to parents, and attachment to good men give another, as the house of Mucius did for Rutilius.

Qui igitur adipisci veram gloriam volet, iustitiae fungatur
who therefore to-gain true glory shall-wish of-justice let-him-perform
officiis. Ea quae essent, dictum est in libro superiore.
the-duties these what they-were said it-has-been in the-book former
44 Sed ut facillime, quales simus, tales esse videamur, etsi in
but that most-easily of-what-sort we-are such to-be we-may-seem although in
eo ipso vis maxima est, ut simus ii, qui haberi velimus,
that very the-force greatest is that we-are those who to-be-held we-wish
tamen quaedam praecepta danda sunt. Nam si quis ab
nevertheless certain rules to-be-given are for if anyone from
ineunte aetate habet causam celebritatis et nominis aut a
entering age has a-ground of-renown and of-a-name either from
patre acceptam, quod tibi, mi Cicero, arbitror contigisse,
a-father received which for-you my Cicero I-think to-have-befallen
aut aliquo casu atque fortuna, in hunc oculi omnium
or by-some chance and fortune upon this-man the-eyes of-all
coniciuntur atque in eum, quid agat, quem ad modum
are-cast and upon him what he-does which to manner
vivat, inquiritur et, tamquam in clarissima luce versetur, ita
he-lives it-is-inquired and as-though in the-clearest light he-moves so
nullum obscurum potest nec dictum eius esse nec factum.
no obscure can either a-word of-him to-be or a-deed

Quorum autem prima aetas propter humilitatem et 45
of-whom moreover the-early age on-account-of lowliness and
obscuritatem in hominum ignoratione versatur, ii, simul ac
obscurity in of-men ignorance passes they as-soon as
iuvenes esse coeperunt, magna spectare et ad ea rectis
young-men to-be they-have-begun great-things to-look-to and to them by-straight
studiis debent contendere; quod eo firmiore animo facient,
pursuits ought to-press which by-that with-a-firmer spirit they-will-do
quia non modo non invidetur illi aetati, verum etiam favetur.
because not only not it-is-begrudged to-that age but even it-is-favored
Prima igitur est adulescenti commendatio ad gloriam, si qua
the-first therefore is for-a-youth a-recommendation to glory if any
ex bellicis rebus comparari potest, in qua multi apud maiores
from warlike affairs to-be-got can in which many among forefathers
nostros exstiterunt; semper enim fere bella gerebantur. Tua
our have-arisen always for nearly wars were-waged your
autem aetas incidit in id bellum, cuius altera pars sceleris
moreover age has-fallen upon that war of-which the-one side of-crime
nimium habuit, altera felicitatis parum. Quo tamen in
too-much had the-other of-good-fortune too-little which nevertheless in
bello cum te Pompeius alae alteri praefecisset, magnam
war when you Pompey over-a-wing the-other had-set great
laudem et a summo viro et ab exercitu consequebare
praise both from the-highest man and from the-army you-were-gaining
equitando, iaculando, omni militari labore tolerando. Atque
by-riding by-hurling by-every military toil by-enduring and
ea quidem tua laus pariter cum re publica cecidit.
that indeed your praise together with the-thing public fell

Mihi autem haec oratio suscepta non de te est, sed de
to-me moreover this discourse undertaken not about you is but about
genere toto; quam ob rem pergamus ad ea, quae
the-class whole which on-account-of thing let-us-go-on to those-things which
restant.
remain

46 Ut igitur in reliquis rebus multo maiora opera sunt
as therefore in the-other things much greater the-works are
animi quam corporis, sic eae res, quas ingenio ac
of-the-mind than of-the-body so those things which by-talent and
ratione persequimur, gratiores sunt quam illae, quas viribus.
by-reason we-pursue more-welcome are than those which by-strength
Prima igitur commendatio proficiscitur a modestia cum
the-first therefore recommendation proceeds from modesty with
pietate in parentes, in suos benivolentia. Facillime
dutifulness toward parents toward one's-own with-goodwill most-easily
autem et in optimam partem cognoscuntur adulescentes,
moreover and in the-best part are-known young-men
qui se ad claros et sapientes viros bene consulentes
who themselves to famous and wise men well counseling
rei publicae contulerunt; quibuscum si frequentes sunt,
for-the-thing public have-attached with-whom if frequent they-are
opinionem afferunt populo eorum fore se similes,
an-expectation they-bring to-the-people of-them about-to-be themselves like
quos sibi ipsi delegerint ad imitandum.
whom for-themselves they-themselves shall-have-chosen for imitating

47 P. Rutili adulescentiam ad opinionem et innocentiae
of-Publius Rutilius the-youth to the-repute both of-uprightness
et iuris scientiae P. Muci commendavit domus. Nam
and of-law of-knowledge of-Publius Mucius commended the-household for
L. quidem Crassus, cum esset admodum adulescens, non
Lucius indeed Crassus when he-was very young not

aliunde mutuatus est, sed sibi ipse peperit maximam
from-elsewhere borrowed has but for-himself he-himself won the-greatest
laudem ex illa accusatione nobili et gloriosa, et, qua
praise from that prosecution famous and glorious and at-what
aetate qui exercentur, laude affici solent, ut de
age those-who are-trained with-praise to-be-visited are-wont as about
Demosthene accepimus, ea aetate L. Crassus ostendit
Demosthenes we-have-heard at-that age Lucius Crassus showed
id se in foro optime iam facere, quod etiam tum
that himself in the-forum excellently already to-do which even then
poterat domi cum laude meditari.
he-could at-home with praise to-rehearse

XIV · ELOQUENCE AND THE COURTS

Set oratory does more for glory than conversation, but courtesy of speech wins men over, as letters of Philip, Antipater, and Antigonus advise. Praise is won in the courts, more by defense than by prosecution. Prosecution should be rare and never of an innocent man, but a guilty one may sometimes be defended, and the greatest glory comes from defending a man pressed by the powerful, as Cicero defended Roscius against Sulla.

Sed cum duplex ratio sit orationis, quarum in altera sermo 48
but since twofold the-method is of-speech of-which in the-one conversation
sit, in altera contentio, non est id quidem dubium, quin
is in the-other set-oratory not is that indeed doubtful but-that
contentio orationis maiorem vim habeat ad gloriam (ea est
the-set-oratory of-speech greater force has for glory that is
enim, quam eloquentiam dicimus); sed tamen difficile dictu
for which eloquence we-call but nevertheless hard to-say
est, quantopere conciliet animos comitas affabilitasque sermonis.
it-is how-greatly wins-over minds the-courtesy and-affability of-conversation

Exstant epistulae et Philippi ad Alexandrum et Antipatri
there-survive letters both of-Philip to Alexander and of-Antipater
ad Cassandrum et Antigoni ad Philippum filium, trium
to Cassander and of-Antigonus to Philip the-son of-three
prudentissimorum (sic enim accepimus); quibus praecipiunt,
most-prudent-men so for we-have-heard in-which they-teach
ut oratione benigna multitudinis animos ad benivolentiam
that with-language kindly of-the-multitude the-minds to goodwill
alliciant militesque blande appellando sermone deliniant.
they-should-attract and-the-soldiers courteously by-addressing with-talk they-should-win
Quae autem in multitudine cum contentione habetur oratio,
what moreover in a-crowd with set-oratory is-held speech
ea saepe universam excitat gloriam; magna est enim admiratio
that often universal rouses glory great is for the-admiration
copiose sapienterque dicentis; quem qui audiunt, intellegere
copiously and-wisely of-one-speaking whom who hear to-understand
etiam et sapere plus quam ceteros arbitrantur. Si vero
also and to-be-wise more than the-rest they-judge if indeed
inest in oratione mixta modestia gravitas, nihil admirabilius
there-is in the-speech mingled with-modesty weight nothing more-admirable
fieri potest, eoque magis, si ea sunt in adulescente.
to-be-done can and-by-that the-more if these are in a-young-man
49 Sed cum sint plura causarum genera, quae eloquentiam
but since there-are several of-causes kinds which eloquence
desiderent, multique in nostra re publica adulescentes et
require and-many in our thing public young-men both
apud iudices et apud populum et apud senatum dicendo
before judges and before the-people and before the-senate by-speaking
laudem assecuti sint, maxima est admiratio in iudiciis.
praise gained have the-greatest is the-admiration in the-courts

Quorum ratio duplex est. Nam ex accusatione et ex
of-which the-method twofold is for of prosecution and of
defensione constat; quarum etsi laudabilior est defensio,
defense it-consists of-which although more-praiseworthy is the-defense
tamen etiam accusatio probata persaepe est. Dixi paulo
nevertheless also prosecution approved very-often has-been I-spoke a-little
ante de Crasso; idem fecit adulescens M. Antonius. Etiam
before about Crassus the-same did as-a-youth Marcus Antonius also
P. Sulpici eloquentiam accusatio illustravit, cum seditiosum
of-Publius Sulpicius the-eloquence a-prosecution made-famous when a-seditious
et inutilem civem, C. Norbanum, in iudicium vocavit.
and useless citizen Gaius Norbanus into court he-called
Sed hoc quidem non est saepe faciendum nec umquam nisi 50
but this indeed not is often to-be-done and-not ever unless
aut rei publicae causa, ut ii, quos ante dixi, aut
either of-the-thing public for-the-sake as those whom before I-named or
ulciscendi, ut duo Luculli, aut patrocinii, ut nos pro Siculis,
of-avenging as the-two Luculli or of-patronage as we for the-Sicilians
pro Sardis in Albucio Iulius. In accusando etiam M'.
for the-Sardinians in Albucius Julius in accusing also Manius
Aquilio L. Fufi cognita industria est. Semel igitur aut
Aquilius of-Lucius Fufius known the-diligence has-been once therefore or
non saepe certe. Sin erit, cui faciendum sit saepius,
not often certainly but-if there-shall-be to-whom to-be-done it-is more-often
rei publicae tribuat hoc muneris, cuius inimicos
to-the-thing public let-him-render this of-service whose enemies
ulcisci saepius non est reprehendendum; modus tamen
to-avenge more-often not is to-be-blamed a-measure nevertheless
adsit. Duri enim hominis vel potius vix hominis
let-be-present of-a-hard for man or rather scarcely of-a-man
videtur periculum capitis inferre multis. Id cum periculosum
it-seems peril of-life to-bring on-many that both dangerous

ipsi est, tum etiam sordidum ad famam, committere, ut
for-himself is and also sordid for reputation to-allow that
accusator nominere; quod contigit M. Bruto summo genere
an-accuser you-be-named which befell Marcus Brutus of-the-highest family
nato, illius filio, qui iuris civilis in primis peritus fuit.
born of-that-man the-son who of-law civil among the-first skilled was
51 Atque etiam hoc praeceptum officii diligenter tenendum est,
and also this precept of-duty carefully to-be-held is
ne quem umquam innocentem iudicio capitis arcessas; id
lest anyone ever innocent in-a-trial of-life you-arraign that
enim sine scelere fieri nullo pacto potest. Nam quid
for without crime to-be-done in-no way can for what
est tam inhumanum quam eloquentiam a natura ad salutem
is so inhuman as eloquence by nature for the-safety
hominum et ad conservationem datam ad bonorum pestem
of-men and for the-preservation given for of-the-good the-ruin
perniciemque convertere? Nec tamen, ut hoc fugiendum est,
and-destruction to-turn and-not nevertheless as this to-be-shunned is
item est habendum religioni nocentem aliquando, modo ne
likewise it-is to-be-held for-a-scruple a-guilty-man sometimes provided not
nefarium impiumque, defendere; vult hoc multitudo, patitur
abominable and-impious to-defend wishes this the-multitude allows
consuetudo, fert etiam humanitas. Iudicis est semper in causis
custom bears also humanity of-a-judge it-is always in cases
verum sequi, patroni non numquam veri simile, etiamsi
the-truth to-follow of-an-advocate not never of-truth like even-if
minus sit verum, defendere; quod scribere, praesertim cum
less it-is true to-defend which to-write especially when
de philosophia scriberem, non auderem, nisi idem placeret
about philosophy I-was-writing not I-would-dare unless the-same pleased
gravissimo Stoicorum, Panaetio. Maxime autem et gloria
to-the-weightiest of-the-Stoics to-Panaetius most moreover both glory

paritur et gratia defensionibus, eoque maior, si quando
is-won and favor by-defenses and-by-that greater if ever
accidit, ut ei subveniatur, qui potentis alicuius opibus
it-happens that to-him is-brought-help who of-a-powerful of-someone by-the-resources
circumveniri urguerique videatur, ut nos et saepe alias
to-be-hemmed-in and-to-be-pressed seems as we both often at-other-times
et adulescentes contra L. Sullae dominantis opes pro
and as-young-men against of-Lucius Sulla domineering the-power for
Sex. Roscio Amerino fecimus, quae, ut scis, exstat oratio.
Sextus Roscius of-Ameria did which as you-know survives the-speech

XV · BENEFICENCE BY SERVICE AND BY MONEY

Kindness may be done by service or by money. Money is easier for the rich, but service is finer, since largess from the estate drains the very spring of kindness. Philip rebuked Alexander for courting the Macedonians with largess, and asked whether he meant them to hope for a steward and a purveyor instead of their king. Yet giving is not to be rejected altogether: the estate should be neither shut nor thrown open to all, for largess, the proverb says, has no bottom.

Sed expositis adulescentium officiis, quae valeant ad 52
but having-been-set-out of-young-men the-duties which avail to
gloriam adipiscendam, deinceps de beneficentia ac de
glory to-be-gained next about beneficence and about
liberalitate dicendum est; cuius est ratio duplex; nam
generosity to-be-said it-is of-which is the-method twofold for
aut opera benigne fit indigentibus aut pecunia. Facilior
either by-service kindly it-is-done to-the-needy or by-money easier
est haec posterior, locupleti praesertim, sed illa lautior ac
is this latter for-a-rich-man especially but that finer and
splendidior et viro forti claroque dignior. Quamquam enim
more-splendid and for-a-man brave and-famous worthier although for

in utroque inest gratificandi liberalis voluntas, tamen altera
in each there-is of-obliging a-generous will nevertheless the-one
ex arca, altera ex virtute depromitur, largitioque,
from the-money-chest the-other from virtue is-drawn and-the-largess
quae fit ex re familiari, fontem ipsum benignitatis
which is-made from property family the-spring itself of-kindness
exhaurit. Ita benignitate benignitas tollitur; qua quo
drains so by-kindness kindness is-destroyed which by-how-much
in plures usus sis, eo minus in multos uti possis.
on more used you-have by-that less on many to-use you-can
53 At qui opera, id est virtute et industria, benefici et
but who by-service that is by-virtue and by-industry beneficent and
liberales erunt, primum, quo pluribus profuerint,
generous shall-be first by-how-much to-more they-shall-have-been-of-use
eo plures ad benigne faciendum adiutores habebunt, dein
by-that more for kindly acting helpers they-will-have then
consuetudine beneficentiae paratiores erunt et tamquam
by-the-habit of-beneficence readier they-will-be and as-it-were
exercitatiores ad bene de multis promerendum.
better-practiced for well about many to-deserve
Praeclare in epistula quadam Alexandrum filium Philippus
excellently in a-letter a-certain Alexander the-son Philip
accusat, quod largitione benivolentiam Macedonum consectetur:
rebukes because by-largess the-goodwill of-the-Macedonians he-courts
Quae te, malum! inquit, ratio in istam spem induxit,
what you plague-take-it says-he reasoning into that hope has-led
ut eos tibi fideles putares fore, quos pecunia
that them to-you faithful you-should-think about-to-be whom with-money
corrupisses? An tu id agis, ut Macedones non te regem
you-had-corrupted or you this are-doing that the-Macedonians not you a-king
suum, sed ministrum et praebitorem sperent fore?
their-own but a-steward and a-purveyor should-hope about-to-be

Bene ministrum et praebitorem, quia sordidum regi,
well a-steward and a-purveyor because sordid for-a-king
melius etiam, quod largitionem corruptelam dixit esse;
better still because the-largess a-corrupting he-said to-be
fit enim deterior, qui accipit, atque ad idem semper
becomes for worse who receives and for the-same always
exspectandum paratior.
to-be-expected readier
Hoc ille filio, sed praeceptum putemus omnibus. 54
this he to-a-son but a-precept let-us-count for-all
Quam ob rem id quidem non dubium est, quin
which on-account-of thing that indeed not doubtful is but-that
illa benignitas, quae constet ex opera et industria, et
that kindness which consists of service and industry both
honestior sit et latius pateat et possit prodesse
more-honorable is and more-widely extends and can to-profit
pluribus; non numquam tamen est largiendum, nec hoc
more not never nevertheless it-is to-be-given-freely and-not this
benignitatis genus omnino repudiandum est et saepe idoneis
of-kindness kind altogether to-be-rejected is and often suitable
hominibus indigentibus de re familiari impertiendum,
to-men needy from property family to-be-imparted
sed diligenter atque moderate; multi enim patrimonia
but carefully and with-moderation many for patrimonies
effuderunt inconsulte largiendo. Quid autem est stultius
have-poured-out unadvisedly by-giving what moreover is more-foolish
quam, quod libenter facias, curare, ut id diutius facere
than what gladly you-do to-see-to-it that it longer to-do
non possis? Atque etiam sequuntur largitionem rapinae;
not you-can and also there-follow largess plunderings
cum enim dando egere coeperunt, alienis bonis manus
when for by-giving to-want they-have-begun on-another's goods hands

afferre coguntur. Ita, cum benivolentiae comparandae causa
to-lay they-are-forced so when of-goodwill to-be-got for-the-sake
benefici esse velint, non tanta studia assequuntur eorum,
beneficent to-be they-wish not so-great the-devotion they-obtain of-those
quibus dederunt, quanta odia eorum, quibus ademerunt.
to-whom they-have-given as-great the-hatreds of-those from-whom they-have-taken
55 Quam ob rem nec ita claudenda res est familiaris,
which on-account-of thing and-not so to-be-shut-up property is family
ut eam benignitas aperire non possit, nec ita reseranda,
that it kindness to-open not can and-not so to-be-unbarred
ut pateat omnibus; modus adhibeatur, isque referatur
that it-lies-open to-all a-measure let-be-applied and-it be-referred
ad facultates. Omnino meminisse debemus, id quod a
to the-means altogether to-remember we-ought that which by
nostris hominibus saepissime usurpatum iam in proverbii
our countrymen most-often used now into of-a-proverb
consuetudinem venit, largitionem fundum non habere; etenim
the-usage has-come that-largess a-bottom not to-have for-indeed
quis potest modus esse, cum et idem, qui consuerunt,
what can a-measure to-be when both the-same who have-been-accustomed
et idem illud alii desiderent?
and the-same that others desire

There are two kinds of lavish men. Prodigals pour out money on banquets, gladiatorial shows, and hunts, and will leave a brief memory of it or none at all; the generous ransom captives, take on friends' debts, help in settling daughters, or set a man up in property. Aristotle rebukes us: we wonder at the price of water in a siege, then excuse necessity, yet wonder at nothing in such boundless outlay; and Cicero grants that Rome now demands splendid aedileships of her best men.

Omnino duo sunt genera largorum, quorum alteri prodigi,
altogether two there-are kinds of-lavish-men of-whom the-one-sort prodigal
alteri liberales: prodigi, qui epulis et viscerationibus et
the-other generous prodigal who on-banquets and on-doles-of-meat and
gladiatorum muneribus, ludorum venationumque apparatu
of-gladiators on-shows of-games and-of-hunts on-the-display
pecunias profundunt in eas res, quarum memoriam aut
moneys pour-out on those things of-which the-memory either
brevem aut nullam omnino sint relicturi,
brief or none at-all they-are about-to-leave
liberales autem, qui suis facultatibus aut captos a 56
generous moreover who with-their-own means either the-captured from
praedonibus redimunt aut aes alienum suscipiunt amicorum
pirates ransom or debt another's take-on of-friends
aut in filiarum collocatione adiuvant aut opitulantur in re
or in of-daughters the-settling help or give-aid in property
vel quaerenda vel augenda. Itaque miror, quid in mentem
either to-be-sought or to-be-increased and-so I-wonder what into mind
venerit Theophrasto in eo libro, quem de divitiis scripsit;
came to-Theophrastus in that book which about riches he-wrote
in quo multa praeclare, illud absurde: est enim multus in
in which many-things excellently that absurdly he-is for lengthy in
laudanda magnificentia et apparatione popularium munerum
to-be-praised magnificence and the-provision of-popular shows

taliumque sumptuum facultatem fructum divitiarum putat.
and-of-such-like expenditures the-means the-fruit of-riches he-thinks
Mihi autem ille fructus liberalitatis, cuius pauca exempla
to-me moreover that fruit of-generosity of-which a-few examples
posui, multo et maior videtur et certior.
I-have-set-down much both greater seems and surer
Quanto Aristoteles gravius et verius nos reprehendit!
by-how-much Aristotle more-weightily and more-truly us rebukes
qui has pecuniarum effusiones non admiremur, quae fiunt
who these of-moneys outpourings not we-wonder-at which are-made
ad multitudinem deliniendam. Ait enim, qui ab hoste
for the-multitude to-be-charmed he-says for those-who by an-enemy
obsidentur, si emere aquae sextarium cogerentur mina, hoc
are-besieged if to-buy of-water a-pint were-forced for-a-mina this
primo incredibile nobis videri, omnesque mirari, sed cum
at-first incredible to-us to-seem and-all to-wonder but when
attenderint, veniam necessitati dare, in his immanibus iacturis
they-have-attended pardon to-necessity to-give in these monstrous squanderings
infinitisque sumptibus nihil nos magnopere mirari, cum
and-boundless expenditures nothing we greatly to-wonder-at although
praesertim neque necessitati subveniatur nec dignitas augeatur
especially neither to-necessity is-relieved nor dignity is-increased
ipsaque illa delectatio multitudinis ad breve exiguumque
and-that-very that delight of-the-multitude for a-short and-scanty
tempus capiatur, eaque a levissimo quoque, in quo tamen
time is-caught and-it by the-most-frivolous each in which nevertheless
ipso una cum satietate memoria quoque moriatur voluptatis.
the-very together with satiety the-memory also dies of-the-pleasure
57 Bene etiam colligit, haec pueris et mulierculis et servis
well also he-infers these to-boys and to-little-women and to-slaves
et servorum simillimis liberis esse grata, gravi vero
and of-slaves to-the-most-like free-men to-be welcome by-a-weighty indeed

homini et ea, quae fiunt, iudicio certo ponderanti
man and those-things which are-done by-a-judgment sure weighing
probari posse nullo modo.
to-be-approved to-be-able in-no way
Quamquam intellego in nostra civitate inveterasse iam bonis
and-yet I-understand in our state to-have-grown-old already in-good
temporibus, ut splendor aedilitatum ab optimis viris postuletur.
times that the-splendor of-aedileships from the-best men is-demanded
Itaque et P. Crassus cum cognomine dives, tum copiis
and-so both Publius Crassus both with-the-surname the-Rich and with-resources
functus est aedilicio maximo munere, et paulo post L.
performed has an-aedile's greatest office and a-little after Lucius
Crassus cum omnium hominum moderatissimo Q. Mucio
Crassus with of-all men the-most-restrained Quintus Mucius
magnificentissima aedilitate functus est, deinde C. Claudius
with-a-most-magnificent aedileship performed has then Gaius Claudius
App. f., multi post, Luculli, Hortensius, Silanus; omnes
of-Appius son many afterward the-Luculli Hortensius Silanus all
autem P. Lentulus me consule vicit superiores; hunc est
moreover Publius Lentulus me being-consul surpassed the-earlier-men him has
Scaurus imitatus; magnificentissima vero nostri Pompei munera
Scaurus imitated most-magnificent indeed of-our Pompey the-shows
secundo consulatu; in quibus omnibus quid mihi placeat, vides.
in-a-second consulship in which all what to-me pleases you-see

The suspicion of avarice must still be avoided: Mamercus lost the consulship for skipping his aedileship, and largess is justified when it is necessary or useful. Cicero notes his own cheap aedileship, and Philippus, who boasted that he had won everything without one public show. Better outlay goes on walls, dockyards, harbors, and aqueducts, which serve the state; the whole class of shows is faulty in kind.

58 Vitanda tamen suspicio est avaritiae. Mamerco, homini
to-be-shunned nevertheless the-suspicion is of-avarice to-Mamercus a-man
divitissimo, praetermissio aedilitatis consulatus repulsam
most-rich the-omission of-the-aedileship of-the-consulship a-defeat
attulit. Quare et, si postulatur a populo, bonis viris si non
brought wherefore both if it-is-demanded by the-people with-good men if not
desiderantibus, at tamen approbantibus faciundum est, modo
requiring yet nevertheless approving to-be-done it-is only
pro facultatibus, nos ipsi ut fecimus, et, si quando
according-to the-means we ourselves as we-did and if ever
aliqua res maior atque utilior populari largitione acquiritur,
some matter greater and more-useful by-a-popular largess is-gained
ut Oresti nuper prandia in semitis decumae nomine
as for-Orestes lately the-dinners in the-alleys of-a-tithe under-the-name
magno honori fuerunt. Ne M. quidem Seio vitio datum
for-great honor were not Marcus even to-Seius for-a-fault given
est, quod in caritate asse modium populo dedit; magna
it-was because in a-dearth for-an-as a-peck to-the-people he-gave from-great
enim se et inveterata invidia nec turpi iactura,
for himself and long-standing unpopularity neither by-a-shameful outlay
quando erat aedilis, nec maxima liberavit. Sed honori summo
since he-was aedile nor very-great he-freed but for-honor the-highest
nuper nostro Miloni fuit, qui gladiatoribus emptis
lately to-our Milo it-was who with-gladiators having-been-bought

rei publicae causa, quae salute nostra continebatur,
of-the-thing public for-the-sake which by-the-safety our was-bound-up
omnes P. Clodi conatus furoresque compressit.
all of-Publius Clodius the-attempts and-frenzies be-crushed
Causa igitur largitionis est, si aut necesse est aut utile.
a-ground therefore of-largess there-is if either necessary it-is or useful
In his autem ipsis mediocritatis regula optima est. L. 59
in these moreover very-things of-moderation the-rule best is Lucius
quidem Philippus Q. f., magno vir ingenio in
indeed Philippus of-Quintus son of-great a-man talent and-among
primisque clarus, gloriari solebat se sine ullo munere
the-first famous to-boast was-wont himself without any public-show
adeptum esse omnia, quae haberentur amplissima. Dicebat
having-gained to-be all-things which were-held most-ample used-to-say
idem Cotta, Curio. Nobis quoque licet in hoc quodam
the-same Cotta Curio for-us also it-is-allowed in this in-a-certain
modo gloriari; nam pro amplitudine honorum, quos
way to-boast for according-to the-greatness of-the-honors which
cunctis suffragiis adepti sumus nostro quidem anno, quod
by-all the-votes gained we-have in-our indeed year which
contigit eorum nemini, quos modo nominavi, sane exiguus
befell of-those to-none whom just-now I-have-named truly small
sumptus aedilitatis fuit.
the-expense of-the-aedileship was
Atque etiam illae impensae meliores, muri, navalia, portus, 60
and also those outlays better walls dockyards harbors
aquarum ductus omniaque, quae ad usum rei publicae
of-waters the-conduits and-all-things which to the-use of-the-thing public
pertinent. Quamquam, quod praesens tamquam in manum
pertain although what present as-it-were into the-hand
datur, iucundius est; tamen haec in posterum gratiora.
is-given more-pleasant is nevertheless these for the-future more-welcome

Theatra, porticus, nova templa verecundius reprehendo
theaters colonnades new temples more-diffidently I-blame
propter Pompeium, sed doctissimi non probant, ut et hic
on-account-of Pompey but the-most-learned not approve as both this
ipse Panaetius, quem multum in his libris secutus sum, non
very Panaetius whom much in these books followed I-have not
interpretatus, et Phalereus Demetrius, qui Periclem, principem
translated and the-Phalerean Demetrius who Pericles the-chief
Graeciae, vituperat, quod tantam pecuniam in praeclara illa
of-Greece blames because so-great money on famous that
propylaea coniecerit. Sed de hoc genere toto in iis libris,
propylaea he-flung but about this class whole in those books
quos de re publica scripsi, diligenter est disputatum.
which about the-thing public I-wrote carefully it-has-been argued
Tota igitur ratio talium largitionum genere vitiosa est,
the-whole therefore method of-such largesses in-kind faulty is
temporibus necessaria, et tum ipsum et ad facultates
by-circumstances necessary and then itself both to the-means
accommodanda et mediocritate moderanda est.
to-be-fitted and by-moderation to-be-restrained is

The unfortunate deserve the readier kindness, unless they deserve their fortune; toward those who seek to rise one should not be sparing, but should choose carefully whom to help. A kindness given to a grateful man bears fruit from him and from others. In every dealing be fair and yielding, avoid lawsuits, keep the estate clear of any suspicion of meanness, and open the house to guests, as Theophrastus praised and Cimon practiced.

In illo autem altero genere largiendi, quod a liberalitate 61
in that moreover second kind of-giving-freely which from generosity
proficiscitur, non uno modo in disparibus causis affecti esse
proceeds not in-one way in unequal cases disposed to-be
debemus. Alia causa est eius, qui calamitate premitur, et
we-ought one case is of-him who by-calamity is-pressed and
eius, qui res meliores quaerit nullis suis rebus adversis.
of-him who circumstances better seeks with-no his-own affairs adverse
Propensior benignitas esse debebit in calamitosos, nisi forte 62
more-inclined the-kindness to-be will-have-to toward the-unfortunate unless perhaps
erunt digni calamitate. In iis tamen, qui se adiuvari
they-shall-be worthy of-the-calamity toward those nevertheless who themselves to-be-helped
volent, non ne affligantur, sed ut altiorem gradum ascendant,
shall-wish not lest they-be-crushed but that a-higher step they-may-climb
restricti omnino esse nullo modo debemus, sed in deligendis
sparing altogether to-be in-no way we-ought but in to-be-chosen
idoneis iudicium et diligentiam adhibere. Nam praeclare Ennius:
the-fit judgment and diligence to-apply for excellently Ennius

Bene facta male locata male facta arbitror.
good deeds ill bestowed ill deeds I-reckon

63 Quod autem tributum est bono viro et grato, in eo cum
what moreover granted has-been to-a-good man and grateful in him both
ex ipso fructus est, tum etiam ex ceteris. Temeritate enim
from himself the-fruit is and also from the-rest rashness for
remota gratissima est liberalitas, eoque eam studiosius
having-been-removed most-welcome is generosity and-by-that it more-eagerly
plerique laudant, quod summi cuiusque bonitas commune
most-men praise because of-the-highest of-each the-goodness a-common
perfugium est omnium. Danda igitur opera est, ut iis
refuge is of-all to-be-given therefore effort is that with-those
beneficiis quam plurimos afficiamus, quorum memoria liberis
with-kindnesses as most-many we-confer of-whom the-memory to-children
posterisque prodatur, ut iis ingratis esse non
and-to-descendants may-be-handed-on so-that for-them ungrateful to-be not
liceat. Omnes enim immemorem beneficii oderunt eamque
it-is-allowed all for the-forgetful of-a-kindness hate and-that
iniuriam in deterrenda liberalitate sibi etiam fieri
a-wrong in to-be-deterred generosity to-themselves also to-be-done
eumque, qui faciat, communem hostem tenuiorum putant.
and-him who does a-common enemy of-the-poorer they-think
Atque haec benignitas etiam rei publicae est utilis,
and this kindness also to-the-thing public is useful
redimi e servitute captos, locupletari tenuiores; quod
to-be-ransomed from slavery the-captured to-be-enriched the-poorer which
quidem volgo solitum fieri ab ordine nostro in oratione
indeed commonly wont to-be-done by the-order our in the-speech
Crassi scriptum copiose videmus. Hanc ergo consuetudinem
of-Crassus written copiously we-see this therefore practice
benignitatis largitioni munerum longe antepono; haec est
of-kindness to-the-largess of-shows far I-prefer this is

gravium hominum atque magnorum, illa quasi assentatorum
of-weighty men and great that as-it-were of-flatterers
populi multitudinis levitatem voluptate quasi titillantium.
of-the-people of-the-crowd the-fickleness with-pleasure as-it-were of-those-tickling
Conveniet autem cum in dando munificum esse, tum 64
it-will-be-fitting moreover both in giving munificent to-be and
in exigendo non acerbum in omnique re contrahenda,
in exacting not harsh in and-every matter to-be-transacted
vendundo emendo, conducendo locando, vicinitatibus et
in-selling in-buying in-hiring in-letting in-neighborhoods and
confiniis, aequum, facilem, multa multis de suo iure
in-boundaries fair accommodating many-things to-many from his-own right
cedentem, a litibus vero, quantum liceat et nescio
yielding from lawsuits indeed as-much-as is-allowed and I-know-not
an paulo plus etiam, quam liceat, abhorrentem. Est enim
whether a-little more even than is-allowed shrinking it-is for
non modo liberale paulum non numquam de suo iure
not only generous a-little not never from his-own right
decedere, sed interdum etiam fructuosum. Habenda autem
to-withdraw but sometimes even profitable to-be-had moreover
ratio est rei familiaris, quam quidem dilabi sinere
account is of-property family which indeed to-slip-away to-allow
flagitiosum est, sed ita, ut illiberalitatis avaritiaeque absit
shameful it-is but so that of-meanness and-of-avarice be-away
suspicio; posse enim liberalitate uti non spoliantem se
the-suspicion to-be-able for generosity to-use not stripping oneself
patrimonio nimirum est pecuniae fructus maximus.
of-patrimony doubtless is of-money the-fruit greatest
Recte etiam a Theophrasto est laudata hospitalitas; est
rightly also by Theophrastus has-been praised hospitality it-is
enim, ut mihi quidem videtur, valde decorum patere
for as to-me indeed it-seems very seemly to-lie-open

domus hominum illustrium hospitibus illustribus, idque
the-houses of-men distinguished to-guests distinguished and-that
etiam rei publicae est ornamento, homines externos hoc
also to-the-thing public is for-an-ornament that-men foreign of-this
liberalitatis genere in urbe nostra non egere. Est autem etiam
of-generosity kind in the-city our not to-lack it-is moreover also
vehementer utile iis, qui honeste posse multum volunt,
strongly useful for-those who honorably to-be-able much wish
per hospites apud externos populos valere opibus et
through guest-friends among foreign peoples to-be-strong in-resources and
gratia. Theophrastus quidem scribit Cimonem Athenis etiam
in-favor Theophrastus indeed writes that-Cimon at-Athens even
in suos curiales Laciadas hospitalem fuisse; ita enim
toward his-own fellow-demesmen the-Laciadae hospitable to-have-been so for
instituisse et vilicis imperavisse, ut omnia praeberentur,
to-have-arranged and to-the-stewards to-have-ordered that all-things should-be-furnished
quicumque Laciades in villam suam devertisset.
whoever a-Laciad into the-farm his-own should-have-turned-aside

XIX · SERVICE RATHER THAN MONEY

Kindnesses done by service reach either the whole state or single citizens. Giving legal security, giving counsel, and sharing legal knowledge helps very many, and the knowledge of the civil law was long held at Rome in the highest honor, though Cicero says that honor is now destroyed. Eloquence stands next to it, and those who can neither plead nor advise may still help by recommending a man and watching another's case, taking care to injure no one.

65 Quae autem opera, non largitione beneficia dantur, haec
which moreover by-service not by-largess kindnesses are-given these
tum in universam rem publicam, tum in singulos cives
now upon the-whole thing public now upon individual citizens

conferuntur. Nam in iure cavere, consilio iuvare, atque
are-conferred for in law to-give-security by-counsel to-help and
hoc scientiae genere prodesse quam plurimis vehementer
by-this of-knowledge kind to-benefit as most-many strongly
et ad opes augendas pertinet et ad gratiam.
both to resources to-be-increased pertains and to favor
Itaque cum multa praeclara maiorum, tum quod optime
and-so while many splendid-things of-the-forefathers so-also that most-excellently
constituti iuris civilis summo semper in honore fuit
established of-law civil in-the-highest always in honor has-been
cognitio atque interpretatio; quam quidem ante hanc
the-knowledge and interpretation which indeed before this
confusionem temporum in possessione sua principes
confusion of-the-times in possession their-own the-leading-men
retinuerunt, nunc, ut honores, ut omnes dignitatis gradus,
kept now as the-offices as all of-rank the-grades
sic huius scientiae splendor deletus est, idque eo
so of-this knowledge the-splendor destroyed has-been and-that by-that
indignius, quod eo tempore hoc contigit, cum is esset,
the-more-unworthily because at-that time this befell when he was
qui omnes superiores, quibus honore par esset, scientia
who all the-earlier-men to-whom in-office equal he-was in-knowledge
facile vicisset. Haec igitur opera grata multis et ad
easily had-surpassed these therefore services welcome to-many and for
beneficiis obstringendos homines accommodata.
by-kindnesses to-be-bound men suited
Atque huic arti finitima est dicendi gravior facultas et 66
and to-this art neighboring is of-speaking the-weightier faculty and
gratior et ornatior. Quid enim eloquentia praestabilius
more-welcome and more-adorned what for than-eloquence more-excellent
vel admiratione audientium vel spe indigentium vel
either by-the-admiration of-hearers or by-the-hope of-the-needy or

eorum, qui defensi sunt, gratia? Huic quoque ergo
of-those who defended have-been by-the-gratitude to-this also therefore
a maioribus nostris est in toga dignitatis principatus
by forefathers our has-been in the-toga of-rank the-first-place
datus. Diserti igitur hominis et facile laborantis, quodque
given of-an-eloquent therefore man and readily of-one-laboring and-what
in patriis est moribus, multorum causas et non gravate
in ancestral is customs of-many the-cases both not grudgingly
et gratuito defendentis beneficia et patrocinia late patent.
and gratuitously of-one-defending the-benefits and patronages widely extend
67 Admonebat me res, ut hoc quoque loco intermissionem
it-was-reminding me the-matter that in-this also place the-interruption
eloquentiae, ne dicam interitum, deplorarem, ni vererer, ne
of-eloquence not to-say the-death I-should-bewail were-I-not to-fear lest
de me ipso aliquid viderer queri. Sed tamen videmus,
about me myself something I-should-seem to-complain but nevertheless we-see
quibus exstinctis oratoribus quam in paucis spes,
with-which having-been-extinguished orators how in few the-hope
quanto in paucioribus facultas, quam in multis sit audacia.
by-how-much in fewer the-capacity how in many there-is the-boldness
Cum autem omnes non possint, ne multi quidem, aut iuris
since moreover all not can not many even either of-law
periti esse aut diserti, licet tamen opera prodesse multis
skilled to-be or eloquent it-is-allowed nevertheless by-service to-benefit many
beneficia petentem, commendantem iudicibus, magistratibus,
kindnesses one-seeking one-recommending to-judges to-magistrates
vigilantem pro re alterius, eos ipsos, qui aut consuluntur
one-watching for the-affair of-another those very who either are-consulted
aut defendunt, rogantem; quod qui faciunt, plurimum gratiae
or defend one-asking which who do most of-favor
consequuntur, latissimeque eorum manat industria.
they-gain and-most-widely of-them spreads the-industry

Iam illud non sunt admonendi (est enim in promptu), ut 68
now that not they-are to-be-warned it-is for in readiness that
animadvertant, cum iuvare alios velint, ne quos offendant.
they-should-take-heed when to-help others they-wish lest any they-offend
Saepe enim aut eos laedunt, quos non debent, aut eos, quos
often for either those they-injure whom not they-ought or those whom
non expedit; si imprudentes, neglegentiae est, si scientes,
not it-profits if unwittingly of-negligence it-is if knowingly
temeritatis. Utendum etiam est excusatione adversus eos, quos
of-rashness to-be-used also it-is with-an-excuse toward those whom
invitus offendas, quacumque possis, quare id, quod feceris,
unwilling you-offend by-whatever you-can why that which you-have-done
necesse fuerit nec aliter facere potueris, ceterisque operis
necessary it-was and-not otherwise to-do you-could and-by-the-other services
et officiis erit id, quod violatum videbitur, compensandum.
and duties will-be that which injured shall-seem to-be-made-good

XX · HELP THE GOOD BEFORE THE FORTUNATE

Men say they follow character and not fortune in placing kindnesses, but few prefer a poor good man's cause to a rich one's favor. The poor man may not repay, but he feels the debt; the rich think themselves to have given a favor by receiving one. A kindness to a poor and upright man wins the whole multitude of the humble.

Sed cum in hominibus iuvandis aut mores spectari aut 69
but since in men to-be-helped either character to-be-regarded or
fortuna soleat, dictu quidem est proclive, itaque volgo
fortune is-wont to-say indeed it-is easy and-so commonly
loquuntur, se in beneficiis collocandis mores hominum,
they-say themselves in kindnesses to-be-bestowed the-character of-men
non fortunam sequi. Honesta oratio est; sed quis est
not the-fortune to-follow an-honorable saying it-is but who is

tandem, qui inopis et optimi viri causae non anteponat in
pray who of-a-poor and best man to-the-cause not prefers in
opera danda gratiam fortunati et potentis? a quo enim
service to-be-given the-favor of-a-fortunate and powerful-man from whom for
expeditior et celerior remuneratio fore videtur, in eum
readier and quicker a-return about-to-be seems toward him
fere est voluntas nostra propensior. Sed animadvertendum est
generally is the-will our more-inclined but to-be-noticed it-is
diligentius, quae natura rerum sit. Nimirum enim inops ille,
more-carefully what the-nature of-things is doubtless for poor that-man
si bonus est vir, etiamsi referre gratiam non potest, habere
if good he-is a-man even-if to-return gratitude not he-can to-have
certe potest. Commode autem, quicumque dixit, pecuniam
certainly he-can neatly moreover whoever said money
qui habeat, non reddidisse, qui reddiderit, non habere, gratiam
who has not to-have-repaid who has-repaid not to-have gratitude
autem et, qui rettulerit, habere et, qui habeat, rettulisse.
moreover both who has-returned to-have and who has to-have-returned
At qui se locupletes, honoratos, beatos putant, ii ne
but who themselves rich honored blessed think they not
obligari quidem beneficio volunt; quin etiam beneficium
to-be-bound even by-a-kindness wish nay even a-kindness
se dedisse arbitrantur, cum ipsi quamvis magnum
themselves to-have-given they-judge when they-themselves however great
aliquod acceperint, atque etiam a se aut postulari
some have-received and also from themselves either to-be-demanded
aut exspectari aliquid suspicantur, patrocinio vero se
or to-be-expected something they-suspect patronage indeed themselves
usos aut clientes appellari mortis instar putant.
to-have-used or clients to-be-called of-death the-equal they-think

At vero ille tenuis, cum, quicquid factum sit, se 70
but indeed that poor-man since whatever done has-been himself
spectatum, non fortunam putet, non modo illi, qui est
to-have-been-regarded not the-fortune he-thinks not only to-him who has
meritus, sed etiam illis, a quibus exspectat (eget enim
deserved but also to-those from whom he-expects he-lacks for
multis), gratum se videri studet neque vero verbis auget
many grateful himself to-seem is-eager and-not indeed in-words he-magnifies
suum munus, si quo forte fungitur, sed etiam extenuat.
his-own service if any by-chance he-performs but even he-lessens
Videndumque illud est, quod, si opulentum fortunatumque
and-to-be-seen that is that if a-wealthy and-fortunate-man
defenderis, in uno illo aut, si forte, in liberis
you-shall-have-defended in one that-man or if perhaps in the-children
eius manet gratia; sin autem inopem, probum tamen
of-him remains the-gratitude but-if moreover a-poor-man upright nevertheless
et modestum, omnes non improbi humiles, quae magna in
and modest all not wicked lowly-men which a-great in
populo multitudo est, praesidium sibi paratum vident.
the-people multitude is a-protection for-themselves prepared they-see
Quam ob rem melius apud bonos quam apud 71
which on-account-of thing better with the-good than with
fortunatos beneficium collocari puto.
the-fortunate a-kindness to-be-invested I-think
Danda omnino opera est, ut omni generi satis facere
to-be-given altogether effort is that to-every class enough to-do
possimus; sed si res in contentionem veniet, nimirum
we-may-be-able but if the-matter into competition shall-come doubtless
Themistocles est auctor adhibendus; qui cum consuleretur,
Themistocles is an-authority to-be-brought-in who when he-was-consulted
utrum bono viro pauperi an minus probato diviti filiam
whether to-a-good man poor or to-a-less approved rich his-daughter

collocaret: Ego vero, inquit, malo virum, qui pecunia
he-should-give-in-marriage I indeed says-he prefer a-man who of-money
egeat, quam pecuniam, quae viro. Sed corrupti mores
lacks than money which of-a-man but corrupted the-morals
depravatique sunt admiratione divitiarum; quarum magnitudo
and-depraved are by-the-admiration of-riches of-which the-greatness
quid ad unum quemque nostrum pertinet? Illum fortasse
what to one each of-us pertains him perhaps
adiuvat, qui habet. Ne id quidem semper; sed fac iuvare;
it-helps who has not that even always but suppose to-help
utentior sane sit, honestior vero quo modo? Quodsi
richer truly let-him-be more-honorable indeed in-what way but-if
etiam bonus erit vir, ne impediant divitiae, quo
also a-good he-shall-be a-man let-them-not hinder the-riches so-that
minus iuvetur, modo ne adiuvent, sitque omne iudicium,
less he-be-helped provided not they-help and-let-there-be every judgment
non quam locuples, sed qualis quisque sit!
not how wealthy but of-what-sort each-man is
Extremum autem praeceptum in beneficiis operaque danda,
the-last moreover precept in kindnesses and-service to-be-given
ne quid contra aequitatem contendas, ne quid pro iniuria;
lest anything against fairness you-strive-for lest anything for wrong
fundamentum enim est perpetuae commendationis et famae
the-foundation for is of-a-lasting recommendation and of-fame
iustitia, sine qua nihil potest esse laudabile.
justice without which nothing can to-be praiseworthy

Public kindnesses either reach all the citizens or touch single men, and both deserve trouble, provided that what is done for an individual helps the state or at least does not harm it: Gracchus' corn law drained the treasury, while Octavius' was bearable. Every man's property must be kept safe, tribute avoided by foresight, and supplies provided. In every office the least suspicion of avarice must be driven off: Pontius wished he had lived when Rome began taking gifts, for then he would have ended her rule.

Sed, quoniam de eo genere beneficiorum dictum est, 72
but since about that kind of-kindnesses said it-has-been
quae ad singulos spectant, deinceps de iis, quae ad universos
which to individuals look next about those which to all
quaeque ad rem publicam pertinent, disputandum est. Eorum
and-which to the-thing public pertain to-be-discussed it-is of-them
autem ipsorum partim eius modi sunt, ut ad universos cives
moreover themselves partly of-that sort are that to all citizens
pertineant, partim, singulos ut attingant; quae sunt etiam
they-pertain partly individuals that they-touch which are even
gratiora. Danda opera est omnino, si possit, utrisque, nec
more-welcome to-be-given effort is altogether if it-is-possible to-both and-not
minus, ut etiam singulis consulatur, sed ita, ut ea res
less that also for-individuals it-be-provided but so that that thing
aut prosit aut certe ne obsit rei publicae. C. Gracchi
either profits or certainly not harms the-thing public of-Gaius Gracchus
frumentaria magna largitio; exhauriebat igitur aerarium; modica
corn a-great largess it-was-draining therefore the-treasury moderate
M. Octavi et rei publicae tolerabilis et plebi
of-Marcus Octavius both for-the-thing public bearable and for-the-plebs
necessaria; ergo et civibus et rei publicae salutaris.
necessary therefore both for-citizens and for-the-thing public salutary

73 In primis autem videndum erit ei, qui rem
among the-first moreover to-be-seen it-will-be by-him who the-thing
publicam administrabit, ut suum quisque teneat neque de
public shall-administer that his-own each-man may-hold and-not from
bonis privatorum publice deminutio fiat. Perniciose enim
the-goods of-private-men publicly a-diminution be-made ruinously for
Philippus, in tribunatu cum legem agrariam ferret, quam
Philip in the-tribunate when a-law agrarian he-was-bringing which
tamen antiquari facile passus est et in eo vehementer
nevertheless to-be-annulled easily allowed he-has and in that strongly
se moderatum praebuit — sed cum in agendo multa
himself moderate showed but while in acting many-things
popullariter, tum illud male, non esse in civitate duo milia
in-a-popular-way so-also that badly not to-be in the-state two thousands
hominum, qui rem haberent. Capitalis oratio est, ad
of-men who property had capital the-saying is to
aequationem bonorum pertinens; qua peste quae potest
the-leveling of-goods tending than-which plague what can
esse maior? Hanc enim ob causam maxime, ut sua
to-be greater this for on-account-of cause chiefly that one's-own
tenerentur, res publicae civitatesque constitutae sunt. Nam,
might-be-held things public and-states established have-been for
etsi duce natura congregabantur homines, tamen spe
although with-guide nature were-gathering men nevertheless in-the-hope
custodiae rerum suarum urbium praesidia quaerebant.
of-the-guarding of-things their-own of-cities the-defenses they-were-seeking
74 Danda etiam opera est, ne, quod apud maiores nostros saepe
to-be-given also effort is lest which among forefathers our often
fiebat propter aerarii tenuitatem assiduitatemque
used-to-happen on-account-of of-the-treasury the-slenderness and-the-constancy
bellorum, tributum sit conferendum, idque ne eveniat, multo
of-wars a-tribute is to-be-levied and-that lest it-happen much

ante erit providendum. Sin quae necessitas huius muneris
before it-will-be to-be-provided-for but-if any necessity of-this burden
alicui rei publicae obvenerit (malo enim quam nostrae
to-some thing public shall-have-befallen I-prefer for than for-ours
ominari; neque tamen de nostra, sed de omni re
to-forebode and-not nevertheless about our-own but about every thing
publica disputo), danda erit opera, ut omnes intellegant,
public I-argue to-be-given it-will-be effort that all understand
si salvi esse velint, necessitati esse parendum. Atque etiam
if safe to-be they-wish to-necessity to-be to-be-obeyed and also
omnes, qui rem publicam gubernabunt, consulere debebunt,
all who the-thing public shall-govern to-provide will-be-bound
ut earum rerum copia sit, quae sunt necessariae. Quarum
that of-those things a-supply there-be which are necessary of-which
qualis comparatio fieri soleat et debeat, non est necesse
what-sort the-procuring to-be-made is-wont and ought not it-is necessary
disputare; est enim in promptu; tantum locus attingendus fuit.
to-discuss it-is for in readiness only the-topic to-be-touched-on it-was
Caput autem est in omni procuratione negotii et muneris 75
the-head moreover is in every management of-business and of-office
publici, ut avaritiae pellatur etiam minima suspicio. Utinam,
public that of-avarice be-driven-off even the-least suspicion would-that
inquit C. Pontius Samnis, ad illa tempora me fortuna
says Gaius Pontius the-Samnite to those times me fortune
reservavisset et tum essem natus, quando Romani dona
had-kept-back and then I-had-been born when the-Romans gifts
accipere coepissent! non essem passus diutius eos imperare.
to-take had-begun not I-should-have allowed longer them to-rule
Ne illi multa saecula exspectanda fuerunt; modo enim
truly for-him many ages to-be-waited-for were lately for
hoc malum in hanc rem publicam invasit. Itaque facile
this evil into this thing public has-invaded and-so easily

patior tum potius Pontium fuisse, siquidem in illo tantum
I-bear then rather Pontius to-have-lived if-indeed in him so-much
fuit roboris. Nondum centum et decem anni sunt,
there-was of-strength not-yet a-hundred and ten years there-are
cum de pecuniis repetundis a L. Pisone lata lex
since about moneys to-be-recovered by Lucius Piso brought a-law
est, nulla antea cum fuisset. At vero postea tot
has-been none before when there-had-been but indeed afterward so-many
leges et proximae quaeque duriores, tot rei, tot
laws and the-nearest each harsher so-many defendants so-many
damnati, tantum Italicum bellum propter iudiciorum metum
condemned so-great the-Italian war on-account-of of-the-courts the-fear
excitatum, tanta sublatis legibus et iudiciis
stirred-up so-great with-having-been-swept-away the-laws and the-courts
expilatio direptioque sociorum, ut imbecillitate aliorum,
the-plundering and-pillaging of-the-allies that by-the-weakness of-others
non nostra virtute valeamus.
not by-our-own valor we-are-strong

XXII · AVARICE THE FOULEST VICE

Panaetius praises Africanus for his abstinence, and Cicero adds that Paulus brought so much Macedonian treasure into the treasury that tribute ceased, while Mummius grew no richer for razing a most wealthy city. No vice is fouler than avarice, above all in men who govern; the Pythian Apollo said Sparta would perish by nothing but greed. Those who court the people with land bills and canceled debts destroy both concord and fairness.

76 Laudat Africanum Panaetius, quod fuerit abstinens. Quidni
praises Africanus Panaetius because he-was abstinent why-not
laudet? Sed in illo alia maiora; laus abstinentiae
should-he-praise but in him other-things greater the-praise of-abstinence

non hominis est solum, sed etiam temporum illorum. Omni
not of-the-man is only but also of-the-times those all
Macedonum gaza, quae fuit maxima, potitus
of-the-Macedonians the-treasure which was very-great having-become-master-of
Paulus tantum in aerarium pecuniae invexit, ut unius
Paulus so-much into the-treasury of-money brought that of-one
imperatoris praeda finem attulerit tributorum. At hic nihil
commander the-booty an-end brought of-tributes but he nothing
domum suam intulit praeter memoriam nominis sempiternam.
into-house his-own carried besides the-memory of-a-name everlasting
Imitatus patrem Africanus nihilo locupletior Carthagine
having-imitated the-father Africanus by-nothing richer with-Carthage
eversa. Quid? qui eius collega fuit in censura, L.
overthrown what who of-him colleague was in the-censorship Lucius
Mummius, numquid copiosior, cum copiosissimam urbem
Mummius surely-not richer when a-most-wealthy city
funditus sustulisset? Italiam ornare quam domum suam maluit;
utterly he-had-destroyed Italy to-adorn than house his-own he-preferred
quamquam Italia ornata domus ipsa mihi videtur ornatior.
although with-Italy adorned the-house itself to-me seems more-adorned
Nullum igitur vitium taetrius est, ut eo, unde egressa 77
no therefore vice fouler is that to-that whence gone-out
est, referat se oratio, quam avaritia, praesertim in
it-has may-bring-back itself the-discourse than avarice especially in
principibus et rem publicam gubernantibus. Habere enim
leading-men and the-thing public in-those-governing to-have for
quaestui rem publicam non modo turpe est, sed sceleratum
for-gain the-thing public not only base is but criminal
etiam et nefarium. Itaque, quod Apollo Pythius oraclum
also and wicked and-so what Apollo the-Pythian as-an-oracle
edidit, Spartam nulla re alia nisi avaritia esse perituram,
uttered (that)-Sparta by-no thing other except by-avarice to-be about-to-perish

id videtur non solum Lacedaemoniis, sed etiam omnibus
that seems not only to-the-Lacedaemonians but also to-all
opulentis populis praedixisse. Nulla autem re conciliare
wealthy peoples to-have-foretold by-no moreover thing to-win
facilius benivolentiam multitudinis possunt ii, qui rei
more-easily the-goodwill of-the-multitude can those who to-the-thing
publicae praesunt, quam abstinentia et continentia.
public preside than by-abstinence and by-self-restraint

78 Qui vero se populares volunt ob eamque
who indeed themselves popular wish on-account-of and-that
causam aut agrariam rem temptant, ut possessores
cause either an-agrarian measure attempt that the-holders
pellantur suis sedibus, aut pecunias creditas debitoribus
be-driven from-their-own seats or moneys lent to-debtors
condonandas putant, labefactant fundamenta rei publicae,
to-be-remitted think they-undermine the-foundations of-the-thing public
concordiam primum, quae esse non potest, cum aliis
concord first which to-be not can when from-some
adimuntur, aliis condonantur pecuniae, deinde aequitatem,
are-taken-away to-others are-remitted moneys then fairness
quae tollitur omnis, si habere suum cuique non licet. Id
which is-destroyed wholly if to-have his-own to-each not it-is-allowed that
enim est proprium, ut supra dixi, civitatis atque urbis, ut
for is the-property as above I-said of-a-state and of-a-city that
sit libera et non sollicita suae rei cuiusque custodia.
there-be free and not anxious of-his-own property of-each the-guardianship

79 Atque in hac pernicie rei publicae ne illam quidem
and in this ruin of-the-thing public not that even
consequuntur, quam putant, gratiam; nam cui res
they-obtain which they-think the-favor for from-whom property
erepta est, est inimicus, cui data est, etiam dissimulat
snatched has-been he-is an-enemy to-whom given it-has-been even he-conceals

se accipere voluisse et maxime in pecuniis creditis
himself to-receive to-have-wished and especially in moneys lent
occultat suum gaudium, ne videatur non fuisse solvendo;
he-hides his-own joy lest he-seem not to-have-been solvent
at vero ille, qui accepit iniuriam, et meminit et prae
but indeed that-man who has-received a-wrong both remembers and before
se fert dolorem suum, nec, si plures sunt ii, quibus
himself carries the-grief his-own and-not if more are those to-whom
inprobe datum est, quam illi, quibus iniuste ademptum
dishonorably given it-has-been than those from-whom unjustly taken
est, idcirco plus etiam valent; non enim numero haec
it-has-been therefore more even they-avail not for by-number these
iudicantur, sed pondere. Quam autem habet aequitatem, ut
are-judged but by-weight what moreover has-it fairness that
agrum multis annis aut etiam saeculis ante possessum, qui
a-field for-many years or even for-ages before possessed who
nullum habuit, habeat, qui autem habuit, amittat?
none has-had should-have who moreover has-had should-lose

XXIII · ARATUS OF SICYON

The Spartans expelled Lysander and killed Agis over this kind of wrong, and from that time faction ruined Sparta and shook the rest of Greece; agrarian struggles destroyed the Gracchi. Aratus of Sicyon, restoring six hundred exiles, would neither dispossess the present holders nor leave the returning men unsatisfied. He got money from Ptolemy and settled every claim, so that all parted without complaint.

Ac propter hoc iniuriae genus Lacedaemonii Lysandrum 80
and on-account-of this of-wrong kind the-Lacedaemonians Lysander
ephorum expulerunt, Agim regem, quod numquam antea
the-ephor expelled Agis the-king which never before

apud eos acciderat, necaverunt, exque eo tempore tantae
among them had-happened they-killed and-from that time so-great
discordiae secutae sunt, ut et tyranni exsisterent et
discords followed have that both tyrants arose and
optimates exterminarentur et praeclarissime constituta res
the-nobles were-banished and a-most-splendidly established thing
publica dilaberetur; nec vero solum ipsa cecidit, sed
public fell-apart and-not indeed only itself fell but
etiam reliquam Graeciam evertit contagionibus malorum,
also the-remaining Greece it-overthrew by-the-contagions of-evils
quae a Lacedaemoniis profectae manarunt latius. Quid?
which from the-Lacedaemonians having-set-out spread more-widely what
nostros Gracchos, Ti. Gracchi summi viri filios,
our Gracchi of-Tiberius Gracchus of-a-most-eminent man the-sons
Africani nepotes, nonne agrariae contentiones perdiderunt?
of-Africanus the-grandsons did-not agrarian struggles destroy
81 At vero Aratus Sicyonius iure laudatur, qui, cum eius civitas
but indeed Aratus of-Sicyon with-right is-praised who when his state
quinquaginta annos a tyrannis teneretur, profectus Argis
for-fifty years by tyrants was-held having-set-out from-Argos
Sicyonem clandestino introitu urbe est potitus, cumque
Sicyon by-a-secret entry the-city has mastered and-when
tyrannum Nicoclem improviso oppressisset, sescentos exsules, qui
the-tyrant Nicocles unexpectedly he-had-crushed six-hundred exiles who
locupletissimi fuerant eius civitatis, restituit remque publicam
the-richest had-been of-that state he-restored and-the-thing public
adventu suo liberavit. Sed cum magnam animadverteret in
by-the-coming his-own he-freed but when a-great he-perceived in
bonis et possessionibus difficultatem, quod et eos, quos ipse
goods and possessions difficulty because both those whom he-himself
restituerat, quorum bona alii possederant, egere iniquissimum
had-restored whose goods others had-possessed to-want most-unfair

esse arbitrabatur et quinquaginta annorum possessiones
to-be he-judged and of-fifty of-years the-possessions
moveri non nimis aequum putabat, propterea quod tam longo
to-be-disturbed not too fair he-thought for-this-reason because so long
spatio multa hereditatibus, multa emptionibus, multa
in-a-space many-things by-inheritances many-things by-purchases many-things
dotibus tenebantur sine iniuria, iudicavit neque illis adimi
by-dowries were-held without wrong he-decided neither from-those to-be-taken
nec iis non satis fieri, quorum illa fuerant, oportere.
nor to-those not enough to-be-done whose those had-been to-behoove
Cum igitur statuisset opus esse ad eam rem constituendam 82
when therefore he-had-determined need to-be for that matter to-be-settled
pecunia, Alexandream se proficisci velle dixit remque
of-money to-Alexandria himself to-set-out to-wish he-said and-the-matter
integram ad reditum suum iussit esse, isque celeriter ad
untouched until the-return his-own he-ordered to-be and-he quickly to
Ptolomaeum, suum hospitem, venit, qui tum regnabat alter
Ptolemy his-own guest-friend came who then was-reigning the-second
post Alexandream conditam. Cui cum exposuisset patriam
after Alexandria founded to-whom when he-had-explained the-fatherland
se liberare velle causamque docuisset, a rege opulento vir
himself to-free to-wish and-the-cause he-had-shown from a-king wealthy a-man
summus facile impetravit, ut grandi pecunia adiuvaretur.
most-eminent easily obtained that with-a-great sum he-be-helped
Quam cum Sicyonem attulisset, adhibuit sibi in consilium
which when to-Sicyon he-had-brought he-called-in for-himself into counsel
quindecim principes, cum quibus causas cognovit et eorum,
fifteen chief-men with whom the-cases he-examined both of-those
qui aliena tenebant, et eorum, qui sua amiserant,
who another's held and of-those who their-own had-lost
perfecitque aestimandis possessionibus, ut persuaderet aliis,
and-he-brought-it-about by-valuing the-holdings that he-persuaded some

ut pecuniam accipere mallent, possessionibus cederent,
that money to-take they-should-prefer from-the-holdings they-should-withdraw
aliis, ut commodius putarent numerari sibi, quod
others that more-convenient they-should-think to-be-counted-out to-themselves what
tanti esset, quam suum recuperare. Ita perfectum est, ut
so-much was than their-own to-recover so accomplished it-was that
omnes concordia constituta sine querella discederent.
all with-concord established without complaint departed

83 O virum magnum dignumque, qui in re publica nostra
O man great and-worthy who in the-thing public our
natus esset! Sic par est agere cum civibus, non, ut bis
born should-have-been so right it-is to-deal with citizens not as twice
iam vidimus, hastam in foro ponere et bona civium
already we-have-seen the-spear in the-forum to-set-up and the-goods of-citizens
voci subicere praeconis. At ille Graecus, id quod fuit
to-the-voice to-subject of-the-crier but that Greek that which was
sapientis et praestantis viri, omnibus consulendum putavit,
of-a-wise and outstanding man for-all to-be-provided he-thought
eaque est summa ratio et sapientia boni civis, commoda
and-this is the-highest principle and wisdom of-a-good citizen the-interests
civium non divellere atque omnis aequitate eadem continere.
of-citizens not to-tear-apart and all by-fairness the-same to-hold-together
Habitent gratis in alieno. Quid ita? ut, cum ego emerim,
let-them-dwell free on another's-land why so that when I have-bought
aedificarim, tuear, impendam, tu me invito fruare meo?
have-built maintain spend you me unwilling should-enjoy my-own
Quid est aliud aliis sua eripere, aliis dare aliena?
what is it-else from-some their-own to-snatch to-others to-give another's

Tabulae vero novae quid habent argumenti, nisi ut emas 84
the-ledgers indeed new what have-they of-argument except that you-buy
mea pecunia fundum, eum tu habeas, ego non habeam
with-my money an-estate it you should-have I not should-have
pecuniam?
the-money

XXIV · DEBT, AND THE CARE OF PROPERTY

Debt must not be allowed to endanger the state, but the remedy is not that the rich lose and the debtors gain: nothing holds a state together like credit. Cicero recalls his own consulship, when the attempt to cancel debts was put down. Antipater thought Panaetius had omitted the care of health and of property; both are useful, and property is to be got without baseness.

Quam ob rem ne sit aes alienum, quod rei
which on-account-of thing lest there-be money another's which to-the-thing
publicae noceat, providendum est, quod multis rationibus
public may-harm to-be-provided it-is which by-many means
caveri potest, non, si fuerit, ut locupletes
to-be-guarded-against can not if there-shall-have-been that the-rich
suum perdant, debitores lucrentur alienum; nec enim ulla
their-own lose the-debtors gain another's and-not for any
res vehementius rem publicam continet quam fides, quae
thing more-strongly the-thing public holds-together than credit which
esse nulla potest, nisi erit necessaria solutio rerum
to-be none can unless there-shall-be obligatory the-payment of-things
creditarum. Numquam vehementius actum est quam me
lent never more-violently pushed it-has-been than me
consule, ne solveretur; armis et castris temptata res
being-consul that-not it-should-be-paid with-arms and with-camps attempted the-thing

est ab omni genere hominum et ordine; quibus ita restiti,
was by every kind of-men and order to-whom so I-resisted
ut hoc totum malum de re publica tolleretur. Numquam
that this whole evil from the-thing public was-removed never
nec maius aes alienum fuit nec melius nec facilius
either greater money another's was or better or more-easily
dissolutum est; fraudandi enim spe sublata
discharged it-has-been of-defrauding for the-hope having-been-taken-away
solvendi necessitas consecuta est. At vero hic nunc victor,
of-paying the-necessity followed has but indeed this now victor
tum quidem victus, quae cogitarat, ea perfecit, cum eius
then indeed vanquished what he-had-planned those he-accomplished when of-him
iam nihil interesset. Tanta in eo peccandi libido fuit, ut
now nothing it-concerned so-great in him of-doing-wrong the-lust was that
hoc ipsum eum delectaret, peccare, etiamsi causa non esset.
this very him delighted to-do-wrong even-if a-cause not there-was
85 Ab hoc igitur genere largitionis, ut aliis detur, aliis
from this therefore kind of-largess that to-some be-given from-others
auferatur, aberunt ii, qui rem publicam tuebuntur,
be-taken-away will-keep-away those who the-thing public shall-guard
in primisque operam dabunt, ut iuris et iudiciorum
and-among the-first pains they-will-take that of-law and of-courts
aequitate suum quisque teneat et neque tenuiores propter
by-the-fairness his-own each-man may-hold and neither the-poorer on-account-of
humilitatem circumveniantur neque locupletibus ad sua
lowliness be-circumvented nor for-the-rich for their-own
vel tenenda vel recuperanda obsit invidia, praeterea,
either to-be-held or to-be-recovered may-hinder ill-will besides
quibuscumque rebus vel belli vel domi poterunt, rem
by-whatever means either in-war or at-home they-shall-be-able the-thing
publicam augeant imperio, agris, vectigalibus.
public let-them-increase with-empire with-lands with-revenues

Haec magnorum hominum sunt, haec apud maiores nostros
these of-great men are these among forefathers our
factitata, haec genera officiorum qui persequentur, cum
often-done these kinds of-duties who shall-pursue with
summa utilitate rei publicae magnam ipsi adipiscentur
the-highest advantage of-the-thing public great themselves will-gain
et gratiam et gloriam.
both favor and glory
In his autem utilitatum praeceptis Antipater Tyrius Stoicus, 86
in these moreover of-advantages the-precepts Antipater the-Tyrian a-Stoic
qui Athenis nuper est mortuus, duo praeterita censet esse
who at-Athens lately has died two omitted judges to-have-been
a Panaetio, valetudinis curationem et pecuniae; quas res a
by Panaetius of-health the-care and of-money which things by
summo philosopho praeteritas arbitror, quod essent faciles;
the-highest philosopher omitted I-think because they-were easy
sunt certe utiles. Sed valetudo sustentatur notitia
they-are certainly useful but health is-maintained by-the-knowledge
sui corporis et observatione, quae res aut prodesse
of-one's-own body and by-the-observation what things either to-benefit
soleant aut obesse, et continentia in victu omni atque
are-wont or to-hurt and by-self-restraint in diet all and
cultu corporis tuendi causa praetermittendis voluptatibus,
care of-the-body to-be-guarded for-the-sake by-forgoing pleasures
postremo arte eorum, quorum ad scientiam haec pertinent.
lastly by-the-art of-those of-whom to knowledge these pertain
Res autem familiaris quaeri debet iis rebus, a quibus 87
property moreover family to-be-sought ought by-those means from which
abest turpitudo, conservari autem diligentia et parsimonia,
is-absent baseness to-be-kept moreover by-diligence and by-thrift
eisdem etiam rebus augeri. Has res commodissime
by-the-same also means to-be-increased these matters most-conveniently

Xenophon Socraticus persecutus est in eo libro, qui
Xenophon the-Socratic pursued has in that book which
Oeconomicus inscribitur, quem nos, ista fere aetate cum
the-Oeconomicus is-entitled which we at-that about age when
essemus, qua es tu nunc, e Graeco in Latinum
we-were at-which are you now from Greek into Latin
convertimus. Sed toto hoc de genere, de quaerenda, de
we-turned but the-whole this about class about to-be-sought about
collocanda pecunia (vellem etiam de utenda), commodius
to-be-invested money I-could-wish also about to-be-used more-usefully
a quibusdam optimis viris ad Ianum medium sedentibus
by certain best men at the-Janus middle sitting
quam ab ullis philosophis ulla in schola disputatur. Sunt
than by any philosophers any in school it-is-discussed they-are
tamen ea cognoscenda; pertinent enim ad utilitatem, de
nevertheless these to-be-learned they-pertain for to the-usefulness about
qua hoc libro disputatum est.
which in-this book argued it-has-been

XXV · COMPARING ADVANTAGES

Since Panaetius passed over the fourth heading, Cicero adds a word on comparing advantages: bodily with external, external with bodily, and each kind with itself. Cato, asked what paid best in an estate, answered good pasture; asked what came next, fair pasture; and to the question about lending at interest he answered with another: what of killing a man?

88 Sed utilitatum comparatio, quoniam hic locus erat quartus, a
but of-advantages the-comparison since this topic was fourth by
Panaetio praetermissus, saepe est necessaria. Nam et corporis
Panaetius passed-over often is necessary for both of-the-body

commoda cum externis et externa cum corporis et ipsa
the-advantages with external and external with of-the-body and themselves
inter se corporis et externa cum externis comparari
among themselves of-the-body and external with external to-be-compared
solent. Cum externis corporis hoc modo comparantur, valere
are-wont with external of-the-body in-this way are-compared to-be-well
ut malis quam dives esse, cum corporis externa hoc
that you-should-prefer than rich to-be with of-the-body external in-this
modo, dives esse potius quam maximis corporis viribus,
way rich to-be rather than with-the-greatest of-body strength
ipsa inter se corporis sic, ut bona valetudo voluptati
themselves among themselves of-the-body thus that good health to-pleasure
anteponatur, vires celeritati, externorum autem, ut gloria
be-preferred strength to-swiftness of-external-things moreover as glory
divitiis, vectigalia urbana rusticis.
to-riches revenues city to-country

Ex quo genere comparationis illud est Catonis senis: 89
from which kind of-comparison that is of-Cato the-elder
a quo cum quaereretur, quid maxime in re familiari
from whom when it-was-asked what most in property family
expediret, respondit: Bene pascere; quid secundum: Satis bene
paid he-answered well to-pasture what second enough well
pascere; quid tertium: Male pascere; quid quartum: Arare;
to-pasture what third badly to-pasture what fourth to-plow
et cum ille, qui quaesierat, dixisset: Quid faenerari? tum
and when he who had-asked had-said what to-lend-at-interest then
Cato: Quid hominem, inquit, occidere?
Cato what a-man says-he to-kill

Ex quo et multis aliis intellegi debet utilitatum
from which and from-many other-things to-be-understood it-ought (that)-of-advantages
comparationes fieri solere, recteque hoc adiunctum
comparisons to-be-made to-be-wont and-rightly this added
esse quartum exquirendorum officiorum genus.
to-have-been a-fourth of-to-be-searched-out duties kind
Reliqua deinceps persequemur.
the-rest next we-shall-pursue

BOOK III

I · NEVER LESS ALONE THAN WHEN ALONE

Cato reported that Scipio Africanus used to say he was never less at leisure than when at leisure, and never less alone than when alone. Cicero says his own leisure is not like that: Scipio rested from great affairs, while Cicero has been shut out of them. Since the senate and the courts are gone, he writes more in a short time than he did in many years.

P. Scipionem, M. fili, eum, qui primus Africanus 1
Publius Scipio Marcus (my)-son him who first Africanus
appellatus est, dicere solitum scripsit Cato, qui fuit eius
called was to-say accustomed wrote Cato who was of-him
fere aequalis, numquam se minus otiosum esse, quam
nearly a-contemporary that-never himself less at-leisure to-be than
cum otiosus, nec minus solum, quam cum solus esset.
when at-leisure and-not less alone than when alone he-was
Magnifica vero vox et magno viro ac sapiente digna;
a-magnificent indeed utterance and of-a-great man and wise worthy
quae declarat illum et in otio de negotiis cogitare et
which shows him both in leisure about business to-think and
in solitudine secum loqui solitum, ut neque cessaret
in solitude with-himself to-talk accustomed so-that not he-was-idle
umquam et interdum colloquio alterius non egeret. Ita duae
ever and sometimes of-the-converse of-another not he-lacked so two
res, quae languorem afferunt ceteris, illum acuebant, otium
things which languor bring to-the-rest him used-to-sharpen leisure
et solitudo. Vellem nobis hoc idem vere dicere liceret;
and solitude I-could-wish for-us this same truly to-say it-were-allowed
sed si minus imitatione tantam ingenii praestantiam consequi
but if less by-imitation so-great of-talent the-excellence to-attain

possumus, voluntate certe proxime accedimus; nam et a
we-can in-will certainly most-nearly we-approach for both from
re publica forensibusque negotiis armis impiis vique
the-thing public and-from-forensic business by-arms impious and-by-force
prohibiti otium persequimur et ob eam causam urbe
debarred leisure we-pursue and on-account-of that cause the-city
relicta rura peragrantes saepe soli sumus.
having-been-left the-countryside traversing often alone we-are

2 Sed nec hoc otium cum Africani otio nec haec solitudo cum
but neither this leisure with of-Africanus the-leisure nor this solitude with
illa comparanda est. Ille enim requiescens a rei publicae
that to-be-compared is he for resting from of-the-thing public
pulcherrimis muneribus otium sibi sumebat aliquando et
the-most-splendid duties leisure for-himself used-to-take at-times and
e coetu hominum frequentiaque interdum tamquam in
from the-gathering of-men and-the-throng sometimes as-it-were into
portum se in solitudinem recipiebat, nostrum autem
a-harbor himself into solitude used-to-withdraw our moreover
otium negotii inopia, non requiescendi studio constitutum
the-leisure of-business by-the-lack not of-resting by-the-desire established
est. Exstincto enim senatu deletisque iudiciis quid est quod
has-been extinguished for the-senate and-destroyed the-courts what is which
dignum nobis aut in curia aut in foro agere possimus?
worthy for-us either in the-senate-house or in the-forum to-do we-can

3 Ita, qui in maxima celebritate atque in oculis civium
so we-who in the-greatest publicity and in the-eyes of-the-citizens
quondam vixerimus, nunc fugientes conspectum sceleratorum,
once have-lived now fleeing the-sight of-the-wicked
quibus omnia redundant, abdimus nos, quantum licet,
with-whom all-things overflow we-hide ourselves as-much-as is-allowed
et saepe soli sumus. Sed quia sic ab hominibus doctis
and often alone we-are but because so from men learned

accepimus, non solum ex malis eligere minima oportere,
we-have-received not only from evils to-choose the-least to-behoove
sed etiam excerpere ex his ipsis, si quid inesset boni,
but also to-pick-out from these very if anything were-in of-good
propterea et otio fruor, non illo quidem, quo debebat is,
for-this-reason both leisure I-enjoy not that indeed in-which ought he
qui quondam peperisset otium civitati, nec eam solitudinem
who once had-won leisure for-the-state and-not that solitude
languere patior, quam mihi affert necessitas, non voluntas.
to-languish I-allow which to-me brings necessity not will
Quamquam Africanus maiorem laudem meo iudicio assequebatur. 4
although Africanus greater praise in-my judgment was-gaining
Nulla enim eius ingenii monumenta mandata litteris, nullum
no for of-him of-talent memorials committed to-letters no
opus otii, nullum solitudinis munus exstat; ex quo
work of-leisure no of-solitude product survives from which
intellegi debet illum mentis agitatione investigationeque
to-be-understood it-ought that-he of-mind by-the-activity and-by-the-investigation
earum rerum, quas cogitando consequebatur, nec otiosum nec
of-those things which by-thinking he-was-attaining neither at-leisure nor
solum umquam fuisse; nos autem, qui non tantum roboris
alone ever to-have-been we moreover who not so-much of-strength
habemus, ut cogitatione tacita a solitudine abstrahamur, ad
have that by-thought silent from solitude we-be-drawn-away to
hanc scribendi operam omne studium curamque convertimus.
this of-writing task all zeal and-care we-have-turned
Itaque plura brevi tempore eversa quam multis
and-so more-things in-a-short time with-the-overthrown than in-many
annis stante re publica scripsimus.
years with-standing the-thing public we-have-written

No field of philosophy is richer than duty, and Cicero trusts that Marcus hears the same from Cratippus. Having taken on the burden of Athens and of such a teacher, he must not come home empty. Panaetius treated the first two of his three questions in three books and promised the third, on the conflict of the useful and the honorable, but never wrote it.

5 Sed cum tota philosophia, mi Cicero, frugifera et
but although the-whole philosophy my Cicero fruit-bearing and
fructuosa nec ulla pars eius inculta ac deserta sit, tum
fruitful and-not any part of-it untilled and waste is so-also
nullus feracior in ea locus est nec uberior quam de
no more-productive in it place is nor richer than about
officiis, a quibus constanter honesteque vivendi praecepta
duties from which consistently and-honorably of-living the-rules
ducuntur. Quare, quamquam a Cratippo nostro, principe
are-drawn wherefore although from Cratippus our the-chief
huius memoriae philosophorum, haec te assidue audire atque
of-this generation of-philosophers these you constantly to-hear and
accipere confido, tamen conducere arbitror talibus aures
to-receive I-trust nevertheless to-be-of-use I-think that-with-such ears
tuas vocibus undique circumsonare, nec eas, si fieri
your voices from-all-sides to-resound and-not them if to-be-done
possit, quicquam aliud audire.
it-can anything else to-hear

6 Quod cum omnibus est faciendum, qui vitam honestam
which although by-all is to-be-done who a-life honorable
ingredi cogitant, tum haud scio an nemini potius quam
to-enter purpose so-also not I-know whether by-no-one rather than
tibi; sustines enim non parvam exspectationem imitandae
by-you you-bear for not a-small expectation of-to-be-imitated

industriae nostrae, magnam honorum, non nullam fortasse
industry our great of-honors not none perhaps
nominis. Suscepisti onus praeterea grave et Athenarum
of-a-name you-have-taken-on a-burden besides heavy both of-Athens
et Cratippi; ad quos cum tamquam ad mercaturam bonarum
and of-Cratippus to whom when as-it-were to a-market of-good
artium sis profectus, inanem redire turpissimum est
arts you-have set-out empty to-return most-shameful it-is
dedecorantem et urbis auctoritatem et magistri. Quare,
disgracing both of-the-city the-authority and of-the-teacher wherefore
quantum coniti animo potes, quantum labore contendere,
as-much-as to-strive in-mind you-can as-much by-toil to-strain
si discendi labor est potius quam voluptas, tantum fac
if of-learning toil it-is rather than pleasure so-much see-to-it
ut efficias neve committas, ut, cum omnia suppeditata
that you-accomplish and-not you-allow that when all-things supplied
sint a nobis, tute tibi defuisse videare.
have-been by us you-yourself to-yourself to-have-been-wanting you-seem
Sed haec hactenus; multa enim saepe ad te cohortandi
but these thus-far many-things for often to you of-exhorting
gratia scripsimus; nunc ad reliquam partem propositae
for-the-sake we-have-written now to the-remaining part of-the-proposed
divisionis revertamur.
division let-us-return

Panaetius igitur, qui sine controversia de officiis 7
Panaetius therefore who without controversy about duties
accuratissime disputavit, quemque nos correctione quadam
most-carefully argued and-whom we with-a-correction a-certain
adhibita potissimum secuti sumus, tribus generibus
applied chiefly followed have three kinds
propositis, in quibus deliberare homines et consultare
having-been-set-out in which to-deliberate men and to-consult

de officio solerent, uno, cum dubitarent, honestumne id
about duty were-wont one when they-doubted whether-honorable that
esset, de quo ageretur, an turpe, altero, utilene esset
was about which it-was-treated or base a-second whether-useful it-was
an inutile, tertio, si id, quod speciem haberet honesti,
or useless a-third if that which the-appearance had of-the-honorable
pugnaret cum eo, quod utile videretur, quo modo ea
fought with that which useful seemed in-what way these
discerni oporteret, de duobus generibus primis tribus
to-be-distinguished it-behooved about two kinds the-first in-three
libris explicavit, de tertio autem genere deinceps se
books he-explained about the-third moreover kind next himself
scripsit dicturum nec exsolvit id, quod promiserat.
he-wrote about-to-speak and-not he-discharged that which he-had-promised

8 Quod eo magis miror, quia scriptum a discipulo eius
which by-that the-more I-wonder-at because written by a-pupil of-him
Posidonio est triginta annis vixisse Panaetium, posteaquam
Posidonius it-is that-thirty years to-have-lived Panaetius after-that
illos libros edidisset. Quem locum miror a Posidonio
those books he-had-published which topic I-wonder-at by Posidonius
breviter esse tactum in quibusdam commentariis,
briefly to-have-been touched in certain notes
praesertim cum scribat nullum esse locum in tota
especially when he-writes no to-be topic in the-whole
philosophia tam necessarium.
philosophy so necessary

9 Minime vero assentior iis, qui negant eum locum a Panaetio
least-of-all indeed I-agree with-those who deny that topic by Panaetius
praetermissum, sed consulto relictum, nec omnino
to-have-been-passed-over but deliberately to-have-been-left and-not at-all
scribendum fuisse, quia numquam posset utilitas cum
to-be-written to-have-been because never could usefulness with

honestate pugnare. De quo alterum potest habere dubitationem,
honorableness to-conflict about which the-one can to-have a-doubt
adhibendumne fuerit hoc genus, quod in divisione Panaeti
whether-to-be-taken-up it-was this kind which in the-division of-Panaetius
tertium est, an plane omittendum, alterum dubitari non
third is or wholly to-be-omitted the-other to-be-doubted not
potest, quin a Panaetio susceptum sit, sed relictum. Nam
can but-that by Panaetius taken-up it-was but left for
qui e divisione tripertita duas partes absolverit, huic
who from a-division threefold two parts shall-have-finished for-him
necesse est restare tertiam; praeterea in extremo libro
necessary it-is to-remain a-third besides at the-end of-the-book
tertio de hac parte pollicetur se deinceps esse dicturum.
third about this part he-promises himself next to-be about-to-speak
Accedit eodem testis locuples Posidonius, qui etiam 10
there-comes to-the-same a-witness weighty Posidonius who also
scribit in quadam epistula P. Rutilium Rufum dicere
writes in a-certain letter that-Publius Rutilius Rufus to-say
solere, qui Panaetium audierat, ut nemo pictor esset
to-be-wont who Panaetius had-heard as no painter was
inventus, qui in Coa Venere eam partem, quam Apelles
found who on the-Coan Venus that part which Apelles
inchoatam reliquisset, absolveret (oris enim pulchritudo
begun had-left should-finish of-the-face for the-beauty
reliqui corporis imitandi spem auferebat), sic ea,
of-the-rest of-the-body of-to-be-imitated the-hope was-taking-away so those-things
quae Panaetius praetermisisset et non perfecisset propter
which Panaetius had-omitted and not had-finished on-account-of
eorum, quae perfecisset, praestantiam neminem persecutum.
of-those which he-had-finished the-excellence no-one to-have-pursued

Panaetius' judgment is beyond doubt, but whether he rightly added this third question can be argued: if the honorable is the only or the highest good, usefulness can never contend with it, as Socrates and the Stoics held. The true honorable is the wise man's alone; these books treat the middle duties, whose shortfall the crowd cannot see.

11 Quam ob rem de iudicio Panaeti dubitari
which on-account-of thing about the-judgment of-Panaetius to-be-doubted
non potest; rectene autem hanc tertiam partem ad
not it-can whether-rightly moreover this third part for
exquirendum officium adiunxerit an secus, de eo fortasse
to-be-searched-out duty he-added or otherwise about that perhaps
disputari potest. Nam, sive honestum solum bonum est, ut
to-be-argued it-can for whether the-honorable alone good is as
Stoicis placet, sive, quod honestum est, id ita summum
to-the-Stoics it-seems-good or what honorable is that so the-highest
bonum est, quem ad modum Peripateticis vestris videtur,
good is which to manner to-the-Peripatetics your it-seems
ut omnia ex altera parte collocata vix minimi momenti
that all-things from the-other side placed scarcely of-the-least weight
instar habeant, dubitandum non est, quin numquam possit
the-equal have to-be-doubted not it-is but-that never can
utilitas cum honestate contendere. Itaque accepimus Socratem
usefulness with honorableness to-contend and-so we-have-heard that-Socrates
exsecrari solitum eos, qui primum haec natura cohaerentia
to-curse accustomed those who first these by-nature cohering
opinione distraxissent. Cui quidem ita sunt Stoici assensi,
in-opinion had-torn-apart to-whom indeed so have the-Stoics assented

ut et, quicquid honestum esset, id utile esse censerent
that both whatever honorable was that useful to-be they-held
nec utile quicquam, quod non honestum.
and-not useful anything which not honorable
Quodsi is esset Panaetius, qui virtutem propterea colendam 12
but-if such were Panaetius who virtue for-this-reason to-be-cultivated
diceret, quod ea efficiens utilitatis esset, ut ii, qui res
should-say because it productive of-usefulness was as those who things
expetendas vel voluptate vel indolentia metiuntur,
to-be-sought either by-pleasure or by-freedom-from-pain measure
liceret ei dicere utilitatem aliquando cum honestate
it-would-be-allowed to-him to-say usefulness sometimes with honorableness
pugnare; sed cum sit is, qui id solum bonum iudicet,
to-conflict but since he-is such who that alone good judges
quod honestum sit, quae autem huic repugnent specie
which honorable is what moreover to-this are-repugnant by-an-appearance
quadam utilitatis, eorum neque accessione meliorem vitam
a-certain of-usefulness of-them neither by-the-addition better the-life
fieri nec decessione peiorem, non videtur debuisse
to-be-made nor by-the-subtraction worse not he-seems to-have-had-to
eius modi deliberationem introducere, in qua, quod utile
of-that sort a-deliberation to-introduce in which what useful
videretur, cum eo, quod honestum est, compararetur.
seemed with that which honorable is should-be-compared
Etenim quod summum bonum a Stoicis dicitur, convenienter 13
for-indeed what the-highest good by the-Stoics is-called agreeably
naturae vivere, id habet hanc, ut opinor, sententiam: cum
to-nature to-live that has this as I-think meaning with
virtute congruere semper, cetera autem, quae secundum
virtue to-accord always the-rest moreover which according-to
naturam essent, ita legere, si ea virtuti non repugnarent.
nature were so to-choose if they to-virtue not were-repugnant

Quod cum ita sit, putant quidam hanc comparationem
which since so is think certain-men this comparison
non recte introductam, nec omnino de eo genere
not rightly to-have-been-introduced and-not at-all about that kind
quicquam praecipiendum fuisse.
anything to-be-taught to-have-been
Atque illud quidem honestum, quod proprie vereque dicitur,
and that indeed honorable which properly and-truly is-called
id in sapientibus est solis neque a virtute divelli umquam
that in the-wise is alone and-not from virtue to-be-torn ever
potest; in iis autem, in quibus sapientia perfecta non
can in those moreover in whom wisdom perfect not
est, ipsum illud quidem perfectum honestum nullo modo,
is that-very that indeed perfect honorable in-no way
similitudines honesti esse possunt.
likenesses of-the-honorable to-be can

14 Haec enim officia, de quibus his libris disputamus, media
these for duties about which in-these books we-argue middle
Stoici appellant; ea communia sunt et late patent; quae et
the-Stoics call these common are and widely extend which both
ingenii bonitate multi assequuntur et progressione discendi.
of-talent by-the-goodness many attain and by-the-progress of-learning
Illud autem officium, quod rectum idem appellant, perfectum
that moreover duty which right the-same they-call perfect
atque absolutum est et, ut idem dicunt, omnes numeros
and complete is and as the-same they-say all the-numbers
habet nec praeter sapientem cadere in quemquam potest.
it-has and-not besides the-wise-man to-fall upon anyone can

15 Cum autem aliquid actum est, in quo media officia
when moreover something done has-been in which middle duties
compareant, id cumulate videtur esse perfectum, propterea
appear that fully seems to-be perfect for-this-reason

quod volgus quid absit a perfecto, non fere intellegit;
because the-crowd what is-lacking from the-perfect not generally understands
quatenus autem intellegit, nihil putat praetermissum; quod
as-far-as moreover it-understands nothing it-thinks omitted which
idem in poematis, in picturis usu venit in aliisque
the-same in poems in paintings by-experience comes in and-in-others
compluribus, ut delectentur imperiti laudentque ea,
very-many that are-delighted the-unskilled and-praise those-things
quae laudanda non sint, ob eam, credo, causam,
which to-be-praised not are on-account-of that I-believe cause
quod insit in iis aliquid probi, quod capiat ignaros, qui
because there-is-in in them something of-good which catches the-ignorant who
quidem, quid in una quaque re vitii sit, nequeant iudicare;
indeed what in one each thing of-fault is are-unable to-judge
itaque, cum sunt docti a peritis, desistunt facile sententia.
and-so when they-are taught by the-skilled they-desist easily from-the-opinion

IV · THE HONORABLE OF ORDINARY MEN

These duties are what the Stoics call a second sort of honorable thing, common to every kind of men and not the property of the wise alone. Only those who measure everything by profit set the honorable against the useful; good men never do. Because occasion can make what is usually base not base — as when a man kills a tyrant who is also his friend — a formula is needed, and Cicero adopts the Stoic one.

Haec igitur officia, de quibus his libris disserimus, quasi
these therefore duties about which in-these books we-discuss as-it-were
secunda quaedam honesta esse dicunt, non sapientium
second certain honorable-things to-be they-say not of-the-wise
modo propria, sed cum omni hominum genere communia.
only proper but with every of-men kind common

16 Itaque iis omnes, in quibus est virtutis indoles,
and-so by-them all in whom there-is of-virtue the-seed
commoventur. Nec vero, cum duo Decii aut duo
are-stirred and-not indeed when the-two Decii or the-two
Scipiones fortes viri commemorantur, aut cum Fabricius aut
Scipios brave men are-recounted or when Fabricius or
Aristides iustus nominatur, aut ab illis fortitudinis aut ab
Aristides the-just is-named either from those of-courage or from
hoc iustitiae tamquam a sapiente petitur exemplum; nemo
this of-justice as-if from a-wise-man is-sought an-example no-one
enim horum sic sapiens, ut sapientem volumus intellegi,
for of-these so wise as a-wise-man we-wish to-be-understood
nec ii, qui sapientes habiti et nominati, M. Cato et
and-not those who wise held and named Marcus Cato and
C. Laelius, sapientes fuerunt, ne illi quidem septem, sed
Gaius Laelius wise were not those even the-seven but
ex mediorum officiorum frequentia similitudinem quandam
from of-middle duties the-frequency a-likeness a-certain
gerebant speciemque sapientium.
they-bore and-the-appearance of-wise-men

17 Quocirca nec id, quod vere honestum est, fas est cum
wherefore and-not that which truly honorable is right it-is with
utilitatis repugnantia comparari, nec id, quod communiter
of-usefulness the-opposition to-be-compared and-not that which commonly
appellamus honestum, quod colitur ab iis, qui bonos
we-call honorable which is-cultivated by those who good
se viros haberi volunt, cum emolumentis umquam est
themselves men to-be-held wish with profits ever is
comparandum, tamque id honestum, quod in nostram
to-be-compared and-as-much that honorable which into our
intellegentiam cadit, tuendum conservandumque nobis est
understanding falls to-be-guarded and-to-be-kept by-us is

quam illud, quod proprie dicitur vereque est honestum,
as that which properly is-called and-truly is honorable
sapientibus; aliter enim teneri non potest, si qua ad
by-the-wise otherwise for to-be-held not it-can if any toward
virtutem est facta progressio.
virtue has-been made progress
Sed haec quidem de iis, qui conservatione officiorum
but these indeed about those who by-the-keeping of-duties
existimantur boni.
are-reckoned good
Qui autem omnia metiuntur emolumentis et commodis 18
who moreover all-things measure by-profits and by-advantages
neque ea volunt praeponderari honestate, ii solent in
and-not them wish to-be-outweighed by-honorableness they are-wont in
deliberando honestum cum eo, quod utile putant, comparare,
deliberating the-honorable with that which useful they-think to-compare
boni viri non solent. Itaque existimo Panaetium, cum dixerit
good men not are-wont and-so I-judge Panaetius when he-said
homines solere in hac comparatione dubitare, hoc ipsum
that-men to-be-wont in this comparison to-doubt this very
sensisse, quod dixerit, solere modo, non etiam oportere.
to-have-meant which he-said to-be-wont only not also to-behoove
Etenim non modo pluris putare, quod utile videatur, quam
for-indeed not only more to-think what useful seems than
quod honestum sit, sed etiam haec inter se comparare
what honorable is but also these among themselves to-compare
et in his addubitare turpissimum est.
and in them to-hesitate most-shameful is

Quid ergo est, quod non numquam dubitationem afferre
what therefore is which not never a-doubt to-bring
soleat considerandumque videatur? Credo, si quando dubitatio
is-wont and-to-be-considered seems I-believe if ever a-doubt
accidit, quale sit id, de quo consideretur.
occurs of-what-sort is that about which it-is-considered
19 Saepe enim tempore fit, ut, quod turpe plerumque
often for by-circumstance it-happens that what base generally
haberi soleat, inveniatur non esse turpe; exempli causa
to-be-held is-wont is-found not to-be base of-example for-the-sake
ponatur aliquid, quod pateat latius: Quod potest maius
let-there-be-set something which may-extend more-widely what can greater
esse scelus quam non modo hominem, sed etiam familiarem
to-be a-crime than not only a-man but even an-intimate
hominem occidere? Num igitur se astrinxit scelere,
man to-kill surely-not therefore himself has-he-bound by-crime
si qui tyrannum occidit quamvis familiarem? Populo
if anyone a-tyrant has-killed however-much an-intimate to-the-people
quidem Romano non videtur, qui ex omnibus praeclaris
indeed Roman not it-seems-so who from all splendid
factis illud pulcherrimum existimat. Vicit ergo utilitas
deeds that the-most-beautiful reckons has-conquered therefore usefulness
honestatem? Immo vero honestas utilitatem secuta est.
honorableness nay indeed honorableness usefulness followed has
Itaque, ut sine ullo errore diiudicare possimus, si quando
and-so that without any error to-decide we-may-be-able if ever
cum illo, quod honestum intellegimus, pugnare id videbitur,
with that which honorable we-understand to-conflict that shall-seem
quod appellamus utile, formula quaedam constituenda est;
which we-call useful a-formula a-certain to-be-set-up is

quam si sequemur in comparatione rerum, ab officio
which if we-shall-follow in the-comparison of-things from duty
numquam recedemus.
never we-shall-fall-away
Erit autem haec formula Stoicorum rationi disciplinaeque 20
it-will-be moreover this formula of-the-Stoics to-the-system and-teaching
maxime consentanea; quam quidem his libris propterea
most agreeable which indeed in-these books for-this-reason
sequimur, quod, quamquam et a veteribus Academicis
we-follow because although both by the-old Academics
et a Peripateticis vestris, qui quondam idem erant, qui
and by the-Peripatetics your who once the-same were as
Academici, quae honesta sunt, anteponuntur iis, quae
the-Academics what honorable are are-preferred to-those which
videntur utilia, tamen splendidius haec ab eis disseruntur,
seem useful nevertheless more-splendidly these by those are-discussed
quibus, quicquid honestum est, idem utile videtur nec
for-whom whatever honorable is the-same useful seems and-not
utile quicquam, quod non honestum, quam ab iis, quibus
useful anything which not honorable than by those for-whom
et honestum aliquid non utile et utile non honestum.
both honorable something not useful and useful not honorable
Nobis autem nostra Academia magnam licentiam dat, ut,
to-us moreover our Academy great license gives that
quodcumque maxime probabile occurrat, id nostro iure
whatever most probable occurs that by-our right
liceat defendere. Sed redeo ad formulam.
may-be-allowed to-defend but I-return to the-formula

To take from another for one's own gain is more against nature than death, poverty, or pain, because it destroys the fellowship of men. If each limb thought it could thrive by drawing off its neighbor's health, the whole body would perish. To prefer one's own advantage is allowed; to increase it from another's spoils is not.

21 Detrahere igitur alteri aliquid et hominem hominis
to-take-away therefore from-another something and that-a-man of-a-man
incommodo suum commodum augere magis est contra naturam
by-the-loss his-own advantage to-increase more is against nature
quam mors, quam paupertas, quam dolor, quam cetera, quae
than death than poverty than pain than the-rest which
possunt aut corpori accidere aut rebus externis. Nam principio
can either to-the-body to-happen or to-things external for first
tollit convictum humanum et societatem. Si enim sic erimus
it-destroys the-common-life human and society if for so we-shall-be
affecti, ut propter suum quisque emolumentum spoliet
disposed that on-account-of his-own each-man profit should-plunder
aut violet alterum, disrumpi necesse est, eam quae
or should-injure another to-be-torn-apart necessary it-is that which
maxime est secundum naturam, humani generis societatem.
most is according-to nature of-the-human race the-society

22 Ut, si unum quodque membrum sensum hunc haberet, ut
as if one each limb a-feeling this had that
posse putaret se valere, si proximi membri valetudinem
to-be-able it-thought itself to-be-strong if of-the-nearest limb the-health
ad se traduxisset, debilitari et interire totum corpus
to itself it-had-drawn-off to-be-weakened and to-perish the-whole body
necesse esset, sic, si unus quisque nostrum ad se
necessary it-would-be so if one each of-us to himself

rapiat commoda aliorum detrahatque, quod cuique possit,
should-snatch the-advantages of-others and-should-take-away what from-each he-could
emolumenti sui gratia, societas hominum et communitas
of-profit his-own for-the-sake the-society of-men and community
evertatur necesse est. Nam sibi ut quisque malit, quod
be-overthrown necessary it-is for for-himself that each-man should-prefer what
ad usum vitae pertineat, quam alteri acquirere, concessum
to the-use of-life pertains than for-another to-get granted
est non repugnante natura, illud natura non patitur, ut
it-is not resisting nature that nature not allows that
aliorum spoliis nostras facultates, copias, opes augeamus.
of-others from-the-spoils our means resources riches we-increase
Neque vero hoc solum natura, id est iure gentium, sed etiam 23
and-not indeed this only by-nature that is by-the-law of-nations but also
legibus populorum, quibus in singulis civitatibus res publica
by-the-laws of-peoples by-which in individual states the-thing public
continetur, eodem modo constitutum est, ut non liceat
is-held-together in-the-same way settled it-has-been that not it-is-allowed
sui commodi causa nocere alteri; hoc enim spectant
of-one's-own advantage for-the-sake to-harm another this for look-to
leges, hoc volunt, incolumem esse civium coniunctionem;
the-laws this they-wish unimpaired to-be of-citizens the-union
quam qui dirimunt, eos morte, exsilio, vinclis, damno coërcent.
which who break-up them by-death by-exile by-chains by-fine they-restrain
Atque hoc multo magis efficit ipsa naturae ratio,
and this much more brings-about the-very of-nature the-reason
quae est lex divina et humana; cui parere qui velit
which is the-law divine and human which to-obey who shall-wish
(omnes autem parebunt, qui secundum naturam volent
all moreover will-obey who according-to nature shall-wish

vivere), numquam committet, ut alienum appetat et id,
to-live never will-allow that another's he-covet and that
quod alteri detraxerit, sibi adsumat.
which from-another he-shall-have-taken for-himself he-take
24 Etenim multo magis est secundum naturam excelsitas animi
for-indeed much more is according-to nature the-loftiness of-spirit
et magnitudo itemque comitas, iustitia, liberalitas quam
and the-greatness and-likewise courtesy justice generosity than
voluptas, quam vita, quam divitiae; quae quidem contemnere
pleasure than life than riches which indeed to-despise
et pro nihilo ducere comparantem cum utilitate communi
and for nothing to-reckon comparing with the-advantage common
magni animi et excelsi est. Detrahere autem de altero
of-a-great spirit and lofty it-is to-take-away moreover from another
sui commodi causa magis est contra naturam quam
of-one's-own advantage for-the-sake more is against nature than
mors, quam dolor, quam cetera generis eiusdem.
death than pain than the-rest of-kind the-same
25 Itemque magis est secundum naturam pro omnibus gentibus,
and-likewise more is according-to nature for all nations
si fieri possit, conservandis aut iuvandis maximos labores
if to-be-done it-can to-be-preserved or to-be-helped the-greatest toils
molestiasque suscipere imitantem Herculem illum, quem
and-troubles to-undertake imitating Hercules that-one whom
hominum fama beneficiorum memor in concilio caelestium
of-men the-fame of-benefits mindful in the-council of-the-heavenly-ones
collocavit, quam vivere in solitudine non modo sine ullis
has-placed than to-live in solitude not only without any
molestiis, sed etiam in maximis voluptatibus abundantem
troubles but even in the-greatest pleasures abounding
omnibus copiis, ut excellas etiam pulchritudine et viribus.
in-all resources so-that you-excel even in-beauty and in-strength

Quocirca optimo quisque et splendidissimo ingenio longe
wherefore of-the-best each-man and of-the-most-splendid genius far
illam vitam huic anteponit. Ex quo efficitur hominem
that life to-this prefers from which it-follows that-a-man
naturae oboedientem homini nocere non posse.
to-nature obedient to-a-man to-harm not to-be-able
Deinde, qui alterum violat, ut ipse aliquid commodi 26
then who another injures that himself some of-advantage
consequatur, aut nihil existimat se facere contra naturam
may-obtain either nothing thinks himself to-do against nature
aut magis fugiendam censet mortem, paupertatem, dolorem,
or more to-be-shunned judges death poverty pain
amissionem etiam liberorum, propinquorum, amicorum quam
the-loss even of-children of-kinsmen of-friends than
facere cuiquam iniuriam. Si nihil existimat contra naturam
to-do to-anyone wrong if nothing he-thinks against nature
fieri hominibus violandis, quid cum eo disseras, qui
to-be-done by-men to-be-injured what with him would-you-discuss who
omnino hominem ex homine tollat? sin fugiendum id
altogether the-man from the-man takes-away but-if to-be-shunned that
quidem censet, sed multo illa peiora, mortem, paupertatem,
indeed he-judges but much those worse death poverty
dolorem, errat in eo, quod ullum aut corporis aut fortunae
pain he-errs in this that any either of-the-body or of-fortune
vitium vitiis animi gravius existimat.
fault than-the-faults of-the-mind heavier he-reckons

All men should aim at one thing: that the interest of each and the interest of all be the same. Those who would spare their kinsmen but not other citizens tear apart the fellowship of the state; those who would spare citizens but not foreigners break up the fellowship of the human race and destroy beneficence, justice, and goodness with it. A savage in the shape of a man is to be cut off as a diseased limb is.

Ergo unum debet esse omnibus propositum, ut eadem sit
therefore one ought to-be for-all set-before that the-same be
utilitas unius cuiusque et universorum; quam si ad se
the-advantage of-one each and of-all which if to himself
quisque rapiet, dissolvetur omnis humana consortio.
each-man shall-snatch will-be-dissolved all human fellowship
27 Atque etiam, si hoc natura praescribit, ut homo homini,
and also if this nature prescribes that a-man for-a-man
quicumque sit, ob eam ipsam causam, quod is
whoever he-be on-account-of that very cause because he
homo sit, consultum velit, necesse est secundum eandem
a-man is to-be-provided should-wish necessary it-is according-to the-same
naturam omnium utilitatem esse communem. Quod si ita
nature of-all the-advantage to-be common which if so
est, una continemur omnes et eadem lege naturae,
is by-one we-are-held-together all and by-the-same law of-nature
idque ipsum si ita est, certe violare alterum naturae lege
and-that itself if so is certainly to-injure another of-nature by-the-law
prohibemur. Verum autem primum; verum igitur extremum.
we-are-forbidden true moreover the-first true therefore the-last
28 Nam illud quidem absurdum est, quod quidam dicunt,
for that indeed absurd is which certain-men say
parenti se aut fratri nihil detracturos
that-from-a-parent themselves or from-a-brother nothing about-to-take-away

sui commodi causa, aliam rationem esse civium
of-their-own advantage for-the-sake another the-account to-be of-citizens
reliquorum. Hi sibi nihil iuris, nullam societatem
the-rest these for-themselves no of-right no fellowship
communis utilitatis causa statuunt esse cum civibus,
of-common advantage for-the-sake determine to-be with fellow-citizens
quae sententia omnem societatem distrahit civitatis.
which opinion all the-fellowship tears-apart of-the-state
Qui autem civium rationem dicunt habendam, externorum
who moreover of-citizens the-account say to-be-had of-foreigners
negant, ii dirimunt communem humani generis societatem;
deny they break-up the-common of-the-human race fellowship
qua sublata beneficentia, liberalitas, bonitas, iustitia
with-which having-been-removed beneficence generosity goodness justice
funditus tollitur; quae qui tollunt, etiam adversus deos
utterly is-destroyed which who destroy even against the-gods
immortales impii iudicandi sunt. Ab iis enim constitutam
immortal impious to-be-judged are by them for established
inter homines societatem evertunt, cuius societatis artissimum
among men the-fellowship they-overthrow of-which of-fellowship the-closest
vinculum est magis arbitrari esse contra naturam hominem
bond is more to-think to-be against nature that-a-man
homini detrahere sui commodi causa quam omnia
from-a-man to-take-away of-his-own advantage for-the-sake than all
incommoda subire vel externa vel corporis ∗∗∗ vel etiam
losses to-undergo either external or of-the-body (lacuna) or even
ipsius animi, quae vacent iustitia; haec enim una virtus
of-the-very mind which are-free-from justice this for one virtue
omnium est domina et regina virtutum.
of-all is the-mistress and the-queen of-virtues

29 Forsitan quispiam dixerit: Nonne igitur sapiens, si fame
perhaps someone will-say would-he-not therefore a-wise-man if by-hunger
ipse conficiatur, abstulerit cibum alteri homini ad
himself is-being-worn-out take-away food from-another man for
nullam rem utili? Minime vero; non enim mihi est
no purpose useful by-no-means indeed not for to-me is
vita mea utilior quam animi talis affectio, neminem
life my more-useful than of-mind such a-disposition no-one
ut violem commodi mei gratia. Quid? si Phalarim,
that I-injure of-advantage my-own for-the-sake what if Phalaris
crudelem tyrannum et immanem, vir bonus, ne ipse
a-cruel tyrant and monstrous a-man good lest himself
frigore conficiatur, vestitu spoliare possit, nonne faciat?
by-cold be-worn-out of-clothing to-strip he-could would-he-not do-it
30 Haec ad iudicandum sunt facillima. Nam, si quid ab homine
these for to-be-judged are most-easy for if anything from a-man
ad nullam partem utili utilitatis tuae causa detraxeris,
in no respect useful of-advantage your for-the-sake you-shall-have-taken
inhumane feceris contraque naturae legem; sin autem
inhumanly you-will-have-acted and-against of-nature the-law but-if moreover
is tu sis, qui multam utilitatem rei publicae atque
such you should-be who much advantage to-the-thing public and
hominum societati, si in vita remaneas, afferre possis, si
of-men to-the-society if in life you-remain to-bring you-could if
quid ob eam causam alteri detraxeris, non
anything on-account-of that cause from-another you-shall-have-taken not
sit reprehendendum. Sin autem id non sit eius modi,
it-would-be to-be-blamed but-if moreover that not be of-that sort
suum cuique incommodum ferendum est potius quam de
his-own to-each disadvantage to-be-borne is rather than from
alterius commodis detrahendum. Non igitur magis est contra
of-another the-advantages to-be-taken not therefore more is against

naturam morbus aut egestas aut quid eius modi quam
nature sickness or want or anything of-that sort than
detractio atque appetitio alieni, sed communis utilitatis
the-taking and the-coveting of-another's but of-common advantage
derelictio contra naturam est; est enim iniusta.
the-abandoning against nature is it-is for unjust
Itaque lex ipsa naturae, quae utilitatem hominum conservat et 31
and-so the-law itself of-nature which the-advantage of-men preserves and
continet, decernet profecto, ut ab homine inerti atque inutili
holds-together will-decree assuredly that from a-man idle and useless
ad sapientem, bonum, fortem virum transferantur res ad
to a-wise good brave man be-transferred the-things for
vivendum necessariae, qui si occiderit, multum de communi
living necessary who if he-should-perish much from the-common
utilitate detraxerit, modo hoc ita faciat, ut ne ipse de
advantage he-would-have-taken only this so let-him-do that not he-himself about
se bene existimans seseque diligens hanc causam habeat ad
himself well thinking and-himself loving this a-ground may-have for
iniuriam. Ita semper officio fungetur utilitati consulens
wrong so always duty he-will-discharge to-the-advantage looking
hominum et ei, quam saepe commemoro, humanae societati.
of-men and to-that which often I-mention to-human society
Nam quod ad Phalarim attinet, perfacile iudicium est. Nulla est 32
for what to Phalaris pertains very-easy the-judgment is none is
enim societas nobis cum tyrannis, et potius summa distractio
for fellowship for-us with tyrants and rather the-utmost separation
est, neque est contra naturam spoliare eum, si possis, quem
there-is and-not is against nature to-strip him if you-can whom
est honestum necare, atque hoc omne genus pestiferum atque
it-is honorable to-kill and this whole class pestilent and
impium ex hominum communitate exterminandum est. Etenim,
impious from of-men the-community to-be-banished is for-indeed

ut membra quaedam amputantur, si et ipsa sanguine et
as limbs certain are-amputated if both themselves of-blood and
tamquam spiritu carere coeperunt et nocent reliquis partibus
as-it-were of-breath to-lack have-begun and harm the-remaining parts
corporis, sic ista in figura hominis feritas et immanitas beluae
of-the-body so that in the-figure of-a-man wildness and monstrousness of-a-beast
a communi tamquam humanitatis corpore segreganda est.
from the-common as-it-were of-humanity body to-be-separated is
Huius generis quaestiones sunt omnes eae, in quibus ex
of-this kind questions are all those in which from
tempore officium exquiritur.
the-occasion duty is-sought-out

VII · WHAT PANAETIUS WOULD HAVE WRITTEN

Cicero believes Panaetius would have carried the subject through if some accident or press of business had not cut off his plan. He asks Marcus to grant him that nothing but the honorable is to be sought for its own sake — or, if Cratippus will not allow that, at least that the honorable is chiefly to be sought. Either will do, and Cicero will finish this last part unaided.

33 Eius modi igitur credo res Panaetium persecuturum
of-that sort therefore I-believe matters Panaetius about-to-pursue
fuisse, nisi aliqui casus aut occupatio eius consilium
to-have-been unless some chance or occupation of-him the-plan
peremisset. Ad quas ipsas consultationes superioribus libris
had-cut-off to which very deliberations in-the-earlier books
satis multa praecepta sunt, ex quibus perspici possit,
enough many rules there-are from which to-be-perceived it-can

quid sit propter turpitudinem fugiendum, quid sit, quod
what is on-account-of baseness to-be-shunned what is which
idcirco fugiendum non sit, quod omnino turpe non sit.
for-that-reason to-be-shunned not is because at-all base not it-is
Sed quoniam operi inchoato, prope tamen absoluto
but since to-the-work begun nearly nevertheless finished
tamquam fastigium imponimus, ut geometrae solent non
as-it-were a-coping we-are-setting as geometers are-wont not
omnia docere, sed postulare, ut quaedam sibi concedantur,
all-things to-teach but to-ask that certain-things to-them be-granted
quo facilius, quae volunt, explicent, sic ego a te
so-that more-easily what they-wish they-may-unfold so I from you
postulo, mi Cicero, ut mihi concedas, si potes, nihil praeter
ask my Cicero that to-me you-grant if you-can nothing besides
id, quod honestum sit, propter se esse expetendum.
that which honorable is on-account-of itself to-be to-be-sought
Sin hoc non licet per Cratippum, at illud certe
but-if this not it-is-allowed through Cratippus at-least that certainly
dabis, quod honestum sit, id esse maxime propter se
you-will-give that honorable is that to-be chiefly on-account-of itself
expetendum. Mihi utrumvis satis est et tum hoc, tum
to-be-sought to-me either-of-the-two enough is and now this now
illud probabilius videtur nec praeterea quicquam probabile.
that more-probable seems and-not besides anything probable
Ac primum in hoc Panaetius defendendus est, quod non 34
and first in this Panaetius to-be-defended is because not
utilia cum honestis pugnare aliquando posse dixerit
useful-things with honorable-things to-conflict at-some-time to-be-able he-said
(neque enim ei fas erat), sed ea, quae viderentur
and-not for for-him right it-was but those which seemed
utilia. Nihil vero utile, quod non idem honestum, nihil
useful nothing indeed useful which not the-same honorable nothing

honestum, quod non idem utile sit, saepe testatur negatque
honorable which not the-same useful is often he-testifies and-he-denies
ullam pestem maiorem in vitam hominum invasisse quam
any plague greater into the-life of-men to-have-invaded than
eorum opinionem, qui ista distraxerint. Itaque, non ut
of-those the-opinion who those have-torn-apart and-so not that
aliquando anteponeremus utilia honestis, sed ut ea
at-some-time we-should-prefer useful-things to-honorable-things but that them
sine errore diiudicaremus, si quando incidissent, induxit
without error we-might-distinguish if ever they-should-fall-out he-brought-in
eam, quae videretur esse, non quae esset, repugnantiam.
that which might-seem to-be not which was a-conflict
Hanc igitur partem relictam explebimus nullis adminiculis,
this therefore part left we-shall-fill-out with-no props
sed, ut dicitur, Marte nostro. Neque enim quicquam est
but as it-is-said with-Mars our-own and-not for anything there-is
de hac parte post Panaetium explicatum, quod quidem
about this part after Panaetius explained which indeed
mihi probaretur, de iis, quae in manus meas venerunt.
to-me might-be-approved of those which into hands my have-come

When an appearance of usefulness presents itself, look for the baseness that goes with it: where baseness is, usefulness cannot be. Nothing is so much against nature as baseness, and nothing so much in accord with nature as what is useful, so the two cannot be in the same thing. It is the error of dishonest men that tears the useful away from the honorable, and from that error come daggers, poisons, forged wills, thefts, and the lust to reign.

Cum igitur aliqua species utilitatis obiecta est, commoveri 35
when therefore some appearance of-usefulness presented has-been to-be-stirred
necesse est; sed si, cum animum attenderis, turpitudinem
necessary it-is but if when the-mind you-shall-have-applied baseness
videas adiunctam ei rei, quae speciem utilitatis attulerit,
you-see joined to-that thing which the-appearance of-usefulness has-brought
tum non utilitas relinquenda est, sed intellegendum, ubi
then not the-usefulness to-be-abandoned is but to-be-understood where
turpitudo sit, ibi utilitatem esse non posse. Quodsi nihil
baseness is there usefulness to-be not to-be-able but-if nothing
est tam contra naturam quam turpitudo (recta enim et
is so against nature as baseness the-right for and
convenientia et constantia natura desiderat aspernaturque
the-fitting and the-consistent nature desires and-spurns
contraria) nihilque tam secundum naturam quam utilitas,
the-contrary and-nothing so according-to nature as usefulness
certe in eadem re utilitas et turpitudo esse non potest.
certainly in the-same thing usefulness and baseness to-be not can
Itemque, si ad honestatem nati sumus eaque aut sola
and-likewise if for honorableness born we-are and-it either alone
expetenda est, ut Zenoni visum est, aut certe omni
to-be-sought is as to-Zeno seemed has or certainly with-every
pondere gravior habenda quam reliqua omnia, quod Aristoteli
weight heavier to-be-held than the-rest all which to-Aristotle

placet, necesse est, quod honestum sit, id esse aut solum
is-pleasing necessary it-is that-what honorable is that to-be either the-only
aut summum bonum; quod autem bonum, id certe utile;
or the-highest good what moreover good that certainly useful
ita, quicquid honestum, id utile.
so whatever honorable that useful

36 Quare error hominum non proborum, cum aliquid, quod utile
wherefore the-error of-men not upright when something which useful
visum est, arripuit, id continuo secernit ab honesto. Hinc
seemed has has-snatched that at-once it-separates from the-honorable hence
sicae, hinc venena, hinc falsa testamenta nascuntur, hinc furta,
daggers hence poisons hence false wills arise hence thefts
peculatus, expilationes direptionesque sociorum et civium,
embezzlements pillagings and-plunderings of-allies and of-citizens
hinc opum nimiarum, potentiae non ferendae, postremo
hence of-wealth excessive of-power not to-be-borne lastly
etiam in liberis civitatibus regnandi exsistunt cupiditates,
even in free states of-reigning arise the-desires
quibus nihil nec taetrius nec foedius excogitari potest.
than-which nothing either fouler or more-loathsome to-be-imagined can
Emolumenta enim rerum fallacibus iudiciis vident, poenam
the-profits for of-the-things by-deceptive judgments they-see the-penalty
non dico legum, quam saepe perrumpunt, sed ipsius
not I-say of-the-laws which often they-break-through but of-the-very
turpitudinis, quae acerbissima est, non vident.
baseness which most-bitter is not they-see

37 Quam ob rem hoc quidem deliberantium genus
which on-account-of thing this indeed of-deliberating class
pellatur e medio (est enim totum sceleratum et impium),
let-be-driven from the-midst it-is for wholly criminal and impious
qui deliberant, utrum id sequantur, quod honestum esse
who deliberate whether that they-should-follow which honorable to-be

videant, an se scientes scelere contaminent; in ipsa
they-see or themselves knowingly with-crime they-should-defile in the-very
enim dubitatione facinus inest, etiamsi ad id non pervenerint.
for hesitation the-crime is-in even-if to it not they-have-come
Ergo ea deliberanda omnino non sunt, in quibus est
therefore those to-be-deliberated at-all not are in which is
turpis ipsa deliberatio.
base the-very deliberation
Atque etiam ex omni deliberatione celandi et occultandi
and also from every deliberation of-concealing and of-hiding
spes opinioque removenda est. Satis enim nobis, si modo in
the-hope and-the-notion to-be-removed is enough for to-us if only in
philosophia aliquid profecimus, persuasum esse debet, si omnes
philosophy something we-have-advanced persuaded to-be it-ought if all
deos hominesque celare possimus, nihil tamen avare, nihil
gods and-men to-conceal-from we-could nothing nevertheless greedily nothing
iniuste, nihil libidinose, nihil incontinenter esse faciendum.
unjustly nothing wantonly nothing without-restraint to-be to-be-done

IX · THE RING OF GYGES

Plato tells how Gyges found a ring that made him invisible, violated the queen, killed the king, and seized the throne. If a wise man had the ring he would think himself no freer to do wrong than without it, for good men seek what is honorable, not what is hidden. Those who say such a thing is impossible are dodging the real question: what they would do if it were possible.

Hinc ille Gyges inducitur a Platone, qui, cum terra 38
hence that Gyges is-brought-in by Plato who when the-earth
discessisset magnis quibusdam imbribus, descendit in illum
had-parted by-great certain rains went-down into that

hiatum aeneumque equum, ut ferunt fabulae, animadvertit,
chasm and-a-bronze horse as report the-tales he-noticed
cuius in lateribus fores essent; quibus apertis corpus
of-which in the-sides doors there-were which having-been-opened the-body
hominis mortui vidit magnitudine invisitata anulumque aureum
of-a-man dead he-saw of-a-size unusual and-a-ring golden
in digito; quem ut detraxit, ipse induit (erat autem regius
on the-finger which when he-drew-off he-himself put-on he-was moreover the-royal
pastor), tum in concilium se pastorum recepit. Ibi cum
shepherd then into the-council himself of-the-shepherds he-betook there when
palam eius anuli ad palmam converterat, a nullo videbatur,
the-bezel of-that ring toward the-palm he-had-turned by no-one he-was-seen
ipse autem omnia videbat; idem rursus videbatur, cum
he-himself moreover all-things saw the-same again he-was-seen when
in locum anulum inverterat. Itaque hac opportunitate
into the-place the-ring he-had-turned-back and-so by-this opportunity
anuli usus reginae stuprum intulit eaque adiutrice
of-the-ring having-used on-the-queen outrage he-brought and-with-her as-helper
regem dominum interemit, sustulit, quos obstare
the-king his-master he-slew he-removed those-whom to-stand-in-the-way
arbitrabatur, nec in his eum facinoribus quisquam potuit
he-judged and-not in these him crimes anyone could
videre. Sic repente anuli beneficio rex exortus est Lydiae.
to-see so suddenly of-the-ring by-the-benefit king arisen he-has of-Lydia
Hunc igitur ipsum anulum si habeat sapiens, nihilo plus
this therefore very ring if should-have a-wise-man by-nothing more
sibi licere putet peccare, quam si non haberet;
for-himself to-be-allowed he-would-think to-do-wrong than if not he-had
honesta enim bonis viris, non occulta quaeruntur.
honorable-things for by-good men not hidden-things are-sought

Atque hoc loco philosophi quidam, minime mali illi quidem, 39
and at-this place philosophers certain least-of-all bad they indeed
sed non satis acuti, fictam et commenticiam fabulam prolatam
but not enough acute a-feigned and invented tale brought-forward
dicunt a Platone; quasi vero ille aut factum id esse
they-say by Plato as-if indeed he either done that to-have-been
aut fieri potuisse defendat! Haec est vis huius anuli
or to-be-done to-have-been-able should-defend this is the-force of-this ring
et huius exempli: si nemo sciturus, nemo ne suspicaturus
and of-this example if no-one about-to-know no-one even about-to-suspect
quidem sit, cum aliquid divitiarum, potentiae, dominationis,
indeed should-be when something of-riches of-power of-mastery
libidinis causa feceris, si id dis hominibusque
of-lust for-the-sake you-shall-have-done if that to-the-gods and-to-men
futurum sit semper ignotum, sisne facturus. Negant
about-to-be is always unknown whether-you-would about-to-do they-deny
id fieri posse. Nequaquam potest id quidem; sed quaero,
that to-be-done to-be-able by-no-means can that indeed but I-ask
quod negant posse, id si posset, quidnam facerent. Urguent
what they-deny to-be-able that if it-could what-then they-would-do they-press
rustice sane; negant enim posse et in eo perstant; hoc
boorishly truly they-deny for to-be-able and in that they-persist this
verbum quid valeat, non vident. Cum enim quaerimus, si
word what avails not they-see when for we-ask if
celare possint, quid facturi sint, non quaerimus, possintne
to-conceal they-could what about-to-do they-are not we-ask whether-they-could
celare, sed tamquam tormenta quaedam adhibemus, ut, si
to-conceal but as-it-were racks certain we-apply that if
responderint se impunitate proposita facturos, quod
they-shall-have-answered themselves with-impunity offered about-to-do what

expediat, facinorosos se esse fateantur, si negent, omnia
may-profit criminal themselves to-be they-may-confess if they-deny all
turpia per se ipsa fugienda esse concedant.
base-things through themselves the-very-things to-be-shunned to-be they-may-grant
Sed iam ad propositum revertamur.
but now to the-subject let-us-return

X · BRUTUS, ROMULUS, AND THE DUTIES OF FRIENDSHIP

Brutus took the command from Collatinus, and it was honorable because the memory of the Tarquins had to be removed; Romulus killed his brother for a usefulness that was not real. A runner should strain to win but not trip his rival. In friendship nothing dishonorable may be granted, and a friend who is judge lays aside the person of a friend.

40 Incidunt multae saepe causae, quae conturbent animos utilitatis
there-fall many often cases which may-confound minds of-usefulness
specie, non cum hoc deliberetur, relinquendane sit
by-the-appearance not when this is-deliberated whether-to-be-abandoned is
honestas propter utilitatis magnitudinem (nam id quidem
honorableness on-account-of of-usefulness the-greatness for that indeed
improbum est), sed illud, possitne id, quod utile videatur,
dishonest is but that whether-it-can that which useful may-seem
fieri non turpiter. Cum Collatino collegae Brutus
to-be-done not basely when from-Collatinus the-colleague Brutus
imperium abrogabat, poterat videri facere id iniuste; fuerat
the-command was-taking-away he-could to-seem to-do that unjustly he-had-been
enim in regibus expellendis socius Bruti consiliorum et
for in the-kings to-be-expelled a-partner of-Brutus of-the-counsels and
adiutor. Cum autem consilium hoc principes cepissent,
a-helper when moreover the-plan this the-leaders had-taken

cognationem Superbi nomenque Tarquiniorum et memoriam
the-kinship of-Superbus and-the-name of-the-Tarquins and the-memory
regni esse tollendam, quod erat utile, patriae consulere,
of-kingship to-be to-be-removed what was useful for-the-fatherland to-provide
id erat ita honestum, ut etiam ipsi Collatino placere
that was so honorable that even himself to-Collatinus to-please
deberet. Itaque utilitas valuit propter honestatem, sine
it-ought and-so usefulness prevailed on-account-of honorableness without
qua ne utilitas quidem esse potuisset.
which not usefulness even to-be could-have
At in eo rege, qui urbem condidit, non item; species
but in that king who the-city founded not likewise the-appearance
enim utilitatis animum pepulit eius;
for of-usefulness the-mind struck of-him
cui cum visum esset utilius solum quam cum altero 41
to-whom when seemed it-had more-useful alone than with another
regnare, fratrem interemit. Omisit hic et pietatem et
to-reign the-brother he-slew he-let-go this-man both dutifulness and
humanitatem, ut id, quod utile videbatur neque erat,
humanity that that which useful seemed and-not was
assequi posset, et tamen muri causam opposuit,
to-attain he-might-be-able and nevertheless of-the-wall the-plea he-put-forward
speciem honestatis nec probabilem nec sane idoneam.
an-appearance of-honorableness neither plausible nor truly suitable
Peccavit igitur, pace vel Quirini vel Romuli dixerim.
he-sinned therefore with-the-leave either of-Quirinus or of-Romulus I-would-say
Nec tamen nostrae nobis utilitates omittendae sunt aliisque 42
and-not nevertheless our by-us advantages to-be-given-up are and-to-others
tradendae, cum iis ipsi egeamus, sed suae cuique
to-be-handed-over when them ourselves we-need but to-his-own by-each
utilitati, quod sine alterius iniuria fiat, serviendum
advantage in-so-far-as without of-another wrong may-be-done to-be-served

est. Scite Chrysippus, ut multa: Qui stadium, inquit, currit,
it-is neatly Chrysippus as many-things who a-race says-he runs
eniti et contendere debet, quam maxime possit, ut vincat,
to-strive and to-strain ought as most he-can that he-may-win
supplantare eum, quicum certet, aut manu depellere nullo
to-trip-up him with-whom he-contends or with-the-hand to-thrust-aside in-no
modo debet; sic in vita sibi quemque petere, quod pertineat
way he-ought so in life for-himself each-man to-seek what may-pertain
ad usum, non iniquum est, alteri deripere ius non est.
to use not unfair it-is from-another to-snatch right not it-is
43 Maxime autem perturbantur officia in amicitiis, quibus et
most moreover are-confounded duties in friendships to-which both
non tribuere, quod recte possis, et tribuere, quod non
not to-grant what rightly you-could and to-grant what not
sit aequum, contra officium est. Sed huius generis totius
is fair against duty it-is but of-this class of-the-whole
breve et non difficile praeceptum est. Quae enim videntur
a-short and not difficult rule there-is what for seem
utilia, honores, divitiae, voluptates, cetera generis eiusdem,
useful honors riches pleasures the-rest of-kind the-same
haec amicitiae numquam anteponenda sunt. At neque contra
these to-friendship never to-be-preferred are but neither against
rem publicam neque contra ius iurandum ac fidem
the-thing public nor against right sworn and good-faith
amici causa vir bonus faciet, ne si iudex quidem
of-a-friend for-the-sake a-man good will-do not if a-judge even
erit de ipso amico; ponit enim personam amici,
he-shall-be about the-very friend he-lays-aside for the-person of-a-friend
cum induit iudicis. Tantum dabit amicitiae, ut veram
when he-puts-on that-of-a-judge so-much he-will-give to-friendship that a-true

amici causam esse malit, ut orandae litis tempus,
of-the-friend the-cause to-be he-prefers that of-to-be-pleaded the-suit the-time
quoad per leges liceat, accommodet.
as-far-as through the-laws it-is-allowed he-adapt
Cum vero iurato sententia dicenda erit, meminerit deum 44
when indeed on-oath a-verdict to-be-given it-shall-be let-him-remember god
se adhibere testem, id est, ut ego arbitror, mentem
himself to-call-in as-witness that is as I judge the-mind
suam, qua nihil homini dedit deus ipse divinius. Itaque
his-own than-which nothing to-man has-given god himself more-divine and-so
praeclarum a maioribus accepimus morem rogandi iudicis, si
a-splendid from the-forefathers we-have-received custom of-asking the-judge if
eum teneremus, quae salva fide facere possit. Haec rogatio
it we-kept what saving good-faith to-do he-could this asking
ad ea pertinet, quae paulo ante dixi honeste amico a
to those-things pertains which a-little before I-said honorably to-a-friend by
iudice posse concedi; nam si omnia facienda sint, quae amici
a-judge to-be-able to-be-granted for if all-things to-be-done were which friends
velint, non amicitiae tales, sed coniurationes putandae sint.
wish not friendships such but conspiracies to-be-reckoned would-be
Loquor autem de communibus amicitiis; nam in 45
I-speak moreover about ordinary friendships for among
sapientibus viris perfectisque nihil potest esse tale.
wise men and-perfect nothing can to-be such
Damonem et Phintiam Pythagoreos ferunt hoc animo
Damon and Phintias the-Pythagoreans they-report with-this spirit
inter se fuisse, ut, cum eorum alteri Dionysius
toward each-other to-have-been that when of-them for-the-one Dionysius
tyrannus diem necis destinavisset et is, qui morti addictus
the-tyrant a-day of-death had-appointed and he who to-death condemned
esset, paucos sibi dies commendandorum suorum causa
had-been a-few for-himself days of-to-be-commended his-own for-the-sake

postulavisset, vas factus sit alter eius sistendi, ut, si
had-asked a-surety made was the-other of-him of-to-be-produced so-that if
ille non revertisset, moriendum esset ipsi. Qui cum ad
he not had-returned to-be-died it-would-be by-himself who when to
diem se recepisset, admiratus eorum fidem tyrannus
the-day himself had-brought-back having-admired of-them the-good-faith the-tyrant
petivit, ut se ad amicitiam tertium ascriberent.
asked that himself to the-friendship as-a-third they-should-enroll

46 Cum igitur id, quod utile videtur in amicitia, cum eo,
when therefore that which useful seems in friendship with that
quod honestum est, comparatur, iaceat utilitatis species,
which honorable is is-compared let-lie of-usefulness the-appearance
valeat honestas; cum autem in amicitia, quae honesta non
let-prevail honorableness when moreover in friendship what honorable not
sunt, postulabuntur, religio et fides anteponatur amicitiae.
are shall-be-demanded scruple and good-faith let-be-preferred to-friendship
Sic habebitur is, quem exquirimus, dilectus officii.
so will-be-had that which we-search-out the-choice of-duty

XI · PUBLIC WRONGS UNDER THE NAME OF ADVANTAGE

States sin most often under the appearance of usefulness: Rome in destroying Corinth, and Athens more harshly still in decreeing that the Aeginetans' thumbs be cut off. Men do wrong too who drive foreigners out of their cities. Rome after Cannae showed no sign of fear and no mention of peace, and Aristides told the assembly that Themistocles' plan was most useful and utterly dishonorable, so it was dropped.

Sed utilitatis specie in re publica saepissime
but of-usefulness by-the-appearance in the-thing public most-often
peccatur, ut in Corinthi disturbatione nostri; durius
it-is-erred as in of-Corinth the-destruction our-people more-harshly

etiam Athenienses, qui sciverunt, ut Aeginetis, qui classe
even the-Athenians who decreed that to-the-Aeginetans who by-fleet
valebant, pollices praeciderentur. Hoc visum est utile; nimis
were-strong the-thumbs be-cut-off this seemed has useful too-much
enim imminebat propter propinquitatem Aegina Piraeo.
for was-threatening on-account-of the-nearness Aegina the-Piraeus
Sed nihil, quod crudele, utile; est enim hominum naturae,
but nothing which cruel useful is for of-men to-the-nature
quam sequi debemus, maxime inimica crudelitas.
which to-follow we-ought most hostile cruelty
Male etiam, qui peregrinos urbibus uti prohibent eosque 47
badly also who foreigners the-cities to-use forbid and-them
exterminant, ut Pennus apud patres nostros, Papius nuper. Nam
banish as Pennus among fathers our Papius lately for
esse pro cive, qui civis non sit, rectum est non licere;
to-be in-place-of a-citizen who a-citizen not is right it-is not to-be-allowed
quam legem tulerunt sapientissimi consules Crassus et Scaevola;
which law brought the-wisest consuls Crassus and Scaevola
usu vero urbis prohibere peregrinos sane inhumanum est.
from-the-use indeed of-the-city to-debar foreigners truly inhuman it-is
Illa praeclara, in quibus publicae utilitatis species prae
those splendid in which of-public of-usefulness the-appearance before
honestate contemnitur. Plena exemplorum est nostra res
honorableness is-despised full of-examples is our thing
publica cum saepe, tum maxime bello Punico secundo;
public both often and especially in-the-war Punic second
quae Cannensi calamitate accepta maiores animos
which the-Cannae disaster having-been-received greater spirits
habuit quam umquam rebus secundis; nulla timoris
had than ever in-circumstances favorable no of-fear

significatio, nulla mentio pacis. Tanta vis est honesti,
sign no mention of-peace so-great the-force is of-the-honorable
ut speciem utilitatis obscuret.
that the-appearance of-usefulness it-darkens

48 Athenienses cum Persarum impetum nullo modo possent
the-Athenians when of-the-Persians the-onset in-no way could
sustinere statuerentque, ut urbe relicta coniugibus
to-withstand and-they-decreed that with-the-city left with-wives
et liberis Troezene depositis naves conscenderent
and children at-Troezen having-been-lodged the-ships they-should-board
libertatemque Graeciae classe defenderent, Cyrsilum
and-the-freedom of-Greece with-the-fleet they-should-defend Cyrsilus
quendam suadentem ut in urbe manerent Xerxemque
a-certain advising that in the-city they-should-remain and-Xerxes
reciperent, lapidibus obruerunt. Atqui ille utilitatem sequi
they-should-receive with-stones they-overwhelmed and-yet he usefulness to-follow
videbatur; sed ea nulla erat repugnante honestate.
seemed but it none was with-resisting honorableness

49 Themistocles post victoriam eius belli, quod cum Persis
Themistocles after the-victory of-that war which with the-Persians
fuit, dixit in contione se habere consilium rei publicae
was said in the-assembly himself to-have a-plan of-the-thing public
salutare, sed id sciri non opus esse; postulavit, ut
salutary but it to-be-known not needful to-be he-demanded that
aliquem populus daret, quicum communicaret; datus est
someone the-people should-give with-whom he-might-share given was
Aristides; huic ille, classem Lacedaemoniorum, quae subducta
Aristides to-him he the-fleet of-the-Lacedaemonians which drawn-up
esset ad Gytheum, clam incendi posse, quo facto frangi
had-been at Gytheum secretly to-be-burnt to-be-able by-which done to-be-broken
Lacedaemoniorum opes necesse esset. Quod Aristides cum
of-the-Lacedaemonians the-power necessary it-would-be which Aristides when

audisset, in contionem magna exspectatione venit dixitque
he-had-heard into the-assembly with-great expectation came and-said
perutile esse consilium, quod Themistocles afferret, sed minime
very-useful to-be the-plan which Themistocles was-bringing but least-of-all
honestum. Itaque Athenienses, quod honestum non esset, id
honorable and-so the-Athenians what honorable not was that
ne utile quidem putaverunt totamque eam rem, quam ne
not useful even they-thought and-the-whole that matter which not
audierant quidem, auctore Aristide repudiaverunt. Melius
they-had-heard even on-the-authority of-Aristides they-rejected better
hi quam nos, qui piratas immunes, socios vectigales habemus.
these than we who pirates untaxed allies tributary we-hold

XII · THE CORN SHIP AT RHODES

A good man brings corn from Alexandria to a starving Rhodes and knows that more ships are on the way: must he say so, or may he sell at the highest price? Antipater holds that everything must be disclosed; Diogenes that the seller need state only what the civil law requires and may otherwise sell as well as he can.

Maneat ergo, quod turpe sit, id numquam esse utile, ne
let-it-stand therefore that-what base is that never to-be useful not
tum quidem, cum id, quod esse utile putes, adipiscare; hoc
then even when that which to-be useful you-think you-attain this
enim ipsum, utile putare, quod turpe sit, calamitosum est.
for very useful to-think what base is calamitous is
Sed incidunt, ut supra dixi, saepe causae, cum repugnare utilitas 50
but there-fall as above I-said often cases when to-conflict usefulness
honestati videatur, ut animadvertendum sit, repugnetne
with-honorableness seems so-that to-be-noticed it-is whether-it-conflicts
plane an possit cum honestate coniungi. Eius generis hae sunt
plainly or it-can with honorableness to-be-joined of-that kind these are

quaestiones: si exempli gratia vir bonus Alexandrea Rhodum
the-questions if of-example for-the-sake a-man good from-Alexandria to-Rhodes
magnum frumenti numerum advexerit in Rhodiorum inopia
a-great of-corn number shall-have-brought in of-the-Rhodians scarcity
et fame summaque annonae caritate, si idem sciat
and famine and-in-the-highest of-the-market dearness if the-same should-know
complures mercatores Alexandrea solvisse navesque in cursu
(that)-several merchants from-Alexandria to-have-sailed and-ships on the-course
frumento onustas petentes Rhodum viderit, dicturusne
with-corn laden making-for Rhodes shall-have-seen whether-about-to-say
sit id Rhodiis an silentio suum quam plurimo venditurus.
he-is that to-the-Rhodians or in-silence his-own as for-most about-to-sell
Sapientem et bonum virum fingimus; de eius deliberatione
a-wise and good man we-are-imagining about of-him the-deliberation
et consultatione quaerimus, qui celaturus Rhodios non
and consultation we-ask who about-to-conceal from-the-Rhodians not
sit, si id turpe iudicet, sed dubitet, an turpe non sit.
is if that base he-judges but doubts whether base not it-is
51 In huius modi causis aliud Diogeni Babylonio videri
in of-this sort cases one-thing to-Diogenes the-Babylonian to-seem
solet, magno et gravi Stoico, aliud Antipatro, discipulo
is-wont a-great and weighty Stoic another to-Antipater the-pupil
eius, homini acutissimo. Antipatro omnia patefacienda, ut
of-him a-man most-acute to-Antipater all-things to-be-disclosed that
ne quid omnino, quod venditor norit, emptor ignoret,
not anything at-all which the-seller may-know the-buyer be-ignorant-of
Diogeni venditorem, quatenus iure civili constitutum sit,
to-Diogenes the-seller as-far-as by-law civil laid-down it-has-been
dicere vitia oportere, cetera sine insidiis agere et,
to-state the-defects to-behoove the-rest without treachery to-transact and
quoniam vendat, velle quam optime vendere.
since he-sells to-wish as best to-sell

Advexi, exposui, vendo meum non pluris quam ceteri,
I-have-imported I-have-displayed I-sell my-own not for-more than the-rest
fortasse etiam minoris, cum maior est copia. Cui fit
perhaps even for-less when greater is the-supply to-whom is-done
iniuria?
wrong
Exoritur Antipatri ratio ex altera parte: Quid ais? tu 52
there-arises of-Antipater the-argument from the-other side what say-you you
cum hominibus consulere debeas et servire humanae societati
when for-men to-provide you-ought and to-serve human society
eaque lege natus sis et ea habeas principia naturae,
and-by-that law born you-are and those you-have first-principles of-nature
quibus parere et quae sequi debeas, ut utilitas tua
which to-obey and which to-follow you-ought that the-advantage your
communis sit utilitas vicissimque communis utilitas tua sit,
common be the-advantage and-in-turn common the-advantage your be
celabis homines, quid iis adsit commoditatis et copiae?
will-you-conceal from-men what to-them is-at-hand of-convenience and of-plenty
Respondebit Diogenes fortasse sic: Aliud est celare, aliud
will-answer Diogenes perhaps thus one-thing it-is to-conceal another
tacere; neque ego nunc te celo, si tibi non dico, quae
to-be-silent and-not I now you conceal-from if to-you not I-say what
natura deorum sit, qui sit finis bonorum, quae tibi plus
the-nature of-the-gods is what is the-end of-goods which to-you more
prodessent cognita quam tritici vilitas; sed non, quicquid
would-profit known than of-wheat the-cheapness but not whatever
tibi audire utile est, idem mihi dicere necesse est.
for-you to-hear useful is the-same for-me to-say necessary is
Immo vero, inquiet ille, necesse est, siquidem meministi esse 53
nay indeed will-say he necessary it-is if-indeed you-remember to-be
inter homines natura coniunctam societatem.
among men by-nature joined a-fellowship

Memini, inquiet ille; sed num ista societas talis est, ut
I-remember will-say he but surely-not that fellowship such is that
nihil suum cuiusque sit? Quod si ita est, ne vendendum
nothing his-own of-each be which if so is not to-be-sold
quidem quicquam est, sed donandum.
even anything is but to-be-given

XIII · THE HOUSE WITH HIDDEN FAULTS

The same question is put of a man selling an unhealthy and ruinous house whose faults only he knows. Antipater says that letting a buyer rush into loss is worse than refusing to set a lost man on his road; Diogenes answers that no one compelled him to buy. Cicero decides that both sellers should have spoken: concealment is not mere silence, but wanting those whom it concerns to stay ignorant.

Vides in hac tota disceptatione non illud dici: Quamvis
you-see in this whole debate not that to-be-said however-much
hoc turpe sit, tamen, quoniam expedit, faciam, sed ita
this base is nevertheless since it-profits I-shall-do-it but so
expedire, ut turpe non sit, ex altera autem parte, ea
to-profit that base not it-is from the-other moreover side for-that
re, quia turpe sit, non esse faciendum.
reason because base it-is not to-be to-be-done

54 Vendat aedes vir bonus propter aliqua vitia, quae ipse
let-him-sell a-house a-man good on-account-of certain defects which he-himself
norit, ceteri ignorent, pestilentes sint et habeantur salubres,
may-know the-rest may-not-know unhealthy may-be and may-be-held healthy
ignoretur in omnibus cubiculis apparere serpentes, male
let-it-be-unknown in all bedrooms to-appear serpents badly
materiatae sint, ruinosae, sed hoc praeter dominum nemo
timbered may-be ruinous but this besides the-owner no-one

sciat; quaero, si haec emptoribus venditor non dixerit
may-know I-ask if these to-the-buyers the-seller not shall-have-told
aedesque vendiderit pluris multo, quam se venditurum
and-the-house shall-have-sold for-more much than himself about-to-sell
putarit, num id iniuste aut improbe fecerit.
he-had-thought whether that unjustly or dishonestly he-shall-have-done
Ille vero, inquit Antipater; quid est enim aliud erranti viam 55
he indeed says Antipater what is for else to-one-straying the-way
non monstrare, quod Athenis exsecrationibus publicis sanctum
not to-show which at-Athens by-curses public forbidden
est, si hoc non est, emptorem pati ruere et per errorem
is if this not is a-buyer to-allow to-rush and through error
in maximam fraudem incurrere? Plus etiam est quam viam
into the-greatest damage to-run more even it-is than the-way
non monstrare; nam est scientem in errorem alterum inducere.
not to-show for it-is knowingly into error another to-lead
Diogenes contra: Num te emere coegit, qui ne
Diogenes on-the-contrary surely-not you to-buy did-he-compel who not
hortatus quidem est? Ille, quod non placebat, proscripsit,
urged even has he what not pleased advertised
tu, quod placebat, emisti. Quodsi, qui proscribunt villam
you what pleased have-bought but-if those-who advertise a-farm
bonam beneque aedificatam, non existimantur fefellisse,
good and-well built not are-thought to-have-deceived
etiamsi illa nec bona est nec aedificata ratione, multo
even-if that neither good is nor built with-method much
minus, qui domum non laudarunt. Ubi enim iudicium
less those-who a-house not have-praised where for the-judgment
emptoris est, ibi fraus venditoris quae potest esse? Sin
of-the-buyer is there fraud of-the-seller what can to-be but-if
autem dictum non omne praestandum est, quod dictum
moreover what-was-said not all to-be-made-good is what said

non est, id praestandum putas? Quid vero est stultius
not has-been that to-be-made-good do-you-think what indeed is more-foolish
quam venditorem eius rei, quam vendat, vitia narrare?
than a-seller of-that thing which he-may-sell the-defects to-relate
quid autem tam absurdum, quam si domini iussu ita
what moreover so absurd as if of-the-owner by-order thus
praeco praedicet: 'Domum pestilentem vendo'?
the-crier should-proclaim a-house unhealthy I-sell

56 Sic ergo in quibusdam causis dubiis ex altera parte
so therefore in certain cases doubtful from the-one side
defenditur honestas, ex altera ita de utilitate dicitur, ut id,
is-defended honorableness from the-other so about usefulness it-is-said that that
quod utile videatur, non modo facere honestum sit, sed etiam
which useful may-seem not only to-do honorable is but also
non facere turpe. Haec est illa, quae videtur utilium fieri
not to-do base this is that which seems of-useful-things to-arise
cum honestis saepe dissensio. Quae diiudicanda sunt;
with honorable-things often the-disagreement which to-be-decided are
non enim, ut quaereremus, exposuimus, sed ut explicaremus.
not for that we-might-question we-have-set-forth but that we-might-explain

57 Non igitur videtur nec frumentarius ille Rhodios nec hic
not therefore it-seems either the-corn-dealer that from-the-Rhodians or this
aedium venditor celare emptores debuisse. Neque enim id
of-the-house seller to-conceal from-the-buyers to-have-had-to and-not for that
est celare, quicquid reticeas, sed cum, quod tu scias, id
is to-conceal whatever you-keep-back but when what you may-know that
ignorare emolumenti tui causa velis eos, quorum intersit
to-be-ignorant-of of-profit your for-the-sake you-wish those whose it-concerns
id scire. Hoc autem celandi genus quale sit et cuius
that to-know this moreover of-concealing kind of-what-sort is and of-what
hominis, quis non videt? Certe non aperti, non simplicis,
man who not sees certainly not of-an-open not of-a-straightforward

non ingenui, non iusti, non viri boni, versuti potius, obscuri,
not of-a-frank not of-a-just not of-a-man good of-a-crafty rather of-a-shady
astuti, fallacis, malitiosi, callidi, veteratoris, vafri. Haec
of-a-cunning of-a-deceitful of-a-malicious of-a-sly of-an-old-hand of-a-shifty these
tot et alia plura nonne inutile est vitiorum subire nomina?
so-many and other more surely useless is of-vices to-undergo the-names

XIV · CANIUS AND PYTHIUS

Canius wished to buy a garden at Syracuse. Pythius the banker called in fishermen to fish in front of his own grounds while Canius dined there, and sold him the place at his own price; the next day there was not a boat to be seen. Aquilius defined fraud as one thing pretended and another done, and by that definition Pythius and all such men are dishonest.

Quodsi vituperandi, qui reticuerunt, quid de iis 58
but-if to-be-blamed those-who kept-silent what about those
existimandum est, qui orationis vanitatem adhibuerunt? C.
to-be-thought is who of-speech the-emptiness employed Gaius
Canius, eques Romanus, nec infacetus et satis litteratus,
Canius a-knight Roman and-not unwitty and enough lettered
cum se Syracusas otiandi, ut ipse dicere solebat, non
when himself to-Syracuse of-taking-leisure as he-himself to-say was-wont not
negotiandi causa contulisset, dictitabat se hortulos aliquos
of-doing-business for-the-sake had-betaken kept-saying himself little-gardens some
emere velle, quo invitare amicos et ubi se oblectare sine
to-buy to-wish whither to-invite friends and where himself to-amuse without
interpellatoribus posset. Quod cum percrebruisset, Pythius
interrupters he-might-be-able which when had-got-abroad Pythius
ei quidam, qui argentariam faceret Syracusis, venales quidem
to-him a-certain who a-banking-business carried-on at-Syracuse for-sale indeed

se hortos non habere, sed licere uti Canio, si vellet, ut
himself gardens not to-have but to-be-allowed to-use to-Canius if he-wished as
suis, et simul ad cenam hominem in hortos invitavit
his-own and at-the-same-time to dinner the-man into the-gardens he-invited
in posterum diem. Cum ille promisisset, tum Pythius, qui esset
for the-next day when he had-promised then Pythius who was
ut argentarius apud omnes ordines gratiosus, piscatores ad se
as a-banker among all ranks in-favor fishermen to himself
convocavit et ab iis petivit, ut ante suos hortulos postridie
called-together and from them asked that before his little-gardens on-the-morrow
piscarentur, dixitque, quid eos facere vellet. Ad cenam
they-should-fish and-he-said what them to-do he-wished to dinner
tempori venit Canius; opipare a Pythio apparatum convivium,
in-time came Canius sumptuously by Pythius provided the-banquet
cumbarum ante oculos multitudo; pro se quisque, quod
of-skiffs before the-eyes a-multitude for himself each-man what
ceperat, afferebat, ante pedes Pythi pisces abiciebantur.
he-had-taken was-bringing before the-feet of-Pythius the-fish were-being-thrown-down
59 Tum Canius: Quaeso, inquit, quid est hoc, Pythi? tantumne
then Canius I-ask says-he what is this O-Pythius so-many
piscium? tantumne cumbarum?
of-fish so-many of-skiffs
Et ille: Quid mirum? inquit, hoc loco est Syracusis quicquid
and he what wonder says-he in-this place is at-Syracuse whatever
est piscium, hic aquatio, hac villa isti carere
there-is of-fish here the-watering-place from-this farm those to-do-without
non possunt.
not can
Incensus Canius cupiditate contendit a Pythio, ut venderet;
inflamed Canius by-desire presses upon Pythius that he-should-sell
gravate ille primo; quid multa? impetrat. Emit homo
grudgingly he at-first what many-words he-obtains buys the-man

cupidus et locuples tanti, quanti Pythius voluit, et
eager and rich for-so-much for-how-much Pythius wished and
emit instructos; nomina facit, negotium conficit. Invitat
he-buys them-furnished the-bonds he-makes the-business he-completes invites
Canius postridie familiares suos, venit ipse mature;
Canius on-the-morrow the-intimates his-own comes he-himself early
scalmum nullum videt, quaerit ex proximo vicino, num
a-rowlock none he-sees he-asks from the-nearest neighbor whether
feriae quaedam piscatorum essent, quod eos nullos videret.
holidays certain of-the-fishermen there-were because them none he-was-seeing
Nullae, quod sciam, inquit; sed hic piscari nulli solent;
none that I-know says-he but here to-fish none are-wont
itaque heri mirabar, quid accidisset.
and-so yesterday I-was-wondering what had-happened
Stomachari Canius; sed quid faceret? nondum enim C. 60
to-fume Canius but what was-he-to-do not-yet for Gaius
Aquilius, collega et familiaris meus, protulerat de dolo
Aquilius a-colleague and an-intimate my had-brought-forward about guile
malo formulas; in quibus ipsis, cum ex eo quaereretur, quid
evil the-forms in which very when from him it-was-asked what
esset dolus malus, respondebat: cum esset aliud simulatum,
was guile evil he-used-to-answer when there-was one-thing pretended
aliud actum. Hoc quidem sane luculente ut ab homine perito
another done this indeed truly brilliantly as by a-man skilled
definiendi. Ergo et Pythius et omnes aliud agentes, aliud
at-defining therefore both Pythius and all one-thing doing another
simulantes perfidi, improbi, malitiosi. Nullum igitur eorum
pretending treacherous dishonest malicious no therefore of-them
factum potest utile esse, cum sit tot vitiis inquinatum.
deed can useful to-be since it-is with-so-many faults stained

If Aquilius' definition holds, all pretense and dissembling must go out of life, and a good man will use neither in buying nor in selling. The old formulas — according to good faith, as between good men — leave no room for guile. Scaevola once asked a seller to name a single price for an estate, then said he valued it higher and added a hundred thousand.

61 Quodsi Aquiliana definitio vera est, ex omni vita simulatio
but-if the-Aquilian definition true is from all life pretense
dissimulatioque tollenda est. Ita, nec ut emat melius
and-dissembling to-be-removed is so neither that he-may-buy better
nec ut vendat, quicquam simulabit aut dissimulabit vir
nor that he-may-sell anything will-pretend or will-dissemble a-man
bonus. Atque iste dolus malus et legibus erat vindicatus,
good and that guile evil also by-laws had-been punished
ut tutela duodecim tabulis, circumscriptio adulescentium
as guardianship by-the-twelve tables the-defrauding of-young-men
lege Plaetoria, et sine lege iudiciis, in quibus additur
by-the-law Plaetorian and without law by-judgments in which is-added
EX FIDE BONA. Reliquorum autem iudiciorum
ACCORDING-TO FAITH GOOD of-the-remaining moreover judgments
haec verba maxime excellunt: in arbitrio rei uxoriae
these words most stand-out in the-arbitration of-the-matter of-a-wife
MELIUS AEQUIUS, in fiducia UT INTER BONOS
BETTER FAIRER in trusteeship AS AMONG GOOD-MEN
BENE AGIER. Quid ergo? aut in eo, QUOD MELIUS
WELL TO-BE-DONE what therefore either in that WHAT BETTER
AEQUIUS, potest ulla pars inesse fraudis? aut, cum dicitur
FAIRER can any part to-be-in of-fraud or when it-is-said
INTER BONOS BENE AGIER, quicquam agi dolose
AMONG GOOD-MEN WELL TO-BE-DONE anything to-be-done guilefully

aut malitiose potest? Dolus autem malus in simulatione,
or maliciously can guile moreover evil in pretense
ut ait Aquilius, continetur. Tollendum est igitur ex rebus
as says Aquilius is-contained to-be-removed it-is therefore from things
contrahendis omne mendacium; non illicitatorem venditor,
to-be-transacted every falsehood not a-puffer the-seller
non, qui contra se liceatur, emptor apponet; uterque, si
not who against himself may-bid the-buyer will-put-up each-of-the-two if
ad eloquendum venerit, non plus quam semel eloquetur.
to speaking shall-have-come not more than once will-speak
Q. quidem Scaevola P. f., cum postulasset, ut sibi 62
Quintus indeed Scaevola of-Publius son when he-had-demanded that to-him
fundus, cuius emptor erat, semel indicaretur idque venditor
an-estate of-which the-buyer he-was once should-be-named and-that the-seller
ita fecisset, dixit se pluris aestimare; addidit centum
so had-done said himself for-more to-value he-added a-hundred
milia. Nemo est, qui hoc viri boni fuisse neget,
thousands no-one there-is who this of-a-man good to-have-been denies
sapientis negant, ut si minoris, quam potuisset, vendidisset.
of-a-wise-man they-deny as if for-less than he-could-have he-had-sold
Haec igitur est illa pernicies, quod alios bonos, alios
this therefore is that ruin because some good others
sapientes existimant. Ex quo Ennius nequiquam sapere
wise they-reckon from which Ennius(-says) in-vain to-be-wise
sapientem, qui ipse sibi prodesse non quiret. Vere id
the-wise-man who himself for-himself to-profit not could truly that
quidem, si, quid esset prodesse, mihi cum Ennio conveniret.
indeed if what it-was to-profit for-me with Ennius agreed
Hecatonem quidem Rhodium, discipulum Panaeti, video in 63
Hecato indeed the-Rhodian a-pupil of-Panaetius I-see in
iis libris, quos de officio scripsit Q. Tuberoni, dicere
those books which about duty he-wrote to-Quintus Tubero to-say

sapientis esse nihil contra mores, leges, instituta facientem
of-a-wise-man to-be nothing against customs laws institutions doing
habere rationem rei familiaris. Neque enim solum
to-have regard of-property family and-not for only
nobis divites esse volumus, sed liberis, propinquis, amicis
for-ourselves rich to-be we-wish but for-children for-kinsmen for-friends
maximeque rei publicae. Singulorum enim facultates et
and-most for-the-thing public of-individuals for the-means and
copiae divitiae sunt civitatis. Huic Scaevolae factum, de
resources the-riches are of-the-state to-this-man of-Scaevola the-deed about
quo paulo ante dixi, placere nullo modo potest; etenim omnino
which a-little before I-spoke to-please in-no way can for-indeed altogether
tantum se negat facturum compendii sui causa, quod
so-much himself he-denies about-to-do of-gain his-own for-the-sake which
non liceat. Huic nec laus magna tribuenda nec gratia est.
not is-allowed to-this-man neither praise great to-be-given nor gratitude is
64 Sed, sive et simulatio et dissimulatio dolus malus est,
but whether both pretense and dissembling guile evil is
perpaucae res sunt, in quibus non dolus malus iste versetur,
very-few things there-are in which not guile evil that is-engaged
sive vir bonus est is, qui prodest, quibus potest, nocet
or a-man good is he who benefits whom he-can harms
nemini, certe istum virum bonum non facile reperimus.
no-one certainly that man good not easily we-find
Numquam igitur est utile peccare, quia semper est turpe,
never therefore is useful to-do-wrong because always it-is base
et, quia semper est honestum virum bonum esse, semper
and because always it-is honorable a-man good to-be always
est utile.
it-is useful

The civil law requires a seller of land to state the faults he knows. Claudius sold a block the augurs had ordered pulled down, and Cato as judge ruled that the buyer's loss must be made good. Marius Gratidianus sold a house without stating a servitude, and the suit set Crassus, who urged the law, against Antonius, who urged fairness — proof that our ancestors did not approve of the crafty.

Ac de iure quidem praediorum sanctum apud nos est 65
and about the-law indeed of-estates established among us it-is
iure civili, ut in iis vendendis vitia dicerentur, quae
by-law civil that in them to-be-sold the-defects should-be-stated which
nota essent venditori. Nam, cum ex duodecim tabulis satis
known were to-the-seller for since from the-twelve tables enough
esset ea praestari, quae essent lingua nuncupata, quae qui
it-was those to-be-guaranteed which had-been by-tongue declared which who
infitiatus esset, dupli poenam subiret, a iuris consultis
denied had of-double the-penalty should-undergo by of-law the-learned
etiam reticentiae poena est constituta; quicquid enim
also of-silence a-penalty has-been established whatever for
esset in praedio vitii, id statuerunt, si venditor sciret,
there-was on the-estate of-defect that they-ruled if the-seller knew
nisi nominatim dictum esset, praestari oportere.
unless by-name said it-had-been to-be-guaranteed to-behoove
Ut, cum in arce augurium augures acturi essent 66
as when on the-citadel an-augury the-augurs about-to-take were
iussissentque Ti. Claudium Centumalum, qui aedes in
and-had-ordered Tiberius Claudius Centumalus who a-house on
Caelio monte habebat, demoliri ea, quorum altitudo
the-Caelian hill had to-pull-down those-(parts) whose height
officeret auspiciis, Claudius proscripsit insulam vendidit,
obstructed the-auspices Claudius advertised the-block sold

emit P. Calpurnius Lanarius. Huic ab auguribus illud
bought Publius Calpurnius Lanarius to-him by the-augurs that
idem denuntiatum est. Itaque Calpurnius cum demolitus
same announced was and-so Calpurnius when pulled-down
esset cognossetque Claudium aedes postea proscripsisse,
had and-had-learned that-Claudius the-house later to-have-advertised
quam esset ab auguribus demoliri iussus, arbitrum illum
than he-had-been by the-augurs to-pull-down ordered to-an-arbiter him
adegit, QUICQUID SIBI DARE FACERE OPORTERET
he-summoned WHATEVER TO-HIM TO-GIVE TO-DO IT-BEHOOVED
EX FIDE BONA. M. Cato sententiam dixit, huius
ACCORDING-TO FAITH GOOD Marcus Cato the-verdict gave of-this
nostri Catonis pater (ut enim ceteri ex patribus, sic hic, qui
our of-Cato the-father as for the-rest from fathers so this-man who
illud lumen progenuit, ex filio est nominandus) — is igitur
that light begot from the-son is to-be-named he therefore
iudex ita pronuntiavit: cum in vendendo rem eam scisset
as-judge thus pronounced since in selling the-thing that he-had-known
et non pronuntiasset, emptori damnum praestari oportere.
and not had-declared to-the-buyer the-loss to-be-made-good to-behoove
67 Ergo ad fidem bonam statuit pertinere notum esse emptori
therefore to faith good he-ruled to-pertain known to-be to-the-buyer
vitium, quod nosset venditor. Quod si recte iudicavit,
the-defect which knew the-seller which if rightly he-judged
non recte frumentarius ille, non recte aedium pestilentium
not rightly the-corn-dealer that not rightly of-the-house unhealthy
venditor tacuit. Sed huius modi reticentiae iure civili
the-seller was-silent but of-this sort silences by-law civil
comprehendi non possunt; quae autem possunt, diligenter
to-be-embraced not can which moreover can carefully
tenentur. M. Marius Gratidianus, propinquus noster, C.
are-held Marcus Marius Gratidianus a-kinsman our to-Gaius

Sergio Oratae vendiderat aedes eas, quas ab eodem ipse
Sergius Orata had-sold a-house that which from the-same he-himself
paucis ante annis emerat. Eae serviebant, sed hoc in
a-few before years had-bought they were-under-servitude but this in
mancipio Marius non dixerat. Adducta res in iudicium
the-conveyance Marius not had-stated brought the-matter into court
est. Oratam Crassus, Gratidianum defendebat Antonius. Ius
was Orata Crassus Gratidianus was-defending Antonius the-law
Crassus urguebat, quod vitii venditor non dixisset sciens,
Crassus pressed what of-defect the-seller not had-stated knowingly
id oportere praestari, aequitatem Antonius, quoniam
that to-behoove to-be-made-good the-equity Antonius since
id vitium ignotum Sergio non fuisset, qui illas aedes
that defect unknown to-Sergius not had-been who that house
vendidisset, nihil fuisse necesse dici, nec eum esse
had-sold nothing to-have-been necessary to-be-said and-not him to-be
deceptum, qui, id, quod emerat, quo iure esset, teneret.
deceived who that which he-had-bought by-what right it-was he-understood
Quorsus haec? Ut illud intellegas, non placuisse 68
to-what-end these that that you-may-understand not to-have-pleased
maioribus nostris astutos.
to-forefathers our the-crafty

Laws restrain craft as far as they can lay hold of it; philosophy restrains it as far as reason and understanding reach. To advertise a house and let a buyer run into it unwarned is to set a snare. Our ancestors made the law of nations one thing and the civil law another — what the law of nations holds ought to be civil law too, though the reverse does not follow — and of true justice we keep only a shadow, while malice merely counterfeits prudence.

Sed aliter leges, aliter philosophi tollunt astutias, leges,
but otherwise the-laws otherwise the-philosophers remove craftinesses the-laws
quatenus manu tenere possunt, philosophi, quatenus ratione
as-far-as by-hand to-hold they-can the-philosophers as-far-as by-reason
et intellegentia. Ratio ergo hoc postulat, ne quid
and by-understanding reason therefore this demands that-not anything
insidiose, ne quid simulate, ne quid fallaciter. Suntne
treacherously that-not anything feignedly that-not anything deceitfully are-they
igitur insidiae tendere plagas, etiamsi excitaturus non sis
therefore snares to-stretch nets even-if about-to-rouse not you-are
nec agitaturus? ipsae enim ferae nullo insequente
and-not about-to-drive themselves for the-wild-beasts with-no-one pursuing
saepe incidunt. Sic tu aedes proscribas, tabulam tamquam
often fall-in so you a-house should-advertise a-board as-it-were
plagam ponas, domum propter vitia vendas, in eam aliquis
a-net should-set the-house on-account-of defects should-sell into it someone
incurrat imprudens?
should-run unwary

69 Hoc quamquam video propter depravationem consuetudinis
this although I-see on-account-of the-corruption of-custom
neque more turpe haberi neque aut lege sanciri aut
neither by-usage base to-be-held nor either by-law to-be-sanctioned or
iure civili, tamen naturae lege sanctum est. Societas
by-law civil nevertheless of-nature by-the-law sanctioned it-is a-fellowship

est enim (quod etsi saepe dictum est, dicendum
there-is for which although often said it-has-been to-be-said
est tamen saepius), latissime quidem quae pateat, omnium
it-is nevertheless more-often most-widely indeed which extends of-all
inter omnes, interior eorum, qui eiusdem gentis sint, propior
among all a-closer of-those who of-the-same race are a-nearer
eorum, qui eiusdem civitatis. Itaque maiores aliud ius
of-those who of-the-same state and-so the-forefathers one-thing the-law
gentium, aliud ius civile esse voluerunt; quod civile, non
of-nations another the-law civil to-be willed what civil not
idem continuo gentium, quod autem gentium, idem civile
the-same forthwith of-nations what moreover of-nations the-same civil
esse debet. Sed nos veri iuris germanaeque iustitiae solidam
to-be ought but we of-true law and-of-genuine justice a-solid
et expressam effigiem nullam tenemus, umbra et imaginibus
and expressed likeness none we-hold a-shadow and images
utimur. Eas ipsas utinam sequeremur! feruntur enim ex
we-use those very would-that we-followed they-are-drawn for from
optimis naturae et veritatis exemplis.
the-best of-nature and of-truth patterns
Nam quanti verba illa: UTI NE PROPTER TE 70
for of-how-much words those THAT NOT THROUGH YOU
FIDEMVE TUAM CAPTUS FRAUDATUSVE SIM!
OR-FAITH YOUR ENSNARED OR-DEFRAUDED I-MAY-BE
quam illa aurea: UT INTER BONOS BENE AGIER
how those golden AS AMONG GOOD-MEN WELL TO-BE-DONE
OPORTET ET SINE FRAUDATIONE! Sed, qui sint
IT-BEHOOVES AND WITHOUT DEFRAUDING but who are
boni, et quid sit bene agi, magna quaestio est.
good and what is well to-be-done a-great question is

Q. quidem Scaevola, pontifex maximus, summam vim
Quintus indeed Scaevola the-pontiff greatest the-highest force
esse dicebat in omnibus iis arbitriis, in quibus adderetur
to-be used-to-say in all those arbitrations in which was-added
EX FIDE BONA, fideique bonae nomen existimabat
ACCORDING-TO FAITH GOOD and-of-faith of-good the-name he-reckoned
manare latissime, idque versari in tutelis societatibus,
to-flow most-widely and-that to-be-engaged in guardianships partnerships
fiduciis mandatis, rebus emptis venditis, conductis locatis,
trusts mandates in-things bought sold hired let
quibus vitae societas contineretur; in iis magni esse
by-which of-life the-fellowship was-held-together in them of-a-great to-be
iudicis statuere, praesertim cum in plerisque essent iudicia
of-a-judge to-determine especially since in most there-were suits
contraria, quid quemque cuique praestare oporteret.
reciprocal what each-man to-each to-guarantee it-behooved
71 Quocirca astutiae tollendae sunt eaque malitia, quae volt
wherefore craftinesses to-be-removed are and-that malice which wishes
illa quidem videri se esse prudentiam, sed abest ab ea
that indeed to-seem itself to-be prudence but it-is-away from it
distatque plurimum. Prudentia est enim locata in dilectu
and-differs most prudence is for placed in the-choosing
bonorum et malorum, malitia, si omnia, quae turpia sunt,
of-goods and of-evils malice if all-things which base are
mala sunt, mala bonis ponit ante.
evil are evils to-goods it-sets before
Nec vero in praediis solum ius civile ductum a natura
and-not indeed in estates only the-law civil drawn from nature
malitiam fraudemque vindicat, sed etiam in mancipiorum
malice and-fraud punishes but also in of-slaves
venditione venditoris fraus omnis excluditur. Qui enim scire
the-selling of-the-seller fraud all is-shut-out who for to-know

debuit de sanitate, de fuga, de furtis, praestat
was-bound about health about running-away about thefts guarantees
edicto aedilium. Heredum alia causa est.
by-the-edict of-the-aediles of-heirs another case is
Ex quo intellegitur, quoniam iuris natura fons sit, hoc 72
from which it-is-understood since of-law nature the-source is this
secundum naturam esse, neminem id agere, ut ex alterius
according-to nature to-be that-no-one this to-do that from of-another
praedetur inscitia. Nec ulla pernicies vitae maior inveniri
he-may-prey the-ignorance and-not any ruin of-life greater to-be-found
potest quam in malitia simulatio intellegentiae; ex quo ista
can than in malice the-pretense of-intelligence from which those
innumerabilia nascuntur, ut utilia cum honestis pugnare
countless-things arise that useful-things with honorable-things to-conflict
videantur. Quotus enim quisque reperietur, qui impunitate
may-seem how-few-in-number for each-man will-be-found who with-impunity
et ignoratione omnium proposita abstinere possit iniuria?
and with-ignorance of-all offered to-refrain could from-wrong

XVIII · WILLS AND LEGACY-HUNTING

Certain men brought a forged will from Greece and wrote in Crassus and Hortensius as heirs; the two suspected it, but did not refuse the little gift that another man's crime brought them. Cicero thinks even genuine inheritances dishonorable when they are got by flattery and a pretense of service. The rule of usefulness is the same as the rule of honorableness.

Periclitemur, si placet, et in iis quidem exemplis, in quibus 73
let-us-make-trial if it-pleases and in those indeed examples in which
peccari volgus hominum fortasse non putet. Neque enim de
to-be-erred the-crowd of-men perhaps not thinks and-not for about

sicariis, veneficis, testamentariis, furibus, peculatoribus hoc
cut-throats poisoners will-forgers thieves embezzlers in-this
loco disserendum est, qui non verbis sunt et disputatione
place to-be-discussed it-is who not by-words are and by-the-argument
philosophorum, sed vinclis et carcere fatigandi, sed haec
of-philosophers but by-chains and by-prison to-be-worn-down but these
consideremus, quae faciunt ii, qui habentur boni.
let-us-consider which do those who are-held good
L. Minuci Basili, locupletis hominis, falsum testamentum
of-Lucius Minucius Basilus of-a-wealthy man a-false will
quidam e Graecia Romam attulerunt. Quod quo facilius
certain-men from Greece to-Rome brought which by-which more-easily
optinerent, scripserunt heredes secum M. Crassum et
they-might-uphold they-wrote-in as-heirs with-themselves Marcus Crassus and
Q. Hortensium, homines eiusdem aetatis potentissimos;
Quintus Hortensius men of-the-same age most-powerful
qui cum illud falsum esse suspicarentur, sibi autem
who although that false to-be they-suspected for-themselves moreover
nullius essent conscii culpae, alieni facinoris munusculum
of-no they-were conscious fault of-another's crime the-little-gift
non repudiaverunt. Quid ergo? satin est hoc, ut non
not they-refused what therefore enough is this that not
deliquisse videantur? Mihi quidem non videtur, quamquam
to-have-offended they-seem to-me indeed not it-seems although
alterum vivum amavi, alterum non odi mortuum;
the-one alive I-loved the-other not I-hate dead
74 sed, cum Basilus M. Satrium, sororis filium, nomen suum
but since Basilus Marcus Satrius of-a-sister the-son the-name his-own
ferre voluisset eumque fecisset heredem (hunc dico patronum
to-bear had-wished and-him had-made heir this-man I-mean the-patron
agri Piceni et Sabini; o turpem notam temporum nomen
of-the-land Picene and Sabine O shameful mark of-the-times the-name

illorum!), non erat aequum principes civis rem habere, ad
of-those not it-was fair the-chief citizens the-estate to-have to
Satrium nihil praeter nomen pervenire. Etenim, si is, qui non
Satrius nothing besides the-name to-come for-indeed if he who not
defendit iniuriam neque propulsat, cum potest, iniuste facit, ut
wards-off a-wrong and-not drives-off when he-can unjustly acts as
in primo libro disserui, qualis habendus est is, qui non modo
in the-first book I-argued of-what-sort to-be-held is he who not only
non repellit, sed etiam adiuvat iniuriam? Mihi quidem etiam
not repels but even helps a-wrong to-me indeed even
verae hereditates non honestae videntur, si sunt malitiosis
genuine inheritances not honorable seem if they-are by-malicious
blanditiis, officiorum non veritate, sed simulatione quaesitae.
flatteries of-services not by-the-truth but by-the-pretense sought
Atqui in talibus rebus aliud utile interdum, aliud honestum
and-yet in such matters one-thing useful sometimes another honorable
videri solet.
to-seem is-wont
Falso; nam eadem utilitatis, quae honestatis, est regula. Qui 75
falsely for the-same of-usefulness which of-honorableness is the-rule who
hoc non perviderit, ab hoc nulla fraus aberit, nullum
this not shall-have-seen-through from this-man no fraud will-be-away no
facinus. Sic enim cogitans: Est istuc quidem honestum, verum
crime so for thinking is that indeed honorable but
hoc expedit, res a natura copulatas audebit errore divellere,
this profits things by nature coupled he-will-dare by-an-error to-tear-apart
qui fons est fraudium, maleficiorum, scelerum omnium.
which the-source is of-frauds of-misdeeds of-crimes of-all

If a good man could have his name slipped into rich men's wills by snapping his fingers he would not use the power, even if he were sure no one would ever suspect it. Fimbria refused to judge whether a man was good, since the question was bound up with countless duties. Whoever wonders at such restraint is confessing that he does not know what a good man is.

Itaque, si vir bonus habeat hanc vim, ut, si digitis
and-so if a-man good should-have this power that if with-fingers
concrepuerit, possit in locupletium testamenta nomen eius
he-shall-have-snapped could into of-the-rich the-wills the-name of-him
inrepere, hac vi non utatur, ne si exploratum quidem
to-creep-in this power not let-him-use not if ascertained even
habeat id omnino neminem umquam suspicaturum. At
he-should-have that at-all no-one ever about-to-suspect but
dares hanc vim M. Crasso, ut digitorum percussione
you-would-give this power to-Marcus Crassus that of-fingers by-a-snap
heres posset scriptus esse, qui re vera non esset heres, in
an-heir he-could written to-be who in fact not was an-heir in
foro, mihi crede, saltaret. Homo autem iustus isque,
the-forum to-me believe he-would-dance a-man moreover just and-he
quem sentimus virum bonum, nihil cuiquam, quod in
whom we-mean a-man good nothing from-anyone which upon
se transferat, detrahet. Hoc qui admiratur, is se, quid
himself he-may-transfer will-take-away this who wonders-at he himself what
sit vir bonus, nescire fateatur.
is a-man good not-to-know let-him-confess

76 At vero, si qui voluerit animi sui complicatam notionem
but indeed if anyone shall-have-wished of-mind his-own the-folded notion
evolvere, iam se ipse doceat eum virum bonum
to-unroll now himself he-himself let-him-teach that a-man good

esse, qui prosit, quibus possit, noceat nemini nisi lacessitus
to-be who benefits whom he-can harms no-one unless provoked
iniuria. Quid ergo? hic non noceat, qui quodam
by-wrong what therefore this-man not would-he-harm who by-a-certain
quasi veneno perficiat, ut veros heredes moveat, in
as-it-were poison may-bring-about that the-true heirs he-may-remove into
eorum locum ipse succedat? Non igitur faciat, dixerit
of-them the-place himself may-succeed not therefore should-he-do would-say
quis, quod utile sit, quod expediat? Immo intellegat
someone what useful is what profits nay let-him-understand
nihil nec expedire nec utile esse, quod sit iniustum; hoc
nothing either to-profit or useful to-be what is unjust this
qui non didicerit, bonus vir esse non poterit.
who not shall-have-learned a-good man to-be not will-be-able
C. Fimbriam consularem audiebam de patre nostro puer 77
Gaius Fimbria of-consular-rank I-used-to-hear from father our as-a-boy
iudicem M. Lutatio Pinthiae fuisse, equiti Romano
a-judge for-Marcus Lutatius Pinthia to-have-been for-a-knight Roman
sane honesto, cum is sponsionem fecisset NI VIR
truly honorable when he a-wager had-made UNLESS A-MAN
BONUS ESSET. Itaque ei dixisse Fimbriam se
GOOD HE-WERE and-so to-him to-have-said Fimbria himself
illam rem numquam iudicaturum, ne aut spoliaret fama
that matter never about-to-judge lest either he-should-strip of-repute
probatum hominem, si contra iudicavisset, aut statuisse
an-approved man if against he-had-judged or to-have-decided
videretur virum bonum esse aliquem, cum ea res
he-should-seem a-man good to-be someone since that matter
innumerabilibus officiis et laudibus contineretur.
by-countless duties and praises was-comprised

Huic igitur viro bono, quem Fimbria etiam, non modo Socrates
to-this therefore man good whom Fimbria even not only Socrates
noverat, nullo modo videri potest quicquam esse utile, quod non
knew in-no way to-seem can anything to-be useful which not
honestum sit. Itaque talis vir non modo facere, sed ne cogitare
honorable is and-so such a-man not only to-do but not to-think
quidem quicquam audebit, quod non audeat praedicare. Haec
even anything will-dare which not he-would-dare to-proclaim these
non turpe est dubitare philosophos, quae ne rustici quidem
not base is to-doubt philosophers which not countrymen even
dubitent? a quibus natum est id, quod iam contritum
doubt from whom sprung is that which now worn
est vetustate, proverbium. Cum enim fidem alicuius
is by-age the-proverb when for the-good-faith of-anyone
bonitatemque laudant, dignum esse dicunt, quicum in tenebris
and-the-goodness they-praise worthy to-be they-say with-whom in the-dark
mices. Hoc quam habet vim nisi illam, nihil expedire,
you-would-play-mora this what has force except that nothing to-profit
quod non deceat, etiamsi id possis nullo refellente optinere?
which not befits even-if that you-could with-no-one refuting to-obtain
78 Videsne hoc proverbio neque Gygi illi posse veniam
do-you-see by-this proverb neither to-Gyges that to-be-able pardon
dari neque huic, quem paulo ante fingebam digitorum
to-be-given nor to-this-man whom a-little before I-was-imagining of-fingers
percussione hereditates omnium posse converrere? Ut enim,
by-a-snap the-inheritances of-all to-be-able to-sweep-up as for
quod turpe est, id, quamvis occultetur, tamen honestum
what base is that however-much it-be-hidden nevertheless honorable
fieri nullo modo potest, sic, quod honestum non est,
to-be-made in-no way can so what honorable not is

id utile ut sit, effici non potest adversante et
that useful that it-be to-be-brought-about not can with-opposing and
repugnante natura.
resisting nature

XX · MARIUS AND GRATIDIANUS

Marius won the consulship by accusing Metellus of protracting the war; Gratidianus published as his own the edict on the coinage that the praetors and tribunes had drawn up together, and was rewarded with statues in every street. In each the wrong seemed small and the gain very great. But no advantage is worth the loss of the name of a good man.

At enim, cum permagna praemia sunt, est causa peccandi. 79
but indeed when very-great rewards there-are there-is a-ground of-erring
C. Marius cum a spe consulatus longe abesset et
Gaius Marius when from the-hope of-the-consulship far he-was-away and
iam septimum annum post praeturam iaceret, neque petiturus
now a-seventh year after the-praetorship he-lay and-not about-to-seek
umquam consulatum videretur, Q. Metellum, cuius legatus
ever the-consulship he-seemed Quintus Metellus of-whom the-legate
erat, summum virum et civem, cum ab eo, imperatore suo,
he-was a-highest man and citizen when by him his-commander his-own
Romam missus esset, apud populum Romanum criminatus
to-Rome sent he-had-been before the-people Roman accused
est bellum illum ducere; si se consulem fecissent, brevi
has the-war that-he to-protract if himself consul they-had-made in-a-short
tempore aut vivum aut mortuum Iugurtham se in
time either alive or dead Jugurtha himself into
potestatem populi Romani redacturum. Itaque factus est
the-power of-the-people Roman about-to-bring and-so made was

ille quidem consul, sed a fide iustitiaque discessit, qui
he indeed consul but from good-faith and-justice he-departed who
optimum et gravissimum civem, cuius legatus et a quo
the-best and weightiest citizen of-whom the-legate and by whom
missus esset, in invidiam falso crimine adduxerit.
sent he-had-been into odium by-a-false charge brought
80 Ne noster quidem Gratidianus officio viri boni functus
not our even Gratidianus the-duty of-a-man good performed
est tum, cum praetor esset collegiumque praetorium
has then when praetor he-was and-the-college praetorian
tribuni plebi adhibuissent, ut res nummaria de
the-tribunes of-the-plebs had-called-in that the-matter monetary by
communi sententia constitueretur; iactabatur enim temporibus
common resolution should-be-settled was-tossed for in-times
illis nummus sic, ut nemo posset scire, quid haberet.
those the-coin so that no-one could to-know what he-had
Conscripserunt communiter edictum cum poena atque iudicio
they-drew-up in-common an-edict with a-penalty and a-trial
constitueruntque, ut omnes simul in rostra post meridiem
and-they-determined that all together onto the-rostra after midday
escenderent. Et ceteri quidem alius alio, Marius
should-mount and the-rest indeed one to-another-place Marius
ab subselliis in rostra recta idque, quod communiter
from the-benches onto the-rostra straight and-that which in-common
compositum fuerat, solus edixit. Et ea res, si quaeris,
drawn-up had-been alone he-proclaimed and that thing if you-ask
ei magno honori fuit; omnibus vicis statuae, ad eas tus,
to-him for-great honor was in-all streets statues at them incense
cerei; quid multa? nemo umquam multitudini fuit carior.
candles what many-words no-one ever to-the-multitude was dearer

Haec sunt, quae conturbent in deliberatione non numquam, 81
these are which confound in deliberation not never
cum id, in quo violatur aequitas, non ita magnum, illud
when that in which is-violated fairness not so great that
autem, quod ex eo paritur, permagnum videtur, ut Mario
moreover which from it is-gained very-great seems as to-Marius
praeripere collegis et tribunis plebi popularem gratiam
to-snatch-away from-colleagues and from-tribunes of-the-plebs popular favor
non ita turpe, consulem ob eam rem fieri, quod
not so base a-consul on-account-of that thing to-be-made which
sibi tum proposuerat, valde utile videbatur. Sed omnium
for-himself then he-had-set-before very useful seemed but of-all
una regula est, quam tibi cupio esse notissimam, aut illud,
one rule there-is which for-you I-desire to-be best-known either that
quod utile videtur, turpe ne sit aut, si turpe est, ne videatur
which useful seems base not let-it-be or if base it-is not let-it-seem
esse utile. Quid igitur? possumusne aut illum Marium virum
to-be useful what therefore can-we either that Marius a-man
bonum iudicare aut hunc? Explica atque excute intellegentiam
good to-judge or this-man unfold and shake-out the-understanding
tuam, ut videas, quae sit in ea species forma et notio viri
your that you-may-see what is in it the-look the-form and notion of-a-man
boni. Cadit ergo in virum bonum mentiri emolumenti sui
good falls therefore upon a-man good to-lie of-profit his-own
causa, criminari, praeripere, fallere? Nihil profecto minus.
for-the-sake to-accuse to-snatch-away to-deceive nothing assuredly less
Est ergo ulla res tanti aut commodum ullum tam 82
is therefore any thing of-so-great-worth or advantage any so
expetendum, ut viri boni et splendorem et nomen
to-be-sought that of-a-man good both the-splendor and the-name
amittas? Quid est, quod afferre tantum utilitas ista, quae
you-should-lose what is which to-bring so-much usefulness that which

dicitur, possit, quantum auferre, si boni viri nomen
is-so-called could as-much to-take-away if of-a-good man the-name
eripuerit, fidem iustitiamque detraxerit? Quid
it-shall-have-snatched good-faith and-justice it-shall-have-taken-away what
enim interest, utrum ex homine se convertat quis in
for does-it-matter whether from a-man himself should-turn anyone into
beluam an hominis figura immanitatem gerat beluae?
a-beast or of-a-man in-the-shape the-savagery he-should-bear of-a-beast

XXI · REIGNING AS PARRICIDE

Some neglect everything right in order to gain power, like the man who wanted a father-in-law whose daring would make him strong. Eteocles in Euripides says that if right must be violated, it must be violated for a throne. Cicero asks how parricide of one's country can profit anyone, even a man the crushed citizens call father, when such a reign is all fear and his killer wins glory.

Quid? qui omnia recta et honesta neglegunt, dum
what those-who all right and honorable-things neglect provided
modo potentiam consequantur, nonne idem faciunt, quod is,
only power they-may-obtain do-they-not the-same do which he
qui etiam socerum habere voluit eum, cuius ipse audacia
who even a-father-in-law to-have wished him whose himself by-daring
potens esset? Utile ei videbatur plurimum posse alterius
powerful he-might-be useful to-him it-seemed most to-be-able of-another
invidia; id quam iniustum in patriam et quam turpe
by-the-unpopularity that how unjust toward the-fatherland and how base
esset, non videbat. Ipse autem socer in ore semper
it-was not he-saw he-himself moreover the-father-in-law in the-mouth always

Graecos versus de Phoenissis habebat, quos dicam, ut potero,
Greek verses from the-Phoenissae had which I-shall-say as I-shall-be-able
incondite fortasse, sed tamen, ut res possit intellegi:
roughly perhaps but nevertheless that the-sense may to-be-understood

Nam si violandum est ius, regnandi gratia
for if to-be-violated is right of-reigning for-the-sake
violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas.
to-be-violated it-is in-other things dutifulness you-should-cultivate

Capitalis Eteocles vel potius Euripides, qui id unum, quod
deserving-death Eteocles or rather Euripides who that one-thing which
omnium sceleratissimum fuerit, exceperit!
of-all most-criminal was excepted
Quid igitur minuta colligimus, hereditates, mercaturas, 83
why therefore trifles do-we-gather inheritances tradings
venditiones fraudulentas? ecce tibi, qui rex populi
sales fraudulent behold for-you one-who king of-the-people
Romani dominusque omnium gentium esse concupiverit idque
Roman and-master of-all nations to-be has-desired and-it
perfecerit! Hanc cupiditatem si honestam quis esse dicit,
has-accomplished this desire if honorable anyone to-be says
amens est; probat enim legum et libertatis interitum
mad he-is he-approves for of-the-laws and of-liberty the-destruction
earumque oppressionem taetram et detestabilem gloriosam
and-of-them the-crushing hideous and detestable glorious
putat. Qui autem fatetur honestum non esse in ea civitate,
he-thinks who moreover admits honorable not to-be in that state
quae libera fuerit quaeque esse debeat, regnare, sed ei,
which free has-been and-which to-be ought to-reign but for-him
qui id facere possit, esse utile, qua hunc obiurgatione
who that to-do can to-be useful with-what this-man rebuke

aut quo potius convicio a tanto errore coner avellere?
or with-what rather reproach from so-great an-error should-I-try to-tear-away
Potest enim, di immortales! cuiquam esse utile foedissimum
can for O-gods immortal for-anyone to-be useful the-foulest
et taeterrimum parricidium patriae, quamvis is, qui
and most-hideous parricide of-the-fatherland however-much he who
se eo obstrinxerit, ab oppressis civibus parens nominetur?
himself by-it has-bound by the-crushed citizens a-parent be-named
Honestate igitur dirigenda utilitas est, et quidem sic, ut haec
by-honorableness therefore to-be-guided usefulness is and indeed so that these
duo verbo inter se discrepare, re unum sonare videantur.
two in-word among themselves to-disagree in-fact one to-sound may-seem
84 Non habeo, ad volgi opinionem quae maior utilitas quam
not I-have to the-crowd's opinion what greater usefulness than
regnandi esse possit; nihil contra inutilius ei, qui id
of-reigning to-be could nothing on-the-contrary more-useless for-him who that
iniuste consecutus sit, invenio, cum ad veritatem coepi
unjustly obtained has I-find when to the-truth I-have-begun
revocare rationem. Possunt enim cuiquam esse utiles angores,
to-recall the-reasoning can for for-anyone to-be useful anguishes
sollicitudines, diurni et nocturni metus, vita insidiarum
anxieties daily and nightly fears a-life of-plots
periculorumque plenissima?
and-of-dangers most-full

Multi iniqui atque infideles regno, pauci benivoli,
many unfriendly and faithless to-a-kingdom few well-disposed

inquit Accius. At cui regno? Quod a Tantalo et Pelope
says Accius but to-what a-kingdom which from Tantalus and Pelops
proditum iure optinebatur. Nam quanto pluris ei regi
handed-down by-right was-held for by-how-much more for-that king

putas, qui exercitu populi Romani populum ipsum
do-you-think who with-the-army of-the-people Roman the-people itself
Romanum oppressisset civitatemque non modo liberam, sed
Roman had-crushed and-the-state not only free but
etiam gentibus imperantem servire sibi coëgisset?
even to-nations commanding to-serve to-himself had-compelled
Hunc tu quas conscientiae labes in animo censes habuisse, 85
this-man you what of-conscience stains in the-mind do-you-think to-have-had
quae vulnera? Cuius autem vita ipsi potest utilis esse,
what wounds of-whom moreover the-life to-himself can useful to-be
cum eius vitae ea condicio sit, ut, qui illam eripuerit,
when of-that life this the-condition is that who it shall-have-taken-away
in maxima et gratia futurus sit et gloria? Quodsi haec
in the-greatest both favor about-to-be is and glory but-if these
utilia non sunt, quae maxime videntur, quia plena sunt
useful not are which most seem because full they-are
dedecoris ac turpitudinis, satis persuasum esse debet nihil
of-dishonor and of-baseness enough persuaded to-be it-ought nothing
esse utile, quod non honestum sit.
to-be useful which not honorable is

In the war with Pyrrhus a deserter came to Fabricius and promised to poison the king. Fabricius had him sent back, and the senate praised the act: one deserter would have ended a great war, but to win by crime rather than by valor would have been a disgrace. Cicero condemns Philippus' motion to make Sulla's freed cities tributary again, and Curio's cry that usefulness must win.

86 Quamquam id quidem cum saepe alias, tum Pyrrhi
although that indeed both often at-other-times and of-Pyrrhus
bello a C. Fabricio consule iterum et a senatu nostro
in-the-war by Gaius Fabricius the-consul a-second-time and by the-senate our
iudicatum est. Cum enim rex Pyrrhus populo Romano
judged has-been when for king Pyrrhus on-the-people Roman
bellum ultro intulisset, cumque de imperio certamen esset
war unprovoked had-brought and-when about empire a-struggle there-was
cum rege generoso ac potenti, perfuga ab eo venit in castra
with a-king noble and powerful a-deserter from him came into the-camp
Fabrici eique est pollicitus, si praemium sibi proposuisset,
of-Fabricius and-to-him has promised if a-reward for-himself he-should-set-before
se, ut clam venisset, sic clam in Pyrrhi castra rediturum et
himself as secretly he-had-come so secretly into of-Pyrrhus the-camp about-to-return and
eum veneno necaturum. Hunc Fabricius reducendum curavit
him with-poison about-to-kill this-man Fabricius to-be-led-back saw-to
ad Pyrrhum, idque eius factum laudatum a senatu est.
to Pyrrhus and-that of-him deed praised by the-senate has-been
Atqui, si speciem utilitatis opinionemque quaerimus, magnum
and-yet if the-appearance of-usefulness and-the-repute we-seek a-great
illud bellum perfuga unus et gravem adversarium imperii
that war a-deserter one and a-grave adversary of-the-empire

sustulisset, sed magnum dedecus et flagitium, quicum laudis
would-have-removed but a-great disgrace and shame with-whom of-glory
certamen fuisset, eum non virtute, sed scelere superatum.
a-contest there-had-been him not by-valor but by-crime to-have-been-overcome
Utrum igitur utilius vel Fabricio, qui talis in hac urbe, 87
which therefore more-useful either for-Fabricius who such in this city
qualis Aristides Athenis, fuit, vel senatui nostro, qui
of-what-sort Aristides at-Athens was or for-the-senate our which
numquam utilitatem a dignitate seiunxit, armis cum
never usefulness from dignity has-severed with-arms with
hoste certare an venenis? Si gloriae causa imperium
the-enemy to-contend or with-poisons if of-glory for-the-sake empire
expetendum est, scelus absit, in quo non potest esse
to-be-sought is crime let-be-away in which not can to-be
gloria; sin ipsae opes expetuntur quoquo modo, non
glory but-if the-very resources are-sought in-whatever way not
poterunt utiles esse cum infamia.
they-will-be-able useful to-be with infamy
Non igitur utilis illa L. Philippi Q. f. sententia,
not therefore useful that of-Lucius Philippus of-Quintus son the-motion
quas civitates L. Sulla pecunia accepta ex senatus
whatever states Lucius Sulla money having-been-taken by of-the-senate
consulto liberavisset, ut eae rursus vectigales essent neque
a-decree had-freed that they again tributary should-be and-not
iis pecuniam, quam pro libertate dederant, redderemus. Ei
to-them the-money which for freedom they-had-given we-should-repay to-him
senatus est assensus. Turpe imperio! piratarum enim melior
the-senate has assented shameful for-the-empire of-pirates for better
fides quam senatus. At aucta vectigalia, utile igitur.
the-good-faith than of-the-senate but increased the-revenues useful therefore
Quousque audebunt dicere quicquam utile, quod non honestum?
how-far will-they-dare to-say anything useful which not honorable

88 potest autem ulli imperio, quod gloria debet fultum esse
can moreover to-any empire which by-glory ought propped to-be
et benivolentia sociorum, utile esse odium et infamia?
and by-the-goodwill of-allies useful to-be hatred and infamy
Ego etiam cum Catone meo saepe dissensi; nimis mihi
I even with Cato my often have-disagreed too-much to-me
praefracte videbatur aerarium vectigaliaque defendere, omnia
stiffly he-seemed the-treasury and-the-revenues to-defend all-things
publicanis negare, multa sociis, cum in hos benefici
to-the-tax-farmers to-refuse many-things to-the-allies although toward these beneficent
esse deberemus, cum illis sic agere, ut cum colonis nostris
to-be we-ought with those so to-deal as with tenants our
soleremus, eoque magis, quod illa ordinum coniunctio
we-were-wont and-by-that the-more because that of-the-orders the-union
ad salutem rei publicae pertinebat. Male etiam Curio,
to the-safety of-the-thing public pertained badly also Curio
cum causam Transpadanorum aequam esse dicebat, semper
when the-case of-the-Transpadanes fair to-be he-said always
autem addebat: Vincat utilitas! Potius doceret non
moreover he-added let-conquer usefulness rather he-should-have-shown not
esse aequam, quia non esset utilis rei publicae, quam,
to-be fair because not it-was useful to-the-thing public than
cum utilem non esse diceret, esse aequam fateretur.
when useful not to-be he-said to-be fair he-should-have-admitted

Hecato's sixth book on duty is full of such questions: whether a good man may let his household starve in a famine, whether he should jettison a costly horse or a cheap slave, whether a son should inform on a father who robs temples. Hecato answers that he should not, but that a son whose father plots tyranny must entreat him first and accuse him if that fails. The chapter closes with Diogenes and Antipater disputing what a seller must declare.

Plenus est sextus liber de officiis Hecatonis talium 89
full is the-sixth book about duties of-Hecato of-such
quaestionum: sitne boni viri in maxima caritate annonae
questions whether-it-is of-a-good man in the-greatest dearness of-corn
familiam non alere.
the-household not to-feed
In utramque partem disputat, sed tamen ad extremum
in either direction he-argues but nevertheless at the-last
utilitate, ut putat, officium dirigit magis quam humanitate.
by-usefulness as he-thinks duty he-guides more than by-humanity
Quaerit, si in mari iactura facienda sit, equine pretiosi
he-asks if on the-sea a-jettison to-be-made is whether-of-a-horse costly
potius iacturam faciat an servoli vilis. Hic alio
rather the-jettison he-should-make or of-a-slave cheap here in-one-direction
res familiaris, alio ducit humanitas.
property family in-another draws humanity
Si tabulam de naufragio stultus arripuerit, extorquebitne
if a-plank from a-shipwreck a-fool shall-have-seized will-be-wrench-away
eam sapiens, si potuerit?
it a-wise-man if he-shall-have-been-able
Negat, quia sit iniurium.
he-denies-it because it-is unjust
Quid? dominus navis eripietne suum?
what the-owner of-the-ship will-he-snatch his-own

Minime, non plus quam navigantem in alto eicere de navi
by-no-means not more than one-sailing on the-deep to-throw from the-ship
velit, quia sua sit. Quoad enim perventum est eo,
he-would-wish because his-own it-is until for arrived it-has-been thither
quo sumpta navis est, non domini est navis, sed navigantium.
whither taken the-ship was not of-the-owner is the-ship but of-those-sailing
90 Quid? si una tabula sit, duo naufragi, eique sapientes,
what if one plank there-is two shipwrecked and-they wise
sibine uterque rapiat, an alter cedat alteri?
whether-for-himself each should-snatch or the-one should-yield to-the-other
Cedat vero, sed ei, cuius magis intersit vel sua vel
let-him-yield indeed but to-him of-whom more it-concerns either his-own or
rei publicae causa vivere.
of-the-thing public for-the-sake to-live
Quid, si haec paria in utroque?
what if these equal in each
Nullum erit certamen, sed quasi sorte aut micando
no there-will-be contest but as-if by-lot or by-playing-mora
victus alteri cedet alter.
beaten to-the-other will-yield the-one
Quid? si pater fana expilet, cuniculos agat ad aerarium,
what if a-father shrines should-plunder tunnels should-drive to the-treasury
indicetne id magistratibus filius?
should-he-report it to-the-magistrates the-son
Nefas id quidem est, quin etiam defendat patrem, si
a-sin that indeed is nay even let-him-defend the-father if
arguatur.
he-be-accused
Non igitur patria praestat omnibus officiis?
not therefore the-fatherland stands-before all duties

Immo vero, sed ipsi patriae conducit pios habere
nay indeed but for-the-very fatherland it-is-of-advantage dutiful to-have
cives in parentes.
citizens toward parents
Quid? si tyrannidem occupare, si patriam prodere conabitur
what if a-tyranny to-seize if the-fatherland to-betray shall-try
pater, silebitne filius?
the-father will-he-be-silent the-son
Immo vero obsecrabit patrem, ne id faciat. Si nihil
nay indeed he-will-entreat the-father that-not that he-do if nothing
proficiet, accusabit, minabitur etiam, ad extremum, si ad
he-shall-avail he-will-accuse he-will-threaten even at the-last if to
perniciem patriae res spectabit, patriae salutem
the-ruin of-the-fatherland the-matter shall-look of-the-fatherland the-safety
anteponet saluti patris.
he-will-set-before to-the-safety of-the-father
Quaerit etiam, si sapiens adulterinos nummos acceperit 91
he-asks also if a-wise-man counterfeit coins shall-have-taken
imprudens pro bonis, cum id rescierit, soluturusne
unknowingly for good when that he-shall-have-found-out whether-about-to-pay
sit eos, si cui debeat, pro bonis. Diogenes ait, Antipater
he-is them if to-anyone he-owes for good Diogenes says Antipater
negat, cui potius assentior.
denies with-whom rather I-agree
Qui vinum fugiens vendat sciens, debeatne dicere.
who wine turning should-sell knowingly whether-he-ought to-say
Non necesse putat Diogenes, Antipater viri boni
not necessary thinks Diogenes Antipater of-a-man good
existimat. Haec sunt quasi controversa iura Stoicorum.
judges these are as-it-were disputed rulings of-the-Stoics
In mancipio vendendo dicendane vitia, non ea, quae
in a-slave to-be-sold whether-to-be-stated the-faults not those which

nisi dixeris, redhibeatur mancipium iure civili, sed
unless you-shall-have-stated may-be-returned the-slave by-law civil but
haec, mendacem esse, aleatorem, furacem, ebriosum? Alteri
these a-liar to-be a-gambler a-thief a-drunkard to-the-one
dicenda videntur, alteri non videntur.
to-be-stated they-seem to-the-other not they-seem
92 Si quis aurum vendens orichalcum se putet vendere,
if anyone gold selling brass himself thinks to-sell
indicetne ei vir bonus aurum illud esse an emat
should-he-tell to-him a-man good gold that to-be or should-he-buy
denario, quod sit mille denarium?
for-a-denarius what is of-a-thousand denarii
Perspicuum est iam, et quid mihi videatur, et quae sit
plain it-is now both what to-me seems and what is
inter eos philosophos, quos nominavi, controversia.
between those philosophers whom I-have-named the-dispute

XXIV · PROMISES MADE WITHOUT FORCE OR FRAUD

Are compacts and promises always to be kept? A man gives a medicine for dropsy on the condition that it never be used again; when the patient falls ill of the same disease and cannot get leave, his life must be looked to. A wise man promised to dance in the forum for a great legacy: he should not have promised, and having promised, he lies more honorably by taking nothing.

Pacta et promissa semperne servanda sint, QUAE NEC
compacts and promises whether-always to-be-kept are WHICH NEITHER
VI NEC DOLO MALO, ut praetores solent, FACTA
BY-FORCE NOR BY-GUILE EVIL as the-praetors are-wont MADE
SINT.
HAVE-BEEN

Si quis medicamentum cuipiam dederit ad aquam
if anyone a-medicine to-someone shall-have-given for water
intercutem pepigeritque, si eo medicamento sanus factus
under-the-skin and-shall-have-bargained if by-that medicine sound made
esset, ne illo medicamento umquam postea uteretur, si
he-were that-not that medicine ever afterward he-should-use if
eo medicamento sanus factus sit et annis aliquot
by-that medicine sound made he-has-been and years some
post inciderit in eundem morbum nec ab eo, quicum
after he-has-fallen into the-same disease and-not from him with-whom
pepigerat, impetret, ut iterum eo liceat uti, quid
he-had-bargained he-obtains that a-second-time it may-be-allowed to-use what
faciendum sit. Cum sit is inhumanus, qui non concedat, nec
to-be-done is since is he inhuman who not consents and-not
ei quicquam fiat iniuriae, vitae et saluti consulendum.
to-him anything is-done of-wrong for-life and for-safety it-is-to-be-provided
Quid? si qui sapiens rogatus sit ab eo, qui eum 93
what if any wise-man asked has-been by him who him
heredem faciat, cum ei testamento sestertium milies
heir may-make when to-him by-will sesterces a-thousand-times
relinquatur, ut, ante quam hereditatem adeat, luce palam
are-left that before than the-inheritance he-enters in-daylight openly
in foro saltet, idque se facturum promiserit, quod
in the-forum he-dance and-that himself about-to-do he-shall-have-promised because
aliter heredem eum scripturus ille non esset, faciat, quod
otherwise heir him about-to-write he not would-be should-he-do what
promiserit, necne? Promisisse nollem et id arbitror
he-has-promised or-not to-have-promised I-should-not-have-wished and that I-judge
fuisse gravitatis; quoniam promisit, si saltare in foro
to-have-been of-dignity since he-has-promised if to-dance in the-forum
turpe ducet, honestius mentietur, si ex hereditate nihil
base he-shall-reckon more-honorably he-will-lie if from the-inheritance nothing

ceperit, quam si ceperit, nisi forte eam pecuniam
he-shall-have-taken than if he-shall-have-taken unless perhaps that money
in rei publicae magnum aliquod tempus contulerit, ut
into of-the-thing public a-great some crisis he-shall-have-put so-that
vel saltare, cum patriae consulturus sit, turpe non sit.
even to-dance when for-the-fatherland about-to-provide he-is base not it-is

XXV · PROMISES THAT HARM THE PROMISEE

Promises need not be kept when they do not serve the man they were made to. The Sun destroyed Phaethon by granting his wish, Neptune granted Theseus the death of his own son, and Agamemnon kept a vow by sacrificing Iphigenia. A sword left in trust is not returned to a madman, nor money to a man making war on his country: circumstances make honorable things dishonorable.

94 Ac ne illa quidem promissa servanda sunt, quae non sunt
and not those even promises to-be-kept are which not are
iis ipsis utilia, quibus illa promiseris. Sol Phaëthonti
to-those very useful to-whom those you-shall-have-promised the-Sun to-Phaethon
filio, ut redeamus ad fabulas, facturum se esse dixit,
the-son that we-may-return to the-tales about-to-do himself to-be said
quicquid optasset; optavit, ut in currum patris tolleretur;
whatever he-had-wished he-wished that into the-chariot of-the-father he-be-lifted
sublatus est. Atque is, ante quam constitit, ictu
lifted he-was and he before than he-halted by-the-stroke
fulminis deflagravit. Quanto melius fuerat in hoc
of-a-thunderbolt was-burnt-up by-how-much better it-would-have-been in this
promissum patris non esse servatum! Quid, quod
the-promise of-the-father not to-have-been kept what that
Theseus exegit promissum a Neptuno? cui cum tres
Theseus exacted a-promise from Neptune to-whom when three

optationes Neptunus dedisset, optavit interitum Hippolyti
wishes Neptune had-given he-wished the-destruction of-Hippolytus
filii, cum is patri suspectus esset de noverca; quo
the-son when he to-the-father suspected was about the-stepmother which
optato impetrato Theseus in maximis fuit luctibus.
wish having-been-granted Theseus in the-greatest was griefs
Quid, quod Agamemnon cum devovisset Dianae, quod in 95
what that Agamemnon when he-had-vowed to-Diana what in
suo regno pulcherrimum natum esset illo anno, immolavit
his-own kingdom most-beautiful born was in-that year sacrificed
Iphigeniam, qua nihil erat eo quidem anno natum
Iphigenia than-whom nothing was in-that indeed year born
pulchrius? Promissum potius non faciendum quam tam
more-beautiful the-promise rather not to-be-performed than so
taetrum facinus admittendum fuit.
hideous a-deed to-be-committed it-was
Ergo et promissa non facienda non numquam, neque
therefore both promises not to-be-performed not never and-not
semper deposita reddenda. Si gladium quis apud te
always deposits to-be-returned if a-sword anyone with you
sana mente deposuerit, repetat insaniens, reddere
of-sound mind shall-have-deposited should-demand-it-back being-mad to-return
peccatum sit, officium non reddere. Quid? si is, qui
a-fault would-be a-duty not to-return what if he who
apud te pecuniam deposuerit, bellum inferat patriae,
with you money shall-have-deposited war should-bring on-the-fatherland
reddasne depositum? Non credo; facias enim contra
would-you-return the-deposit not I-believe you-would-do for against
rem publicam, quae debet esse carissima. Sic multa,
the-thing public which ought to-be dearest so many-things
quae honesta natura videntur esse, temporibus fiunt non
which honorable by-nature seem to-be by-circumstances become not

honesta; facere promissa, stare conventis, reddere deposita
honorable to-perform promises to-stand by-agreements to-return deposits
commutata utilitate fiunt non honesta.
with-changed usefulness become not honorable
Ac de iis quidem, quae videntur esse utilitates contra
and about those indeed which seem to-be advantages against
iustitiam simulatione prudentiae, satis arbitror dictum.
justice by-the-pretense of-prudence enough I-judge said
96 Sed quoniam a quattuor fontibus honestatis primo libro
but since from four springs of-honorableness in-the-first book
officia duximus, in eisdem versemur, cum docebimus ea,
duties we-drew in the-same let-us-move-about when we-shall-show those-things
quae videantur esse utilia neque sint, quam sint virtutis
which may-seem to-be useful and-not are how they-are of-virtue
inimica. Ac de prudentia quidem, quam vult imitari
hostile and about prudence indeed which (it)-wishes to-imitate
malitia, itemque de iustitia, quae semper est utilis, disputatum
malice and-likewise about justice which always is useful argued
est. Reliquae sunt duae partes honestatis, quarum altera in
it-has-been the-remaining are two parts of-honorableness of-which the-one in
animi excellentis magnitudine et praestantia cernitur, altera
of-a-spirit excellent the-greatness and superiority is-seen the-other
in conformatione et moderatione continentiae et temperantiae.
in the-shaping and moderation of-self-restraint and of-temperance

The tragedians say Ulysses feigned madness to escape the campaign; Homer knows nothing of it. To reign quietly in Ithaca might have looked useful, but Cicero holds that nothing dishonorable can be useful, and quotes Ajax charging Ulysses with breaking the oath he had himself proposed. Cicero then leaves the poets for a Roman case, and begins the story of Regulus.

Utile videbatur Ulixi, ut quidem poëtae tragici prodiderunt 97
useful it-seemed to-Ulysses as indeed the-poets tragic have-handed-down
(nam apud Homerum, optimum auctorem, talis de Ulixe
for in Homer the-best authority such about Ulysses
nulla suspicio est), sed insimulant eum tragoediae simulatione
no suspicion is but they-charge him the-tragedies by-the-pretense
insaniae militiam subterfugere voluisse. Non honestum
of-madness military-service to-shirk to-have-wished not an-honorable
consilium, at utile, ut aliquis fortasse dixerit, regnare et
plan but useful as someone perhaps would-say to-reign and
Ithacae vivere otiose cum parentibus, cum uxore, cum filio.
at-Ithaca to-live at-ease with parents with a-wife with a-son
Ullum tu decus in cotidianis laboribus et periculis cum
any you glory in daily toils and dangers with
hac tranquillitate conferendum putas?
this tranquility to-be-compared do-you-think
Ego vero istam contemnendam et abiciendam, quoniam,
I indeed that to-be-despised and to-be-cast-away since
quae honesta non sit, ne utilem quidem esse arbitror.
what honorable not is not useful even to-be I-judge

98 Quid enim auditurum putas fuisse Ulixem, si in illa
what for about-to-hear do-you-think to-have-been Ulysses if in that
simulatione perseveravisset? qui cum maximas res gesserit
pretense he-had-persisted who although the-greatest deeds he-performed
in bello, tamen haec audiat ab Aiace:
in war nevertheless these he-hears from Ajax

Cuius ipse princeps iuris iurandi fuit,
of-which he-himself the-first of-the-oath sworn was
quod omnes scitis, solus neglexit fidem;
which all you-know alone he-neglected the-faith
furere assimulare, ne coiret, institit.
to-rage to-feign that-not he-should-join he-set-about
Quodni Palamedi perspicax prudentia
and-if-not of-Palamedes the-far-seeing prudence
istius percepset malitiosam audaciam,
of-that-man had-perceived the-malicious daring
fide sacratae ius perpetuo falleret.
of-faith consecrated the-right for-ever he-would-cheat

99 Illi vero non modo cum hostibus, verum etiam cum
for-him indeed not only with enemies but even with
fluctibus, id quod fecit, dimicare melius fuit quam deserere
the-waves that which he-did to-fight better it-was than to-desert
consentientem Graeciam ad bellum barbaris inferendum.
the-agreeing Greece to war on-the-barbarians to-be-brought
Sed omittamus et fabulas et externa; ad rem factam
but let-us-leave both the-tales and foreign-things to a-deed done
nostramque veniamus. M. Atilius Regulus cum consul
and-our let-us-come Marcus Atilius Regulus when consul
iterum in Africa ex insidiis captus esset duce
a-second-time in Africa from an-ambush taken he-had-been with-as-leader

Xanthippo Lacedaemonio, imperatore autem patre
Xanthippus the-Lacedaemonian with-as-commander moreover the-father
Hannibalis Hamilcare, iuratus missus est ad senatum, ut,
of-Hannibal Hamilcar on-oath sent he-was to the-senate that
nisi redditi essent Poenis captivi nobiles quidam,
unless given-back had-been to-the-Carthaginians prisoners noble certain
rediret ipse Carthaginem. Is cum Romam venisset,
he-should-return himself to-Carthage he when to-Rome had-come
utilitatis speciem videbat, sed eam, ut res declarat,
of-usefulness the-appearance he-saw but it as the-event shows
falsam iudicavit; quae erat talis: manere in patria, esse
false he-judged which was such to-remain in the-fatherland to-be
domui suae cum uxore, cum liberis, quam calamitatem
at-home his-own with a-wife with children what disaster
accepisset in bello, communem fortunae bellicae iudicantem
he-had-received in war a-common of-fortune of-war judging
tenere consularis dignitatis gradum. Quis haec negat esse
to-hold of-consular of-dignity the-degree who these denies to-be
utilia? quem censes? Magnitudo animi et fortitudo negat.
useful whom do-you-suppose the-greatness of-spirit and courage denies-it

Regulus came into the senate, set out his instructions, and refused to give an opinion while the oath he had sworn to the enemy still bound him. He argued against returning the prisoners, since they were young leaders and he was worn out with age; his authority prevailed, and he went back to Carthage, held by neither love of country nor of his own. Cicero says he was better off being killed by sleeplessness than remaining at home a perjured ex-consul.

100 Num locupletiores quaeris auctores? Harum enim est
surely-not weightier do-you-seek authorities of-these for is
virtutum proprium nihil extimescere, omnia humana despicere,
virtues the-property nothing to-dread all human-things to-despise
nihil, quod homini accidere possit, intolerandum putare. Itaque
nothing which to-a-man to-happen can unbearable to-think and-so
quid fecit? In senatum venit, mandata exposuit, sententiam
what did-he-do into the-senate he-came the-instructions he-set-forth a-vote
ne diceret recusavit, quam diu iure iurando hostium
that-not he-should-give he-refused as long by-an-oath sworn of-the-enemies
teneretur, non esse se senatorem. Atque illud etiam
he-was-held not to-be himself a-senator and that even
(O stultum hominem, dixerit quispiam, et repugnantem
O foolish man would-say someone and resisting
utilitati suae!), reddi captivos negavit esse utile; illos
to-the-advantage his-own to-be-given-back the-prisoners he-denied to-be useful those
enim adulescentes esse et bonos duces, se iam confectum
for young-men to-be and good leaders himself now worn-out
senectute. Cuius cum valuisset auctoritas, captivi retenti
by-old-age of-whom when had-prevailed the-authority the-prisoners retained
sunt, ipse Carthaginem rediit, neque eum caritas patriae
were he-himself to-Carthage returned and-not him the-love of-the-fatherland
retinuit nec suorum. Neque vero tum ignorabat se ad
held-back nor of-his-own and-not indeed then was-he-ignorant himself to

crudelissimum hostem et ad exquisita supplicia proficisci,
a-most-cruel enemy and to refined tortures to-be-setting-out
sed ius iurandum conservandum putabat. Itaque tum, cum
but the-oath sworn to-be-kept he-thought and-so then when
vigilando necabatur, erat in meliore causa, quam si
by-being-kept-awake he-was-being-killed he-was in a-better case than if
domi senex captivus, periurus consularis remansisset.
at-home an-old-man a-captive a-perjured ex-consul he-had-remained
At stulte, qui non modo non censuerit captivos remittendos, 101
but foolishly who not only not voted the-prisoners to-be-sent-back
verum etiam dissuaserit.
but even argued-against-it
Quo modo stulte? etiamne, si rei publicae conducebat?
in-what way foolishly even if to-the-thing public it-was-of-advantage
potest autem, quod inutile rei publicae sit, id cuiquam
can moreover what useless to-the-thing public is that for-any
civi utile esse?
citizen useful to-be

XXVIII · OBJECTIONS ON REGULUS' BEHALF

Cicero says men overturn the foundations of nature when they sever usefulness from honorableness, since we all seek what is useful and can find it only in praise and honor. He then sets out the objections raised against Regulus: that an oath is nothing if no one fears an angry Jupiter, that the disgrace was the lesser evil beside the torture, that a promise extorted by force is void, and that whatever is very useful becomes honorable. He proposes to take each in turn.

Pervertunt homines ea, quae sunt fundamenta naturae,
they-overturn men those-things which are the-foundations of-nature
cum utilitatem ab honestate seiungunt. Omnes enim
when usefulness from honorableness they-sever all for

expetimus utilitatem ad eamque rapimur nec facere aliter
we-seek usefulness to and-it we-are-hurried and-not to-do otherwise
ullo modo possumus. Nam quis est, qui utilia fugiat? aut
in-any way we-can for who is who useful-things flees or
quis potius, qui ea non studiosissime persequatur? Sed quia
who rather who them not most-eagerly pursues but because
nusquam possumus nisi in laude, decore, honestate utilia
nowhere we-can except in praise comeliness honorableness useful-things
reperire, propterea illa prima et summa habemus, utilitatis
to-find for-this-reason those first and highest we-hold of-usefulness
nomen non tam splendidum quam necessarium ducimus.
the-name not so splendid as necessary we-reckon
102 Quid est igitur, dixerit quis, in iure iurando? num iratum
what is therefore would-say someone in an-oath sworn surely-not angry
timemus Iovem? At hoc quidem commune est omnium
do-we-fear Jupiter but this indeed common is of-all
philosophorum, non eorum modo, qui deum nihil habere
philosophers not of-those only who that-god nothing to-have
ipsum negotii dicunt, nihil exhibere alteri, sed eorum etiam,
himself of-trouble say nothing to-cause to-another but of-those also
qui deum semper agere aliquid et moliri volunt, numquam
who that-god always to-do something and to-contrive wish never
nec irasci deum nec nocere. Quid autem iratus Iuppiter plus
either to-be-angry god or to-harm what moreover angry Jupiter more
nocere potuisset, quam nocuit sibi ipse Regulus? Nulla
to-harm could-have than harmed to-himself he-himself Regulus no
igitur vis fuit religionis, quae tantam utilitatem perverteret.
therefore force was of-religion which so-great an-advantage should-overturn

An ne turpiter faceret? Primum minima de malis. Num
or lest basely he-should-act first the-least of evils surely-not
igitur tantum mali turpitudo ista habebat, quantum ille
therefore so-much of-evil the-baseness that had as-much that
cruciatus? Deinde illud etiam apud Accium:
torment then that also in Accius

Fregistin fidem?
have-you-broken faith
Neque dedi neque do infideli cuiquam
neither I-have-given nor I-give to-a-faithless anyone

quamquam ab impio rege dicitur, luculente tamen dicitur.
although by an-impious king it-is-said brilliantly nevertheless it-is-said
Addunt etiam, quem ad modum nos dicamus videri quaedam 103
they-add also which to manner we say to-seem certain-things
utilia, quae non sint, sic se dicere videri quaedam
useful which not are so themselves to-say to-seem certain-things
honesta, quae non sint, ut hoc ipsum videtur honestum,
honorable which not are as this very seems honorable
conservandi iuris iurandi causa ad cruciatum revertisse;
of-to-be-kept the-oath sworn for-the-sake to torture to-have-returned
sed fit non honestum, quia, quod per vim hostium
but it-becomes not honorable because what through force of-the-enemies
esset actum, ratum esse non debuit.
had-been done valid to-be not it-ought
Addunt etiam, quicquid valde utile sit, id fieri honestum,
they-add also whatever very useful is that to-become honorable
etiamsi antea non videretur.
even-if before not it-seemed
Haec fere contra Regulum. Sed prima quaeque videamus.
these generally against Regulus but the-first each let-us-see

Jupiter was not to be feared, since he is not given to anger or to harm; what matters in an oath is not the fear behind it but its binding force. An oath is a religious affirmation, and what you have promised with God as witness must be kept, because it belongs to justice and good faith. Pain is not the greatest evil, and an oath to pirates binds no one, but Regulus dealt with a lawful enemy and could not break the terms of war by perjury.

104 Non fuit Iuppiter metuendus ne iratus noceret, qui neque
not was Jupiter to-be-feared lest angry he-should-harm who neither
irasci solet nec nocere.
to-be-angry is-wont nor to-harm
Haec quidem ratio non magis contra Reguli quam contra
this indeed argument not more against of-Regulus than against
omne ius iurandum valet. Sed in iure iurando non qui
every oath sworn avails but in an-oath sworn not what
metus, sed quae vis sit, debet intellegi; est enim ius
fear but what force there-is ought to-be-understood it-is for an-oath
iurandum affirmatio religiosa; quod autem affirmate quasi
sworn an-affirmation religious what moreover solemnly as-if
deo teste promiseris, id tenendum est. Iam enim non
with-god as-witness you-have-promised that to-be-held is now for not
ad iram deorum, quae nulla est, sed ad iustitiam et ad
to the-anger of-the-gods which none is but to justice and to
fidem pertinet. Nam praeclare Ennius:
good-faith it-pertains for excellently Ennius

O Fides alma apta pinnis et ius iurandum Iovis!
O Faith kindly fitted with-wings and the-oath sworn of-Jupiter

Qui ius igitur iurandum violat, is Fidem violat, quam
who the-oath therefore sworn violates he Faith violates whom
in Capitolio vicinam Iovis optimi maximi, ut in Catonis
on the-Capitol a-neighbor of-Jupiter best greatest as in of-Cato
oratione est, maiores nostri esse voluerunt.
the-speech it-is forefathers our to-be willed
At enim ne iratus quidem Iuppiter plus Regulo nocuisset, 105
but indeed not angry even Jupiter more to-Regulus would-have-harmed
quam sibi nocuit ipse Regulus.
than to-himself harmed he-himself Regulus
Certe, si nihil malum esset nisi dolere. Id autem non
certainly if nothing evil were except to-feel-pain that moreover not
modo non summum malum, sed ne malum quidem esse
only not the-highest evil but not an-evil even to-be
maxima auctoritate philosophi affirmant. Quorum quidem
with-the-greatest authority philosophers affirm of-whom indeed
testem non mediocrem, sed haud scio an gravissimum
as-a-witness not a-middling but not I-know whether the-weightiest
Regulum nolite, quaeso, vituperare. Quem enim locupletiorem
Regulus do-not I-beg to-blame whom for more-substantial
quaerimus quam principem populi Romani, qui retinendi
do-we-seek than a-chief of-the-people Roman who of-to-be-kept
officii causa cruciatum subierit voluntarium?
duty for-the-sake torture underwent voluntary
Nam quod aiunt: minima de malis, id est ut turpiter potius
for what they-say the-least of evils that is that basely rather
quam calamitose, an est ullum maius malum turpitudine? quae
than disastrously or is any greater evil than-baseness which
si in deformitate corporis habet aliquid offensionis, quanta
if in the-deformity of-the-body has something of-offense how-great
illa depravatio et foeditas turpificati animi debet videri!
that distortion and foulness of-a-befouled mind ought to-seem

106 Itaque nervosius qui ista disserunt, solum audent malum
and-so more-vigorously those-who these discuss the-only dare evil
dicere id, quod turpe sit, qui autem remissius, ii tamen
to-call that which base is those-who moreover more-mildly they nevertheless
non dubitant summum malum dicere.
not doubt the-highest evil to-call
Nam illud quidem:
for that indeed

Neque dedi neque do infideli cuiquam
neither I-have-given nor I-give to-a-faithless anyone

idcirco recte a poeta, quia, cum tractaretur Atreus,
for-that-reason rightly by the-poet because when was-being-portrayed Atreus
personae serviendum fuit. Sed si hoc sibi sument,
to-the-character to-be-served it-was but if this for-themselves they-shall-assume
nullam esse fidem, quae infideli data sit, videant, ne
no to-be faith which to-a-faithless given has-been let-them-see lest
quaeratur latebra periurio.
be-sought a-hiding-place for-perjury
107 Est autem ius etiam bellicum fidesque iuris iurandi
there-is moreover a-law also of-war and-the-good-faith of-an-oath sworn
saepe cum hoste servanda. Quod enim ita iuratum est, ut
often with an-enemy to-be-kept what for so sworn has-been that
mens conciperet fieri oportere, id servandum est; quod
the-mind conceived to-be-done that-it-behooved that to-be-kept is what
aliter, id si non fecerit, nullum est periurium. Ut, si
otherwise that if not he-shall-have-done no is perjury as if
praedonibus pactum pro capite pretium non attuleris,
to-robbers agreed for a-head a-price not you-shall-have-brought
nulla fraus sit, ne si iuratus quidem id non feceris;
no fraud there-is not if on-oath even that not you-shall-have-done

nam pirata non est ex perduellium numero definitus, sed
for a-pirate not is from of-public-enemies the-number defined but
communis hostis omnium; cum hoc nec fides debet nec
a-common enemy of-all with this-one neither faith ought nor
ius iurandum esse commune.
an-oath sworn to-be shared
Non enim falsum iurare periurare est, sed, quod EX ANIMI 108
not for a-falsehood to-swear to-perjure is but what FROM OF-MIND
TUI SENTENTIA iuraris, sicut verbis concipitur more
YOUR THE-JUDGMENT you-have-sworn just-as in-words it-is-framed by-custom
nostro, id non facere periurium est. Scite enim Euripides:
our that not to-do perjury is neatly for Euripides

Iuravi lingua, mentem iniuratam gero.
I-swore with-the-tongue the-mind unsworn I-bear

Regulus vero non debuit condiciones pactionesque bellicas
Regulus indeed not ought-to-have the-terms and-agreements of-war
et hostiles perturbare periurio. Cum iusto enim et legitimo
and hostile to-upset by-perjury with a-just for and lawful
hoste res gerebatur, adversus quem et totum ius
enemy the-matter was-being-carried-on against whom both the-whole law
fetiale et multa sunt iura communia. Quod ni ita esset,
fetial and many are laws common which if-not so were
numquam claros viros senatus vinctos hostibus dedidisset.
never famous men the-senate bound to-the-enemy would-have-given-up

Veturius and Postumius were handed over to the Samnites for a peace made without the people's order, and Postumius himself proposed the surrender; Mancinus advocated the bill that gave him up to the Numantines. In those earlier men the false appearance of usefulness was overcome by the authority of the honorable, but in Pompeius it prevailed. What is very useful is not made honorable: it is honorable first.

109 At vero T. Veturius et Sp. Postumius cum iterum
but indeed Titus Veturius and Spurius Postumius when a-second-time
consules essent, quia, cum male pugnatum apud Caudium
consuls they-were because when badly fought at Caudium
esset, legionibus nostris sub iugum missis pacem cum
it-had-been legions our under the-yoke having-been-sent a-peace with
Samnitibus fecerant, dediti sunt iis; iniussu enim
the-Samnites they-had-made surrendered were to-them without-the-order for
populi senatusque fecerant. Eodemque tempore Ti.
of-the-people and-of-the-senate they-had-made and-at-the-same time Tiberius
Numicius, Q. Maelius, qui tum tribuni pl. erant,
Numicius Quintus Maelius who then tribunes of-the-plebs were
quod eorum auctoritate pax erat facta, dediti sunt,
because by-their authority the-peace had-been made surrendered were
ut pax Samnitium repudiaretur; atque huius deditionis
that the-peace of-the-Samnites might-be-repudiated and of-this surrender
ipse Postumius, qui dedebatur, suasor et auctor fuit.
himself Postumius who was-being-surrendered the-adviser and mover was
Quod idem multis annis post C. Mancinus, qui, ut
which the-same many years after Gaius Mancinus who that
Numantinis, quibuscum sine senatus auctoritate foedus
to-the-Numantines with-whom without of-the-senate the-authority a-treaty
fecerat, dederetur, rogationem suasit eam, quam
he-had-made he-should-be-surrendered a-bill advocated that which

L. Furius, Sex. Atilius ex senatus consulto ferebant;
Lucius Furius Sextus Atilius from of-the-senate a-decree were-bringing
qua accepta est hostibus deditus. Honestius hic
which having-been-passed he-was to-the-enemy surrendered more-honorably this-man
quam Q. Pompeius, quo, cum in eadem causa esset,
than Quintus Pompeius by-whom when in the-same case he-was
deprecante accepta lex non est. Hic ea, quae videbatur
pleading-against passed the-law not was here that which seemed
utilitas, plus valuit quam honestas, apud superiores utilitatis
usefulness more prevailed than honorableness among the-earlier-men of-usefulness
species falsa ab honestatis auctoritate superata est.
the-appearance false by of-honorableness the-authority overcome was
At non debuit ratum esse, quod erat actum per 110
but not it-ought-to-have valid to-be what had-been done through
vim. — Quasi vero forti viro vis possit adhiberi.
force as-if indeed to-a-brave man force could to-be-applied
Cur igitur ad senatum proficiscebatur, cum praesertim de
why therefore to the-senate was-he-setting-out when especially about
captivis dissuasurus esset?
the-prisoners about-to-argue-against he-was
Quod maximum in eo est, id reprehenditis. Non enim
what greatest in him is that you-blame not for
suo iudicio stetit, sed suscepit causam, ut esset
by-his-own judgment he-stood but he-undertook the-case that there-might-be
iudicium senatus; cui nisi ipse auctor fuisset, captivi
the-judgment of-the-senate to-which unless he-himself the-mover had-been the-prisoners
profecto Poenis redditi essent; ita incolumis in
assuredly to-the-Carthaginians given-back would-have-been so unharmed in
patria Regulus restitisset. Quod quia patriae
the-fatherland Regulus would-have-remained which because for-the-fatherland

non utile putavit, idcirco sibi honestum et sentire
not useful he-thought for-that-reason for-himself honorable both to-hold
illa et pati credidit.
those-things and to-suffer he-believed
Nam quod aiunt, quod valde utile sit, id fieri honestum,
for what they-say that-what very useful is that to-become honorable
immo vero esse, non fieri. Est enim nihil utile, quod
nay indeed to-be not to-become it-is for nothing useful which
idem non honestum, nec, quia utile, honestum, sed, quia
the-same not honorable and-not because useful honorable but because
honestum, utile.
honorable useful
Quare ex multis mirabilibus exemplis haud facile quis
wherefore from many wonderful examples not easily anyone
dixerit hoc exemplo aut laudabilius aut praestantius.
would-call than-this example either more-praiseworthy or more-excellent

XXXI · WHAT IS ADMIRABLE IN REGULUS

Of the whole praise of Regulus, one thing deserves wonder: that he advised keeping the prisoners. His return seems marvelous now, but in those days he could not have acted otherwise, and the praise belongs to the times. Cicero adds the story of young Manlius, who forced a tribune at sword-point to swear that he would drop the charge against his father.

111 Sed ex tota hac laude Reguli unum illud est admiratione
but from the-whole this praise of-Regulus one that is of-admiration
dignum, quod captivos retinendos censuit. Nam quod
worthy that the-prisoners to-be-retained he-voted for that
rediit, nobis nunc mirabile videtur, illis quidem temporibus
he-returned to-us now wonderful seems in-those indeed times

aliter facere non potuit; itaque ista laus non est hominis,
otherwise to-do not he-could and-so that praise not is of-the-man
sed temporum. Nullum enim vinculum ad astringendam
but of-the-times no for bond for to-be-tightened
fidem iure iurando maiores artius esse voluerunt.
good-faith than-by-an-oath sworn the-forefathers closer to-be willed
Id indicant leges in duodecim tabulis, indicant sacratae,
that show the-laws in the-twelve tables show the-sacred-ones
indicant foedera, quibus etiam cum hoste devincitur fides,
show the-treaties by-which even with an-enemy is-bound-fast good-faith
indicant notiones animadversionesque censorum, qui nulla
show the-investigations and-censures of-the-censors who no
de re diligentius quam de iure iurando iudicabant.
about matter more-carefully than about an-oath sworn used-to-judge
L. Manlio A. f., cum dictator fuisset, M. 112
to-Lucius Manlius of-Aulus son when dictator he-had-been Marcus
Pomponius tr. pl. diem dixit, quod is paucos sibi
Pomponius tribune of-the-plebs a-day named because he a-few for-himself
dies ad dictaturam gerendam addidisset; criminabatur etiam,
days for the-dictatorship to-be-held had-added he-was-charging also
quod Titum filium, qui postea est Torquatus appellatus,
because Titus the-son who afterward was Torquatus called
ab hominibus relegasset et ruri habitare iussisset.
from men he-had-banished and in-the-country to-live had-ordered
Quod cum audivisset adulescens filius, negotium exhiberi
which when had-heard the-young son that-trouble to-be-caused
patri, accurrisse Romam et cum primo luci Pomponi
for-the-father to-have-hastened to-Rome and at first light of-Pomponius
domum venisse dicitur. Cui cum esset nuntiatum,
the-house to-have-come he-is-said to-whom when it-had-been announced
qui illum iratum allaturum ad se aliquid contra patrem
who him angry about-to-bring to himself something against the-father

arbitraretur, surrexit e lectulo remotisque arbitris
judged he-rose from the-couch and-with-having-been-removed witnesses
ad se adulescentem iussit venire. At ille, ut ingressus
to himself the-young-man he-ordered to-come but he as entered
est, confestim gladium destrinxit iuravitque se illum
he-has at-once a-sword he-drew and-swore himself him
statim interfecturum, nisi ius iurandum sibi dedisset
at-once about-to-kill unless an-oath sworn to-him he-had-given
se patrem missum esse facturum. Iuravit hoc terrore
himself the-father dismissed to-be about-to-make he-swore by-this terror
coactus Pomponius; rem ad populum detulit, docuit, cur
compelled Pomponius the-matter to the-people he-reported he-explained why
sibi causa desistere necesse esset, Manlium missum
for-himself from-the-case to-desist necessary it-was Manlius dismissed
fecit. Tantum temporibus illis ius iurandum valebat.
he-made so-much in-times those an-oath sworn availed
Atque hic T. Manlius is est, qui ad Anienem Galli, quem
and this Titus Manlius he is who at the-Anio of-a-Gaul whom
ab eo provocatus occiderat, torque detracto cognomen
by him challenged he-had-slain the-torque having-been-stripped-off a-surname
invenit, cuius tertio consulatu Latini ad Veserim fusi
found whose in-third consulship the-Latins at the-Veseris were-routed
et fugati, magnus vir in primis et, qui perindulgens
and put-to-flight a-great man among the-first and who most-indulgent
in patrem, idem acerbe severus in filium.
toward the-father the-same bitterly severe toward the-son

The ten sent by Hannibal after Cannae had sworn to return to the camp unless they obtained the ransom; Polybius says nine came back, and that one who had slipped out and gone back as if he had forgotten something stayed at Rome. The senate decreed that he be taken to Hannibal in chains, and refused to ransom eight thousand men, so that Roman soldiers would be resolved to conquer or die.

Sed, ut laudandus Regulus in conservando iure iurando, 113
but as to-be-praised Regulus in to-be-kept the-oath sworn
sic decem illi, quos post Cannensem pugnam iuratos ad
so the-ten those whom after the-Cannae battle on-oath to
senatum misit Hannibal se in castra redituros ea,
the-senate sent Hannibal themselves into the-camp about-to-return those
quorum erant potiti Poeni, nisi de redimendis
of-which had got-possession the-Carthaginians unless about to-be-ransomed
captivis impetravissent, si non redierunt, vituperandi. De
prisoners they-had-prevailed if not they-returned to-be-blamed about
quibus non omnes uno modo; nam Polybius, bonus auctor
whom not all in-one way for Polybius a-good authority
in primis, ex decem nobilissimis, qui tum erant missi,
among the-first from the-ten most-noble who then had-been sent
novem revertisse dicit re a senatu non impetrata;
nine to-have-returned says the-matter from the-senate not having-been-obtained
unum ex decem, qui paulo post, quam erat egressus
one from the-ten who a-little after than he-had gone-out
e castris, redisset, quasi aliquid esset oblitus, Romae
from the-camp had-gone-back as-if something he-had forgotten at-Rome
remansisse; reditu enim in castra liberatum se esse
to-have-remained by-the-return for into the-camp freed himself to-be
iure iurando interpretabatur, non recte; fraus enim
from-the-oath sworn he-interpreted not rightly fraud for

astringit, non dissolvit periurium. Fuit igitur stulta calliditas
tightens not looses perjury it-was therefore foolish cunning
perverse imitata prudentiam. Itaque decrevit senatus, ut ille
perversely imitating prudence and-so decreed the-senate that that
veterator et callidus vinctus ad Hannibalem duceretur.
old-hand and crafty-fellow bound to Hannibal should-be-led
114 Sed illud maximum: octo hominum milia tenebat Hannibal,
but that greatest eight of-men thousands was-holding Hannibal
non quos in acie cepisset, aut qui periculo mortis
not whom in the-line he-had-taken or who by-the-peril of-death
diffugissent, sed qui relicti in castris fuissent a Paulo et
had-fled-away but who left in the-camp had-been by Paulus and
a Varrone consulibus. Eos senatus non censuit redimendos,
by Varro the-consuls them the-senate not voted to-be-ransomed
cum id parva pecunia fieri posset, ut esset insitum
although that with-little money to-be-done could that there-might-be implanted
militibus nostris aut vincere aut emori. Qua quidem
in-soldiers our either to-conquer or to-die by-which indeed
re audita fractum animum Hannibalis scribit
thing having-been-heard to-have-been-broken the-spirit of-Hannibal writes
idem, quod senatus populusque Romanus rebus afflictis tam
the-same because the-senate and-the-people Roman in-affairs shattered so
excelso animo fuisset. Sic honestatis comparatione ea,
lofty in-spirit had-been so of-honorableness by-the-comparison those-things
quae videntur utilia, vincuntur.
which seem useful are-conquered
115 C. Acilius autem, qui Graece scripsit historiam, plures
Gaius Acilius moreover who in-Greek wrote a-history more
ait fuisse, qui in castra revertissent eadem fraude, ut
says to-have-been who into the-camp had-returned by-the-same fraud that

iure iurando liberarentur, eosque a censoribus omnibus
from-the-oath sworn they-might-be-freed and-them by the-censors with-all
ignominiis notatos.
disgraces branded
Sit iam huius loci finis. Perspicuum est enim ea,
let-there-be now of-this topic an-end plain it-is for those-things
quae timido animo, humili, demisso fractoque fiant,
which with-a-timid mind lowly abject and-broken are-done
quale fuisset Reguli factum, si aut de captivis,
of-what-sort would-have-been of-Regulus the-deed if either about the-prisoners
quod ipsi opus esse videretur, non quod rei
what for-himself needful to-be seemed not what for-the-thing
publicae, censuisset aut domi remanere voluisset, non esse
public he-had-voted or at-home to-remain he-had-wished not to-be
utilia, quia sint flagitiosa, foeda, turpia.
useful because they-are shameful foul base

XXXIII · TEMPERANCE AGAINST PLEASURE

The fourth part is decorum, moderation, and temperance, and nothing useful can be contrary to that chorus of virtues. The Cyrenaics and Epicurus put every good in pleasure, and Cicero says their prudence becomes the choosing of pleasures, their courage a way of bearing pain, and their justice collapses. He ends by sending the three books to his son as a father's gift.

Restat quarta pars, quae decore, moderatione, modestia, 116
there-remains the-fourth part which by-comeliness by-moderation by-restraint
continentia, temperantia continetur.
by-self-control by-temperance is-comprised

Potest igitur quicquam utile esse, quod sit huic talium
can therefore anything useful to-be which is to-this of-such
virtutum choro contrarium? Atqui ab Aristippo Cyrenaici
virtues chorus contrary and-yet from Aristippus the-Cyrenaics
atque Annicerii philosophi nominati omne bonum in
and the-Annicerians philosophers named every good in
voluptate posuerunt virtutemque censuerunt ob eam
pleasure placed and-virtue they-held on-account-of that
rem esse laudandam, quod efficiens esset voluptatis. Quibus
thing to-be praiseworthy because productive it-was of-pleasure with-whom
obsoletis floret Epicurus, eiusdem fere adiutor
having-become-obsolete flourishes Epicurus of-the-same nearly the-supporter
auctorque sententiae. Cum his viris equisque, ut dicitur, si
and-author of-the-view with these by-men and-by-horses as it-is-said if
honestatem tueri ac retinere sententia est, decertandum est.
honorableness to-guard and to-keep the-resolve is to-be-fought-out it-is
117 Nam si non modo utilitas, sed vita omnis beata corporis
for if not only usefulness but life whole happy of-the-body
firma constitutione eiusque constitutionis spe explorata,
by-a-firm constitution and-of-that constitution by-the-hope assured
ut a Metrodoro scriptum est, continetur, certe haec
as by Metrodorus written it-has-been is-comprised certainly this
utilitas, et quidem summa (sic enim censent), cum honestate
usefulness and indeed the-highest so for they-hold with honorableness
pugnabit. Nam ubi primum prudentiae locus dabitur? an
will-conflict for where first for-prudence a-place will-be-given or
ut conquirat undique suavitates? Quam miser virtutis
that it-may-hunt-out from-everywhere sweetnesses how wretched of-virtue
famulatus servientis voluptati! Quod autem munus prudentiae?
the-servitude of-one-serving pleasure what moreover the-office of-prudence

an legere intellegenter voluptates? Fac nihil isto esse
or to-choose intelligently pleasures grant nothing than-that to-be
iucundius, quid cogitari potest turpius?
more-delightful what to-be-imagined can baser
Iam, qui dolorem summum malum dicat, apud eum
now who pain the-highest evil calls with him
quem habet locum fortitudo, quae est dolorum laborumque
what has place courage which is of-pains and-of-toils
contemptio? Quamvis enim multis locis dicat Epicurus,
the-contempt however-much for in-many places may-say Epicurus
sicuti dicit, satis fortiter de dolore, tamen non id
just-as he-says enough bravely about pain nevertheless not that
spectandum est, quid dicat, sed quid consentaneum sit ei
to-be-looked-at is what he-says but what consistent is for-him
dicere, qui bona voluptate terminaverit, mala dolore.
to-say who goods by-pleasure has-bounded evils by-pain
Et, si illum audiam, de continentia et temperantia
and if him I-should-hear about self-control and temperance
dicit ille quidem multa multis locis, sed aqua haeret,
says he indeed many-things in-many places but the-water sticks
ut aiunt; nam qui potest temperantiam laudare is, qui
as they-say for how can temperance to-praise he who
ponat summum bonum in voluptate? est enim temperantia
places the-highest good in pleasure is for temperance
libidinum inimica, libidines autem consectatrices voluptatis.
of-lusts the-enemy the-lusts moreover the-followers of-pleasure
Atque in his tamen tribus generibus, quoquo modo possunt, 118
and in these nevertheless three kinds in-whatever way they-can
non incallide tergiversantur; prudentiam introducunt scientiam
not unskillfully they-shuffle prudence they-bring-in as-a-knowledge
suppeditantem voluptates, depellentem dolores; fortitudinem
supplying pleasures driving-off pains courage

quoque aliquo modo expediunt, cum tradunt rationem
also in-some way they-explain when they-hand-down a-method
neglegendae mortis, perpetiendi doloris; etiam temperantiam
of-to-be-disregarded death of-to-be-endured pain also temperance
inducunt non facillime illi quidem, sed tamen quoquo
they-bring-in not most-easily they indeed but nevertheless in-whatever
modo possunt; dicunt enim voluptatis magnitudinem doloris
way they-can they-say for of-pleasure the-greatness of-pain
detractione finiri. Iustitia vacillat vel iacet potius omnesque
by-the-removal to-be-bounded justice totters or lies rather and-all
eae virtutes, quae in communitate cernuntur et in societate
those virtues which in community are-seen and in the-fellowship
generis humani. Neque enim bonitas nec liberalitas nec
of-the-race human neither for goodness nor generosity nor
comitas esse potest, non plus quam amicitia, si haec non per
courtesy to-be can not more than friendship if these not through
se expetantur, sed ad voluptatem utilitatemve referantur.
themselves are-sought but to pleasure or-usefulness are-referred
Conferamus igitur in pauca.
let-us-bring-together therefore into a-few

119 Nam ut utilitatem nullam esse docuimus, quae honestati
for as usefulness none to-be we-have-shown which to-honorableness
esset contraria, sic omnem voluptatem dicimus honestati
was contrary so every pleasure we-say to-honorableness
esse contrariam. Quo magis reprehendendos Calliphontem
to-be contrary by-which the-more to-be-blamed Calliphon
et Dinomachum iudico, qui se dirempturos controversiam
and Dinomachus I-judge who themselves about-to-settle the-controversy
putaverunt, si cum honestate voluptatem tamquam cum homine
thought if with honorableness pleasure as-it-were with a-man
pecudem copulavissent. Non recipit istam coniunctionem
a-beast they-had-coupled not admits that union

honestas, aspernatur, repellit. Nec vero finis bonorum et
honorableness it-spurns(-it) it-repels(-it) and-not indeed the-end of-goods and
malorum, qui simplex esse debet, ex dissimillimis rebus
of-evils which single to-be ought from most-unlike things
misceri et temperari potest. Sed de hoc (magna enim
to-be-mixed and to-be-blended can but about this a-great for
res est) alio loco pluribus; nunc ad propositum.
matter it-is in-another place at-more-length now to the-subject
Quem ad modum igitur, si quando ea, quae videtur utilitas, 120
which to manner therefore if ever that which seems usefulness
honestati repugnat, diiudicanda res sit, satis est supra
to-honorableness is-repugnant to-be-decided the-matter is enough it-is above
disputatum. Sin autem speciem utilitatis etiam voluptas
argued but-if moreover an-appearance of-usefulness even pleasure
habere dicetur, nulla potest esse ei cum honestate
to-have shall-be-said none can to-be for-it with honorableness
coniunctio. Nam, ut tribuamus aliquid voluptati, condimenti
a-union for that we-grant something to-pleasure of-seasoning
fortasse non nihil, utilitatis certe nihil habebit.
perhaps not nothing of-usefulness certainly nothing it-will-have
Habes a patre munus, Marce fili, mea quidem sententia 121
you-have from a-father a-gift O-Marcus son in-my indeed opinion
magnum, sed perinde erit, ut acceperis. Quamquam hi
great but accordingly it-will-be as you-shall-have-received-it although these
tibi tres libri inter Cratippi commentarios tamquam hospites
for-you three books among of-Cratippus the-notebooks as-it-were guests
erunt recipiendi; sed, ut, si ipse venissem Athenas (quod
will-be to-be-received but as if I-myself had-come to-Athens which
quidem esset factum, nisi me e medio cursu clara
indeed would-have-been done unless me from the-middle course with-a-clear
voce patria revocasset), aliquando me quoque audires,
voice the-fatherland had-recalled sometimes me also you-would-hear

sic, quoniam his voluminibus ad te profecta vox est
so since by-these volumes to you set-out the-voice has-been
mea, tribues iis temporis quantum poteris, poteris
my you-will-give to-them of-time as-much-as you-shall-be-able you-shall-be-able
autem, quantum voles. Cum vero intellexero te hoc
moreover as-much-as you-shall-wish when indeed I-shall-have-understood you in-this
scientiae genere gaudere, tum et praesens tecum propediem,
of-knowledge kind to-rejoice then both present with-you shortly
ut spero, et, dum aberis, absens loquar.
as I-hope and while you-are-away absent I-shall-speak
Vale igitur, mi Cicero, tibique persuade esse te quidem
farewell therefore my Cicero and-to-yourself be-assured to-be you indeed
mihi carissimum, sed multo fore cariorem, si talibus
to-me most-dear but much about-to-be dearer if in-such
monitis praeceptisque laetabere.
counsels and-precepts you-shall-rejoice

CICERO

Paradoxa Stoicorum

The Stoic Paradoxes

PREFACE

TO BRUTUS

Cicero tells Brutus that Cato often brings weighty philosophical topics into his senate speeches, far from ordinary forensic practice, and by speaking still makes them seem plausible to the people. Nothing is so incredible that speaking cannot make it credible. So he has taken the Stoic doctrines men call paradoxes, which the Stoics themselves scarcely make good at leisure in the schools, and turned them into commonplaces.

Animadverti, Brute, saepe Catonem, avunculum tuum, cum in 1
I-have-noticed O-Brutus often Cato the-uncle your when in
senatu sententiam diceret, locos gravis ex philosophia tractare
the-senate an-opinion he-was-giving topics weighty from philosophy to-handle
abhorrentis ab hoc usu forensi et publico, sed dicendo
shrinking from this practice forensic and public but by-speaking
consequi tamen, ut illa etiam populo probabilia viderentur;
to-attain nevertheless that those even to-the-people probable seemed
quod eo maius est illi quam aut tibi aut nobis, 2
which by-that greater is for-him than either for-you or for-us
quia nos ea philosophia plus utimur, quae peperit dicendi
because we that philosophy more use which has-produced of-speaking
copiam et in qua dicuntur ea, quae non multum
the-fullness and in which are-said those-things which not much
discrepent ab opinione populari, Cato autem, perfectus
differ from the-opinion popular Cato moreover a-perfect
mea sententia Stoicus, et ea sentit, quae non sane
in-my opinion Stoic both those-things holds which not truly
probantur in volgus, et in ea est haeresi, quae nullum
are-approved among the-crowd and in that is school which no

sequitur florem orationis neque dilatat argumentum: minutis
follows flower of-speech and-not expands the-argument by-tiny
interrogatiunculis quasi punctis quod proposuit efficit.
little-questions as-if by-pricks what he-has-proposed he-effects
3 Sed nihil est tam incredibile, quod non dicendo fiat
but nothing is so incredible which not by-speaking may-become
probabile, nihil tam horridum, tam incultum, quod non
probable nothing so rough so uncultivated which not
splendescat oratione et tamquam excolatur. Quod cum
may-be-brightened by-speech and as-it-were be-polished which since
ita putarem, feci etiam audacius quam ille ipse, de
so I-thought I-have-done even more-boldly than he himself about
quo loquor: Cato enim dum taxat de magnitudine animi,
whom I-speak Cato for only so-far about the-greatness of-spirit
de continentia, de morte, de omni laude virtutis, de
about self-control about death about every praise of-virtue about
dis inmortalibus, de caritate patriae Stoice solet
the-gods immortal about the-love of-the-fatherland in-Stoic-fashion is-wont
oratoriis ornamentis adhibitis dicere; ego tibi illa ipsa,
with-oratorical ornaments employed to-speak I for-you those very-things
quae vix in gymnasiis et in otio Stoici probant, ludens
which scarcely in the-schools and in leisure the-Stoics approve in-sport
conieci in communis locos.
have-thrown into common topics
4 Quae quia sunt admirabilia contraque opinionem omnium
which because are marvelous and-against the-opinion of-all
ab ipsis etiam παράδοξα appellantur, temptare volui
by them-themselves even paradoxes are-called to-try I-wished
possentne proferri in lucem id est in forum
whether-they-could to-be-brought-forth into the-light that is into the-forum
et ita dici, ut probarentur, an alia quaedam esset
and so to-be-said that they-might-be-approved or another a-certain was

erudita, alia popularis oratio, eoque hos locos scripsi
learned another popular the-speech and-by-that these topics I-have-written
libentius, quod mihi ista παράδοξα quae appellant maxime
the-more-gladly because to-me those paradoxes which they-call most
videntur esse Socratica longeque verissima.
seem to-be Socratic and-by-far most-true
Accipies igitur hoc parvum opusculum, lucubratum 5
you-will-receive therefore this small little-work worked-out
his iam contractioribus noctibus, quoniam illud maiorum
in-these now shorter nights since that of-greater
vigiliarum munus in tuo nomine adparuit, et degustabis
vigils the-gift under your name appeared and you-will-taste
genus exercitationum earum, quibus uti consuevi,
the-kind of-exercises those which to-use I-have-been-accustomed
cum ea, quae dicuntur in scholis θετικῶς, ad nostrum
when those-things which are-said in the-schools abstractly to our
hoc oratorium transfero dicendi genus. Hoc tamen opus
this oratorical I-transfer of-speaking kind this nevertheless work
in acceptum ut referas nihil postulo; non enim est tale,
into the-account that you-enter nothing I-ask not for it-is such
ut in arce poni possit, quasi Minerva illa Phidiae, sed
that in the-citadel to-be-set it-could as-if the-Minerva that of-Phidias but
tamen, ut ex eadem officina exisse adpareat.
nevertheless that from the-same workshop to-have-come-out it-may-appear

PARADOX I

I · ONLY THE HONORABLE IS GOOD

Cicero opens the first paradox: nothing is good except what is honorable. He says he has never counted money, fine houses, riches, power, or pleasure among things worth seeking, because he has watched men who overflow with them want them most of all. He praises Bias, who, when Priene fell and the rest were carrying off their goods, said that he was doing the same, since he carried all that was his with him.

6 Vereor ne cui vestrum ex Socraticorum hominum
I-fear lest to-anyone of-you from of-Socratic men
disputationibus, non ex meo sensu deprompta haec videatur
the-discussions not from my feeling drawn this may-seem
oratio; dicam quod sentio tamen et dicam brevius quam
discourse I-will-say what I-feel nevertheless and I-will-say more-briefly than
res tanta dici potest. Numquam hercule ego neque
a-matter so-great to-be-said is-able never by-Hercules I either
pecunias istorum neque tecta magnifica neque opes neque
the-moneys of-those-men or roofs magnificent or riches or
imperia neque eas, quibus maxime astricti sunt, voluptates
commands or those by-which most bound they-are pleasures
in bonis rebus aut expetendis esse duxi, quippe cum
among good things or to-be-sought to-be I-have-reckoned since when
viderem rebus his circumfluentis ea tamen desiderare
I-saw in-things these (men)-overflowing those-things nevertheless to-long-for
maxime, quibus abundarent; neque enim umquam expletur nec
most in-which they-abounded and-not for ever is-filled nor
satiatur cupiditatis sitis, neque solum ea qui habent
is-sated of-desire the-thirst nor only those-things who have
libidine augendi cruciantur, sed etiam amittendi metu.
by-the-lust of-increasing they-are-tormented but also of-losing by-the-fear

In quo equidem continentissimorum hominum, maiorum 7
in which indeed of-the-most-continent men of-the-ancestors
nostrorum, saepe requiro prudentiam, qui haec inbecilla
our often I-miss the-wisdom who these-things weak
et conmutabilia pecuniae membra verbo bona putaverunt
and changeable of-money the-parts in-word goods they-thought
appellanda, cum re ac factis longe aliter iudicavissent.
to-be-called although in-fact and in-deeds far otherwise they-had-judged
Potestne bonum cuiquam malo esse aut potest quisquam in
is-it-able a-good to-anyone for-an-evil to-be or is-able anyone in
abundantia bonorum ipse esse non bonus? Atqui ista omnia
abundance of-goods himself to-be not good and-yet those all
talia videmus, ut et inprobi habeant et absint probis.
such we-see that both the-wicked have and they-are-absent from-the-good
Quam ob rem licet inrideat si qui volt, plus apud 8
which on-account-of thing granted let-him-mock if anyone wishes more with
me tamen vera ratio valebit quam volgi opinio; neque
me nevertheless true reason will-avail than of-the-crowd the-opinion nor
ego umquam bona perdidisse dicam, si quis pecus aut
I ever goods to-have-lost will-say if anyone cattle or
supellectilem amiserit, nec non saepe laudabo sapientem
furniture has-lost nor not often I-will-praise wise
illum, Biantem, ut opinor, qui numeratur in septem:
that Bias as I-think who is-counted among the-seven
cuius cum patriam Prienam cepisset hostis ceterique ita
of-whom when the-fatherland Priene had-taken the-enemy and-the-rest so
fugerent, ut multa de suis rebus asportarent, cum esset
were-fleeing that many-things of their possessions they-carried-off when he-was
admonitus a quodam ut idem ipse faceret, ego vero
advised by someone that the-same he-himself should-do I indeed
inquit facio; nam omnia mecum porto mea.
says-he am-doing for all-things with-me I-carry my

9 Ille haec ludibria fortunae ne sua quidem putavit, quae
he these mockeries of-fortune not his-own even thought which
nos appellamus etiam bona. Quid est igitur, quaeret aliquis,
we call even goods what is therefore will-ask someone
bonum? Si, quod recte fit et honeste et cum virtute,
a-good if what rightly is-done and honorably and with virtue
id bene fieri vere dicitur, quod rectum et honestum
that well to-be-done truly is-said what right and honorable
et cum virtute est, id solum opinor bonum.
and with virtue is that alone I-think a-good

II · WHAT THE FOUNDERS SOUGHT

Cicero asks whether the men who founded the republic so nobly and left it to us ever had a thought for silver, or fine grounds, or furniture, or banquets. He runs through the kings, Brutus and his fellow-conspirators, Mucius, Cocles, the two Decii, Fabricius, Curius, and the Scipios, and asks what any of them can have sought except what was praiseworthy and glorious.

10 Sed haec videri possunt odiosiora, cum lentius disputantur:
but these to-seem can rather-tiresome when more-slowly they-are-argued
vita atque factis inlustrata sunt summorum virorum haec
by-life and by-deeds illustrated have-been of-the-highest men these
quae verbis subtilius quam satis est, disputari videntur;
which in-words more-subtly than enough is to-be-argued seem
quaero enim a vobis, num ullam cogitationem habuisse
I-ask for from you whether any thought to-have-had
videantur ii, qui hanc rem publicam tam praeclare fundatam
they-seem those who this thing public so splendidly founded
nobis reliquerunt, aut argenti ad avaritiam aut amoenitatum
to-us have-left either of-silver toward greed or of-pleasant-things

ad delectationem aut supellectilis ad delicias aut epularum
toward delight or of-furniture toward luxury or of-banquets
ad voluptates? Ponite ante oculos unum quemque regum.
toward pleasures set before the-eyes one each of-the-kings
Voltis a Romulo? Voltis post liberam civitatem ab iis 11
do-you-wish from Romulus do-you-wish after the-freed state from those
ipsis, qui liberaverunt? Quibus tandem Romulus gradibus
very-men who freed-it by-what pray Romulus steps
escendit in caelum? Iisne, quae isti bona appellant,
climbed into heaven whether-by-those which those-men goods call
an rebus gestis atque virtutibus? Quid? A Numa Pompilio
or by-things done and by-virtues what from Numa Pompilius
minusne gratas dis inmortalibus capudines ac fictilis urnulas
whether-less welcome to-the-gods immortal the-bowls and earthen little-urns
fuisse quam felicatas Saliorum pateras arbitramur? Omitto
to-have-been than fern-patterned of-the-Salii the-dishes do-we-think I-pass-over
reliquos; sunt enim omnes pares inter se praeter Superbum.
the-rest they-are for all equal among themselves except the-Proud
Brutum si qui roget, quid egerit in patria liberanda, si 12
Brutus if anyone should-ask what he-did in the-fatherland to-be-freed if
quis item reliquos eiusdem consilii socios, quid spectaverint,
anyone likewise the-rest of-the-same purpose the-partners what they-looked-to
quid secuti sint: num quis exsistat, cui voluptas, cui
what followed they-have surely-not anyone would-arise to-whom pleasure to-whom
divitiae, cui denique praeter officium fortis et magni
riches to-whom finally besides the-duty of-a-brave and great
viri quicquam aliud propositum fuisse videatur? Quae res
man anything else set-before to-have-been would-seem what thing
ad necem Porsennae C. Mucium inpulit sine ulla spe
to the-slaying of-Porsenna Gaius Mucius drove without any hope
salutis suae? Quae vis Coclitem contra omnis hostium
of-safety his-own what force Cocles against all of-the-enemies

copias tenuit in ponte solum? Quae patrem Decium, quae
the-forces held on the-bridge alone what the-father Decius what
filium devota vita inmisit in armatas hostium copias?
the-son with-a-devoted life sent into the-armed of-the-enemies the-forces
Quid continentia C. Fabricii, quid tenuitas victus M'.
what the-self-restraint of-Gaius Fabricius what the-frugality of-fare of-Manius
Curii sequebatur? Quid duo propugnacula belli Punici,
Curius was-pursuing what the-two bulwarks of-the-war Punic
Cn. et P. Scipiones, qui Karthaginiensium adventum
Gnaeus and Publius the-Scipios who of-the-Carthaginians the-approach
corporibus suis intercludendum putaverunt? Quid Africanus
with-bodies their-own to-be-blocked thought what Africanus
maior? Quid minor? Quid inter horum aetates interiectus
the-elder what the-younger what between of-these the-ages interposed
Cato? Quid innumerabiles alii? — Nam domesticis exemplis
Cato what countless others for by-domestic examples
abundamus — cogitassene quicquam in vita sibi esse
we-abound whether-to-have-thought anything in life for-themselves to-be
expetendum nisi quod laudabile esse et praeclarum videretur?
to-be-sought except what praiseworthy to-be and glorious seemed

Cicero invites the scoffers to judge whether they would rather be like the men who abound in marble, ivory, statues, paintings, and Corinthian work, or like Fabricius, who had none of it and wanted none. He calls the doctrine that pleasure is the highest good a cry of cattle, not of men, and asks whether anything is good that does not make its owner better.

Veniant igitur isti inrisores huius orationis ac sententiae, 13
let-them-come therefore those mockers of-this discourse and view
et iam vel ipsi iudicent, utrum se horum alicuius,
and now even themselves let-them-judge whether themselves of-these of-any
qui marmoreis tectis ebore et auro fulgentibus, qui
who with-marble roofs with-ivory and with-gold gleaming who
signis, qui tabulis, qui caelato auro et argento, qui
with-statues who with-paintings who with-chased gold and silver who
Corinthiis operibus abundant, an C. Fabricii, qui nihil
with-Corinthian works abound or of-Gaius Fabricius who nothing
habuit eorum, nihil habere voluit, similis malint?
had of-those nothing to-have wished like they-would-rather-be
Atque haec quidem, quae modo huc, modo illuc transferuntur, 14
and these indeed which now hither now thither are-shifted
facile adduci solent ut in bonis rebus esse negent;
easily to-be-led they-are-wont that among good things to-be they-deny
illud arte tenent accurateque defendunt, voluptatem esse
that closely they-hold and-carefully they-defend (that)-pleasure to-be
summum bonum: quae quidem mihi vox pecudum videtur
the-highest good which indeed to-me a-cry of-cattle seems
esse, non hominum. Tu, cum tibi sive deus sive mater,
to-be not of-men you when to-you whether a-god or the-mother
ut ita dicam, rerum omnium natura dederit animum, quo
as so I-may-say of-things all nature has-given a-mind than-which

nihil est praestantius neque divinius, sic te ipse
nothing is more-excellent nor more-divine so yourself you-yourself
abicies atque prosternes, ut nihil inter te atque inter
will-cast-down and will-prostrate that nothing between you and between
quadripedem aliquam putes interesse? Quicquam bonum est,
a-four-footed-beast some you-think to-differ anything good is
quod non eum, qui id possidet, meliorem facit?
which not him who it possesses better makes
15 Ut enim est quisque maxime boni particeps, ita est
as for is each-man most of-the-good a-partaker so is
laudabilis maxime, neque est ullum bonum, de quo non
he-praiseworthy most and-not is any good about which not
is, qui id habeat, honeste possit gloriari. Quid autem est
he who it may-have honorably could to-boast what moreover is
horum in voluptate? Melioremne efficit aut laudabiliorem
of-these in pleasure whether-better does-it-make or more-praiseworthy
virum? An quisquam in potiendis voluptatibus gloriando se
a-man or anyone in to-be-enjoyed pleasures by-boasting himself
et praedicatione ecfert? Atqui si voluptas, quae plurimorum
and by-proclamation exalts and-yet if pleasure which of-very-many
patrociniis defenditur, in rebus bonis habenda non est,
by-the-patronages is-defended among things good to-be-held not is
eaque quo est maior, eo magis mentem ex sua
and-it by-how-much is greater by-that the-more the-mind from its-own
sede et statu demovet, profecto nihil est aliud bene et
seat and station dislodges assuredly nothing is else well and
beate vivere nisi honeste et recte vivere.
happily to-live except honorably and rightly to-live

PARADOX II

I · VIRTUE IS ENOUGH FOR HAPPINESS

The second paradox: virtue is enough for a happy life. Cicero never counted Regulus wretched, because the Carthaginians took his body but could not touch his greatness of spirit. No one who depends wholly on himself can fail to be happy, while the man whose hopes hang on fortune is sure of nothing, and neither death nor exile has any terror for the first.

Nec vero ego M. Regulum aerumnosum nec infelicem 16
and-not indeed I Marcus Regulus wretched nor unhappy
nec miserum umquam putavi; non enim magnitudo animi
nor miserable ever have-thought not for the-greatness of-spirit
cruciabatur eius a Poenis, non gravitas, non fides,
was-tortured of-him by the-Carthaginians not the-dignity not the-good-faith
non constantia, non ulla virtus, non denique animus ipse,
not the-constancy not any virtue not finally the-mind itself
qui tot virtutum praesidio tantoque comitatu, cum
which of-so-many of-virtues by-the-guard and-by-so-great the-escort when
corpus eius caperetur, capi certe ipse non potuit. C.
the-body of-him was-being-taken to-be-taken certainly itself not could Gaius
vero Marium vidimus, qui mihi secundis rebus unus
indeed Marius we-have-seen who to-me in-favorable circumstances one
ex fortunatis hominibus, adversis unus ex summis viris
from the-fortunate men in-adverse one from the-highest men
videbatur, quo beatius esse mortali nihil potest.
seemed than-whom more-blessed to-be for-a-mortal nothing can
Nescis, insane, nescis, quantas viris virtus habeat; nomen 17
you-know-not O-madman you-know-not how-great powers virtue has the-name
tantum virtutis usurpas, quid ipsa valeat ignoras: nemo
only of-virtue you-use what itself avails you-are-ignorant no-one

potest non beatissimus esse, qui est totus aptus ex sese
can not most-blessed to-be who is wholly dependent on himself
quique in se uno sua ponit omnia. Cui spes omnis et
and-who in himself alone his-own places all-things for-whom hope all and
ratio et cogitatio pendet ex fortuna, huic nihil potest esse
reckoning and thought hangs on fortune for-this-man nothing can to-be
certi, nihil quod exploratum habeat permansurum sibi
of-certain nothing which ascertained he-may-have about-to-remain for-himself
unum diem; eum tu hominem terreto, si quem eris
one day that you man frighten if any you-shall-have
nanctus, istis mortis aut exsilii minis: mihi vero quicquid
found with-those of-death or of-exile threats to-me indeed whatever
acciderit in tam ingrata civitate, ne recusanti quidem
shall-have-happened in so ungrateful a-state not to-one-refusing even
evenerit, non modo non repugnanti. Quid enim ego laboravi
will-have-befallen not only not to-one-resisting what for I have-toiled
aut quid egi aut in quo evigilarunt curae et cogitationes
or what have-I-done or on what have-kept-watch the-cares and thoughts
meae, si quidem nihil peperi tale, nihil consecutus sum,
my if indeed nothing I-have-brought-forth such nothing gained I-have
ut eo statu essem, quem neque fortunae temeritas neque
that in-that condition I-should-be which neither of-fortune the-rashness nor
inimicorum labefactaret iniuria? Mortemne mihi minitaris,
of-enemies could-shake the-wrong whether-with-death to-me you-threaten
18 ut omnino ab hominibus, an exsilium, ut ab inprobis
that altogether from men or exile that from the-wicked
demigrandum sit? Mors terribilis iis, quorum cum vita
to-be-departed it-is death terrible for-those whose with life
omnia exstinguuntur, non iis, quorum laus emori non
all-things are-extinguished not for-those whose praise to-die not
potest; exsilium autem illis, quibus quasi circumscriptus est
can exile moreover for-those for-whom as-it-were circumscribed is

habitandi locus, non iis, qui omnem orbem terrarum unam
of-dwelling the-place not for-those who the-whole circle of-lands one
urbem esse ducunt. Te miseriae, te aerumnae premunt omnes,
city to-be reckon you miseries you troubles press all
qui te beatum, qui florentem putas; te lubidines torquent; tu
who yourself blessed who flourishing you-think you lusts torment you
dies noctisque cruciaris, cui nec sat est quod est et
by-day and-by-night are-tormented for-whom and-not enough is what there-is and
id ipsum ne non diuturnum sit futurum times; te conscientiae
that very lest not lasting it-be about-to-be you-fear you the-consciences
stimulant maleficiorum tuorum; te metus exanimant iudiciorum
goad of-misdeeds your you fears unnerve of-trials
atque legum; quocumque adspexisti, ut furiae sic tuae tibi
and of-laws whithersoever you-have-looked as furies so your to-you
occurrunt iniuriae, quae te suspirare libere non sinunt.
meet wrongs which you to-breathe freely not allow
Quam ob rem ut inprobo et stulto et inerti nemini 19
which on-account-of thing as for-a-wicked and foolish and worthless for-no-one
bene esse potest, sic bonus vir et sapiens et fortis miser
well to-be can so a-good man and wise and brave miserable
esse nemo potest; nec vero, cuius virtus moresque laudandi
to-be no-one can and-not indeed of-whom the-virtue and-character to-be-praised
sunt, eius non laudanda vita est, neque porro fugienda
are of-him not to-be-praised the-life is and-not further to-be-shunned
vita est quae laudanda est, esset autem fugienda, si
the-life is which to-be-praised is it-would-be moreover to-be-shunned if
esset misera. Quam ob rem quicquid est laudabile,
it-were wretched which on-account-of thing whatever is praiseworthy
idem et beatum et florens et expetendum videri decet.
the-same both blessed and flourishing and to-be-desired to-seem it-is-fitting

PARADOX III

I · ALL FAULTS ARE EQUAL

The third paradox: faults are equal, and so are right actions. Faults are measured by the vices of men, not by the outcome of things, and to sin is to cross a line — once you are over it, how far you go adds nothing to the fault. Since the virtues are equal the vices must be too, and Cicero asks why an actor is hissed for one syllable while a man counts out his own sins on his fingers.

20 Parva inquit est res. At magna culpa; nec enim
small says-he is the-matter but great the-fault and-not for
peccata rerum eventis, sed vitiis hominum metienda
faults of-things by-the-outcomes but by-the-vices of-men to-be-measured
sunt: in quo peccatur, id potest aliud alio maius esse
are in what is-sinned that can one than-another greater to-be
aut minus, ipsum quidem illud peccare, quoquo verteris,
or less itself indeed that to-err whithersoever you-turn
unum est. Auri navem evertat gubernator an paleae, in
one is of-gold a-ship should-overturn a-helmsman or of-chaff in
re aliquantum, in gubernatoris inscitia nihil interest.
the-matter somewhat in of-the-helmsman the-ignorance nothing it-differs
Lapsa est lubido in muliere ignota, dolor ad pauciores
slipped has lust upon a-woman unknown the-pain to fewer
pertinet, quam si petulans fuisset in aliqua generosa
pertains than if wanton he-had-been upon some well-born
ac nobili virgine; peccavit vero nihilo minus, si quidem
and noble maiden he-erred indeed by-nothing less if indeed
est peccare tamquam transire lineas, quod cum feceris,
it-is to-err as-it-were to-cross lines which when you-have-done
culpa commissa est: quam longe progrediare, cum semel
the-fault committed has-been how far you-may-advance when once

transieris, ad augendam transeundi culpam nihil pertinet.
you-have-crossed for to-be-increased of-crossing the-fault nothing it-pertains
Peccare certe licet nemini; quod autem non licet,
to-err certainly it-is-allowed to-no-one what moreover not is-allowed
id hoc uno tenetur, si arguitur non licere: id si nec
that by-this one is-held if it-is-proved not to-be-allowed that if neither
maius nec minus umquam fieri potest, quoniam in eo
greater nor less ever to-be-made can since in that
est peccatum, si non licuit, quod semper unum et
is the-fault if not it-was-allowed which always one and
idem est, quae ex eo peccata nascuntur aequalia sint
the-same is which from that faults arise equal be
oportet.
it-behooves
Quod si virtutes sunt pares inter se, paria esse 21
which if virtues are equal among themselves equal to-be
etiam vitia necesse est: atqui paris esse virtutes nec
also vices necessary it-is and-yet equal to-be the-virtues and-not
bono viro meliorem nec temperante temperantiorem
than-a-good man better nor than-a-temperate more-temperate
nec forti fortiorem nec sapienti sapientiorem posse
nor than-a-brave braver nor than-a-wise wiser to-be-able
fieri, facillume potest perspici. An virum bonum
to-become most-easily can to-be-perceived or a-man good
dices, qui depositum nullo teste, cum lucrari inpune
will-you-call who a-deposit with-no witness when to-gain with-impunity
posset auri pondo decem, reddiderit, si idem in
he-could of-gold in-weight ten has-returned if the-same in
decem milibus non idem fecerit? Aut temperantem,
ten thousands not the-same has-done or temperate

qui se in aliqua libidine continuerit, in aliqua
who himself in some lust has-restrained in some
effuderit?
has-let-loose

22 Una virtus est consentiens cum ratione et perpetua
one virtue is agreeing with reason and unbroken
constantia; nihil huc addi potest, quo magis virtus
constancy nothing to-this to-be-added can by-which more virtue
sit, nihil demi, ut virtutis nomen relinquatur:
it-may-be nothing to-be-taken-away that of-virtue the-name may-be-left
etenim si bene facta recte facta sunt et nihil recto
for-indeed if well done rightly done are and nothing than-right
rectius, certe ne bono quidem melius quicquam inveniri
righter certainly not than-good even better anything to-be-found
potest. Sequitur igitur ut etiam vitia sint paria, si
can it-follows therefore that also vices are equal if
quidem pravitates animi recte vitia dicuntur. Atqui
indeed the-crookednesses of-mind rightly vices are-called and-yet
quoniam pares virtutes sunt, recte facta, quoniam
since equal the-virtues are rightly done-deeds since
a virtutibus proficiscuntur, paria esse debent, itemque
from the-virtues proceed equal to-be ought and-likewise
peccata, quoniam ex vitiis manant, sint aequalia necesse
the-faults since from the-vices flow be equal necessary
est.
it-is

23 A philosophis inquit ista sumis. Metuebam ne
from the-philosophers says-he those-things you-take I-was-fearing lest
a lenonibus diceres. Socrates disputabat isto modo.
from pimps you-would-say Socrates used-to-argue in-that way
Bene hercule narras; nam istum doctum et sapientem
well by-Hercules you-tell for that-man learned and wise

virum fuisse memoriae traditum est. Sed tamen
a-man to-have-been to-memory handed-down it-is but nevertheless
quaero ex te, quoniam verbis inter nos contendimus,
I-ask from you since with-words among ourselves we-contend
non pugnis: utrum nobis est quaerendum quid baioli
not with-fists whether by-us is to-be-asked what porters
atque operarii an quid homines doctissimi senserint?
and laborers or what men most-learned have-thought
Praesertim cum hac sententia non modo verior, sed
especially since than-this view not only truer but
ne utilior quidem hominum vitae reperiri ulla possit.
not more-useful even of-men for-life to-be-found any could
Quae vis est enim quae magis arceat homines ab
what force is for which more may-keep-off men from
inprobitate omni, quam si senserint nullum in
wickedness all than if they-shall-have-thought no in
delictis esse discrimen? Aeque peccare se, si privatis
offenses to-be difference equally to-sin themselves if on-private-men
ac si magistratibus manus adferant? Quamcumque in
and if on-magistrates hands they-lay whatever into
domum stuprum intulerint, eandem esse labem
a-house outrage they-shall-have-brought the-same to-be the-stain
lubidinis?
of-lust
Nihilne igitur interest — nam hoc dicet aliquis — patrem 24
nothing therefore does-it-differ for this will-say someone a-father
quis necet anne servum? Nuda ista si ponas,
anyone should-kill or a-slave bare those if you-should-set
iudicare qualia sint non facile possim. Patrem vita
to-judge of-what-sort they-are not easily I-could a-father of-life
privare si per se scelus est, Saguntini, qui parentes
to-deprive if through itself a-crime is the-Saguntines who parents

suos liberos emori quam servos vivere maluerunt,
their-own free to-die than slaves to-live preferred
parricidae fuerunt: ergo et parenti non numquam
parricides were therefore both from-a-parent not never
adimi vita sine scelere potest et servo saepe
to-be-taken life without crime can and from-a-slave often
sine iniuria non potest. Causa igitur haec, non natura
without wrong not can the-cause therefore this not nature
distinguit, quae quoniam utro accessit, id fit
distinguishes which since to-whichever it-has-attached that becomes
propensius, si utroque adiuncta est, paria fiant necesse
the-more-weighty if to-both joined it-is equal they-become necessary
est.
it-is
Illud tamen interest, quod in servo necando, si id
that nevertheless differs that in a-slave to-be-killed if that
fit iniuria, semel peccatur, in patris vita violanda
is-done wrongfully once is-sinned in of-a-father the-life to-be-violated
multa peccantur: violatur is qui procreavit, is qui aluit,
many-things are-sinned is-violated he who begot he who nourished
is qui erudivit, is qui in sede ac domo atque in
he who taught he who in a-seat and a-home and in
re publica conlocavit; multitudine peccatorum praestat
the-thing public placed by-the-multitude of-sins he-stands-out
eoque poena maiore dignus est. Sed nos in vita
and-by-that of-a-penalty greater worthy is but we in life
non quae cuique peccato poena sit, sed quantum
not what to-each sin the-penalty is but how-much
cuique liceat spectare debemus: quicquid non oportet
to-each is-allowed to-look-at we-ought whatever not it-behooves
scelus esse, quicquid non licet nefas putare debemus.
a-crime to-be whatever not is-allowed a-sin to-think we-ought

Etiamne in minimis rebus? Etiam, si quidem rerum
whether-even in the-smallest matters even-so if indeed of-things
modum figere non possumus, animorum modum tenere
the-measure to-fix not we-can of-minds the-measure to-keep
possumus.
we-can

Histrio si paulum se movit extra numerum aut si 26
an-actor if a-little himself has-moved outside the-measure or if
versus pronuntiatus est syllaba una brevior aut longior,
a-verse pronounced has-been by-a-syllable one shorter or longer
exsibilatur, exploditur: in vita tu, quae omni gestu
he-is-hissed he-is-driven-off in life you which than-every gesture
moderatior, omni versu aptior esse debet, in syllaba
more-measured than-every verse more-fitting to-be ought in a-syllable
te peccasse dices? Poetam non audio in nugis: in
yourself to-have-erred will-you-say a-poet not I-hear in trifles in
vitae societate audiam civem digitis peccata dimetientem
of-life the-fellowship shall-I-hear a-citizen with-fingers the-sins measuring-out
sua? Si vis, sane sint breviora, leviora qui possunt
his-own if you-wish truly let-them-be shorter lighter how they-can
videri? Cum quicquid peccatur perturbatione peccetur rationis
to-seem when whatever is-sinned by-the-disturbance is-sinned of-reason
atque ordinis, perturbata autem semel ratione et
and of-order having-been-disturbed moreover once reason and
ordine nihil possit addi, quo magis peccari posse
order nothing could to-be-added by-which more to-be-sinned to-be-able
videatur.
it-may-seem

PARADOX IV

I · EVERY FOOL IS MAD

The fourth paradox, that every fool is mad, is turned on Clodius. Cicero says the wise man's mind is fenced about by his virtues, cannot be stormed, and cannot even be driven from a state. Rome under Clodius was no state at all — the laws were powerless, the courts idle, the senate's name gone — so Cicero was summoned back into a city rather than banished from one.

27 Ego vero te non stultum, ut saepe, non inprobum, ut
I indeed you not foolish as often not wicked as
semper, sed dementem ∗∗∗
always but mad (lacuna)
∗∗∗ rebus ad victum necessariis esse invictus ∗∗∗
(lacuna) in-things for living necessary to-be unconquered (lacuna)
potest. Sapientis animus magnitudine consilii, tolerantia
he-can of-a-wise-man the-mind by-the-greatness of-counsel by-the-endurance
rerum humanarum, contemptione fortunae, virtutibus denique
of-things human by-the-contempt of-fortune by-virtues finally
omnibus ut moenibus saeptus vincetur et expugnabitur,
all as by-walls fenced shall-be-conquered and shall-be-stormed
qui ne civitate quidem pelli potest? Quae est enim
who not from-the-state even to-be-driven can what is for
civitas? Omnisne conventus etiam ferorum et inmanium?
a-state whether-every gathering even of-savage and monstrous-men
Omnisne etiam fugitivorum ac latronum congregata unum in
whether-every even of-runaways and of-robbers gathered one into
locum multitudo? Certe negabis. Non igitur erat illa tum
place multitude certainly you-will-deny not therefore was that then
civitas, cum leges in ea nihil valebant, cum iudicia iacebant,
a-state when the-laws in it nothing availed when the-courts lay-idle

cum mos patrius occiderat, cum ferro pulsis
when the-custom ancestral had-perished when by-the-sword having-been-driven-out
magistratibus senatus nomen in re publica non erat;
the-magistrates of-the-senate the-name in the-thing public not was
praedonum ille concursus et te duce latrocinium in
of-brigands that concourse and with-you as-leader the-banditry in
foro constitutum et reliquiae coniurationis a Catilinae
the-forum established and the-remnants of-the-conspiracy from of-Catiline
furiis ad tuum scelus furoremque conversae non civitas erat.
the-frenzies to your crime and-madness turned not a-state was
Itaque pulsus ego civitate non sum, quae nulla erat: 28
and-so driven-out I from-the-state not have-been which none was
accersitus in civitatem sum, cum esset in re publica
summoned-back into the-state I-have-been when there-was in the-thing public
consul, qui tum nullus fuerat, esset senatus, qui tum
a-consul who then none had-been there-was a-senate which then
occiderat, esset consensus populi liber, esset iuris et
had-perished there-was the-agreement of-the-people free there-was of-right and
aequitatis, quae vincla sunt civitatis, repetita memoria. Ac
of-fairness which the-bonds are of-a-state the-recovered memory and
vide quam ista tui latrocinii tela contempserim: iactam
see how those of-your banditry weapons I-have-despised hurled
et inmissam a te nefariam in me iniuriam semper
and launched by you a-wicked against me wrong always
duxi; pervenisse ad me numquam putavi, nisi forte,
I-have-reckoned to-have-reached to me never I-thought unless perhaps
cum parietes disturbabas aut cum tectis sceleratas faces
when the-walls you-were-demolishing or when to-the-roofs criminal torches
inferebas, meorum aliquid ruere aut deflagrare arbitrabare:
you-were-bringing of-mine something to-fall or to-burn-up you-were-thinking

29 nihil neque meum est neque cuiusquam, quod auferri, quod
nothing either mine is or of-anyone which to-be-carried-off which
eripi, quod amitti potest. Si mihi eripuisses divinam
to-be-snatched which to-be-lost can if from-me you-had-snatched the-divine
animi mei conscientiam, meis curis, vigiliis, consiliis stare
of-mind my consciousness (that)-by-my cares vigils counsels to-stand
te invitissimo rem publicam, si huius aeterni beneficii
you being-most-unwilling the-thing public if of-this eternal service
inmortalem memoriam delevisses, multo etiam magis, si illam
the-immortal memory you-had-blotted-out much even more if that
mentem, unde haec consilia manarunt, mihi eripuisses,
mind from-which these counsels flowed from-me you-had-snatched
tum ego accepisse me confiterer iniuriam; sed si haec nec
then I to-have-received myself would-confess a-wrong but if these neither
fecisti nec facere potuisti, reditum mihi gloriosum iniuria tua
you-did nor to-do you-could a-return to-me glorious the-wrong your
dedit, non exitum calamitosum. Ergo ego semper civis, et
gave not a-going-out disastrous therefore I always a-citizen and
tum maxime, cum meam salutem senatus exteris nationibus,
then most when my safety the-senate to-foreign nations
ut civis optumi, commendabat, tu ne nunc quidem, nisi
as of-a-citizen best was-commending you not now even unless
forte idem hostis esse et civis potest. An tu civem
perhaps the-same an-enemy to-be and a-citizen can or you a-citizen
ab hoste natura ac loco, non animo factisque distinguis?
from an-enemy by-nature and by-place not by-mind and-by-deeds distinguish

Cicero turns the charge round. Clodius made slaughter in the forum, held the temples with armed men, and burned houses and shrines; if Spartacus was an enemy, so is he. Exile is the penalty of crimes, and by the laws that punish murder, arson, and going armed, Clodius is the exile — as he is by the special law his own friend carried against him.

Caedem in foro fecisti, armatis latronibus templa tenuisti, 30
slaughter in the-forum you-made with-armed brigands the-temples you-held
privatorum domos, aedis sacras incendisti: cur hostis
of-private-men the-houses buildings sacred you-burned why an-enemy
Spartacus, si tu civis? Potes autem esse tu civis, propter
Spartacus if you a-citizen can moreover to-be you a-citizen on-account-of
quem aliquando civitas non fuit? Et me tuo nomine appellas,
whom once the-state not was and me with-your name do-you-call
cum omnes meo discessu exsulasse rem publicam
although all by-my departure to-have-been-in-exile the-thing public
putent? Numquamne, homo amentissime, te circumspicies?
think never O-man most-mad yourself will-you-look-about
Numquam nec quid facias considerabis nec quid loquare?
never either what you-do will-you-consider or what you-say
Nescis exsilium scelerum esse poenam, meum illud iter
you-know-not (that)-exile of-crimes to-be the-penalty my that journey
ob praeclarissimas res a me gestas esse susceptum?
on-account-of most-splendid deeds by me done to-have-been undertaken
Omnes scelerati atque inpii, quorum tu te ducem esse 31
all criminal and impious of-whom you yourself leader to-be
profiteris, quos leges exsilio adfici volunt, exsules sunt,
profess whom the-laws with-exile to-be-visited wish exiles are
etiam si solum non mutarunt. An cum omnes te leges
even if the-soil not they-have-changed or when all you the-laws

exsulem esse iubeant, non eris tu exsul? Exsul non
an-exile to-be order not will-be you an-exile an-exile not
appelletur is, qui cum telo fuerit? Ante senatum tua sica
should-he-be-called he who with a-weapon has-been before the-senate your dagger
deprehensa est. Qui hominem occiderit? Plurimos occidisti.
seized was who a-man has-killed very-many you-have-killed
Qui incendium fecerit? Aedes Nympharum manu tua
who a-fire has-made the-temple of-the-Nymphs by-hand your
deflagravit. Qui templa occupaverit? In foro castra posuisti.
burned-down who temples has-seized in the-forum a-camp you-have-pitched
32 Sed quid ego communis leges profero, quibus omnibus
but why I common laws bring-forward by-which all
es exsul? Familiarissimus tuus de te privilegium tulit,
you-are an-exile the-most-intimate your about you a-special-law brought
ut, si in opertum Bonae Deae accessisses, exsulares:
that if into the-secret-rite of-the-Good Goddess you-had-entered you-should-go-into-exile
at te id fecisse etiam gloriari soles. Quo modo igitur
but you it to-have-done even to-boast you-are-wont in-what way therefore
tot legibus eiectus in exsilium nomen exsulis non
by-so-many laws cast into exile the-name of-an-exile not
perhorrescis? Romae sum inquit. Et quidem in operto
do-you-shudder-at at-Rome I-am says-he and indeed in the-secret-rite
fuisti. Non igitur ubi quisque erit, eius loci ius
you-have-been not therefore where each-man shall-be of-that place the-right
tenebit, si ibi eum legibus esse non oportebit.
will-hold if there him by-the-laws to-be not it-shall-behoove

PARADOX V

I · ONLY THE WISE MAN IS FREE

The fifth paradox: only the wise man is free, and every fool is a slave. A commander who cannot command his own desires commands nothing; let him first bridle lust, spurn pleasure, curb anger and greed. Freedom is the power of living as you wish, and only the man who lives rightly, and whose whole plan proceeds from himself, does that.

Laudetur vero hic imperator aut etiam appelletur aut 33
let-him-be-praised indeed this commander or even let-him-be-called or
hoc nomine dignus putetur. Quo modo aut cui
by-this name worthy let-him-be-thought in-what way or to-whom
tandem hic libero imperabit, qui non potest cupiditatibus
pray this-man free-man will-command who not can to-desires
suis imperare? Refrenet primum libidines, spernat
his-own to-command let-him-bridle first lusts let-him-spurn
voluptates, iracundiam teneat, coerceat avaritiam, ceteras
pleasures anger let-him-restrain let-him-check greed the-other
animi labis repellat; tum incipiat aliis imperare, cum
of-mind stains let-him-repel then let-him-begin others to-command when
ipse inprobissimis dominis, dedecori ac turpitudini, parere
he-himself to-the-basest masters to-dishonor and to-baseness to-obey
desierit: dum quidem iis oboediet, non modo imperator,
shall-have-ceased while indeed to-them he-shall-obey not only a-commander
sed liber habendus omnino non erit. Praeclare enim est
but free to-be-held at-all not he-will-be excellently for is
hoc usurpatum a doctissimis — quorum ego auctoritate non
this used by the-most-learned of-whom I the-authority not
uterer, si mihi apud aliquos agrestis haec habenda esset oratio;
would-use if to-me before some rustics this to-be-held were the-speech

cum vero apud prudentissimos loquar, quibus haec inaudita
when indeed before the-most-prudent I-speak to-whom these unheard-of
non sint, cur ego simulem me, si quid in his studiis
not are why I should-pretend myself if anything in these pursuits
operae posuerim, perdidisse? — Dictum est igitur ab
of-effort I-have-laid-out to-have-lost said it-has-been therefore by
eruditissimis viris nisi sapientem liberum esse neminem.
the-most-erudite men (that)-except the-wise-man free to-be no-one
34 Quid est enim libertas? Potestas vivendi, ut velis. Quis
what is for liberty the-power of-living as you-wish who
igitur vivit, ut volt, nisi qui recte vivit, qui gaudet officio,
therefore lives as he-wishes except who rightly lives who rejoices in-duty
cui vivendi via considerata atque provisa est? Qui ne
for-whom of-living the-road considered and foreseen is who not
legibus quidem propter metum paret, sed eas sequitur
to-the-laws even on-account-of fear submits but them follows
et colit, quod id salutare esse maxime iudicat; qui nihil
and honors because that salutary to-be most he-judges who nothing
dicit, nihil facit, nihil cogitat denique nisi lubenter ac
says nothing does nothing thinks finally except gladly and
libere; cuius omnia consilia resque omnes, quas gerit,
freely of-whom all counsels and-affairs all which he-carries-on
ab ipso proficiscuntur eodemque referuntur, nec est ulla
from himself proceed and-to-the-same are-referred and-not is any
res, quae plus apud eum polleat quam ipsius voluntas atque
thing which more with him prevails than of-himself the-will and
iudicium; cui quidem etiam, quae vim habere maximam
judgment to-whom indeed even which force to-have the-greatest
dicitur, Fortuna ipsa cedit, si, ut sapiens poeta dixit, suis
is-said Fortune herself yields if as a-wise poet said by-his-own

ea cuique fingitur moribus. Soli igitur hoc contingit
it for-each is-shaped by-characters to-the-only therefore this falls
sapienti, ut nihil faciat invitus, nihil dolens, nihil coactus.
to-the-wise-man that nothing he-does unwilling nothing grieving nothing compelled
Quod etsi ita esse pluribus verbis disserendum est, illud 35
which although so to-be with-more words to-be-argued is that
tamen et breve et confitendum est, nisi qui ita sit
nevertheless both brief and to-be-admitted is unless who so is
adfectus, esse liberum neminem. Servi igitur omnes inprobi;
disposed to-be free no-one slaves therefore all the-wicked
nec hoc tam re est quam dictu inopinatum atque
and-not this so in-fact is as in-the-saying unlooked-for and
mirabile: non enim ita dicunt eos esse servos, ut mancipia,
marvelous not for so they-say them to-be slaves as chattels
quae sunt dominorum facta nexo aut aliquo iure civili,
which have-been of-masters made by-bond or by-some law civil
sed, si servitus sit, sicut est, oboedientia fracti animi et
but if slavery is just-as it-is the-obedience of-a-broken mind and
abiecti et arbitrio carentis suo, quis neget omnis levis,
abject and of-judgment lacking its-own who would-deny all the-fickle
omnis cupidos, omnis denique inprobos esse servos?
all the-covetous all finally the-wicked to-be slaves

Cicero asks whether a man ruled by a woman is free, and calls him the most worthless of slaves. Men enslaved to statues, paintings, and chased silver are in the same folly: like the household slaves who dust and polish such things, they hold almost the lowest rank of servitude. He imagines Curius seeing a man raised by the people to the highest honors catching mullets from a fish-pond and boasting of his lampreys.

36 An ille mihi liber, cui mulier imperat? Cui leges
or that-man to-me (is)-free to-whom a-woman gives-orders on-whom laws
inponit, praescribit, iubet, vetat quod videtur? Qui nihil
she-imposes she-prescribes she-bids she-forbids what seems-good who nothing
imperanti negare potest, nihil recusare audet? Poscit,
to-her-ordering to-refuse can nothing to-decline dares she-demands
dandum est; vocat, veniendum; eicit, abeundum; minatur,
to-be-given it-is she-calls to-be-come she-throws-out to-be-departed she-threatens
extimescendum. Ego vero istum non modo servum, sed
to-be-dreaded I indeed that-man not only a-slave but
nequissimum servum, etiam si in amplissima familia natus
a-most-worthless slave even if in a-most-distinguished household born
sit, appellandum puto. Atque in pari stultitia sunt, quos
he-be to-be-called I-think and in equal folly are whom
signa, quos tabulae, quos caelatum argentum, quos Corinthia
statues whom paintings whom chased silver whom Corinthian
opera, quos aedificia magnifica nimio opere delectant. At
works whom buildings magnificent to-an-excessive degree delight but
sumus inquit principes civitatis. Vos vero ne conservorum
we-are says-he the-chief-men of-the-state you indeed not of-fellow-slaves
quidem vestrorum principes estis;
even your the-chief-men are

sed ut in magna familia sunt alii lautiores, ut sibi 37
but as in a-great household there-are some more-elegant as to-themselves
videntur, servi, sed tamen servi, ut atrienses, at qui tractant
they-seem slaves but nevertheless slaves as hall-porters but who handle
ista, qui tergent, qui ungunt, qui verrunt, qui spargunt,
those-things who wipe who anoint who sweep who sprinkle
non honestissimum locum servitutis tenent, sic in civitate,
not the-most-honorable place of-slavery hold so in the-state
qui se istarum rerum cupiditatibus dediderunt, ipsius
who themselves of-those things to-the-desires have-given-up of-itself
servitutis locum paene infimum obtinent. Magna inquit bella
of-slavery the-place almost the-lowest hold great says-he wars
gessi, magnis imperiis et provinciis praefui. Gere
I-have-waged great commands and provinces I-have-governed carry
igitur animum laude dignum: Aetionis tabula te stupidum
therefore a-mind of-praise worthy of-Aetion a-painting you stupefied
detinet aut signum aliquod Polycleti; mitto unde sustuleris,
holds-fast or a-statue some of-Polyclitus I-pass-over whence you-took-it
quo modo habeas: intuentem te, admirantem, clamores
in-what way you-hold-it gazing you admiring shouts
tollentem cum video, servum esse ineptiarum omnium iudico.
raising when I-see a-slave to-be of-fooleries of-all I-judge
Nonne igitur sunt illa festiva? Sunt; nam nos quoque oculos 38
not therefore are-they those charming they-are for we also eyes
eruditos habemus. Sed, obsecro te, ita venusta habeantur ista,
trained have but I-beseech you so elegant let-them-be-held those
non ut vincla virorum sint, sed ut oblectamenta puerorum.
not that chains of-men they-be but that amusements of-boys
Quid enim censes? Si L. Mummius aliquem istorum
what for do-you-think if Lucius Mummius someone of-those
videret matellionem Corinthium cupidissime tractantem,
should-see a-little-pot Corinthian most-eagerly handling

cum ipse totam Corinthum contempsisset, utrum
although he-himself the-whole Corinth had-despised whether
illum civem excellentem an atriensem diligentem putaret?
that-man a-citizen excellent or a-hall-porter careful would-he-think
Revivescat M'. Curius aut eorum aliquis, quorum
let-him-come-to-life-again Manius Curius or of-them some of-whom
in villa ac domo nihil splendidum, nihil ornatum
in the-country-house and house nothing splendid nothing adorned
fuit praeter ipsos, et videat aliquem summis populi
was besides themselves and let-him-see someone with-the-highest of-the-people
beneficiis usum barbatulos mullos exceptantem de piscina
favors having-enjoyed bearded mullets catching from a-fish-pond
et pertractantem et murenarum copia gloriantem,
and stroking and of-lampreys by-the-abundance boasting
nonne hunc hominem ita servum iudicet, ut ne in
would-he-not this man so a-slave judge that not in
familia quidem dignum maiore aliquo negotio putet?
the-household even worthy of-a-greater some task he-would-think
39 An eorum servitus dubia est, qui cupiditate peculii nullam
or of-them the-slavery doubtful is who by-the-desire of-gain no
condicionem recusant durissimae servitutis? Hereditatis
condition refuse of-the-harshest slavery of-an-inheritance
spes quid iniquitatis in serviendo non suscipit? Quem
the-hope what of-injustice in serving not does-it-undertake which
nutum locupletis orbi senis non observat? Loquitur ad
nod of-a-rich childless old-man not does-he-watch he-speaks to
voluntatem, quicquid denuntiatum est facit, adsectatur,
the-will whatever enjoined has-been he-does he-attends
adsidet, muneratur. Quid horum est liberi?
he-sits-by he-gives-presents which of-these is of-a-free-man

The desire for office and command looks more gentlemanly, but Cicero calls it a hard and violent mistress: it made men who thought themselves eminent send Cethegus presents and come to his house by night to beg. When that mastery goes, fear rises from a guilty conscience, and every fear is slavery. Crassus begged the people to snatch him from slavery, but Cicero says he wanted only to change masters.

Quid denique servi non inertis? Quid? Iam illa cupiditas, 40
what finally of-a-slave not idle what now that desire
quae videtur esse liberalior, honoris, imperii, provinciarum,
which seems to-be more-gentlemanly of-office of-command of-provinces
quam dura est domina, quam imperiosa, quam vehemens!
how hard is a-mistress how imperious how violent
Cethego, homini non probatissimo, servire coegit eos, qui
to-Cethegus a-man not most-approved to-be-slaves it-compelled those who
sibi esse amplissimi videbantur, munera mittere, noctu
to-themselves to-be most-eminent seemed presents to-send by-night
venire domum ad eum, precari, denique supplicare. Quae
to-come to-the-house to him to-beg finally to-supplicate what
servitus est, si haec libertas existimari potest? Quid? Cum
slavery is if this liberty to-be-reckoned can what when
cupiditatis dominatus excessit et alius est dominus exortus
of-desire the-mastery has-departed and another has a-master arisen
ex conscientia peccatorum, timor, quam est illa misera,
from the-consciousness of-sins fear how is that wretched
quam dura servitus? Adulescentibus paulo loquacioribus est
how hard a-slavery to-young-men a-little too-talkative it-is
serviendum; omnes, qui aliquid scire videntur, tamquam
to-be-slaved all who anything to-know seem as-if

domini timentur; iudex vero quantum habet dominatum, quo
masters are-feared a-judge indeed how-great has mastery with-what
timore nocentis adficit! An non est omnis metus servitus?
fear the-guilty he-affects or not is every fear a-slavery
41 Quid valet igitur illa eloquentissimi viri, L. Crassi, copiosa
what avails therefore that of-a-most-eloquent man of-Lucius Crassus copious
magis quam sapiens oratio eripite nos ex servitute? Quae est
more than wise saying snatch us from slavery what is
ista servitus tam claro homini tamque nobili? Omnis animi
that slavery for-so famous a-man and-so noble every of-a-mind
debilitati et humilis et fracti timiditas servitus est. Nolite sinere
weakened and lowly and broken timidity a-slavery is do-not to-suffer
nos cuiquam servire. In libertatem vindicari volt? Minime;
us to-anyone to-be-slaves into liberty to-be-claimed does-he-wish by-no-means
quid enim adiungit? Nisi vobis universis. Dominum mutare,
what for does-he-add except to-you all a-master to-change
non liber esse volt. Quibus et possumus et debemus. Nos
not free to-be he-wishes to-whom both we-can and we-ought we
vero, si quidem animo excelso et alto et virtutibus exaggerato
indeed if indeed in-mind lofty and high and by-virtues heaped-up
sumus, nec debemus nec possumus: tu posse te dicito,
we-are neither we-ought nor we-can you to-be-able yourself say
quoniam quidem potes, debere ne dixeris, quoniam nihil
since indeed you-can to-owe not may-you-say since nothing
quisquam debet nisi quod est turpe non reddere. Sed haec
anyone owes except what is base not to-return but these
hactenus. Ille videat, quo modo imperator esse possit, cum
thus-far he let-him-see in-what way a-commander to-be he-can when
eum ne liberum quidem esse ratio et veritas ipsa convincat.
him not free even to-be reason and truth herself proves

PARADOX VI

I · ONLY THE WISE MAN IS RICH

The sixth paradox: only the wise man is rich. Cicero asks who counts as rich — the man whose property lets him live liberally and seeks nothing more — and calls daily fraud and forged wills the signs of want. It is the mind and not the money-chest that is called rich, and by his opponent's own rule, that the rich can keep an army, the opponent confesses he is not.

Quae est ista in commemoranda pecunia tua tam insolens 42
what is that in to-be-mentioned money your so insolent
ostentatio? Solusne tu dives? Pro di inmortales! Egone
display alone-are you rich O gods immortal should-I
me audisse aliquid et didicisse non gaudeam? Solusne
myself to-have-heard something and to-have-learned not rejoice alone-are-you
dives? Quid, si ne dives quidem? Quid, si pauper etiam?
rich what if not rich even what if poor even
Quem enim intellegimus divitem aut hoc verbum in quo
whom for do-we-understand rich or this word on what
homine ponimus? Opinor in eo, cui tanta possessio sit,
man do-we-place I-suppose on him for-whom so-great a-property is
ut ad liberaliter vivendum facile contentus sit, qui nihil
that for liberally living easily content be-is who nothing
quaerat, nihil adpetat, nihil optet amplius.
seeks nothing craves nothing wishes further
Animus oportet tuus se iudicet divitem, non hominum 43
the-mind it-behooves your itself should-judge rich not of-men
sermo, neque possessiones tuae. Nihil sibi deesse putat,
the-talk nor the-possessions your nothing for-itself to-be-lacking it-thinks
nihil curat amplius, satiatus est aut contentus etiam pecunia:
nothing it-cares further sated it-is or content even with-money

concedo, dives est. Sin autem propter aviditatem pecuniae
I-grant rich it-is but-if moreover on-account-of the-greed of-money
nullum quaestum turpem putas, cum isti ordini ne honestus
no gain base you-think although for-that order not honorable
quidem possit esse ullus; si cotidie fraudas, decipis, poscis,
even could to-be any if daily you-defraud you-cheat you-demand
pacisceris, aufers, eripis, si socios spolias, aerarium expilas,
you-bargain you-carry-off you-snatch if allies you-plunder the-treasury you-pillage
si testamenta amicorum ne exspectas quidem atque ipse
if the-wills of-friends not you-await even and yourself
supponis, haec utrum abundantis an egentis signa sunt?
you-forge these whether of-one-abounding or of-one-in-want the-signs are
44 Animus hominis dives, non arca appellari solet.
the-mind of-a-man rich not the-money-chest to-be-called is-wont
Quamvis illa sit plena, dum te inanem videbo, divitem non
however-much that be full while you empty I-shall-see rich not
putabo; etenim ex eo, quantum cuique satis est, metiuntur
I-shall-think for-indeed from that how-much for-each enough is measure
homines divitiarum modum. Filiam quis habet, pecunia
men of-riches the-limit a-daughter anyone has of-money
est opus; duas, maiore; pluris, maiore etiam; si, ut aiunt
there-is need two of-greater more of-greater even if as they-say
Danao, quinquaginta sint filiae, tot dotes magnam
to-Danaus fifty there-are daughters so-many dowries a-great
quaerunt pecuniam: quantum enim cuique opus est, ad id
require money how-much for for-each need is to that
accommodatur, ut ante dixi, divitiarum modus. Qui igitur
is-fitted as before I-said of-riches the-limit who therefore
non filias pluris, sed innumerabilis cupiditates habet, quae
not daughters several but countless desires has which

brevi tempore maximas copias exhaurire possint, hunc quo
in-a-short time the-greatest resources to-exhaust could this-man in-what
modo ego appellabo divitem, cum ipse egere se sentiat?
way I shall-call rich when he-himself to-want himself feels
Multi ex te audierunt cum diceres, neminem esse divitem, 45
many from you have-heard when you-said (that)-no-one to-be rich
nisi qui exercitum alere posset suis fructibus, quod
except who an-army to-maintain could with-his-own revenues which
populus Romanus tantis vectigalibus iam pridem vix
the-people Roman with-so-great revenues now long-since scarcely
potest: ergo hoc proposito numquam eris dives
can therefore this having-been-laid-down never you-will-be rich
ante, quam tibi ex tuis possessionibus tantum reficietur,
before than for-you from your possessions so-much shall-be-produced
ut eo tueri sex legiones et magna equitum ac peditum
that by-it to-maintain six legions and great of-cavalry and of-infantry
auxilia possis. Iam fateris igitur non esse te divitem,
auxiliaries you-can now you-confess therefore not to-be you rich
cui tantum desit, ut expleas id quod exoptas. Itaque
to-whom so-much is-lacking that you-may-fill-out that which you-crave and-so
istam paupertatem vel potius egestatem ac mendicitatem
that poverty or rather want and beggary
tuam numquam obscure tulisti.
your never obscurely have-you-borne

Cicero lists the ways his opponent gets money — bargains for advocacy, syndicates of candidates, freedmen sent to plunder provinces, forged wills, everything for sale — and says a man who must keep getting cannot be called rich. He compares his own small revenue with a great one eaten up by luxury, and says virtue can neither be snatched nor lost.

46 Nam ut iis, qui honeste rem quaerunt mercaturis
for as for-those who honorably property seek by-trades
faciendis, operis dandis, publicis sumendis, intellegimus
to-be-plied by-services to-be-given by-contracts to-be-taken we-understand
opus esse quaesito, sic, qui videt domi tuae pariter
need to-be of-gain so who sees at-house your equally
accusatorum atque indicum consociatos greges, qui nocentis
of-accusers and of-informers associated the-herds who guilty
et pecuniosos reos eodem te actore corruptelam iudicii
and moneyed defendants with-the-same you as-agent the-corrupting of-a-court
molientis, qui tuas mercedum pactiones in patrociniis, †
contriving who your of-fees the-bargains in patronages (corrupt)
intercidas pecuniarum in coitionibus candidatorum, dimissiones
interceptions of-moneys in the-combinations of-candidates the-sendings-out
libertorum ad defaenerandas diripiendasque provincias, qui
of-freedmen for to-be-fleeced and-to-be-plundered the-provinces who
expulsiones vicinorum, qui latrocinia in agris, qui cum servis,
the-expulsions of-neighbors who the-robberies in the-fields who with slaves
cum libertis, cum clientibus societates, qui possessiones vacuas,
with freedmen with clients the-partnerships who the-holdings empty
qui proscriptiones locupletium, qui cladis municipiorum, qui
who the-proscriptions of-the-rich who the-disasters of-the-towns who
illam Sullani temporis messem recordetur, qui testamenta
that of-the-Sullan time the-harvest recalls who the-wills

subiecta, tot qui sublatos homines, qui denique omnia
forged so-many who the-made-away men who finally all-things
venalia, edictum, decretum, alienam suam sententiam, forum,
for-sale an-edict a-decree another's(-or) his-own opinion the-forum
domum, vocem, silentium: quis hunc non putet confiteri
the-house the-voice the-silence who this-man not would-think to-confess
sibi quaesito opus esse? Cui quaesito autem opus sit,
for-himself of-gain need to-be for-whom of-gain moreover need there-is
quis umquam hunc vere dixerit divitem?
who ever this-man truly would-call rich
Etenim divitiarum est fructus in copia, copiam autem 47
for-indeed of-riches is the-fruit in plenty (as-for)-plenty moreover
declarat satietas rerum atque abundantia: quam tu quoniam
declares(-it) the-satiety of-things and abundance which you since
numquam adsequere, numquam omnino es dives futurus.
never you-will-attain never at-all you-are rich about-to-be
Meam autem quoniam pecuniam contemnis, et recte — est
my moreover since money you-despise and rightly it-is
enim ad volgi opinionem mediocris, ad tuam nulla, ad
for to the-crowd's opinion middling to yours nothing to
meam modica—, de me silebo, de re loquar.
mine moderate about myself I-shall-be-silent about the-matter I-shall-speak
Si censenda nobis sit atque aestimanda res, utrum tandem 48
if to-be-rated by-us it-is and to-be-valued a-thing whether pray
pluris aestimemus pecuniam Pyrrhi, quam Fabricio dabat, an
at-more should-we-value the-money of-Pyrrhus which to-Fabricius he-was-giving or
continentiam Fabricii, qui illam pecuniam repudiabat? Utrum
the-self-restraint of-Fabricius who that money refused whether
aurum Samnitium an responsum M'. Curii? Hereditatem
the-gold of-the-Samnites or the-answer of-Manius Curius the-inheritance
L. Pauli an liberalitatem Africani, qui eius hereditatis
of-Lucius Paulus or the-generosity of-Africanus who of-that inheritance

Q. Maximo fratri partem suam concessit? Haec profecto,
to-Quintus Maximus the-brother the-share his-own gave-up these assuredly
quae sunt summarum virtutum, pluris aestimanda sunt quam
which are of-the-highest virtues at-more to-be-valued are than
illa, quae sunt pecuniae. Quis igitur, si quidem, ut quisque
those which are of-money who therefore if indeed as each-man
quod plurimi est possidet, ita divitissimus habendus est,
what of-most-worth is possesses so richest to-be-held is
dubitet quin in virtute divitiae sint? Quoniam nulla possessio,
would-doubt but-that in virtue riches are since no possession
nulla vis auri et argenti pluris quam virtus aestimanda est.
no quantity of-gold and of-silver at-more than virtue to-be-valued is
49 O di inmortales! Non intellegunt homines quam magnum
O gods immortal not understand men how great
vectigal sit parsimonia. Venio enim iam ad sumptuosos,
a-revenue is thrift I-come for now to the-lavish
relinquo istum quaestuosum. Capit ille ex suis praediis
I-leave that money-making-man takes he from his-own estates
sescena sestertia, ego centena ex meis; illi aurata tecta
six-hundred thousand-sesterces I a-hundred from mine for-him gilded ceilings
in villis et sola marmorea facienti et signa, tabulas,
in country-houses and floors marble making and statues paintings
supellectilem et vestem infinite concupiscenti non modo ad
furniture and clothing boundlessly coveting not only for
sumptum ille est fructus, sed etiam ad faenus exiguus: ex
outlay that is the-income but even for interest scanty from
meo tenui vectigali detractis sumptibus cupiditatis
my slender revenue with-having-been-deducted the-outlays of-desire
aliquid etiam redundabit. Uter igitur est divitior,
something even will-be-left-over which-of-the-two therefore is richer
cui deest an cui superat? Qui eget an qui abundat?
to-whom is-lacking or to-whom is-left-over who wants or who abounds

Cuius possessio quo est maior, eo plus requirit ad
whose property by-how-much is greater by-that more requires for
se tuendam, an quae suis se viribus sustinet?
itself to-be-guarded or which by-its-own itself strength sustains
Sed quid ego de me loquor, qui morum ac temporum 50
but why I about myself do-I-speak who of-morals and of-times
vitio aliquantum etiam ipse fortasse in huius saeculi
by-the-fault somewhat even myself perhaps in of-this age
errore verser? M'. Manilius patrum nostrorum memoria,
the-error am-involved Manius Manilius of-the-fathers our in-the-memory
ne semper Curios et Luscinos loquamur, pauper tandem
lest always the-Curii and the-Luscini we-name poor pray
fuit? Habuit enim aediculas in Carinis et fundum in
was he-had for little-houses on the-Carinae and an-estate in
Labicano. Nos igitur divitiores, qui plura habemus? Utinam
the-Labican we therefore richer who more have would-that
quidem! Sed non aestimatione census, verum victu atque
indeed but not by-the-valuation of-a-census but by-diet and
cultu terminatur pecuniae modus.
by-style is-bounded of-money the-limit
Non esse cupidum pecunia est, non esse emacem 51
not to-be covetous money is not to-be fond-of-buying
vectigal est: contentum vero suis rebus esse maximae
a-revenue is content indeed with-one's-own things to-be the-greatest
sunt certissimaeque divitiae. Etenim si isti callidi rerum
are and-the-surest riches for-indeed if those shrewd of-things
aestimatores prata et areas quasdam magno aestimant, quod
appraisers meadows and plots certain at-much value because
ei generi possessionum minime quasi noceri potest,
to-that kind of-possessions least-of-all as-it-were to-be-harmed can
quanti est aestimanda virtus, quae nec eripi nec
at-how-much is to-be-valued virtue which neither to-be-snatched nor

subripi potest, neque naufragio neque incendio amittitur,
to-be-stolen can and-not by-shipwreck nor by-fire is-lost
nec tempestatum nec temporum perturbatione mutatur!
nor of-storms nor of-times by-the-disturbance is-changed
52 Qua praediti qui sunt, soli sunt divites. Soli enim possident
with-which endowed who are alone are rich alone for they-possess
res et fructuosas et sempiternas solique, quod est proprium
things both fruitful and everlasting and-alone which is proper
divitiarum, contenti sunt rebus suis, satis esse putant
of-riches content are with-things their-own enough to-be they-think
quod est, nihil adpetunt, nulla re egent, nihil sibi
what there-is nothing they-crave in-no thing they-want nothing for-themselves
deesse sentiunt, nihil requirunt: inprobi autem et avari,
to-be-lacking they-feel nothing they-require the-wicked moreover and greedy
quoniam incertas atque in casu positas possessiones habent et
since uncertain and on chance placed possessions they-have and
plus semper adpetunt nec eorum quisquam adhuc inventus
more always they-crave and-not of-them anyone hitherto found
est, cui quod haberet esset satis, non modo non copiosi
has-been for-whom what he-had was enough not only not well-supplied
ac divites, sed etiam inopes ac pauperes existimandi sunt.
and rich but even needy and poor to-be-reckoned are