

LATIN SERIES • VOLUME 10

THE ACADEMY

CICERO

Academica · Lucullus

The Academy

Academica I and the Lucullus, on What Can Be Known

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation
preserving the original word order

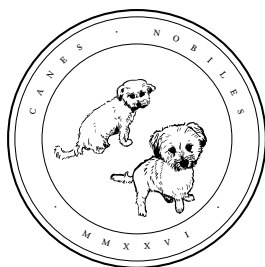


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Volume 10 of the Canes Nobiles Latin interlinear texts

The Latin text follows Plasberg's Teubner text of 1922

Set from the Perseus Digital Library's canonical Latin corpus, with corrections

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Artwork by Esther Steves

Plasberg marks a gap in the manuscripts with asterisks and a corrupt passage with a dagger. Every gap is set here as three asterisks and glossed as a lacuna; the dagger stands where he puts it. Cicero's Greek technical terms are printed in Greek and glossed like any other word. The speakers' abbreviations are the editor's, and carry no gloss.

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CICERO

Academicorum Liber Primus

The Academica, Book One

Cicero is at his villa near Cumae with Atticus when word comes that Varro has arrived from Rome. Atticus tells Cicero to ask instead whether Varro himself has anything new, since Varro's Muses have been silent longer than usual. Varro answers that he has a great work in hand, begun long ago and addressed to Cicero, and Cicero asks why a man who writes so much passes this kind of writing by.

In Cumano nuper cum mecum Atticus noster esset, 1
in the-Cumaeian(-estate) recently when with-me Atticus our was
nuntiatum est nobis a M. Varrone venisse eum Roma
announced it-was to-us by Marcus Varro to-have-come him from-Rome
pridie vesperi et, nisi de via fessus esset, continuo
the-day-before in-the-evening and unless from the-journey weary he-were immediately
ad nos venturum fuisse. quod cum audissemus, nullam moram
to us about-to-come to-have-been which when we-had-heard no delay
interponendam putavimus quin videremus hominem nobiscum
to-be-interposed we-thought but-that we-should-see the-man with-us
et studiis eisdem et vetustate amicitiae coniunctum;
both by-pursuits the-same and by-the-antiquity of-friendship joined
itaque confestim ad eum ire perreximus. paulumque cum
and-so at-once to him to-go we-set-out and-a-little when
ab eius villa abessemus, ipsum ad nos venientem vidimus;
from his villa we-were-distant himself to us coming we-saw
atque illum complexi, ut mos amicorum est (satis
and him having-embraced as the-custom of-friends is sufficiently
enim longo intervallo ***), ad suam villam reduximus.
for (after)-a-long interval (lacuna) to his-own villa we-led(-him)-back
hic pauca primo, atque ea percunctantibus nobis 2
here a-few(-words) at-first and those (while)-inquiring us
ecquid forte Roma novi.
whether-anything by-chance from-Rome of-new

Tum Atticus 'Omitte ista quae nec percunctari nec
then Atticus leave-aside those(-things) which neither to-inquire-about nor
 audire sine molestia possumus quaeso' inquit 'et quare
to-bear without annoyance we-are-able I-beg he-said and seek
 potius ecquid ipse novi. silent enim diutius Musae
rather whether-anything he-himself of-new are-silent for longer the-Muses
 Varronis quam solebant, nec tamen istum cessare sed
of-Varro than they-were-wont nor however that-man to-be-idle but
 celare quae scribat existimo.'

to-conceal what he-writes I-judge

'Minime vero' inquit ille; 'intemperantis enim arbitror
by-no-means truly said he of-an-unrestrained(-man) for I-think
 esse scribere quod occultari velit; sed habeo magnum opus
to-be to-write what to-be-bidden he-wishes but I-have a-great work
 in manibus, quae iam pridem; ad hunc enim ipsum' (me
in (my)-hands which already long-since to this for very(-one) me
 autem dicebat) 'quaedam institui, quae et sunt magna
moreover he-meant certain(-things) I-have-undertaken which both are great
 sane et limantur a me politius.'

indeed and are-being-polished by me more-finely

- 3 Et ego 'Ista quidem' inquam 'Varro iam diu expectans
and I those(-things) indeed I-said Varro now long awaiting
 non audeo tamen flagitare; audivi enim e Libone nostro,
not I-dare however to-demand I-have-heard for from Libo our
 cuius nosti studium (nihil enim eius modi celare possumus),
whose you-know zeal nothing for of-that kind to-conceal we-are-able
 non te ea intermittere sed accuratius tractare nec de
not you those(-things) to-lay-aside but more-carefully to-handle nor from
 manibus umquam deponere. illud autem mihi ante hoc tempus
(your)-hands ever to-lay-down that moreover to-me before this time
 numquam in mentem venit a te requirere. sed nunc postea
never into mind came from you to-ask but now after

quam sum ingressus res eas quas tecum simul didici
that I-have begun the-subjects those which with-you together I-learned
 mandare monumentis philosophiamque veterem illam a
to-commit to-records and-philosophy old that from
 Socrate ortam Latinis litteris illustrare, quaero quid sit cur
Socrates sprung in-Latin letters to-illuminate I-ask what it-is why
 cum multa scribas genus hoc praetermittas, praesertim
although many(-things) you-write kind this you-pass-over especially
 cum et ipse in eo excellas et id studium totaque ea
since both yourself in it you-excel and that pursuit and-the-whole that
 res longe ceteris et studiis et artibus antecedit.
subject far the-other both pursuits and arts surpasses

II · WHY VARRO HAS NOT WRITTEN PHILOSOPHY

Varro says he has thought the question through and has an answer ready. Greek philosophy is already set out so well that the learned will read it in Greek and the unlearned will not read it at all, and Latin philosophy needs a care Amafinius never brought to it. So he sends his friends to the Greek springs, and has mixed philosophy into his own satires and prefaces.

Tum ille: 'Rem a me saepe deliberatam et multum agitatam 4
then he a-matter by me often pondered and much debated
 requiris. itaque non haesitans respondebo, sed ea
you-ask and-so not hesitating I-shall-answer but those(-things)
 dicam quae mihi sunt in promptu, quod ista ipsa de re
I-shall-say which to-me are in readiness because that very about matter
 multum ut dixi et diu cogitavi. nam cum philosophiam
much as I-said and long I-have-thought for when philosophy
 viderem diligentissime Graecis litteris explicatam, existimavi si
I-saw most-carefully in-Greek letters set-out I-judged if

qui de nostris eius studio tenerentur, si essent Graecis
any of our(-countrymen) of-it by-the-study were-held if they-were in-Greek
 doctrinis eruditi, Graeca potius quam nostra lecturos, sin
teachings trained Greek(-books) rather than ours about-to-read but-if
 a Graecorum artibus et disciplinis abhorrent, ne haec
from of-the-Greeks the-arts and teachings they-shrank-from not these
 quidem curaturos, quae sine eruditione Graeca intellegi
even about-to-care(-for) which without training Greek to-be-understood
 non possunt. itaque ea nolui scribere quae nec
not they-can and-so those(-things) I-did-not-wish to-write which neither
 indocti intellegere possent nec docti legere curarent.
the-unlearned to-understand could nor the-learned to-read would-care

- 5 Vides autem eadem ipse; didicisti enim non posse nos
you-see moreover the-same yourself you-have-learned for not to-be-able us
 Amafinii aut Rabirii similes esse, qui nulla arte adhibita de
of-Amafinius or of-Rabirius like to-be who no art employed about
 rebus ante oculos positis vulgari sermone disputant, nihil
things before the-eyes placed in-common speech discuss nothing
 definiunt nihil partiuntur nihil apta interrogatione concludunt,
they-define nothing they-divide nothing by-fit questioning they-conclude
 nullam denique artem esse nec dicendi nec disserendi
no in-short art to-be neither of-speaking nor of-arguing
 putant; nos autem praeceptis dialecticorum et oratorum etiam,
they-think we moreover to-the-rules of-the-dialecticians and of-the-orators also
 quoniam utramque vim virtutem esse nostri putant, sic
since each faculty a-virtue to-be our(-countrymen) think so
 parentes ut legibus verbis quoque novis cogimur uti, quae
obeying as to-laws by-words also new we-are-compelled to-use which
 docti ut dixi a Graecis petere malent, indocti ne a
the-learned as I-said from the-Greeks to-seek will-prefer the-unlearned not from
 nobis quidem accipient, ut frustra omnis suscipiatur labor.
us even will-accept so-that in-vain all may-be-undertaken labor

Iam vero physica, si Epicurum id est si Democritum 6
now truly physics if Epicurus that is if Democritus
 probarem, possem scribere ita plane ut Amafinius. quid est
I-approved I-could to-write so plainly as Amafinius what is
 enim magnum, cum causas rerum efficientium sustuleris,
for great when the-causes of-things producing you-have-taken-away
 de corpusculorum (ita enim appellat atomos) concursione
about of-little-bodies so for he-calls the-atoms the-collision
 fortuita loqui? nostra tu physica nosti; quae cum contineantur
fortuitous to-speak our you physics you-know which since are-composed
 ex effectione et ex materia ea quam fingit et format
from an-efficient-cause and from matter that which shapes and forms
 effectio, adhibenda etiam geometria est; quam quibusnam
the-efficient-cause to-be-brought-in also geometry is which by-what
 quisquam enuntiare verbis aut quem ad intellegendum
anyone to-set-forth words or whom to understanding
 poterit adducere? Haec ipsa de vita et moribus et
will-be-be-able to-bring these(-things) themselves about life and conduct and
 de expetendis fugiendisque rebus illi simpliciter, pecudis
about to-be-sought and-to-be-avoided things they simply(-treat-them) of-a-beast
 enim et hominis idem bonum esse censent; apud nostros
for and of-a-man the-same good to-be they-judge among our(-men)
 autem non ignoras quae sit et quanta subtilitas.
moreover not you-are-unaware what is and how-great the-subtlety
 sive enim Zenonem sequare, magnum est efficere ut 7
whether for Zeno you-follow a-great(-thing) it-is to-bring-about that
 quis intellegat quid sit illud verum et simplex bonum quod
anyone may-understand what is that true and simple good which
 non possit ab honestate seiungi (quod bonum quale
not can from the-honorable to-be-separated which good of-what-sort
 sit negat omnino Epicurus se sine voluptatibus sensum
it-is denies altogether Epicurus himself without pleasures the-sense

moventibus ne suspicari quidem); si vero Academiam veterem
stirring not to-suspect even if however the-Academy old
persequemur, quam nos ut scis probamus, quam erit illa
we-shall-follow-out which we as you-know approve how it-will-be that
acute explicanda nobis, quam argute quam obscure etiam contra
keenly to-be-set-out by-us how sharply how obscurely also against
Stoicos disserendum. Totum igitur illud philosophiae studium
the-Stoics to-be-argued the-whole therefore that of-philosophy pursuit
mihi quidem ipse sumo et ad vitae constantiam quantum
to-me indeed myself I-take and for of-life steadiness as-much-as
possum et ad delectationem animi, nec ullum arbitror, ut apud
I-can and for delight of-mind nor any I-think as in
Platonem est, maius aut melius a diis datum munus homini;
Plato it-is greater or better by the-gods given gift to-man
8 sed meos amicos in quibus est studium in Graeciam mitto id
but my friends in whom is zeal into Greece I-send that
est ad Graecos ire iubeo, ut ex fontibus potius hauriant
is to the-Greeks to-go I-bid that from the-springs rather they-may-draw
quam rivulos consectentur. quae autem nemo adhuc docuerat
than the-rivulets they-may-chase what moreover no-one hitherto had-taught
nec erat unde studiosi scire possent, ea quantum
nor there-was whence the-eager to-know could those(-things) as-much-as
potui (nihil enim magnopere meorum miror) feci
I-could nothing for greatly of-my-own I-admire I-brought-(it)-about
ut essent nota nostris; a Graecis enim peti non
that they-were known to-our(-countrymen) from the-Greeks for to-be-sought not
poterant ac post L. Aelii nostri occasum ne a Latinis
they-could and after Lucius Aelius' our death not from the-Latins
quidem. et tamen in illis veteribus nostris, quae Menippum
even and yet in those old(-works) our which Menippus
imitati non interpretati quadam hilaritate conspersimus,
having-imitated not having-translated with-a-certain gaiety we-sprinkled

multa admixta ex intima philosophia, multa dicta
 many(-things) mixed-in from the-inmost philosophy many(-things) said
 dialectice, quae quo facilius minus docti intellegent,
 dialectically which by-which more-easily the-less learned might-understand
 iucunditate quadam ad legendum invitati; in laudationibus,
 by-a-pleasantness a-certain to reading invited in eulogies
 in his ipsis antiquitatum prooemiis philosophiae more
 in these very of-antiquities prefaces of-philosophy in-the-manner
 scribere volumus, si modo consecuti sumus.
 to-write we-wished if only attained we-have

III • WHAT VARRO HAS GIVEN ROME

Cicero grants the point and then turns it around. Varro's own books led his countrymen home in their own city, naming its age, its rites, its priesthoods, and its arts. If readers trained in Greek enjoy Ennius and Accius, who render the force of the Greek poets, they will enjoy a Latin Plato too, and Cicero says his own turn to philosophy is a cure for grief and the most honorable use of leisure.

Tum ego 'Sunt' inquam 'ista Varro. nam nos in 9
 then I they-are I-said those(-things) Varro for us in
 nostra urbe peregrinantis errantisque tamquam hospites tui
 our city wandering and-straying like strangers your
 libri quasi domum deduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando
 books as-it-were home have-led so-that we-could at-last
 qui et ubi essemus agnoscere. tu aetatem patriae tu
 who and where we-were to-recognize you the-age of-the-fatherland you
 descriptiones temporum, tu sacrorum iura tu sacerdotum,
 the-divisions of-the-periods you of-the-rites the-laws you of-the-priests
 tu domesticam tu bellicam disciplinam, tu sedum regionum
 you the-domestic you the-military training you of-the-seats of-the-regions

locorum tu omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina
of-the-places you of-all divine and-human things the-names
 genera officia causas aperuisti; plurimum quidem poetis
the-kinds the-functions the-causes have-revealed very-much indeed to-poets
 nostris omninoque Latinis et litteris luminis et verbis
our and-in-general Latin both to-letters of-light and to-words
 attulisti atque ipse varium et elegans omni fere numero
you-have-brought and yourself a-varied and elegant in-every nearly measure
 poema fecisti, philosophiamque multis locis inchoasti,
poem you-have-made and-philosophy in-many places you-have-begun
 ad impellendum satis, ad edocendum parum.
for driving(-us-on) enough for teaching(-us) too-little

- 10 Causam autem probabilem tu quidem affers: aut enim
a-cause moreover probable you indeed bring either for
 Graeca legere malent qui erunt eruditi, aut ne haec
Greek(-books) to-read they-will-prefer who will-be learned or not these
 quidem qui illa nescient. sed eam mihi non sane probas;
even who those will-not-know but that to-me not really you-prove
 immo vero et haec qui illa non poterunt, et qui Graeca
may truly both these who those not will-be-able and who Greek
 poterunt non contemnent sua. quid enim causae est cur
will-be-able not will-despise their-own what for of-reason is why
 poetas Latinos Graecis litteris eruditi legant, philosophos
poets Latin in-Greek letters the-learned read philosophers
 non legant? an quia delectat Ennius Pacuvius Accius multi
not read or because delights Ennius Pacuvius Accius many
 alii, qui non verba sed vim Graecorum expresserunt
others who not the-words but the-force of-the-Greeks reproduced
 poetarum — quanto magis philosophi delectabunt, si ut illi
of-poets how-much more the-philosophers will-delight if as those
 Aeschylum Sophoclem Euripidem sic hi Platonem imitentur
Aeschylus Sophocles Euripides so these Plato should-imitate

Aristotelem Theophrastum. oratores quidem laudari video si

Aristotle Theophrastus orators indeed to-be-praised I-see if

qui e nostris Hyperidem sint aut Demosthenem imitati.

any of our(-countrymen) Hyperides have or Demosthenes imitated

Ego autem Varro (dicam enim ut res est), dum me

I moreover Varro I-shall-say for as the-matter is while me

ambitio dum honores dum causae, dum rei publicae

ambition while offices while lawsuits while of-the-thing public

non solum cura sed quaedam etiam procuratio multis

not only the-care but a-certain even management in-many

officiis implicatum et constrictum tenebat, animo haec

duties entangled and bound held in-mind these(-things)

inclusa habebam et ne obsolescerent renovabam cum

shut-up I-was-keeping and lest they-should-grow-stale I-was-renewing(-them) when

licebat legendo; nunc vero et fortunae gravissimo

it-was-allowed by-reading now however both of-fortune most-grievous

percussus vulnere et administratione rei publicae

struck by-a-wound and from-the-administration of-the-thing public

liberatus doloris medicinam a philosophia peto et otii

freed of-grief the-cure from philosophy I-see and of-leisure

oblectationem hanc honestissimam iudico. aut enim huic

the-enjoyment this most-honorable I-judge either for to-this

aetati hoc maxime aptum est, aut his rebus si quas dignas

age this most fitting it-is or to-these things if any worthy

laude gessimus hoc in primis consentaneum, aut etiam ad

of-praise we-have-done this among the-first suitable or also for

nostros cives erudiendos nihil utilius, aut si haec

our fellow-citizens to-be-educated nothing more-useful or if these(-things)

ita non sunt nihil aliud video quod agere possimus.

so not are nothing else I-see which to-do we-can

11

- 12 Brutus quidem noster excellens omni genere laudis sic
Brutus indeed our excelling in-every kind of-praise so
 philosophiam Latinis litteris persequitur nihil ut isdem
philosophy in-Latin letters pursues nothing that the-same
 de rebus Graeca desideres; et eandem quidem sententiam
about matters Greek you-would-miss and the-same indeed opinion
 sequitur quam tu, nam Aristum Athenis audivit aliquamdiu,
he-follows which you for Aristus at-Athens he-heard for-some-time
 cuius tu fratrem Antiochum. quam ob rem da quaeso
whose you the-brother Antiochus which on-account-of thing give I-beg
 te huic etiam generi litterarum.
yourself to-this also kind of-letters

IV • SOCRATES AND THE TWO SCHOOLS

Varro has heard that Cicero has left the Old Academy for the New, and Cicero replies that Philo denied there were ever two Academies at all. They sit down and Varro begins: Socrates was the first to call philosophy away from hidden things and turn it to human life, professing to know only that he knew nothing. From Plato's authority came a single doctrine under two names, the Academics and the Peripatetics, who differed in name and not in substance.

- 13 Tum ille: 'Istuc quidem considerabo, nec vero sine te. sed
then he that indeed I-shall-consider nor truly without you but
 de te ipso quid est' inquit 'quod audio?'
about you yourself what is he-said that I-hear
 'Quanam' inquam 'de re?'
what I-said about matter
 VA. 'Relictam a te veterem Academiam' inquit, 'tractari
abandoned by you the-old Academy he-said to-be-handled
 autem novam.'
moreover the-new

‘Quid ergo’ inquam ‘Antiocho id magis licuerit nostro
what then I-said to-Antiochus that more was-permitted to-our
 familiari, remigrare in domum veterem e nova, quam
friend to-move-back into the-house old from the-new than
 nobis in novam e vetere? certe enim recentissima quaeque
to-us into the-new from the-old surely for the-most-recent each
 sunt correcta et emendata maxime. quamquam Antiochi
are corrected and amended most although Antiochus’
 magister Philo, magnus vir ut tu existimas ipse, †negaret
teacher Philo a-great man as you judge yourself denied
 in libris, quod coram etiam ex ipso audiebamus, duas
in (his)-books which face-to-face also from himself we-used-to-hear two
 Academias esse, erroremque eorum qui ita putarent coarguit.’
Academies to-be and-the-error of-those who thus thought be-refuted
 VA. ‘Est’ inquit ‘ut dicis; sed ignorare te non arbitror quae
it-is he-said as you-say but to-be-unaware you not I-think what
 contra Philonis Antiochus scripserit.’

against Philo’s(-views) Antiochus has-written

CIC. ‘Immo vero et ista et totam veterem Academiam, 14
nay truly both those(-things) and the-whole old Academy
 a qua absum tam diu, renovari a te nisi molestum
from which I-have-been-away so long to-be-renewed by you unless troublesome
 est velim’, et simul ‘adsidamus’ inquam ‘si videtur.’

it-is I-should-wish and at-the-same-time let-us-sit-down I-said if it-seems-good
 VA. ‘Sane istuc quidem’ inquit, ‘sum enim admodum infirmus.

certainly that indeed he-said I-am for quite weak
 sed videamus idemne Attico placeat fieri a me quod
but let-us-see whether-the-same to-Atticus it-pleases to-be-done by me which
 te velle video.’

you to-wish I-see

‘Mihi vero’ ille; ‘quid est enim quod malim quam ex
to-me truly he what is for that I-should-prefer than from
 Antiocho iam pridem audita recordari et simul
Antiochus already long-since (things)-heard to-recall and at-the-same-time
 videre satisne ea commodè dici possint Latine?’
to-see whether-sufficiently those(-things) fitly to-be-said they-can in-Latin
 Quae cum essent dicta, in conspectu consedimus omnes.

which(-things) when were said in the-view we-sat-down all

- 15 Tum Varro ita exorsus est: ‘Socrates mihi videtur, id
then Varro thus begun he-has Socrates to-me seems that
 quod constat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis et ab
which is-agreed among all the-first from matters bidden and by
 ipsa natura involutis, in quibus omnes ante eum philosophi
very nature wrapped-up in which all before him philosophers
 occupati fuerunt, avocavisse philosophiam et ad vitam
occupied had-been to-have-called-away philosophy and to life
 communem adduxisse, ut de virtutibus et de vitiis
common to-have-led(-it) so-that about virtues and about vices
 omninoque de bonis rebus et malis quaereret, caelestia
and-in-general about good things and bad it-might-inquire the-heavenly(-things)
 autem vel procul esse a nostra cognitione censeret vel,
moreover either far to-be from our cognition it-might-judge or
 si maxime cognita essent, nihil tamen ad bene vivendum.
if most known they-were nothing nevertheless toward well living

- 16 hic in omnibus fere sermonibus, qui ab is qui illum
he in all nearly conversations which by those who him
 audierunt perscripti variegatè copioseque sunt, ita disputat ut
heard written-out variously and-copiously are so argues that
 nihil affirmet ipse refellat alios, nihil se scire dicat
nothing he-affirms himself he-refutes others nothing himself to-know he-says
 nisi id ipsum, eoque praestare ceteris, quod illi quae
except that very(-thing) and-in-that to-excel the-others because they what

nesciant scire se putent, ipse se nihil scire
they-do-not-know to-know themselves think he-himself himself nothing to-know
 id unum sciat, ob eamque rem se arbitrari ab Apolline
that one(-thing) knows on and-that account himself to-judge by Apollo
 omnium sapientissimum esse dictum, quod haec esset una
of-all wisest to-be called because this was the-one
 hominis sapientia, non arbitrari sese scire quod nesciat.
of-man wisdom not to-think oneself to-know what one-does-not-know
 quae cum diceret constanter et in ea sententia
which(-things) since he-said consistently and in that opinion
 permaneret, omnis eius oratio tantum in virtute laudanda et
he-remained all his discourse only in virtue to-be-praised and
 in hominibus ad virtutis studium cohortandis consumebatur, ut
in men to of-virtue the-pursuit to-be-exhorted was-spent as
 e Socraticorum libris maximeque Platonis intellegi potest.
from of-the-Socratics books and-especially of-Plato to-be-understood it-can
 Platonis autem auctoritate, qui varius et multiplex et copiosus 17
of-Plato moreover by-the-authority who varied and manifold and copious
 fuit, una et consentiens duobus vocabulis philosophiae forma
was one and agreeing by-two names of-philosophy a-form
 instituta est Academicorum et Peripateticorum, qui rebus
established was of-the-Academics and of-the-Peripatetics who in-substance
 congruentes nominibus differebant. nam cum Speusippum
agreeing in-names differed for when Speusippus
 sororis filium Plato philosophiae quasi heredem reliquisset,
of(-his)-sister the-son Plato of-philosophy as-it-were heir had-left
 duo autem praestantissimo studio atque doctrina, Xenocratem
two moreover most-outstanding in-zeal and learning Xenocrates
 Calchedonium et Aristotelem Stagiritem, qui erant cum
of-Chalcedon and Aristotle of-Stagira those-who were with
 Aristotele Peripatetici dicti sunt, quia disputabant inambulantes
Aristotle Peripatetics called were because they-argued walking-about

in Lycio, illi autem, quia Platonis instituto in Academia,
in the-Lyceum those moreover because of-Plato by-the-practice in the-Academy
 quod est alterum gymnasium, coetus erant et sermones habere
which is the-other gymnasium gatherings were and conversations to-hold
 soliti, e loci vocabulo nomen habuerunt. sed utrique
accustomed from of-the-place the-term a-name they-had but both(-groups)
 Platonis ubertate completi certam quandam disciplinae
of-Plato by-the-richness filled a-fixed certain of-teaching
 formulam composuerunt et eam quidem plenam ac refertam,
scheme they-composed and that indeed full and crammed
 illam autem Socraticam dubitanter de omnibus rebus et nulla
that moreover Socratic doubtfully about all things and no
 affirmatione adhibita consuetudinem disserendi reliquerunt. ita
assertion employed the-practice of-arguing they-abandoned so
 facta est, quod minime Socrates probabat, ars quaedam
made was which by-no-means Socrates approved an-art a-certain
 philosophiae et rerum ordo et descriptio disciplinae.
of-philosophy and of-things an-order and a-description of-teaching

- 18 Quae quidem erat primo duobus ut dixi nominibus una;
which indeed was at-first by-two as I-said names one
 nihil enim inter Peripateticos et illam veterem Academiam
nothing for between the-Peripatetics and that old Academy
 differebat. abundantia quadam ingenii praestabat, ut mihi
differed by-an-abundance a-certain of-talent excelled as to-me
 quidem videtur, Aristoteles, sed idem fons erat utrisque
indeed it-seems Aristotle but the-same source was for-both
 et eadem rerum expetendarum fugiendarumque partitio.
and the-same of-things to-be-sought and-to-be-avoided division

Varro sets out the Old Academy's system in three parts: conduct, nature, and argument. Its ethics begins from nature, and the highest good is to obtain everything in accordance with nature in mind, body, and life. He lists the goods of the body, then those of the mind, where virtue is the perfection of nature and the best of all they assign to the mind, and last the goods of life.

Sed quid ago' inquit 'aut sumne sanus qui haec
 but what am-I-doing he-said or am-I sane who these(-things)
 vos doceo? nam etsi non sus Minervam ut aiunt, tamen
 you I-teach for although not a-sow Minerva as they-say yet
 inepte quisquis Minervam docet.'

foolishly whoever Minerva teaches

Tum Atticus 'Tu vero' inquit 'perge Varro; valde enim amo
 then Atticus you truly he-said go-on Varro greatly for I-love
 nostra atque nostros, meque ista delectant cum Latine
 our(-things) and our(-men) and-me those delight when in-Latin
 dicuntur et isto modo.'

they-are-said and in-that way

'Quid me' inquam 'putas, qui philosophiam iam professus
 what me I-said do-you-think who philosophy already professed
 sim populo nostro me exhibiturum.'

I-have to-the-people our (that)-I about-to-display

VA. 'Pergamus igitur' inquit, 'quoniam placet. Fuit ergo iam 19

let-us-go-on therefore he-said since it-pleases there-was then already
 accepta a Platone philosophandi ratio triplex, una de
received from Plato of-philosophizing a-method threefold one about
 vita et moribus, altera de natura et rebus occultis, tertia
life and conduct a-second about nature and things hidden a-third

de disserendo et quid verum quid falsum quid rectum in
about arguing and what true what false what right in
 oratione pravumve quid consentiens quid repugnet iudicando.

speech or-crooked what agreeing what conflicts by-judging

Ac primum illam partem bene vivendi a natura petebant
and first that part well of-living from nature they-sought

eique parendum esse dicebant, neque ulla alia in re nisi
and-to-it to-be-obeyed to-be they-said nor any other in matter except

in natura quaerendum esse illud summum bonum quo

in nature to-be-sought to-be that highest good to-which

omnia referrentur, constituebantque extremum esse rerum

all(-things) were-referred and-they-laid-down the-limit to-be of-things

expetendarum et finem bonorum adeptum esse omnia

to-be-sought and the-end of-goods to-have-attained to-be all(-things)

e natura et animo et corpore et vita. corporis autem

according-to nature both in-mind and in-body and in-life of-the-body moreover

alia ponebant esse in toto alia in partibus, valetudinem

some they-set to-be in the-whole others in the-parts health

vires pulchritudinem in toto, in partibus autem sensus

strength beauty in the-whole in the-parts moreover senses

integros et praestantiam aliquam partium singularum, ut

unimpaired and an-excellence some of-parts individual as

in pedibus celeritatem, vim in manibus, claritatem in voce,

in the-feet swiftness force in the-hands clearness in the-voice

in lingua etiam explanatam vocum impressionem;

in the-tongue also distinct of-sounds articulation

20 animi autem quae essent ad comprehendendam

of-the-mind moreover which(-things) were for to-be-grasped

ingeniis virtutem idonea, eaque ab his in naturam et

by-talents virtue fit and-those by these into nature and

mores dividebantur. naturae celeritatem ad discendum et

character were-divided to-nature quickness for learning and

memoriam dabant, quorum utrumque mentis esset proprium
memory they-gave of-which each of-mind was proper

et ingenii; morum autem putabant studia esse et quasi
and of-talent of-character moreover they-thought pursuits to-be and as-it-were

consuetudinem, quam partim assiduitate exercitationis partim
habit which partly by-the-constancy of-exercise partly

ratione formabant, in quibus erat ipsa philosophia;
by-reasoning they-shaped among which was itself philosophy

in qua quod inchoatum est neque absolutum progressio
in which what begun is and-not finished a-progress

quaedam ad virtutem appellatur, quod autem absolutum,
a-certain toward virtue is-called what moreover finished

id est virtus, quasi perfectio naturae omniumque rerum
that is virtue as-it-were the-perfection of-nature and-of-all things

quas in animis ponunt una res optima.
which in minds they-place one thing best

ergo haec animorum; vitae autem (id enim erat tertium) 21
therefore these(-things) of-minds to-life moreover that for was the-third

adiuncta esse dicebant quae ad virtutis usum valerent.
joined to-be they-said which for of-virtue the-use availed

Iam virtus in animi bonis et in corporis cernitur et
now virtue in of-mind the-goods and in of-the-body is-discerned and

in quibusdam quae non tam naturae quam beatae vitae
in certain(-things) which not so-much to-nature as to-a-happy life

adiuncta sunt. hominem enim esse censebant quasi partem
joined are a-man for to-be they-judged as-it-were a-part

quandam civitatis et universi generis humani, eumque
a-certain of-the-state and of-the-whole race human and-him

esse coniunctum cum hominibus humana quadam societate.
to-be joined with men by-a-human a-certain fellowship

ac de summo quidem atque naturali bono sic agunt;
and about the-highest indeed and natural good so they-treat

cetera autem pertinere ad id putant aut ad augendum aut
the-rest moreover to-pertain to that they-think either to-be-increased or
 tenendum, ut divitias ut opes ut gloriam ut gratiam.
to-be-held as riches as power as glory as favor

VI · DUTY, AND THE TWO PRINCIPLES

The three kinds of goods are the Peripatetics' division as well, and the two schools shared it. From it comes the beginning of duty, which lies in self-preservation and in seeking what nature prescribes, and from that come friendship, justice, and fairness. Varro then turns to nature, which the school divided into an active principle and matter, and asks leave to coin new Latin words for it.

- 22 Ita tripertita ab his inducitur ratio bonorum, atque haec
thus threefold by these is-introduced the-account of-goods and these
 illa sunt tria genera quae putant plerique Peripateticos dicere.
those are three kinds which think most the-Peripatetics to-say
 id quidem non falso; est enim haec partitio illorum; illud
that indeed not falsely is for this division theirs that
 imprudenter, si alios esse Academicos qui tum appellarentur
unwisely if some to-be Academics who then were-called
 alios Peripateticos arbitrantur. communis haec ratio, et utrisque
others Peripatetics they-suppose common this account and to-both
 hic bonorum finis videbatur, adipisci quae essent prima in
this of-goods the-end seemed to-obtain what were first in
 natura quaeque ipsa per sese expetenda aut omnia
nature and-what themselves through themselves to-be-sought either all
 aut maxima; ea sunt autem maxima, quae in ipso animo
or the-greatest those are moreover greatest which in the-very mind
 atque in ipsa virtute versantur. itaque omnis illa antiqua
and in the-very virtue reside and-so all that ancient

philosophia sensit in una virtute esse positam beatam vitam,
philosophy held in alone virtue to-be placed happy life
 nec tamen beatissimam nisi adiungerentur etiam corporis et
not however happiest unless were-added also of-the-body and
 cetera quae supra dicta sunt ad virtutis usum idonea.

the-rest which above said are for of-virtue the-use fit

Ex hac descriptione agendi quoque aliquid in vita et officii 23

from this description of-doing also something in life and of-duty

ipsius initium reperiebatur, quod erat in conservatione sui
itself the-beginning was-found which was in the-preservation of-oneself

et in appetitione earum rerum quas natura praescriberet. hinc
and in the-seeking of-those things which nature prescribed hence

gignebatur fuga desidia voluptatumque contemptio, ex
was-born avoidance of-sloth and-of-pleasures contempt from

quo laborum dolorumque susceptio multorum magnorumque
which of-toils and-of-pains the-undertaking many and-great

recti honestique causa et earum rerum quae erant
of-the-right and-of-the-honorable for-the-sake and of-those things which were

congruentes cum praescriptione naturae; unde et amicitia
agreeing with the-prescription of-nature whence both friendship

exsistebat et iustitia atque aequitas, eaeque et voluptatibus
arose and justice and fairness and-these both to-pleasures

et multis vitae commodis anteponebantur. Haec quidem fuit
and to-many of-life advantages were-preferred this indeed was

apud eos morum institutio et eius partis quam primam
among them of-conduct the-training and of-that part which first

posui forma atque descriptio.

I-placed the-shape and the-description

De natura autem (id enim sequebatur) ita dicebant ut eam 24

about nature moreover that for followed thus they-spoke that it

dividerent in res duas, ut altera esset efficiens, altera

they-divided into things two so-that one was efficient the-other

autem quasi huic se praebens, eaque efficeretur aliquid.
moreover as-it-were to-this itself offering and-by-it was-produced something
 in eo quod efficeret vim esse censebant, in eo autem quod
in that which produced force to-be they-judged in that moreover which
 efficeretur tantum modo materiam quandam; in utroque
was-produced only just matter a-certain in each
 tamen utrumque: neque enim materiam ipsam cohaerere
however both nor for matter itself to-cohere
 potuisse si nulla vi contineretur, neque vim sine aliqua
to-have-been-able if by-no force it-were-held nor force without some
 materia; nihil est enim quod non alicubi esse cogatur. sed
matter nothing is for which not somewhere to-be is-compelled but
 quod ex utroque, id iam corpus et quasi qualitatem
what from both that now body and as-it-were a-quality
 quandam nominabant — dabitur enim profecto ut in rebus
a-certain they-named you-will-grant for surely that in matters
 inusitatis, quod Graeci ipsi faciunt a quibus haec
unfamiliar which the-Greeks themselves do by whom these(-things)
 iam diu tractantur, utamur verbis interdum inauditis.
now long are-handled we-may-use words sometimes unheard-of

VII • QUALITIES AND ELEMENTS

Varro coins qualitas for the Greek word and defends the practice, since every art must make its own terms. Air, fire, water, and earth are the primary qualities, and from them come the shapes of living things; Aristotle added a fifth kind for the stars and minds. Underlying all of them is matter, infinitely divisible, which the moving force, the world's soul and god, shapes into one world.

‘Nos vero’ inquit Atticus; ‘quin etiam Graecis licebit 25

we truly said Atticus nay even Greek(-words) it-will-be-allowed
utare cum voles, si te Latina forte deficient.’

you-may-use when you-wish if you Latin perchance shall-fail

VA. ‘Bene sane facis; sed enitar ut Latine loquar, nisi
well indeed you-do but I-shall-strive that in-Latin I-may-speak except

in huiusce modi verbis ut philosophiam aut rhetoricam aut
in of-this sort words as philosophy or rhetoric or

physicam aut dialecticam appellem, quibus ut aliis multis
physics or dialectic I-may-call which as others many

consuetudo iam utitur pro Latinis. qualitates igitur appellavi
usage now employs as Latin(-ones) qualities therefore I-have-called

quas ποιότητας Graeci vocant, quod ipsum apud Graecos non
which qualities the-Greeks call which itself among the-Greeks not

est vulgi verbum sed philosophorum, atque id in multis;
is of-the-crowd a-word but of-philosophers and that in many(-cases)

dialecticorum vero verba nulla sunt publica, suis utuntur.
of-the-dialecticians however words none are common their-own they-use

et id quidem commune omnium fere est artium; aut enim
and that indeed shared of-all nearly is arts either for

nova sunt rerum novarum facienda nomina aut ex aliis
new are of-things new to-be-made names or from others

transferenda. quod si Graeci faciunt qui in his rebus tot
to-be-transferred which if the-Greeks do who in these matters so-many

iam saecula versantur, quanto id nobis magis concedendum
now ages are-engaged by-how-much that to-us more to-be-granted

est, qui haec nunc primum tractare conamur.’

is who these(-things) now first to-handle attempt

- 26 'Tu vero' inquam 'Varro bene etiam meriturus mihi videris
you truly I-said Varro well even about-to-deserve to-me you-seem
 de tuis civibus, si eos non modo copia rerum
of your fellow-citizens if them not only with-abundance of-things
 auxeris, ut effecisti, sed etiam verborum.'
you-shall-enrich as you-have-done but also of-words
- VA. 'Audebimus ergo' inquit 'novis verbis uti te auctore, si
we-shall-dare then he-said new words to-use you the-authorizer if
 necesse erit. — earum igitur qualitatum sunt aliae principes
necessary it-shall-be of-those therefore qualities are some primary
 aliae ex his ortae. principes sunt unius modi et simplices; ex
others from these sprung the-primary are of-one sort and simple from
 his autem ortae variae sunt et quasi multiformes. itaque aer
these moreover sprung varied are and as-it-were manifold and-so air
 (hoc quoque utimur enim pro Latino) et ignis et aqua et terra
this too we-use for as Latin and fire and water and earth
 prima sunt; ex his autem ortae animantium formae earumque
first are from these moreover sprung of-living-things the-shapes and-of-those
 rerum quae gignuntur e terra. ergo illa initia et ut e
things which are-born from earth therefore those beginnings and as from
 Graeco vertam elementa dicuntur; e quibus aer et ignis
the-Greek I-may-translate elements are-called of which air and fire
 movendi vim habent et efficiendi, reliquae partes accipiendi
of-moving the-power have and of-producing the-remaining parts of-receiving
 et quasi patiendi, aquam dico et terram. quintum genus,
and as-it-were of-undergoing water I-mean and earth a-fifth kind
 e quo essent astra mentesque, singulare eorumque quattuor
from which were the-stars and-minds unique and-of-those four
 quae supra dixi dissimile Aristoteles quoddam esse rebatur.
which above I-said unlike Aristotle a-certain to-be thought

Sed subiectam putant omnibus sine ulla specie atque 27
but underlying they-think to-all without any form and
 carentem omni illa qualitate (faciamus enim tractando
lacking every that quality let-us-make for by-handling
 usitatus hoc verbum et tritius) materiam quandam, ex
more-familiar this word and more-worn matter a-certain from
 qua omnia expressa atque effecta sint, quae tota omnia
which all(-things) shaped and produced are which whole all(-things)
 accipere possit omnibusque modis mutari atque ex omni
to-receive can and-in-all ways to-be-changed and from every
 parte eoque etiam interire, non in nihilum sed in suas
side and-thereby even to-perish not into nothing but into its-own
 partes, quae infinite secari ac dividi possint, cum sit
parts which infinitely to-be-cut and to-be-divided can since there-is
 nihil omnino in rerum natura minimum quod dividi
nothing at-all in of-things the-nature smallest which to-be-divided
 nequeat. quae autem moveantur omnia intervallis moveri,
cannot which(-things) moreover are-moved all by-intervals to-be-moved
 quae intervalla item infinite dividi possint.
which intervals likewise infinitely to-be-divided can
 et cum ita moveatur illa vis quam qualitatem esse diximus, 28
and since so is-moved that force which a-quality to-be we-said
 et cum sic ultro citroque versetur, et materiam ipsam totam
and since thus hither and-thither it-turns both matter itself whole
 penitus commutari putant et illa effici quae appellant
utterly to-be-changed they-think and those to-be-produced which they-call
 qualia; e quibus in omni natura cohaerente et continuata
qualified from which in all nature cohering and continuous
 cum omnibus suis partibus unum effectum esse mundum,
with all its parts one produced to-be a-world
 extra quem nulla pars materiae sit nullumque corpus. Partis
outside which no part of-matter is and-no body parts

autem esse mundi omnia quae insint in eo, quae natura
moreover to-be of-the-world all(-things) which are in it which by-a-nature
 sentiente teneantur, in qua ratio perfecta insit, quae sit
perceiving are-held in which reason perfect is-present which is
 eadem sempiterna (nihil enim valentius esse a quo intereat);
the-same everlasting nothing for stronger to-be by which it-may-perish
 29 quam vim animum esse dicunt mundi, eandemque esse mentem
which force the-soul to-be they-say of-the-world and-the-same to-be the-mind
 sapientiamque perfectam, quem deum appellant, omniumque
and-wisdom perfect whom god they-call and-of-all
 rerum quae sunt ei subiectae quasi prudentiam quandam
things which are to-it subject as-it-were a-prudence a-certain
 procurantem caelestia maxime, deinde in terris ea quae
overseeing the-heavenly(-things) chiefly then on the-lands those which
 pertineant ad homines; quam interdum eandem necessitatem
pertain to men which sometimes the-same necessity
 appellant, quia nihil aliter possit atque ab ea constitutum sit,
they-call because nothing otherwise can than by it appointed it-is
 interdum *** quasi fatalem et immutabilem continuationem
sometimes (lacuna) as-it-were fated and unchangeable a-continuity
 ordinis sempiterni, non numquam quidem eandem fortunam,
of-an-order everlasting not never indeed the-same fortune
 quod efficiat multa improvisa et necopinata nobis propter
because it-brings-about many unforeseen and unexpected to-us because-of
 obscuritatem ignorationemque causarum.
the-obscurity and-the-ignorance of-causes

The third part of philosophy, reason and argument, began from the senses but did not leave the criterion of truth in them. The mind alone judges, because it alone sees what is always simple and unchanging, which Plato called the idea and Varro says we may call form. The senses being dull and slow, the school called their whole province opinion, and placed knowledge only in the mind's own notions and reasonings, from which came its definitions, etymologies, and dialectic.

Tertia deinde philosophiae pars, quae erat in ratione et in 30
the-third then of-philosophy part which was in reasoning and in
 disserendo, sic tractabatur ab utrisque. Quamquam oriretur a
arguing thus was-treated by both although it-arose from
 sensibus tamen non esse iudicium veritatis in sensibus. mentem
the-senses yet not to-be the-judgment of-truth in the-senses the-mind
 volebant rerum esse iudicem, solam censebant idoneam cui
they-held of-things to-be the-judge alone they-judged fit to-which
 crederetur, quia sola cerneret id quod semper esset simplex et
one-might-trust because alone it-discerned that which always was simple and
 unius modi et tale quale esset (hanc illi ἰδέαν appellabant, iam
of-one sort and such such-as it-was this they a-form called already
 a Platone ita nominatam, nos recte speciem possumus dicere).
by Plato so named we rightly form can say
 sensus autem omnis hebetes et tardos esse arbitrabantur 31
the-senses moreover all dull and slow to-be they-judged
 nec percipere ullo modo res eas quae subiectae sensibus
nor to-perceive in-any way things those which subject to-the-senses
 viderentur, quod essent aut ita parvae ut sub sensum
seemed because they-were either so small that under sense
 cadere non possent, aut ita mobiles et concitatae ut
to-fall not they-could or so moving and stirred that
 nihil umquam unum esset et constans, ne idem quidem,
nothing ever one was and constant not the-same even

quia continenter laberentur et fluerent omnia. itaque hanc
because continuously they-slipped and flowed all(-things) and-so this
 omnem partem rerum opinabilem appellabant;

whole part of-things opinable they-called

- 32 scientiam autem nusquam esse censebant nisi in animi
knowledge moreover nowhere to-be they-judged except in of-the-mind
 notionibus atque rationibus. qua de causa definitiones rerum
the-notions and the-reasonings which for cause definitions of-things
 probabant et has ad omnia de quibus disceptabatur
they-approved and these to all(-things) about which was-disputed
 adhibebant; verborum etiam explicatio probabatur, id est qua
they-applied of-words also the-unfolding was-approved that is which
 de causa quaeque essent ita nominata, quam ἐτυμολογίαν
for cause each-thing were so named which etymology
 appellabant; post argumentis quibusdam et quasi rerum
they-called afterward by-arguments certain and as-it-were of-things
 notis ducibus utebantur ad probandum et ad concludendum
by-marks as-guides they-used for proving and for concluding
 id quod explanari volebant. in qua tradebatur omnis
that which to-be-explained they-wished in which was-handed-down all
 dialecticae disciplina id est orationis ratione conclusae; huic
of-dialectic the-teaching that is of-discourse by-the-method concluded to-this
 quasi ex altera parte oratoria vis dicendi adhibebatur,
as-it-were from the-other side oratorical the-force of-speaking was-added
 explicatrix orationis perpetuae ad persuadendum accommodatae.
the-unfolder of-discourse continuous for persuading fitted

- 33 Haec forma erat illis prima, a Platone tradita; cuius
this scheme was to-them first by Plato handed-down of-which
 quas acceperim dissipationes si vultis exponam.
what I-have-received the-breakings-up if you-wish I-shall-set-out

‘Nos vero volumus’ inquam, ‘ut pro Attico etiam
we truly wish I-said so-that for Atticus also
 respondeam.’

I-may-answer

ATT. ‘Et recte quidem’ inquit ‘respondes; praeclare enim
and rightly indeed he-said you-answer excellently for
 explicatur Peripateticorum et Academiae veteris auctoritas.’
is-set-forth of-the-Peripatetics and of-the-Academy old the-authority

IX • HOW THE OLD ACADEMY WAS BROKEN

Aristotle was the first to shake the forms, and Theophrastus weakened the school further by denying that virtue alone makes a happy life. Strato abandoned ethics altogether for natural science and must be set outside the school. Speusippus, Xenocrates, Polemo, Crates, and Crantor kept the inheritance intact, and both Zeno and Arcesilas heard Polemo.

VA. ‘Aristoteles igitur primus species quas paulo ante dixi
Aristotle therefore first the-forms which a-little before I-mentioned
 labefactavit, quas mirifice Plato erat amplexatus, ut in iis
shook which wonderfully Plato had embraced so-that in them
 quiddam divinum esse diceret. Theophrastus autem, vir
something divine to-be he-said Theophrastus moreover a-man
 et oratione suavis et ita moratus ut prae se probitatem
both in-speech charming and so mannered that before himself an-uprightness
 quandam et ingenuitatem ferat, vehementius etiam fregit
a-certain and a-nobility he-carries more-strongly even broke
 quodam modo auctoritatem veteris disciplinae; spoliavit enim
in-a-certain way the-authority of-the-old teaching he-stripped for

virtutem suo decore imbecillamque reddidit, quod negavit
virtue of-its glory and-feeble he-made(-it) because he-denied
 in ea sola positum esse beate vivere.

in it alone placed to-be happily to-live

- 34 Nam Strato eius auditor quamquam fuit acri ingenio tamen
for Strato his bearer although was of-keen intellect yet
 ab ea disciplina omnino semovendus est; qui cum maxime
from that school altogether to-be-separated is who when the-most
 necessariam partem philosophiae, quae posita est in virtute
necessary part of-philosophy which placed is in virtue
 et in moribus, reliquisset totumque se ad investigationem
and in conduct he-had-left and-wholly himself to the-investigation
 naturae contulisset, in ea ipsa plurimum dissedit a
of-nature he-had-turned in that very(-thing) most he-differed from
 suis. Speusippus autem et Xenocrates, qui primi Platonis
his-own Speusippus moreover and Xenocrates who first of-Plato
 rationem auctoritatemque susceperant, et post eos Polemo
the-method and-the-authority had-taken-up and after them Polemo
 et Crates unaque Crantor in Academia congregati diligenter
and Crates and-together Crantor in the-Academy gathered diligently
 ea quae a superioribus acceperant tuebantur. Iam
those(-things) which from (their)-predecessors they-had-received guarded now
 Polemonem audiverant assidue Zeno et Arcesilas.

Polemo had-heard constantly Zeno and Arcesilas

- 35 sed Zeno, cum Arcesilam anteiret aetate valdeque subtiliter
but Zeno since Arcesilas he-preceded in-age and-very subtly
 disserteret et peracute moveretur, corrigere conatus est
he-argued and very-sharply he-was-stirred to-correct attempted he-has
 disciplinam. eam quoque si videtur correctionem explicabo,
the-teaching that too if it-seems-good correction I-shall-set-out
 sicut solebat Antiochus.

just-as used Antiochus

‘Mihi vero’ inquam ‘videtur, quod vides idem significare
to-me truly I-said it-seems-good since you-see the-same to-mean
 Pomponium.’

Pomponius

X · ZENO’S REFORM

Zeno did not cut the sinews of virtue but put everything belonging to happiness in virtue alone, calling it the honorable. Everything else he ranked as preferred or rejected without calling it good or bad, and he made virtue wholly a matter of reason. He also held that the passions are voluntary and that their mother is a certain unbridled intemperance, so the wise man is free of them altogether.

VA. ‘Zeno igitur nullo modo is erat qui ut Theophrastus

Zeno therefore in-no way such was who as Theophrastus
 nervos virtutis inciderit, sed contra qui omnia quae ad
the-sinews of-virtue cut but on-the-contrary who all(-things) which to
 beatam vitam pertinerent in una virtute poneret nec quicquam
a-happy life pertained in alone virtue placed nor anything
 aliud numeraret in bonis idque appellaret honestum quod
else counted among goods and-that he-called the-honorable which
 esset simplex quoddam et solum et unum bonum.

was simple a-certain and only and one good

cetera autem etsi nec bona nec mala essent tamen
the-rest moreover although neither good nor bad were yet
 alia secundum naturam dicebat alia naturae esse contraria;

some according-to nature he-said others to-nature to-be contrary

his ipsis alia interiecta et media numerabat. quae

to-these very others intermediate and middle he-counted which

autem secundum naturam essent ea sumenda et quadam

moreover according-to nature were those to-be-taken and with-a-certain

36

aestimatione dignanda docebat, contraque contraria;
valuation to-be-deemed-worthy he-taught and-on-the-contrary the-contrary
 neutra autem in mediis relinquebat, in quibus ponebat
neither(-sort) moreover among the-middle he-left in which he-placed
 nihil omnino esse momenti.
nothing at-all to-be of-weight

37 sed quae essent sumenda, ex iis alia pluris esse aestimanda alia
but which were to-be-taken of them some at-more to-be to-be-valued others
 minoris. quae pluris ea praeposita appellabat, reiecta autem quae
at-less which at-more those preferred he-called rejected moreover which
 minoris. Atque ut haec non tam rebus quam vocabulis
at-less and as these(-things) not so-much in-substance as in-words
 commutaverat, sic inter recte factum atque peccatum officium
he-had-changed so between rightly done and a-fault duty
 et contra officium media locabat quaedam, recte facta sola
and against duty middle(-things) he-placed certain rightly done alone
 in bonis actionibus ponens, prave id est peccata in malis;
among good actions placing wrongly that is faults among bad
 officia autem conservata praetermissaque media putabat ut dixi.
duties moreover kept and-neglected middle he-thought as I-said

38 cumque superiores non omnem virtutem in ratione esse
and-since (his)-predecessors not every virtue in reason to-be
 dicerent sed quasdam virtutes quasi natura aut more
said but certain virtues as-it-were by-nature or by-custom
 perfectas, hic omnis in ratione ponebat. cumque illi ea genera
perfected he all in reason placed and-since they those kinds
 virtutum quae supra dixi seiungi posse arbitrentur,
of-virtues which above I-mentioned to-be-separated to-be-able thought
 hic nec id ullo modo fieri posse disserebat, nec
he neither that in-any way to-happen to-be-able argued nor
 virtutis usum modo ut superiores sed ipsum habitum per
of-virtue the-use only as (his)-predecessors but the-very condition through

se esse praeclarum, nec tamen virtutem cuiquam adesse
itself to-be splendid nor however virtue to-anyone to-be-present
 quin ea semper uteretur. cumque perturbationem animi
but-that it always be-used and-since the-disorder of-mind
 illi ex homine non tollerent naturaque et condolere
they from a-man not removed and-by-nature both to-feel-pain
 et concupiscere et extimescere et efferri laetitia
and to-desire and to-dread and to-be-carried-away by-gladness
 dicerent, sed ea contraherent in angustumque deducerent,
said but those they-restricted into and-a-narrow(-space) they-brought
 hic omnibus his quasi morbis voluit carere sapientem.
he from-all these as-it-were diseases wished to-be-free the-wise(-man)
 cumque eas perturbationes antiqui naturales esse dicerent 39
and-since those disorders the-ancients natural to-be said
 et rationis expertes aliaque in parte animi cupiditatem
and of-reason devoid and-in-one in part of-the-mind desire
 alia rationem collocarent, ne his quidem assentiebatur;
in-another reason they-placed not to-these even he-assented
 nam et perturbationes voluntarias esse putabat opinionisque
for both the-disorders voluntary to-be he-thought and-of-opinion
 iudicio suscipi et omnium perturbationum matrem
by-the-judgment to-be-undertaken and of-all disorders the-mother
 esse arbitrabatur immoderatam quandam intemperantiam.
to-be be-judged an-unbridled a-certain intemperance
 Haec fere de moribus.
these(-things) roughly about conduct

In physics Zeno dropped the fifth element and made fire the nature that begets everything. In the third part he taught that the senses are joined to an impulse offered from outside, which he called an appearance, and that assent to it rests with us. An appearance that shows its own object he called graspable; once accepted and approved he called it a grasping, a word taken from seizing a thing with the hand, and set it between knowledge and ignorance as the one thing to be trusted.

De naturis autem sic sentiebat, primum ut in quattuor
about natures moreover thus he-thought first that among the-four
 initiis rerum illis quintam hanc naturam, ex qua superiores
beginnings of-things those fifth this nature from which (his)-predecessors
 sensus et mentem effici rebantur, non adhiberet; statuebat
sense and mind to-be-produced thought not he-employed he-laid-down
 enim ignem esse ipsam naturam quae quidque gigneret et
for fire to-be the-very nature which each-thing begot both
 mentem atque sensus. discrepabat etiam ab isdem, quod
mind and sense he-disagreed also from the-same because
 nullo modo arbitrabatur quicquam effici posse ab ea
in-no way he-judged anything to-be-produced to-be-able by that
 quae expers esset corporis, cuius generis Xenocrates et
which devoid was of-body of-which kind Xenocrates and
 superiores etiam animum esse dixerant, nec vero aut quod
(his)-predecessors also the-soul to-be had-said nor truly either what
 efficeret aliquid aut quod efficeretur posse esse non corpus.
produced something or what was-produced to-be-able to-be not body

40 Plurima autem in illa tertia philosophiae parte mutavit. in
very-many(-things) moreover in that third of-philosophy part he-changed in
 qua primum de sensibus ipsis quaedam dixit nova, quos
which first about the-senses themselves certain(-things) he-said new which
 iunctos esse censuit e quadam quasi impulsione oblata
joined to-be he-held from a-certain as-it-were impulse presented

extrinsecus, quam ille φαντασίαν, nos visum appellemus
from-outside which he appearance we an-appearance may-call
 licet, et teramus hoc quidem verbum, erit enim
it-is-allowed and let-us-wear-smooth this indeed word it-will-be for
 utendum in reliquo sermone saepius — sed ad haec
to-be-used in the-rest-of-the discourse rather-often but to these(-things)
 quae visa sunt et quasi accepta sensibus assensionem adiungit
which seen are and as-it-were received by-the-senses assent he-adds
 animorum, quam esse vult in nobis positam et voluntariam.
of-minds which to-be he-wishes in us placed and voluntary
 visis non omnibus adiungebat fidem sed is solum 41
to-appearances not all he-attached belief but to-those only
 quae propriam quandam haberent declarationem earum rerum
which a-proper a-certain had manifestation of-those things
 quae viderentur; id autem visum cum ipsum per se
which appeared that moreover appearance when itself through itself
 cerneretur, comprehendibile — feretis haec?
was-discerned graspable will-you-bear these(-things)

ATT. ‘nos vero’ inquit; ‘quonam enim alio modo καταληπτὸν
we truly he-said by-what for other way graspable
 diceres?’ —

would-you-say

VA. ‘sed cum acceptum iam et approbatum esset,
but when accepted now and approved it-was
 comprehensionem appellabat, similem is rebus quae manu
a-grasping he-called like to-those things which by-hand
 prenderentur; ex quo etiam nomen hoc duxerat, cum eo verbo
were-seized from which also the-name this he-had-drawn since that word
 antea nemo tali in re usus esset, plurimisque idem
before no-one such in a-matter used had and-very-many the-same(-man)
 novis verbis (nova enim dicebat) usus est. Quod autem erat
new words new(-things) for he-was-saying used he-has what moreover was

sensu comprehensum id ipsum sensum appellabat, et si ita erat
by-sense grasped that itself sense he-called and if so it-was
 comprehensum ut convelli ratione non posset scientiam, sin
grasped that to-be-torn-away by-reason not it-could knowledge but-if
 aliter inscientiam nominabat; ex qua existerat etiam opinio,
otherwise not-knowing he-named from which arose also opinion
 quae esset imbecilla et cum falso incognitoque communis.
which was feeble and with the-false and-the-unknown shared
 42 sed inter scientiam et inscientiam comprehensionem illam
but between knowledge and not-knowing the-grasping that
 quam dixi collocabat, eamque neque in rectis neque
which I-mentioned be-placed and-it neither among the-right nor
 in pravis numerabat, sed soli credendum esse dicebat.
among the-wrong he-counted but to-it-alone to-be-trusted to-be he-said
 E quo sensibus etiam fidem tribuebat, quod ut supra
from which to-the-senses also belief he-granted because as above
 dixi comprehensio facta sensibus et vera esse illi et
I-said a-grasping made by-the-senses both true to-be to-him and
 fidelis videbatur, non quod omnia quae essent in re
trustworthy seemed not because all(-things) which were in the-thing
 comprehenderet, sed quia nihil quod cadere in eam posset
it-grasped but because nothing which to-fall into it could
 relinqueret, quodque natura quasi normam scientiae et
it-left and-because nature as-it-were a-standard of-knowledge and
 principium sui dedisset unde postea notiones rerum in animis
a-beginning of-itself had-given whence afterward notions of-things in minds
 imprimerentur; e quibus non principia solum sed latiores
might-be-impressed from which not beginnings only but broader
 quaedam ad rationem inveniendam viae reperiuntur. errorem
certain for reason to-be-discovered roads are-found error
 autem et temeritatem et ignorantiam et opinionem et
moreover and rashness and ignorance and opining and

suspicionem et uno nomine omnia quae essent aliena firmae
 suspicion and by-one name all(-things) which were foreign to-firm
 et constantis assensionis a virtute sapientiaeque removebat.
 and steady assent from virtue and-wisdom he-removed
 Atque in his fere commutatio constitit omnis dissensioque
 and in these roughly the-change consisted all and-the-dissent
 Zenonis a superioribus.
 of-Zeno from (his)-predecessors

XII • ARCESILAS AND THE NEW ACADEMY

Cicero takes his turn. Arcesilas set his whole quarrel against Zeno, moved not by obstinacy but by the obscurity of things that had brought Socrates and the older thinkers to confess their ignorance. He denied that anything at all can be known, even Socrates' one exception, and argued against every opinion so that, the reasons on both sides weighing equal, assent could more easily be withheld. Others call this Academy new; to Cicero it looks old. The text breaks off in praise of Carneades.

Quae cum dixisset, 'Breviter sane minimeque obscure
 which(-things) when he-had-said briefly indeed and-not-at-all obscurely
 exposita est' inquam 'a te Varro et veteris Academiae
 set-out has-been I-said by you Varro both of-the-old Academy
 ratio et Stoicorum. horum esse autem arbitror, ut
 the-method and of-the-Stoics of-these to-be moreover I-judge as
 Antiocho nostro familiari placebat, correctionem veteris
 to-Antiochus our friend it-pleased a-correction of-the-old
 Academiae potius quam aliquam novam disciplinam putandam.'
 Academy rather than some new school to-be-thought
 Tum Varro 'Tuae sunt nunc partes' inquit 'qui ab
 then Varro yours are now the-parts he-said who from
 antiquorum ratione desciscis et ea quae ab Arcesila
 of-the-ancients the-method depart and those(-things) which by Arcesilas

novata sunt probas, docere quod et qua de causa discidium
made-new are approve to-show what and which for cause the-split
 factum sit, ut videamus satisne ista sit iusta defectio.’

made was so-that we-may-see whether-sufficiently that is a-just secession

44 Tum ego ‘Cum Zenone’ inquam ‘ut accepimus Arcesilas

then I with Zeno I-said as we-have-heard Arcesilas

sibi omne certamen instituit, non pertinacia aut studio

for-himself all the-contest set-up not from-obstinacy or from-eagerness

vincendi ut quidem mihi videtur, sed earum rerum

of-conquering as indeed to-me it-seems but of-those things

obscuritate, quae ad confessionem ignorationis adduxerant

by-the-obscurity which to the-confession of-ignorance had-brought

Socratem et iam ante Socratem Democritum Anaxagoram

Socrates and already before Socrates Democritus Anaxagoras

Empedoclem omnes paene veteres, qui nihil cognosci nihil

Empedocles all nearly the-ancients who nothing to-be-recognized nothing

percipi nihil sciri posse dixerunt, angustos sensus

to-be-perceived nothing to-be-known to-be-able said narrow the-senses

imbecillos animos brevia curricula vitae et ut Democritus in

feeble the-minds short the-courses of-life and as Democritus in

profundo veritatem esse demersam, opinionibus et institutis

the-deep truth to-be sunk by-opinions and by-conventions

omnia teneri, nihil veritati relinqui, deinceps omnia

all(-things) to-be-held nothing to-truth to-be-left thereafter all(-things)

tenebris circumfusa esse dixerunt.

by-darkness surrounded to-be they-said

45 itaque Arcesilas negabat esse quicquam quod sciri posset,

and-so Arcesilas denied to-be anything which to-be-known could

ne illud quidem ipsum quod Socrates sibi reliquisset,

not that even itself which Socrates for-himself had-left

ut nihil scire se sciret; sic omnia latere censebat in

namely nothing to-know himself he-knew so all(-things) to-lie-bidden he-held in

occulto neque esse quicquam quod cerni aut intellegi
the-dark nor to-be anything which to-be-discerned or to-be-understood
 posset; quibus de causis nihil oportere neque profiteri neque
could which for causes nothing to-be-fitting either to-profess or
 affirmare quemquam neque assensione approbare, cohibereque
to-affirm anyone or by-assent to-approve and-to-check
 semper et ab omni lapsu continere temeritatem, quae tum
always and from every slip to-restrain rashness which then
 esset insignis cum aut falsa aut incognita res approbaretur,
was conspicuous when either a-false or an-unknown thing was-approved
 neque hoc quicquam esse turpius quam cognitioni et
nor this anything to-be baser than to-cognition and
 perceptioni assensionem approbationemque praecurrere. huic
to-perception assent and-approval to-outrun to-this
 rationi quod erat consentaneum faciebat, ut contra omnium
method what was consistent he-did that against of-all
 sententias disserens de sua plerosque deduceret, ut cum
opinions arguing from their-own most he-drew-away so-that when
 in eadem re paria contrariis in partibus momenta rationum
in the-same matter equal opposite in sides weights of-reasonings
 invenirentur facilius ab utraque parte assensio sustineretur.
were-found more-easily from each side assent might-be-withheld
 Hanc Academiam novam appellant, quae mihi vetus videtur, 46
this Academy new they-call which to-me old seems
 si quidem Platonem ex illa vetere numeramus, cuius in
if indeed Plato from that old we-count of-whom in
 libris nihil affirmatur et in utramque partem multa
the-books nothing is-affirmed and on both side many(-things)
 disseruntur, de omnibus quaeritur nihil certi dicitur — sed
are-argued about all(-things) it-is-inquired nothing certain is-said but
 tamen illa quam exposuisti vetus, haec nova nominetur. quae
yet that which you-have-set-out old this new let-it-be-named which

usque ad Carneadem perducta, qui quartus ab Arcesila fuit,
as-far-as to Carneades carried-on who fourth from Arcesilas was
 in eadem Arcesilae ratione permansit. Carneades autem nullius
in the-same of-Arcesilas method persisted Carneades moreover of-no
 philosophiae partis ignarus et, ut cognovi ex is qui
of-philosophy part ignorant and as I-have-come-to-know from those who
 illum audierant maximeque ex Epicureo Zenone, qui cum
him had-heard and-especially from the-Epicurean Zeno who although
 ab eo plurimum dissentiret unum tamen praeter ceteros
from him very-much he-differed one(-man) however beyond the-others
 mirabatur, incredibili quadam fuit facultate et to
he-admired with-an-incredible a-certain he-was faculty and (corrupt)
 *** quid autem stomachatur Mnesarchus, quid Antipater
(lacuna) why moreover is-fretting Mnesarchus why Antipater
 digladiatur cum Carneade tot voluminibus? ***
 fights with Carneades in-so-many volumes (lacuna)

CICERO

Lucullus

The Lucullus, or Academica, Book Two

Lucius Lucullus had great talent and a great appetite for the best studies, and at the age when he could have shone in the forum he had no part in city affairs at all. He crossed to Asia knowing nothing of war and learned it on the voyage by questioning experts and reading history. His memory was for things where Hortensius' was for words; the king second only to Alexander called him a greater general than any he had read of, and slander delayed his triumph.

Magnum ingenium L. Luculli magnumque optimarum 1
 great the-talent Lucius of-Lucullus and-great of-the-best
 artium studium, tum omnis liberalis et digna homine
 arts the-zeal then all liberal and worthy of-a-man
 nobili ab eo percepta doctrina quibus temporibus florere
 noble by him taken-in learning at-what times to-flourish
 in foro maxume potuit caruit omnino rebus urbanis.
 in the-forum most it-could it-was-without altogether affairs city
 ut enim admodum adulescens cum fratre pari pietate
 as for quite a-young-man with a-brother with-equal devotion
 et industria praedito paternas inimicitias magna cum gloria
 and diligence endowed paternal enmities great with glory
 est persecutus, in Asiam quaestor profectus ibi permultos
 he-has prosecuted into Asia as-quaestor having-set-out there very-many
 annos admirabili quadam laude provinciae praefuit; deinde
 years with-admirable a-certain praise the-province he-governed then
 absens factus aedilis, continuo praetor (licebat enim celerius
 absent made aedile immediately praetor it-was-allowed for sooner
 legis praemio), post in Africam, inde ad consulatum;
 of-the-law by-the-reward afterward into Africa thence to the-consulship
 quem ita gessit ut diligentiam admirarentur omnes
 which so he-conducted that the-diligence admired all
 ingenium agnoscerent. post ad Mithridaticum bellum
 the-talent recognized afterward to the-Mithridatic war

- missus a senatu non modo opinionem vicit omnium
sent by the-senate not only the-opinion he-surpassed of-all
- quae de virtute eius erat sed etiam gloriam superiorum;
which about the-virtue his was but also the-glory of-(his)-predecessors
- 2 idque eo fuit mirabilis quod ab eo laus
and-that on-that-account was more-remarkable because from him praise
- imperatoria non admodum expectabatur, qui adulescentiam
of-a-general not very was-expected who (his)-youth
- in forensi opera, quaesturae diuturnum tempus Murena
in forensic work of-the-quaestorship the-long time Murena
- bellum in Ponto gerente in Asiae pace consumpserat.
the-war in Pontus waging in of-Asia the-peace had-spent
- sed incredibilis quaedam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit
but an-incredible a-certain of-talent greatness not required
- indocilem usum disciplinam. itaque cum totum iter et
unteachable of-practice the-teaching and-so when the-whole journey and
- navigationem consumpsisset partim in percontando a peritis
voyage he-had-spent partly in questioning from experts
- partim in rebus gestis legendis, in Asiam factus imperator
partly in deeds done reading into Asia made commander
- venit, cum esset Roma profectus rei militaris rudis.
he-came although he-was from-Rome set-out of-the-thing military unskilled
- habuit enim divinam quandam memoriam rerum — verborum
he-had for a-divine a-certain memory of-things of-words
- maiores Hortensius; sed quo plus in negotiis gerendis
greater Hortensius but by-how-much more in affairs to-be-conducted
- res quam verba prosunt, hoc erat memoria illa praestantior.
things than words avail by-this was memory that more-excellent
- quam fuisse in Themistocle, quem facile Graeciae principem
which to-have-been in Themistocles whom easily of-Greece the-chief
- ponimus, singularem ferunt; qui quidem etiam pollicenti
we-place unique they-say who indeed even to-one-promising

cuidam se artem ei memoriae, quae tum primum
someone himself the-art to-him of-memory which then for-the-first-time
 proferebatur, traditurum respondisse dicitur oblivisci
was-being-brought-forward about-to-impart to-have-answered he-is-said to-forget
 se malle discere, credo quod haerebant in memoria
himself to-prefer to-learn I-believe because they-stuck in memory
 quaecumque audierat et viderat. tali ingenio praeditus
whatever(-things) he-had-heard and had-seen with-such talent endowed
 Lucullus adiunxerat etiam illam quam Themistocles spreverat
Lucullus had-added also that which Themistocles had-scorned
 disciplinam; itaque ut litteris consignamus quae monimentis
teaching and-so as in-letters we-set-down what to-records
 mandare volumus sic ille in animo res insculptas habebat.
to-commit we-wish so he in mind things engraved had
 tantus ergo imperator in omni genere belli fuit, proeliis 3
so-great therefore a-commander in every kind of-war he-was in-battles
 oppugnationibus navalibus pugnis totiusque belli instrumento
in-sieges in-naval fights and-of-the-whole of-war in-the-equipment
 et adparatu, ut ille rex post Alexandrum maxumus hunc
and apparatus that that king after Alexander the-greatest this-man
 a se maiorem ducem cognitum quam quemquam eorum
by himself a-greater leader known than anyone of-those
 quos legisset fateretur. in eodem tanta prudentia
whom he-had-read(-of) confessed in the-same(-man) so-great prudence
 fuit in constituendis temperandisque civitatibus. tanta
there-was in to-be-established and-to-be-regulated states so-great
 aequitas, ut hodie stet Asia Luculli institutis servandis
fairness that today stands Asia of-Lucullus (his)-institutions (by)-being-kept
 et quasi vestigiis persequendis. Sed etsi magna cum
and as-it-were (his)-footsteps (by)-being-followed but although great with
 utilitate rei publicae, tamen diutius quam vellem tanta
advantage of-the-thing public yet longer than I-could-wish so-great

vis virtutis atque ingenii peregrinata afuit ab oculis
a-force of-virtue and of-talent traveling-abroad was-away from the-eyes
 et fori et curiae. quin etiam cum victor a
both of-the-forum and of-the-senate-house nay even when victorious from
 Mithridatico bello revertisset, inimicorum calumnia triennio
the-Mithridatic war he-had-returned of-(his)-enemies by-the-slander by-three-years
 tardius quam debuerat triumphavit; nos enim consules
later than he-ought he-triumphed we for as-consuls
 introduximus paene in urbem currum clarissimi viri.
brought-in almost into the-city the-chariot of-a-most-illustrious man
 cuius mihi consilium et auctoritas quid tum in maximis
whose to-me counsel and authority what then in the-greatest
 rebus profuisset dicerem, nisi de me ipso dicendum esset,
affairs had-availed I-would-say unless about me myself to-be-spoken it-were
 quod hoc tempore non est necesse; ita privabo potius illum
which at-this time not is necessary so I-shall-deprive rather him
 debito testimonio quam id cum mea laude communicem.
of-(his)-due testimony than that with my praise I-should-share

II • A ROMAN COMMANDER AT HIS BOOKS

Lucullus was more devoted to philosophy than those who did not know him supposed, and he kept Antiochus with him first as quaestor and years later as commander. Cicero then answers the objectors in turn: some dislike Greek letters, more dislike philosophy, and others think such discussion unbecoming in the leading men of the state. A further group would keep grave persons out of written dialogues, and others deny that the speakers knew their subject. Cato learned Greek in old age, and Panaetius was Africanus' sole companion on his famous embassy.

Sed quae populari gloria decorari in Lucullo debuerunt, 4
but what(-things) with-popular glory to-be-adorned in Lucullus ought
 ea fere sunt et Graecis litteris celebrata et Latinis. nos autem
those mostly are both in-Greek letters celebrated and in-Latin we moreover
 illa externa cum multis, haec interiora cum paucis ex ipso
those outward(-things) with many these inward(-ones) with few from himself
 saepe cognovimus. maiore enim studio Lucullus cum omni
often we-have-come-to-know with-greater for zeal Lucullus both to-every
 litterarum generi tum philosophiae deditus fuit quam qui
of-letters kind and to-philosophy devoted was than those-who
 illum ignorabant arbitrabantur, nec vero ineunte aetate solum
him did-not-know supposed nor truly at-the-outset-of age only
 sed et pro quaestore aliquot annos et in ipso bello, in quo ita
but both as quaestor some years and in the-very war in which so
 magna rei militaris esse occupatio solet ut non multum
great of-the-thing military to-be the-occupation is-wont that not much
 imperatori sub ipsis pellibus otii relinquatur. Cum autem
to-a-commander under the-very tents of-leisure is-left when moreover
 e philosophis ingenio scientiaque putaretur Antiochus
among the-philosophers in-talent and-knowledge he-was-thought Antiochus
 Philonis auditor excellere, eum secum et quaestor habuit et
of-Philo a-bearer to-excel him with-himself both as-quaestor he-had and
 post aliquot annos imperator, quique esset ea memoria
afterward some years as-commander and-who he-was with-that memory
 quam ante dixi ea saepe audiendo facile cognovit
which before I-mentioned those(-things) often by-hearing easily he-came-to-know
 quae vel semel audita meminisse potuisset. delectabatur
which even once heard to-remember he-could-have he-was-delighted
 autem mirifice lectione librorum de quibus audiebat.
moreover wonderfully by-the-reading of-books about which he-heard

- 5 Ac vereor interdum ne talium personarum cum amplificare
and I-fear sometimes lest of-such persons when to-magnify
 velim minuam etiam gloriam. sunt enim multi qui omnino
I-wish I-may-lessen even the-glory there-are for many who at-all
 Graecas non ament litteras, plures qui philosophiam, reliqui
Greek not love letters more who philosophy the-rest
 qui etiam si haec non inproben tamen earum rerum
who even if these(-things) not they-disapprove yet of-those matters
 disputationem principibus civitatis non ita decoram putent.
the-discussion for-the-chief-men of-the-state not so becoming think
 Ego autem cum Graecas litteras M. Catonem in senectute
I moreover since Greek letters Marcus Cato in old-age
 didicisse acceperim, P. autem Africani historiae loquantur
to-have-learned I-have-heard of-Publius moreover of-Africanus the-histories say
 in legatione illa nobili, quam ante censuram obiit,
on embassy that famous which before the-censorsbip he-undertook
 Panaetium unum omnino comitem fuisse, nec litterarum
Panaetius alone altogether a-companion to-have-been neither of-letters
 Graecarum nec philosophiae iam ullum auctorem requiro.
Greek nor of-philosophy now any authority I-require
- 6 Restat ut iis respondeam qui sermonibus eius modi
it-remains that to-those I-answer who in-conversations of-this sort
 nolint personas tam graves inligari. quasi vero clarorum
are-unwilling persons so grave to-be-entangled as-if truly of-famous
 virorum aut tacitos congressus esse oporteat aut ludicros
men either silent meetings to-be it-behooves or playful
 sermones aut rerum conloquia leviorum. etenim si quodam
conversations or of-things talks lighter for-indeed if a-certain
 in libro vere est a nobis philosophia laudata, profecto
in book truly is by us philosophy praised surely
 eius tractatio optimo atque amplissimo quoque dignissima
of-it the-handling of-the-best and of-the-most-eminent each most-worthy

est, nec quicquam aliud videndum est nobis, quos populus
is nor anything else to-be-looked-to is by-us whom the-people
 Romanus hoc in gradu conlocavit, nisi ne quid privatis
Roman this on rank has-placed except lest anything by-private
 studiis de opera publica detrahamus. quod si cum fungi
pursuits from the-work public we-take-away which if when to-discharge
 munere debebamus non modo operam nostram umquam a
(our)-office we-had-to not only work our ever from
 populari coetu removimus sed ne litteram quidem ullam
the-popular assembly we-withdrew but not-even a-letter even any
 fecimus nisi forensem, quis reprehendet otium nostrum, qui in
we-made except of-the-forum who will-blame the-leisure our who in
 eo non modo nosmet ipsos hebescere et languere nolumus
it not only ourselves very-selves to-grow-dull and to-languish are-unwilling
 sed etiam ut plurimis prosimus enitimur. Gloriam vero
but even that to-very-many we-may-profit we-strive the-glory truly
 non modo non minui sed etiam augeri arbitramur
not only not to-be-lessened but even to-be-increased we-think
 eorum quorum ad populares inlustrisque laudes has etiam
of-those to-whose to popular and-illustrious praises these also
 minus notas minusque pervolgatas adiungimus.
less known and-less widespread we-add

Sunt etiam, qui negent in is qui in nostris libris disputent 7
there-are also who deny in those who in our books argue
 fuisse earum rerum de quibus disputatur scientiam. qui
to-have-been of-those matters about which it-is-argued knowledge who
 mihi videntur non solum vivis sed etiam mortuis invidere.
to-me seem not only to-the-living but even to-the-dead to-begrudge

One class of critic remains: those who dislike the Academy's method. Cicero answers that its case is the easy one, since it wants only to find the truth and is bound to no master's rules. The scene is then set at Hortensius' villa near Bauli, where Catulus, Lucullus, and Cicero have gathered the day after a conversation at Catulus' house.

Restat unum genus reprehensorum, quibus Academiae
there-remains one kind of-critics to-whom of-the-Academy
 ratio non probatur. quod gravius ferremus, si quisquam
the-method not is-approved which more-heavily we-should-bear if anyone
 ullam disciplinam philosophiae probaret praeter eam quam ipse
any school of-philosophy approved besides that which himself
 sequeretur; nos autem quoniam contra omnes qui *** dicere
he-followed we moreover since against all who (lacuna) to-say
 quae videntur solemus, non possumus quin alii a nobis
what seem(-right) we-are-wont not we-can but-that others from us
 dissentiant recusare. Quamquam nostra quidem causa facilis
dissent to-refuse and-yet our indeed case easy
 est, qui verum invenire sine ulla contentione volumus idque
is who the-true to-find without any contention wish and-that
 summa cura studioque conquirimus. etsi enim omnis
with-the-utmost care and-zeal we-search-out although for all
 cognitio multis est obstructa difficultatibus eaque est et in
cognition by-many is blocked difficulties and-such is both in
 ipsis rebus obscuritas et in iudiciis nostris infirmitas, ut non
the-very things an-obscurity and in judgments our a-weakness that not
 sine causa antiquissimi et doctissimi invenire se posse
without cause the-most-ancient and the-most-learned to-find themselves to-be-able
 quod cuperent diffisi sint, tamen nec illi defecerunt neque
what they-desired having-distrusted are yet neither they failed nor

nos studium exquirendi defatigati relinquemus. neque nostrae
we the-pursuit of-searching wearied shall-abandon nor our
 disputationes quicquam aliud agunt nisi ut in utramque partem
discussions anything else do except that on each side
 dicendo et audiendo eliciant et tamquam expriment
by-speaking and by-hearing they-may-draw-out and as-it-were may-press-out
 aliquid quod aut verum sit aut ad id quam proxime accedat;
something which either true is or to it as most-nearly may-approach
 nec inter nos et eos qui se scire arbitrantur quicquam 8
nor between us and those who themselves to-know think anything
 interest nisi quod illi non dubitant quin ea vera sint
differs except that they not doubt but-that those(-things) true are
 quae defendunt, nos probabilia multa habemus, quae sequi
which they-defend we probable(-things) many have which to-follow
 facile, adfirmare vix possumus. hoc autem liberiores et
easily to-affirm scarcely we-can by-this moreover freer and
 solutiores sumus, quod integra nobis est iudicandi potestas nec
more-unbound we-are because unimpaired to-us is of-judging the-power nor
 ut omnia quae praescripta et quasi imperata sint defendamus
that all(-things) which prescribed and as-it-were commanded are we-should-defend
 necessitate ulla cogimur. Nam ceteri primum ante tenentur
by-necessity any we-are-compelled for the-rest first before are-held
 adstricti quam quid esset optimum iudicare potuerunt; deinde
bound than what was best to-judge they-could then
 infirmissimo tempore aetatis aut obsecuti amico cuidam
at-the-weakest season of-life either having-complied-with a-friend some
 aut una aliquoius quem primum audierunt oratione capti de
or by-one of-someone whom first they-heard by-a-speech captivated about
 rebus incognitis iudicant et ad quamcumque sunt disciplinam
matters unknown they-judge and to whatever they-are school
 quasi tempestate delati ad eam tamquam ad saxum adhaerescunt.
as-if by-a-storm carried to it as to a-rock they-cling

9 nam quod dicunt omnia se credere ei quem
for as-to-what they-say all(-things) themselves to-believe to-him whom
 iudicent fuisse sapientem, probarem, si id ipsum
they-judge to-have-been wise I-should-approve if that very(-thing)
 rudes et indocti iudicare potuissent (statuere enim
the-untrained and unlearned to-judge had-been-able to-determine for
 qui sit sapiens vel maxime videtur esse sapientis). sed
who is wise even especially seems to-be of-a-wise-man but
 ut potuerint, aut omnibus rebus auditis, cognitis etiam
suppose they-could-have either all things heard known also
 reliquorum sententiis iudicaverunt, aut re semel audita
of-the-rest the-opinions they-have-judged or a-matter once heard
 ad unius se auctoritatem contulerunt; sed nescio quo
to of-one themselves the-authority they-have-betaken but I-know-not in-what
 modo plerique errare malunt eamque sententiam quam
way most to-err prefer and-that opinion which
 adamaverunt pugnacissime defendere quam sine pertinacia
they-have-come-to-love most-pugnaciously to-defend than without obstinacy
 quid constantissime dicatur exquirere.

what most-consistently is-said to-search-out
 Quibus de rebus et alias saepe nobis multa quaesita
which about matters both at-other-times often by-us many(-things) sought
 et disputata sunt et quondam in Hortensi villa quae est
and discussed have-been and once in of-Hortensius the-villa which is
 ad Baulos, cum eo Catulus et Lucullus nosque ipsi
at Bauli when with-him Catulus and Lucullus and-we ourselves
 postridie venissemus quam apud Catulum fuissemus. quo
the-day-after had-come than at Catulus' we-had-been whither
 quidem etiam maturius venimus, quod erat constitutum
indeed even earlier we-came because it-had-been arranged
 si ventus esset Lucullo in Neapolitanum mihi in
if the-wind were(-right) for-Lucullus into the-Neapolitan(-estate) for-me into

Pompeianum navigare. cum igitur pauca in xysto
the-Pompeian(-estate) to-sail when therefore a-few(-words) in the-colonnade
 locuti essemus, tum eodem in spatio consedimus.
having-spoken we-had then the-same in walk we-sat-down

IV • THE QUARREL AT ALEXANDRIA

Catulus asks Lucullus to report what he heard from Antiochus, and Lucullus begins with Alexandria. Philo's two new books arrived there and reached Antiochus' hands, and the gentlest of men lost his temper over them. Antiochus wrote against his own teacher in a book called the Sosus, and Lucullus spent several days getting the whole case from him.

Hic Catulus 'Etsi heri' inquit 'id quod quaerebatur paene 10
here Catulus although yesterday he-said that which was-being-asked almost
 explicatum est, ut tota fere quaestio tractata videatur,
set-out has-been so-that the-whole nearly question handled seems
 tamen expecto ea quae te pollicitus es Luculle ab
yet I-await those(-things) which you promised have Lucullus from
 Antiocho audita dicturum.'

Antiochus heard about-to-say

'Equidem' inquit Hortensius 'feci plus quam vellem; totam
for-my-part said Hortensius I-have-done more than I-could-wish the-whole
 enim rem Catule Lucullo integram servatam oportuit. et tamen
for matter Catulus for-Lucullus untouched kept it-behooved and yet
 fortasse servata est; a me enim ea quae in promptu
perhaps kept it-has-been by me for those(-things) which in readiness
 erant dicta sunt, a Lucullo autem reconditiora desidero.'
were said have-been by Lucullus moreover the-more-recondite I-look-for

Tum ille ‘Non sane’ inquit ‘Hortensi conturbat me
then he not really he-said Hortensius disturbs me
 expectatio tua, etsi nihil est iis qui placere volunt
the-expectation your although nothing is to-those who to-please wish
 tam adversarium; sed quia non laboro quam valde ea
so hostile but because not I-worry how strongly those(-things)
 quae dico probaturus sim, eo minus conturbor.
which I-say about-to-prove I-am on-that-account the-less I-am-disturbed
 dicam enim nec mea nec ea, in quibus non si non
I-shall-say for neither mine nor those(-things) in which not if not
 fuerint vinci me malim quam vincere. sed
they-shall-have-been(-so) to-be-conquered me I-should-prefer than to-conquer but
 mehercule, ut quidem nunc se causa habet, etsi hesterno
by-Hercules as indeed now itself the-case holds although by-yesterday’s
 sermone labefacta est, mihi tamen videtur esse verissima.
discussion shaken it-has-been to-me yet it-seems to-be most-true
 agam igitur sicut Antiochus agebat. nota enim mihi
I-shall-plead therefore just-as Antiochus used-to-plead known for to-me
 res est; nam et vacuo animo illum audiebam et magno
the-matter is for both with-free mind him I-was-hearing and with-great
 studio, eadem de re etiam saepius: ut etiam maiorem
zeal the-same about matter even rather-often so-that even greater
 expectationem mei faciam quam modo fecit Hortensius.
expectation of-me I-may-make than just-now made Hortensius

Cum ita esset exorsus, ad audiendum animos ereximus.
when so he-had begun for hearing (our)-minds we-roused

- 11 LUC. At ille ‘Cum Alexandriae pro quaestore’ inquit ‘essem, fuit
but he when at-Alexandria as quaestor he-said I-was was
 Antiochus mecum, et erat iam antea Alexandriae familiaris
Antiochus with-me and there-was already before at-Alexandria a-friend
 Antiochi Heraclitus Tyrius, qui et Clitomachum multos annos
of-Antiochus Heraclitus of-Tyre who both Clitomachus many years

et Philonem audierat, homo sane in ista philosophia, quae
and Philo had-beard a-man truly in that philosophy which
 nunc prope dimissa revocatur, probatus et nobilis; cum quo
now almost dismissed is-called-back approved and distinguished with whom
 et Antiochum saepe disputantem audiebam — sed utrumque
also Antiochus often arguing I-used-to-hear but each
 leniter; et quidem isti libri duo Philonis, de quibus heri
gently and indeed those books two of-Philo about which yesterday
 dictum a Catulo est, tum erant allati Alexandriam tumque
said by Catulus it-was then had-been brought to-Alexandria and-then
 primum in Antiochi manus venerant; et homo natura
first into of-Antiochus the-hands had-come and a-man by-nature
 lenissimus (nihil enim poterat fieri illo mitius) stomachari
most-gentle nothing for could to-become than-him milder to-be-angry
 tamen coepit. mirabar; nec enim umquam ante videram. at
however he-began I-was-astonished nor for ever before I-had-seen(-it) but
 ille Heracliti memoriam inplorans quaerere ex eo viderenturne
he of-Heraclitus the-memory imploring kept-asking from him whether-they-seemed
 illa Philonis aut ea num vel e Philone vel ex
those of-Philo or those(-things) whether either from Philo or from
 ullo Academico audisset aliquando. negabat, Philonis tamen
any Academic he-had-beard ever he-denied of-Philo however
 scriptum agnoscebat; nec id quidem dubitari poterat, nam
the-writing he-recognized nor that indeed to-be-doubted it-could for
 aderant mei familiares docti homines P. et C. Selii
there-were-present my friends learned men Publius and Gaius the-Selii
 et Tetrilius Rogus, qui se illa audivisse Romae de
and Tetrilius Rogus who themselves those(-things) to-have-beard at-Rome from
 Philone et ab eo ipso duo illos libros dicerent descripsisse.
Philo and from him himself two those books they-said to-have-copied

- 12 tum et illi dixit Antiochus quae heri Catulus
then both to-him said Antiochus what(-things) yesterday Catulus
 commemoravit a patre suo dicta Philoni et alia plura; nec se
recounted by father his said to-Philo and other more nor himself
 tenuit quin contra suum doctorem librum etiam ederet,
he-restrained but-that against his-own teacher a-book even he-published
 qui Sosus inscribitur. tum igitur et cum Heraclitum studiose
which Sosus is-entitled then therefore both when Heraclitus eagerly
 audirem contra Antiochum disserentem et item Antiochum
I-was-hearing against Antiochus arguing and likewise Antiochus
 contra Academicos, dedi Antiocho operam diligentius, ut
against the-Academics I-gave to-Antiochus attention more-diligently so-that
 causam ex eo totam cognoscerem. itaque conplures dies
the-case from him whole I-might-come-to-know and-so several days
 adhibito Heraclito doctisque conpluribus et in is
(with)-brought-in Heraclitus and-learned(-men) several and among them
 Antiochi fratre Aristo et praeterea Aristone et Dione,
of-Antiochus the-brother Aristus and besides Aristo and Dio
 quibus ille secundum fratrem plurimum tribuebat, multum
to-whom he next-to (his)-brother most assigned much
 temporis in ista una disputatione consumpsimus. sed ea pars
of-time in that one discussion we-spent but that part
 quae contra Philonem erat praetermittenda est; minus enim
which against Philo was to-be-passed-over is less for
 acer est adversarius is qui ista quae sunt heri defensa
keen is an-adversary he who those(-things) which have-been yesterday defended
 negat Academicos omnino dicere; etsi enim mentitur, tamen
denies the-Academics at-all to-say although for he-lies yet
 est adversarius lenior. ad Arcesilan Carneademque veniamus.
is an-adversary milder to Arcesilas and-Carneades let-us-come

Lucullus opens the case. Naming Empedocles, Anaxagoras, and Democritus against the schools is what seditious citizens do when they parade famous men of the past as men of the people. Those early thinkers hesitated out of modesty before questions newly opened, and their reserve is not to be compared with Arcesilas' cavil. Socrates' self-deprecation was irony. Arcesilas, Lucullus says, upset a philosophy already settled.

Quae cum dixisset, sic rursus exorsus est: 'Primum 13
which(-things) when he-had-said thus again begun he-has first
 mihi videmini' (me autem nomine appellabat) 'cum veteres
to-me you-seem me moreover by-name he-was-addressing when the-old
 physicos nominatis facere idem quod seditiosi cives
natural-philosophers you-name to-do the-same as seditious citizens
 solent cum aliquos ex antiquis claros viros proferunt quos
are-wont when some from the-ancients famous men they-bring-forward whom
 dicant fuisse populares, ut eorum ipsi similes esse
they-say to-have-been men-of-the-people so-that of-them themselves like to-be
 videantur. repetunt i a P. Valerio qui exactis regibus
they-may-seem they-go-back they from Publius Valerius who (with)-driven-out the-kings
 primo anno consul fuit, commemorant reliquos qui leges
in-the-first year consul was they-recall the-rest who laws
 populares de provocationibus tulerint cum consules essent;
popular about appeals carried when consuls they-were
 tum ad hos notiores, C. Flaminium qui legem agrariam
then to these better-known Gaius Flaminius who the-law agrarian
 aliquot annis ante secundum Punicum bellum tribunus
some years before the-second Punic war as-tribune
 plebis tulerit invito senatu et postea bis consul factus
of-the-plebs carried (with)-unwilling the-senate and afterward twice consul made
 sit, L. Cassium Q. Pompeium. illi quidem etiam P.
was Lucius Cassius Quintus Pompeius they indeed even Publius

Africanum referre in eundem numerum solent; duo vero
Africanus to-count into the-same number are-wont two truly
 sapientissimos et clarissimos fratres P. Crassum et P.
most-wise and most-famous brothers Publius Crassus and Publius
 Scaevolam aiunt Tib. Graccho legum auctores fuisse,
Scaevola they-say to-Tiberius Gracchus of-the-laws supporters to-have-been
 alterum quidem ut videmus palam, alterum ut suspicantur
the-one indeed as we-see openly the-other as they-suspect
 obscurius. addunt etiam C. Marium; et de hoc quidem
more-secretly they-add also Gaius Marius and about this-man indeed
 nihil mentiuntur. horum nominibus tot virorum atque
nothing they-lie of-these the-names so-many of-men and
 tantorum expositis eorum se institutum sequi dicunt.
so-great set-out of-them themselves the-practice to-follow they-say
 14 similiter vos cum perturbare ut illi rem publicam sic
similarly you since to-disturb as those the-thing public so
 vos philosophiam bene iam constitutam velitis, Empedoclen
you philosophy well already established you-wish Empedocles
 Anaxagoran Democritum Parmeniden Xenophanen, Platonem
Anaxagoras Democritus Parmenides Xenophanes Plato
 etiam et Socratem profertis. Sed neque Saturninus, ut
even and Socrates you-bring-forward but neither Saturninus that
 nostrum inimicum potissimum nominem, simile quicquam
our enemy especially I-may-name like anything
 habuit veterum illorum, nec Arcesilae calumnia conferenda est
had of-the-old those nor of-Arcesilas the-cavil to-be-compared is
 cum Democriti verecundia. Et tamen isti physici raro
with of-Democritus the-modesty and yet those natural-philosophers rarely
 admodum, cum haerent aliquo loco, exclamant quasi mente
very when they-stick at-some place cry-out as-if in-mind
 incitati, Empedocles quidem ut interdum mihi furere videatur,
roused Empedocles indeed so-that sometimes to-me to-rave he-seems

abstrusa esse omnia, nihil nos sentire nihil cernere nihil
hidden to-be all(-things) nothing we to-sense nothing to-discern nothing
 omnino quale sit posse reperire; maiorem autem partem
at-all of-what-sort it-is to-be-able to-find (for)-the-greater moreover part
 mihi quidem omnes isti videntur nimis etiam quaedam
to-me indeed all those seem too-much even certain(-things)
 adfirmare plusque profiteri se scire quam sciant.
to-affirm and-more to-profess themselves to-know than they-know
 Quod si illi tum in novis rebus quasi modo nascentes 15
which if they then in new matters as-it-were just being-born
 haesitaverunt, nihilne tot saeculis summis ingeniis
hesitated nothing in-so-many ages by-the-highest talents
 maxumis studiis explicatum putamus? nonne cum iam
by-the-greatest efforts set-out do-we-think surely when already
 philosophorum disciplinae gravissimae constitissent tum exortus
of-philosophers the-schools most-weighty had-been-established then arisen
 est ut in optima re publica Tib. Gracchus qui otium
he-has as in the-best the-thing public Tiberius Gracchus who the-quiet
 perturbaret sic Arcesilas qui constitutam philosophiam everteret
disturbed so Arcesilas who the-established philosophy overturned
 et in eorum auctoritate delitisceret qui negavissent quicquam
and in of-those the-authority hid-himself who had-denied anything
 sciri aut percipi posse. Quorum e numero tollendus
to-be-known or to-be-perceived to-be-able of-whom from the-number to-be-removed
 est et Plato et Socrates, alter quia reliquit perfectissimam
is both Plato and Socrates the-one because he-left a-most-perfect
 disciplinam, Peripateticos et Academicos nominibus differentes
teaching the-Peripatetics and the-Academics in-names differing
 re congruentes, a quibus Stoici ipsi verbis magis
in-substance agreeing from whom the-Stoics themselves in-words more
 quam sentiis dissenserunt, — Socrates autem de se ipse
than in-opinions dissented Socrates moreover about himself very-self

detrahens in disputatione plus tribuebat is quos volebat
detracting in discussion more granted to-those whom he-wished
 refellere; ita cum aliud diceret atque sentiret, libenter uti
to-refute so when another(-thing) he-said than he-thought gladly to-use
 solitus est ea dissimulatione quam Graeci εἰρωνείαν vocant;
accustomed he-was that dissembling which the-Greeks irony call
 quam ait etiam in Africano fuisse Fannius, idque propterea
which says also in Africanus to-have-been Fannius and-that for-that-reason
 vitiosum in illo non putandum quod idem fuerit in Socrate.
faulty in him not to-be-thought because the-same was in Socrates

VI · FROM ARCESILAS TO PHILO

Lucullus traces the skeptical Academy from Arcesilas, who out of rivalry with Zeno drew darkness over the clearest things, down through Lacydes and Carneades to Philo. Some philosophers of no small standing thought it pointless to argue with men who approve nothing, and refused even to define what cognition or perception is. Antiochus showed that Philo thrust himself onto the very thing he feared: by undermining Zeno's definition of the appearance he removed the criterion of the known and the unknown alike.

- 16 Sed fuerint illa vetera si vultis incognita: nihilne est
but let-them-have-been those old(-things) if you-wish unknown nothing has-been
 igitur actum, quod investigata sunt, postea quam Arcesilas
therefore accomplished in-that investigated they-were after that Arcesilas
 Zenoni ut putatur obtrectans nihil novi reperiendi sed
to-Zeno as is-supposed disparaging nothing of-new discovering but
 emendanti superiores inmutatione verborum, dum huius
correcting (bis)-predecessors by-a-change of-words while of-this(-man)
 definitiones labefactare volt, conatus est clarissimis rebus
the-definitions to-shake he-wishes attempted he-has on-the-clearest things

tenebras obducere. cuius primo non admodum probata ratio
darkness to-draw-over whose at-first not very approved method
 (quamquam floruit cum acumine ingeni tum admirabili
although he-flourished both by-keenness of-intellect and by-admirable
 quodam lepore dicendi) proxime a Lacyde solo retenta
a-certain charm of-speaking next by Lacydes alone maintained
 est, post autem confecta a Carneade. qui est quartus ab
it-was afterward moreover completed by Carneades who is fourth from
 Arcesila; audivit enim Hegesinum, qui Euandrum audierat
Arcesilas he-heard for Hegesinus who Evander had-heard
 Lacydi discipulum, cum Arcesilae Lacydes fuisset. sed
to-Lacydes a-pupil since to-Arcesilas Lacydes had-been(-a-pupil) but
 ipse Carneades diu tenuit, nam nonaginta vixit annos,
himself Carneades long held-out for ninety he-lived years
 et qui illum audierant admodum floruerunt. e quibus
and those-who him had-heard greatly flourished from whom
 industriae plurimum in Clitomacho fuit (declarat multitudo
of-diligence the-most in Clitomachus there-was declares(-it) the-multitude
 librorum), ingenii non minus in Hagnone, in Charmada
of-books of-talent not less in Hagnon in Charmadas
 eloquentiae, in Melanthio Rhodio suavitatis; bene autem
of-eloquence in Melanthius the-Rhodian of-charm well moreover
 nosse Carneaden Stratoniceus Metrodorus putabatur.
to-know Carneades the-Stratonicean Metrodorus was-thought
 iam Clitomacho Philo vester operam multos annos dedit. 17
now to-Clitomachus Philo your attention many years gave
 Philone autem vivo patrocinium Academiae non defuit.
Philo moreover (being)-alive a-defense of-the-Academy not was-lacking
 Sed, quod nos facere nunc ingredimur, ut contra Academicos
but what we to-do now we-begin-upon that against the-Academics
 disseramus, id quidam e philosophis et i quidem non
we-may-argue that certain(-men) of the-philosophers and those indeed not

mediocres faciundum omnino non putabant, nec vero esse ullam
middling to-be-done at-all not they-thought nor truly to-be any
 rationem disputare cum is qui nihil probarent, Antipatrumque
reason to-dispute with those who nothing approved and-Antipater
 Stoicum qui multus in eo fuisset reprehendebant; nec definiri
the-Stoic who copious in it had-been they-blamed nor to-be-defined
 aiebant necesse esse quid esset cognitio aut perceptio aut, si
they-said necessary to-be what was cognition or perception or if
 verbum e verbo volumus, comprehensio, quam κατάληψιν
word from word we-wish a-grasping which a-grasping
 illi vocant; eosque qui persuadere vellent esse aliquid quod
they call and-those who to-persuade wished to-be something which
 comprehendi et percipi posset inscietur facere dicebant,
to-be-grasped and to-be-perceived could unknowingly to-act they-said
 propterea quod nihil esset clarius ἐναργεῖα — ut Graeci,
for-this-reason that nothing was clearer than-self-evidence as the-Greeks
 perspicuitatem aut evidentiam nos si placet nominemus
perspicuity or evidence we if it-pleases let-us-name(-it)
 fabricemurque si opus erit verba, nec hic sibi' (me
and-let-us-forge if need there-will-be words nor this(-man) to-himself me
 appellabat iocans) 'hoc licere soli putet — sed tamen
be-was-addressing joking this to-be-allowed alone let-him-think but however
 orationem nullam putabant inlustriorem ipsa evidentia
discourse no they-thought more-luminous than-the-very evidence
 reperiri posse, nec ea quae tam clara essent definienda
to-be-found to-be-able nor those(-things) which so clear were to-be-defined
 censebant. Alii autem negabant se pro hac evidentia
they-held others moreover denied (that)-they on-behalf-of this evidence
 quicquam priores fuisse dicturos, sed ad ea quae
anything the-first to-have-been about-to-say but to those(-things) which
 contra dicerentur dici oportere putabant, ne qui fallerentur.
against were-said to-be-said to-be-fitting they-thought lest any should-be-deceived

Plerique tamen et definitiones ipsarum etiam evidentium
most however both definitions of-the-very even evident
 rerum non inprobant et rem idoneam de qua quaeratur
things not disapprove and a-subject suitable about which it-may-be-inquired
 et homines dignos quibuscum disseratur putant.
and men worthy with-whom it-may-be-argued they-think
 Philo autem dum nova quaedam commovet, quod ea
Philo moreover while new certain(-things) stirs-up because those(-things)
 sustinere vix poterat quae contra Academicorum pertinaciam
to-withstand scarcely he-was-able which against of-the-Academics the-obstinacy
 dicebantur, et aperte mentitur ut est reprehensus a patre
were-said both openly lies as he-was reproved by (your)-father
 Catulo, et ut docuit Antiochus in id ipsum se induit
Catulus and as showed Antiochus into that very(-thing) himself he-thrust
 quod timebat. cum enim ita negaret quicquam esse quod
which he-feared when for thus he-denied anything to-be which
 comprehendi posset (id enim volumus esse ἀκατάληπτον),
to-be-grasped could that for we-wish to-be ungraspable
 si illud esset, sicut Zeno definiret, tale visum (iam
if that were just-as Zeno defined such appearance now
 enim hoc pro φαντασίᾳ verbum satis hesterno sermone
for this in-place-of appearance word enough in-yesterday's talk
 trivimus) — visum igitur inpressum effectumque ex
we-have-worn-smooth an-appearance therefore impressed and-molded from
 eo unde esset quale esse non posset ex eo unde non esset
that whence it-was such-as to-be not it-could from that whence not it-was
 (id nos a Zenone definitum rectissime dicimus; qui enim
that we by Zeno defined most-rightly we-say how for
 potest quicquam comprehendi, ut plane confidas perceptum
can anything to-be-grasped so-that plainly you-may-trust perceived
 id cognitumque esse, quod est tale quale vel falsum esse
it and-known to-be which is such such-as even false to-be

possit?) — hoc cum infirmat tollitque Philo, iudicium
it-could this when he-weakens and-removes Philo the-judgment
 tollit incogniti et cogniti; ex quo efficitur nihil posse
he-removes of-the-unknown and of-the-known from which it-follows nothing to-be-able
 comprehendi. ita imprudens eo quo minime volt revolvitur.
to-be-grasped so unawares thither whither least he-wishes he-rolls-back
 Quare omnis oratio contra Academiam suscipitur a nobis,
wherefore all the-discourse against the-Academy is-undertaken by us
 ut retineamus eam definitionem quam Philo voluit evertere;
that we-may-retain that definition which Philo wished to-overturn
 quam nisi optinemus, percipi nihil posse concedimus.
which unless we-maintain to-be-perceived nothing to-be-able we-concede

VII • THE CASE FOR THE SENSES

Lucullus begins from the senses, whose judgments are clear when they are sound and nothing obstructs them. Practice sharpens them further, as painters see in shadow and trained ears in sound what others miss. From the judgments built on sensation our notions of things are impressed on us, and without those nothing can be understood, asked, or argued; memory and every art would go with them.

- 19 Ordiamur igitur a sensibus. quorum ita clara iudicia et
let-us-begin therefore from the-senses whose so clear judgments and
 certa sunt, ut, si optio naturae nostrae detur et ab ea deus
sure are that if a-choice to-nature our were-given and from it a-god
 aliqui requirat contentane sit suis integris incorruptisque
some should-ask whether-content it-is with-its unimpaired and-uncorrupted
 sensibus an postulet melius aliquid, non videam quid quaerat
senses or it-demands better something not I-would-see what it-would-ask
 amplius. nec vero hoc loco expectandum est dum de remo
further nor truly at-this place to-be-awaited it-is until about the-oar

inflexo aut de collo columbae respondeam; non enim is
bent or about the-neck of-a-dove I-answer not for such
 sum qui quidquid videtur tale dicam esse quale videatur;
I-am who whatever seems such I-should-say to-be such-as it-seems
 Epicurus hoc viderit et alia multa. meo autem iudicio
Epicurus this let-him-look-to and other many(-things) in-my moreover judgment
 ita est maxima in sensibus veritas, si et sani sunt ac
so it-is the-greatest in the-senses truth if both sound they-are and
 valentes et omnia removentur quae obstant et inpediunt.
strong and all(-things) are-removed which obstruct and hinder
 itaque et lumen mutari saepe volumus et situs earum
and-so both the-light to-be-changed often we-wish and the-positions of-those
 rerum quas intuemur, et intervalla aut contrahimus aut
things which we-look-at and the-distances either we-shorten or
 diducimus, multaue facimus usque eo dum aspectus
we-widen and-many(-things) we-do even so-far until the-sight
 ipse fidem faciat sui iudicii. quod idem fit in
itself confidence may-make of-its-own judgment which the-same happens in
 vocibus in odore in sapore, ut nemo sit nostrum qui
sounds in smell in taste so-that no-one is of-us who
 in sensibus sui cuiusque generis iudicium requirat acrius.
in the-senses of-its-own of-each kind judgment demands keener
 Adhibita vero exercitatione et arte, ut oculi pictura 20
(having-been)-applied truly practice and art so-that the-eyes by-a-painting
 teneantur aures cantibus, quis est quin cernat quanta vis
are-held the-ears by-songs who is-there but-that he-discerns how-great the-force
 sit in sensibus. quam multa vident pictores in umbris et
is in the-senses how many(-things) see painters in shadows and
 in eminentia quae nos non videmus; quam multa quae nos
in relief which we not see how many(-things) which us
 fugiunt in cantu exaudiunt in eo genere exercitati, qui primo
escape in a-song hear in that kind the-practiced who at-the-first

inflatu tibicinis Antiopam esse aiunt aut Andromacham,
breath of-the-piper Antiopa to-be say or Andromache
 cum id nos ne suspicemur quidem. nihil necesse est de
although that we not suspect even not-at-all necessary it-is about
 gustatu et odoratu loqui, in quibus intellegentia etsi vitiosa
taste and smell to-speak in which understanding although faulty
 est quaedam tamen. quid de tactu et eo quidem quem
is a-certain however what about touch and that indeed which
 philosophi interiorem vocant aut doloris aut voluptatis, in quo
philosophers inner call either of-pain or of-pleasure in which
 Cyrenaici solo putant veri esse iudicium, quia sentiatur —
the-Cyrenaics alone think of-truth to-be the-judgment because it-is-felt
 21 potestne igitur quisquam dicere inter eum qui doleat et
can therefore anyone to-say between him who is-in-pain and
 inter eum qui in voluptate sit nihil interesse, aut ita qui
between him who in pleasure is nothing to-differ or so who
 sentiet non apertissime insaniat?
shall-think not most-openly would-be-mad
 Atqui qualia sunt haec quae sensibus percipi
and-yet of-what-sort are these(-things) which by-the-senses to-be-perceived
 dicimus talia secuntur ea quae non sensibus ipsis
we-say of-such-a-sort follow those which not by-the-senses themselves
 percipi dicuntur sed quodam modo sensibus, ut haec:
to-be-perceived are-said but in-a-certain way by-the-senses as these
 ‘illud est album, hoc dulce, canorum illud, hoc bene olens.
that is white this sweet tuneful that this well smelling
 hoc asperum’: animo iam haec tenemus comprehensa
this rough by-the-mind now these(-things) we-hold grasped
 non sensibus. ‘ille’ deinceps ‘equus est, ille canis’. cetera
not by-the-senses that next a-horse is that a-dog the-remaining
 series deinde sequitur maiora nectens, ut haec quae
series then follows greater(-things) linking as these which

quasi expletam rerum comprehensionem amplectuntur: 'si
as-it-were a-completed of-things grasping embrace if
 homo est, animal est mortale rationis particeps'. Quo e
a-man is an-animal it-is mortal of-reason sharing which from
 genere nobis notitiae rerum inprimuntur, sine quibus nec
kind to-us notions of-things are-impressed without which neither
 intellegi quicquam nec quaeri nec disputari potest.

to-be-understood anything nor to-be-asked nor to-be-argued it-can
 quod si essent falsae notitiae (ἐννοίας enim notitias appellare tu 22
which if were false notions conceptions for notions to-call you
 videbare) — si igitur essent eae falsae aut eius modi visis

seemed if therefore were those false or of-that sort by-appearances
 inpressae qualia visa a falsis discerni non possent,
impressed such-as appearances from false(-ones) to-be-distinguished not could
 quo tandem his modo uteremur, quo modo autem quid
in-what pray them way should-we-use in-what way moreover what
 cuique rei consentaneum esset quid repugnaret videremus?

to-each thing consistent was what conflicted should-we-see
 Memoriae quidem certe, quae non modo philosophiam sed
to-memory indeed surely which not only philosophy but
 omnis vitae usum omnesque artes una maxime continet,
of-all life the-use and-all the-arts alone most holds-together
 nihil omnino loci relinquitur. quae potest enim esse

nothing at-all of-room is-left what can for to-be
 memoria falsorum, aut quid quisquam meminit quod non
a-memory of-false(-things) or what does-anyone remember which not
 animo comprehendit et tenet? Ars vero quae potest esse
with-the-mind he-has-grasped and holds art truly what can to-be
 nisi quae non ex una aut duabus sed ex multis animi
except which not from one or two but from many of-the-mind
 perceptionibus constat? quam si subtraxeris, qui distingues
perceptions consists which if you-shall-take-away how will-you-distinguish

artificem ab inscio: non enim fortuito hunc artificem
the-craftsman from the-ignorant not for by-chance this-one a-craftsman
 dicemus esse illum negabimus, sed cum alterum percepta et
we-shall-say to-be that-one we-shall-deny but when the-one perceived and
 comprehensa tenere videmus alterum non item. cumque artium
grasped to-hold we-see the-other not likewise and-since of-arts
 aliud eius modi genus sit ut tantum modo animo rem
one of-that sort kind is that only just with-the-mind the-thing
 cernat, aliud ut moliatur aliquid et faciat, quo modo aut
it-discerns another that it-works something and makes in-what way either
 geometres cernere ea potest quae aut nulla sunt
a-geometer to-discern those(-things) can which either non-existent are
 aut internosci a falsis non possunt, aut is qui fidibus
or to-be-distinguished from false(-ones) not can or he who the-lyre
 utitur explere numeros et conficere versus; quod idem in
uses to-fill-out the-measures and to-complete verses which the-same in
 similibus quoque artibus continget, quarum omne opus est
like also arts will-happen of-which all the-work is
 in faciendo atque agendo. quid enim est quod arte effici
in doing and acting what for is which by-art to-be-effected
 possit nisi is qui artem tractabit multa perceperit?
can unless he who art shall-handle many(-things) shall-have-perceived

VIII · WISDOM NEEDS SOMETHING GRASPED

Our cognition of the virtues is itself proof that much can be perceived. If nothing were grasped, the good man who endures torture rather than betray duty or faith would have no reason for the laws he imposes on himself. Wisdom could not know that it is wisdom, or find a beginning to act from, and the impulse that moves us to act could not be moved at all.

Maxime vero virtutum cognitio confirmat percipi et
especially truly of-virtues the-cognition confirms to-be-perceived and
 conprendi multa posse. in quibus solis inesse etiam
to-be-grasped many(-things) to-be-able in which alone to-reside also
 scientiam dicimus, quam nos non comprehensionem modo
knowledge we-say which we not a-grasping only
 rerum sed eam stabilem quoque et immutabilem esse
of-things but it stable also and unchangeable to-be
 censemus, itemque sapientiam artem vivendi, quae ipsa ex
we-judge and-likewise wisdom the-art of-living which itself from
 sese habeat constantiam; ea autem constantia si nihil habeat
itself may-have constancy that moreover constancy if nothing it-have
 percepti et cogniti, quaero unde nata sit aut quo modo.
of-perceived and of-known I-ask whence born it-is or in-what way
 quaero etiam, ille vir bonus, qui statuit omnem cruciatum
I-ask also that man good who has-resolved every torture
 perferre, intolerabili dolore lacerari potius quam aut officium
to-endure with-unbearable pain to-be-torn rather than either duty
 prodat aut fidem, cur has sibi tam graves leges inposuerit,
he-betray or faith why these on-himself so heavy laws he-has-imposed
 cum quam ob rem ita oporteret nihil haberet
when which on-account-of thing so it-behooved nothing he-had
 comprehensi percepti cogniti constituti. nullo igitur modo
of-grasped of-perceived of-known of-settled in-no therefore way
 fieri potest ut quisquam tanti aestimet aequitatem et
to-happen it-can that anyone at-so-much values equity and
 fidem ut eius conservandae causa nullum supplicium recuset,
faith that of-it to-be-preserved for-the-sake no punishment he-refuses
 nisi is rebus adsensus sit quae falsae esse non possint.
unless to-those things assented he-has which false to-be not can

- 24 Ipsa vero sapientia si se ignorabit sapientia sit necne,
itself truly wisdom if itself shall-not-know wisdom it-is or-not
 quo modo primum obtinebit nomen sapientiae? deinde
in-what way first will-it-keep the-name of-wisdom then
 quo modo suscipere aliquam rem aut agere fidenter audebit,
in-what way to-undertake any thing or to-act confidently will-it-dare
 cum certi nihil erit quod sequatur? cum vero dubitabit
when certain nothing there-will-be which it-may-follow when truly it-shall-doubt
 quid sit extremum et ultimum bonorum, ignorans quo
what is the-utmost and last of-goods not-knowing to-what
 omnia referantur, qui poterit esse sapientia? Atque etiam
all(-things) are-referred how will-it-be-able to-be wisdom and also
 illud perspicuum est, constitui necesse esse initium quod
that perspicuous is to-be-established necessary to-be a-beginning which
 sapientia cum quid agere incipiat sequatur, idque initium
wisdom when anything to-do it-begins may-follow and-that beginning
 esse naturae accommodatum. nam aliter adpetitio (eam
to-be to-nature fitted for otherwise the-impulse it
 enim volumus esse ὁρμὴν qua ad agendum impellimur
for we-wish to-be impulse by-which to acting we-are-driven
 et id adpetimus quod est visum) moveri non potest.
and that we-seek which is an-appearance to-be-moved not it-can
- 25 illud autem quod movet prius oportet videri eique credi;
that moreover which moves first it-behooves to-be-seen and-to-it to-be-believed
 quod fieri non potest, si id quod visum erit
which to-happen not can if that which seen it-will-have-been
 discerni non poterit a falso. quo modo autem
to-be-distinguished not it-will-be-able from the-false in-what way moreover
 moveri animus ad adpetendum potest, si id quod videtur
to-be-moved the-mind to desiring can if that which is-seen
 non percipitur adcommodatumne naturae sit an alienum?
not is-perceived whether-suited to-nature it-is or alien

itemque, si quid officii sui sit non occurrit animo, nihil
and-likewise if what of-duty its-own is not occurs to-the-mind nothing
 umquam omnino aget, ad nullam rem umquam impelletur,
ever at-all it-will-do to no thing ever it-will-be-driven
 numquam movebitur. quod si aliquid aliquando acturus est,
never it-will-be-moved which if something at-some-time about-to-do it-is
 necesse est id ei verum quod occurrit videri.
necessary it-is that to-it true which occurs to-seem

IX · A SCHOOL THAT CANNOT HOLD A DOCTRINE

If the Academics are right, reason itself is taken away, and with it inquiry, which is the desire for cognition, and discovery, which is its end. Wisdom must not doubt its own decrees, and a decree must be not merely free of falsehood but stable and fixed. Antiochus pressed the Academics harder: they should have been asked to perceive the very rule by which true and false are told apart.

Quid quod, si ista vera sunt, ratio omnis tollitur 26
what that if those(-things) true are reason all is-taken-away
 quasi quaedam lux lumenque vitae: tamenne in ista pravitare
as-it-were a-certain light and-lamp of-life still in that perversity
 perstabitis? nam quaerendi initium ratio attulit, quae
will-you-persist for of-seeking the-beginning reason brought which
 perfecit virtutem, cum esset ipsa ratio confirmata quaerendo;
perfected virtue when was itself reason strengthened by-seeking
 quaestio autem est adpetitio cognitionis quaestionisque finis
inquiry moreover is the-desire of-cognition and-of-inquiry the-end
 inventio; at nemo invenit falsa, nec ea quae incerta
discovery but no-one discovers false(-things) nor those which uncertain
 permanent inventa esse possunt, sed cum ea quae
remain discovered to-be can but when those(-things) which

quasi involuta ante fuerunt aperta sunt, tum inventa
as-it-were wrapped-up before were opened are then discovered
 dicuntur: sic et initium quaerendi et exitus percipiendi
they-are-called so both the-beginning of-seeking and the-end of-perceiving
 et comprehendendi tenet. itaque argumenti conclusio, quae
and of-grasping it-holds and-so of-an-argument the-conclusion which
 est Graece ἀπόδειξις, ita definitur: 'ratio quae ex rebus
is in-Greek demonstration so is-defined a-reasoning which from things
 perceptis ad id quod non percipiebatur adducit'.
perceived to that which not was-being-perceived leads

27 quod si omnia visa eius modi essent qualia isti dicunt,
which if all appearances of-that sort were such-as those say
 ut ea vel falsa esse possent neque ea posset ulla notio
that they even false to-be could and-not them could any notion
 discernere, quo modo quemquam aut conclusisse aliquid
to-distinguish in-what way anyone either to-have-concluded something
 aut invenisse dicemus, aut quae esset conclusi argumenti
or to-have-discovered shall-we-say or what would-be of-a-concluded argument
 fides? ipsa autem philosophia, quae rationibus progredi debet,
the-credit itself moreover philosophy which by-reasonings to-advance ought
 quem habebit exitum? sapientiae vero quid futurum est, quae
what will-it-have end for-wisdom truly what about-to-be is which
 neque de se ipsa dubitare debet neque de suis decretis
neither about itself very-self to-doubt ought nor about its-own decrees
 (quae philosophi vocant δόγματα), quorum nullum sine scelere
which the-philosophers call decrees of-which none without crime
 prodi poterit; cum enim decretum proditur, lex veri
to-be-betrayed will-be-able when for a-decree is-betrayed the-law of-the-true
 rectique proditur, quo e vitio et amicitiarum proditioes
and-of-the-right is-betrayed which from fault both of-friendships betrayals
 et rerum publicarum nasci solent; non potest igitur dubitari
and of-things public to-arise are-wont not it-can therefore to-be-doubted

quin decretum nullum falsum possit esse sapientis neque satis
but-that a-decree no false can to-be of-a-wise-man nor enough
 sit non esse falsum sed etiam stabile fixum ratum esse debeat,
it-is not to-be false but also stable fixed ratified to-be it-ought
 quod movere nulla ratio queat; talia autem neque esse neque
which to-move no reasoning may-be-able such moreover neither to-be nor
 videri possunt eorum ratione qui illa visa e quibus
to-seem can of-those by-the-reasoning who those appearances from which
 omnia decreta sunt nata negant quicquam a falsis interesse.
all decrees are born deny at-all from false(-ones) to-differ
 Ex hoc illud est natum, quod postulabat Hortensius, ut id 28
from this that is born which was-demanding Hortensius that that
 ipsum saltem perceptum a sapiente diceretis, nihil posse
very(-thing) at-least perceived by a-wise-man you-should-say nothing to-be-able
 percipi. Sed Antipatro hoc idem postulanti, cum diceret
to-be-perceived but to-Antipater this same(-thing) demanding when he-said
 ei qui adfirmaret nihil posse percipi unum tamen
to-him who affirmed nothing to-be-able to-be-perceived one(-thing) however
 illud dicere percipi posse consentaneum esse ut alia non
that to-say to-be-perceived to-be-able consistent to-be that others not
 possent, Carneades acutius resistebat. nam tantum abesse
could Carneades more-sharply resisted for so-far to-be-distant
 dicebat ut id consentaneum esset, ut maxime etiam
he-said that that consistent was that especially even
 repugnaret. qui enim negaret quicquam esse quod perciperetur,
it-conflicted who for denied anything to-be which might-be-perceived
 eum nihil excipere; ita necesse esse ne id ipsum quidem quod
him nothing to-except so necessary to-be not that very(-thing) even which
 exceptum non esset comprehendere et percipi ullo modo posse.
excepted not was to-be-grasped and to-be-perceived in-any way to-be-able

- 29 Antiochus ad istum locum pressius videbatur accedere.
Antiochus to that point more-closely seemed to-approach
 quoniam enim id haberent Academici decretum (sentitis
since for that they-held the-Academics as-a-decree you-perceive
 enim iam hoc me δόγμα dicere), nihil posse percipi,
for now this me a-decree to-mean nothing to-be-able to-be-perceived
 non debere eos in suo decreto sicut in ceteris rebus
not ought them in their-own decree just-as in other matters
 fluctuari, praesertim cum in eo summa consisteret: hanc
to-waver especially since in it the-main-point rested this
 enim esse regulam totius philosophiae, constitutionem veri
for to-be the-rule of-the-whole of-philosophy the-determination of-true
 falsi; cogniti incogniti; quam rationem quoniam suscipere
of-false of-known of-unknown which method since they-took-up
 docereque vellent quae visa accipi oporteret quae
and-to-teach they-wished which appearances to-be-accepted it-behooved which
 repudiari, certe hoc ipsum, ex quo omne veri falsique
to-be-rejected surely this very(-thing) from which all of-true and-of-false
 iudicium esset, percipere eos debuisse; etenim duo esse haec
judgment was to-perceive them ought-to-have for-indeed two to-be these
 maxima in philosophia, iudicium veri et finem bonorum,
greatest in philosophy the-judgment of-the-true and the-end of-goods
 nec sapientem posse esse qui aut cognoscendi esse initium
nor a-wise-man to-be-able to-be who either of-coming-to-know to-be the-beginning
 ignoret aut extremum expetendi, ut aut unde proficiscatur
does-not-know or the-utmost of-seeking so-that either whence he-sets-out
 aut quo perveniendum sit nesciat; haec autem
or whither to-be-arrived it-is he-does-not-know these(-things) moreover
 habere dubia nec is ita confidere ut moveri non possint
to-have doubtful nor to-those so to-trust that to-be-moved not they-can
 abhorrere a sapientia plurimum. hoc igitur modo potius
to-be-far-removed from wisdom very-much this therefore way rather

erat ab his postulandum ut hoc unum saltem, percipi
it-was from these to-be-demanded that this one(-thing) at-least to-be-perceived
 nihil posse, perceptum esse dicerent. Sed de inconstantia
nothing to-be-able perceived to-be they-should-say but about the-inconsistency
 totius illorum sententiae — si ulla sententia cuiusquam
of-the-whole of-their opinion if any opinion of-anyone
 esse potest nihil adprobantis — sit ut opinor dictum satis.
to-be can nothing approving let-it-be as I-think said enough

X • HOW THE MIND BUILDS ITS NOTIONS

Lucullus explains how the mind works. It seizes some appearances for immediate use, stores others as memory, and builds the rest by likeness into the notions the Greeks call conceptions and preconceptions. Reason and inference come next, and by these steps the mind reaches wisdom; those who deny that anything can be grasped strip life of its instruments and its ornaments alike.

Sequitur disputatio copiosa illa quidem sed paulo abstrusior 30
there-follows a-discussion full that indeed but a-little more-abstruse
 — habet enim aliquantum a physicis, ut verear ne
it-has for somewhat from the-natural-philosophers so-that I-fear lest
 maiorem largiar ei qui contra dicturus est libertatem et
greater I-grant to-him who against about-to-speak is freedom and
 licentiam; nam quid eum facturum putem de abditis rebus
license for what him about-to-do should-I-think about hidden matters
 et obscuris, qui lucem eripere conetur? — sed disputari
and obscure who the-light to-take-away attempts but to-be-discussed
 poterat subtiliter quanto quasi artificio natura fabricata
it-was-possible subtly with-how-great as-it-were craft nature fashioned
 esset primum animal omne deinde hominem maxime, quae
had first animal every then man especially what

vis esset in sensibus, quem ad modum prima visa
force there-was in the-senses which to manner the-first appearances
 nos pellerent, deinde adpetitio ab his pulsa sequeretur, tum
us struck then the-impulse by these driven followed then
 ut sensus ad res percipiendas intenderemus. Mens enim
how the-senses to things to-be-perceived we-directed the-mind for
 ipsa, quae sensuum fons est atque etiam ipsa sensus est,
itself which of-the-senses the-source is and even itself a-sense is
 naturalem vim habet, quam intendit ad ea quibus
a-natural force it-has which it-directs to those(-things) by-which
 movetur. itaque alia visa sic arripit ut iis statim utatur,
it-is-moved and-so some appearances so it-seizes that them at-once it-uses
 alia quasi recondit, e quibus memoria oritur; cetera autem
others as-it-were it-stores-away from which memory arises the-rest moreover
 similitudinibus construit, ex quibus efficiuntur notitiae rerum,
by-likenesses it-builds from which are-produced notions of-things
 quas Graeci tum ἐννοίας tum προλήψεις vocant; eo cum
which the-Greeks now conceptions now preconceptions call to-it when
 accessit ratio argumentique conclusio rerumque innumerabilium
has-come reason and-of-argument the-conclusion and-of-things innumerable
 multitudo, tum et perceptio eorum omnium apparet et
the-multitude then both the-perception of-them all appears and
 eadem ratio perfecta is gradibus ad sapientiam pervenit.
the-same reason perfected by-these steps to wisdom arrives

31 ad rerum igitur scientiam vitaeque constantiam aptissima
to of-things therefore knowledge and-of-life constancy most-fitted
 cum sit mens hominis amplectitur maxime cognitionem
since is the-mind of-man it-embraces especially cognition
 et istam κατάληψιν, quam ut dixi verbum e verbo
and that a-grasping which as I-said word from word
 exprimentes comprehensionem dicemus, cum ipsam per se
expressing a-grasping we-shall-say both itself through itself

amat (nihil enim est ei veritatis luce dulcius) tum
it-loves nothing for is to-it of-truth than-the-light sweeter and
 etiam propter usum. quocirca et sensibus utitur et artes
also because-of use wherefore both the-senses it-uses and arts
 efficit quasi sensus alteros et usque eo philosophiam
it-produces as-it-were senses second and even so-far philosophy
 ipsam corroborat ut virtutem efficiat, ex qua re una
itself it-strengthens that virtue it-may-produce from which thing one
 vita omnis apta sit. Ergo i qui negant quicquam posse
life all fitted may-be therefore they who deny anything to-be-able
 comprehendere haec ipsa eripiunt vel instrumenta vel
to-be-grasped these very(-things) they-take-away either the-instruments or
 ornamenta vitae, vel potius etiam totam vitam evertunt
the-ornaments of-life or rather even the-whole life they-overturn
 funditus ipsumque animal orbant animo. ut difficile sit
utterly and-the-very animal they-rob of-mind so-that hard it-is
 de temeritate eorum perinde ut causa postulat dicere.
about the-rashness of-them just as the-case demands to-speak

XI · THE PROBABLE HAS NO MARK

Lucullus cannot make out what the Academics want. Some say nothing is certain and blame nature; others distinguish the uncertain from the imperceptible. But there is no rule of true and false if we have no notion of the difference, and the probable they offer has no mark of its own. If a wise man may act on what merely looks likely, he can never be sure of anything he acts on.

Nec vero satis constituere possum quod sit eorum consilium 32
nor truly enough to-determine I-can what is their plan
 aut quid velint. interdum enim cum adhibemus ad eos
or what they-wish sometimes for when we-apply to them

orationem eius modi, si ea quae disputentur vera sint
an-argument of-that sort if those(-things) which are-argued true are
 tum omnia fore incerta, respondent: 'quid ergo istud
then all(-things) to-be-about-to-be uncertain they-answer what then that
 ad nos? num nostra culpa est? naturam accusa, quae in
to us surely-not our fault is nature accuse which in
 profundo veritatem ut ait Democritus penitus abstruserit'. alii
the-deep truth as says Democritus deeply has-bidden others
 autem elegantius, qui etiam queruntur quod eos insimulemus
moreover more-elegantly who even complain because them we-charge
 omnia incerta dicere, quantumque intersit inter incertum
all(-things) uncertain to-say and-how-much it-differs between uncertain
 et id quod percipi non possit docere conantur eaque
and that which to-be-perceived not can to-teach they-attempt and-them
 distinguere. Cum his igitur agamus, qui haec distinguunt,
to-distinguish with these therefore let-us-deal who these(-things) distinguish
 illos, qui omnia sic incerta dicunt ut stellarum numerus par
those who all(-things) so uncertain say as of-the-stars the-number even
 an impar sit, quasi desperatos aliquos relinquamus. Volunt enim
or odd is as-if despaired-of some let-us-leave they-wish for
 (et hoc quidem vel maxime vos animadvertēbam moveri)
and by-this indeed even especially you I-was-noticing to-be-moved
 probabile aliquid esse et quasi veri simile, eaque se uti
probable something to-be and as-it-were of-truth like and-that themselves to-use
 regula et in agenda vita et in quaerendo ac disserendo.
as-a-rule both in to-be-conducted life and in inquiring and arguing
 33 Quae ista regula est veri et falsi, si notionem veri
what that rule is of-the-true and of-the-false if a-notion of-the-true
 et falsi propterea quod ea non possunt internosci
and of-the-false for-this-reason that they not can to-be-distinguished
 nullam habemus? nam si habemus, interesse oportet ut inter
none we-have for if we-have to-differ it-behooves as between

rectum et pravum sic inter verum et falsum. si nihil
right and crooked so between true and false if nothing
 interest, nulla regula est, nec potest is cui est visio
differs no rule there-is nor can be to-whom is a-vision
 veri falsique communis ullum habere iudicium aut ullam
of-the-true and-of-the-false common any to-have judgment or any
 omnino veritatis notam. Nam cum dicunt hoc se unum
at-all of-truth mark for when they-say this themselves one(-thing)
 tollere, ut quicquam possit ita verum videri ut non eodem
to-remove that anything can so true to-seem that not in-the-same
 modo falsum etiam possit videri, cetera autem concedere,
way false also can to-seem the-rest moreover to-concede
 faciunt pueriliter. quo enim omnia iudicantur sublato
they-act childishly by-which for all(-things) are-judged (being)-removed
 reliqua se negant tollere; ut si quis quem oculis
the-rest themselves they-deny to-remove as if anyone someone of-eyes
 privaverit dicat ea quae cerni possent se ei
shall-have-deprived should-say those(-things) which to-be-seen could himself from-him
 non ademisse. ut enim illa oculis modo agnoscuntur sic
not to-have-taken-away as for those by-the-eyes only are-recognized so
 reliqua visis, sed propria veri non communi veri
the-rest by-appearances but by-a-proper of-the-true not by-a-common of-the-true
 et falsi nota. quam ob rem sive tu probabilem
and of-the-false mark which on-account-of thing whether you probable
 visionem sive probabilem et quae non inpediatur, ut Carneades
vision or probable and which not is-hindered as Carneades
 volebat, sive aliud quid proferes quod sequare, ad
wished or another thing you-shall-bring-forward which you-may-follow to
 visum illud de quo agimus tibi erit revertendum.
appearance that about which we-are-dealing for-you it-will-be to-be-retained

34 in eo autem si erit communitas cum falso, nullum
in it moreover if there-shall-be commonality with the-false no
 erit iudicium, quia proprium in communi signo
there-shall-be judgment because what-is-proper in a-common sign
 notari non potest. sin autem commune nihil erit,
to-be-marked not can but-if moreover common nothing there-shall-be
 habeo quod volo; id enim quaero quod ita mihi videatur
I-have what I-wish that for I-seek which so to-me may-seem
 verum ut non possit item falsum videri. Simili in errore
true that not it-can likewise false to-seem a-like in error
 versantur cum convicio veritatis coacti perspicua a
they-dwell when by-the-reproach of-truth compelled the-perspicuous from
 perceptis volunt distinguere et conantur ostendere esse
the-perceived they-wish to-distinguish and they-attempt to-show to-be
 aliquid perspicui, verum illud quidem et inpressum in
something of-the-perspicuous true that indeed and impressed on
 animo atque mente, neque tamen id percipi ac comprehend
the-soul and mind and-not however it to-be-perceived and to-be-grasped
 posse. quo enim modo perspicue dixeris album esse
to-be-able in-what for way perspicuously could-you-say white to-be
 aliquid, cum possit accidere ut id quod nigrum sit album
something when it-can to-happen that that which black is white
 esse videatur, aut quo modo ista aut perspicua dicemus
to-be may-seem or in-what way those either perspicuous shall-we-call
 aut inpressa subtiliter, cum sit incertum vere inaniterne
or impressed finely when it-is uncertain truly or-emptily
 moveatur: ita neque color neque corpus nec veritas nec
it-is-moved so neither color nor body nor truth nor
 argumentum nec sensus neque perspicuum ullum relinquitur.
argument nor sense nor perspicuous(-thing) any is-left

Ex hoc illud is usu venire solet, ut quicquid 35

from this that to-them in-practice to-come-about is-wont that whatever
 dixerint a quibusdam interrogentur 'ergo istuc quidem
they-shall-have-said by certain(-people) they-are-asked then that indeed
 percipis?'. sed qui ita interrogant ab iis inidentur. non
do-you-perceive but those-who so ask by them are-laughed-at not
 enim urgent ut coarguant neminem ulla de re posse
for they-press that they-may-prove no-one any about matter to-be-able
 contendere nec adseverare sine aliqua eius rei quam sibi
to-maintain nor to-assert without some of-that thing which to-himself
 quisque placere dicit certa et propria nota. Quod est igitur
each to-please says sure and proper mark what is therefore
 istuc vestrum probabile? nam si quod cuique occurrit et
that your probable for if what to-each occurs and
 primo quasi aspectu probabile videtur id confirmatur,
at-the-first as-it-were glance probable seems that is-confirmed
 quid eo levius; sin ex circumspectione aliqua et
what than-that more-trivial but-if from a-looking-round some and
 accurata consideratione quod visum sit id se dicent
careful consideration what appeared has that themselves they-will-say
 sequi, tamen exitum non habebunt,

to-follow still a-way-out not they-will-have
 primum quia is visis inter quae nihil interest 36

first because to-those appearances between which nothing differs
 aequaliter omnibus abrogatur fides; deinde, cum dicant
equally to-all is-withdrawn belief then since they-say
 posse accidere sapienti ut cum omnia fecerit
to-be-able to-happen to-a-wise-man that when all(-things) he-shall-have-done
 diligentissimeque circumspexerit existat aliquid quod et
and-most-carefully shall-have-looked-round there-arises something which both
 veri simile videatur et absit longissime a vero, ne si
of-truth like may-seem and is-distant very-far from the-true not if

magnam partem quidem, ut solent dicere, ad verum ipsum
a-great part even as they-are-wont to-say to the-true itself
 aut quam proxime accedant confidere sibi poterunt. ut
or as most-nearly they-approach to-trust themselves they-will-be-able that
 enim confidant, notum iis esse debet insigne veri;
for they-may-trust known to-them to-be it-will-have-to the-mark of-the-true
 quo obscuro et oppresso quod tandem verum sibi
which (being)-obscured and suppressed what pray true for-themselves
 videbuntur attingere? quid autem tam absurde dici potest
will-they-seem to-touch what moreover so absurdly to-be-said can
 quam cum ita locuntur: 'est hoc quidem illius rei signum
as when so they-speak is this indeed of-that thing a-sign
 aut argumentum, et ea re id sequor, sed fieri potest
or a-proof and on-that account it I-follow but to-happen it-can
 ut id quod significatur aut falsum sit aut nihil sit omnino'.
that that which is-signified either false is or nothing is at-all
 Sed de perceptione hactenus; si quis enim ea quae
but about perception thus-far if anyone for those(-things) which
 dicta sunt labefactare volet, facile etiam absentibus nobis
said have-been to-shake shall-wish easily even (with)-absent us
 veritas se ipsa defendet.
truth itself very-self will-defend

XII • NO ACTION WITHOUT ASSENT

Assent is what makes an animal act, and a mind faced with something plain can no more withhold it than a scale can stay level under a weight. Without assent, memory, the notions of things, and the arts cannot stand. Nothing would lie in our power either, and virtue would go with it, though sin already rests on assent.

His satis cognitis quae iam explicata sunt nunc de 37
these(-things) enough known which already unfolded have-been now about
 adsensione atque adprobatione, quam Graeci συγκατάθεσιν
assent and approval which the-Greeks assent
 vocant, pauca dicemus, non quo non latus locus sit, sed
call a-few(-words) we-shall-say not because not a-wide topic it-is but
 paulo ante iacta sunt fundamenta. nam cum vim quae
a-little before thrown have-been the-foundations for when the-force which
 esset in sensibus explicabamus, simul illud aperiebatur,
there-was in the-senses we-were-explaining at-once that was-being-disclosed
 conprendi multa et percipi sensibus, quod fieri
to-be-grasped many(-things) and to-be-perceived by-the-senses which to-happen
 sine adsensione non potest. deinde cum inter inanimum
without assent not can then since between the-inanimate
 et animal hoc maxime intersit, quod animal agit aliquid
and an-animal this especially differs that an-animal does something
 (nihil enim agens ne cogitari quidem potest quale
nothing for doing not-even to-be-conceived even it-can of-what-sort
 sit), aut ei sensus adimendus est aut ea quae est in
it-is either from-it sense to-be-taken-away is or that which is in
 nostra potestate sita reddenda adsensio.
our power placed to-be-given-back assent
 et vero animus quodam modo eripitur iis quos neque 38
and truly the-mind in-a-certain way is-snatched-away from-those whom neither
 sentire neque adsentiri volunt. ut enim necesse est lancem
to-perceive nor to-assent they-wish as for necessary it-is the-scale
 in libram ponderibus inpositis deprimi sic animum
in a-balance (with)-weights placed to-be-pressed-down so the-mind
 perspicuis cedere. nam quo modo non potest animal
to-the-perspicuous to-yield for in-what way not can an-animal
 ullum non adpetere id quod adcommodatam ad naturam
any not to-desire that which suited to nature

adpareat (Graeci id οἰκεῖον appellant), sic non potest obiectam

appears the-Greeks it akin call so not it-can a-presented

rem perspicuam non adprobare. Quamquam si illa

thing perspicuous not to-approve although if those(-things)

de quibus disputatum est vera sunt, nihil attinet de

about which argued it-has-been true are nothing it-matters about

adsensione omnino loqui; qui enim quid percipit adsentitur

assent at-all to-speak who for anything perceives assents

statim. Sed haec etiam secuntur, nec memoriam sine

at-once but these(-things) also follow neither memory without

adsensione posse constare nec notitias rerum nec artes;

assent to-be-able to-stand nor the-notions of-things nor the-arts

idque quod maximum est, ut sit aliquid in nostra

and-that which greatest is that there-is something in our

potestate, in eo qui rei nulli adsentietur non erit.

power in him who to-a-thing to-no will-assent not it-will-be

39 ubi igitur virtus, si nihil situm est in ipsis nobis? maxime

where therefore virtue if nothing placed is in our-very selves most

autem absurdum vitia in ipsorum esse potestate neque

moreover absurd vices in of-themselves to-be the-power and-not

peccare quemquam nisi adsensione, hoc idem in virtute

to-sin anyone except by-assent this same(-thing) in virtue

non esse, cuius omnis constantia et firmitas ex is rebus

not to-be of-which all the-constancy and firmness from those things

constat quibus adsensa est et quas adprobavit. Omninoque

consists to-which assented it-has and which it-has-approved and-altogether

ante videri aliquid quam agamus necesse est eique quod

before to-be-seen something than we-act necessary it-is and-to-it which

visum sit adsentiat. quare qui aut visum aut

seen has-been (one)-should-assent wherefore who either an-appearance or

adsensum tollit is omnem actionem tollit e vita.

assent removes he all action removes from life

Lucullus sets out the Academics' case fairly. They define the appearance in the Stoics' terms and ask to be granted two things: that a false appearance cannot be perceived, and that of appearances differing in nothing, one cannot be perceived and another not. Two more they argue at length: some appearances are true and some false, and any true one could equally be false. From these they conclude that no appearance can be perceived.

Nunc ea videamus quae contra ab his disputari solent. 40
 now those(-things) let-us-see which against by these to-be-argued are-wont
 sed prius potestis totius eorum rationis quasi fundamenta
 but first you-can of-the-whole of-their reasoning as-it-were the-foundations
 cognoscere. Conponunt igitur primum artem quandam de
 to-come-to-know they-compose therefore first an-art a-certain about
 his quae visa dicimus, eorumque et vim et
 these(-things) which appearances we-call and-of-them both the-force and
 genera definiunt, in his quale sit id quod percipi
 the-kinds they-define among these of-what-sort is that which to-be-perceived
 et comprehendere possit, totidem verbis quot Stoici. Deinde
 and to-be-grasped can in-just-as-many words as the-Stoics then
 illa exponunt duo, quae quasi contineant omnem hanc
 those they-set-out two which as-it-were comprise the-whole this
 quaestionem: quae ita videantur ut etiam alia eodem
 question which(-things) so may-appear that also others in-the-same
 modo videri possint nec in is quicquam intersit,
 way to-appear can and-not among them anything differs
 non posse eorum alia percipi alia non percipi; nihil
 not to-be-able of-them some to-be-perceived others not to-be-perceived nothing
 interesse autem non modo si omni ex parte eiusdem
 to-differ moreover not only if every from part of-the-same
 modi sint sed etiam si discerni non possint. Quibus
 sort they-are but also if to-be-distinguished not they-can which

positis unius argumenti conclusione tota ab his causa
(being)-laid-down of-one argument by-the-conclusion the-whole by these case
 comprehenditur. composita autem ea conclusio sic est: 'eorum
is-comprised put-together moreover that conclusion thus is of-those
 quae videntur alia vera sunt alia falsa; et quod falsum est
which appear some true are others false and what false is
 id percipi non potest, quod autem verum visum est, id
that to-be-perceived not can what moreover true appearance is that
 omne tale est ut eiusdem modi falsum etiam possit videri';
every such is that of-the-same sort false also can to-seem
 et quae visa sint eius modi ut in is nihil intersit,
and which appearances are of-that sort that among them nothing differs
 non posse accidere ut eorum alia percipi possint alia non
not to-be-able to-happen that of-them some to-be-perceived can others not
 possint; 'nullum igitur est visum quod percipi possit'.
can no therefore is appearance which to-be-perceived can

41 Quae autem sumunt ut concludant id quod volunt,
which(-things) moreover they-assume that they-may-conclude that which they-wish
 ex his duo sibi putant concedi (neque enim quisquam
of these two to-themselves they-think to-be-granted and-not for anyone
 repugnat); ea sunt haec: quae visa falsa sint ea
opposes those are these which appearances false are those
 percipi non posse; et alterum: inter quae visa nihil
to-be-perceived not to-be-able and the-other between which appearances nothing
 intersit, ex is non posse alia talia esse ut percipi possint
differs of them not to-be-able some such to-be that to-be-perceived they-can
 alia ut non possint. reliqua vero multa et varia oratione
others that not they-can the-rest truly with-much and varied speech
 defendunt, quae sunt item duo: unum, quae videantur
they-defend which are likewise two one which(-things) appear

eorum alia vera esse alia falsa; alterum, omne visum quod
of-them some true to-be others false the-other every appearance which
 sit a vero tale esse quale etiam a falso possit esse.
is from the-true such to-be such-as also from the-false can to-be
 haec duo proposita non praetervolant sed ita dilatant ut 42
these two propositions not they-fly-past but so they-expand that
 non mediocrem curam adhibeant et diligentiam. dividunt
not slight care they-apply and diligence they-divide
 enim in partes et eas quidem magnas, primum in sensus,
for into parts and those indeed large first into the-senses
 deinde in ea quae ducuntur a sensibus et ab omni
then into those which are-drawn from the-senses and from all
 consuetudine, quam obscurari volunt; tum perveniunt ad
habit which to-be-obsured they-wish then they-come to
 eam partem ut ne ratione quidem et coniectura ulla res
that part that not by-reason even and by-conjecture any thing
 percipi possit. haec autem universa concidunt etiam
to-be-perceived can these(-things) moreover as-a-whole they-cut-up even
 minutius. ut enim de sensibus hesterno sermone vidistis
more-minutely as for about the-senses in-yesterday's discourse you-saw
 item faciunt de reliquis, in singulisque rebus, quas in
likewise they-do about the-rest in and-single things which into
 minima dispartunt, volunt efficere iis omnibus quae
the-smallest they-divide they-wish to-bring-about to-those all which
 visa sint veris adiuncta esse falsa quae a veris
appearances are to-true(-ones) joined to-be false(-ones) which from the-true
 nihil differant; ea cum talia sint non posse conprehendi.
nothing differ those since such they-are not to-be-able to-be-grasped

Lucullus grants the subtlety and says it belongs to men who trust their own definitions. If a definition can be transferred to something else, it is no definition; if it cannot, then what it explains can be perceived, which is what the Academics deny. Their own reasoning proceeds from things grasped, and their two premises contradict each other: they assume a difference and then deny it.

- 43 Hanc ego subtilitatem philosophia quidem dignissimam
this I subtlety of-philosophy indeed most-worthy
iudico sed ab eorum causa qui ita disserunt remotissimam.
I-judge but from their case who so argue most-remote
definitiones enim et partitiones et horum luminibus utens
definitions for and divisions and of-these the-lights using
oratio, tum similitudines dissimilitudinesque et earum tenuis
speech then likenesses and-unlikenesses and of-them fine
et acuta distinctio fidentium est hominum illa vera et
and sharp distinction of-confident is of-men those(-things) true and
firma et certa esse quae tutentur, non eorum qui clament
firm and sure to-be which they-defend not of-those who shout
nihil magis vera illa esse quam falsa. quid enim agant,
by-nothing more true those to-be than false what for would-they-do
si cum aliquid definierint roget eos quispiam num illa
if when something they-have-defined should-ask them someone whether that
definitio possit in aliam rem transferri quamlibet: si
definition can into another thing to-be-transferred whatever-you-please if
posse dixerint, quid dicere habeant cur illa vera definitio
to-be-able they-shall-say what to-say would-they-have why that true definition
sit; si negaverint, fatendum sit, quoniam †vel illa
is if they-shall-deny to-be-confessed it-would-be since even that
vera† definitio transferri non possit in falsum, quod ea
true definition to-be-transferred not can into the-false what by-that

definitione explicetur id percipi posse; quod minime illi
definition is-unfolded that to-be-perceived to-be-able which least they
 volunt. Eadem dici poterunt in omnibus partibus.

wish the-same(-things) to-be-said will-be-able in all parts

si enim dicent ea de quibus disserent se

44

if for they-shall-say those(-things) about which they-argue themselves

dilucide perspicere nec ulla communione visorum inpediri,

distinctly to-see-clearly nor by-any community of-appearances to-be-hindered

comprehendere ea se fatebuntur; sin autem negabunt

to-grasp them themselves they-will-confess but-if moreover they-shall-deny

vera visa a falsis posse distingui, qui poterunt

true appearances from false(-ones) to-be-able to-be-distinguished how will-they-be-able

longius progredi: occurreretur enim, sicut occursum est.

further to-advance it-will-be-met for just-as met it-has-been

Nam concludi argumentum non potest nisi is quae ad

for to-be-concluded an-argument not can unless (with)-those which for

concludendum sumpta erunt ita probatis ut falsa eiusdem

concluding assumed shall-have-been so proved that false of-the-same

modi nulla possint esse. ergo si rebus comprehensis et perceptis

sort none can to-be therefore if on-things grasped and perceived

nisa et progressa ratio hoc efficiet, nihil posse

having-relied and having-advanced reasoning this shall-bring-about nothing to-be-able

comprenderi, quid potest reperiri quod ipsum sibi repugnet

to-be-grasped what can to-be-found which itself with-itself conflicts

magis? cumque ipsa natura accuratae orationis hoc profiteatur,

more and-since the-very nature of-careful speech this professes

se aliquid patefacturam quod non appareat, et quo id facilius

itself something about-to-reveal which not appears and so-that it more-easily

adsequatur adhibituram et sensus et ea quae perspicua

it-may-attain about-to-employ both the-senses and those(-things) which perspicuous

sint, qualis est istorum oratio qui omnia non tam esse

are of-what-sort is of-those the-speech who all(-things) not so-much to-be

quam videri volunt? Maxime autem convincuntur cum haec
as to-seem wish most moreover they-are-refuted when these
 duo pro congruentibus sumunt tam vehementer repugnantia,
two as agreeing they-assume so violently conflicting
 primum esse quaedam falsa visa (quod cum volunt, declarant
first to-be certain false appearances which when they-wish they-declare
 quaedam esse vera), deinde ibidem, inter falsa visa et
certain(-ones) to-be true then in-the-same-place between false appearances and
 vera nihil interesse. at primum sumpseras tamquam interesset:
true nothing to-differ but at-first you-had-assumed as-though it-differed
 ita priore posterius, posteriore superius vincitur.
so by-the-former the-latter by-the-latter the-former is-refuted

XV • DREAMS AND MADMEN

Two things stand in the way of what is plain: not looking hard enough, and being caught by trick questions. Lucullus promises answers to both. The Academics argue that god may send an appearance in sleep, or the mind raise one in madness, that is false yet indistinguishable from a true one, and that if false appearances can be probable there is no reason to stop short of ones that cannot be told apart at all.

- 45 Sed progrediamur longius et ita agamus ut nihil nobis
but let-us-advance further and so let-us-act that nothing to-ourselves
 adsentati esse videamur, quaeque ab iis dicuntur sic
to-have-flattered to-be we-seem and-what(-things) by them are-said so
 persequamur ut nihil in praeteritis relinquamus. Primum
let-us-pursue that nothing among the-passed-over we-leave first
 igitur perspicuitas illa quam diximus satis magnam
therefore perspicuity that which we-mentioned sufficiently great
 habet vim, ut ipsa per sese ea quae sint nobis ita
has force that itself through itself those(-things) which are to-us so

ut sint indicet. sed tamen ut maneamus in perspicuis
as they-are it-may-show but yet that we-may-remain in the-perspicuous
 firmiss et constantius, maiore quadam opus est vel arte
more-firmly and more-steadily greater a-certain need there-is either of-art
 vel diligentia, ne ab is quae clara sint ipsa per sese
or of-diligence lest from those which clear are themselves through themselves
 quasi praestrigiis quibusdam et captionibus depellamur.

as-it-were by-tricks certain and by-catches we-may-be-driven-off
 nam qui voluit subvenire erroribus Epicurus iis qui
for who wished to-remedy the-errors Epicurus those which
 videntur conturbare veri cognitionem dixitque sapientis
seem to-confound of-the-true the-cognition and-said of-a-wise-man
 esse opinionem a perspicuitate seiungere nihil profecit;
to-be opinion from perspicuity to-separate nothing he-accomplished
 ipsius enim opinionis errorem nullo modo sustulit.

of-the-very for of-opinion the-error in-no way he-removed

Quam ob rem cum duae causae perspicuis et
which on-account-of thing since two causes to-the-perspicuous and
 evidentibus rebus adversentur, auxilia totidem sunt contra
evident things are-opposed remedies just-as-many are against
 comparanda. adversantur enim primum quod parum defigunt
to-be-provided they-oppose for first because too-little they-fix
 animos et intendunt in ea quae perspicua sunt,
(their)-minds and they-strain upon those(-things) which perspicuous are
 ut quanta luce ea circumfusa sint possint agnoscere;
so-that how-great with-light they surrounded are they-can to-recognize
 alterum est quod fallacibus et captiosis interrogationibus
the-second is that by-deceitful and ensnaring questions
 circumscripti atque decepti quidam cum eas dissolvere non
entrapped and deceived certain(-men) when them to-untie not
 possunt desciscunt a veritate. oportet igitur et ea
they-can fall-away from truth it-behooves therefore both those(-things)

46

quae pro perspicuitate responderi possunt in promptu habere,
which for perspicuity to-be-answered can in readiness to-have
 de quibus iam diximus, et esse armatos ut occurrere
about which already we-have-spoken and to-be armed so-that to-meet
 possimus interrogationibus eorum captionesque discutere,
we-may-be-able the-questions their and-the-catches to-shatter
 quod deinceps facere constitui.

which next to-do I-have-resolved

- 47 Exponam igitur generatim argumenta eorum, quoniam ipsi
I-shall-set-out therefore by-kinds the-arguments their since they
 etiam illi solent non confuse loqui. Primum conantur
even those are-wont not confusedly to-speak first they-attempt
 ostendere multa posse videri esse quae omnino nulla
to-show many(-things) to-be-able to-seem to-be which at-all nothing
 sint, cum animi inaniter moveantur, eodem modo rebus
are since minds empty are-moved in-the-same way by-things
 iis quae nullae sint ut is quae sint. 'nam cum dicatis'
those which none are as by-those which are for when you-say
 inquirunt 'visa quaedam mitti a deo, velut ea quae in
they-say appearances certain to-be-sent by a-god such-as those which in
 somnis videantur quaeque oraculis auspiciis extis declarentur'
dreams are-seen and-what by-oracles by-auspices by-entrails are-declared
 (haec enim aiunt probari a Stoicis, quos contra
these(-things) for they-say to-be-approved by the-Stoics whom against
 disputant) — quaerunt quonam modo falsa visa quae sint
they-argue they-ask by-what way false appearances which are
 ea deus efficere possit probabilia, quae autem plane proxime
those a-god to-make can probable which moreover plainly most-nearly
 ad verum accedant efficere non possit, aut si ea quoque
to the-true approach to-make not he-can or if those also

possit cur illa non possit quae perdifficiliter internoscantur
he-can why those not he-can which with-great-difficulty are-distinguished
 tamen, et si haec, cur non inter quae nihil sit omnino.

yet and if these why not between which nothing is at-all

‘Deinde cum mens moveatur ipsa per sese, ut et ea

48

then since the-mind is-moved itself through itself as both those(-things)

declarant quae cogitatione depingimus et ea quae vel

show which by-thought we-picture and those which either

dormientibus vel furiosis videntur non $\dagger$ inquam veri simile

to-sleepers or to-madmen appear not I-say of-truth like

sit sic etiam mentem moveri, ut non modo non internoscat

it-is so also the-mind to-be-moved that not only not it-distinguishes

vera illa visa sint anne falsa, sed ut in is nihil intersit

true those appearances are or false but that among them nothing differs

omnino’, ut si qui tremerent et exalbescerent vel ipsi per

at-all as if some should-tremble and should-turn-pale either themselves through

se motu mentis aliquo vel obiecta terribili re

themselves by-a-movement of-mind some or (with)-presented a-terrible thing

extrinsecus, nihil ut esset qui distingueretur tremor

from-outside nothing that there-would-be by-which might-be-distinguished trembling

ille et pallor, neque ut quicquam interesset inter intestinum

that and pallor and-not that anything would-differ between the-inward

et oblatum. ‘Postremo si nulla visa sunt probabilia quae

and the-presented lastly if no appearances are probable which

falsa sint, alia ratio est; sin autem sunt, cur non etiam

false are another account it-is but-if moreover there-are why not also

quae non facile internoscantur, cur non ut plane nihil intersit,

which not easily are-distinguished why not that plainly nothing differs

praesertim cum ipsi dicatis sapientem in furore sustinere se

especially since yourselves you-say the-wise(-man) in madness to-bold-back himself

ab omni adsensu, quia nulla in visis distinctio apparet.’

from every assent because no in appearances distinction appears

Lucullus objects to the form of the argument, which adds a little at a time until the difference disappears. That is the sorites, and it is not admitted in philosophy. Nobody has granted that god can do anything, or that likeness leads by steps to identity: wolves are like dogs and are not dogs, and what belongs to one kind cannot be transferred to another.

- 49 Ad has omnes visiones inanes Antiochus quidem et
to these all visions empty Antiochus indeed both
permulta dicebat et erat de hac una re unius diei
very-many(-things) used-to-say and there-was about this one matter of-one day
disputatio. mihi autem non idem faciundum puto sed ipsa
a-discussion to-me moreover not the-same to-be-done I-think but the-very
capita dicenda. Et primum quidem hoc reprehendendum,
chief-points to-be-stated and first indeed this to-be-blamed
quod captiosissimo genere interrogationis utuntur, quod genus
that with-a-most-catching kind of-questioning they-use which kind
minime in philosophia probari solet, quom aliquid minutatim
least in philosophy to-be-approved is-wont when something bit-by-bit
et gradatim additur aut demitur: soritas hoc vocant, qui
and step-by-step is-added or is-taken-away sorites this they-call who
acervum efficiunt uno addito grano, vitiosum sane et
a-heap make with-one added grain faulty indeed and
captiosum genus. sic enim ascenditis: 'si tale visum obiectum
catching a-kind so for you-climb if such appearance presented
est a deo dormienti ut probabile sit, cur non etiam ut
has-been by a-god to-a-sleeper that probable it-is why not also that
valde veri simile; cur deinde non ut difficiliter a vero
very of-truth like why then not that with-difficulty from the-true
internoscatur, deinde ut ne internoscatur quidem, postremo
it-is-distinguished then that not it-is-distinguished even lastly

ut nihil inter hoc et illud intersit.' huc si perveneris
that nothing between this and that differs hither if you-shall-have-come
 me tibi primum quidque concedente, meum vitium
(with)-me to-you first each conceding my fault
 fuerit, sin ipse tua sponte processeris, tuum.
it-will-have-been but-if yourself by-your own-will you-shall-have-advanced yours
 quis enim tibi dederit aut omnia deum posse aut 50
who for to-you would-grant either all(-things) a-god to-be-able or
 ita facturum esse si possit? quo modo autem sumis
so about-to-do to-be if he-could in-what way moreover do-you-assume
 ut si quid cui simile esse possit; sequatur ut etiam
that if anything to-anything like to-be can it-follows that also
 difficiliter internosci possit, deinde ut ne internosci
with-difficulty to-be-distinguished it-can then that not to-be-distinguished
 quidem, postremo ut eadem sit? et si lupi canibus similes,
even lastly that the-same it-is and if wolves to-dogs like
 eosdem dices ad extremum? et quidem honestis
the-same you-will-call to the-end and indeed to-honorable(-things)
 similia sunt quaedam non honesta et bonis non bona
like are certain not honorable and to-good(-things) not good
 et artificiosis minime artificiosa: quid dubitamus igitur
and to-artistic(-things) least artistic what do-we-hesitate therefore
 adfirmare nihil inter haec interesse? Ne repugnantia quidem
to-affirm nothing between these to-differ not contradictions even
 videmus? nihil est enim quod e suo genere in aliud
do-we-see nothing is for which from its-own kind into another
 genus transferri possit; at si efficeretur ut inter
kind to-be-transferred can but if it-were-brought-about that between
 visa differentium generum nihil interesset, reperirentur
appearances of-differing kinds nothing differed there-would-be-found
 quae et in suo genere essent et in alieno;
(things)-which both in their-own kind were and in another's

Every empty appearance is met the same way: it lacks the perspicuity we must hold on to with our teeth. A waking man knows his dream for a dream, a drunk man assents more weakly than a sober one, and the mad feel their own condition as it lifts. Lucullus then turns on the likenesses of twins and of seal-rings: he grants that things are alike, and asks why that admission is not enough for them.

- 51 quod fieri qui potest? Omnium deinde inanium visorum
which to-happen how can of-all then empty appearances
 una depulsio est, sive illa cogitatione informantur, quod
one refutation there-is whether they by-thought are-shaped which
 fieri solere concedimus, sive in quiete sive per vinum
to-happen to-be-wont we-grant or in sleep or through wine
 sive per insaniam. nam ab omnibus eiusdem modi visis
or through madness for from all of-the-same sort appearances
 perspicuitatem, quam mordicus tenere debemus, abesse
perspicuity which with-our-teeth to-hold we-ought to-be-absent
 dicemus. quis enim, cum sibi fingit aliquid et cogitatione
we-shall-say who for when for-himself imagines something and by-thought
 depingit, non simul ac se ipse commovit atque ad
pictures(-it) not as-soon as himself he-himself has-roused and to
 se revocavit sentit quid intersit inter perspicua et inania?
himself has-recalled perceives what differs between the-perspicuous and the-empty
 eadem ratio est somniorum. num censes Ennium, cum
the-same account is of-dreams surely-not do-you-think Ennius when
 in hortis cum Ser. Galba vicino suo ambulavisset, dixisse
in the-gardens with Servius Galba neighbor his he-had-walked to-have-said
 ‘visus sum mihi cum Galba ambulare?’ at cum somniavit
seemed I-have to-myself with Galba to-walk but when he-dreamed
 ita narravit ‘visus Homerus adesse poeta’, idemque in
so he-told seemed Homer to-be-present the-poet and-the-same(-man) in

Epicharmo 'nam videbar somniare med ego esse mortuum'.

the-Epicharmus for I-seemed to-dream me I to-be dead

itaque simul ut experrecti sumus visa illa contemnimus

and-so as-soon as awakened we-have appearances those we-despise

neque ita habemus ut ea quae in foro gessimus.

and-not so we-hold(-them) as those which in the-forum we-have-done

'At enim dum videntur, eadem est in somnis species eorum 52

but for while they-are-seen the-same is in dreams the-aspect of-those

quae vigilantes videmus.' Primum interest, sed id omittamus;

which awake we-see first it-differs but that let-us-pass-over

illud enim dicimus, non eandem esse vim neque integritatem

this for we-say not the-same to-be the-force nor the-soundness

dormientium et vigilantium nec mente nec sensu. ne

of-sleepers and of-the-waking neither in-mind nor in-sense not

vinulenti quidem quae faciunt eadem adprobatione

the-drunk even what(-things) they-do with-the-same approval

faciunt qua sobrii: dubitant haesitant revocant se

they-do as the-sober they-doubt they-hesitate they-call-back themselves

interdum iisque quae videntur inbecillius adsentiuntur,

sometimes and-to-those which are-seen more-weakly they-assent

cumque edormierunt illa visa quam levia fuerint

and-when they-have-slept-off those appearances how slight they-were

intellegunt. quod idem contingit insanis, ut et incipientes

they-understand which same(-thing) befalls the-mad that both beginning

furere sentiant et dicant aliquid quod non sit id videri sibi,

to-rave they-feel and they-say something which not is that to-seem to-them

et cum relaxentur sentiant atque illa dicant Alcmeonis

and when they-are-relieved they-feel and those(-words) say of-Alcmaeon

'sed mihi neutiquam cor consentit cum oculorum aspectu'.

but to-me by-no-means the-heart agrees with of-the-eyes the-sight

53 'At enim ipse sapiens sustinet se in furore ne
but for himself the-wise(-man) holds-back himself in madness lest
 adprobet falsa pro veris.' Et alias quidem saepe,
he-approve false(-things) for true(-ones) and at-other-times indeed often
 si aut in sensibus ipsius est aliqua forte gravitas aut
if either in the-senses of-himself there-is some perhaps heaviness or
 tarditas, aut obscuriora sunt quae videntur, aut
slowness or more-obscure are those(-things)-which are-seen or
 a perspicendo temporis brevitate excluditur. Quamquam
from seeing-clearly of-time by-the-shortness he-is-shut-out although
 totum hoc, sapientem aliquando sustinere adsensionem, contra
the-whole this the-wise(-man) sometimes to-hold-back assent against
 vos est. si enim inter visa *** nihil interesset, aut
you is if for between appearances (lacuna) nothing differed either
 semper sustineret aut numquam. Sed ex hoc genere toto
always he-would-withhold or never but from this kind whole
 perspicere potest levitas orationis eorum qui omnia cupiunt
to-be-clearly-seen it-can the-frivolity of-the-speech of-those who all(-things) desire
 confundere. quaerimus gravitatis constantiae firmitatis sapientiae
to-confound we-seek of-weight of-constancy of-firmness of-wisdom
 iudicium, utimur exemplis somniantium furiosorum ebriosorum:
the-judgment we-use examples of-dreamers of-madmen of-drunkards
 illud attendimus, in hoc omni genere quam inconstanter
that do-we-notice in this whole class how inconsistently
 loquamur? non enim proferremus vino aut somno
we-speak not for we-should-bring-forward by-wine or by-sleep
 oppressos aut mente captos tam absurde, ut tum diceremus
overcome or in-mind seized so absurdly that now we-should-say
 interesse inter vigilantium visa et sobriorum et sanorum
to-differ between of-the-waking appearances and of-the-sober and of-the-sane
 et eorum qui essent aliter adfecti, tum nihil interesse.
and of-those who were otherwise affected now nothing to-differ

Ne hoc quidem cernunt, omnia se reddere incerta,
not this even do-they-see all(-things) themselves to-render uncertain
 quod nolunt? (ea dico incerta quae ἄδηλα Graeci.) si
which they-do-not-wish those I-call uncertain which uncertain the-Greeks if
 enim res se ita habeat ut nihil intersit utrum ita
for the-matter itself so holds that nothing differs whether so
 cui videatur ut insano an sano, cui possit
to-anyone it-seems as to-a-madman or to-a-sane(-man) to-whom can
 exploratum esse de sua sanitate? quod velle efficere
ascertained to-be about his-own sanity which to-wish to-bring-about
 non mediocris insania est. Similitudines vero aut geminorum
not slight madness is likenesses truly either of-twins
 aut signorum anulis inpressorum pueriliter consecretantur. quis
or of-seals by-rings impressed childishly they-chase who
 enim nostrum similitudines negat esse, cum eae plurimis in
for of-us likenesses denies to-be since they very-many in
 rebus appareant. sed si satis est ad tollendam cognitionem
things appear but if enough it-is for to-be-removed cognition
 similia esse multa multorum, cur eo non estis
like to-be many(-things) of-many why with-that not are-you
 contenti, praesertim concedentibus nobis, et cur id potius
content especially (with)-conceding us and why that rather
 contenditis quod rerum natura non patitur, ut non suo
do-you-contend which of-things the-nature not allows that not in-its-own
 quidque genere sit tale quale est, nec sit in duobus
each-thing kind is such such-as it-is nor there-is in two
 aut pluribus nulla re different ulla communitas? ut
or more in-no thing differing any community so-that
 †sibi sint et ova ovorum et apes apium, simillimae:
to-themselves they-are both eggs of-eggs and bees of-bees most-alike

quid pugnās igitur aut quid tibi vis in geminis?
what do-you-fight therefore or what for-yourself do-you-wish in twins
 conceditur enim similes esse, quo contentus esse potueras;
it-is-granted for alike to-be with-which content to-be you-could-have

XVIII · INNUMERABLE WORLDS

The Academics fall back on Democritus' countless identical worlds to show that a second Catulus is possible. Lucullus answers that likeness is not sameness: the twin Servilii were told apart at home, and Delian poultrymen knew which hen laid which egg. His rule is that a true appearance is one that could not be false; without that mark true and false lose their natures, assent must be withheld, and the wise man never opines.

- 55 tu autem vis eosdem plane esse non similes, quod fieri
you moreover wish the-same wholly to-be not alike which to-happen
 nullo modo potest. Dein confugis ad physicos eos qui
in-no way can then you-take-refuge to the-natural-philosophers those who
 maxime in Academia inridentur, a quibus ne tu quidem iam
most in the-Academy are-laughed-at from whom not you even now
 te abstinebis, et ais Democritum dicere innumerabiles
yourself will-abstain and you-say Democritus to-say innumerable
 esse mundos, et quidem sic quosdam inter sese non solum
to-be worlds and indeed so certain(-ones) among themselves not only
 similes sed undique perfecte et absolute ita pares ut inter
alike but on-every-side perfectly and absolutely so equal that between
 eos nihil prorsus intersit, et eo quidem innumerabiles
them nothing at-all differs and in-that indeed innumerable
 *** itemque homines. deinde postulas ut, si mundus ita sit
(lacuna) and-likewise men then you-demand that if a-world so is
 par alteri mundo ut inter eos ne minimum quidem intersit,
equal to-another world that between them not the-least even differs

concedatur tibi ut in hoc quoque nostro mundo aliquid
it-be-granted to-you that in this too our world something
 alicui sic sit par ut nihil differat nihil intersit. 'cur enim'
to-something so is equal that nothing differs nothing differs why for
 inquires 'ex illis individuis, unde omnia Democritus gigni
you-will-say from those indivisibles whence all(-things) Democritus to-be-born
 adfirmat, in reliquis mundis et in iis quidem innumerabilibus
affirms in the-remaining worlds and in those indeed innumerable
 innumerabiles Q. Lutatii Catuli non modo possint esse
innumerable Quintus Lutatius Catuluses not only can to-be
 sed etiam sint, in hoc tanto mundo Catulus alter non possit
but even are in this so-great world Catulus a-second not can
 effici?' Primum quidem me ad Democritum vocas;
to-be-produced first indeed me to Democritus you-summon
 cui non adsentior potius ¶quare fallar¶ potest id 56
to-whom not I-assent rather wherefore I-may-be-deceived can that
 quod dilucide docetur a politioribus physicis, singularum
which clearly is-taught by the-more-polished natural-philosophers of-single
 rerum singulas proprietates esse. fac enim antiquos illos
things single properties to-be suppose for ancient those
 Servilios, qui gemini fuerunt, tam similes quam dicuntur,
Servilii who twins were as alike as they-are-said
 num censes etiam eosdem fuisse? 'non cognoscebantur
surely-not do-you-think even the-same to-have-been not they-were-recognized
 foris': at domi; 'non ab alienis': at a suis. an non videmus
abroad but at-home not by strangers but by their-own or not do-we-see
 hoc usu venire, ut quos numquam putassemus a
this in-practice to-happen that whom never we-should-have-thought by
 nobis internosci posse eos consuetudine adhibita tam facile
us to-be-distinguished to-be-able them (with)-habit applied so easily
 internosceremus ut ne minimum quidem similes viderentur.
we-distinguished that not the-least even alike they-seemed

- 57 Hic pugnes licet, non repugnabo, quin etiam concedam
here you-may-fight it-is-allowed not I-shall-fight-back nay even I-shall-grant
 illum ipsum sapientem, de quo omnis hic sermo est, cum
that very(-man) the-wise(-man) about whom all this discourse is when
 ei res similes occurrant quas non habeat dinotatas,
to-him things alike present-themselves which not he-has noted
 retenturum adsensum nec umquam ulli viso adsensurum
about-to-withhold assent nor ever to-any appearance about-to-assent
 nisi quod tale fuerit quale falsum esse non possit.
except what such shall-have-been such-as false to-be not can
 sed et ad ceteras res habet quandam artem qua vera
but both for the-other things he-has a-certain art by-which true
 a falsis possit distinguere, et ad similitudines istas usus
from false he-can to-distinguish and for likenesses those practice
 adhibendus est: ut mater geminos internoscit consuetudine
to-be-applied is as a-mother twins distinguishes by-the-habit
 oculorum, sic tu internoscas si adsueveris. videsne ut
of-the-eyes so you will-distinguish if you-shall-have-grown-used do-you-see how
 in proverbio sit ovorum inter se similitudo: tamen hoc
in a-proverb is of-eggs among themselves the-likeness yet this
 accepimus, Deli fuisse complures salvis rebus illis, qui
we-have-heard at-Delos to-have-been several while-safe affairs those who
 gallinas alere permultas quaestus causa solerent; ii cum
hens to-rear very-many of-gain for-the-sake were-wont they when
 ovum inspexerant quae id gallina peperisset dicere solebant.
an-egg they-had-inspected which it hen had-laid to-say were-wont
- 58 Neque id est contra vos; nam vobis satis esset ova illa non
and-not that is against you for to-you enough it-would-be eggs those not
 internoscere; nihilo enim magis adsentirer hoc illud esse quam
to-distinguish by-nothing for more I-should-assent this that to-be than
 si inter illa omnino nihil interesset. habeo enim regulam, ut
if between those at-all nothing differed I-have for a-rule that

talia visa vera iudicem qualia falsa esse non possint; ab hac
such appearances true I-judge such-as false to-be not can from this
 mihi non licet transversum ut aiunt digitum discedere, ne
to-me not it-is-allowed a-crosswise as they-say finger to-depart lest
 confundam omnia; veri enim et falsi non modo cognitio
I-confound all(-things) of-the-true for and of-the-false not only the-cognition
 sed etiam natura tolletur, si nihil erit quod intersit.
but even the-nature will-be-removed if nothing there-shall-be which differs
 Ut etiam illud absurdum sit quod interdum soletis dicere,
so-that even that absurd is which sometimes you-are-wont to-say
 cum visa in animos inprimantur, non vos id dicere, inter
when appearances on minds are-impressed not you that to-say between
 ipsas inpressiones nihil interesse, sed inter species et quasdam
the-very impressions nothing to-differ but between the-looks and certain
 formas eorum. quasi vero non specie visa iudicentur; quae
shapes of-them as-if truly not by-look appearances are-judged which
 fidem nullam habebunt sublata veri et falsi nota.
credit no will-have (being)-removed of-the-true and of-the-false the-mark
 Illud vero perabsurdum quod dicitis, probabilia vos sequi 59
that truly most-absurd which you-say probable(-things) you to-follow
 si nulla re inpediamini. primum qui potestis non inpediri,
if by-no thing you-are-bindered first how can-you not to-be-bindered
 cum a veris falsa non distent? deinde quod iudicium
since from true(-ones) false not stand-apart then what judgment
 est veri, cum sit commune falsi? Ex his illa
is of-the-true since it-is common with-the-false from these that
 necessario nata est ἐποχὴ id est adsensionis retentio,
necessarily born has-been suspension that is of-assent the-withholding
 in qua melius sibi constitit Arcesilas, si vera sunt
in which better for-himself was-consistent Arcesilas if true are
 quae de Carneade non nulli existimant. si enim percipi
which about Carneades not none think if for to-be-perceived

nihil potest, quod utrique visum est, tollendus assensus
nothing can which to-both seemed it-has to-be-removed assent
 est; quid enim est tam futile quam quicquam adprobare
is what for is so worthless as anything to-approve
 non cognitum? Carneadem autem etiam heri audiebamus
not known Carneades moreover even yesterday we-were-hearing
 solitum esse eo delabi interdum ut diceret opinaturum
accustomed to-be to-that to-slip sometimes so-that he-said about-to-opine
 id est peccaturum esse sapientem. mihi porro non tam
that is about-to-err to-be the-wise(-man) to-me further not so
 certum est esse aliquid quod conprendi possit, de quo iam
certain it-is to-be something which to-be-grasped can about which now
 nimium etiam diu disputo, quam sapientem nihil opinari
too-much even long I-argue as the-wise(-man) nothing to-opine
 id est numquam adsentiri rei vel falsae vel incognitae.
that is never to-assent to-a-thing either false or unknown
 60 Restat illud quod dicunt veri inveniendi causa contra
there-remains that which they-say of-the-true of-finding for-the-sake against
 omnia dici oportere et pro omnibus. volo igitur videre
all(-things) to-be-said it-behooves and for all(-things) I-wish therefore to-see
 quid invenerint. 'Non solemus' inquit 'ostendere'. Quae sunt
what they-have-found not we-are-wont he-says to-show what are
 tandem ista mysteria, aut cur celatis quasi turpe aliquid
pray those mysteries or why do-you-bide as-if shameful something
 sententiam vestram? 'Ut qui audient' inquit 'ratione
opinion your so-that those-who shall-hear he-says by-reason
 potius quam auctoritate ducantur'. Quid si utrumque, num
rather than by-authority may-be-led what if both surely-not
 peius est? Unum tamen illud non celant, nihil esse quod
worse is one(-thing) however that not they-bide nothing to-be which
 percipi possit. an in eo auctoritas nihil obest?
to-be-perceived can or in that authority nothing stands-in-the-way

mihi quidem videtur vel plurimum. quis enim ista
to-me indeed it-seems even very-much who for those(-things)
 tam aperte perspicueque et perversa et falsa secutus
so openly and-perspicuously both perverse and false having-followed
 esset, nisi tanta in Arcesila, multo etiam maior in
would-have-been unless so-great in Arcesilas much even greater in
 Carneade et copia rerum et dicendi vis fuisset?
Carneades both abundance of-matter and of-speaking the-force had-been

XIX · ANTIOCHUS' WARNING

Lucullus ends Antiochus' case and warns Cicero himself. A man who has praised philosophy so highly should not follow a school that confounds true with false and leaves us no spark to see by. Nor can Cicero, who once brought hidden things to light and swore that he had found them out, now deny that anything can be known. Hortensius applauds, and Catulus tells Cicero not to be moved by authority alone.

Haec Antiochus fere et Alexandreae tum et multis annis 61
these(-things) Antiochus mostly both at-Alexandria then and many years
 post multo etiam adseverantius, in Syria cum esset mecum
after much even more-emphatically in Syria when he-was with-me
 paulo ante quam est mortuus. Sed iam confirmata causa
a-little before than he-has died but now (with)-established the-case
 te hominem amicissimum' (me autem appellabat) 'et aliquot
you a-man most-friendly me moreover he-was-addressing and some
 annis minorem natu non dubitabo monere. Tunc, cum tantis
years younger by-birth not I-shall-hesitate to-warn you when with-such
 laudibus philosophiam extuleris Hortensiumque nostrum
praises philosophy you-have-exalted and-Hortensius our
 dissentientem commoveris, eam philosophiam sequere quae
dissenting you-have-stirred that philosophy will-you-follow which

confundit vera cum falsis, spoliat nos iudicio, privat
confounds true(-things) with false it-robs us of-judgment it-deprives
 adprobatione omni, orbat sensibus? et Cimmeriis quidem,
of-approval all it-bereaves of-senses and to-the-Cimmerians indeed
 quibus aspectum solis sive deus aliquis sive natura ademerat
to-whom the-sight of-the-sun either a-god some or nature had-taken-away
 sive eius loci quem incolebant situs, ignes tamen aderant
or of-that place which they-inhabited the-position fires nevertheless were-at-hand
 quorum illis uti lumine licebat: isti autem quos tu
of-which to-them to-use the-light it-was-allowed those moreover whom you
 probas tantis offusis tenebris ne scintillam quidem ullam
approve with-such-great spread darkness not a-spark even any
 nobis ad dispiciendum reliquerunt; quos si sequamur iis
to-us for discerning have-left whom if we-follow by-those
 vinclis simus astricti ut nos commovere nequeamus.
chains we-should-be bound so-that ourselves to-stir we-could-not

62 sublata enim adsensione omnem et motum animorum
(being)-removed for assent all both the-motion of-minds
 et actionem rerum sustulerunt; quod non modo recte
and the-doing of-things they-have-taken-away which not only rightly
 fieri sed omnino fieri non potest. Provide etiam
to-be-done but at-all to-be-done not can take-care also
 ne uni tibi istam sententiam minime liceat defendere.
lest alone to-you that opinion least it-be-allowed to-defend
 an tu, cum res occultissimas aperueris in lucemque
or you when things most-hidden you-have-opened into and-the-light
 protuleris iuratusque dixeris ea te conperisse (quod
have-brought and-under-oath have-said them yourself to-have-found-out which
 mihi quoque licebat qui ex te illa cognoveram),
to-me also was-allowed who from you those(-things) had-come-to-know
 negabis esse rem ullam quae cognosci conprendi percipi
will-you-deny to-be thing any which to-be-known to-be-grasped to-be-perceived

possit? vide quaeso etiam atque etiam ne illarum quoque

can see I-beg again and again lest of-those also

rerum pulcherrimarum a te ipso minuatur auctoritas.

things most-beautiful by you yourself be-lessened the-authority

Quae cum dixisset ille, finem fecit. Hortensius autem

which(-things) when he-had-said he an-end made Hortensius moreover

vehementer admirans (quod quidem perpetuo Lucullo

vehemently marveling which indeed continuously (with)-Lucullus

loquente fecerat, ut etiam manus saepe tolleret: nec mirum;

speaking he-had-done so-that even (his)-hands often he-raised nor a-wonder

nam numquam arbitror contra Academiam dictum esse

for never I-think against the-Academy said to-have-been

subtilius) me quoque, iocansne an ita sentiens (non enim

more-subtly me also joking or so thinking not for

satis intellegebam), coepit hortari ut sententia desisterem.

enough I-was-understanding he-began to-urge that from-(my)-opinion I-should-desist

Tum mihi Catulus 'Si te' inquit 'Luculli oratio flexit, quae

then to-me Catulus if you he-said of-Lucullus the-speech has-bent which

est habita memoriter accurate copiose, taceo neque te quo

was delivered from-memory carefully copiously I-am-silent nor you by-which

minus si tibi ita videatur sententiam mutes deterrendum

less if to-you so it-seems (your)-opinion you-may-change to-be-dissuaded

puto. illud vero non censuerim, ut eius auctoritate moveare.

I-think that truly not I-would-advice that by-his authority you-be-moved

tantum enim te modo monuit' inquit adridens, 'ut caveres

so-much for you just-now he-warned he-said smiling that you-should-beware

ne quis inprobus tribunus plebis, quorum vides quanta copia

lest some rascally tribune of-the-plebs of-whom you-see how-great a-supply

semper futura sit, arriperet te et in contione quaereret qui

always about-to-be is should-seize you and in an-assembly should-ask how

tibi constares cum idem negares quicquam certi posse

to-yourself you-were-consistent when the-same you-denied anything certain to-be-able

63

reperiri idem te conperisse dixisses. hoc quaeso cave
to-be-found the-same yourself to-have-found-out you-had-said this I-beg beware
 ne te terreat. de causa autem ipsa malim quidem te ab
lest you it-frighten about the-case moreover itself I-should-prefer indeed you from
 hoc dissentire; sin cesseris, non magnopere mirabor:
him to-dissent but-if you-shall-have-yielded not greatly I-shall-wonder
 memini enim Antiochum ipsum, cum annos multos alia
I-remember for Antiochus himself when years many otherwise
 sensisset, simul ac visum sit sententia destitisse.
he-had-thought as-soon as seemed-good it-has from-(bis)-opinion to-have-desisted

XX • CICERO ANSWERS

Cicero is no less stirred than he usually is in a great case, and he begins with a word about his own reputation. Lucullus' speech moved him, though not into doubting he could answer it, and its author's authority would have carried him outright had Catulus not set his own, no smaller, against it. He denies taking up this philosophy for display or love of winning, and would swear by Jupiter that he wants only to find the truth and means what he says.

- 64 Haec cum dixisset Catulus, me omnes intueri. tum ego
these(-things) when had-said Catulus me all looked-at then I
 non minus conmotus quam soleo in causis maioribus
not less moved than I-am-wont in cases greater
 huius modi quadam oratione sum exsursus.
of-this sort with-a-certain speech I-have begun
 'Me Catule oratio Luculli de ipsa re ita movit ut docti
me Catulus the-speech of-Lucullus about the-very matter so moved as of-a-learned
 hominis et copiosi et parati et nihil praetereuntis eorum
man and copious and prepared and nothing passing-over of-those(-things)
 quae pro illa causa dici possent, non tamen ut ei
which for that case to-be-said could not however that to-him

respondere posse diffiderem; auctoritas autem tanta plane me

to-answer to-be-able I-should-distrust the-authority moreover so-great plainly me

movebat, nisi tu opposuisses non, minorem tuam. adgrediar

would-have-moved unless you had-set-against not less your I-shall-approach

igitur, si pauca ante quasi de fama mea dixero.

therefore if a-few(-things) before as-it-were about the-reputation my I-shall-have-said

Ego enim si aut ostentatione aliqua adductus aut studio 65

I for if either by-ostentation some led or by-the-zeal

certandi ad hanc potissimum philosophiam me adplicavi,

of-contending to this especially philosophy myself I-attached

non modo stultitiam meam sed etiam mores et naturam

not only the-folly my but also the-character and the-nature

condemnandam puto. nam si in minimis rebus pertinacia

to-be-condemned I-think for if in the-smallest matters obstinacy

reprehenditur, calumnia etiam coercetur, ego de omni statu

is-blamed caviil even is-checked I about the-whole condition

consilioque totius vitae aut certare cum aliis pugnaciter

and-plan of-the-whole of-life either to-contend with others combatively

aut frustrari cum alios tum etiam me ipsum velim?

or to-deceive both others and even me myself I-should-wish

itaque nisi ineptum putarem in tali disputatione id facere

and-so unless foolish I-thought in such a-discussion that to-do

quod cum de re publica disceptatur fieri interdum

which when about the-thing public it-is-disputed to-happen sometimes

solet, iurare per Iovem deosque penates me et ardere

is-wont I-would-swear by Jupiter and-the-gods household me both to-burn

studio veri reperiendi et ea sentire quae dicerem.

with-zeal of-truth of-finding and those(-things) to-think which I-was-saying

Cicero asks how he could fail to want the truth, when he is glad even to find something like it. He calls himself a great opiner, since he is not wise, and steers by broad lights rather than by a fine point. Arcesilas held that the wise man's chief power is to guard against being caught out. Then comes the argument: if the wise man ever assents he will sometimes opine; he never opines; so he assents to nothing — and Lucullus is left to say which half he will have.

- 66 qui enim possum non cupere verum invenire, cum gaudeam
how for can-I not to-desire the-true to-find when I-rejoice
 si simile veri quid invenerim? sed ut hoc pulcherrimum
if like of-truth anything I-have-found but as this most-beautiful
 esse iudico, vera videre, sic pro veris probare falsa
to-be I-judge true(-things) to-see so for true(-ones) to-approve false(-ones)
 turpissimum est. Nec tamen ego is sum qui nihil umquam
most-shameful is nor however I such am who nothing ever
 falsi adprobem qui numquam adsentiar qui nihil opiner; sed
of-false approve who never assent who nothing opine but
 quaerimus de sapiente. ego vero ipse et magnus quidam
we-are-inquiring about the-wise(-man) I truly myself even a-great a-certain
 sum opinator (non enim sum sapiens) et meas cogitationes
am opiner not for I-am wise and my thoughts
 sic dirigo, non ad illam parvulam Cynosuram, qua 'fidunt
so I-direct not to that tiny Cynosura by-which they-trust
 duce nocturna Phoenices in alto', ut ait Aratus, eoque
as-guide nocturnal the-Phoenicians on the-deep as says Aratus and-thereby
 directius gubernant quod eam tenent quae 'cursu interiore
more-straightly they-steer because it they-keep which by-a-course inner
 brevi convertitur orbe' — sed Helicen et clarissimos
in-a-short is-turned orbit but Helice and the-brightest
 Septentriones id est rationes has latiore specie non ad
the-Seven-Stars that is reasonings these with-a-broader look not to

tenuē limatas; eo fit ut errem et vager latius.

a-fine(-point) filed thereby it-happens that I-stray and I-wander more-widely

Sed non de me, ut dixi, sed de sapiente quaeritur.

but not about me as I-said but about the-wise(-man) it-is-asked

visa enim ista cum acriter mentem sensumve pepulerunt

appearances for those when keenly the-mind or-sense they-have-struck

accipio iisque interdum etiam adsentior. nec percipio tamen:

I-accept and-to-them sometimes even I-assent nor I-perceive however

nihil enim arbitror posse percipi. non sum sapiens; itaque

nothing for I-think to-be-able to-be-perceived not I-am wise and-so

visis cedo nec possum resistere. sapientis autem hanc

to-appearances I-yield nor I-can to-resist of-a-wise-man moreover this

censet Arcesilas vim esse maximam Zenoni adsentiens, cavere

judges Arcesilas force to-be greatest to-Zeno agreeing to-beware

ne capiat, ne fallatur videre; nihil est enim ab ea

lest be-be-caught lest be-be-deceived to-see nothing is for from that

cogitatione, quam habemus de gravitate sapientis, errore

thought which we-have about the-weight of-a-wise-man than-error

levitate temeritate diiunctus. Quid igitur loquar de

than-lightness than-rashness more-remote what therefore should-I-say about

firmitate sapientis? quem quidem nihil opinari tu quoque

the-firmness of-a-wise-man whom indeed nothing to-opine you also

Luculle concedis. quod quoniam a te probatur, ut praepostere

Lucullus grant which since by you is-approved that preposterously

tecum agam iam (mox referam me ad ordinem), haec

with-you I-may-deal now soon I-shall-bring-back myself to order this

primum conclusio quam habeat vim considera:

first the-conclusion what it-may-have force consider

‘si ulli rei sapiens adsentietur umquam, aliquando etiam 67

if to-any thing the-wise(-man) shall-assent ever at-some-time also

opinabitur; numquam autem opinabitur; nulli igitur rei

he-will-opine never moreover he-will-opine to-no therefore thing

adsentietur'. hanc conclusionem Arcesilas probabat; confirmabat

be-will-assent this conclusion Arcesilas approved be-confirmed

enim et primum et secundum. Carneades non numquam

for both the-first and the-second Carneades not never

secundum illud dabat, adsentiri aliquando; ita sequebatur

the-second that granted to-assent sometimes so it-followed

etiam opinari, quod tu non vis, et recte ut mihi videris.

also to-opine which you not wish and rightly as to-me you-seem

sed illud primum, sapientem si adsensurus esset etiam

but that first(-point) the-wise(-man) if about-to-assent he-were also

opinaturum, falsum esse Stoici dicunt et eorum adstipulator

about-to-opine false to-be the-Stoics say and their supporter

Antiochus; posse enim eum falsa a veris et quae

Antiochus to-be-able for him false(-things) from true(-ones) and which

non possint percipi ab iis quae possint distinguere.

not can to-be-perceived from those which can to-distinguish

68 Nobis autem primum etiam si quid percipi possit tamen

to-us moreover first even if anything to-be-perceived can yet

ipsa consuetudo adsentiendi periculosa esse videtur et lubrica.

the-very habit of-assenting dangerous to-be seems and slippery

quam ob rem cum tam vitiosum esse constet adsentiri

which on-account-of thing since so faulty to-be it-is-agreed to-assent

quicquam aut falsum aut incognitum, sustinenda est potius

anything either false or unknown to-be-withheld is rather

omnis adsensio, ne praecipitet si temere processerit. ita

every assent lest it-fall-headlong if rashly it-shall-have-advanced so

enim finitima sunt falsa veris eaque quae percipi

for neighboring are false(-things) to-true(-ones) and-those which to-be-perceived

non possunt iis quae possunt (si modo ea sunt quaedam;

not can to-those which can if only those are any

iam enim videbimus), ut tam in praecipitem locum non

now for we-shall-see that so into a-headlong place not

debeat se sapiens committere. Sin autem omnino nihil
ought himself the-wise(-man) to-commit but-if moreover at-all nothing
esse quod percipi possit a me sumpsero et quod
to-be which to-be-perceived can from me I-shall-have-assumed and what
tu mihi das accepero, sapientem nihil opinari, effectum
you to-me grant I-shall-have-received the-wise(-man) nothing to-opine achieved
illud erit, sapientem adsensus omnes cohibiturum, ut
that it-will-be the-wise(-man) assents all about-to-restrain so-that
videndum tibi sit idne malis an aliquid opinaturum
to-be-seen by-you it-is whether-that you-prefer or something about-to-opine
esse sapientem. 'Neutrum' inquires 'illorum'. Nitamur igitur
to-be the-wise(-man) neither you-will-say of-those let-us-insist therefore
nihil posse percipi; etenim de eo omnis est controversia.
nothing to-be-able to-be-perceived for-indeed about it all is the-controversy

XXII • ANTIOCHUS CHANGES SIDES

Cicero turns to Antiochus, who studied under Philo longer than anyone and defended these very views before attacking them in old age. What day dawned to show him the mark of true and false that he had spent years denying? If he had really changed, he should have joined the Stoics; instead he kept the Old Academy's name and sat in its shade.

Sed prius pauca cum Antiocho, qui haec ipsa quae 69
but first a-few(-words) with Antiochus who these very(-things) which
a me defenduntur et didicit apud Philonem tam diu ut
by me are-defended both learned with Philo so long that
constaret diutius didicisse neminem, et scripsit de iis
it-was-agreed longer to-have-learned no-one and wrote about those
rebus acutissime, et idem haec non acrius accusavit
matters most-acutely and the-same(-man) these(-things) not more-keenly attacked

in senectute quam antea defensitaverat. quamvis igitur fuerit
in old-age than before he-had-defended however-much therefore he-was
 acutus, ut fuit, tamen inconstantia levatur auctoritas. quis
acute as he-was yet by-inconsistency is-lightened (his)-authority what
 enim iste dies inluxerit quaero, qui illi ostenderit eam quam
for that day dawned I-ask which to-him showed that which
 multos annos esse negitavisset veri et falsi notam.
for-many years to-be he-had-kept-denying of-the-true and of-the-false mark
 excogitavit aliquid? eadem dicit quae Stoici. paenituit
did-he-devise something the-same(-things) he-says which the-Stoics it-repent(-him)
 illa sensisse? cur non se transtulit ad alios, et
those(-things) to-have-thought why not himself did-he-transfer to others and
 maxime ad Stoicos? eorum enim erat propria ista dissensio. quid
especially to the-Stoics theirs for was peculiar that disagreement what
 eum Mnesarchi paenitebat, quid Dardani; qui erant Athenis
him of-Mnesarchus did-it-repent(-him) what of-Dardanus who were at-Athens
 tum principes Stoicorum. numquam a Philone discessit,
then the-chiefs of-the-Stoics never from Philo he-departed
 nisi postea quam ipse coepit qui se audirent habere.
except after that himself he-began those-who him might-hear to-have

- 70 Unde autem subito vetus Academia revocata est? nominis
whence moreover suddenly the-old Academy called-back has-been of-the-name
 dignitatem videtur, cum a re ipsa descisceret, retinere
the-dignity he-seems when from the-thing itself he-was-falling-away to-retain
 voluisse. quod erant qui illum gloriae causa facere dicerent,
to-have-wished because there-were who him of-glory for-the-sake to-do said
 sperare etiam fore ut i qui se sequerentur Antiochii
to-hope even to-be-about-to-be that those who him should-follow Antiochians
 vocarentur; mihi autem magis videtur non potuisse sustinere
should-be-called to-me moreover more it-seems not to-have-been-able to-withstand
 concursum omnium philosophorum. etenim de ceteris sunt
the-onset of-all the-philosophers for-indeed about the-rest there-are

inter illos non nulla communia; haec Academicorum est
among them not none shared this of-the-Academics is
 una sententia quam reliquorum philosophorum nemo probet.
the-one opinion which of-the-remaining philosophers no-one approves
 itaque cessit, et ut ii qui sub novis solem non
and-so he-gave-way and as those who under the-new(-buildings) the-sun not
 ferunt item ille cum aestuaret veterum ut maenianorum
bear likewise he when he-was-sweltering of-the-old as of-the-balconies
 sic Academicorum umbram secutus est.

so of-the-Academics the-shade followed he-has
 quoque solebat uti argumento tum cum ei placebat nihil 71
also he-was-wont to-use an-argument then when to-him it-pleased nothing
 posse percipi, cum quaereret, Dionysius ille Heracleotes
to-be-able to-be-perceived when he-asked Dionysius that of-Heraclea
 utrum comprehendisset certa illa nota qua adsentiri dicitis
which(-of-two) he-had-grasped by-sure that mark by-which to-assent you-say
 oportere, illudne quod multos annos tenuisset Zenonique
it-behooves whether-that which for-many years he-had-held and-to-Zeno
 magistro credidisset, honestum quod esset id bonum solum
(his)-teacher he-had-believed honorable what was that good alone
 esse, an quod postea defensitavisset, honesti inane nomen
to-be or what afterward he-had-kept-defending of-the-honorable an-empty name
 esse, voluptatem esse summum bonum — qui ex illius
to-be pleasure to-be the-highest good who from his
 commutata sententia docere vellet nihil ita signari in
changed opinion to-teach wished nothing so to-be-stamped in
 animis nostris a vero posse quod non eodem modo possit
minds our by the-true to-be-able which not in-the-same way can
 a falso, is curavit quod argumentum ex Dionysio ipse
by the-false he took-care(-that) which argument from Dionysius himself

sumpsisset ex eo ceteri sumerent. Sed cum hoc alio
be-had-taken from him the-rest should-take but with this(-man) in-another
 loco plura; nunc ad ea quae a te Luculle dicta sunt.
place more now to those(-things) which by you Lucullus said have-been

XXIII • ANAXAGORAS AND DEMOCRITUS

Cicero answers the charge that citing old philosophers is a demagogue's trick. Anaxagoras said snow is black, and Cicero asks whether such a man could be called a sophist. Democritus is greater than Cleanthes or Chrysippus, and he did not merely deny that truth can be perceived; he denied that there is any truth, calling the senses not obscure but shadowy. Metrodorus of Chios opened his book by denying that we know whether we know anything.

- 72 Et primum quod initio dixisti videamus quale sit, similiter
and first what at-the-outset you-said let-us-see of-what-sort it-is similarly
 a nobis de antiquis philosophis commemorari atque seditiosi
by us about the-ancient philosophers to-be-recalled as the-seditious
 solerent claros viros sed tamen populares aliquos nominare. illi
were-wont famous men but yet popular-leaders some to-name they
 cum res non bonas tractent similes bonorum videri volunt;
since matters not good handle like to-good(-men) to-seem wish
 nos autem ea dicimus nobis videri quae vosmet ipsi
we moreover those(-things) say to-us to-seem which you yourselves
 nobilissimis philosophis placuisse conceditis. Anaxagoras nivem
to-the-most-noble philosophers to-have-pleased grant Anaxagoras snow
 nigram dixit esse. ferres me si ego idem dicerem? tu ne
black said to-be would-you-bear me if I the-same said you not
 si dubitarem quidem. at quis est? num hic sophistes (sic
if I-doubted even but who is-be surely-not this-man a-sophist so

enim appellabantur ii qui ostentationis aut quaestus causa
for were-called those who of-display or of-gain for-the-sake
 philosophantur)? maxima fuit et gravitatis et ingeni gloria.
philosophize the-greatest was both of-weight and of-genius the-glory
 Quid loquar de Democrito? quem cum eo conferre 73
what should-I-say about Democritus whom with him to-compare
 possumus non modo ingenii magnitudine sed etiam animi,
can-we not only of-talent in-greatness but also of-spirit
 qui ita sit ausus ordiri 'haec loquor de universis': nihil
who so has dared to-begin these(-things) I-speak about the-universe nothing
 excipit de quo non profiteatur, quid enim esse potest extra
he-excepts about which not he-professes what for to-be can outside
 universa; quis hunc philosophum non anteponit Cleanthi
the-universe who this philosopher not sets-before to-Cleanthes
 Chrysippo reliquis inferioris aetatis, qui mihi cum illo collati
to-Chrysippus to-the-rest of-a-later age who to-me with him compared
 quintae classis videntur. atque is non hoc dicit quod nos, qui
of-the-fifth class seem and he not this says which we who
 veri esse aliquid non negamus, percipi posse negamus;
of-the-true to-be something not deny to-be-perceived to-be-able we-deny
 ille esse verum plane negat; sensus quidem non obscuros
he to-be the-true plainly denies the-senses indeed not obscure
 dicit sed tenebricosos (sic enim appellat eos). Is qui hunc
says but shadowy so for he-calls them he who him
 maxime est admiratus, Chius Metrodorus initio libri
most has admired of-Chios Metrodorus at-the-beginning of-the-book
 qui est de natura 'nego' inquit 'scire nos sciamusne
which is about nature I-deny he-says to-know us whether-we-know
 aliquid an nihil sciamus, ne id ipsum quidem nescire aut
anything or nothing we-know not that itself even not-to-know or
 scire nos, nec omnino sitne aliquid an nihil sit'.
to-know us nor at-all whether-there-is anything or nothing there-is

Parmenides and Xenophanes rebuke in verse the arrogance of men who dare to say they know when nothing can be known, and Socrates and Plato belong with them. Chrysippus collected more against the senses than he untied. Arcesilas asked Zeno what would follow if the wise man could neither perceive nor opine, and rightly accepted the clause Zeno added to his definition, that nothing is perceived which a false appearance could match; he then labored to show that every appearance has such a match.

- 74 **Furere tibi Empedocles videtur: at mihi dignissimum rebus**
to-rave to-you Empedocles seems but to-me most-worthy of-the-matters
is de quibus loquitur sonum fundere. num ergo is
those about which he-speaks a-sound to-pour surely-not then he
excaecat nos aut orbat sensibus, si parum magnam vim censet
blinds us or robs of-the-senses if too-little great force he-judges
in is esse ad ea quae sub eos subiecta sunt iudicanda?
in them to-be for those(-things) which under them placed are to-be-judged
Parmenides Xenophanes minus bonis quamquam versibus sed
Parmenides Xenophanes less good although in-verses but
tamen illi versibus increpant eorum adrogantiam quasi irati,
yet they in-verses rebuke their arrogance as-if angry
qui cum sciri nihil possit audeant se scire dicere.
who although to-be-known nothing can dare themselves to-know to-say
Et ab iis aiebat removendum Socratem et Platonem. cur, an
and from those he-said to-be-removed Socrates and Plato why or
de ullis certius possum dicere? vixisse cum iis equidem
about any more-certainly can-I to-speak to-have-lived with them indeed
videor, ita multi sermones perscripti sunt e quibus
I-seem so many conversations written-out have-been from which
dubitari non possit quin Socrati nihil sit visum sciri
to-be-doubted not can but-that to-Socrates nothing has seemed to-be-known

posse; excepit unum tantum, scire se nihil se scire,
to-be-able he-excepted one(-thing) only to-know himself nothing himself to-know
 nihil amplius. quid dicam de Platone, qui certe tam multis
nothing more what should-I-say about Plato who surely so in-many
 libris haec persecutus non esset nisi probavisset; ironeam
books these(-things) pursued not would-have unless he-had-approved irony
 enim alterius, perpetuam praesertim, nulla fuit ratio persequi.
for of-another continuous especially no there-was reason to-pursue
 Videorne tibi non ut Saturninus nominare modo inlustres
do-I-seem to-you not as Saturninus to-name only illustrious 75
 homines, sed etiam imitari numquam nisi clarum
men but also to-imitate never except a-famous(-one)
 nisi nobilem? atqui habebam molestos vobis sed minutos,
except a-noble(-one) and-yet I-had troublesome to-you but petty
 Stilbonem Diodorum Alexinum, quorum sunt contorta et
Stilpo Diodorus Alexinus of-whom are twisted and
 aculeata quaedam sophismata (sic enim appellantur fallaces
barbed certain sophisms so for are-called deceitful
 conclusiunculae). Sed quid eos colligam, cum habeam
little-conclusions but why them should-I-gather when I-have
 Chrysippum, qui fulcire putatur porticum Stoicorum: quam
Chrysippus who to-prop-up is-thought the-porch of-the-Stoics how
 multa ille contra sensus, quam multa contra omnia
many(-things) he against the-senses how many(-things) against all(-things)
 quae in consuetudine probantur. 'At dissolvit idem.'
which in common-usage are-approved but he-unties(-them) the-same(-man)
 Mihi quidem non videtur, sed dissolverit sane: certe tam
to-me indeed not it-seems but let-him-have-untied certainly surely so
 multa non collegisset quae nos fallerent probabilitate
many(-things) not he-would-have-gathered which us would-deceive by-probability
 magna, nisi videret is resisti non facile posse.
great unless he-saw to-them to-be-resisted not easily to-be-able

- 76 Quid Cyrenaei videntur, minime contempti philosophi, qui
what the-Cyrenaics do-they-seem by-no-means despised philosophers who
 negant esse quicquam quod percipi possit extrinsecus,
deny to-be anything which to-be-perceived can from-outside
 ea se sola percipere quae tactu intumo sentiant,
those(-things) themselves alone to-perceive which by-touch inmost they-feel
 ut dolorem ut voluptatem; neque se quo quid colore
as pain as pleasure and-not themselves with-what anything color
 aut quo sono sit scire, sed tantum sentire adfici
or with-what sound is to-know but only to-feel to-be-affected
 se quodam modo.

themselves in-a-certain way

Satis multa de auctoribus. quamquam ex me quaesieras,
enough many(-things) about authorities although from me you-had-asked
 nonne putarem post illos veteres tot saeculis
whether-not I-thought after those ancients in-so-many ages
 inveniri verum potuisse tot ingeniis tantisque studiis
to-be-found the-true to-have-been-able so-many by-talents and-by-so-great efforts
 quaerentibus. quid inventum sit paulo post videro, te ipso
seeking what found has-been a-little after I-shall-see you yourself
 quidem iudice. Arcesilan vero non obtrectandi causa cum
indeed as-judge Arcesilas truly not of-disparaging for-the-sake with
 Zenone pugnasse sed verum invenire voluisse sic intellegitur.

Zeno to-have-fought but the-true to-find to-have-wished so it-is-understood

- 77 nemo umquam superiorum non modo expresserat sed ne
no-one ever of-(his)-predecessors not only had-expressed but not
 dixerat quidem posse hominem nihil opinari, nec solum
had-said even to-be-able a-man nothing to-opine and-not only
 posse sed ita necesse esse sapienti. visa est Arcesilae cum
to-be-able but so necessary to-be to-a-wise-man seemed has to-Arcesilas both
 vera sententia tum honesta et digna sapienti; quaesivit
a-true opinion and honorable and worthy of-a-wise-man be-asked

de Zenone fortasse quid futurum esset si nec percipere
of Zeno perhaps what about-to-be it-was if neither to-perceive
 quicquam posset sapiens nec opinari sapientis esset. ille
anything could the-wise(-man) nor to-opine of-a-wise-man it-were he
 credo nihil opinaturum, quoniam esset quod percipi
I-believe nothing about-to-opine since there-was what to-be-perceived
 posset. quid ergo id esset. 'visum' credo. 'quale igitur
could what then that might-be appearance I-believe of-what-sort then
 visum?' tum illum ita definisse: ex eo quod esset sicut
appearance then him so to-have-defined from that which was just-as
 esset inpressum et signatum et effictum. post requisitum
it-was impressed and sealed and molded afterward (it-was)-asked
 etiamne si eius modi esset visum verum quale vel falsum.
whether-even if of-that sort were appearance true such-as even a-false(-one)
 hic Zenonem vidisse acute nullum esse visum quod
here Zeno to-have-seen keenly no to-be appearance which
 percipi posset, si id tale esset ab eo quod est cuius modi
to-be-perceived could if it such were from that which is of-what sort
 ab eo quod non est posset esse. recte consensit Arcesilas ad
from that which not is could to-be rightly agreed Arcesilas to
 definitionem additum, neque enim falsum percipi posse
the-definition added and-not for a-false(-one) to-be-perceived to-be-able
 neque verum si esset tale quale vel falsum; incubuit autem
nor a-true(-one) if it-were such such-as even a-false(-one) he-learned moreover
 in eas disputationes ut doceret nullum tale esse visum
into those discussions that he-might-show no such to-be appearance
 a vero ut non eiusdem modi etiam a falso possit esse.
from the-true that not of-the-same sort also from the-false it-can to-be
 Haec est una contentio quae adhuc permanserit. nam
this is the-one dispute which until-now has-remained for
 illud, nulli rei adsensurum esse sapientem, nihil ad hanc
that to-no thing about-to-assent to-be the-wise(-man) nothing to this

controversiam pertinebat. licebat enim 'nihil percipere et
controversy pertained it-was-possible for nothing to-perceive and
 tamen opinari'; quod a Carneade dicitur probatum: equidem
yet to-opine which by Carneades is-said approved for-my-part
 Clitomacho plus quam Philoni aut Metrodoro credens hoc
Clitomachus more than Philo or Metrodorus trusting this
 magis ab eo disputatum quam probatum puto.
rather by him argued than approved I-think
 Sed id omittamus. illud certe opinatione et perceptione
but that let-us-omit that surely opinion and perception
 sublata sequitur, omnium adsensionum retentio, ut si
(being)-removed follows of-all assents the-withholding so-that if
 ostendero nihil posse percipi tu concedas numquam
I-shall-have-shown nothing to-be-able to-be-perceived you may-grant never
 adsensurum esse.
about-to-assent to-be

XXV · HOW FAR CAN WE SEE?

If the senses do not report the truth, nothing can be perceived. Lucullus says the bent oar and the dove's neck do not trouble him; Cicero asks why not, since he perceives both that the oar is not what it looks and that more colors appear on the dove than are there. Epicurus staked everything on the claim that a single lie of the senses would ruin them all. Then Cicero asks how far we actually see: from here he can make out the district of his Pompeian villa but not the villa itself, and not a friend walking in Neptune's colonnade.

- 79 Quid ergo est quod percipi possit, si ne sensus quidem
what then is-there which to-be-perceived can if not the-senses even
 vera nuntiant? quos tu Luculle communi loco defendis.
true(-things) report which you Lucullus with-a-common topic defend

quod ne id facere posses, idcirco heri non necessario loco
which lest that to-do you-could for-that-reason yesterday not in-a-necessary place
 contra sensus tam multa dixeram; tu autem te negas
against the-senses so many(-things) I-had-said you moreover yourself deny
 infracto remo neque columbae collo commoveri. primum
by-the-broken oar nor of-the-dove by-the-neck to-be-moved first
 cur? nam et in remo sentio non esse id quod videatur, et
why for both in the-oar I-perceive not to-be that which appears and
 in columba pluris videri colores nec esse plus uno. deinde
in the-dove more to-seem colors and-not to-be more than-one then
 nihilne praeterea diximus? 'Maneant illa omnia; †lacerat ista
nothing besides did-we-say let-them-stand those all it-tears that
 causa; veracis suos esse sensus dicit Epicurus'. Igitur semper
case truthful his-own to-be the-senses says Epicurus therefore always
 auctorem habes, et eum qui magno suo periculo causam
an-authority you-have and him who with-great his-own risk the-case
 agat; eo enim rem demittit Epicurus, si unus sensus
pleads thither for the-matter brings-down Epicurus if one sense
 semel in vita mentitus sit, nulli umquam esse credendum.
once in life lied has to-none ever to-be to-be-believed
 hoc est verum esse, confidere suis testibus et †inportata
this is true to-be to-trust his-own witnesses and things-brought-in
 insistere; itaque Timagoras Epicureus negat sibi umquam
to-insist-on and-so Timagoras the-Epicurean denies to-himself ever
 cum oculum torsisset duas ex lucerna flammulas esse visas;
when (his)-eye he-had-twisted two from a-lamp little-flames to-have appeared
 opinionis enim esse mendacium non oculorum: quasi quaeratur
of-opinion for to-be the-falsehood not of-the-eyes as-if it-were-asked
 quid sit, non quid videatur. Sic hic quidem, maiorum
what is not what appears so this-man indeed of-(his)-forebears
 similis; tu vero, qui visa sensibus alia vera dicas esse alia
like you truly who appearances by-the-senses some true say to-be others

falsa, qui ea distinguis? Et desine quaeso communibus locis;
false how them do-you-distinguish and cease I-beg with-common topics
 domi nobis ista nascuntur. 'Si' inquis 'deus te interroget "sanis
at-home for-us those are-born if you-say a-god you should-ask with-sound
 modo et integris sensibus num amplius quid desideras",
only and unimpaired senses surely-not further anything do-you-want
 quid respondeas?' Utinam quidem roget: audies quam
what would-you-answer would-that indeed he-would-ask you-will-bear how
 nobiscum male t̄agerent. ut enim vera videamus,
with-us badly they-would-deal granted-that for true(-things) we-may-see
 quam longe videmus? ego Catuli Cumanum ex hoc loco
how far do-we-see I of-Catulus the-Cumae(-villa) from this place
 cerno; regionem video Pompeiani, ipsum Pompeianum
discern the-district I-see of-the-Pompeian(-villa) itself the-Pompeian(-villa)
 non cerno, neque quicquam interiectum est quod obstat, sed
not I-discern and-not anything interposed is which may-block but
 intendi acies longius non potest. o praeclarum prospectum:
to-be-strained the-gaze further not can o splendid view
 Puteolos videmus; at familiarem nostrum P. Avianum
Puteoli we-see but a-friend our Publius Avianus
 fortasse in porticu Neptuni ambulanti non videmus.
perhaps in the-colonnade of-Neptune walking not we-see

XXVI · THE SHIP THAT SEEMS TO STAND

The gods might have given us keener sight, and thick air lies about us as water lies about fish. Cicero's complaint is not that we see too little but that we see falsely: the ship that stands still for us leaves those aboard it watching this villa move. Four propositions carry the quarrel; everyone grants the second and third, and the whole fight is over the fourth: if a twin can pass for his brother, no mark tells a true appearance from a false one.

'At ille nescio qui, qui in scholis nominari solet, mille
but that I-know-not who who in the-schools to-be-named is-wont a-thousand
 et octingenta stadia quod abesset videbat.' Quaedam volucres
and eight-hundred stades what was-distant used-to-see certain birds
 longius; responderem igitur audacter isti vestro deo me plane
farther I-would-answer therefore boldly to-that your god myself plainly
 his oculis non esse contentum. dicit me acrius videre
with-these eyes not to-be content he-says me more-keenly to-see
 quam illos pisces fortasse, qui neque videntur a nobis (et nunc
than those fishes perhaps which neither are-seen by us and now
 quidem sub oculis sunt) neque ipsi nos suspicere possunt;
indeed under (our)-eyes are nor themselves us to-look-up-at can
 ergo ut illis aqua sic nobis aer crassus offunditur. 'At
therefore as for-them water so for-us air thick is-spread but
 amplius non desideramus.' Quid talpam num desiderare lumen
further not we-want what a-mole surely-not to-want light
 putas? Neque tam quererer cum deo quod parum longe
do-you-think and-not so-much I-should-complain with a-god that too-little far
 quam quod falsum viderem. videsne navem illam: stare nobis
as that falsely I-saw do-you-see the-ship that to-stand to-us
 videtur; at iis qui in nave sunt moveri haec villa. quare
it-seems but to-those who in the-ship are to-move this villa seek
 rationem cur ita videatur; quam ut maxime inveneris, quod
the-reason why so it-appears which as most you-shall-have-found which
 haut scio an non possis, non tu verum testem habere, sed
hardly I-know whether not you-can not you a-true witness to-have but
 eum non sine causa falsum testimonium dicere ostenderis.
him not without cause false testimony to-give you-will-have-shown
 Quid ego de nave; vidi enim a te remum contemni: maiora
what I about the-ship I-saw for by you the-oar to-be-scorned greater(-things)
 fortasse quaeris. Quid potest sole maius, quem mathematici
perhaps you-seek what can than-the-sun greater which mathematicians

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82

amplius duodeviginti partibus confirmant maiorem esse quam
more by-eighteen parts affirm greater to-be than
 terram: quantulus nobis videtur; mihi quidem quasi pedalis;
the-earth how-small to-us it-seems to-me indeed as-it-were a-foot-wide
 Epicurus autem posse putat etiam minorem esse eum quam
Epicurus moreover to-be-able thinks even smaller to-be it than
 videatur, sed non multo; ne maiorem quidem multo putat
it-appears but not by-much not greater even by-much he-thinks
 esse, vel tantum esse quantus videatur, ut oculi aut nihil
to-be or so-great to-be as it-appears so-that the-eyes either not-at-all
 mentiantur aut non multum — mentiantur tamen: ubi igitur
lie or not much lie however where then
 illud est 'semel'? — sed ab hoc credulo, qui numquam
that is once but from this credulous(-man) who never
 sensus mentiri putat, discedamus, qui ne nunc quidem, cum
the-senses to-lie thinks let-us-depart who not now even when
 ille sol, qui tanta incitatione fertur ut celeritas eius quanta
that sun which with-such speed is-borne that the-swiftness of-it how-great
 sit ne cogitari quidem possit, tamen nobis stare videatur.
is not to-be-conceived even can yet to-us to-stand appears

- 83 Sed ut minuam controversiam, videte quaeso quam in
but that I-may-lessen the-dispute see I-beg how in
 parvo lis sit. Quattuor sunt capita quae concludant
a-small(-point) the-suit is four there-are heads which may-conclude
 nihil esse quod nosci percipi comprehendi possit, de
nothing to-be which to-be-known to-be-perceived to-be-grasped can about
 quo haec tota quaestio est. e quibus primum est esse aliquod
which this whole question is of which the-first is to-be some
 visum falsum, secundum non posse id percipi, tertium
appearance false the-second not to-be-able it to-be-perceived the-third
 inter quae visa nihil intersit fieri non posse ut eorum
between which appearances nothing differs to-happen not to-be-able that of-them

alia percipi possint alia non possint, quartum nullum esse
some to-be-perceived can others not can the-fourth no to-be
 visum verum a sensu profectum cui non adpositum sit
appearance true from sense arisen to-which not set-beside is
 visum aliud quod ab eo nihil intersit quodque percipi
appearance another which from it nothing differs and-which to-be-perceived
 non possit. horum quattuor capitum secundum et tertium
not can of-these four heads the-second and the-third
 omnes concedunt; primum Epicurus non dat, vos, quibuscum
all grant the-first Epicurus not grants you with-whom
 res est, id quoque conceditis; omnis pugna de quarto est.
the-matter is that also you-grant all the-fight about the-fourth is
 Qui igitur P. Servilium Geminum videbat, si Quintum 84
who therefore Publius Servilius Geminus used-to-see if Quintus
 se videre putabat, incidebat in eius modi visum quod
himself to-see he-thought he-fell into of-that sort appearance which
 percipi non posset, quia nulla nota verum distinguebatur
to-be-perceived not could because by-no mark the-true was-distinguished
 a falso; qua distinctione sublata quam haberet in
from the-false which distinction (being)-removed what would-be-have in
 C. Cotta, qui bis cum Geminus consul fuit, agnoscendo
Gaius Cotta who twice with Geminus consul was for-recognizing
 eius modi notam quae falsa esse non possit? negas tantam
of-that sort a-mark which false to-be not can you-deny so-great
 similitudinem in rerum natura esse; pugnas omnino, sed cum
a-likeness in of-things the-nature to-be you-fight altogether but with
 adversario facili. ne sit sane: videri certe potest; fallat
an-adversary easy let-not there-be granted to-seem surely it-can it-will-deceive
 igitur sensum. et si una fefellerit similitudo, dubia
therefore the-sense and if one shall-have-deceived a-likeness doubtful
 omnia reddiderit; sublato enim iudicio illo quo
all(-things) it-will-have-made (being)-removed for the-judgment that by-which

oportet agnosci, etiam si ipse erit quem videris
it-behooves to-be-recognized even if himself he-shall-be whom you-shall-have-seen
 qui tibi videbitur, tamen non ea nota iudicabis qua
who to-you will-appear yet not by-that mark you-will-judge by-which
 dicis oportere ut non possit esse eiusdem modi falsa.
you-say it-behooves that not it-can to-be of-the-same sort false

- 85 quando igitur potest tibi P. Geminus Quintus videri,
since therefore can to-you Publius Geminus Quintus to-seem
 quid habes explorati cur non possit tibi Cotta videri qui
what do-you-have ascertained why not can to-you Cotta to-seem who
 non sit, quoniam aliquid videtur esse quod non est? Omnia
not is since something seems to-be which not is all(-things)
 dicis sui generis esse, nihil esse idem quod sit aliud.
you-say of-its-own kind to-be nothing to-be the-same which is another
 Stoicumst id quidem nec admodum credibile, nullum esse
Stoic-it-is that indeed and-not very credible no to-be
 pilum omnibus rebus talem qualis sit pilus alius, nullum
hair in-all respects such such-as is hair another no
 granum. haec refelli possunt, sed pugnare nolo;
grain these(-things) to-be-refuted can but to-fight I-am-unwilling
 ad id enim quod agitur nihil interest omnibusne partibus
to that for which is-at-issue nothing it-matters whether-in-all parts
 visa re nihil differat an internosci non possit etiam
seen the-thing nothing differs or to-be-distinguished not it-can even
 si differat. Sed si hominum similitudo tanta esse non
if it-differs but if of-men likeness so-great to-be not
 potest, ne signorum quidem? dic mihi: Lysippus eodem
can not of-statues even tell me Lysippus with-the-same
 aere eadem temperatione, eodem caelo aqua ceteris
bronze with-the-same tempering with-the-same climate water with-the-other

omnibus centum Alexandrus eiusdem modi facere non
 all a-hundred Alexanders of-the-same sort to-make not
 posset? qua igitur notione discerneres?
 could-be by-what then notion would-you-distinguish

XXVII • A HUNDRED SEALS FROM ONE RING

Press one ring a hundred times into wax and ask whether the impressions can be told apart. Lucullus called in expert help — the painter who sees what we do not, the ear that knows a tune from the first note — but that argument tells against him: without those rare skills we neither see nor hear well. Cicero then asks whether the craft of nature is itself a thing anyone can affirm.

quid si in eius modi cera centum sigilla hoc anulo 86
 what if in of-that sort wax a-hundred seals with-this ring
 inpressero, ecquae poterit in agnoscendo esse distinctio?
 I-shall-have-impressed whether-any will-be-able in recognizing to-be distinction
 an tibi erit quaerendus anularius aliqui, quoniam
 or for-you there-will-be to-be-sought a-ring-maker some since
 gallinarium invenisti Deliacum illum, qui ova cognosceret?
 a-poultry-keeper you-have-found Delian that who eggs might-come-to-know
 Sed adhibes artem advocatam etiam sensibus: 'pictor videt
 but you-bring-in art as-counsel even for-the-senses a-painter sees
 quae nos non videmus' et 'simul inflavit tibicen a perito
 what(-things) we not see and as-soon-as has-blown the-piper by an-expert
 carmen adnoscitur'. Quid hoc nonne videtur contra te valere,
 the-tune is-recognized what this surely does-it-seem against you to-tell
 si sine magnis artificiis, ad quae pauci accedunt, nostri quidem
 if without great skills to which few come of-our indeed
 generis admodum, nec videre nec audire possumus? Iam illa
 kind very neither to-see nor to-hear we-can now that

- praeclara, quanto artificio esset sensus nostros mentemque
splendid(-point) with-how-great craft had senses our and-mind
 et totam constructionem hominis fabricata natura —
and the-whole frame of-man fashioned nature
- 87 cur non extimescam opinandi temeritatem? etiamne hoc
why not should-I-dread of-opining the-rashness whether-even this
 adfirmare potes Luculle, esse aliquam vim, cum prudentia et
to-affirm can-you Lucullus to-be some force with forethought and
 consilio scilicet, quae finxerit vel ut tuo verbo utar quae
design of-course which has-shaped or that your word I-may-use which
 fabricata sit hominem? qualis ista fabrica est, ubi adhibita,
fashioned has man of-what-sort that workmanship is where applied
 quando cur quo modo? tractantur ista ingeniose,
when why in-what way are-handled those(-things) ingeniously
 disputantur etiam eleganter; denique videantur sane, ne
they-are-argued even elegantly in-short let-them-seem granted not
 adfirmentur modo. Sed de physicis mox, et quidem
let-them-be-affirmed only but about the-natural-philosophers soon and indeed
 ob eam causam, ne tu, qui id me facturum paulo ante
on-account-of that cause lest you who that me about-to-do a-little before
 dixeris, videre mentitus. Sed ut ad ea quae clariora sunt
you-said you-seem to-have-lied but that to those(-things) which clearer are
 veniam, res iam universas profundam, de quibus volumina
I-may-come matters now whole I-shall-pour-out about which volumes
 inpleta sunt non a nostris solum sed etiam a Chrysippo
filled have-been not by our(-men) only but also by Chrysippus
 (de quo queri solent Stoici, dum studiose omnia
about whom to-complain are-wont the-Stoics while zealously all(-things)
 conquiesierit contra sensus et perspicuitatem contraque omnem
be-collected against the-senses and perspicuity and-against all

consuetudinem contraque rationem, ipsum sibi respondentem
 custom and-against reason himself to-himself answering
 inferiorem fuisse, itaque ab eo armatum esse Carneadem);
 inferior to-have-been and-so by him armed to-have-been Carneades

XXVIII • WHAT THE STAGE MADMEN SAW

Lucullus said that the appearances of sleepers, drunks, and madmen are weaker. Cicero answers that the question is not how they look afterward but how they looked at the time. Ennius in his dream took Homer's presence for real, Iliona believed her son had spoken, and Alcmaeon and Hercules acted on what they saw. Then he turns to dialectic, which judges only its own propositions and cannot judge anything else.

ea sunt eius modi, quae a te diligentissime tractata 88
 those are of-that sort which by you most-carefully handled
 sunt. Dormientium et vinulentorum et furiosorum visa
 have-been of-sleepers and of-the-drunk and of-the-mad appearances
 inbecilliora esse dicebas quam vigilantium siccorum sanorum.
 weaker to-be you-were-saying than of-the-waking of-the-sober of-the-sane
 quo modo? quia cum experrectus esset Ennius non diceret
 in-what way because when awakened he-was Ennius not would-say
 se vidisse Homerum sed visum esse, Alcmeo autem
 himself to-have-seen Homer but seen to-have-been Alcmaeon moreover
 'sed mihi neutiquam cor consentit'; similia de vinulentis.
 but to-me by-no-means the-heart agrees like(-things) about the-drunk
 quasi quisquam neget et qui experrectus sit eum non
 as-if anyone would-deny both who awakened has-been him not
 somniare, et cuius furor consederit putare non fuisse ea
 to-dream and whose madness has-subsided to-think not to-have-been those
 vera quae essent sibi visa in furore. sed non id agitur; tum
 true which had-been to-himself seen in madness but not that is-at-issue then

cum videbantur quo modo viderentur, id quaeritur. nisi vero
when they-were-seen in-what way they-appeared that is-asked unless truly

Ennius non putamus ita totum illud audivisse 'o pietas animi',

Ennius not we-think so the-whole that to-have-heard o devotion of-soul

si modo id somniavit, ut si vigilans audiret. experrectus enim

if only that he-dreamed as if waking he-heard awakened for

potuit illa visa putare, ut erant, et somnia; dormienti

he-could those appearances to-think as they-were also dreams to-the-sleeper

vero aequae ac vigilanti probabantur. quid Iliona somno illo

truly equally as to-the-waking they-were-approved what Iliona in-sleep that

'mater te appello' nonne ita credit filium locutum ut

mother you I-call surely so does-she-believe (her)-son to-have-spoken that

experrecta etiam crederet? unde enim illa 'age asta,

awakened even she-would-believe whence for those(-words) come stand

mane audi; iteradum eadem istaec mihi': num videtur

stay hear repeat-now the-same those(-things) to-me surely-not does-she-seem

minorem habere visis quam vigilantis fidem?

less to-have in-appearances than of-a-waking(-person) credit

89 Quid loquar de insanis: qualis tandem fuit adfinis tuus

what should-I-say about the-mad of-what-sort pray was the-kinsman your

Catule Tuditanus, quisquam sanissimus tam certa putat quae

Catulus Tuditanus does-anyone most-sane so sure thinks what

videt quam is putabat quae videbantur? quid ille qui 'video

he-sees as he thought what were-seen what that(-man) who I-see

video te; vive Ulixes dum licet' nonne etiam bis exclamavit

I-see you live Ulysses while it-is-allowed surely even twice did-be-cry-out

se videre, cum omnino non videret; quid apud Euripidem

himself to-see when at-all not he-saw what in Euripides

Hercules, cum ut Eurysthei filios ita suos configebat

Hercules when as of-Eurystheus the-sons so his-own he-was-transfixing

sagittis, cum uxorem interemebat, cum conabatur etiam

with-arrows when (his)-wife he-was-killing when he-was-attempting even

patrem, non perinde movebatur falsis ut veris
(his)-father not just-as was-be-moved by-false(-things) as by-true(-ones)
 moveretur; quid ipse Alcmeo tuus, qui negat cor sibi
he-would-be-moved what himself Alcmaeon your who denies the-heart for-himself
 cum oculis consentire, nonne ibidem incitato furore
with the-eyes to-agree surely in-the-same-place (with)-roused madness
 ‘unde haec flamma oritur’ et illa deinceps ‘incede incede,
whence this flame arises and those(-words) next advance advance
 adsunt me expetunt’; quid cum virginis fidem implorat:
they-are-here me they-seek what when of-a-maiden the-protection he-implores

‘fer mi auxilium, pestem abige a me, flammiferam
bring to-me help the-plague drive from me flame-bearing
 hanc vim, quae me excruciat,
this force which me tortures
 caeruleae incinctae angui incedunt, circumstant cum
dark-blue girt with-a-snake they-advance they-stand-around with
 ardentibus taedis’,
burning torches

num dubitas quin sibi haec videre videatur?
surely-not do-you-doubt but-that to-himself these(-things) to-see he-seems
 itemque cetera
and-likewise the-rest

‘intendit crinitus Apollo
bends long-haired Apollo
 arcum auratum, luna innixus,
(his)-bow gilded on-the-moon leaning
 Diana facem iacit a laeva’:
Diana a-torch hurls from the-left

- 90 qui magis haec crederet si essent quam credebat quia
how more these(-things) would-he-believe if they-were than he-believed because
videbantur; apparet enim iam cor cum oculis consentire.
they-were-seen it-appears for now the-heart with the-eyes to-agree
Omnia autem haec proferuntur ut illud efficiatur,
all moreover these(-things) are-brought-forward so-that that may-be-established
quo certius nihil potest esse, inter visa vera et
than-which more-certain nothing can to-be between appearances true and
falsa ad animi adsensum nihil interesse. vos autem nihil
false for of-the-mind the-assent nothing to-differ you moreover nothing
agitis, cum illa falsa vel furiosorum vel somniantium
you-achieve when those false(-ones) either of-the-mad or of-dreamers
recordatione ipsorum refellit. non enim id quaeritur,
by-the-recollection of-themselves you-refute not for that is-asked
qualis recordatio fieri soleat eorum qui experrecti sunt
of-what-sort the-recollection to-happen is-wont of-those who awakened are
aut eorum qui furere destiterint, sed qualis visio fuerit
or of-those who to-rave have-ceased but of-what-sort the-vision was
aut furentium aut somniantium tum cum movebantur.
either of-the-raving or of-dreamers then when they-were-moved
- 91 Sed abeo a sensibus; quid est quod ratione percipi
but I-depart from the-senses what is-there which by-reason to-be-perceived
possit? dialecticam inventam esse dicitis veri et
can dialectic invented to-have-been you-say of-the-true and
falsi quasi disceptatricem et iudicem. cuius veri et falsi,
of-the-false as-it-were an-arbitress and judge of-what true and false
et in qua re? in geometriane quid sit verum aut falsum
and in what matter in whether-geometry what is true or false
dialecticis iudicabit an in litteris an in musicis? at ea
the-dialectician will-judge or in letters or in music but those
non novit. in philosophia igitur: sol quantus sit quid ad
not he-knows in philosophy then the-sun how-great is what to

illum? quod sit summum bonum quid habet ut queat
 him what is the-highest good what has-be that he-may-be-able
 iudicare? quid igitur iudicabit? quae coniunctio quae diiunctio
 to-judge what then will-be-judge which conjunction which disjunction
 vera sit, quid ambigue dictum sit, quid sequatur quamque
 true is what ambiguously said is what follows and-what
 rem quid repugnet: si haec et horum similia iudicat,
 thing what conflicts if these(-things) and of-these like(-things) it-judges
 de se ipsa iudicat; plus autem pollicebatur. nam haec
 about itself very-self it-judges more moreover it-was-promising for these(-things)
 quidem iudicare ad ceteras res, quae sunt in philosophia
 indeed to-judge for the-other matters which are in philosophy
 multae atque magnae, non est satis.
 many and great not is enough

XXIX • THE SORITES AGAINST DIALECTIC

The art the Stoics rely on may be the thing that ruins them. It ends in the sorites, where a grain at a time makes a heap, and nature has given us no cognition of limits: no one can say at what point few becomes many. Chrysippus' advice is to fall quiet before the end, and Carneades answered that a man may snore if he likes, but that the questioner will simply wake him and start again.

Sed quoniam tantum in ea arte ponitis, videte ne contra 92
 but since so-much in that art you-place see lest against
 vos tota nata sit; quae primo progressa festive
 you the-whole(-thing) born has-been which at-first having-advanced prettily
 tradit elementa loquendi et ambiguum intelligentiam
 hands-over the-elements of-speaking and of-ambiguities the-understanding
 concludendique rationem, tum paucis additis venit ad soritas,
 and-of-concluding the-method then (with)-a-few added it-comes to sorites

lubricum sane et periculosum locum, quod tu modo dicebas
a-slippery indeed and dangerous ground which you just-now were-saying
 esse vitiosum interrogandi genus. quid ergo istius vitii num
to-be a-faulty of-questioning kind what then of-that fault surely-not
 nostra culpa est? rerum natura nullam nobis dedit cognitionem
our blame is-it of-things nature no to-us has-given cognition
 finium, ut ulla in re statuere possimus quatenus, nec
of-limits so-that any in matter to-determine we-may-be-able how-far and-not
 hoc in acervo tritici solum, unde nomen est, sed nulla omnino
this in a-heap of-wheat only whence the-name is but no at-all
 in re minutatim interrogati, dives pauper clarus obscurus sit,
in matter bit-by-bit (when)-questioned rich poor famous obscure is
 multa pauca magna parva longa brevia lata angusta, quanto
many few great small long short broad narrow by-how-much
 aut addito aut dempto certum respondeamus non habemus.
either added or taken-away a-sure(-thing) we-may-answer not we-have

- 93 'At vitiosi sunt soritae.' Frangite igitur eos si potestis, ne
but faulty are sorites break therefore them if you-can lest
 molesti sint; erunt enim nisi cavetis. 'Cautum est'
troublesome they-be they-will-be for unless you-take-care provided it-has-been
 inquit; 'placet enim Chrysippo, cum gradatim interrogetur
he-says it-pleases for Chrysippus when step-by-step one-is-asked
 verbi causa tria pauca sint anne multa, aliquanto prius
of-a-word for-the-sake three few are or many somewhat earlier
 quam ad multa perveniat quiescere' (id est quod ab his dicitur
than to many be-arrives to-keep-quiet that is what by these is-called
 ἡσυχάζειν). 'Per me vel stertas licet' inquit Carneades
to-keep-quiet through me even you-may-snore it-is-allowed said Carneades
 'non modo quiescas. Sed quid proficit? sequitur enim
not only you-may-keep-quiet but what does-it-avail there-follows for
 qui te ex somno excitet et eodem modo interroget: 'quo
one-who you from sleep may-rouse and in-the-same way may-ask what

in numero conticuisti, si ad eum numerum unum addidero,
in number you-fell-silent if to that number one I-shall-have-added
 multane erunt?' progrediere rursus quoad videbitur. quid
whether-many will-they-be you-will-advance again as-far-as it-shall-seem-good what
 plura; hoc enim fateris, neque ultimum te paucorum neque
more this for you-confess neither the-last you of-few nor
 primum multorum respondere posse. cuius generis error
the-first of-many to-answer to-be-able of-which kind the-error
 ita manat, ut non videam quo non possit accedere.
so spreads that not I-see whither not it-can to-reach
 'Nihil me laedit' inquit; 'ego enim ut agitator callidus 94
nothing me harms he-says I for as a-driver skillful
 priusquam ad finem veniam equos sustinebo, eoque magis si
before to the-end I-come the-horses I-shall-check and-by-that the-more if
 locus is quo ferentur equi praeceps erit. sic me' inquit
the-ground that whither shall-be-borne the-horses steep shall-be so myself he-says
 'ante sustineo nec diutius captiose interroganti respondeo.' Si
beforehand I-check nor longer captiously to-one-asking I-answer if
 habes quod liqueat neque respondes, superbe; si non habes,
you-have what may-be-clear and-not you-answer arrogantly if not you-have
 ne tu quidem percipis. si quia obscura, concedo; sed negas
not you even you-perceive if because obscure I-grant but you-deny
 te usque ad obscura progredi; in inlustribus igitur rebus
yourself right to the-obsure to-advance in clear then matters
 insistis. si id tantum modo ut taceas, nihil adsequeris;
you-halt if that only just that you-be-silent nothing do-you-achieve
 quid enim ad illum qui te captare vult, utrum tacentem
what for to him who you to-catch wishes whether silent
 inretiat te an loquentem? sin autem usque ad novem verbi
he-ensnares you or speaking but-if moreover right to nine of-a-word
 gratia sine dubitatione respondes pauca esse, in decumo
for-the-sake without hesitation you-answer few to-be at the-tenth

insistis, etiam a certis et inlustrioribus cohibes adensum;
you-halt even from sure and clearer(-things) you-withhold assent
 hoc idem me in obscuris facere non sinis. nihil
this same(-thing) me in obscure(-matters) to-do not you-allow nothing
 igitur te contra soritas ars ista adiuvat, quae nec augendi
therefore you against sorites art that helps which neither of-increasing
 nec minuendi quid aut primum sit aut postremum docet.
nor of-diminishing what either first is or last teaches

XXX · THE LIAR, AND PENELOPE'S WEB

Dialectic unweaves its own work like Penelope. Its foundation is that every statement is true or false, but nobody can say whether a man who says he is lying speaks the truth. The Stoics ask for the insoluble cases to be excepted, and Cicero says they will not get that from him, since they cannot get Epicurus himself to grant that Hermarchus will either live tomorrow or not.

- 95 Quid quod eadem illa ars quasi Penelopae telam retexens
what that the-same that art as-it-were of-Penelope the-web unweaving
 tollit ad extremum superiora: utrum ea vestra an nostra
takes-away at the-end the-earlier(-things) whether that your or our
 culpa est? nempe fundamentum dialecticae est, quidquid
fault is surely the-foundation of-dialectic is whatever
 enuntietur (id autem appellant ἄξιωμα, quod est quasi
is-stated that moreover they-call an-axiom which is as-it-were
 ecfatum) aut verum esse aut falsum. quid igitur haec
an-utterance either true to-be or false what then these(-things)
 vera an falsa sunt: 'si te mentiri dicis idque verum dicis,
true or false are if yourself to-lie you-say and-that true you-say
 mentiris *** verum dicis'? haec scilicet inexplicabilia esse
you-lie (lacuna) true you-say these(-things) of-course inexplicable to-be

dicitis; quod est odiosius quam illa quae nos non comprehensa

you-say which is more-odious than those which we not grasped

et non percepta dicimus — sed hoc omitto, illud quaero:

and not perceived call but this I-omit that I-ask

si ista explicari non possunt nec eorum ullum iudicium

if those to-be-unraveled not can and-not of-them any judgment

invenitur, ut respondere possitis verane an falsa sint,

is-found so-that to-answer you-may-be-able whether-true or false they-are

ubi est illa definitio, effatum esse id quod aut verum aut

where is that definition an-utterance to-be that which either true or

falsum sit? Rebus sumptis adiungam ꝑ ex iis sequendas

false is (with)-things assumed I-shall-add from them to-be-followed

esse alias inprobandasꝑ quae sint in genere contrario.

to-be others to-be-disapproved which are in a-class contrary

Quo modo igitur hoc conclusum esse iudicas: ‘si dicis nunc 96

in-what way then this concluded to-be do-you-judge if you-say now

lucere et verum dicis, lucet; dicis autem nunc lucere et

to-be-light and true you-say it-is-light you-say moreover now to-be-light and

verum dicis; lucet igitur? probatis certe genus et rectissime

true you-say it-is-light therefore you-approve surely the-kind and most-rightly

conclusum dicitis itaque in docendo eum primum concludendi

concluded you-say and-so in teaching that first of-concluding

modum traditis. aut quidquid igitur eodem modo

mode you-hand-down either whatever then in-the-same way

concluditur probabit, aut ars ista nulla est. vide ergo hanc

is-concluded you-will-approve or art that none is see then this

conclusionem probaturusne sis: ‘si dicis te mentiri

conclusion whether-about-to-approve you-are if you-say yourself to-lie

verumque dicis, mentiris; dicis autem te mentiri verumque

and-true you-say you-lie you-say moreover yourself to-lie and-true

dicis; mentiris igitur’. qui potes hanc non probare, cum

you-say you-lie therefore how can-you this not to-approve when

probaveris eiusdem generis superiorem? haec Chrysippea
you-have-approved of-the-same kind the-earlier(-one) these(-things) Chrysippean
 sunt, ne ab ipso quidem dissoluta. quid enim faceret
are not by himself even untied what for would-be-do
 huic conclusioni 'si lucet, lucet; lucet autem; lucet
to-this conclusion if it-is-light it-is-light it-is-light moreover it-is-light
 igitur'? cederet scilicet; ipsa enim ratio conexi cum
therefore he-would-yield of-course itself for the-reasoning of-a-connection when
 concesseris superius cogit inferius concedere. quid ergo haec
you-have-granted the-former compels the-latter to-grant what then this
 ab illa conclusione differt 'si mentiris, mentiris; mentiris
from that conclusion differs if you-lie you-lie you-lie
 autem; mentiris igitur'? hoc negas te posse nec adprobare
moreover you-lie therefore this you-deny yourself to-be-able neither to-approve
 nec inprobare; qui igitur magis illud? si ars si ratio si via
nor to-disapprove how then more that if art if reason if method
 si vis denique conclusionis valet, eadem est in utroque.
if force in-short of-a-conclusion avails the-same it-is in each

97 Sed hoc extremum eorum est: postulant ut excipiantur haec
but this last(-resort) of-theirs is they-demand that be-expected these
 inexplicabilia. tribunum aliquem censeo videant; a me
inexplicables a-tribune some I-advice let-them-look-for from me
 istam exceptionem numquam inpetrabunt. etenim cum ab
that exception never they-will-obtain for-indeed since from
 Epicuro, qui totam dialecticam et contemnit et inridet, non
Epicurus who the-whole dialectic both despises and mocks not
 inpetrent ut verum esse concedat quod ita effabimur 'aut
they-obtain that true to-be he-grant which thus we-shall-utter either
 vivet cras Hermarchus aut non vivet', cum dialectici sic
will-live tomorrow Hermarchus or not he-will-live since the-dialecticians so
 statuunt, omne quod ita disiunctum sit quasi 'aut etiam
lay-down every(-thing) which so disjointed is as either yes

aut non' non modo verum esse sed etiam necessarium (vide
or no not only true to-be but also necessary see
 quam sit cautus is quem isti tardum putant: 'si enim' inquit
how is cautious he whom those slow think if for he-says
 'alterutrum concessero necessarium esse, necesse erit
one-or-the-other I-shall-have-granted necessary to-be necessary it-will-be
 cras Hermarchum aut vivere aut non vivere; nulla autem
tomorrow Hermarchus either to-live or not to-live no moreover
 est in natura rerum talis necessitas') — cum hoc igitur
there-is in the-nature of-things such necessity with him therefore
 dialectici pugnent, id est Antiochus et Stoici; totam
let-the-dialecticians fight that is Antiochus and the-Stoics the-whole
 enim evertit dialecticam: nam si e contrariis disiunctio
for he-overturns dialectic for if from contraries a-disjunction
 (contraria autem ea dico, cum alterum aiat alterum
contrary moreover those I-call when one it-affirms the-other
 neget) — si talis disiunctio falsa potest esse, nulla vera est.
it-denies if such a-disjunction false can to-be none true is
 mecum vero quid habent litium, qui ipsorum disciplinam
with-me truly what have-they of-quarrels who their-own teaching
 sequor? cum aliquid huius modi inciderat, sic ludere Carneades
I-follow when something of-this sort had-occurred so to-jest Carneades
 solebat: 'si recte conclusi, teneo; sin vitiose, minam
was-wont if rightly I-have-concluded I-bold(-the-point) but-if faultily a-mina
 Diogenes reddet'; ab eo enim Stoico dialectica didicerat, haec
Diogenes will-repay from him for the-Stoic dialectic he-had-learned this
 autem merces erat dialecticorum. sequor igitur eas vias quas
moreover the-fee was of-the-dialecticians I-follow therefore those roads which
 didici ab Antiocho, nec reperio quo modo iudicem 'si
I-learned from Antiochus and-not I-find in-what way I-may-judge if
 lucet, lucet' verum esse ob eam causam quod ita didici,
it-is-light it-is-light true to-be on-account-of that cause that so I-learned

omne quod ipsum ex se conexum sit verum esse, non
every(-thing) which itself from itself connected is true to-be not
 iudicem 'si mentiris, mentiris' eodem modo esse conexum:
I-may-judge if you-lie you-lie in-the-same way to-be connected
 aut igitur hoc ut illud, aut nisi hoc ne illud quidem iudicabo.
either therefore this as that or unless this not that even I-shall-judge

XXXI · CARNEADES' TWO DIVISIONS

Cicero takes Carneades from Clitomachus, who studied with him to old age. Carneades divided appearances twice over: into those that can be perceived and those that cannot, and into probable and improbable. Nothing is such that perception follows, but much is such that approval follows, and a wise man who takes the probable where nothing contradicts it has all he needs to steer a life.

Sed ut omnes istos aculeos et totum tortuosum genus
but that all those stings and the-whole tortuous kind
 disputandi relinquamus ostendamusque qui simus, iam
of-arguing we-may-leave and-may-show who we-are once
 explicata tota Carneadis sententia Antiochea ista
(having-been)-set-out whole of-Carneades the-view Antiochean those
 conrueut universa. nec vero quicquam ita dicam ut
will-collapse all and-not truly anything so I-shall-say that
 quisquam id fingi suspicetur; a Clitomacho sumam,
anyone it to-be-invented may-suspect from Clitomachus I-shall-take(-it)
 qui usque ad senectutem cum Carneade fuit, homo et
who right to old-age with Carneades was a-man both
 acutus ut Poenus et valde studiosus ac diligens; et
acute as a-Carthaginian and very studious and diligent and

quattuor eius libri sunt de sustinendis adsensionibus,

four of-him books there-are about to-be-withheld assents

haec autem quae iam dicam sunt sumpta de primo.

these(-things) moreover which now I-shall-say are taken from the-first

Duo placet esse Carneadi genera visorum; in uno hanc

two it-pleases to-be to-Carneades kinds of-appearances in one this

divisionem, alia visa esse quae percipi possint alia quae

division some appearances to-be which to-be-perceived can others which

non possint, in altero autem, alia visa esse probabilia

not can in the-second moreover some appearances to-be probable

alia non probabilia. itaque quae contra sensus contraque

others not probable and-so what(-things) against the-senses and-against

perspicuitatem dicantur ea pertinere ad superiorem divisionem,

perspicuity are-said those to-belong to the-former division

contra posteriorem nihil dici oportere. quare ita placere,

against the-latter nothing to-be-said it-behooves wherefore so it-pleases

tale visum nullum esse ut perceptio consequeretur, ut autem

such appearance none to-be that perception might-follow that moreover

probatio multa. Etenim contra naturam esset,

approval(-might-follow) many(-such-are) for-indeed against nature it-would-be

si probabile nihil esset; sequitur omnis vitae ea quam tu

if probable nothing were there-follows of-all of-life that which you

Luculle commemorabas eversio. itaque et sensibus probanda

Lucullus were-recalling overthrow and-so both by-the-senses to-be-approved

multa sunt, teneatur modo illud, non inesse in is

many(-things) are let-it-be-held only that not to-be-in in them

quicquam tale quale non etiam falsum nihil ab eo differens

anything such such-as not also a-false(-one) nothing from it differing

esse possit — sic quidquid acciderit specie probabile,

to-be can so whatever shall-have-happened in-appearance probable

si nihil se offeret quod sit probabilitati illi contrarium, utetur

if nothing itself shall-offer which is to-that-probability that contrary will-use

eo sapiens, ac sic omnis ratio vitae gubernabitur. Etenim

it the-wise(-man) and so all the-method of-life will-be-steered for-indeed

is quoque qui a vobis sapiens inducitur multa sequitur

he also who by you as-wise is-brought-in many(-things) follows

probabilia non comprehensa neque percepta neque adensa

probable not grasped nor perceived nor assented-to

sed similia veri quae nisi probet omnis vita tollatur.

but like of-truth which unless be-approve all life would-be-taken-away

100 quid enim conscendens navem sapiens num comprehensum

what for boarding a-ship the-wise(-man) surely-not grasped

animo habet atque perceptum se ex sententia

in-mind has-be and perceived himself according-to (his)-wish

navigaturum? qui potest? sed si iam ex hoc loco proficiscatur

about-to-sail how can-he but if now from this place he-should-set-out

Puteolos stadia triginta probo navigio bono gubernatore

to-Puteoli stades thirty in-a-good vessel with-a-good steersman

hac tranquillitate, probabile videatur se illuc venturum

in-this calm probable it-would-seem himself thither about-to-come

esse salvum. Huius modi igitur visis consilia capiet

to-be safe of-this sort therefore by-appearances plans he-will-take

et agendi et non agendi faciliusque erit ut albam esse

both of-acting and not of-acting and-readier he-will-be that white to-be

nivem probet quam erat Anaxagoras, qui id non modo

snow he-approve than was Anaxagoras who that not only

ita esse negabat, sed sibi, quia sciret aquam nigram esse

so to-be denied but to-himself because he-knew water black to-be

unde illa concreta esset, albam ipsam esse ne videri quidem,

whence it congealed was white itself to-be not to-seem even

The wise man is not carved from stone: he has a body and a mind, and probable appearances move him without his assenting, since a false one of the same kind could arise. The Stoics grant that the senses report falsely; joined to Epicurus' premise that one false report ruins perception, that gives the Academy its conclusion. Cicero then quotes what Clitomachus wrote to the poet Lucilius about the Academy's real position.

et quaecumque res eum sic attinget ut sit visum illud 101
and whatever thing him so shall-touch that there-is appearance that
 probabile neque ulla re impeditum, movebitur. non enim est
probable and-not by-any thing hindered he-will-be-moved not for he-is
 e saxo sculptus aut e robore dolatus, habet corpus habet
from stone carved or from oak hewn he-has a-body he-has
 animum, movetur mente movetur sensibus, ut ei vera
a-mind he-is-moved in-mind he-is-moved in-the-senses so-that to-him true
 multa videantur neque tamen habere insignem illam et
many(-things) seem and-not yet to-have the-distinctive that and
 propriam percipiendi notam. eoque sapientem non adsentiri,
proper of-perceiving mark and-therefore the-wise(-man) not to-assent
 quia possit eiusdem modi existere falsum aliquod cuius
because there-can of-the-same sort to-arise a-false(-one) some of-what
 modi hoc verum. Neque nos contra sensus aliter dicimus ac
sort this true(-one) and-not we against the-senses otherwise speak than
 Stoici, qui multa falsa esse dicunt longeque aliter se
the-Stoics who many(-things) false to-be say and-far otherwise themselves
 habere ac sensibus videantur. hoc autem si ita sit, ut unum
to-hold than to-the-senses they-seem this moreover if so is that one(-thing)
 modo sensibus falsum videatur, praesto est qui neget rem
only to-the-senses false appears at-hand is one-who denies thing
 ullam percipi posse sensibus. ita nobis tacentibus ex uno
any to-be-perceived to-be-able by-the-senses so (with)-us silent from one

Epicuri capite altero vestro perceptio et comprehensio tollitur.

of-Epicurus premise the-other yours perception and a-grasping is-removed

quod est caput Epicuri? 'si ullum sensus visum falsum est,

which is the-premise of-Epicurus if any of-sense appearance false is

nihil potest percipi.' quod vestrum? 'sunt falsa sensus visa.'

nothing can to-be-perceived which yours are false of-sense appearances

quid sequitur? ut taceam, conclusio ipsa loquitur: 'nihil posse

what follows that I-be-silent the-conclusion itself speaks nothing to-be-able

percipi'. 'Non concedo' inquit 'Epicuro'. Certa igitur cum

to-be-perceived not I-grant he-says to-Epicurus fight therefore with

illo, qui a te totus diversus est, noli mecum, qui

him who from you wholly different is be-unwilling(-to-fight) with-me who

hoc quidem certe, falsi esse aliquid in sensibus, tibi adsentior.

this indeed surely of-false to-be something in the-senses to-you I-assent

102 Quamquam nihil mihi tam mirum videtur quam ista

although nothing to-me so strange seems as those(-things)

dici, ab Antiocho quidem maxime, cui erant ea

to-be-said by Antiochus indeed especially to-whom were those(-things)

quae paulo ante dixi notissima. licet enim haec quivis

which a-little before I-said most-known granted-that for these(-things) anyone

arbitratu suo reprehendat quod negemus rem ullam percipi

at-discretion his-own to-blame because we-deny thing any to-be-perceived

posse, certe levior reprehensio est, quod tamen dicimus esse

to-be-able surely lighter the-blame is because nevertheless we-say to-be

quaedam probabilia. non videtur hoc satis esse vobis. ne sit;

certain probable(-things) not seems this enough to-be to-you let-it-not be

illa certe debemus effugere, quae a te vel maxime agitata sunt:

those surely we-ought to-escape which by you even most pressed have-been

'nihil igitur cernis, nihil audis, nihil tibi est perspicuum'.

nothing then you-discern nothing you-hear nothing to-you is perspicuous

Explicavi paulo ante Clitomacho auctore quo modo

I-explained a-little before (with)-Clitomachus as-authority in-what way

ista Carneades diceret; accipe quem ad modum eadem
those(-things) Carneades used-to-say hear which to manner the-same(-things)
 dicantur a Clitomacho in eo libro quem ad C. Lucilium
are-said by Clitomachus in that book which to Gaius Lucilius
 scripsit poetam, cum scripsisset isdem de rebus ad L.
he-wrote the-poet although he-had-written the-same about matters to Lucius
 Censorinum eum qui consul cum M'. Manilio fuit. scripsit
Censorinus him who consul with Manius Manilius was he-wrote
 igitur his fere verbis (sunt enim mihi nota propterea quod
therefore in-these roughly words they-are for to-me known for-this-reason that
 earum ipsarum rerum de quibus agimus prima institutio et
of-those very matters about which we-deal the-first instruction and
 quasi disciplina illo libro continetur) — sed scriptum est ita:
as-it-were the-training in-that book is-contained but written it-is thus
 Academicis placere esse rerum eius modi dissimilitudines ut
to-the-Academics it-pleases to-be of-things of-that sort unlikenesses that
 aliae probabiles videantur aliae contra. id autem non esse satis
some probable seem others the-contrary that moreover not to-be enough
 cur alia posse percipi dicas alia non posse, propterea
why some to-be-able to-be-perceived you-should-say others not to-be-able for-this-reason
 quod multa falsa probabilia sint, nihil autem falsi
that many false(-things) probable are nothing moreover of-false
 perceptum et cognitum possit esse. itaque ait vehementer
perceived and known can to-be and-so he-says greatly
 errare eos qui dicant ab Academia sensus eripi, a quibus
to-err those who say by the-Academy the-senses to-be-taken-away by whom
 numquam dictum sit aut colorem aut saporem aut sonum
never said has-been either color or taste or sound
 nullum esse, illud sit disputatum, non inesse in iis propriam
none to-be that has been-argued not to-be-in in them a-proper
 quae nusquam alibi esset veri et certi notam.
which nowhere elsewhere were of-the-true and of-the-certain mark

- 104 quae cum exposuisset, adiungit dupliciter dici adsensus
which(-things) when he-had-set-out he-adds in-two-ways to-be-said assents
 sustinere sapientem, uno modo cum hoc intellegatur, omnino
to-withhold the-wise(-man) in-one way when this is-understood at-all
 eum rei nulli adsentiri, altero cum se a respondendo
him to-thing no to-assent in-the-other when himself from answering
 ut aut adprobet quid aut inprobet sustineat, ut
so-that either be-approve anything or disapprove he-withholds so-that
 neque neget aliquid neque aiat. id cum ita sit, alterum
neither be-deny anything nor affirm that since so is the-one
 placere ut numquam adsentiatur, alterum tenere ut sequens
to-please that never be-assent the-other to-hold that following
 probabilitatem, ubicumque haec aut occurrat aut deficiat, aut
probability wherever it either turns-up or fails either
 'etiam' aut 'non' respondere possit. †nec ut† placeat eum qui
yes or no to-answer he-can and-not that it-pleases him who
 de omnibus rebus contineat se ab adsentiendo moveri
about all matters restrains himself from assenting to-be-moved
 tamen et agere aliquid, reliquit eius modi visa quibus ad
nevertheless and to-do something be-left of-that sort appearances by-which to
 actionem excitemur, item ea quae interrogati in utramque
action we-are-roused likewise those which (when)-questioned on each
 partem respondere possimus sequentes tantum modo quod
side to-answer we-may-be-able following merely only what
 ita visum sit, dum sine adsensu; neque tamen omnia eius
so appeared has provided without assent and-not however all of-that
 modi visa adprobari sed ea quae nulla re inpedirentur.
sort appearances to-be-approved but those which by-no thing were-hindered
- 105 Haec si vobis non probamus, sint falsa sane, invidiosa
these(-things) if to-you not we-prove let-them-be false granted invidious
 certe non sunt. non enim lucem eripimus sed ea
surely not they-are not for the-light we-snatch-away but those(-things)

quae vos percipi comprehendique eadem nos, si modo
which you to-be-perceived and-to-be-grasped the-same we if only
 probabilia sint, videri dicimus.
probable they-are to-seem say

XXXIII · MEMORY, THE ARTS, AND PANAETIUS

The sea looks purple in one wind and gray in the morning, and no one can defend either as true. Lucullus asked where memory would come from: Cicero answers that Polyaeus did not forget his geometry when he came to think it false. The arts follow what looks likely rather than what is known, and Panaetius, whom Cicero calls almost the chief of the Stoics, withheld assent from the whole of divination.

Sic igitur inducto et constituto probabili, et eo
so therefore (having-been)-introduced and established the-probable and it
 quidem expedito soluto libero nulla re implicato, vides
indeed unencumbered loosed free by-no thing entangled you-see
 profecto Luculle iacere iam illud tuum perspicuitatis
surely Lucullus to-lie(-fallen) now that your of-perspicuity
 patrocinium. isdem enim hic sapiens de quo loquor
defense with-the-same for this wise(-man) about whom I-speak
 oculis quibus iste vester caelum terram mare intuebitur,
eyes with-which that your(-one)(-does) the-sky the-earth the-sea will-behold
 isdem sensibus reliqua quae sub quemque sensum cadunt
with-the-same senses the-rest which under each sense fall
 sentiet. mare illud, quod nunc favonio nascente
he-will-perceive the-sea that which now (with)-the-west-wind rising
 purpureum videtur, idem huic nostro videbitur, nec tamen
purple appears the-same to-this our(-one) will-appear and-not however
 adsentietur, quia nobismet ipsis modo caeruleum videbatur
he-will-assent because to-us ourselves just-now dark-blue it-appeared

mane ravum, quodque nunc qua a sole conlucet
in-the-morning gray and-because now where by the-sun it-shines
 albescit et vibrat dissimileque est proximo ei continenti,
whitens and quivers and-unlike is to-the-nearest to-it adjoining
 ut etiam si possis rationem reddere cur id eveniat tamen
so-that even if you-could a-reason to-give why that happens yet
 non possis id verum esse quod videbatur oculis defendere.
not you-could that true to-be which appeared to-the-eyes to-maintain
 106 'Unde memoria, si nihil percipimus?' sic enim quaerebas.
whence memory if nothing we-perceive so for you-were-asking
 quid meminisse visa nisi comprehensa non possumus? quid
what to-remember appearances unless grasped not can-we what
 Polyaenus, qui magnus mathematicus fuisse dicitur, is
Polyaenus who a-great mathematician to-have-been is-said he
 postea quam Epicuro adsentiens totam geometriam falsam
after that to-Epicurus assenting the-whole geometry false
 esse credidit, num illa etiam quae sciebat oblitus
to-be believed surely-not those(-things) also which he-knew forgotten
 est? atqui falsum quod est id percipi non potest,
has-be and-yet false what is that to-be-perceived not can
 ut vobismet ipsis placet. si igitur memoria perceptarum
as to-you yourselves it-pleases if therefore memory of-perceived
 comprehensarumque rerum est, omnia quae quisque meminit
and-of-grasped things is all(-things) which each remembers
 habet ea comprehensa atque percepta; falsi autem comprehendi
be-has those grasped and perceived of-false moreover to-be-grasped
 nihil potest; et omnia meminit Seiron Epicuri dogmata;
nothing can and all(-things) remembers Siro of-Epicurus the-doctrines
 vera igitur illa sunt nunc omnia. hoc per me licet;
true therefore those are now all this through me it-is-allowed
 sed tibi aut concedendum est ita esse, quod minime vis,
but to-you either to-be-granted it-is so to-be which least you-wish

aut memoriam mihi remittas oportet et fateare esse ei
or memory to-me you-give-up it-behooves and you-confess to-be for-it
 locum etiam si comprehensio perceptioque nulla sit.
a-place even if a-grasping and-perception none there-is
 ‘Quid fiet artibus?’ Quibus? iisne quae ipsae fatentur 107
what will-become of-the-arts which those which themselves confess
 coniectura se plus uti quam scientia, an iis quae
by-conjecture themselves more to-use than by-knowledge or those which
 tantum id quod videtur secuntur nec habent istam artem
only that which appears follow and-not have that art
 vestram qua vera et falsa diiudicent?
your by-which true and false they-may-judge
 Sed illa sunt lumina duo quae maxime causam istam
but those are lights two which especially the-case that
 continent. Primum enim negatis fieri posse ut quisquam
hold-together first for you-deny to-happen to-be-able that anyone
 nulli rei adsentiat. at id quidem perspicuum est, cum
to-no thing assent but that indeed perspicuous is since
 Panaetius, princeps prope meo quidem iudicio Stoicorum, ea
Panaetius the-chief almost in-my indeed judgment of-the-Stoics that
 de re dubitare se dicat quam omnes praeter eum Stoici
about matter to-doubt himself says which all except him the-Stoics
 certissimam putant, vera esse responsa haruspicum auspicia
most-certain think true to-be the-answers of-soothsayers auspices
 oracula somnia vaticinationes, seque ab adsensu sustineat —
oracles dreams prophecies and-himself from assent he-withholds
 quod is potest facere vel de iis rebus quas illi a quibus
which he can to-do even about those matters which those from whom
 ipse didicit certas habuerint, cur id sapiens de reliquis
he-himself learned certain held why that the-wise(-man) about the-remaining
 rebus facere non possit? an est aliquid quod positum vel
matters to-do not can-be or is-there anything which set-down either

inprobare vel adprobare possit, dubitare non possit? an tu in
to-disapprove or to-approve he-can to-doubt not he-can or you in
 soritis poteris hoc cum voles, ille in reliquis rebus non
sortes will-be-able this when you-wish he in the-remaining matters not
 poterit eodem modo insistere, praesertim cum possit sine
will-be-able in-the-same way to-halt especially since he-can without
 adsensione ipsam veri similitudinem non ineditam sequi.
assent the-very of-truth likeness not hindered to-follow

XXXIV · ACTING WITHOUT ASSENT

Lucullus said no one can act who assents to nothing. Cicero credits Carneades with a labor of Hercules for dragging assent out of our minds, but says the case can be made shorter: nothing hinders a man who follows what is probable. Antiochus pressed that a school must at least perceive its own doctrine, and Cicero answers that this doctrine too is only probable to him.

108 Alterum est quod negatis actionem ullius rei posse in eo
the-second is that you-deny action of-any thing to-be-able in him
 esse qui nullam rem adsensu suo conprobet. Primum enim
to-be who no thing by-assent his-own approves first for
 videri oportet, in quo sit etiam adsensus (dicunt enim
to-appear it-behooves in which there-is also assent say for
 Stoici sensus ipsos adsensus esse, quos quoniam adpetitio
the-Stoics the-senses themselves assents to-be which since the-impulse
 consequatur actionem sequi) — tolli autem omnia si
follows action to-follow to-be-removed moreover all(-things) if
 visa tollantur. hac de re in utramque partem et
appearances be-removed this about matter on each side both
 dicta sunt et scripta multa †vide superiore†, sed
said have-been and written many(-things) see in-the-earlier(-book) but

brevi res potest tota confici. ego enim etsi maximam
briefly the-matter can whole to-be-finished I for although the-greatest
 actionem puto repugnare visis obsistere opinionibus
action I-think to-resist to-appearances to-withstand opinions
 adsensus lubricos sustinere, credoque Clitomacho ita scribenti,
assents slippery to-withhold and-I-believe Clitomachus so writing
 Herculi quendam laborem exanclatum a Carneade, quod ut
of-Hercules a-certain labor toiled-through by Carneades because as
 feram et inmanem beluam sic ex animis nostris adsensionem
a-savage and monstrous beast so from minds our assent
 id est opinationem et temeritatem extraxisset, tamen,
that is opining and rashness he-had-dragged-out yet
 ut ea pars defensionis relinquatur, quid impedit
granting-that that part of-the-defense be-left what will-binder
 actionem eius qui probabilia sequitur nulla re impediende?
the-action of-him who probable(-things) follows (with)-no thing hindering
 ‘Hoc’ inquit ‘ipsum impedit, quod statuet ne id
this he-says very(-thing) will-binder that he-will-lay-down not that
 quidem quod probet posse percipi’. Iam istuc te quoque
even which he-approves to-be-able to-be-perceived now that you also
 impedit in navigando et in conserendo, in uxore ducenda
will-binder in sailing and in sowing in a-wife to-be-taken
 in liberis procreandis, plurumisque in rebus, in quibus nihil
in children to-be-begotten and-very-many in matters in which nothing
 sequere praeter probabile. Et tamen illud usitatum et saepe
you-follow besides the-probable and yet that familiar(-point) and often
 repudiatum refert, non ut Antipater, sed ut ais pressius;
rejected you-bring-back not as Antipater but as you-say more-closely
 nam Antipatrum reprehensum quod diceret consentaneum esse
for Antipater blamed because he-said consistent to-be
 ei qui adfirmaret nihil posse conprendi id ipsum saltem
for-him who affirmed nothing to-be-able to-be-grasped that very(-thing) at-least

dicere posse comprehendere. quod ipsi Antiocho pingue videbatur

to-say to-be-able to-be-grasped which himself to-Antiochus dull seemed

et sibi ipsum contrarium; non enim potest convenienter

and to-itself itself contrary not for can consistently

dici nihil comprehendere posse, si quicquam comprehendere posse

to-be-said nothing to-be-grasped to-be-able if anything to-be-grasped to-be-able

dicatur. illo modo potius putat arguendum fuisse

is-said in-that way rather be-thinks to-be-pressed to-have-been

Carneadem, cum sapientis nullum decretum esse possit

Carneades since of-a-wise-man no decree to-be can

nisi comprehensum perceptum cognitum, ut hoc ipsum

unless grasped perceived known so-that this very

decretum qui sapientis esse diceret, nihil posse percipi,

decree who of-a-wise-man to-be said nothing to-be-able to-be-perceived

fateretur esse perceptum. proinde quasi sapiens nullum

he-should-confess to-be perceived just as-if a-wise-man no

aliud decretum habeat et sine decretis vitam agere possit.

other decree has and without decrees life to-live he-can

110 sed ut illa habet probabilia non percepta, sic hoc ipsum

but as those he-holds probable not perceived so this very(-thing)

nihil posse percipi. nam si in hoc haberet cognitionis

nothing to-be-able to-be-perceived for if in this be-had of-cognition

notam, eadem uteretur in ceteris; quam quoniam non habet,

the-mark the-same he-would-use in the-rest which since not be-has

utitur probabilibus. itaque non metuit ne confundere omnia

be-uses probable(-things) and-so not be-fears lest to-confound all(-things)

videatur et incerta reddere. non enim quem ad modum si

be-seem and uncertain to-render not for which to manner if

quaesitum ex eo sit stellarum numerus par an impar

asked of him it-has-been of-the-stars the-number even or odd

sit, item si de officio multisque aliis de rebus, in quibus

is likewise if about duty and-many other about matters in which

versatus exercitatusque sit, nescire se dicat. in incertis
engaged and-practiced he-is not-to-know himself he-says in uncertain(-matters)
 enim nihil est probabile; in quibus autem est, in iis non
for nothing is probable in which moreover there-is in those not
 deerit sapienti nec quid faciat nec quid respondeat.
will-fail to-the-wise(-man) neither what he-may-do nor what he-may-answer
 Ne illam quidem praetermisisti Luculle reprehensionem
not that even you-passed-over Lucullus the-censure
 Antiochi (nec mirum, in primis enim est nobilis), qua
of-Antiochus and-not a-wonder among the-first for it-is famous by-which
 solebat dicere Antiochus Philonem maxime perturbatum.
was-wont to-say Antiochus Philo most disturbed
 cum enim sumeretur unum esse quaedam falsa visa,
when for it-was-assumed the-one to-be certain false appearances
 alterum nihil ea differre a veris, non adtendere superius
the-other nothing they to-differ from true(-ones) not to-notice the-former
 illud ea re esse concessum quod videretur esse
that on-that account to-have-been granted because there-seemed to-be
 quaedam in visis differentia, eam tolli altero
a-certain in appearances difference it to-be-removed by-the-second
 quo neget visa a falsis vera differre — nihil tam
by-which he-denies appearances from false(-ones) true to-differ nothing so
 repugnare. id ita esset, si nos verum omnino tolleremus.
to-conflict that so would-be if we the-true at-all removed
 non facimus; nam tam vera quam falsa cernimus. sed
not we-do for as true(-things) as false we-discern but
 probandi species est, percipiendi signum nullum habemus.
of-approving a-semblance there-is of-perceiving a-sign none we-have

Cicero says he is arguing too meagerly, since a Peripatetic would give him the point at once. He asks Antiochus how he can call himself an Academic while holding two things nobody in the Old Academy or among the Peripatetics ever said: that only what could not be false can be perceived, and that the wise man never opines. Neither, Cicero notes, was strongly defended before Zeno — though he says he holds both to be true.

- 112 Ac mihi videor nimis etiam nunc agere ieune. cum sit
and to-myself I-seem too even now to-plead meagerly when there-is
 enim campus in quo exultare possit oratio, cur eam tantas
for a-field in which to-range can speech why it such
 in angustias et Stoicorum dumeta compellimus? Si enim
into narrows and of-the-Stoics the-thickets do-we-drive if for
 mihi cum Peripatetico res esset, qui id percipi posse
to-me with a-Peripatetic the-business were who that to-be-perceived to-be-able
 diceret quod inpressum esset e vero, neque adhaerere illam
said which impressed was from the-true and-not to-cling that
 magnam accessionem 'quo modo inprimi non posset a
great addition in-what way to-be-impressed not it-could by
 falso', cum simplici homine simpliciter agerem nec magno
the-false with a-plain man plainly I-should-deal nor with-great
 opere contenderem atque etiam si, cum ego nihil dicerem
effort I-should-contend and even if when I nothing said
 posse conprendi, diceret ille sapientem interdum opinari,
to-be-able to-be-grasped said he the-wise(-man) sometimes to-opine
 non repugnarem, praesertim ne Carneade quidem huic loco
not I-should-object especially not Carneades even to-this point
 valde repugnante. Nunc quid facere possum? quaero enim
strongly objecting now what to-do can-I I-ask for
 quid sit quod conprendi possit.
what it-is which to-be-grasped can

respondet mihi non Aristoteles aut Theophrastus, ne
answers me not Aristotle or Theophrastus not
 Xenocrates quidem aut Polemo, sed hi minores, tale verum
Xenocrates even or Polemo but these lesser(-men) such a-true(-one)
 quale falsum esse non possit. nihil eius modi invenio:
such-as a-false(-one) to-be not can nothing of-that sort I-find
 itaque incognito nimirum adsentiar id est opinabor. hoc
and-so to-the-unknown doubtless I-shall-assent that is I-shall-opine this
 mihi et Peripatetici et vetus Academia concedit, vos negatis,
to-me both the-Peripatetics and the-old Academy grants you deny
 Antiochus in primis. qui me valde movet, vel quod amavi
Antiochus among the-first who me greatly moves either because I-loved
 hominem sicut ille me, vel quod ita iudico, politissimum et
the-man just-as he me or because so I-judge the-most-polished and
 acutissimum omnium nostrae memoriae philosophorum. A
the-most-acute of-all of-our memory philosophers from
 quo primum quaero, quo tandem modo sit eius Academiae
whom first I-ask in-what pray way he-is of-that Academy
 cuius esse se profiteatur. ut omittam alia, haec duo
of-which to-be himself he-professes that I-may-omit other(-things) these two
 de quibus agitur quis umquam dixit aut veteris Academiae
about which is-at-issue who ever said either of-the-old Academy
 aut Peripateticorum, vel id solum percipi posse quod
or of-the-Peripatetics either that alone to-be-perceived to-be-able which
 esset verum tale quale falsum esse non posset, vel sapientem
was true such such-as a-false(-one) to-be not could or the-wise(-man)
 nihil opinari: certo nemo. horum neutrum ante Zenonem
nothing to-opine certainly no-one of-these neither before Zeno
 magno opere defensum est; ego tamen utrumque verum
with-great effort defended has-been I however each true
 puto, nec dico temporis causa, sed ita plane probro.
think and-not I-say of-the-moment for-the-sake but so plainly I-approve

Cicero cannot bear being forbidden to assent to the unknown by a man who claims to hand over the whole system of wisdom. Wisdom is divided into three parts, and the first is nature: is anyone so puffed up as to claim he knows it? Even the geometers begin from postulates, and Cicero doubts the wise man would swear on oath that the sun is many times larger than the earth.

- 114 Illud ferre non possum: tu cum me incognito adsentiri vetes
that to-bear not can-I you when me to-the-unknown to-assent forbid
 idque turpissimum esse dicas et plenissimum temeritatis,
and-that most-shameful to-be you-say and most-full of-rashness
 tantum tibi adroges ut exponas disciplinam sapientiae,
so-much to-yourself you-claim that you-set-out the-teaching of-wisdom
 naturam rerum omnium evolvas, mores fingas, fines bonorum
the-nature of-things of-all you-unroll characters you-shape the-ends of-goods
 malorumque constituas, officia describas, quam vitam ingrediar
and-of-evils you-lay-down duties you-set-out which life I-am-to-enter
 definias, idemque etiam disputandi et intellegendi iudicium
you-define and-the-same even of-arguing and of-understanding the-judgment
 dicas te et artificium traditurum — perficies
you-say yourself and the-technique about-to-hand-down you-will-bring(-it)-about
 ut ego ista innumerabilia conplectens nusquam labar nihil
that I those innumerable(-things) embracing nowhere may-slip nothing
 opiner? quae tandem ea est disciplina ad quam me deducas
may-opine what pray that is the-teaching to which me you-may-lead
 si ab hac abstraxeris? vereor ne subadroganter facias
if from this you-shall-have-drawn(-me) I-fear lest somewhat-arrogantly you-act
 si dixeris tuam; atqui ita dicas necesse est. Neque vero
if you-shall-say your-own and-yet so you-say necessary it-is and-not truly
 tu solus, sed ad suam quisque rapiet.
you alone but to his-own each will-carry-off(-me)

age restitero Peripateticis, qui sibi cum oratoribus
come shall-I-resist the-Peripatetics who for-themselves with orators
 cognationem esse, qui claros viros a se instructos dicant
a-kinship to-be who famous men by themselves trained say
 rem publicam saepe rexisse, sustinero Epicureos, tot
the-thing public often to-have-ruled shall-I-withstand the-Epicureans so-many
 meos familiares, tam bonos tam inter se amantes viros:
my friends so good so among themselves loving men
 Diodoto quid faciam Stoico, quem a puero audiui, qui
to-Diodotus what shall-I-do the-Stoic whom from boyhood I-have-heard who
 mecum vivit tot annos, qui habitat apud me, quem et
with-me lives so-many years who dwells with me whom both
 admiror et diligo, qui ista Antiochea contemnit. 'Nostra'
I-admire and I-love who those Antiochean(-doctrines) despises ours
 inquires 'sola vera sunt'. Certe sola, si vera; plura enim
you-will-say alone true are certainly alone if true more for
 vera discrepantia esse non possunt. utrum igitur nos
true(-things) disagreeing to-be not can which(-of-two) then we
 inpudentes, qui labi nolumus, an illi adrogantes qui sibi
shameless who to-slip are-unwilling or they arrogant who to-themselves
 persuaserint scire se solos omnia? 'Non me quidem'
have-persuaded to-know themselves alone all(-things) not me indeed
 inquit 'sed sapientem dico scire.' Optime: nempe ista
he-says but the-wise(-man) I-say to-know excellent surely those(-things)
 scire quae sunt in tua disciplina. hoc primum quale
to-know which are in your teaching this first of-what-sort
 est, a non sapiente explicari sapientiam? Sed discedamus
is by a-not wise(-man) to-be-set-out wisdom but let-us-depart
 a nobismet ipsis, de sapiente loquamur, de quo ut
from us ourselves about the-wise(-man) let-us-speak about whom as
 saepe iam dixi omnis haec quaestio est.
often already I-have-said all this question is

- 116 In tres igitur partes et a plerisque et a vobismet ipsis
into three therefore parts both by most and by you yourselves
 distributa sapientia est. Primum ergo si placet quae de
divided wisdom is first then if it-pleases what(-things) about
 natura rerum sint quaesita videamus — vel, ut illud ante: estne
the-nature of-things are investigated let-us-see or as that before is-there
 quisquam tanto inflatus errore ut sibi se illa
anyone with-so-great puffed-up error that to-himself himself those(-things)
 scire persuaserit? non quaero rationes eas quae ex coniectura
to-know has-persuaded not I-ask the-reasonings those which from conjecture
 pendent, quae disputationibus huc et illuc trahuntur, nullam
hang which by-debates hither and thither are-dragged no
 adhibent persuadendi necessitatem; geometrae provideant,
they-apply of-persuading necessity let-the-geometers see-to-it
 qui se profitentur non persuadere sed cogere, et qui
who themselves profess not to-persuade but to-compel and who
 omnia vobis quae describunt probant. non quaero ex his
all(-things) to-you which they-describe prove not I-ask from these
 illa initia mathematicorum, quibus non concessis digitum
those beginnings of-mathematicians which not (being)-granted a-finger
 progredi non possunt, punctum esse quod magnitudinem
to-advance not they-can a-point to-be which magnitude
 nullam habeat, extremitatem et quasi libramentum in quo
none has an-extremity and as-it-were a-level-surface in which
 nulla omnino crassitudo sit, liniamentum longitudinem sine
no at-all thickness is a-line length without
 ulla latitudine *** carentem. haec cum vera esse
any breadth (lacuna) lacking these(-things) when true to-be
 concessero, si adigam ius iurandum sapientem, nec
I-shall-have-granted if I-force an-oath to-be-sworn the-wise(-man) and-not
 prius quam Archimedes eo inspectante rationes omnes
before than Archimedes (with)-him looking-on the-reasonings all

descripserit eas quibus efficitur multis partibus solem maiorem
 shall-have-drawn those by-which it-is-shown by-many parts the-sun greater
 esse quam terram, iuraturum putas? si fecerit,
 to-be than the-earth about-to-swear do-you-think if he-shall-have-done(-so)
 solem ipsum, quem deum censet esse, contempserit.
 the-sun itself which a-god he-judges to-be he-will-have-scorned

XXXVII · THE PHYSICISTS DISAGREE

If the wise man will not trust the geometers, whose arguments will he trust? Cicero has a man made wise on the spot and asks which account of the first elements he will choose, since he may choose only one. Then comes the list: Thales' water, Anaximander's infinite, Anaximenes' air, Anaxagoras' like particles ordered by mind, and so on to Plato and the Pythagoreans — and whichever he takes, all the other great men depart rejected and condemned.

Quod si geometricis rationibus non est crediturus, quae 117
 which if to-geometrical reasonings not he-is about-to-trust which
 vim adferunt in docendo vos ipsi ut dicitis, ne ille
 force bring in teaching you yourselves as you-say truly he
 longe aberit ut argumentis credat philosophorum —
 far will-be-away that to-the-arguments he-trust of-philosophers
 aut si est crediturus, quorum potissimum? omnia enim
 or if he-is about-to-trust of-which especially all(-things) for
 physicorum licet explicare, sed longum est; quaero
 of-the-natural-philosophers it-is-allowed to-set-out but long it-is I-ask
 tamen quem sequatur. finge aliquem nunc fieri
 however whom he-may-follow imagine someone now to-be-becoming
 sapientem, nondum esse; quam potissimum sententiam
 wise not-yet to-be which especially opinion
 eliget et disciplinam? etsi quamcumque eliget
 will-be-choose and school although whichever he-shall-choose

insipiens eligit; sed sit ingenio divino: quem unum
unwise he-will-choose but let-him-be in-talent divine which one
 e physicis potissimum probabit? nec plus uno
of the-natural-philosophers especially will-be-approve and-not more than-one
 poterit. Non persequor quaestiones infinitas; tantum de
he-will-be-able not I-pursue questions endless only about
 principiis rerum e quibus omnia constant videamus quem
the-first-elements of-things from which all consist let-us-see whom
 probet; est enim inter magnos homines summa dissensio.
he-approves there-is for among great men the-biggest disagreement
 118 Princeps Thales unus e septem, cui sex reliquos concessisse
first Thales one of the-seven to-whom six the-rest to-have-yielded
 primas ferunt, ex aqua dixit constare omnia. at hoc
first(-place) they-say from water he-said to-consist all(-things) but this
 Anaximandro populari et sodali suo non persuasit;
to-Anaximander (his)-countryman and companion his-own not he-persuaded
 is enim infinitatem naturae dixit esse e qua omnia
be for an-infinity of-nature said to-be from which all(-things)
 gignerentur. post eius auditor Anaximenes infinitum aera,
were-born afterward his hearer Anaximenes infinite air
 sed ea quae ex eo orerentur definita; gigni autem
but those(-things) which from it arose limited to-be-born moreover
 terram aquam ignem, tum ex iis omnia. Anaxagoras
earth water fire then from them all(-things) Anaxagoras
 materiam infinitam, sed ex ea particulas similes inter se
matter infinite but from it particles alike among themselves
 minutas, eas primum confusas postea in ordinem adductas
minute those first confused afterward into order brought
 mente divina. Xenophanes paulo etiam antiquior unum esse
by-a-mind divine Xenophanes a-little even earlier one to-be
 omnia, neque id esse mutabile, et id esse deum neque natum
all(-things) and-not it to-be changeable and it to-be god and-not born

umquam et sempiternum, conglobata figura. Parmenides ignem
ever and everlasting (in)-a-rounded shape Parmenides fire
 qui moveat, terram quae ab eo formetur. Leucippus plenum
which moves earth which by it is-shaped Leucippus the-full
 et inane. Democritus huic in hoc similis, uberior in ceteris.
and the-void Democritus to-him in this like fuller in the-rest
 Empedocles haec pervolgata et nota quattuor. Heraclitus
Empedocles these common and known four Heraclitus
 ignem. Melissus hoc quod esset infinitum et inmutabile et
fire Melissus this which was infinite and unchangeable and
 fuisse semper et fore. Plato ex materia in se
to-have-been always and to-be-about-to-be Plato from matter into itself
 omnia recipiente mundum factum esse censet a deo
all(-things) receiving the-world made to-have-been judges by a-god
 sempiternum. Pythagorei e numeris et mathematicorum
everlasting the-Pythagoreans from numbers and of-mathematicians
 initiis proficisci volunt omnia. Ex is eligit vester
the-beginnings to-set-out they-wish all(-things) from these will-choose your
 sapiens unum aliquem credo quem sequatur, ceteri tot
wise(-man) one someone I-suppose whom he-may-follow the-rest so-many
 viri et tanti repudiati ab eo condemnatique discedent.
men and so-great rejected by him and-condemned will-depart

XXXVIII · A MADE WORLD, OR NONE

The Stoic will hold whatever view he has approved as firmly as that it is now light: that the world is wise, that sun, moon, stars, earth, and sea are gods, that everything will one day burn. Grant all that, says Cicero — he still denies it can be grasped, since Aristotle comes pouring his golden river of speech and calls the man mad, holding that the world never arose and cannot decay. And nobody tells him why a god who made everything for our sake filled land and sea with vipers.

- 119 *quamcumque vero sententiam probaverit eam sic animo*
whichever truly opinion he-shall-have-approved it so in-mind
conprehsam habebit ut ea quae sensibus, nec magis
grasped be-will-have as those(-things) which by-the-senses and-not more
adprobabit nunc lucere quam, quoniam Stoicus est, hunc
be-will-approve now to-be-light than since a-Stoic he-is this
mundum esse sapientem, habere mentem quae et se et
world to-be wise to-have a-mind which both itself and
ipsum fabricata sit et omnia moderetur moveat regat; erit
it fashioned it-has and all(-things) governs moves rules it-will-be
ei persuasum etiam solem lunam stellas omnes terram mare
to-him persuaded also the-sun the-moon the-stars all the-earth the-sea
deos esse, quod quaedam animalis intellegentia per omnia ea
gods to-be because a-certain living intelligence through all those
permanet et transeat; fore tamen aliquando ut omnis
pervades and passes to-be-about-to-be however at-some-time that all
hic mundus ardore deflagret. sint ista vera (vides enim iam
this world by-beat burn-away let-them-be those true you-see for now
me fateri aliquid esse veri), conprendi ea tamen et percipi
me to-confess something to-be of-truth to-be-grasped those however and to-be-perceived
nego. cum enim tuus iste Stoicus sapiens syllabatim tibi
I-deny when for your that Stoic wise(-man) syllable-by-syllable to-you
ista dixerit, veniet flumen orationis aureum fundens
those(-things) shall-have-said will-come a-river of-speech golden pouring
Aristoteles qui illum desipere dicat; neque enim ortum
Aristotle who him to-be-mad says and-not for arisen
esse umquam mundum, quod nulla fuerit novo consilio
to-have ever the-world because no there-was (with)-a-new design
inito tam praeclari operis inceptio, et ita esse eum undique
entered-on so of-splendid a-work a-beginning and so to-be it on-every-side
aptum ut nulla vis tantos queat motus mutationemque
fastened that no force so-great may-be-able motions and-change

moliri, nulla senectus diuturnitate temporum existere ut
to-work no old-age by-the-length of-times to-arise so-that
 hic ornatus umquam dilapsus occidat. tibi hoc repudiare,
this order ever fallen-apart should-perish for-you this to-reject
 illud autem superius sicut caput et famam tuam defendere
that moreover the-former as (your)-life and reputation your to-defend
 necesse erit: mihi ne ut dubitem quidem relinquitur?
necessary it-will-be for-me not that I-doubt even is-left
 ut omittam levitatem temere adsentientium, quanti libertas 120
that I-may-omit the-fickleness rashly of-those-assenting at-how-much freedom
 ipsa aestimanda est non mihi necesse esse quod tibi est.
itself to-be-valued is not for-me necessary to-be what for-you is
 quaero enim cur deus, omnia nostra causa cum faceret
I-ask for why a-god all(-things) our for-the-sake when he-was-making
 (sic enim vultis), tantam vim natricum viperarumque
so for you-wish so-great a-multitude of-water-snakes and-of-vipers
 fecerit, cur mortifera tam multa ac perniciose terra marique
he-made why deadly so many and destructive on-land and-on-sea
 disperserit. negatis haec tam polite tamque subtiliter
he-scattered you-deny these(-things) so neatly and-so finely
 effici potuisse sine divina aliqua sollertia; cuius quidem
to-be-made to-have-been-able without divine some skill of-which indeed
 vos maiestatem deducitis usque ad apium formicarumque
you the-majesty bring-down right to of-bees and-of-ants
 perfectionem, ut etiam inter deos Myrmecides aliquis
the-perfection so-that even among the-gods a-Myrmecides some
 minutorum opusculorum fabricator fuisse videatur.
of-tiny little-works a-maker to-have-been seems

Strato gives god a holiday and explains the world by weights and motions, freeing god from labor and Cicero from fear. We do not even know our own bodies, and doctors cut them open to see what they cannot otherwise learn. Xenophanes puts cities on the moon, the Stoics themselves put men on the far side of the earth and call them antipodes, and Hicetas of Syracuse holds that the earth turns on its axis while the sky stands still.

- 121 Negas sine deo posse quicquam: ecce tibi e transverso
you-deny without a-god to-be-able anything behold for-you from across
- Lampsacenus Strato, qui det isti deo inmunitatem — magni
the-Lampsacene Strato who grants to-that god immunity of-a-great
- quidem muneris; sed cum sacerdotes deorum vacationem
indeed duty but since the-priests of-the-gods exemption
- habeant, quanto est aequius habere ipsos deos—: negat
have by-how-much it-is fairer to-have themselves the-gods he-denies
- opera deorum se uti ad fabricandum mundum, quaecumque
the-work of-the-gods himself to-use for to-fashion the-world whatever(-things)
- sint docet omnia effecta esse natura, nec ut ille
are he-teaches all produced to-have-been by-nature and-not as that(-man)
- qui asperis et levibus et hamatis uncinatisque corporibus
who by-rough and smooth and hooked and-barbed bodies
- concreta haec esse dicat interiecto inani: somnia censet
congealed these(-things) to-be says (with)-interposed void dreams he-judges
- haec esse Democriti non docentis sed optantis, ipse autem
these to-be of-Democritus not teaching but wishing himself moreover
- singulas mundi partes persequens quidquid aut sit aut fiat
single of-the-world parts pursuing whatever either is or becomes
- naturalibus fieri aut factum esse docet ponderibus
by-natural to-happen or done to-have-been he-teaches by-weights
- et motibus. ne ille et deum opere magno liberat et
and motions truly he both god from-labor great frees and

me timore. quis enim potest, cum existimet curari se
me from-fear who for can when he-thinks to-be-cared-for himself
 a deo, non et dies et noctes divinum numen horrere
by a-god not both days and nights the-divine power to-dread
 et si quid adversi acciderit, quod cui non accidit,
and if anything of-adverse shall-have-happened which to-whom not happens
 extimescere ne id iure evenierit? nec Stratoni tamen adsentior
to-fear lest it rightly came-about and-not to-Strato however I-assent
 nec vero tibi; modo hoc modo illud probabilius videtur.
nor truly to-you now this now that more-probable seems
 Latent ista omnia Luculle crassis occultata et 122
they-lie-bidden those(-things) all Lucullus by-thick concealed and
 circumfusa tenebris, ut nulla acies humani ingenii tanta
surrounded darkness so-that no sharpness of-human intellect so-great
 sit, quae penetrare in caelum, terram intrare possit. Corpora
is which to-penetrate into heaven the-earth to-enter can bodies
 nostra non novimus, qui sint situs partium, quam vim
our not we-know what are the-positions of-the-parts what force
 quaeque pars habeat ignoramus; itaque medici ipsi, quorum
each part has we-are-ignorant and-so doctors themselves whose
 intererat ea nosse, aperuerunt ut viderentur, nec
it-concerned those(-things) to-know have-opened(-them) that they-might-be-seen and-not
 eo tamen aiunt empirici notiora esse illa, quia possit
by-that however say the-empirics better-known to-be those because it-can
 fieri ut patefacta et detecta mutantur. sed ecquid
to-happen that laid-open and uncovered they-change but whether-at-all
 nos eodem modo rerum naturas persequere aperire dividere
we in-the-same way of-things the-natures to-cut-through to-open to-divide
 possumus, ut videamus terra penitusne defixa sit et
can-we that we-may-see the-earth whether-deeply fixed is and
 quasi radicibus suis haereat an media pendeat.
as-it-were by-roots its-own clings or in-the-middle hangs

- 123 **Habitari** ait Xenophanes in luna, eamque esse terram
to-be-inhabited says Xenophanes in the-moon and-it to-be a-land
multarum urbium et montium: portenta videntur; sed tamen
of-many cities and of-mountains monstrosities they-seem but yet
nec ille qui dixit iurare posset ita se rem habere, neque
and-not he who said(-it) to-swear could so itself the-matter to-bold nor
ego non ita. Vos etiam dicitis esse e regione nobis, e
(could)-I not so you also say to-be from the-region to-us from
contraria parte terrae qui adversis vestigiis stent contra nostra
the-opposite side of-the-earth who with-opposed footsteps stand against our
vestigia, quos ἀντίποδας vocatis: cur mihi magis suscensetis qui
footsteps whom antipodes you-call why at-me more are-you-angry who
ista non aspernor quam is qui cum audiunt desipere
those(-things) not do-I-spurn than at-those who when they-hear to-be-mad
vos arbitrantur? Hicetas Syracosius, ut ait Theophrastus,
you think Hicetas of-Syracuse as says Theophrastus
caelum solem lunam stellas supera denique omnia stare
the-sky the-sun the-moon the-stars the-things-above in-short all to-stand
censet, neque praeter terram rem ullam in mundo moveri;
judges and-not besides the-earth thing any in the-world to-move
quae cum circum axem se summa celeritate convertat et
which since around the-axis itself with-the-highest speed turns and
torqueat, eadem effici omnia quasi stante terra
twists the-same(-things) to-be-produced all as-if (with)-standing the-earth
caelum moveretur. atque hoc etiam Platonem in Timaeo
the-sky were-moving and this also Plato in the-Timaeus
dicere quidam arbitrantur, sed paulo obscurius. Quid tu
to-say some think but a-little more-obscurely what you
Epicure, loquere: putas solem esse tantulum? ‘Egone? nobis
Epicurus speak do-you-think the-sun to-be so-tiny I to-us
quidem * tantum’. Et vos ab illo inridemini et ipsi**
indeed (lacuna) so-great and you by him are-laughed-at and yourselves

illum vicissim eluditis. liber igitur a tali inrisione Socrates,
him in-turn you-mock free therefore from such mockery Socrates
 liber Aristo Chius qui nihil istorum sciri putat posse.
free Aristo of-Chios who nothing of-those(-things) to-be-known thinks to-be-able

XL • WHAT IS THE MIND?

Is the mind fire, breath, blood, or a number without a body? Is it in three parts or one, mortal or eternal? Much is said on each side, and to Cicero's wise man nothing here stands out as even the most probable, the reasons weighing equally. If Cicero had to choose an author he would take Democritus — and would then be shouted down for holding void, atoms, and innumerable worlds, and told it is better to think nothing than such things.

Sed redeo ad animum et corpus. satisne tandem ea
but I-return to the-mind and the-body whether-enough pray those(-things)
 nota sunt nobis, quae nervorum natura sit quae venarum?
known are to-us what of-sineus the-nature is what of-veins
 tenemusne quid sit animus ubi sit, denique sitne an ut
do-we-bold what is the-mind where it-is finally whether-it-is or as
 Dicaearcho visum est ne sit quidem ullus; si est, trisne
to-Dicaearchus seemed it-has not is even any if it-is whether-three
 partes habeat ut Platoni placuit, rationis irae cupiditatis,
parts it-has as to-Plato it-pleased of-reason of-anger of-desire
 an simplex unusque sit; si simplex, utrum sit ignis an
or simple and-one it-is if simple whether it-is fire or
 anima an sanguis an ut Xenocrates numerus nullo corpore,
breath or blood or as Xenocrates a-number with-no body
 quod intellegi quale sit vix potest; et quidquid est,
which to-be-understood of-what-sort it-is scarcely can and whatever it-is
 mortale sit an aeternum, nam utramque in partem multa
mortal is-it or eternal for each on side many(-things)

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dicuntur. horum aliquid vestro sapienti certum videtur,
are-said of-these anything to-your wise(-man) certain seems
 nostro ne quid maxime quidem probabile sit occurrit; ita
to-ours not anything most even probable is occurs so
 sunt in plerisque contrariarum rationum paria momenta.
there-are in most(-matters) of-contrary reasonings equal weights

125 Sin agis verecundius et me accusas non quod tuis rationibus
but-if you-act more-modestly and me you-accuse not because to-your reasonings
 non adsentiar sed quod nullis, vincam animum cuique
not I-assent but because to-none I-shall-conquer (my)-mind and-to-whom
 adsentiar deligam — quem potissimum, quem? Democritum;
I-should-assent I-shall-choose whom especially whom Democritus
 semper enim ut scitis studiosus nobilitatis fui. urgebor
always for as you-know fond of-nobility I-have-been I-shall-be-pressed
 iam omnium vestrum convicio: 'tunc aut inane quicquam
now of-all of-you by-the-outcry you either void anything
 putes esse, cum ita completa et conferta sint omnia, ut
would-you-think to-be when so filled and packed are all(-things) that
 et quod movebitur corpus *** corporum cedat et qua
both what shall-be-moved body (lacuna) of-bodies may-yield and where
 quidque cesserit aliud ilico subsequatur, aut atomos ulla,
each-thing shall-have-yielded another at-once may-follow or atoms any
 e quibus quidquid efficiatur illarum sit dissimillimum, aut
from which whatever is-produced of-them is most-unlike or
 sine aliqua mente rem ullam effici posse praeclaram; et,
without some mind thing any to-be-made to-be-able splendid and
 cum in uno mundo ornatus hic tam sit mirabilis, innumerabilis
when in one world order this so is wonderful innumerable
 supra infra dextra sinistra ante post alios dissimiles alios
above below right left before behind some unlike others
 eiusdem modi mundos esse; et ut nos nunc simus ad Baulos
of-the-same sort worlds to-be and as we now are at Bauli

Puteolosque videamus sic innumerabiles paribus in locis esse
and-Puteoli we-see so innumerable(-ones) equal in places to-be
 isdem nominibus honoribus rebus gestis ingeniis formis
with-the-same names honors deeds done talents shapes
 aetatibus isdem de rebus disputantes; et, si nunc aut si etiam
ages the-same about matters arguing and if now or if even
 dormientes aliquid animo videre videamur, imagines extrinsecus
sleeping something in-mind to-see we-seem images from-outside
 in animos nostros per corpus inrumpere. tu vero ista
into minds our through the-body to-burst you truly those(-things)
 ne asciveris neve fueris commenticiis rebus adsensus; nihil
not adopt and-not be to-fictitious things having-assented nothing
 sentire est melius quam tam prava sentire.
to-think is better than so perverse(-things) to-think

XLI • THE PLEASURE OF INQUIRY

Lucullus asks Cicero not merely to approve something but to approve his own doctrines, which seem to Cicero not even probable; Cicero asks only to be allowed not to know. He rejects divination and fate, and he finds the Stoics themselves at odds, since Zeno's chief god is the aether and Cleanthes' is the sun. He does not want these questions banished: the study of nature is the mind's natural food, and finding something that looks like the truth fills it with the most human pleasure.

Non ergo id agitur ut aliquid adsensu meo comprobem, sed 126
not then that is-at-issue that something by-assent my I-should-approve but
 ut eadem quae tu vide ne inpudenter etiam postules
that the-same(-things) which you see lest shamelessly even you-demand
 non solum adroganter, praesertim cum ista tua mihi
not only arrogantly especially since those your(-doctrines) to-me
 ne probabilia quidem videantur. nec enim divinationem
not probable even seem and-not for divination

quam probatis ullam esse arbitror, fatumque illud esse quo
which you-approve any to-be I-think and-fate that to-be by-which
 omnia contineri dicitis contemno; ne exaedificatum quidem
all(-things) to-be-held you-say I-despise not built-up even
 hunc mundum divino consilio existimo. Atque haud scio
this world by-divine design I-judge and hardly I-know
 an ita sit; sed cur rapior in invidiam? licetne per
whether so it-is but why am-I-hurried into odium is-it-allowed through
 vos nescire quod nescio, an Stoicis ipsis inter se
you not-to-know what I-do-not-know or for-the-Stoics themselves among themselves
 disceptare, cum is non licebit? Zenoni et reliquis
to-dispute with them not will-it-be-allowed to-Zeno and the-rest
 fere Stoicis aether videtur summus deus, mente praeditus
mostly the-Stoics the-aether seems the-highest god with-a-mind endowed
 qua omnia regantur; Cleanthes, qui quasi maiorum est
by-which all(-things) are-ruled Cleanthes who as-it-were of-the-greater is
 gentium Stoicus, Zenonis auditor, solem dominari et rerum
clans a-Stoic of-Zeno a-bearer the-sun to-rule and of-things
 potiri putat: ita cogimur dissensione sapientium
to-take-possession thinks so we-are-forced by-the-disagreement of-the-wise
 dominum nostrum ignorare, quippe qui nesciamus soli
the-master our not-to-know inasmuch as we-do-not-know to-the-sun
 an aetheri serviamus. Solis autem magnitudinem (ipse
or to-the-aether we-are-slaves of-the-sun moreover the-size himself
 enim hic radiatus me intueri videtur admonens ut crebro
for this radiant(-one) me to-look-at seems warning that often
 faciam mentionem sui) — vos ergo huius magnitudinem
I-make mention of-him you then of-this the-size
 quasi decempeda permensi refertis; ego me, quasi
as-if with-a-ten-foot-rod having-measured you-report I myself as-it-were

malis architectis, mensurae vestrae nego credere: dubium

to-bad architects of-the-measurement your I-deny to-trust doubtful

est uter nostrum sit, leviter ut dicam, verecundior?

it-is which(-of-two) of-us is lightly that I-may-say more-modest

Nec tamen istas quaestiones physicorum exterminandas 127

and-not however those questions of-the-natural-philosophers to-be-banished

puto. est enim animorum ingeniorumque naturale quoddam

I-think there-is for of-minds and-of-talents a-natural a-certain

quasi pabulum consideratio contemplatioque naturae:

as-it-were food the-study and-contemplation of-nature

erigimur, altiores fieri videmur, humana despiciamus

we-are-lifted-up loftier to-become we-seem human(-things) we-look-down-on

cogitantesque supera atque caelestia haec nostra ut

and-thinking-on the-things-above and heavenly these our(-things) as

exigua et minima contemnimus. indagatio ipsa rerum cum

scanty and least we-despise the-search itself of-things both

maximarum tum etiam occultissimarum habet oblectationem;

of-the-greatest and also of-the-most-bidden has a-delight

si vero aliquid occurrit quod veri simile videatur,

if truly something occurs which of-truth like seems

humanissima completur animus voluptate. quaeret igitur

with-the-most-human is-filled the-mind pleasure will-inquire-into therefore

haec et vester sapiens et hic noster.

these both your wise(-man) and this our(-one)

sed vester ut adsentiat credat adfirmet, noster ut 128

but yours so-that he-assent believe affirm ours so-that

vereatur temere opinari praeclareque agi secum putet

he-fear rashly to-opine and-splendidly to-be-dealt with-him he-think

si in eius modi rebus veri simile quod sit invenerit.

if in of-that sort matters of-truth like what is he-shall-have-found

Cicero turns to good and evil, noting first that men who affirm the physicists' claims lose the authority of the clearer things: nobody can measure the sun, and one grasping is like another. The ends of good and evil must be settled, and here the greatest men disagree most. He passes over Herillus, the Megarians, and the Eretrians as schools already abandoned, and, though less to be scorned, Aristo, whose good is to be moved to neither side, and Pyrrho, whose wise man does not feel at all.

Veniamus nunc ad bonorum malorumque notionem; et
 let-us-come now to of-goods and-of-evils the-notion and
 paulum ante dicendum est. Non mihi videntur considerare
 a-little before to-be-said it-is not to-me they-seem to-consider
 cum physici ista valde adfirmant earum etiam
 when the-natural-philosophers those(-things) strongly they-affirm of-those also
 rerum auctoritatem si quae inlustriores videantur amittere. non
 matters the-authority if any clearer seem to-lose not
 enim magis adsentiantur nec adprobant lucere nunc quam
 for more they-assent and-not approve to-be-light now than
 cum cornix cecinerit tum aliquid eam aut iubere aut vetare,
 when a-crow has-croaked then something it either to-bid or to-forbid
 nec magis adfirmabunt signum illud si erunt mensi
 and-not more they-will-affirm statue that if they-shall-have measured
 sex pedum esse, quam solem, quem metiri non possunt,
 of-six feet to-be than the-sun which to-measure not they-can
 plus quam duodeviginti partibus maiorem esse quam terram.
 more than by-eighteen parts greater to-be than the-earth
 ex quo illa conclusio nascitur: 'si sol quantus sit percipi
 from which that conclusion arises if the-sun how-great is to-be-perceived
 non potest; qui ceteras res eodem modo quo magnitudinem
 not can who the-other things in-the-same way as the-size
 solis adprobat is eas res non percipit; magnitudo autem
 of-the-sun approves he those things not perceives the-size moreover

solis percipi non potest; qui igitur id adprobat quasi
of-the-sun to-be-perceived not can who then that approves as-if
 percipiat, nullam rem percipit'. respondebunt posse percipi
be-perceived no thing perceives they-will-ansuer to-be-able to-be-perceived
 quantus sol sit: non repugnabo, dum modo eodem
how-great the-sun is not I-shall-object provided only in-the-same
 pacto cetera percipi comprehendique dicant. nec enim
manner the-rest to-be-perceived and-to-be-grasped they-say and-not for
 possunt dicere aliud alio magis minusve comprehendī,
they-can to-say one(-thing) than-another more or-less to-be-grasped
 quoniam omnium rerum una est definitio comprehendendi.
since of-all things one is the-definition of-grasping

Sed quod coeperam: quid habemus in rebus bonis et malis 129
but what I-had-begun what do-we-have in matters good and bad
 explorati? nempe fines constituendi sunt ad quos et bonorum
ascertained surely ends to-be-established are to which both of-goods
 et malorum summa referatur. qua de re est igitur inter
and of-evils the-sum be-referred which about matter there-is then among
 summos viros maior dissensio? Et omitto illa quae relictā iam
the-highest men the-greater disagreement and I-omit those which abandoned now
 videntur, Erillum qui in cognitione et scientia summum bonum
seem Herillus who in cognition and knowledge the-highest good
 ponit; qui cum Zenonis auditor esset vides quantum ab eo
places who although of-Zeno a-hearer he-was you-see how-much from him
 dissenserit et quam non multum a Platone. Megaricorum
he-differed and how not much from Plato of-the-Megarians
 fuit nobilis disciplina, cuius ut scriptum video princeps
there-was a-notable school of-which as written I-see the-founder
 Xenophanes quem modo nominavi, deinde eum secuti
Xenophanes whom just-now I-named then him having-followed
 Parmenides et Zeno (***) itaque ab is Eleatici philosophi
Parmenides and Zeno (lacuna) and-so from these Eleatic philosophers

nominabantur), post Euclides Socratis discipulus Megareus,
they-were-named afterward Euclides of-Socrates a-pupil of-Megara
 a quo idem illi Megarici dicti, qui id bonum solum esse
from whom the-same those Megarians called who that good alone to-be
 dicebant quod esset unum et simile et idem semper; hi
said which was one and like and the-same always these
 quoque multa a Platone. a Menedemo autem, quod
also many(-things) from Plato from Menedemus moreover because
 is Eretria fuit, Eretriaci appellati, quorum omne bonum in
he of-Eretria was Eretrians called of-whom all good in
 mente positum et mentis acie qua verum cerneretur,
mind placed and of-mind (in)-the-keenness by-which the-true was-discerned
 Erilli similia, sed opinor explicata uberius et ornatius.
Herillus' like but I-suppose set-out more-fully and more-ornately
 130 Hos si contemnimus et iam abiectos putamus, illos certe minus
these if we-despise and now cast-off we-think those surely less
 despicere debemus: Aristonem, qui cum Zenonis fuisset
to-look-down-on we-ought Aristo who although of-Zeno he-had-been
 auditor re probavit ea quae ille verbis, nihil esse bonum
a-bearer in-fact approved those(-things) which he in-words nothing to-be good
 nisi virtutem nec malum nisi quod virtuti esset contrarium;
except virtue nor bad except what to-virtue was contrary
 in mediis ea momenta quae Zeno voluit nulla esse
among the-middle(-things) those weights which Zeno wished none to-be
 censuit. huic summum bonum est in is rebus neutram in
he-judged to-him the-highest good is in those matters neither to
 partem moveri, quae ἀδιαφορία ab ipso dicitur. Pyrrho autem
side to-be-moved which indifference by himself is-called Pyrrho moreover
 ea ne sentire quidem sapientem, quae ἀπάθεια
those(-things) not to-feel even the-wise(-man) which freedom-from-feeling

nominatur. Has igitur tot sententias ut omittamus,
is-named these therefore so-many opinions that we-may-pass-over
 haec videamus, quae nunc diu multumque defensa sunt.
these(-things) let-us-see which now long and-much defended have-been

XLIII • WHOM SHALL I FOLLOW?

Aristippus made pleasure the end, Callipho pleasure together with honor, Hieronymus freedom from trouble, and the Old Academy an honorable life enjoying the first gifts of nature. Zeno set down living honorably, drawn from nature's own commendation, as the end of goods. Cicero asks whom he is to follow, but a Stoic and an Old Academic cannot both be wise, since they dispute the whole estate, not its boundaries, and with the arguments equal he withholds assent.

Alii voluptatem finem esse voluerunt, quorum princeps 131
others pleasure the-end to-be have-wished of-whom the-chief
 Aristippus, qui Socratem audierat, unde Cyrenaici, post
Aristippus who Socrates had-heard whence the-Cyrenaics afterward
 Epicurus, cuius est disciplina nunc notior nec tamen cum
Epicurus whose is teaching now better-known and-not however with
 Cyrenaicis de ipsa voluptate consentiens. voluptatem autem
the-Cyrenaics about itself pleasure agreeing pleasure moreover
 et honestatem finis esse Callipho censuit, vacare omni
and honor the-ends to-be Callipho judged to-be-free from-all
 molestia Hieronymus, hoc idem cum honestate Diodorus,
trouble Hieronymus this same(-thing) with honor Diodorus
 ambo hi Peripatetici. honeste autem vivere fruentem rebus
both these Peripatetics honorably moreover to-live enjoying things
 is quas primas homini natura conciliet et vetus Academia
those which first to-a-man nature commends both the-old Academy
 censuit, ut indicant scripta Polemonis quem Antiochus probat
judged as show the-writings of-Polemo whom Antiochus approves

maxime, et Aristoteles eiusque amici huc proxime videntur
most and Aristotle and-his friends to-this most-nearly seem
 accedere. introducebat etiam Carneades, non quo probaret sed
to-come he-was-introducing also Carneades not that he-approved but
 ut opponeret Stoicis, summum bonum esse frui rebus
that he-might-oppose to-the-Stoics the-highest good to-be to-enjoy things
 is quas primas natura conciliavisset. honeste autem vivere,
those which first nature had-commended honorably moreover to-live
 quod ducatur a conciliatione naturae, Zeno statuit finem
which is-drawn from the-commendation of-nature Zeno laid-down the-end
 esse bonorum, qui inventor et princeps Stoicorum fuit.

132 iam illud perspicuum est, omnibus is finibus bonorum
now that perspicuous is to-all those ends of-goods
 quos exposui malorum fines esse contrarios. Ad vos
which I-have-set-out of-evils the-ends to-be contrary to you
 nunc refero quem sequar; modo ne quis illud tam
now I-refer whom I-am-to-follow only lest anyone that so
 ineruditum absurdumque respondeat 'quemlibet, modo
uneducated and-absurd answer whomever-you-please only
 aliquem': nihil potest dici inconsideratius. Cupio sequi
someone nothing can to-be-said more-thoughtless I-desire to-follow
 Stoicos. licetne — omitto per Aristotelem, meo iudicio
the-Stoics is-it-allowed I-pass-over through Aristotle in-my judgment
 in philosophia prope singularem — per ipsum Antiochum,
in philosophy almost unique through himself Antiochus
 qui appellabatur Academicus, erat quidem si perpauca
who was-called an-Academic he-was indeed if very-few(-things)
 mutavisset germanissimus Stoicus. erit igitur res iam in
he-had-changed a-most-genuine Stoic it-will-be then the-matter now in
 discrimine; nam aut Stoicus constituatur sapiens aut veteris
crisis for either a-Stoic let-be-established the-wise(-man) or of-the-old

Academiae — utrumque non potest; est enim inter eos
Academy both not can there-is for between them
 non de terminis sed de tota possessione contentio; nam
not about boundaries but about the-whole estate a-dispute for
 omnis ratio vitae definitione summi boni continetur, de
all the-method of-life by-the-definition of-the-highest good is-held about
 qua qui dissident de omni vitae ratione dissident; non
which those-who disagree about all of-life the-method disagree not
 potest igitur uterque esse sapiens, quoniam tanto opere
can therefore each to-be wise since with-so-great effort
 dissentiunt, sed alter—: si Polemoneus, peccat Stoicus rei
they-disagree but the-one if a-Polemonian errs the-Stoic to-a-thing
 falsae adsentiens (vos quidem nihil esse dicitis a sapiente
false assenting you indeed nothing to-be say from a-wise-man
 tam alienum); sin vera sunt Zenonis, eadem in
so foreign but-if true are of-Zeno the-same(-things) against
 veteres Academicos Peripateticosque dicenda. hic igitur neutri
the-old Academics and-Peripatetics to-be-said he therefore to-neither
 adsentiens *** si numquam, uter est prudentior?
assenting (lacuna) if never which(-of-the-two) is more-prudent
 Quid cum ipse Antiochus dissentit quibusdam in rebus ab
what when himself Antiochus disagrees certain in matters from
 his quos amat Stoicis, nonne indicat non posse illa
those whom he-loves the-Stoics surely does-he-show not to-be-able those(-things)
 probanda esse sapienti? Placet Stoicis omnia peccata esse
to-be-approved to-be by-a-wise-man it-pleases the-Stoics all faults to-be
 paria; at hoc Antiocho vehementissime displicet. liceat
equal but this to-Antiochus most-strongly displeases let-it-be-allowed
 tandem mihi considerare utram sententiam sequar.
at-last to-me to-consider which(-of-two) opinion I-am-to-follow
 ‘Praecide’ inquit, ‘statue aliquando quidlibet.’ Quid quae
cut-it-short he-says decide at-some-time whatever-you-please what which

dicuntur quom et acuta mihi videntur in utramque partem
are-said when both acute to-me seem on each side
 et paria, nonne caveam ne scelus faciam? scelus enim
and equal surely should-I-beware lest a-crime I-commit a-crime for
 dicebas esse Luculle dogma prodere; contineo igitur me, ne
you-were-saying to-be Lucullus a-doctrine to-betray I-restrain therefore myself lest
 incognito adsentiar, quod mihi tecum est dogma commune.
to-the-unknown I-assent which to-me with-you is a-doctrine shared

XLIV • THE STOIC PARADOXES

Zeno puts the happy life in virtue alone; Antiochus grants that virtue makes a life happy, but not happiest, and Cicero is pulled between them. He doubts he can approve even what the two agree on: that the wise man never fears and never grieves, not even for a ruined fatherland. He asks when the Old Academy taught that, since it allowed a natural measure in every emotion, and cannot bear the claim that Xenocrates and Aristotle held the paradoxes making only the wise man king, rich, and free.

- 134 Ecce multo maior etiam dissensio. Zeno in una virtute positam
behold by-much greater even a-disagreement Zeno in alone virtue placed
 beatam vitam putat. quid Antiochus? 'etiam' inquit 'beatam,
happy life thinks what Antiochus yes he-says happy
 sed non beatissimam'. deus ille qui nihil censuit deesse
but not happiest a-god that(-one) who nothing judged to-be-lacking
 virtuti, homuncio hic qui multa putat praeter virtutem
to-virtue a-little-man this(-one) who many(-things) thinks besides virtue
 homini partim cara esse partim etiam necessaria. sed et ille
to-a-man partly dear to-be partly even necessary but both he
 vereor ne virtuti plus tribuat quam natura patiatur, praesertim
I-fear lest to-virtue more assigns than nature allows especially

Theophrasto multa diserte copioseque dicente, et hic
(with)-Theophrastus many(-things) eloquently and-copiously saying and this(-one)
 metuo ne vix sibi constet, qui cum dicat esse quaedam
I-fear lest scarcely with-himself he-is-consistent who although he-says to-be certain
 et corporis et fortunae mala tamen eum qui in his omnibus
both of-body and of-fortune evils yet him who in these all
 sit beatum fore censeat si sapiens sit: distrahor, tum hoc
is happy to-be-about-to-be judges if wise he-is I-am-torn now this
 mihi probabilius tum illud videtur, et tamen nisi alterutrum
to-me more-probable now that seems and yet unless one-or-the-other
 sit virtutem iacere plane puto. Verum in his discrepant.
is virtue to-lie-prostrate plainly I-think but in these they-disagree
 quid illa in quibus consentiunt num pro veris
what those(-things) in which they-agree surely-not for true(-ones)
 probare possumus, sapientis animum numquam nec cupiditate
to-approve can-we of-a-wise-man the-mind never either by-desire
 moveri nec laetitia efferri? age haec probabilia sane
to-be-moved or by-gladness to-be-carried-away come these(-things) probable granted
 sint; num etiam illa, numquam timere numquam dolere:
let-them-be surely-not also those never to-fear never to-grieve
 sapiensne non timeat ne patria deleatur, non doleat
the-wise(-man) not should-be-fear lest the-fatherland be-destroyed not should-be-grieve
 si deleta sit? durum, sed Zenoni necessarium, cui praeter
if destroyed it-has-been hard but for-Zeno necessary to-whom besides
 honestum nihil est in bonis, tibi vero Antioche minime,
the-honorable nothing is among goods for-you truly Antiochus least
 cui praeter honestatem multa bona, praeter turpitudinem
to-whom besides honor many goods besides baseness
 multa mala videntur, quae et venientia metuat sapiens
many evils seem which both coming fears the-wise(-man)
 necesse est et venisse doleat. Sed quaero quando ista
necessary it-is and to-have-come grieves but I-ask when those(-things)

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fuerint Academia vetere †dunttia, ut animum sapientis
were in-the-Academy old (corrupt) that the-mind of-a-wise-man
 commoveri et conturbari negarent: mediocritates illi probabant
to-be-stirred and to-be-troubled they-denied middle-courses they approved
 et in omni permotione naturalem volebant esse quendam
and in every emotion natural they-wished to-be a-certain
 modum. legimus omnes Crantoris veteris Academici de luctu;
measure we-have-read all of-Crantor the-old Academic about grief
 est enim non magnus verum aureolus et ut Tuberoni Panaetius
it-is for not large but golden and as to-Tubero Panaetius
 praecipit ad verbum ediscendus libellus. atque illi quidem
directs to the-word to-be-learned-by-heart a-little-book and they indeed
 etiam utiliter a natura dicebant permotiones istas animis nostris
even usefully by nature said emotions those to-minds our
 datas, metum cavendi causa, misericordiam aegritudinemque
given fear of-taking-care for-the-sake pity and-distress
 clementiae; ipsam iracundiam fortitudinis quasi cotem
of-mercy itself anger of-courage as-it-were a-whetstone
 esse dicebant — recte secusne alias viderimus;
to-be they-said rightly or-otherwise at-another-time we-shall-see
 136 atrocitas quidem ista tua quo modo in veterem Academiam
the-barshness indeed that your in-what way into the-old Academy
 inruperit nescio. Illa vero ferre non possum — non
broke-in I-know-not those(-things) truly to-bear not I-can not
 quo mihi displiceant, sunt enim Socratica pleraque mirabilia
that to-me they-displease they-are for Socratic most the-marvels
 Stoicorum, quae παράδοξα nominantur; sed ubi Xenocrates,
of-the-Stoics which paradoxes are-named but where Xenocrates
 ubi Aristoteles ista tetigit (hos enim quasi eosdem
where Aristotle those(-things) touched these for as-it-were the-same
 esse vultis): illi umquam dicerent sapientes solos reges solos
to-be you-wish those ever would-say the-wise alone kings alone

divites solos formosos; omnia quae ubique essent sapientis
rich alone handsome all(-things) which anywhere are of-a-wise-man
 esse; neminem consulem praetorem imperatorem, nescio
to-be no-one consul praetor commander I-know-not
 an ne quinquevirum quidem quemquam nisi sapientem;
whether not a-commissioner even anyone except a-wise-man
 postremo solum civem solum liberum, insipientes omnes
lastly alone a-citizen alone free the-unwise all
 peregrinos exules servos, furiosos denique; scripta Lycurgi
foreigners exiles slaves madmen in-short the-writings of-Lycurgus
 Solonis, duodecim tabulas nostras non esse leges, ne urbis
of-Solon twelve tables our not to-be laws not of-a-city
 quidem aut civitatis nisi quae essent sapientium.
even or of-a-state except which are of-the-wise

XLV · THE PRAETOR WHO WAS NOT A PRAETOR

Cicero reads in Clitomachus how the praetor Albinus joked to Carneades that he must not count as praetor, since he was not wise, and Carneades answered that it was the Stoic beside him who would say so. Then he asks what advice the school gives a man afraid of slipping into opinion, and reports Chrysippus' judgment that only three views of the highest good can be defended at all.

haec tibi Luculle, si es adsensus Antiocho familiari 137
these(-things) for-you Lucullus if you-have assented to-Antiochus friend
 tuo, tam sunt defendenda quam moenia, mihi autem
your as are to-be-defended as the-city-walls to-me moreover
 bono modo tantum quantum videbitur. Legi apud
in-a-good way only-so-much as it-shall-seem-good I-have-read in
 Clitomachum, cum Carneades et Stoicus Diogenes ad senatum
Clitomachus when Carneades and the-Stoic Diogenes to the-senate

in Capitolio starent, A. Albinum, qui tum P.

on the-Capitol were-standing Aulus Albinus who then (with)-Publius

Scipione et M. Marcello cos. praetor esset, eum qui cum

Scipio and Marcus Marcellus consuls praetor was him who with

avo tuo Luculle consul fuit, doctum sane hominem

grandfather your Lucullus consul was learned indeed a-man

ut indicat ipsius historia scripta Graece, iocantem dixisse

as shows his-own history written in-Greek joking to-have-said

Carneadi: 'ego tibi Carneade praetor esse non videor, quia

to-Carneades I to-you Carneades a-praetor to-be not do-I-seem because

sapiens non sum, nec haec urbs nec in ea civitas?'; tum ille:

wise not I-am and-not this a-city nor in it a-state then be

'huic Stoico non videris'. Aristoteles aut Xenocrates, quos

to-this(-man) the-Stoic not you-seem Aristotle or Xenocrates whom

Antiochus sequi volebat, non dubitavisset quin et praetor

Antiochus to-follow wished not would-have-doubted but-that both a-praetor

ille esset et Roma urbs et eam civitas incoletet; sed ille

he was and Rome a-city and it a-state inhabited but he

noster est plane ut supra dixi Stoicus perpauca balbutiens.

ours is plainly as above I-said a-Stoic very-few(-things) stammering

138 vos autem mihi verenti ne labar ad opinionem et aliquid

you moreover to-me fearing lest I-slip into opinion and something

adsciscam et conprobem incognitum, quod minime vultis,

I-adopt and I-approve unknown which least you-wish

quid consilii datis? Testatur saepe Chrysippus tris solas

what of-counsel do-you-give testifies often Chrysippus three alone

esse sententias quae defendi possint de finibus bonorum;

to-be opinions which to-be-defended can about the-ends of-goods

circumcidit et amputat multitudinem. aut enim honestatem

he-cuts-round and lops-off the-multitude either for honor

esse finem aut voluptatem aut utrumque. nam qui

to-be the-end or pleasure or both for those-who

summum bonum dicant id esse, si vacemus omni molestia,
the-highest good say that to-be if we-be-free from-all trouble
 eos invidiosum nomen voluptatis fugere sed in vicinitate
those the-invidious name of-pleasure to-flee but in the-neighborhood
 versari; quod facere eos etiam qui illud idem cum
to-dwell which to-do those also who that same(-thing) with
 honestate coniungerent, nec multo secus eos qui ad
honor join and-not by-much otherwise those who to
 honestatem prima naturae commoda adiungerent. ita tris
honor the-first of-nature advantages add so three
 relinquit sententias quas putet probabiliter posse defendi.
he-leaves opinions which he-thinks with-probability to-be-able to-be-defended

XLVI • PLEASURE AGAINST HONOR

One pair is left to fight it out, pleasure against honor. If pleasure is the end, fellowship, friendship, and justice fall with it, since a virtue paid for is a counterfeit; if honor, you must answer those who cannot even understand the word. Cicero says he is moved as much as anyone, and differs only in refusing to call what moves him certain. He then turns to the criterion, the third part of philosophy.

Sit sane ita — quamquam a Polemonis et
let-it-be granted so although from of-Polemo and
 Peripateticorum et Antiochi finibus non facile divellor
of-the-Peripatetics and of-Antiochus the-ends not easily I-am-torn-away
 nec quicquam habeo adhuc probabilius. verum tamen video
and-not anything I-have as-yet more-probable but still I-see
 quam suaviter voluptas sensibus nostris blandiatur; labor eo
how sweetly pleasure to-senses our flatters I-slide thither
 ut adsentiar Epicuro aut Aristippo: revocat virtus vel potius
that I-may-assent to-Epicurus or to-Aristippus calls-back virtue or rather

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reprendit manu, pecudum illos motus esse dicit, hominem
catches by-the-hand of-cattle those movements to-be it-says man

iungit deo. possum esse medius, ut, quoniam Aristippus
it-joins to-a-god I-can to-be in-the-middle so-that since Aristippus

quasi animum nullum habeamus corpus solum tuetur, Zeno
as-if a-mind no we-have the-body alone regards Zeno

quasi corporis simus expertes animum solum conplectitur,
as-if of-body we-are devoid the-mind alone embraces

ut Calliphontem sequar — cuius quidem sententiam
so-that Callipho I-may-follow whose indeed opinion

Carneades ita studiose defensitabat ut eam probare etiam
Carneades so eagerly kept-defending that it to-approve even

videretur; quamquam Clitomachus adfirmabat numquam se
he-seemed although Clitomachus used-to-affirm never himself

intellegere potuisse quid Carneadi probaretur — sed
to-understand to-have-been-able what to-Carneades was-approved but

si eum ipsum finem velim sequi, nonne ipsa severitas
if that very end I-should-wish to-follow surely itself sternness

et gravitas et recta ratio mihi obversetur: 'tune, cum
and gravity and right reason to-me would-confront you when

honestas in voluptate contemnenda consistat, honestatem
honor in pleasure to-be-despised consists honor

cum voluptate tamquam hominem cum belua copulabis?'
with pleasure as a-man with a-beast will-you-couple

140 Unum igitur par quod depugnet relicum est, voluptas cum
one therefore pair which may-fight-it-out left is pleasure with

honestate; de quo Chrysippo sunt, quantum ego sentio, non
honor about which to-Chrysippus there-are as-much-as I judge not

*** magna contentio. alteram si sequare, multa ruunt
(lacuna) great a-struggle the-one if you-follow many(-things) fall

et maxime communitas cum hominum genere, caritas amicitia
and especially fellowship with of-men the-race affection friendship

iustitia reliquae virtutes, quarum esse nulla potest nisi erit
justice the-remaining virtues of-which to-be none can unless it-shall-be
 gratuita; nam quae voluptate quasi mercede aliqua ad officium
unpaid for which by-pleasure as-if by-a-fee some to duty
 inpellitur, ea non est virtus sed fallax imitatio simulatioque
is-driven that not is virtue but a-deceitful imitation and-pretense
 virtutis. audi contra illos qui nomen honestatis a se
of-virtue hear on-the-other-side those who the-name of-honor by themselves
 ne intellegi quidem dicant (nisi forte quod gloriosum sit
not to-be-understood even say unless perhaps what glorious is
 in volgus id honestum velimus dicere), fontem omnium
among the-crowd that honorable we-should-wish to-call the-source of-all
 bonorum in corpore esse, hanc normam hanc regulam hanc
goods in the-body to-be this the-standard this the-rule this
 praescriptionem esse naturae, a qua qui aberravisset eum
the-prescription to-be of-nature from which who shall-have-strayed him
 numquam quid in vita sequeretur habiturum.
never what in life he-might-follow about-to-have

Nihil igitur me putatis, haec et alia innumerabilia cum 141
nothing then me do-you-think these(-things) and other innumerable(-things) when
 audiam, moveri? tam moveor quam tu Luculle, nec me
I-hear to-be-moved as I-am-moved as you Lucullus and-not me
 minus hominem quam te putaveris; tantum interest, quod
less a-man than you you-should-think only-so-much differs that
 tu cum es commotus adsciscis adsentiris adprobas, verum
you when you-are stirred you-adopt you-assent you-approve true
 illud certum comprehensum perceptum ratum firmum fixum
that certain grasped perceived ratified firm fixed
 fuisse vis deque eo nulla ratione neque pelli neque
to-have-been you-wish and-from it by-no reasoning either to-be-driven or
 moveri potes, ego nihil eius modi esse arbitror cui
to-be-moved you-can I nothing of-that sort to-be judge to-which

si adsensus sim non adsentiar saepe falso, quoniam
if assented I-have not I-shall-assent often to-a-false(-one) since
 vera a falsis nullo visi discrimine separantur,
true(-things) from false by-no of-appearance distinction are-separated
 praesertim cum iudicia ista dialecticae nulla sint.
especially since the-judgments those of-dialectic none are

- 142 Venio enim iam ad tertiam partem philosophiae. Aliud
I-come for now to the-third part of-philosophy one
 iudicium Protagorae est qui putet id cuique verum esse quod
judgment of-Protagoras is who thinks that to-each true to-be which
 cuique videatur, aliud Cyrenaicorum, qui praeter peremotiones
to-each appears another of-the-Cyrenaics who besides the-emotions
 intumas nihil putant esse iudicii, aliud Epicuri qui omne
inmost nothing think to-be of-judgment another of-Epicurus who all
 iudicium in sensibus et in rerum notitiis et in voluptate
judgment in the-senses and in of-things the-notions and in pleasure
 constituit; Plato autem omne iudicium veritatis veritatemque
placed Plato moreover all judgment of-truth and-truth
 ipsam abductam ab opinionibus et a sensibus cogitationis
itself drawn-away from opinions and from the-senses of-thought
 ipsius et mentis esse voluit.
itself and of-mind to-be wished

XLVII • ZENO'S HAND

Antiochus deserts Xenocrates and Aristotle for Chrysippus, and the dialecticians disagree even about a simple conditional. Cicero recalls Zeno's gesture: an open hand for an appearance, the fingers bent for assent, a closed fist for the grasp, and the other hand pressing it tight for knowledge, which belongs to the wise man alone. But nobody will say who the wise man is, so on their own account Zeuxis and Phidias had no art, and Cicero turns their argument from the crafts back on them.

num quid horum probat noster Antiochus? ille vero ne 143
surely-not anything of-these approves our Antiochus he truly not
 maiorum quidem suorum. ubi enim Xenocraten sequitur,
of-(his)-elders even his-own where for Xenocrates does-he-follow
 cuius libri sunt de ratione loquendi multi et multum
whose books there-are about the-method of-speaking many and much
 probati, aut ipsum Aristotelem, quo profecto nihil est
approved or himself Aristotle than-whom surely nothing is
 acutius nihil politius; a Chrysippo pedem nusquam. Qui
keener nothing more-polished from Chrysippus a-foot nowhere why
 ergo Academici appellamur (an abutimur gloria nominis?) aut
then Academics are-we-called or do-we-misuse the-glory of-the-name or
 cur cogimur eos sequi qui inter se dissident? In hoc
why are-we-forced those to-follow who among themselves disagree in this
 ipso quod in elementis dialectici docent, quo modo
very(-thing) which in the-elements the-dialecticians teach in-what way
 iudicare oporteat verum falsumne sit si quid ita conexum
to-judge it-behooves true or-false it-is if anything so connected
 est ut hoc 'si dies est lucet', quanta contentio est: aliter
is as this if day it-is it-is-light how-great a-dispute there-is otherwise
 Diodoro, aliter Philoni, Chrysippo aliter placet. Quid cum
to-Diodorus otherwise to-Philo to-Chrysippus otherwise it-seems-good what with
 Cleanthe doctore suo quam multis rebus Chrysippus dissidet;
Cleanthes teacher his-own how in-many matters Chrysippus disagrees
 quid duo vel principes dialecticorum Antipater et Archidemus
what two even chiefs of-the-dialecticians Antipater and Archidemus
 spinosissimi homines nonne multis in rebus dissentiunt?
most-thorny men surely many in matters do-they-disagree
 Quid me igitur Luculle in invidiam et tamquam in 144
why me then Lucullus into odium and as-it-were into
 contionem vocas, et quidem ut seditiosi tribuni solent
an-assembly do-you-call and indeed as seditious tribunes are-wont

occludi tabernas iubes? quo enim spectat illud cum artificia
to-be-shut the-shops you-bid whither for does-it-look that when the-crafts
 tolli quereris a nobis nisi ut opifices concitentur; qui
to-be-abolished you-complain by us except that the-workmen be-stirred-up who
 si undique omnes convenerint facile contra vos incitabuntur.
if from-every-side all shall-have-gathered easily against you will-be-roused
 Expromam primum illa invidiosa, quod eos omnes qui in
I-shall-bring-out first those invidious(-points) that them all who in
 contione stabunt exules servos insanos esse dicatis. deinde
the-assembly will-stand exiles slaves mad to-be you-say then
 ad illa veniam, quae iam non ad multitudinem sed ad
to those I-shall-come which now not to the-crowd but to
 vosmet ipsos qui adestis pertinent. negat enim vos Zeno,
you yourselves who are-present pertain denies for you Zeno
 negat Antiochus scire quicquam. 'Quo modo?' inquires; 'nos
denies Antiochus to-know anything in-what way you-will-say we
 enim defendimus etiam insipientem multa comprehendere'.
for maintain even an-unwise(-man) many(-things) to-grasp

145 At scire negatis quemquam rem ullam nisi sapientem. et hoc
but to-know you-deny anyone thing any except a-wise-man and this
 quidem Zeno gestu conficiebat. nam cum extensis
indeed Zeno by-a-gesture used-to-demonstrate for when (with)-outstretched
 digitis adversam manum ostenderat, 'visum' inquiebat 'huius
fingers turned-forward (his)-hand be-had-shown an-appearance be-would-say of-this
 modi est'; dein cum paulum digitos contraxerat, 'adsensus huius
sort is then when a-little the-fingers be-had-drawn-in assent of-this
 modi'; tum cum plane conpresserat pugnumque fecerat,
sort then when fully be-had-closed(-them) and-a-fist be-had-made
 conpressionem illam esse dicebat, qua ex similitudine etiam
a-grasping that to-be he-would-say which from the-likeness also
 nomen ei rei, quod ante non fuerat, κατάληψιν imposuit;
a-name to-that thing which before not had-been a-grasping he-imposed

cum autem laevam manum admoverat et illum pugnum
when moreover (his)-left hand he-had-brought-up and that fist
 arte vehementerque conpresserat, scientiam talem esse dicebat,
tightly and-strongly he-had-squeezed knowledge such to-be he-would-say
 cuius compotem nisi sapientem esse neminem. sed qui sapiens
of-which master except a-wise-man to-be no-one but who wise
 sit aut fuerit ne ipsi quidem solent dicere. ita tu nunc
is or has-been not themselves even are-wont to-say so you now
 Catule lucere nescis, nec tu Hortensi in tua villa nos esse.
Catulus to-be-light do-not-know and-not you Hortensius in your villa us to-be
 num minus haec invidiose dicuntur? nec tamen nimis 146
surely-not less these(-things) invidiously are-said and-not however too
 eleganter; illa subtilius. Sed quo modo tu si conprendi nihil
elegantly those more-subtly but in-what way you if to-be-grasped nothing
 posset artificia concidere dicebas nec mihi dabas id
could the-crafts to-collapse were-saying and-not to-me you-were-granting that
 quod probabile esset satis magnam vim habere ad artes,
which probable was sufficiently great force to-have for the-arts
 sic ego nunc tibi refero artem sine scientia esse non
so I now to-you reply an-art without knowledge to-be not
 posse. an pateretur hoc Zeuxis aut Phidias aut Polyclitus,
to-be-able or would-allow this Zeuxis or Phidias or Polyclitus
 nihil se scire, cum in iis esset tanta sollertia? quod
nothing themselves to-know when in them there-was so-great skill which
 si eos docuisset aliquis quam vim habere diceretur scientia,
if them had-taught someone what force to-have was-said knowledge
 desinerent irasci; ne nobis quidem suscenserent, cum
they-would-cease to-be-angry not at-us even they-would-be-angry when
 didicissent id tollere nos quod nusquam esset, quod autem
they-had-learned that to-remove us which nowhere was what moreover
 satis esset ipsis relinquere. Quam rationem maiorum etiam
enough was for-them to-leave which reasoning of-(our)-ancestors also

conprobat diligentia, qui primum iurare ex sui animi
approves the-care who first to-swear from of-one's-own mind
 sententia quemque voluerunt, deinde ita teneri si sciens
the-opinion each wished then so to-be-bound if knowingly
 falleret, quod inscientia multa versaretur in vita; tum qui
be-deceived because not-knowing much was-engaged in life then who
 testimonium diceret ut arbitrari se diceret etiam quod ipse
testimony gave that to-think himself be-said even what himself
 vidisset, quaeque iurati iudices cognovissent ut ea non
be-had-seen and-what sworn judges had-come-to-know that those(-things) not
 aut esse aut non esse facta sed ut videri pronuntiarentur.
either to-be or not to-be done but that to-seem they-should-be-declared

XLVIII • THE WEST WIND

The west wind is up and it is time to sail, so Cicero closes. Another day, he says, they should argue about the disagreement of great men and the obscurity of nature rather than about eyes and the sorites. Lucullus says he does not regret the conversation, Catulus returns to his father's view, Hortensius laughs that assent must be done away with, which Cicero claims as the Academy's own view, and Catulus stays behind while the rest go down to the boats.

147 Verum quoniam non solum nauta significat sed etiam
but since not only the-sailor signals but also
 favonius ipse insusurrat navigandi nobis Luculle tempus
the-west-wind itself whispers of-sailing for-us Lucullus the-time
 esse, et quoniam satis multa dixi, sit mihi
to-be and since enough many(-things) I-have-said let-it-be for-me
 perorandum. posthac tamen cum haec quaeremus, potius
to-be-concluded hereafter however when these(-things) we-shall-inquire rather
 de dissensionibus tantis summorum virorum disseramus de
about the-disagreements so-great of-the-highest men let-us-argue about

obscuritate naturae, deque errore tot philosophorum qui
the-obscurity of-nature and-about the-error of-so-many philosophers who
 de bonis contrariisque rebus tanto opere discrepant ut,
about good and-contrary things with-so-great effort disagree that
 cum plus uno verum esse non possit, iacere necesse sit
since more than-one true to-be not can to-lie-prostrate necessary it-is
 tot tam nobiles disciplinas, quam de oculorum sensuumque
so-many so noble schools than about of-the-eyes and-of-the-senses
 reliquorum mendaciis et de sorite aut pseudomeno, quas
remaining the-lies and about the-sorites or the-liar which
 plagas, ipsi contra se Stoici texuerunt.'

nets themselves against themselves the-Stoics have-woven

Tum Lucullus 'Non moleste' inquit 'fero nos haec
then Lucullus not ill he-said I-bear us these(-things)
 contulisse. saepius enim congredientes nos, et maxume in
to-have-compared more-often for meeting we and especially in
 Tusculanis nostris, si quae videbuntur requiremus.'
the-Tusculan(-villas) our if any(-things) shall-seem-good we-shall-inquire
 'Optume' inquam, 'sed quid Catulus sentit, quid Hortensius?'

excellently I-said but what Catulus thinks what Hortensius

Tum Catulus 'Egone' inquit, 'ad patris revolvor
then Catulus I he-said to of-(my)-father roll-back
 sententiam, quam quidem ille Carneadeam esse dicebat,
the-opinion which indeed he Carneadean to-be used-to-say
 ut percipi nihil putem posse, adsensurum autem non
that to-be-perceived nothing I-think to-be-able about-to-assent moreover not
 percepto id est opinaturum sapientem existumem,
to-(what-is)-perceived that is about-to-opine the-wise(-man) I-judge
 sed ita ut intellegat se opinari sciatque nihil esse
but so that he-understands himself to-opine and-he-knows nothing to-be
 quod comprehendi et percipi possit. †per epochen illam
which to-be-grasped and to-be-perceived can through suspension that

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omnium rerum conprobans† illi alteri sententiae, nihil
of-all things approving to-that other opinion nothing

esse quod percipi possit, vehementer adsentior.’

to-be which to-be-perceived can strongly I-assent

‘Habeo’ inquam ‘sententiam tuam nec eam admodum

I-have I-said opinion your and-not it at-all

aspernor. sed tibi quid tandem videtur Hortensi?’

I-scorn but to-you what pray seems Hortensius

Tum ille ridens ‘Tollendum’.

then he laughing (it)-must-be-removed

‘Teneo te’ inquam; ‘nam ista Academiae est propria sententia’.

I-hold you I-said for that of-the-Academy is own opinion

Ita sermone confecto Catulus remansit, nos ad

so (with)-the-conversation finished Catulus remained we to

naviculas nostras descendimus.

the-little-boats our went-down