LATIN SERIES · VOLUME 65

On Divination

Cicero

De Natura Deorum
De Divinatione
De Fato

On Divination

With Books I and III of On the Nature of the Gods and On Fate

---

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



CANES NOBILES · MMXXVI

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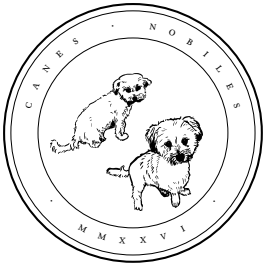

Volume 65 of the Canes Nobiles Latin interlinear texts

The Latin text follows Plasberg's Teubner text of De Natura Deorum, of 1917,
and Müller's of De Divinatione and De Fato, of 1898. The fragments
of De Fato that survive in other authors' quotations are not printed.

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

Translated and composed with AI, edited by Christopher Hench
Artwork by Esther Steves

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CICERO

De Natura Deorum

On the Nature of the Gods · Books I and III

BOOK I

I · THE QUESTION OF THE GODS

On the nature of the gods the most learned disagree so widely that the question seems the hardest in philosophy. Some deny that gods exist; Protagoras doubted it; of those who grant them, some say they care for nothing, others that the world is ruled by their mind. If the gods care nothing for men, piety, holiness, and religion fall, and with them faith and justice. Cicero explains why he has turned to philosophy and why he writes it in Latin.

Cum multae res in philosophia nequaquam satis adhuc 1
although many things in philosophy by-no-means sufficiently as-yet
explicatae sint, tum perdifficilis, Brute, quod tu minime
explained may-be yet very-difficult Brutus as you least
ignoras, et perobscura quaestio est de natura deorum,
are-ignorant-of and very-obscure the-question is about the-nature of-the-gods
quae et ad cognitionem animi pulcherrima est et ad
which both for the-knowledge of-the-mind most-beautiful is and for
moderandam religionem necessaria. De qua cum tam variae
regulating religion necessary about which since so various
sint doctissimorum hominum tamque discrepantes sententiae,
are of-most-learned men and-so discordant opinions
magno argumento esse debeat ea causa, principium
great proof to-be ought that cause the-beginning
philosophiae ad h *** scientiam, prudenterque
of-philosophy to (fragment) (lacuna) knowledge and-wisely
Academici a rebus incertis adsensionem cohibuisse. Quid
the-Academics from things uncertain assent to-have-withheld what
est enim temeritate turpius aut quid tam temerarium
is for than-rashness more-shameful or what so rash
tamque indignum sapientis gravitate atque constantia quam
and-so unworthy of-the-wise-man of-gravity and steadfastness than

aut falsum sentire aut quod non satis explorate perceptum
either a-falsehood to-think or what not sufficiently thoroughly perceived
sit et cognitum sine ulla dubitatione defendere?
has-been and understood without any doubt to-defend
2 Velut in hac quaestione plerique, quod maxime veri simile
as in this question most what most of-the-truth like
est et quo omnes †sese duce natura venimus, deos
is and to-which all themselves with-guide nature we-come gods
esse dixerunt, dubitare se Protagoras, nullos esse omnino
to-be said to-doubt himself Protagoras none to-be at-all
Diagoras Melius et Theodorus Cyrenaicus putaverunt. Qui
Diagoras the-Melian and Theodorus the-Cyrenaic thought those-who
vero deos esse dixerunt tanta sunt in varietate et
indeed gods to-be said in-so-great are in variety and
dissensione, ut eorum infinitum sit enumerare sententias.
dissension that their endless it-is to-enumerate the-opinions
Nam et de figuris deorum et de locis atque sedibus et
for both about the-shapes of-the-gods and about the-places and abodes and
de actione vitae multa dicuntur, deque is summa
about the-activity of-life many-things are-said and-about these with-the-highest
philosophorum dissensione certatur; quod vero maxime rem
of-philosophers dissension it-is-contested what indeed most the-matter
causamque continet, utrum nihil agant nihil moliantur omni
and-the-case contains whether nothing they-do nothing undertake from-all
curatione et administratione rerum vacent, an contra ab
care and management of-things are-free or on-the-contrary by
iis et a principio omnia facta et constituta sint et ad
them and from the-beginning all-things made and established have-been and for
infinitum tempus regantur atque moveantur, in primis magna
unlimited time are-ruled and moved in the-first great

dissensio est, eaque nisi diiudicatur in summo errore necesse
dissension is and-that unless it-is-decided in the-highest error necessary
est homines atque in maximarum rerum ignoratione versari.
it-is men and in of-the-greatest things ignorance to-be-engaged
Sunt enim philosophi et fuerunt qui omnino nullam habere 3
there-are for philosophers and have-been who at-all no to-have
censerent rerum humanarum procurationem deos. Quorum
thought of-things human care the-gods whose
si vera sententia est, quae potest esse pietas quae sanctitas
if true opinion is what can to-be piety what sanctity
quae religio? Haec enim omnia pure atque caste tribuenda
what religion these for all-things purely and chastely to-be-attributed
deorum numini ita sunt, si animadvertuntur ab is et si
of-the-gods to-divinity so are if they-are-noticed by them and if
est aliquid a deis inmortalibus hominum generi tributum;
there-is anything by the-gods immortal of-men to-the-race bestowed
sin autem dei neque possunt nos iuvare nec volunt nec
but-if moreover the-gods neither can us to-help nor wish-to nor
omnino curant nec quid agamus animadvertunt nec est
at-all care nor what we-do notice nor is-there
quod ab is ad hominum vitam permanare possit, quid
what from them to men's life to-flow can what
est quod ullos deis inmortalibus cultus honores preces
is that any to-the-gods immortal worships honors prayers
adhibeamus? In specie autem fictae simulationis sicut
we-should-offer in the-appearance moreover of-feigned pretense as
reliquae virtutes item pietas inesse non potest; cum qua
the-other virtues so piety to-be-present not can with which
simul sanctitatem et religionem tolli necesse est, quibus
together sanctity and religion to-be-removed necessary it-is which
sublatis perturbatio vitae sequitur et magna confusio;
having-been-removed disturbance of-life follows and great confusion

4 atque haut scio an pietate adversus deos sublata fides
and not I-know whether with-piety toward the-gods removed good-faith
etiam et societas generis humani et una excellentissuma
also and the-fellowship of-the-race human and the-one most-excellent
virtus iustitia tollatur. Sunt autem alii philosophi, et
virtue justice may-be-removed there-are moreover other philosophers and
hi quidem magni atque nobiles, qui deorum mente atque
these indeed great and noble who of-the-gods by-mind and
ratione omnem mundum administrari et regi censeant,
reason the-whole universe to-be-managed and to-be-ruled think
neque vero id solum, sed etiam ab isdem hominum vitae
nor indeed that only but also by the-same of-men for-life
consuli et provideri; nam et fruges et reliqua
to-be-consulted and to-be-provided for both the-crops and the-other-things
quae terra pariat et tempestates ac temporum varietates
which the-earth bears and the-seasons and of-the-times the-variations
caelique mutationes, quibus omnia quae terra gignat
and-of-the-sky the-changes by-which all-things which the-earth produces
maturata pubescant, a dis inmortalibus tribui generi
ripened grow-up by the-gods immortal to-be-bestowed on-the-race
humano putant, multaque quae dicentur in his libris
human they-think and-many-things which will-be-said in these books
colligunt, quae talia sunt ut ea ipsa dei inmortales
they-collect which such are that those very-things the-gods immortal
ad usum hominum fabricati paene videantur. Contra quos
for the-use of-men made almost seem against whom
Carneades ita multa disseruit, ut excitaret homines non
Carneades so many-things discoursed that be-roused men not
socordes ad veri investigandi cupiditatem.
sluggish to of-the-truth of-being-investigated the-desire

Res enim nulla est de qua tantopere non solum indocti 5
thing for none is about which so-greatly not only the-unlearned
sed etiam docti dissentiant; quorum opiniones cum tam
but also the-learned disagree whose opinions since so
variae sint tamque inter se dissidentes, alterum fieri
various are and-so among themselves dissenting the-one to-happen
profecto potest ut earum nulla, alterum certe non potest
surely can that of-them none the-other certainly not can
ut plus una vera sit.
that more than-one true be
Qua quidem in causa et benivolos obiurgatores placare
which indeed in matter both well-disposed reprovers to-placate
et invidos vituperatores confutare possumus, ut alteros
and envious censurers to-confute we-can so-that the-ones
reprehendisse paeniteat, alteri didicisse se gaudeant;
to-have-blamed may-repent the-others to-have-learned themselves may-rejoice
nam qui admonent amice docendi sunt, qui
for those-who admonish in-friendly-fashion to-be-taught are those-who
inimice insectantur repellendi.
in-hostile-fashion attack to-be-repelled
Multum autem fluxisse video de libris nostris, quos 6
much moreover to-have-flowed I-see about books our which
compluris brevi tempore edidimus, variumque sermonem
very-many in-a-short time we-have-published and-varied talk
partim admirantium unde hoc philosophandi nobis subito
partly of-men-wondering whence this of-philosophizing in-us suddenly
studium extitisset, partim quid quaque de re certi
zeal had-arisen partly what each about thing certain
haberemus scire cupientium; multis etiam sensi mirabile
we-held to-know desiring to-many also I-have-perceived wonderful
videri eam nobis potissimum probatam esse philosophiam, quae
to-seem that by-us above-all approved to-be the-philosophy which

lucem eriperet et quasi noctem quandam rebus offunderet,
light snatched-away and as-it-were night a-certain on-things poured
desertaeque disciplinae et iam pridem relictae patrocinium
and-of-a-deserted school and now long-since abandoned the-defense
necopinatum a nobis esse susceptum. Nos autem nec
unexpected by us to-have-been undertaken we moreover neither
subito coepimus philosophari nec mediocrem a primo
suddenly began to-philosophize nor moderate from the-first
tempore aetatis in eo studio operam curamque consumpsimus,
time of-life in that pursuit effort and-care we-have-spent
et cum minime videbamur tum maxime philosophabamur;
and when least we-seemed then most we-were-philosophizing
quod et orationes declarant refertae philosophorum sententiis
which both the-speeches declare crammed of-philosophers with-opinions
et doctissimorum hominum familiaritates, quibus semper
and of-most-learned men the-intimacies with-which always
domus nostra floruit, et principes illi Diodotus Philo
house our has-flourished and the-leaders those Diodotus Philo
Antiochus Posidonius, a quibus instituti sumus.
Antiochus Posidonius by whom taught we-were
7 Et si omnia philosophiae praecepta referuntur ad vitam,
and if all of-philosophy the-precepts are-referred to life
arbitramur nos et publicis et privatis in rebus ea
we-think ourselves both public and private in affairs those-things
praestitisse quae ratio et doctrina praescripserit. Sin autem
to-have-performed which reason and learning prescribed but-if moreover
quis requirit quae causa nos inpulerit ut haec tam
anyone asks what cause us drove that these-things so
sero litteris mandaremus, nihil est quod expedire tam
late to-letters we-should-commit nothing is which to-explain so
facile possimus. Nam cum otio languescemus et is esset
easily we-could for when in-leisure we-languished and such was

rei publicae status ut eam unius consilio atque cura
of-the-thing public the-state that it of-one-man by-counsel and care
gubernari necesse esset, primum ipsius rei publicae causa
to-be-steered necessary it-was first of-the-very thing public for-the-sake
philosophiam nostris hominibus explicandam putavi, magni
philosophy to-our men to-be-set-out I-thought greatly
existimans interesse ad decus et ad laudem civitatis res
judging it-to-matter for the-honor and for the-praise of-the-state things
tam gravis tamque praeclaras Latinis etiam litteris contineri.
so weighty and-so splendid in-Latin also letters to-be-contained

II · THE METHOD AND THE GATHERING

Grief at a heavy blow of fortune drove Cicero to philosophy, and the Academy's method needs no apology: it withholds assent and weighs every side, while the Pythagoreans' "he himself said it" sets authority above reason. At the Latin festival he found Gaius Cotta at home with the Epicurean Velleius and the Stoic Balbus. Cotta asks Velleius to repeat the Epicurean case, and Velleius agrees, teasing that Cicero has come as Cotta's ally; Cicero answers that he comes as a free listener.

Eoque me minus instituti mei paenitet, quod facile 8
and-for-this me less of-undertaking my repents because easily
sentio quam multorum non modo discendi sed etiam
I-perceive how of-many not only of-learning but also
scribendi studia commoverim. Complures enim Graecis
of-writing the-zeal I-have-roused very-many for in-Greek
institutionibus eruditi ea quae didicerant cum civibus
teachings learned those-things which they-had-learned with citizens
suis communicare non poterant, quod illa quae a
their-own to-share not could because those-things which from
Graecis accepissent Latine dici posse diffiderent; quo
the-Greeks they-had-received in-Latin to-be-said to-be-able they-distrusted which

in genere tantum profecisse videmur, ut a Graecis ne
in kind so-much to-have-advanced we-seem that by the-Greeks not
verborum quidem copia vinceremur.
of-words even in-abundance we-should-be-surpassed

9 Hortata etiam est ut me ad haec conferrem animi
urged also has that myself to these-things I-should-apply the-mind's
aegritudo fortunae magna et gravi commota iniuria; cuius si
distress of-fortune great and heavy roused by-injury of-which if
maiorem aliquam levationem reperire potuissem, non ad hanc
greater some relief to-find I-could-have not to this
potissimum confugissem. Ea vero ipsa nulla ratione melius frui
above-all I-would-have-fled that indeed itself by-no means better to-enjoy
potui quam si me non modo ad legendos libros sed etiam ad
I-could than if myself not only to reading books but also to
totam philosophiam pertractandam dedissem. Omnes autem
the-whole philosophy being-handled-thoroughly I-had-given all moreover
eius partes atque omnia membra tum facillume noscuntur, cum
its parts and all members then most-easily are-known when
totae quaestiones scribendo explicantur; est enim admirabilis
whole questions by-writing are-unfolded is for an-admirable
quaedam continuatio seriesque rerum, ut alia ex alia
certain continuity and-sequence of-things so-that one from another
nexa et omnes inter se aptae conligataeque videantur.
linked and all among themselves fitted and-bound-together seem

10 Qui autem requirunt quid quaque de re ipsi
those-who moreover ask what each about thing we-ourselves
sentiamus, curiosius id faciunt quam necesse est; non enim
think more-curiously that do than necessary is not for
tam auctoritatis in disputando quam rationis momenta
so-much of-authority in debate as of-reason the-weights
quaerenda sunt. Quin etiam obest plerumque iis qui discere
to-be-sought are nay even hinders mostly those who to-learn

volunt auctoritas eorum qui se docere profitentur;
wish the-authority of-those who themselves to-teach profess
desinunt enim suum iudicium adhibere, id habent ratum
they-cease for their-own judgment to-apply that they-hold settled
quod ab eo quem probant iudicatum vident. Nec vero
which by him whom they-approve judged they-see nor indeed
probare soleo id quod de Pythagoreis accepimus, quos
to-approve am-I-wont that which about the-Pythagoreans we-have-received whom
ferunt, si quid adfirmarent in disputando, cum ex iis
they-say if anything they-affirmed in debate when of them
quaereretur quare ita esset, respondere solitos 'ipse dixit';
it-was-asked why so it-was to-answer accustomed he-himself said
ipse autem erat Pythagoras: tantum opinio praeiudicata
he-himself moreover was Pythagoras so-much opinion prejudged
poterat, ut etiam sine ratione valeret auctoritas.
could that even without reason prevailed authority
Qui autem admirantur nos hanc potissimum disciplinam 11
those-who moreover wonder us this above-all school
secutos, his quattuor Academicis libris satis responsum
to-have-followed by-these four Academic books sufficiently answered
videtur. Nec vero desertarum relictarumque rerum patrocinium
it-seems nor indeed of-deserted and-abandoned things the-defense
suscepimus; non enim hominum interitu sententiae quoque
we-have-undertaken not for of-men with-death opinions also
occidunt, sed lucem auctoris fortasse desiderant. Ut haec
perish but the-light of-an-author perhaps they-miss as this
in philosophia ratio contra omnia disserendi nullamque
in philosophy method against all-things of-arguing and-no
rem aperte iudicandi profecta a Socrate repetita ab
thing openly of-judging having-set-out from Socrates renewed by
Arcesila confirmata a Carneade usque ad nostram viguit
Arcesilas confirmed by Carneades right to our has-flourished

aetatem; quam nunc prope modum orbam esse in ipsa
age which now almost in-measure bereft to-be in itself
Graecia intellego. Quod non Academiae vitio sed tarditate
Greece I-understand which not of-the-Academy by-fault but by-the-slowness
hominum arbitror contigisse. Nam si singulas disciplinas
of-men I-think to-have-happened for if single schools
percipere magnum est, quanto maius omnis; quod facere
to-master great it-is how-much greater all which to-do
is necesse est quibus propositum est veri reperiendi
for-those necessary it-is to-whom the-purpose is of-the-truth of-finding
causa et contra omnes philosophos et pro omnibus dicere.
for-the-sake both against all philosophers and for all to-speak
12 Cuius rei tantae tamque difficilis facultatem consecutum esse
of-which thing so-great and-so difficult the-ability attained to-have
me non profiteor, secutum esse prae me fero. Nec tamen
me not I-profess pursued-it to-have before me I-carry nor still
fieri potest ut qui hac ratione philosophentur hi nihil
to-be-done can-it that those-who by-this method philosophize these nothing
habeant quod sequantur. Dictum est omnino de hac
have which they-may-follow said it-has-been indeed about this
re alio loco diligentius, sed quia nimis indociles quidam
thing in-another place more-carefully but since too unteachable certain-men
tardique sunt admonendi videntur saepius. Non enim sumus
and-slow are to-be-reminded they-seem more-often not for we-are
i quibus nihil verum esse videatur, sed i qui omnibus
those to-whom nothing true to-be seems but those who to-all
veris falsa quaedam adiuncta esse dicamus tanta similitudine
true-things false some joined to-be say with-such likeness
ut in is nulla insit certa iudicandi et adsentiendi nota. Ex
that in them no is-present sure of-judging and of-assenting mark from
quo exsistit et illud, multa esse probabilia, quae quamquam
which arises also this many-things to-be probable which although

non perciperentur, tamen, quia visum quendam haberent
not they-were-perceived still because an-appearance some they-had
insignem et inlustrem, his sapientis vita regeretur.
notable and clear by-these the-wise-man's life might-be-ruled
Sed iam, ut omni me invidia liberem, ponam in medio 13
but now that from-all myself ill-will I-may-free I-shall-set in the-middle
sententias philosophorum de natura deorum. Quo quidem
the-opinions of-philosophers about the-nature of-the-gods in-which indeed
loco convocandi omnes videntur, qui quae sit earum vera
place to-be-called-together all seem who which may-be of-them true
iudicent; tum demum mihi procax Academia videbitur, si aut
may-judge then at-last to-me insolent the-Academy will-seem if either
consenserint omnes aut erit inventus aliquis qui quid verum
will-have-agreed all or there-will-be found someone who what true
sit invenerit. Itaque mihi libet exclamare ut in Synephebis:
is will-have-found and-so to-me it-pleases to-cry-out as in the-Synephebi

pro deum, popularium omnium, omnium adulescentium
O of-gods of-countrymen of-all of-all of-young-men
clamo postulo obsecro oro ploro atque inploro fidem
I-cry I-demand I-beseech I-beg I-wail and I-implore the-good-faith

non levissuma de re, ut queritur ille in civitate
not a-most-trivial about thing as complains he in the-state
fieri facinora capitalia: 'ab amico amante argentum
to-be-done crimes capital from a-friend a-lover money
accipere meretrix non vult', sed ut adsint cognoscant
to-accept the-courtesan not wishes but that they-be-present learn
animadvertant, quid de religione pietate sanctitate caerimoniis
notice what about religion piety sanctity ceremonies
fide iure iurando, quid de templis delubris sacrificiisque
good-faith oath sworn what about temples shrines and-sacrifices

sollemnibus, quid de ipsis auspiciis, quibus nos praesumus,
solemn what about themselves the-auspices over-which we preside
existimandum sit (haec enim omnia ad hanc de dis
to-be-thought is these for all-things to this about the-gods
inmortalibus quaestionem referenda sunt):
immortal question to-be-referred are
14 profecto eos ipsos, qui se aliquid certi habere arbitrantur,
surely those very-men who themselves something certain to-have think
addubitare coget doctissimorum hominum de maxuma
to-doubt will-compel of-most-learned men about the-greatest
re tanta dissensio.
thing so-great dissension
15 Quod cum saepe alias tum maxime animadverti cum
which while often at-other-times then most I-noticed when
apud C. Cottam familiarem meum accurate sane et
at Gaius Cotta intimate my accurately indeed and
diligenter de dis inmortalibus disputatumst. Nam cum
carefully about the-gods immortal it-was-discussed for when
feriis Latinis ad eum ipsius rogatu arcessituque venissem,
at-the-festival Latin to him at-his-own request and-summons I-had-come
offendi eum sedentem in exedra et cum C. Velleio
I-found him sitting in the-alcove and with Gaius Velleius
senatore disputantem, ad quem tum Epicurei primas ex
the-senator arguing to whom then the-Epicureans the-first-place among
nostris hominibus deferebant. Aderat etiam Q. Lucilius
our men gave was-present also Quintus Lucilius
Balbus, qui tantos progressus habebat in Stoicis, ut cum
Balbus who such progress had in the-Stoics that with
excellentibus in eo genere Graecis compararetur.
the-excellent in that kind Greeks he-was-compared

Tum ut me Cotta vidit 'Peroportune' inquit 'venis; oritur
then when me Cotta saw very-opportunely he-said you-come arises
enim mihi magna de re altercatio cum Velleio, cui
for to-me great about a-thing a-dispute with Velleius to-whom
pro tuo studio non est alienum te interesse.'
for your zeal not is foreign you to-take-part
'Atqui mihi quoque videor' inquam 'venisse, ut dicis, 16
and-yet to-me also I-seem I-say to-have-come as you-say
oportune. Tres enim trium disciplinarum principes convenistis.
opportunely three for of-three schools leaders you-have-met
M. enim Piso si adesset, nullius philosophiae, earum
Marcus for Piso if he-were-present of-no philosophy of-those
quidem quae in honore sunt, vacaret locus.'
indeed which in honor are would-be-empty the-place
Tum Cotta 'Si' inquit 'liber Antiochi nostri, qui ab eo
then Cotta if he-said the-book of-Antiochus our which by him
nuper ad hunc Balbum missus est, vera loquitur, nihil
lately to this Balbus sent has-been true-things speaks nothing
est quod Pisonem familiarem tuum desideres; Antiocho
is why Piso intimate your you-should-miss with-Antiochus
enim Stoici cum Peripateticis re concinere videntur verbis
for the-Stoics with the-Peripatetics in-fact to-agree seem in-words
discrepare; quo de libro Balbe velim scire quid sentias.'
to-differ which about book Balbus I-should-wish to-know what you-think
'Egone' inquit ille, 'miror Antiochum hominem in primis
I-whether he-said he I-wonder Antiochus a-man in the-first
acutum non vidisse interesse plurimum inter Stoicos,
sharp not to-have-seen to-differ very-much between the-Stoics
qui honesta a commodis non nomine sed genere toto
who the-honorable from advantages not in-name but in-kind whole
diiungerent, et Peripateticos, qui honesta commiscerent
separate and the-Peripatetics who the-honorable mix

cum commodis, ut ea inter se magnitudine et
with advantages so-that they among themselves in-greatness and
quasi gradibus non genere differrent. Haec enim est non
as-it-were in-degrees not in-kind differ this for is not
verborum parva sed rerum permagna dissensio. Verum hoc
of-words a-small but of-things a-very-great dissension but this
alias; nunc quod coepimus, si videtur'.
at-another-time now what we-have-begun if it-seems-good

17 'Mihi vero' inquit Cotta 'videtur. Sed ut hic qui
to-me indeed he-said Cotta it-seems-good but that this-man who
intervenit' me intuens 'ne ignoret quae res agatur,
has-come-in me looking-at not be-ignorant what thing is-being-discussed
de natura agebamus deorum, quae cum mihi videretur
about the-nature we-were-discussing of-the-gods which since to-me it-seemed
perobscura, ut semper videri solet, Epicuri ex Velleio
very-obscure as always to-seem it-is-wont of-Epicurus from Velleius
sciscitabar sententiam. Quam ob rem' inquit 'Vellei,
I-was-inquiring the-opinion which on-account-of thing he-said Velleius
nisi molestum est, repete quae coeperas.'
unless troublesome it-is repeat what you-had-begun
'Repetam vero, quamquam non mihi sed tibi hic venit
I-shall-repeat indeed although not for-me but for-you this-man has-come
adiutor; ambo enim' inquit adridens 'ab eodem Philone
a-helper both for he-said smiling from the-same Philo
nihil scire didicistis.'
nothing to-know you-have-learned
Tum ego: 'Quid didicerimus Cotta viderit, tu autem
then I what we-have-learned Cotta will-see you moreover
nolo existimes me adiutorem huic venisse sed
I-am-unwilling you-should-think me as-helper to-this-man to-have-come but
auditorem, et quidem aecum, libero iudicio, nulla eius
as-listener and indeed fair with-free judgment by-no of-that

modi adstrictum necessitate, ut mihi velim nolim sit
kind bound necessity that for-me whether-I-will or-not there-be
certa quaedam tuenda sententia.'
a-certain some to-be-defended opinion

III · VELLEIUS AGAINST THE MAKER

Velleius mocks Plato's craftsman of the world and the Stoics' providence as dreams, not philosophy. With what tools, what levers, did the maker build? Why, after countless ages of idleness, did he begin? For whose sake was the world made, the wise or the fools? And those who call the world itself living and wise never saw what shape a mind could take.

Tum Velleius fidenter sane, ut solent isti, nihil tam verens 18
then Velleius confidently indeed as are-wont those nothing so fearing
quam ne dubitare aliqua de re videretur, tamquam
as lest to-doubt some about thing he-might-seem as-if
modo ex deorum concilio et ex Epicuri intermundiis
just-now from of-the-gods the-council and from of-Epicurus the-spaces-between-worlds
descendisset, 'Audite' inquit 'non futtilis commenticiasque
he-had-come-down hear he-said not empty and-invented
sententias, non opificem aedificatoremque mundi Platonis
opinions not the-craftsman and-builder of-the-world of-Plato
de Timaeo deum, nec anum fatidicam Stoicorum
from-the Timaeus god nor the-old-woman prophetic of-the-Stoics
Pronoeam, quam Latine licet Providentiam dicere,
Pronoea whom in-Latin it-is-allowed Providence to-call
neque vero mundum ipsum animo et sensibus praeditum
nor indeed the-world itself with-mind and senses endowed

rutundum ardentem volubilem deum, portenta et miracula
round fiery revolving a-god portents and marvels
non disserentium philosophorum sed somniantium.
not of-arguing philosophers but of-dreaming
19 Quibus enim oculis animi intueri potuit vester Plato
with-what for eyes of-the-mind to-behold could your Plato
fabricam illam tanti operis, qua construi a deo atque
construction that of-so-great a-work by-which to-be-built by god and
aedificari mundum facit; quae molitio quae ferramenta qui
to-be-constructed the-world he-makes what effort what iron-tools what
vectes quae machinae qui ministri tanti muneris fuerunt;
levers what machines what servants of-so-great a-task were
quem ad modum autem oboedire et parere voluntati
in-what to manner moreover to-obey and to-be-subject to-the-will
architecti aer ignis aqua terra potuerunt; unde vero ortae illae
of-the-architect air fire water earth could whence indeed arose those
quinque formae, ex quibus reliqua formantur, apte cadentes
five forms from which the-rest are-formed aptly falling
ad animum afficiendum pariendosque sensus? Longum est ad
for the-mind affecting and-the-senses producing long it-is to
omnia, quae talia sunt ut optata magis quam inventa videantur;
all-things which such are that wished rather than found seem
20 sed illa palmaris, quod, qui non modo natum mundum
but that the-prize-winner that he-who not only born the-world
introduxerit sed etiam manu paene factum, is eum dixerit
has-introduced but also by-hand almost made he it has-said
fore sempiternum. Hunc censes primis ut dicitur
to-be-going-to-be everlasting him do-you-think with-the-first as it-is-said
labris gustasse physiologiam id est naturae rationem, qui
lips to-have-tasted natural-philosophy that is of-nature the-reason who
quicquam quod ortum sit putet aeternum esse posse? Quae
anything which arisen has thinks eternal to-be to-be-able what

est enim coagmentatio non dissolubilis, aut quid est cuius
is for a-joining not dissoluble or what is of-which
principium aliquod sit nihil sit extremum? Pronoea vero si
a-beginning some is nothing is the-end Pronoea indeed if
vestra est Lucili eadem, requiro quae paulo ante, ministros
yours she-is Lucilius the-same I-ask which a-little before the-servants
machinas omnem totius operis dissignationem atque
the-machines the-whole of-the-whole work the-design and
apparatum; sin alia est, cur mortalem fecerit mundum,
apparatus but-if other she-is why mortal she-made the-world
non, quem ad modum Platonicus deus, sempiternum.
not in-what to manner the-Platonic god everlasting
Ab utroque autem sciscitor cur mundi aedificatores repente 21
of both moreover I-inquire why of-the-world the-builders suddenly
exstiterint, innumerabilia saecla dormierint; non enim si mundus
arose innumerable ages slept not for if the-world
nullus erat saecla non erant (saecla nunc dico non ea quae
none was the-ages not were ages now I-call not those which
dierum noctiumque numero annuis cursibus conficiuntur; nam
of-days and-nights by-the-number in-yearly courses are-completed for
fateor ea sine mundi conversione effici non potuisse;
I-confess those without of-the-world the-revolution to-be-effected not to-have-been-able
sed fuit quaedam ab infinito tempore aeternitas, quam nulla
but there-was a-certain from infinite time eternity which no
circumscriptio temporum metiebatur, spatio tamen qualis ea
circumscription of-times measured in-extent still what-kind it
fuerit intellegi potest, quod ne in cogitationem quidem
was to-be-understood can because not into thought even
cadit ut fuerit tempus aliquod nullum cum tempus esset) —
it-falls that there-was a-time some none when time there-was

22 isto igitur tam inmenso spatio quaero Balbe cur Pronoea vestra
in-that therefore so immense space I-ask Balbus why Pronoea your
cessaverit. Laboremne fugiebat? At iste nec attingit deum nec
was-idle labor-whether was-she-fleeing but that neither touches god nor
erat ullus, cum omnes naturae numini divino, caelum ignes
was there-any when all natures to-the-divinity divine sky fires
terrae maria, parerent. Quid autem erat quod concupisceret
lands seas obeyed what moreover was-there that should-desire
deus mundum signis et luminibus tamquam aedilis ornare?
god the-world with-figures and lights as-if an-aedile to-adorn
Si ut deus ipse melius habitaret, antea videlicet tempore
if that god himself better might-dwell before evidently for-time
infinito in tenebris tamquam in gurgustio habitaverat. Post
infinite in darkness as-if in a-hovel he-had-dwelt afterward
autem: varietatene eum delectari putamus, qua caelum
moreover by-the-variety-whether him to-be-delighted do-we-think with-which the-sky
et terras exornatas videmus? Quae ista potest esse oblectatio
and lands adorned we-see what that can to-be delight
deo? Quae si esset, non ea tam diu carere potuisset.
for-god which if it-were not it so long to-be-without be-could-have
23 An haec, ut fere dicitis, hominum causa a deo constituta
or these-things as generally you-say of-men for-the-sake by god established
sunt? Sapientiumne? Propter paucos igitur tanta est rerum
have-been of-the-wise-whether on-account-of few therefore so-great has-been of-things
facta molitio. An stultorum? At primum causa non fuit cur
made the-labor or of-fools but first reason not was why
de inprobis bene mereretur; deinde quid est adsecutus, cum
of the-wicked well he-should-deserve then what has-he gained since
omnes stulti sint sine dubio miserrimi, maxime quod stulti
all fools are without doubt most-wretched most because fools
sunt (miserius enim stultitia quid possumus dicere), deinde
they-are more-wretched for than-folly what can-we to-say then

quod ita multa sunt incommoda in vita, ut ea sapientes
because so many are troubles in life that them the-wise
commodorum conpensatione leniant, stulti nec vitare venientia
of-advantages by-compensation soften the-fools neither to-avoid coming-ones
possint nec ferre praesentia. Qui vero mundum ipsum
can nor to-bear present-ones those-who indeed the-world itself
animantem sapientemque esse dixerunt, nullo modo viderunt
living and-wise to-be said in-no way saw
animi natura intellegentis in quam figuram cadere posset.
of-mind the-nature understanding into what shape to-fall could
De quo dicam equidem paulo post, nunc autem hactenus:
about which I-shall-speak for-my-part a-little later now moreover so-far

IV · THE PHILOSOPHERS REVIEWED

A spherical god spinning at incredible speed can have no rest or calm of mind. Velleius then reviews the philosophers: Thales' mind that shaped the world from water, Anaximander's gods born and dying, Anaximenes' air, Anaxagoras' infinite mind, Alcmaeon's stars, Pythagoras' world-soul, Xenophanes' and Parmenides' strange gods, Empedocles' four divine elements, Protagoras' doubt, Democritus' images, and the air of Diogenes of Apollonia.

admirabor eorum tarditatem qui animantem inmortalem et 24
I-shall-wonder-at their slowness who a-living-being immortal and
eundem beatum rutundum esse velint, quod ea forma
the-same blessed round to-be wish because than-that shape
neget ullam esse pulchriorem Plato: at mihi vel cylindri
denies any to-be more-beautiful Plato but to-me either of-the-cylinder
vel quadrati vel coni vel pyramidis videtur esse formosior.
or of-the-square or of-the-cone or of-the-pyramid seems to-be more-beautiful
Quae vero vita tribuitur isti rutundo deo? Nempe ut
what indeed life is-assigned to-that round god surely that

ea celeritate contorqueatur cui par nulla ne cogitari
with-that speed he-be-whirled to-which equal none not to-be-imagined
quidem possit; in qua non video ubinam mens constans
even can in which not I-see where mind steady
et vita beata possit insistere. Quodque in nostro corpore
and life blessed could to-stand and-what in our body
si minima ex parte significetur molestum sit, cur hoc
if the-least in part be-felt troublesome is why this
idem non habeatur molestum in deo? Terra enim profecto,
same not is-held troublesome in god the-earth for surely
quoniam mundi pars est, pars est etiam dei; atqui terrae
since of-the-world a-part it-is a-part is also of-god and-yet of-the-earth
maxumas regiones inhabitabilis atque incultas videmus, quod
the-greatest regions uninhabitable and untilled we-see because
pars earum adpulsu solis exarserit, pars obriguerit
part of-them by-the-approach of-the-sun has-burned part has-frozen
nive pruinaque longinquo solis abscessu; quae, si
with-snow and-frost by-the-distant of-the-sun withdrawal which-things if
mundus est deus, quoniam mundi partes sunt, dei
the-world is god since of-the-world parts they-are of-god
membra partim ardentia partim refrigerata ducenda sunt.
limbs partly burning partly frozen to-be-considered are
25 Atque haec quidem vestra Lucili; qualia vero *** est,
and these-things indeed yours Lucilius of-what-kind indeed (lacuna) is
ab ultimo repetam superiorum. Thales enim Milesius, qui
from the-farthest I-shall-recall of-the-earlier Thales for the-Milesian who
primus de talibus rebus quaesivit, aquam dixit esse initium
first about such things inquired water said to-be the-beginning
rerum, deum autem eam mentem quae ex aqua cuncta fingeret:
of-things god moreover that mind which from water all-things fashioned
si dei possunt esse sine sensu; et mentem cur aquae adiunxit,
if gods can to-be without sense and mind why to-water did-he-join-it

si ipsa mens constare potest vacans corpore? Anaximandri
if itself mind to-exist can free from-body of-Anaximander
autem opinio est nativos esse deos longis intervallis orientis
moreover the-opinion is born to-be the-gods at-long intervals rising
occidentisque, eosque innumerabilis esse mundos. Sed nos
and-setting and-them innumerable to-be worlds but we
deum nisi sempiternum intellegere qui possumus?
god unless everlasting to-understand how can-we

Post Anaximenes aera deum statuit, eumque gigni esseque 26
afterward Anaximenes air god declared and-it to-be-born and-to-be
inmensum et infinitum et semper in motu: quasi aut aer
immense and infinite and always in motion as-if either air
sine ulla forma deus esse possit, cum praesertim deum non
without any form god to-be could when especially god not
modo aliqua sed pulcherrima specie deceat esse, aut non
only some but most-beautiful in-appearance befits to-be or not
omne quod ortum sit mortalitas consequatur. Inde Anaxagoras,
all which arisen has mortality follows then Anaxagoras
qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam, primus omnium rerum
who received from Anaximenes the-teaching first of-all things
discriptionem et modum mentis infinitae vi ac ratione
the-arrangement and measure of-mind infinite by-the-force and reason
dissignari et confici voluit. In quo non vidit neque motum
to-be-designed and to-be-accomplished wished in which not he-saw neither motion
sensu iunctum et continentem infinito ullum esse posse,
with-sense joined and continuous in-the-infinite any to-be to-be-able
neque sensum omnino quo non ipsa natura pulsa sentiret.
nor sensation at-all by-which not itself the-nature struck would-feel
Deinde si mentem istam quasi animal aliquod voluit esse,
then if mind that as-if a-living-being some he-wished to-be

erit aliquid interius ex quo illud animal nominetur; quid
there-will-be something inner from which that living-being may-be-named what
autem interius mente: cingatur igitur corpore externo;
moreover inner than-mind let-it-be-surrounded therefore by-a-body external
27 quod quoniam non placet, aperta simplexque mens nulla re
which since not pleases open and-simple mind by-no thing
adiuncta, quae sentire possit, fugere intellegentiae nostrae
joined which to-feel could to-escape of-understanding our
vim et notionem videtur. Crotoniates autem Alcmaeo,
the-force and notion seems the-Crotonian moreover Alcmaeon
qui soli et lunae reliquisque sideribus animoque
who to-the-sun and moon and-the-other stars and-to-the-mind
praeterea divinitatem dedit, non sensit sese mortalibus rebus
besides divinity gave not perceived himself to-mortal things
inmortalitatem dare. Nam Pythagoras, qui censuit animum
immortality to-give for Pythagoras who held a-mind
esse per naturam rerum omnem intentum et commeantem,
to-be through the-nature of-things all extended and passing
ex quo nostri animi carperentur, non vidit distractione
from which our minds were-plucked not saw by-the-tearing-apart
humanorum animorum discerpi et lacerari deum, et cum
of-human minds to-be-torn and to-be-mangled god and when
miseri animi essent, quod plerisque contingeret, tum dei
wretched the-minds were which to-most would-happen then of-god
partem esse miseram, quod fieri non potest.
a-part to-be wretched which to-be-done not can
28 Cur autem quicquam ignoraret animus hominis, si esset
why moreover anything would-be-ignorant-of the-mind of-man if it-were
deus? Quo modo porro deus iste, si nihil esset nisi animus,
god in-what way further god that if nothing he-were except mind
aut infixus aut infusus esset in mundo? Tum Xenophanes, qui
either fixed or poured-in were-he in the-world then Xenophanes who

mente adiuncta omne praeterea, quod esset infinitum, deum
with-mind added all besides which was infinite god
voluit esse, de ipsa mente item reprehendetur ut ceteri, de
wished to-be about itself mind likewise will-be-censured as the-others about
infinitate autem vehementius, in qua nihil neque sentiens neque
the-infinity moreover more-vehemently in which nothing either feeling or
coniunctum potest esse. Nam Parmenides quidem commenticium
joined can to-be for Parmenides indeed something-invented
quiddam: coronae similem efficit (στεφάνην appellat)
a-thing to-a-crown like makes a-stephane be-calls-it
continentem ardorum lucis orbem, qui cingit caelum, quem
continuous of-heats of-light a-circle which girds the-sky which
appellat deum; in quo neque figuram divinam neque sensum
he-calls god in which neither shape divine nor sense
quisquam suspicari potest. Multaque eiusdem monstra,
anyone to-suspect can and-many of-the-same-man monstrosities
quippe qui bellum qui discordiam qui cupiditatem ceteraque
since who war who discord who desire and-the-other-things
generis eiusdem ad deum revocet, quae vel morbo vel
of-the-kind same to god refers which either by-disease or
somno vel oblivione vel vetustate delentur; eademque de
by-sleep or by-forgetfulness or by-age are-destroyed and-the-same-things about
sideribus, quae reprehensa in alio iam in hoc omittantur.
the-stars which censured in another now in this-man let-be-passed-over
Empedocles autem multa alia peccans in deorum opinione 29
Empedocles moreover many other-things erring in of-the-gods opinion
turpissume labitur. Quattuor enim naturas, ex quibus omnia
most-shamefully slips four for natures from which all-things
constare censet, divinas esse vult; quas et nasci et
to-consist he-thinks divine to-be wishes which both to-be-born and
extingui perspicuum est et sensu omni carere. Nec vero
to-be-extinguished evident is and of-sense all to-lack nor indeed

Protagoras, qui sese negat omnino de deis habere quod
Protagoras who himself denies at-all about the-gods to-have what
liqueat, sint non sint qualesve sint, quicquam
may-be-clear whether-they-are not they-are or-of-what-kind they-are anything
videtur de natura deorum suspicari. Quid Democritus,
seems about the-nature of-the-gods to-suspect what Democritus
qui tum imagines eorumque circumitus in deorum numero
who both the-images and-their circlings in of-the-gods number
refert, tum illam naturam quae imagines fundat ac mittat,
counts and that nature which the-images pours-forth and sends
tum sententiam intellegentiamque nostram, nonne in maximo
and the-thought and-understanding our surely in the-greatest
errore versatur? Cum idem omnino, quia nihil semper
error is-engaged since the-same-man altogether because nothing always
suo statu maneat, neget esse quicquam sempiternum,
in-its-own state remains denies to-be anything everlasting
nonne deum omnino ita tollit, ut nullam opinionem eius
surely god altogether so removes that no notion of-him
reliquam faciat? Quid aer, quo Diogenes Apolloniates utitur
remaining he-makes what air which Diogenes of-Apollonia uses
deo, quem sensum habere potest aut quam formam dei?
as-god what sense to-have can or what shape of-god

Plato contradicts himself, and Xenophon errs the same way. Antisthenes, Speusippus, Aristotle, Xenocrates, Heraclides, Theophrastus, and Strato fare no better, nor do Zeno, Aristo, Cleanthes, and Persaeus, who deify law, the ether, reason, and the men who found useful things.

Iam de Platonis inconstantia longum est dicere, qui in 30
now about Plato's inconsistency long it-is to-speak who in
Timaeo patrem huius mundi nominari neget posse, in
the-Timaeus the-father of-this world to-be-named denies to-be-able in
Legum autem libris quid sit omnino deus anquiri
of-the-Laws moreover the-books what is at-all god to-be-inquired
oportere non censeat. Quod vero sine corpore ullo deum
to-be-proper not thinks what indeed without body any god
vult esse (ut Graeci dicunt ἀσώματον), id quale esse
he-wishes to-be as the-Greeks say asomaton that of-what-kind to-be
possit intellegi non potest: careat enim sensu necesse
could to-be-understood not can it-would-lack for sense necessary
est, careat etiam prudentia, careat voluptate; quae
it-is it-would-lack also wisdom it-would-lack pleasure which
omnia una cum deorum notione conprehendimus. Idem
all-things together with of-the-gods the-notion we-grasp the-same-man
et in Timaeo dicit et in Legibus et mundum deum
both in the-Timaeus says and in the-Laws both the-world god
esse et caelum et astra et terram et animos et eos
to-be and the-sky and the-stars and the-earth and minds and those
quos maiorum institutis accepimus. Quae et per se
whom of-the-ancestors by-institutions we-have-received which both by themselves
sunt falsa perspicue et inter se vehementer repugnantia.
are false evidently and among themselves vehemently conflicting

31 Atque etiam Xenophon paucioribus verbis eadem fere
and also Xenophon in-fewer words the-same-things almost
peccat; facit enim in his quae a Socrate dicta rettulit
errs he-makes for in these which by Socrates said he-reported
Socratem disputantem formam dei quaeri non oportere,
Socrates arguing the-shape of-god to-be-sought not to-be-proper
eundemque et solem et animum deum dicere, et modo
and-the-same-man both the-sun and the-mind god to-call and now
unum tum autem plures deos; quae sunt isdem in erratis
one then moreover more gods which are the-same in errors
fere quibus ea quae de Platone dicimus.
almost in-which those-things which about Plato we-say

32 Atque etiam Antisthenes in eo libro qui physicus inscribitur
and also Antisthenes in that book which the-physicist is-entitled
popularis deos multos naturalem unum esse dicens tollit
popular gods many natural one to-be saying removes
vim et naturam deorum. Nec multo secus Speusippus
the-force and nature of-the-gods nor much otherwise Speusippus
Platonem avunculum subsequens et vim quandam dicens,
Plato his-uncle following and a-force a-certain saying
qua omnia regantur, eamque animalem, evellere ex animis
by-which all-things are-ruled and-it living to-tear from minds
conatur cognitionem deorum.
tries the-knowledge of-the-gods

33 Aristotelesque in tertio de philosophia libro multa turbat a
and-Aristotle in the-third of philosophy book much confuses from
magistro suo Platone dissentiens; modo enim menti tribuit
teacher his Plato dissenting now for to-mind he-assigns
omnem divinitatem, modo mundum ipsum deum dicit esse,
all divinity now the-world itself god he-says to-be
modo alium quendam praeficit mundo eique eas partis tribuit
now another a-certain he-sets-over the-world and-to-it those parts he-assigns

ut replicatione quadam mundi motum regat atque tueatur,
that by-a-reversal a-certain of-the-world the-motion it-may-rule and maintain
tum caeli ardorem deum dicit esse non intellegens caelum
then of-the-sky the-heat god he-says to-be not understanding the-sky
mundi esse partem, quem alio loco ipse designarit
of-the-world to-be a-part which in-another place he-himself designated
deum. Quo modo autem caeli divinus ille sensus in celeritate
god in-what way moreover of-the-sky divine that sense in speed
tanta conservari potest? Ubi deinde illi tot dii, si numeramus
so-great to-be-preserved can where then those so-many gods if we-count
etiam caelum deum? Cum autem sine corpore idem
also the-sky god when moreover without body the-same-man
vult esse deum, omni illum sensu privat, etiam prudentia.
wishes to-be god of-all him sense he-deprives also of-wisdom
Quo porro modo mundus moveri carens corpore aut quo
in-what further way the-world to-be-moved lacking body or in-what
modo semper se movens esse quietus et beatus potest?
way always itself moving to-be quiet and blessed can
Nec vero eius condiscipulus Xenocrates in hoc genere prudentior 34
nor indeed his fellow-pupil Xenocrates in this kind wiser
est, cuius in libris qui sunt de natura deorum nulla species
is whose in books which are about the-nature of-the-gods no appearance
divina describitur; deos enim octo esse dicit, quinque eos qui
divine is-described gods for eight to-be he-says five those which
in stellis vagis nominantur, unum qui ex omnibus sideribus
in the-stars wandering are-named one which from all the-stars
quae infixa caelo sint ex dispersis quasi membris simplex sit
which fixed in-the-sky are from scattered as-if limbs single is
putandus deus, septimum solem adiungit octavamque lunam;
to-be-thought god the-seventh the-sun he-adds and-the-eighth the-moon
qui quo sensu beati esse possint intellegi non potest.
which with-what sense blessed to-be could to-be-understood not can

Ex eadem Platonis schola Ponticus Heraclides pueribus
from the-same of-Plato school of-Pontus Heraclides with-childish
fabulis refersit libros, et tamen modo mundum tum mentem
tales crammed his-books and still now the-world now mind
divinam esse putat, errantibus etiam stellis divinitatem tribuit
divine to-be thinks to-the-wandering also stars divinity assigns
sensuque deum privat et eius formam mutabilem esse vult,
and-of-sense god deprives and his shape changeable to-be wishes
eodemque in libro rursus terram et caelum refert in deos.
and-the-same in book again the-earth and the-sky he-counts among gods
35 Nec vero Theophrasti inconstantia ferenda est; modo enim
nor indeed Theophrastus' inconsistency to-be-borne is now for
menti divinum tribuit principatum modo caelo, tum autem
to-mind divine he-assigns the-primacy now to-the-sky then moreover
signis sideribusque caelestibus. Nec audiendus eius auditor
to-the-signs and-stars heavenly nor to-be-heard his pupil
Strato is qui physicus appellatur, qui omnem vim divinam
Strato he who the-physicist is-called who all force divine
in natura sitam esse censet, quae causas gignendi augendi
in nature placed to-be thinks which the-causes of-begetting of-increasing
minuendi habeat sed careat omni et sensu et figura.
of-diminishing has but lacks all both sense and shape
36 Zeno autem, ut iam ad vestros Balbe veniam, naturalem
Zeno moreover that now to yours Balbus I-may-come the-natural
legem divinam esse censet, eamque vim obtinere recta
law divine to-be thinks and-it the-force to-hold right-things
imperantem prohibentemque contraria. Quam legem quo
commanding and-forbidding the-contrary which law in-what
modo efficiat animantem intellegere non possumus; deum
way he-may-make living to-understand not we-can god
autem animantem certe volumus esse. Atque hic idem
moreover living certainly we-wish to-be and this-man the-same

alio loco aethera deum dicit: si intellegi potest nihil
in-another place the-ether god calls if to-be-understood it-can nothing
sentiens deus, qui numquam nobis occurrit neque in
feeling a-god who never to-us presents-himself neither in
precibus neque in optatis neque in votis. Aliis autem libris
prayers nor in wishes nor in vows in-other moreover books
rationem quandam per omnium naturam rerum pertinentem
a-reason a-certain through of-all the-nature things extending
vi divina esse adfectam putat. Idem astris hoc
with-force divine to-be endowed he-thinks the-same-man to-the-stars this
idem tribuit, tum annis mensibus annorumque mutationibus.
same assigns then to-years to-months and-of-years to-the-changes
Cum vero Hesiodi Theogoniam id est originem deorum
when indeed Hesiod's Theogony that is the-origin of-the-gods
interpretatur, tollit omnino usitatas perceptasque cognitiones
he-interprets he-removes altogether the-usual and-received notions
deorum; neque enim Iovem neque Iunonem neque Vestam
of-the-gods nor for Jupiter nor Juno nor Vesta
neque quemquam qui ita appelletur in deorum habet
nor anyone who so is-called in of-the-gods has
numero, sed rebus inanimis atque mutis per quandam
number but to-things lifeless and mute through a-certain
significationem haec docet tributa nomina.
signification these he-teaches given the-names
Cuius discipuli Aristonis non minus magno in errore 37
whose pupil's Aristo's not less great in error
sententiast, qui neque formam dei intellegi posse
the-opinion-is who neither the-shape of-god to-be-understood to-be-able
censeat neque in dis sensum esse dicat dubitetque omnino
thinks nor in the-gods sense to-be says and-doubts altogether
deus animans necne sit. Cleanthes autem, qui Zenonem
whether-god living or-not is Cleanthes moreover who Zeno

audivit una cum eo quem proxime nominavi, tum ipsum
heard together with him whom most-recently I-named now itself
mundum deum dicit esse, tum totius naturae menti atque
the-world god says to-be now of-all nature to-the-mind and
animo tribuit hoc nomen, tum ultimum et altissimum
soul assigns this name now the-farthest and highest
atque undique circumfusum et extremum omnia cingentem
and on-all-sides poured-around and outermost all-things girding
atque conplexum ardorem, qui aether nominetur, certissimum
and embracing heat which the-ether is-called the-most-certain
deum iudicat; idemque quasi delirans in his libris quos
god he-judges and-the-same-man as-if raving in these books which
scripsit contra voluptatem tum fingit formam quandam et
he-wrote against pleasure now fashions a-shape certain and
speciem deorum, tum divinitatem omnem tribuit astris, tum
appearance of-the-gods now divinity all assigns to-the-stars now
nihil ratione censet esse divinius. Ita fit ut deus ille,
nothing than-reason he-thinks to-be more-divine so it-happens that god that
quem mente noscimus atque in animi notione tamquam
whom by-mind we-know and in of-the-mind the-notion as-if
in vestigio volumus reponere, nusquam prorsus appareat.
in a-footprint we-wish to-set nowhere at-all appears

38 At Persaeus eiusdem Zenonis auditor eos esse habitos
but Persaeus of-the-same Zeno a-pupil those to-have-been held
deos a quibus aliqua magna utilitas ad vitae cultum
gods by whom some great advantage for of-life the-cultivation
esset inventa, ipsasque res utiles et salutares deorum
had-been found and-themselves the-things useful and wholesome of-the-gods
esse vocabulis nuncupatas, ut ne hoc quidem diceret,
to-be by-names called so-that not this even he-said
illa inventa esse deorum, sed ipsa divina; quo quid
those-things discoveries to-be of-gods but themselves divine than-which what

absurdius quam aut res sordidas atque deformis deorum
more-absurd than either things mean and ugly of-the-gods
honore adficere aut homines iam morte deletos reponere
with-honor to-endow or men already by-death destroyed to-place
in deos, quorum omnis cultus esset futurus in luctu.
among gods whose all worship would-be going-to-be in mourning

VI · THE CONCEPT IMPLANTED IN ALL

Chrysippus makes gods of fire, ether, fate, and even men; Diogenes of Babylon allegorizes the myths. The poets' fables, with their angry and lustful gods, are hardly more absurd, nor are the portents of the Magi and the Egyptians and the crowd's opinions. Epicurus alone saw that nature has implanted in every mind a concept of gods, which he called prolepsis*; a belief held by all without teaching must be true, so gods exist, and they are blessed and eternal.*

Iam vero Chrysippus, qui Stoicorum somniorum vaferrumus 39
now indeed Chrysippus who of-the-Stoics of-dreams the-craftiest
habetur interpres, magnam turbam congregat ignotorum
is-held interpreter a-great crowd gathers of-unknown
deorum, atque ita ignotorum ut eos ne coniectura quidem
gods and so unknown that them not by-conjecture even
informare possimus, cum mens nostra quidvis videatur
to-form we-can although mind our anything seems
cogitatione posse depingere. Ait enim vim divinam in
by-thought to-be-able to-depict he-says for the-force divine in
ratione esse positam et in universae naturae animo atque
reason to-be placed and in of-universal nature the-soul and
mente, ipsumque mundum deum dicit esse et eius animi
mind and-the-very world god he-calls to-be and its soul's
fusionem universam, tum eius ipsius principatum qui in
pouring universal then its own the-ruling-part which in

mente et ratione versetur, communemque rerum naturam
mind and reason is-engaged and-the-common of-things nature
universam atque omnia continentem, tum fatalem †umbram et
universal and all-things containing then the-fated shadow and
necessitatem rerum futurarum, ignem praeterea et eum quem
necessity of-things future fire besides and that which
ante dixi aethera, tum ea quae natura fluerent atque
before I-called ether then those-things which by-nature flowed and
manarent, ut et aquam et terram et aera, solem lunam
streamed as both water and earth and air the-sun moon
sidera universitatemque rerum qua omnia continerentur,
stars and-the-totality of-things by-which all-things were-contained
atque etiam homines eos qui inmortalitatem essent consecuti.
and even men those who immortality had attained
40 Idemque disputat aethera esse eum quem homines
and-the-same-man argues the-ether to-be him whom men
Iovem appellarent, quique aer per maria manaret eum esse
Jupiter called and-what air through the-seas flowed that to-be
Neptunum, terramque eam esse quae Ceres diceretur, similique
Neptune and-the-earth that to-be which Ceres was-called and-by-like
ratione persequitur vocabula reliquorum deorum. Idemque
method he-pursues the-names of-the-other gods and-the-same-man
etiam legis perpetuae et aeternae vim, quae quasi dux vitae
also of-law perpetual and eternal the-force which as-if guide of-life
et magistra officiorum sit, Iovem dicit esse, eandemque fatalem
and teacher of-duties is Jupiter he-says to-be and-the-same fated
necessitatem appellat sempiternam rerum futurarum veritatem;
necessity he-calls the-everlasting of-things future truth
quorum nihil tale est ut in eo vis divina inesse videatur.
of-which nothing such is that in it force divine to-be-present seems

Et haec quidem in primo libro de natura deorum; in 41
and these-things indeed in the-first book on the-nature of-the-gods in
secundo autem volt Orphei Musaei Hesiodi Homerique
the-second moreover he-wishes of-Orpheus of-Musaeus of-Hesiod and-of-Homer
fabellas accommodare ad ea quae ipse primo libro
the-tales to-adapt to those-things which he-himself in-the-first book
de deis inmortalibus dixerit, ut etiam veterrimi
about the-gods immortal had-said so-that even the-most-ancient
poetae, qui haec ne suspicati quidem sint, Stoici fuisse
poets who these-things not suspected even have Stoics to-have-been
videantur. Quem Diogenes Babylonius consequens in eo
may-seem whom Diogenes the-Babylonian following in that
libro qui inscribitur de Minerva partum Iovis ortumque
book which is-entitled on Minerva the-birth of-Jupiter and-the-origin
virginis ad physiologiam traducens deiungit a fabula.
of-the-virgin to natural-philosophy transferring separates from fable
Exposui fere non philosophorum iudicia sed delirantium 42
I-have-set-out almost not of-philosophers the-judgments but of-ravers
somnia. Nec enim multo absurdiora sunt ea quae poetarum
the-dreams nor for much more-absurd are those-things which of-the-poets
vocibus fusa ipsa suavitate nocuerunt, qui et ira
by-the-voices poured-out by-their-very sweetness have-done-harm who both with-anger
inflammatos et libidine furentis induxerunt deos feceruntque ut
inflamed and with-lust raging have-brought-on gods and-made that
eorum bella proelia pugnas vulnera videremus, odia praeterea
their wars battles fights wounds we-should-see hatreds besides
discidia discordias, ortus interitus, querellas lamentationes,
quarrels discords births deaths complaints lamentations
effusas in omni intemperantia libidines, adulteria vincula, cum
poured-out in all intemperance lusts adulteries chains with
humano genere concubitus mortalisque ex inmortali procreatos.
the-human race couplings and-mortals from an-immortal begotten

43 Cum poetarum autem errore coniungere licet portenta
with of-the-poets moreover the-error to-join it-is-allowed the-portents
magorum Aegyptiorumque in eodem genere dementiam,
of-the-Magi and-of-the-Egyptians in the-same kind the-madness
tum etiam vulgi opiniones, quae in maxima inconstantia
then also of-the-crowd the-opinions which in the-greatest inconsistency
veritatis ignoratione versantur.
of-truth ignorance are-engaged
Ea qui consideret quam inconsulte ac temere dicantur,
those-things whoever considers how thoughtlessly and rashly they-are-said
venerari Epicurum et in eorum ipsorum numero de quibus
to-venerate Epicurus and in of-those very the-number about whom
haec quaestio est habere debeat. Solus enim vidit primum esse
this question is to-have ought alone for he-saw first to-be
deos, quod in omnium animis eorum notionem inpressisset
gods because in of-all the-minds of-them the-notion had-impressed
ipsa natura. Quae est enim gens aut quod genus
itself nature what is for the-nation or what race
hominum quod non habeat sine doctrina anticipationem
of-men which not has without teaching a-preconception
quandam deorum, quam appellat πρόλημψιν Epicurus id est
certain of-the-gods which calls prolepsis Epicurus that is
anteceptam animo rei quandam informationem, sine
beforehand-taken by-the-mind of-a-thing a-certain sketch without
qua nec intellegi quicquam nec quaeri nec disputari
which neither to-be-understood anything nor to-be-sought nor to-be-argued
potest. Quoius rationis vim atque utilitatem ex illo
can of-which method the-force and usefulness from that
caelesti Epicuri de regula et iudicio volumine accepimus.
heavenly of-Epicurus on the-rule and judgment volume we-have-received

Quod igitur fundamentum huius quaestionis est, id praeclare 44
what therefore the-foundation of-this question is that splendidly
iactum videtis. Cum enim non instituto aliquo aut more aut
laid you-see since for not by-institution some or by-custom or
lege sit opinio constituta maneatque ad unum omnium firma
by-law has the-opinion been-established and-remains to one of-all firm
consensio, intellegi necesse est esse deos, quoniam insitas
agreement to-be-understood necessary it-is to-be gods since implanted
eorum vel potius innatas cognitiones habemus; de quo autem
their or rather inborn notions we-have about which moreover
omnium natura consentit, id verum esse necesse est; esse
of-all the-nature agrees that true to-be necessary it-is to-be
igitur deos confitendum est. Quod quoniam fere constat inter
therefore gods to-be-confessed it-is which since almost it-is-agreed among
omnis non philosophos solum sed etiam indoctos, fatemur
all not philosophers only but also the-unlearned we-confess
constare illud etiam, hanc nos habere sive anticipationem,
to-be-agreed that also this we to-have whether preconception
ut ante dixi, sive praenotionem deorum (sunt enim rebus
as before I-said or prenotion of-the-gods are for to-things
novis nova ponenda nomina, ut Epicurus ipse πρόληψιν
new new to-be-given names as Epicurus himself prolepsis
appellavit, quam antea nemo eo verbo nominarat) —
called-it which before no-one by-that word had-named
hanc igitur habemus, ut deos beatos et inmortales putemus. 45
this therefore we-have that the-gods blessed and immortal we-should-think
Quae enim nobis natura informationem ipsorum deorum dedit,
what for to-us nature the-sketch of-the-very gods gave
eadem insculpsit in mentibus ut eos aeternos et beatos
the-same engraved in minds that them eternal and blessed
haberemus. Quod si ita est, vere exposita illa sententia est ab
we-should-hold but if so it-is truly set-out that saying is by

Epicuro, quod beatum aeternumque sit id nec habere ipsum
Epicurus that-what blessed and-eternal is that neither to-have itself
negotii quicquam nec exhibere alteri, itaque neque ira neque
of-business anything nor to-cause to-another and-so neither by-anger nor
gratia teneri, quod quae talia essent inbecilla essent omnia.
by-favor to-be-held because what-things such were weak were all
Si nihil aliud quaereremus nisi ut deos pie coleremus
if nothing else we-sought except that the-gods dutifully we-might-worship
et ut superstitione liberaremur, satis erat dictum; nam et
and that from-superstition we-might-be-freed enough had-been said for both
praestans deorum natura hominum pietate coleretur, cum
the-excellent of-the-gods nature of-men by-piety would-be-worshiped since
et aeterna esset et beatissima (habet enim venerationem
both eternal it-was and most-blessed has for veneration
iustam quicquid excellit), et metus omnis a vi atque
just whatever excels and fear all from the-force and
ira deorum pulsus esset; intellegitur enim a beata
anger of-the-gods driven-out would-have-been it-is-understood for from a-blessed
inmortalique natura et iram et gratiam segregari; quibus
and-immortal nature both anger and favor to-be-separated which
remotis nullos a superis inpendere metus. Sed ad hanc
removed no from the-gods-above to-hang-over fears but for this
confirmandam opinionem anquirit animus et formam et
being-confirmed opinion inquires the-mind both the-shape and
vitam et actionem mentis atque agitationem in deo.
the-life and the-activity of-the-mind and movement in god

Reason and nature give the gods human form, the most beautiful and the only one in which reason dwells, but not a body: a quasi-body with quasi-blood, seen by the mind through a stream of images. Infinite nature balances its forces, so immortals exist alongside mortals. Their life is the happiest conceivable: they do nothing and delight in their own wisdom, while the Stoic god toils without rest. Atoms in the infinite void made the world without a maker, and Epicurus freed men from the fear of a prying master, of fate, and of divination.

Ac de forma quidem partim natura nos admonet partim 46
and about the-shape indeed partly nature us reminds partly
ratio docet. Nam a natura habemus omnes omnium
reason teaches for from nature we-have all of-all
gentium speciem nullam aliam nisi humanam deorum;
nations an-appearance none other except human of-the-gods
quae enim forma alia occurrit umquam aut vigilanti
what for shape other presents-itself ever either to-one-awake
cuiquam aut dormienti? Sed ne omnia revocentur ad primas
anyone or to-one-sleeping but lest all-things be-referred to the-first
notiones, ratio hoc idem ipsa declarat.
notions reason this same itself declares
Nam cum praestantissumam naturam, vel quia beata 47
for since the-most-excellent nature either because blessed
est vel quia sempiterna, convenire videatur eandem esse
it-is or because everlasting to-befit seems the-same to-be
pulcherrimam, quae conpositio membrorum, quae conformatio
most-beautiful what arrangement of-limbs what conformation
liniamentorum, quae figura, quae species humana potest
of-features what shape what appearance than-the-human can
esse pulchrior? Vos quidem Lucili soletis (nam Cotta meus
to-be more-beautiful you indeed Lucilius are-wont for Cotta my

modo hoc modo illud), cum artificium effingitis fabricamque
now this now that when the-artistry you-portray and-the-workmanship
divinam, quam sint omnia in hominis figura non modo
divine how are all-things in of-man the-shape not only
ad usum verum etiam ad venustatem apta describere;
for use but also for beauty fitted to-describe
48 quod si omnium animantium formam vincit hominis figura,
but if of-all living-beings the-shape surpasses of-man the-figure
deus autem animans est, ea figura profecto est quae
god moreover living is that figure surely is-his which
pulcherrimast omnium. Quoniamque deos beatissimos esse
most-beautiful-is of-all and-since the-gods most-blessed to-be
constat, beatus autem esse sine virtute nemo potest nec
it-is-agreed blessed moreover to-be without virtue no-one can nor
virtus sine ratione constare nec ratio usquam inesse nisi in
virtue without reason to-exist nor reason anywhere to-be-present except in
hominis figura, hominis esse specie deos confitendum est.
of-man the-figure of-man to-be in-appearance the-gods to-be-confessed it-is
49 Nec tamen ea species corpus est sed quasi corpus, nec
nor still that appearance body is but as-it-were body nor
habet sanguinem sed quasi sanguinem. Haec quamquam
has-it blood but as-it-were blood these-things although
et inventa sunt acutius et dicta subtilius ab Epicuro quam
both discovered have-been more-sharply and stated more-subtly by Epicurus than
ut quivis ea possit agnoscere, tamen fretus intellegentia
that anyone them could to-recognize still relying-on intelligence
vestra dissero brevius quam causa desiderat. Epicurus autem,
your I-discuss more-briefly than the-case requires Epicurus moreover
qui res occultas et penitus abditas non modo videat
who things hidden and deeply concealed not only sees
animo sed etiam sic tractet ut manu, docet eam
with-the-mind but also so handles as-if with-the-hand teaches that

esse vim et naturam deorum, ut primum non sensu sed
to-be the-force and nature of-the-gods that first not by-sense but
mente cernatur, nec soliditate quadam nec ad numerum, ut
by-mind it-be-perceived nor with-solidity some nor by number as
ea quae ille propter firmitatem στερέμνια appellat, sed
those-things which he on-account-of firmness steremnia calls but
imaginibus similitudine et transitione perceptis, cum infinita
by-images by-likeness and passage perceived since an-infinite
simillumarum imaginum species ex innumerabilibus individuis
of-most-similar images appearance from the-innumerable atoms
existat et ad deos adfluat, cum maximis voluptatibus in eas
arises and to the-gods flows with the-greatest pleasures on those
imagines mentem intentam infixamque nostram intellegentiam
images the-mind intent and-fixed our understanding
capere quae sit et beata natura et aeterna.
to-grasp what is both blessed nature and eternal
Summa vero vis infinitatis et magna ac diligenti 50
the-highest indeed force of-infinity and of-great and careful
contemplatione dignissima est. In qua intellegi necesse
contemplation most-worthy is in which to-be-understood necessary
est eam esse naturam ut omnia omnibus paribus paria
it-is that to-be the-nature that all-things to-all equal-things equal
respondeant; hanc ἰσονομίαν appellat Epicurus id est
correspond this isonomia calls Epicurus that is
aequabilem tributionem. Ex hac igitur illud efficitur, si
equal distribution from this therefore this is-produced if
mortalium tanta multitudo sit, esse inmortalium non
of-mortals so-great a-multitude be to-be of-immortals not
minorem, et si quae interimant innumerabilia sint,
smaller and if the-things-which destroy innumerable be
etiam ea quae conservent infinita esse debere.
also those which preserve infinite to-be ought

Et quaerere a nobis Balbe soletis quae vita deorum sit
and to-ask of us Balbus you-are-wont what life of-the-gods is
quaeque ab is degatur aetas.
and-what by them is-spent age

51 Ea videlicet qua nihil beatius nihil omnibus bonis
that evidently than-which nothing more-blessed nothing in-all good-things
affluentius cogitari potest. Nihil enim agit, nullis
more-abounding to-be-thought can nothing for he-does by-no
occupationibus est inplicatus, nulla opera molitur, sua
occupations is entangled no works undertakes in-his-own
sapientia et virtute gaudet, habet exploratum fore
wisdom and virtue rejoices he-has assured to-be-going-to-be
se semper cum in maximis tum in aeternis voluptatibus.
himself always both in the-greatest and in eternal pleasures

52 Hunc deum rite beatum dixerimus, vestrum vero
this god rightly blessed we-would-call yours indeed
laboriosissimum. Sive enim ipse mundus deus est, quid
most-laborious whether for itself the-world god is what
potest esse minus quietum quam nullo puncto temporis
can to-be less quiet than with-no moment of-time
intermisso versari circum axem caeli admirabili celeritate:
interrupted to-turn around the-axis of-the-sky with-admirable speed
nisi quietum autem nihil beatum est; sive in ipso mundo deus
unless quiet moreover nothing blessed is or-if in itself the-world god
inest aliquis, qui regat qui gubernet qui cursus astrorum
is-present some who should-rule who should-steer who the-courses of-the-stars
mutationes temporum rerum vicissitudines ordinesque conservet,
the-changes of-the-seasons of-things the-alternations and-orders should-preserve
terras et maria contemplans hominum commoda vitasque
lands and seas contemplating of-men the-advantages and-lives
tueatur, ne ille est inplicatus molestis negotiis et operosis.
should-protect truly he is entangled in-troublesome business and laborious

Nos autem beatam vitam in animi securitate et in 53
we moreover the-blessed life in of-mind freedom-from-care and in
omnium vacatione munerum ponimus. Docuit enim nos
from-all exemption tasks place taught for us
idem qui cetera, natura effectum esse mundum,
the-same-man who the-rest by-nature produced to-have-been the-world
nihil opus fuisse fabrica, tamque eam rem esse facilem,
nothing need to-have-been of-workmanship and-so that thing to-be easy
quam vos effici negetis sine divina posse sollertia,
which you to-be-produced deny without divine to-be-able skill
ut innumerabiles natura mundos effectura sit efficiat
that innumerable nature worlds going-to-produce is is-producing
effecerit. Quod quia quem ad modum natura efficere sine
has-produced which because in-what to manner nature to-produce without
aliqua mente possit non videtis, ut tragici poetae cum
some mind could not you-see as tragic poets when
explicare argumenti exitum non potestis confugitis ad deum.
to-unfold of-the-plot the-outcome not you-can you-flee to god
Cuius operam profecto non desideraretis, si inmensam 54
whose aid surely not you-would-miss if the-immense
et interminatam in omnis partis magnitudinem regionum
and unbounded in all directions extent of-regions
videretis, in quam se iniciens animus et intendens ita late
you-saw into which itself casting the-mind and straining so widely
longeque peregrinatur, ut nullam tamen oram ultimi videat
and-far travels that no still shore of-the-farthest it-sees
in qua possit insistere. In hac igitur inmensitate latitudinum
on which it-could to-stand in this therefore immensity of-breadths
longitudinum altitudinum infinita vis innumerabilium volitat
lengths heights an-infinite quantity of-innumerable flits
atomorum, quae interiecto inani cohaerescunt tamen inter
atoms which with-interposed void cohere still among

se et aliae alias adprehendentes continuantur; ex quo
themselves and some others grasping are-joined from which
efficiuntur eae rerum formae et figurae, quas vos effici
are-produced those of-things forms and shapes which you to-be-produced
posse sine follibus et incudibus non putatis. Itaque
to-be-able without bellows and anvils not think and-so
inposuistis in cervicibus nostris sempiternum dominum, quem
you-have-placed on necks our an-everlasting master whom
dies et noctes timeremus. Quis enim non timeat omnia
days and nights we-should-fear who for not would-fear all-things
providentem et cogitantem et animadvertentem et omnia ad
foreseeing and thinking and noticing and all-things to
se pertinere putantem curiosum et plenum negotii deum?
himself to-pertain thinking a-meddlesome and full of-business god
55 Hinc vobis extitit primum illa fatalis necessitas, quam
hence for-you arose first that fated necessity which
εἱμαρμένην dicitis, ut quicquid accidat id ex aeterna veritate
heimarmene you-call so-that whatever happens that from eternal truth
causarumque continuatione fluxisse dicatis. Quanti autem
and-of-causes the-continuity to-have-flowed you-say of-how-much moreover
haec philosophia aestimandast, cui tamquam aniculis,
this philosophy is-to-be-valued to-which as-if to-little-old-women
et his quidem indoctis, fato fieri videantur omnia. Sequitur
and those indeed unlearned by-fate to-happen seem all-things follows
μαντικὴ vestra, quae Latine divinatio dicitur, qua tanta
mantike your which in-Latin divination is-called with-which so-great
inbueremur superstitione si vos audire vellemus, ut haruspices
we-would-be-imbued superstition if you to-hear we-wished that haruspices
augures harioli vates coniectores nobis essent colendi.
augurs diviners prophets interpreters by-us would-be to-be-revered

His terroribus ab Epicuro soluti et in libertatem vindicati 56
from-these terrors by Epicurus released and into liberty claimed
nec metuimus eos quos intellegimus nec sibi fingere
neither we-fear those whom we-understand neither for-themselves to-create
ullam molestiam nec alteri quaerere, et pie sancteque
any trouble nor for-another to-seek and dutifully and-holily
colimus naturam excellentem atque praestantem.
we-worship a-nature excellent and outstanding
Sed elatus studio vereor ne longior fuerim. Erat autem
but carried-away by-zeal I-fear lest longer I-have-been it-was moreover
difficile rem tantam tamque praeclaram inchoatam relinquere;
difficult a-thing so-great and-so splendid begun to-leave
quamquam non tam dicendi ratio mihi habenda fuit quam
although not so-much of-speaking account by-me to-be-taken was as
audiendi.'
of-listening

VIII · COTTA BEGINS

Cotta praises Velleius' clarity but says he finds it easier to say what is false than what is true, like Simonides before Hiero. As pontiff he believes the gods exist, yet the argument from universal consent is weak: some peoples know no gods, Diagoras and Theodorus openly abolished them, and Protagoras, who only doubted, was banished from Athens and his books burned.

Tum Cotta comiter ut solebat 'Atqui' inquit 'Vellei nisi tu 57
then Cotta courteously as he-was-wont and-yet he-said Velleius unless you
aliquid dixisses, nihil sane ex me quidem audire potuisses.
something had-said nothing indeed from me indeed to-hear you-could-have
Mihi enim non tam facile in mentem venire solet quare
to-me for not so easily into mind to-come it-is-wont why

verum sit aliquid quam quare falsum; idque cum saepe tum
true is something as why false and-that while often then
cum te audirem paulo ante contigit. Roges me qualem
when you I-heard a-little before has-happened should-you-ask me of-what-kind
naturam deorum esse dicam: nihil fortasse respondeam;
the-nature of-the-gods to-be I-say nothing perhaps I-would-answer
quaeras putemne talem esse qualis modo a te sit
should-you-ask whether-I-think such to-be as just-now by you has-been
exposita: nihil dicam mihi videri minus.
set-out nothing I-shall-say to-me to-seem less
Sed ante quam adgrediar ad ea quae a te disputata
but before than I-approach to those-things which by you argued
sunt de te ipso dicam quid sentiam.
have-been about you yourself I-shall-say what I-think

58 Saepe enim de L. Crasso illo familiari tuo videor audisse,
often for about Lucius Crassus that intimate your I-seem to-have-heard
cum te togatis omnibus sine dubio anteferret, paucos
when you to-the-toga-wearers all without doubt he-preferred few
tecum Epicureos e Graecia compararet, sed, quod ab eo
with-you Epicureans from Greece he-compared but because by him
te mirifice diligi intellegebam, arbitrabar illum propter
you wonderfully to-be-loved I-understood I-thought him on-account-of
benivolentiam uberius id dicere. Ego autem, etsi vereor
goodwill more-fully that to-say I moreover although I-fear
laudare praesentem, iudico tamen de re obscura atque
to-praise one-present I-judge still about a-thing obscure and
difficili a te dictum esse dilucide, neque sententiis
difficult by you spoken to-have-been clearly and-not in-thoughts
solum copiose sed verbis etiam ornatius quam solent vestri.
only copiously but in-words also more-ornately than are-wont yours

Zenonem, quem Philo noster coryphaeum appellare 59
Zeno whom Philo our the-chorus-leader to-call
Epicureorum solebat, cum Athenis essem audiebam frequenter,
of-the-Epicureans was-wont when at-Athens I-was I-used-to-hear often
et quidem ipso auctore Philone, credo ut facilius
and indeed at-his-very urging Philo's I-believe so-that more-easily
iudicarem quam illa bene refellerentur, cum a principe
I-might-judge how those-things well were-refuted when from the-chief
Epicureorum accepissem quem ad modum dicerentur. Non
of-the-Epicureans I-had-learned in-what to manner they-were-stated not
igitur ille ut plerique, sed isto modo ut tu, distincte
therefore he as most but in-that way as you distinctly
graviter ornate. Sed quod in illo mihi usu saepe
weightily ornately but what in his-case to-me in-experience often
venit, idem modo cum te audirem accidebat, ut moleste
came the-same just-now when you I-heard happened that troubled
ferrem tantum ingenium (bona venia me audies) in tam
I-bore such-a talent with-good pardon me you-will-hear upon so
leves ne dicam in tam ineptas sententias incidisse.
trivial not to-say upon so foolish opinions to-have-fallen
Nec ego nunc ipse aliquid adferam melius. Ut enim modo 60
nor I now myself anything shall-bring better as for just-now
dixi, omnibus fere in rebus sed maxime in physicis quid
I-said all almost in things but most in natural-matters what
non sit citius quam quid sit dixerim. Roges me quid aut
not is sooner than what is I-would-say should-you-ask me what or
quale sit deus: auctore utar Simonide, de quo cum
of-what-kind is god as-authority I-shall-use Simonides of whom when
quaesivisset hoc idem tyrannus Hiero, deliberandi sibi
had-asked this same the-tyrant Hiero of-deliberating for-himself
unum diem postulavit; cum idem ex eo postridie quaereret,
one day he-demanded when the-same of him the-next-day he-asked

biduum petivit; cum saepius duplicaret numerum dierum
two-days he-sought when more-often he-doubled the-number of-days
admiransque Hiero requireret cur ita faceret, "quia quanto
and-wondering Hiero asked why so he-did because by-how-much
diutius considero" inquit "tanto mihi res videtur
longer I-consider he-said by-so-much to-me the-matter seems
obscurior". Sed Simoniden arbitror (non enim poeta solum
obscurer but Simonides I-think not for poet only
suavis verum etiam ceteroqui doctus sapiensque traditur), quia
sweet but also otherwise learned and-wise he-is-reported because
multa venirent in mentem acuta atque subtilia, dubitantem
many-things came to mind sharp and subtle doubting
quid eorum esset verissimum desperasse omnem veritatem.
which of-them was truest to-have-despaired-of all truth
61 Epicurus vero tuus (nam cum illo malo disserere quam
Epicurus indeed your for with him I-prefer to-argue than
tecum) quid dicit quod non modo philosophia dignum
with-you what does-he-say which not only of-philosophy worthy
esset sed mediocri prudentia?
would-be but of-moderate good-sense
Quaeritur primum in ea quaestione quae est de natura
it-is-asked first in that question which is about the-nature
deorum, sintne dei necne sint. "Difficile est negare."
of-the-gods whether-there-are gods or-not they-are difficult it-is to-deny
Credo si in contione quaeratur, sed in huius modi sermone
I-suppose if in an-assembly it-be-asked but in of-this kind conversation
et in consessu familiari facillimum. Itaque ego ipse pontifex,
and in a-gathering intimate most-easy and-so I myself a-pontiff
qui caerimonias religionesque publicas sanctissime tuendas
who the-ceremonies and-rites public most-sacredly to-be-guarded
arbitror, is hoc quod primum est, esse deos, persuaderi
think I this which first is to-be gods to-be-persuaded

mihi non opinione solum sed etiam ad veritatem plane
to-me not by-opinion only but also to the-truth plainly
velim. Multa enim occurrunt quae conturbent, ut
I-should-wish many-things for occur which may-confound so-that
interdum nulli esse videantur.
sometimes none to-be may-seem
Sed vide quam tecum agam liberaliter: quae communia sunt 62
but see how with-you I-deal generously which-things common are
vobis cum ceteris philosophis non attingam, ut hoc ipsum;
to-you with the-other philosophers not I-shall-touch as this itself
placet enim omnibus fere mihique ipsi in primis deos esse.
it-pleases for all almost and-to-me myself in the-first gods to-be
Itaque non pugno; rationem tamen eam quae a te adfertur non
and-so not I-fight the-argument still that which by you is-brought not
satis firmam puto. Quod enim omnium gentium generumque
sufficiently firm I-think what for of-all nations and-races
hominibus ita videretur, id satis magnum argumentum esse
to-men so seemed that sufficiently great a-proof to-be
dixisti cur esse deos confiteremur. Quod cum leve per se
you-said why to-be gods we-should-confess which while trivial by itself
tum etiam falsum est. Primum enim unde tibi notae sunt
then also false is first for whence to-you known are
opiniones nationum? Equidem arbitror multas esse gentes sic
the-opinions of-nations for-my-part think many to-be peoples so
inmanitate efferatas, ut apud eas nulla suspicio deorum sit.
by-savagery made-wild that among them no suspicion of-gods is
Quid Diagoras, Atheos qui dictus est, posteaque Theodorus 63
what Diagoras the-Atheist who called was and-afterward Theodorus
nonne aperte deorum naturam sustulerunt? Nam Abderites
surely openly of-the-gods the-nature removed for the-Abderite
quidem Protagoras, cuius a te modo mentio facta est,
indeed Protagoras of-whom by you just-now mention made has-been

sophistes temporibus illis vel maximus, cum in principio
a-sophist in-times those even the-greatest when at the-beginning
libri sic posuisset “de divis neque ut sint neque
of-his-book thus he-had-put about the-gods neither whether they-are nor
ut non sint habeo dicere”, Atheniensium iussu urbe
whether not they-are I-am-able to-say of-the-Athenians by-order from-the-city
atque agro est exterminatus librique eius in contione
and territory was banished and-the-books his in the-assembly
combusti; ex quo equidem existimo tardioris ad hanc
burned from which for-my-part think slower to this
sententiam profitendam multos esse factos, quippe cum
opinion being-professed many to-have-been made seeing since
poenam ne dubitatio quidem effugere potuisset. Quid de
punishment not doubt even to-escape could what about
sacrilegis, quid de impiis periurisque dicemus?
the-sacrilegious what about the-impious and-perjurers shall-we-say

Tubulus si Lucius umquam,
Tubulus if Lucius ever
si Lupus aut Carbo aut Neptuni filius,
if Lupus or Carbo or of-Neptune the-son

ut ait Lucilius, putasset esse deos, tam periurus aut tam
as says Lucilius had-thought to-be gods so perjured or so
inpurus fuisset?
foul would-he-have-been

Epicurus' atoms and void are themselves unproven, and from them he fashions whatever comes into his head. The swerve he invented to save free will, like his denial of the disjunction, is a worse fiction than the defeat it avoids. A god of quasi-body and quasi-blood, made of atoms, cannot be eternal, for what is made of atoms was born and must die.

Non est igitur tam explorata ista ratio ad id quod vultis 64
not is therefore so assured that reasoning for that which you-wish
confirmandum quam videtur. Sed quia commune hoc est
to-be-confirmed as it-seems but since common this is
argumentum aliorum etiam philosophorum, omittam hoc
the-argument of-other also philosophers I-shall-omit-it at-this
tempore; ad vestra propria venire malo.
time to your own-things to-come I-prefer
Concedo esse deos; doce me igitur unde sint ubi sint 65
I-grant to-be gods teach me therefore whence they-are where they-are
quales sint corpore animo vita; haec enim scire
of-what-kind they-are in-body mind life these-things for to-know
desidero. Abuteris ad omnia atomorum regno et licentia;
I-desire you-misuse for all-things of-the-atoms the-reign and license
hinc quodcumque in solum venit, ut dicitur, effingis
hence whatever onto the-ground comes as it-is-said you-fashion
atque efficis. Quae primum nullae sunt. Nihil est enim
and produce which first none are nothing is for
∗∗∗ quod vacet corpore, corporibus autem omnis obsidetur
(lacuna) which is-free-of body by-bodies moreover every is-occupied
locus; ita nullum inane, nihil esse individuum potest.
place so no void nothing to-be indivisible can

66 Haec ego nunc physicorum oracla fundo, vera an
these-things I now of-the-natural-philosophers oracles pour-forth true or
falsa nescio, sed veri tamen similiora quam vestra.
false I-know-not but to-the-truth still more-like than yours
Ista enim flagitia Democriti sive etiam ante Leucippi, esse
those for outrages of-Democritus or even before of-Leucippus to-be
corpuscula quaedam levia alia aspera, rutunda alia, partim
small-bodies certain smooth others rough round others partly
autem angulata et hamata, curvata quaedam et quasi adunca,
moreover angular and hooked curved some and as-if hook-shaped
ex iis effectum esse caelum atque terram nulla cogente
from them made to-have-been the-sky and earth with-no compelling
natura sed concursu quodam fortuito — hanc tu opinionem
nature but by-a-concourse certain chance this you opinion
C. Vellei usque ad hanc aetatem perduxisti, priusque
Gaius Velleius right to this age have-brought and-sooner
te quis de omni vitae statu quam de ista auctoritate
you anyone from all of-life standing than from that authority
deiecerit; ante enim iudicasti Epicureum te esse oportere
would-dislodge before for you-decided an-Epicurean you to-be to-be-proper
quam ista cognovisti: ita necesse fuit aut haec flagitia
than those-things you-learned so necessary it-was either these outrages
concipere animo aut susceptae philosophiae nomen amittere.
to-conceive in-mind or of-the-undertaken philosophy the-name to-lose
67 Quid enim mereas, ut Epicureus esse desinas? "Nihil
what for would-you-take that an-Epicurean to-be you-should-cease nothing
equidem" inquis "ut rationem vitae beatae veritatemque
for-my-part you-say that the-reasoning of-life blessed and-the-truth
deseram". Ista igitur est veritas? Nam de vita beata
I-should-abandon that therefore is truth for about life blessed
nihil repugno, quam tu ne in deo quidem esse censes
nothing I-dispute which you not in god even to-be think

nisi plane otio langueat. Sed ubi est veritas? In mundis
unless plainly in-leisure he-languish but where is truth in worlds
credo innumerabilibus omnibus minimis temporum punctis
I-suppose innumerable in-all smallest of-times moments
aliis nascentibus aliis cadentibus; an in individuis corpusculis
some being-born others falling or in indivisible small-bodies
tam praeclara opera nulla moderante natura nulla ratione
such splendid works with-no controlling nature with-no reason
fingentibus? Sed oblitus liberalitatis meae, qua tecum paulo
fashioning but forgetful of-generosity my which with-you a-little
ante uti coeperam, plura complector. Concedam igitur
before to-use I-had-begun more-things I-embrace I-shall-grant therefore
ex individuis constare omnia; quid ad rem?
from indivisibles to-consist all-things what to the-matter
Deorum enim natura quaeritur. Sint sane ex atomis; 68
of-the-gods for the-nature is-sought let-them-be by-all-means from atoms
non igitur aeterni. †Quia enim ex atomis, id natum
not therefore eternal because for from atoms that born
aliquandost; si natum, nulli dei ante quam nati; et si ortus
at-some-time-is if born none gods before than born and if a-rise
est deorum, interitus sit necesse est, ut tu paulo ante
there-is of-the-gods a-death be necessary it-is as you a-little before
de Platonis mundo disputabas. Ubi igitur illud vestrum
about Plato's world were-arguing where therefore that your
beatum et aeternum, quibus duobus verbis significatis deum?
blessed and eternal by-which two words you-signify god
Quod cum efficere vultis, in dumeta conrepitis. Ita enim
which when to-accomplish you-wish into the-thickets you-creep so for
dicebas, non corpus esse in deo sed quasi corpus, nec
you-said not a-body to-be in god but as-it-were a-body nor
sanguinem sed tamquam sanguinem.
blood but as-if blood

69 Hoc persaepe facitis, ut, cum aliquid non veri simile dicatis
this very-often you-do that when something not to-the-truth like you-say
et effugere reprehensionem velitis, adferatis aliquid quod
and to-escape censure wish you-bring-in something which
omnino ne fieri quidem possit, ut satius fuerit illud
at-all not to-happen even can so-that better it-would-have-been that
ipsum de quo ambigebatur concedere quam tam inpudenter
itself about which there-was-dispute to-concede than so shamelessly
resistere. Velut Epicurus cum videret, si atomi ferrentur
to-resist as Epicurus when he-saw if the-atoms were-carried
in locum inferiorem suopte pondere, nihil fore
into a-place lower by-their-own weight nothing to-be-going-to-be
in nostra potestate, quod esset earum motus certus et
in our power since was their motion fixed and
necessarius, invenit quo modo necessitatem effugeret, quod
necessary he-found in-what way necessity he-might-escape which
videlicet Democritum fugerat: ait atomum, cum pondere
evidently Democritus had-escaped he-says the-atom while by-weight
et gravitate directo deorsus feratur, declinare paululum.
and heaviness straight downward it-is-carried to-swerve a-little
70 Hoc dicere turpius est quam illud quod vult non posse
this to-say more-shameful is than that which he-wishes not to-be-able
defendere. Idem facit contra dialecticos; a quibus cum
to-defend the-same he-does against the-dialecticians by whom since
traditum sit in omnibus diiunctionibus, in quibus “aut etiam
handed-down it-is in all disjunctions in which either yes
aut non” poneretur, alterum utrum esse verum, pertimuit ne,
or not was-put one or-the-other to-be true he-dreaded lest
si concessum esset huius modi aliquid “aut vivet cras aut
if granted it-were of-this kind something either will-live tomorrow or
non vivet Epicurus”, alterutrum fieret necessarium: totum
not will-live Epicurus one-of-the-two would-become necessary whole

hoc “aut etiam aut non” negavit esse necessarium; quo
this either yes or not he-denied to-be necessary than-which
quid dici potuit obtusius? Urguebat Arcesilas Zenonem, cum
what to-be-said could more-obtuse pressed Arcesilas Zeno since
ipse falsa omnia diceret quae sensibus viderentur, Zenon
he-himself false all-things said which to-the-senses appeared Zeno
autem non nulla visa esse falsa non omnia; timuit Epicurus
moreover not none appearances to-be false not all feared Epicurus
ne, si unum visum esset falsum, nullum esset verum:
lest if one appearance were false none would-be true
omnes sensus veri nuntios dixit esse. Nihil horum nisi †valde;
all the-senses true messengers he-said to-be nothing of-these unless greatly
graviorem enim plagam accipiebat ut leviorem repelleret.
a-heavier for blow he-received that a-lighter he-might-repel
Idem facit in natura deorum: dum individuorum corporum 71
the-same he-does in the-nature of-the-gods while of-indivisible bodies
concretionem fugit ne interitus et dissipatio consequatur,
the-compacting he-flees lest death and dispersal follow
negat esse corpus deorum sed tamquam corpus, nec
he-denies to-be a-body of-the-gods but as-if a-body nor
sanguinem sed tamquam sanguinem. Mirabile videtur quod
blood but as-if blood wonderful it-seems that
non rideat haruspex cum haruspicem viderit; hoc mirabilius
not laughs a-haruspex when a-haruspex he-has-seen this more-wonderful
quam ut vos inter vos risum tenere possitis? “Non est
than that you among yourselves laughter to-hold can not it-is
corpus sed quasi corpus”: hoc intellegerem quale esset,
a-body but as-it-were a-body this I-would-understand of-what-kind it-were
si in cereis fingeretur aut fictilibus figuris; in deo quid
if in wax it-were-fashioned or clay figures in god what

sit quasi corpus aut quid sit quasi sanguis intellegere
is as-it-were a-body or what is as-it-were blood to-understand
non possum. Ne tu quidem Vellei, sed non vis fateri.
not I-can not you even Velleius but not you-wish to-confess

X · THE BEAUTY OF HUMAN FORM

Epicurus boasted that he had no teacher, scorned the Platonist Pamphilus, and abused Nausiphanes, though nearly all his physics is Democritus'. Cotta cannot grasp a quasi-body or quasi-blood, and asks why the human shape should be the most beautiful: each creature prefers its own kind, even among men beauty is rare, and lovers find even a blemish charming. The gods were given human form by wise men's design or by superstition, and the poets and painters spread it.

72 Ista enim a vobis quasi dictata redduntur, quae Epicurus
those for by you as-if dictated are-given-back which Epicurus
oscitans halucinatus est, cum quidem gloriaretur, ut videmus
yawning dreamed-up has when indeed he-boasted as we-see
in scriptis, se magistrum habuisse nullum. Quod et non
in his-writings himself a-teacher to-have-had none which even not
praedicanti tamen facile equidem crederem, sicut mali
to-him-proclaiming-it still easily I-for-my-part would-believe as of-a-bad
aedificii domino glorianti se architectum non habuisse;
building to-the-owner boasting himself an-architect not to-have-had
nihil enim olet ex Academia, nihil ex Lycio, nihil ne e
nothing for smells of the-Academy nothing of the-Lyceum nothing not of
puerilibus quidem disciplinis. Xenocraten audire potuit (quem
the-boyish even schools Xenocrates to-hear he-could what
virum, dii inmortales), et sunt qui putent audisse;
a-man gods immortal and there-are those-who think he-heard-him
ipse non vult: credo, plus nemini. Pamphilum quendam
he-himself not wishes I-believe-it more to-no-one Pamphilus a-certain

Platonis auditorem ait a se Sami auditum (ibi enim
Plato's pupil he-says by himself at-Samos heard there for
adulescens habitabat cum patre et fratribus, quod in eam
as-a-young-man he-lived with his-father and brothers because to that-place
pater eius Neocles agripeta venerat, sed cum agellus eum
father his Neocles a-land-seeker had-come but when the-little-farm him
non satis aleret ut opinor, ludi magister fuit);
not sufficiently fed as I-think a-school master he-was
sed hunc Platonicum mirifice contemnit Epicurus: ita metuit 73
but this Platonist wonderfully despises Epicurus so he-fears
ne quid umquam didicisse videatur. In Nausiphane
lest anything ever to-have-learned he-may-seem in Nausiphanes
Democriteo tenetur; quem cum a se non neget
the-Democritean he-is-caught whom although by himself not he-denies
auditum vexat tamen omnibus contumeliis. Atqui si haec
heard he-harasses still with-all insults and-yet if these
Democritea non audisset, quid audierat, quid est in
Democritean-things not he-had-heard what had-he-heard what is in
physicis Epicuri non a Democrito? Nam etsi quaedam
the-physics of-Epicurus not from Democritus for although certain-things
commutavit, ut quod paulo ante de inclinatione atomorum
he-changed as what a-little before about the-swerve of-the-atoms
dixi, tamen pleraque dicit eadem, atomos inane, imagines
I-said still most-things he-says the-same atoms void images
infinitatem locorum innumerabilitatemque mundorum, eorum
the-infinity of-places and-the-innumerability of-worlds their
ortus interitus, omnia fere quibus naturae ratio continetur.
births deaths all almost by-which of-nature the-account is-contained
Nunc istuc quasi corpus et quasi sanguinem quid
now that as-it-were body and as-it-were blood what
intellegis?
do-you-understand

74 Ego enim te scire ista melius quam me non fateor
I for you to-know those-things better than me not I-confess
solum sed etiam facile patior; cum quidem semel dicta
only but also easily I-allow when indeed once said
sunt, quid est quod Velleius intellegere possit Cotta non
they-are what is that Velleius to-understand can Cotta not
possit? Itaque corpus quid sit sanguis quid sit intellego,
can and-so body what is blood what is I-understand
quasi corpus et quasi sanguis quid sit nullo prorsus
as-it-were body and as-it-were blood what is in-no at-all
modo intellego. Neque tu me celas ut Pythagoras solebat
way I-understand nor you from-me hide as Pythagoras was-wont
alienos, nec consulto dicis occulte tamquam Heraclitus,
from-outsiders nor deliberately do-you-speak obscurely like Heraclitus
sed, quod inter nos liceat, ne tu quidem intellegis.
but what between us be-allowed not you even understand
75 Illud video pugnare te, species ut quaedam sit
this I-see to-contend that-you an-appearance that a-certain there-is
deorum, quae nihil concreti habeat nihil solidi nihil
of-the-gods which nothing of-compacted has nothing of-solid nothing
expressi nihil eminentis, sitque pura levis perlucida. Dicemus
of-expressed nothing of-projecting and-is pure smooth transparent we-shall-say
igitur idem quod in Venere Coa: corpus illud non est
therefore the-same as in the-Venus of-Cos a-body that not is
sed simile corporis, nec ille fusus et candore mixtus
but like a-body nor that suffused and with-whiteness mingled
rubor sanguis est sed quaedam sanguinis similitudo; sic in
redness blood is but a-certain of-blood likeness so in
Epicureo deo non rem sed similitudines esse rerum.
the-Epicurean god not a-thing but likenesses to-be of-things

Fac id quod ne intellegi quidem potest mihi esse
suppose that which not to-be-understood even can to-me to-be
persuasum; cedo mihi istorum adumbratorum deorum
persuaded give to-me of-those shadowed gods
liniamenta atque formas.
the-features and forms
Non deest hoc loco copia rationum, quibus docere velitis 76
not is-lacking in-this place an-abundance of-reasons by-which to-teach you-wish
humanas esse formas deorum; primum quod ita sit informatum
human to-be the-forms of-the-gods first that so it-is shaped
anticipatumque mentibus nostris, ut homini, cum de deo
and-preconceived in-minds our that to-man when about god
cogitet, forma occurrat humana; deinde cum, quoniam rebus
he-thinks a-form presents-itself human then since because in-things
omnibus excellat natura divina, forma quoque esse pulcherrima
all excels the-nature divine the-form also to-be most-beautiful
debeat, nec esse humana ullam pulchriorem; tertiam rationem
ought nor to-be than-the-human any more-beautiful a-third reason
adfertis, quod nulla in alia figura domicilium mentis esse possit.
you-bring that no in other shape a-dwelling of-mind to-be can
Primum igitur quidque considera quale sit; arripere 77
first therefore each consider of-what-kind it-is to-seize
enim mihi videmini quasi vestro iure rem nullo modo
for to-me you-seem as-if by-your-own right a-thing in-no way
probabilem.
probable
Primum omnium quis tam caecus in contemplandis rebus
first of-all who so blind in contemplating things
umquam fuit, ut non videret species istas hominum
ever was that not he-saw appearances those of-men
conlatas in deos aut consilio quodam sapientium, quo
attributed to gods either by-a-plan certain of-wise-men by-which

facilius animos imperitorum ad deorum cultum a vitae
more-easily the-minds of-the-ignorant to of-the-gods the-worship from of-life
pravitate converterent, aut superstitione, ut essent
depravity they-might-turn or by-superstition so-that there-might-be
simulacra quae venerantes deos ipsos se adire
images which venerating the-gods themselves that-they to-approach
crederent. Auxerunt autem haec eadem poetae pictores
they-might-believe increased moreover these same-things poets painters
opifices; erat enim non facile agentis aliquid et molientes
craftsmen it-was for not easy-to-do acting something and striving
deos in aliarum formarum imitatione servare.
gods in of-other forms imitation to-keep
Accessit etiam ista opinio fortasse, quod homini homine
was-added also that belief perhaps because to-man than-man
pulchrius nihil videatur. Sed tu hoc physice non
more-beautiful nothing seems but you this as-a-natural-philosopher not
vides, quam blanda conciliatrix et quasi sui sit lena
see how flattering a-matchmaker and as-if of-herself is a-procuress
natura? An putas ullam esse terra marique beluam quae
nature or do-you-think any to-be on-land and-sea beast which
non sui generis belua maxime delectetur? Quod ni ita
not of-its-own kind with-a-beast most is-delighted but if-not so
esset, cur non gestiret taurus equae contrectatione, equus
it-were why not would-be-eager the-bull of-a-mare for-handling the-horse
vaccae? An tu aquilam aut leonem aut delphinum ullam
for-a-cow's or you an-eagle or a-lion or a-dolphin any
anteferre censes figuram suae? Quid igitur mirum si hoc
to-prefer think shape to-its-own what therefore wonderful if in-this
eodem modo homini natura praescripsit, ut nihil pulchrius
same way to-man nature prescribed that nothing more-beautiful
quam hominem putaret? *** Eam esse causam cur deos
than man he-should-think (lacuna) that to-be the-reason why gods

hominum similis putaremus: quid censes, si ratio esset in
to-men like we-should-think what do-you-think if reason were in
beluis, non suo quasque generi plurimum tributuras fuisse?
beasts not to-its-own each kind most going-to-assign to-have-been
At mehercule ego (dicam enim ut sentio) quamvis amem ipse 78
but by-Hercules I I-shall-say for as I-feel although I-love myself
me tamen non audeo dicere pulchriorem esse me quam ille
me still not I-dare to-say more-beautiful to-be me than that
fuerit taurus qui vexit Europam; non enim hoc loco de
was bull which carried Europa not for in-this place about
ingeniis aut de orationibus nostris sed de specie figuraque
talents or about speeches our but about appearance and-shape
quaeritur. Quod si fingere nobis et iungere formas velimus,
it-is-asked but if to-fashion for-ourselves and to-join forms we-should-wish
qualis ille maritimus Triton pingitur, natantibus invehens beluis
such-as that sea Triton is-painted on-swimming riding beasts
adiunctis humano corpori, nolis esse. Difficili in loco
joined to-the-human body you-would-not-wish to-be difficult in place
versor; est enim vis tanta naturae, ut homo nemo velit
I-am-engaged is for the-force so-great of-nature that man none wishes
nisi hominis similis esse — et quidem formica formicae.
except to-man like to-be and indeed the-ant to-the-ant
Sed tamen cuius hominis? Quotus enim quisque formonsus 79
but still of-which man how-few for each handsome
est: Athenis cum essem, e gregibus epheborum vix
is at-Athens when I-was from the-flocks of-young-men scarcely
singuli reperiebantur — video quid adriseris, sed ita tamen
single-ones were-found I-see why you-smiled but so still
se res habet. Deinde nobis, qui concedentibus philosophis
itself the-matter has then to-us who with-the-permission of-philosophers
antiquis adulescentulis delectamur, etiam vitia saepe iucunda
ancient in-young-boys we-are-delighted even faults often pleasing

sunt. Naevos in articulo pueri delectat Alcaeum; at est
are a-mole on the-knuckle of-a-boy delights Alcaeus but it-is
corporis macula naevos; illi tamen hoc lumen videbatur.
of-the-body a-blemish a-mole to-him still this a-beauty seemed
Q. Catulus, huius collegae et familiaris nostri pater, dilexit
Quintus Catulus of-this colleague and intimate our the-father loved
municipem tuum Roscium, in quem etiam illud est eius:
fellow-townsman your Roscius on whom even this is his

constiteram exorientem Auroram forte salutans,
I-had-stood the-rising Dawn by-chance greeting
cum subito a laeva Roscius exoritur.
when suddenly from the-left Roscius rises
Pace mihi liceat caelestes dicere vestra:
with-leave for-me let-it-be-allowed heavenly-ones to-say your
mortalis visus pulchrior esse deo.
a-mortal seemed more-beautiful to-be than-a-god

Huic deo pulchrior; at erat, sicuti hodie est, perversissimis
than-this god more-beautiful but he-was as today he-is with-most-squinting
oculis: quid refert, si hoc ipsum salsum illi et
eyes what does-it-matter if this itself witty to-him and
venustum videbatur?
charming seemed

If the gods are like us, do some squint or carry moles, and do all share one face? We know them from childhood in the face, age, and dress the painters gave them, but the Egyptians, the Argives, the Lanuvians, and the Africans picture them differently, and every tongue gives them other names. Cotta asks why Velleius does not dare deny the gods outright, and notes that some think Epicurus kept them in words, to escape the Athenians' anger, and removed them in fact.

Redeo ad deos. Ecquos si non tam strabones at paetulos 80
I-return to the-gods any-whether if not so squint-eyed yet slightly-cross-eyed
esse arbitramur, ecquos naevum habere, ecquos silos
to-be do-we-think any-whether a-mole to-have any-whether snub-nosed
flaccos frontones capitones, quae sunt in nobis, an omnia
flap-eared big-browed big-headed which-things are in us or all-things
emendata in illis? Detur id vobis; num etiam una
corrected in them let-it-be-granted that to-you surely-not also one
est omnium facies? Nam si plures, aliam esse alia
is of-all the-face for if more another to-be than-another
pulchriorem necesse est, igitur aliquis non pulcherrimus
more-beautiful necessary it-is therefore some-one not most-beautiful
deus; si una omnium facies est, florere in caelo Academiam
god if one of-all the-face is to-flourish in heaven the-Academy
necesse est: si enim nihil inter deum et deum differt,
necessary it-is if for nothing between god and god differs
nulla est apud deos cognitio, nulla perceptio.
no is among the-gods recognition no perception
Quid si etiam Vellei falsum illud omnino est, nullam aliam 81
what if even Velleius false that altogether is no other
nobis de deo cogitantibus speciem nisi hominis occurrere:
to-us about god thinking appearance except of-man to-present-itself
tamenne ista tam absurda defendes? Nobis fortasse
nevertheless-whether those-things so absurd will-you-defend to-us perhaps

sic occurrit ut dicis; a parvis enim Iovem Iunonem
so it-presents-itself as you-say from little-ones for Jupiter Juno
Minervam Neptunum Vulcanum Apollinem reliquos deos
Minerva Neptune Vulcan Apollo the-other gods
ea facie novimus qua pictores fictoresque voluerunt,
with-that face we-have-known with-which painters and-sculptors wished
neque solum facie sed etiam ornatu aetate vestitu. At non
nor only in-face but also in-dress age clothing but not
Aegyptii nec Syri nec fere cuncta barbaria; firmiores
the-Egyptians nor the-Syrians nor almost all the-barbarian-world firmer
enim videas apud eos opiniones esse de bestiis quibusdam
for you-would-see among them beliefs to-be about beasts certain
quam apud nos de sanctissimis templis et simulacris deorum.
than among us about most-holy temples and images of-the-gods
82 Etenim fana multa spoliata et simulacra deorum de locis
for-indeed shrines many plundered and images of-the-gods from places
sanctissimis ablata videmus a nostris, at vero ne fando
most-holy taken-away we-see by our-men but indeed not by-report
quidem auditumst crocodilum aut ibin aut faelem violatum
even has-it-been-heard a-crocodile or an-ibis or a-cat harmed
ab Aegyptio. Quid igitur censes Apim illum sanctum
by an-Egyptian what therefore do-you-think Apis that sacred
Aegyptiorum bovem nonne deum videri Aegyptiis? Tam
of-the-Egyptians bull surely a-god to-seem to-the-Egyptians as-much
hercle quam tibi illam vestram Sospitam. Quam tu
by-Hercules as to-you that your Savior whom you
numquam ne in somnis quidem vides nisi cum pelle caprina
never not in dreams even see unless with a-skin goat's
cum hasta cum scutulo cum calceolis repandis. At non
with a-spear with a-small-shield with little-shoes turned-up but not
est talis Argia nec Romana Iuno. Ergo alia species
is such the-Argive nor the-Roman Juno therefore one the-appearance

Iunonis Argivis alia Lanuinis. Et quidem alia nobis
of-Juno for-the-Argives another for-the-Lanuvians and indeed one for-us
Capitolini alia Afris Hammonis Iovis.
of-the-Capitoline another for-the-Africans of-Hammon Jupiter
Non pudet igitur physicum id est speculatorem 83
not is-it-shameful therefore for-a-natural-philosopher that is an-observer
venatoremque naturae ab animis consuetudine inbutis petere
and-hunter of-nature from minds by-habit steeped to-seek
testimonium veritatis? Isto enim modo dicere licebit
testimony of-truth in-that for way to-say it-will-be-allowed
Iovem semper barbatum, Apollinem semper inberbem, caesios
Jupiter always bearded Apollo always beardless gray
oculos Minervae, caeruleos esse Neptuni. Et quidem laudamus
the-eyes of-Minerva blue to-be of-Neptune and indeed we-praise
esse Athenis Volcanum eum quem fecit Alcamenes, in quo
to-be at-Athens a-Vulcan that which made Alcamenes in which
stante atque vestito leviter apparet claudicatio non deformis:
standing and clothed slightly appears a-limp not unsightly
claudum igitur habebimus deum, quoniam de Volcano
lame therefore we-shall-have a-god since about Vulcan
sic accepimus. Age et his vocabulis esse deos facimus
so we-have-received come and by-these names to-be gods do-we-make
quibus a nobis nominantur?
which by us they-are-named
At primum quot hominum linguae tot nomina deorum; 84
but first as-many-as of-men tongues so-many names of-the-gods
non enim ut tu Velleius quocumque veneris sic idem in Italia
not for as you Velleius wherever you-come so the-same in Italy
Volcanus idem in Africa idem in Hispania. Deinde nominum
Vulcan the-same in Africa the-same in Spain then of-names
non magnus numerus ne in pontificiis quidem nostris,
not great the-number not in pontifical even our

deorum autem innumerabilis. An sine nominibus sunt? Istud
of-gods moreover innumerable or without names are-they that
quidem ita vobis dicere necesse est; quid enim attinet, cum
indeed so to-you to-say necessary it-is what for does-it-matter when
una facies sit, plura esse nomina? Quam bellum erat Vellei
one face is more to-be names how fine it-was Velleius
confiteri potius nescire quod nescires quam ista
to-confess rather not-to-know what you-did-not-know than those-things
effutientem nauseare atque ipsum sibi displicere. An tu mei
blurting-out to-be-sick and yourself to-you to-displease or you to-me
similem putas esse aut tui deum? Profecto non putas.
like do-you-think to-be or to-you god surely not you-think
"Quid ergo, solem dicam aut lunam aut caelum deum? Ergo
what therefore the-sun shall-I-call or the-moon or the-sky god therefore
etiam beatum: quibus fruentem voluptatibus? Et sapientem: qui
also blessed what enjoying pleasures and wise how
potest esse in eius modi trunco sapientia?" haec vestra sunt.
can to-be in of-such kind a-block wisdom these-things yours are
85 Si igitur nec humano ∗∗∗, quod docui, nec tali aliquo,
if therefore neither in-human (lacuna) as I-have-taught nor in-such some
quod tibi ita persuasum est, quid dubitas negare deos esse?
as to-you so persuaded it-is why do-you-hesitate to-deny gods to-be
Non audes. Sapienter id quidem, etsi hoc loco non populum
not you-dare wisely that indeed although in-this place not the-people
metuis sed ipsos deos. Novi ego Epicureos omnia sigilla
you-fear but themselves the-gods I-know I Epicureans all little-images
venerantes. Quamquam video non nullis videri Epicurum, ne in
venerating although I-see not to-none to-seem Epicurus lest into
offensionem Atheniensium caderet, verbis reliquisse deos re
the-offense of-the-Athenians he-should-fall in-words to-have-left the-gods in-fact
sustulisse. Itaque in illis selectis eius brevibusque sententiis,
to-have-removed-them and-so in those select his and-brief maxims

quas appellatis κυρίας δόξας, haec ut opinor prima sententia
which you-call kyrias doxas this as I-think the-first maxim
est: "quod beatum et inmortale est id nec habet nec
is that-which blessed and immortal is that neither has nor
exhibet cuiquam negotium"; in hac ita exposita sententia sunt
causes to-anyone trouble in this so set-out maxim there-are
qui existiment, quod ille inscitia plane loquendi fecerit,
those-who think what he by-ignorance plainly of-speaking did
fecisse consulto: de homine minime vafro male existimant.
to-have-done-it deliberately about a-man least crafty ill they-think
Dubium est enim utrum dicat aliquid esse beatum et 86
doubtful it-is for whether he-says something to-be blessed and
inmortale an si quod sit id esse tale. Non animadvertunt hic
immortal or if anything be that to-be such not they-notice here
eum ambigue locutum esse, sed multis aliis locis et illum et
him ambiguously spoken to-have but in-many other places both him and
Metrodorum tam aperte quam paulo ante te. Ille vero deos esse
Metrodorus as openly as a-little before you he indeed gods to-be
putat, nec quemquam vidi qui magis ea quae timenda
thinks nor anyone have-I-seen who more those-things which to-be-feared
esse negaret timeret, mortem dico et deos: quibus mediocres
to-be he-denied feared death I-mean and the-gods by-which ordinary
homines non ita valde moventur, his ille clamat omnium
men not so greatly are-moved by-these he cries of-all
mortalium mentes esse perterritas; tot milia latrocinantur
mortals the-minds to-be terrified so-many thousands rob
morte proposita, alii omnia quae possunt fana conpilant:
with-death set-before-them others all-things which they-can shrines plunder
credo aut illos mortis timor terret aut hos religionis.
I-suppose either those of-death the-fear terrifies or these of-religion

Sed quoniam non audes (iam enim cum ipso Epicuro
but since not you-dare now for with himself Epicurus
loquar) negare esse deos, quid est quod te inpediat aut
I-shall-speak to-deny to-be gods what is it-that you may-hinder either
solem aut mundum aut mentem aliquam sempiternam in
the-sun or the-world or a-mind some everlasting in
deorum numero ponere?
of-the-gods number to-place

XII · WHAT VELLEIUS HAS NEVER SEEN

Velleius says he has never seen reason except in human form. Cotta answers that by that test there would be no sun, no moon, and no planets, whose like he has never seen, and no god either. The argument climbs from blessedness to virtue to reason and then leaps to the human shape, and since the gods are eternal, their form came before ours. Gods with tongues and no speech are absurd, and the Epicureans, who complain of abuse, abused Phaedo, Aristotle, Metrodorus' brother, and even Socrates.

87 "Numquam vidi" inquit "animam rationis consilique
never have-I-seen he-said a-soul of-reason and-counsel
participem in ulla alia nisi humana figura". Quid solis
sharing in any other except the-human shape what of-the-sun
numquidnam aut lunae aut quinque errantium siderum simile
surely-not or of-the-moon or of-the-five wandering stars like
vidisti? Sol duabus unius orbis ultimis partibus definiens
have-you-seen the-sun by-the-two of-one circle outermost parts bounding
motum cursus annuos conficit; huius hanc lustrationem
its-motion courses yearly completes this-one's this circuit
eiusdem incensa radiis menstruo spatio luna complet; quinque
by-the-same lit rays in-a-monthly span the-moon completes the-five

autem stellae eundem orbem tenentes, aliae propius a terris
moreover stars the-same circle holding some nearer from the-earth
aliae remotius, ab isdem principiis disparibus temporibus
others farther from the-same beginnings in-unequal times
eadem spatia conficiunt. Num quid tale Epicure vidisti?
the-same spaces complete surely-not anything such Epicurus have-you-seen
Ne sit igitur sol ne luna ne stellae, quoniam nihil 88
not let-there-be therefore a-sun nor a-moon nor stars since nothing
esse potest nisi quod attigimus aut vidimus. Quid deum
to-be can except what we-have-touched or seen what god
ipsum numne vidisti? Cur igitur credis esse? Omnia
himself surely-not have-you-seen why therefore do-you-believe to-be-him all-things
tollamus ergo quae aut historia nobis aut ratio nova adfert.
let-us-remove therefore which either history to-us or reason new brings
Ita fit ut mediterranei mare esse non credant. Quae sunt
so it-happens that inland-people the-sea to-be not believe which are
tantae animi angustiae ut, si Seriphi natus esses nec
such of-mind narrownesses that if on-Seriphus born you-had-been nor
umquam egressus ex insula, in qua lepusculos vulpeculasque
ever gone-out from the-island in which little-hares and-little-foxes
saepe vidisses, non crederes leones et pantheras esse,
often you-had-seen not you-would-believe lions and panthers to-be
cum tibi quales essent dicerentur, si vero de elephanto
when to-you of-what-kind they-were were-told if indeed about an-elephant
quis diceret, etiam rideri te putares.
someone spoke even to-be-laughed-at yourself you-would-think
Et tu quidem Vellei non vestro more sed dialecticorum, 89
and you indeed Velleius not in-your-own manner but of-the-dialecticians
quae funditus gens vestra non novit, angustia
which from-the-foundations tribe your not knows in-the-narrowness
argumenti sententiam conclusisti. Beatos esse deos sumpsisti:
of-argument the-conclusion you-closed blessed to-be the-gods you-assumed

concedimus. Beatum autem esse sine virtute neminem posse:
we-grant-it blessed moreover to-be without virtue no-one to-be-able
id quoque damus, et libenter quidem. Virtutem autem sine
that also we-give and gladly indeed virtue moreover without
ratione constare non posse: conveniat id quoque necesse
reason to-exist not to-be-able let-it-be-agreed that also necessary
est. Adiungis nec rationem esse nisi in hominis figura.
it-is you-add nor reason to-be except in of-man the-shape
Quem tibi hoc daturum putas? Si enim ita esset, quid
who to-you this going-to-give do-you-think if for so it-were what
opus erat te gradatim istuc pervenire? Sumpsisses
need was-there you step-by-step thither to-arrive you-would-have-assumed-it
tuo iure. Quod autem est istuc gradatim? Nam a
by-your-own right what moreover is that step-by-step for from
beatis ad virtutem, a virtute ad rationem video te venisse
the-blessed to virtue from virtue to reason I-see you to-have-come
gradibus; a ratione ad humanam figuram quo modo
by-steps from reason to the-human shape in-what way
accedis? Praecipitare istuc quidem est, non descendere.
do-you-approach to-fall-headlong that indeed is not to-descend
90 Nec vero intellego cur maluerit Epicurus deos hominum
nor indeed do-I-understand why preferred Epicurus the-gods to-men
similes dicere quam homines deorum. Quaeres quid intersit;
like to-call than men to-the-gods you-will-ask what the-difference-is
si enim hoc illi simile sit, esse illud huic. Video, sed hoc
if for this to-that like is to-be that to-this I-see but this
dico, non ab hominibus formae figuram venisse ad deos;
I-say not from men of-form the-shape to-have-come to the-gods
di enim semper fuerunt, nati numquam sunt, si quidem
the-gods for always have-been born never were if indeed
aeterni sunt futuri; at homines nati; ante igitur humana
eternal they-are going-to-be but men born before therefore human

forma quam homines, eaque erant forma dii inmortales:
form than men and-in-that were form the-gods immortal
non ergo illorum humana forma sed nostra divina dicenda est.
not therefore their human form but ours divine to-be-called is
Verum hoc quidem ut voletis; illud quaero, quae fuerit
but this indeed as you-will-wish this I-ask what was
tanta fortuna (nihil enim ratione in rerum natura factum
so-great a-chance nothing for by-reason in of-things the-nature made
esse vultis) —
to-be you-wish
sed tamen quis iste tantus casus, unde tam felix concursus 91
but still what that so-great chance whence so fortunate a-concourse
atomorum, ut repente homines deorum forma nascerentur?
of-atoms that suddenly men of-the-gods in-form were-born
Seminane deorum decidisse de caelo putamus in terras et sic
seeds-whether of-the-gods to-have-fallen from the-sky do-we-think onto the-lands and so
homines patrum similes extitisse? Vellem diceretis; deorum
men to-their-fathers like to-have-arisen I-should-wish you-said of-the-gods
cognationem agnoscerem non invitus. Nihil tale dicitis, sed
the-kinship I-would-acknowledge not unwillingly nothing such you-say but
casu esse factum ut essemus similes deorum. Et
by-chance to-have-been brought-about that we-should-be like to-the-gods and
nunc argumenta quaerenda sunt quibus hoc refellatur. Utinam
now arguments to-be-sought are by-which this may-be-refuted would-that
tam facile vera invenire possim quam falsa convincere.
as easily true-things to-find I-could as false-things to-convict
Etenim enumerasti memoriter et copiose, ut mihi
for-indeed you-have-enumerated from-memory and copiously so-that to-me
quidem admirari luberet in homine esse Romano tantam
indeed to-wonder it-pleased in a-man to-be Roman such

scientiam, usque a Thale Milesio de deorum natura
knowledge right from Thales the-Milesian about the-gods' nature
philosophorum sententias.
of-philosophers the-opinions
92 Omnesne tibi illi delirare visi sunt qui sine manibus et
all-whether to-you those to-rave seemed have who without hands and
pedibus constare deum posse decreverint?
feet to-exist god to-be-able decided
Ne hoc quidem vos movet considerantis, quae sit utilitas
not this even you moves considering what is the-use
quaeque oportunitas in homine membrorum, ut iudicetis
and-what the-fitness in man of-the-limbs so-that you-judge
membris humanis deos non egere? Quid enim pedibus opus
of-limbs human the-gods not to-need what for of-feet need
est sine ingressu, quid manibus si nihil conprehendendum
is without walking what of-hands if nothing to-be-grasped
est, quid reliqua discriptione omnium corporis partium,
is what of-the-remaining arrangement of-all of-the-body parts
in qua nihil inane nihil sine causa nihil supervacuaneum
in which nothing empty nothing without cause nothing superfluous
est, itaque nulla ars imitari sollertiam naturae potest. Habebit
is and-so no art to-imitate the-skill of-nature can will-have
igitur linguam deus et non loquetur, dentes palatum fauces
therefore a-tongue god and not he-will-speak teeth palate throat
nullum ad usum, quaeque procreationis causa natura
no for use and-what of-procreation for-the-sake nature
corpori adfinxit ea frustra habebit deus; nec externa
to-the-body attached those in-vain will-have god nor the-external-things
magis quam interiora, cor pulmones iecur cetera — quae
more than the-inner heart lungs liver the-rest which

detracta utilitate quid habent venustatis (quando quidem
with-removed usefulness what have-they of-charm since indeed
haec esse in deo propter pulchritudinem voltis)?
these to-be in god on-account-of beauty you-wish
Istisne fidentes somniis non modo Epicurus et Metrodorus 93
in-those-whether trusting dreams not only Epicurus and Metrodorus
et Hermarchus contra Pythagoram Platonem Empedoclemque
and Hermarchus against Pythagoras Plato and-Empedocles
dixerunt, sed meretricula etiam Leontium contra
spoke but the-little-courtesan even Leontium against
Theophrastum scribere ausast — scito illa quidem sermone et
Theophrastus to-write dared-has elegantly she indeed in-style and
Attico, sed tamen: tantum Epicuri hortus habuit licentiae. Et
Attic but still so-much of-Epicurus the-garden had of-license and
soletis queri; Zeno quidem etiam litigabat; quid dicam
you-are-wont to-complain Zeno indeed even quarreled why should-I-mention
Albucium; nam Phaedro nihil elegantius nihil humanius,
Albucius for than-Phaedrus nothing more-refined nothing more-humane
sed stomachabatur senex si quid asperius dixeram, cum
but would-be-annoyed the-old-man if anything more-harshly I-had-said although
Epicurus Aristotelem vexarit contumeliosissime, Phaedoni
Epicurus Aristotle harassed most-insultingly to-Phaedo
Socratico turpissime male dixerit, Metrodori sodalis sui fratrem
the-Socratic most-shamefully ill has-spoken of-Metrodorus companion his the-brother
Timocraten, quia nescio quid in philosophia dissentiret,
Timocrates because I-know-not what in philosophy he-dissented
totis voluminibus conciderit, in Democritum ipsum quem
in-whole volumes cut-to-pieces toward Democritus himself whom
secutus est fuerit ingratus, Nausiphanem magistrum suum,
followed he-has was ungrateful Nausiphanes teacher his
a quo non nihil didicerat, tam male acceperit. Zeno
from whom not nothing he-had-learned so badly treated Zeno

quidem non eos solum qui tum erant, Apollodorum Sillim
indeed not those only who then were Apollodorus Sillis
ceteros, figebat maledictis, sed Socraten ipsum parentem
the-rest pierced with-abuse but Socrates himself the-parent
philosophiae Latino verbo utens scurram Atticum fuisse
of-philosophy a-Latin word using a-buffoon Attic to-have-been
dicebat, Chrysippum numquam nisi Chrysippam vocabat.
he-said Chrysippus never except Chrysippa he-called

XIII · REASON WITHOUT HUMAN SHAPE

Velleius' rule would deny countless worlds and the beasts of distant seas, though he believes in both. Likeness of form proves nothing, for apes resemble men and differ in character. Superfluous limbs would encumber a god, and those who inferred a divine nature from the order of the heavens reasoned better than Epicurus.

94 Tu ipse paulo ante cum tamquam senatum philosophorum
you yourself a-little before when as-if a-senate of-philosophers
recitares, summos viros desipere delirare dementis esse
you-were-reciting the-highest men to-be-foolish to-rave mad to-be
dicebas. Quorum si nemo verum vidit de natura deorum,
you-said of-whom if no-one the-truth saw about the-nature of-the-gods
verendum est ne nulla sit omnino.
to-be-feared it-is lest none be at-all
Nam ista quae vos dicitis sunt tota commenticia,
for those-things which you say are wholly invented
vix digna lucubratione anicularum. Non enim sentitis
scarcely worthy of-the-night-work of-little-old-women not for you-perceive
quam multa vobis suscipienda sint si inpetraritis ut
how many-things by-you to-be-taken-on are if you-will-have-obtained that
concedamus eandem hominum esse et deorum figuram.
we-concede the-same of-men to-be and of-gods the-shape

Omnis cultus et curatio corporis erit eadem adhibenda deo
all the-care and attention of-the-body will-be the-same to-be-applied to-god
quae adhibetur homini, ingressus cursus accubitio inclinatio
which is-applied to-man walking running reclining bending
sessio conprehensio, ad extremum etiam sermo et oratio.
sitting grasping at the-last even speech and discourse
Nam quod et maris deos et feminas esse dicitis, 95
for as-to-the-fact-that both male gods and female to-be you-say
quid sequatur videtis. Equidem mirari satis non possum
what follows you-see for-my-part to-wonder enough not can
unde ad istas opiniones vester ille princeps venerit.
whence to those opinions your that chief came
Sed clamare non desinitis retinendum hoc esse, deus ut beatus
but to-shout not you-cease to-be-kept this to-be god that blessed
inmortalisque sit. Quid autem obstat quo minus sit
and-immortal he-be what moreover stands-in-the-way by-which less he-be
beatus si non sit bipes, aut ista sive beatitas sive beatitudo
blessed if not he-be two-footed or that whether beatitas or beatitudo
dicendast (utrumque omnino durum, sed usu mollienda nobis
is-to-be-called both altogether harsh but by-use to-be-softened by-us
verba sunt) — verum ea quaecumque est cur aut in solem
words are but it whatever it-is why either upon sun
illum aut in hunc mundum aut in aliquam mentem aeternam
that or upon this world or upon some mind eternal
figura membrisque corporis vacuam cadere non potest?
of-shape and-limbs of-body free to-fall not can-it
Nihil aliud dicis nisi "Numquam vidi solem aut mundum 96
nothing other you-say except never I-have-seen the-sun or the-world
beatum". Quid mundum praeter hunc umquamne vidisti?
blessed what world besides this ever-whether have-you-seen
Negabis. Cur igitur non sescenta milia esse mundorum sed
you-will-deny why therefore not six-hundred thousands to-be of-worlds but

innumerabilia ausus es dicere? “Ratio docuit.” Ergo hoc te
innumerable dared you-have to-say reason taught therefore this you
ratio non docebit, cum praestantissima natura quaeratur eaque
reason not will-teach when the-most-excellent nature is-sought and-that
beata et aeterna, quae sola divina naturast, ut inmortalitate
blessed and eternal which alone divine nature-is that in-immortality
vincamur ab ea natura sic animi praestantia vinci,
we-are-surpassed by that nature so of-mind in-excellence to-be-surpassed
atque ut animi item corporis? Cur igitur, cum ceteris rebus
and as of-mind so of-body why therefore when in-other things
inferiores simus, forma pares sumus; ad similitudinem enim
inferior we-are in-form equal are-we to likeness for
deorum propius accedebat humana virtus quam figura.
of-the-gods nearer would-approach human virtue than shape
97 An quicquam tam puerile dici potest (ut eundem locum
or anything so childish to-be-said can-be that the-same point
diutius urgeam) quam si ea genera beluarum, quae in
longer I-should-press than if those kinds of-beasts which in
rubro mari Indiave gignantur, nulla esse dicamus? Atqui ne
the-red sea or-India are-born none to-be we-should-say and-yet not
curiosissimi quidem homines exquirendo audire tam multa
most-curious even men by-inquiring to-hear-of so many
possunt quam sunt multa quae terra mari paludibus fluminibus
can as are many which on-land sea marshes rivers
existunt; quae negemus esse, quia numquam vidimus?
exist which we-should-deny to-be because never we-have-seen
Ipsa vero quam nihil ad rem pertinet, quae vos delectat
itself indeed how nothing to the-matter pertains which you delights
maxime, similitudo. Quid canis nonne similis lupo (atque,
most likeness what a-dog not-whether like to-a-wolf and
ut Ennius, “simia quam similis turpissuma bestia nobis”);
as Ennius the-ape how like most-foul beast to-us

at mores in utroque dispares. Elephanto beluarum nulla
but habits in each different than-the-elephant of-beasts none
prudentior; ad figuram quae vastior?
more-prudent as-to shape which more-huge
De bestiis loquor; quid inter ipsos homines nonne et 98
of beasts I-speak what among themselves men not-whether both
simillimis formis dispares mores et moribus paribus figura
with-most-similar forms different habits and with-habits equal shape
dissimilis?
unlike
Etenim si semel Vellei suscipimus genus hoc argumenti, attende
for-indeed if once Velleius we-take-up kind this of-argument attend
quo serpat. Tu enim sumebas nisi in hominis figura
whither it-may-creep you for were-assuming unless in man's shape
rationem inesse non posse; sumet alius nisi in terrestri, nisi
reason to-be-in not can will-assume another unless in a-terrestrial unless
in eo qui natus sit, nisi in eo qui adoleverit, nisi in eo qui
in one who born has-been unless in one who has-grown-up unless in one who
didicerit, nisi in eo qui ex animo constet et corpore caduco
has-learned unless in one who of mind consists and body perishable
et infirmo, postremo nisi in homine atque mortali. Quod si
and weak finally unless in man and mortal but if
in omnibus his rebus obsistis, quid est quod te forma una
in all these things you-resist what is-it that you form one
conturbet? His enim omnibus quae proposui adiunctis in
should-disturb these for all which I-proposed being-added in
homine rationem esse et mentem videbas; quibus detractis
man reason to-be and mind you-saw which being-removed
deum tamen nosse te dicis, modo liniamenta maneant. Hoc
god still to-know you you-say provided lineaments remain this
est non considerare sed quasi sortiri quid loquare.
is not to-consider but as-it-were to-draw-lots-for what you-should-say

99 Nisi forte ne hoc quidem adtendis, non modo in homine
unless perhaps not this even you-notice not only in man
sed etiam in arbore quicquid supervacuaneum sit aut usum
but also in a-tree whatever superfluous is or use
non habeat obstare. Quam molestum est uno digito plus
not has to-be-a-hindrance how troublesome it-is by-one finger more
habere; quid ita? Quia nec speciem nec usum alium quinque
to-have why so? because neither appearance nor use other five
desiderant. Tuus autem deus non digito uno redundat sed
require your moreover god not by-finger one is-in-excess but
capite collo cervicibus lateribus alvo tergo poplitibus manibus
by-head neck nape sides belly back knee-hollows hands
pedibus feminibus cruribus. Si ut inmortalis sit, quid
feet thighs shins if that immortal he-may-be what
haec ad vitam membra pertinent, quid ipsa facies? Magis illa,
these to life limbs pertain what itself the-face more those
cerebrum cor pulmones iecur: haec enim sunt domicilia vitae;
brain heart lungs liver these for are dwellings of-life
oris quidem habitus ad vitae firmitatem nihil pertinet.
of-the-mouth indeed cast to of-life firmness nothing pertains
100 Et eos vituperabas, qui ex operibus magnificis atque praeclaris,
and those you-were-blaming who from works magnificent and splendid
cum ipsum mundum, cum eius membra caelum terras maria,
when itself the-world when its members the-sky lands seas
cumque horum insignia solem lunam stellasque vidissent,
and-when of-these the-ornaments sun moon and-stars had-seen
cumque temporum maturitates mutationes vicissitudinesque
and-when of-seasons the-ripenings changes and-alternations
cognovissent, suspicati essent aliquam excellentem esse
had-come-to-know suspected had some excellent to-be
praestantemque naturam, quae haec effecisset moveret
and-preeminent nature which these-things had-made should-move

regeret gubernaret. Qui etiam si aberrant a coniectura,
should-rule should-steer who even if they-stray from conjecture
video tamen quid sequantur: tu quod opus tandem magnum
I-see still what they-follow you what work pray great
et egregium habes quod effectum divina mente videatur,
and outstanding have which made by-divine mind may-seem
ex quo esse deos suspicere? "Habebam" inquis "in animo
from which to-be gods you-should-suspect I-had you-say in mind
insitam informationem quandam dei". Et barbati quidem
implanted a-conception some of-god and of-bearded indeed
Iovis, galeatae Minervae: num igitur esse talis putas?
Jupiter of-helmeted Minerva surely-not therefore to-be such you-think

XIV · AN IDLE GOD

The ignorant crowd at least gives its gods weapons and work, and the Egyptians consecrated beasts for their usefulness. Epicurus' god does nothing, like a pampered boy, and such teaching makes men idle too. Where does such a god live, and how is he happy? His images are empty motions of the mind, and they come of Orpheus, who never lived, of Scylla, and of whatever one pleases.

Quanto melius haec vulgus imperitorum, qui non membra 101
how-much better these-things the-crowd of-the-unskilled who not limbs
solum hominis deo tribuant sed usum etiam membrorum;
only of-man to-god assign but use also of-limbs
dant enim arcum sagittas hastam clipeum fuscinam fulmen,
they-give for bow arrows spear shield trident thunderbolt
et si actiones quae sint deorum non vident, nihil agentem
and if actions which are of-the-gods not they-see nothing doing
tamen deum non queunt cogitare. Ipsi qui inridentur
still a-god not they-can to-conceive themselves who are-mocked

Aegyptii nullam beluam nisi ob aliquam utilitatem quam
the-Egyptians no beast except for some usefulness which
ex ea caperent consecraverunt; velut ibes maximam vim
from it they-might-take consecrated as ibises a-very-great mass
serpentium conficiunt, cum sint aves excelsae cruribus rigidis
of-serpents destroy since they-are birds tall with-legs stiff
corneo proceroque rostro; avertunt pestem ab Aegypto, cum
with-horny and-long beak they-avert a-plague from Egypt when
volucris anguis ex vastitate Libyae vento Africo invectas
winged snakes from the-wilderness of-Libya by-wind African carried-in
interficiunt atque consumunt, ex quo fit ut illae
they-kill and consume from which it-comes-about that those
nec morsu vivae noceant nec odore mortuae. Possum de
neither by-bite living harm nor by-smell dead I-can about
ichneumonum utilitate de crocodilorum de faelium dicere, sed
of-ichneumons usefulness about of-crocodiles about cats to-speak but
nolo esse longus. Ita concludam, tamen beluas a barbaris
I-am-unwilling to-be long so I-will-conclude still beasts by barbarians
propter beneficium consecratas, vestrorum deorum non modo
on-account-of benefit consecrated of-your gods not only
beneficium nullum extare, sed ne factum quidem omnino.
benefit none to-stand-out but not a-deed even at-all
102 “Nihil habet” inquit “negotii”. Profecto Epicurus quasi
nothing he-has he-said of-business surely Epicurus like
pueri delicati nihil cessatione melius existimat. At ipsi
boys pampered nothing than-idleness better thinks but themselves
tamen pueri etiam cum cessant exercitatione aliqua ludicra
still boys even when they-are-idle with-exercise some playful
delectantur: deum sic feriatum volumus cessatione torpere,
are-delighted god so on-holiday we-want with-idleness to-be-torpid
ut, si se commoverit, vereamur ne beatus esse non possit?
that if himself he-should-stir we-fear lest blessed to-be not he-can

Haec oratio non modo deos spoliat motu et actione
this speech not only the-gods robs of-motion and of-action
divina, sed etiam homines inertis efficit, si quidem agens
divine but also men sluggish makes if indeed doing
aliquid ne deus quidem esse beatus potest.
something not god even to-be blessed can
Verum sit sane, ut vultis, deus effigies hominis et 103
but let-it-be by-all-means as you-wish god the-likeness of-man and
imago: quod eius est domicilium quae sedes qui locus, quae
image what his is dwelling what seat what place what
deinde actio vitae, quibus rebus, id quod vultis, beatus
then the-activity of-life by-what things that which you-wish blessed
est? Utatur enim suis bonis oportet et fruatur qui
he-is let-him-use for his-own goods it-behooves and let-him-enjoy who
beatus futurus est. Nam locus quidem his etiam naturis,
blessed about-to-be is for place indeed to-these even natures
quae sine animis sunt, suus est cuique proprius, ut terra
which without souls are its-own is to-each proper so-that the-earth
infimum teneat, hanc inundet aqua, superior aeri, aetheriis
lowest may-hold this may-flood water higher to-air to-the-ethereal
ignibus altissima ora reddatur; bestiarum autem terrenae sunt
fires highest region be-assigned of-beasts moreover terrestrial are
aliae, partim aquatiles, aliae quasi ancipites in utraque sede
some partly aquatic others as-it-were two-sided in each abode
viventes, sunt quaedam etiam quae igne nasci putentur
living there-are certain even which in-fire to-be-born are-thought
appareantque in ardentibus fornacibus saepe volitantes.
and-appear in burning furnaces often flying-about
Quaero igitur vester deus primum ubi habitet, deinde quae 104
I-ask therefore your god first where he-dwells then what
causa eum loco moveat, si modo movetur aliquando, post,
cause him from-place moves if only he-is-moved ever next

cum hoc proprium sit animantium ut aliquid adpetant quod sit
since this proper is of-living-beings that something they-seek which is
naturae accommodatum, deus quid appetat, ad quam denique
to-nature suited god what seeks to what finally
rem motu mentis ac rationis utatur, postremo quo modo
thing motion of-mind and of-reason he-uses lastly in-what way
beatus sit quo modo aeternus. Quicquid enim horum attigeris
blessed he-is in-what way eternal whatever for of-these you-touch
ulcus est: ita male instituta ratio exitum reperire non potest.
a-sore it-is so badly founded reasoning an-exit to-find not can
105 Sic enim dicebas, speciem dei percipi cogitatione non
thus for you-were-saying the-appearance of-god to-be-perceived by-thought not
sensu, nec esse in ea ullam soliditatem, neque eandem ad
by-sense nor to-be in it any solidity nor the-same as-to
numerum permanere, eamque esse eius visionem ut similitudine
number to-persist and-it to-be its vision that by-likeness
et transitione cernatur neque deficiat umquam ex infinitis
and by-passing it-is-discerned nor fails ever from infinite
corporibus similium accessio, ex eoque fieri ut in haec
bodies of-like-things the-accession from and-this to-come-about that on these
intenta mens nostra beatam illam naturam et sempiternam
intent mind our blessed that nature and everlasting
putet. Hoc, per ipsos deos de quibus loquimur, quale
thinks this by themselves the-gods about whom we-speak of-what-kind
tandem est? Nam si tantum modo ad cogitationem valent nec
pray is for if so-much only for thought they-avail nor
habent ullam soliditatem nec eminentiam, quid interest utrum
have any solidity nor projection what does-it-matter whether
de hippocentauro an de deo cogitemus; omnem enim talem
about a-hippocentaur or about a-god we-think every for such

conformationem animi ceteri philosophi motum inanem vocant,
shaping of-mind the-other philosophers motion empty call
vos autem adventum in animos et introitum imaginum dicitis.
you moreover an-arrival into minds and an-entrance of-images say
Ut igitur, Ti. Gracchum cum videor contionantem in 106
as therefore Tiberius Gracchus when I-seem haranguing in
Capitolio videre de M. Octavio deferentem sitellam, tum
the-Capitol to-see about Marcus Octavius bringing-out the-urn then
eum motum animi dico esse inanem, tu autem et Gracchi
that motion of-mind I-say to-be empty you moreover both of-Gracchus
et Octavi imagines remanere, quae in Capitolium cum
and of-Octavius images to-remain which into the-Capitol when
pervenerint tum ad animum meum referantur — hoc idem
they-have-arrived then to mind my are-borne this same
fieri in deo, cuius crebra facie pellantur animi, ex
to-happen in god whose frequent by-appearance are-struck minds from
quo esse beati atque aeterni intellegantur.
which to-be blessed and eternal they-are-understood
Fac imagines esse quibus pulsentur animi: species 107
suppose images to-exist by-which are-struck minds an-appearance
dumtaxat obicitur quaedam; num etiam cur ea beata sit
merely is-presented some surely-not also why it blessed is
cur aeterna?
why eternal
Quae autem istae imagines vestrae aut unde? A Democrito
what moreover those images your or whence from Democritus
omnino haec licentia; sed et ille reprehensus a multis est,
wholly this license but even he censured by many was
nec vos exitum reperitis, totaque res vacillat et claudicat.
nor you an-exit find and-whole the-matter wavers and limps
Nam quid est quod minus probari possit, omnium in
for what is-there which less to-be-approved can-be of-all on

me incidere imagines, Homeri Archilochi Romuli Numae
me to-fall the-images of-Homer of-Archilochus of-Romulus of-Numa
Pythagorae Platonis — nec ea forma qua illi fuerunt: quo
of-Pythagoras of-Plato nor in-that form in-which they were in-what
modo illi ergo? Et quorum imagines: Orpheum poetam docet
way they therefore and of-whom images Orpheus the-poet teaches
Aristoteles numquam fuisse, et hoc Orphicum carmen
Aristotle never to-have-existed and this Orphic poem
Pythagorei ferunt cuiusdam fuisse Cerconis; at Orpheus, id
the-Pythagoreans report of-a-certain to-have-been Cercon but Orpheus that
est imago eius ut vos vultis, in animum meum saepe incurrit.
is the-image his as you wish into mind my often runs
108 Quid quod eiusdem hominis in meum aliae aliae in tuum;
what that of-the-same man into mine some others into yours
quid quod earum rerum quae numquam omnino fuerunt neque
what that of-those things which never at-all have-existed nor
esse potuerunt, ut Scyllae ut Chimaerae; quid quod hominum
to-be could as of-Scylla as of-the-Chimaera what that of-men
locorum urbium earum quas numquam vidimus; quid quod
places cities those which never we-have-seen what that
simul ac mihi collibitum est praesto est imago; quid quod etiam
as-soon as to-me pleasing it-is at-hand is the-image what that even
ad dormientem veniunt invocatae. Tota res Vellei nugatoria
to one-sleeping they-come summoned the-whole matter Velleius trifling
est. Vos autem non modo oculis imagines sed etiam animis
is you moreover not only on-eyes images but also on-minds
inculcatis: tanta est inpunitas garriendi. At quam licenter.
stamp so-great is the-impunity of-chattering but how licentiously

The images cannot stream on forever, and isonomia *proves nothing. A god without virtue cannot be blessed, and the bodily pleasures Epicurus valued, as Metrodorus' writings show, cannot belong to him. Epicurus wrote on holiness and piety while abolishing them: piety is justice toward the gods, and nothing is owed to gods from whom nothing is received.*

"Fluentium frequenter transitio fit visionum, ut e multis 109
of-flowing frequently a-passing occurs of-visions so-that from many
una videatur." Puderet me dicere non intellegere, si vos
one is-seen it-would-shame me to-say not to-understand if you
ipsi intellegeretis qui ista defenditis. Quo modo enim
yourselves understood who those-things defend in-what way for
probas continenter imagines ferri, aut si continenter, quo
do-you-prove continuously images to-be-borne or if continuously in-what
modo aeterne? "Innumerabilitas" inquit "suppeditat atomorum".
way eternally the-infinity be-said supplies of-atoms
Num eadem ergo ista faciet ut sint omnia sempiterna?
surely-not the-same therefore that will-make that be all-things everlasting
Confugis ad aequilibritatem (sic enim ἰσονομίαν si placet
you-take-refuge in equilibrium so for isonomia if it-pleases
appellemus) et ais, quoniam sit natura mortalis, inmortalem
let-us-call and you-say since is nature mortal immortal
etiam esse oportere. Isto modo, quoniam homines mortales
also to-be it-must in-that way since men mortal
sunt, sint aliqui inmortales, et quoniam nascuntur
are let-there-be some immortal and since they-are-born
in terra, nascantur in aqua. "Et quia sunt quae
on land let-them-be-born in water and because there-are-things which

interimant, sint quae conservent." Sint sane,
destroy let-there-be-things which preserve let-there-be by-all-means
sed ea conservent quae sunt; deos istos esse non sentio.
but those let-them-preserve which are gods those to-be not I-perceive
110 Omnis tamen ista rerum effigies ex individuis quo modo
all still that of-things likeness from indivisible how way
corporibus oritur? Quae etiam si essent, quae nulla sunt,
bodies arises which even if they-existed which none are
pellere sepse et agitari inter se concursu fortasse
to-strike themselves and to-be-driven among themselves by-collision perhaps
possent, formare figurare colorare animare non possent.
could to-form to-shape to-color to-animate not could
Nullo igitur modo inmortalem deum efficitis.
in-no therefore way an-immortal god you-produce
Videamus nunc de beato. Sine virtute certe nullo modo;
let-us-see now about the-blessed without virtue certainly in-no way
virtus autem actuosa; et deus vester nihil agens; expers
virtue moreover active and god your nothing doing devoid
virtutis igitur; ita ne beatus quidem.
of-virtue therefore so not blessed even
111 Quae ergo vita? "Suppeditatio" inquis "bonorum nullo
what therefore life a-supply you-say of-goods with-no
malorum interventu". Quorum tandem bonorum? Voluptatum
of-evils intervention of-what pray goods of-pleasures
credo, nempe ad corpus pertinentium; nullam enim novistis
I-suppose surely to the-body pertaining none for you-know
nisi profectam a corpore et redeuntem ad corpus animi
except arising from the-body and returning to the-body of-the-mind
voluptatem. Non arbitror te velle similem esse Epicureorum
pleasure not I-think you to-wish like to-be to-the-Epicureans
reliquorum, quos pudeat quarundam Epicuri vocum, quibus
the-rest whom would-shame of-certain of-Epicurus sayings in-which

ille testatur se ne intellegere quidem ullum bonum quod
he testifies himself not to-understand even any good which
sit seiunctum a delicatis et obscenis voluptatibus; quas
is separated from voluptuous and obscene pleasures which
quidem non erubescens persequitur omnis nominatim.
indeed not blushing he-goes-through all by-name
Quem cibum igitur aut quas potiones aut quas vocum aut 112
what food therefore or what drinks or what of-voices or
florum varietates aut quos tactus quos odores adhibebis ad
of-flowers varieties or what touches what scents will-you-apply to
deos, ut eos perfundas voluptatibus? Ac poetae quidem
the-gods that them you-may-drench with-pleasures and the-poets indeed
nectar ambrosiam epulas conparant et aut Iuventatem aut
nectar ambrosia feasts provide and either Juventas or
Ganymedem pocula ministrantem, tu autem Epicure quid
Ganymede cups serving you moreover Epicurus what
facies? Neque enim unde habeat ista deus tuus video
will-you-do neither for whence he-may-have those-things god your I-see
nec quo modo utatur. Locupletior igitur hominum
nor in-what way he-may-use-them richer therefore of-men
natura ad beate vivendum est quam deorum, quod pluribus
the-nature for blessedly living is than of-gods because more
generibus fruitur voluptatum.
kinds it-enjoys of-pleasures
At has levioris ducis voluptates, quibus quasi titillatio 113
but these lighter you-reckon pleasures by-which as-it-were a-tickling
(Epicuri enim hoc verbum est) adhibetur sensibus. Quo
of-Epicurus for this word is is-applied to-the-senses how
usque ludis? Nam etiam Philo noster ferre non poterat
far are-you-playing for even Philo our to-bear not could
aspernari Epicureos mollis et delicatas voluptates. Summa
to-spurn the-Epicureans soft and voluptuous pleasures with-the-highest

enim memoria pronuntiabat plurimas Epicuri sententias is
for memory he-used-to-pronounce very-many of-Epicurus maxims in-those
ipsis verbis quibus erant scriptae. Metrodori vero, qui est
very words in-which they-had-been written of-Metrodorus indeed who is
Epicuri collega sapientiae, multa inpudentiora recitabat;
of-Epicurus colleague in-wisdom many-things more-shameless he-used-to-recite
accusat enim Timocratem fratrem suum Metrodorus, quod
he-accuses for Timocrates brother his Metrodorus because
dubitet omnia quae ad beatam vitam pertineant ventre
he-should-hesitate all-things which to the-blessed life pertain by-the-belly
metiri, neque id semel dicit sed saepius. Adnuere te video,
to-measure nor this once he-says but more-often to-nod you I-see
nota enim tibi sunt; proferrem libros si negares. Neque nunc
known for to-you they-are I-would-produce the-books if you-denied nor now
reprehendo quod ad voluptatem omnia referantur (alia est
do-I-censure that to pleasure all-things are-referred another is
ea quaestio), sed doceo deos vestros esse voluptatis expertes,
that question but I-show gods your to-be of-pleasure devoid
ita vestro iudicio ne beatos quidem. “At dolore vacant.”
so by-your judgment not blessed even but from-pain they-are-free
114 Satin est id ad illam abundantem bonis vitam
enough-whether is that for that abounding in-goods life
beatissimam? “Cogitat” inquiunt “adsidue beatum esse se;
most-blessed he-thinks they-say constantly blessed to-be himself
habet enim nihil aliud quod agitet in mente”.
he-has for nothing else which he-may-turn-over in mind
Conprehende igitur animo et propone ante oculos deum
grasp therefore with-mind and set before eyes a-god
nihil aliud in omni aeternitate nisi “mihi pulchre est”
nothing else in all eternity except to-me finely it-is
et “ego beatus sum” cogitantem. Nec tamen video quo
and I blessed am thinking nor still I-see in-what

modo non vereatur iste deus beatus ne intereat, cum sine
way not may-fear that god blessed lest he-perish since without
ulla intermissione pulsetur agiteturque atomorum incursione
any intermission he-is-struck and-is-driven of-atoms by-the-onset
sempiterna, cumque ex ipso imagines semper afluant. Ita
everlasting and-since from himself images always flow-off so
nec beatus est vester deus nec aeternus.
neither blessed is your god nor eternal
"At etiam de sanctitate de pietate adversus deos libros 115
but even on holiness on piety toward the-gods books
scripsit Epicurus." At quo modo in his loquitur: ut
wrote Epicurus but in-what way in these does-he-speak that
Ti. Coruncanium aut P. Scaevolam pontifices maximos te
Tiberius Coruncanius or Publius Scaevola pontiffs supreme you
audire dicas, non eum qui sustulerit omnem funditus
to-hear you-would-say not him who abolished all from-the-foundation
religionem nec manibus ut Xerses sed rationibus deorum
religion nor with-hands like Xerxes but with-arguments of-the-gods
inmortalium templa et aras everterit. Quid est enim cur
immortal temples and altars overturned what is-there for why
deos ab hominibus colendos dicas, cum dei non modo
gods by men to-be-worshiped you-should-say when gods not only
homines non colant sed omnino nihil curent nihil agant?
men not worship but at-all nothing care-for nothing do
"At est eorum eximia quaedam praestansque natura, ut 116
but there-is of-them outstanding a-certain and-preeminent nature so-that
ea debeat ipsa per se ad se colendam elicere sapientem."
it ought itself by it to its-own being-worshiped to-draw-forth the-wise-man
An quicquam eximium potest esse in ea natura, quae sua
or anything outstanding can to-be in that nature which in-its-own
voluptate laetans nihil nec actura sit umquam neque
pleasure rejoicing nothing neither about-to-do is ever nor

agat neque egerit? Quae porro pietas ei debetur a quo
does nor has-done what moreover piety to-him is-owed from whom
nihil acceperis, aut quid omnino cuius nullum meritum
nothing you-have-received or what at-all of-whom no merit
sit ei deberi potest? Est enim pietas iustitia adversum
is to-him to-be-owed can is for piety justice toward
deos; cum quibus quid potest nobis esse iuris, cum homini
the-gods with whom what can to-us to-be of-right when to-man
nulla cum deo sit communitas? Sanctitas autem est scientia
no with god is fellowship holiness moreover is the-knowledge
colendorum deorum; qui quam ob rem colendi sint
of-worshiping the-gods who what on-account-of thing to-be-worshiped they-are
non intellego nullo nec accepto ab his nec sperato bono.
not I-understand no neither received from them nor hoped-for good
117 Quid est autem quod deos veneremur propter
what is-there moreover why gods we-should-venerate on-account-of
admirationem eius naturae in qua egregium nihil videmus?
admiration of-that nature in which outstanding nothing we-see
Nam superstitione, quod gloriari soletis, facile est liberare,
for from-superstition which to-boast you-are-wont easy it-is to-free
cum sustuleris omnem vim deorum. Nisi forte Diagoram
when you-have-abolished all the-power of-the-gods unless perhaps Diagoras
aut Theodorum, qui omnino deos esse negabant, censes
or Theodorus who at-all gods to-exist denied you-think
superstitiosos esse potuisse; ego ne Protagoram quidem,
superstitious to-be to-have-been-able I not Protagoras even
cui neutrum licuerit, nec esse deos nec non esse.
to-whom neither was-allowed neither to-be gods nor not to-be
Horum enim sententiae omnium non modo superstitionem
of-these for the-opinions of-all not only superstition

tollunt, in qua inest timor inanis deorum, sed etiam
remove in which is fear empty of-the-gods but also
religionem, quae deorum cultu pio continetur.
religion which of-the-gods in-worship pious is-contained

XVI · RELIGION REMOVED

Those who said the gods were invented by statesmen, or that useful things or great men were deified, as Prodicus and Euhemerus taught, removed religion; the mysteries too explain nature, not gods. Democritus wavers, and Epicurus removed the gods' favor and love, though the Stoics rightly hold the wise friends to one another. Posidonius judged that Epicurus kept the gods in words to avoid odium.

Quid i qui dixerunt totam de dis inmortalibus 118
what those who said whole about the-gods immortal
opinionem fictam esse ab hominibus sapientibus rei
belief invented to-have-been by men wise of-the-thing
publicae causa, ut quos ratio non posset eos ad officium
public for-the-sake that whom reason not could them to duty
religio duceret, nonne omnem religionem funditus
religion might-lead surely all religion from-the-foundation
sustulerunt? Quid Prodicus Cius, qui ea quae prodessent
abolished what Prodicus of-Ceos who those-things which benefited
hominum vitae deorum in numero habita esse dixit,
of-men life of-gods in the-number held to-have-been said
quam tandem religionem reliquit?
what pray religion did-he-leave
Quid qui aut fortis aut claros aut potentis viros tradunt 119
what those-who either brave or famous or powerful men report
post mortem ad deos pervenisse, eosque esse ipsos quos
after death to the-gods to-have-come and-them to-be the-very-ones whom

nos colere precari venerarique soleamus, nonne expertes
we to-worship to-pray-to and-to-venerate are-wont surely devoid
sunt religionum omnium? Quae ratio maxime tractata ab
are of-religions all which reasoning chiefly handled by
Euhemero est, quem noster et interpretatus est et secutus
Euhemerus has-been whom our-own both interpreted has and followed
praeter ceteros Ennius; ab Euhemero autem et mortes
beyond the-rest Ennius by Euhemerus moreover both the-deaths
et sepulturae demonstrantur deorum; utrum igitur hic
and burials are-shown of-the-gods whether therefore this-man
confirmasse videtur religionem an penitus totam sustulisse?
to-have-confirmed seems religion or utterly whole to-have-abolished
Omitto Eleusinem sanctam illam et augustam, "ubi initiantur
I-pass-over Eleusis holy that and august where are-initiated
gentes orarum ultimae", praetereo Samothraciam eaque
peoples of-shores the-farthest I-pass-by Samothrace and-those-rites
quae Lemni "nocturno aditu occulta coluntur silvestribus
which at-Lemnos by-nocturnal approach hidden are-worshiped with-woodland
saepibus densa"; quibus explicatis ad rationemque revocatis
hedges thick which being-unfolded to and-reason recalled
rerum magis natura cognoscitur quam deorum.
of-things rather the-nature is-recognized than of-gods
120 Mihi quidem etiam Democritus vir magnus in primis,
to-me indeed even Democritus a-man great among the-first
cuius fontibus Epicurus hortulos suos inrigavit, nutare
whose from-springs Epicurus little-gardens his watered to-waver
videtur in natura deorum. Tum enim censet imagines
seems on the-nature of-the-gods now for he-holds images
divinitate praeditas inesse in universitate rerum, tum principia
with-divinity endowed to-be-in in the-totality of-things now the-principles
mentis quae sunt in eodem universo deos esse dicit,
of-mind which are in the-same universe gods to-be he-says

tum animantes imagines quae vel prodesse nobis solent
now living images which either to-benefit us are-wont
vel nocere, tum ingentes quasdam imagines tantasque ut
or to-harm now huge certain images and-so-great that
universum mundum conplectantur extrinsecus. Quae quidem
the-whole world they-embrace from-outside which indeed
omnia sunt patria Democriti quam Democrito digniora;
all are of-the-native-land of-Democritus than of-Democritus worthier
quis enim istas imagines conprehendere animo potest, quis 121
who for those images to-grasp with-mind can who
admirari, quis aut cultu aut religione dignas iudicare?
to-admire who either of-worship or of-religion worthy to-judge
Epicurus vero ex animis hominum extraxit radicitus
Epicurus indeed from minds of-men pulled-out by-the-roots
religionem, cum dis inmortalibus et opem et gratiam
religion when from-gods immortal both help and favor
sustulit. Cum enim optimam et praestantissumam naturam
he-removed when for best and most-excellent the-nature
dei dicat esse, negat idem esse in deo gratiam: tollit
of-god he-says to-be he-denies the-same to-be in god favor he-removes
id quod maxime proprium est optimae praestantissimaeque
that which most proper is to-the-best and-most-excellent
naturae. Quid enim melius aut quid praestantius bonitate et
nature what for better or what more-excellent than-goodness and
beneficentia; qua cum carere deum vultis, neminem deo nec
beneficence which when to-lack god you-wish no-one to-god neither
deum nec hominem carum, neminem ab eo amari neminem
god nor man dear no-one by him to-be-loved no-one
diligi vultis: ita fit ut non modo homines a
to-be-esteemed you-wish so it-comes-about that not only men by
deis sed ipsi dei inter se ab aliis alii neglegantur.
gods but themselves the-gods among themselves by others others are-neglected

Quanto Stoici melius, qui a vobis reprehenduntur: censent
how-much the-Stoics better who by you are-censured they-hold
autem sapientes sapientibus etiam ignotis esse amicos; nihil
moreover the-wise to-the-wise even unknown to-be friends nothing
est enim virtute amabilius, quam qui adeptus erit
is for than-virtue more-lovable which who attained will-have
ubicumque erit gentium a nobis diligetur.
wherever he-will-be of-nations by us will-be-esteemed

122 Vos autem quid mali datis, cum in inbecillitate
you moreover what of-evil do-you-grant when in weakness
gratificationem et benivolentiam ponitis. Ut enim omittam
kindness and benevolence you-place that for I-may-pass-over
vim et naturam deorum, ne homines quidem censetis, nisi
the-power and nature of-the-gods not men even you-think unless
inbecilli essent, futuros beneficos et benignos fuisse? Nulla est
weak they-were about-to-be beneficent and kind to-have-been no is
caritas naturalis inter bonos? Carum ipsum verbum est amoris,
affection natural among the-good dear itself the-word is of-love
ex quo amicitiae nomen est ductum; quam si ad fructum
from which of-friendship the-name has-been drawn which if to profit
nostrum referemus, non ad illius commoda quem diligemus, non
our we-shall-refer not to of-him the-advantages whom we-shall-esteem not
erit ista amicitia sed mercatura quaedam utilitatum suarum.
will-be that friendship but a-trading a-kind of-advantages its-own
Prata et arva et pecudum greges diliguntur isto modo, quod
meadows and fields and of-cattle the-herds are-esteemed in-that way because
fructus ex is capiuntur, hominum caritas et amicitia gratuita
profits from them are-taken of-men affection and friendship free
est; quanto igitur magis deorum, qui nulla re egentes et inter
is how-much therefore more of-the-gods who in-no thing needing both among
se diligunt et hominibus consulunt. Quod ni ita sit, quid
themselves love and for-men provide but if-not so it-be why

veneramur quid precamur deos, cur sacris pontifices cur
do-we-venerate why do-we-pray-to the-gods why over-sacrifices the-pontiffs why
auspiciis augures praesunt, quid optamus a deis inmortalibus
over-auspices the-augurs preside what do-we-desire from the-gods immortal
quid vovemus? "At etiam liber est Epicuri de sanctitate."
what do-we-vow but also a-book there-is of-Epicurus on holiness
Ludimur ab homine non tam faceto quam ad scribendi 123
we-are-mocked by a-man not so witty as to of-writing
licentiam libero. Quae enim potest esse sanctitas si dii
license free what for can to-be holiness if the-gods
humana non curant, quae autem animans natura nihil curans?
human-things not care-for what moreover living nature nothing caring-for
Verius est igitur nimirum illud quod familiaris omnium
truer is therefore doubtless that which the-intimate of-all
nostrum Posidonius disseruit in libro quinto de natura
of-us Posidonius argued in book fifth on the-nature
deorum, nullos esse deos Epicuro videri, quaeque is de deis
of-the-gods no to-be gods to-Epicurus to-seem and-what he about the-gods
inmortalibus dixerit invidiae detestandae gratia dixisse;
immortal said of-odium to-be-averted for-the-sake to-have-said
neque enim tam desipiens fuisset ut homunculi similem
nor for so senseless would-he-have-been that of-a-manikin like
deum fingeret, liniamentis dumtaxat extremis non habitu
a-god he-should-fashion with-lineaments merely outermost not with-substance
solido, membris hominis praeditum omnibus usu membrorum
solid with-limbs of-man endowed all in-use of-limbs
ne minimo quidem, exilem quendam atque perlucidum, nihil
not least even thin a-kind and transparent nothing
cuiquam tribuentem nihil gratificantem, omnino nihil curantem
to-anyone granting nothing favoring at-all nothing caring-for

nihil agentem. Quae natura primum nulla esse potest, idque
nothing doing which nature first none to-be can and-this
videns Epicurus re tollit oratione relinquit deos;
seeing Epicurus in-fact removes in-speech leaves the-gods
124 deinde si maxime talis est deus ut nulla gratia nulla
then if most such is god that by-no favor by-no
hominum caritate teneatur, valeat — quid enim dicam
of-men affection he-is-held farewell what for should-I-say
"propitius sit"; esse enim propitius potest nemini, quoniam
gracious let-him-be to-be for gracious he-can to-no-one since
ut dicitis omnis in inbecillitate est et gratia et caritas.'
as you-say all in weakness is both favor and affection

BOOK III

I · THE PONTIFF AND THE PHILOSOPHER

Cotta answers Balbus' Stoic case. As a pontiff he will always defend the beliefs, rites, and ceremonies received from his ancestors, and needs no argument for them; but from a philosopher he asks reasons. Balbus had divided his case in four: that the gods exist, what they are like, that they rule the world, and that they care for men.

Quae cum Balbus dixisset, tum adridens Cotta 'Sero' inquit 1
which when Balbus had-said then smiling Cotta late he-said
'mihi Balbe praecipis quid defendam. Ego enim te disputante
to-me Balbus you-instruct what I-should-defend I for you arguing
quid contra dicerem mecum ipse meditabar, neque tam
what against I-might-say with-me myself was-pondering nor so-much
refellendi tui causa quam ea quae minus intellegebam
of-refuting you for-the-sake as those-things which less I-understood
requirendi. Cum autem suo cuique iudicio sit utendum,
of-inquiring-into since moreover his-own each-man's judgment is to-be-used
difficile factu est me id sentire quod tu velis.'
difficult to-do it-is me that to-think which you may-wish
Hic Velleius 'Nescis' inquit 'quanta cum expectatione 2
here Velleius you-do-not-know he-said how-great with expectation
Cotta sim te auditurus. Iucundus enim Balbo nostro sermo
Cotta I-am you about-to-hear pleasant for to-Balbus our discourse
tuus contra Epicurum fuit; praebebo igitur ego me tibi
your against Epicurus was I-will-offer therefore I myself to-you
vicissim attentum contra Stoicos auditorem. Spero enim te
in-turn an-attentive against the-Stoics listener I-hope for you
ut soles bene paratum venire.'
as you-are-wont well prepared to-come

3 Tum Cotta ‘Sic mehercule’ inquit ‘Vellei; neque enim mihi
then Cotta so by-Hercules he-said Velleius nor for for-me
par ratio cum Lucilio est ac tecum fuit.’
an-equal relation with Lucilius is as with-you was
‘Qui tandem’ inquit ille.
how pray he-said he
‘Quia mihi videtur Epicurus vester de dis immortalibus
because to-me seems Epicurus your about the-gods immortal
non magnopere pugnare: tantum modo negare deos esse
not greatly to-fight so-much only to-deny gods to-exist
non audet, ne quid invidiae subeat aut criminis; cum
not he-dares lest any of-odium he-incur or of-reproach when
vero deos nihil agere nihil curare confirmat membrisque
indeed gods nothing to-do nothing to-care-for he-asserts and-with-limbs
humanis esse praeditos sed eorum membrorum usum nullum
human to-be endowed but of-those limbs use none
habere, ludere videtur satisque putare si dixerit esse
to-have to-be-playing he-seems and-enough to-think if he-has-said to-exist
quandam beatam naturam et aeternam.
some blessed nature and eternal
4 A Balbo autem animadvertisti credo quam multa dicta
by Balbus moreover you-noticed I-suppose how many-things said
sint quamque etiam si minus vera tamen apta inter se
were and-how even if less true still fitting among themselves
et cohaerentia. Itaque cogito ut dixi non tam refellere
and coherent and-so I-intend as I-said not so-much to-refute
eius orationem quam ea quae minus intellexi requirere.
his speech as those-things which less I-understood to-inquire-into
Quare Balbe tibi permitto, responderene mihi malis de
therefore Balbus to-you I-leave whether-to-answer to-me you-prefer about

singulis rebus quaerenti ex te ea quae parum accepi
single things asking from you those-things which too-little I-took-in
an universam audire orationem meam.'
or the-whole to-hear speech my
Tum Balbus: 'Ego vero, si quid explanari tibi voles,
then Balbus I indeed if anything to-be-explained to-you you-will-wish
respondere malo, sin me interrogare non tam intellegendi
to-answer I-prefer but-if me to-question not so-much of-understanding
causa quam refellendi, utrum voles faciam, vel ad
for-the-sake as of-refuting whichever you-will-wish I-will-do either to
singula quae requires statim respondebo vel cum peroraris
single-points which you-will-ask at-once I-will-answer or when you-have-finished
ad omnia.'
to all
Tum Cotta 'Optime' inquit; 'quam ob rem sic agamus 5
then Cotta excellent he-said which on-account-of thing so let-us-proceed
ut nos ipsa ducit oratio. Sed ante quam de re, pauca
as us itself leads the-discourse but before than about the-matter a-few-things
de me. Non enim mediocriter moveor auctoritate tua
about me not for moderately I-am-moved by-the-authority your
Balbe orationeque ea quae me in perorando cohortabatur ut
Balbus and-by-the-speech that which me in perorating was-urging that
meminissem me et Cottam esse et pontificem; quod eo
I-should-remember myself both Cotta to-be and a-pontiff which to-this
credo valebat, ut opiniones, quas a maioribus accepimus
I-suppose tended that the-beliefs which from our-ancestors we-received
de dis immortalibus, sacra caerimonias religionesque
about the-gods immortal the-rites ceremonies and-religious-observances
defenderem. Ego vero eas defendam semper semperque
I-should-defend I indeed them will-defend always and-always
defendi, nec me ex ea opinione, quam a maioribus accepi
have-defended nor me from that belief which from our-ancestors I-received

de cultu deorum inmortalium, ullius umquam oratio aut
about the-worship of-the-gods immortal of-anyone ever the-speech either
docti aut indocti movebit. Sed cum de religione agitur,
learned or unlearned will-move but when about religion it-is-treated
Ti. Coruncanium P. Scipionem P. Scaevolam pontifices
Tiberius Coruncanius Publius Scipio Publius Scaevola pontiffs
maximos, non Zenonem aut Cleanthen aut Chrysippum
supreme not Zeno or Cleanthes or Chrysippus
sequor, habeoque C. Laelium augurem eundemque sapientem
I-follow and-I-have Gaius Laelius an-augur and-the-same wise
quem potius audiam dicentem de religione in illa oratione
whom rather I-should-hear speaking about religion in that speech
nobili quam quemquam principem Stoicorum. Cumque
famous than any chief of-the-Stoics and-since
omnis populi Romani religio in sacra et in auspicia
all of-the-people Roman religion into rites and into auspices
divisa sit, tertium adiunctum sit si quid praedictionis
divided is a-third added has-been if anything of-prediction
causa ex portentis et monstris Sibyllae interpretes
for-the-sake from portents and prodigies of-the-Sibyl the-interpreters
haruspicesve monuerunt, harum ego religionum nullam
or-the-haruspices have-warned of-these I religious-observances none
umquam contemnendam putavi mihique ita persuasi,
ever to-be-despised have-thought and-myself so I-have-persuaded
Romulum auspiciis Numam sacris constitutis fundamenta
Romulus by-auspices Numa by-rites established the-foundations
iecisse nostrae civitatis, quae numquam profecto sine
to-have-laid of-our state which never surely without
summa placatione deorum inmortalium tanta esse potuisset.
the-highest appeasement of-the-gods immortal so-great to-be could-have

Habes Balbe quid Cotta quid pontifex sentiat; fac nunc 6
you-have Balbus what Cotta what the-pontiff thinks make now
ego intellegam tu quid sentias; a te enim philosopho
I may-understand you what think from you for a-philosopher
rationem accipere debeo religionis, maioribus autem nostris
an-account to-receive I-ought of-religion our-ancestors moreover our
etiam nulla ratione reddita credere.'
even with-no reason rendered to-believe
Tum Balbus 'Quam igitur a me rationem' inquit 'Cotta
then Balbus what therefore from me account he-said Cotta
desideras?'
do-you-want
Et ille 'Quadripertita' inquit 'fuit divisio tua, primum ut
and he four-part he-said was division your first that
velles docere deos esse, deinde quales essent, tum
you-wished to-teach gods to-exist then of-what-kind they-were next
ab is mundum regi, postremo consulere eos rebus
by them the-world to-be-ruled finally to-provide they for-things
humanis. Haec, si recte memini, partitio fuit.'
human this if rightly I-remember the-partition was
'Rectissume' inquit Balbus; 'sed expecto quid requiras.'
most-rightly he-said Balbus but I-await what you-may-ask
Tum Cotta 'Primum quidque videamus' inquit 'et si id est 7
then Cotta first each-thing let-us-see he-said and if that is
primum, quod inter omnis nisi admodum impios convenit,
first which among all except quite impious is-agreed
mihi quidem ex animo exuri non potest, esse deos,
to-me indeed from mind to-be-burnt-out not can to-exist gods
id tamen ipsum, quod mihi persuasum est auctoritate
that still itself which to-me persuaded has-been by-the-authority
maiorum, cur ita sit nihil tu me doces.'
of-our-ancestors why so it-is nothing you me teach

‘Quid est’ inquit Balbus, ‘si tibi persuasum est, cur a
what is-it he-said Balbus if to-you persuaded it-is why from
me velis discere?’
me would-you-wish to-learn
Tum Cotta ‘Quia sic adgredior’ inquit ‘ad hanc disputationem,
then Cotta because so I-approach he-said to this disputation
quasi nihil umquam audierim de dis immortalibus nihil
as-if nothing ever I-had-heard about the-gods immortal nothing
cogitaverim; rudem me et integrum discipulum accipe et
I-had-thought-out raw me and untouched a-pupil receive and
ea quae requiro doce.’
those-things which I-ask teach
8 ‘Dic igitur’ inquit ‘quid requiras’.
say therefore he-said what you-ask
‘Egone, primum illud, cur, quom istam partem ne egere quidem
I-whether first that why when that part not to-need even
oratione dixisses, quod esset perspicuum et inter omnis
speech you-had-said because it-was evident and among all
constaret deos esse, de eo ipso tam multa dixeris.’
agreed gods to-exist about that very-point so many-things you-said
‘Quia te quoque’ inquit ‘animadverti Cotta saepe cum in foro
because you also he-said I-noticed Cotta often when in the-forum
diceres quam plurimis posses argumentis onerare iudicem, si
you-spoke as with-most you-could arguments to-load the-juror if
modo eam facultatem tibi daret causa. Atque hoc idem et
only that opportunity to-you gave the-case and this same both
philosophi faciunt et ego ut potui feci. Tu autem quod quaeris
the-philosophers do and I as I-could did you moreover what you-ask
similiter facis ac si me roges cur te duobus contuear oculis
likewise do as if me you-should-ask why you with-two I-look-at eyes
et non altero coniveam, cum idem uno adsequi possim.’
and not one I-close when the-same with-one to-attain I-can

Tum Cotta ‘Quam simile istud sit’ inquit ‘tu videris.
then Cotta how like that is he-said you you-will-have-seen

II · THE TWIN GODS AT LAKE REGILLUS

What is evident needs no argument, and Balbus’ many proofs only make the gods’ existence look doubtful. Common belief settles nothing, and the tales of Castor and Pollux fighting for Postumius at Regillus and bringing news of victory to Vatinius are old wives’ stories. Divination is no proof, since its causes are unknown, and the Decii were sacrificed to strategy, not to appease the gods. Of Cleanthes’ four sources of belief the first is answered.

Nam ego neque in causis, si quid est evidens de quo 9
for I neither in cases if anything is evident about which
inter omnis conveniat, argumentari soleo (perspicuitas enim
among all it-is-agreed to-argue am-wont evidence for
argumentatione elevatur) nec si id facerem in causis forensibus
by-argumentation is-diminished nor if that I-did in cases forensic
idem facerem in hac suptilitate sermonis. Cur coniveres
the-same would-I-do in this subtlety of-discourse why you-would-close
autem altero oculo causa non esset, cum idem obtutus
moreover one eye cause not there-would-be since the-same the-gaze
esset amborum et cum rerum natura, quam tu sapientem
would-be of-both and since of-things the-nature which you wise
esse vis, duo lumina ab animo ad oculos perforata nos habere
to-be wish two lights from the-mind to the-eyes bored-through us to-have
voluisset. Sed quia non confidebas tam esse id perspicuum
had-wished but because not you-were-confident so to-be that evident
quam tu velis, propterea multis argumentis deos esse docere
as you would-wish therefore with-many arguments gods to-exist to-teach

voluisti. Mihi enim unum sat erat, ita nobis maioris nostros
you-wished to-me for one enough was so to-us ancestors our
tradidisse. Sed tu auctoritates contemnis, ratione pugnas;
to-have-handed-down but you authorities despise with-reason you-fight
10 patere igitur rationem meam cum tua ratione contendere.
allow therefore reason my with your reason to-contend
Adfers haec omnia argumenta cur dii sint, remque
you-bring-forward these all arguments why gods exist and-a-matter
mea sententia minime dubiam argumentando dubiam facis;
in-my opinion least doubtful by-arguing doubtful you-make
mandavi enim memoriae non numerum solum sed etiam
I-committed for to-memory not the-number only but also
ordinem argumentorum tuorum. Primum fuit, cum caelum
the-order of-arguments your first was when to-the-sky
suspexissemus statim nos intellegere esse aliquod numen
we-had-looked-up at-once us to-understand to-be some divine-power
quo haec regantur. Ex hoc illud etiam "aspice hoc
by-which these-things are-ruled from this that also behold this
sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Iovem":
on-high shining whom invoke all as-Jupiter
11 quasi vero quisquam nostrum istum potius quam Capitolinum
as-if indeed anyone of-us that-one rather than Capitoline
Iovem appellet, aut hoc perspicuum sit constetque inter
Jupiter would-call or this evident were and-was-agreed among
omnes, eos esse deos quos tibi Velleius multique praeterea ne
all those to-be gods whom to-you Velleius and-many besides not
animantis quidem esse concedant. Grave etiam argumentum
living-beings even to-be would-grant weighty also an-argument
tibi videbatur, quod opinio de dis inmortalibus et
to-you seemed that the-belief about the-gods immortal both
omnium esset et cottidie cresceret: placet igitur tantas
of-all-men was and daily grew does-it-please therefore such-great

res opinione stultorum iudicari, vobis praesertim qui illos
matters by-the-opinion of-fools to-be-judged to-you especially who them
insanos esse dicatis? “At enim praesentis videmus deos, ut
insane to-be say but indeed present we-see gods as
apud Regillum Postumius, in Salaria Vatinius” — nescio
at Regillus Postumius on-the Salarian-way Vatinius I-know-not
quid etiam de Locrorum apud Sagram proelio. Quos
what also about of-the-Locrians at the-Sagra battle whom
igitur tu Tyndaridas appellabas id est homines homine
therefore you the-Tyndaridae were-calling that is men from-a-man
natos, et quos Homerus, qui recens ab illorum aetate fuit,
born and whom Homer who near to their age was
sepultos esse dicit Lacedaemone, eos tu cum cantheriis
buried to-be says at-Lacedaemon them you with nags
albis nullis calonibus obviam Vatinio venisse existimas et
white with-no grooms to-meet Vatinius to-have-come you-think and
victoriam populi Romani Vatinio potius homini rustico
the-victory of-the-people Roman to-Vatinius rather a-man rustic
quam M. Catoni qui tum erat princeps nuntiavisse?
than to-Marcus Cato who then was chief to-have-announced
Ergo et illud in silice quod hodie apparet apud Regillum
therefore also that in the-flint which today appears at Regillus
tamquam vestigium ungulae Castoris equi credis esse?
as-if the-print of-the-hoof of-Castor of-the-horse you-believe to-be
Nonne mavis illud credere, quod probari potest, animos 12
surely you-prefer that to-believe which to-be-proved can the-souls
praeclarorum hominum, quales isti Tyndaridae fuerunt,
of-illustrious men such-as those Tyndaridae were
divinos esse et aeternos, quam eos qui semel cremati essent
divine to-be and eternal than those who once cremated had-been
equitare et in acie pugnare potuisse; aut si hoc
to-ride and in the-battle-line to-fight to-have-been-able or if this

fieri potuisse dicis, doceas oportet quo modo,
to-happen to-have-been-able you-say you-should-teach it-behooves in-what way
nec fabellas aniles proferas.'
nor old-wives' tales you-should-bring-forth
13 Tum Lucilius 'An tibi' inquit 'fabellae videntur? Nonne
then Lucilius or to-you he-said tales seem surely
ab A. Postumio aedem Castori et Polluci in foro
by Aulus Postumius a-temple to-Castor and Pollux in the-forum
dedicatam, nonne senatus consultum de Vatinio vides? Nam
dedicated surely the-senate's decree about Vatinius you-see for
de Sagra Graecorum etiam est volgare proverbium, qui
about the-Sagra of-the-Greeks even is a-common proverb who
quae adfirmant certiora esse dicunt quam illa quae apud
what-things they-affirm surer to-be they-say than those which at
Sagram. His igitur auctoribus nonne debes moveri?'
the-Sagra by-these therefore authorities surely you-ought to-be-moved
Tum Cotta 'Rumoribus' inquit 'mecum pugnas Balbe, ego
then Cotta with-rumors he-said with-me you-fight Balbus I
autem a te rationes requiro ***
moreover from you reasons require (lacuna)
14 secuntur quae futura sunt; effugere enim nemo id potest
follow which about-to-be are to-escape for no-one that can
quod futurum est. Saepe autem ne utile quidem est scire
which about-to-be is often moreover not useful even it-is to-know
quid futurum sit; miserum est enim nihil proficientem
what about-to-be is wretched it-is for nothing availing
angi nec habere ne spei quidem extremum et tamen
to-be-tormented nor to-have not of-hope even the-last and still
commune solacium; praesertim cum vos idem fato fieri
common solace especially since you likewise by-fate to-happen
dicatis omnia, quod autem semper ex omni aeternitate verum
say all-things what moreover always from all eternity true

fuerit id esse fatum: quid igitur iuvat aut quid adfert ad
has-been that to-be fate what therefore does-it-help or what does-it-bring for
cavendum scire aliquid futurum, cum id certe futurum sit?
being-on-guard to-know something about-to-be when that certainly about-to-be is
Unde porro ista divinatio, quis invenit fissum iecoris, quis
whence moreover that divination who discovered the-cleft of-the-liver who
cornicis cantum notavit quis sortis? Quibus ego credo, nec
of-the-crow the-song marked who the-lots which I believe nor
possum Atti Navi quem commemorabas lituum contemnere,
can-I of-Attus Navius whom you-were-mentioning the-staff to-despise
sed qui ista intellecta sint a philosophis debeo discere,
but how those-things understood were by philosophers I-ought to-learn
praesertim cum plurimis de rebus divini isti mentiantur.
especially since very-many about things diviners those lie
"At medici quoque" (ita enim dicebas) "saepe falluntur". 15
but physicians too so for you-were-saying often are-deceived
Quid simile medicina, cuius ego rationem video, et divinatio,
what like medicine whose I the-reasoning see and divination
quae unde oriatur non intellego? Tu autem etiam Deciorum
which whence it-arises not I-understand you moreover even of-the-Decii
devotionibus placatos deos esse censes. Quae fuit eorum
by-devotions appeased the-gods to-have-been you-hold which was of-them
tanta iniquitas, ut placari populo Romano non possent
so-great unfairness that to-be-appeased to-the-people Roman not they-could
nisi viri tales occidissent? Consilium illud imperatorium fuit,
unless men such had-fallen a-plan that of-a-general was
quod Graeci στρατήγημα appellant, sed eorum imperatorum
which the-Greeks strategema call but of-those generals
qui patriae consulerent vitae non parcerent; rebantur
who for-their-country provided life not spared they-thought
enim fore ut exercitus imperatorem equo incitato se
for it-would-be that the-army the-general with-horse spurred himself

in hostem inmittentem persequeretur, id quod evenit. Nam
into the-enemy hurling would-follow that which happened for
Fauni vocem equidem numquam audivi; tibi, si audivisse te
of-Faunus the-voice for-my-part never heard to-you if to-have-heard you
dicis, credam, etsi Faunus omnino quid sit nescio. Non
you-say I-will-believe although Faunus at-all what is I-know-not not
igitur adhuc, quantum quidem in te est Balbe, intellego
therefore as-yet as-far-as indeed in you it-lies Balbus do-I-understand
deos esse; quos equidem credo esse, sed nil docent Stoici.
gods to-exist whom for-my-part I-believe to-exist but nothing teach the-Stoics
16 Nam Cleanthes ut dicebas quattuor modis informatas
for Cleanthes as you-were-saying in-four ways formed
in animis hominum putat deorum esse notiones. Unus is
in the-minds of-men thinks of-the-gods to-be the-notions one that
modus est de quo satis dixi, qui est susceptus ex
way is about which enough I-have-said which has-been taken-up from
praesensione rerum futurarum; alter ex perturbationibus
the-foreknowledge of-things future another from the-disturbances
tempestatum et reliquis motibus; tertius ex commoditate
of-weathers and the-other motions a-third from the-advantage
rerum quas percipimus et copia; quartus ex astrorum
of-things which we-receive and abundance a-fourth from of-the-stars
ordine caelique constantia. De praesensione diximus. De
the-order and-of-the-sky constancy about foreknowledge we-have-spoken about
perturbationibus caelestibus et maritimis et terrenis non
disturbances heavenly and of-the-sea and of-the-earth not
possumus dicere cum ea fiant non esse multos qui illa
we-can to-say when they happen not to-be many who them
metuant et a dis inmortalibus fieri existument;
fear and by the-gods immortal to-be-done think

The question is not whether men believe in gods but whether gods exist. Zeno argued that the world is the best of things and so must be rational; Cotta parodies him, proving by the same steps that the world is literate and a mathematician. The regular tides of the Euripus and the recurring fevers show that order may come from nature without a god.

sed non id quaeritur, sintne aliqui qui deos esse 17
but not this is-asked whether-there-are some who gods to-exist
putent: di utrum sint necne sint quaeritur. Nam
think the-gods whether they-exist or-not they-exist is-asked for
reliquae causae quas Cleanthes adfert, quarum una
the-remaining causes which Cleanthes brings-forward of-which one
est de commodorum quae capimus copia, altera de
is about of-advantages which we-receive the-abundance the-second about
temporum ordine caelique constantia, tum tractabuntur a
of-the-seasons the-order and-of-the-sky constancy then will-be-treated by
nobis, cum disputabimus de providentia deorum, de qua
us when we-shall-dispute about the-providence of-the-gods about which
plurima a te Balbe dicta sunt;
very-many-things by you Balbus said have-been
eodemque illa etiam differemus, quod Chrysippum 18
and-to-the-same-point those-things also we-will-defer which Chrysippus
dicere aiebas, quoniam esset aliquid in rerum natura
to-say you-were-saying since there-was something in of-things the-nature
quod ab homine effici non posset, esse aliquid homine
which by man to-be-made not could to-be something than-man
melius, quaeque in domo pulchra cum pulchritudine
better and-the-things-which in a-house beautiful with the-beauty
mundi comparabas, et cum totius mundi convenientiam
of-the-world you-were-comparing and when of-the-whole world the-harmony

consensumque adferebas; Zenonisque brevis et acutulas
and-concord you-adduced and-Zeno's short and pointed-little
conclusiones in eam partem sermonis quam modo dixi
syllogisms to that part of-the-discourse which just-now I-mentioned
differemus; eodemque tempore illa omnia quae a te physice
we-will-defer and-at-the-same time those all-things which by you physically
dicta sunt de vi ignea deque eo calore ex quo omnia
said have-been about the-force fiery and-about that heat from which all-things
generari dicebas loco suo quaerentur; omniaque quae
to-be-generated you-were-saying in-place its-own will-be-inquired-into and-all-things which
a te nudius tertius dicta sunt, cum docere velles deos
by you it-is-now-the-day third said were when to-teach you-wished gods
esse, quare et mundus universus et sol et luna et stellae
to-exist why both the-world whole and the-sun and the-moon and the-stars
sensum ac mentem haberent, in idem tempus reservabo.
sense and mind had to the-same time I-will-reserve
19 A te autem idem illud etiam atque etiam quaeram, quibus
from you moreover the-same that again and again I-will-ask by-what
rationibus tibi persuadeas deos esse.'
reasons to-yourself you-persuade gods to-exist
Tum Balbus: 'Equidem attulisse rationes mihi videor, sed
then Balbus for-my-part to-have-brought reasons to-myself seem but
eas tu ita refellis, ut, cum me interrogaturus esse videare
them you so refute that when me about-to-question to-be you-seem
et ego me ad respondendum compararim, repente avertas
and I myself for answering have-prepared suddenly you-turn-aside
orationem nec des respondendi locum. Itaque maximae res
the-discourse nor give of-answering room and-so very-great matters
tacitae praeterierunt, de divinatione de fato, quibus de
silent have-passed-by about divination about fate which about
quaestionibus tu quidem strictim nostri autem multa solent
questions you indeed briefly our-people moreover much are-wont

dicere, sed ab hac ea quaestione quae nunc in
to-say but from this those-matters question which now in
manibus est separantur; quare si videtur noli agere confuse,
hand is are-separated therefore if it-seems-good do-not proceed confusedly
ut hoc explicemus, hac disputatione quod quaeritur.'
that this we-may-unfold in-this disputation which is-asked
'Optime' inquit Cotta.
excellent he-said Cotta
'Itaque quoniam quattuor in partes totam quaestionem 20
and-so since four into parts the-whole question
divisisti de primaque diximus, consideremus secundam;
you-divided about and-the-first we-have-spoken let-us-consider the-second
quae mihi talis videtur fuisse, ut, cum ostendere
which to-me such seems to-have-been that when to-show
velles quales di essent, ostenderes nullos esse.
you-wished of-what-kind the-gods were you-showed none to-exist
A consuetudine oculorum animum abducere difficillimum
from the-habit of-the-eyes the-mind to-lead-away most-difficult
dicebas, sed, cum deo nihil praestantius esset, non
you-were-saying but since than-god nothing more-excellent was not
dubitabas quin mundus esset deus, quo nihil in rerum
you-doubted that the-world was god than-which nothing in of-things
natura melius esset: modo possemus eum animantem cogitare
the-nature better was provided we-could it living to-conceive
vel potius ut cetera oculis sic animo hoc cernere.
or rather as the-other-things with-eyes so with-mind this to-discern
Sed cum mundo negas quicquam esse melius, quid dicis 21
but when than-the-world you-deny anything to-be better what do-you-call
melius? Si pulchrius, adsentior; si aptius ad utilitates nostras,
better if more-beautiful I-agree if more-fitted to advantages our
id quoque adsentior; sin autem id dicis, nihil esse mundo
that too I-agree but-if moreover this you-say nothing to-be than-the-world

sapientius, nullo modo prorsus adsentior, non quod difficile
wiser in-no way at-all do-I-agree not because difficult
sit mentem ab oculis sevocare, sed quo magis sevoco
it-is the-mind from the-eyes to-call-away but the more I-call-it-away
eo minus id quod tu vis possum mente comprendere.
the less that which you wish I-can with-mind to-grasp
"Nihil est mundo melius in rerum natura." Ne in terris
nothing is than-the-world better in of-things the-nature not on earth
quidem urbe nostra; num igitur idcirco in urbe esse
even than-city our surely-not therefore for-that-reason in the-city to-be
rationem cogitationem mentem putas, aut, quoniam non sit,
reason thought mind you-think or since not it-is
num idcirco existimas formicam anteponendam esse huic
surely-not for-that-reason you-reckon an-ant to-be-preferred to-be to-this
pulcherrumae urbi, quod in urbe sensus sit nullus, in formica
most-beautiful city because in the-city sense is none in the-ant
non modo sensus sed etiam mens ratio memoria? Videre oportet
not only sense but also mind reason memory to-see it-behooves
Balbe quid tibi concedatur, non te ipsum quod velis sumere.
Balbus what to-you is-granted not you yourself what you-wish to-assume
22 Istum enim locum totum illa vetus Zenonis brevis et ut
that for topic whole that old of-Zeno short and as
tibi videbatur acuta conclusio dilatavit ∗∗∗. Zeno enim
to-you it-seemed pointed syllogism expanded (lacuna) Zeno for
ita concludit: "Quod ratione utitur id melius est quam
thus concludes what reason uses that better is than
id quod ratione non utitur; nihil autem mundo melius;
that which reason not uses nothing moreover than-the-world better
ratione igitur mundus utitur".
reason therefore the-world uses

Hoc si placet, iam efficies ut mundus optime librum 23
this if it-pleases now you-will-bring-about that the-world excellently a-book
legere videatur; Zenonis enim vestigiis hoc modo rationem
to-read may-seem of-Zeno for in-the-footsteps in-this way the-argument
poteris concludere: "quod litteratum est id est melius
you-will-be-able to-conclude what lettered is that is better
quam quod non est litteratum; nihil autem mundo melius;
than what not is lettered nothing moreover than-the-world better
litteratus igitur est mundus" — isto modo etiam disertus et
lettered therefore is the-world in-that way also eloquent and
quidem mathematicus musicus, omni denique doctrina eruditus,
indeed a-mathematician a-musician in-all finally learning educated
postremo philosophus. Saepe dixisti nihil fieri sine deo,
lastly a-philosopher often you-said nothing to-come-about without god
nec ullam vim esse naturae ut sui dissimilia posset effingere:
nor any power to-be of-nature that from-itself unlike-things it-could to-fashion
concedam non modo animantem et sapientem esse mundum
I-will-grant not only living and wise to-be the-world
sed fidicinem etiam et tubicinem, quoniam earum quoque
but a-lyre-player also and a-trumpeter since of-those too
artium homines ex eo procreantur? Nihil igitur adfert pater
arts men from it are-begotten nothing therefore brings father
iste Stoicorum quare mundum ratione uti putemus, ne cur
that of-the-Stoics why the-world reason to-use we-should-think not why
animantem quidem esse. Non est igitur mundus deus; et tamen
living even to-be not is therefore the-world god and still
nihil est eo melius: nihil est enim eo pulchrius nihil
nothing is than-it better nothing is for than-it more-beautiful nothing
salutarius nobis, nihil ornatius aspectu motuque constantius.
more-salutary for-us nothing more-adorned in-aspect and-in-motion more-constant

Quod si mundus universus non est deus, ne stellae quidem,
but if the-world whole not is god not the-stars even
quas tu innumerabilis in deorum numero reponebas. Quarum
which you countless in of-the-gods the-number were-placing whose
te cursus aequabiles aeternique delectabant, nec mehercule
you the-courses even and-eternal delighted nor by-Hercules
iniuria, sunt enim admirabili incredibilique constantia.
unjustly they-are for of-wonderful and-incredible constancy
24 Sed non omnia Balbe quae cursus certos et constantis
but not all-things Balbus which courses fixed and constant
habent ea deo potius tribuenda sunt quam naturae. Quid
have those to-god rather to-be-attributed are than to-nature what
Chalcidico Euripo in motu identidem reciprocando putas
than-the-Chalcidian Euripus in motion repeatedly ebbing-and-flowing do-you-think
fieri posse constantius, quid freto Siciliensi, quid
to-happen to-be-able more-constant what than-the-strait Sicilian what
Oceani fervore illis in locis, "Europam Libyamque rapax
of-Ocean than-the-seething those in regions Europe and-Libya the-ravenous
ubi dividit unda"? Quid aestus maritimi vel Hispanienses vel
where divides wave what the-tides of-the-sea either Spanish or
Brittannici eorumque certis temporibus vel accessus vel recessus
British and-their at-fixed times either the-flowings or ebbings
sine deo fieri nonne possunt? Vide quaeso, si omnis motus
without god to-happen surely can see I-pray if all motions
omniaque quae certis temporibus ordinem suum conservant
and-all-things which at-fixed times order their-own preserve
divina dicimus, ne tertianas quoque febres et quartanas divinas
divine we-call lest tertian also fevers and quartan divine
esse dicendum sit, quarum reversione et motu quid potest esse
to-be to-be-called it-be whose than-recurrence and motion what can to-be
constantius? Sed omnium talium rerum ratio reddenda est;
more-constant but of-all such things an-account to-be-rendered is

Chrysippus' claim that something must be better than man rests on the same confusion of nature with reason, and Socrates' question where man got his mind is answered by nature. The harmony of the world is nature's sympathy, not a god's spirit. Carneades showed that no body can be immortal, since every animal can suffer, be divided, and perish.

quod vos cum facere non potestis, tamquam in aram 25
which you since to-do not can as-if to an-altar
confugitis ad deum.
you-take-refuge to god
Et Chrysippus tibi acute dicere videbatur, homo sine dubio
and Chrysippus to-you shrewdly to-speak seemed a-man without doubt
versutus et callidus (versutos eos appello quorum celeriter
versatile and hardened-shrewd versatile those I-call whose quickly
mens versatur, callidos autem quorum tamquam manus
the-mind turns hardened-shrewd moreover whose as-if the-hand
opere sic animus usu concalluit); is igitur "Si aliquid est"
by-work so the-mind by-use has-grown-callous he therefore if anything there-is
inquit "quod homo efficere non possit, qui id efficit melior
he-said which man to-make not can who that makes better
est homine; homo autem haec quae in mundo sunt efficere
is than-man man moreover these-things which in the-world are to-make
non potest; qui potuit igitur is praestat homini; homini
not can who could therefore he excels man man
autem praestare quis possit nisi deus; est igitur deus".
moreover to-excel who could except god there-is therefore a-god
Haec omnia in eodem quo illa Zenonis errore versantur.
these all in the-same in-which those of-Zeno error move

26 Quid enim sit melius quid praestabilius, quid inter naturam
what for is better what more-excellent what between nature
et rationem intersit, non distinguitur. Idemque,
and reason the-difference-is not is-distinguished and-the-same-man
si dei non sint, negat esse in omni natura quicquam
if gods not exist he-denies to-be in all nature anything
homine melius; id autem putare quemquam hominem, nihil
than-man better that moreover to-think any man nothing
homine esse melius, summae adrogantiae censet esse. Sit
than-man to-be better of-the-highest arrogance he-holds to-be let-it-be
sane adrogantis pluris se putare quam mundum;
by-all-means of-an-arrogant-man of-more himself to-think than the-world
at illud non modo non adrogantis sed potius prudentis,
but that not only not of-an-arrogant-man but rather of-a-prudent-one
intellegere se habere sensum et rationem, haec eadem
to-understand himself to-have sense and reason these same
Orionem et Caniculam non habere. Et "Si domus pulchra
Orion and the-Dog-star not to-have and if a-house beautiful
sit, intellegamus eam dominis" inquit "aedificatam esse
be we-understand it for-its-masters he-said built to-have-been
non muribus; sic igitur mundum deorum domum existimare
not for-mice so therefore the-world of-the-gods the-house to-reckon
debemus". Ita prorsus existimarem, si illum aedificatum, non
we-ought so assuredly I-would-reckon if it built not
quem ad modum docebo a natura conformatum putarem.
in-what to manner I-will-show by nature shaped I-would-think
27 At enim quaerit apud Xenophontem Socrates unde animum
but indeed asks in Xenophon Socrates whence the-soul
arripuerimus si nullus fuerit in mundo. Et ego quaero
we-snatched if none were in the-world and I ask
unde orationem unde numeros unde cantus; nisi vero loqui
whence speech whence numbers whence songs unless indeed to-talk

solem cum luna putamus cum propius accesserit, aut ad
the-sun with the-moon we-think when nearer it-has-approached or in
harmoniam canere mundum ut Pythagoras existimat. Naturae
harmony to-sing the-world as Pythagoras thinks of-nature
ista sunt Balbe, naturae non artificiose ambulantis ut
those-things are Balbus of-nature not artistically walking as
ait Zeno, quod quidem quale sit iam videbimus, sed
says Zeno which indeed of-what-kind it-is soon we-shall-see but
omnia cientis et agitantis motibus et mutationibus suis.
all-things stirring and driving with-motions and changes its-own
Itaque illa mihi placebat oratio de convenientia consensuque 28
and-so that to-me pleased speech about the-harmony and-concord
naturae, quam quasi cognatione continuatam conspirare
of-nature which as-if by-kinship connected to-breathe-together
dicebas, illud non probabam, quod negabas id accidere
you-were-saying that not I-approved that you-denied that to-happen
potuisse nisi ea uno divino spiritu contineretur. Illa
to-have-been-able unless it by-one divine spirit were-held-together it
vero cohaeret et permanet naturae viribus non deorum,
indeed coheres and endures of-nature by-powers not of-the-gods
estque in ea iste quasi consensus, quam συνπάθειαν
and-there-is in it that as-it-were concord which sympatheia
Graeci vocant; sed ea quo sua sponte maior est eo
the-Greeks call but it the-more of-its-own accord greater it-is the
minus divina ratione fieri existimanda est.
less by-divine reason to-come-about to-be-reckoned it-is
Illa autem, quae Carneades adferebat, quem ad modum 29
those moreover which Carneades used-to-adduce in-what to manner
dissolvitis: si nullum corpus inmortale sit, nullum esse
do-you-dissolve if no body immortal is none to-be
corpus sempiternum: corpus autem inmortale nullum esse, ne
body everlasting body moreover immortal none to-be not

individuum quidem nec quod dirimi distrahive non
indivisible even nor which to-be-separated or-to-be-torn-apart not
possit; cumque omne animal patibilem naturam habeat,
can and-since every animal capable-of-suffering nature has
nullum est eorum quod effugiat accipiendi aliquid extrinsecus
none is of-them which escapes of-receiving something from-outside
id est quasi ferendi et patiendi necessitatem, et si
that is as-it-were of-bearing and of-suffering the-necessity and if
omne animal tale est inmortale nullum est. Ergo itidem,
every animal such is immortal none is therefore likewise
si omne animal secari ac dividi potest, nullum est
if every animal to-be-cut and to-be-divided can none is
eorum individuum nullum aeternum; atqui omne animal ad
of-them indivisible none eternal and-yet every animal for
accipiendam vim externam et ferundam paratum est; mortale
receiving force external and bearing prepared is mortal
igitur omne animal et dissolubile et dividuum sit necesse est.
therefore every animal and dissoluble and divisible be necessary it-is
30 Ut enim, si omnis cera commutabilis esset, nihil esset
as for if all wax changeable were nothing would-be
cereum quod commutari non posset, item nihil argenteum
waxen which to-be-changed not could likewise nothing silver
nihil aeneum, si commutabilis esset, natura argenti et
nothing bronze if changeable were the-nature of-silver and
aeris — similiter igitur, si omnia quae sunt *** e quibus
of-bronze likewise therefore if all-things which are (lacuna) of which
cuncta constant mutabilia sunt, nullum corpus esse potest
all-things consist changeable are no body to-be can
non mutabile; mutabilia autem sunt illa ex quibus omnia
not changeable changeable moreover are those-things of which all-things
constant, ut vobis videtur; omne igitur corpus mutabile est.
consist as to-you it-seems every therefore body changeable is

At si esset corpus aliquod immortale, non esset omne
but if there-were body some immortal not would-be every
mutabile; ita efficitur ut omne corpus mortale sit. Etenim
changeable so it-is-brought-about that every body mortal is for-indeed
omne corpus aut aqua aut aer aut ignis aut terra est aut
every body either water or air or fire or earth is or
id quod est concretum ex is aut ex aliqua parte eorum.
that which is compounded from them or from some part of-them
Horum autem nihil est quin intereat; nam et terrenum 31
of-these moreover nothing is but it-perishes for both earthy
omne dividitur, et umor ita mollis est ut facile premi
all is-divided and moisture so soft is that easily to-be-pressed
conlidique possit; ignis vero et aer omni pulsu facillime
and-to-be-crushed it-can fire indeed and air by-every blow most-easily
pellitur naturaque cedens est maxime et dissupabilis.
is-driven and-in-nature yielding is most and dispersible
Praetereaque omnia haec tum intereunt cum in naturam
and-besides all these-things then perish when into nature
aliam convertuntur, quod fit cum terra in aquam se vertit
another they-are-changed which happens when earth into water itself turns
et cum ex aqua oritur aer ex aere aether, cumque eadem
and when from water arises air from air ether and-when the-same
vicissim retro commeant. Quod si ita est, ut ea intereant
in-turn back return but if so it-is that those-things perish
e quibus constet omne animal, nullum est animal sempiternum.
of which consists every animal no is animal everlasting
Et ut haec omittamus, tamen animal nullum inveniri 32
and that these-things we-may-pass-over still animal none to-be-found
potest quod neque natum umquam sit et semper sit
can which neither born ever has-been and always is
futurum. Omne enim animal sensus habet; sentit igitur
about-to-be every for animal senses has it-feels therefore

et calida et frigida et dulcia et amara nec potest ullo
both hot-things and cold and sweet and bitter nor can-it by-any
sensu iucunda accipere non accipere contraria; si igitur
sense pleasant-things to-receive not to-receive the-contraries if therefore
voluptatis sensum capit, doloris etiam capit; quod autem
of-pleasure the-sense it-takes of-pain also it-takes what moreover
dolorem accipit id accipiat etiam interitum necesse est;
pain receives that may-receive also destruction necessary it-is
omne igitur animal confitendum est esse mortale.
every therefore animal to-be-confessed it-is to-be mortal

V · A GOD WITHOUT VIRTUES

An animal must feel pleasure and pain, and so cannot be eternal. Fire, which the Stoics make the source of life, needs fuel and perishes. A god cannot have the virtues: prudence chooses between good and evil, justice belongs to human society, temperance resists pleasures, courage faces pain and danger, and none of these touches a god. The crowd's gods (the Syrians' fish, the Egyptians' beasts, the Greeks' deified men) are no worse than the Stoics'.

33 Praeterea, si quid est quod nec voluptatem sentiat
besides if anything there-is which neither pleasure feels
nec dolorem, id animal esse non potest; sin autem quod
nor pain that animal to-be not can but-if moreover what
animal est, id illa necesse est sentiat, et quod ea
animal is that those-things necessary it-is should-feel and what them
sentiat non potest esse aeternum; et omne animal sentit;
feels not can to-be eternal and every animal feels
nullum igitur animal aeternum est. Praeterea nullum potest
no therefore animal eternal is besides none can
esse animal in quo non et adpetitio sit et declinatio
to-be animal in which not both desire be and avoidance

naturalis. Adpetuntur autem quae secundum naturam
natural are-desired moreover things-which according-to nature
sunt, declinantur contraria; et omne animal adpetit quaedam
are are-avoided the-contraries and every animal desires some-things
et fugit a quibusdam, quod autem refugit id contra
and flees from some what moreover it-shrinks-from that against
naturam est, et quod est contra naturam id habet vim
nature is and what is against nature that has the-power
interemendi. Omne ergo animal intereat necesse est.
of-destroying every therefore animal should-perish necessary it-is
Innumerabilia sunt ex quibus effici cogique possit 34
innumerable-things there-are from which to-be-made and-to-be-concluded it-could
nihil esse quod sensum habeat quin id intereat; etenim ea
nothing to-be which sense has but that it-perishes for-indeed those
ipsa quae sentiuntur, ut frigus ut calor ut voluptas ut
very-things which are-felt as cold as heat as pleasure as
dolor ut cetera, cum amplificata sunt interimunt; nec ullum
pain as the-rest when amplified they-are destroy nor any
animal est sine sensu; nullum igitur animal aeternum est.
animal is without sense no therefore animal eternal is
Etenim aut simplex est natura animantis, ut vel terrena
for-indeed either simple is the-nature of-a-living-being so-that either earthy
sit vel ignea vel animalis vel umida, quod quale sit
it-be or fiery or airy or watery which of-what-kind it-would-be
ne intellegi quidem potest, aut concretum ex pluribus
not to-be-understood even can or compounded from several
naturis, quarum suum quaeque locum habeat quo naturae
natures of-which its-own each place has to-which of-nature
vi feratur, alia infimum alia summum alia medium.
by-the-force it-is-borne one the-lowest another the-highest another the-middle
Haec ad quoddam tempus cohaerere possunt, semper autem
these to a-certain time to-cohere can always moreover

nullo modo possunt; necesse est enim in suum quaeque
in-no way can necessary it-is for into its-own each
locum natura rapiatur. Nullum igitur animal est sempiternum.
place by-nature be-snatched no therefore animal is everlasting
35 Sed omnia vestri Balbe solent ad igneam vim referre
but all-things your-people Balbus are-wont to the-fiery force to-refer
Heraclitum ut opinor sequentes, quem ipsum non omnes
Heraclitus as I-think following whom himself not all
interpretantur uno modo, †quoniam quid diceret quod
interpret in-one way since what he-meant because
intellegi noluit† omittamus; vos autem ita dicitis, omnem
to-be-understood he-wished-not let-us-pass-over you moreover so say all
vim esse ignem, itaque et animantis cum calor defecerit
force to-be fire and-so also living-beings when the-heat has-failed
tum interire, et in omni natura rerum id vivere id vigere
then to-perish and in all the-nature of-things that to-live that to-thrive
quod caleat. Ego autem non intellego quo modo calore
which is-warm I moreover not I-understand in-what way with-heat
extincto corpora intereant, non intereant umore aut spiritu
extinguished bodies perish not perish with-moisture or breath
amisso, praesertim cum intereant etiam nimio calore.
lost especially since they-perish also from-excessive heat
36 Quam ob rem id quidem commune est de calido;
which on-account-of thing this indeed common is about the-hot
verum tamen videamus exitum. Ita voltis opinor, nihil esse
but still let-us-see the-outcome so you-wish I-think nothing to-be
animal extrinsecus in natura atque mundo praeter ignem:
animal from-outside in nature and the-world besides fire
qui magis quam praeter animam, unde animantium quoque
why rather than besides air of-which of-living-beings also
constet animus, ex quo animal dicitur? Quo modo autem
consists the-soul from which animal is-called in-what way moreover

hoc quasi concedatur sumitis, nihil esse animum nisi
this as-if it-were-granted do-you-assume nothing to-be the-soul except
ignem; probabilius enim videtur tale quiddam esse animum,
fire more-probable for it-seems such something to-be the-soul
ut sit ex igni atque anima temperatum. "Quod si ignis
that it-be from fire and air blended but if fire
ex sese ipse animal est nulla se alia admiscente natura,
from it itself animal is with-no itself other mingling nature
quoniam is, cum inest in corporibus nostris, efficit
since it when it-is-in in bodies our brings-about
ut sentiamus, non potest ipse esse sine sensu." Rursus
that we-feel not can itself to-be without sense again
eadem dici possunt: quidquid est enim quod sensum
the-same-things to-be-said can whatever is for which sense
habeat, id necesse est sentiat et voluptatem et dolorem, ad
has that necessary it-is should-feel both pleasure and pain to
quem autem dolor veniat ad eundem etiam interitum venire.
whom moreover pain comes to the-same also destruction to-come
Ita fit ut ne ignem quidem efficere possitis aeternum.
so it-comes-about that not fire even to-make you-can eternal
Quid enim, non eisdem vobis placet omnem ignem pastus 37
what for not the-same to-you pleases all fire of-fodder
indigere nec permanere ullo modo posse nisi alatur, ali
to-need nor to-endure in-any way to-be-able unless it-is-fed to-be-fed
autem solem lunam reliqua astra aquis, alia dulcibus alia
moreover the-sun the-moon the-other stars by-waters some fresh others
marinis; eamque causam Cleanthes adfert cur se sol
sea and-that cause Cleanthes adduces why itself the-sun
referat nec longius progrediatur solstitiali orbi itemque
turns-back nor farther advances than-the-solstitial circle and-likewise
brumali, ne longius discedat a cibo. Hoc totum quale
than-the-wintry lest farther it-depart from food this whole of-what-kind

sit mox; nunc autem concludatur illud: quod interire possit
it-is soon now moreover let-it-be-concluded that which to-perish can
id aeternum non esse natura; ignem autem interiturum
that eternal not to-be by-nature fire moreover about-to-perish
esse nisi alatur; non esse igitur natura ignem sempiternum.
to-be unless it-is-fed not to-be therefore by-nature fire everlasting
38 Qualem autem deum intellegere nos possumus nulla virtute
what-kind-of moreover god to-conceive we can with-no virtue
praeditum? Quid enim, prudentiamne deo tribuemus, quae
endowed what for prudence-whether to-god shall-we-assign which
constat ex scientia rerum bonarum et malarum et nec
consists of the-knowledge of-things good and bad and neither
bonarum nec malarum? Cui mali nihil est nec esse potest,
good nor bad to-whom of-bad nothing is nor to-be can
quid huic opus est dilectu bonorum et malorum, quid
what to-him need is of-choice of-goods and of-evils what
autem ratione quid intellegentia: quibus utimur ad eam rem
moreover of-reason what of-intelligence which we-use for that thing
ut apertis obscura adsequamur; at obscurum deo nihil
that by-things-open the-obscure we-may-attain but obscure to-god nothing
potest esse. Nam iustitia, quae suum cuique distribuit, quid
can to-be for justice which his-own to-each distributes what
pertinet ad deos; hominum enim societas et communitas,
does-it-pertain to the-gods of-men for the-society and fellowship
ut vos dicitis, iustitiam procreavit. Temperantia autem constat
as you say justice begot temperance moreover consists
ex praetermittendis voluptatibus corporis: cui si locus
of passing-over pleasures of-the-body for-which if place
in caelo est, est etiam voluptatibus. Nam fortis deus
in heaven is there-is also for-pleasures for brave god

intellegi qui potest, in dolore an in labore an in periculo:
to-be-conceived how can in pain or in labor or in danger
quorum deum nihil attingit.
of-which god nothing touches
Nec ratione igitur utentem nec virtute ulla praeditum 39
neither reason therefore using nor with-virtue any endowed
deum intellegere qui possumus?
a-god to-conceive how can-we
Nec vero volgi atque imperitorum inscitiam despicere
nor indeed of-the-crowd and of-the-unskilled the-ignorance to-despise
possum, cum ea considero quae dicuntur a Stoicis.
can-I when those-things I-consider which are-said by the-Stoics
Sunt enim illa imperitorum: piscem Syri venerantur, omne
are for those of-the-unskilled a-fish the-Syrians venerate every
fere genus bestiarum Aegyptii consecraverunt; iam vero
almost kind of-beasts the-Egyptians have-consecrated now indeed
in Graecia multos habent ex hominibus deos, Alabandum
in Greece many they-have from men gods Alabandus
Alabandis, Tenedi Tenen, Leucotheam quae fuit Ino et eius
at-Alabanda at-Tenedos Tenes Leucothea who was Ino and her
Palaemonem filium cuncta Graecia — Herculem Aesculapium
Palaemon son all Greece Hercules Aesculapius
Tyndaridas Romulum nostrum aliosque compluris, quos quasi
the-Tyndaridae Romulus our-own and-others very-many whom as-if
novos et adscripticios cives in caelum receptos putant.
new and enrolled citizens into heaven received they-think

If the world is a god, why add the stars and constellations, or call grain Ceres and wine Liber? Of men deified for their services, which Hercules is to be worshiped, when the learned count six? Cotta prefers the pontiffs' ritual to Stoic reasoning and gives Carneades' chain of questions: nymphs and satyrs, the rivers of the underworld, Saturn's parents and Night's brood, the sons of goddesses, and Hecate and the Furies.

40 Haec igitur indocti; quid vos philosophi, qui meliora? Omitto
these-things therefore the-untaught what you philosophers who better-things I-pass-over
illa, sunt enim praeclara: sit sane deus ipse mundus.
those-things they-are for splendid let-be by-all-means god itself the-world
Hoc credo illud esse "sublime candens, quem invocant omnes
this I-suppose that to-be on-high shining whom invoke all
Iovem". Quare igitur pluris adiungimus deos? Quanta autem est
as-Jupiter why therefore more do-we-add gods how-great moreover is
eorum multitudo: mihi quidem sane multi videntur; singulas
of-them the-multitude to-me indeed truly many they-seem single
enim stellas numeras deos eosque aut beluarum nomine
for stars you-count as-gods and-them either of-beasts by-the-name
appellas, ut Capram ut Nepam ut Taurum ut Leonem,
you-call as the-Goat as the-Scorpion as the-Bull as the-Lion
aut rerum inanimarum, ut Argo ut Aram ut Coronam.
or of-things inanimate as the-Argo as the-Altar as the-Crown
41 Sed ut haec concedantur, reliqua qui tandem non modo
but that these-things be-granted the-rest how pray not only
concedi sed omnino intellegi possunt? Cum fruges
to-be-granted but at-all to-be-understood can when the-crops
Cererem vinum Liberum dicimus, genere nos quidem sermonis
Ceres the-wine Liber we-call a-kind we indeed of-speech
utimur usitato, sed ecquem tam amentem esse putas
use customary but anyone so mad to-be do-you-think

qui illud quo vescatur deum credat esse? Nam quos ab
who that on-which he-feeds a-god believes to-be for whom from
hominibus pervenisse dicis ad deos, tu reddes rationem
men to-have-come you-say to the-gods you will-render an-account
quem ad modum id fieri potuerit aut cur fieri desierit,
in-what to manner that to-happen could-have or why to-happen it-has-ceased
et ego discam libenter; quo modo nunc quidem est, non
and I will-learn gladly in-what way now indeed it-is not
video quo pacto ille, cui "in monte Oetaeo inlatae
I-see by-what means he to-whom on the-mount Oetaean applied
lampades" fuerint ut ait Accius, "in domum aeternam patris"
the-torches were as says Accius into the-house eternal of-his-father
ex illo ardore pervenerit; quem tamen Homerus apud inferos
from that blaze came whom still Homer among the-dead
conveniri facit ab Ulixe sicut ceteros qui excesserant vita.
to-be-met makes by Ulysses like the-others who had-departed from-life
Quamquam quem potissimum Herculem colamus scire 42
although which-one by-preference Hercules we-should-worship to-know
sane velim; pluris enim tradunt nobis i qui interiores
truly I-would-like several for hand-down to-us those who the-more-inward
scrutantur et reconditas litteras, antiquissimum Iove
examine and recondite literature the-most-ancient from-Jupiter
natum — sed item Iove antiquissimo, nam Ioves quoque
born but likewise from-Jupiter most-ancient for Jupiters also
pluris in priscis Graecorum litteris invenimus: ex eo
several in the-ancient of-the-Greeks literature we-find of him
igitur et Lysithoe est is Hercules quem concertavisse cum
therefore and of-Lysithoe is that Hercules who contended with
Apolline de tripode accepimus. Alter traditur Nilo
Apollo about the-tripod we-have-heard another is-handed-down from-the-Nile
natus Aegyptius, quem aiunt Phrygias litteras conscripsisse.
born an-Egyptian who they-say Phrygian letters to-have-written-down

Tertius est ex Idaeis Digitis, cui inferias adferunt
a-third is from the-Idaean Dactyls to-whom offerings-to-the-dead they-bring
†cui. Quartus Iovis est et Asteriae Latonae sororis,
to-whom a-fourth of-Jupiter is and of-Asteria of-Latona of-the-sister
qui Tyri maxime colitur, cuius Carthaginem filiam ferunt,
who at-Tyre most is-worshiped whose Carthage daughter they-say
quintus in India qui Belus dicitur, sextus hic ex Alcmena
a-fifth in India who Belus is-called a-sixth this-one from Alcmena
quem Iuppiter genuit, sed tertius Iuppiter, quoniam ut
whom Jupiter begot but the-third Jupiter since as
iam docebo pluris Ioves etiam accepimus.
presently I-will-show several Jupiters also we-have-heard-of
43 Quando enim me in hunc locum deduxit oratio, docebo
since for me into this topic has-led the-discourse I-will-show
meliora me didicisse de colendis diis inmortalibus iure
better-things me to-have-learned about worshiping the-gods immortal from-the-law
pontificio et more maiorum capedunculis his, quas
pontifical and from-the-custom of-our-ancestors from-little-bowls those which
Numa nobis reliquit, de quibus in illa aureola oratiuncula dicit
Numa to-us left about which in that golden little-speech speaks
Laelius, quam rationibus Stoicorum. Si enim vos sequar,
Laelius than from-the-reasonings of-the-Stoics if for you I-should-follow
dic quid ei respondeam qui me sic roget: "Si di sunt ∗∗∗,
say what to-him I-should-answer who me so should-ask if gods exist (lacuna)
suntne etiam Nymphae deae? Si Nymphae, Panisci etiam et
are-whether also the-Nymphs goddesses if the-Nymphs little-Pans also and
Satyri; hi autem non sunt; ne Nymphae quidem igitur. At
Satyrs these moreover not are not the-Nymphs even therefore but
earum templa sunt publice vota et dedicata. Ne ceteri quidem
of-them temples are publicly vowed and dedicated not the-other even
ergo di, quorum templa sunt dedicata. Age porro: Iovem et
therefore gods whose temples are dedicated come then Jupiter and

Neptunum deum numeras; ergo etiam Orcus frater eorum
Neptune as-god you-count therefore also Orcus brother their
deus, et illi qui fluere apud inferos dicuntur, Acheron Cocytus
a-god and those which to-flow among the-dead are-said Acheron Cocytus
Pyriphlegethon, tum Charon tum Cerberus di putandi.
Pyriphlegethon then Charon then Cerberus gods to-be-thought
At id quidem repudiandum; ne Orcus quidem igitur; quid 44
but that indeed to-be-rejected not Orcus even therefore what
dicitis ergo de fratribus?" Haec Carneades aiebat,
do-you-say therefore about the-brothers these-things Carneades used-to-say
non ut deos tolleret (quid enim philosopho minus
not that the-gods he-might-abolish what for for-a-philosopher less
conveniens), sed ut Stoicos nihil de dis explicare
fitting but that the-Stoics nothing about the-gods to-explain
convinceret; itaque insequebatur: "Quid enim" aiebat, "si hi
he-might-convict and-so he-pressed-on what for he-said if these
fratres sunt in numero deorum, num de patre eorum
brothers are in the-number of-the-gods surely-not about the-father their
Saturno negari potest, quem volgo maxime colunt ad
Saturn to-be-denied can whom commonly most they-worship toward
occidentem? Qui si est deus, patrem quoque eius Caelum
the-west who if he-is a-god the-father also his Caelus
esse deum confitendum est. Quod si ita est, Caeli quoque
to-be a-god to-be-confessed it-is but if so it-is of-Caelus also
parentes dii habendi sunt Aether et Dies eorumque fratres et
the-parents gods to-be-held are Aether and Dies and-their brothers and
sorores, qui a genealogis antiquis sic nominantur, Amor Dolus
sisters who by the-genealogists ancient thus are-named Love Guile
†modus Labor Invidentia Fatum Senectus Mors Tenebrae
measure Toil Envy Fate Old-Age Death Darkness
Miseria Querella Gratia Fraus Pertinacia Parcae Hesperides
Misery Complaint Favor Fraud Obstinacy the-Fates the-Hesperides

Somnia; quos omnis Erebo et Nocte natos ferunt. Aut
Dreams whom all from-Erebus and Night born they-say either
igitur haec monstra probanda sunt aut prima illa tollenda."
therefore these monsters to-be-approved are or first those to-be-removed
Quid Apollinem Volcanum Mercurium ceteros deos esse dices,
what Apollo Vulcan Mercury the-rest gods to-be will-you-say
de Hercule Aesculapio Libero Castore Polluce dubitabis? At
about Hercules Aesculapius Liber Castor Pollux will-you-doubt but
hi quidem coluntur aeque atque illi, apud quosdam etiam
these indeed are-worshiped equally as those among some even
multo magis. Ergo hi dei sunt habendi mortalibus nati
much more therefore these gods are to-be-held from-mortal born
matribus. Quid Aristaeus qui olivae dicitur inventor Apollinis
mothers what Aristaeus who of-the-olive is-said the-discoverer of-Apollo
filius, Theseus qui Neptuni, reliqui quorum patres di, non
the-son Theseus who of-Neptune the-rest whose fathers gods not
erunt in deorum numero? Quid quorum matres? Opinor etiam
will-be in of-the-gods the-number what those-whose mothers I-think even
magis; ut enim iure civili qui est matre libera liber est,
more as for by-law civil who is from-a-mother free free is
item iure naturae qui dea matre est deus sit necesse est.
likewise by-law of-nature who from-a-goddess mother is a-god be necessary it-is
Itaque Achillem Astypalenses insulani sanctissume colunt; qui
and-so Achilles the-Astypalaeans islanders most-holily worship who
si deus est, et Orpheus et Rhesus di sunt Musa matre
if a-god is both Orpheus and Rhesus gods are from-a-Muse mother
nati; nisi forte maritumae nuptiae terrenis anteponuntur. Si hi
born unless perhaps marine marriages to-earthly are-preferred if these
di non sunt, quia nusquam coluntur, quo modo illi sunt?
gods not are because nowhere they-are-worshiped in-what way those are

Vide igitur ne virtutibus hominum isti honores habeantur 46
see therefore lest to-the-virtues of-men those honors be-paid
non immortalitatibus; quod tu quoque Balbe visus es
not to-immortalities which you also Balbus seemed you-have
dicere. Quo modo autem potes, si Latonam deam putas,
to-say in-what way moreover can-you if Latona a-goddess you-think
Hecatam non putare, quae matre Asteria est sorore
Hecate not to-think who from-mother Asteria is the-sister
Latonae? An haec quoque dea est; vidimus enim eius
of-Latona or she too a-goddess is we-have-seen for her
aras delubraque in Graecia. Sin haec dea est, cur non
altars and-shrines in Greece but-if she a-goddess is why not
Eumenides? Quae si deae sunt, quarum et Athenis fanumst
the-Eumenides who if goddesses are of-whom both at-Athens a-shrine-is
et apud nos ut ego interpretor lucus Furinae, Furiae deae
and among us as I interpret the-grove of-Furina the-Furies goddesses
sunt, speculatrices credo et vindices facinorum et sceleris.
are watchers I-suppose and avengers of-misdeeds and of-crime

VII · WHERE DEIFICATION ENDS

If Natio is a goddess, so are Honor, Faith, Hope, and Moneta; if Serapis and Isis are gods, so are the barbarians' beasts. Ino, Circe, Medea, Amphiaraus, Trophonius, and Erechtheus raise the same question, and Stratonicus mocked a man who called Alabandus a god and denied Hercules. The rainbow, the clouds, and the storms would be gods too, and the theologians count three Jupiters and many Dioscuri.

Quod si tales dei sunt ut rebus humanis intersint, Natio 47
but if such the-gods are that in-things human they-take-part Natio
quoque dea putanda est, cui cum fana circumimus in
also a-goddess to-be-thought is to-whom when the-shrines we-go-round in

agro Ardeati rem divinam facere solemus; quae quia partus
the-territory Ardeatine a-thing divine to-do we-are-wont who because the-births
matronarum tueatur a nascentibus Natio nominata est. Ea si
of-matrons she-guards from those-being-born Natio named was she if
dea est, di omnes illi qui commemorabantur a te, Honos
a-goddess is gods all those who were-mentioned by you Honor
Fides Mens Concordia, ergo etiam Spes Moneta omniaque quae
Faith Mind Concord therefore also Hope Moneta and-all-things which
cogitatione nobismet ipsis possumus fingere. Quod si veri
by-thought for-us ourselves we-can to-fashion but if of-truth
simile non est, ne illud quidem est haec unde fluxerunt.
like not it-is not that even is these-things whence they-flowed
Quid autem dicis, si di sunt illi quos colimus et accepimus,
what moreover do-you-say if gods are those whom we-worship and have-received
cur non eodem in genere Serapim Isimque numeremus? Quod
why not the-same in class Serapis and-Isis should-we-count but
si facimus, cur barbarorum deos repudiemus? Boves igitur et
if we-do-it why of-the-barbarians the-gods should-we-reject oxen therefore and
equos, ibis accipitres, aspidas crocodilos pisces, canes lupos
horses ibises hawks asps crocodiles fish dogs wolves
faelis, multas praeterea beluas in deorum numerum reponemus.
cats many besides beasts into of-the-gods the-number we-shall-put
Quae si reiciamus, illa quoque unde haec nata sunt reiciemus.
which if we-should-reject those too whence these born are we-shall-reject
48 Quid deinde, Ino dea ducetur et Λευκοθέα a Graecis
what then Ino a-goddess will-be-reckoned and Leukothea by the-Greeks
a nobis Matuta dicetur, cum sit Cadmi filia, Circe
by us Matuta will-be-called since she-is of-Cadmus the-daughter Circe
autem et Pasiphae et Aeeta e Perseide Oceani filia
moreover and Pasiphae and Aeetes from Perseis of-Ocean the-daughter
natae patre Sole in deorum numero non habebuntur?
born from-the-father the-Sun in of-the-gods the-number not will-be-held

Quamquam Circen quoque coloni nostri Cercienses religiose
although Circe too the-colonists our of-Circeii religiously
colunt. Ergo hanc deam ducis: quid Medeae respondebis,
worship therefore her a-goddess you-reckon what to-Medea will-you-answer
quae duobus dis avis Sole et Oceano Aeeta patre
who from-two gods as-grandfathers the-Sun and Ocean from-Aeetes father
matre Idyia procreata est, quid huius Absyrtio fratri (qui
mother Idyia begotten was what her to-Absyrtus brother who
est apud Pacuvium Aegialeus, sed illud nomen veterum
is in Pacuvius Aegialeus but that name of-the-ancients
litteris usitatius)? Qui si di non sunt, vereor quid agat
in-writings more-usual who if gods not are I-fear what may-do
Ino; haec enim omnia ex eodem fonte fluxerunt.
Ino these-things for all from the-same spring have-flowed
An Amphiaraus erit deus et Trophonius? Nostri quidem 49
or Amphiaraus will-be a-god and Trophonius our-own indeed
publicani, cum essent agri in Boeotia deorum inmortalium
tax-farmers when were lands in Boeotia of-the-gods immortal
excepti lege censoria, negabant immortalis esse ullos
excepted by-the-law censorial denied immortal to-be any
qui aliquando homines fuissent. Sed si sunt i di, est
who once men had-been but if are those gods is
certe Erectheus, cuius Athenis et delubrum vidimus et
certainly Erechtheus whose at-Athens both a-shrine we-have-seen and
sacerdotem. Quem si deum facimus, quid aut de Codro
a-priest whom if a-god we-make what either about Codrus
dubitare possumus aut de ceteris qui pugnantes pro
to-doubt can-we or about the-rest who fighting for
patriae libertate ceciderunt? Quod si probabile non est, ne
of-their-country the-liberty fell but if probable not it-is not
illa quidem superiora unde haec manant probanda sunt.
those even earlier-things whence these-things flow to-be-approved are

50 Atque in plerisque civitatibus intellegi potest augendae
and in most states to-be-understood it-can of-increasing
virtutis gratia, quo libentius rei publicae causa
virtue for-the-sake that the-more-gladly of-the-thing public for-the-sake
periculum adiret optimus quisque, virorum fortium
danger should-meet the-best each of-men brave
memoriam honore deorum immortalium consecratam.
the-memory with-the-honor of-the-gods immortal consecrated
Ob eam enim ipsam causam Erectheus Athenis
on-account-of that for very cause Erechtheus at-Athens
filiaeque eius in numero deorum sunt, itemque
and-the-daughters his in the-number of-the-gods are and-likewise
Leonaticum est delubrum Athenis quod Λεωκόριον nominatur.
a-Leonatic is shrine at-Athens which Leokorion is-named
Alabandenses quidem sanctius Alabandum colunt, a quo est
the-Alabandians indeed more-holily Alabandus worship by whom was
urbs illa condita, quam quemquam nobilium deorum; apud
city that founded than any of-the-noble gods among
quos non inurbane Stratonicus ut multa, cum quidam ei
whom not unwittily Stratonicus as many-things when a-certain-man to-him
molestus Alabandum deum esse confirmaret Herculem negaret,
troublesome Alabandus a-god to-be asserted Hercules denied
"ergo" inquit "mihi Alabandus tibi Hercules sit iratus".
therefore he-said with-me Alabandus with-you Hercules let-be angry
51 Illa autem Balbe, quae tu a caelo astrisque ducebas,
those-things moreover Balbus which you from the-sky and-stars were-drawing
quam longe serpant non vides: solem deum esse lunamque,
how far they-creep not you-see the-sun a-god to-be and-the-moon
quorum alterum Apollinem Graeci alteram Dianam putant.
of-which the-one Apollo the-Greeks the-other Diana think
Quod si luna dea est, ergo etiam Lucifer ceteraeque
but if the-moon a-goddess is therefore also Lucifer and-the-other

errantes numerum deorum optinebunt; igitur etiam
wandering-stars the-number of-the-gods will-hold therefore also
inerrantes. Cur autem arqui species non in deorum
the-unwandering why moreover of-the-rainbow the-appearance not in of-the-gods
numero reponatur; est enim pulcher (et ob eam
the-number should-be-put it-is for beautiful and on-account-of that
speciem, quia causam habeat admirabilem, Thaumante dicitur
appearance because a-cause it-has wonderful from-Thaumas it-is-said
esse nata). Cuius si divina natura est, quid facies nubibus;
to-be born whose if divine the-nature is what will-you-do with-the-clouds
arcus enim ipse e nubibus efficitur quodam modo coloratis;
the-bow for itself from clouds is-produced in-a-certain way colored
quarum una etiam Centauros peperisse dicitur. Quod si nubes
of-which one even the-Centaurs to-have-borne is-said but if the-clouds
rettuleris in deos, referendae certe erunt tempestates,
you-will-have-referred to the-gods to-be-referred certainly will-be the-storms
quae populi Romani ritibus consecratae sunt. Ergo imbres
which of-the-people Roman by-the-rites consecrated have-been therefore rains
nimbi procellae turbines dei putandi; nostri quidem duces
rain-clouds gales whirlwinds gods to-be-thought our indeed commanders
mare ingredientes inmolare hostiam fluctibus consuerunt.
the-sea entering to-sacrifice a-victim to-the-waves have-been-accustomed
Iam si est Ceres a gerendo (ita enim dicebas), terra 52
now if is Ceres from bearing so for you-were-saying the-earth
ipsa dea est (et ita habetur; quae est enim alia Tellus);
itself a-goddess is and so is-held what is for other Tellus
sin terra, mare etiam, quem Neptunum esse dicebas;
but-if the-earth the-sea also which Neptune to-be you-were-saying
ergo et flumina et fontes. Itaque et Fontis delubrum
therefore also rivers and springs and-so both of-Fons a-shrine
Masso ex Corsica dedicavit, et in augurum precatione
Maso from Corsica dedicated and in of-the-augurs the-prayer

Tiberinum Spinonem Anemonem Nodinum alia propinquorum
Tiberinus Spino Anemo Nodinus other of-neighboring
fluminum nomina videmus. Ergo hoc aut in inmensum
rivers names we-see therefore this either into the-immeasurable
serpet, aut nihil horum recipiemus; nec illa infinita ratio
will-creep or none of-these we-shall-accept nor that infinite reasoning
superstitionis probabitur; nihil ergo horum probandum est.
of-superstition will-be-approved none therefore of-these to-be-approved is
53 Dicamus igitur Balbe oportet contra illos etiam, qui hos
let-us-say therefore Balbus it-behooves against those also who these
deos ex hominum genere in caelum translatos non re
gods from of-men the-race into heaven transferred not in-fact
sed opinione esse dicunt, quos auguste omnes sancteque
but in-belief to-be say whom august all and-bolily
veneramur. Principio Ioves tres numerant i qui theologi
we-venerate in-the-beginning Jupiters three count those who theologians
nominantur, ex quibus primum et secundum natos in Arcadia,
are-named of whom the-first and the-second born in Arcadia
alterum patre Aethere, ex quo etiam Proserpinam
one from-the-father Aether from whom also Proserpina
natam ferunt et Liberum, alterum patre Caelo, qui
born they-say and Liber the-other from-the-father Caelus who
genuisse Minervam dicitur, quam principem et inventricem
to-have-begotten Minerva is-said whom the-chief and discoverer
belli ferunt, tertium Cretensem Saturni filium, cuius in illa
of-war they-say the-third the-Cretan of-Saturn son whose in that
insula sepulcrum ostenditur. Dioscoroe etiam apud Graios
island the-tomb is-shown the-Dioscuri also among the-Greeks
multis modis nominantur: primi tres, qui appellantur Anactes
in-many ways are-named the-first three who are-called Anakes
Athenis, ex rege Iove antiquissimo et Proserpina nati
at-Athens from the-king Jupiter most-ancient and Proserpina born

Tritopatreus Eubuleus Dionysus, secundi Iove tertio nati
Tritopatreus Eubuleus Dionysus the-second from-Jupiter the-third born
et Leda Castor et Pollux; tertii dicuntur a non nullis Alco
and Leda Castor and Pollux the-third are-said by not none Alco
et Melampus †euiolus, Atrei filii, qui Pelope natus fuit.
and Melampus euiolus of-Atreus sons who from-Pelops born was

VIII · MUSES, SUNS, AND VENUSES

Cotta lists the several Muses, Suns, Vulcans, Mercuries, Aesculapiuses, Apollos, Dianas, Dionysuses, Venuses, Minervas, and Cupids handed down in Greek tradition, a confusion the Stoics confirm by interpreting it. Mind, Faith, Hope, Victory, and Concord are things, not gods, and Fortune, which no one separates from inconstancy and rashness, least of all deserves the name.

Iam Musae primae quattuor Iove altero †nata et 54
now the-Muses first four from-Jupiter the-second born and
Thelxinoe† Aoede Arche Melete, secundae Iove tertio
Thelxinoe Aoede Arche Melete the-second from-Jupiter the-third
et Mnemosyne procreatae novem, tertiae Piero natae et
and Mnemosyne begotten nine the-third from-Pierus born and
Antiopa, quas Pieridas et Pierias solent poetae appellare,
Antiopa whom Pierides and Pieriae are-wont the-poets to-call
isdem nominibus et eodem numero quo proxumae
by-the-same names and in-the-same number as the-nearest
superiores. Cumque tu solem quia solus esset appellatum
earlier and-since you the-sun because alone it-was so-called
esse dicas, Soles ipsi quam multi a theologis
to-have-been say Suns themselves how many by the-theologians
proferuntur. Unus eorum Iove natus nepos Aetheris,
are-brought-forward one of-them from-Jupiter born grandson of-Aether

alter Hyperione, tertius Volcano Nili filio, cuius urbem
the-second from-Hyperion the-third from-Vulcan of-the-Nile the-son whose city
Aegyptii volunt esse eam quae Heliopolis appellatur, quartus
the-Egyptians maintain to-be that which Heliopolis is-called the-fourth
is quem heroicis temporibus Acantho Rhodi peperisse
he whom in-heroic times Acantho at-Rhodes to-have-borne
dicitur, pater Ialysi Camiri Lindi, unde Rhodii, quintus
is-said father of-Ialysus of-Camirus of-Lindus whence the-Rhodians the-fifth
qui Colchis fertur Aeetam et Circam procreavisse.
who among-the-Colchians is-said Aeetes and Circe to-have-begotten
55 Volcani item complures: primus Caelo natus, ex quo et
Vulcans likewise several the-first from-Caelus born from whom and
Minerva Apollinem eum cuius in tutela Athenas antiqui
Minerva Apollo that whose in the-guardianship Athens the-ancient
historici esse voluerunt, secundus Nilo natus Opas ut
historians to-be wished the-second from-the-Nile born Opas as
Aegyptii appellant, quem custodem esse Aegypti volunt,
the-Egyptians call whom the-guardian to-be of-Egypt they-maintain
tertius ex tertio Iove et Iunone, qui Lemni fabricae
the-third from the-third Jupiter and Juno who of-Lemnos over-the-smithy
traditur praefuisse, quartus Maemalio natus, qui tenuit
is-handed-down to-have-presided the-fourth from-Maemalius born who held
insulas propter Siciliam quae Volcaniae nominabantur.
the-islands near Sicily which Vulcanian were-named
56 Mercurius unus Caelo patre Die matre natus, cuius
Mercury one from-Caelus father Dies mother born whose
obscenius excitata natura traditur quod aspectu Proserpinae
too-obscenely aroused nature is-handed-down because by-the-sight of-Proserpina
commotus sit, alter Valentis et Phoronidis filius is qui sub
stirred he-was the-second of-Valens and of-Phoronis son he who under
terris habetur idem Trophonius, tertius Iove tertio natus
the-earth is-held the-same Trophonius the-third from-Jupiter the-third born

et Maia, ex quo et Penelopa Pana natum ferunt, quartus
and Maia from whom and Penelope Pan born they-say the-fourth
Nilo patre, quem Aegyptii nefas habent nominare, quintus
from-the-Nile father whom the-Egyptians impious hold to-name the-fifth
quem colunt Pheneatae, qui Argum dicitur interemisse ob
whom worship the-Pheneatae who Argus is-said to-have-killed on-account-of
eamque causam Aegyptum profugisse atque Aegyptiis leges
and-that cause to-Egypt to-have-fled and to-the-Egyptians laws
et litteras tradidisse: hunc Aegyptii Theyt appellant,
and letters to-have-handed-down him the-Egyptians Theuth call
eodemque nomine anni primus mensis apud eos vocatur.
and-by-the-same name of-the-year the-first month among them is-called
Aesculapiorum primus Apollinis, quem Arcades colunt, qui 57
of-the-Aesculapiuses the-first of-Apollo whom the-Arcadians worship who
specillum invenisse primusque volnus dicitur obligavisse,
the-probe to-have-invented and-first a-wound is-said to-have-bound-up
secundus secundi Mercuri frater: is fulmine percussus dicitur
the-second of-the-second Mercury brother he by-lightning struck is-said
humatus esse Cynosuris; tertius Arsippi et Arsinoae, qui
buried to-have-been at-Cynosura the-third of-Arsippus and of-Arsinoe who
primus purgationem alvi dentisque evolsionem ut ferunt
first the-purging of-the-belly and-of-the-tooth the-pulling as they-say
invenit, cuius in Arcadia non longe a Lusio flumine
invented whose in Arcadia not far from the-Lusius river
sepulcrum et lucus ostenditur. Apollinum antiquissimus is
a-tomb and a-grove is-shown of-the-Apollos the-most-ancient he
quem paulo antea e Volcano natum esse dixi custodem
whom a-little before from Vulcan born to-be I-said guardian
Athenarum, alter Corybantis filius natus in Creta, cuius
of-Athens the-second of-Corybas son born in Crete of-whom
de illa insula cum Iove ipso certamen fuisse traditur,
about that island with Jupiter himself a-contest to-have-been is-handed-down

tertius Iove tertio natus et Latona, quem ex Hyperboreis
the-third from-Jupiter the-third born and Latona whom from the-Hyperboreans
Delphos ferunt advenisse, quartus in Arcadia, quem Arcades
to-Delphi they-say to-have-come the-fourth in Arcadia whom the-Arcadians
Nomionem appellant quod ab eo se leges ferunt accepisse.
Nomios call because from him themselves laws they-say to-have-received
58 Dianae item plures, prima Iovis et Proserpinae, quae
Dianas likewise several the-first of-Jupiter and of-Proserpina who
pinnatum Cupidinem genuisse dicitur, secunda notior
winged Cupid to-have-begotten is-said the-second better-known
quam Iove tertio et Latona natam accepimus; tertiae
whom from-Jupiter the-third and Latona born we-have-heard of-the-third
pater Upis traditur Glauce mater: eam saepe Graeci
the-father Upis is-handed-down Glauce the-mother her often the-Greeks
Upim paterno nomine appellant. Dionysos multos habemus,
Upis by-her-father's name call Dionysuses many we-have
primum Iove et Proserpina natum, secundum Nilo,
the-first from-Jupiter and Proserpina born the-second from-the-Nile
qui Nysam dicitur interemisse, tertium Cabiro patre,
who Nysa is-said to-have-killed the-third from-Cabirus father
eumque regem Asiae praefuisse dicunt, cui Sabazia sunt
and-him king of-Asia to-have-ruled they-say for-whom the-Sabazia were
instituta, quartum Iove et Luna, cui sacra Orphica
instituted the-fourth from-Jupiter and Luna for-whom the-rites Orphic
putantur confici, quintum Nyso natum et Thyone,
are-thought to-be-performed the-fifth from-Nysus born and Thyone
a quo trieterides constitutae putantur.
by whom the-trieterides established are-thought
59 Venus prima Caelo et Die nata, cuius Eli delubrum
Venus the-first from-Caelus and Dies born whose at-Elis shrine
vidimus, altera spuma procreata, ex qua et Mercurio
we-have-seen the-second from-foam begotten from whom and Mercury

Cupidinem secundum natum accepimus, tertia Iove nata
Cupid the-second born we-have-heard the-third from-Jupiter born
et Diona, quae nupsit Volcano, sed ex ea et Marte
and Dione who married Vulcan but from her and Mars
natus Anteros dicitur, quarta Syria Cyproque concepta,
born Anteros is-said the-fourth in-Syria and-Cyprus conceived
quae Astarte vocatur, quam Adonidi nupsisse proditum
who Astarte is-called whom to-Adonis to-have-married recorded
est. Minerva prima quam Apollinis matrem supra diximus,
it-is Minerva the-first whom of-Apollo mother above we-said
secunda orta Nilo, quam Aegyptii Saietae colunt, tertia
the-second sprung from-the-Nile whom the-Egyptians of-Sais worship the-third
illa quam a Iove generatam supra diximus, quarta
that-one whom from Jupiter begotten above we-said the-fourth
Iove nata et Coryphe Oceani filia, quam Arcades
from-Jupiter born and Coryphe of-Ocean daughter whom the-Arcadians
Κορίαν nominant et quadrigarum inventricem ferunt, quinta
Koria name and of-four-horse-chariots inventor they-say the-fifth
Pallantis, quae patrem dicitur interemisse virginitatem suam
of-Pallas who her-father is-said to-have-killed virginity her
violare conantem, cui pinnarum talaria adfigunt.
to-violate trying to-whom of-wings sandals they-fasten
Cupido primus Mercurio et Diana prima natus dicitur, 60
Cupid the-first from-Mercury and Diana the-first born is-said
secundus Mercurio et Venere secunda, tertius qui idem est
the-second from-Mercury and Venus the-second the-third who the-same is-as
Anteros Marte et Venere tertia. Atque haec quidem et alia
Anteros from-Mars and Venus the-third and these-things indeed and others
eius modi ex vetere Graeciae fama collecta sunt. Quibus
of-that kind from the-old of-Greece tradition collected have-been which
intellegis resistendum esse, ne perturbentur religiones;
you-understand to-be-resisted to-be lest be-disturbed religious-observances

vestri autem non modo haec non refellunt verum etiam
your-people moreover not only these-things not refute but even
confirmant interpretando quorsum quidque pertineat.
confirm by-interpreting whither each-thing pertains
Sed eo iam unde huc digressi sumus revertamur. Num
but thither now whence hither we-digressed have let-us-return surely-not
censes igitur subtiliore ratione opus esse ad haec
you-think therefore of-subtler reasoning need to-be for these-things
refellenda?
to-be-refuted

61 Nam mentem fidem spem virtutem honorem victoriam
for mind faith hope virtue honor victory
salutem concordiam ceteraque huius modi rerum vim
safety concord and-the-rest of-this kind of-things the-force
habere videmus non deorum. Aut enim in nobismet insunt
to-have we-see not of-gods either for in us they-are-in
ipsis, ut mens ut spes ut fides ut virtus ut concordia,
ourselves as mind as hope as faith as virtue as concord
aut optandae nobis sunt, ut honos ut salus ut victoria;
or to-be-wished-for by-us they-are as honor as safety as victory
quarum rerum utilitatem video, video etiam consecrata
of-which things the-usefulness I-see I-see also consecrated
simulacra; quare autem in is vis deorum insit tum
images why moreover in them the-force of-the-gods should-be-in then
intellegam cum cognovero. Quo in genere vel maxime
I-will-understand when I-have-learned which in class even most
est fortuna numeranda, quam nemo ab inconstantia et
is fortune to-be-counted which no-one from inconstancy and
temeritate seiunget, quae digna certe non sunt deo.
rashness will-separate which worthy certainly not are of-god

The Stoics' unknotting of names, Saturn from satiety, Neptune from swimming, is laborious folly, and gods of Fever and Bad Fortune show where it leads. Turning to providence, Cotta argues that matter was not made by it; after a lacuna, the argument turns to reason itself: Medea on the stage reasons her way to murdering her brother, and Atreus plans his crimes with cunning. Did the gods give such reason as a kindness?

Iam vero quid vos illa delectat explicatio fabularum et 62
now indeed why you that does-delight explanation of-the-myths and
enodatio nominum? Exsectum a filio Caelum, vinctum
unknotting of-names castrated by his-son Caelus bound
itidem a filio Saturnum, haec et alia generis eiusdem ita
likewise by his-son Saturn these and others of-kind the-same so
defenditis, ut i qui ista finxerunt non modo non
you-defend that those who those-things invented not only not
insani sed etiam fuisse sapientes videantur. In enodandis
insane but even to-have-been wise may-seem in unknotting
autem nominibus quod miserandum sit laboratis: "Saturnus
moreover names what to-be-pitied is you-toil-at Saturn
quia se saturat annis, Mavors quia magna vertit,
because himself he-sates with-years Mavors because great-things he-overturns
Minerva quia minuit aut quia minatur, Venus quia venit
Minerva because she-diminishes or because she-threatens Venus because she-comes
ad omnia, Ceres a gerendo". Quam periculosa consuetudo.
to all-things Ceres from bearing how dangerous a-habit
In multis enim nominibus haerebitis: quid Veiovi facies
in many for names you-will-stick what with-Veiovis will-you-do
quid Volcano? Quamquam, quoniam Neptunum a nando
what with-Vulcan although since Neptune from swimming
appellatum putas, nullum erit nomen quod non possis una
named you-think no will-be name which not you-can by-one

littera explicare unde ductum sit; in quo quidem magis
letter to-explain whence drawn it-is in which indeed more
tu mihi natare visus es quam ipse Neptunus.
you to-me to-swim seemed you-have than himself Neptune
63 Magnam molestiam suscepit et minime necessariam primus
great trouble undertook and least necessary first
Zeno post Cleanthes deinde Chrysippus, commenticiarum
Zeno after Cleanthes then Chrysippus of-invented
fabularum reddere rationem, vocabulorum cur quidque ita
myths to-render an-account of-words why each-thing so
appellatum sit causas explicare. Quod cum facitis illud
named is the-causes to-explain which when you-do this
profecto confitemini, longe aliter se rem habere atque
surely you-confess far otherwise itself the-matter to-have than
hominum opinio sit; eos enim qui di appellantur rerum
of-men the-belief is those for who gods are-called of-things
naturas esse non figuras deorum. Qui tantus error fuit, ut
the-natures to-be not the-shapes of-gods which so-great an-error was that
perniciosis etiam rebus non nomen deorum tribueretur sed
to-pernicious even things not-only the-name of-gods was-assigned but
etiam sacra constituerentur. Febris enim fanum in Palatio
also rites were-established of-Fever for a-shrine on-the Palatine
et Orbonae ad aedem Larum et aram Malae Fortunae
and of-Orbona at the-temple of-the-Lares and an-altar of-Bad Fortune
Exquiliis consecratam videmus.
on-the-Esquiline consecrated we-see
64 Omnis igitur talis a philosophia pellatur error, ut,
all therefore such from philosophy let-be-driven error that
cum de dis inmortalibus disputemus, dicamus digna
when about the-gods immortal we-dispute we-may-say things-worthy
dis inmortalibus. De quibus habeo ipse quid sentiam,
of-the-gods immortal about whom I-have myself what I-should-think

non habeo autem quid tibi adsentiar. Neptunum esse
not I-have moreover in-what with-you I-should-agree Neptune to-be
dicis animum cum intellegentia per mare pertinentem,
you-say a-mind with intelligence through the-sea extending
idem de Cerere; istam autem intellegentiam aut maris
the-same about Ceres that moreover intelligence either of-the-sea
aut terrae non modo comprehendere animo sed ne
or of-the-earth not only to-comprehend with-the-mind but not
suspicione quidem possum attingere. Itaque aliunde mihi
by-suspicion even can-I to-touch and-so from-elsewhere by-me
quaerendum est et ut esse deos et quales sint dii
to-be-sought it-is both that to-exist gods and of-what-kind they-are the-gods
discere possim, qualis tu eos esse vis ***.
to-learn I-may-be-able of-what-kind you them to-be wish (lacuna)
Videamus ea quae secuntur, primum deorumne 65
let-us-see those-things which follow first whether-of-the-gods
prudentia mundus regatur, deinde consulantne di rebus
by-the-providence the-world is-ruled then whether-provide the-gods for-things
humanis. Haec enim mihi ex tua partitione restant duo;
human these for to-me from your partition remain two
de quibus si vobis videtur accuratius disserendum puto.'
about which if to-you it-seems-good more-carefully to-be-discussed I-think
'Mihi vero' inquit Velleius 'valde videtur; nam et maiora
to-me indeed he-said Velleius very-much it-seems for both greater-things
exspecto et is quae dicta sunt vehementer adsentior.'
I-await and with-those which said have-been vehemently I-agree
Tum Balbus 'Interpellare te' inquit 'Cotta nolo, sed
then Balbus to-interrupt you he-said Cotta I-do-not-wish but
sumemus tempus aliud; efficiam profecto ut fateare. Sed
we-shall-take time another I-will-bring-about surely that you-confess but
***' *** Primum igitur non est probabile eam materiam
(lacuna) (lacuna) first therefore not is probable that matter

rerum unde omnia orta sunt esse divina providentia effectam,
of-things whence all-things arisen have to-be by-divine providence produced
sed et habere et habuisse vim et naturam suam. Ut
but both to-have and to-have-had force and nature its-own as
igitur faber cum quid aedificaturus est non ipse facit
therefore a-craftsman when anything about-to-build he-is not himself makes
materiam sed utitur ea quae sit parata, fictorque item
the-material but uses that which is prepared and-the-modeler likewise
cera, sic isti providentiae divinae materiam praesto esse
wax so to-that providence divine matter at-hand to-be
oportuit non quam ipse faceret sed quam haberet
it-behooved not which itself it-might-make but which it-might-have
paratam. Quod si materia non est a deo facta, ne terra
prepared but if matter not was by god made not earth
quidem et aqua et aer et ignis a deo factus est.
even and water and air and fire by god made was
***
(lacuna)
*** homines omnibus bestiis antecedunt
(lacuna) men all beasts surpass

nequaquam istuc istac ibit; magna inest certatio.
by-no-means thither that-way it-will-go great is-in-it a-struggle
Nam ut ego illi supplicarem tanta blandiloquentia,
for that I to-him should-supplicate with-such-great blandishment
ni ob rem:
unless for a-purpose

parumne ratiocinari videtur et sibi ipsa nefariam
too-little-whether to-reason does-she-seem and for-her herself a-wicked
pestem machinari?
ruin to-contrive

Illud vero quam callida ratione: 66
that indeed with-how shrewd reasoning

qui volt quod volt, ita dat se res ut operam dabit,
who wishes what he-wishes so gives itself the-matter as effort he-will-give

qui est versus omnium seminator malorum.
which is a-verse of-all the-sower of-evils

Ille traversa mente mihi hodie tradidit repagula,
he with-perverse mind to-me today has-handed-over the-bolts
quibus ego iram omnem recludam atque illi perniciem dabo,
with-which I wrath all will-unlock and to-him ruin I-will-give
mihi maerores illi luctum, exitium illi exilium mihi.
to-me griefs to-him mourning destruction to-him exile to-me

Hanc videlicet rationem, quam vos divino beneficio homini
this obviously reason which you by-divine kindness to-man
solum tributam dicitis, bestiae non habent; videsne
alone assigned say the-beasts not have do-you-see-whether
igitur quanto munere deorum simus adfecti?
therefore with-how-great a-gift of-the-gods we-have-been endowed
Atque eadem Medea patrem patriamque fugiens, 67
and the-same Medea her-father and-fatherland fleeing

postquam pater
after her-father
adpropinquat iamque paene ut conprehendatur parat,
draws-near and-now almost that she-be-caught he-prepares

puerum interea obtruncat membraque articulatim dividit
the-boy meanwhile she-butchers and-the-limbs limb-by-limb divides
perque agros passim dispergit corpus: id ea gratia
and-through the-fields everywhere scatters the-body this for-that sake
ut, dum nati dissipatos artus captaret parens,
that while of-his-son the-scattered limbs gathered the-parent
ipsa interea effugeret, illum ut maeror tardaret sequi,
she-herself meanwhile might-escape him that grief might-slow to-follow
sibi salutem ut familiari pareret parricidio.
for-herself safety that kindred she-might-get parricide

Huic ut scelus sic ne ratio quidem defuit.
to-her as crime so not reason even was-lacking
68 Quid ille funestas epulas fratri conparans nonne versat
what he deadly feasts for-his-brother preparing surely turns
huc et illuc cogitatione rationem:
hither and thither in-thought a-reasoning

maior mihi moles, maius miscendumst malum,
greater by-me a-mass greater to-be-mixed-is an-evil
qui illius acerbum cor contundam et conprimam.
by-which his bitter heart I-may-crush and may-quell

Nec tamen ille ipse est praetereundus,
nor still he himself is to-be-passed-over

qui non sat habuit coniugem inlexe in stuprum,
who not enough held his-wife to-have-lured into debauchery

de quo recte et verissume loquitur Atreus:
about whom rightly and most-truly speaks Atreus

quod re in summa summum esse arbitror
what a-matter in highest the-highest to-be I-judge
periclum, matres coinquinari regias,
the-danger mothers to-be-defiled royal
contaminari stirpem, admisceri genus.
to-be-polluted the-stock to-be-mixed the-race

At id ipsum quam callide, qui regnum adulterio quaereret:
but that itself how cleverly who the-kingdom by-adultery was-seeking

"adde" inquit "huc, quod mihi portento caelestum pater
add he-said hither that to-me as-a-portent of-the-heavenly-ones the-father
prodigium misit, regni stabilimen mei,
a-prodigy sent of-kingdom the-stay my
agnum inter pecudes aurea clarum coma
a-lamb among the-flock with-golden bright fleece
quondam Thyestem clepere ausum esse e regia,
once Thyestes to-steal dared to-have from the-palace
qua in re adiutricem coniugem cepit sibi."
which in matter as-helper my-wife he-took for-himself

videturne summa inprobitate usus non sine summa
does-he-seem-whether the-highest wickedness having-used not without the-highest
esse ratione?
to-be reason

Reason does more harm than good: like wine to the sick, it might better not have been given, and if the gods cared only for the few who reason well, they cared for no one. A gift's use does not show the giver's will, and reason's goodness is our own. Comedy schemes by reason, and the forum's courts are busy with arson, forgery, poison, and fraud.

69 Nec vero scaena solum referta est his sceleribus sed multo
nor indeed the-stage alone filled is with-these crimes but much
vita communis paene maioribus. Sentit domus unius cuiusque
life common almost with-greater feels the-house of-each one
sentit forum, sentit curia campus socii provinciae, ut
feels the-forum feels the-senate-house the-Campus the-allies the-provinces that
quem ad modum ratione recte fiat sic ratione peccetur,
in-what to manner by-reason rightly it-is-done so by-reason it-is-sinned
alterumque et a paucis et raro, alterum et semper et a
and-the-one both by few and rarely the-other both always and by
plurimis, ut satius fuerit nullam omnino nobis a
very-many so-that better it-would-have-been no at-all to-us by
dis immortalibus datam esse rationem quam tanta cum
the-gods immortal given to-have-been reason than so-great with
pernicie datam. Ut vinum aegrotis, quia prodest raro nocet
ruin given as wine to-the-sick because it-helps rarely harms
saepissime, melius est non adhibere omnino quam spe dubiae
most-often better it-is not to-apply at-all than in-hope of-doubtful
salutis in apertam perniciem incurrere, sic haud scio an
recovery into open ruin to-run so hardly I-know whether
melius fuerit humano generi motum istum celerem
better it-would-have-been for-the-human race motion that swift
cogitationis acumen sollertiam, quam rationem vocamus,
of-thought sharpness skill which reason we-call

quoniam pestifera sit multis admodum paucis salutaris, non
since pestilent it-is to-many to-very few salutary not
dari omnino quam tam munifice et tam large dari.
to-be-given at-all than so munificently and so lavishly to-be-given
Quam ob rem si mens voluntasque divina idcirco 70
which on-account-of thing if mind and-will divine for-this-reason
consuluit hominibus quod is est largita rationem, is
has-provided for-men because to-them it-has bestowed reason to-them
solis consuluit quos bona ratione donavit, quos videmus
alone it-has-provided whom with-good reason it-has-gifted whom we-see
si modo ulli sint esse perpaucos. Non placet autem paucis
if only any there-be to-be very-few not it-pleases moreover to-few
a diis inmortalibus esse consultum; sequitur ergo
by the-gods immortal to-have-been provided it-follows therefore
ut nemini consultum sit.
that for-no-one provided has-been
Huic loco sic soletis occurrere: non idcirco non
this topic thus you-are-wont to-meet not for-that-reason not
optume nobis a dis esse provisum, quod multi
excellently for-us by the-gods to-have-been provided because many
eorum beneficio perverse uterentur; etiam patrimoniis multos
their kindness perversely would-use even patrimonies many
male uti, nec ob eam causam eos beneficium a
badly to-use nor on-account-of that cause them a-benefit from
patribus nullum habere. Quisquam istuc negat, aut quae
their-fathers none to-have anyone that denies or what
est in collatione ista similitudo? Nec enim Herculi nocere
is in comparison that likeness neither for Hercules to-harm
Deianira voluit cum ei tunicam sanguine Centauri
Deianira wished when to-him a-tunic with-the-blood of-the-Centaur
tinctam dedit, nec prodesse Pheraeo Iasoni is qui gladio
dyed she-gave nor to-help Pheraean Jason he who with-a-sword

vomicam eius aperuit, quam sanare medici non potuerant.
the-abscess his opened which to-heal the-physicians not had-been-able
Multi enim et cum obesse vellent profuerunt et cum
many for both when to-harm they-wished helped and when
prodesse offuerunt; ita non fit ex eo quod datur
to-help harmed so not it-comes-about from that which is-given
ut voluntas eius qui dederit appareat, nec si is qui accepit
that the-will of-him who gave appears nor if he who received
bene utitur idcirco is qui dedit amice dedit.
well uses for-that-reason he who gave in-friendship gave
71 Quae enim libido quae avaritia quod facinus aut suscipitur
what for lust what avarice what crime either is-undertaken
nisi consilio capto aut sine animi motu et cogitatione
except with-a-plan taken or without of-mind motion and thought
id est ratione perficitur; nam omnis opinio ratio est, et
that is by-reason is-accomplished for every belief reasoning is and
quidem bona ratio si vera, mala autem si falsa est opinio.
indeed good reasoning if true bad moreover if false is the-belief
Sed a deo tantum rationem habemus, si modo habemus,
but from god only reason we-have if only we-have
bonam autem rationem aut non bonam a nobis. Non enim
good moreover reason or not good from ourselves not for
ut patrimonium relinquitur sic ratio est homini beneficio
as a-patrimony is-left so reason is to-man by-the-kindness
deorum data; quid enim potius hominibus dii dedissent
of-the-gods given what for rather to-men the-gods would-have-given
si is nocere voluissent, iniustitiae autem intemperantiae
if to-them to-harm they-had-wished of-injustice moreover of-intemperance
timiditatis quae semina essent si is vitiis ratio non subesset?
of-cowardice what the-seeds would-be if to-these vices reason not underlay

Medea modo et Atreus commemorabatur a nobis, heroicae
Medea just-now and Atreus were-mentioned by us heroic
personae inita subductaque ratione nefaria scelera
persons with-entered-into and-cast-up reckoning wicked crimes
meditantes.
contemplating
Quid levitates comicae parumne semper in ratione 72
what the-levities comic too-little-whether always in reasoning
versantur? Parumne subtiliter disputat ille in Eunucho:
move too-little-whether subtly argues he in the-Eunuch

quid igitur faciam?
what therefore shall-I-do
Exclusit, revocat; redeam? Non si me obsecret.
she-shut-me-out she-calls-back should-I-return not if me she-should-beseech

Ille vero in Synephebis Academicorum more contra
he indeed in the-Synephebi of-the-Academics in-manner against
communem opinionem non dubitat pugnare ratione, qui "in
the-common opinion not doubts to-fight with-reason who in
amore summo summaque inopia suave" esse dicit
love the-highest and-the-highest poverty pleasant to-be says

parentem habere avarum inlepidum in liberos
a-parent to-have stingy ungracious toward his-children
difficilem, qui te nec amet nec studeat tui,
difficult who you neither should-love nor be-devoted of-you

atque huic incredibili sententiae ratiunculas suggerit:
and to-this incredible opinion little-reasons he-supplies

73 aut tu illum fructu fallas aut per litteras
either you him of-the-income should-cheat or by letters
avertas aliquod nomen aut per servolum
divert some debt or by a-little-slave
percutias pavidum; postremo a parco patre
strike the-fearful-one finally from a-sparing father
quod sumas, quanto dissipes libentius;
what you-take how-much you-squander more-gladly

idemque facilem et liberalem patrem incommodum esse
and-the-same easy and generous a-father inconvenient to-be
amanti filio disputat:
for-an-amorous son he-argues

quem neque quo pacto fallam nec quid inde auferam
whom neither in-what way I-may-cheat nor what from-him I-may-carry-off
nec quem dolum ad eum aut machinam commoliar
nor what trick against him or device I-may-contrive
scio quicquam: ita omnes meos dolos fallacias
I-know anything so all my tricks deceits
praestrigias praestrinxit commoditas patris.
juggleries has-dazzled the-easiness of-my-father

Quid ergo isti doli, quid machinae, quid fallaciae
what therefore those tricks what devices what deceits
praestrigiaeque num sine ratione esse potuerunt? O
and-juggleries surely-not without reason to-be could O
praeclarum munus deorum; ut Phormio possit dicere:
splendid gift of-the-gods that Phormio may-be-able to-say

cedo senem; iam instructa sunt mihi
bring-on the-old-man now furnished are to-me
in corde consilia omnia.
in my-heart plans all

Sed exeamus e theatro, veniamus in forum.
but let-us-go-out from the-theater let-us-come into the-forum
Sessum it praetor. Quid ut iudicetur? Qui tabularium 74
to-sit goes the-praetor what that be-tried who the-record-office
incenderit. Quod facinus occultius: at se Q. Sosius
set-on-fire what deed more-hidden but himself Quintus Sosius
splendidus eques Romanus ex agro Piceno fecisse
a-distinguished knight Roman from the-territory Picene to-have-done
confessus est. Qui transscripserit tabulas publicas: id quoque
confessed has who copied-falsely the-tablets public that too
L. Alenus fecit, cum chirographum sex primorum imitatus
Lucius Alenus did when the-handwriting six of-the-chief imitated
est; quid hoc homine sollertius? Cognosce alias quaestiones,
he-has what than-this man more-skillful learn-of other inquiries
auri Tolossani coniurationis Iugurthinae; repete superiora:
of-the-gold of-Tolosa of-the-conspiracy Jugurthine recall the-earlier-ones
Tubuli de pecunia capta ob rem iudicandam; posteriora: de
of-Tubulus about money taken for a-case to-be-judged the-later about
incestu rogatione Peducaea; tum haec cotidiana: sicae venena
incest by-the-bill Peducaean then these daily daggers poisons

peculatus, testamentorum etiam lege nova quaestiones. Inde
embezzlement of-wills also by-the-law new inquiries thence
illa actio "ope consilioque tuo furtum aio factum esse",
that action by-help and-counsel your theft I-say done to-have-been
inde tot iudicia de fide mala, tutelae mandati pro
thence so-many trials about faith bad of-guardianship of-commission on-behalf-of
socio fiduciae, reliqua quae ex empto aut vendito aut
a-partner of-trust the-rest which from purchase or sale or
conducto aut locato contra fidem fiunt, inde iudicium publicum
hiring or letting against faith are-done thence a-trial public
rei privatae lege Laetoria, inde everriculum malitiarum
of-a-matter private by-the-law Laetorian thence the-drag-net of-wickednesses
omnium iudicium de dolo malo, quod C. Aquillius
all the-action about fraud bad which Gaius Aquillius
familiaris noster protulit, quem dolum idem Aquillius
intimate our brought-forward which fraud the-same Aquillius
tum teneri putat cum aliud sit simulatum aliud actum.
then to-be-caught thinks when one-thing is pretended another done

XI · THE GOOD WHO PERISHED

Men misuse reason, the Stoics say, but a god who gave it should have foreseen that; the poets' gods who granted fatal wishes are fables. The two Scipios, Marcellus, Paulus, Regulus, Drusus, and Scaevola perished and Rutilius was exiled, while Marius died old at home, Cinna reigned, and Dionysius ruled thirty-eight years: the gods draw no line between good and bad.

75 Hanc igitur tantam a dis inmortalibus arbitramur malorum
this therefore so-great by the-gods immortal do-we-judge of-evils
sementim esse factam? Si enim rationem hominibus di
sowing to-have-been made if for reason to-men the-gods

dederunt, malitiam dederunt; est enim malitia versuta et
gave malice they-gave is for malice crafty and
fallax ratio nocendi; idem etiam di fraudem dederunt
deceitful reasoning of-harming the-same also the-gods fraud gave
facinus ceteraque quorum nihil nec suscipi sine ratione
crime and-the-rest of-which none either to-be-undertaken without reason
nec effici potest. Utinam igitur, ut illa anus optat
nor to-be-accomplished can would-that therefore as that old-woman wishes

ne in nemore Pelio securibus
not in the-grove on-Pelion by-axes
caesae accidissent abiegnae ad terram trabes
felled had-fallen of-fir to the-ground the-beams

sic istam calliditatem hominibus di ne dedissent, qua
so that cunning to-men the-gods not should-have-given which
perpauci bene utuntur, qui tamen ipsi saepe a male
very-few well use who still themselves often by badly
utentibus opprimuntur, innumerabiles autem improbe utuntur,
those-using are-crushed countless moreover wickedly use
ut donum hoc divinum rationis et consilii ad fraudem
so-that gift this divine of-reason and of-counsel for fraud
hominibus non ad bonitatem impertitum esse videatur.
to-men not for goodness imparted to-have-been may-seem
Sed urgetis identidem hominum esse istam culpam non 76
but you-press repeatedly of-men to-be that fault not
deorum. Ut si medicus gravitatem morbi, gubernator vim
of-gods as if a-physician the-severity of-the-disease a-helmsman the-force
tempestatis accuset; etsi hi quidem homunculi, sed tamen
of-the-storm should-accuse although these indeed manikins but still
ridiculi: “quis enim te adhibuisset” dixerit quispiam “si
ridiculous who for you would-have-called-in might-say someone if

ista non essent". Contra deum licet disputare liberius:
those-things not existed against god one-may argue more-freely
"in hominum vitiis ais esse culpam: eam dedisses
in of-men vices you-say to-be the-fault that you-should-have-given
hominibus rationem quae vitia culpamque excluderet". Ubi
to-men reason which vices and-fault would-exclude where
igitur locus fuit errori deorum? Nam patrimonia spe bene
therefore place was for-error of-the-gods for patrimonies in-hope well
tradendi relinquimus, qua possumus falli; deus falli
of-handing-on we-leave in-which we-can be-deceived god be-deceived
qui potuit? An ut Sol in currum quom Phaethontem filium
how could or as the-Sun into the-chariot when Phaethon his-son
sustulit, aut Neptunus cum Theseus Hippolytum perdidit,
he-took-up or Neptune when Theseus Hippolytus destroyed
cum ter optandi a Neptuno patre habuisset potestatem:
when three-times of-wishing from Neptune his-father he-had-had the-power
77 poetarum ista sunt, nos autem philosophi esse volumus,
of-the-poets those-things are we moreover philosophers to-be wish
rerum auctores non fabularum. Atque hi tamen ipsi
of-facts authorities not of-myths and these still themselves
di poetici, si scissent perniciosa fore illa filiis,
gods poetic if they-had-known pernicious would-be those-things to-their-sons
peccasse in beneficio putarentur. Et si verum est quod
to-have-sinned in the-kindness would-be-thought and if true it-is what
Aristo Chius dicere solebat, nocere audientibus philosophos
Aristo of-Chios to-say was-wont to-harm their-hearers the-philosophers
is qui bene dicta male interpretarentur (posse enim
those who well things-said badly interpreted to-be-able for
asotos ex Aristippi, acerbos e Zenonis schola exire) —
profligates from Aristippus' bitter-men from Zeno's school to-come-out
prorsus, si qui audierunt vitiosi essent discessuri, quod
assuredly if those-who heard vicious were about-to-depart because

perverse philosophorum disputationem interpretarentur, tacere
perversely of-the-philosophers the-disputation they-interpreted to-be-silent
praestaret philosophis quam iis qui se audissent nocere;
it-would-be-better for-philosophers than those who them had-heard to-harm
sic, si homines rationem bono consilio a dis immortalibus 78
so if men reason with-good counsel by the-gods immortal
datam in fraudem malitiamque convertunt, non dari illam
given into fraud and-malice turn not to-be-given it
quam dari humano generi melius fuit. Ut si medicus
than to-be-given to-the-human race better was as if a-physician
sciat eum aegrotum, qui iussus sit vinum sumere,
should-know that sick-man who ordered has-been wine to-take
meracius sumpturum statimque periturum, magna sit in
more-unmixed about-to-take and-at-once about-to-perish great he-would-be in
culpa, sic vestra ista Providentia reprendenda, quae rationem
fault so your that Providence to-be-blamed which reason
dederit is quos scierit ea perverse et inprobe usuros.
gave to-those whom it-knew it perversely and wickedly about-to-use
Nisi forte dicitis eam nescisse. Utinam quidem; sed non
unless perhaps you-say it to-have-not-known would-that indeed but not
audebitis, non enim ignoro quanti eius nomen putetis.
you-will-dare not for I-am-ignorant of-how-much its name you-think
Sed hic quidem locus concludi iam potest. Nam si stultitia 79
but this indeed topic to-be-concluded now can for if folly
consensu omnium philosophorum maius est malum quam
by-the-consensus of-all philosophers greater is an-evil than
si omnia mala et fortunae et corporis ex altera parte
if all the-evils both of-fortune and of-the-body on the-other side
ponantur, sapientiam autem nemo adsequitur, in summis
be-placed wisdom moreover no-one attains in the-highest
malis omnes sumus, quibus vos optume consultum a dis
evils all we-are for-whom you excellently provided by the-gods

inmortalibus dicitis. Nam ut nihil interest utrum nemo
immortal say for as nothing it-matters whether no-one
valeat an nemo possit valere, sic non intellego quid intersit
is-well or no-one can to-be-well so not I-understand what it-matters
utrum nemo sit sapiens an nemo esse possit.
whether no-one is wise or no-one to-be can
Ac nos quidem nimis multa de re apertissuma;
and we indeed too many-things about a-matter most-evident
Telamo autem uno versu totum locum conficit cur di
Telamo moreover in-one verse the-whole topic finishes why the-gods
homines neglegant:
men neglect

nam si curent, bene bonis sit, male malis;
for if they-cared well for-the-good it-would-be badly for-the-bad
quod nunc abest.
which now is-absent

Debebant illi quidem omnis bonos efficere, si quidem
they-ought they indeed all good to-make if indeed
hominum generi consulebant;
of-men for-the-race they-were-providing
80 sin id minus, bonis quidem certe consulere debebant.
but-if that less for-the-good indeed certainly to-provide they-ought
Cur igitur duo Scipiones fortissimos et optimos viros
why therefore the-two Scipios bravest and best men
in Hispania Poenus oppressit, cur Maximus extulit
in Spain the-Carthaginian crushed why Maximus buried
filium consularem, cur Marcellum Annibal interemit, cur
his-son a-consular why Marcellus Hannibal killed why
Paulum Cannae sustulerunt, cur Poenorum crudelitati
Paulus Cannae carried-off why of-the-Carthaginians to-cruelty

Reguli corpus est praebitum, cur Africanum domestici
Regulus' body was exposed why Africanus his-own
parietes non texerunt? Sed haec vetera et alia permulta;
walls not protected but these-things old and others very-many
propiora videamus. Cur avunculus meus vir innocentissumus
nearer let-us-see why uncle my a-man most-innocent
idemque doctissumus P. Rutilius in exilio est, cur sodalis
and-likewise most-learned Publius Rutilius in exile is why companion
meus interfectus domi suae Drusus, cur temperantiae
my killed at-home his-own Drusus why of-temperance
prudentiaeque specimen ante simulacrum Vestae pontifex
and-of-prudence the-model before the-statue of-Vesta pontiff
maximus est Q. Scaevola trucidatus, cur ante etiam
supreme was Quintus Scaevola butchered why before even
tot civitatis principes a Cinna interempti, cur omnium
so-many of-the-state leaders by Cinna slain why of-all
perfidiosissimus C. Marius Q. Catulum praestantissuma
the-most-treacherous Gaius Marius Quintus Catulus of-most-excellent
dignitate virum mori potuit iubere?
dignity a-man to-die could to-order
Dies deficiat si velim numerare quibus bonis male evenerit, 81
the-day would-fail if I-wished to-count to-what good-men badly it-turned-out
nec minus si commemorem quibus improbis optime. Cur enim
nor less if I-should-mention to-what wicked-men excellently why for
Marius tam feliciter septimum consul domi suae senex
Marius so happily for-the-seventh-time consul at-home his-own an-old-man
est mortuus, cur omnium crudelissimus tam diu Cinna
has died why of-all the-most-cruel so long Cinna
regnavit? “At dedit poenas.” Prohiberi melius fuit impedirique
reigned but he-paid the-penalty to-be-prevented better it-was and-to-be-hindered
ne tot summos viros interficeret quam ipsum aliquando
lest so-many highest men he-should-kill than himself at-last

poenas dare. Summo cruciatu supplicioque Q. Varius
the-penalty to-pay in-the-highest torture and-punishment Quintus Varius
homo importunissumus periit; si quia Drusum ferro
a-man most-ruthless perished if because Drusus with-steel
Metellum veneno sustulerat, illos conservari melius fuit quam
Metellus with-poison he-had-removed them to-be-preserved better it-was than
poenas sceleris Varium pendere. Duodequadraginta Dionysius
the-penalty of-his-crime Varius to-pay thirty-eight Dionysius
tyrannus annos fuit opulentissumae et beatissumae civitatis;
tyrant years was of-a-most-opulent and most-prosperous state
82 quam multos ante hunc in ipso Graeciae flore Pisistratus.
how many before him in very of-Greece flower Pisistratus
"At Phalaris, at Apollodorus poenas sustulit." Multis quidem
but Phalaris but Apollodorus the-penalty paid many indeed
ante cruciatis et necatis. Et praedones multi saepe poenas
before tortured and killed and pirates many often penalties
dant, nec tamen possumus dicere non pluris captivos
pay nor still can-we to-say not more captives
acerbe quam praedones necatos. Anaxarchum Democriteum a
cruelly than pirates killed Anaxarchus the-Democritean by
Cyprio tyranno excarnificatum accepimus, Zenonem Eleatem
the-Cyprian tyrant tortured-to-death we-have-heard Zeno of-Elea
in tormentis necatum; quid dicam de Socrate, cuius morti
in torments killed what shall-I-say about Socrates whose at-death
inlacrimare soleo Platonem legens? Videsne igitur deorum
to-weep I-am-wont Plato reading do-you-see-whether therefore of-the-gods
iudicio, si vident res humanas, discrimen esse sublatum?
by-judgment if they-see things human the-distinction to-have-been removed

Dionysius plundered temples, took Jupiter's golden cloak and Aesculapius' golden beard, and died in his bed, passing his tyranny to his son. Only the weight of conscience keeps this from seeming a license to sin, for a world with no distinction between good and bad has no divine government. Men thank the gods for wealth and safety but credit virtue to themselves, and Diagoras' answer about the votive tablets shows that only the saved are painted.

Diogenes quidem Cynicus dicere solebat Harpalum, qui 83
Diogenes indeed the-Cynic to-say was-wont Harpalus who
temporibus illis praedo felix habebatur, contra deos
in-the-times those a-pirate fortunate was-held against the-gods
testimonium dicere, quod in illa fortuna tam diu viveret.
testimony to-bear because in that fortune so long he-lived
Dionysius, de quo ante dixi, cum fanum Proserpinae Locris
Dionysius about whom before I-spoke when the-shrine of-Proserpina at-Locri
expilavisset, navigabat Syracusas; isque cum secundissumo
he-had-plundered was-sailing to-Syracuse and-he when with-a-most-favorable
vento cursum teneret, ridens "videtisne" inquit "amici quam
wind course he-held laughing do-you-see-whether he-said friends how
bona a dis inmortalibus navigatio sacrilegis detur". Atque
good by the-gods immortal a-voyage to-the-sacrilegious is-given and
homo acutus cum bene planeque percepisset, in eadem
the-man shrewd when well and-plainly he-had-perceived-it in the-same
sententia perseverabat. Qui quom ad Peloponnesum classem
opinion persisted who when to the-Peloponnese his-fleet
appulisset et in fanum venisset Iovis Olympii, aureum ei
he-had-brought and into the-shrine had-come of-Jupiter Olympian a-golden from-him
detraxit amiculum grandi pondere, quo Iovem ornarat e
he-stripped cloak of-great weight with-which Jupiter had-adorned from
manubiis Carthaginiensium tyrannus Gelo, atque in eo etiam
the-spoils of-the-Carthaginians the-tyrant Gelo and on that even

cavillatus est aestate grave esse aureum amiculum hieme
jested he-has in-summer heavy to-be a-golden cloak in-winter
frigidum, eique laneum pallium iniecit, cum id esse ad omne
cold and-on-him a-woolen mantle he-threw since that to-be for every
anni tempus diceret. Idemque Aesculapi Epidauri barbam
of-the-year season he-said and-the-same of-Aesculapius at-Epidaurus the-beard
auream demi iussit; neque enim convenire barbatum
golden to-be-removed ordered nor for to-be-fitting bearded
esse filium, cum in omnibus fanis pater imberbis esset.
to-be the-son when in all shrines the-father beardless was
84 Iam mensas argenteas de omnibus delubris iussit auferri,
next tables silver from all shrines he-ordered to-be-carried-off
in quibus quod more veteris Graeciae inscriptum
on which because by-the-custom of-old Greece inscribed
esset "bonorum deorum", uti se eorum bonitate velle
was of-the-good gods to-use himself their goodness to-wish
dicebat. Idem Victoriolas aureas et pateras coronasque,
he-said the-same little-Victories golden and bowls and-crowns
quae simulacrorum porrectis manibus sustinebantur, sine
which of-the-statues by-outstretched hands were-held without
dubitatione tollebat eaque se accipere non auferre dicebat;
hesitation he-took and-them himself to-receive not to-carry-off he-said
esse enim stultitiam a quibus bona precaremur ab is
to-be for folly from whom good-things we-pray-for from them
porrigentibus et dantibus nolle sumere. Eundemque
holding-out and giving to-be-unwilling to-take and-the-same-man
ferunt haec quae dixi sublata de fanis in forum
they-say these-things which I-mentioned removed from the-shrines into the-forum
protulisse et per praeconem vendidisse exactaque
to-have-brought-out and through a-crier to-have-sold and-collected
pecunia edixisse ut quod quisque a sacris
the-money to-have-proclaimed that what each from the-sacred-places

haberet id ante diem certam in suum quicque fanum
had that before a-day fixed to its-own each-thing shrine
referret: ita ad impietatem in deos in homines
he-should-bring-back so to impiety toward the-gods toward men
adiunxit iniuriam. Hunc igitur nec Olympius Iuppiter
he-added injury him therefore neither Olympian Jupiter
fulmine percussit nec Aesculapius misero diuturnoque
with-lightning struck nor Aesculapius with-a-wretched and-lingering
morbo tabescentem interemit, atque in suo lectulo mortuus
disease wasting-away killed but in his-own little-bed dead
in †tyrannidis rogum inlatus est, eamque potestatem, quam
on of-tyranny the-pyre borne was and-that power which
ipse per scelus erat nanctus, quasi iustam et legitimam
himself through crime had obtained as-if just and lawful
hereditatis loco filio tradidit.
of-an-inheritance in-place to-his-son he-handed-down
Invita in hoc loco versatur oratio, videtur enim auctoritatem 85
unwillingly on this topic moves the-discourse it-seems for license
adferre peccandi; recte videretur, nisi et virtutis et vitiorum
to-bring of-sinning rightly it-would-seem unless both of-virtue and of-vices
sine ulla divina ratione grave ipsius conscientiae pondus
without any divine reason heavy of-the-very conscience weight
esset, qua sublata iacent omnia. Ut enim nec domus nec res
were which removed lie-flat all-things as for neither a-house nor a-thing
publica ratione quadam et disciplina dissignata videatur, si in
public by-reason some and discipline ordered would-seem if in
ea nec recte factis praemia extent ulla nec supplicia
it neither rightly for-things-done rewards should-exist any nor punishments
peccatis, sic mundi divina in homines moderatio profecto
for-sins so of-the-world divine over men government surely
nulla est, si in ea discrimen nullum est bonorum et malorum.
none is if in it distinction none is of-the-good and of-the-bad

86 “At enim minora di neglegunt, neque agellos singulorum
but indeed lesser-things the-gods neglect nor little-fields of-individuals
nec viticulas persequuntur, nec, si uredo aut grando cuipiam
nor little-vines do-they-pursue nor if blight or hail anyone
nocuit, id Iovi animadvertendum fuit; ne in regnis
has-harmed that by-Jupiter to-be-noticed was not in kingdoms
quidem reges omnia minima curant”: sic enim dicitis.
even kings all the-smallest-things care-for so for you-say
Quasi ego paulo ante de fundo Formiano P. Rutili sim
as-if I a-little before about the-estate Formian of-Publius Rutilius had
questus non de amissa salute. Atque hoc quidem omnes
complained not about lost safety and this indeed all
mortales sic habent, externas commoditates, vineta segetes
mortals so hold external advantages vineyards crops
oliveta, ubertatem frugum et fructuum, omnem denique
olive-groves abundance of-grain and of-fruits all finally
commoditatem prosperitatemque vitae a dis se
advantage and-prosperity of-life from the-gods themselves
habere; virtutem autem nemo umquam acceptam deo rettulit.
to-have virtue moreover no-one ever as-received to-god credited
87 Nimirum recte; propter virtutem enim iure laudamur et in
doubtless rightly on-account-of virtue for justly we-are-praised and in
virtute recte gloriamur; quod non contingeret, si id donum a
virtue rightly we-boast which not would-happen if that gift from
deo non a nobis haberemus. At vero aut honoribus aucti
god not from ourselves we-had but indeed either with-honors increased
aut re familiari, aut si aliud quippiam nacti sumus fortuiti
or with-estate household or if other something obtained we-have of-chance
boni aut depulimus mali, tum dis gratias agimus, tum nihil
good or have-driven-off of-evil then to-the-gods thanks we-give then nothing
nostrae laudi adsumptum arbitramur. Num quis quod bonus
to-our praise added we-think surely-not anyone because a-good

vir esset gratias dis egit umquam? At quod dives quod
man he-was thanks to-the-gods gave ever but because rich because
honoratus quod incolumis, Iovemque optimum et maximum
honored because unharmed and-Jupiter best and greatest
ob eas res appellant, non quod nos iustos temperantes
on-account-of these things they-call not because us just temperate
sapientes efficiat, sed quod salvos incolumis opulentos copiosos;
wise he-makes but because safe unharmed opulent well-supplied
neque Herculi quisquam decumam vovit umquam, si sapiens 88
nor to-Hercules anyone a-tithe vowed ever if wise
factus esset — quamquam Pythagoras, cum in geometria
become he-had although Pythagoras when in geometry
quiddam novi invenisset, Musis bovem immolavisse dicitur;
something new he-had-found to-the-Muses an-ox to-have-sacrificed is-said
sed id quidem non credo, quoniam ille ne Apollini quidem
but that indeed not I-believe since he not to-Apollo even
Deli hostiam immolare voluit, ne aram sanguine aspergeret.
at-Delos a-victim to-sacrifice wished lest the-altar with-blood he-should-sprinkle
Ad rem autem ut redeam, iudicium hoc omnium mortalium
to the-matter moreover that I-may-return judgment this of-all mortals
est, fortunam a deo petendam, a se ipso sumendam esse
is fortune from god to-be-sought from one oneself to-be-taken to-be
sapientiam. Quamvis licet Menti delubra et Virtuti et Fidei
wisdom although we-may to-Mind shrines and to-Virtue and to-Faith
consecremus, tamen haec in nobis ipsis sita videmus;
consecrate still these-things in us ourselves placed we-see
spei salutis opis victoriae facultas a dis expetenda est.
of-hope of-safety of-help of-victory the-means from the-gods to-be-sought is
Inproborum igitur prosperitates secundaeque res redarguunt,
of-the-wicked therefore prosperities and-favorable things refute
ut Diogenes dicebat, vim omnem deorum ac potestatem.
as Diogenes used-to-say the-force all of-the-gods and power

89 “At non numquam bonos exitus habent boni.” Eos
but not never good outcomes have the-good them
quidem arripimus adtribuimusque sine ulla ratione dis
indeed we-seize and-attribute without any reason to-the-gods
inmortalibus. At Diagoras cum Samothracam venisset Atheus
immortal but Diagoras when to-Samothrace he-had-come the-Atheist
ille qui dicitur, atque ei quidam amicus “tu, qui deos
that who is-called and to-him a-certain friend you who the-gods
putas humana neglegere, nonne animadvertis ex tot
think human-things to-neglect surely do-you-notice from so-many
tabulis pictis, quam multi votis vim tempestatis effugerint
tablets painted how many by-vows the-force of-the-storm escaped
in portumque salvi pervenerint”, “ita fit” inquit, “illi
and-into port safe arrived so it-is he-said those
enim nusquam picti sunt qui naufragia fecerunt in marique
for nowhere painted are who shipwrecks made in and-the-sea
perierunt”. Idemque, cum ei naviganti vectores adversa
perished and-the-same-man when to-him sailing the-passengers in-adverse
tempestate timidi et perterriti dicerent non iniuria sibi illud
storm fearful and terrified said not unjustly to-them that
accidere qui illum in eandem navem recepissent, ostendit
to-happen who him into the-same ship had-received he-showed
eis in eodem cursu multas alias laborantis quaesivitque num
them on the-same course many other laboring-ships and-asked whether
etiam in is navibus Diagoram vehi crederent. Sic enim
also in those ships Diagoras to-be-carried they-believed so for
res se habet, ut ad prosperam adversamve fortunam
the-matter itself has that to favorable or-adverse fortune
qualis sis aut quem ad modum vixeris nihil intersit.
what-kind you-are or in-what to manner you-have-lived nothing it-matters

A god who punishes the children for the father's crime is unjust, and the poets and the Stoics alike tell such tales. The sick owe their recovery to Hippocrates, not Aesculapius, and Critolaus and Hasdrubal destroyed Corinth and Carthage without an angry god; an omnipotent god who let them is ignorant, careless, or a poor judge, and one who hears single men's vows is not too busy for them. Lucilius asks for a day to reply; Velleius thinks Cotta's case the truer, Cicero Balbus' the nearer to the likeness of truth.

"Non animadvertunt" inquit "omnia di, ne reges quidem". 90
not do-notice he-said all-things the-gods not kings even
Quid est simile; reges enim si scientes praetermittunt, magna
what is like kings for if knowing they-pass-over great
culpa est; at deo ne excusatio quidem est inscientiae.
fault it-is but for-god not excuse even is of-ignorance
Quem vos praeclare defenditis, cum dicitis eam vim
whom you splendidly defend when you-say that the-power
deorum esse, ut etiam si quis morte poenas sceleris
of-the-gods to-be that even if anyone by-death the-penalty of-crime
effugerit expetantur eae poenae a liberis a nepotibus
has-escaped be-exacted those penalties from his-children from his-grandchildren
a posteris. O miram aequitatem deorum: ferretne
from his-descendants O wonderful fairness of-the-gods would-tolerate-whether

civitas ulla latorem istius modi legis, ut condemnaretur
a-state any the-proposer of-this kind of-law that be-condemned
filius aut nepos, si pater aut avus deliquisset?
the-son or grandson if the-father or grandfather had-done-wrong

Quinam Tantalidarum internecioni modus
what-pray of-the-Tantalids to-the-slaughter limit
paretur, aut quaenam umquam ob mortem Myrtili
will-be-provided or what ever on-account-of the-death of-Myrtilus
poenis luendis dabitur satias supplici?
for-penalties to-be-paid will-be-given satiety of-punishment

91 Utrum poetae Stoicos depravarint an Stoici poetis dederint
whether the-poets the-Stoics corrupted or the-Stoics to-the-poets gave
auctoritatem non facile dixerim; portenta enim ab utrisque
authority not easily I-could-say portents for by both
et flagitia dicuntur. Neque enim quem Hipponactis iambus
and outrages are-told nor for he-whom of-Hipponax the-iambus
laeserat aut qui erat Archilochi versu volneratus a deo
had-hurt or who had-been of-Archilochus by-verse wounded by god
immissum dolorem non conceptum a se ipso continebat,
sent a-pain not conceived by him himself held
nec cum Aegisthi libidinem aut cum Paridis videmus a deo
nor when of-Aegisthus the-lust or when of-Paris we-see from god
causam requirimus, cum culpae paene vocem audiamus, nec ego
the-cause do-we-seek when of-guilt almost the-voice we-hear nor I
multorum aegrorum salutem non ab Hippocrate potius quam
of-many sick-people the-recovery not by Hippocrates rather than
ab Aesculapio datam iudico, nec Lacedaemoniorum disciplinam
by Aesculapius given judge nor of-the-Lacedaemonians the-discipline
dicam umquam ab Apolline potius Spartae quam a Lycurgo
will-I-say ever by Apollo rather to-Sparta than by Lycurgus

datam. Critolaus inquam evertit Corinthum, Carthaginem
given Critolaus I-say overthrew Corinth Carthage
Asdrubal; hi duo illos oculos orae maritumae effoderunt,
Hasdrubal these two those eyes of-the-coast maritime dug-out
non iratus aliqui, quem omnino irasci posse negatis, deus.
not angry some whom at-all to-be-angry can you-deny god
At subvenire certe potuit et conservare urbis tantas atque 92
but to-come-to-help certainly he-could and to-preserve cities so-great and
talis; vos enim ipsi dicere soletis nihil esse quod deus
such you for yourselves to-say are-wont nothing to-be which god
efficere non possit, et quidem sine labore ullo; ut enim
to-accomplish not can and indeed without labor any as for
hominum membra nulla contentione mente ipsa ac voluntate
of-men the-limbs with-no straining by-mind itself and will
moveantur, sic numine deorum omnia fingi moveri
are-moved so by-the-divine-will of-the-gods all-things to-be-fashioned to-be-moved
mutarique posse. Neque id dicitis superstitiose atque
and-to-be-changed can nor this do-you-say superstitiously and
aniliter sed physica constantique ratione; materiam enim
like-old-women but by-physical and-consistent reasoning the-matter for
rerum, ex qua et in qua omnia sint, totam esse flexibilem
of-things from which and in which all-things are whole to-be flexible
et commutabilem, ut nihil sit quod non ex ea quamvis
and changeable so-that nothing be which not from it however
subito fingi convertique possit, eius autem universae
suddenly to-be-fashioned and-to-be-transformed can of-it moreover all
fictricem et moderatricem divinam esse providentiam; haec
the-fashioner and governor divine to-be providence this
igitur quocumque se moveat, efficere posse quicquid velit.
therefore wherever itself it-moves to-accomplish can whatever it-wishes

Itaque aut nescit quid possit, aut neglegit res humanas,
and-so either it-knows-not what it-can or it-neglects things human
aut quid sit optimum non potest iudicare.
or what is best not can to-judge
93 "Non curat singulos homines." Non mirum: ne civitates
not it-cares-for individual men not surprising not states
quidem; non eas: ne nationes quidem et gentis. Quod si
even not those not nations even and peoples but if
has etiam contemnet, quid mirum est omne ab ea genus
these also it-will-despise what surprising is all by it the-race
humanum esse contemptum?
human to-have-been despised
Sed quo modo idem dicitis non omnia deos persequi,
but in-what way likewise do-you-say not all-things the-gods pursue
idem voltis a diis inmortalibus hominibus dispertiri
likewise you-wish by the-gods immortal to-men to-be-distributed
ac dividi somnia (idcirco haec tecum, quia vestra
and to-be-divided dreams for-this-reason these-things with-you because your
est de somniorum veritate sententia), atque idem etiam
is about of-dreams the-truth opinion and likewise also
vota suscipi dicitis oportere? Nempe singuli vovent,
vows to-be-undertaken you-say it-is-right surely individuals vow
audit igitur mens divina etiam de singulis; videtis
hears therefore the-mind divine even about individuals you-see
ergo non esse eam tam occupatam quam putabatis. Fac
therefore not to-be it so busy as you-thought suppose
esse distentam, caelum versantem terram tuentem maria
it-to-be stretched the-heaven turning the-earth watching the-seas
moderantem: cur tam multos deos nihil agere et cessare
governing why so many gods nothing to-do and to-be-idle

patitur, cur non rebus humanis aliquos otiosos deos
does-it-allow why not over-things human some idle gods
praeficit, qui a te Balbe innumerabiles explicati sunt?
does-it-set who by you Balbus countless set-out have-been
Haec fere dicere habui de natura deorum, non ut eam
these-things about to-say I-had about the-nature of-the-gods not that it
tollerem sed ut intellegeretis quam esset obscura et
I-might-abolish but that you-might-understand how it-was obscure and
quam difficiles explicatus haberet.'
how difficult explanations it-had
Quae cum dixisset, Cotta finem.
which when he-had-said Cotta an-end
Lucilius autem 'Vehementius' inquit 'Cotta tu quidem invectus 94
Lucilius moreover more-vehemently he-said Cotta you indeed inveighed
es in eam Stoicorum rationem quae de providentia deorum
have against that of-the-Stoics doctrine which about the-providence of-the-gods
ab illis sanctissume et prudentissume constituta est. Sed
by them most-holily and most-prudently established has-been but
quoniam advesperascit, dabis nobis diem aliquem ut contra
since it-grows-late you-will-give us a-day some that against
ista dicamus. Est enim mihi tecum pro aris et focis
those-things we-may-speak there-is for for-me with-you for altars and hearths
certamen et pro deorum templis atque delubris proque urbis
a-contest and for of-the-gods temples and shrines and-for of-the-city
muris, quos vos pontifices sanctos esse dicitis diligentiusque
the-walls which you pontiffs holy to-be say and-more-carefully
urbem religione quam ipsis moenibus cingitis; quae
the-city with-religion than with-the-very walls you-gird which
deseri a me, dum quidem spirare potero, nefas iudico.'
to-be-deserted by me while indeed to-breathe I-shall-be-able impious I-judge

95 Tum Cotta: ‘Ego vero et opto redargui me Balbe, et
then Cotta I indeed both wish to-be-refuted me Balbus and
ea quae disputavi disserere malui quam iudicare, et
those-things which I-argued to-discuss I-preferred than to-judge and
facile me a te vinci posse certo scio.’
easily me by you to-be-defeated can certainly I-know
‘Quippe’ inquit Velleius ‘qui etiam somnia putet ad nos
naturally he-said Velleius one-who even dreams thinks to us
mitti ab Iove, quae ipsa tamen tam levia non sunt
to-be-sent by Jupiter which themselves still so light not are
quam est Stoicorum de natura deorum oratio.’
as is of-the-Stoics about the-nature of-the-gods the-discourse
Haec cum essent dicta, ita discessimus, ut Velleio Cottae
these-things when had-been said so we-departed that to-Velleius Cotta's
disputatio verior, mihi Balbi ad veritatis similitudinem
argument truer to-me Balbus' to of-truth the-likeness
videretur esse propensior.
seemed to-be more-inclined

CICERO

De Divinatione

On Divination

BOOK I

I · AN ANCIENT BELIEF

An old belief, held by every people, is that men have divination, which the Greeks call mantike*: foreknowledge of things to come. The Assyrians and Chaldaeans watched the stars, the Cilicians and Pisidians the birds, and Rome itself was founded on auspices and runs its affairs by augurs and haruspices. Xenophanes and Epicurus alone rejected it; Dicaearchus and Cratippus kept only dreams and frenzy, Panaetius doubted, and Cicero resolves to weigh the arguments.*

Vetus opinio est iam usque ab heroicis ducta temporibus, 1
old a-belief it-is already all-the-way from heroic drawn times
eaque et populi Romani et omnium gentium firmata
and-that both of-the-people Roman and of-all nations confirmed
consensu, versari quandam inter homines divinationem, quam
by-the-consent to-be-current a-certain among men divination which
Graeci μαντικήν appellant, id est praesensionem et scientiam
the-Greeks mantike call that is foreknowledge and knowledge
rerum futurarum. Magnifica quaedam res et salutaris, si
of-things future magnificent a-certain thing and salutary if
modo est ulla, quaque proxime ad deorum vim natura
only it-is any and-by-which most-nearly to of-the-gods the-power nature
mortalis possit accedere. Itaque ut alia nos melius multa
mortal could to-approach and-so as other-things we better many
quam Graeci, sic huic praestantissimae rei nomen nostri
than the-Greeks so to-this most-excellent thing the-name our-people
a divis, Graeci, ut Plato interpretatur, a furore duxerunt.
from the-gods the-Greeks as Plato interprets from frenzy drew
Gentem quidem nullam video neque tam humanam atque 2
nation indeed none I-see neither so civilized and
doctam neque tam inmanem tamque barbaram, quae non
learned nor so savage and-so barbarous which not

significari futura et a quibusdam intellegi praedicique
to-be-signified things-future and by some to-be-understood and-to-be-foretold
posse censeat. Principio Assyrii, ut ab ultumis auctoritatem
can thinks in-the-beginning the-Assyrians that from the-farthest authority
repetam, propter planitiam magnitudinemque regionum,
I-may-fetch on-account-of the-flatness and-vastness of-the-regions
quas incolebant, cum caelum ex omni parte patens
which they-inhabited when the-sky from every side lying-open
atque apertum intuerentur, traiectiones motusque stellarum
and unobstructed they-gazed-at the-transits and-motions of-the-stars
observitaverunt, quibus notatis, quid cuique significaretur,
they-observed which noted what to-each was-signified
memoriae prodiderunt. Qua in natione Chaldaei non
to-memory they-handed-down which in nation the-Chaldaeans not
ex artis, sed ex gentis vocabulo nominati diuturna
from of-an-art but from of-a-people the-name named by-long
observatione siderum scientiam putantur effecisse, ut
observation of-the-stars a-science are-thought to-have-produced that
praedici posset, quid cuique eventurum et quo quisque
be-foretold could what to-each would-happen and under-what each
fato natus esset. Eandem artem etiam Aegyptii longinquitate
fate born was the-same art also the-Egyptians by-the-length
temporum innumerabilibus paene saeculis consecuti putantur.
of-time over-countless almost ages to-have-attained are-thought
Cilicum autem et Pisidarum gens et his finituma
of-the-Cilicians moreover and of-the-Pisidians the-race and to-these neighboring
Pamphylia, quibus nationibus praefuimus ipsi, volatibus avium
Pamphylia over-which nations we-governed ourselves by-the-flights of-birds
cantibusque ut certissimis signis declarari res futuras putant.
and-by-songs as by-surest signs to-be-declared things future they-think

Quam vero Graecia coloniam misit in Aeoliam, Ioniam, 3
what indeed Greece a-colony did-send into Aeolia Ionia
Asiam, Siciliam, Italiam sine Pythio aut Dodonaeo aut
Asia Sicily Italy without the-Pythian or the-Dodonaean or
Hammonis oraculo? Aut quod bellum susceptum ab ea sine
of-Hammon oracle or what war undertaken by it without
consilio deorum est? Nec unum genus est divinationis publice
the-counsel of-the-gods was nor one kind is of-divination publicly
privatimque celebratum. Nam, ut omittam ceteros populos,
and-privately practiced for that I-may-pass-over the-other peoples
noster quam multa genera conplexus est! Principio huius urbis
ours how many kinds embraced has in-the-beginning of-this city
parens Romulus non solum auspicato urbem condidisse,
the-parent Romulus not only after-taking-the-auspices the-city to-have-founded
sed ipse etiam optumus augur fuisse traditur. Deinde
but himself also an-excellent augur to-have-been is-handed-down then
auguribus et reliqui reges usi, et exactis regibus nihil publice
augurs both the-other kings used and driven-out the-kings nothing publicly
sine auspiciis nec domi nec militiae gerebatur. Cumque
without auspices neither at-home nor in-war was-done and-since
magna vis videretur esse et inpetriendis consulendisque rebus
great force seemed to-be both in-obtaining and-in-consulting matters
et monstris interpretandis ac procurandis in haruspicum
and prodigies in-interpreting and expiating in of-the-haruspices
disciplina, omnem hanc ex Etruria scientiam adhibebant, ne
the-discipline all this from Etruria science they-applied lest
genus esset ullum divinationis, quod neglectum ab iis videretur.
kind there-be any of-divination which neglected by them might-seem
Et cum duobus modis animi sine ratione et scientia motu 4
and since in-two ways minds without reason and knowledge by-motion
ipsi suo soluto et libero incitarentur, uno furente, altero
themselves their-own freed and free were-roused one raving the-other

somniante, furoris divinationem Sibyllinis maxime versibus
dreaming of-frenzy the-divination in-the-Sibylline most verses
contineri arbitrati eorum decem interpretes delectos e
to-be-contained thinking of-them ten interpreters chosen from
civitate esse voluerunt. Ex quo genere saepe hariolorum etiam
the-state to-be wished from which kind often of-soothsayers also
et vatum furibundas praedictiones, ut Octaviano bello Cornelii
and of-seers the-frenzied predictions as in-the-Octavian war of-Cornelius
Culleoli, audiendas putaverunt. Nec vero somnia graviora, si
Culleolus to-be-heard they-thought nor indeed dreams weightier if
quae ad rem publicam pertinere visa sunt, a summo consilio
any to the-thing public to-pertain seemed have by the-highest council
neglecta sunt. Quin etiam memoria nostra templum Iunonis
neglected have-been nay even in-memory our the-temple of-Juno
Sospitae L. Iulius, qui cum P. Rutilio consul fuit, de
Sospita Lucius Julius who with Publius Rutilius consul was by
senatus sententia refecit ex Caeciliae, Baliarici filiae, somnio.
of-the-senate decree restored from of-Caecilia Balearicus' daughter a-dream
5 Atque haec, ut ego arbitror, veteres rerum magis eventis
and these-things as I think the-ancients of-things rather by-the-outcomes
moniti quam ratione docti probaverunt. Philosophorum vero
warned than by-reason taught approved of-philosophers indeed
exquisita quaedam argumenta, cur esset vera divinatio, collecta
exquisite certain arguments why was true divination collected
sunt; e quibus, ut de antiquissumis loquar, Colophonius
have-been from which that about the-most-ancient I-may-speak the-Colophonian
Xenophanes unus, qui deos esse diceret, divinationem
Xenophanes alone who gods to-exist said divination
funditus sustulit; reliqui vero omnes praeter Epicurum
from-the-foundation abolished the-rest indeed all except Epicurus
balbutientem de natura deorum divinationem probaverunt,
babbling about the-nature of-the-gods divination approved

sed non uno modo. Nam cum Socrates omnesque Socratici
but not in-one way for when Socrates and-all the-Socratics
Zenoque et ii, qui ab eo essent profecti, manerent
and-Zeno and those who from him had set-out remained
in antiquorum philosophorum sententia vetere Academia
in of-the-ancient philosophers the-opinion the-old Academy
et Peripateticis consentientibus, cumque huic rei magnam
and the-Peripatetics agreeing and-since to-this thing great
auctoritatem Pythagoras iam ante tribuisset, qui etiam
authority Pythagoras already before had-assigned who even
ipse augur vellet esse, plurumisque locis gravis auctor
himself an-augur wished to-be and-in-very-many places a-weighty authority
Democritus praesensionem rerum futurarum conprobaret,
Democritus the-foreknowledge of-things future approved
Dicaearchus Peripateticus cetera divinationis genera sustulit,
Dicaearchus the-Peripatetic the-other of-divination kinds abolished
somniorum et furoris reliquit, Cratippusque, familiaris noster,
of-dreams and of-frenzy he-left and-Cratippus intimate our
quem ego parem summis Peripateticis iudico, isdem rebus
whom I equal to-the-highest Peripatetics judge to-the-same things
fidem tribuit, reliqua divinationis genera reiecit.
faith assigned the-other of-divination kinds rejected
Sed cum Stoici omnia fere illa defenderent, quod et 6
but when the-Stoics all almost those-things defended because both
Zeno in suis commentariis quasi semina quaedam sparsisset et
Zeno in his commentaries as-if seeds certain had-scattered and
ea Cleanthes paulo uberiora fecisset, accessit acerrumo vir
them Cleanthes a-little more-fruitful had-made came-in of-the-sharpest a-man
ingenio, Chrysippus, qui totam de divinatione duobus libris
genius Chrysippus who the-whole about divination in-two books
explicavit sententiam, uno praeterea de oraclis, uno de
set-out opinion in-one besides about oracles in-one about

somniis; quem subsequens unum librum Babylonius Diogenes
dreams whom following one book the-Babylonian Diogenes
edidit, eius auditor, duo Antipater, quinque noster Posidonius.
published his pupil two Antipater five our Posidonius
Sed a Stoicis vel princeps eius disciplinae, Posidonii doctor,
but from the-Stoics even the-chief of-that school of-Posidonius the-teacher
discipulus Antipatri, degeneravit, Panaetius, nec tamen ausus
the-pupil of-Antipater degenerated Panaetius nor still dared
est negare vim esse divinandi, sed dubitare se dixit.
has to-deny the-power to-exist of-divining but to-doubt himself he-said
Quod illi in aliqua re invitissumis Stoicis Stoico facere
what for-him in some matter most-unwilling the-Stoics for-a-Stoic to-do
licuit, id nos ut in reliquis rebus faciamus, a Stoicis non
it-was-allowed that we as in the-other things we-may-do by the-Stoics not
concedetur? Praesertim cum id, de quo Panaetio non liquet,
will-be-granted especially since that about which to-Panaetius not it-is-clear
reliquis eiusdem disciplinae solis luce videatur clarius.
to-the-rest of-the-same school of-the-sun than-light seems clearer
7 Sed haec quidem laus Academiae praestantissumi philosophi
but this indeed praise of-the-Academy of-a-most-excellent philosopher
iudicio et testimonio conprobata est. Etenim nobismet
by-the-judgment and testimony approved has-been for-indeed to-us
ipsis quaerentibus, quid sit de divinatione iudicandum, quod
ourselves inquiring what is about divination to-be-judged because
a Carneade multa acute et copiose contra Stoicos disputata
by Carneades many-things sharply and copiously against the-Stoics argued
sint, verentibusque, ne temere vel falsae rei vel non
were and-fearing lest rashly either to-a-false thing or to-one-not
satis cognitae adsentiamur, faciendum videtur, ut diligenter
sufficiently known we-should-assent to-be-done it-seems that carefully
etiam atque etiam argumenta cum argumentis comparemus, ut
again and again arguments with arguments we-compare as

fecimus in iis tribus libris, quos de natura deorum scripsimus.
we-did in those three books which about the-nature of-the-gods we-wrote
Nam cum omnibus in rebus temeritas in adsentiendo errorque
for while all in things rashness in assenting and-error
turpis est, tum in eo loco maxime, in quo iudicandum est,
disgraceful is then in that topic most in which to-be-judged it-is
quantum auspiciis rebusque divinis religionique tribuamus;
how-much to-auspices and-to-things divine and-to-religion we-should-assign
est enim periculum, ne aut neglectis iis impia fraude
there-is for a-danger lest either neglecting them with-impious fraud
aut susceptis anili superstitione obligemur.
or taking-them-up with-old-wives' superstition we-be-bound

II · QUINTUS OPENS THE CASE

Walking at Tusculum, Quintus says that Cotta's argument in Cicero's third book on the gods shook but did not overturn his belief, and offers to defend divination. There are two kinds, one of art and one of nature. Like the physician's knowledge of herbs, the observation of signs works though its causes are unknown, as the weather signs of Cicero's own Prognostica *show.*

Quibus de rebus et alias saepe et paulo accuratius nuper, 8
which about things both at-other-times often and a-little more-carefully lately
cum essem cum Q. fratre in Tusculano, disputatum
when I-was with Quintus my-brother at the-Tusculan-villa argued
est. Nam cum ambulandi causa in Lyceum venissemus
it-was for when of-walking for-the-sake into the-Lyceum we-had-come
(id enim superiori gymnasio nomen est), Perlegi,
that for of-the-upper gymnasium the-name is I-have-read-through
inquit, tuum paulo ante tertium de natura deorum, in quo
he-said your a-little before third on the-nature of-the-gods in which

disputatio Cottae quamquam labefactavit sententiam meam,
the-argument of-Cotta although it-shook opinion my
non funditus tamen sustulit. Optime vero, inquam;
not from-the-foundation still it-removed excellent indeed I-said
etenim ipse Cotta sic disputat, ut Stoicorum magis argumenta
for-indeed himself Cotta so argues that of-the-Stoics rather the-arguments
confutet quam hominum deleat religionem. Tum Quintus:
he-refutes than of-men he-destroys the-religion then Quintus
Dicitur quidem istuc, inquit, a Cotta, et vero saepius,
it-is-said indeed that he-said by Cotta and indeed rather-often
credo, ne communia iura migrare videatur; sed studio contra
I-believe lest the-common rights to-transgress he-may-seem but from-zeal against
Stoicos disserendi deos mihi videtur funditus tollere.
the-Stoics of-arguing the-gods to-me he-seems from-the-foundation to-remove
9 Eius rationi non sane desidero quid respondeam; satis
his to-reasoning not truly I-want what I-should-answer sufficiently
enim defensa religio est in secundo libro a Lucilio, cuius
for defended religion has-been in the-second book by Lucilius whose
disputatio tibi ipsi, ut in extremo tertio scribis, ad
argument to-you yourself as at the-end of-the-third you-write to
veritatem est visa propensior. Sed, quod praetermissum est in
truth has seemed more-inclined but what passed-over was in
illis libris (credo, quia commodius arbitratus es separatim
those books I-believe because more-conveniently thought you-have separately
id quaeri deque eo disseri), id est de divinatione,
it to-be-inquired and-about it to-be-discussed that is about divination
quae est earum rerum, quae fortuitae putantur, praedictio
which is of-those things which fortuitous are-thought the-prediction
atque praesensio, id, si placet, videamus quam habeat vim
and foreknowledge that if it-pleases let-us-see what it-has force
et quale sit. Ego enim sic existimo, si sint ea genera
and of-what-kind it-is I for thus think if are those kinds

divinandi vera, de quibus accepimus quaeque colimus, esse
of-divining true of which we-have-heard and-which we-practice to-exist
deos, vicissimque, si di sint, esse qui divinent.
gods and-in-turn if gods exist to-exist those-who divine
Arcem tu quidem Stoicorum, inquam, Quinte, defendis, 10
the-citadel you indeed of-the-Stoics I-said Quintus defend
siquidem ista sic reciprocantur, ut et, si divinatio sit, di
since those-things so are-reciprocal that both if divination exists gods
sint et, si di sint, sit divinatio. Quorum neutrum tam facile,
exist and if gods exist exists divination of-which neither so easily
quam tu arbitraris, conceditur. Nam et natura significari
as you think is-granted for both by-nature to-be-signified
futura sine deo possunt et, ut sint di, potest
things-future without god can and granting-that exist gods it-can
fieri, ut nulla ab iis divinatio generi humano tributa
to-happen that no by them divination to-the-race human assigned
sit. Atque ille: Mihi vero, inquit, satis est argumenti et
has-been and he to-me indeed he-said enough is of-argument both
esse deos et eos consulere rebus humanis, quod esse clara
to-exist gods and them to-provide for-things human because to-be clear
et perspicua divinationis genera iudico. De quibus quid ipse
and evident of-divination the-kinds I-judge about which what I-myself
sentiam, si placet, exponam, ita tamen, si vacas animo
think if it-pleases I-will-set-out so still if you-are-free in-mind
neque habes aliquid, quod huic sermoni praevertendum putes.
nor have anything which to-this conversation to-be-put-first you-think
Ego vero, inquam, philosophiae, Quinte, semper vaco; hoc 11
I indeed I-said for-philosophy Quintus always am-free at-this
autem tempore, cum sit nihil aliud, quod lubenter agere
moreover time since there-is nothing else which gladly to-do
possim, multo magis aveo audire, de divinatione quid sentias.
I-can much more I-long to-hear about divination what you-think

Nihil, inquit, equidem novi, nec quod praeter ceteros ipse
nothing he-said for-my-part new nor which beyond the-rest I-myself
sentiam; nam cum antiquissimam sententiam, tum omnium
think for both a-most-ancient opinion and of-all
populorum et gentium consensu conprobatam sequor. Duo
peoples and nations by-the-consent approved I-follow two
sunt enim divinandi genera, quorum alterum artis est,
are for of-divining kinds of-which the-one of-art is
alterum naturae.
the-other of-nature

12 Quae est autem gens aut quae civitas, quae non aut
what is moreover the-nation or what state which not either
extispicum aut monstra aut fulgora interpretantium aut
of-entrail-inspectors or prodigies or lightnings of-those-interpreting or
augurum aut astrologorum aut sortium (ea enim fere artis
of-augurs or of-astrologers or of-lots those for mostly of-art
sunt) aut somniorum aut vaticinationum (haec enim duo
are or of-dreams or of-prophecies these for two
naturalia putantur) praedictione moveatur? Quarum quidem
natural are-thought by-the-prediction is-moved of-which indeed
rerum eventa magis arbitror quam causas quaeri oportere.
things the-outcomes rather I-think than the-causes to-be-sought it-is-right
Est enim vis et natura quaedam, quae tum observatis
there-is for a-force and nature a-certain which now observed
longo tempore significationibus, tum aliquo instinctu
over-a-long time signs now by-some impulse
inflatuque divino futura praenuntiat. Quare omittat
and-inspiration divine things-future foretells therefore let-him-stop
urguere Carneades, quod faciebat etiam Panaetius requirens,
pressing Carneades which did also Panaetius asking
Iuppiterne cornicem a laeva, corvum ab dextera canere
whether-Jupiter a-crow on-the left a-raven on-the right to-caw

iussisset. Observata sunt haec tempore inmenso et
had-ordered observed have-been these-things over-time immense and
eventis animadversa et notata. Nihil est autem, quod
in-outcomes noticed and noted nothing is moreover which
non longinquitas temporum excipiente memoria prodendisque
not the-length of-times with-memory receiving and-with-records
monumentis efficere atque adsequi possit.
being-handed-down to-accomplish and attain can
Mirari licet, quae sint animadversa a medicis herbarum 13
to-wonder one-may what were noticed by physicians of-herbs
genera, quae radicum ad morsus bestiarum, ad oculorum
kinds what of-roots for bites of-beasts for of-the-eyes
morbos, ad vulnera, quorum vim atque naturam ratio
diseases for wounds whose force and nature reason
numquam explicavit, utilitate et ars est et inventor
never has-explained by-usefulness both the-art is and the-discoverer
probatus. Age ea, quae quamquam ex alio genere
approved come those-things which although from another kind
sunt, tamen divinationi sunt similiora, videamus:
are still to-divination are more-similar let-us-see

Atque etiam ventos praemonstrat saepe futuros
and also winds it-foreshows often going-to-come
inflatum mare, cum subito penitusque tumescit,
the-swollen sea when suddenly and-deeply it-swells
saxaque cana salis niveo spumata liquore
and-the-rocks white of-the-brine with-snowy foamed liquid
tristificas certant Neptuno reddere voces,
mournful strive to-Neptune to-return cries

aut densus stridor cum celso e vertice montis
or a-dense shrieking when lofty from peak of-the-mountain
ortus adaugescit scopulorum saepe repulsus.
arisen grows of-the-cliffs often driven-back

Atque his rerum praesensionibus Prognostica tua referta
and with-these of-things foreknowings Prognostics your filled
sunt. Quis igitur elicere causas praesensionum potest?
are who therefore to-draw-out the-causes of-foreknowings can
Etsi video Boëthum Stoicum esse conatum, qui hactenus
although I-see Boethus the-Stoic to-have tried who so-far
aliquid egit, ut earum rationem rerum explicaret, quae
something accomplished that of-those the-reason things he-explained which
in mari caelove fierent.
in the-sea or-the-sky happened
14 Illa vero cur eveniant, quis probabiliter dixerit?
those-things indeed why they-happen who plausibly could-say

Cana fulix itidem fugiens e gurgite ponti
the-white coot likewise fleeing from the-eddy of-the-sea
nuntiat horribilis clamans instare procellas
announces dreadful crying to-threaten storms
haud modicos tremulo fundens e gutture cantus.
not moderate quavering pouring from throat songs
Saepe etiam pertriste canit de pectore carmen
often also a-most-mournful sings from her-breast song
et matutinis acredula vocibus instat,
and with-morning the-owl cries presses
vocibus instat et adsiduas iacit ore querellas,
with-cries presses and constant hurls from-her-mouth complaints

cum primum gelidos rores aurora remittit.
when first the-cold dews the-dawn sends-back
Fuscaque non numquam cursans per litora cornix
and-the-dusky not never running along the-shores crow
demersit caput et fluctum cervice recepit.
has-plunged her-head and the-wave on-her-neck received

Videmus haec signa numquam fere mentientia nec tamen, 15
we-see these signs never almost lying nor still
cur ita fiat, videmus.
why so it-happens do-we-see

Vos quoque signa videtis, aquai dulcis alumnae,
you too signs see of-water fresh nurslings
cum clamore paratis inanis fundere voces
when with-clamor you-prepare empty to-pour-forth cries
absurdoque sono fontis et stagna cietis.
and-with-absurd sound the-springs and the-pools you-stir

Quis est, qui ranunculos hoc videre suspicari possit? Sed
who is-there who little-frogs this to-see to-suspect could but
inest in ranunculis vis et natura quaedam significans aliquid
there-is-in in little-frogs a-force and nature a-certain signifying something
per se ipsa satis certa, cognitioni autem hominum obscurior.
by it itself sufficiently sure to-the-knowledge moreover of-men more-obscure

Mollipedesque boves spectantes lumina caeli
and-the-soft-footed oxen gazing-at the-lights of-the-sky
naribus umiferum duxere ex aëre sucum.
with-nostrils the-moist have-drawn from the-air juice

Non quaero, cur, quoniam, quid eveniat, intellego.
not I-ask why since what happens I-understand

Iam vero semper viridis semperque gravata
now indeed always green and-always laden
lentiscus triplici solita grandescere fetu
the-mastic with-threefold wont to-grow-big fruit
ter fruges fundens tria tempora monstrat arandi.
three-times crops pouring-forth three times shows of-plowing

III · URANIA'S SPEECH

Quintus answers every objection with one reply: he knows that a thing happens though not why, as with the roots that purge and the head of Summanus found in the Tiber. He quotes his brother's poem on his consulship, where the Muse Urania recounts the portents of Cotta and Torquatus' year and of his own: the comets, the eclipse, the earthquake, the statues struck by lightning, the wolf of Rome felled, the haruspices' warnings, and the statue of Jupiter set up facing east on the day the conspiracy was revealed. The poem ends with the studies to which the consul gave his leisure, and Quintus asks whether the man who wrote it can now argue against divination.

16 Ne hoc quidem quaero, cur haec arbor una ter floreat aut
not this even do-I-ask why this tree alone three-times flowers or
cur arandi maturitatem ad signum floris accommodet; hoc
why of-plowing the-ripeness to the-sign of-its-flower it-fits with-this
sum contentus, quod, etiamsi, cur quidque fiat, ignorem, quid
I-am content that even-if why each-thing happens I-be-ignorant what
fiat, intellego. Pro omni igitur divinatione idem, quod pro
happens I-understand for all therefore divination the-same as for
rebus iis, quas commemoravi, respondebo. Quid scammoneae
things those which I-have-mentioned I-will-answer what of-scammony

radix ad purgandum, quid aristolochia ad morsus serpentium
the-root for purging what birthwort for bites of-serpents
possit, quae nomen ex inventore repperit, rem ipsam
can which its-name from its-discoverer found the-thing itself
inventor ex somnio, video, quod satis est; cur possit, nescio.
the-discoverer from a-dream I-see which enough is why it-can I-know-not
Sic ventorum et imbrium signa, quae dixi, rationem
so of-winds and of-rains the-signs which I-mentioned reason
quam habeant, non satis perspicio; vim et eventum
what they-have not sufficiently I-perceive the-force and the-outcome
agnosco, scio, adprobo. Similiter, quid fissum in extis, quid
I-recognize know approve likewise what the-cleft in the-entrails what
fibra valeat, accipio; quae causa sit, nescio. Atque horum
the-fiber avails I-accept what the-cause is I-know-not and of-these
quidem plena vita est; extis enim omnes fere utuntur. Quid?
indeed full life is entrails for all almost use what
De fulgurum vi dubitare num possumus? Nonne cum
about of-lightnings the-force to-doubt surely-not can-we surely both
multa alia mirabilia, tum illud in primis: Cum Summanus
many other wonders and that among the-first when Summanus
in fastigio Iovis optumi maxumi, qui tum erat fictilis, e
on the-pediment of-Jupiter best greatest which then was of-clay from
caelo ictus esset nec usquam eius simulacri caput inveniretur,
the-sky struck had-been nor anywhere of-that statue the-head could-be-found
haruspices in Tiberim id depulsum esse dixerunt, idque
the-haruspices into the-Tiber it dashed to-have-been said and-it
inventum est eo loco, qui est ab haruspicibus demonstratus.
found was in-that place which was by the-haruspices pointed-out

17 Sed quo potius utar aut auctore aut teste quam te?
but whom rather shall-I-use either as-authority or as-witness than you
Cuius edidici etiam versus, et lubenter quidem,
whose I-have-learned-by-heart even verses and gladly indeed
quos in secundo de consulatu Urania Musa pronuntiat:
which in the-second on his-consulship Urania the-Muse declaims

Principio aetherio flammatus Iuppiter igni
in-the-beginning by-ethereal kindled Jupiter fire
vertitur et totum conlustrat lumine mundum
turns and the-whole illumines with-light world
menteque divina caelum terrasque petessit,
and-with-mind divine the-sky and-the-lands seeks
quae penitus sensus hominum vitasque retentat
which deep-within the-senses of-men and-lives holds
aetheris aeterni saepta atque inclusa cavernis.
of-the-ether eternal fenced and enclosed in-the-caverns
Et, si stellarum motus cursusque vagantis
and if of-the-stars the-motions and-courses wandering
nosse velis, quae sint signorum in sede locatae,
to-know you-should-wish which are of-the-signs in the-seat placed
quae verbo et falsis Graiorum vocibus errant,
which in-name and by-the-false of-the-Greeks words wander
re vera certo lapsu spatioque feruntur,
in-fact truly with-fixed gliding and-interval are-borne
omnia iam cernes divina mente notata.
all-things now you-will-discern by-divine mind marked

Nam primum astrorum volucris te consule motus 18
for first of-the-stars the-winged with-you consul motions
concursusque gravis stellarum ardore micantis
and-the-conjunctions grave of-stars with-blaze flashing
tu quoque, cum tumulos Albano in monte nivalis
you too when the-mounds Alban on mount snowy
lustrasti et laeto mactasti lacte Latinas,
you-purified and with-joyful honored milk the-Latin-festival
vidisti et claro tremulos ardore cometas,
you-saw also with-bright quivering blaze comets
multaque misceri nocturna strage putasti,
and-many-things to-be-confounded in-nocturnal slaughter you-thought
quod ferme dirum in tempus cecidere Latinae,
because nearly dire into time fell the-Latin-festival
cum claram speciem concreto lumine luna
when her-bright appearance with-thickened light the-moon
abdidit et subito stellanti nocte perempta est.
hid and suddenly on-a-starry night blotted-out was
Quid vero Phoebi fax, tristis nuntia belli,
what indeed of-Phoebus the-torch grim herald of-war
quae magnum ad columen flammato ardore volabat,
which great to summit with-kindled blaze flew
praecipitis caeli partis obitusque petessens?
of-the-headlong sky the-parts and-settings seeking
Aut cum terribili perculsus fulmine civis
or when by-terrible struck lightning a-citizen
luce serenanti vitalia lumina liquit?
in-light clearing the-vital lights left
Aut cum se gravido tremefecit corpore tellus?
or when itself with-pregnant shook body the-earth

Iam vero variae nocturno tempore visae
now indeed various at-night time seen
terribiles formae bellum motusque monebant,
terrible forms war and-commotions warned-of
multaque per terras vates oracla furenti
and-many-things through the-lands seers oracles with-raving
pectore fundebant tristis minitantia casus,
breast poured-forth grim threatening disasters
19 atque ea, quae lapsu tandem cecidere vetusto,
and those-things which with-the-lapse at-last have-fallen of-age
haec fore perpetuis signis clarisque frequentans
these-things to-be with-perpetual signs and-bright repeating
ipse deum genitor caelo terrisque canebat.
himself of-the-gods the-begetter to-sky and-lands sang
Nunc ea, Torquato quae quondam et consule Cotta
now those-things with-Torquatus which once and as-consul Cotta
Lydius ediderat Tyrrhenae gentis haruspex,
the-Lydian had-published of-the-Tyrrhenian race haruspex
omnia fixa tuus glomerans determinat annus.
all fixed your gathering determines year
Nam pater altitonans stellanti nixus Olympo
for the-father high-thundering on-starry resting Olympus
ipse suos quondam tumulos ac templa petivit
himself his-own once mounds and temples attacked
et Capitolinis iniecit sedibus ignis.
and on-the-Capitoline cast seats fires
Tum species ex aere vetus veneretaque Nattae
then the-image of bronze old and-venerated of-Natta
concidit, elapsaeque vetusto numine leges,
fell and-slipped-away of-old divinity the-laws
et divom simulacra peremit fulminis ardor.
and of-the-gods the-images destroyed of-the-lightning the-blaze

Hic silvestris erat Romani nominis altrix, 20
here the-woodland was of-the-Roman name nurse
Martia, quae parvos Mavortis semine natos
Martian who the-little-ones of-Mavors by-the-seed born
uberibus gravidis vitali rore rigabat;
with-teats swollen with-vital dew watered
quae tum cum pueris flammato fulminis ictu
who then with the-boys by-the-kindled of-lightning stroke
concidit atque avolsa pedum vestigia liquit.
fell and torn-away of-her-feet the-prints left
Tum quis non artis scripta ac monumenta volutans
then who not of-the-art the-writings and records turning-over
voces tristificas chartis promebat Etruscis?
utterances mournful from-the-scrolls brought-forth Etruscan
Omnes civilem generosa a stirpe profectam
all a-civil noble from stock sprung
vitare ingentem cladem pestemque monebant
to-avoid huge disaster and-plague warned
vel legum exitium constanti voce ferebant
or of-the-laws the-ruin with-steady voice declared
templa deumque adeo flammis urbemque iubebant
the-temples and-of-the-gods indeed from-the-flames and-the-city bade
eripere et stragem horribilem caedemque vereri;
to-snatch and slaughter horrible and-massacre to-fear
atque haec fixa gravi fato ac fundata teneri,
and these-things fixed by-heavy fate and founded to-be-held
ni prius excelsum ad columen formata decore
unless first lofty on column shaped with-grace
sancta Iovis species claros spectaret in ortus.
holy of-Jupiter the-image the-bright should-face toward risings

Tum fore ut occultos populus sanctusque senatus
then it-would-be that the-hidden the-people and-the-holy senate
cernere conatus posset, si solis ad ortum
to-discern designs could if of-the-sun toward the-rising
conversa inde patrum sedes populique videret.
turned thence of-the-fathers the-seats and-of-the-people should-see
21 Haec tardata diu species multumque morata
this delayed long image and-much detained
consule te tandem celsa est in sede locata,
with-you consul at-last lofty was on seat placed
atque una fixi ac signati temporis hora
and at-one fixed and signified of-time the-hour
Iuppiter excelsa clarabat sceptra columna,
Jupiter on-lofty brightened his-scepter column
et clades patriae flamma ferroque parata
and the-disasters for-the-fatherland with-flame and-steel prepared
vocibus Allobrogum patribus populoque patebat.
by-the-voices of-the-Allobroges to-the-fathers and-people lay-open
Rite igitur veteres, quorum monumenta tenetis,
rightly therefore the-ancients whose records you-hold
qui populos urbisque modo ac virtute regebant,
who peoples and-cities with-measure and virtue ruled
rite etiam vestri, quorum pietasque fidesque
rightly also your-forefathers whose both-piety and-faith
praestitit et longe vicit sapientia cunctos,
excelled and far surpassed in-wisdom all
praecipue coluere vigenti numine divos.
especially worshiped with-thriving divinity the-gods
Haec adeo penitus cura videre sagaci,
these-things indeed deeply with-care to-see keen
otia qui studiis laeti tenuere decoris,
leisure who in-studies glad held seemly

inque Academia umbrifera nitidoque Lyceo 22
and-in the-Academy shady and-in-the-gleaming Lyceum
fuderunt claras fecundi pectoris artis.
poured-forth the-bright of-a-fertile breast arts
E quibus ereptum primo iam a flore iuventae
from whom snatched the-first already from flower of-youth
te patria in media virtutum mole locavit.
you the-fatherland in the-middle of-the-virtues mass placed
Tu tamen anxiferas curas requiete relaxans,
you still anxious cares with-rest relaxing
quod patriae vacat, id studiis nobisque sacrasti.
what from-the-fatherland is-free that to-studies and-to-us you-consecrated

Tu igitur animum poteris inducere contra ea, quae a me
you therefore your-mind will-be-able to-bring against those-things which by me
disputantur de divinatione, dicere, qui et gesseris ea, quae
are-argued about divination to-speak who both have-done those-things which
gessisti, et ea, quae pronuntiavi, accuratissume scripseris?
you-did and those-things which I-declaimed most-carefully have-written

Four knucklebones may fall in a Venus-throw by chance, but not a hundred times; paint spattered at random makes no Venus of Cos. Arts that rest on conjecture err, as physicians and helmsmen do, yet are arts. The auspices, neglected at Rome, still govern Deiotarus, and Claudius and Junius lost their fleets by scorning them.

23 Quid? Quaeris, Carneades, cur haec ita fiant aut qua
what you-ask Carneades why these-things so happen or by-what
arte perspici possint? Nescire me fateor, evenire autem te
art be-perceived they-can not-to-know I confess to-happen moreover you
ipsum dico videre. Casu, inquis. Itane vero? Quicquam
yourself I-say to-see by-chance you-say so-whether indeed anything
potest casu esse factum, quod omnes habet in se numeros
can by-chance to-be made which all has in itself the-marks
veritatis? Quattuor tali iacti casu Venerium efficiunt;
of-truth four knucklebones thrown by-chance a-Venus-throw produce
num etiam centum Venerios, si quadringentos talos
surely-not also a-hundred Venus-throws if four-hundred knucklebones
ieceris, casu futuros putas? Aspersa temere
you-will-have-thrown by-chance about-to-be do-you-think sprinkled at-random
pigmenta in tabula oris liniamenta efficere possunt; num
paints on a-panel of-a-face the-features to-produce can surely-not
etiam Veneris Coae pulchritudinem effici posse aspersione
also of-Venus of-Cos the-beauty to-be-produced to-be-able by-sprinkling
fortuita putas? Sus rostro si humi A litteram
random do-you-think a-sow with-her-snout if on-the-ground the-A letter
inpresserit, num propterea suspicari poteris Andromacham
will-have-pressed surely-not therefore to-suspect will-you-be-able the-Andromache
Ennii ab ea posse describi? Fingebat Carneades in
of-Ennius by her to-be-able to-be-written used-to-imagine Carneades in

Chiorum lapicidinis saxo diffisso caput extitisse Panisci;
of-the-Chians the-quarries a-stone being-split a-head to-have-stood-out of-a-little-Pan
credo, aliquam non dissimilem figuram, sed certe non talem,
I-suppose some not unlike figure but certainly not such
ut eam factam a Scopa diceres. Sic enim se profecto
that it made by Scopas you-would-say so for itself surely
res habet, ut numquam perfecte veritatem casus imitetur.
the-matter has that never perfectly truth chance imitates
At non numquam ea, quae praedicta sunt, minus 24
but not never those-things which foretold have-been less
eveniunt. Quae tandem id ars non habet? Earum dico
happen which pray that art not has of-those I-speak
artium, quae coniectura continentur et sunt opinabiles.
arts which by-conjecture are-held and are matters-of-opinion
An medicina ars non putanda est? Quam tamen multa
or medicine an-art not to-be-thought is how still many-things
fallunt. Quid? Gubernatores nonne falluntur? An Achivorum
deceive what helmsmen surely are-deceived or of-the-Achaeans
exercitus et tot navium rectores non ita profecti sunt
the-army and so-many of-ships the-steersmen not so set-out have
ab Ilio, ut 'profectione laeti piscium lasciviam intuerentur',
from Ilium that in-their-departure glad of-the-fish the-frolicking they-gazed-at
ut ait Pacuvius, 'nec tuendi satietas capere posset?'
as says Pacuvius nor of-watching satiety to-take could

Interea prope iam occidente sole inhorrescit mare,
meanwhile nearly now setting the-sun bristles the-sea
tenebrae conduplicantur noctisque et nimbum occaecat nigror.
the-darkness is-doubled and-of-night and of-cloud blinds the-blackness

Num igitur tot clarissimorum ducum regumque
surely-not therefore of-so-many most-famous generals and-kings
naufragium sustulit artem gubernandi? Aut num
the-shipwreck has-abolished the-art of-steering or surely-not
imperatorum scientia nihil est, quia summus imperator
of-commanders the-science nothing is because the-supreme commander
nuper fugit amisso exercitu? Aut num propterea nulla
lately fled having-lost his-army or surely-not therefore none
est rei publicae gerendae ratio atque prudentia, quia
is of-the-thing public of-managing the-method and prudence because
multa Cn. Pompeium, quaedam M. Catonem, non
many-things Gnaeus Pompey some Marcus Cato not
nulla etiam te ipsum fefellerunt? Similis est haruspicum
none even you yourself have-deceived like is of-the-haruspices
responsio omnisque opinabilis divinatio; coniectura enim
the-response and-all opinable divination on-conjecture for
nititur, ultra quam progredi non potest.
it-rests beyond which to-advance not it-can
25 Ea fallit fortasse non numquam, sed tamen ad veritatem
it deceives perhaps not never but still to truth
saepissime derigit; est enim ab omni aeternitate repetita, in
most-often directs it-is for from all eternity fetched in
qua cum paene innumerabiliter res eodem modo evenirent
which since almost countlessly things in-the-same way happened
isdem signis antegressis, ars est effecta eadem saepe
with-the-same signs going-before the-art was produced the-same often
animadvertendo ac notando.
by-noticing and noting

Auspicia vero vestra quam constant! Quae quidem nunc a
the-auspices indeed your how consistent which indeed now by
Romanis auguribus ignorantur (bona hoc tua venia dixerim),
Roman augurs are-unknown with-good this your leave I-may-say
a Cilicibus, Pamphyliis, Pisidis, Lyciis tenentur.
by the-Cilicians Pamphylians Pisidians Lycians are-held
Nam quid ego hospitem nostrum, clarissumum atque 26
for why I host our most-famous and
optumum virum, Deiotarum regem, commemorem? Qui
best man Deiotarus the-king should-mention who
nihil umquam nisi auspicato gerit. Qui cum ex
nothing ever except after-taking-the-auspices does who when from
itinere quodam proposito et constituto revertisset aquilae
a-journey certain planned and fixed he-had-turned-back of-an-eagle
admonitus volatu, conclave illud, ubi erat mansurus, si
warned by-the-flight chamber that where he-was about-to-stay if
ire perrexisset, proxima nocte corruit.
to-go he-had-continued the-next night collapsed
Itaque, ut ex ipso audiebam, persaepe revertit ex itinere, 27
and-so as from himself I-heard very-often he-turned-back from a-journey
cum iam progressus esset multorum dierum viam. Cuius
when already advanced he-had of-many days the-way of-whom
quidem hoc praeclarissimum est, quod, posteaquam a Caesare
indeed this most-splendid is that after by Caesar
tetrarchia et regno pecuniaque multatus est, negat se
of-tetrarchy and kingdom and-money fined he-was he-denies himself
tamen eorum auspiciorum, quae sibi ad Pompeium proficiscenti
still of-those auspices which to-him to Pompey setting-out
secunda evenerint, paenitere; senatus enim auctoritatem
favorable had-happened to-repent of-the-senate for the-authority
et populi Romani libertatem atque imperii dignitatem
and of-the-people Roman the-liberty and of-the-empire the-dignity

suis armis esse defensam, sibique eas aves, quibus
by-his arms to-have-been defended and-for-himself those birds by-whose
auctoribus officium et fidem secutus esset, bene consuluisse;
authority duty and faith followed he-had well to-have-counseled
antiquiorem enim sibi fuisse possessionibus suis gloriam.
more-precious for to-him to-have-been than-possessions his glory
Ille mihi videtur igitur vere augurari. Nam nostri quidem
he to-me seems therefore truly to-take-the-auspices for our indeed
magistratus auspiciis utuntur coactis; necesse est enim offa
magistrates auspices use forced necessary it-is for with-a-morsel
obiecta cadere frustum ex pulli ore, cum pascitur;
thrown to-fall a-crumb from of-the-chicken the-mouth when it-is-fed
28 quod autem scriptum habetis †aut tripudium fieri, si ex
what moreover written you-have or a-tripudium to-occur if from
ea quid in solidum ceciderit, hoc quoque, quod dixi,
it anything onto the-solid-ground has-fallen this too which I-mentioned
coactum tripudium solistimum dicitis. Itaque multa auguria,
forced a-tripudium most-favorable you-call and-so many augural-signs
multa auspicia, quod Cato ille sapiens queritur, neglegentia
many auspices as Cato that wise complains by-the-negligence
collegii amissa plane et deserta sunt.
of-the-college lost plainly and abandoned have-been
Nihil fere quondam maioris rei nisi auspicato ne
nothing almost once of-greater matter except after-taking-the-auspices not
privatim quidem gerebatur, quod etiam nunc nuptiarum
privately even was-done which even now of-weddings
auspices declarant, qui re omissa nomen tantum tenent.
the-auspices declare who the-thing omitted the-name only hold
Nam ut nunc extis (quamquam id ipsum aliquanto
for as now by-entrails although that itself somewhat
minus quam olim), sic tum avibus magnae res inpetriri
less than formerly so then by-birds great matters to-be-obtained

solebant. Itaque, sinistra dum non exquirimus, in dira
were-wont and-so the-favorable-signs while not we-seek-out into the-dire
et in vitiosa incurrimus.
and into the-faulty we-run
Ut P. Claudius, Appii Caeci filius, eiusque collega 29
as Publius Claudius of-Appius the-Blind the-son and-his colleague
L. Iunius classis maxumas perdiderunt, cum vitio
Lucius Junius fleets very-great lost since in-violation
navigassent. Quod eodem modo evenit Agamemnoni; qui,
they-had-sailed which in-the-same way happened to-Agamemnon who
cum Achivi coepissent
when the-Achaeans had-begun

inter se strepere aperteque artem obterere extispicum,
among themselves to-clamor and-openly the-art to-trample of-the-entrail-inspectors
solvere imperat secundo rumore adversaque avi.
to-cast-off he-orders with-favorable report and-adverse bird

Sed quid vetera? M. Crasso quid acciderit, videmus,
but why old-things to-Marcus Crassus what happened we-see
dirarum obnuntiatione neglecta. In quo Appius, collega tuus,
of-the-dire-signs the-announcement neglected in which Appius colleague your
bonus augur, ut ex te audire soleo, non satis scienter
a-good augur as from you to-hear I-am-wont not sufficiently knowingly
virum bonum et civem egregium censor C. Ateium notavit,
a-man good and citizen outstanding as-censor Gaius Ateius branded
quod ementitum auspicia subscriberet. Esto; fuerit hoc
because falsified auspices he-had-recorded so-be-it let-it-have-been this
censoris, si iudicabat ementitum; at illud minime auguris,
of-a-censor if he-judged-them falsified but that least of-an-augur
quod adscripsit ob eam causam populum Romanum
that he-added on-account-of that cause the-people Roman

calamitatem maximam cepisse. Si enim ea causa calamitatis
disaster the-greatest to-have-suffered if for that the-cause of-the-disaster
fuit, non in eo est culpa, qui obnuntiavit, sed in eo, qui non
was not in him is the-fault who announced but in him who not
paruit. Veram enim fuisse obnuntiationem, ut ait idem
obeyed true for to-have-been the-announcement as says the-same
augur et censor, exitus adprobavit; quae si falsa fuisset,
augur and censor the-outcome proved which if false it-had-been
nullam adferre potuisset causam calamitatis. Etenim dirae,
no to-bring could cause of-disaster for-indeed dire-signs
sicut cetera auspicia, ut omina, ut signa, non causas adferunt,
like the-other auspices as omens as signs not causes bring
cur quid eveniat, sed nuntiant eventura, nisi provideris.
why anything happens but announce things-about-to-happen unless you-have-foreseen

V · THE LITUUS AND THE WHETSTONE

Ateius' announcement to Crassus was a warning, not a cause of his disaster. Romulus' augural staff survived a fire, and Attus Navius cut a whetstone with a razor before Tarquin. Tiberius Gracchus confessed his flawed auspices, and the haruspices were proved right. There are two kinds of divination, of art and of nature, and the haruspices' prodigies, the snakes in Gracchus' house among them, came true.

30 Non igitur obnuntiatio Ateii causam finxit calamitatis, sed
not therefore the-announcement of-Ateius a-cause made of-disaster but
signo obiecto monuit Crassum, quid eventurum esset, nisi
with-a-sign presented warned Crassus what about-to-happen was unless
cavisset. Ita aut illa obnuntiatio nihil valuit aut, si, ut
he-had-guarded so either that announcement nothing availed or if as

Appius iudicat, valuit, id valuit, ut peccatum haereat non
Appius judges it-availed it availed so-that the-sin should-stick not
in eo, qui monuerit, sed in eo, qui non obtemperarit.
in him who warned but in him who not obeyed
Quid? Lituus iste vester, quod clarissumum est insigne
what lituus that your which most-famous is the-insignia
auguratus, unde vobis est traditus? Nempe eo Romulus
of-the-augurate whence to-you was handed-down surely with-it Romulus
regiones direxit tum, cum urbem condidit. Qui quidem
the-regions marked-out then when the-city he-founded which indeed
Romuli lituus, id est incurvum et leviter a summo inflexum
of-Romulus lituus that is a-curved and slightly at the-top bent
bacillum, quod ab eius litui, quo canitur, similitudine
little-staff which from of-that lituus with-which is-sounded the-likeness
nomen invenit, cum situs esset in curia Saliorum, quae
its-name found when placed it-was in the-meeting-house of-the-Salii which
est in Palatio, eaque deflagravisset, inventus est integer.
is on-the Palatine and-that had-burnt-down found was whole
Quid? Multis annis post Romulum Prisco regnante Tarquinio 31
what many years after Romulus Priscus reigning Tarquinius
quis veterum scriptorum non loquitur, quae sit ab Atto Navio
who of-the-old writers not speaks-of what was by Attus Navius
per lituum regionum facta discriptio? Qui cum propter
by the-lituus of-regions made the-division who when on-account-of
paupertatem sues puer pasceret, una ex iis amissa vovisse
poverty pigs as-a-boy he-pastured one of them lost to-have-vowed
dicitur, si recuperasset, uvam se deo daturum, quae
is-said if he-had-recovered-it the-grape himself to-the-god would-give which
maxima esset in vinea; itaque sue inventa ad meridiem
largest was in the-vineyard and-so the-pig found toward the-south
spectans in vinea media dicitur constitisse, cumque in
facing in the-vineyard middle is-said to-have-stood and-when into

quattuor partis vineam divisisset trisque partis aves
four parts the-vineyard he-had-divided and-three parts the-birds
abdixissent, quarta parte, quae erat reliqua, in regiones
had-rejected in-the-fourth part which was left into regions
distributa mirabili magnitudine uvam, ut scriptum videmus,
distributed of-wonderful size a-grape as written we-see
invenit. Qua re celebrata cum vicini omnes ad eum
he-found which thing being-celebrated when the-neighbors all to him
de rebus suis referrent, erat in magno nomine et gloria.
about matters their-own referred he-was in great name and glory
32 Ex quo factum est, ut eum ad se rex Priscus
from which done it-was that him to himself king Priscus
arcesseret. Cuius cum temptaret scientiam auguratus, dixit
summoned whose when he-was-testing the-science of-augury he-said
ei cogitare se quiddam; id possetne fieri, consuluit.
to-him to-be-thinking himself something it whether-could happen he-consulted
Ille augurio acto posse respondit. Tarquinius autem dixit
he the-augury performed it-could replied Tarquinius moreover said
se cogitasse cotem novacula posse praecidi. Tum
himself to-have-thought a-whetstone with-a-razor could be-cut-through then
Attum iussisse experiri. Ita cotem in comitium allatam
Attus to-have-bidden to-try so the-whetstone into the-comitium brought
inspectante et rege et populo novacula esse discissam.
watching both the-king and the-people with-the-razor to-have-been cut-through
Ex eo evenit, ut et Tarquinius augure Atto Navio
from that it-came-about that both Tarquinius as-augur Attus Navius
uteretur et populus de suis rebus ad eum referret.
used and the-people about their-own matters to him referred
33 Cotem autem illam et novaculam defossam in comitio
the-whetstone moreover that and the-razor buried in the-comitium
supraque inpositum puteal accepimus. Negemus omnia,
and-above placed a-well-curb we-have-heard let-us-deny everything

comburamus annales, ficta haec esse dicamus, quidvis
let-us-burn the-annals invented these-things to-be let-us-say anything
denique potius quam deos res humanas curare fateamur;
finally rather than the-gods things human to-care-for let-us-confess
quid? Quod scriptum apud te est de Ti. Graccho, nonne
what what written in you is about Tiberius Gracchus surely
et augurum et haruspicum conprobat disciplinam? Qui cum
both of-the-augurs and of-the-haruspices proves the-discipline who when
tabernaculum vitio cepisset inprudens, quod inauspicato
his-tent in-violation had-taken unknowingly because without-auspices
pomerium transgressus esset, comitia consulibus rogandis
the-pomerium crossed he-had the-elections for-consuls to-be-chosen
habuit. Nota res est et a te ipso mandata monumentis.
he-held known the-matter is and by you yourself committed to-records
Sed et ipse augur Ti. Gracchus auspiciorum auctoritatem
but both himself an-augur Tiberius Gracchus of-the-auspices the-authority
confessione errati sui conprobavit, et haruspicum disciplinae
by-the-confession of-error his-own proved and of-the-haruspices to-the-discipline
magna accessit auctoritas, qui recentibus comitiis in senatum
great accrued authority who the-recent elections into the-senate
introducti negaverunt iustum comitiorum rogatorem fuisse.
brought-in denied lawful of-the-elections the-presiding-officer to-have-been
Iis igitur adsentior, qui duo genera divinationum esse 34
with-those therefore I-agree who two kinds of-divinations to-be
dixerunt, unum, quod particeps esset artis, alterum, quod
said one which partaker was of-art the-other which
arte careret. Est enim ars in iis, qui novas res coniectura
of-art lacked there-is for art in those who new things by-conjecture
persequuntur, veteres observatione didicerunt. Carent autem
pursue old-ones by-observation have-learned lack moreover
arte ii, qui non ratione aut coniectura observatis ac notatis
art those who not by-reason or conjecture from-observed and noted

signis, sed concitatione quadam animi aut soluto liberoque
signs but by-an-excitement certain of-mind or by-loosed and-free
motu futura praesentiunt, quod et somniantibus saepe
motion things-future foresee which both to-dreamers often
contingit et non numquam vaticinantibus per furorem, ut
happens and not never to-those-prophesying through frenzy as
Bacis Boeotius, ut Epimenides Cres, ut Sibylla Erythraea.
Bacis the-Boeotian as Epimenides the-Cretan as the-Sibyl Erythraean
Cuius generis oracla etiam habenda sunt, non ea, quae
of-which kind oracles also to-be-held are not those which
aequatis sortibus ducuntur, sed illa, quae instinctu divino
with-leveled lots are-drawn but those which by-impulse divine
adflatuque funduntur; etsi ipsa sors contemnenda non est,
and-inspiration are-poured-out although itself the-lot to-be-despised not is
si auctoritatem habet vetustatis, ut eae sunt sortes, quas
if authority it-has of-antiquity as those are the-lots which
e terra editas accepimus; quae tamen ductae ut in
from the-earth brought-forth we-have-heard which still drawn so-that to
rem apte cadant, fieri credo posse divinitus. Quorum
the-matter fittingly they-fall to-happen I-believe can by-divine-agency of-which
omnium interpretes, ut grammatici poëtarum, proxime ad
all the-interpreters as the-grammarians of-the-poets most-nearly to
eorum, quos interpretantur, divinationem videntur accedere.
of-those whom they-interpret the-divination seem to-approach
35 Quae est igitur ista calliditas res vetustate robustas
what is therefore that craftiness things by-antiquity strengthened
calumniando velle pervertere? Non reperio causam. Latet
by-cavil to-wish to-overturn not I-find the-cause it-lies-hid
fortasse obscuritate involuta naturae; non enim me deus
perhaps in-the-obscurity wrapped of-nature not for me god
ista scire, sed his tantum modo uti voluit. Utar
those-things to-know but them so-much only to-use wished I-will-use-them

igitur nec adducar aut in extis totam Etruriam delirare aut
therefore nor shall-I-be-led either in entrails the-whole Etruria to-rave or
eandem gentem in fulgoribus errare aut fallaciter portenta
the-same nation in lightnings to-err or deceitfully portents
interpretari, cum terrae saepe fremitus, saepe mugitus,
to-interpret when of-the-earth often the-rumblings often the-bellowings
saepe motus multa nostrae rei publicae, multa
often the-quakings many-things to-our thing public many-things
ceteris civitatibus gravia et vera praedixerint.
to-the-other states grave and true have-foretold
Quid? Qui inridetur, partus hic mulae nonne, quia 36
what the-thing-which is-mocked foaling this of-a-mule surely because
fetus extitit in sterilitate naturae, praedictus est ab haruspicibus
offspring appeared in the-sterility of-nature foretold was by the-haruspices
incredibilis partus malorum? Quid? Ti. Gracchus P. F.,
an-incredible birth of-evils what Tiberius Gracchus Publius' son
qui bis consul et censor fuit, idemque et summus augur
who twice consul and censor was and-the-same both a-supreme augur
et vir sapiens civisque praestans, nonne, ut C. Gracchus,
and a-man wise and-a-citizen excellent surely as Gaius Gracchus
filius eius, scriptum reliquit, duobus anguibus domi
son his written left two snakes at-home
conprehensis haruspices convocavit? Qui cum respondissent, si
being-caught the-haruspices called-together who when they-had-answered if
marem emisisset, uxori brevi tempore esse moriendum, si
the-male he-let-go for-his-wife in-a-short time to-be to-die if
feminam, ipsi, aequius esse censuit se maturam oppetere
the-female for-himself fairer to-be he-judged himself early to-meet
mortem quam P. Africani filiam adulescentem; feminam
death than of-Publius Africanus the-daughter young the-female
emisit, ipse paucis post diebus est mortuus. Inrideamus
he-let-go himself a-few after days has died let-us-mock

haruspices, vanos, futtiles esse dicamus, quorumque disciplinam
the-haruspices empty futile to-be let-us-say and-whose discipline
et sapientissimus vir et eventus ac res conprobavit,
both a-most-wise man and the-outcome and fact approved
contemnamus, condemnemus etiam Babylonem et eos, qui e
let-us-despise let-us-condemn also Babylon and those who from
Caucaso caeli signa servantes numeris et modis stellarum
the-Caucasus of-the-sky the-signs watching by-numbers and measures of-the-stars
cursus persequuntur, condemnemus, inquam, hos aut stultitiae
the-courses track let-us-condemn I-say these either of-folly
aut vanitatis aut inpudentiae, qui quadringenta septuaginta
or of-vanity or of-impudence who four-hundred seventy
milia annorum, ut ipsi dicunt, monumentis conprehensa
thousands of-years as themselves say in-records comprised
continent, et mentiri iudicemus nec, saeculorum reliquorum
hold and to-lie let-us-judge-them nor of-the-ages remaining
iudicium quod de ipsis futurum sit, pertimescere.
the-judgment which about themselves about-to-be is to-dread

VI · ORACLES AND DREAMS

The Delphic oracle would never have grown so famous and rich had it not proved true; its power may have faded with age as rivers dry up. Dreams too foretell: Dionysius' mother, Ennius' Vestal, Hecuba's dream of a torch, Aeneas' dream, and the Proud Tarquin's dream of the rams in Accius' Brutus*, with the interpreters' answer that it foretold a change of rule.*

37 Age, barbari vani atque fallaces; num etiam Graiorum
come the-barbarians empty and deceitful surely-not also of-the-Greeks
historia mentita est? Quae Croeso Pythius Apollo, ut
history lied has what to-Croesus Pythian Apollo that

de naturali divinatione dicam, quae Atheniensibus,
about natural divination I-may-speak what to-the-Athenians
quae Lacedaemoniis, quae Tegeatis, quae Argivis, quae
what to-the-Lacedaemonians what to-the-Tegeans what to-the-Argives what
Corinthiis responderit, quis ignorat? Collegit innumerabilia
to-the-Corinthians answered who does-not-know collected countless
oracula Chrysippus nec ullum sine locuplete auctore atque
oracles Chrysippus nor any without a-reliable authority and
teste; quae, quia nota tibi sunt, relinquo; defendo unum
witness which because known to-you they-are I-leave-aside I-defend one
hoc: Numquam illud oraclum Delphis tam celebre et tam
this never that oracle at-Delphi so celebrated and so
clarum fuisset neque tantis donis refertum omnium
famous would-have-been nor with-such-great gifts filled of-all
populorum atque regum, nisi omnis aetas oraclorum illorum
peoples and kings unless every age of-the-oracles of-those
veritatem esset experta.
the-truth had experienced
Idem iam diu non facit. Ut igitur nunc in minore gloria est, 38
the-same now for-long not it-does as therefore now in lesser glory it-is
quia minus oraculorum veritas excellit, sic tum nisi summa
because less of-the-oracles the-truth excels so then unless by-the-highest
veritate in tanta gloria non fuisset. Potest autem vis illa
truth in so-great glory not it-would-have-been can moreover force that
terrae, quae mentem Pythiae divino adflatu concitabat,
of-the-earth which the-mind of-the-Pythia with-divine inspiration roused
evanuisse vetustate, ut quosdam evanuisse et exaruisse
to-have-vanished with-age as some to-have-vanished and to-have-dried-up
amnes aut in alium cursum contortos et deflexos videmus.
rivers or into another course twisted and turned-aside we-see
Sed, ut vis, acciderit; magna enim quaestio est; modo
but as you-wish let-it-have-happened great for the-question is provided

maneat id, quod negari non potest, nisi omnem historiam
there-remain that which to-be-denied not can unless all history
perverterimus, multis saeclis verax fuisse id oraculum.
we-have-overturned for-many ages truthful to-have-been that oracle
39 Sed omittamus oracula; veniamus ad somnia. De quibus
but let-us-pass-over oracles let-us-come to dreams about which
disputans Chrysippus multis et minutis somniis colligendis
arguing Chrysippus by-many and petty dreams collecting
facit idem, quod Antipater ea conquirens, quae
does the-same as Antipater those-things searching-out which
Antiphontis interpretatione explicata declarant illa quidem
of-Antiphon by-interpretation explained declare those indeed
acumen interpretis, sed exemplis grandioribus decuit
the-acumen of-the-interpreter but examples grander it-would-have-become
uti. Dionysii mater, eius qui Syracosiorum tyrannus fuit,
to-use of-Dionysius the-mother of-him who of-the-Syracusans tyrant was
ut scriptum apud Philistum est, et doctum hominem et
as written in Philistus is both a-learned man and
diligentem et aequalem temporum illorum, cum praegnans hunc
a-careful and contemporary of-times those when pregnant this
ipsum Dionysium alvo contineret, somniavit se peperisse
very Dionysius in-her-womb she-held dreamed herself to-have-borne
Satyriscum. Huic interpretes portentorum, qui Galeotae tum in
a-little-Satyr to-her the-interpreters of-portents who Galeotae then in
Sicilia nominabantur, responderunt, ut ait Philistus, eum, quem
Sicily were-named replied as says Philistus him whom
illa peperisset, clarissimum Graeciae diuturna cum fortuna fore.
she should-have-borne most-famous of-Greece long-lasting with fortune to-be

Num te ad fabulas revoco vel nostrorum vel Graecorum 40
surely-not you to tales do-I-call-back either of-our or of-Greek
poëtarum? Narrat enim et apud Ennium Vestalis illa:
poets tells for even in Ennius Vestal that

Eccita cum tremulis anus attulit artubus lumen,
roused when with-trembling the-old-woman brought limbs a-light
talia tum memorat lacrimans exterrita somno:
such-things then she-recounts weeping terrified from-sleep
'Eurydica prognata, pater quam noster amavit,
from-Eurydice born father whom our loved
vires vitaque corpus meum nunc deserit omne.
strength and-life body my now deserts all
Nam me visus homo pulcher per amoena salicta
for me seemed a-man handsome through pleasant willow-groves
et ripas raptare locosque novos; ita sola
and banks to-carry-off and-places new so alone
postilla, germana soror, errare videbar
afterward full-blood sister to-wander I-seemed
tardaque vestigare et quaerere te neque posse
and-slow to-track and to-seek you nor to-be-able
corde capessere; semita nulla pedem stabilibat.
with-heart to-grasp path no my-foot steadied
Exin compellare pater me voce videtur 41
then to-address father me with-voice seems
his verbis: "O gnata, tibi sunt ante gerendae
in-these words O daughter by-you are first to-be-borne
aerumnae, post ex fluvio fortuna resistet."
hardships after from the-river fortune will-rise-again

Haec ecfatus pater, germana, repente recessit
these-things having-spoken father sister suddenly withdrew
nec sese dedit in conspectum corde cupitus,
nor himself gave into sight in-heart desired
quamquam multa manus ad caeli caerula templa
although much my-hands to of-the-sky the-blue temples
tendebam lacrumans et blanda voce vocabam.
I-stretched weeping and with-coaxing voice called
Vix aegro tum corde meo me somnus reliquit.'
hardly with-sick then heart my me sleep left

42 Haec, etiamsi ficta sunt a poëta, non absunt tamen
these-things even-if invented were by a-poet not are-remote still
a consuetudine somniorum. Sit sane etiam illud
from the-habit of-dreams let-be by-all-means also that
commenticium, quo Priamus est conturbatus, quia
invented by-which Priam was disturbed because

mater gravida parere ex se ardentem facem
his-mother pregnant to-bear from herself a-burning torch
visast in somnis Hecuba; quo facto pater
seemed in sleep Hecuba which thing-done the-father
rex ipse Priamus somnio mentis metu
king himself Priam by-the-dream of-mind by-fear
perculsus curis sumptus suspirantibus
struck by-cares seized sighing
exsacrificabat hostiis balantibus.
sacrificed with-victims bleating
Tum coniecturam postulat pacem petens,
then an-interpretation he-demands peace seeking

ut se edoceret, obsecrans Apollinem,
that him he-should-teach beseeching Apollo
quo sese vertant tantae sortes somnium.
whither themselves may-turn so-great lots of-dreams
Ibi ex oraclo voce divina edidit
there from the-oracle with-voice divine declared
Apollo, puerum, primus Priamo qui foret
Apollo the-boy first to-Priam who should-be
postilla natus, temperaret tollere;
afterward born he-should-refrain to-raise
eum esse exitium Troiae, pestem Pergamo.
him to-be the-ruin of-Troy the-bane to-Pergamum

Sint haec, ut dixi, somnia fabularum, hisque adiungatur 43
let-be these-things as I-said dreams of-myths and-to-these be-added
etiam Aeneae somnium, quod in nostri Fabii Pictoris
also of-Aeneas the-dream which in of-our Fabius Pictor
Graecis annalibus eius modi est, ut omnia, quae ab Aenea
the-Greek annals of-such kind is that all-things which by Aeneas
gesta sunt quaeque illi acciderunt, ea fuerint, quae ei
done were and-which to-him happened those were which to-him
secundum quietem visa sunt.
according-to sleep seen were

Sed propiora videamus. Cuiusnam modi est Superbi Tarquinii
but nearer-things let-us-see of-what-pray kind is of-the-Proud Tarquin
somnium, de quo in Bruto Accii loquitur ipse?
the-dream about which in the-Brutus of-Accius speaks he-himself

44 Quoniam quieti corpus nocturno inpetu
since to-rest my-body in-the-nocturnal onset
dedi sopore placans artus languidos,
I-gave with-sleep soothing my-limbs languid
visust in somnis pastor ad me appellere
seemed in sleep a-shepherd to me to-drive
pecus lanigerum eximia pulchritudine;
a-flock wool-bearing of-exceptional beauty
duos consanguineos arietes inde eligi
two of-one-blood rams thence to-be-chosen
praeclarioremque alterum immolare me;
and-the-more-splendid one to-sacrifice me
deinde eius germanum cornibus conitier,
then its brother with-horns to-strive
in me arietare, eoque ictu me ad casum dari;
at me to-butt and-by-that blow me to a-fall to-be-given
exin prostratum terra, graviter saucium,
then laid-low on-the-ground gravely wounded
resupinum in caelo contueri maximum ac
on-my-back in the-sky to-behold a-very-great and
mirificum facinus: dextrorsum orbem flammeum
wonderful deed rightward the-orb flaming
radiatum solis liquier cursu novo.
rayed of-the-sun to-flow with-course new

Eius igitur somnii a coniectoribus quae sit interpretatio
of-that therefore dream by the-interpreters what is the-interpretation
facta, videamus:
made let-us-see

Rex, quae in vita usurpant homines, cogitant, curant, vident, 45
king what in life employ men think care-for see
quaeque agunt vigilantes agitantque,
and-what they-do waking and-ponder
ea si cui in somno accidunt,
those-things if to-anyone in sleep happen
minus mirandum est; di rem tantam
less to-be-wondered-at it-is the-gods a-thing so-great
haud temere inproviso offerunt.
not at-random unforeseen offer
Proin vide ne, quem tu esse hebetem deputes aeque ac pecus,
therefore see lest whom you to-be dull reckon equally as a-beast
is sapientia munitum pectus egregie gerat
he with-wisdom fortified a-breast outstandingly may-bear
teque regno expellat; nam id,
and-you from-the-kingdom may-expel for that
quod de sole ostentumst tibi,
which about the-sun shown-is to-you

populo commutationem rerum portendit fore
for-the-people a-change of-things portends to-be
perpropinquam. Haec bene verruncent populo.
very-near these-things well may-turn-out for-the-people
Nam quod ad dexteram
for that to the-right
cepit cursum ab laeva signum praepotens, pulcherrume
it-took its-course from the-left the-sign all-powerful most-beautifully
auguratum est rem Romanam publicam summam fore.
augured it-is the-thing Roman public supreme to-be

VII · DREAMS OF KINGS AND COMMANDERS

The mother of Phalaris, Cyrus' threefold grasp at the sun, the Indian Callanus' farewell to Alexander, and Alexander's birth on the night Ephesian Diana's temple burned are told. Hannibal, having bored into Juno's golden column and found it solid, was warned by her not to carry it off, and dreamed of a guide and the devastation of Italy; Hamilcar dreamed of dining in Syracuse, Decius of a glorious death, and Socrates of the third day.

46 Age nunc ad externa redeamus. Matrem Phalaridis scribit
come now to foreign-things let-us-return the-mother of-Phalaris writes
Ponticus Heraclides, doctus vir, auditor et discipulus Platonis,
Pontic Heraclides a-learned man hearer and pupil of-Plato
visam esse videre in somnis simulacra deorum, quae ipsa
seen to-have-been to-see in sleep images of-the-gods which she-herself
domi consecravisset; ex iis Mercurium e patera, quam
at-home had-consecrated from them Mercury from a-bowl which
dextera manu teneret, sanguinem visum esse fundere;
in-his-right hand he-held blood seen to-have-been to-pour

qui cum terram attigisset, refervescere videretur sic, ut
which when the-earth it-had-touched to-boil-up seemed so that
tota domus sanguine redundaret. Quod matris somnium
the-whole house with-blood overflowed which of-the-mother dream
inmanis filii crudelitas conprobavit. Quid ego, quae magi
of-her-monstrous son the-cruelty proved why I what the-magi
Cyro illi principi interpretati sint, ex Dinonis Persicis
to-Cyrus that prince interpreted have from Dinon's Persian-History
proferam? Nam cum dormienti ei sol ad pedes visus
should-bring-forward for when sleeping to-him the-sun at his-feet seen
esset, ter eum scribit frustra adpetivisse manibus, cum
had-been three-times him he-writes in-vain to-have-reached-for with-his-hands when
se convolvens sol elaberetur et abiret; ei magos dixisse,
itself rolling the-sun slipped-away and departed to-him the-magi to-have-said
quod genus sapientium et doctorum habebatur in Persis, ex
which class of-wise and learned was-held among the-Persians from
triplici adpetitione solis triginta annos Cyrum regnaturum
the-threefold reaching of-the-sun thirty years Cyrus about-to-reign
esse portendi. Quod ita contigit; nam ad septuagesimum
to-be to-be-portended which so happened for to the-seventieth
pervenit, cum quadraginta natus annos regnare coepisset.
he-came when forty born years to-reign he-had-begun
Est profecto quiddam etiam in barbaris gentibus praesentiens 47
there-is surely something even in barbarian nations foreseeing
atque divinans, siquidem ad mortem proficiscens Callanus
and divining since to death setting-out Callanus
Indus, cum inscenderet in rogum ardentem, 'O praeclarum
the-Indian when he-mounted onto the-pyre burning O splendid
discessum', inquit, 'e vita, cum, ut Herculi contigit, mortali
departure he-said from life when as to-Hercules it-befell mortal
corpore cremato in lucem animus excesserit!' Cumque
the-body cremated into the-light the-soul has-gone-out and-when

Alexander eum rogaret, si quid vellet, ut diceret,
Alexander him asked if anything he-wished that he-should-say
'Optime', inquit; 'propediem te videbo'. Quod ita contigit;
excellently he-said shortly you I-shall-see which so happened
nam Babylone paucis post diebus Alexander est mortuus.
for at-Babylon a-few after days Alexander has died
Discedo parumper a somniis, ad quae mox revertar.
I-depart for-a-little from dreams to which soon I-shall-return
Qua nocte templum Ephesiae Dianae deflagravit, eadem
on-which night the-temple of-Ephesian Diana burned-down on-the-same
constat ex Olympiade natum esse Alexandrum, atque,
it-is-agreed from Olympias born to-have-been Alexander and
ubi lucere coepisset, clamitasse magos pestem ac perniciem
when to-dawn it-had-begun to-have-cried-out the-magi a-plague and destruction
Asiae proxuma nocte natam. Haec de Indis et magis.
of-Asia on-the-last night born these-things about the-Indians and the-magi
48 Redeamus ad somnia. Hannibalem Coelius scribit, cum
let-us-return to dreams Hannibal Coelius writes when
columnam auream, quae esset in fano Iunonis Laciniae,
the-column golden which was in the-shrine of-Juno Lacinia
auferre vellet dubitaretque, utrum ea solida esset an
to-carry-off he-wished and-doubted whether it solid was or
extrinsecus inaurata, perterebravisse, cumque solidam invenisset,
on-the-outside gilded to-have-bored-through and-when solid he-had-found
statuisse tollere; ei secundum quietem visam esse
to-have-resolved to-take to-him according-to sleep seen to-have-been
Iunonem praedicere, ne id faceret, minarique, si fecisset,
Juno to-forewarn lest that he-should-do and-to-threaten if he-did
se curaturam, ut eum quoque oculum, quo bene videret,
herself would-take-care that that too eye with-which well he-saw
amitteret, idque ab homine acuto non esse neglectum;
he-should-lose and-that by a-man shrewd not to-have-been neglected

itaque ex eo auro, quod exterebratum esset, buculam
and-so from that gold which bored-out had-been a-heifer
curasse faciendam et eam in summa columna conlocavisse.
to-have-taken-care to-be-made and it on the-top-of column to-have-placed
Hoc item in Sileni, quem Coelius sequitur, Graeca historia 49
this likewise in of-Silenus whom Coelius follows the-Greek history
est (is autem diligentissume res Hannibalis persecutus est):
is he moreover most-carefully the-deeds of-Hannibal pursued has
Hannibalem, cum cepisset Saguntum, visum esse in somnis
Hannibal when he-had-taken Saguntum seen to-have-been in sleep
a Iove in deorum concilium vocari; quo cum venisset,
by Jupiter into of-the-gods the-council to-be-called whither when he-had-come
Iovem imperavisse, ut Italiae bellum inferret, ducemque
Jupiter to-have-ordered that on-Italy war he-should-bring and-a-guide
ei unum e concilio datum, quo illum utentem cum
to-him one from the-council to-have-been-given whom him using with
exercitu progredi coepisse; tum ei ducem illum praecepisse,
his-army to-advance to-have-begun then to-him the-guide that to-have-instructed
ne respiceret; illum autem id diutius facere non potuisse
not to-look-back him moreover that longer to-do not to-have-been-able
elatumque cupiditate respexisse; tum visam beluam vastam
and-carried-away by-desire to-have-looked-back then seen a-beast vast
et immanem circumplicatam serpentibus, quacumque incederet,
and monstrous coiled-round with-serpents wherever it-went
omnia arbusta, virgulta, tecta pervertere, et eum admiratum
all trees thickets roofs to-overturn and him wondering
quaesisse de deo, quodnam illud esset tale monstrum; et deum
to-have-asked of the-god what-pray that was such a-monster and the-god
respondisse vastitatem esse Italiae praecepisseque, ut pergeret
to-have-answered the-devastation to-be of-Italy and-to-have-instructed that he-should-go-on
protinus, quid retro atque a tergo fieret, ne laboraret.
straightway what behind and at his-back happened not he-should-trouble

50 Apud Agathoclem scriptum in historia est Hamilcarem
in Agathocles written in the-history it-is Hamilcar
Karthaginiensem, cum oppugnaret Syracusas, visum esse
the-Carthaginian when he-was-besieging Syracuse seen to-have-been
audire vocem, se postridie cenaturum Syracusis; cum
to-hear a-voice himself next-day about-to-dine at-Syracuse when
autem is dies inluxisset, magnam seditionem in castris eius
moreover that day had-dawned a-great mutiny in the-camp his
inter Poenos et Siculos milites esse factam; quod
between the-Carthaginian and Sicilian soldiers to-have-been made which
cum sensissent Syracusani, inproviso eos in castra inrupisse,
when had-perceived the-Syracusans unexpectedly them into the-camp to-have-burst
Hamilcaremque ab iis vivum esse sublatum. Ita res
and-Hamilcar by them alive to-have-been carried-off so the-event
somnium conprobavit. Plena exemplorum est historia, tum
the-dream proved full of-examples is history and
referta vita communis.
filled life common

51 At vero P. Decius ille Q. F., qui primus e Deciis consul
but indeed Publius Decius that Quintus' son who first of the-Decii consul
fuit, cum esset tribunus militum M. Valerio A. Cornelio
was when he-was tribune of-the-soldiers Marcus Valerius Aulus Cornelius
consulibus a Samnitibusque premeretur noster exercitus,
being-consuls by and-the-Samnites was-pressed our army
cum pericula proeliorum iniret audacius monereturque, ut
when the-dangers of-battles he-entered more-boldly and-was-warned that
cautior esset, dixit, quod extat in annalibus, se sibi
more-cautious he-should-be said what stands in the-annals himself to-himself
in somnis visum esse, cum in mediis hostibus versaretur,
in sleep seen to-have-been when in the-midst-of enemies he-moved
occidere cum maxuma gloria. Et tum quidem incolumis
to-fall with the-greatest glory and then indeed unharmed

exercitum obsidione liberavit; post triennium autem, cum
the-army from-the-siege he-freed after three-years moreover when
consul esset, devovit se et in aciem Latinorum inrupit
consul he-was he-devoted himself and into the-battle-line of-the-Latins burst
armatus. Quo eius facto superati sunt et deleti Latini.
armed by-which his deed overcome were and destroyed the-Latins
Cuius mors ita gloriosa fuit, ut eandem concupisceret filius.
whose death so glorious was that the-same coveted his-son
Sed veniamus nunc, si placet, ad somnia philosophorum. 52
but let-us-come now if it-pleases to the-dreams of-philosophers
Est apud Platonem Socrates, cum esset in custodia publica,
there-is in Plato Socrates when he-was in custody public
dicens Critoni, suo familiari, sibi post tertium diem esse
saying to-Crito his intimate to-himself after the-third day to-be
moriendum; vidisse se in somnis pulchritudine eximia
to-be-died to-have-seen himself in sleep of-beauty exceptional
feminam, quae se nomine appellans diceret Homericum
a-woman who him by-name calling said a-Homeric
quendam eius modi versum:
certain of-this kind verse

Tertia te Phthiae tempestas laeta locabit.
the-third you at-Phthia day happy will-set

Quod, ut est dictum, sic scribitur contigisse. Xenophon
which as was said so is-written to-have-happened Xenophon
Socraticus (qui vir et quantus!) in ea militia, qua cum
the-Socratic what-sort-of man and how-great in that campaign which with
Cyro minore perfunctus est, sua scribit somnia, quorum
Cyrus the-younger discharged he-has his-own he-writes dreams whose
eventus mirabiles exstiterunt.
outcomes wonderful appeared

Aristotle told of Eudemus' dream at Pherae, which came true in his death; Sophocles found the stolen bowl through a dream; a Roman peasant's dream restored the votive games; and Tiberius Gracchus appeared to his brother Gaius. The Stoics' favorites are Simonides, saved by the dead man he buried, and the Arcadian murdered by an innkeeper at Megara. Quintus recalls his own dream in Asia, of his brother swept into a river and rising again.

53 Mentiri Xenophontem an delirare dicemus? Quid? Singulari vir
to-lie Xenophon or to-rave shall-we-say what of-singular a-man
ingenio Aristoteles et paene divino ipsene errat an alios
genius Aristotle and almost divine he-himself-whether errs or others
vult errare, cum scribit Eudemum Cyprium, familiarem suum,
wishes to-err when he-writes Eudemus the-Cyprian intimate his
iter in Macedoniam facientem Pheras venisse, quae erat urbs
a-journey to Macedonia making to-Pherae to-have-come which was a-city
in Thessalia tum admodum nobilis, ab Alexandro autem tyranno
in Thessaly then very famous by Alexander moreover the-tyrant
crudeli dominatu tenebatur; in eo igitur oppido ita graviter
in-cruel domination was-held in that therefore town so gravely
aegrum Eudemum fuisse, ut omnes medici diffiderent; ei
sick Eudemus to-have-been that all the-physicians despaired to-him
visum in quiete egregia facie iuvenem dicere fore ut
seen in sleep of-outstanding appearance a-youth to-say it-would-be that
perbrevi convalesceret, paucisque diebus interiturum Alexandrum
very-shortly he-would-recover and-in-a-few days about-to-perish Alexander
tyrannum, ipsum autem Eudemum quinquennio post domum
the-tyrant himself moreover Eudemus in-five-years afterward home
esse rediturum. Atque ita quidem prima statim scribit
to-be about-to-return and so indeed the-first-things at-once writes
Aristoteles consecuta, et convaluisse Eudemum, et ab uxoris
Aristotle followed both to-have-recovered Eudemus and by his-wife's

fratribus interfectum tyrannum; quinto autem anno exeunte,
brothers killed the-tyrant in-the-fifth moreover year ending
cum esset spes ex illo somnio in Cyprum illum ex Sicilia
when there-was hope from that dream to Cyprus him from Sicily
esse rediturum, proeliantem eum ad Syracusas occidisse; ex
to-be about-to-return fighting him at Syracuse to-have-fallen from
quo ita illud somnium esse interpretatum, ut, cum animus
which so that dream to-have-been interpreted that when the-soul
Eudemi e corpore excesserit, tum domum revertisse videatur.
of-Eudemus from the-body has-departed then home to-have-returned it-may-seem
Adiungamus philosophis doctissimum hominem, poëtam 54
let-us-add to-the-philosophers a-most-learned man a-poet
quidem divinum, Sophoclem; qui, cum ex aede Herculis
indeed divine Sophocles who when from the-temple of-Hercules
patera aurea gravis subrepta esset, in somnis vidit ipsum
a-bowl golden heavy stolen had-been in sleep saw the-very
deum dicentem, qui id fecisset. Quod semel ille iterumque
god saying who that had-done which once he and-again
neglexit. Ubi idem saepius, ascendit in Arium pagum,
neglected when the-same more-often came-up to the-Arian hill
detulit rem; Areopagitae conprehendi iubent eum, qui a
he-reported the-matter the-Areopagites to-be-arrested order him who by
Sophocle erat nominatus; is quaestione adhibita confessus
Sophocles had-been named he torture applied confessed
est pateramque rettulit. Quo facto fanum illud Indicis
has and-the-bowl brought-back which thing-done the-shrine that of-the-Informer
Herculis nominatum est.
Hercules named was
Sed quid ego Graecorum? Nescio quo modo me magis 55
but why I of-the-Greeks I-know-not in-what way me more
nostra delectant. Omnes hoc historici, Fabii, Gellii, sed
our-things delight all this the-historians the-Fabii the-Gellii but

proxume Coelius: Cum bello Latino ludi votivi maxumi
most-nearly Coelius when in-the-war Latin the-games votive greatest
primum fierent, civitas ad arma repente est excitata, itaque
first were-held the-state to arms suddenly was roused and-so
ludis intermissis instaurativi constituti sunt. Qui ante quam
the-games interrupted repeated appointed were which before than
fierent, cumque iam populus consedisset, servus per
they-were-held and-when already the-people had-sat-down a-slave through
circum, cum virgis caederetur, furcam ferens ductus est. Exin
the-circus while with-rods he-was-beaten a-fork carrying led was then
cuidam rustico Romano dormienti visus est venire, qui diceret
to-a-certain peasant Roman sleeping seen was to-come who said
praesulem sibi non placuisse ludis, idque ab eodem iussum
the-lead-dancer to-him not to-have-pleased at-the-games and-that by the-same ordered
esse eum senatui nuntiare; illum non esse ausum. Iterum
to-have-been him to-the-senate to-announce him not to-have dared again
esse idem iussum et monitum, ne vim suam experiri
to-have-been the-same ordered and warned not his power to-try
vellet; ne tum quidem esse ausum. Exin filium eius esse
he-should-wish not then even to-have dared then the-son his to-have
mortuum, eandem in somnis admonitionem fuisse tertiam.
died the-same in sleep the-warning to-have-been a-third
Tum illum etiam debilem factum rem ad amicos detulisse,
then him also crippled made the-matter to his-friends to-have-reported
quorum de sententia lecticula in curiam esse
whose by advice in-a-little-litter into the-senate-house to-have-been
delatum, cumque senatui somnium enarravisset, pedibus suis
carried and-when to-the-senate the-dream he-had-related on-feet his-own
salvum domum revertisse. Itaque somnio comprobato a senatu
safe home to-have-returned and-so the-dream approved by the-senate
ludos illos iterum instauratos memoriae proditum est.
the-games those again repeated to-memory handed-down it-has-been

C. vero Gracchus multis dixit, ut scriptum apud eundem 56
Gaius indeed Gracchus to-many said as written in the-same
Coelium est, sibi in somnis quaesturam petere dubitanti
Coelius is to-himself in sleep the-quaestorship to-seek hesitating
Ti. fratrem visum esse dicere, quam vellet
Tiberius his-brother seen to-have-been to-say however-much he-wished
cunctaretur, tamen eodem sibi leto, quo ipse interisset,
he-might-delay still by-the-same to-himself death by-which he-himself had-perished
esse pereundum. Hoc, ante quam tribunus plebi C. Gracchus
to-be to-be-perished this before than tribune of-the-plebs Gaius Gracchus
factus esset, et se audisse scribit Coelius et dixisse
made he-had-been both himself to-have-heard writes Coelius and to-have-said
eum multis. Quo somnio quid inveniri potest certius?
him to-many than-which dream what to-be-found can surer
Quid? Illa duo somnia, quae creberrume commemorantur a
what those two dreams which most-frequently are-mentioned by
Stoicis, quis tandem potest contemnere? Unum de Simonide:
the-Stoics who pray can to-despise one about Simonides
Qui cum ignotum quendam proiectum mortuum vidisset
who when an-unknown certain-man cast-out dead he-had-seen
eumque humavisset haberetque in animo navem conscendere,
and-him had-buried and-had in mind a-ship to-board
moneri visus est, ne id faceret, ab eo, quem sepultura
to-be-warned seen was not that he-should-do by him whom with-burial
adfecerat; si navigavisset, eum naufragio esse periturum; itaque
he-had-honored if he-sailed him in-shipwreck to-be about-to-perish and-so
Simonidem redisse, perisse ceteros, qui tum navigassent.
Simonides to-have-returned to-have-perished the-others who then had-sailed
Alterum ita traditum clarum admodum somnium: Cum duo 57
the-other so handed-down famous very a-dream when two
quidam Arcades familiares iter una facerent et Megaram
certain Arcadians intimates a-journey together were-making and to-Megara

venissent, alterum ad cauponem devertisse, ad hospitem
had-come one at an-innkeeper's to-have-lodged at a-host's
alterum. Qui ut cenati quiescerent, concubia nocte
the-other who when having-dined they-rested at-the-first-sleep of-night
visum esse in somnis ei, qui erat in hospitio, illum
seen to-have-been in sleep to-him who was in the-guest-house that
alterum orare, ut subveniret, quod sibi a caupone
other to-beg that he-should-come-to-help because for-him by the-innkeeper
interitus pararetur; eum primo perterritum somnio
death was-being-prepared him at-first terrified by-the-dream
surrexisse; dein cum se conlegisset idque visum pro
to-have-risen then when himself he-had-collected and-that vision as
nihilo habendum esse duxisset, recubuisse; tum ei
nothing to-be-held to-be had-thought to-have-lain-down-again then to-him
dormienti eundem illum visum esse rogare, ut, quoniam
sleeping the-same that-one seen to-have-been to-ask that since
sibi vivo non subvenisset, mortem suam ne inultam
to-him living not he-had-come-to-help his death not unavenged
esse pateretur; se interfectum in plaustrum a caupone
to-be he-should-allow himself killed into a-wagon by the-innkeeper
esse coniectum et supra stercus iniectum; petere, ut
to-have-been thrown and above dung thrown-on to-ask that
mane ad portam adesset, prius quam plaustrum ex
in-the-morning at the-gate he-should-be-present before than the-wagon from
oppido exiret. Hoc vero eum somnio commotum mane
the-town went-out by-this indeed him dream moved in-the-morning
bubulco praesto ad portam fuisse, quaesisse ex eo,
for-the-ox-driver at-hand at the-gate to-have-been to-have-asked from him
quid esset in plaustro; illum perterritum fugisse, mortuum
what was in the-wagon him terrified to-have-fled the-dead
erutum esse, cauponem re patefacta poenas dedisse.
dug-out to-have-been the-innkeeper the-matter laid-open the-penalty to-have-paid

Quid hoc somnio dici potest divinius? Sed quid aut plura 58
what than-this dream to-be-called can more-divine but why either more
aut vetera quaerimus? Saepe tibi meum narravi, saepe ex te
or old-cases do-we-seek often to-you my I-have-told often from you
audivi tuum somnium: me, cum Asiae pro cos. praeessem,
I-have-heard your dream me when over-Asia as proconsul I-was-in-charge
vidisse in quiete, cum tu equo advectus ad quandam magni
to-have-seen in sleep when you on-horse carried to a-certain of-a-great
fluminis ripam provectus subito atque delapsus in flumen
river bank carried-forward suddenly and slipped into the-river
nusquam apparuisses, me contremuisse timore perterritum;
nowhere had-appeared me to-have-trembled with-fear terrified
tum te repente laetum exstitisse eodemque equo adversam
then you suddenly joyful to-have-emerged and-on-the-same horse the-opposite
ascendisse ripam, nosque inter nos esse conplexos.
to-have-climbed bank and-us among ourselves to-have embraced
Facilis coniectura huius somnii, mihique a peritis in Asia
easy the-interpretation of-this dream and-to-me by the-skilled in Asia
praedictum est fore eos eventus rerum, qui acciderunt.
foretold it-was to-be those outcomes of-things which happened

In his flight from Rome Cicero dreamed at Atina that Marius bade him be of good heart, and his recall was voted in Marius' monument. Dreams deceive when men sleep heavy with food and wine, as Plato's Socrates says; a temperate sleeper sees truly. Posidonius gives three ways in which the gods move dreamers, and the dying divine, like Callanus and Hector.

59 Venio nunc ad tuum. Audivi equidem ex te ipso, sed mihi
I-come now to yours I-heard for-my-part from you yourself but to-me
saepius noster Sallustius narravit, cum in illa fuga nobis gloriosa,
more-often our Sallustius told when in that flight for-us glorious
patriae calamitosa in villa quadam campi Atinatis
for-the-fatherland disastrous in a-villa certain of-the-plain of-Atina
maneres magnamque partem noctis vigilasses, ad
you-were-staying and-a-great part of-the-night you-had-lain-awake toward
lucem denique arte et graviter dormire te coepisse; itaque,
dawn finally soundly and heavily to-sleep you to-have-begun and-so
quamquam iter instaret, tamen silentium fieri iussisse
although the-journey pressed still silence to-be-kept to-have-ordered
se neque esse passum te excitari; cum autem experrectus
himself nor to-have suffered you to-be-roused when moreover awakened
esses hora secunda fere, te sibi somnium narravisse: visum
you-were at-the-hour second about you to-him the-dream to-have-told seen
tibi esse, cum in locis solis maestus errares, C. Marium
to-you to-have-been when in places lonely sad you-wandered Gaius Marius
cum fascibus laureatis quaerere ex te, quid tristis esses,
with fasces laureled to-ask of you why sad you-were
cumque tu te patria vi pulsum esse dixisses,
and-when you yourself from-your-fatherland by-force driven to-have-been had-said
prehendisse eum dextram tuam et bono animo te iussisse
to-have-taken him right-hand your and of-good heart you to-have-bidden

esse lictorique proxumo tradidisse, ut te in monumentum
to-be and-to-the-lictor nearest to-have-handed that you into monument
suum deduceret, et dixisse in eo tibi salutem fore. Tum
his he-should-lead and to-have-said in it for-you safety would-be then
et se exclamasse Sallustius narrat reditum tibi celerem et
both himself to-have-exclaimed Sallustius tells a-return for-you swift and
gloriosum paratum, et te ipsum visum somnio delectari.
glorious prepared and you yourself seen with-the-dream to-be-delighted
Nam illud mihi ipsi celeriter nuntiatum est, ut audivisses
for that to-me myself quickly announced was when you-had-heard
in monumento Marii de tuo reditu magnificentissumum
in the-monument of-Marius about your return most-magnificent
illud senatus consultum esse factum referente optumo
that of-the-senate decree to-have-been made on-the-motion-of the-best
et clarissumo viro consule, idque frequentissimo theatro
and most-famous man the-consul and-that in-a-most-crowded theater
incredibili clamore et plausu comprobatum, dixisse te
with-incredible shouting and applause approved to-have-said you
nihil illo Atinati somnio fieri posse divinius.
nothing than-that Atinan dream to-happen could more-divine
At multa falsa. Immo obscura fortasse nobis. Sed sint 60
but many-things are-false nay obscure perhaps to-us but let-there-be
falsa quaedam; contra vera quid dicimus? Quae quidem multo
false some against the-true what do-we-say which indeed much
plura evenirent, si ad quietem integri iremus. Nunc onusti
more would-happen if to rest unimpaired we-went now loaded
cibo et vino perturbata et confusa cernimus. Vide,
with-food and wine disturbed-things and confused-things we-discern see
quid Socrates in Platonis Politia loquatur. Dicit enim: ‘Cum
what Socrates in Plato's Republic says he-says for when
dormientibus ea pars animi, quae mentis et rationis sit
for-the-sleeping that part of-the-soul which of-mind and of-reason is

particeps, sopita langueat, illa autem, in qua feritas quaedam
partaker lulled languishes that moreover in which savageness a-certain
sit atque agrestis inmanitas, cum sit inmoderato obstupefacta
is and rustic brutality when it-is by-immoderate stupefied
potu atque pastu, exsultare eam in somno inmoderateque
drink and food to-leap-about it in sleep and-immoderately
iactari. Itaque huic omnia visa obiciuntur a mente ac
to-be-tossed and-so to-it all visions are-presented from mind and
ratione vacua, ut aut cum matre corpus miscere videatur
reason empty so-that either with its-mother body to-mingle it-seems
aut cum quovis alio vel homine vel deo, saepe belua, atque
or with any other either man or god often a-beast and
etiam trucidare aliquem et impie cruentari multaque
also to-butcher someone and impiously to-be-bloodied and-many-things
facere inpure atque taetre cum temeritate et inpudentia.
to-do impurely and foully with rashness and impudence
61 At qui salubri et moderato cultu atque victu quieti se
but who with-healthy and moderate regimen and diet to-rest himself
tradiderit ea parte animi, quae mentis et consilii est,
has-given with-that part of-the-soul which of-mind and of-counsel is
agitata et erecta saturataque bonarum cogitationum epulis,
roused and alert and-sated of-good thoughts with-the-feasts
eaque parte animi, quae voluptate alitur, nec inopia
and-with-that part of-the-soul which by-pleasure is-fed neither by-want
enecta nec satietate affluenti (quorum utrumque praestringere
exhausted nor by-satiety overflowing of-which each to-dull
aciem mentis solet, sive deest naturae quippiam sive abundat
the-edge of-the-mind is-wont whether lacks to-nature anything or it-abounds
atque affluit), illa etiam tertia parte animi, in qua irarum
and overflows that also the-third part of-the-soul in which of-angers
existit ardor, sedata atque restincta, tum eveniet duabus
arises the-heat calmed and quenched then it-will-come-about the-two

animi temerariis partibus compressis, ut illa tertia pars
of-the-soul rash parts being-checked that that third part
rationis et mentis eluceat et se vegetam ad somniandum
of-reason and mind shines-forth and itself lively for dreaming
acremque praebeat, tum ei visa quietis occurrent
and-keen presents then to-him the-visions of-rest will-occur
tranquilla atque veracia.' Haec verba ipsa Platonis expressi.
tranquil and truthful these words themselves of-Plato I-have-rendered
Epicurum igitur audiemus potius? Namque Carneades 62
Epicurus therefore shall-we-hear rather for Carneades
concertationis studio modo hoc, modo illud ait; ille, quod
of-disputing from-zeal now this now that says he what
sentit; sentit autem nihil umquam elegans, nihil decorum.
he-thinks thinks moreover nothing ever elegant nothing seemly
Hunc ergo antepones Platoni et Socrati? Qui ut rationem
him therefore will-you-prefer to-Plato and to-Socrates who though a-reason
non redderent, auctoritate tamen hos minutos philosophos
not they-rendered by-authority still these petty philosophers
vincerent. Iubet igitur Plato sic ad somnum proficisci corporibus
would-surpass bids therefore Plato so to sleep to-set-out with-bodies
adfectis, ut nihil sit, quod errorem animis perturbationemque
disposed that nothing be which error to-souls and-disturbance
adferat. Ex quo etiam Pythagoriis interdictum putatur,
should-bring from which also to-the-Pythagoreans forbidden it-is-thought
ne faba vescerentur, quod habet inflationem magnam is
that on-the-bean they-should-feed because has flatulence great that
cibus tranquillitati mentis quaerenti vera contrariam.
food to-the-tranquility of-a-mind seeking truths contrary
Cum ergo est somno sevocatus animus a societate et a 63
when therefore is by-sleep called-away the-soul from the-fellowship and from
contagione corporis, tum meminit praeteritorum, praesentia
the-contact of-the-body then it-remembers the-past the-present

cernit, futura providet; iacet enim corpus dormientis ut
it-discerns the-future it-foresees lies for the-body of-the-sleeper like-that
mortui, viget autem et vivit animus. Quod multo magis
of-a-dead-man thrives moreover and lives the-soul which much more
faciet post mortem, cum omnino corpore excesserit. Itaque
it-will-do after death when wholly from-the-body it-has-departed and-so
adpropinquante morte multo est divinior. Nam et id ipsum
with-approaching death much it-is more-divine for both that itself
vident, qui sunt morbo gravi et mortifero adfecti, instare
see those-who are with-disease grave and deadly affected to-threaten
mortem; itaque iis occurrunt plerumque imagines mortuorum,
death and-so to-them occur mostly images of-the-dead
tumque vel maxume laudi student, eosque, qui secus, quam
and-then even most for-praise they-are-eager and-them who otherwise than
decuit, vixerunt, peccatorum suorum tum maxume paenitet.
was-fitting have-lived of-sins their-own then most it-repents
64 Divinare autem morientes illo etiam exemplo confirmat
to-divine moreover the-dying by-that also example confirms
Posidonius, quod adfert, Rhodium quendam morientem
Posidonius which he-adduces a-Rhodian certain dying
sex aequales nominasse et dixisse, qui primus eorum,
six contemporaries to-have-named and to-have-said who first of-them
qui secundus, qui deinde deinceps moriturus esset. Sed
who second who then in-order about-to-die was but
tribus modis censet deorum adpulsu homines somniare,
in-three ways he-holds of-the-gods by-impulse men to-dream
uno, quod provideat animus ipse per sese, quippe qui
in-one because foresees the-soul itself by it since it
deorum cognatione teneatur, altero, quod plenus aër
of-the-gods by-kinship is-held in-the-second because full the-air
sit inmortalium animorum, in quibus tamquam insignitae
is of-immortal souls in which as-if stamped

notae veritatis appareant, tertio, quod ipsi di cum
marks of-truth appear in-the-third because themselves the-gods with
dormientibus conloquantur. Idque, ut modo dixi, facilius
sleepers converse and-that as just-now I-said more-easily
evenit adpropinquante morte, ut animi futura augurentur.
happens approaching death so-that souls the-future foretell
Ex quo et illud est Callani, de quo ante dixi, et 65
from which also that is of-Callanus about whom before I-spoke and
Homerici Hectoris, qui moriens propinquam Achilli mortem
of-Homeric Hector who dying a-near for-Achilles death
denuntiat. Neque enim illud verbum temere consuetudo
announces nor for that word at-random usage
adprobavisset, si ea res nulla esset omnino:
would-have-approved if that thing none were at-all

Praesagibat animus frustra me ire, cum exirem domo.
had-a-presentiment my-mind in-vain me to-go when I-went-out from-home

Sagire enim sentire acute est; ex quo sagae anus, quia
sagire for to-perceive keenly is from which sagae old-women because
multa scire volunt, et sagaces dicti canes. Is igitur,
many-things to-know they-wish and sagacious are-called dogs he therefore
qui ante sagit, quam oblata res est, dicitur praesagire,
who before perceives than presented the-thing is is-said to-presage
id est futura ante sentire.
that is the-future before to-perceive

Frenzy prophesies too, as Cassandra does on the stage, raving of the torch and the fleet. An oarsman of the Rhodian fleet at Dyrrachium foretold the slaughter of Greece within thirty days, and Labienus brought the news of Pharsalus. Cratippus argues that a single true prophecy proves divination. The artificial kinds, which the Stoics defend, have their examples too: Calchas' sparrows, Sulla's snake, Dionysius' horse, and the omens before Leuctra.

66 Inest igitur in animis praesagitio extrinsecus iniecta atque
there-is-in therefore in souls a-presentiment from-outside thrown-in and
inclusa divinitus. Ea si exarsit acrius, furor appellatur,
shut-in divinely it if it-has-blazed more-fiercely frenzy is-called
cum a corpore animus abstractus divino instinctu concitatur.
when from the-body the-soul withdrawn by-divine impulse is-roused

Sed quid oculis rabere visa es derepente ardentibus?
but why with-eyes to-rave seen-to-be you-were suddenly burning
Ubi paulo ante sapiens illa virginalis modestia?
where a-little before wise that maidenly modesty
Mater, optumarum multo mulier melior mulierum,
mother of-the-best much a-woman better of-women
missa sum superstitiosis hariolationibus;
sent I-am by-superstitious soothsayings
namque Apollo fatis fandis dementem invitam ciet.
for Apollo with-fates to-be-spoken mad unwilling rouses
Virgines vereor aequalis, patris mei meum factum pudet,
the-maidens I-revere equal-in-age of-father my my deed shames-me
optumi viri; mea mater, tui me miseret, mei piget.
of-the-best man my mother of-you me pities of-me it-irks

Optumam progeniem Priamo peperisti extra me; hoc dolet.
best offspring to-Priam you-bore except me this grieves
Men obesse, illos prodesse, me obstare, illos obsequi?
me-whether to-hinder them to-help me to-oppose them to-comply

O poëma tenerum et moratum atque molle! Sed hoc
O poem tender and full-of-character and soft but this
minus ad rem;
less to the-point
illud, quod volumus, expressum est, ut vaticinari furor 67
that which we-want expressed is that to-prophesy frenzy
vera soleat.
true-things is-wont

Adest, adest fax obvoluta sanguine atque incendio!
it-is-here it-is-here the-torch wrapped in-blood and fire
Multos annos latuit; cives, ferte opem et restinguite.
many years it-lay-hid citizens bring help and put-it-out

Deus inclusus corpore humano iam, non Cassandra loquitur.
a-god enclosed in-a-body human now not Cassandra speaks

Iamque mari magno classis cita
and-now on-the-sea great a-fleet swift
texitur; exitium examen rapit;
is-woven ruin a-swarm sweeps
adveniet, fera velivolantibus
will-come the-fierce with-sail-flying
navibus complebit manus litora.
ships will-fill a-band the-shores

Tragoedias loqui videor et fabulas.
tragedies to-speak I-seem and myths

68 At ex te ipso non commenticiam rem, sed factam eiusdem
but from you yourself not an-invented thing but done of-the-same
generis audivi: C. Coponium ad te venisse Dyrrhachium,
kind I-heard Gaius Coponius to you to-have-come to-Dyrrachium
cum praetorio imperio classi Rhodiae praeesset, cumprime
when with-praetorian command over-the-fleet Rhodian he-was-in-charge a-thoroughly
hominem prudentem atque doctum, eumque dixisse remigem
man prudent and learned and-him to-have-said an-oarsman
quendam e quinqueremi Rhodiorum vaticinatum madefactum
a-certain from a-quinquereme of-the-Rhodians to-have-prophesied soaked
iri minus xxx diebus Graeciam sanguine, rapinas
to-be-going less than-thirty days Greece with-blood plunderings
Dyrrhachii et conscensionem in naves cum fuga fugientibusque
of-Dyrrachium and an-embarkation onto ships with flight and-for-those-fleeing
miserabilem respectum incendiorum fore, sed Rhodiorum classi
a-pitiable backward-look at-burnings to-be but of-the-Rhodians for-fleet
propinquum reditum ac domum itionem dari; tum neque
a-near return and home going to-be-given then neither
te ipsum non esse commotum Marcumque Varronem et
you yourself not to-have-been moved and-Marcus Varro and
M. Catonem, qui tum ibi erant, doctos homines, vehementer
Marcus Cato who then there were learned men vehemently
esse perterritos; paucis sane post diebus ex Pharsalia
to-have-been terrified a-few indeed after days from Pharsalus
fuga venisse Labienum; qui cum interitum exercitus
in-flight to-have-come Labienus who when the-destruction of-the-army
nuntiavisset, reliqua vaticinationis brevi esse confecta.
he-had-announced the-rest of-the-prophecy shortly to-have-been fulfilled

Nam et ex horreis direptum effusumque frumentum 69
for both from the-granaries plundered and-poured-out grain
vias omnis angiportusque constraverat, et naves subito
the-streets all and-alleys had-covered and ships suddenly
perterriti metu conscendistis et noctu ad oppidum
terrified by-fear you-boarded and at-night toward the-town
respicientes flagrantis onerarias, quas incenderant milites,
looking-back the-burning merchant-ships which had-set-on-fire the-soldiers
quia sequi noluerant, videbatis; postremo a Rhodia
because to-follow they-had-been-unwilling you-saw finally by the-Rhodian
classe deserti verum vatem fuisse sensistis.
fleet deserted a-true prophet to-have-been you-perceived-him
Exposui quam brevissime potui somnii et furoris oracla, quae 70
I-have-set-out as briefly-as-possible I-could of-dream and of-frenzy the-oracles which
carere arte dixeram. Quorum amborum generum una ratio est,
to-lack art I-had-said of-which both kinds one reasoning is
qua Cratippus noster uti solet, animos hominum quadam ex
which Cratippus our to-use is-wont souls of-men in-some from
parte extrinsecus esse tractos et haustos (ex quo intellegitur
part from-outside to-have-been drawn and drunk-in from which it-is-understood
esse extra divinum animum, humanus unde ducatur), humani
to-be outside a-divine soul the-human whence it-is-drawn of-the-human
autem animi eam partem, quae sensum, quae motum, quae
moreover soul that part which sensation which motion which
adpetitum habeat, non esse ab actione corporis seiugatam; quae
appetite has not to-be from the-activity of-the-body separated which
autem pars animi rationis atque intellegentiae sit particeps,
moreover part of-the-soul of-reason and of-intelligence is partaker
eam tum maxume vigere, cum plurimum absit a corpore.
that then most to-thrive when most it-is-absent from the-body

71 Itaque expositis exemplis verarum vaticinationum et
and-so having-set-out examples of-true prophecies and
somniorum Cratippus solet rationem concludere hoc modo:
of-dreams Cratippus is-wont the-argument to-conclude in-this way
'Si sine oculis non potest exstare officium et munus
if without eyes not can to-exist the-function and office
oculorum, possunt autem aliquando oculi non fungi suo
of-the-eyes can moreover sometimes eyes not to-discharge their
munere, qui vel semel ita est usus oculis, ut vera cerneret,
office he-who even once so has used his-eyes that true-things he-discerned
is habet sensum oculorum vera cernentium. Item igitur, si
he has the-sense of-eyes true-things discerning likewise therefore if
sine divinatione non potest officium et munus divinationis
without divination not can the-function and office of-divination
exstare, potest autem quis, cum divinationem habeat, errare
to-exist can moreover one though divination he-have to-err
aliquando nec vera cernere, satis est ad confirmandam
sometimes nor true-things to-discern enough it-is for confirming
divinationem semel aliquid esse ita divinatum, ut nihil
divination once something to-have-been so divined that nothing
fortuito cecidisse videatur. Sunt autem eius generis
by-chance to-have-fallen-out it-seems are moreover of-that kind
innumerabilia; esse igitur divinationem confitendum est.'
countless to-exist therefore divination to-be-confessed it-is
72 Quae vero aut coniectura explicantur aut eventis
which-things indeed either by-conjecture are-explained or by-outcomes
animadversa ac notata sunt, ea genera divinandi, ut supra
noticed and noted have-been those kinds of-divining as above
dixi, non naturalia, sed artificiosa dicuntur; in quo haruspices,
I-said not natural but artificial are-called in which haruspices
augures coniectoresque numerantur. Haec inprobantur a
augurs and-dream-interpreters are-counted these are-disapproved by

Peripateticis, a Stoicis defenduntur. Quorum alia sunt posita
the-Peripatetics by the-Stoics are-defended of-which some are placed
in monumentis et disciplina, quod Etruscorum declarant
in records and discipline as of-the-Etruscans declare
et haruspicini et fulgurales et rituales libri, vestri etiam
both the-haruspical and the-fulgural and the-ritual books your also
augurales, alia autem subito ex tempore coniectura
the-augural others moreover suddenly on-the-spur-of the-moment by-conjecture
explicantur, ut apud Homerum Calchas, qui ex passerum
are-explained as in Homer Calchas who from of-the-sparrows
numero belli Troiani annos auguratus est, et ut in Sullae
the-number of-the-war Trojan the-years augured has and as in Sulla's
scriptum historia videmus, quod te inspectante factum est,
written history we-see what you watching done it-was
ut, cum ille in agro Nolano inmolaret ante praetorium,
that when he in the-territory Nolan was-sacrificing before the-headquarters
ab infima ara subito anguis emergeret, cum quidem
from the-lowest altar suddenly a-snake emerged when indeed
C. Postumius haruspex oraret illum, ut in expeditionem
Gaius Postumius the-haruspex begged him that on an-expedition
exercitum educeret; id cum Sulla fecisset, tum ante
the-army he-should-lead-out that when Sulla had-done then before
oppidum Nolam florentissuma Samnitium castra cepit.
the-town Nola the-most-flourishing of-the-Samnites camp he-took
Facta coniectura etiam in Dionysio est, paulo ante 73
made an-interpretation also in-the-case-of Dionysius was a-little before
quam regnare coepit; qui cum per agrum Leontinum iter
than to-reign he-began who when through the-territory Leontine a-journey
faciens equum ipse demisisset in flumen, submersus equus
making his-horse himself had-led-down into a-river submerged the-horse
voraginibus non exstitit; quem cum maxima contentione non
in-the-whirlpools not emerged which when with-the-greatest effort not

potuisset extrahere, discessit, ut ait Philistus, aegre ferens.
he-had-been-able to-pull-out he-went-away as says Philistus ill bearing-it
Cum autem aliquantum progressus esset, subito exaudivit
when moreover somewhat advanced he-had suddenly he-heard
hinnitum respexitque et equum alacrem laetus aspexit, cuius
a-neighing and-looked-back and the-horse lively gladly beheld whose
in iuba examen apium consederat. Quod ostentum habuit
in its-mane a-swarm of-bees had-settled which portent had
hanc vim, ut Dionysius paucis post diebus regnare coeperit.
this force that Dionysius a-few after days to-reign began
74 Quid? Lacedaemoniis paulo ante Leuctricam calamitatem quae
what to-the-Lacedaemonians a-little before the-Leuctran disaster what
significatio facta est, cum in Herculis fano arma sonuerunt
signification made was when in of-Hercules the-shrine arms resounded
Herculisque simulacrum multo sudore manavit! At eodem
and-of-Hercules the-statue with-much sweat dripped but at-the-same
tempore Thebis, ut ait Callisthenes, in templo Herculis valvae
time at-Thebes as says Callisthenes in the-temple of-Hercules the-doors
clausae repagulis subito se ipsae aperuerunt,
closed with-bars suddenly themselves of-their-own-accord opened
armaque, quae fixa in parietibus fuerant, ea sunt humi
and-the-arms which fixed on the-walls had-been they were on-the-ground
inventa. Cumque eodem tempore apud Lebadiam Trophonio
found and-when at-the-same time at Lebadia to-Trophonius
res divina fieret, gallos gallinaceos in eo loco sic
a-rite divine was-performed cocks barnyard in that place so
adsidue canere coepisse, ut nihil intermitterent; tum augures
constantly to-crow to-have-begun that nothing they-paused then the-augurs
dixisse Boeotios Thebanorum esse victoriam, propterea
to-have-said Boeotian of-the-Thebans to-be the-victory on-that-account
quod avis illa victa silere soleret, canere, si vicisset.
because bird that defeated to-be-silent is-wont to-crow if it-had-won

Before Leuctra Lysander's statue grew a crown of weeds, the golden stars of the Dioscuri fell, and an ape scattered the lots at Dodona. Flaminius scorned his fall and the hungry chickens, and perished with his army, while earthquakes shook Italy. Ants fed the infant Midas and bees settled on Plato's lips; a snake coiled round the infant Roscius. Places and vapors move the mind, and the poets' frenzy is divine.

Eademque tempestate multis signis Lacedaemoniis Leuctricae 75
and-at-the-same time by-many signs to-the-Lacedaemonians of-the-Leuctran
pugnae calamitas denuntiabatur. Namque et in Lysandri, qui
battle the-disaster was-announced for both on of-Lysander who
Lacedaemoniorum clarissimus fuerat, statua, quae Delphis
of-the-Lacedaemonians the-most-famous had-been the-statue which at-Delphi
stabat, in capite corona subito exstitit ex asperis herbis
stood on the-head a-crown suddenly appeared of rough grasses
et agrestibus, stellaeque aureae, quae Delphis erant a
and wild and-the-stars golden which at-Delphi had-been by
Lacedaemoniis positae post navalem illam victoriam Lysandri,
the-Lacedaemonians placed after naval that victory of-Lysander
qua Athenienses conciderunt, qua in pugna quia Castor et
in-which the-Athenians fell which in battle because Castor and
Pollux cum Lacedaemoniorum classe visi esse dicebantur,
Pollux with of-the-Lacedaemonians the-fleet seen to-have-been were-said
eorum insignia deorum, stellae aureae, quas dixi, Delphis
their the-emblems of-the-gods the-stars golden which I-mentioned at-Delphi
positae paulo ante Leuctricam pugnam deciderunt neque
placed a-little before the-Leuctran battle fell-down nor
repertae sunt.
found were

76 Maximum vero illud portentum isdem Spartiatis fuit,
the-greatest indeed that portent for-the-same Spartans was
quod, cum oraclum ab Iove Dodonaeo petivissent de
that when an-oracle from Jupiter of-Dodona they-had-sought about
victoria sciscitantes legatique vas illud, in quo inerant sortes,
victory inquiring and-the-envoys vessel that in which were-in the-lots
collocavissent, simia, quam rex Molossorum in deliciis
had-placed an-ape which the-king of-the-Molossians among his-pets
habebat, et sortes ipsas et cetera, quae erant ad
kept both the-lots themselves and the-other-things which had-been for
sortem parata, disturbavit et aliud alio dissupavit.
the-lot prepared scattered and one-thing in-another-direction dispersed
Tum ea, quae praeposita erat oraclo, sacerdos dixisse dicitur
then she who set-over was the-oracle the-priestess to-have-said is-said
de salute Lacedaemoniis esse, non de victoria cogitandum.
about safety for-the-Lacedaemonians to-be not about victory to-be-thought
77 Quid? Bello Punico secundo nonne C. Flaminius consul
what in-the-war Punic second surely Gaius Flaminius consul
iterum neglexit signa rerum futurarum magna cum clade
for-the-second-time neglected the-signs of-things future great with disaster
rei publicae? Qui exercitu lustrato cum Arretium versus
of-the-thing public who the-army purified when Arretium toward
castra movisset et contra Hannibalem legiones duceret, et
camp he-had-moved and against Hannibal the-legions was-leading both
ipse et equus eius ante signum Iovis Statoris sine causa
he-himself and horse his before the-statue of-Jupiter Stator without cause
repente concidit nec eam rem habuit religioni obiecto
suddenly fell nor that thing did-he-hold as-a-religious-scruple presented
signo, ut peritis videbatur, ne committeret proelium.
the-sign as to-the-skilled it-seemed that-not he-should-join battle
Idem cum tripudio auspicaretur, pullarius
the-same-man when by-the-tripudium he-was-taking-the-auspices the-chicken-keeper

diem proelii committendi differebat. Tum Flaminius ex
the-day of-battle to-be-joined kept-postponing then Flaminius of
eo quaesivit, si ne postea quidem pulli pascerentur,
him asked if not afterward even the-chickens should-feed
quid faciendum censeret. Cum ille quiescendum respondisset,
what to-be-done he-thought when he to-be-kept-quiet had-answered
Flaminius: 'Praeclara vero auspicia, si esurientibus pullis
Flaminius splendid indeed auspices if with-hungry chickens
res geri poterit, saturis nihil geretur!' Itaque signa
business to-be-done will-be-able with-full nothing will-be-done and-so the-standards
convelli et se sequi iussit. Quo tempore cum
to-be-pulled-up and him to-follow he-ordered at-which time when
signifer primi hastati signum non posset movere
the-standard-bearer of-the-first hastati the-standard not could to-move
loco nec quicquam proficeretur, plures cum accederent,
from-its-place nor anything was-accomplished more when came-up
Flaminius re nuntiata suo more neglexit. Itaque tribus
Flaminius the-matter announced in-his-own way neglected-it and-so in-three
iis horis concisus exercitus atque ipse interfectus est.
those hours cut-to-pieces the-army and he-himself killed was
Magnum illud etiam, quod addidit Coelius, eo tempore 78
great that also which added Coelius at-that time
ipso, cum hoc calamitosum proelium fieret, tantos terrae
very when this disastrous battle was-fought such-great of-the-earth
motus in Liguribus, Gallia compluribusque insulis totaque
quakes among the-Ligurians in-Gaul and-in-very-many islands and-all
in Italia factos esse, ut multa oppida conruerint, multis
in Italy made to-have-been that many towns collapsed in-many
locis labes factae sint terraeque desederint fluminaque in
places landslides made were and-the-lands sank and-rivers into
contrarias partes fluxerint atque in amnes mare influxerit.
contrary directions flowed and into the-rivers the-sea flowed-in

Fiunt certae divinationum coniecturae a peritis. Midae illi
are-made sure of-divinations conjectures by the-skilled for-Midas that
Phrygi, cum puer esset, dormienti formicae in os tritici
Phrygian when a-boy he-was sleeping ants into his-mouth of-wheat
grana congesserunt. Divitissumum fore praedictum est;
grains heaped-up most-rich he-would-be foretold it-was
quod evenit. At Platoni cum in cunis parvulo dormienti
which happened but for-Plato when in the-cradle as-a-little-one sleeping
apes in labellis consedissent, responsum est singulari illum
bees on his-little-lips had-settled answered it-was of-singular he
suavitate orationis fore. Ita futura eloquentia provisa in
sweetness of-speech would-be so future eloquence foreseen in
infante est.
the-infant was

79 Quid? Amores ac deliciae tuae, Roscius, num aut ipse
what the-love and delight your Roscius surely-not either he-himself
aut pro eo Lanuvium totum mentiebatur? Qui cum esset
or for him Lanuvium whole lied who when he-was
in cunabulis educareturque in Solonio, qui est campus
in the-cradle and-was-being-reared at Solonium which is a-plain
agri Lanuvini, noctu lumine apposito experrecta nutrix
of-the-territory Lanuvine at-night by-a-lamp set-near awakened the-nurse
animadvertit puerum dormientem circumplicatum serpentis
noticed the-boy sleeping coiled-round of-a-serpent
amplexu. Quo aspectu exterrita clamorem sustulit. Pater
in-embrace at-which sight terrified a-shout she-raised the-father
autem Roscii ad haruspices rettulit, qui responderunt nihil
moreover of-Roscius to the-haruspices referred-it who replied nothing
illo puero clarius, nihil nobilius fore. Atque hanc
than-that boy more-famous nothing more-noble would-be and this
speciem Pasiteles caelavit argento et noster expressit Archias
scene Pasiteles engraved in-silver and our depicted Archias

versibus. Quid igitur expectamus? An dum in foro
in-verses what therefore do-we-wait-for or until in the-forum
nobiscum di immortales, dum in viis versentur, dum
with-us the-gods immortal until in the-streets they-move until
domi? Qui quidem ipsi se nobis non offerunt, vim
at-home who indeed themselves them to-us not present the-force
autem suam longe lateque diffundunt, quam tum terrae
moreover their-own far and-wide they-diffuse which now of-the-earth
cavernis includunt, tum hominum naturis implicant. Nam
in-caverns they-enclose now of-men in-natures they-entwine for
terrae vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, naturae Sibyllam.
of-the-earth the-force the-Pythia at-Delphi roused of-nature the-Sibyl
Quid enim? Non videmus, quam sint varia terrarum genera?
what for not we-see how are varied of-lands the-kinds
Ex quibus et mortifera quaedam pars est, ut et Ampsancti
of which also deadly a-certain part is as both of-Ampsanctus
in Hirpinis et in Asia Plutonia, quae vidimus, et sunt
among the-Hirpini and in Asia the-Plutonia which we-have-seen and are
partes agrorum aliae pestilentes, aliae salubres, aliae, quae
parts of-fields some pestilential some healthful others which
acuta ingenia gignant, aliae, quae retunsa; quae omnia fiunt et
keen intellects beget others which blunted which all-things happen both
ex caeli varietate et ex disparili adspiratione terrarum.
from of-the-climate the-variety and from the-unequal exhalation of-lands

80 Fit etiam saepe specie quadam, saepe vocum gravitate
it-happens also often by-a-sight certain often of-voices by-gravity
et cantibus ut pellantur animi vehementius, saepe etiam
and songs that are-struck minds more-vehemently often even
cura et timore, qualis est illa
by-care and fear such is that

flexanima tamquam lymphata aut Bacchi sacris
mind-bending as-if frenzied or of-Bacchus by-rites
commota in tumulis Teucrum commemorans suum.
stirred on the-mounds Teucer recalling her-own

Atque etiam illa concitatio declarat vim in animis esse
and also that excitement declares a-force in souls to-be
divinam. Negat enim sine furore Democritus quemquam
divine denies for without frenzy Democritus anyone
poëtam magnum esse posse, quod idem dicit Plato. Quem,
a-poet great to-be to-be-able which likewise says Plato which
si placet, appellet furorem, dum modo is furor ita laudetur,
if it-pleases let-him-call frenzy provided only that frenzy so be-praised
ut in Phaedro Platonis laudatus est. Quid? Vestra oratio in
as in the-Phaedrus of-Plato praised it-is what your oratory in
causis, quid? Ipsa actio potest esse vehemens et gravis et
cases what itself delivery can to-be vehement and weighty and
copiosa, nisi est animus ipse commotior? Equidem etiam in
copious unless is the-mind itself more-stirred for-my-part even in
te saepe vidi et, ut ad leviora veniamus, in Aesopo,
you often have-seen and that to lighter-things we-may-come in Aesopus
familiari tuo, tantum ardorem vultuum atque motuum, ut
intimate your such-great a-fire of-features and of-movements that
eum vis quaedam abstraxisse a sensu mentis videretur.
him a-force some to-have-drawn-away from the-senses of-the-mind seemed

Phantoms appear, as the white maidens before Brennus; even the melancholic, Aristotle thought, have some divining power. The Stoics prove that if the gods love men and know the future, they signify it; that we cannot say why it works matters no more than with the magnet. Calchas, Mopsus, Amphiaraus, Tiresias, Helenus, and Cassandra show its antiquity among kings and heroes.

Obiciuntur etiam saepe formae, quae reapse nullae sunt, 81
are-presented also often forms which in-reality nothing are
speciem autem offerunt; quod contigisse Brenno dicitur
an-appearance moreover offer which to-have-happened to-Brennus is-said
eiusque Gallicis copiis, cum fano Apollinis Delphici
and-his to-Gallic forces when on-the-shrine of-Apollo of-Delphi
nefarium bellum intulisset. Tum enim ferunt ex oraclo
an-impious war he-had-brought then for they-say from the-oracle
ecfatam esse Pythiam:
spoken to-have the-Pythia

Ego providebo rem istam et albae virgines.
I will-see-to matter that and the-white maidens

Ex quo factum, ut viderentur virgines ferre arma contra
from which done that seemed maidens to-bear arms against
et nive Gallorum obrueretur exercitus.
and by-snow of-the-Gauls was-overwhelmed the-army
Aristoteles quidem eos etiam, qui valetudinis vitio furerent
Aristotle indeed those even who of-health by-defect raved
et melancholici dicerentur, censebat habere aliquid in animis
and melancholic were-called held to-have something in their-souls
praesagiens atque divinum. Ego autem haud scio an
presaging and divine I moreover hardly I-know whether

nec cardiacis hoc tribuendum sit nec phreneticis;
neither to-those-with-heart-disease this to-be-attributed is nor to-the-delirious
animi enim integri, non vitiosi est corporis divinatio.
of-a-soul for sound not of-a-defective is body divination
82 Quam quidem esse re vera hac Stoicorum ratione concluditur:
which indeed to-exist in fact by-this of-the-Stoics reasoning is-concluded
'Si sunt di neque ante declarant hominibus, quae futura
if exist gods and-not beforehand they-declare to-men what about-to-be
sint, aut non diligunt homines aut, quid eventurum sit,
is either not they-love men or what about-to-happen is
ignorant aut existumant nihil interesse hominum scire, quid
they-know-not or they-think nothing to-matter for-men to-know what
sit futurum, aut non censent esse suae maiestatis praesignificare
is about-to-be or not they-hold to-be of-their majesty to-signify-beforehand
hominibus, quae sunt futura, aut ea ne ipsi quidem
to-men what-things are future or those-things not themselves even
di significare possunt; at neque non diligunt nos (sunt
the-gods to-signify can but neither not do-they-love us they-are
enim benefici generique hominum amici) neque ignorant
for beneficent and-to-the-race of-men friendly nor do-they-not-know
ea, quae ab ipsis constituta et designata sunt, neque
those-things which by themselves established and designated have-been nor
nostra nihil interest scire ea, quae eventura sunt,
to-us nothing matters to-know those-things which about-to-happen are
(erimus enim cautiores, si sciemus) neque hoc alienum
we-shall-be for more-cautious if we-shall-know nor this foreign
ducunt maiestate sua (nihil est enim beneficentia
do-they-consider from-majesty their-own nothing is for than-beneficence
praestantius) neque non possunt futura praenoscere;
more-excellent nor not can-they the-future to-foreknow

non igitur sunt di nec significant futura; sunt autem di; 83
not therefore exist gods and-not they-signify the-future exist moreover gods
significant ergo; et non, si significant, nullas vias dant
they-signify therefore and not if they-signify no ways they-give
nobis ad significationis scientiam (frustra enim significarent),
to-us to of-signification knowledge in-vain for they-would-signify
nec, si dant vias, non est divinatio; est igitur divinatio.'
nor if they-give ways not is-there divination there-is therefore divination
Hac ratione et Chrysippus et Diogenes et Antipater utitur. 84
this reasoning both Chrysippus and Diogenes and Antipater use
Quid est igitur, cur dubitandum sit, quin sint ea, quae
what is-there therefore why to-be-doubted it-be that-not are those-things which
disputavi, verissima, si ratio mecum facit, si eventa, si populi,
I-have-argued most-true if reason with-me sides if outcomes if peoples
si nationes, si Graeci, si barbari, si maiores etiam nostri, si
if nations if Greeks if barbarians if ancestors also our if
denique hoc semper ita putatum est, si summi philosophi, si
finally this always so thought has-been if the-highest philosophers if
poëtae, si sapientissimi viri, qui res publicas constituerunt, qui
poets if most-wise men who states public established who
urbes condiderunt? An, dum bestiae loquantur, exspectamus,
cities founded or until beasts speak do-we-wait
hominum consentiente auctoritate contenti non sumus?
of-men with-the-agreeing authority content not are-we
Nec vero quicquam aliud adfertur, cur ea, quae dico, 85
nor indeed anything else is-adduced why those which I-mention
divinandi genera nulla sint, nisi quod difficile dictu videtur,
of-divining kinds nothing be except that difficult to-say it-seems
quae cuiusque divinationis ratio, quae causa sit. Quid enim
what of-each divination the-reason what the-cause is what for
habet haruspex, cur pulmo incisus etiam in bonis extis
has the-haruspex why a-lung cut even in good entrails

dirimat tempus et proferat diem? Quid augur, cur a dextra
breaks-off the-time and postpones the-day what the-augur why on the-right
corvus, a sinistra cornix faciat ratum? Quid astrologus,
a-raven on the-left a-crow makes valid what the-astrologer
cur stella Iovis aut Veneris coniuncta cum luna ad
why the-star of-Jupiter or of-Venus conjoined with the-moon at
ortus puerorum salutaris sit, Saturni Martisve contraria?
the-births of-boys salutary is of-Saturn or-of-Mars contrary
Cur autem deus dormientes nos moneat, vigilantes neglegat?
why moreover god sleeping us warns waking neglects
Quid deinde causae est, cur Cassandra furens futura
what then of-cause is-there why Cassandra raving the-future
prospiciat, Priamus sapiens hoc idem facere non queat?
foresees Priam wise this same to-do not can
86 Cur fiat quidque, quaeris. Recte omnino; sed non nunc id
why happens each-thing you-ask rightly wholly but not now that
agitur; fiat necne fiat, id quaeritur. Ut, si magnetem
is-treated it-happens or-not happen that is-asked as if a-magnet
lapidem esse dicam, qui ferrum ad se adliciat et
stone to-be I-should-say which iron to itself entices and
attrahat, rationem, cur id fiat, adferre nequeam, fieri
draws a-reason why that happens to-bring I-cannot to-happen
omnino neges. Quod idem facis in divinatione, quam
at-all you-would-deny which same you-do in divination which
et cernimus ipsi et audimus et legimus et a patribus
both we-see ourselves and hear and read and from our-fathers
accepimus. Neque ante philosophiam patefactam, quae nuper
have-received nor before philosophy laid-open which lately
inventa est, hac de re communis vita dubitavit, et,
discovered was this about matter common life doubted and

posteaquam philosophia processit, nemo aliter philosophus
after philosophy advanced no-one otherwise a-philosopher
sensit, in quo modo esset auctoritas.
thought in whom only-so-far there-was authority
Dixi de Pythagora, de Democrito, de Socrate, 87
I-have-spoken about Pythagoras about Democritus about Socrates
excepi de antiquis praeter Xenophanem neminem,
I-have-excepted of the-ancients except Xenophanes no-one
adiunxi veterem Academiam, Peripateticos, Stoicos; unus
I-have-added the-old Academy the-Peripatetics the-Stoics alone
dissentit Epicurus. Quid vero hoc turpius, quam quod
dissents Epicurus what indeed than-this more-disgraceful than that
idem nullam censet gratuitam esse virtutem?
the-same-man no thinks gratuitous to-be virtue
Quis est autem, quem non moveat clarissumis monumentis
who is-there moreover whom not would-move by-most-famous records
testata consignataque antiquitas? Calchantem augurem scribit
attested and-sealed antiquity Calchas the-augur writes
Homerus longe optumum, eumque ducem classium fuisse
Homer by-far the-best and-him the-leader of-the-fleets to-have-been
ad Ilium, auspiciorum credo scientia, non locorum.
to Ilium of-auspices I-believe by-the-science not of-places
Amphilochus et Mopsus Argivorum reges fuerunt, sed iidem 88
Amphilochus and Mopsus of-the-Argives kings were but the-same
augures, iique urbis in ora marituma Ciliciae Graecas
augurs and-they cities on the-shore maritime of-Cilicia Greek

condiderunt; atque etiam ante hos Amphiaraus et Tiresias non
founded and even before these Amphiaraus and Tiresias not
humiles et obscuri neque eorum similes, ut apud Ennium est,
humble and obscure nor them like as in Ennius it-is

qui sui quaestus causa fictas suscitant sententias,
who of-their-own gain for-the-sake invented stir-up oracles

sed clari et praestantes viri, qui avibus et signis admoniti
but famous and outstanding men who by-birds and signs warned
futura dicebant; quorum de altero etiam apud inferos
the-future told of-whom about the-one even among the-dead
Homerus ait 'solum sapere, ceteros umbrarum vagari
Homer says alone to-be-wise the-rest of-shadows to-wander
modo'; Amphiaraum autem sic honoravit fama Graeciae,
in-the-manner Amphiaraus moreover so honored the-fame of-Greece
deus ut haberetur, atque ut ab eius solo, in quo est
a-god that he-was-held and that from his ground in which he-is
humatus, oracla peterentur.
buried oracles were-sought

89 Quid? Asiae rex Priamus nonne et Helenum filium et
what of-Asia the-king Priam surely both Helenus his-son and
Cassandram filiam divinantes habebat, alterum auguriis,
Cassandra his-daughter divining had the-one by-auguries
alteram mentis incitatione et permotione divina? Quo in
the-other of-the-mind by-excitement and agitation divine which in
genere Marcios quosdam fratres, nobili loco natos, apud
kind Marcii certain brothers of-noble rank born among
maiores nostros fuisse scriptum videmus. Quid? Polyidum
ancestors our to-have-been written we-see what Polyidus
Corinthium nonne Homerus et aliis multa et filio
the-Corinthian surely Homer both to-others many-things and to-his-son

ad Troiam proficiscenti mortem praedixisse commemorat?
to Troy setting-out death to-have-foretold records
Omnino apud veteres, qui rerum potiebantur, iidem
in-general among the-ancients those-who of-affairs were-masters the-same
auguria tenebant; ut enim sapere, sic divinare regale
auguries held as for to-be-wise so to-divine kingly
ducebant. Testis est nostra civitas, in qua et reges augures
they-considered witness is our state in which both kings augurs
et postea privati eodem sacerdotio praediti rem
and afterward private-men with-the-same priesthood endowed the-thing
publicam religionum auctoritate rexerunt.
public of-religion by-authority ruled

XIII · DIVINATION AMONG THE NATIONS

The Druids, the Persian magi, the Telmessians, the Iamidae, and the Chaldaeans practice divination, shaped by their lands: the plains of Egypt and Babylon favored the stars, Etruria's thick air its prodigies, the shepherds of Arabia and Phrygia the birds. Every people used it; the Spartans consulted Delphi, Hammon, or Dodona, and at Rome the haruspices' answers agreed with the Sibylline verses.

Eaque divinationum ratio ne in barbaris quidem gentibus 90
and-this of-divinations the-method not among barbarian even nations
neglecta est, siquidem et in Gallia Druidae sunt, e quibus
neglected has-been since both in Gaul Druids there-are of whom
ipse Divitiacum Haeduum, hospitem tuum laudatoremque,
I-myself Divitiacus the-Aeduan host your and-eulogist
cognovi, qui et naturae rationem, quam φυσιολογίαν Graeci
got-to-know who both of-nature the-system which physiologia the-Greeks
appellant, notam esse sibi profitebatur et partim auguriis,
call known to-be to-himself professed and partly by-auguries

partim coniectura, quae essent futura, dicebat, et in
partly by-conjecture what were future told and among
Persis augurantur et divinant magi, qui congregantur in
the-Persians augur and divine the-magi who gather in
fano commentandi causa atque inter se conloquendi,
a-shrine of-studying for-the-sake and with each-other of-conversing
quod etiam idem vos quondam facere Nonis solebatis;
which even the-same you once to-do on-the-Nones were-wont
91 nec quisquam rex Persarum potest esse, qui non ante
nor anyone king of-the-Persians can to-be who not first
magorum disciplinam scientiamque perceperit. Licet autem
of-the-magi the-discipline and-science has-learned one-may moreover
videre et genera quaedam et nationes huic scientiae deditas.
see both families certain and nations to-this science devoted
Telmessus in Caria est, qua in urbe excellit haruspicum
Telmessus in Caria is which in city excels of-the-haruspices
disciplina; itemque Elis in Peloponneso familias duas certas
the-discipline and-likewise Elis in the-Peloponnese families two certain
habet, Iamidarum unam, alteram Clutidarum, haruspicinae
has of-the-Iamidae one the-other of-the-Clytidae of-haruspicy
nobilitate praestantes. In Syria Chaldaei cognitione astrorum
in-renown eminent in Syria the-Chaldaeans in-knowledge of-the-stars
sollertiaque ingeniorum antecellunt.
and-skill of-intellect excel
92 Etruria autem de caelo tacta scientissume animadvertit
Etruria moreover from the-sky struck-things most-knowingly notices
eademque interpretatur, quid quibusque ostendatur monstris
and-the-same interprets what by-whatever is-shown monsters
atque portentis. Quocirca bene apud maiores nostros senatus
and portents therefore well among ancestors our the-senate
tum, cum florebat imperium, decrevit, ut de principum filiis
then when flourished the-empire decreed that of the-leading-men's sons

x ex singulis Etruriae populis in disciplinam traderentur,
ten from the-several of-Etruria peoples for training should-be-handed-over
ne ars tanta propter tenuitatem hominum a religionis
lest the-art so-great on-account-of the-poverty of-men from of-religion
auctoritate abduceretur ad mercedem atque quaestum.
the-authority be-drawn-away to wages and profit
Phryges autem et Pisidae et Cilices et Arabum natio
the-Phrygians moreover and the-Pisidians and the-Cilicians and of-the-Arabs the-nation
avium significationibus plurimum obtemperant, quod idem
of-birds to-the-significations most defer which same
factitatum in Umbria accepimus.
practiced in Umbria we-have-heard
Ac mihi quidem videntur e locis quoque ipsis, qui a 93
and to-me indeed they-seem from the-places also themselves which by
quibusque incolebantur, divinationum oportunitates esse
each-people were-inhabited of-divinations the-opportunities to-have-been
ductae. Etenim Aegyptii et Babylonii in camporum
drawn for-indeed the-Egyptians and the-Babylonians on of-plains
patentium aequoribus habitantes, cum ex terra nihil
open the-levels dwelling since from the-earth nothing
emineret, quod contemplationi caeli officere posset, omnem
stood-out which to-the-contemplation of-the-sky to-obstruct could all
curam in siderum cognitione posuerunt, Etrusci autem, quod
care on of-the-stars knowledge placed the-Etruscans moreover because
religione inbuti studiosius et crebrius hostias immolabant,
with-religion imbued more-zealously and more-often victims sacrificed
extorum cognitioni se maxume dediderunt, quodque
of-the-entrails to-knowledge themselves most devoted and-because
propter aëris crassitudinem de caelo apud eos multa
on-account-of of-the-air the-thickness from the-sky among them many-things
fiebant, et quod ob eandem causam multa invisitata
happened and because for the-same cause many-things unseen

partim e caelo, alia ex terra oriebantur, quaedam etiam
partly from the-sky others from the-earth arose some even
ex hominum pecudumve conceptu et satu, ostentorum
from of-men or-of-beasts conception and begetting of-portents
exercitatissimi interpretes exstiterunt. Quorum quidem vim,
most-practiced interpreters arose of-which indeed the-force
ut tu soles dicere, verba ipsa prudenter a maioribus
as you are-wont to-say the-words themselves prudently by our-ancestors
posita declarant. Quia enim ostendunt, portendunt, monstrant,
placed declare because for they-show they-portend they-display
praedicunt, ostenta, portenta, monstra, prodigia dicuntur.
they-foretell ostenta portenta monstra prodigia they-are-called
94 Arabes autem et Phryges et Cilices, quod pastu
the-Arabs moreover and the-Phrygians and the-Cilicians because in-the-pasturing
pecudum maxume utuntur campos et montes hieme et
of-cattle most they-are-occupied plains and mountains in-winter and
aestate peragrantes, propterea facilius cantus avium et volatus
in-summer wandering-over for-that-reason more-easily the-songs of-birds and flights
notaverunt; eademque et Pisidiae causa fuit et huic nostrae
they-noted and-the-same both for-Pisidia the-cause was and for-this our
Umbriae. Tum Caria tota praecipueque Telmesses, quos ante
Umbria then Caria whole and-especially the-Telmessians whom before
dixi, quod agros uberrumos maximeque fertiles incolunt,
I-mentioned because fields most-fruitful and-most fertile they-inhabit
in quibus multa propter fecunditatem fingi gignique
in which many-things on-account-of fecundity to-be-formed and-to-be-born
possunt, in ostentis animadvertendis diligentes fuerunt.
can in portents being-noticed careful were
95 Quis vero non videt in optuma quaque re publica plurimum
who indeed not sees in best each thing public most
auspicia et reliqua divinandi genera valuisse? Quis rex
auspices and the-other of-divining kinds to-have-prevailed what king

umquam fuit, quis populus, qui non uteretur praedictione
ever was what people which not used prediction
divina? Neque solum in pace, sed in bello multo etiam magis,
divine nor only in peace but in war much even more
quo maius erat certamen et discrimen salutis. Omitto
the-more greater was the-contest and the-crisis of-safety I-pass-over
nostros, qui nihil in bello sine extis agunt, nihil sine
our-people who nothing in war without entrails do nothing without
auspiciis domi; externa videamus: Namque et Athenienses
auspices at-home foreign-things let-us-see for both the-Athenians
omnibus semper publicis consiliis divinos quosdam sacerdotes,
in-all always public councils divine certain priests
quos μάντεις vocant, adhibuerunt, et Lacedaemonii regibus
whom manteis they-call employed and the-Lacedaemonians to-kings
suis augurem adsessorem dederunt, itemque senibus
their an-augur as-assessor gave and-likewise with-the-elders
(sic enim consilium publicum appellant) augurem interesse
so for the-council public they-call an-augur to-be-present
voluerunt, iidemque de rebus maioribus semper aut Delphis
wished and-the-same about matters greater always either at-Delphi
oraclum aut ab Hammone aut a Dodona petebant.
the-oracle or from Hammon or from Dodona sought
Lycurgus quidem, qui Lacedaemoniorum rem publicam 96
Lycurgus indeed who of-the-Lacedaemonians the-thing public
temperavit, leges suas auctoritate Apollinis Delphici
tempered laws his by-the-authority of-Apollo of-Delphi
confirmavit; quas cum vellet Lysander commutare, eadem
confirmed which when wished Lysander to-change by-the-same
est prohibitus religione. Atque etiam qui praeerant
he-was prevented religion and even those-who were-in-charge
Lacedaemoniis, non contenti vigilantibus curis in Pasiphaae
to-the-Lacedaemonians not content with-waking cares in of-Pasiphae

fano, quod est in agro propter urbem, somniandi
the-sbrine which is in the-territory near the-city of-dreaming
causa excubabant, quia vera quietis oracla ducebant.
for-the-sake kept-watch because true of-rest the-oracles they-considered
97 Ad nostra iam redeo. Quotiens senatus decemviros ad
to our-own now I-return how-often the-senate the-decemvirs to
libros ire iussit! Quantis in rebus quamque saepe responsis
the-books to-go ordered how-great in matters and-how often the-responses
haruspicum paruit! Nam et cum duo visi soles sunt et cum
of-the-haruspices obeyed for both when two seen suns were and when
tres lunae et cum faces, et cum sol nocte visus est, et cum
three moons and when torches and when the-sun at-night seen was and when
e caelo fremitus auditus, et cum caelum discessisse visum est
from the-sky a-rumbling heard and when the-sky to-have-parted seen was
atque in eo animadversi globi, delata etiam ad senatum labe
and in it noticed globes reported also to the-senate a-landslide
agri Privernatis, cum ad infinitam altitudinem terra
of-the-territory Privernate when to infinite depth the-earth
desedisset Apuliaque maximis terrae motibus conquassata
had-sunk and-Apulia by-very-great of-earth quakes shaken
esset (quibus portentis magna populo Romano bella
had-been by-which portents great to-the-people Roman wars
perniciosaeque seditiones denuntiabantur; inque his omnibus
and-pernicious seditions were-announced and-in these all
responsa haruspicum cum Sibyllae versibus congruebant); quid?
the-responses of-the-haruspices with of-the-Sibyl the-verses agreed what
98 Cum Cumis Apollo sudavit, Capuae Victoria? Quid? Ortus
when at-Cumae Apollo sweated at-Capua Victory what the-birth
androgyni nonne fatale quoddam monstrum fuit? Quid?
of-the-hermaphrodite surely fateful a-certain prodigy was what
Cum fluvius Atratus sanguine fluxit? Quid? Cum saepe
when the-river Atratus with-blood flowed what when often

lapidum, sanguinis non numquam, terrae interdum, quondam
of-stones of-blood not never of-earth at-times once
etiam lactis imber defluxit? Quid? Cum in Capitolio ictus
even of-milk a-shower poured-down what when on the-Capitol struck
Centaurus e caelo est, in Aventino portae et homines,
the-Centaur from the-sky was on the-Aventine the-gates and men
Tusculi aedes Castoris et Pollucis Romaeque Pietatis:
at-Tusculum the-temple of-Castor and Pollux and-at-Rome of-Piety
nonne et haruspices ea responderunt, quae evenerunt,
surely both the-haruspices those-things answered which happened
et in Sibyllae libris eaedem repertae praedictiones sunt?
and in of-the-Sibyl the-books the-same found predictions were

XIV · VOICES AND OMENS

On Caecilia's dream the senate restored Juno Sospita's temple; the Alban lake was drained as the fates of Veii required; a voice warned of the Gauls, and Aius Locutius received an altar. The Pythagoreans observed men's words as omens, and so did the Romans: Paulus heard his daughter say that Persa was dead, and Caecilia's niece was promised her aunt's seat. Appius Claudius foretold civil war from the augury of Safety.

Caeciliae Q. filiae somnio modo Marsico bello templum 99
of-Caecilia of-Quintus daughter by-the-dream just-now in-the-Marsic war the-temple
est a senatu Iunoni Sospitae restitutum. Quod quidem
was by the-senate for-Juno Sospita restored which indeed
somnium Sisenna cum disputavisset mirifice ad verbum cum
dream Sisenna when he-had-argued wonderfully to the-letter with
re convenisse, tum insolenter, credo ab Epicureo aliquo
the-event to-have-agreed then strangely I-believe by an-Epicurean some
inductus, disputat somniis credi non oportere. Idem contra
induced he-argues dreams to-be-believed not ought the-same against

ostenta nihil disputat exponitque initio belli Marsici
portents nothing argues and-sets-forth at-the-beginning of-the-war Marsic
et deorum simulacra sudavisse, et sanguinem fluxisse, et
both of-the-gods the-statues to-have-sweated and blood to-have-flowed and
discessisse caelum, et ex occulto auditas esse voces, quae
to-have-parted the-sky and from a-hidden-place heard to-have-been voices which
pericula belli nuntiarent, et Lanuvii clipeos, quod haruspicibus
the-dangers of-war announced and at-Lanuvium the-shields which to-the-haruspices
tristissumum visum esset, a muribus esse derosos.
most-grim seemed had by mice to-have-been gnawed
100 Quid, quod in annalibus habemus Veienti bello, cum lacus
what that in the-annals we-have in-the-Veientine war when the-lake
Albanus praeter modum crevisset, Veientem quendam ad nos
Alban beyond measure had-risen a-Veientine certain to us
hominem nobilem perfugisse, eumque dixisse ex fatis,
a-man noble to-have-deserted and-him to-have-said from the-fates
quae Veientes scripta haberent, Veios capi non posse, dum
which the-Veientes written had Veii to-be-taken not could while
lacus is redundaret, et, si lacus emissus lapsu et cursu
lake that overflowed and if the-lake let-out in-the-gliding and course
suo ad mare profluxisset, perniciosum populo Romano;
its-own to the-sea had-flowed-forth ruinous for-the-people Roman
sin autem ita esset eductus, ut ad mare pervenire non
but-if moreover so it-were drawn-off that to the-sea to-reach not
posset, tum salutare nostris fore? Ex quo illa admirabilis
it-could then salutary for-ours it-would-be from which that admirable
a maioribus Albanae aquae facta deductio est. Cum autem
by our-ancestors of-the-Alban water made the-drawing-off was when moreover
Veientes bello fessi legatos ad senatum misissent, tum ex iis
the-Veientes by-war exhausted envoys to the-senate had-sent then of them
quidam dixisse dicitur non omnia illum transfugam ausum
a-certain-one to-have-said is-said not all that deserter dared

esse senatui dicere; in isdem enim fatis scriptum Veientes
to-have to-the-senate to-say in the-same for fates written the-Veientes
habere fore ut brevi a Gallis Roma caperetur, quod
to-have it-would-be that shortly by the-Gauls Rome would-be-taken which
quidem sexennio post Veios captos factum esse videmus.
indeed by-six-years after Veii taken done to-have-been we-see
Saepe etiam et in proeliis Fauni auditi et in rebus turbidis 101
often also both in battles Fauns heard and in affairs troubled
veridicae voces ex occulto missae esse dicuntur; cuius
truth-telling voices from a-hidden-place sent to-have-been are-said of-which
generis duo sint ex multis exempla, sed maxuma: Nam
kind two let-there-be out-of many examples but very-great for
non multo ante urbem captam exaudita vox est a luco
not much before the-city taken heard a-voice was from the-grove
Vestae, qui a Palatii radice in novam viam devexus est,
of-Vesta which from of-the-Palatine the-foot into the-new street sloping is
ut muri et portae reficerentur; futurum esse, nisi provisum
that the-walls and gates should-be-repaired about-to-be to-be unless provision
esset, ut Roma caperetur. Quod neglectum tum, cum
had-been-made that Rome would-be-taken which neglected then when
caveri poterat, post acceptam illam maximam cladem
to-be-guarded-against it-could after received that very-great disaster
expiatum est; ara enim Aio Loquenti, quam saeptam
expiated was an-altar for to-Aius Locutius which fenced
videmus, exadversus eum locum consecrata est. Atque etiam
we-see opposite that place consecrated was and also
scriptum a multis est, cum terrae motus factus esset, ut
written by many it-is when of-the-earth a-quake made had-been that
sue plena procuratio fieret, vocem ab aede Iunonis
with-a-sow pregnant an-expiation be-made a-voice from the-temple of-Juno
ex arce extitisse; quocirca Iunonem illam appellatam
from the-citadel to-have-come-forth wherefore Juno that called

Monetam. Haec igitur et a dis significata et a nostris
Moneta these-things therefore both by the-gods signified and by our
maioribus iudicata contemnimus?
ancestors judged do-we-despise
102 Neque solum deorum voces Pythagorei observitaverunt,
nor only of-the-gods the-voices the-Pythagoreans observed
sed etiam hominum, quae vocant omina. Quae maiores
but also of-men which they-call omens which ancestors
nostri quia valere censebant, idcirco omnibus rebus
our because to-have-force they-held for-that-reason for-all things
agendis 'quod bonum, faustum, felix fortunatumque esset'
to-be-done that good favorable happy and-fortunate it-may-be
praefabantur, rebusque divinis, quae publice fierent, ut
they-said-in-preface and-at-rites divine which publicly were-performed that
'faverent linguis', imperabatur inque feriis imperandis, ut
they-should-favor with-tongues it-was-ordered and-in festivals being-proclaimed that
'litibus et iurgiis se abstinerent'. Itemque in lustranda
from-lawsuits and quarrels themselves they-should-abstain and-likewise in purifying
colonia ab eo, qui eam deduceret, et cum imperator
a-colony by him who it led-out and when the-commander
exercitum, censor populum lustraret, bonis nominibus,
the-army the-censor the-people purified with-good names
qui hostias ducerent, eligebantur. Quod idem in dilectu
those-who the-victims led were-chosen which same in the-levy
consules observant, ut primus miles fiat bono nomine.
the-consuls observe that the-first soldier be with-good name
103 Quae quidem a te scis et consule et imperatore
which indeed by you you-know both as-consul and as-commander
summa cum religione esse servata. Praerogativam etiam
the-highest with religion to-have-been kept the-prerogative-century also
maiores omen iustorum comitiorum esse voluerunt. Atque
our-ancestors an-omen of-lawful elections to-be wished and

ego exempla ominum nota proferam: L. Paulus consul
I examples of-omens known will-bring-forward Lucius Paulus consul
iterum, cum ei bellum ut cum rege Perse gereret
for-the-second-time when to-him war that with king Perseus he-should-wage
obtigisset, ut ea ipsa die domum ad vesperum rediit,
had-fallen when on-that very day home toward evening he-returned
filiolam suam Tertiam, quae tum erat admodum parva,
little-daughter his Tertia who then was very little
osculans animum advertit tristiculam. 'Quid est', inquit, 'mea
kissing his-mind he-turned rather-sad what is-it he-said my
Tertia? Quid tristis es?' 'Mi pater', inquit, 'Persa periit.'
Tertia why sad are-you my father she-said Persa has-perished
Tum ille artius puellam conplexus: 'Accipio', inquit, 'mea
then he more-closely the-girl embracing I-accept he-said my
filia, omen'. Erat autem mortuus catellus eo nomine.
daughter the-omen had moreover died a-puppy by-that name
L. Flaccum, flaminem Martialem, ego audivi, cum diceret 104
Lucius Flaccus flamen of-Mars I heard when he-said
Caeciliam Metelli, cum vellet sororis suae filiam in
Caecilia of-Metellus when she-wished of-sister her the-daughter in
matrimonium conlocare, exisse in quoddam sacellum
marriage to-place to-have-gone-out into a-certain chapel
ominis capiendi causa, quod fieri more veterum
of-an-omen to-be-taken for-the-sake which to-be-done by-the-custom of-the-ancients
solebat. Cum virgo staret et Caecilia in sella sederet
was-wont when the-maiden stood and Caecilia on a-chair sat
neque diu ulla vox exstitisset, puellam defatigatam petisse
nor for-long any voice had-come-forth the-girl wearied to-have-asked
a matertera, ut sibi concederet, paulisper ut in eius
of her-aunt that to-her she-would-yield for-a-little that on her
sella requiesceret; illam autem dixisse: 'Vero, mea puella,
chair she-might-rest her moreover to-have-said indeed my girl

tibi concedo meas sedes.' Quod omen res consecuta
to-you I-yield my seats which omen the-event followed
est; ipsa enim brevi mortua est, virgo autem nupsit,
has she-herself for shortly died has the-maiden moreover married
cui Caecilia nupta fuerat. Haec posse contemni vel
him-to-whom Caecilia married had-been these-things to-be-able to-be-despised or
etiam rideri praeclare intellego, sed id ipsum est deos
even to-be-laughed-at splendidly I-understand but that itself is gods
non putare, quae ab iis significantur, contemnere.
not to-believe-in what by them is-signified to-despise
105 Quid de auguribus loquar? Tuae partes sunt, tuum inquam,
what about the-augurs shall-I-speak your part it-is your I-say
auspiciorum patrocinium debet esse. Tibi App. Claudius
of-the-auspices advocacy ought to-be to-you Appius Claudius
augur consuli nuntiavit addubitato Salutis augurio bellum
augur as-consul announced with-doubted of-Safety the-augury a-war
domesticum triste ac turbulentum fore; quod paucis post
domestic grim and turbulent would-be which a-few after
mensibus exortum paucioribus a te est diebus oppressum.
months arisen in-fewer by you was days crushed
Cui quidem auguri vehementer adsentior; solus enim
to-which indeed augur vehemently I-agree alone for
multorum annorum memoria non decantandi augurii, sed
of-many years in-memory not of-chanting augury but
divinandi tenuit disciplinam. Quem inridebant collegae tui
of-divining held the-discipline whom used-to-mock colleagues your
eumque tum Pisidam, tum Soranum augurem esse dicebant;
and-him now a-Pisidian now a-Soran augur to-be called
quibus nulla videbatur in auguriis aut praesensio aut scientia
to-whom no seemed in auguries either foreknowledge or knowledge
veritatis futurae; sapienter aiebant ad opinionem imperitorum
of-truth future wisely they-said for the-opinion of-the-unskilled

esse fictas religiones. Quod longe secus est; neque
to-have-been invented religious-observances which far otherwise is nor
enim in pastoribus illis, quibus Romulus praefuit, nec in
for in shepherds those over-whom Romulus presided nor in
ipso Romulo haec calliditas esse potuit, ut ad errorem
himself Romulus this cunning to-be could that for the-deception
multitudinis religionis simulacra fingerent. Sed difficultas
of-the-multitude of-religion images they-should-fashion but the-difficulty
laborque discendi disertam neglegentiam reddidit; malunt enim
and-labor of-learning an-eloquent negligence has-rendered they-prefer for
disserere nihil esse in auspiciis quam, quid sit, ediscere.
to-argue nothing to-be in auspices than what is to-learn-thoroughly

XV · AUGURY IN VERSE

Cicero's Marius *describes the eagle's victory over the snake as an augury, and Ennius tells how Romulus and Remus watched for birds to decide who would rule. The artificial divination rests on long observation; the natural on the soul's kinship with the divine. Thales and Anaximander foresaw by science, not divination, which requires a soul freed from the body.*

106 Quid est illo auspicio divinius, quod apud te in Mario
what is than-that auspice more-divine which in you in the-Marius
est? Ut utar potissumum auctore te:
is that I-may-use above-all as-authority you

Hic Iovis altisoni subito pinnata satelles
here of-Jupiter high-thundering suddenly the-winged attendant
arboris e trunco serpentis saucia morsu
of-a-tree from the-trunk of-a-serpent wounded by-the-bite
subrigit ipsa feris transfigens unguibus anguem
lifts she-herself with-fierce piercing talons the-snake
semianimum et varia graviter cervice micantem
half-alive and with-mottled heavily neck flashing
quem se intorquentem lanians rostroque cruentans
which itself twisting tearing and-with-her-beak bloodying
iam satiata animos, iam duros ulta dolores
now sated in-spirit now her-harsh having-avenged pains
abicit ecflantem et laceratum adfligit in unda
she-throws-away gasping-out-its-life and torn she-dashes in the-wave
seque obitu a solis nitidos convertit ad ortus.
and-herself the-setting from of-the-sun bright turned toward risings
Hanc ubi praepetibus pinnis lapsuque volantem
her when with-swift wings and-gliding flying
conspexit Marius, divini numinis augur,
beheld Marius of-divine will augur
faustaque signa suae laudis reditusque notavit,
and-the-favorable signs of-his-own glory and-return noted
partibus intonuit caeli pater ipse sinistris.
in-the-regions thundered of-the-sky the-father himself left
Sic aquilae clarum firmavit Iuppiter omen.
so of-the-eagle the-bright confirmed Jupiter omen

Atque ille Romuli auguratus pastoralis, non urbanus fuit 107
and that of-Romulus augury pastoral not urban was
nec fictus ad opiniones inperitorum, sed a certis
nor invented for the-opinions of-the-unskilled but from reliable-men
acceptus et posteris traditus. Itaque Romulus augur, ut
received and to-posterity handed-down and-so Romulus as-augur as
apud Ennium est, cum fratre item augure
in Ennius it-is with his-brother likewise an-augur

curantes magna cum cura tum cupientes
caring great with care then desiring
regni dant operam simul auspicio augurioque.
of-the-kingdom they-give attention together to-auspice and-augury
†In monte Remus auspicio se devovet atque secundam
on the-mount Remus to-the-auspice himself devotes and a-favorable
solus avem servat. At Romulus pulcher in alto
alone bird watches-for but Romulus fair on the-high
quaerit Aventino, servat genus altivolantum.
seeks Aventine watches-for the-race of-high-fliers
Certabant, urbem Romam Remoramne vocarent.
they-contended the-city Rome or-Remora whether-they-should-call
Omnibus cura viris, uter esset induperator.
to-all a-care men which-of-two should-be commander
Exspectant; veluti, consul quom mittere signum
they-wait as-when the-consul when to-send the-signal
volt, omnes avidi spectant ad carceris oras,
wishes all eager look to of-the-starting-gate the-edges
quam mox emittat pictis e faucibus currus, 108
how soon he-may-send-out the-painted from jaws the-chariots
sic exspectabat populus atque ore timebat,
so waited the-people and in-face feared

rebus utri magni victoria sit data regni.
for-things to-which-of-two of-great the-victory be given of-kingship
Interea sol albus recessit in infera noctis.
meanwhile the-sun white withdrew into the-depths of-night
Exin candida se radiis dedit icta foras lux,
then bright itself with-rays gave struck forth the-light
et simul ex alto longe pulcherruma praepes
and at-once from on-high far most-beautiful the-swift-winged
laeva volavit avis. Simul aureus exoritur sol,
on-the-left flew a-bird at-once golden rises the-sun
cedunt de caelo ter quattuor corpora sancta
come-down from the-sky three-times four bodies holy
avium, praepetibus sese pulchrisque locis dant.
of-birds to-the-favorable themselves and-fair places they-give
Conspicit inde sibi data Romulus esse priora,
sees thence to-himself given Romulus to-be the-first-place
auspicio regni stabilita scamna solumque.
by-the-auspice of-the-kingdom established the-throne and-the-land

109 Sed ut, unde huc digressa est, eodem redeat oratio:
but that whence hither digressed it-has to-the-same-place may-return the-discourse
si nihil queam disputare, quam ob rem quidque
if nothing I-could argue which on-account-of thing each-thing
fiat, et tantum modo fieri ea, quae commemoravi,
happens and so-much only to-happen those-things which I-have-mentioned
doceam, parumne Epicuro Carneadive respondeam? Quid,
I-should-show too-little-whether to-Epicurus or-Carneades would-I-answer what
si etiam ratio exstat artificiosae praesensionis facilis, divinae
if even an-account exists of-artificial foreknowledge easy of-divine
autem paulo obscurior? Quae enim extis, quae fulgoribus,
moreover a-little more-obscure what for by-entrails what by-lightnings

quae portentis, quae astris praesentiuntur, haec notata
what by-portents what by-stars are-foreseen these-things noted
sunt observatione diuturna. Adfert autem vetustas omnibus
have-been by-observation long brings moreover antiquity all
in rebus longinqua observatione incredibilem scientiam; quae
in things by-long observation incredible knowledge which
potest esse etiam sine motu atque inpulsu deorum, cum,
can to-be even without the-motion and impulse of-the-gods when
quid ex quoque eveniat, et quid quamque rem significet,
what from each-thing happens and what each thing signifies
crebra animadversione perspectum est.
by-frequent noticing perceived has-been
Altera divinatio est naturalis, ut ante dixi; quae physica 110
the-other divination is natural as before I-said which by-physical
disputandi subtilitate referenda est ad naturam deorum, a
of-arguing subtlety to-be-referred is to the-nature of-the-gods from
qua, ut doctissimis sapientissimisque placuit, haustos
which as to-the-most-learned and-wisest it-seemed-good drawn
animos et libatos habemus; cumque omnia completa et
souls and tasted we-have and-since all-things filled and
referta sint aeterno sensu et mente divina, necesse est
stuffed are with-eternal sense and mind divine necessary it-is
cognatione divinorum animorum animos humanos commoveri.
by-kinship of-divine souls the-souls human to-be-moved
Sed vigilantes animi vitae necessitatibus serviunt diiunguntque
but waking souls of-life to-necessities are-slaves and-sever
se a societate divina vinclis corporis inpediti.
themselves from fellowship divine by-the-chains of-the-body hindered
Rarum est quoddam genus eorum, qui se a corpore 111
rare is a-certain kind of-those who themselves from the-body
avocent et ad divinarum rerum cognitionem cura omni
call-away and to of-divine things the-knowledge with-care all

studioque rapiantur. Horum sunt auguria non divini impetus,
and-zeal are-snatched of-these are the-auguries not of-divine impulse
sed rationis humanae; nam et natura futura praesentiunt, ut
but of-reason human for both by-nature the-future they-foresee as
aquarum eluviones et deflagrationem futuram aliquando caeli
of-waters floods and the-burning future at-some-time of-sky
atque terrarum; alii autem in re publica exercitati, ut
and of-lands others moreover in the-thing public trained as
de Atheniensi Solone accepimus, orientem tyrannidem multo
about the-Athenian Solon we-have-heard rising tyranny much
ante prospiciunt; quos prudentes possumus dicere, id est
before foresee whom prudent we-can to-call that is
providentes, divinos nullo modo possumus, non plus quam
foreseeing divine in-no way can-we no more than
Milesium Thalem, qui, ut obiurgatores suos convinceret
the-Milesian Thales who that critics his he-might-confute
ostenderetque etiam philosophum, si ei commodum esset,
and-show even a-philosopher if to-him convenient it-were
pecuniam facere posse, omnem oleam, ante quam florere
money to-make to-be-able the-whole olive-crop before than to-flower
coepisset, in agro Milesio coëmisse dicitur.
it-had-begun in the-territory Milesian to-have-bought-up is-said
112 Animadverterat fortasse quadam scientia olearum ubertatem
he-had-noticed perhaps by-some knowledge of-the-olives the-abundance
fore. Et quidem idem primus defectionem solis, quae
to-be and indeed the-same first the-eclipse of-the-sun which
Astyage regnante facta est, praedixisse fertur.
Astyages reigning made was to-have-foretold is-said
Multa medici, multa gubernatores, agricolae etiam
many-things physicians many-things helmsmen farmers also
multa praesentiunt, sed nullam eorum divinationem voco,
many-things foresee but none of-them divination I-call

ne illam quidem, qua ab Anaximandro physico
not that even which by Anaximander the-natural-philosopher
moniti Lacedaemonii sunt, ut urbem et tecta linquerent
warned the-Lacedaemonians were that the-city and houses they-should-leave
armatique in agro excubarent, quod terrae motus instaret,
and-armed in the-fields should-keep-watch because of-the-earth a-quake threatened
tum cum et urbs tota corruit et e monte Taygeto
then when both the-city whole collapsed and from mount Taygetus
extrema montis quasi puppis avolsa est. Ne Pherecydes
the-end of-the-mountain like a-stern torn-away was not Pherecydes
quidem, ille Pythagorae magister, potius divinus habebitur
even that of-Pythagoras teacher rather divine will-be-held
quam physicus, quod, cum vidisset haustam aquam de
than a-natural-philosopher because when he-had-seen drawn water from
iugi puteo, terrae motus dixit instare.
a-perennial well of-the-earth a-quake he-said to-threaten
Nec vero umquam animus hominis naturaliter divinat, nisi 113
nor indeed ever the-soul of-man naturally divines except
cum ita solutus est et vacuus, ut ei plane nihil sit cum
when so loosed it-is and empty that to-it plainly nothing be with
corpore; quod aut vatibus contingit aut dormientibus. Itaque
the-body which either to-seers happens or to-sleepers and-so
ea duo genera a Dicaearcho probantur et, ut dixi, a Cratippo
those two kinds by Dicaearchus are-approved and as I-said by Cratippus
nostro; si propterea, quod ea proficiscuntur a natura,
our if for-that-reason because they set-out from nature
sint summa sane, modo ne sola; sin autem nihil esse
let-them-be highest truly provided not the-only but-if moreover nothing to-be
in observatione putant, multa tollunt, quibus vitae ratio
in observation they-think many-things they-remove by-which of-life the-conduct
continetur. Sed quoniam dant aliquid, idque non parvum,
is-held-together but since they-grant something and-that not small

nihil est, quod cum his magnopere pugnemus, praesertim
nothing is-there why with these greatly we-should-fight especially
cum sint, qui omnino nullam divinationem probent.
since there-are those-who at-all no divination approve

XVI · FRENZY, DREAMS, AND THE HEARTLESS OX

Souls set free by frenzy, by music, or by places foresee; so a prophetess foretold the judgment of the three goddesses, and Marcius and Publicius sang in verse. In sleep the soul, kin to all souls, sees what is to come, and interpreters explain the obscure. The god does not attend each sign, but a sentient force in the world can alter the entrails as one sacrifices: Caesar's ox had no heart on the day he first sat on his golden chair.

114 Ergo et ii, quorum animi spretis corporibus evolant
therefore both those whose souls having-spurned bodies fly-out
atque excurrunt foras, ardore aliquo inflammati atque
and run-out out-of-doors by-a-fire some inflamed and
incitati cernunt illa profecto, quae vaticinantes pronuntiant,
roused discern those-things surely which the-prophesying declare
multisque rebus inflammantur tales animi, qui corporibus
and-by-many things are-inflamed such souls which to-bodies
non inhaerent, ut ii, qui sono quodam vocum et
not cling as those who by-a-sound certain of-voices and
Phrygiis cantibus incitantur. Multos nemora silvaeque, multos
by-Phrygian songs are-roused many groves and-woods many

amnes aut maria commovent, quorum furibunda mens videt
rivers or seas stir whose frenzied mind sees
ante multo, quae sint futura. Quo de genere illa sunt:
before much what are about-to-be which of kind those are

Eheu videte!
alas look
Iudicabit inclitum iudicium inter deas tris aliquis,
will-judge a-famous judgment between goddesses three someone
quo iudicio Lacedaemonia mulier, Furiarum una, adveniet.
by-which judgment a-Lacedaemonian woman of-the-Furies one will-come

Eodem enim modo multa a vaticinantibus saepe praedicta
in-the-same for way many-things by the-prophesying often foretold
sunt, neque solum verbis, sed etiam
have-been nor only in-words but also

versibus, quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant.
in-verses which once the-Fauns and-seers sang

Similiter Marcius et Publicius vates cecinisse dicuntur; quo 115
likewise Marcius and Publicius seers to-have-sung are-said which
de genere Apollinis operta prolata sunt. Credo etiam
of kind of-Apollo the-secrets brought-forth were I-believe also
anhelitus quosdam fuisse terrarum, quibus inflatae mentes
exhalations certain to-have-been of-lands by-which inspired minds
oracla funderent.
oracles poured-forth
Atque haec quidem vatium ratio est, nec dissimilis sane
and this indeed of-seers the-account is nor unlike truly
somniorum. Nam quae vigilantibus accidunt vatibus, eadem
of-dreams for what to-waking happens seers the-same

nobis dormientibus. Viget enim animus in somnis liber ab
to-us sleeping thrives for the-soul in sleep free from
sensibus omnique inpeditione curarum iacente et mortuo
the-senses and-from-all hindrance of-cares lying and dead
paene corpore. Qui quia vixit ab omni aeternitate
almost the-body which because it-has-lived from all eternity
versatusque est cum innumerabilibus animis, omnia, quae
and-moved has with countless souls all-things which
in natura rerum sunt, videt, si modo temperatis escis
in the-nature of-things are it-sees if only by-moderate foods
modicisque potionibus ita est adfectus, ut sopito corpore
and-moderate drinks so it-is disposed that with-lulled the-body
ipse vigilet. Haec somniantis est divinatio.
it-itself wakes this of-the-dreamer is the-divination

116 Hic magna quaedam exoritur, neque ea naturalis, sed
here great a-certain arises and-not that natural but
artificiosa somniorum interpretatio eodemque modo et
artificial of-dreams interpretation and-in-the-same way both
oraculorum et vaticinationum. Nam ut aurum et argentum,
of-oracles and of-prophecies for as gold and silver
aes, ferrum frustra natura divina genuisset, nisi eadem
bronze iron in-vain nature divine would-have-begotten unless the-same
docuisset, quem ad modum ad eorum venas perveniretur, nec
had-taught in-what to manner to their veins one-might-come nor
fruges terrae bacasve arborum cum utilitate ulla generi
the-crops of-the-earth or-the-berries of-trees with usefulness any to-the-race
humano dedisset, nisi earum cultus et conditiones
human would-have-given unless their cultivation and preparations
tradidisset, materiave quicquam iuvaret, nisi consectionis
it-had-handed-down or-timber anything would-help unless of-cutting
eius fabricam haberemus, sic cum omni utilitate, quam
its the-craft we-had so with all usefulness which

di hominibus dederunt, ars aliqua coniuncta est, per
the-gods to-men gave an-art some joined is through
quam illa utilitas percipi possit. Item igitur somniis,
which that usefulness be-reaped can likewise therefore to-dreams
vaticinationibus, oraclis, quod erant multa obscura, multa
prophecies oracles because there-were many-things obscure many
ambigua, explanationes adhibitae sunt interpretum.
ambiguous explanations applied were of-interpreters
Quo modo autem aut vates aut somniantes ea videant, 117
in-what way moreover either seers or dreamers those-things see
quae nusquam etiam tunc sint, magna quaestio est. Sed
which nowhere even then exist a-great question is but
explorata si sint ea, quae ante quaeri debeant, sint
explored if were those-things which before to-be-asked ought would-be
haec, quae quaerimus, faciliora. Continet enim totam hanc
these-things which we-ask easier contains for whole this
quaestionem ea ratio, quae est de natura deorum, quae a
question that reasoning which is about the-nature of-the-gods which by
te secundo libro est explicata dilucide. Quam si obtinemus,
you in-the-second book was set-out lucidly which if we-maintain
stabit illud, quod hunc locum continet, de quo agimus,
will-stand that which this topic holds about which we-treat
esse deos, et eorum providentia mundum administrari,
to-exist gods and their by-providence the-world to-be-administered
eosdemque consulere rebus humanis, nec solum universis,
and-the-same to-provide for-things human nor only for-all-at-once
verum etiam singulis. Haec si tenemus, quae mihi
but also for-individuals these-things if we-hold which to-me
quidem non videntur posse convelli, profecto hominibus
indeed not seem to-be-able to-be-overthrown surely to-men
a dis futura significari necesse est.
by the-gods the-future to-be-signified necessary it-is

118 Sed distinguendum videtur, quonam modo. Nam non placet
but to-be-distinguished it-seems in-what-pray way for not it-pleases
Stoicis singulis iecorum fissis aut avium cantibus interesse
to-the-Stoics in-individual of-livers clefts or of-birds songs to-be-present
deum; neque enim decorum est nec dis dignum nec fieri
god nor for seemly it-is nor of-the-gods worthy nor to-happen
ullo pacto potest; sed ita a principio inchoatum esse
in-any way can but so from the-beginning begun to-have-been
mundum, ut certis rebus certa signa praecurrerent, alia in
the-world that to-certain things certain signs ran-before some in
extis, alia in avibus, alia in fulgoribus, alia in ostentis, alia
entrails others in birds others in lightnings others in portents others
in stellis, alia in somniantium visis, alia in furentium vocibus.
in stars others in of-dreamers visions others in of-the-raving voices
Ea quibus bene percepta sunt, ii non saepe falluntur; male
those by-whom well perceived they-are they not often are-deceived badly
coniecta maleque interpretata falsa sunt non rerum vitio,
guessed and-badly interpreted false are not of-the-things by-fault
sed interpretum inscientia. Hoc autem posito atque concesso,
but of-the-interpreters by-ignorance this moreover posited and granted
esse quandam vim divinam hominum vitam continentem, non
to-be a-certain force divine of-men life holding-together not
difficile est, quae fieri certe videmus, ea qua ratione
difficult it-is what-things to-happen certainly we-see those by-what reason
fiant, suspicari. Nam et ad hostiam deligendam potest dux
they-happen to-suspect for both for the-victim to-be-chosen can a-guide
esse vis quaedam sentiens, quae est toto confusa
to-be a-force certain sentient which is through-the-whole diffused
mundo, et tum ipsum, cum immolare velis, extorum fieri
world and then itself when to-sacrifice you-wish of-the-entrails to-be-made

mutatio potest, ut aut absit aliquid aut supersit; parvis enim
a-change can so-that either be-absent something or be-in-excess in-small for
momentis multa natura aut adfingit aut mutat aut detrahit.
moments many-things nature either adds or changes or takes-away
Quod ne dubitare possimus, maximo est argumento, quod 119
which that-not to-doubt we-can very-great is the-argument what
paulo ante interitum Caesaris contigit. Qui cum immolaret
a-little before the-death of-Caesar happened who when he-was-sacrificing
illo die, quo primum in sella aurea sedit et cum purpurea
on-that day on-which first on the-chair golden he-sat and when in-purple
veste processit, in extis bovis opimi cor non fuit. Num
robe he-went-forth in the-entrails of-an-ox fat a-heart not there-was surely-not
igitur censes ullum animal, quod sanguinem habeat, sine corde
therefore you-think any animal which blood has without a-heart
esse posse? †Qua ille rei novitate perculsus, cum Spurinna
to-be to-be-able at-which he of-the-thing novelty struck when Spurinna
diceret timendum esse, ne et consilium et vita deficeret; earum
said to-be-feared it-was lest both counsel and life should-fail of-those
enim rerum utramque a corde proficisci. Postero die caput
for things each from the-heart to-proceed on-the-next day the-head
in iecore non fuit. Quae quidem illi portendebantur a dis
in the-liver not there-was which indeed to-him were-portended by the-gods
immortalibus, ut videret interitum, non ut caveret.
immortal that he-might-see his-death not that he-might-guard-against-it
Cum igitur eae partes in extis non reperiuntur, sine
when therefore those parts in the-entrails not are-found without
quibus victuma illa vivere nequisset, intellegendum est in ipso
which the-victim that to-live could-not to-be-understood it-is in the-very
immolationis tempore eas partes, quae absint, interisse.
of-sacrifice time those parts which are-absent to-have-perished

The same divine mind moves the birds' flight and song. Signs are written down: the eclipse before Darius' defeat, the two-headed girl, Croesus' infant son who spoke, Servius Tullius' burning head. A pure mind is readiest for every kind of sign, and Socrates obeyed his daimonion, which saved him at Delium and gave no warning on the day of his trial. Men may misread signs, but one true prediction proves divination; it must be traced to god, to fate, and to nature, and fate is the chain of causes.

120 Eademque efficit in avibus divina mens, ut tum huc,
and-the-same brings-about in birds the-divine mind that now hither
tum illuc volent alites, tum in hac, tum in illa parte
now thither fly the-winged-birds now in this now in that part
se occultent, tum a dextra, tum a sinistra parte
themselves hide now from the-right now from the-left side
canant oscines. Nam si animal omne, ut vult, ita utitur
sing the-song-birds for if animal every as it-wishes so uses
motu sui corporis, prono, obliquo, supino, membraque,
the-motion of-its body forward sideways backward and-its-limbs
quocumque vult, flectit, contorquet, porrigit, contrahit
wherever it-wishes bends twists stretches contracts
eaque ante efficit paene, quam cogitat, quanto id deo
and-those-things before does almost than it-thinks how-much that for-god
est facilius, cuius numini parent omnia!
is easier whose divine-will obey all-things

121 Idemque mittit et signa nobis eius generis, qualia permulta
and-the-same sends also signs to-us of-that kind such-as very-many
historia tradidit, quale scriptum illud videmus: si luna
history has-handed-down such-as written that we-see if the-moon
paulo ante solis ortum defecisset in signo Leonis,
a-little before of-the-sun the-rising had-been-eclipsed in the-sign of-Leo

fore ut Dareus et Persae ab Alexandro et Macedonibus
it-would-be that Darius and the-Persians by Alexander and the-Macedonians
proelio vincerentur Dareusque moreretur, et, si puella nata
in-battle would-be-defeated and-Darius would-die and if a-girl born
biceps esset, seditionem in populo fore, corruptelam et
two-headed were a-sedition among the-people would-be seduction and
adulterium domi, et, si mulier leonem peperisse visa esset,
adultery at-home and if a-woman a-lion to-have-borne seen had-been
fore ut ab exteris gentibus vinceretur ea res publica,
it-would-be that by foreign nations would-be-conquered that state public
in qua id contigisset. Eiusdem generis etiam illud est, quod
in which that had-happened of-the-same kind also that is which
scribit Herodotus, Croesi filium, cum esset infans, locutum;
writes Herodotus of-Croesus the-son when he-was an-infant to-have-spoken
quo ostento regnum patris et domum funditus concidisse.
by-which portent the-kingdom of-his-father and the-house utterly to-have-fallen
Caput arsisse Servio Tullio dormienti quae historia non
the-head to-have-blazed for-Servius Tullius sleeping which history not
prodidit? Ut igitur, qui se tradidit quieti praeparato animo
has-handed-down as therefore he-who himself has-given to-rest with-prepared mind
cum bonis cogitationibus, tum rebus ad tranquillitatem
both with-good thoughts and with-things for tranquility
adcommodatis, certa et vera cernit in somnis, sic castus
suited sure and true-things discerns in sleep so a-chaste
animus purusque vigilantis et ad astrorum et ad avium
mind and-pure of-one-waking both for of-the-stars and for of-birds
reliquorumque signorum et ad extorum veritatem est paratior.
and-of-the-other signs and for of-entrails the-truth is more-prepared
Hoc nimirum est illud, quod de Socrate accepimus, quodque 122
this doubtless is that which about Socrates we-have-heard and-which
ab ipso in libris Socraticorum saepe dicitur, esse divinum
by himself in the-books of-the-Socratics often is-said to-be divine

quiddam, quod δαιμόνιον appellat, cui semper ipse
something which daimonion he-calls which always he-himself
paruerit numquam impellenti, saepe revocanti. Et Socrates
obeyed never urging often calling-back and Socrates
quidem (quo quem auctorem meliorem quaerimus?)
indeed than-whom what authority better do-we-seek
Xenophonti consulenti, sequereturne Cyrum, posteaquam
to-Xenophon consulting whether-he-should-follow Cyrus after
exposuit, quae ipsi videbantur: 'Et nostrum quidem',
he-had-set-out what to-himself seemed and our-own indeed
inquit, 'humanum est consilium; sed de rebus et obscuris
he-said human is counsel but about matters both obscure
et incertis ad Apollinem censeo referundum', ad quem etiam
and uncertain to Apollo I-think to-be-referred to whom even
Athenienses publice de maioribus rebus semper rettulerunt.
the-Athenians publicly about greater matters always referred
123 Scriptum est item, cum Critonis, sui familiaris, oculum
written it-is likewise when of-Crito his intimate the-eye
alligatum vidisset, quaesivisse, quid esset; cum autem ille
bandaged he-had-seen to-have-asked what it-was when moreover he
respondisset in agro ambulanti ramulum adductum, ut
had-replied in the-field walking a-little-branch drawn-back when
remissus esset, in oculum suum recidisse, tum Socrates:
let-go it-had-been into eye his to-have-sprung-back then Socrates
'Non enim paruisti mihi revocanti, cum uterer, qua soleo,
not for you-obeyed me calling-back when I-was-using which I-am-wont
praesagitione divina.' Idem etiam Socrates, cum apud Delium
foreboding divine the-same also Socrates when at Delium
male pugnatum esset Lachete praetore fugeretque
badly fought it-had-been Laches being-commander and-he-was-fleeing
cum ipso Lachete, ut ventum est in trivium, eadem,
with himself Laches when come it-was to a-crossroads by-the-same

qua ceteri, fugere noluit. Quibus quaerentibus, cur
by-which the-others to-flee he-was-unwilling to-whom asking why
non eadem via pergeret, deterreri se a deo dixit; cum
not by-the-same road he-went-on to-be-deterred himself by the-god he-said when
quidem ii, qui alia via fugerant, in hostium equitatum
indeed those who by-another road had-fled into of-the-enemy the-cavalry
inciderunt. Permulta conlecta sunt ab Antipatro, quae
fell very-many-things collected were by Antipater which
mirabiliter a Socrate divinata sunt; quae praetermittam; tibi
wonderfully by Socrates divined were which I-will-pass-over to-you
enim nota sunt, mihi ad commemorandum non necessaria.
for known they-are to-me for recounting not necessary
Illud tamen eius philosophi magnificum ac paene divinum, 124
that still of-that philosopher magnificent and almost divine
quod, cum impiis sententiis damnatus esset, aequissimo
that when by-impious votes condemned he-had-been with-most-even
animo se dixit mori; neque enim domo egredienti
mind himself he-said to-die nor for from-home going-out
neque illud suggestum, in quo causam dixerat, ascendenti
nor that platform on which his-case he-had-pleaded mounting
signum sibi ullum, quod consuesset, a deo quasi
a-sign to-himself any which he-was-accustomed from the-god as-if
mali alicuius inpendentis datum.
of-evil some impending given
Equidem sic arbitror, etiamsi multa fallant eos, qui
for-my-part so think even-if many-things deceive those who
aut arte aut coniectura divinare videantur, esse tamen
either by-art or by-conjecture to-divine seem to-be still
divinationem; homines autem, ut in ceteris artibus, sic in hac
divination men moreover as in the-other arts so in this
posse falli. Potest accidere, ut aliquod signum dubie
to-be-able to-be-deceived it-can to-happen that some sign doubtfully

datum pro certo sit acceptum, potest aliquod latuisse
given for certain be taken it-can some to-have-lain-hidden
aut ipsum, aut quod esset illi contrarium. Mihi autem ad
either itself or what was to-it contrary to-me moreover for
hoc, de quo disputo, probandum satis est non modo plura,
this about which I-argue to-be-proved enough it-is not only more
sed etiam pauciora divine praesensa et praedicta reperiri.
but even fewer divinely foreseen and foretold to-be-found
125 Quin etiam hoc non dubitans dixerim, si unum aliquid
nay even this not doubting I-would-say if one something
ita sit praedictum praesensumque, ut, cum evenerit, ita
so be foretold and-foreseen that when it-has-happened so
cadat, ut praedictum sit, neque in eo quicquam casu et
it-falls-out as foretold it-was nor in it anything by-chance and
fortuito factum esse appareat, esse certe divinationem,
accidentally done to-have-been appears to-be certainly divination
idque esse omnibus confitendum.
and-that to-be by-all to-be-confessed
Quocirca primum mihi videtur, ut Posidonius facit, a deo, de
wherefore first to-me it-seems as Posidonius does from god about
quo satis dictum est, deinde a fato, deinde a natura vis
whom enough said has-been then from fate then from nature the-force
omnis divinandi ratioque repetenda. Fieri igitur omnia
all of-divining and-the-reasoning to-be-traced to-happen therefore all-things
fato ratio cogit fateri. Fatum autem id appello, quod Graeci
by-fate reason compels to-confess fate moreover that I-call which the-Greeks
εἱμαρμένην, id est ordinem seriemque causarum, cum causae
heimarmene that is the-order and-series of-causes when to-cause
causa nexa rem ex se gignat. Ea est ex omni aeternitate
cause linked a-thing from itself begets it is from all eternity
fluens veritas sempiterna. Quod cum ita sit, nihil est factum,
flowing truth everlasting which since so it-is nothing has-been done

quod non futurum fuerit, eodemque modo nihil est futurum,
which not about-to-be was and-in-the-same way nothing is about-to-be
cuius non causas id ipsum efficientes natura contineat.
of-which not the-causes that itself producing nature contains
Ex quo intellegitur, ut fatum sit non id, quod superstitiose, 126
from which it-is-understood that fate is not that which superstitiously
sed id, quod physice dicitur, causa aeterna rerum, cur
but that which physically is-called the-cause eternal of-things why
et ea, quae praeterierunt, facta sint et, quae instant,
both those-things which have-passed done were and which are-at-hand
fiant et, quae sequuntur, futura sint. Ita fit, ut
are-done and which follow about-to-be are so it-comes-about that
et observatione notari possit, quae res quamque causam
both by-observation to-be-noted can what thing each cause
plerumque consequatur, etiamsi non semper (nam id quidem
mostly follows even-if not always for that indeed
adfirmare difficile est), easdemque causas veri simile est
to-affirm difficult it-is and-the-same causes of-truth like it-is
rerum futurarum cerni ab iis, qui aut per furorem
of-things future to-be-discerned by those who either through frenzy
eas aut in quiete videant.
them or in sleep see
Praeterea cum fato omnia fiant, id quod alio loco 127
besides since by-fate all-things happen that which in-another place
ostendetur, si quis mortalis possit esse, qui conligationem
will-be-shown if any mortal could to-be who the-binding-together
causarum omnium perspiciat animo, nihil eum profecto
of-causes all should-perceive with-mind nothing him surely
fallat. Qui enim teneat causas rerum futurarum, idem
would-deceive he-who for holds the-causes of-things future the-same
necesse est omnia teneat, quae futura sint. Quod cum nemo
necessary it-is all-things holds which about-to-be are which since no-one

facere nisi deus possit, relinquendum est homini, ut signis
to-do except god can to-be-left it-is to-man that by-signs
quibusdam consequentia declarantibus futura praesentiat. Non
certain the-consequences declaring the-future be-foresee not
enim illa, quae futura sunt, subito exsistunt, sed est
for those-things which future are suddenly come-into-being but it-is
quasi rudentis explicatio sic traductio temporis nihil novi
as-it-were of-a-cable the-uncoiling so the-passage of-time nothing new
efficientis et primum quidque replicantis. Quod et ii
producing and first each-thing unrolling which both those
vident, quibus naturalis divinatio data est, et ii, quibus
see to-whom natural divination given is and those by-whom
cursus rerum observando notatus est. Qui etsi causas
the-course of-things by-observing noted is who although the-causes
ipsas non cernunt, signa tamen causarum et notas cernunt;
themselves not they-discern the-signs still of-causes and marks they-discern
ad quas adhibita memoria et diligentia et monumentis
to which applied memory and diligence and the-records
superiorum efficitur ea divinatio, quae artificiosa dicitur,
of-predecessors is-produced that divination which artificial is-called
extorum, fulgorum, ostentorum signorumque caelestium.
of-entrails of-lightnings of-portents and-of-signs celestial

Things to come lie stored in their causes as plants in their seeds, and those who know the causes foretell. Nature teaches too: the Ceans watch the Dog-star's rising, and Democritus praised the ancients for inspecting the entrails for signs of health. Quintus disowns the fortune-tellers, Marsian augurs, and Isiac dream-readers whom Ennius mocked, and approves divination freed from levity and malice.

Non est igitur, ut mirandum sit ea praesentiri a 128
not it-is therefore that to-be-wondered-at it-be those-things to-be-foreseen by
divinantibus, quae nusquam sint; sunt enim omnia, sed
diviners which nowhere exist they-exist for all-things but
tempore absunt. Atque ut in seminibus vis inest earum
in-time they-are-absent and as in seeds the-force is-in of-those
rerum, quae ex iis progignuntur, sic in causis conditae
things which from them are-begotten so in causes stored
sunt res futurae, quas esse futuras aut concitata mens aut
are things future which to-be future either the-roused mind or
soluta somno cernit aut ratio aut coniectura praesentit. Atque
loosened by-sleep discerns or reason or conjecture foresees and
ut ii, qui solis et lunae reliquorumque siderum ortus,
as those who of-the-sun and of-the-moon and-of-the-other stars the-risings
obitus motusque cognorunt, quo quidque tempore eorum
settings and-motions have-learned at-what each time of-them
futurum sit, multo ante praedicunt, sic, qui cursum
about-to-be is much before foretell so those-who the-course
rerum eventorumque consequentiam diuturnitate pertractata
of-things and-of-events the-sequence over-length-of-time handled
notaverunt, aut semper aut, si id difficile est, plerumque,
have-noted either always or if that difficult is mostly
quodsi ne id quidem conceditur, non numquam certe, quid
but-if not that even is-granted not never certainly what

futurum sit, intellegunt. Atque haec quidem et quaedam
about-to-be is they-understand and these indeed and certain
eiusdem modi argumenta, cur sit divinatio, ducuntur a fato.
of-the-same kind arguments why there-is divination are-drawn from fate
129 A natura autem alia quaedam ratio est, quae docet,
from nature moreover another certain reasoning is which teaches
quanta sit animi vis seiuncta a corporis sensibus, quod
how-great is of-the-soul the-force separated from of-the-body the-senses which
maxime contingit aut dormientibus aut mente permotis.
most happens either to-sleepers or to-those-in-mind stirred
Ut enim deorum animi sine oculis, sine auribus, sine
as for of-the-gods the-souls without eyes without ears without
lingua sentiunt inter se, quid quisque sentiat, (ex quo
tongue perceive among themselves what each perceives from which
fit, ut homines, etiam cum taciti optent quid aut
it-comes-about that men even when silent they-wish anything or
voveant, non dubitent, quin di illud exaudiant) sic animi
vow not doubt that the-gods it hear so the-souls
hominum, cum aut somno soluti vacant corpore aut
of-men when either by-sleep loosened they-are-free from-the-body or
mente permoti per se ipsi liberi incitati moventur, cernunt
in-mind stirred by them themselves free roused are-moved they-discern
ea, quae permixti cum corpore animi videre non possunt.
those-things which mingled with the-body souls to-see not can
130 Atque hanc quidem rationem naturae difficile est fortasse
and this indeed reasoning of-nature difficult it-is perhaps
traducere ad id genus divinationis, quod ex arte profectum
to-transfer to that kind of-divination which from art proceeding
dicimus, sed tamen id quoque rimatur, quantum potest,
we-call but still that too explores as-much-as he-can
Posidonius. Esse censet in natura signa quaedam rerum
Posidonius to-be he-holds in nature signs certain of-things

futurarum. Etenim Ceos accepimus ortum Caniculae diligenter
future for-indeed the-Ceans we-have-heard the-rising of-the-Dog-star carefully
quotannis solere servare coniecturamque capere, ut scribit
every-year to-be-wont to-watch and-a-conjecture to-take as writes
Ponticus Heraclides, salubrisne an pestilens annus futurus sit.
Pontic Heraclides whether-healthful or pestilent the-year about-to-be is
Nam si obscurior et quasi caliginosa stella extiterit, pingue
for if rather-dim and as-it-were misty the-star has-appeared thick
et concretum esse caelum, ut eius adspiratio gravis et
and condensed to-be the-sky so-that its breath heavy and
pestilens futura sit; sin inlustris et perlucida stella apparuerit,
pestilential about-to-be is but-if bright and transparent the-star has-appeared
significari caelum esse tenue purumque et propterea salubre.
to-be-signified the-sky to-be thin and-pure and therefore healthful
Democritus autem censet sapienter instituisse veteres, ut 131
Democritus moreover holds wisely to-have-instituted the-ancients that
hostiarum immolatarum inspicerentur exta; quorum ex
of-victims sacrificed be-inspected the-entrails whose from
habitu atque ex colore tum salubritatis, tum pestilentiae
condition and from color now of-healthfulness now of-pestilence
signa percipi, non numquam etiam, quae sit vel sterilitas
the-signs to-be-perceived not never even what be either the-barrenness
agrorum vel fertilitas futura. Quae si a natura profecta
of-the-fields or fertility about-to-be which-things if from nature proceeding
observatio atque usus agnovit, multa adferre potuit dies,
observation and practice has-recognized many-things to-bring could time
quae animadvertendo notarentur, ut ille Pacuvianus, qui
which by-noticing would-be-noted so-that that Pacuvian who

in Chryse physicus inducitur, minime naturam rerum
in the-Chryses a-natural-philosopher is-brought-on least the-nature of-things
cognosse videatur:
to-have-known may-seem

∗∗∗ nam isti qui linguam avium intellegunt
(lacuna) for those who the-language of-birds understand
plusque ex alieno iecore sapiunt quam ex suo,
and-more from another's liver are-wise than from their-own
magis audiendum quam auscultandum censeo.
rather to-be-heard than to-be-heeded I-think

Cur? Quaeso, cum ipse paucis interpositis versibus dicas
why I-pray when yourself a-few inserted verses you-say
satis luculente:
fairly splendidly

Quidquid est hoc, omnia animat, format, alit, auget, creat,
whatever is this all-things animates shapes nourishes increases creates
sepelit recipitque in sese omnia omniumque idemst pater,
buries and-takes-back into itself all-things and-of-all the-same-is father
indidemque eadem aeque oriuntur de
and-from-the-same-place the-same equally arise from
integro atque eodem occidunt.
whole and to-the-same-place perish

Quid est igitur, cur, cum domus sit omnium una,
what is-there therefore why when the-home is of-all one
eaque communis, cumque animi hominum semper fuerint
and-that common and-since the-souls of-men always have-been
futurique sint, cur ii, quid ex quoque eveniat, et quid
and-about-to-be are why they what from each-thing happens and what

quamque rem significet, perspicere non possint? Haec
each thing signifies to-perceive not can these-things
habui, inquit, de divinatione quae dicerem.
I-had he-said about divination which I-might-say
Nunc illa testabor, non me sortilegos neque eos, qui quaestus 132
now this I-will-testify not me fortune-tellers nor those who of-gain
causa hariolentur, ne psychomantia quidem, quibus Appius,
for-the-sake soothsay not necromancy even which Appius
amicus tuus, uti solebat, agnoscere; non habeo denique
friend your to-use was-wont to-acknowledge not I-hold in-short
nauci Marsum augurem, non vicanos haruspices, non
worth-a-nutshell a-Marsian augur not village haruspices not
de circo astrologos, non Isiacos coniectores, non interpretes
from the-circus astrologers not Isiac dream-readers not interpreters
somniorum; non enim sunt ii aut scientia aut arte divini,
of-dreams not for are they either by-knowledge or by-art diviners

sed superstitiosi vates inpudentesque harioli
but superstitious seers and-impudent soothsayers
aut inertes aut insani aut quibus egestas imperat,
either idle or insane or whom want commands
qui sibi semitam non sapiunt, alteri monstrant viam;
who for-themselves a-path not know to-another show the-way
quibus divitias pollicentur, ab iis drachumam ipsi petunt.
to-whom riches they-promise from them a-drachma themselves they-ask
De his divitiis sibi deducant drachumam,
from these riches for-themselves let-them-deduct a-drachma
reddant cetera.
let-them-return the-rest

Atque haec quidem Ennius, qui paucis ante versibus
and these-things indeed Ennius who a-few before verses
esse deos censet, sed eos non curare opinatur, quid
to-exist gods holds but them not to-care-for thinks what
agat humanum genus. Ego autem, qui et curare arbitror
does the-human race I moreover who both to-care-for think
et monere etiam ac multa praedicere, levitate, vanitate,
and to-warn even and many-things to-foretell levity vanity
malitia exclusa divinationem probo. Quae cum dixisset
malice excluded divination approve which when had-said
Quintus, Praeclare tu quidem, inquam, paratus ***
Quintus splendidly you indeed I-said prepared (lacuna)

BOOK II

I · CICERO'S PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS

Seeking how to serve his fellow citizens, Cicero has handed on philosophy in Latin: the Hortensius*, the* Academics*,* On Ends*, the* Tusculan Disputations*,* On the Nature of the Gods*, now* On Divination*, and next* On Fate*, with the* Republic*, the* Consolation*,* On Old Age*, and the rhetorical books. He turned to philosophy when one man held the state, and now that he is consulted again, the state must have his care first.*

Quaerenti mihi multumque et diu cogitanti, quanam re 1
seeking to-me and-much and long pondering by-what-pray thing
possem prodesse quam plurimis, ne quando intermitterem
I-could to-be-of-use as to-the-most lest ever I-should-cease
consulere rei publicae, nulla maior occurrebat, quam
to-provide for-the-thing public none greater occurred than
si optimarum artium vias traderem meis civibus; quod
if of-the-best arts the-ways I-handed-down to-my citizens which
conpluribus iam libris me arbitror consecutum. Nam et
in-very-many already books myself I-think to-have-achieved for both
cohortati sumus, ut maxime potuimus, ad philosophiae
exhorted we-have as most we-could to of-philosophy
studium eo libro, qui est inscriptus Hortensius, et, quod
the-study in-that book which is entitled Hortensius and what
genus philosophandi minime adrogans maximeque et constans
kind of-philosophizing least arrogant and-most both consistent
et elegans arbitraremur, quattuor Academicis libris ostendimus.
and elegant we-judged in-four Academic books we-have-shown
Cumque fundamentum esset philosophiae positum in finibus 2
and-since the-foundation was of-philosophy placed in the-ends
bonorum et malorum, perpurgatus est is locus a nobis
of-goods and of-evils thoroughly-cleansed was that topic by us

quinque libris, ut, quid a quoque, et quid contra
in-five books so-that what by each and what against
quemque philosophum diceretur, intellegi posset. Totidem
each philosopher was-said to-be-understood could as-many
subsecuti libri Tusculanarum disputationum res ad beate
followed books of-the-Tusculan disputations matters for blessedly
vivendum maxime necessarias aperuerunt. Primus enim est
living most necessary they-laid-open the-first for is
de contemnenda morte, secundus de tolerando dolore,
about despising death the-second about bearing pain
de aegritudine lenienda tertius, quartus de reliquis animi
about grief soothing the-third the-fourth about the-other of-the-soul
perturbationibus, quintus eum locum conplexus est, qui
disturbances the-fifth that topic embraced has which
totam philosophiam maxime inlustrat; docet enim ad beate
the-whole philosophy most illumines it-teaches for for blessedly
vivendum virtutem se ipsa esse contentam.
living virtue with-it itself to-be content

3 Quibus rebus editis tres libri perfecti sunt de natura
which things published three books completed were about the-nature
deorum, in quibus omnis eius loci quaestio continetur. Quae
of-the-gods in which all of-that topic the-question is-contained which
ut plane esset cumulateque perfecta, de divinatione ingressi
that fully it-might-be and-abundantly completed about divination begun
sumus his libris scribere; quibus, ut est in animo, de fato
we-have in-these books to-write to-which as it-is in mind about fate
si adiunxerimus, erit abunde satis factum toti huic
if we-shall-have-added it-will-be abundantly enough done for-the-whole this
quaestioni. Atque his libris adnumerandi sunt sex de re
question and to-these books to-be-added are six on the-thing
publica, quos tum scripsimus, cum gubernacula rei publicae
public which then we-wrote when the-helm of-the-thing public

tenebamus. Magnus locus philosophiaeque proprius a Platone,
we-held a-great topic and-of-philosophy proper by Plato
Aristotele, Theophrasto totaque Peripateticorum familia
Aristotle Theophrastus and-the-whole of-the-Peripatetics family
tractatus uberrime. Nam quid ego de Consolatione dicam?
treated most-abundantly for what I about the-Consolation should-say
Quae mihi quidem ipsi sane aliquantum medetur, ceteris item
which to-me indeed myself truly somewhat gives-healing to-the-others likewise
multum illam profuturam puto. Interiectus est etiam nuper
much it about-to-help I-think inserted has-been also lately
liber is, quem ad nostrum Atticum de senectute misimus;
the-book that which to our Atticus on old-age we-sent
in primisque, quoniam philosophia vir bonus efficitur et
in and-first since by-philosophy a-man good is-made and
fortis, Cato noster in horum librorum numero ponendus est.
brave Cato our in of-these books the-number to-be-placed is
Cumque Aristoteles itemque Theophrastus, excellentes viri 4
and-since Aristotle and-likewise Theophrastus excellent men
cum subtilitate, tum copia, cum philosophia dicendi
both in-subtlety and in-abundance with philosophy of-speaking
etiam praecepta coniunxerint, nostri quoque oratorii libri
also the-precepts joined our too oratorical books
in eundem librorum numerum referendi videntur. Ita tres
in the-same of-books number to-be-reckoned seem so three
erunt de oratore, quartus Brutus, quintus orator.
will-be on the-orator the-fourth the-Brutus the-fifth the-orator
Adhuc haec erant; ad reliqua alacri tendebamus animo
thus-far these-things were to the-rest with-eager we-were-pressing mind
sic parati, ut, nisi quae causa gravior obstitisset, nullum
so prepared that unless some cause weightier had-stood-in-the-way no
philosophiae locum esse pateremur, qui non Latinis litteris
of-philosophy topic to-be we-would-allow which not in-Latin letters

inlustratus pateret. Quod enim munus rei publicae
illuminated lay-open what for service to-the-thing public
adferre maius meliusve possumus, quam si docemus atque
to-bring greater or-better can-we than if we-teach and
erudimus iuventutem? His praesertim moribus atque
instruct the-youth in-these especially morals and
temporibus, quibus ita prolapsa est, ut omnium opibus
times in-which so fallen-forward it-has that of-all-men by-resources
refrenanda atque coërcenda sit.
to-be-reined-in and restrained it-is
Nec vero id effici posse confido, quod ne
nor indeed that to-be-accomplished to-be-able am-I-confident which not
postulandum quidem est, ut omnes adulescentes se ad
to-be-demanded even is that all young-men themselves to
haec studia convertant. Pauci utinam! Quorum tamen in re
these studies should-turn few would-that whose still in the-thing
publica late patere poterit industria. Equidem ex iis etiam
public widely to-extend will-be-able the-industry for-my-part from those also
fructum capio laboris mei, qui iam aetate provecti in nostris
fruit take of-labor my who now in-age advanced in our
libris adquiescunt; quorum studio legendi meum scribendi
books rest whose by-zeal of-reading my of-writing
studium vehementius in dies incitatur; quos quidem plures,
zeal more-vehemently into days is-roused whom indeed more
quam rebar, esse cognovi. Magnificum illud etiam Romanisque
than I-thought to-be I-have-learned magnificent that also and-for-Roman
hominibus gloriosum, ut Graecis de philosophia litteris non
men glorious that of-Greek about philosophy writings not
egeant; quod adsequar profecto, si instituta perfecero.
they-need which I-shall-attain surely if what-I-have-begun I-shall-complete

Ac mihi quidem explicandae philosophiae causam adtulit 6
and to-me indeed of-expounding philosophy the-reason brought
casus gravis civitatis, cum in armis civilibus nec tueri meo
the-misfortune grave of-the-state when in arms civil neither to-guard in-my
more rem publicam nec nihil agere poteram nec, quid potius,
manner the-thing public nor nothing to-do I-could nor what rather
quod quidem me dignum esset, agerem, reperiebam. Dabunt
which indeed me worthy were I-might-do did-I-find they-will-give
igitur mihi veniam mei cives vel gratiam potius habebunt,
therefore to-me pardon my citizens or thanks rather will-have
quod, cum esset in unius potestate res publica, neque ego
because when was in of-one-man the-power the-thing public neither I
me abdidi neque deserui neque adflixi neque ita gessi, quasi
myself hid nor deserted nor afflicted nor so behaved as-if
homini aut temporibus iratus, neque porro ita aut adulatus
with-the-man or with-the-times angry nor moreover so either flattered
aut admiratus fortunam sum alterius, ut me meae paeniteret.
or admired the-fortune I-have of-another that me of-my-own it-repented
Id enim ipsum a Platone philosophiaque didiceram, naturales
that for itself from Plato and-philosophy I-had-learned natural
esse quasdam conversiones rerum publicarum, ut eae tum
to-be certain revolutions of-states public so-that they now
a principibus tenerentur, tum a populis, aliquando a singulis.
by the-leading-men were-held now by the-peoples sometimes by single-men
Quod cum accidisset nostrae rei publicae, tum pristinis 7
which when had-happened to-our thing public then of-our-former
orbati muneribus haec studia renovare coepimus, ut et
bereft offices these studies to-renew we-began so-that both
animus molestiis hac potissimum re levaretur et
the-mind from-troubles by-this most-of-all thing might-be-relieved and
prodessemus civibus nostris, qua re cumque possemus.
we-might-benefit citizens our by-whatever thing ever we-could

In libris enim sententiam dicebamus, contionabamur,
in books for opinion we-were-stating we-were-haranguing
philosophiam nobis pro rei publicae procuratione
philosophy for-us in-place-of of-the-thing public the-administration
substitutam putabamus. Nunc quoniam de re publica
substituted we-thought now since about the-thing public
consuli coepti sumus, tribuenda est opera rei publicae,
to-be-consulted begun we-have to-be-given is effort to-the-thing public
vel omnis potius in ea cogitatio et cura ponenda, tantum
or all rather on it thought and care to-be-placed only-so-much
huic studio relinquendum, quantum vacabit a publico
to-this study to-be-left as will-be-free from public
officio et munere. Sed haec alias pluribus; nunc
duty and office but these-things at-another-time more-fully now
ad institutam disputationem revertamur.
to the-undertaken disputation let-us-return

II · WHAT DIVINATION COULD CONCERN

Seated in the library of the Lyceum, Cicero answers his brother, affirming nothing and doubting most. Of what is divination? Not of what the senses perceive, nor of what the arts handle, nor of philosophy or politics. Quintus defined it as the foreknowledge of things that happen by chance; but what physicians, helmsmen, and generals foresee is foreknown by skill, and only Marcellus' shipwreck would remain.

8 Nam cum de divinatione Quintus frater ea disseruisset,
for when about divination Quintus my-brother those-things had-discussed
quae superiore libro scripta sunt, satisque ambulatum videretur,
which in-the-former book written are and-enough walked it-seemed
tum in bibliotheca, quae in Lycio est, adsedimus. Atque ego:
then in the-library which in the-Lyceum is we-sat-down and I

Adcurate tu quidem, inquam, Quinte, et Stoice Stoicorum
carefully you indeed I-said Quintus and like-a-Stoic of-the-Stoics
sententiam defendisti, quodque me maxime delectat, plurimis
the-opinion have-defended and-what me most delights very-many
nostris exemplis usus es, et iis quidem claris et inlustribus.
our examples used you-have and those indeed famous and illustrious
Dicendum est mihi igitur ad ea, quae sunt a te dicta,
to-be-spoken it-is by-me therefore to those-things which have-been by you said
sed ita, nihil ut adfirmem, quaeram omnia, dubitans
but so nothing that I-affirm I-shall-inquire-into all-things doubting
plerumque et mihi ipse diffidens. Si enim aliquid certi haberem,
mostly and me myself distrusting if for anything certain I-had
quod dicerem, ego ipse divinarem, qui esse divinationem nego.
which I-might-say I myself would-divine who to-exist divination deny
Etenim me movet illud, quod in primis Carneades quaerere 9
for-indeed me moves that which among the-first Carneades to-ask
solebat, quarumnam rerum divinatio esset, earumne, quae
was-wont of-what-pray things divination was whether-of-those which
sensibus perciperentur. At eas quidem cernimus, audimus,
by-the-senses are-perceived but those indeed we-discern hear
gustamus, olfacimus, tangimus. Num quid ergo in his
taste smell touch surely-not anything therefore in these
rebus est, quod provisione aut permotione mentis magis quam
things is which by-foresight or agitation of-mind rather than
natura ipsa sentiamus? Aut num nescio qui ille divinus,
by-nature itself we-perceive or surely-not I-know-not what that diviner
si oculis captus sit, ut Tiresias fuit, possit, quae alba sint,
if in-eyes blinded he-be as Tiresias was could what white are
quae nigra, dicere aut, si surdus sit, varietates vocum aut
what black say or if deaf he-be the-varieties of-sounds or
modos noscere? Ad nullam igitur earum rerum, quae sensu
the-measures recognize to none therefore of-those things which by-sense

accipiuntur, divinatio adhibetur. Atqui ne in iis quidem
are-received divination is-applied and-yet not in those even
rebus, quae arte tractantur, divinatione opus est. Etenim
things which by-art are-handled of-divination need is for-indeed
ad aegros non vates aut hariolos, sed medicos solemus
to the-sick not seers or soothsayers but physicians we-are-wont
adducere, nec vero, qui fidibus aut tibiis uti volunt, ab
to-bring nor indeed those-who the-lyre or the-pipes to-use wish from
haruspicibus accipiunt earum tractationem, sed a musicis.
the-haruspices receive their handling but from musicians
10 Eadem in litteris ratio est reliquisque rebus, quarum est
the-same in letters the-reasoning is and-the-other things of-which is
disciplina. Num censes eos, qui divinare dicuntur, posse
a-discipline surely-not you-think those who to-divine are-said to-be-able
respondere, sol maiorne quam terra sit an tantus,
to-answer the-sun whether-greater than the-earth is or as-great
quantus videatur? Lunaque suo lumine an solis utatur?
as-great-as it-seems and-the-moon its-own light or of-the-sun uses
Sol, luna quem motum habeat? Quem quinque stellae,
the-sun the-moon what motion has what the-five stars
quae errare dicuntur? Nec haec, qui divini habentur,
which to-wander are-said nor these-things those-who diviners are-held
profitentur se esse dicturos, nec eorum, quae in
profess themselves to-be about-to-tell nor of-those-things which in
geometria describuntur, quae vera, quae falsa sint; sunt
geometry are-drawn which true which false are they-are
enim ea mathematicorum, non hariolorum.
for those of-mathematicians not of-soothsayers
De illis vero rebus, quae in philosophia versantur, num
about those indeed things which in philosophy move surely-not
quid est, quod quisquam divinorum aut respondere soleat
anything is which anyone of-diviners either to-answer is-wont

aut consuli, quid bonum sit, quid malum, quid neutrum?
or to-be-consulted what good is what bad what neither
Sunt enim haec propria philosophorum.
are for these-things proper of-philosophers
Quid? De officio num quis haruspicem consulit, quem 11
what about duty surely-not anyone a-haruspex consults in-what
ad modum sit cum parentibus, cum fratribus, cum amicis
to manner it-is with parents with brothers with friends
vivendum? Quem ad modum utendum pecunia, quem ad
to-be-lived in-what to manner to-be-used money in-what to
modum honore, quem ad modum imperio? Ad sapientes haec,
manner office in-what to manner command to the-wise these-things
non ad divinos referri solent. Quid? Quae a dialecticis
not to diviners to-be-referred are-wont what the-things-which by the-dialecticians
aut a physicis tractantur, num quid eorum divinari potest?
or by the-physicists are-handled surely-not any of-them to-be-divined can
Unusne mundus sit an plures, quae sint initia rerum, ex
whether-one world there-is or several what are the-beginnings of-things from
quibus nascuntur omnia: physicorum est ista prudentia. Quo
which arise all-things of-the-physicists is that wisdom in-what
modo autem mentientem, quem ψευδόμενον vocant, dissolvas
way moreover the-liar which pseudomenos they-call would-you-solve
aut quem ad modum soriti resistas (quem, si necesse sit,
or in-what to manner to-the-sorites resist which if necessary it-be
Latino verbo liceat acervalem appellare; sed nihil opus
by-a-Latin word it-might-be-allowed the-heaper to-call but nothing need
est; ut enim ipsa philosophia et multa verba Graecorum, sic
is as for itself philosophy and many words of-the-Greeks so
sorites satis Latino sermone tritus est): ergo haec quoque
the-sorites enough in-Latin speech worn is therefore these-things too
dialectici dicent, non divini. Quid? Cum quaeritur, qui sit
the-dialecticians will-tell not the-diviners what when it-is-asked what is

optimus rei publicae status, quae leges, qui mores
the-best of-the-thing public the-constitution what laws what morals
aut utiles aut inutiles, haruspicesne ex Etruria arcessentur,
either useful or useless haruspices-whether from Etruria will-be-summoned
an principes statuent et delecti viri periti rerum civilium?
or the-leading-men will-decide and chosen men skilled in-affairs civil
12 Quodsi nec earum rerum, quae subiectae sensibus sunt, ulla
but-if neither of-those things which subject to-the-senses are any
divinatio est nec earum, quae artibus continentur, nec earum,
divination is nor of-those which by-arts are-held nor of-those
quae in philosophia disseruntur, nec earum, quae in re
which in philosophy are-discussed nor of-those which in the-thing
publica versantur, quarum rerum sit, nihil prorsus intellego; nam
public move of-what things it-is nothing at-all I-understand for
aut omnium debet esse, aut aliqua ei materia danda est, in
either of-all-things it-ought to-be or some to-it material to-be-given is in
qua versari possit. Sed nec omnium divinatio est, ut ratio
which to-move it-may-be-able but neither of-all-things divination is as reason
docuit, nec locus nec materia invenitur, cui divinationem
has-taught nor place nor material is-found over-which divination
praeficere possimus. Vide igitur, ne nulla sit divinatio. Est
to-set we-can see therefore lest none be divination there-is
quidam Graecus vulgaris in hanc sententiam versus:
a-certain Greek common to this sense verse

Bene qui coniciet, vatem hunc perhibebo optumum.
well who will-guess the-seer this-one I-will-call best

Num igitur aut, quae tempestas inpendeat, vates melius
surely-not therefore either what storm threatens the-seer better
coniciet quam gubernator aut morbi naturam acutius
will-guess than the-helmsman or of-a-disease the-nature more-sharply

quam medicus aut belli administrationem prudentius quam
than the-physician or of-war the-conduct more-prudently than
inperator coniectura adsequetur?
the-commander by-conjecture will-attain
Sed animadverti, Quinte, te caute et ab iis coniecturis, 13
but I-noticed Quintus you cautiously both from those conjectures
quae haberent artem atque prudentiam, et ab iis
which had art and prudence and from those
rebus, quae sensibus aut artificiis perciperentur, abducere
things which by-the-senses or by-arts were-perceived to-withdraw
divinationem eamque ita definire: divinationem esse earum
divination and-it so to-define divination to-be of-those
rerum praedictionem et praesensionem, quae essent fortuitae.
things the-prediction and foreknowledge which were fortuitous
Primum eodem revolveris. Nam et medici et
first to-the-same-place you-roll-back for both of-the-physician and
gubernatoris et imperatoris praesensio est rerum fortuitarum.
of-the-helmsman and of-the-commander foreknowledge is of-things fortuitous
Num igitur aut haruspex aut augur aut vates quis aut
surely-not therefore either a-haruspex or an-augur or a-seer any or
somnians melius coniecerit aut e morbo evasurum
a-dreamer better will-have-guessed either from disease about-to-escape
aegrotum aut e periculo navem aut ex insidiis exercitum
the-sick-man or from danger the-ship or from ambush the-army
quam medicus, quam gubernator, quam imperator?
than the-physician than the-helmsman than the-commander
Atqui ne illa quidem divinantis esse dicebas, ventos aut 14
and-yet not those-things even of-a-diviner to-be you-said winds or
imbres inpendentes quibusdam praesentire signis (in quo nostra
rains impending by-certain to-foresee signs in which our
quaedam Aratea memoriter a te pronuntiata sunt), etsi
certain Aratean-verses from-memory by you recited were although

haec ipsa fortuita sunt; plerumque enim, non semper
these-things themselves fortuitous are mostly for not always
eveniunt. Quae est igitur aut ubi versatur fortuitarum rerum
they-happen what is therefore or where does-it-move of-fortuitous things
praesensio, quam divinationem vocas? Quae enim praesentiri
the-foreknowledge which divination you-call what for to-be-foreseen
aut arte aut ratione aut usu aut coniectura possunt, ea
either by-art or by-reason or by-practice or by-conjecture can those-things
non divinis tribuenda putas, sed peritis. Ita relinquitur,
not to-diviners to-be-assigned you-think but to-the-skilled so it-is-left
ut ea fortuita divinari possint, quae nulla nec arte
that those fortuitous-things to-be-divined can which none neither art
nec sapientia provideri possunt; ut, si quis M. Marcellum
nor wisdom to-be-foreseen can as if anyone Marcus Marcellus
illum, qui ter consul fuit, multis annis ante dixisset
that-one who three-times consul was many years before had-said
naufragio esse periturum, divinasset profecto; nulla enim
by-shipwreck to-be about-to-perish he-would-have-divined surely by-no for
arte alia id nec sapientia scire potuisset. Talium ergo
art other that nor wisdom to-know could-he-have of-such therefore
rerum, quae in fortuna positae sunt, praesensio divinatio est.
things which in fortune placed are the-foreknowledge divination is

What happens by chance has no cause and no mark, and so cannot be foreseen; eclipses are foretold because they are necessary. If everything happens by fate, divination is useless: Deiotarus could not have escaped his fate, nor the fleets theirs, nor Flaminius' army at Trasimene. Knowledge of the future would not even help: Priam, Crassus, and Pompey would have lived in misery knowing their ends.

Potestne igitur earum rerum, quae nihil habent rationis, quare 15
can-whether therefore of-those things which nothing have of-reason why
futurae sint, esse ulla praesensio? Quid est enim aliud fors,
future they-be be any foreknowledge what is for else chance
quid fortuna, quid casus, quid eventus, nisi cum sic aliquid
what fortune what accident what outcome except when so something
cecidit, sic evenit, ut vel aliter cadere atque evenire
has-fallen-out so has-happened that either otherwise to-fall-out and to-happen
potuerit? Quo modo ergo id, quod temere fit caeco
it-could-have in-what way therefore that which at-random happens by-blind
casu et volubilitate fortunae, praesentiri et praedici potest?
accident and the-fickleness of-fortune to-be-foreseen and be-foretold can
Medicus morbum ingravescentem ratione providet, insidias 16
the-physician a-disease growing-worse by-reason foresees an-ambush
imperator, tempestates gubernator; et tamen ii ipsi saepe
the-commander storms the-helmsman and still they themselves often
falluntur, qui nihil sine certa ratione opinantur; ut agricola,
are-deceived who nothing without sure reason think as the-farmer
cum florem oleae videt, bacam quoque se visurum putat,
when the-flower of-the-olive he-sees the-berry also himself about-to-see thinks
non sine ratione ille quidem; sed non numquam tamen
not without reason he indeed but not never still
fallitur. Quodsi falluntur ii, qui nihil sine aliqua probabili
is-deceived but-if are-deceived those who nothing without some probable

coniectura ac ratione dicunt, quid existimandum est de
conjecture and reason say what to-be-reckoned is about
coniectura eorum, qui extis aut avibus aut ostentis aut
the-conjecture of-those who by-entrails or birds or portents or
oraclis aut somniis futura praesentiunt? Nondum dico, quam
oracles or dreams the-future foresee not-yet I-say how
haec signa nulla sint, fissum iecoris, corvi cantus, volatus
these signs nothing be the-cleft of-the-liver of-the-raven the-song the-flight
aquilae, stellae traiectio, voces furentium, sortes, somnia;
of-the-eagle of-a-star the-shooting the-voices of-the-raving lots dreams
de quibus singulis dicam suo loco; nunc de universis.
about which each I-will-speak in-its-own place now about all-together
17 Qui potest provideri quicquam futurum esse, quod neque
how can to-be-foreseen anything about-to-be to-be which neither
causam habet ullam neque notam, cur futurum sit? Solis
cause has any nor mark why about-to-be it-is of-the-sun
defectiones itemque lunae praedicuntur in multos annos
eclipses and-likewise of-the-moon are-foretold for many years
ab iis, qui siderum motus numeris persequuntur; ea
by those who of-the-stars the-motions with-numbers track those-things
praedicunt enim, quae naturae necessitas perfectura est.
they-foretell for which of-nature the-necessity about-to-accomplish is
Vident ex constantissimo motu lunae, quando illa e
they-see from the-most-constant motion of-the-moon when it from
regione solis facta incurrat in umbram terrae, quae
the-direction of-the-sun having-come runs into the-shadow of-the-earth which
est meta noctis, ut eam obscurari necesse sit, quandoque
is the-cone of-night so-that it to-be-darkened necessary be and-when
eadem luna subiecta atque opposita soli nostris oculis
the-same moon placed-under and opposed to-the-sun to-our eyes
eius lumen obscuret, quo in signo quaeque errantium
its light darkens what in sign each of-the-wandering

stellarum quoque tempore futura sit, qui exortus quoque
stars and-at-what time about-to-be is what rising and-on-what
die signi alicuius aut qui occasus futurus sit. Haec
day of-a-sign some or what setting about-to-be is these-things
qui ante dicunt, quam rationem sequantur, vides.
those-who beforehand tell what reasoning they-follow you-see
Qui thesaurum inventum iri aut hereditatem venturam 18
those-who a-treasure found to-be-going or an-inheritance about-to-come
dicunt, quid sequuntur? Aut in qua rerum natura inest id
say what do-they-follow or in what of-things nature is-it-in that
futurum? Quodsi haec eaque, quae sunt eiusdem generis,
about-to-be but-if these-things and-those which are of-the-same kind
habent aliquam talem necessitatem, quid est tandem, quod
have some such necessity what is-there pray which
casu fieri aut forte fortuna putemus? Nihil enim est
by-accident to-happen or by-chance fortune we-should-think nothing for is
tam contrarium rationi et constantiae quam fortuna, ut
so contrary to-reason and constancy as fortune so-that
mihi ne in deum quidem cadere videatur, ut sciat,
to-me not on god even to-fall it-seems that he-should-know
quid casu et fortuito futurum sit. Si enim scit, certe
what by-accident and fortuitously about-to-be is if for he-knows certainly
illud eveniet; sin certe eveniet, nulla fortuna est; est
it will-happen but-if certainly it-will-happen no fortune is there-is
autem fortuna; rerum igitur fortuitarum nulla praesensio est.
moreover fortune of-things therefore fortuitous no foreknowledge is
Aut si negas esse fortunam et omnia, quae fiunt quaeque 19
or if you-deny to-exist fortune and all-things which happen and-which
futura sunt, ex omni aeternitate definita dicis esse
about-to-be are from all eternity defined you-say to-be
fataliter, muta definitionem divinationis, quam dicebas
fatally change the-definition of-divination which you-were-saying

praesensionem esse rerum fortuitarum. Si enim nihil fieri
foreknowledge to-be of-things fortuitous if for nothing to-happen
potest, nihil accidere, nihil evenire, nisi quod ab omni
can nothing to-befall nothing to-come-out except what from all
aeternitate certum fuerit esse futurum rato tempore, quae
eternity certain has-been to-be about-to-be at-a-fixed time what
potest esse fortuna? Qua sublata qui locus est divinationi?
can to-be fortune which removed what place is for-divination
Quae a te fortuitarum rerum est dicta praesensio. Quamquam
which by you of-fortuitous things was called foreknowledge although
dicebas omnia, quae fierent futurave essent, fato contineri.
you-were-saying all-things which happened or-would-be were by-fate to-be-held
Anile sane et plenum superstitionis fati nomen ipsum;
old-womanish truly and full of-superstition of-fate the-name itself
sed tamen apud Stoicos de isto fato multa dicuntur; de
but still among the-Stoics about that fate much is-said about
quo alias; nunc quod necesse est.
which at-another-time now what necessary is
20 Si omnia fato, quid mihi divinatio prodest? Quod enim is,
if all-things by-fate what to-me divination does-it-profit what for he
qui divinat, praedicit, id vero futurum est, ut ne illud
who divines foretells that indeed about-to-be is so-that not that
quidem sciam quale sit, quod Deiotarum, necessarium
even I-should-know of-what-kind it-is that Deiotarus intimate
nostrum, ex itinere aquila revocavit; qui nisi revertisset,
our from his-journey an-eagle called-back who unless he-had-turned-back
in eo conclavi ei cubandum fuisset, quod proxuma
in that chamber to-him to-be-slept-in it-would-have-been which the-next
nocte corruit; ruina igitur oppressus esset. At id
night collapsed by-the-fall therefore crushed he-would-have-been but that
neque, si fatum fuerat, effugisset nec, si non fuerat,
neither if fate it-had-been would-he-have-escaped nor if not it-had-been

in eum casum incidisset. Quid ergo adiuvat divinatio?
into that mishap would-be-have-fallen what therefore helps divination
Aut quid est, quod me moneant aut sortes aut exta
or what is-there which me should-warn either lots or entrails
aut ulla praedictio? Si enim fatum fuit classes populi
or any prediction if for fate it-was the-fleets of-the-people
Romani bello Punico primo, alteram naufragio, alteram a
Roman in-the-war Punic first the-one by-shipwreck the-other by
Poenis depressam, interire, etiamsi tripudium solistumum
the-Carthaginians sunk to-perish even-if a-tripudium most-favorable
pulli fecissent L. Iunio et P. Claudio consulibus,
the-chickens had-made Lucius Junius and Publius Claudius being-consuls
classes tamen interissent. Sin, cum auspiciis obtemperatum
the-fleets still would-have-perished but-if when the-auspices obeyed
esset, interiturae classes non fuerunt, non interierunt fato;
had-been about-to-perish the-fleets not were not they-perished by-fate
vultis autem omnia fato; nulla igitur est divinatio.
you-wish moreover all-things by-fate no therefore is divination
Quodsi fatum fuit bello Punico secundo exercitum 21
but-if fate it-was in-the-war Punic second the-army
populi Romani ad lacum Trasumennum interire, num
of-the-people Roman at the-lake Trasimene to-perish surely-not
id vitari potuit, si Flaminius consul iis signis iisque
that to-be-avoided could if Flaminius the-consul to-those signs and-those
auspiciis, quibus pugnare prohibebatur, paruisset? Aut igitur
auspices by-which to-fight he-was-forbidden had-obeyed either therefore
non fato interiit exercitus, aut, si fato (quod certe vobis
not by-fate perished the-army or if by-fate as certainly by-you
ita dicendum est), etiamsi obtemperasset auspiciis, idem
so to-be-said it-is even-if he-had-obeyed the-auspices the-same
eventurum fuisset; mutari enim fata non possunt. Ubi
about-to-happen would-have-been to-be-changed for fates not can where

est igitur ista divinatio Stoicorum? Quae, si fato omnia
is therefore that divination of-the-Stoics which if by-fate all-things
fiunt, nihil nos admonere potest, ut cautiores simus;
happen nothing us to-warn can that more-cautious we-be
quoquo enim modo nos gesserimus, fiet tamen illud,
in-whatever for way ourselves we-have-conducted will-happen still that
quod futurum est; sin autem id potest flecti, nullum est
which about-to-be is but-if moreover that can be-bent no is
fatum; ita ne divinatio quidem, quoniam ea rerum futurarum
fate so not divination even since it of-things future
est. Nihil autem est pro certo futurum, quod potest aliqua
is nothing moreover is for certain about-to-be which can by-some
procuratione accidere ne fiat.
expiation to-be-brought-about that-not it-happen

22 Atque ego ne utilem quidem arbitror esse nobis futurarum
and I not useful even think to-be for-us of-future
rerum scientiam. Quae enim vita fuisset Priamo,
things the-knowledge what for life would-have-been for-Priam
si ab adulescentia scisset, quos eventus senectutis
if from youth he-had-known what outcomes of-old-age
esset habiturus? Abeamus a fabulis, propiora videamus.
he-was about-to-have let-us-go-away from myths nearer-things let-us-see
Clarissimorum hominum nostrae civitatis gravissimos exitus
of-most-famous men of-our state the-gravest ends
in Consolatione collegimus. Quid igitur? Ut omittamus
in the-Consolation we-have-collected what therefore that we-may-pass-over
superiores, Marcone Crasso putas utile fuisse
the-earlier for-Marcus-whether Crassus do-you-think useful to-have-been
tum, cum maxumis opibus fortunisque florebat, scire
then when with-the-greatest wealth and-fortunes he-flourished to-know
sibi interfecto Publio filio exercituque deleto trans
for-himself having-been-killed Publius his-son and-the-army destroyed across

Euphratem cum ignominia et dedecore esse pereundum?
the-Euphrates with ignominy and disgrace to-be to-be-perished
An Cn. Pompeium censes tribus suis consulatibus, tribus
or Gnaeus Pompey do-you-think in-three his consulships three
triumphis, maximarum rerum gloria laetaturum fuisse, si
triumphs of-the-greatest deeds in-glory about-to-rejoice to-have-been if
sciret se in solitudine Aegyptiorum trucidatum iri
he-knew himself in the-wilderness of-the-Egyptians butchered to-be-going
amisso exercitu, post mortem vero ea consecutura,
lost his-army after death indeed those-things to-be-about-to-follow
quae sine lacrimis non possumus dicere?
which without tears not we-can to-say

IV · HARUSPICY EXAMINED

Caesar would have lived in torment had he foreseen his murder at the foot of Pompey's statue. The Stoics are caught: if all is fated, divination profits nothing. Cicero turns to Quintus' kinds, beginning with haruspicy, which he upholds for the state's sake: how could observation have taught which part of the liver is friendly, when the Etruscans, Eleans, Egyptians, and Carthaginians read the entrails differently?

Quid vero Caesarem putamus, si divinasset fore ut in eo 23
what indeed Caesar do-we-think if he-had-divined it-would-be that in that
senatu, quem maiore ex parte ipse cooptasset, in curia
senate which the-greater for part he-himself had-chosen in the-senate-house
Pompeia ante ipsius Pompeii simulacrum tot centurionibus
of-Pompey before of-the-very of-Pompey the-statue so-many centurions
suis inspectantibus a nobilissumis civibus, partim etiam a
his-own looking-on by the-noblest citizens partly even by
se omnibus rebus ornatis, trucidatus ita iaceret, ut ad eius
himself with-all things honored butchered so he-would-lie that to his

corpus non modo amicorum, sed ne servorum quidem quisquam
body not only of-friends but not of-slaves even anyone
accederet, quo cruciatu animi vitam acturum fuisse? Certe
would-come with-what torture of-mind his-life about-to-spend to-have-been certainly
igitur ignoratio futurorum malorum utilior est quam scientia.
therefore ignorance of-future evils more-useful is than knowledge
24 Nam illud quidem dici, praesertim a Stoicis, nullo modo
for that indeed to-be-said especially by the-Stoics in-no way
potest: Non isset ad arma Pompeius, non transisset
can not would-have-gone to arms Pompey not would-have-crossed
Crassus Euphratem, non suscepisset bellum civile Caesar.
Crassus the-Euphrates not would-have-undertaken war civil Caesar
Non igitur fatalis exitus habuerunt; vultis autem evenire
not therefore fated ends they-had you-wish moreover to-happen
omnia fato; nihil ergo illis profuisset divinare; atque
all-things by-fate nothing therefore to-them would-have-profited to-divine and
etiam omnem fructum vitae superioris perdidissent; quid
even all the-fruit of-life earlier they-would-have-lost what
enim posset iis esse laetum exitus suos cogitantibus? Ita,
for could to-them to-be glad their ends contemplating so
quoquo sese verterint Stoici, iaceat necesse est omnis
whichever-way themselves may-turn the-Stoics lie-flat necessary it-is all
eorum sollertia. Si enim id, quod eventurum est, vel
their cleverness if for that which about-to-happen is either
hoc vel illo modo potest evenire, fortuna valet plurimum;
in-this or in-that way can to-happen fortune avails most
quae autem fortuita sunt, certa esse non possunt. Sin
what-things moreover fortuitous are certain to-be not can but-if
autem certum est, quid quaque de re quoque tempore
moreover certain it-is what each about thing at-each time
futurum sit, quid est, quod me adiuvent haruspices?
about-to-be is what is-there why me should-help the-haruspices

Qui cum res tristissimas portendi dixerunt, addunt ad
who when things most-grim to-be-portended they-have-said add at
extremum omnia levius casura rebus divinis procuratis;
the-end all-things more-lightly about-to-fall rites divine performed
si enim nihil fit extra fatum, nihil levari re 25
if for nothing happens outside fate nothing to-be-lightened by-a-rite
divina potest. Hoc sentit Homerus, cum querentem Iovem
divine can this perceives Homer when complaining Jupiter
inducit, quod Sarpedonem filium a morte contra fatum
he-brings-on because Sarpedon his-son from death against fate
eripere non posset. Hoc idem significat Graecus ille in eam
to-snatch not he-could this same signifies the-Greek that to this
sententiam versus:
sense verse

Quod fore paratum est, id summum exsuperat Iovem.
what to-be prepared is that the-highest surpasses Jupiter

Totum omnino fatum etiam Atellanio versu iure mihi esse
the-whole altogether fate even by-an-Atellan verse justly to-me to-have-been
inrisum videtur; sed in rebus tam severis non est iocandi
mocked seems but in matters so severe not is of-joking
locus. Concludatur igitur ratio: Si enim provideri nihil
the-place let-be-concluded therefore the-argument if for to-be-foreseen nothing
potest futurum esse eorum, quae casu fiunt, quia esse
can about-to-be to-be of-those-things which by-chance happen because to-be
certa non possunt, divinatio nulla est; sin autem idcirco
certain not they-can divination none is but-if moreover for-this-reason
possunt provideri, quia certa sunt et fatalia, rursus divinatio
they-can to-be-foreseen because certain they-are and fated again divination
nulla est; eam enim tu fortuitarum rerum esse dicebas.
none is it for you of-fortuitous things to-be you-said

26 Sed haec fuerit nobis tamquam levis armaturae prima
but this let-it-have-been for-us as-if of-light armor the-first
orationis excursio; nunc comminus agamus experiamurque,
of-the-speech sally now at-close-quarters let-us-act and-let-us-try
si possimus cornua commovere disputationis tuae.
if we-can the-wings to-dislodge of-argument your
Duo enim genera divinandi esse dicebas, unum artificiosum,
two for kinds of-divining to-be you-were-saying one artificial
alterum naturale; artificiosum constare partim ex coniectura,
the-other natural the-artificial to-consist partly of conjecture
partim ex observatione diuturna; naturale, quod animus
partly of observation long the-natural what the-soul
arriperet aut exciperet extrinsecus ex divinitate, unde omnes
snatched or caught-up from-outside from divinity whence all
animos haustos aut acceptos aut libatos haberemus. Artificiosa
souls drawn or received or tasted we-had artificial
divinationis illa fere genera ponebas: extispicum
of-divination those roughly kinds you-placed of-the-entrail-inspectors
eorumque, qui ex fulgoribus ostentisque praedicerent, tum
and-of-those who from lightnings and-portents foretold then
augurum eorumque, qui signis aut ominibus uterentur,
of-the-augurs and-of-those who signs or omens used
omneque genus coniecturale in hoc fere genere ponebas.
and-every kind conjectural in this roughly kind you-placed
27 Illud autem naturale aut concitatione mentis edi
that moreover natural either by-excitement of-mind to-be-brought-forth
et quasi fundi videbatur aut animo per somnum
and as-it-were to-be-poured-out seemed or by-the-soul through sleep
sensibus et curis vacuo provideri. Duxisti autem divinationem
of-senses and cares free to-be-foreseen you-derived moreover divination
omnem a tribus rebus, a deo, a fato, a natura. Sed
all from three things from god from fate from nature but

tamen cum explicare nihil posses, pugnasti commenticiorum
still since to-explain nothing you-could you-fought of-invented
exemplorum mirifica copia. De quo primum hoc libet
examples with-a-wonderful abundance about which first this it-pleases
dicere: Hoc ego philosophi non esse arbitror, testibus uti,
to-say this I of-a-philosopher not to-be think witnesses to-use
qui aut casu veri aut malitia falsi fictique esse possunt;
who either by-chance true or by-malice false and-invented to-be can
argumentis et rationibus oportet, quare quidque ita sit, docere,
by-arguments and reasons it-behooves why each-thing so is to-teach
non eventis, iis praesertim, quibus mihi liceat non credere.
not by-outcomes those especially which to-me it-is-allowed not to-believe
Ut ordiar ab haruspicina, quam ego rei publicae 28
that I-may-begin from haruspicy which I of-the-thing public
causa communisque religionis colendam censeo. Sed soli
for-the-sake and-of-common religion to-be-cultivated think but alone
sumus; licet verum exquirere sine invidia, mihi praesertim
we-are it-is-allowed the-truth to-search-out without odium for-me especially
de plerisque dubitanti. Inspiciamus, si placet, exta primum.
about most-things doubting let-us-inspect if it-pleases the-entrails first
Persuaderi igitur cuiquam potest ea, quae significari
to-be-persuaded therefore anyone can those-things which to-be-signified
dicuntur extis, cognita esse ab haruspicibus observatione
are-said by-entrails known to-have-been by the-haruspices by-observation
diuturna? Quam diuturna ista fuit? Aut quam longinquo
long how long that was or over-how long
tempore observari potuit? Aut quo modo est conlatum
a-time to-be-observed could-it or in-what way was-it compared
inter ipsos, quae pars inimica, quae pars familiaris esset, quod
among themselves what part hostile what part friendly was what
fissum periculum, quod commodum aliquod ostenderet? An
cleft danger what advantage some showed or

haec inter se haruspices Etrusci, Elii, Aegyptii, Poeni
these-things among themselves the-haruspices Etruscan Elean Egyptian Carthaginian
contulerunt? At id, praeterquam quod fieri non potuit, ne
compared but that besides that to-happen not it-could not
fingi quidem potest; alios enim alio more videmus
to-be-imagined even can others for in-another way we-see
exta interpretari, nec esse unam omnium disciplinam.
the-entrails to-interpret nor to-be one of-all discipline
29 Et certe, si est in extis aliqua vis, quae declaret futura,
and certainly if there-is in entrails some force which declares the-future
necesse est eam aut cum rerum natura esse coniunctam aut
necessary it-is it either with of-things the-nature to-be joined or
conformari quodam modo numine deorum vique divina.
to-be-shaped in-a-certain way by-the-divine-will of-the-gods and-by-force divine
Cum rerum natura tanta tamque praeclara in omnes partes
with of-things the-nature so-great and-so splendid into all parts
motusque diffusa quid habere potest commune non dicam
and-motions diffused what to-have can in-common not I-will-say
gallinaceum fel (sunt enim, qui vel argutissima haec exta
a-chicken's gall there-are for those-who even most-telling these entrails
esse dicant), sed tauri opimi iecur aut cor aut pulmo
to-be say but of-a-bull fat the-liver or the-heart or the-lung
quid habet naturale, quod declarare possit, quid futurum sit?
what has-it natural which to-declare could what about-to-be is

Democritus held that the entrails show the land's health and fertility, but different animals' entrails differ at the same hour. Grant the sympathy of nature, which the Stoics illustrate by the moon and the tides: what links a cleft in the liver with my small profit? And the claim that a divine force guides the choice of victim, or changes the entrails at the moment of sacrifice, shames the Stoics.

Democritus tamen non inscite nugatur, ut physicus, quo 30
Democritus still not unskillfully trifles as a-physicist than-which
genere nihil adrogantius:
kind nothing more-arrogant

Quod est ante pedes, nemo spectat, caeli scrutantur plagas.
what is before the-feet no-one looks-at of-the-sky they-search the-regions

Verum is tamen habitu extorum et colore declarari
but he still by-the-condition of-the-entrails and by-the-color to-be-declared
censet haec dumtaxat: pabuli genus et earum rerum, quas
holds these-things merely of-fodder the-kind and of-those things which
terra procreet, vel ubertatem vel tenuitatem; salubritatem
the-earth produces either the-abundance or the-meagerness the-healthfulness
etiam aut pestilentiam extis significari putat. O mortalem
also or the-pestilence by-entrails to-be-signified he-thinks O mortal
beatum! Cui certo scio ludum numquam defuisse;
blessed for-whom surely I-know play never to-have-been-lacking
huncine hominem tantis delectatum esse nugis, ut
this-whether the-man by-such-great delighted to-have-been trifles that
non videret tum futurum id veri simile, si omnium
not he-saw then about-to-be that of-truth like if of-all
pecudum exta eodem tempore in eundem habitum se
cattle the-entrails at-the-same time into the-same condition themselves

coloremque converterent? Sed si eadem hora aliae pecudis
and-color should-turn but if at-the-same hour of-one beast
iecur nitidum atque plenum est, aliae horridum et exile, quid
the-liver glossy and full is of-another rough and thin what
est, quod declarari possit habitu extorum et colore?
is-there which to-be-declared can by-the-condition of-the-entrails and by-the-color
31 An hoc eiusdem modi est, quale Pherecydeum illud, quod
or this of-the-same kind is as Pherecydean that-story which
est a te dictum? Qui cum aquam ex puteo vidisset
was by you told who when water from a-well he-had-seen
haustam, terrae motum dixit futurum. Parum, credo,
drawn of-the-earth a-quake said about-to-be too-little I-suppose
inpudenter, quod, cum factus est motus, dicere audent, quae
shamelessly because when made is a-quake to-say they-dare what
vis id effecerit; etiamne futurum esse aquae iugis colore
force it brought-about even-whether about-to-be to-be of-water perennial color
praesentiunt? Multa istius modi dicuntur in scholis, sed
they-foresee many-things of-that kind are-said in the-schools but
credere omnia vide ne non sit necesse.
to-believe all-things see lest not it-be necessary
32 Verum sint sane ista Democritea vera; quando
but let-them-be by-all-means those Democritean-things true when
ea nos extis exquirimus? Aut quando aliquid eius
those-things we by-entrails do-we-search-out or when anything of-that
modi ab haruspice inspectis extis audivimus? Ab aqua
kind from a-haruspex inspected entrails have-we-heard from water
aut ab igni pericula monent; tum hereditates, tum damna
or from fire dangers they-warn-of now inheritances now losses
denuntiant; fissum familiare et vitale tractant; caput iecoris
they-announce the-cleft familiar and vital they-handle the-head of-the-liver

ex omni parte diligentissime considerant; si vero id non
from every side most-carefully they-consider if indeed it not
est inventum, nihil putant accidere potuisse tristius.
was found nothing they-think to-happen could more-grim
Haec observari certe non potuerunt, ut supra docui. Sunt 33
these-things to-be-observed certainly not could as above I-showed they-are
igitur artis inventa, non vetustatis, si est ars ulla rerum
therefore of-art inventions not of-antiquity if there-is an-art any of-things
incognitarum; cum rerum autem natura quam cognationem
unknown with of-things moreover the-nature what kinship
habent? Quae ut uno consensu iuncta sit et continens, quod
have-they which though in-one consensus joined be and continuous which
video placuisse physicis, eisque maxume, qui omne, quod
I-see to-have-pleased the-physicists and-to-those most who all that
esset, unum esse dixerunt, quid habere mundus potest cum
existed one to-be said what to-have the-world can with
thesauri inventione coniunctum? Si enim extis pecuniae mihi
of-a-treasure the-finding joined if for by-entrails of-money to-me
amplificatio ostenditur idque fit natura, primum exta
increase is-shown and-that happens by-nature first the-entrails
sunt coniuncta mundo, deinde meum lucrum natura rerum
are joined to-the-world then my gain by-the-nature of-things
continetur. Nonne pudet physicos haec dicere? Ut
is-held surely it-shames the-physicists these-things to-say granted-that
enim iam sit aliqua in natura rerum contagio, quam esse
for now there-be some in the-nature of-things sympathy which to-exist
concedo (multa enim Stoici colligunt; nam et musculorum
I-grant many-things for the-Stoics collect for both of-mice
iecuscula bruma dicuntur augeri, et puleium aridum
the-little-livers at-midwinter are-said to-be-enlarged and pennyroyal dry
florescere brumali ipso die, et inflatas rumpi vesiculas, et
to-flower on-the-wintry very day and inflated to-burst the-little-bladders and

semina malorum, quae in iis mediis inclusa sint, in contrarias
the-seeds of-apples which in their middles enclosed are into contrary
partis se vertere, iam nervos in fidibus aliis pulsis
directions themselves to-turn moreover strings on lyres others being-struck
resonare alios, ostreisque et conchyliis omnibus contingere, ut
to-resound others and-to-oysters and to-shellfish all to-happen that
cum luna pariter crescant pariterque decrescant, arboresque
with the-moon equally they-grow and-equally decrease and-trees
ut hiemali tempore cum luna simul senescente, quia tum
that in-winter time with the-moon together waning because then
exsiccatae sint, tempestive caedi putentur.
dried-out they-are timely to-be-cut are-thought
34 Quid de fretis aut de marinis aestibus plura dicam?
what about straits or about sea tides more shall-I-say
Quorum accessus et recessus lunae motu gubernantur.
whose flowings and ebbings of-the-moon by-motion are-governed
Sescenta licet eiusdem modi proferri, ut
six-hundred-things it-is-allowed of-the-same kind to-be-brought-forward so-that
distantium rerum cognatio naturalis appareat) — demus
of-distant things a-kinship natural appears let-us-grant
hoc; nihil enim huic disputationi adversatur; num etiam, si
this nothing for to-this disputation is-opposed surely-not also if
fissum cuiusdam modi fuerit in iecore, lucrum ostenditur?
a-cleft of-a-certain kind there-has-been in the-liver gain is-shown
Qua ex coniunctione naturae et quasi concentu atque
what from conjunction of-nature and as-it-were harmony and
consensu, quam συμπάθειαν Graeci appellant, convenire potest
consensus which sympatheia the-Greeks call to-agree can
aut fissum iecoris cum lucello meo aut meus quaesticulus
either a-cleft of-the-liver with little-gain my or my little-profit
cum caelo, terra rerumque natura? Concedam hoc ipsum,
with the-sky the-earth and-of-things the-nature I-will-grant this itself

si vis, etsi magnam iacturam causae fecero, si
if you-wish although great loss of-my-case I-shall-have-made if
ullam esse convenientiam naturae cum extis concessero;
any to-be agreement of-nature with entrails I-shall-have-granted
sed tamen eo concesso qui evenit, ut is, qui 35
but still that granted how does-it-come-about that he who
impetrire velit, convenientem hostiam rebus suis
to-obtain-a-favorable-omen wishes a-suitable victim for-matters his-own
immolet? Hoc erat, quod ego non rebar posse dissolvi. At
sacrifices this was what I not thought to-be-able to-be-solved but
quam festive dissolvitur! Pudet me non tui quidem, cuius
how charmingly it-is-solved it-shames me not of-you indeed whose
etiam memoriam admiror, sed Chrysippi, Antipatri, Posidonii,
even memory I-admire but of-Chrysippus Antipater Posidonius
qui idem istuc quidem dicunt, quod est dictum a te, ad
who the-same that indeed say which was said by you for
hostiam deligendam ducem esse vim quandam sentientem
the-victim to-be-chosen the-guide to-be a-force certain sentient
atque divinam, quae toto confusa mundo sit. Illud
and divine which through-the-whole diffused world is that
vero multo etiam melius, quod et a te usurpatum est et
indeed much even better which both by you employed was and
dicitur ab illis: cum immolare quispiam velit, tum fieri
is-said by them when to-sacrifice anyone wishes then to-be-made
extorum mutationem, ut aut absit aliquid aut supersit;
of-the-entrails a-change so-that either be-absent something or be-in-excess
deorum enim numini parere omnia. Haec iam, mihi 36
of-the-gods for the-divine-will to-obey all-things these-things now me
crede, ne aniculae quidem existimant. An censes,
believe not little-old-women even think or do-you-think
eundem vitulum si alius delegerit, sine capite iecur
the-same calf if one-man had-chosen without a-head the-liver

inventurum; si alius, cum capite? Haec decessio capitis aut
about-to-find if another with a-head this departure of-the-head or
accessio subitone fieri potest, ut se exta ad
addition suddenly-whether to-happen can that themselves the-entrails to
immolatoris fortunam accommodent? Non perspicitis aleam
the-sacrificer's fortune adapt not do-you-perceive a-dice-game
quandam esse in hostiis deligendis, praesertim cum res
certain to-be in victims choosing especially since the-matter
ipsa doceat? Cum enim exta sine capite fuerunt, quibus
itself teaches when for the-entrails without a-head have-been than-which
nihil videtur esse dirius, proxuma hostia litatur saepe
nothing seems to-be more-dire the-next victim gives-good-omens often
pulcherrime. Ubi igitur illae minae superiorum extorum?
most-beautifully where therefore those threats of-the-former entrails
Aut quae tam subito facta est deorum tanta placatio?
or what so suddenly made has-been of-the-gods such-great appeasement
Sed adfers in tauri opimi extis immolante Caesare
but you-adduce in of-a-bull fat the-entrails sacrificing Caesar
cor non fuisse; id quia non potuerit accidere, ut sine
a-heart not to-have-been that because not it-could to-happen that without
corde victuma illa viveret, iudicandum esse tum interisse
a-heart victim that should-live to-be-judged it-is then to-have-perished
cor, cum immolaretur.
the-heart when it-was-being-sacrificed

The heart of Caesar's ox could not vanish at the sacrifice; such tales overturn all physics. Victims to several gods give different signs, as if the gods disagreed, and the Stoics' syllogism turns against them: if there is no divination, there are no gods. The Etruscans' sixteen regions of the sky and the rule against assemblies when Jupiter thunders serve the state; the Stoics themselves explain lightning by the earth's exhalations.

Qui fit, ut alterum intellegas, sine corde non 37
how does-it-happen that the-one you-understand without a-heart not
potuisse bovem vivere, alterum non videas, cor subito
to-have-been-able the-ox to-live the-other not you-see the-heart suddenly
non potuisse nescio quo avolare? Ego enim possum
not to-have-been-able I-know-not whither to-fly-off I for can
vel nescire, quae vis sit cordis ad vivendum, vel suspicari
either not-to-know what force is of-the-heart for living or suspect
contractum aliquo morbo bovis exile et exiguum et vietum
shrunk by-some disease of-the-ox thin and small and shriveled
cor et dissimile cordis fuisse; tu vero quid habes, quare
the-heart and unlike a-heart to-have-been you indeed what have-you why
putes, si paulo ante cor fuerit in tauro opimo, subito
you-should-think if a-little before a-heart there-was in the-bull fat suddenly
id in ipsa immolatione interisse? An quod aspexit vestitu
it in the-very sacrifice to-have-perished or because he-beheld in-robe
purpureo excordem Caesarem, ipse corde privatus est? Urbem
purple heartless Caesar himself of-heart deprived he-was the-city
philosophiae, mihi crede, proditis, dum castella defenditis;
of-philosophy me believe you-betray while the-forts you-defend
nam, dum haruspicinam veram esse vultis, physiologiam
for while haruspicy true to-be you-wish physiology
totam pervertitis. Caput est in iecore, cor in extis; iam
whole you-overturn a-head is in the-liver a-heart in the-entrails presently

abscedet, simul ac molam et vinum insperseris; deus
it-will-go-away as-soon as meal and wine you-have-sprinkled a-god
id eripiet, vis aliqua conficiet aut exedet. Non ergo
it will-snatch-away a-force some will-consume or will-eat-up not therefore
omnium ortus atque obitus natura conficiet, et erit
of-all-things the-arising and passing nature will-accomplish and there-will-be
aliquid, quod aut ex nihilo oriatur aut in nihilum subito
something which either from nothing arises or into nothing suddenly
occidat. Quis hoc physicus dixit umquam? Haruspices dicunt;
perishes what this physicist said ever the-haruspices say
his igitur quam physicis credendum potius existumas?
these therefore than physicists to-be-believed rather do-you-reckon
38 Quid? Cum pluribus deis immolatur, qui tandem evenit,
what when to-several gods sacrifice-is-made how pray does-it-come-about
ut litetur aliis, aliis non litetur? Quae autem
that it-gives-good-omens for-some for-others not it-gives-good-omens what moreover
inconstantia deorum est, ut primis minentur extis, bene
inconstancy of-the-gods is-it that in-the-first they-threaten entrails well
promittant secundis? Aut tanta inter eos dissensio, saepe
promise in-the-second or so-great among them discord often
etiam inter proxumos, ut Apollinis exta bona sint, Dianae
even among the-nearest that of-Apollo the-entrails good be of-Diana
non bona? Quid est tam perspicuum quam, cum fortuito
not good what is so evident as since by-chance
hostiae adducantur, talia cuique exta esse, qualis cuique
victims are-brought such for-each entrails to-be as to-each
obtigerit hostia? At enim id ipsum habet aliquid divini,
has-fallen-to-the-lot the-victim but indeed that itself has something divine
quae cuique hostia obtingat, tamquam in sortibus, quae
which to-each victim falls as-if in lots which
cui ducatur. Mox de sortibus; quamquam tu quidem
to-whom is-drawn soon about lots although you indeed

non hostiarum causam confirmas sortium similitudine, sed
not of-victims the-case confirm of-lots by-the-likeness but
infirmas sortis conlatione hostiarum.
you-weaken the-lots by-the-comparison of-victims
An, cum in Aequimaelium misimus, qui adferat agnum, quem 39
or when into the-Aequimaelium we-have-sent one-to bring a-lamb which
immolemus, is mihi agnus adfertur, qui habet exta rebus
we-may-sacrifice that to-me lamb is-brought which has entrails to-the-matters
accommodata, et ad eum agnum non casu, sed duce deo
suited and to that lamb not by-chance but as-guide with-god
servus deducitur? Nam si casum in eo quoque dicis esse quasi
the-slave is-led for if chance in this too you-say to-be as-it-were
sortem quandam cum deorum voluntate coniunctam, doleo
a-lot certain with of-the-gods the-will joined I-grieve
tantam Stoicos nostros Epicureis inridendi sui facultatem
so-great the-Stoics our to-the-Epicureans of-mocking them the-opportunity
dedisse; non enim ignoras, quam ista derideant.
to-have-given not for you-are-ignorant how those-things they-deride
Et quidem illi facilius facere possunt; deos enim ipsos iocandi 40
and indeed they more-easily to-do-it can the-gods for themselves of-joking
causa induxit Epicurus perlucidos et perflabilis et habitantis
for-the-sake brought-on Epicurus transparent and wind-blown and dwelling
tamquam inter duos lucos sic inter duos mundos propter
as-if between two groves so between two worlds on-account-of
metum ruinarum, eosque habere putat eadem membra, quae
fear of-collapses and-them to-have he-thinks the-same limbs which
nos, nec usum ullum habere membrorum. Ergo hic circumitione
we nor use any to-have of-the-limbs therefore he by-a-roundabout
quadam deos tollens recte non dubitat divinationem tollere; sed
certain the-gods removing rightly not hesitates divination to-remove but
non, ut hic sibi constat, item Stoici. Illius enim deus nihil
not as he with-himself is-consistent so-are the-Stoics his for god nothing

habens nec sui nec alieni negotii non potest hominibus
having neither of-his-own nor of-another business not can to-men
divinationem inpertire; vester autem deus potest non inpertire,
divination to-impart your moreover god can not to-impart
ut nihilo minus mundum regat et hominibus consulat.
so-that by-nothing less the-world he-may-rule and for-men provide
41 Cur igitur vos induitis in eas captiones, quas numquam
why therefore you entangle-yourselves in those sophisms which never
explicetis? Ita enim, cum magis properant, concludere
you-may-unravel so for when more they-hurry to-conclude
solent: 'Si di sunt, est divinatio; sunt autem di;
they-are-wont if gods exist there-is divination exist moreover gods
est ergo divinatio.' Multo est probabilius: 'non est
there-is therefore divination much is more-probable not is
autem divinatio; non sunt ergo di.' Vide, quam temere
moreover divination not exist therefore gods see how rashly
committant, ut, si nulla sit divinatio, nulli sint di.
they-commit-themselves that if none be divination none be gods
Divinatio enim perspicue tollitur, deos esse retinendum est.
divination for evidently is-removed gods to-exist to-be-retained is
42 Atque hac extispicum divinatione sublata omnis haruspicina
and this of-the-entrail-inspectors divination removed all haruspicy
sublata est. Ostenta enim sequuntur et fulgura. Valet autem
removed is portents for follow and lightnings avails moreover
in fulguribus observatio diuturna, in ostentis ratio plerumque
in lightnings observation long in portents reasoning mostly
coniecturaque adhibetur. Quid est igitur, quod observatum
and-conjecture is-applied what is-there therefore which observed
sit in fulgure? Caelum in sedecim partis diviserunt Etrusci.
has-been in lightning the-sky into sixteen parts divided the-Etruscans
Facile id quidem fuit, quattuor, quas nos habemus, duplicare,
easy that indeed was the-four which we have to-double

post idem iterum facere, ut ex eo dicerent, fulmen
afterward the-same again to-do so-that from that they-might-say the-thunderbolt
qua ex parte venisset. Primum id quid interest? Deinde
what from part had-come first that what does-it-matter then
quid significat? Nonne perspicuum est ex prima admiratione
what does-it-signify surely evident it-is from the-first wonder
hominum, quod tonitrua iactusque fulminum extimuissent,
of-men because thunders and-casts of-thunderbolts they-had-feared
credidisse ea efficere rerum omnium praepotentem
to-have-believed those-things to-produce of-things of-all the-all-powerful
Iovem? Itaque in nostris commentariis scriptum habemus:
Jupiter and-so in our commentaries written we-have
'Iove tonante, fulgurante comitia populi habere nefas.'
with-Jupiter thundering lightening the-assemblies of-the-people to-hold impious
Hoc fortasse rei publicae causa constitutum est; 43
this perhaps of-the-thing public for-the-sake established was
comitiorum enim non habendorum causas esse voluerunt.
of-assemblies for not to-be-held causes to-be they-wished
Itaque comitiorum solum vitium est fulmen, quod idem
and-so of-assemblies alone the-flaw is the-thunderbolt which the-same
omnibus rebus optumum auspicium habemus, si sinistrum
for-all things the-best auspice we-hold if on-the-left
fuit. Sed de auspiciis alio loco, nunc de fulgoribus.
it-has-been but about auspices in-another place now about lightnings
Quid igitur minus a physicis dici debet quam quicquam
what therefore less by physicists to-be-said ought than anything
certi significari rebus incertis? Non enim te puto esse eum, qui
certain to-be-signified by-things uncertain not for you I-think to-be him who
Iovi fulmen fabricatos esse Cyclopas in Aetna putes;
for-Jupiter the-thunderbolt forged to-have the-Cyclopes in Etna would-think

44 nam esset mirabile, quo modo id Iuppiter totiens
for it-would-be wonderful in-what way it Jupiter so-often
iaceret, cum unum haberet; nec vero fulminibus homines,
should-hurl when one he-had nor indeed by-thunderbolts men
quid aut faciendum esset aut cavendum, moneret.
what either to-be-done was or to-be-guarded-against would-he-warn
Placet enim Stoicis eos anhelitus terrae, qui frigidi sint,
it-pleases for the-Stoics those exhalations of-the-earth which cold are
cum fluere coeperint, ventos esse; cum autem se
when to-flow they-have-begun winds to-be when moreover themselves
in nubem induerint eiusque tenuissimam quamque partem
into a-cloud they-have-put and-its thinnest each part
coeperint dividere atque disrumpere idque crebrius facere et
have-begun to-divide and to-burst-apart and-that more-often to-do and
vehementius, tum et fulgores et tonitrua existere; si autem
more-vehemently then both lightnings and thunders to-arise if moreover
nubium conflictu ardor expressus se emiserit, id esse
of-clouds by-collision heat squeezed-out itself has-sent-out that to-be
fulmen. Quod igitur vi naturae, nulla constantia,
the-thunderbolt what therefore by-the-force of-nature with-no constancy
nullo rato tempore videmus effici, ex eo significationem
at-no fixed time we-see to-be-produced from it a-signification
rerum consequentium quaerimus? Scilicet, si ista Iuppiter
of-things following do-we-seek of-course if those-things Jupiter
significaret, tam multa frustra fulmina emitteret! Quid
signified so many in-vain thunderbolts he-would-send-out what
enim proficit, cum in medium mare fulmen iecit?
for does-it-profit when into the-middle-of the-sea a-thunderbolt he-has-hurled

Thunderbolts fall on high mountains, in deserts, and among peoples who do not watch them. Cicero's own verses on the statue of Natta and the wolf of Rome are pressed on him, but he denies the divination, not the art of reading the sky, and a philosopher must seek causes. That Jupiter's statue was set up on the day the conspiracy was disclosed was chance; chance can make a Venus-throw or a Pan's head in stone, and the mule that foaled shows that what can happen is no portent.

Quid, cum in altissimos montis, quod plerumque fit? 45
what when onto the-highest mountains which mostly happens
Quid, cum in desertas solitudines? Quid, cum in earum
what when into deserted wildernesses what when onto of-those
gentium oras, in quibus haec ne observantur quidem?
nations the-shores among which these-things not are-observed even
At inventum est caput in Tiberi. Quasi ego artem aliquam
but found was the-head in the-Tiber as-if I an-art some
istorum esse negem! Divinationem nego. Caeli enim
of-those-men to-exist would-deny divination I-deny of-the-sky for
distributio, quam ante dixi, et certarum rerum notatio
the-division which before I-mentioned and of-certain things the-noting
docet, unde fulmen venerit, quo concesserit; quid significet
teaches whence the-thunderbolt came whither it-withdrew what it-signifies
autem, nulla ratio docet. Sed urges me meis versibus:
moreover no reasoning teaches but you-press me with-my-own verses

Nam pater altitonans stellanti nixus Olympo
for the-father high-thundering on-starry resting Olympus
ipse suos quondam tumulos ac templa petivit
himself his-own once mounds and temples attacked
et Capitolinis iniecit sedibus ignis.
and on-the-Capitoline cast seats fires

Tum statua Nattae, tum simulacra deorum Romulusque
then the-statue of-Natta then the-images of-the-gods and-Romulus
et Remus cum altrice belua vi fulminis icti
and Remus with the-nursing beast by-the-force of-the-thunderbolt struck
conciderunt, deque his rebus haruspicum extiterunt responsa
fell and-about these things of-the-haruspices came-forth responses
verissuma.
most-true

46 Mirabile autem illud, quod eo ipso tempore, quo fieret
wonderful moreover that that at-that very time at-which was-made
indicium coniurationis in senatu, signum Iovis biennio post,
the-disclosure of-the-conspiracy in the-senate the-statue of-Jupiter two-years after
quam erat locatum, in Capitolio conlocabatur. — Tu igitur
than it-had-been contracted on the-Capitol was-being-placed you therefore
animum induces (sic enim mecum agebas) causam istam et
your-mind will-bring so for with-me you-were-arguing case that both
contra facta tua et contra scripta defendere? — Frater es;
against deeds your and against writings to-defend my-brother you-are
eo vereor. Verum quid tibi hic tandem nocet? Resne,
for-that I-respect-you but what to-you here pray does-harm the-matter-whether
quae talis est, an ego, qui verum explicari volo? Itaque nihil
which such is or I who the-truth to-be-set-out wish and-so nothing
contra dico, a te rationem totius haruspicinae peto. Sed
against I-say from you an-account of-the-whole haruspicy I-ask but
te mirificam in latebram coniecisti; quod enim intellegeres
yourself wonderful into hiding-place have-thrown because for you-understood
fore ut premerere, cum ex te causas unius cuiusque
it-would-be that you-would-be-pressed when from you the-causes of-one each
divinationis exquirerem, multa verba fecisti te, cum res
divination I-searched-out many words you-made yourself when things
videres, rationem causamque non quaerere; quid fieret, non cur
you-saw the-reason and-cause not to-seek what happened not why

fieret, ad rem pertinere. Quasi ego aut fieri concederem
it-happened to the-point to-pertain as-if I either to-happen granted
aut esset philosophi causam, cur quidque fieret, non quaerere!
or it-were of-a-philosopher the-cause why each-thing happens not to-seek
Et eo quidem loco et Prognostica nostra pronuntiabas 47
and in-that indeed place both Prognostics our you-were-reciting
et genera herbarum, scammoniam aristolochiamque radicem,
and kinds of-herbs scammony and-birthwort root
quarum causam ignorares, vim et effectum videres.
whose cause you-did-not-know the-force and effect you-saw
Dissimile totum; nam et prognosticorum causas persecuti
unlike the-whole for both of-prognostics the-causes pursued
sunt et Boëthus Stoicus, qui est a te nominatus, et noster
have both Boethus the-Stoic who was by you named and our
etiam Posidonius, et, si causae non reperiantur istarum rerum,
also Posidonius and if the-causes not are-found of-those things
res tamen ipsae observari animadvertique potuerunt.
the-things still themselves to-be-observed and-to-be-noticed could
Nattae vero statua aut aera legum de caelo tacta quid
of-Natta indeed the-statue or the-bronzes of-the-laws from the-sky struck what
habent observatum ac vetustum? Pinarii Nattae nobiles;
have-they observed and ancient the-Pinarii Nattae noble
a nobilitate igitur periculum. Hoc tam callide Iuppiter
from the-nobility therefore danger this so cleverly Jupiter
excogitavit! Romulus lactens fulmine ictus; urbi igitur
devised Romulus suckling by-the-thunderbolt struck to-the-city therefore
periculum ostenditur, ei quam ille condidit. Quam scite
danger is-shown to-it which he founded how skillfully
per notas nos certiores facit Iuppiter! At eodem tempore
by marks us more-informed makes Jupiter but at-the-same time
signum Iovis conlocabatur, quo coniuratio indicabatur. Et
the-statue of-Jupiter was-being-placed at-which the-conspiracy was-being-disclosed and

tu scilicet mavis numine deorum id factum quam casu
you doubtless prefer by-the-divine-will of-the-gods that done than by-chance
arbitrari, et redemptor, qui columnam illam de Cotta et de
to-think and the-contractor who column that from Cotta and from
Torquato conduxerat faciendam, non inertia aut inopia tardior
Torquatus had-contracted to-be-made not by-sloth or want slower
fuit, sed a deis inmortalibus ad istam horam reservatus est.
was but by the-gods immortal for that hour reserved was
48 Non equidem plane despero ista esse vera, sed nescio et
not for-my-part wholly despair those-things to-be true but I-know-not and
discere a te volo. Nam cum mihi quaedam casu viderentur
to-learn from you I-wish for when to-me some-things by-chance seemed
sic evenire, ut praedicta essent a divinantibus, dixisti multa
so to-happen as foretold they-had-been by diviners you-said much
de casu, ut Venerium iaci posse casu quattuor talis
about chance as a-Venus-throw to-be-thrown could by-chance four knucklebones
iactis, sed quadringentis centum Venerios non posse casu
thrown but with-four-hundred a-hundred Venus-throws not could by-chance
consistere. Primum nescio, cur non possint, sed non pugno;
to-stand first I-know-not why not they-could but not I-fight
abundas enim similibus. Habes et respersionem pigmentorum
you-abound for in-likenesses you-have both the-sprinkling of-paints
et rostrum suis et alia permulta. Idem Carneadem
and the-snout of-the-sow and other-things very-many likewise Carneades
fingere dicis de capite Panisci; quasi non potuerit id
to-imagine you-say about the-head of-the-little-Pan as-if not could that
evenire casu et non in omni marmore necesse sit inesse
to-happen by-chance and not in every marble necessary it-be to-be-in
vel Praxitelia capita! Illa enim ipsa efficiuntur detractione,
even Praxitelean heads those for very are-made by-removal
neque quicquam illuc adfertur a Praxitele; sed cum multa
nor anything thither is-brought by Praxiteles but when many-things

sunt detracta et ad liniamenta oris perventum est, tum
have-been removed and to the-lineaments of-the-face come it-has then
intellegas illud, quod iam expolitum sit, intus fuisse.
you-may-understand that which now polished is within to-have-been
Potest igitur tale aliquid etiam sua sponte in lapicidinis 49
can therefore such something even of-its-own accord in the-quarries
Chiorum extitisse. Sed sit hoc fictum; quid? In nubibus
of-the-Chians to-have-appeared but let-be this invented what in clouds
numquam animadvertisti leonis formam aut hippocentauri?
never have-you-noticed of-a-lion the-shape or of-a-hippocentaur
Potest igitur, quod modo negabas, veritatem casus imitari.
can therefore what just-now you-denied truth chance to-imitate
Sed quoniam de extis et de fulgoribus satis est
but since about entrails and about lightnings enough has-been
disputatum, ostenta restant, ut tota haruspicina sit
argued portents remain that whole haruspicy be
pertractata. Mulae partus prolatus est a te. Res
handled-thoroughly of-a-mule the-foaling brought-forward was by you a-thing
mirabilis, propterea quia non saepe fit; sed si fieri non
wonderful for-this-reason because not often it-happens but if to-happen not
potuisset, facta non esset. Atque hoc contra omnia
it-could-have done not it-would-have-been and this against all
ostenta valeat, numquam, quod fieri non potuerit, esse
portents let-it-avail never what to-happen not could to-have-been
factum; sin potuerit, non esse mirandum. Causarum enim
done but-if it-could not to-be to-be-wondered-at of-causes for
ignoratio in re nova mirationem facit; eadem ignoratio si in
ignorance in a-thing new wonder makes the-same ignorance if in
rebus usitatis est, non miramur. Nam qui mulam peperisse
things customary it-is not we-wonder for he-who a-mule to-have-borne
miratur, is, quo modo equa pariat, aut omnino quae natura
wonders he in-what way a-mare gives-birth or at-all what nature

partum animantis faciat, ignorat. Sed quod crebro videt,
the-birth of-a-living-being makes does-not-know but what often he-sees
non miratur, etiamsi, cur fiat, nescit; quod ante non
not he-wonders-at even-if why it-happens he-knows-not what before not
vidit, id si evenit, ostentum esse censet. Utrum igitur
he-saw that if it-has-happened a-portent to-be he-holds whether therefore
cum concepit mula an cum peperit, ostentum est? Conceptio
when conceived the-mule or when she-gave-birth a-portent is-it the-conception
contra naturam fortasse, sed partus prope necessarius.
against nature perhaps but the-birth almost necessary

VIII · TAGES AND THE HARUSPICES

Haruspicy began with Tages, a child plowed up from the earth at Tarquinii who dictated its discipline; no one need refute such a tale. Cato wondered that one haruspex could look at another without laughing. Prusias was mocked by Hannibal for trusting a calf's liver, Caesar crossed to Africa against the haruspices' warning, and their responses in the civil war proved false. Portents that cannot be understood or averted are no warnings.

50 Sed quid plura? Ortum videamus haruspicinae; sic facillume,
but why more-things the-origin let-us-see of-haruspicy so most-easily
quid habeat auctoritatis, iudicabimus. Tages quidam dicitur in
what it-has of-authority we-shall-judge Tages a-certain is-said in
agro Tarquiniensi, cum terra araretur et sulcus altius
the-territory Tarquinian when the-earth was-being-plowed and the-furrow deeper
esset impressus, extitisse repente et eum adfatus esse, qui
was pressed to-have-sprung-up suddenly and him addressed to-have who
arabat. Is autem Tages, ut in libris est Etruscorum, puerili
was-plowing he moreover Tages as in the-books is of-the-Etruscans with-boyish
specie dicitur visus, sed senili fuisse prudentia. Eius
appearance is-said seen but with-old-man's to-have-been wisdom his

adspectu cum obstipuisset bubulcus clamoremque maiorem
at-sight when had-been-astounded the-ox-driver and-a-shout louder
cum admiratione edidisset, concursum esse factum,
with wonder had-uttered a-concourse to-have-been made
totamque brevi tempore in eum locum Etruriam convenisse;
and-whole in-short time into that place Etruria to-have-assembled
tum illum plura locutum multis audientibus, qui
then he more-things to-have-spoken many listening who
omnia verba eius exceperint litterisque mandarint; omnem
all the-words his took-down and-to-letters committed all
autem orationem fuisse eam, qua haruspicinae disciplina
moreover the-speech to-have-been that by-which of-haruspicy the-discipline
contineretur; eam postea crevisse rebus novis cognoscendis et
was-contained it afterward to-have-grown by-things new being-learned and
ad eadem illa principia referendis. Haec accepimus ab ipsis,
to the-same those principles being-referred these-things we-have-received from themselves
haec scripta conservant, hunc fontem habent disciplinae.
these-things writings preserve this spring they-have of-the-discipline
Num ergo opus est ad haec refellenda Carneade? 51
surely-not therefore need is for these-things to-be-refuted of-Carneades
Num Epicuro? Estne quisquam ita desipiens, qui credat
surely-not of-Epicurus is-there-whether anyone so senseless who believes
exaratum esse, deum dicam an hominem? Si deum, cur
plowed-up to-have-been a-god shall-I-say or a-man if a-god why
se contra naturam in terram abdiderat, ut patefactus
himself against nature into the-earth had-he-hidden so-that laid-open
aratro lucem aspiceret? Quid? Idem nonne poterat deus
by-the-plow the-light he-might-see what the-same surely could a-god
hominibus disciplinam superiore e loco tradere? Si autem
to-men the-discipline a-higher from place hand-down if moreover
homo ille Tages fuit, quonam modo potuit terra oppressus
a-man that Tages was in-what-pray way could-he by-earth crushed

vivere? Unde porro illa potuit, quae docebat alios,
to-live whence moreover those-things could-he which he-taught others
ipse didicisse? Sed ego insipientior quam illi ipsi, qui
himself to-have-learned but I more-senseless than those themselves who
ista credunt, qui quidem contra eos tam diu disputem.
those-things believe who indeed against them so long should-argue
Vetus autem illud Catonis admodum scitum est, qui mirari
old moreover that of-Cato very clever is who to-wonder
se aiebat, quod non rideret haruspex, haruspicem cum
himself said that not laughed a-haruspex a-haruspex when
vidisset.
he-had-seen

52 Quota enim quaeque res evenit praedicta ab istis? Aut,
what-fraction for each thing happens foretold by those-men or
si evenit quippiam, quid adferri potest, cur non
if happens anything what to-be-brought-forward can why not
casu id evenerit? Rex Prusias, cum Hannibali apud eum
by-chance it happened king Prusias when to-Hannibal with him
exsulanti depugnari placeret, negabat se audere, quod
in-exile to-fight-it-out it-seemed-good denied himself to-dare because
exta prohiberent. 'Ain tu?' inquit, 'carunculae vitulinae
the-entrails forbade say-you-so you he-said to-a-bit-of-flesh of-a-calf
mavis quam imperatori veteri credere?' Quid? Ipse Caesar
do-you-prefer than to-a-general old to-believe what himself Caesar
cum a summo haruspice moneretur, ne in Africam ante
when by the-highest haruspex he-was-warned not into Africa before
brumam transmitteret, nonne transmisit? Quod ni fecisset,
midwinter to-cross surely he-crossed which unless he-had-done
uno in loco omnes adversariorum copiae convenissent. Quid
one in place all of-the-adversaries the-forces would-have-assembled why

ego haruspicum responsa commemorem (possum equidem
I of-the-haruspices the-responses should-mention I-can for-my-part
innumerabilia), quae aut nullos habuerint exitus aut contrarios?
countless which either no have-had outcomes or contrary
Hoc civili bello, di inmortales! Quam multa luserunt! 53
in-this civil war gods immortal how many-things they-mocked
Quae nobis in Graeciam Roma responsa haruspicum missa
what to-us into Greece from-Rome responses of-the-haruspices sent
sunt! Quae dicta Pompeio! Etenim ille admodum extis
were what told to-Pompey for-indeed he very by-entrails
et ostentis movebatur. Non lubet commemorare, nec vero
and portents was-moved not it-pleases to-mention nor indeed
necesse est, tibi praesertim, qui interfuisti; vides tamen
necessary is-it to-you especially who were-present you-see still
omnia fere contra, ac dicta sint, evenisse. Sed haec
all-things almost contrary than told they-were to-have-happened but these-things
hactenus; nunc ad ostenta veniamus.
so-far now to portents let-us-come
Multa me consule a me ipso scripta recitasti, multa 54
many-things me consul by me myself written you-recited many-things
ante Marsicum bellum a Sisenna collecta attulisti,
before the-Marsic war by Sisenna collected you-brought-forward
multa ante Lacedaemoniorum malam pugnam in Leuctricis
many-things before of-the-Lacedaemonians the-bad battle at Leuctra
a Callisthene commemorata dixisti; de quibus dicam
by Callisthenes recorded you-mentioned about which I-will-speak
equidem singulis, quoad videbitur; sed dicendum etiam
for-my-part individually as-far-as it-will-seem-good but to-be-spoken also
est de universis. Quae est enim ista a deis profecta
it-is about all-together what is for that from the-gods proceeding
significatio et quasi denuntiatio calamitatum? Quid autem
signification and as-it-were announcement of-disasters what moreover

volunt di inmortales primum ea significantes, quae
do-wish the-gods immortal first those-things signifying which
sine interpretibus non possimus intellegere, deinde ea,
without interpreters not we-can to-understand then those-things
quae cavere nequeamus? At hoc ne homines quidem
which to-guard-against we-cannot but this not men even
probi faciunt, ut amicis inpendentis calamitates praedicant,
upright do that to-friends impending disasters they-foretell
quas illi effugere nullo modo possint, ut medici, quamquam
which they to-escape in-no way can as physicians although
intellegunt saepe, tamen numquam aegris dicunt illo
they-understand often still never to-the-sick say from-that
morbo eos esse morituros; omnis enim praedictio mali tum
disease them to-be about-to-die every for prediction of-evil then
probatur, cum ad praedictionem cautio adiungitur.
is-approved when to the-prediction precaution is-joined
55 Quid igitur aut ostenta aut eorum interpretes vel
what therefore either portents or their interpreters either
Lacedaemonios olim vel nuper nostros adiuverunt? Quae si signa
the-Lacedaemonians once or lately ours have-helped which if signs
deorum putanda sunt, cur tam obscura fuerunt? Si enim, ut
of-the-gods to-be-thought are why so obscure were-they if for that
intellegeremus, quid esset eventurum, aperte declarari oportebat,
we-might-understand what was about-to-happen openly to-be-declared it-behooved
aut ne occulte quidem, si ea sciri nolebant.
or not covertly even if those-things to-be-known they-did-not-wish
Iam vero coniectura omnis, in qua nititur divinatio, ingeniis
now indeed conjecture all on which rests divination by-the-wits
hominum in multas aut diversas aut etiam contrarias
of-men into many either diverse or even contrary
partis saepe diducitur. Ut enim in causis iudicialibus
directions often is-drawn-apart as for in cases judicial

alia coniectura est accusatoris, alia defensoris et tamen
one conjecture is of-the-accuser another of-the-defender and still
utriusque credibilis, sic in omnibus iis rebus, quae coniectura
of-each credible so in all those things which by-conjecture
investigari videntur, anceps reperitur oratio. Quas autem
to-be-investigated seem a-two-sided is-found argument which moreover
res tum natura, tum casus adfert, non numquam etiam
things now nature now chance brings not never even
errorem creat similitudo, magna stultitia est earum rerum
error creates likeness great folly it-is of-those things
deos facere effectores, causas rerum non quaerere.
the-gods to-make the-producers the-causes of-things not to-seek
Tu vates Boeotios credis Lebadiae vidisse ex gallorum 56
you the-seers Boeotian believe at-Lebadia to-have-seen from of-the-cocks
gallinaceorum cantu victoriam esse Thebanorum, quia galli
barnyard the-crowing the-victory to-be of-the-Thebans because cocks
victi silere solerent, canere victores. Hoc igitur per gallinas
defeated to-be-silent were-wont to-crow as-victors this therefore through hens
Iuppiter tantae civitati signum dabat? An illae aves, nisi
Jupiter to-so-great a-state a-sign gave or those birds unless
cum vicerunt, canere non solent? At tum canebant nec
when they-have-won to-crow not are-wont but then they-were-crowing nor
vicerant. Id enim est, inquies, ostentum. Magnum vero! Quasi
had-they-won that for is you-will-say a-portent great indeed as-if
pisces, non galli cecinerint! Quod autem est tempus, quo
fish not cocks had-crowed what moreover is the-time at-which
illi non cantent, vel nocturnum vel diurnum? Quodsi victores
they not crow either by-night or by-day but-if victors
alacritate et quasi laetitia ad canendum excitantur, potuit
by-eagerness and as-it-were joy to crowing are-roused could
accidisse alia quoque laetitia, qua ad cantum moverentur.
to-have-happened other also joy by-which to song they-were-moved

Democritus explains why cocks crow before dawn: they are fed and rested. Showers of blood, sweating statues, and mice gnawing the shields at Lanuvium have natural causes; whatever happens must have a cause in nature, and what can happen is no portent. A snake coiled round a bar would be a portent only if the bar coiled round the snake, and Gracchus died of illness, not of a snake set free. Cicero quotes his translation of Homer on Calchas and the sparrows.

57 Democritus quidem optumis verbis causam explicat, cur
Democritus indeed with-the-best words the-cause explains why
ante lucem galli canant; depulso enim de pectore et in
before the-light cocks crow driven for from the-breast and into
omne corpus diviso et mitificato cibo cantus edere quiete
the-whole body distributed and softened the-food songs to-utter with-rest
satiatos; qui quidem 'silentio noctis', ut ait Ennius,
sated who indeed in-the-silence of-night as says Ennius

∗∗∗ favent faucibus russis
(lacuna) give-favor with-throats red
cantu plausuque premunt alas.
with-song and-clapping they-beat their-wings

Cum igitur hoc animal tam sit canorum sua sponte, quid in
since therefore this animal so is tuneful of-its-own accord what into
mentem venit Callistheni dicere deos gallis signum dedisse
mind came to-Callisthenes to-say the-gods to-cocks a-sign to-have-given
cantandi, cum id vel natura vel casus efficere potuisset?
of-crowing when that either nature or chance to-bring-about could-have
58 Sanguine pluisse senatui nuntiatum est, Atratum etiam
with-blood to-have-rained to-the-senate announced it-was the-Atratus also
fluvium fluxisse sanguine, deorum sudasse simulacra.
river to-have-flowed with-blood of-the-gods to-have-sweated the-statues

Num censes his nuntiis Thalen aut Anaxagoran aut
surely-not you-think these reports Thales or Anaxagoras or
quemquam physicum crediturum fuisse? Nec enim sanguis
any physicist about-to-believe to-have-been nor for blood
nec sudor nisi e corpore. Sed et decoloratio quaedam
nor sweat except from a-body but both a-discoloration certain
ex aliqua contagione terrena maxume potest sanguini similis
from some contact earthy most-of-all can to-blood like
esse, et umor adlapsus extrinsecus, ut in tectoriis videmus
to-be and moisture gliding-on from-outside as on plasterings we-see
austro, sudorem videtur imitari. Atque haec in bello
in-the-south-wind sweat seems to-imitate and these-things in war
plura et maiora videntur timentibus, eadem non tam
more and greater seem to-the-fearful the-same not so-much
animadvertuntur in pace; accedit illud etiam, quod in metu
are-noticed in peace there-is-added that also that in fear
et periculo cum creduntur facilius, tum finguntur inpunius.
and danger both are-believed more-easily and are-invented with-more-impunity
Nos autem ita leves atque inconsiderati sumus, ut, si mures 59
we moreover so light and inconsiderate are that if mice
corroserint aliquid, quorum est opus hoc unum, monstrum
have-gnawed something whose is work this alone a-prodigy
putemus? Ante vero Marsicum bellum quod clipeos Lanuvii,
we-think before indeed the-Marsic war because shields at-Lanuvium
ut a te dictum est, mures rosissent, maxumum id
as by you said was mice had-gnawed greatest that
portentum haruspices esse dixerunt; quasi vero quicquam
portent the-haruspices to-be said as-if indeed anything
intersit, mures diem noctem aliquid rodentes scuta an cribra
it-matters mice day night something gnawing shields or sieves
corroserint! Nam si ista sequimur, quod Platonis Politian
have-gnawed for if those-things we-follow because Plato's Republic

nuper apud me mures corroserunt, de re publica
lately at my-house mice gnawed about the-thing public
debui pertimescere, aut, si Epicuri de voluptate liber rosus
I-ought to-have-dreaded or if of-Epicurus on pleasure the-book gnawed
esset, putarem annonam in macello cariorem fore.
had-been I-would-think the-grain-price in the-market dearer to-be
60 An vero illa nos terrent, si quando aliqua portentosa aut
or indeed those-things us terrify if ever some portentous-things either
ex pecude aut ex homine nata dicuntur? Quorum omnium,
from a-beast or from a-human born are-said of-which all
ne sim longior, una ratio est. Quicquid enim oritur,
that-not I-be longer one reasoning is whatever for arises
qualecumque est, causam habeat a natura necesse est, ut,
of-whatever-kind it-is a-cause have from nature necessary it-is so-that
etiamsi praeter consuetudinem extiterit, praeter naturam
even-if beyond custom it-has-appeared beyond nature
tamen non possit existere. Causam igitur investigato in
still not it-can to-appear the-cause therefore investigate in
re nova atque admirabili, si poteris; si nullam reperies,
a-thing new and wonderful if you-will-be-able if none you-will-find
illud tamen exploratum habeto, nihil fieri potuisse
that still explored hold nothing to-happen to-have-been-able
sine causa, eumque terrorem, quem tibi rei novitas
without a-cause and-that terror which to-you of-the-thing the-novelty
attulerit, naturae ratione depellito. Ita te nec terrae
has-brought of-nature by-reasoning drive-away so you neither of-the-earth
fremitus nec caeli discessus nec lapideus aut sanguineus
the-rumblings nor of-the-sky the-partings nor stony or bloody
imber nec traiectio stellae nec faces visae terrebunt.
shower nor the-shooting of-a-star nor torches seen will-terrify

Quorum omnium causas si a Chrysippo quaeram, ipse 61
of-which all the-causes if from Chrysippus I-should-ask himself
ille divinationis auctor numquam illa dicet facta
that of-divination the-champion never those-things will-say done
fortuito naturalemque rationem omnium reddet; nihil enim
by-chance and-a-natural reason of-all will-render nothing for
fieri sine causa potest; nec quicquam fit, quod fieri
to-happen without a-cause can nor anything happens which to-happen
non potest; nec, si id factum est, quod potuit fieri,
not can nor if that done has-been which could to-happen
portentum debet videri; nulla igitur portenta sunt. Nam si,
a-portent ought to-seem none therefore portents exist for if
quod raro fit, id portentum putandum est, sapientem esse
what rarely happens that a-portent to-be-thought is a-wise-man to-be
portentum est; saepius enim mulam peperisse arbitror quam
a-portent is more-often for a-mule to-have-foaled I-think than
sapientem fuisse. Illa igitur ratio concluditur: nec id,
a-wise-man to-have-existed that therefore reasoning is-concluded neither that
quod non potuerit fieri, factum umquam esse, nec,
which not could to-happen done ever to-have-been nor
quod potuerit, id portentum esse;
what could that a-portent to-be
ita omnino nullum esse portentum. Quod etiam coniector 62
so at-all none to-be portent which also a-diviner
quidam et interpres portentorum non inscite respondisse
certain and interpreter of-portents not unskillfully to-have-answered
dicitur ei, qui quondam ad eum rettulisset quasi ostentum,
is-said to-him who once to him had-referred as-if a-portent
quod anguis domi vectem circumiectus fuisset: 'Tum esset',
that a-snake at-home a-bar coiled-around had-been then it-would-be
inquit, 'ostentum, si anguem vectis circumplicavisset.' Hoc
he-said a-portent if the-snake the-bar had-coiled-around by-this

ille responso satis aperte declaravit nihil habendum esse,
he response clearly enough declared nothing to-be-held to-be
quod fieri posset, ostentum.
which to-happen could a-portent
C. Gracchus ad M. Pomponium scripsit duobus anguibus
Gaius Gracchus to Marcus Pomponius wrote two snakes
domi conprehensis haruspices a patre convocatos. Qui
at-home being-caught the-haruspices by his-father called-together why
magis anguibus quam lacertis, quam muribus? Quia sunt
more for-snakes than for-lizards than for-mice because are
haec cotidiana, angues non item; quasi vero referat, quod
these-things daily snakes not likewise as-if indeed it-matters what
fieri potest, quam id saepe fiat. Ego tamen miror, si
to-happen can how that often happens I still wonder if
emissio feminae anguis mortem adferebat Ti. Graccho,
the-release of-the-female snake death brought to-Tiberius Gracchus
emissio autem maris anguis erat mortifera Corneliae,
the-release moreover of-the-male snake was deadly to-Cornelia
cur alteram utram emiserit; nihil enim scribit respondisse
why one-or the-other he-released nothing for he-writes to-have-answered
haruspices, si neuter anguis emissus esset, quid esset
the-haruspices if neither snake released had-been what would-be
futurum. At mors insecuta Gracchum est. Causa quidem,
about-to-be but death followed Gracchus has by-a-cause indeed
credo, aliqua morbi gravioris, non emissione serpentis; neque
I-believe some of-disease graver not by-the-release of-the-serpent nor
enim tanta est infelicitas haruspicum, ut ne casu quidem
for so-great is the-unluckiness of-the-haruspices that not by-chance even
umquam fiat, quod futurum illi esse dixerint.
ever happens what about-to-be they to-be had-said

Nam illud mirarer, si crederem, quod apud Homerum 63
for that I-would-wonder-at if I-believed that in Homer
Calchantem dixisti ex passerum numero belli Troiani
Calchas you-said from of-the-sparrows the-number of-the-war Trojan
annos auguratum; de cuius coniectura sic apud Homerum,
the-years to-have-augured about whose conjecture thus in Homer
ut nos otiosi convertimus, loquitur Agamemnon:
as we at-leisure have-translated speaks Agamemnon

Ferte, viri, et duros animo tolerate labores,
bear men and the-hard with-spirit endure labors
auguris ut nostri Calchantis fata queamus
of-the-augur that our Calchas the-fates we-may-be-able
scire ratosne habeant an vanos pectoris orsus.
to-know whether-fixed they-have or empty of-his-breast the-utterances
Namque omnes memori portentum mente retentant,
for all with-mindful the-portent mind retain
qui non funestis liquerunt lumina fatis.
who not by-deadly have-left the-light fates
Argolicis primum ut vestita est classibus Aulis,
with-Argive first when clothed was with-fleets Aulis
quae Priamo cladem et Troiae pestemque ferebant,
which to-Priam disaster and to-Troy and-ruin brought
nos circum latices gelidos fumantibus aris
we around the-waters cold with-smoking altars
aurigeris divom placantes numina tauris
with-gold-horned of-the-gods appeasing the-powers bulls
sub platano umbrifera, fons unde emanat aquaï,
under the-plane-tree shady a-spring whence flows of-water

vidimus inmani specie tortuque draconem
we-saw of-monstrous appearance and-coil a-serpent
terribilem, Iovis ut pulsu penetraret ab ara;
terrible of-Jupiter as by-the-impulse it-should-make-its-way from the-altar
qui platani in ramo foliorum tegmine saeptos
which of-the-plane in a-branch of-leaves by-a-covering fenced
corripuit pullos; quos cum consumeret octo,
seized the-chicks which when it-consumed eight
nona super tremulo genetrix clangore volabat;
the-ninth above with-trembling the-mother screaming flew
cui ferus inmani laniavit viscera morsu.
whose the-fierce-one with-monstrous tore the-vitals bite
64 Hunc, ubi tam teneros volucris matremque peremit,
him when so tender the-birds and-the-mother he-had-destroyed
qui luci ediderat, genitor Saturnius idem
who to-the-light had-brought-forth the-begetter Saturnian the-same
abdidit et duro formavit tegmine saxi.
hid and with-hard shaped a-covering of-stone
Nos autem timidi stantes mirabile monstrum
we moreover fearful standing the-wonderful prodigy
vidimus in mediis divom versarier aris.
saw in the-midst-of of-the-gods to-move altars
Tum Calchas haec est fidenti voce locutus:
then Calchas these-things has with-confident voice spoken
'Quidnam torpentes subito obstipuistis, Achivi?
why-pray numbed suddenly have-you-been-astounded Achaeans
Nobis haec portenta deum dedit ipse creator
to-us these portents of-the-gods has-given himself the-creator
tarda et sera nimis, sed fama ac laude perenni.
slow and late too-much but with-fame and praise everlasting
Nam quot avis taetro mactatas dente videtis,
for as-many birds by-foul slaughtered tooth as-you-see

tot nos ad Troiam belli exanclabimus annos;
so-many we at Troy of-war shall-endure years
quae decumo cadet et poena satiabit Achivos'.
which in-the-tenth will-fall and with-punishment will-sate the-Achaeans
Edidit haec Calchas; quae iam matura videtis.
set-forth these-things Calchas which now ripe you-see

X · AUGURY WITHOUT DIVINATION

Why should the sparrows mean years rather than months or days, and why does Calchas say nothing of the serpent turned to stone? Sulla's snake, Roscius' snake, and Flaminius' fall need no gods, and the grass of Lysander's crown came from seed the birds had heaped there. The Dodona ape and Aius Locutius, who fell silent once he had a name, prove nothing. As an augur Cicero keeps the auspices for the state's sake, though he holds them no science of the future; Claudius and Junius deserved punishment for despising religion.

Quae tandem ista auguratio est ex passeribus annorum potius 65
what pray that augury is from sparrows of-years rather
quam aut mensuum aut dierum? Cur autem de passerculis
than either of-months or of-days why moreover about little-sparrows
coniecturam facit, in quibus nullum erat monstrum, de
a-conjecture does-he-make in which no was prodigy about
dracone silet, qui, id quod fieri non potuit, lapideus dicitur
the-serpent is-he-silent which that which to-happen not could of-stone is-said
factus? Postremo quid simile habet passer annis? Nam de
made finally what like has a-sparrow to-years for about
angue illo, qui Sullae apparuit immolanti, utrumque memini, et
the-snake that which to-Sulla appeared sacrificing both I-remember both

Sullam, cum in expeditionem educturus esset, immolavisse, et
Sulla when on an-expedition about-to-lead-out he-was to-have-sacrificed and
anguem ab ara extitisse, eoque die rem praeclare
a-snake from the-altar to-have-come-forth and-on-that day the-business splendidly
esse gestam non haruspicis consilio, sed imperatoris.
to-have-been done not of-the-haruspex by-counsel but of-the-commander
66 Atque haec ostentorum genera mirabile nihil habent; quae
and these of-portents kinds wonderful nothing have which
cum facta sunt, tum ad coniecturam aliqua interpretatione
when done they-are then to conjecture by-some interpretation
revocantur, ut illa tritici grana in os pueri Midae
are-recalled as those of-wheat grains into the-mouth of-the-boy Midas
congesta aut apes, quas dixisti in labris Platonis consedisse
heaped or the-bees which you-said on the-lips of-Plato to-have-settled
pueri, non tam mirabilia sint quam coniecta belle; quae
of-the-boy not so-much wonderful are as guessed prettily which
tamen vel ipsa falsa esse vel ea, quae praedicta
still either themselves false to-be or those-things which foretold
sunt, fortuito cecidisse potuerunt. De ipso Roscio potest
were by-chance to-have-fallen-out could about himself Roscius can
illud quidem esse falsum, ut circumligatus fuerit angui,
that indeed to-be false that wound-round he-was by-a-snake
sed ut in cunis fuerit anguis, non tam est mirum, in
but that in the-cradle there-was a-snake not so is surprising at
Solonio praesertim, ubi ad focum angues nundinari solent.
Solonium especially where at the-hearth snakes to-hold-market are-wont
Nam quod haruspices responderint nihil illo clarius,
for that the-haruspices answered nothing than-him more-famous
nihil nobilius fore, miror deos immortales histrioni futuro
nothing more-noble would-be I-wonder the-gods immortal to-an-actor future
claritatem ostendisse, nullam ostendisse Africano.
fame to-have-shown none to-have-shown to-Africanus

Atque etiam a te Flaminiana ostenta collecta sunt: quod 67
and also by you the-Flaminian portents collected have-been that
ipse et equus eius repente conciderit; non sane mirabile hoc
he-himself and horse his suddenly fell not truly wonderful this
quidem! Quod evelli primi hastati signum non potuerit;
indeed that to-be-pulled-up of-the-first hastati the-standard not could
timide fortasse signifer evellebat, quod fidenter infixerat.
timidly perhaps the-standard-bearer was-pulling what confidently he-had-fixed
Nam Dionysii equus quid attulit admirationis, quod emersit e
for of-Dionysius the-horse what brought of-wonder that it-emerged from
flumine quodque habuit apes in iuba? Sed quia brevi tempore
the-river and-that it-had bees in its-mane but because in-a-short time
regnare coepit, quod acciderat casu, vim habuit ostenti. At
to-reign he-began what had-happened by-chance the-force had of-a-portent but
Lacedaemoniis in Herculis fano arma sonuerunt, eiusdemque
for-the-Lacedaemonians in of-Hercules the-shrine arms resounded and-of-the-same
dei Thebis valvae clausae subito se aperuerunt, eaque
god at-Thebes the-doors closed suddenly themselves opened and-those
scuta, quae fuerant sublime fixa, sunt humi inventa. Horum
shields which had-been on-high fixed were on-the-ground found of-these
cum fieri nihil potuerit sine aliquo motu, quid est, cur
since to-happen none could without some motion what is-there why
divinitus ea potius quam casu facta esse dicamus?
divinely those-things rather than by-chance done to-have-been we-should-say
At in Lysandri statuae capite Delphis extitit corona ex asperis 68
but on Lysander's statue's head at-Delphi appeared a-crown of rough
herbis, et quidem subita. Itane? Censes ante coronam
grasses and indeed sudden so-whether do-you-think before the-crown
herbae extitisse, quam conceptum esse semen? Herbam
of-grass to-have-appeared than conceived to-have-been the-seed grass
autem asperam credo avium congestu, non humano satu; iam,
moreover rough I-believe of-birds by-heaping not by-human sowing now

quicquid in capite est, id coronae simile videri potest. Nam
whatever on a-head is that to-a-crown like to-seem can for
quod eodem tempore stellas aureas Castoris et Pollucis
that at-the-same time the-stars golden of-Castor and Pollux
Delphis positas decidisse, neque eas usquam repertas esse
at-Delphi placed to-have-fallen nor them anywhere found to-have-been
dixisti, furum id magis factum quam deorum videtur.
you-said of-thieves that more done than of-gods seems
69 Simiae vero Dodonaeae improbitatem historiis Graecis
of-the-ape indeed of-Dodona the-wickedness to-histories Greek
mandatam esse demiror. Quid minus mirum quam
committed to-have-been I-am-amazed what less surprising than
illam monstruosissumam bestiam urnam evertisse, sortes
that most-monstrous beast the-urn to-have-overturned the-lots
dissupavisse? Et negant historici Lacedaemoniis ullum
to-have-scattered and deny the-historians for-the-Lacedaemonians any
ostentum hoc tristius accidisse! Nam illa praedicta
portent than-this more-grim to-have-happened for those predictions
Veientium, si lacus Albanus redundasset isque in mare fluxisset,
of-the-Veientes if the-lake Alban overflowed and-it into the-sea had-flowed
Romam perituram; si repressus esset, Veios ∗∗∗ ita aqua
Rome about-to-perish if held-back it-were Veii (lacuna) so the-water
Albana deducta ad utilitatem agri suburbani, non ad arcem
Alban drawn-off for the-use of-the-land suburban not for the-citadel
urbemque retinendam. At paulo post audita vox est monentis,
and-city to-be-preserved but a-little after heard was a-voice of-one-warning
ut providerent, ne a Gallis Roma caperetur; ex eo Aio
that they-should-take-care lest by the-Gauls Rome be-taken from that to-Aius
Loquenti aram in nova via consecratam. Quid ergo? Aius iste
Locutius an-altar in the-new street consecrated what therefore Aius that
Loquens, cum eum nemo norat, et aiebat et loquebatur et ex
Locutius when him no-one knew both spoke and talked and from

eo nomen invenit; posteaquam et sedem et aram et nomen
that his-name found after both a-seat and an-altar and a-name
invenit, obmutuit? Quod idem dici de Moneta potest; a qua
he-found he-fell-dumb which same to-be-said of Moneta can by whom
praeterquam de sue plena quid umquam moniti sumus?
except about the-sow pregnant what ever warned have-we-been
Satis multa de ostentis; auspicia restant et sortes eae, quae 70
enough much about portents auspices remain and lots those which
ducuntur, non illae, quae vaticinatione funduntur, quae oracla
are-drawn not those which by-prophecy are-poured-out which oracles
verius dicimus; de quibus tum dicemus, cum ad naturalem
more-truly we-call about which then we-shall-speak when to natural
divinationem venerimus. Restat etiam de Chaldaeis; sed
divination we-shall-have-come there-remains also about the-Chaldaeans but
primum auspicia videamus. Difficilis auguri locus ad contra
first auspices let-us-see difficult for-an-augur the-topic for against
dicendum. Marso fortasse, sed Romano facillumus. Non
speaking for-a-Marsian perhaps but for-a-Roman most-easy not
enim sumus ii nos augures, qui avium reliquorumve signorum
for are those we augurs who of-birds and-of-the-other signs
observatione futura dicamus. Et tamen credo Romulum, qui
by-observation the-future tell and still I-believe Romulus who
urbem auspicato condidit, habuisse opinionem esse in
the-city after-taking-the-auspices founded to-have-had the-belief to-be in
providendis rebus augurandi scientiam (errabat enim multis
foreseeing things of-augury a-science erred for many
in rebus antiquitas), quam vel usu iam vel doctrina
in things antiquity which either by-practice now or by-learning
vel vetustate immutatam videmus; retinetur autem et ad
or by-age changed we-see is-retained moreover both for

opinionem vulgi et ad magnas utilitates rei publicae
the-opinion of-the-crowd and for great advantages of-the-thing public
mos, religio, disciplina, ius augurium, collegii auctoritas.
custom religion discipline the-right of-augury of-the-college the-authority
71 Nec vero non omni supplicio digni P. Claudius L. Iunius
nor indeed not of-every punishment worthy Publius Claudius Lucius Junius
consules, qui contra auspicia navigaverunt; parendum enim
the-consuls who against the-auspices sailed to-be-obeyed for
religioni fuit nec patrius mos tam contumaciter repudiandus.
religion was nor ancestral custom so defiantly to-be-rejected
Iure igitur alter populi iudicio damnatus est, alter
justly therefore the-one of-the-people by-judgment condemned was the-other
mortem sibi ipse conscivit. Flaminius non paruit auspiciis,
death for-him himself inflicted Flaminius not obeyed the-auspices
itaque periit cum exercitu. At anno post Paulus paruit;
and-so perished with his-army but a-year after Paulus obeyed
num minus cecidit in Cannensi pugna cum exercitu?
surely-not less did-he-fall in the-Cannae battle with his-army
Etenim, ut sint auspicia, quae nulla sunt, haec certe,
for-indeed granted-that there-be auspices which none are these certainly
quibus utimur, sive tripudio sive de caelo, simulacra sunt
which we-use either by-tripudium or from the-sky images are
auspiciorum, auspicia nullo modo. Q. Fabi, te mihi in
of-auspices auspices in-no way Quintus Fabius you to-me in
auspicio esse volo; respondet: audivi. Hic apud maiores
the-auspice to-be I-wish he-answers I-have-heard here among ancestors
nostros adhibebatur peritus, nunc quilubet. Peritum autem
our was-called-in a-skilled-man now anyone-you-please skilled moreover
esse necesse est eum, qui, silentium quid sit, intellegat; id
to-be necessary it-is him who silence what it-is understands that
enim silentium dicimus in auspiciis, quod omni vitio caret.
for silence we-call in auspices which of-every flaw is-free

The auspices taken from caged, starved chickens are forced, not free, and Romulus never took them so. Lightning on the left, best for all things but assemblies, was a rule made for the state, and augural law, though founded on belief in divination, is kept for the state's sake. Foreign augury differs from Rome's, and wars are now fought by commanders without auspices; Marcellus traveled in a closed litter so that no auspice could hinder him. Deiotarus' birds did not foretell his fortunes; his own virtue guided him to Pompey.

Hoc intellegere perfecti auguris est; illi autem, qui in auspicium 72
this to-understand of-a-perfect augur is he moreover who for the-auspice
adhibetur, cum ita imperavit is, qui auspicatur: dicito, si
is-called-in when so has-commanded he who takes-the-auspices say if
silentium esse videbitur, nec suspicit nec circumspicit; statim
silence to-be will-seem nor looks-up nor looks-around at-once
respondet silentium esse videri. Tum ille: dicito, si pascentur. —
answers silence to-be to-seem then he say if they-feed
Pascuntur. — Quae aves? Aut ubi? Attulit, inquit, in cavea
they-feed what birds or where he-has-brought he-said in a-cage
pullos is, qui ex eo ipso nominatur pullarius. Haec sunt
chickens he who from that very-thing is-named the-chicken-keeper these are
igitur aves internuntiae Iovis! Quae pascantur necne, quid
therefore the-birds messengers of-Jupiter which whether-they-feed or-not what
refert? Nihil ad auspicia; sed quia, cum pascuntur, necesse
does-it-matter nothing to the-auspices but because when they-feed necessary
est aliquid ex ore cadere et terram pavire (terripavium
it-is something from the-mouth to-fall and the-earth to-strike terripavium
primo, post terripudium dictum est; hoc quidem iam
at-first afterward terripudium called it-was this indeed now

tripudium dicitur) — cum igitur offa cecidit ex ore
tripudium is-called when therefore a-morsel has-fallen from the-mouth
pulli, tum auspicanti tripudium solistimum nuntiatur.
of-the-chicken then to-one-taking-the-auspices a-tripudium most-favorable is-announced
73 Ergo hoc auspicium divini quicquam habere potest, quod
therefore this auspice of-divine anything to-have can which
tam sit coactum et expressum? Quo antiquissumos augures
so is forced and squeezed-out which the-most-ancient augurs
non esse usos argumento est, quod decretum collegii vetus
not to-have used for-proof it-is that a-decree of-the-college old
habemus omnem avem tripudium facere posse. Tum igitur
we-have every bird a-tripudium to-make to-be-able then therefore
esset auspicium (si modo esset ei liberum) se ostendisse;
it-would-be an-auspice if only it-were to-it free itself to-have-shown
tum avis illa videri posset interpres et satelles Iovis; nunc
then bird that to-seem could the-interpreter and attendant of-Jupiter now
vero inclusa in cavea et fame enecta si in offam pultis
indeed shut-in in a-cage and by-hunger starved if on a-morsel of-porridge
invadit, et si aliquid ex eius ore cecidit, hoc tu auspicium
it-falls and if something from its mouth has-fallen this you an-auspice
aut hoc modo Romulum auspicari solitum putas?
or in-this way Romulus to-take-the-auspices wont do-you-think
74 Iam de caelo servare non ipsos censes solitos, qui
moreover from the-sky to-watch not themselves do-you-think wont those-who
auspicabantur? Nunc imperant pullario; ille renuntiat.
took-the-auspices now they-order the-chicken-keeper he reports
Fulmen sinistrum auspicium optumum habemus ad omnis res
lightning on-the-left an-auspice best we-hold for all things
praeterquam ad comitia; quod quidem institutum rei
except for the-assemblies which indeed instituted of-the-thing
publicae causa est, ut comitiorum vel in iudiciis populi
public for-the-sake was so-that of-assemblies either in the-trials of-the-people

vel in iure legum vel in creandis magistratibus principes
or in the-right of-laws or in creating magistrates the-leading-men
civitatis essent interpretes. At Ti. Gracchi litteris Scipio et
of-the-state should-be the-interpreters but of-Tiberius Gracchus by-letters Scipio and
Figulus consules, cum augures iudicassent eos vitio creatos
Figulus consuls when the-augurs had-judged them in-violation elected
esse, magistratu se abdicaverunt. Quis negat augurum
to-have-been from-office themselves resigned who denies of-the-augurs
disciplinam esse? Divinationem nego. At haruspices divini;
the-discipline to-exist divination I-deny but the-haruspices diviners
quos cum Ti. Gracchus propter mortem repentinam eius,
whom when Tiberius Gracchus on-account-of the-death sudden of-him
qui in praerogativa referenda subito concidisset, in senatum
who in the-prerogative-vote reporting suddenly had-collapsed into the-senate
introduxisset, non iustum rogatorem fuisse dixerunt.
had-brought-in not a-lawful presiding-officer to-have-been they-said
Primum vide, ne in eum dixerint, qui rogator 75
first see lest against him they-spoke who the-presiding-officer
centuriae fuisset; is enim erat mortuus; id autem sine
of-the-century had-been he for had died that moreover without
divinatione coniectura poterant dicere. Deinde fortasse casu,
divination by-conjecture they-could to-say then perhaps by-chance
qui nullo modo est ex hoc genere tollendus. Quid enim
which in-no way is from this kind to-be-removed what for
scire Etrusci haruspices aut de tabernaculo recte capto
to-know the-Etruscan haruspices either about the-tent rightly taken
aut de pomerii iure potuerunt? Equidem adsentior
or about of-the-pomerium the-law could-they for-my-part agree
C. Marcello potius quam App. Claudio, qui ambo
with-Gaius Marcellus rather than with-Appius Claudius who both
mei collegae fuerunt, existimoque ius augurum, etsi
my colleagues were and-I-think the-law of-augurs although

divinationis opinione principio constitutum sit, tamen
of-divination by-the-belief in-the-beginning established it-was still
postea rei publicae causa conservatum ac retentum.
afterward of-the-thing public for-the-sake preserved and retained
76 Sed de hoc loco plura in aliis, nunc hactenus. Externa
but about this topic more-things in others now so-far foreign
enim auguria, quae sunt non tam artificiosa quam superstitiosa,
for auguries which are not so artificial as superstitious
videamus. Omnibus fere avibus utuntur, nos admodum paucis;
let-us-see all nearly birds they-use we very few
alia illis sinistra sunt, alia nostris. Solebat ex me
other-things to-them left are other to-ours used from me
Deiotarus percontari nostri augurii disciplinam, ego ex illo
Deiotarus to-inquire-about our augury's discipline I from him
sui. Di immortales! Quantum differebat! Ut quaedam essent
about-his gods immortal how-much it-differed so-that some-things were
etiam contraria. Atque ille iis semper utebatur, nos, nisi dum
even contrary and he them always used we except while
a populo auspicia accepta habemus, quam multum iis utimur?
from the-people auspices received we-hold how much them do-we-use
Bellicam rem administrari maiores nostri nisi auspicato
military affairs to-be-administered our ancestors except after-taking-the-auspices
noluerunt; quam multi anni sunt, cum bella a proconsulibus
did-not-wish how many years are-there since wars by proconsuls
et a propraetoribus administrantur, qui auspicia non habent!
and by propraetors are-administered who auspices not have
77 Itaque nec amnis transeunt auspicato nec tripudio
and-so neither rivers do-they-cross after-taking-the-auspices nor by-tripudium
auspicantur. Ubi ergo avium divinatio? Quae, quoniam
take-the-auspices where therefore of-birds divination which since
ab iis, qui auspicia nulla habent, bella administrantur, ad
by those who auspices none have wars are-administered for

urbanas res retenta videtur, a bellicis esse sublata.
city affairs retained it-seems from military-ones to-have-been removed
Nam ex acuminibus quidem, quod totum auspicium militare
for from spear-points indeed which whole auspice military
est, iam M. Marcellus ille quinquiens consul totum
is already Marcus Marcellus that five-times consul wholly
omisit, idem imperator, idem augur optumus. Et quidem
omitted the-same commander the-same augur best and indeed
ille dicebat, si quando rem agere vellet, ne impediretur
he used-to-say if ever a-thing to-do he-wished lest he-be-hindered
auspiciis, lectica operta facere iter se solere. Huic
by-auspices in-a-litter covered to-make his-journey himself to-be-wont to-this
simile est, quod nos augures praecipimus, ne iuges auspicium
like is what we augurs prescribe lest a-yoke auspice
obveniat, ut iumenta iubeant diiungere.
occur that the-beasts they-order to-unyoke
Quid est aliud nolle moneri a Iove nisi efficere, 78
what is-it else to-be-unwilling to-be-warned by Jupiter except to-bring-it-about
ut aut ne fieri possit auspicium aut, si fiat, videri?
that either not to-happen can an-auspice or if it-happens to-be-seen
Nam illud admodum ridiculum, quod negas Deiotarum
for that very ridiculous that you-deny Deiotarus
auspiciorum, quae sibi ad Pompeium proficiscenti facta sint,
of-the-auspices which to-him to Pompey setting-out made were
paenitere, quod fidem secutus amicitiamque populi Romani
to-repent because faith having-followed and-the-friendship of-the-people Roman
functus sit officio; antiquiorem enim sibi fuisse laudem et
he-discharged has his-duty more-precious for to-him to-have-been praise and
gloriam quam regnum et possessiones suas. Credo equidem,
glory than kingdom and possessions his I-believe for-my-part
sed hoc nihil ad auspicia; nec enim ei cornix canere
but this nothing to the-auspices nor for to-him a-crow to-caw

potuit recte eum facere, quod populi Romani libertatem
could rightly him to-be-doing because of-the-people Roman the-liberty
defendere pararet; ipse hoc sentiebat, sicuti sensit.
to-defend he-was-preparing he-himself this felt as he-felt

XII · LEFT AND RIGHT

If the birds promised Deiotarus prosperity they deceived him, for Caesar took his tetrarchy; his duty he took from his own virtue. Romulus' staff and Attus Navius' whetstone are fables. The nations differ: the Romans take the left as favorable, the Greeks and barbarians the right. Omens from chance words, the figs of Caunus cried as Crassus embarked, would make a stumble or a sneeze a portent. Lots, drawn by chance, began at Praeneste with Numerius Suffustius' dream and are kept now only for the shrine's beauty.

79 Aves eventus significant aut adversos aut secundos; virtutis
birds outcomes signify either adverse or favorable of-virtue
auspiciis video esse usum Deiotarum, quae vetat spectare
the-auspices I-see to-have used Deiotarus which forbids to-look-at
fortunam, dum praestetur fides. Aves vero si prosperos
fortune while is-kept faith birds indeed if prosperous
eventus ostenderunt, certe fefellerunt. Fugit e proelio
outcomes showed certainly they-deceived he-fled from battle
cum Pompeio; grave tempus! Discessit ab eo; luctuosa
with Pompey a-grave time he-departed from him a-mournful
res! Caesarem eodem tempore hostem et hospitem vidit;
thing Caesar at-the-same time as-enemy and host he-saw
quid hoc tristius? Is cum ei Trocmorum tetrarchian
what than-this more-grim he when from-him of-the-Trocmi the-tetrarchy
eripuisset et adseculae suo Pergameno nescio cui
had-snatched and to-a-hanger-on his-own a-Pergamene I-know-not whom

dedisset eidemque detraxisset Armeniam a senatu datam,
had-given and-from-the-same had-taken-away Armenia by the-senate given
cumque ab eo magnificentissumo hospitio acceptus esset,
and-when by him with-most-magnificent hospitality received he-had-been
spoliatum reliquit et hospitem et regem. Sed labor
despoiled he-left both his-host and the-king but I-slip
longius; ad propositum revertar. Si eventa quaerimus, quae
farther to the-subject I-will-return if outcomes we-seek which
exquiruntur avibus, nullo modo prospera Deiotaro; sin
are-searched-out by-birds in-no way prosperous to-Deiotarus but-if
officia, a virtute ipsius, non ab auspiciis petita sunt.
duties from the-virtue of-himself not from auspices sought were
Omitte igitur lituum Romuli, quem in maximo incendio negas 80
pass-over therefore the-lituus of-Romulus which in the-greatest fire you-deny
potuisse comburi; contemne cotem Atti Navii. Nihil
to-have-been-able to-be-burned despise the-whetstone of-Attus Navius nothing
debet esse in philosophia commenticiis fabellis loci; illud erat
ought to-be in philosophy for-invented tales of-place that was
philosophi potius, totius augurii primum naturam ipsam
of-a-philosopher rather of-the-whole augury first the-nature itself
videre, deinde inventionem, deinde constantiam. Quae est igitur
to-see then the-discovery then the-consistency what is therefore
natura, quae volucris huc et illuc passim vagantis efficiat ut
the-nature which birds hither and thither everywhere wandering brings-about that
significent aliquid et tum vetent agere, tum iubeant aut cantu
they-signify something and now forbid to-act now order either by-song
aut volatu? Cur autem aliis a laeva, aliis a dextra
or by-flight why moreover to-some on-the left to-others on-the right
datum est avibus ut ratum auspicium facere possint? Quo
given has-it-been to-birds that a-valid auspice to-make they-can in-what
modo autem haec aut quando aut a quibus inventa dicemus?
way moreover these-things or when or by whom discovered shall-we-say

Etrusci tamen habent exaratum puerum auctorem disciplinae
the-Etruscans still have a-plowed-up boy as-author of-the-discipline
suae; nos quem? Attumne Navium? At aliquot annis antiquior
their-own we whom Attus-whether Navius but by-some years older
Romulus et Remus, ambo augures, ut accepimus. An Pisidarum
Romulus and Remus both augurs as we-have-heard or of-the-Pisidians
aut Cilicum aut Phrygum ista inventa dicemus?
or of-the-Cilicians or of-the-Phrygians those-things discoveries shall-we-say
Placet igitur humanitatis expertis habere divinitatis auctores?
does-it-please therefore of-humanity those-devoid to-have of-divinity as-authors
81 At omnes reges, populi, nationes utuntur auspiciis. Quasi
but all kings peoples nations use auspices as-if
vero quicquam sit tam valde quam nihil sapere vulgare, aut
indeed anything were so much as nothing to-know common or
quasi tibi ipsi in iudicando placeat multitudo! Quotus
as-if to-you yourself in judging pleases the-multitude what-fraction
quisque est, qui voluptatem neget esse bonum? Plerique etiam
each is who pleasure denies to-be a-good most even
summum bonum dicunt. Num igitur eorum frequentia
the-highest good call surely-not therefore their by-crowding
Stoici de sententia deterrentur? Aut num plerisque in
the-Stoics from their-opinion are-deterred or surely-not most in
rebus sequitur eorum auctoritatem multitudo? Quid mirum
things follows their authority the-multitude what surprising
igitur, si in auspiciis et in omni divinatione inbecilli animi
therefore if in auspices and in every divination weak minds
superstitiosa ista concipiant, verum dispicere non possint?
superstitious those-things conceive the-truth to-discern not can

Quae autem est inter augures conveniens et coniuncta 82
what moreover is among augurs agreeing and joined
constantia? Ad nostri augurii consuetudinem dixit Ennius:
consistency to our augury's custom said Ennius

Tum tonuit laevum bene tempestate serena.
then it-thundered on-the-left well in-weather clear

At Homericus Aiax apud Achillem querens de ferocitate
but Homeric Ajax to Achilles complaining about the-ferocity
Troianorum nescio quid hoc modo nuntiat:
of-the-Trojans I-know-not what in-this way announces

Prospera Iuppiter his dextris fulgoribus edit.
prosperous-things Jupiter to-them by-right-hand lightnings shows

Ita nobis sinistra videntur, Graiis et barbaris dextra
so to-us the-left-things seem to-the-Greeks and barbarians the-right-hand
meliora. Quamquam haud ignoro, quae bona sint,
better although not I-am-ignorant what-things good are
sinistra nos dicere, etiamsi dextra sint; sed certe nostri
left we to-call even-if right they-are but certainly our-people
sinistrum nominaverunt externique dextrum, quia plerumque
left named and-foreigners the-right because mostly
id melius videbatur.
that better seemed
Haec quanta dissensio est! Quid? Quod aliis avibus utuntur, 83
this how-great a-disagreement is what that some birds they-use
aliis signis, aliter observant, alia respondent, non necesse
other signs otherwise observe other-things answer not necessary

est fateri partim horum errore susceptum esse, partim
is-it to-confess partly of-these by-error undertaken to-have-been partly
superstitione, multa fallendo?
by-superstition many-things by-deceiving
Atque his superstitionibus non dubitasti etiam omina
and to-these superstitions not you-hesitated even omens
adiungere. Aemilia Paulo Persam perisse, quod pater
to-add Aemilia to-Paulus Persa to-have-perished which the-father
omen accepit; Caecilia se sororis filiae sedes suas
as-an-omen accepted Caecilia herself of-her-sister to-daughter seat her-own
tradere. Iam illa: Favete linguis et praerogativam,
to-hand-over moreover that favor with-tongues and the-prerogative-century
omen comitiorum. Hoc est ipsum esse contra se copiosum
the-omen of-the-elections this is itself to-be against oneself copious
et disertum. Quando enim ista observans quieto et
and eloquent when for those-things observing with-quiet and
libero animo esse poteris, ut ad rem gerendam non
free mind to-be will-you-be-able so-that for business to-be-done not
superstitionem habeas, sed rationem ducem? Itane? Si quis
superstition you-have but reason as-guide so-whether if anyone
aliquid ex sua re atque ex suo sermone dixerit et
something from his-own affair and from his-own talk has-said and
eius verbum aliquod apte ceciderit ad id, quod ages aut
his word some aptly has-fallen to that which you-will-do or
cogitabis, ea res tibi aut timorem adferet aut alacritatem?
you-will-think that thing to-you either fear will-bring or eagerness
84 Cum M. Crassus exercitum Brundisii inponeret, quidam
when Marcus Crassus the-army at-Brundisium was-embarking a-certain-man
in portu caricas Cauno advectas vendens Cauneas
in the-port figs from-Caunus brought selling Cauneas
clamitabat. Dicamus, si placet, monitum ab eo Crassum,
kept-crying let-us-say if it-pleases warned by him Crassus

caveret ne iret; non fuisse periturum, si omini
that-he-should-beware lest he-go not to-have-been about-to-perish if to-the-omen
paruisset. Quae si suscipiamus, pedis offensio nobis et
he-had-obeyed which-things if we-take-up of-the-foot a-stumble for-us and
abruptio corrigiae et sternumenta erunt observanda.
a-breaking of-a-shoelace and sneezes will-be to-be-observed
Sortes restant et Chaldaei, ut ad vates veniamus et ad 85
lots remain and the-Chaldaeans that to the-seers we-may-come and to
somnia. Dicendum igitur putas de sortibus? Quid enim
dreams to-be-spoken therefore do-you-think about lots what for
sors est? Idem prope modum, quod micare, quod talos
a-lot is the-same almost in-measure as to-play-at-fingers as knucklebones
iacere, quod tesseras, quibus in rebus temeritas et casus, non
to-throw as dice in which things rashness and chance not
ratio nec consilium valet. Tota res est inventa fallaciis aut ad
reason nor counsel prevail the-whole thing is invented by-deceits either for
quaestum aut ad superstitionem aut ad errorem. Atque ut in
gain or for superstition or for error and as in
haruspicina fecimus, sic videamus, clarissumarum sortium quae
haruspicy we-did so let-us-see of-the-most-famous lots what
tradatur inventio. Numerium Suffustium Praenestinorum
is-handed-down the-discovery Numerius Suffustius the-Praenestines'
monumenta declarant, honestum hominem et nobilem,
records declare an-honorable man and noble
somniis crebris, ad extremum etiam minacibus cum iuberetur
by-dreams frequent at the-end even threatening when he-was-ordered
certo in loco silicem caedere, perterritum visis irridentibus
certain in place flint to-cut terrified by-the-visions mocking
suis civibus id agere coepisse; itaque perfracto saxo
his fellow-citizens that to-do to-have-begun and-so with-broken-through the-stone
sortis erupisse in robore insculptas priscarum litterarum
lots to-have-burst-out in oak carved of-ancient letters

notis. Is est hodie locus saeptus religiose propter Iovis
with-marks that is today the-place fenced religiously near of-Jupiter
pueri, qui lactens cum Iunone Fortunae in gremio sedens
of-the-boy who suckling with Juno of-Fortune in lap sitting
mammam adpetens castissime colitur a matribus.
the-breast seeking most-chastely is-worshiped by mothers
86 Eodemque tempore in eo loco, ubi Fortunae nunc est
and-at-the-same time in that place where of-Fortune now is
aedes, mel ex olea fluxisse dicunt, haruspicesque
the-temple honey from an-olive-tree to-have-flowed they-say and-the-haruspices
dixisse summa nobilitate illas sortis futuras, eorumque
to-have-said of-the-highest renown those lots to-be and-their
iussu ex illa olea arcam esse factam, eoque conditas
by-order from that olive a-chest to-have-been made and-in-it stored
sortis, quae hodie Fortunae monitu tolluntur. Quid igitur in
the-lots which today of-Fortune at-prompting are-taken-up what therefore in
his potest esse certi, quae Fortunae monitu pueri manu
these can to-be of-certainty which of-Fortune at-prompting of-a-boy by-hand
miscentur atque ducuntur? Quo modo autem istae positae
are-mixed and drawn in-what way moreover those placed
in illo loco? Quis robur illud cecidit, dolavit, inscripsit?
in that place who oak that felled hewed inscribed
Nihil est, inquiunt, quod deus efficere non possit. Utinam
nothing is-there they-say which god to-accomplish not can would-that
sapientis Stoicos effecisset, ne omnia cum superstitiosa
wise the-Stoics he-had-made that-not all-things with superstitious
sollicitudine et miseria crederent! Sed hoc quidem genus
anxiety and misery they-believed but this indeed kind
divinationis vita iam communis explosit; fani pulchritudo
of-divination life now common has-hissed-off of-the-shrine the-beauty
et vetustas Praenestinarum etiam nunc retinet sortium
and antiquity of-the-Praenestine even now retains lots

nomen, atque id in volgus. Quis enim magistratus aut
the-name and that among the-crowd what for magistrate or
quis vir inlustrior utitur sortibus? Ceteris vero in locis
what man more-illustrious uses lots other indeed in places
sortes plane refrixerunt. Quod Carneadem Clitomachus scribit
lots plainly have-grown-cold which Carneades Clitomachus writes
dicere solitum, nusquam se fortunatiorem quam Praeneste
to-say wont nowhere himself more-fortunate than at-Praeneste
vidisse Fortunam. Ergo hoc divinationis genus omittamus.
to-have-seen Fortune therefore this of-divination kind let-us-pass-over

XIII · THE CHALDAEANS

Eudoxus, Panaetius, and Scylax rejected the Chaldaeans' birth predictions. Their claim that the zodiac and the planets shape each newborn fails: twins differ in life and fortune, the moon lies near the earth and the planets immeasurably far, and the horizon differs from place to place.

Ad Chaldaeorum monstra veniamus; de quibus Eudoxus, 87
to of-the-Chaldaeans the-monstrosities let-us-come about whom Eudoxus
Platonis auditor, in astrologia iudicio doctissimorum
of-Plato a-hearer in astronomy in-the-judgment of-the-most-learned
hominum facile princeps, sic opinatur, id quod scriptum
men easily the-chief thus thinks that which written
reliquit, Chaldaeis in praedictione et in notatione cuiusque
he-left to-the-Chaldaeans in prediction and in the-noting of-each
vitae ex natali die minime esse credendum.
life from the-birth day least to-be to-be-believed
Nominat etiam Panaetius, qui unus e Stoicis astrologorum 88
names also Panaetius who alone of the-Stoics of-the-astrologers
praedicta reiecit, Anchialum et Cassandrum, summos
the-predictions rejected Anchialus and Cassander the-highest

astrologos illius aetatis, qua erat ipse, cum in ceteris
astrologers of-that age in-which he-was himself though in the-other
astrologiae partibus excellerent, hoc praedictionis genere non
of-astrology parts they-excelled this of-prediction kind not
usos. Scylax Halicarnassius, familiaris Panaetii, excellens
to-have-used Scylax of-Halicarnassus intimate of-Panaetius excellent
in astrologia idemque in regenda sua civitate princeps,
in astronomy and-likewise in governing his-own state the-chief
totum hoc Chaldaicum praedicendi genus repudiavit.
whole this Chaldaean of-predicting kind rejected
89 Sed ut ratione utamur omissis testibus, sic isti
but that reason we-may-use leaving-aside witnesses thus those-men
disputant, qui haec Chaldaeorum natalicia praedicta defendunt:
argue who these of-the-Chaldaeans birthday predictions defend
Vim quandam esse aiunt signifero in orbe, qui Graece
a-force a-certain to-be they-say the-sign-bearing in circle which in-Greek
ζωδιακός dicitur, talem, ut eius orbis una quaeque pars
zodiakos is-called such that of-that circle each single part
alia alio modo moveat inmutetque caelum, perinde ut
in-one in-another way moves and-changes the-sky according-as as
quaeque stellae in his finitumisque partibus sint quoque
each stars in these and-neighboring parts are at-each
tempore, eamque vim varie moveri ab iis sideribus, quae
time and-that force variously to-be-moved by those stars which
vocantur errantia; cum autem in eam ipsam partem orbis
are-called wandering when moreover into that very part of-the-circle
venerint, in qua sit ortus eius, qui nascatur, aut in eam,
they-have-come in which is the-rising of-him who is-born or into that
quae coniunctum aliquid habeat aut consentiens, ea triangula
which joined something has or agreeing those triangles
illi et quadrata nominant. Etenim cum †tempore anni
they and squares name for-indeed since at-time of-the-year

tempestatumque caeli conversiones commutationesque tantae
and-of-the-seasons of-the-sky revolutions and-changes so-great
fiant accessu stellarum et recessu, cumque ea
are-made by-the-approach of-the-stars and withdrawal and-since those-things
vi solis efficiantur, quae videmus, non veri simile
by-the-force of-the-sun are-produced which we-see not of-truth like
solum, sed etiam verum esse censent perinde, utcumque
only but also true to-be they-hold according-as however
temperatus sit aër, ita pueros orientis animari atque
tempered be the-air so children rising to-be-animated and
formari, ex eoque ingenia, mores, animum, corpus, actionem
to-be-formed from and-that intellects characters mind body activity
vitae, casus cuiusque eventusque fingi.
of-life the-fortunes of-each and-outcomes to-be-fashioned
O delirationem incredibilem! Non enim omnis error stultitia 90
O raving incredible not for every error folly
dicenda est. Quibus etiam Diogenes Stoicus concedit
to-be-called is to-whom even Diogenes the-Stoic grants
aliquid, ut praedicere possint dumtaxat, qualis quisque
something that to-predict they-can merely of-what-kind each
natura et ad quam quisque maxume rem aptus futurus
by-nature and for what each most thing suited about-to-be
sit; cetera, quae profiteantur, negat ullo modo posse
is the-rest which they-profess he-denies in-any way to-be-able
sciri; etenim geminorum formas esse similis, vitam
to-be-known for-indeed of-twins the-forms to-be alike the-life
atque fortunam plerumque disparem. Procles et Eurysthenes,
and fortune mostly unlike Procles and Eurysthenes
Lacedaemoniorum reges, gemini fratres fuerunt.
of-the-Lacedaemonians kings twin brothers were

91 At ii nec totidem annos vixerunt; anno enim Procli vita
but they not as-many years lived by-a-year for Procles' life
brevior fuit, multumque is fratri rerum gestarum gloria
shorter was and-much he his-brother in-deeds done in-glory
praestitit. At ego id ipsum, quod vir optumus, Diogenes,
excelled but I that itself which a-man best Diogenes
Chaldaeis quasi quadam praevaricatione concedit, nego
to-the-Chaldaeans as-if by-a-certain collusion grants deny
posse intellegi. Etenim cum, ut ipsi dicunt, ortus
to-be-able to-be-understood for-indeed since as themselves say the-rising
nascentium luna moderetur, eaque animadvertant et
of-those-born the-moon governs and-those-things notice and
notent sidera natalicia Chaldaei, quaecumque lunae
note the-stars natal the-Chaldaeans whichever with-the-moon
iuncta videantur, oculorum fallacissimo sensu iudicant
joined seem of-the-eyes by-most-deceptive sense they-judge
ea, quae ratione atque animo videre debebant. Docet
those-things which by-reason and mind to-see they-ought teaches
enim ratio mathematicorum, quam istis notam esse
for the-reasoning of-the-mathematicians which to-those-men known to-be
oportebat, quanta humilitate luna feratur terram paene
it-behooved with-how-great lowness the-moon is-borne the-earth almost
contingens, quantum absit a proxuma Mercurii stella,
touching how-far it-is-distant from the-nearest of-Mercury star
multo autem longius a Veneris, deinde alio intervallo
much moreover farther from of-Venus then by-another interval
distet a sole, cuius lumine conlustrari putatur; reliqua
it-is-distant from the-sun whose by-light to-be-illumined it-is-thought the-other
vero tria intervalla infinita et inmensa, a sole ad Martis,
indeed three intervals infinite and immeasurable from the-sun to of-Mars

inde ad Iovis, ab eo ad Saturni stellam, inde ad caelum
thence to of-Jupiter from it to of-Saturn the-star thence to the-sky
ipsum, quod extremum atque ultumum mundi est.
itself which outermost and last of-the-world is
Quae potest igitur contagio ex infinito paene intervallo 92
what can therefore influence from an-infinite almost interval
pertinere ad lunam vel potius ad terram?
reach to the-moon or rather to the-earth
Quid? Cum dicunt, id quod iis dicere necesse est,
what when they-say that which for-them to-say necessary is
omnis omnium ortus, quicumque gignantur in omni terra,
all of-all-men the-births whoever are-begotten in all the-earth
quae incolatur, eosdem esse, eademque omnibus, qui
which is-inhabited the-same to-be and-the-same-things to-all who
eodem statu caeli et stellarum nati sint, accidere necesse
in-the-same state of-the-sky and of-the-stars born were to-happen necessary
esse, nonne eius modi sunt, ut ne caeli quidem naturam
to-be surely of-that kind they-are that not of-the-sky even the-nature
interpretes istos caeli nosse appareat? Cum enim illi orbes,
the-interpreters those of-the-sky to-know appears since for those circles
qui caelum quasi medium dividunt et aspectum nostrum
which the-sky as-it-were in-the-middle divide and view our
definiunt, qui a Graecis ὁρίζοντες nominantur, a nobis
bound which by the-Greeks horizontes are-named by us
finientes rectissume nominari possunt, varietatem maxumam
finientes most-rightly to-be-named can variety very-great
habeant aliique in aliis locis sint, necesse est ortus
have and-some in other places are necessary it-is the-risings
occasusque siderum non fieri eodem tempore apud omnis.
and-settings of-the-stars not to-happen at-the-same time among all

93 Quodsi eorum vi caelum modo hoc, modo illo modo
but-if their by-force the-sky now in-this now in-that way
temperatur, qui potest eadem vis esse nascentium, cum
is-tempered how can the-same force to-be of-those-being-born when
caeli tanta sit dissimilitudo? In his locis, quae nos
of-the-sky so-great is the-unlikeness in these places which we
incolimus, post solstitium Canicula exoritur, et quidem
inhabit after the-solstice the-Dog-star rises and indeed
aliquot diebus, at apud Troglodytas, ut scribitur, ante
by-some days but among the-Troglodytes as is-written before
solstitium, ut, si iam concedamus aliquid vim caelestem ad
the-solstice so-that if now we-grant some force celestial to
eos, qui in terra gignuntur, pertinere, confitendum sit illis
those who on earth are-begotten to-pertain to-be-confessed it-is by-them
eos, qui nascuntur eodem tempore, posse in dissimilis
those who are-born at-the-same time to-be-able into unlike
incidere naturas propter caeli dissimilitudinem; quod
to-fall natures on-account-of of-the-sky the-unlikeness which
minime illis placet; volunt enim illi omnis eodem tempore
least them pleases they-wish for they all at-the-same time
ortos, qui ubique sint nati, eadem condicione nasci.
risen who wherever they-be born in-the-same condition to-be-born

Weather differs between neighboring places, yet the stars are said to shape the newborn while the weather does not; children resemble their parents, and those born at one moment differ in nature and fortune; defects of birth are cured by nature or art, and peoples differ with their lands. The Chaldaeans promised Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar old age and death at home, and none of them had it. Cicero turns to the two natural kinds, frenzy and dreams, and Quintus asks to hear his case.

Sed quae tanta dementia est, ut in maxumis motibus 94
but what so-great madness is-it that in the-greatest motions
mutationibusque caeli nihil intersit, qui ventus, qui imber,
and-changes of-the-sky nothing should-matter what wind what rain
quae tempestas ubique sit? Quarum rerum in proxumis locis
what storm anywhere be of-which things in nearest places
tantae dissimilitudines saepe sunt, ut alia Tusculi, alia
so-great differences often are that one at-Tusculum another
Romae eveniat saepe tempestas; quod, qui navigant, maxume
at-Rome happens often storm which those-who sail most
animadvertunt, cum in flectendis promunturiis ventorum
notice when in rounding promontories of-winds
mutationes maxumas saepe sentiunt. Haec igitur cum sit tum
changes very-great often they-feel this therefore since is now
serenitas, tum perturbatio caeli, estne sanorum hominum
calm now disturbance of-the-sky is-it-whether of-sane men
hoc ad nascentium ortus pertinere non dicere, illud nescio
this to of-those-born the-births to-pertain not to-say that I-know-not
quid tenue, quod sentiri nullo modo, intellegi autem vix
what thin which to-be-felt in-no way to-be-understood moreover hardly
potest, quae a luna ceterisque sideribus caeli temperatio
can which by the-moon and-the-other stars of-the-sky the-tempering

fiat, dicere ad puerorum ortus pertinere? Quid? Quod non
is-made to-say to of-children the-births to-pertain what that not
intellegunt seminum vim, quae ad gignendum procreandumque
they-understand of-seeds the-force which for begetting and-procreating
plurimum valeat, funditus tolli, mediocris erroris est?
most avails wholly to-be-removed of-moderate error is-it
Quis enim non videt et formas et mores et plerosque
who for not sees both the-forms and characters and most
status ac motus effingere a parentibus liberos? Quod non
postures and motions to-copy from their-parents children which not
contingeret, si haec non vis et natura gignentium
would-happen if these-things not the-force and nature of-the-begetters
efficeret, sed temperatio lunae caelique moderatio.
produced but the-tempering of-the-moon and-of-the-sky regulation
95 Quid? Quod uno et eodem temporis puncto nati dissimilis
what that in-one and the-same of-time point born unlike
et naturas et vitas et casus habent, parumne declarat
both natures and lives and fortunes have too-little-whether declares
nihil ad agendam vitam nascendi tempus pertinere? Nisi
nothing to living life of-being-born the-time to-pertain unless
forte putamus neminem eodem tempore ipso et conceptum
perhaps we-think no-one at-the-same time very both conceived
et natum, quo Africanum. Num quis igitur talis fuit?
and born as Africanus surely-not anyone therefore such was
96 Quid? Illudne dubium est, quin multi, cum ita nati essent,
what that-whether doubtful is that many when so born they-were
ut quaedam contra naturam depravata haberent, restituerentur
that some-things against nature deformed they-had were-restored
et corrigerentur ab natura, cum se ipsa revocasset, aut
and were-corrected by nature when it itself had-recalled or
arte atque medicina? Ut, quorum linguae sic inhaererent,
by-art and medicine as those-whose tongues so stuck

ut loqui non possent, eae scalpello resectae liberarentur.
that to-speak not they-could they with-a-scalpel cut-loose were-freed
Multi etiam naturae vitium meditatione atque exercitatione
many also of-nature a-defect by-practice and exercise
sustulerunt, ut Demosthenem scribit Phalereus, cum rho
removed as Demosthenes writes the-Phalerean when rho
dicere nequiret, exercitatione fecisse, ut planissume
to-say he-could-not by-exercise to-have-brought-about that most-plainly
diceret. Quodsi haec astro ingenerata et tradita
he-said-it but-if these-things by-a-star implanted and handed-down
essent, nulla res ea mutare posset. Quid? Dissimilitudo
were no thing them to-change could what the-unlikeness
locorum nonne dissimilis hominum procreationes habet?
of-places surely unlike of-men begettings has
Quas quidem percurrere oratione facile est, quid inter Indos
which indeed to-run-through in-speech easy is what between Indians
et Persas, Aethiopas et Syros differat corporibus, animis,
and Persians Ethiopians and Syrians differs in-bodies in-minds
ut incredibilis varietas dissimilitudoque sit.
so-that incredible variety and-unlikeness is
Ex quo intellegitur plus terrarum situs quam lunae 97
from which it-is-understood more of-lands the-situation than of-the-moon
tactus ad nascendum valere. Nam quod aiunt quadringenta
the-touch for being-born to-avail for that they-say four-hundred
septuaginta milia annorum in periclitandis experiundisque
seventy thousands of-years in testing and-trying
pueris, quicumque essent nati, Babylonios posuisse, fallunt;
children whoever were born the-Babylonians to-have-spent they-deceive
si enim esset factitatum, non esset desitum; neminem
if for it-had been-practiced not it-would-have-been given-up no-one
autem habemus auctorem, qui id aut fieri dicat aut factum
moreover we-have as-authority who that either to-happen says or done

sciat. Videsne me non ea dicere, quae Carneades,
knows do-you-see-whether me not those-things to-say which Carneades
sed ea, quae princeps Stoicorum Panaetius dixerit? Ego autem
but those which the-chief of-the-Stoics Panaetius said I moreover
etiam haec requiro: omnesne, qui Cannensi pugna ceciderint,
also this ask whether-all who in-the-Cannae battle fell
uno astro fuerint; exitus quidem omnium unus et
under-one star were the-outcome indeed of-all one and
idem fuit. Quid? Qui ingenio atque animo singulares,
the-same was what those-who in-intellect and spirit singular
num astro quoque uno? Quod enim tempus, quo
surely-not under-a-star also one what for time at-which
non innumerabiles nascantur? At certe similis nemo Homeri.
not countless are-born but certainly like no-one to-Homer
98 Et, si ad rem pertinet, quo modo caelo adfecto
and if to the-matter it-pertains in-what way with-the-sky disposed
conpositisque sideribus quodque animal oriatur, valeat id
and-arranged stars each animal arises it-avail that
necesse est non in hominibus solum, verum in bestiis etiam;
necessary it-is not in men alone but in beasts also
quo quid potest dici absurdius? L. quidem Tarutius
than-which what can to-be-said more-absurd Lucius indeed Tarutius
Firmanus, familiaris noster, in primis Chaldaicis rationibus
of-Firmum intimate our among the-first in-Chaldaean reckonings
eruditus, urbis etiam nostrae natalem diem repetebat ab
learned of-the-city even our the-birth day traced from
iis Parilibus, quibus eam a Romulo conditam accepimus,
those Parilia on-which it by Romulus founded we-have-heard
Romamque, in iugo cum esset luna, natam esse
and-Rome in the-balance when was the-moon born to-have-been
dicebat nec eius fata canere dubitabat.
he-said nor its fates to-sing did-he-hesitate

O vim maxumam erroris! Etiamne urbis natalis dies ad vim 99
O force very-great of-error even-whether of-a-city the-birth day to the-force
stellarum et lunae pertinebat? Fac in puero referre, ex
of-the-stars and of-the-moon pertained suppose in a-boy it-matters from
qua adfectione caeli primum spiritum duxerit; num hoc
what disposition of-the-sky the-first breath he-drew surely-not this
in latere aut in caemento, ex quibus urbs effecta est, potuit
in brick or in rubble of which the-city made was could
valere? Sed quid plura? Cotidie refelluntur. Quam multa ego
to-avail but why more daily they-are-refuted how many-things I
Pompeio, quam multa Crasso, quam multa huic ipsi Caesari
to-Pompey how many to-Crassus how many to-this himself Caesar
a Chaldaeis dicta memini, neminem eorum nisi senectute,
by the-Chaldaeans said remember no-one of-them except in-old-age
nisi domi, nisi cum claritate esse moriturum! Ut mihi
except at-home except with renown to-be about-to-die so-that to-me
permirum videatur quemquam exstare, qui etiam nunc credat
very-wonderful it-seems anyone to-exist who even now believes
iis, quorum praedicta cotidie videat re et eventis refelli.
those whose predictions daily he-sees by-fact and by-outcomes to-be-refuted
Restant duo divinandi genera, quae habere dicimur a 100
there-remain two of-divining kinds which to-have we-are-said from
natura, non ab arte, vaticinandi et somniandi; de
nature not from art of-prophesying and of-dreaming about
quibus, Quinte, inquam, si placet, disseramus. Mihi vero,
which Quintus I-said if it-pleases let-us-discuss to-me indeed
inquit, placet; his enim, quae adhuc disputasti, prorsus
he-said it-pleases with-these for which so-far you-have-argued wholly
adsentior, et, vere ut loquar, quamquam tua me oratio
I-agree and truly that I-may-speak although your me speech
confirmavit, tamen etiam mea sponte nimis superstitiosam
has-confirmed still even of-my-own accord too superstitious

de divinatione Stoicorum sententiam iudicabam; haec me
about divination of-the-Stoics the-opinion I-judged this me
Peripateticorum ratio magis movebat et veteris Dicaearchi
of-the-Peripatetics reasoning more moved both of-old Dicaearchus
et eius, qui nunc floret, Cratippi, qui censent esse in
and of-him who now flourishes Cratippus who hold there-to-be in
mentibus hominum tamquam oraclum aliquod, ex quo futura
the-minds of-men as-it-were an-oracle some from which the-future
praesentiant, si aut furore divino incitatus animus aut somno
they-foresee if either by-frenzy divine roused the-soul or by-sleep
relaxatus solute moveatur ac libere. His de generibus quid
relaxed loosely be-moved and freely these about kinds what
sentias et quibus ea rationibus infirmes, audire sane velim.
you-think and by-what them reasons you-weaken to-hear truly I-would-like

XV · THE SYLLOGISM AGAIN

Cicero sets out the Stoics' syllogism once more: if the gods exist and do not declare the future, they do not love men, or are ignorant, or think it no concern of theirs. The Stoics assume what is disputed. That the gods are kind to men, Epicurus and Ennius deny; that they can foreknow is denied by those who hold the future unfixed; so the whole argument falls.

101 Quae cum ille dixisset, tum ego rursus quasi ab alio
which when he had-said then I again as-if from another
principio sum exorsus dicere: Non ignoro, inquam, Quinte,
beginning have begun to-speak not I-am-ignorant I-said Quintus
te semper ita sensisse, ut de ceteris divinandi generibus
you always so to-have-thought that about the-other of-divining kinds
dubitares, ista duo, furoris et somnii, quae a libera mente
you-doubted those two of-frenzy and of-dream which from a-free mind

fluere viderentur, probares. Dicam igitur, de istis ipsis duobus
to-flow seemed you-approved I-will-say therefore about those very two
generibus mihi quid videatur, si prius, et Stoicorum conclusio
kinds to-me what seems if first both of-the-Stoics the-conclusion
rationis et Cratippi nostri quid valeat, videro. Dixisti
of-argument and of-Cratippus our what it-is-worth I-shall-have-seen you-said
enim et Chrysippum et Diogenem et Antipatrum concludere
for both Chrysippus and Diogenes and Antipater to-conclude
hoc modo: 'Si sunt di neque ante declarant hominibus, quae
in-this way if exist gods and-not beforehand they-declare to-men what
futura sint, aut non diligunt homines aut, quid eventurum sit,
about-to-be is either not they-love men or what about-to-happen is
ignorant aut existumant nihil interesse hominum scire, quid
they-know-not or they-think nothing to-matter for-men to-know what
sit futurum, aut non censent esse suae maiestatis praesignificare
is about-to-be or not they-hold to-be of-their majesty to-signify-beforehand
hominibus, quae sunt futura, aut ea ne ipsi quidem
to-men what-things are future or those-things not themselves even
di significare possunt; at neque non diligunt nos (sunt
the-gods to-signify can but neither not do-they-love us they-are
enim benefici generique hominum amici) neque ignorant
for beneficent and-to-the-race of-men friendly nor do-they-not-know
ea, quae ab ipsis constituta et designata sunt;
those-things which by themselves established and designated have-been
neque nostra nihil interest scire ea, quae futura sunt, 102
nor to-us nothing matters to-know those-things which future are
(erimus enim cautiores, si sciemus) neque hoc alienum
we-shall-be for more-cautious if we-shall-know nor this foreign
ducunt maiestate sua (nihil est enim beneficentia
do-they-consider from-majesty their-own nothing is for than-beneficence
praestantius) neque non possunt futura praenoscere; non
more-excellent nor not can-they the-future to-foreknow not

igitur di sunt nec significant nobis futura; sunt autem di;
therefore exist gods and-not they-signify to-us the-future exist moreover gods
significant ergo; et non, si significant futura, nullas dant vias
they-signify therefore and not if they-signify the-future no they-give ways
nobis ad significationum scientiam (frustra enim significarent)
to-us to of-significations knowledge in-vain for they-would-signify
nec, si dant vias, non est divinatio; est igitur divinatio.'
nor if they-give ways not is-there divination there-is therefore divination
103 O acutos homines! Quam paucis verbis confectum negotium
O sharp men with-how few words finished the-business
putant! Ea sumunt ad concludendum, quorum iis
they-think those-things they-assume for concluding of-which to-them
nihil conceditur. Conclusio autem rationis ea probanda est,
nothing is-granted the-conclusion moreover of-argument that to-be-approved is
in qua ex rebus non dubiis id, quod dubitatur, efficitur.
in which from things not doubtful that which is-doubted is-brought-about
Videsne Epicurum, quem hebetem et rudem dicere solent
do-you-see-whether Epicurus whom dull and crude to-call are-wont
Stoici, quem ad modum, quod in natura rerum omne esse
the-Stoics in-what to manner what in the-nature of-things all to-be
dicimus, id infinitum esse concluserit? 'Quod finitum est',
we-say that infinite to-be he-has-concluded what finite is
inquit, 'habet extremum.' Quis hoc non dederit? 'Quod
he-said has a-limit who this not would-have-granted what
autem habet extremum, id cernitur ex alio extrinsecus.'
moreover has a-limit that is-discerned from another from-outside
Hoc quoque est concedendum. 'At, quod omne est, id non
this also is to-be-granted but what all is that not
cernitur ex alio extrinsecus.' Ne hoc quidem negari potest.
is-discerned from another from-outside not this even to-be-denied can
'Nihil igitur cum habeat extremum, infinitum sit necesse est.'
nothing therefore since it-has a-limit infinite be necessary it-is

Videsne, ut ad rem dubiam a concessis rebus 104
do-you-see-whether how to a-thing doubtful from granted things
pervenerit? Hoc vos dialectici non facitis, nec solum ea
he-has-arrived this you dialecticians not do nor only those-things
non sumitis ad concludendum, quae ab omnibus concedantur,
not you-assume for concluding which by all are-granted
sed ea sumitis, quibus concessis nihilo magis efficiatur,
but those-things you-assume which granted by-nothing more is-brought-about
quod velitis. Primum enim hoc sumitis: 'Si sunt di, benefici
what you-wish first for this you-assume if exist gods beneficent
in homines sunt.' Quis hoc vobis dabit? Epicurusne? Qui
toward men they-are who this to-you will-grant Epicurus-whether who
negat quicquam deos nec alieni curare nec sui; an
denies anything the-gods neither of-another to-care-for nor of-their-own or
noster Ennius? Qui magno plausu loquitur adsentiente populo:
our Ennius who with-great applause speaks the-people agreeing

Ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam caelitum,
I of-gods the-race to-exist always have-said and will-say of-the-heavenly-ones
sed eos non curare opinor, quid agat humanum genus.
but them not to-care I-think what does the-human race

Et quidem, cur sic opinetur, rationem subicit; sed nihil est
and indeed why so he-thinks a-reason he-adds but nothing is
necesse dicere, quae sequuntur; tantum sat est intellegi, id
necessary to-say what follows only enough it-is to-be-understood that
sumere istos pro certo, quod dubium controversumque sit.
to-assume those-men for certain which doubtful and-disputed is
Sequitur porro, nihil deos ignorare, quod omnia sint ab 105
it-follows next nothing the-gods to-be-ignorant-of because all-things were by
iis constituta. Hic vero quanta pugna est doctissumorum
them established here indeed how-great a-fight is-there of-most-learned

hominum negantium esse haec a dis inmortalibus
men denying to-have-been these-things by the-gods immortal
constituta! At nostra interest scire ea, quae eventura
established but to-us it-matters to-know those-things which about-to-happen
sunt. Magnus Dicaearchi liber est nescire ea melius esse quam
are great of-Dicaearchus a-book is not-to-know them better to-be than
scire. Negant id esse alienum maiestate deorum. Scilicet
to-know they-deny that to-be foreign from-the-majesty of-the-gods of-course
casas omnium introspicere, ut videant, quid cuique conducat.
the-cottages of-all to-look-into that they-may-see what to-each is-expedient
106 'Neque non possunt futura praenoscere.' Negant posse ii,
nor not can-they the-future to-foreknow deny to-be-able those
quibus non placet esse certum, quid futurum sit. Videsne
to-whom not it-seems-good to-be certain what about-to-be is do-you-see-whether
igitur, quae dubia sint, ea sumi pro certis atque concessis?
therefore what doubtful is that to-be-assumed for certain and granted
Deinde contorquent et ita concludunt: 'Non igitur et sunt di
then they-twist and so conclude not therefore both exist gods
nec significant futura'; id enim iam perfectum arbitrantur.
and-not they-signify the-future that for now finished they-think
Deinde adsumunt: 'Sunt autem di', quod ipsum non ab omnibus
then they-add exist moreover gods which itself not by all
conceditur. 'Significant ergo.' Ne id quidem sequitur; possunt
is-granted they-signify therefore not that even follows they-can
enim non significare et tamen esse di. 'Nec, si significant,
for not to-signify and still to-exist gods nor if they-signify
non dant vias aliquas ad scientiam significationis.' At id
not do-they-give ways some to the-knowledge of-signification but that
quoque potest, ut non dent homini, ipsi habeant; cur
too it-can that not they-give to-man themselves they-have why
enim Tuscis potius quam Romanis darent? 'Nec,
for to-the-Etruscans rather than to-the-Romans would-they-give nor

si dant vias, nulla est divinatio.' Fac dare deos, quod
if they-give ways none is divination suppose to-give the-gods which
absurdum est; quid refert, si accipere non possumus?
absurd is what does-it-matter if to-receive not we-can
Extremum est: 'Est igitur divinatio.' Sit extremum, effectum
the-last is there-is therefore divination let-be the-last brought-about
tamen non est; ex falsis enim, ut ab ipsis didicimus,
still not it-is from falsehoods for as from themselves we-have-learned
verum effici non potest. Iacet igitur tota conclusio.
truth to-be-brought-about not can lies-flat therefore the-whole conclusion

XVI · CRATIPPUS AND THE SIBYL

Cratippus argues that eyes which once saw truly have sight, and a mind that once divined truly has divination; but the eyes see by nature, and prophets hit the truth by chance, and his argument would save every kind of divination he rejects. A madman cannot see what the wise man does not. The Sibyl's verses are an acrostic, the work of art, not frenzy, and their obscurity lets them fit any event. The oarsman of Coponius' fleet spoke in terror the fear all felt as the armies met in Thessaly.

Veniamus nunc ad optumum virum, familiarem nostrum, 107
let-us-come now to the-best man intimate our
Cratippum. 'Si sine oculis', inquit, 'non potest exstare
Cratippus if without eyes he-said not can to-exist
officium et munus oculorum, possunt autem aliquando oculi
the-function and office of-the-eyes can moreover sometimes eyes
non fungi suo munere, qui vel semel ita est usus oculis,
not to-discharge their office he-who even once so has used his-eyes
ut vera cerneret, is habet sensum oculorum vera
that true-things he-discerned he has the-sense of-eyes true-things
cernentium. Item igitur, si sine divinatione non potest
discerning likewise therefore if without divination not can

officium et munus divinationis exstare, potest autem, cum quis
the-function and office of-divination to-exist can moreover when one
divinationem habeat, errare aliquando nec vera cernere, satis
divination have to-err sometimes nor true-things to-discern enough
est ad confirmandam divinationem semel aliquid ita esse
it-is for confirming divination once something so to-have-been
divinatum, nihil ut fortuito cecidisse videatur; sunt
divined nothing that by-chance to-have-fallen-out seems are
autem eius generis innumerabilia; esse igitur divinationem
moreover of-that kind countless to-exist therefore divination
confitendum est.' Festive et breviter; sed cum bis sumpsit,
to-be-confessed it-is wittily and briefly but since twice he-assumed
quod voluit, etiamsi faciles nos ad concedendum habuerit,
what he-wished even-if easy us for granting he-has-had
id tamen, quod adsumit, concedi nullo modo potest.
that still which he-adds to-be-granted in-no way can
108 'Si', inquit, 'aliquando oculi peccent, tamen, quia recte aliquando
if he-said sometimes the-eyes err still because rightly sometimes
viderunt, inest in iis vis videndi; item, si quis semel
they-have-seen there-is-in in them the-force of-seeing likewise if anyone once
aliquid in divinatione dispexerit, is, etiam cum peccet, tamen
something in divination has-discerned he even when he-errs still
existumandus sit habere vim divinandi.' Vide, quaeso, Cratippe
to-be-reckoned is to-have the-force of-divining see I-pray Cratippus
noster, quam sint ista similia; nam mihi non videntur. Oculi
our how are those-things alike for to-me not they-seem the-eyes
enim vera cernentes utuntur natura atque sensu, animi, si
for true-things discerning use nature and the-sense minds if
quando vel vaticinando vel somniando vera viderunt, usi
ever either by-prophesying or by-dreaming true-things they-have-seen used
sunt fortuna atque casu; nisi forte concessuros tibi existumas
have fortune and chance unless perhaps about-to-grant to-you you-think

eos, qui somnia pro somniis habent, si quando aliquod somnium
those who dreams for dreams hold if ever some dream
verum evaserit, non id fortuito accidisse. Sed demus
true has-turned-out not that by-chance to-have-happened but let-us-grant
tibi istas duas sumptiones (ea quae λήμματα appellant
to-you those two assumptions those-things which lemmata call
dialectici, sed nos Latine loqui malumus), adsumptio
the-dialecticians but we in-Latin to-speak prefer the-minor-premise
tamen (quam πρόσληψιν iidem vocant) non dabitur.
still which proslepsis the-same call not will-be-granted
Adsumit autem Cratippus hoc modo: 'Sunt autem 109
adds moreover Cratippus in-this way are moreover
innumerabiles praesensiones non fortuitae.' At ego dico nullam
countless foreknowings not fortuitous but I say none
(vide, quanta sit controversia); iam adsumptione non concessa
see how-great is the-dispute now the-minor-premise not granted
nulla conclusio est. At impudentes sumus, qui, cum tam
no conclusion is but impudent we-are who when so
perspicuum sit, non concedamus. Quid est perspicuum? 'Multa
evident it-is not we-grant what is evident many-things
vera', inquit, 'evadere.' Quid, quod multo plura falsa? Nonne
true he-said to-turn-out what that much more false-things surely
ipsa varietas, quae est propria fortunae, fortunam esse causam,
the-very variety which is proper to-fortune fortune to-be the-cause
non naturam esse docet? Deinde, si tua ista conclusio, Cratippe,
not nature to-be teaches then if your that conclusion Cratippus
vera est (tecum enim mihi res est), non intellegis eadem
true is with-you for to-me the-matter is not you-understand the-same
uti posse et haruspices et fulguratores et interpretes
to-use to-be-able both the-haruspices and the-lightning-readers and the-interpreters
ostentorum et augures et sortilegos et Chaldaeos? Quorum
of-portents and the-augurs and the-lot-drawers and the-Chaldaeans of-which

generum nullum est, ex quo non aliquid, sicut praedictum
kinds none is from which not something as foretold
sit, evaserit. Ergo aut ea quoque genera divinandi sunt,
it-was has-turned-out therefore either those too kinds of-divining are
quae tu rectissume inprobas, aut, si ea non sunt, non
which you most-rightly disapprove or if they not are not
intellego, cur haec duo sint, quae relinquis. Qua ergo
I-understand why these two are which you-leave by-what therefore
ratione haec inducis, eadem illa possunt esse, quae tollis.
reasoning these you-bring-in the-same those can to-be which you-remove
110 Quid vero habet auctoritatis furor iste, quem divinum vocatis,
what indeed has of-authority frenzy that which divine you-call
ut, quae sapiens non videat, ea videat insanus, et
that what the-wise-man not sees those-things sees the-madman and
is, qui humanos sensus amiserit, divinos adsecutus sit?
he who human senses has-lost divine-ones attained has
Sibyllae versus observamus, quos illa furens fudisse
of-the-Sibyl the-verses we-observe which she raving to-have-poured-out
dicitur. Quorum interpres nuper falsa quadam hominum
is-said of-which the-interpreter lately by-a-false certain of-men
fama dicturus in senatu putabatur eum, quem re vera
rumor about-to-say in the-senate was-thought him whom in truth
regem habebamus, appellandum quoque esse regem, si salvi
as-king we-had to-be-called also to-be king if safe
esse vellemus. Hoc si est in libris, in quem hominem et
to-be we-wished this if it-is in the-books on what man and
in quod tempus est? Callide enim, qui illa composuit,
on what time is-it cleverly for he-who those-things composed
perfecit, ut, quodcumque accidisset, praedictum videretur
brought-about that whatever had-happened foretold it-might-seem
hominum et temporum definitione sublata.
of-men and of-times the-definition removed

Adhibuit etiam latebram obscuritatis, ut iidem versus 111
he-applied also the-hiding-place of-obscurity so-that the-same verses
alias in aliam rem posse accommodari viderentur. Non
at-one-time to another thing to-be-able to-be-fitted might-seem not
esse autem illud carmen furentis cum ipsum poëma
to-be moreover that poem of-a-raving-one both itself the-poem
declarat (est enim magis artis et diligentiae quam incitationis
declares it-is for more of-art and diligence than of-excitement
et motus), tum vero ea, quae ἀκροστιχίς dicitur, cum
and motion then indeed that which akrostichis is-called when
deinceps ex primis primi cuiusque versus litteris aliquid
in-order from the-first of-first of-each verse letters something
conectitur, ut in quibusdam Ennianis: Q. Ennius fecit.
is-connected as in certain Ennian-verses Quintus Ennius made
Id certe magis est attenti animi quam furentis.
that certainly more is of-an-attentive mind than of-a-raving-one
Atque in Sibyllinis ex primo versu cuiusque sententiae 112
and in the-Sibylline-verses from the-first verse of-each sentence
primis litteris illius sententiae carmen omne praetexitur. Hoc
by-the-first letters of-that sentence the-poem whole is-bordered this
scriptoris est, non furentis, adhibentis diligentiam, non
of-a-writer is not of-a-raving-one applying diligence not
insani. Quam ob rem Sibyllam quidem sepositam et
of-a-madman which on-account-of thing the-Sibyl indeed set-aside and
conditam habeamus, ut, id quod proditum est a maioribus,
stored-away let-us-keep so-that that which handed-down was by our-ancestors
iniussu senatus ne legantur quidem libri valeantque
without-the-order of-the-senate not be-read even the-books and-may-avail
ad deponendas potius quam ad suscipiendas religiones; cum
for setting-aside rather than for taking-up religious-scruples with
antistitibus agamus, ut quidvis potius ex illis libris quam
the-priests let-us-deal that anything rather from those books than

regem proferant, quem Romae posthac nec di nec homines
a-king they-bring-forth whom at-Rome hereafter neither gods nor men
esse patientur. At multi saepe vera vaticinati, ut Cassandra:
to-exist will-allow but many often true-things have-prophesied as Cassandra

Iamque mari magno …
and-now on-the-sea great …

eademque paulo post:
and-the-same a-little after

Eheu videte …
alas look …

Num igitur me cogis etiam fabulis credere?
surely-not therefore me do-you-compel even myths to-believe
113 Quae delectationis habeant, quantum voles, verbis sententiis,
which of-delight may-have as-much-as you-will-wish by-words thoughts
numeris cantibus adiuventur; auctoritatem quidem nullam
meters songs let-them-be-helped authority indeed none
debemus nec fidem commenticiis rebus adiungere. Eodemque
we-ought nor faith to-invented things to-attach and-in-the-same
modo nec ego Publicio nescio cui nec Marciis vatibus
way neither I Publicius I-know-not whom nor the-Marcii seers
nec Apollinis opertis credendum existimo; quorum partim
nor of-Apollo the-secrets to-be-believed think of-which partly
ficta aperte, partim effutita temere numquam ne mediocri
invented openly partly babbled rashly never not to-a-moderate
quidem cuiquam, non modo prudenti probata sunt.
even anyone not only to-a-prudent-man approved have-been

Quid? inquies, remex ille de classe Coponii nonne ea 114
what you-will-say oarsman that from the-fleet of-Coponius surely those-things
praedixit, quae facta sunt? Ille vero, et ea quidem, quae
foretold which done were he indeed and those indeed which
omnes eo tempore ne acciderent timebamus. Castra
all at-that time lest they-should-happen we-feared camp
enim in Thessalia castris conlata audiebamus, videbaturque
for in Thessaly against-camp pitched we-heard and-it-seemed
nobis exercitus Caesaris et audaciae plus habere, quippe qui
to-us the-army of-Caesar both of-daring more to-have as-one which
patriae bellum intulisset, et roboris propter vetustatem;
on-its-fatherland war had-brought and of-strength on-account-of its-seasoning
casum autem proelii nemo nostrum erat quin timeret,
the-chance moreover of-the-battle no-one of-us there-was but feared
sed, ita ut constantibus hominibus par erat, non aperte.
but so as for-steady men fitting was not openly
Ille autem Graecus, quid mirum, si magnitudine timoris, ut
he moreover the-Greek what surprising if by-the-magnitude of-fear as
plerumque fit, a constantia atque a mente atque a
mostly happens from steadiness and from his-mind and from
se ipse discessit? Qua perturbatione animi, quae, sanus
himself he departed by-which disturbance of-mind what sane
cum esset, timebat ne evenirent, ea demens eventura
when he-was he-feared lest should-happen those-things mad about-to-happen
esse dicebat. Utrum tandem, per deos atque homines! magis
to-be he-said whether pray by gods and men more
veri simile est vesanum remigem an aliquem nostrum, qui
of-truth like is-it a-crazed oarsman or some of-us who
ibi tum eramus, me, Catonem, Varronem, Coponium ipsum,
there then were me Cato Varro Coponius himself
consilia deorum inmortalium perspicere potuisse?
the-counsels of-the-gods immortal to-perceive to-have-been-able

Apollo's oracles in Chrysippus' collection are false, chance, or ambiguous, like the one that told Croesus he would overthrow a great power; the Latin verse to Pyrrhus is Ennius' invention. Delphi has long given no oracles, and Demosthenes said the Pythia philippized. Dreams, which the Stoics derive from souls kin to the divine, are like the visions of madmen and drunkards, and a man who throws all day hits the mark sometimes.

115 Sed iam ad te venio,
but now to you I-come

o sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obsides,
O holy Apollo who the-navel sure of-the-lands occupy
unde superstitiosa primum saeva evasit vox fera.
whence superstitious first savage came-forth a-voice wild

Tuis enim oraculis Chrysippus totum volumen inplevit
with-your for oracles Chrysippus a-whole volume filled
partim falsis, ut ego opinor, partim casu veris, ut fit in
partly false as I think partly by-chance true as happens in
omni oratione saepissime, partim flexiloquis et obscuris, ut
all speech most-often partly with-equivocal and obscure so-that
interpres egeat interprete et sors ipsa ad sortes referenda
the-interpreter needs an-interpreter and the-lot itself to the-lots to-be-referred
sit, partim ambiguis, et quae ad dialecticum deferendae
is partly with-ambiguous and which to a-dialectician to-be-carried-over
sint. Nam cum illa sors edita est opulentissumo regi Asiae:
are for when that lot issued was to-the-most-opulent king of-Asia

Croesus Halyn penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim,
Croesus the-Halys crossing a-great will-overthrow of-wealth power

hostium vim se perversurum putavit, pervertit autem
of-the-enemy the-power himself about-to-overthrow thought he-overthrew moreover
suam.
his-own
Utrum igitur eorum accidisset, verum oraclum fuisset. Cur 116
whether therefore of-them had-happened true the-oracle would-have-been why
autem hoc credam umquam editum Croeso? Aut Herodotum
moreover this should-I-believe ever issued to-Croesus or Herodotus
cur veraciorem ducam Ennio? Num minus ille potuit
why more-truthful should-I-consider than-Ennius surely-not less he could
de Croeso quam de Pyrrho fingere Ennius? Quis enim est,
about Croesus than about Pyrrhus to-invent Ennius who for is-there
qui credat Apollinis ex oraculo Pyrrho esse responsum:
who believes of-Apollo from the-oracle to-Pyrrhus to-have-been answered

Aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse?
I-say you descendant-of-Aeacus the-Romans to-conquer to-be-able

Primum Latine Apollo numquam locutus est; deinde ista
first in-Latin Apollo never spoke has then that
sors inaudita Graecis est; praeterea Pyrrhi temporibus
lot unheard-of by-the-Greeks is besides of-Pyrrhus in-times
iam Apollo versus facere desierat; postremo, quamquam
already Apollo verses to-make had-ceased finally although
semper fuit, ut apud Ennium est,
always was as in Ennius it-is

stolidum genus Aeacidarum,
stupid the-race of-the-Aeacidae
bellipotentes sunt magis quam sapientipotentes,
war-powerful they-are rather than wisdom-powerful

tamen hanc amphiboliam versus intellegere potuisset, 'vincere
still this ambiguity of-the-verse to-understand he-could-have to-conquer
te Romanos' nihilo magis in se quam in Romanos
you the-Romans by-nothing more against himself than against the-Romans
valere; nam illa amphibolia, quae Croesum decepit, vel
to-avail for that ambiguity which Croesus deceived even
Chrysippum potuisset fallere, haec vero ne Epicurum quidem.
Chrysippus could-have to-deceive this indeed not Epicurus even
117 Sed, quod caput est, cur isto modo iam oracla Delphis
but what the-head is why in-that way now oracles at-Delphi
non eduntur non modo nostra aetate, sed iam diu, iam ut
not are-issued not only in-our age but now long now so-that
nihil possit esse contemptius? Hoc loco cum urguentur,
nothing could to-be more-despised at-this point when they-are-pressed
evanuisse aiunt vetustate vim loci eius, unde anhelitus
to-have-vanished they-say with-age the-force of-the-place that whence exhalation
ille terrae fieret, quo Pythia mente incitata oracla
that of-the-earth came by-which the-Pythia in-mind roused oracles
ederet. De vino aut salsamento putes loqui, quae
issued about wine or salted-fish you-would-think them-to-speak which
evanescunt vetustate; de vi loci agitur, neque solum
vanish with-age about the-force of-a-place it-is-treated and-not only
naturali, sed etiam divina; quae quo tandem modo evanuit?
natural but also divine which in-what pray way vanished
Vetustate, inquies. Quae vetustas est, quae vim divinam
with-age you-will-say what age is-it which force divine
conficere possit? Quid tam divinum autem quam adflatus
to-consume could what so divine moreover as an-exhalation
e terra mentem ita movens, ut eam providam rerum
from the-earth the-mind so moving that it foreseeing of-things
futurarum efficiat? Ut ea non modo cernat multo ante, sed
future it-makes so-that it not only discerns much before but

etiam numero versuque pronuntiet. Quando ista vis autem
also in-meter and-verse declares when that force moreover
evanuit? An postquam homines minus creduli esse coeperunt?
vanished or after men less credulous to-be began
Demosthenes quidem, qui abhinc annos prope trecentos 118
Demosthenes indeed who ago years almost three-hundred
fuit, iam tum φιλιππίζειν Pythiam dicebat, id est quasi
lived already then to-philippize the-Pythia said that is as-it-were
cum Philippo facere. Hoc autem eo spectabat, ut eam
with Philip to-side this moreover to-that aimed that her
a Philippo corruptam diceret; ex quo licet existumare in
by Philip corrupted he-might-say from which one-may reckon in
aliis quoque oraculis Delphicis aliquid non sinceri fuisse.
other also oracles Delphic something not pure to-have-been
Sed nescio quo modo isti philosophi superstitiosi et
but I-know-not in-what way those philosophers superstitious and
paene fanatici quidvis malle videntur quam se non
almost fanatical anything to-prefer seem than themselves not
ineptos. Evanuisse mavultis et extinctum esse id, quod
foolish to-have-vanished you-prefer and extinguished to-have-been that which
si umquam fuisset, certe aeternum esset, quam ea,
if ever it-had-existed certainly eternal would-be than those-things
quae non sunt credenda, non credere.
which not are to-be-believed not to-believe
Similis est error in somniis; quorum quidem defensio repetita 119
like is the-error in dreams whose indeed defense fetched
quam longe est! Divinos animos censent esse nostros, eosque
how far is-it divine souls they-hold to-be ours and-them
esse tractos extrinsecus, animorumque consentientium
to-have-been drawn from-outside and-of-souls agreeing
multitudine conpletum esse mundum; hac igitur mentis
by-a-multitude filled to-be the-world by-this therefore of-the-mind

et ipsius divinitate et coniunctione cum externis mentibus
and of-itself divinity and conjunction with external minds
cerni, quae sint futura. Contrahi autem animum Zeno
to-be-discerned what are about-to-be to-be-contracted moreover the-soul Zeno
et quasi labi putat atque concidere, id ipsum esse dormire.
and as-it-were to-slip thinks and to-collapse that itself to-be to-sleep
Iam Pythagoras et Plato, locupletissimi auctores, quo in
moreover Pythagoras and Plato most-reliable authorities that in
somnis certiora videamus, praeparatos quodam cultu atque
sleep surer-things we-may-see prepared by-a-certain regimen and
victu proficisci ad dormiendum iubent; faba quidem
diet to-set-out for sleeping bid from-the-bean indeed
Pythagorei utique abstinere, quasi vero eo cibo mens, non
the-Pythagoreans by-all-means to-abstain as-if indeed by-that food the-mind not
venter inflетur. Sed nescio quo modo nihil tam absurde
the-belly were-inflated but I-know-not in-what way nothing so absurdly
dici potest, quod non dicatur ab aliquo philosophorum.
to-be-said can which not is-said by some of-the-philosophers
120 Utrum igitur censemus dormientium animos per sene ipsos
whether therefore do-we-hold of-sleepers the-souls by them themselves
in somniando moveri an, ut Democritus censet, externa
in dreaming to-be-moved or as Democritus holds by-an-external
et adventicia visione pulsari? Sive enim sic est sive illo
and adventitious vision to-be-struck whether for so it-is or in-that
modo, videri possunt permulta somniantibus falsa pro
way to-seem can very-many-things to-dreamers false for
veris. Nam et navigantibus moveri videntur ea, quae
true for both to-those-sailing to-move seem those-things which
stant, et quodam obtutu oculorum duo pro uno lucernae
stand and by-a-certain gaze of-the-eyes two for one of-a-lamp
lumina. Quid dicam, insanis, quid ebriis quam multa
lights what shall-I-say to-the-insane what to-the-drunk how many-things

falsa videantur? Quodsi eius modi visis credendum non est,
false seem but-if of-that kind visions to-be-believed not is
cur somniis credatur, nescio. Nam tam licet de his
why dreams should-be-believed I-know-not for as-well one-may about these
erroribus, si velis, quam de somniis disputare, ut ea,
errors if you-wish as about dreams argue that those-things
quae stant, si moveri videantur, terrae motum significare
which stand if to-move they-seem of-the-earth a-quake to-signify
dicas aut repentinam aliquam fugam, gemino autem
you-should-say or a-sudden some flight by-the-twin moreover
lucernae lumine declarari dissensionem ac seditionem. Iam
of-a-lamp light to-be-declared discord and sedition moreover
ex insanorum aut ebriorum visis innumerabilia coniectura
from of-the-insane or of-the-drunk visions countless-things by-conjecture
trahi possunt, quae futura videantur ***
to-be-drawn can which about-to-be seem (lacuna)
Quis est enim, qui totum diem iaculans non aliquando 121
who is-there for who the-whole day throwing-javelins not sometimes
conliniet? Totas noctes somniamus, neque ulla est fere, qua
hits-the-mark whole nights we-dream nor any is almost on-which
non dormiamus, et miramur aliquando id, quod somniarimus,
not we-sleep and we-wonder sometimes that which we-have-dreamed
evadere? Quid est tam incertum quam talorum iactus? Tamen
to-turn-out what is so uncertain as of-knucklebones the-throw still
nemo est, quin saepe iactans Venerium iaciat aliquando, non
no-one is but often throwing a-Venus-throw throws sometimes not
numquam etiam iterum ac tertium. Num igitur, ut inepti,
never even a-second-time and a-third surely-not therefore like fools
Veneris id inpulsu fieri malumus quam casu dicere? Quodsi
of-Venus that by-impulse to-happen do-we-prefer than by-chance to-say but-if

ceteris temporibus falsis visis credendum non est, non video,
at-other times false visions to-be-believed not it-is not I-see
quid praecipui somnus habeat, in quo valeant falsa pro veris.
what special sleep has in which may-avail false-things for true

XVIII · DREAMS AGAINST REASON

If men did what they dreamed, every sleeper would have to be bound. No one writes, steers, or heals by dreams: if the gods gave cures in sleep, the Muses would give learning too. No god sends dreams, for most are forgotten or scorned, a god acts in nothing in vain, and he would give his visions to the waking. Nor can true dreams be told from false: the mind, never still, makes them from the remnants of the day, as Aristotle says.

122 Quodsi ita natura paratum esset, ut ea dormientes agerent,
but-if so by-nature arranged it-were that those-things sleepers should-do
quae somniarent, alligandi omnes essent, qui cubitum irent;
which they-dreamed to-be-tied-up all would-be who to-bed went
maiores enim quam ulli insani efficerent motus somniantes.
greater for than any madmen would-produce motions dreamers
Quodsi insanorum visis fides non est habenda, quia falsa
but-if of-madmen to-the-visions faith not is to-be-given because false
sunt, cur credatur somniantium visis, quae multo etiam
they-are why should-one-believe of-dreamers the-visions which much even
perturbatiora sunt, non intellego; an quod insani sua visa
more-disordered are not I-understand or because madmen their visions
coniectori non narrant, narrant, qui somniaverunt? Quaero
to-the-interpreter do-not tell tell those-who have-dreamed I-ask
etiam, si velim scribere quid aut legere aut canere vel
also if I-should-wish to-write anything or to-read or to-sing either
voce vel fidibus aut geometricum quiddam aut physicum
with-voice or on-the-lyre or geometrical something or physical

aut dialecticum explicare, somniumne exspectandum sit an
or dialectical to-explain whether-a-dream to-be-waited-for is or
ars adhibenda; sine qua nihil earum rerum nec fieri
art to-be-applied without which nothing of-those things neither to-be-done
nec expediri potest. Atqui, ne si navigare quidem velim,
nor to-be-set-forth can and-yet not if to-sail even I-should-wish
ita gubernem, ut somniaverim; praesens enim poena sit.
so would-I-steer as I-have-dreamed immediate for the-penalty would-be
Qui igitur convenit aegros a coniectore somniorum potius 123
how therefore is-it-fitting the-sick from an-interpreter of-dreams rather
quam a medico petere medicinam? An Aesculapius, an
than from a-physician to-seek medicine or Aesculapius or
Serapis potest nobis praescribere per somnum curationem
Serapis can for-us to-prescribe through sleep a-cure
valetudinis, Neptunus gubernantibus non potest? Et si sine
of-health Neptune for-steersmen not can and if without
medico medicinam dabit Minerva, Musae scribendi, legendi,
a-physician medicine will-give Minerva the-Muses of-writing of-reading
ceterarum artium scientiam somniantibus non dabunt? At
of-the-other arts the-knowledge to-dreamers not will-give but
si curatio daretur valetudinis, haec quoque, quae dixi,
if a-cure were-given of-health these too which I-mentioned
darentur; quae quoniam non dantur, medicina non datur;
would-be-given which since not are-given medicine not is-given
qua sublata tollitur omnis auctoritas somniorum.
which removed is-removed all the-authority of-dreams
Sed haec in promptu fuerint; nunc interiora 124
but these-things at hand let-them-have-been now the-more-inward
videamus. Aut enim divina vis quaedam consulens nobis
let-us-see either for divine a-force certain providing for-us
somniorum significationes facit, aut coniectores ex quadam
of-dreams the-significations makes or the-interpreters from a-certain

convenientia et coniunctione naturae, quam vocant συμπάθειαν,
agreement and conjunction of-nature which they-call sympatheia
quid cuique rei conveniat, et quid quamque rem sequatur,
what to-each thing agrees and what each thing follows
intellegunt, aut eorum neutrum est, sed quaedam observatio
understand or of-these neither is but a-certain observation
constans atque diuturna est, cum quid visum secundum
constant and long is when what seen in
quietem sit, quid evenire et quid sequi soleat. Primum
sleep was what to-happen and what to-follow is-wont first
igitur intellegendum est nullam vim esse divinam effectricem
therefore to-be-understood it-is no force to-be divine producing
somniorum. Atque illud quidem perspicuum est, nulla visa
dreams and this indeed evident is no visions
somniorum proficisci a numine deorum; nostra enim
of-dreams to-proceed from the-divine-will of-the-gods for-our for
causa di id facerent, ut providere futura possemus.
sake the-gods that would-do that to-foresee the-future we-might-be-able
125 Quotus igitur est quisque, qui somniis pareat, qui intellegat,
what-fraction therefore is each who dreams obeys who understands
qui meminerit? Quam multi vero, qui contemnant eamque
who remembers how many indeed who despise-them and-that
superstitionem inbecilli animi atque anilis putent! Quid est
superstition of-a-weak mind and old-womanish think what is-there
igitur, cur his hominibus consulens deus somniis moneat eos,
therefore why for-these men providing god by-dreams should-warn those
qui illa non modo cura, sed ne memoria quidem digna ducant?
who them not only care but not memory even worthy consider
Nec enim ignorare deus potest, qua mente quisque sit, nec
nor for to-not-know god can with-what mind each is nor
frustra ac sine causa quid facere dignum deo est, quod
in-vain and without cause anything to-do worthy of-god is which

abhorret etiam ab hominis constantia. Ita, si pleraque somnia
shrinks even from of-man the-steadfastness so if most dreams
aut ignorantur aut negleguntur, aut nescit hoc deus aut
either are-unknown or are-neglected either knows-not this god or
frustra somniorum significatione utitur; et horum neutrum in
in-vain of-dreams the-signification uses and of-these neither on
deum cadit; nihil igitur a deo somniis significari fatendum est.
god falls nothing therefore by god by-dreams to-be-signified to-be-confessed it-is
Illud etiam requiro, cur, si deus ista visa nobis providendi 126
that also I-ask why if god those visions to-us of-foreseeing
causa dat, non vigilantibus potius det quam dormientibus.
for-the-sake gives not to-the-waking rather he-gives than to-sleepers
Sive enim externus et adventicius pulsus animos dormientium
whether for an-external and adventitious impulse the-souls of-sleepers
commovet, sive per se ipsi animi moventur, sive quae
stirs or by them themselves the-souls are-moved or whatever
causa alia est, cur secundum quietem aliquid videre, audire,
cause other there-is why in sleep something to-see to-hear
agere videamur, eadem causa vigilantibus esse poterat; idque
to-do we-seem the-same cause for-the-waking to-be could and-that
si nostra causa di secundum quietem facerent, vigilantibus
if for-our sake the-gods in sleep did to-the-waking
idem facerent, praesertim cum Chrysippus Academicos
the-same they-would-do especially since Chrysippus the-Academics
refellens permulto clariora et certiora esse dicat, quae
refuting very-much clearer and surer to-be says what
vigilantibus videantur, quam quae somniantibus. Fuit igitur
to-the-waking appears than what to-dreamers it-was therefore
divina beneficentia dignius, cum consulerent nobis, clariora
of-divine beneficence more-worthy when they-provided for-us clearer

visa dare vigilanti quam obscuriora per somnum. Quod
visions to-give to-one-waking than more-obscure through sleep which
quoniam non fit, somnia divina putanda non sunt.
since not it-happens dreams divine to-be-thought not are
127 Iam vero quid opus est circumitione et anfractu, ut sit
moreover indeed what need is-there of-a-circuit and of-a-winding that one-must
utendum interpretibus somniorum potius, quam derecto deus,
use interpreters of-dreams rather than directly god
siquidem nobis consulebat, 'Hoc facito, hoc ne feceris' diceret
if-indeed for-us he-was-providing this do this not do-you-do he-would-say
idque visum vigilanti potius quam dormienti daret?
and-that vision to-one-waking rather than to-one-sleeping he-would-give
Iam vero quis dicere audeat vera omnia esse somnia? 'Aliquot
moreover indeed who to-say would-dare true all to-be dreams some
somnia vera', inquit Ennius, 'sed omnia noenum necesse est'.
dreams are-true he-said Ennius but all not necessary is
Quae est tandem ista distinctio? Quae vera, quae falsa habet?
what is pray that distinction which true which false has-it
Et, si vera a deo mittuntur, falsa unde nascuntur? Nam si ea
and if the-true by god are-sent the-false whence are-they-born for if those
quoque divina, quid inconstantius deo? Quid inscitius autem
too divine what more-inconstant than-god what more-ignorant moreover
est quam mentes mortalium falsis et mendacibus visis concitare?
is than the-minds of-mortals by-false and lying visions to-stir
Sin vera visa divina sunt, falsa autem et inania humana,
but-if the-true visions divine are the-false moreover and empty human
quae est ista designandi licentia, ut hoc deus, hoc natura fecerit
what is that of-assigning license that this god this nature made
potius quam aut omnia deus, quod negatis, aut omnia natura?
rather than either all god which you-deny or all nature
Quod quoniam illud negatis, hoc necessario confitendum est.
which since that you-deny this necessarily to-be-confessed is

Naturam autem eam dico, qua numquam animus insistens 128
nature moreover that I-call by-which never the-mind standing-still
agitatione et motu esse vacuus potest. Is cum languore
of-agitation and motion to-be empty can it when by-the-languor
corporis nec membris uti nec sensibus potest, incidit in visa
of-the-body neither the-limbs to-use nor the-senses can falls into visions
varia et incerta ex reliquiis, ut ait Aristoteles, inhaerentibus
varied and uncertain from the-remnants as says Aristotle clinging
earum rerum, quas vigilans gesserit aut cogitaverit; quarum
of-those things which waking it-has-done or thought whose
perturbatione mirabiles interdum existunt species somniorum;
by-disturbance wonderful sometimes arise appearances of-dreams
quae si alia falsa, alia vera, qua nota internoscantur, scire
which if some false others true by-what mark they-are-distinguished to-know
sane velim. Si nulla est, quid istos interpretes audiamus?
truly I-would-like if none is why those interpreters should-we-hear
Sin quaepiam est, aveo audire, quae sit; sed haerebunt.
but-if any is I-long to-hear what it-is but they-will-stick

Do the gods run about among the beds of mortals with twisted visions, or does the mind dream by nature? Chrysippus' definition demands a wisdom no interpreter has. Dreams we cannot read are like foreigners speaking in the senate without an interpreter, or Pacuvius' riddle of the tortoise, and the egg that meant buried gold shows how needlessly obscure the gods would be. Cicero adds Alexander's clear dream of the root but sets aside those of Phalaris' mother and Hannibal as foreign, unknown to us, and perhaps invented.

129 Venit enim iam in contentionem, utrum sit probabilius,
it-comes for now into contention whether it-be more-probable
deosne inmortalis, rerum omnium praestantia excellentis,
whether-the-gods immortal of-things of-all in-preeminence excelling
concursare circum omnium mortalium, qui ubique sunt, non
to-run-about around of-all mortals who anywhere are not
modo lectos, verum etiam grabatos et, cum stertentem aliquem
only the-beds but also the-pallets and when snoring someone
viderint, obicere iis visa quaedam tortuosa et obscura,
they-have-seen to-throw-before them visions certain twisted and obscure
quae illi exterriti somno ad coniectorem mane deferant,
which they terrified from-sleep to an-interpreter in-the-morning may-carry
an natura fieri, ut mobiliter animus agitatus, quod vigilans
or by-nature to-happen that restlessly the-mind agitated what waking
viderit, dormiens videre videatur. Utrum philosophia dignius,
it-has-seen sleeping to-see seems whether of-philosophy more-worthy
sagarum superstitione ista interpretari an explicatione
of-witches of-superstition those-things to-interpret or by-the-explanation
naturae? Ut, si iam fieri possit vera coniectura
of-nature granted-that if now to-happen could a-true interpretation
somniorum, tamen isti, qui profitentur, eam facere non possint;
of-dreams still those who profess it to-do not could

ex levissimo enim et indoctissimo genere constant. Stoici autem
of the-lightest for and most-untaught class they-consist the-Stoics moreover
tui negant quemquam nisi sapientem divinum esse posse.
your deny anyone except the-wise-man a-diviner to-be to-be-able
Chrysippus quidem divinationem definit his verbis: vim 130
Chrysippus indeed divination defines in-these words a-force
cognoscentem et videntem et explicantem signa, quae a
knowing and seeing and explaining the-signs which by
dis hominibus portendantur; officium autem esse eius
the-gods to-men are-portended the-duty moreover to-be its
praenoscere, dei erga homines mente qua sint quidque
to-foreknow the-gods toward men in-mind what they-are and-what
significent, quem ad modumque ea procurentur atque
they-signify in-what to and-manner those-things are-averted and
expientur. Idemque somniorum coniectionem definit hoc
expiated and-the-same of-dreams the-interpretation defines in-this
modo: esse vim cernentem et explanantem, quae a dis
way to-be a-force discerning and explaining what by the-gods
hominibus significentur in somnis. Quid ergo? Ad haec
to-men are-signified in sleep what therefore for these-things
mediocri opus est prudentia an et ingenio praestanti et
of-moderate need is prudence or both of-intellect outstanding and
eruditione perfecta? Talem autem cognovimus neminem.
learning perfect such moreover we-have-known no-one
Vide igitur, ne, etiamsi divinationem tibi esse concessero, 131
see therefore lest even-if divination to-you to-exist I-shall-have-granted
quod numquam faciam, neminem tamen divinum reperire
which never I-shall-do no-one still a-diviner to-find
possimus. Qualis autem ista mens est deorum, si neque
we-can of-what-kind moreover that mind is of-the-gods if neither
ea nobis significant in somnis, quae ipsi per nos
those-things to-us they-signify in sleep which ourselves by us

intellegamus, neque ea, quorum interpretes habere possimus?
we-may-understand nor those of-which interpreters to-have we-can
Similes enim sunt dei, si ea nobis obiciunt, quorum nec
like for are the-gods if those-things before-us they-throw of-which neither
scientiam neque explanatorem habeamus, tamquam si Poeni
knowledge nor an-explainer we-have as if Carthaginians
aut Hispani in senatu nostro loquerentur sine interprete.
or Spaniards in senate our should-speak without an-interpreter
132 Iam vero quo pertinent obscuritates et aenigmata
moreover indeed to-what pertain the-obscurities and riddles
somniorum? Intellegi enim a nobis di velle debebant
of-dreams to-be-understood for by us the-gods to-wish ought
ea, quae nostra causa nos monerent. Quid? Poëta nemo,
those-things which for-our sake us they-warn-of what poet no
nemo physicus obscurus?
no physicist obscure
133 Ille vero nimis etiam obscurus Euphorion; at non Homerus.
he indeed too even obscure Euphorion but not Homer
Uter igitur melior? Valde Heraclitus obscurus, minime
which therefore better very Heraclitus obscure least
Democritus. Num igitur conferendi? Mea causa me mones,
Democritus surely-not therefore to-be-compared for-my sake me you-warn
quod non intellegam? Quid me igitur mones? Ut si quis
what not I-understand why me therefore do-you-warn as if some
medicus aegroto imperet, ut sumat
physician to-a-sick-man should-order that he-take

terrigenam, herbigradam, domiportam, sanguine cassam,
earth-born grass-walking house-carrying of-blood void

potius quam hominum more cocleam diceret. Nam
rather than of-men in-manner a-snail should-say for
Pacuvianus Amphio
the-Pacuvian Amphion

quadrupes tardigrada, agrestis, humilis, aspera,
four-footed slow-stepping rustic low rough
capite brevi, cervice anguina, aspectu truci,
with-head short with-neck snakelike with-aspect grim
eviscerata, inanima, cum animali sono
disemboweled lifeless with living sound

cum dixisset obscurius, tum Attici respondent:
when he-had-spoken rather-obscurely then the-Athenians reply

Non intellegimus, nisi si aperte dixeris.
not we-understand unless if openly you-will-have-said

At ille uno verbo: Testudo. Non potueras hoc igitur a
but he in-one word a-tortoise not could-you this therefore from
principio, citharista, dicere?
the-beginning lyre-player to-say
Defert ad coniectorem quidam somniasse se ovum 134
reports to an-interpreter a-certain-man to-have-dreamed himself an-egg
pendere ex fascea lecti sui cubicularis (est hoc in
to-hang from the-webbing of-bed his-own of-the-bedroom is this in
Chrysippi libro somnium); respondit coniector thensaurum
Chrysippus' book the-dream answered the-interpreter a-treasure
defossum esse sub lecto. Fodit, invenit auri aliquantum, idque
buried to-be under the-bed he-dug he-found of-gold a-quantity and-it
circumdatum argento, misit coniectori, quantulum visum
surrounded with-silver he-sent to-the-interpreter as-little-as seemed

est de argento. Tum ille: 'Nihilne', inquit, 'de vitello?' Id
it-was of the-silver then he nothing-whether he-said of the-yolk that
enim ei ex ovo videbatur aurum declarasse, reliquum
for to-him from the-egg seemed the-gold to-have-declared the-rest
argentum. Nemone igitur umquam alius ovum somniavit?
silver no-one-whether therefore ever else an-egg dreamed
Cur ergo hic nescio qui thensaurum solus invenit? Quam
why therefore this I-know-not who a-treasure alone found how
multi inopes digni praesidio deorum nullo somnio ad
many poor-men worthy of-the-help of-the-gods by-no dream to
thensaurum reperiendum admonentur! Quam autem ob
a-treasure to-be-found are-prompted for-what moreover on-account-of
causam tam est obscure admonitus, ut ex ovo nasceretur
cause so was-he obscurely prompted that from an-egg there-should-arise
thensauri similitudo, potius quam aperte thensaurum quaerere
of-a-treasure a-likeness rather than openly a-treasure to-seek
iuberetur, sicut aperte Simonides vetitus est navigare?
he-should-be-bidden as openly Simonides forbidden was to-sail
135 Ergo obscura somnia minime consentanea maiestati deorum.
therefore obscure dreams least consistent with-the-majesty of-the-gods
Ad aperta et clara veniamus, quale est de illo interfecto
to open and clear let-us-come such-as is about that-man killed
a caupone Megaris, quale de Simonide, qui ab eo, quem
by an-innkeeper at-Megara such-as about Simonides who by him whom
humarat, vetitus est navigare, quale etiam de Alexandro,
he-had-buried forbidden was to-sail such-as also about Alexander
quod a te praeteritum esse miror, Quinte. Cum
which by you passed-over to-have-been I-wonder Quintus when
Ptolomaeus, familiaris eius, in proelio telo venenato
Ptolemy intimate his in battle by-a-weapon poisoned
ictus esset eoque vulnere summo cum dolore moreretur,
struck had-been and-from-that wound the-highest with pain was-dying

Alexander adsidens somno est consopitus. Tum secundum
Alexander sitting-beside by-sleep was overcome then in
quietem visus ei dicitur draco is, quem mater Olympias
sleep seen to-him is-said a-serpent that which his-mother Olympias
alebat, radiculam ore ferre et simul dicere,
kept a-little-root in-its-mouth to-carry and at-the-same-time to-say
quo illa loci nasceretur (neque is longe aberat ab eo
in-what it of-place grew nor it far was-distant from that
loco), eius autem esse vim tantam, ut Ptolomaeum facile
place its moreover to-be the-force so-great that Ptolemy easily
sanaret. Cum Alexander experrectus narrasset amicis
it-would-heal when Alexander awakened had-told to-his-friends
somnium, emissi sunt, qui illam radiculam quaererent;
the-dream sent-out were men-who that little-root should-seek
qua inventa et Ptolomaeus sanatus dicitur et multi milites,
which found both Ptolemy healed is-said and many soldiers
qui erant eodem genere teli vulnerati.
who were by-the-same kind of-weapon wounded
Multa etiam sunt a te ex historiis prolata somnia, 136
many also are by you from histories brought-forward dreams
matris Phalaridis, Cyri superioris, matris Dionysii,
of-the-mother of-Phalaris of-Cyrus the-elder of-the-mother of-Dionysius
Poeni Hamilcaris, Hannibalis, P. Decii; pervulgatum
of-the-Punic Hamilcar of-Hannibal of-Publius Decius well-known
iam illud de praesule, C. Gracchi etiam et recens
already that about the-lead-dancer of-Gaius Gracchus also and recent
Caeciliae, Baliarici filiae, somnium. Sed haec externa
of-Caecilia of-Balearicus the-daughter the-dream but these-things foreign
ob eamque causam ignota nobis sunt, non nulla etiam
on-account-of and-that cause unknown to-us are not none even
ficta fortasse. Quis enim auctor istorum? De nostris
invented perhaps who for the-authority of-those about our

somniis quid habemus dicere? Tu de emerso me et equo
dreams what have-we to-say you about emerged me and my-horse
ad ripam, ego de Mario cum fascibus laureatis me in
at the-bank I about Marius with fasces laureled me into
suum deduci iubente monumentum. Omnium somniorum,
his-own to-be-led ordering monument of-all dreams
Quinte, una ratio est; quae, per deos inmortalis! videamus
Quintus one account is which by the-gods immortal let-us-see
ne nostra superstitione et depravatione superetur.
lest by-our superstition and depravity it-be-overcome

XX · IMAGES AND MEMORY

Democritus' images cannot explain Cicero's dream of Marius; they would have to obey our thought and show what never existed. Dreams are the mind's own motion in sleep, stirred by the remnants of the day's thoughts: Cicero then thought of Marius, Quintus of his brother. Alexander's serpent is no wonder, and Cicero, now napping at noon, has no dreams of note. Nature's sympathy cannot link an egg to treasure or explain Simonides' and Alcibiades' dreams, and the readings of the runner's dream show the interpreters' wit.

137 Quem enim tu Marium visum a me putas? Speciem, credo,
whom for you Marius seen by me do-you-think the-appearance I-suppose
eius et imaginem, ut Democrito videtur. Unde profectam
his and image as to-Democritus it-seems whence proceeding
imaginem? A corporibus enim solidis et a certis figuris
the-image from bodies for solid and from definite shapes
vult fluere imagines; quod igitur Marii corpus erat? Ex eo,
he-wants to-flow images what therefore of-Marius body was from that
inquit, quod fuerat. Ista igitur me imago Marii in campum
he-said which had-been that therefore me image of-Marius into the-plain

Atinatem persequebatur? — Plena sunt imaginum omnia; nulla
Atinate pursued full are of-images all-things no
enim species cogitari potest nisi pulsu imaginum. —
for appearance to-be-thought-of can except by-the-impact of-images
Quid ergo? Istae imagines ita nobis dicto audientes sunt, 138
what therefore those images so to-us to-word obedient are
ut, simul atque velimus, accurrant? Etiamne earum rerum,
that as-soon as we-wish they-run-up even-whether of-those things
quae nullae sunt? Quae est enim forma tam invisitata, tam
which nothing are what is for the-form so unseen so
nulla, quam non sibi ipse fingere animus possit? Ut,
nonexistent which not for-it itself to-fashion the-mind can so-that
quae numquam vidimus, ea tamen informata habeamus,
what never we-have-seen those-things still formed we-have
oppidorum situs, hominum figuras.
of-towns the-sites of-men the-shapes
Num igitur, cum aut muros Babylonis aut Homeri faciem 139
surely-not therefore when either the-walls of-Babylon or of-Homer the-face
cogito, imago illorum me aliqua pellit? Omnia igitur, quae
I-think-of an-image of-them me some strikes all-things therefore which
volumus, nota nobis esse possunt; nihil est enim, de quo
we-wish known to-us to-be can nothing is for about which
cogitare nequeamus; nullae ergo imagines obrepunt in animos
to-think we-cannot no therefore images creep into the-minds
dormientium extrinsecus, nec omnino fluunt ullae, nec cognovi
of-sleepers from-outside nor at-all flow any nor have-I-known
quemquam, qui maiore auctoritate nihil diceret. Animorum
anyone who with-greater authority nothing said of-souls
est ea vis eaque natura, ut vigeant vigilantes nullo adventicio
is that force and-that nature that they-thrive waking by-no adventitious
pulsu, sed suo motu incredibili quadam celeritate. Hi
impact but by-their-own motion with-incredible a-certain speed they

cum sustinentur membris et corpore et sensibus, omnia
when they-are-supported by-limbs and body and senses all-things
certiora cernunt, cogitant, sentiunt. Cum autem haec
more-certain discern think feel when moreover these-things
subtracta sunt desertusque animus languore corporis, tum
removed are and-deserted the-mind by-the-languor of-the-body then
agitatur ipse per sese. Itaque in eo et formae versantur
it-is-driven itself by it and-so in it both forms move
et actiones, et multa audiri, multa dici videntur.
and actions and many-things to-be-heard many to-be-said seem
140 Haec scilicet in inbecillo remissoque animo multa omnibus
these-things doubtless in a-weak and-relaxed mind many in-all
modis confusa et variata versantur, maxumeque reliquiae
ways confused and varied move and-most the-remnants
rerum earum moventur in animis et agitantur, de quibus
of-things those are-moved in minds and are-driven about which
vigilantes aut cogitavimus aut egimus, ut mihi temporibus
waking either we-have-thought or done as to-me in-the-times
illis multum in animo Marius versabatur recordanti, quam
those much in mind Marius moved recalling with-how
ille gravem suum casum magno animo, quam constanti
he grave his misfortune with-great spirit with-how steady
tulisset. Hanc credo causam de illo somniandi fuisse. Tibi
had-borne this I-believe the-cause about him of-dreaming to-have-been to-you
autem de me cum sollicitudine cogitanti subito sum visus
moreover about me with anxiety thinking suddenly I-was seen
emersus e flumine. Inerant enim in utriusque nostrum
emerged from the-river there-were-in for in of-each of-us
animis vigilantium cogitationum vestigia. At quaedam adiuncta
the-minds of-waking thoughts traces but some-things added

sunt, ut mihi de monumento Marii, tibi, quod equus,
were as to-me about the-monument of-Marius to-you that the-horse
in quo ego vehebar, mecum una demersus rursus apparuit.
on which I was-carried with-me together sunk again appeared
An tu censes ullam anum tam deliram futuram fuisse, ut 141
or you think any old-woman so crazy about-to-be to-have-been that
somniis crederet, nisi ista casu non numquam forte
dreams she-would-believe unless those-things by-chance not never by-luck
temere concurrerent? Alexandro draco loqui visus est. Potest
at-random coincided to-Alexander a-serpent to-speak seen was it-can
omnino hoc esse falsum, potest verum; sed utrum est, non
at-all this to-be false it-can true but whichever is not
est mirabile; non enim audivit ille draconem loquentem, sed
it-is wonderful not for heard he a-serpent speaking but
est visus audire, et quidem, quo maius sit, cum radicem
he-was seen to-hear and indeed that greater it-may-be when a-root
ore teneret, locutus est. Sed nihil est magnum somnianti.
in-its-mouth it-held spoken it-has but nothing is great to-a-dreamer
Quaero autem, cur Alexandro tam inlustre somnium, tam
I-ask moreover why to-Alexander so illustrious a-dream so
certum, nec huic eidem alias, nec multa ceteris; mihi
certain nor to-this same at-other-times nor many to-the-rest to-me
quidem praeter hoc Marianum nihil sane, quod meminerim.
indeed besides this Marian nothing truly which I-can-remember
Frustra igitur consumptae tot noctes tam longa in aetate.
in-vain therefore consumed so-many nights so long in a-life
Nunc quidem propter intermissionem forensis operae et 142
now indeed on-account-of the-interruption of-forensic work both
lucubrationes detraxi et meridiationes addidi, quibus
night-studies I-have-taken-away and midday-naps added which
uti antea non solebam, nec tam multum dormiens ullo
to-use formerly not I-was-wont nor so much sleeping by-any

somnio sum admonitus, tantis praesertim de rebus,
dream have-I-been warned so-great especially about matters
nec mihi magis umquam videor, quam cum aut in foro
nor to-me more ever do-I-seem than when either in the-forum
magistratus aut in curia senatum video, somniare.
the-magistrates or in the-senate-house the-senate I-see to-dream
Etenim (ex divisione hoc secundum est) quae est continuatio
for-indeed from the-division this second is which is the-continuity
coniunctioque naturae, quam, ut dixi, vocant συμπάθειαν,
and-conjunction of-nature which as I-said they-call sympatheia
eius modi, ut thensaurus ex ovo intellegi debeat? Nam
of-such kind that a-treasure from an-egg to-be-understood ought for
medici ex quibusdam rebus et advenientis et crescentis
physicians from certain things both of-approaching and of-growing
morbos intellegunt, non nullas etiam valetudinis significationes,
diseases understand not none also of-health signs
ut hoc ipsum, pleni enectine simus, ex quodam
as this itself full or-whether-exhausted we-are from a-certain
genere somniorum intellegi posse dicunt. Thensaurus
kind of-dreams to-be-understood to-be-able they-say a-treasure
vero et hereditas et honos et victoria et multa generis
indeed and an-inheritance and office and victory and many-things of-kind
eiusdem qua cum somniis naturali cognatione iunguntur?
the-same by-what with dreams by-natural kinship are-they-joined
143 Dicitur quidam, cum in somnis complexu Venerio iungeretur,
is-said a-certain-man when in sleep in-embrace venereal he-was-joined
calculos eiecisse. Video sympathian; visum est enim tale
stones to-have-expelled I-see sympathy a-vision was for such
obiectum dormienti, ut id, quod evenit, naturae vis, non
presented to-the-sleeper that that which happened of-nature the-force not
opinio erroris effecerit. Quae igitur natura obtulit illam
belief in-error brought-about what therefore nature offered that

speciem Simonidi, a qua vetaretur navigare? Aut quid
appearance to-Simonides by which he-was-forbidden to-sail or what
naturae copulatum habuit Alcibiadis quod scribitur somnium?
of-nature linked had of-Alcibiades which is-written the-dream
Qui paulo ante interitum visus est in somnis amicae esse
who a-little before his-death seen was in sleep of-his-mistress to-be
amictus amiculo. Is cum esset proiectus inhumatus ab
clothed in-the-cloak he when he-had-been cast-out unburied by
omnibusque desertus iaceret, amica corpus eius texit suo
and-all deserted lay his-mistress body his covered with-her-own
pallio. Ergo hoc inerat in rebus futuris et causas naturalis
mantle therefore this was-in in things future and causes natural
habebat, an, et ut videretur et ut eveniret, casus effecit?
had-it or both that it-should-seem and that it-should-happen chance brought-about
Quid? Ipsorum interpretum coniecturae nonne magis ingenia 144
what of-the-very interpreters the-conjectures surely more the-wits
declarant eorum quam vim consensumque naturae? Cursor
declare of-them than the-force and-consensus of-nature a-runner
ad Olympia proficisci cogitans visus est in somnis curru
to Olympia to-set-out intending seen was in sleep in-a-chariot
quadrigarum vehi. Mane ad coniectorem. At ille:
of-four-horses to-be-carried in-the-morning to an-interpreter and he
'Vinces', inquit; 'id enim celeritas significat et vis equorum.'
you-will-win he-said that for the-speed signifies and the-force of-the-horses
Post idem ad Antiphontem. Is autem: 'Vincare',
afterward the-same-man to Antiphon he moreover you-will-be-beaten
inquit, 'necesse est; an non intellegis quattuor ante te
he-said necessary it-is or not do-you-understand four before you
cucurrisse?' Ecce alius cursor (atque horum somniorum et
to-have-run behold another runner and of-these dreams and
talium plenus est Chrysippi liber, plenus Antipatri) — sed
of-such full is Chrysippus' book full Antipater's but

ad cursorem redeo: Ad interpretem detulit aquilam se in
to the-runner I-return to the-interpreter he-reported an-eagle himself in
somnis visum esse factum. At ille: 'Vicisti; ista enim
sleep seemed to-have-been made but he you-have-won that for
avi volat nulla vehementius.' Huic eidem Antipho: 'Baro',
than-bird flies none more-vehemently to-this same Antiphon blockhead
inquit, 'victum te esse non vides? Ista enim avis
he-said beaten you to-have-been not do-you-see that for bird
insectans alias avis et agitans semper ipsa postrema est'.
pursuing other birds and driving always itself last is

XXI · SUPERSTITION UPROOTED

The matron's dream of a sealed womb was read both ways. No observation can classify the infinite variety of dreams, and the true ones are few among the false. Divination of every kind must be rejected, for superstition oppresses men's minds; religion, joined with the knowledge of nature and the ancestral rites, must be kept. In the Academy's way Cicero leaves the judgment to the hearer, and the brothers rise.

145 Parere quaedam matrona cupiens dubitans, essetne
to-bear a-certain matron desiring doubting whether-she-was
praegnans, visa est in quiete obsignatam habere naturam.
pregnant seen was in sleep sealed to-have her-nature
Rettulit. Negavit eam, quoniam obsignata fuisset, concipere
she-reported he-denied her since sealed she-had-been to-conceive
potuisse. At alter praegnantem esse dixit; nam inane
to-have-been-able but the-other pregnant to-be said for empty-things
obsignari nihil solere. Quae est ars coniectoris eludentis
to-be-sealed nothing to-be-wont what is the-art of-the-interpreter making-sport
ingenio? An ea, quae dixi, et innumerabilia, quae
with-his-wit or those-things which I-have-mentioned and countless-things which

conlecta habent Stoici, quicquam significant nisi acumen
collected have the-Stoics anything signify except the-sharpness
hominum ex similitudine aliqua coniecturam modo huc, modo
of-men from likeness some conjecture now hither now
illuc ducentium? Medici signa quaedam habent ex venis et
thither drawing physicians signs certain have from the-veins and
spiritu aegroti multisque ex aliis futura praesentiunt;
breathing of-the-sick-man and-many from other-things the-future they-foresee
gubernatores cum exsultantis lolligines viderunt aut delphinos
helmsmen when leaping squids they-have-seen or dolphins
se in portum conicientes, tempestatem significari putant.
themselves into port casting a-storm to-be-signified they-think
Haec ratione explicari et ad naturam revocari facile
these-things by-reason to-be-explained and to nature to-be-referred easily
possunt, ea vero, quae paulo ante dixi, nullo modo.
can those-things indeed which a-little before I-mentioned in-no way
At enim observatio diuturna (haec enim pars una restat) 146
but indeed observation long this for part one remains
notandis rebus fecit artem. Ain tandem? Somnia
by-noting things has-made an-art say-you-so pray dreams
observari possunt? Quonam modo? Sunt enim innumerabiles
to-be-observed can in-what-pray way are for countless
varietates. Nihil tam praepostere, tam incondite, tam
the-varieties nothing so preposterously so confusedly so
monstruose cogitari potest, quod non possimus somniare;
monstrously to-be-thought can which not we-can to-dream
quo modo igitur haec infinita et semper nova aut
in-what way therefore these infinite and always new-things either
memoria conplecti aut observando notare possumus? Astrologi
by-memory to-embrace or by-observing to-note can-we the-astrologers
motus errantium stellarum notaverunt; inventus est enim
the-motions of-the-wandering stars have-noted found was for

ordo in iis stellis, qui non putabatur. Cedo tandem, qui sit
an-order in those stars which not was-thought tell-me pray what is
ordo aut quae concursatio somniorum; quo modo autem
the-order or what coincidence of-dreams in-what way moreover
distingui possunt vera somnia a falsis? Cum eadem
to-be-distinguished can true dreams from false since the-same
et aliis aliter evadant et isdem non semper eodem
both for-some otherwise turn-out and for-the-same not always in-the-same
modo; ut mihi mirum videatur, cum mendaci homini ne
way so-that to-me wonderful it-seems since a-lying man not
verum quidem dicenti credere soleamus, quo modo isti,
truth even telling to-believe we-are-wont in-what way those-men
si somnium verum evasit aliquod, non ex multis potius
if a-dream true has-turned-out some not from many rather
uni fidem derogent quam ex uno innumerabilia confirment.
from-one belief withdraw than from one countless confirm
147 Si igitur neque deus est effector somniorum neque naturae
if therefore neither god is the-producer of-dreams nor of-nature
societas ulla cum somniis neque observatione inveniri potuit
a-fellowship any with dreams nor by-observation to-be-found could
scientia, effectum est, ut nihil prorsus somniis tribuendum
a-science brought-about it-is that nothing at-all to-dreams to-be-assigned
sit, praesertim cum illi ipsi, qui ea vident, nihil divinent,
is especially since they themselves who them see nothing divine
ii, qui interpretantur, coniecturam adhibeant, non naturam,
those who interpret conjecture apply not nature
casus autem innumerabilibus paene saeculis in omnibus
chance moreover in-countless almost ages in all
plura mirabilia quam in somniorum visis effecerit, neque
more wonders than in of-dreams visions has-produced nor

coniectura, quae in varias partis duci possit, non
than-conjecture which into various directions to-be-drawn can not
numquam etiam in contrarias, quicquam sit incertius.
never even into contrary anything is more-uncertain
Explodatur igitur haec quoque somniorum divinatio pariter 148
let-it-be-hissed-off therefore this also of-dreams divination equally
cum ceteris. Nam, ut vere loquamur, superstitio fusa per
with the-rest for that truly we-may-speak superstition spread through
gentis oppressit omnium fere animos atque hominum
the-nations has-oppressed of-all almost the-minds and of-men
inbecillitatem occupavit. Quod et in iis libris dictum est,
the-weakness has-seized which both in those books said was
qui sunt de natura deorum, et hac disputatione id
which are on the-nature of-the-gods and in-this disputation that
maxume egimus. Multum enim et nobismet ipsis et nostris
most we-pursued much for both to-us ourselves and to-ours
profuturi videbamur, si eam funditus sustulissemus.
about-to-help we-seemed if it from-the-foundation we-had-removed
Nec vero (id enim diligenter intellegi volo) superstitione
nor indeed that for carefully to-be-understood I-wish by-superstition
tollenda religio tollitur. Nam et maiorum instituta
being-removed religion is-removed for both of-the-ancestors the-institutions
tueri sacris caerimoniisque retinendis sapientis est, et
to-guard by-rites and-ceremonies being-retained of-a-wise-man is and
esse praestantem aliquam aeternamque naturam, et eam
to-exist an-excellent some and-eternal nature and it
suspiciendam admirandamque hominum generi pulchritudo
to-be-looked-up-to and-admired of-men by-the-race the-beauty
mundi ordoque rerum caelestium cogit confiteri.
of-the-world and-the-order of-things celestial compels to-confess

149 Quam ob rem, ut religio propaganda etiam est, quae est
which on-account-of thing as religion to-be-propagated also is which is
iuncta cum cognitione naturae, sic superstitionis stirpes omnes
joined with knowledge of-nature so of-superstition the-roots all
eligendae. Instat enim et urget et, quo te cumque
to-be-weeded-out it-presses for and urges and wherever yourself ever
verteris, persequitur, sive tu vatem sive tu omen
you-will-have-turned pursues whether you a-seer or you an-omen
audieris, sive immolaris sive avem aspexeris, si Chaldaeum,
have-heard or you-sacrifice or a-bird have-looked-at if a-Chaldaean
si haruspicem videris, si fulserit, si tonuerit, si
if a-haruspex you-have-seen if it-has-lightened if it-has-thundered if
tactum aliquid erit de caelo, si ostenti simile natum
struck something will-have-been from the-sky if to-a-portent like born
factumve quippiam; quorum necesse est plerumque aliquid
or-done anything of-which necessary it-is mostly something
eveniat, ut numquam liceat quieta mente consistere.
should-happen so-that never it-is-allowed with-quiet mind to-stand-firm
150 Perfugium videtur omnium laborum et sollicitudinum esse
the-refuge it-seems of-all labors and anxieties to-be
somnus. At ex eo ipso plurumae curae metusque nascuntur;
sleep but from that very very-many cares and-fears are-born
qui quidem ipsi per se minus valerent et magis
which indeed themselves by them less would-avail and more
contemnerentur, nisi somniorum patrocinium philosophi
would-be-despised unless of-dreams the-patronage the-philosophers
suscepissent, nec ii quidem contemptissimi, sed in primis
had-undertaken nor they indeed the-most-despised but among the-first
acuti et consequentia et repugnantia videntes, qui prope iam
sharp both consequences and contradictions seeing who almost now
absoluti et perfecti putantur. Quorum licentiae nisi Carneades
finished and perfect are-thought whose license unless Carneades

restitisset, haud scio an soli iam philosophi iudicarentur.
had-resisted hardly I-know whether alone now philosophers they-would-be-judged
Cum quibus omnis fere nobis disceptatio contentioque est, non
with whom all almost for-us debate and-contention is not
quod eos maxume contemnamus, sed quod videntur acutissime
because them most we-despise but because they-seem most-sharply
sententias suas prudentissimeque defendere. Cum autem
opinions their-own and-most-prudently to-defend since moreover
proprium sit Academiae iudicium suum nullum interponere,
proper it-is of-the-Academy judgment its-own none to-interpose
ea probare, quae simillima veri videantur, conferre
those-things to-approve which most-like the-truth seem to-compare
causas et, quid in quamque sententiam dici possit,
the-cases and what against each opinion to-be-said can
expromere, nulla adhibita sua auctoritate iudicium audientium
to-bring-out with-no applied its-own authority the-judgment of-the-hearers
relinquere integrum ac liberum, tenebimus hanc consuetudinem
to-leave whole and free we-will-hold this custom
a Socrate traditam eaque inter nos, si tibi, Quinte frater,
by Socrates handed-down and-it among ourselves if to-you Quintus brother
placebit, quam saepissime utemur. Mihi vero, inquit ille, nihil
it-will-please as most-often we-will-use to-me indeed he-said he nothing
potest esse iucundius. Quae cum essent dicta, surreximus.
can to-be more-pleasant which when had-been said we-rose

CICERO

De Fato

On Fate

Fate belongs to morals, and to the logic of propositions about the future, which the philosophers call the question of the possible. At Puteoli after Caesar's death, Cicero and the consul-elect Hirtius talked of peace, and Hirtius asked to hear him discourse. After a lacuna Cicero finds Posidonius' examples of fate to be nature's sympathy, chance, or invention: Daphitas' fatal 'horse' was no horse, only the name, and Philip was warned of a chariot carved on a sword-hilt.

∗∗∗ quia pertinet ad mores, quod ἦθος illi vocant, nos eam 1
(lacuna) because it-pertains to character which ethos they call we that
partem philosophiae de moribus appellare solemus, sed decet
part of-philosophy about character to-call are-wont but it-befits
augentem linguam Latinam nominare moralem; explicandaque
one-enriching the-tongue Latin to-name-it moral and-to-be-explained
vis est ratioque enuntiationum, quae Graeci ἀξιώματα
the-force is and-the-reason of-propositions which the-Greeks axiomata
vocant; quae de re futura cum aliquid dicunt deque
call which about a-thing future when something they-say and-about
eo, quod possit fieri aut non possit, quam vim habeant,
that which can to-happen or not can what force they-have
obscura quaestio est, quam περὶ δυνατῶν philosophi appellant,
an-obscure question is which peri dynaton the-philosophers call
totaque est λογική, quam rationem disserendi voco. Quod
and-the-whole is logike which the-method of-discoursing I-call what
autem in aliis libris feci, qui sunt de natura deorum,
moreover in other books I-did which are on the-nature of-the-gods
itemque in iis, quos de divinatione edidi, ut in utramque
and-likewise in those which on divination I-published that on either
partem perpetua explicaretur oratio, quo facilius id a quoque
side continuous was-set-out a-speech so-that more-easily that by each

probaretur, quod cuique maxime probabile videretur, id in
might-be-approved which to-each most probable seemed that in
hac disputatione de fato casus quidam ne facerem inpedivit.
this disputation on fate a-chance certain lest I-should-do prevented
2 Nam cum essem in Puteolano Hirtiusque noster, consul
for when I-was at the-Puteolan-villa and-Hirtius our consul
designatus, isdem in locis, vir nobis amicissimus et his
designate the-same in places a-man to-us most-friendly and to-these
studiis, in quibus nos a pueritia viximus, deditus, multum
studies in which we from boyhood have-lived devoted much
una eramus, maxime nos quidem exquirentes ea consilia,
together we-were most we indeed searching-out those counsels
quae ad pacem et ad concordiam civium pertinerent. Cum
which to peace and to concord of-the-citizens pertained since
enim omnes post interitum Caesaris novarum perturbationum
for all after the-death of-Caesar of-new disturbances
causae quaeri viderentur iisque esse occurrendum putaremus,
causes to-be-sought seemed and-these to-be to-be-met we-thought
omnis fere nostra in his deliberationibus consumebatur
all almost our in these deliberations was-consumed
oratio, idque et saepe alias et quodam liberiore,
speech and-that both often at-other-times and on-a-certain freer
quam solebat, et magis vacuo ab interventoribus die, cum
than was-usual and more empty of interrupters day when
ad me ille venisset, primo ea, quae erant cotidiana et
to me he had-come first those-things which were daily and
quasi legitima nobis, de pace et de otio.
as-it-were customary for-us about peace and about leisure
3 Quibus actis Quid ergo? inquit ille, quoniam oratorias
which done what therefore he-said that-one since oratorical
exercitationes non tu quidem, ut spero, reliquisti, sed certe
exercises not you indeed as I-hope have-abandoned but certainly

philosophiam illis anteposuisti, possumne aliquid audire?
philosophy to-them have-preferred can-I-whether something to-hear
Tu vero, inquam, vel audire vel dicere; nec enim, id
you indeed I-said either to-hear or to-speak nor for that
quod recte existimas, oratoria illa studia deserui, quibus
which rightly you-reckon oratorical those studies have-I-deserted with-which
etiam te incendi, quamquam flagrantissumum acceperam,
even you I-have-fired although most-ardent I-had-received-you
nec ea, quae nunc tracto, minuunt, sed augent potius
nor those-things which now I-handle diminish but increase rather
illam facultatem. Nam cum hoc genere philosophiae, quod
that faculty for with this kind of-philosophy which
nos sequimur, magnam habet orator societatem; subtilitatem
we follow great has the-orator fellowship subtlety
enim ab Academia mutuatur et ei vicissim reddit
for from the-Academy he-borrows and to-it in-turn returns
ubertatem orationis et ornamenta dicendi. Quam ob
abundance of-speech and the-ornaments of-speaking which on-account-of
rem, inquam, quoniam utriusque studii nostra possessio
thing I-said since of-both studies ours the-possession
est, hodie, utro frui malis, optio sit tua. Tum Hirtius:
is today which to-enjoy you-prefer the-choice be yours then Hirtius
Gratissumum, inquit, et tuorum omnium simile; nihil enim
most-welcome he-said and of-yours all like nothing for
umquam abnuit meo studio voluntas tua.
ever has-refused to-my zeal will your
Sed quoniam rhetorica mihi vestra sunt nota teque in iis 4
but since rhetorical-works to-me your are known and-you in them
et audivimus saepe et audiemus atque hanc Academicorum
both we-have-heard often and will-hear and this of-the-Academics
contra propositum disputandi consuetudinem indicant te
against a-proposition of-arguing custom show you

suscepisse Tusculanae disputationes, ponere aliquid, ad quod
to-have-taken-up the-Tusculan disputations to-propose something to which
audiam, si tibi non est molestum, volo. An mihi, inquam,
I-may-listen if to-you not it-is troublesome I-wish or to-me I-said
potest quicquam esse molestum, quod tibi gratum futurum
can anything to-be troublesome which to-you pleasing about-to-be
sit? Sed ita audies, ut Romanum hominem, ut timide
is but so you-will-hear as a-Roman man as timidly
ingredientem ad hoc genus disputandi, ut longo intervallo
entering into this kind of-arguing as after-a-long interval
haec studia repetentem. Ita, inquit, audiam te disputantem, ut
these studies resuming so he-said I-will-hear you arguing as
ea lego, quae scripsisti. Proinde ordire. Considamus hic.
those-things I-read which you-have-written therefore begin let-us-sit-down here
5 *** quorum in aliis, ut in Antipatro poëta, ut in brumali
(lacuna) of-which in some as in Antipater the-poet as in on-midwinter
die natis, ut in simul aegrotantibus fratribus, ut in urina,
day those-born as in together falling-sick brothers as in urine
ut in unguibus, ut in reliquis eius modi, naturae contagio
as in nails as in the-rest of-that kind of-nature the-sympathy
valet, quam ego non tollo, vis est nulla fatalis; in aliis
avails which I not remove force there-is none fated in others
autem fortuita quaedam esse possunt, ut in illo naufrago,
moreover fortuitous some-things to-be can as in that shipwrecked-man
ut in Icadio, ut in Daphita; quaedam etiam Posidonius
as in Icadius as in Daphitas some-things even Posidonius
(pace magistri dixerim) comminisci videtur; sunt quidem
by-the-leave of-my-master may-I-say to-invent seems they-are indeed
absurda. Quid enim? Si Daphitae fatum fuit ex equo cadere
absurd what for if for-Daphitas the-fate was from a-horse to-fall
atque ita perire, ex hocne equo, qui cum equus non
and so to-perish from this-whether horse which since a-horse not

esset, nomen habebat alienum? Aut Philippus hasne in
it-was a-name had foreign or Philip these-whether on
capulo quadrigulas vitare monebatur? Quasi vero capulo
his-sword-hilt little-chariots to-avoid was-warned as-if indeed by-the-hilt
sit occisus. Quid autem magnum aut naufragum illum
he-were killed what moreover great-thing either shipwrecked that-man
sine nomine in rivo esse lapsum? (Quamquam huic
without a-name into a-brook to-have slipped although to-this-one
quidem hic scribit praedictum in aqua esse pereundum);
indeed this-man writes it-was-foretold in water to-be to-be-perished
ne hercule Icadii quidem praedonis video fatum ullum;
not by-Hercules of-Icadius even of-the-pirate do-I-see fate any
nihil enim scribit ei praedictum. Quid mirum igitur ex 6
nothing for he-writes to-him foretold what surprising therefore from
spelunca saxum in crura eius incidisse? Puto enim, etiamsi
a-cave a-rock onto the-legs his to-have-fallen I-think for even-if
Icadius tum in spelunca non fuisset, saxum tamen illud
Icadius then in the-cave not had-been rock still that
casurum fuisse. Nam aut nihil omnino est fortuitum, aut
about-to-fall to-have-been for either nothing at-all is fortuitous or
hoc ipsum potuit evenire fortuna. Quaero igitur (atque hoc
this itself could to-happen by-fortune I-ask therefore and this
late patebit), si fati omnino nullum nomen, nulla natura,
widely will-extend if of-fate at-all no name no nature
nulla vis esset et forte temere casu aut pleraque fierent
no force existed and by-luck at-random by-chance either most-things happened
aut omnia, num aliter, ac nunc eveniunt, evenirent.
or all surely-not otherwise than now they-happen would-they-happen
Quid ergo adtinet inculcare fatum, cum sine fato ratio
what therefore does-it-serve to-press-in fate when without fate the-account
omnium rerum ad naturam fortunamve referatur?
of-all things to nature or-fortune be-referred

Climate shapes bodies and wits, but not whether we walk in Pompey's portico. Natural inclinations differ, yet the will can master them, as Stilpo did his drunkenness and Socrates the vices Zopyrus read in his face. If divination proves fate, the astrologers' rule that one born at the Dog-star's rising will not die at sea commits Chrysippus to Diodorus' view that only what is or will be true is possible.

7 Sed Posidonium, sicut aequum est, cum bona gratia dimittamus,
but Posidonius as fair it-is with good grace let-us-dismiss
ad Chrysippi laqueos revertamur. Cui quidem primum
to Chrysippus' snares let-us-return to-whom indeed first
de ipsa contagione rerum respondeamus, reliqua postea
about the-very sympathy of-things let-us-reply the-rest afterward
persequemur. Inter locorum naturas quantum intersit, videmus;
we-will-pursue among of-places the-natures how-much it-differs we-see
alios esse salubris, alios pestilentis, in aliis esse pituitosos et
some to-be healthful others pestilential in some to-be phlegmatic and
quasi redundantis, in aliis exsiccatos atque aridos; multaque
as-it-were overflowing in others dried-up and arid and-many
sunt alia, quae inter locum et locum plurimum differant.
there-are other-things which between place and place very-much differ
Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici,
at-Athens thin the-air from which also sharper are-thought the-Attics
crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani et valentes. Tamen
thick at-Thebes and-so stout the-Thebans and strong still
neque illud tenue caelum efficiet, ut aut Zenonem quis aut
neither that thin air will-bring-about that either Zeno one or
Arcesilam aut Theophrastum audiat, neque crassum, ut Nemea
Arcesilas or Theophrastus should-hear nor thick that at-Nemea
potius quam Isthmo victoriam petat. Diiunge longius.
rather than at-the-Isthmus victory he-should-seek separate farther

Quid enim loci natura adferre potest, ut in porticu Pompeii 8
what for of-a-place the-nature to-bring can that in the-portico of-Pompey
potius quam in campo ambulemus? Tecum quam cum alio?
rather than in the-Campus we-should-walk with-you than with another
Idibus potius quam Kalendis? Ut igitur ad quasdam res
on-the-Ides rather than on-the-Kalends as therefore to certain things
natura loci pertinet aliquid, ad quasdam autem nihil,
the-nature of-a-place pertains somewhat to certain moreover not-at-all
sic astrorum adfectio valeat, si vis, ad quasdam res,
so of-the-stars the-disposition let-it-avail if you-wish for certain things
ad omnis certe non valebit. At enim, quoniam in naturis
for all certainly not it-will-avail but indeed since in the-natures
hominum dissimilitudines sunt, ut alios dulcia, alios
of-men differences are so-that some sweet-things others
subamara delectent, alii libidinosi, alii iracundi aut crudeles
somewhat-bitter delight some lustful others irascible or cruel
aut superbi sint, alii a talibus vitiis abhorreant, — quoniam
or proud are others from such vices shrink since
igitur, inquit, tantum natura a natura distat, quid mirum
therefore he-said so-much nature from nature differs what surprising
est has dissimilitudines ex differentibus causis esse factas?
is-it these differences from different causes to-have-been made
Haec disserens, qua de re agatur, et in quo causa 9
this arguing what about matter it-is-treated and in what the-case
consistat, non videt. Non enim, si alii ad alia
consists not he-sees not for if some to different-things
propensiores sunt propter causas naturalis et antecedentis,
more-inclined are on-account-of causes natural and antecedent
idcirco etiam nostrarum voluntatum atque adpetitionum sunt
for-that-reason also of-our wills and appetites are
causae naturales et antecedentes. Nam nihil esset in nostra
causes natural and antecedent for nothing would-be in our

potestate, si ita se res haberet. Nunc vero fatemur, acuti
power if so itself the-matter had now indeed we-confess sharp
hebetesne, valentes inbecilline simus, non esse id in nobis.
or-whether-dull strong or-weak we-be not to-be that in us
Qui autem ex eo cogi putat, ne ut sedeamus quidem
he-who moreover from that to-be-compelled thinks not that we-sit even
aut ambulemus voluntatis esse, is non videt, quae quamque
or walk of-the-will it-be he not sees what each
rem res consequatur. Ut enim et ingeniosi et tardi ita
thing thing follows granted-that for both the-clever and the-slow so
nascantur antecedentibus causis itemque valentes et inbecilli,
are-born by-antecedent causes and-likewise the-strong and the-weak
non sequitur tamen, ut etiam sedere eos et ambulare et rem
not it-follows still that also to-sit them and to-walk and a-thing
agere aliquam principalibus causis definitum et constitutum sit.
to-do some by-principal causes defined and settled be
10 Stilponem, Megaricum philosophum, acutum sane hominem
Stilpo the-Megarian a-philosopher a-sharp truly man
et probatum temporibus illis accepimus. Hunc scribunt
and approved in-the-times those we-have-heard him write
ipsius familiares et ebriosum et mulierosum fuisse,
his-own intimates both a-drunkard and a-womanizer to-have-been
neque haec scribunt vituperantes, sed potius ad laudem;
nor these-things do-they-write censuring but rather for praise
vitiosam enim naturam ab eo sic edomitam et conpressam
a-vicious for nature by him so tamed and suppressed
esse doctrina, ut nemo umquam vinulentum illum,
to-have-been by-learning that no-one ever drunk him
nemo in eo libidinis vestigium viderit. Quid? Socraten nonne
no-one in him of-lust a-trace saw what Socrates surely
legimus quem ad modum notarit Zopyrus physiognomon,
we-read in-what to manner noted Zopyrus the-physiognomist

qui se profitebatur hominum mores naturasque ex
who himself professed of-men the-characters and-natures from
corpore, oculis, vultu, fronte pernoscere? Stupidum esse
the-body the-eyes the-face the-forehead to-discern stupid to-be
Socraten dixit et bardum, quod iugula concava non haberet,
Socrates he-said and dull because collarbones concave not he-had
obstructas eas partes et obturatas esse dicebat; addidit etiam
blocked those parts and stopped-up to-be he-said he-added also
mulierosum; in quo Alcibiades cachinnum dicitur sustulisse.
a-womanizer at which Alcibiades a-guffaw is-said to-have-raised
Sed haec ex naturalibus causis vitia nasci possunt, 11
but these-things from natural causes vices to-be-born can
extirpari autem et funditus tolli, ut is ipse,
to-be-uprooted moreover and from-the-foundation to-be-removed so-that he himself
qui ad ea propensus fuerit, a tantis vitiis avocetur,
who to them inclined has-been from so-great vices be-called-away
non est id positum in naturalibus causis, sed in voluntate,
not is that placed in natural causes but in will
studio, disciplina. Quae tolluntur omnia, si vis et natura
zeal discipline which are-removed all if the-force and nature
fati ex divinationis ratione firmabitur.
of-fate from of-divination the-reasoning will-be-confirmed
Etenim si est divinatio, qualibusnam a perceptis
for-indeed if there-is divination what-sort-pray from perceptions
artis proficiscitur? (Percepta appello, quae dicuntur Graece
of-art does-it-proceed perceptions I-call what are-called in-Greek
θεωρήματα). Non enim credo nullo percepto aut ceteros
theoremata not for I-believe with-no perception either the-other
artifices versari in suo munere, aut eos, qui divinatione
craftsmen to-move in their office or those who divination
utantur, futura praedicere.
use the-future to-foretell

12 Sint igitur astrologorum percepta huius modi: 'Si quis
let-be therefore of-the-astrologers the-perceptions of-this kind if anyone
verbi causa oriente Canicula natus est, is in mari non
of-word for-the-sake with-rising the-Dog-star born has-been he in the-sea not
morietur.' Vigila, Chrysippe, ne tuam causam, in qua tibi
will-die be-vigilant Chrysippus lest your case in which for-you
cum Diodoro, valente dialectico, magna luctatio est, deseras.
with Diodorus the-powerful dialectician great the-struggle is you-desert
Si enim est verum, quod ita conectitur: 'Si quis oriente
if for is true what so is-connected if anyone with-rising
Canicula natus est, in mari non morietur', illud quoque
the-Dog-star born has-been in the-sea not will-die that also
verum est: 'Si Fabius oriente Canicula natus est, Fabius
true is if Fabius with-rising the-Dog-star born has-been Fabius
in mari non morietur.' Pugnant igitur haec inter se,
in the-sea not will-die conflict therefore these-things with each-other
Fabium oriente Canicula natum esse, et Fabium in mari
Fabius with-rising the-Dog-star born to-have-been and Fabius in the-sea
moriturum; et quoniam certum in Fabio ponitur, natum
about-to-die and since certain in Fabius is-placed born
esse eum Canicula oriente, haec quoque pugnant,
to-have-been him with-the-Dog-star rising these too conflict
et esse Fabium, et in mari esse moriturum. Ergo haec
both to-exist Fabius and in the-sea to-be about-to-die therefore this
quoque coniunctio est ex repugnantibus: 'Et est Fabius,
also conjunction is from conflicting-things both exists Fabius
et in mari Fabius morietur', quod, ut propositum est,
and in the-sea Fabius will-die which as proposed it-is
ne fieri quidem potest. Ergo illud: 'Morietur in mari
not to-happen even can therefore that will-die in the-sea

Fabius' ex eo genere est, quod fieri non potest. Omne
Fabius from that kind is which to-happen not can every
ergo, quod falsum dicitur in futuro, id fieri non potest.
therefore which false is-said in the-future that to-happen not can
At hoc, Chrysippe, minime vis, maximeque tibi de hoc 13
but this Chrysippus least you-wish and-most for-you about this
ipso cum Diodoro certamen est. Ille enim id solum fieri
very with Diodorus the-contest is he for that alone to-happen
posse dicit, quod aut sit verum aut futurum sit verum,
to-be-able says which either is true or about-to-be is true
et, quicquid futurum sit, id dicit fieri necesse esse et,
and whatever about-to-be is that he-says to-happen necessary to-be and
quicquid non sit futurum, id negat fieri posse. Tu,
whatever not is about-to-be that he-denies to-happen to-be-able you
et quae non sint futura, posse fieri dicis, ut frangi
also what not are about-to-be to-be-able to-happen say as to-be-broken
hanc gemmam, etiamsi id numquam futurum sit, neque
this gem even-if that never about-to-be is nor
necesse fuisse Cypselum regnare Corinthi, quamquam id
necessary to-have-been Cypselus to-reign at-Corinth although that
millensimo ante anno Apollinis oraculo editum esset. At
in-the-thousandth before year of-Apollo by-oracle issued had-been but
si ista conprobabis divina praedicta, et, quae falsa in futuris
if those you-will-approve divine predictions both what false in futures
dicentur, in iis habebis, ut ea fieri non possint, et, si
will-be-said among those you-will-hold that they to-happen not can and if
vere dicatur de futuro, idque ita futurum sit, dicas esse
truly it-be-said about the-future and-that so about-to-be be you-would-say to-be
necessarium; quae est tota Diodori vobis inimica sententia.
necessary which is the-whole of-Diodorus to-you hostile opinion

14 Etenim si illud vere conectitur: 'Si oriente Canicula natus es,
for-indeed if that truly is-connected if with-rising the-Dog-star born you-are
in mari non moriere', primumque quod est in conexo: 'Natus
in the-sea not you-will-die and-the-first which is in the-conditional born
es oriente Canicula', necessarium est (omnia enim vera in
you-are with-rising the-Dog-star necessary is all for true-things in
praeteritis necessaria sunt, ut Chrysippo placet dissentienti a
the-past necessary are as to-Chrysippus it-seems dissenting from
magistro Cleanthe, quia sunt inmutabilia nec in falsum e
his-master Cleanthes because they-are unchangeable nor into false from
vero praeterita possunt convertere); si igitur, quod primum in
true the-past-things can to-turn if therefore what first in
conexo est, necessarium est, fit etiam, quod consequitur,
the-conditional is necessary is becomes also what follows
necessarium. Quamquam hoc Chrysippo non videtur valere
necessary although this to-Chrysippus not seems to-hold
in omnibus; sed tamen, si naturalis est causa, cur in
in all-cases but still if natural there-is a-cause why in
mari Fabius non moriatur, in mari Fabius mori non potest.
the-sea Fabius not should-die in the-sea Fabius to-die not can

Chrysippus would have the Chaldaeans phrase their rules as negated conjunctions. Diodorus holds that only what is or will be true is possible, so that no future truth can change; yet that alone does not bring fate, which needs an everlasting series of causes. Epicurus could grant that every proposition is true or false without fearing fate: 'Carneades went down to the Academy' was true without eternal causes, though not without causes. Chrysippus argues that motion without cause would make some proposition neither true nor false, but every one is true or false, so everything happens by fate.

Hoc loco Chrysippus aestuans falli sperat Chaldaeos 15
at-this point Chrysippus boiling to-be-deceived hopes the-Chaldaeans
ceterosque divinos, neque eos usuros esse coniunctionibus,
and-the-other diviners nor them about-to-use to-be conditionals
ut ita sua percepta pronuntient: 'Si quis natus est
so-that thus their perceptions they-pronounce if anyone born has-been
oriente Canicula, is in mari non morietur', sed potius ita
with-rising the-Dog-star he in the-sea not will-die but rather thus
dicant: 'Non et natus est quis oriente Canicula, et is
they-should-say not both born has-been anyone with-rising the-Dog-star and he
in mari morietur.' O licentiam iocularem! Ne ipse incidat
in the-sea will-die O license jocular lest he-himself fall
in Diodorum, docet Chaldaeos, quo pacto eos exponere
into Diodorus he-teaches the-Chaldaeans in-what way them to-set-out
percepta oporteat. Quaero enim, si Chaldaei ita loquantur,
their-perceptions it-behooves I-ask for if the-Chaldaeans so speak
ut negationes infinitarum coniunctionum potius quam infinita
that negations of-indefinite conjunctions rather than indefinite
conexa ponant, cur idem medici, cur geometrae, cur reliqui
conditionals they-posit why the-same the-physicians why the-geometers why the-rest
facere non possint. Medicus in primis, quod erit ei
to-do not could the-physician in the-first-place what will-be to-him

perspectum in arte, non ita proponet: 'Si cui venae sic
perceived in his-art not so will-propound if for-anyone the-veins so
moventur, is habet febrim', sed potius illo modo: 'Non et
are-moved he has fever but rather in-that way not both
venae sic cui moventur, et is febrim non habet.' Itemque
the-veins so for-anyone are-moved and he fever not has and-likewise
geometres non ita dicet: 'In sphaera maximi orbes medii inter
the-geometer not so will-say in a-sphere the-greatest circles middle among
se dividuntur', sed potius illo modo: 'Non et sunt in
themselves are-divided but rather in-that way not both are in
sphaera maximi orbes, et ii non medii inter se dividuntur.'
a-sphere greatest circles and they not middle among themselves are-divided
16 Quid est, quod non possit isto modo ex conexo
what is-there which not can in-that way from the-conditional
transferri ad coniunctionum negationem? Et quidem aliis
to-be-transferred to of-conjunctions the-negation and indeed in-other
modis easdem res efferre possumus. Modo dixi: 'In sphaera
ways the-same things to-express we-can just-now I-said in a-sphere
maximi orbes medii inter se dividuntur'; possum dicere:
the-greatest circles middle among themselves are-divided I-can to-say
'Si in sphaera maximi orbes erunt', possum dicere: 'Quia in
if in a-sphere greatest circles there-will-be I-can to-say because in
sphaera maximi orbes erunt'. Multa genera sunt enuntiandi
a-sphere greatest circles there-will-be many kinds there-are of-stating
nec ullum distortius quam hoc, quo Chrysippus sperat
nor any more-distorted than this with-which Chrysippus hopes
Chaldaeos contentos Stoicorum causa fore.
the-Chaldaeans content of-the-Stoics for-the-sake to-be
17 Illorum tamen nemo ita loquitur; maius est enim has
of-them still no-one so speaks greater-thing it-is for these
contortiones orationis quam signorum ortus obitusque
contortions of-speech than of-the-signs the-risings and-settings

perdiscere. Sed ad illam Diodori contentionem, quam περὶ
to-learn-thoroughly but to that of-Diodorus contention which peri
δυνατῶν appellant, revertamur, in qua, quid valeat id, quod
dynaton they-call let-us-return in which what means that which
fieri possit, anquiritur. Placet igitur Diodoro id solum
to-happen can is-inquired it-pleases therefore to-Diodorus that alone
fieri posse, quod aut verum sit aut verum futurum sit.
to-happen to-be-able which either true is or true about-to-be is
Qui locus attingit hanc quaestionem, nihil fieri, quod non
which topic touches this question nothing to-happen which not
necesse fuerit, et, quicquid fieri possit, id aut esse iam
necessary was and whatever to-happen can that either to-be already
aut futurum esse, nec magis commutari ex veris in falsa
or about-to-be to-be nor more to-be-changed from true-things to false
posse ea, quae futura, quam ea, quae facta sunt; sed in
to-be-able those-things which future than those which done are but in
factis inmutabilitatem apparere, in futuris quibusdam, quia
done-things the-unchangeability to-appear in future some because
non apparet, ne inesse quidem videri, ut in eo, qui mortifero
not it-appears not to-be-in even to-seem as in him who by-a-deadly
morbo urgeatur, verum sit 'Hic morietur hoc morbo', at
disease is-pressed true is this-man will-die of-this disease but
hoc idem si vere dicatur in eo, in quo vis morbi tanta
this same if truly be-said of him in whom the-force of-the-disease so-great
non appareat, nihilo minus futurum sit. Ita fit, ut
not appears by-nothing less about-to-be it-is so it-comes-about that
commutatio ex vero in falsum ne in futuro quidem ulla fieri
a-change from true into false not in the-future even any to-happen
possit. Nam 'Morietur Scipio' talem vim habet, ut, quamquam
can for will-die Scipio such force has that although

de futuro dicitur, tamen ut id non possit convertere in
about the-future it-is-said still that it not can to-turn into
falsum; de homine enim dicitur, cui necesse est mori.
false about a-man for it-is-said for-whom necessary it-is to-die
18 Sic si diceretur: 'Morietur noctu in cubiculo suo vi
so if it-were-said will-die at-night in bedroom his-own by-violence
oppressus Scipio', vere diceretur; id enim fore diceretur,
overpowered Scipio truly it-would-be-said that for to-be would-be-said
quod esset futurum; futurum autem fuisse ex eo, quia
which was about-to-be about-to-be moreover to-have-been from that because
factum est, intellegi debet. Nec magis erat verum 'Morietur
done it-is to-be-understood ought nor more was true will-die
Scipio' quam 'Morietur illo modo', nec magis necesse mori
Scipio than will-die in-that way nor more necessary to-die
Scipioni quam illo modo mori, nec magis inmutabile ex
for-Scipio than in-that way to-die nor more unchangeable from
vero in falsum 'Necatus est Scipio' quam 'Necabitur Scipio';
true into false killed has-been Scipio than will-be-killed Scipio
nec, cum haec ita sint, est causa, cur Epicurus fatum
nor since these-things so are is-there a-cause why Epicurus fate
extimescat et ab atomis petat praesidium easque de via
should-fear and from the-atoms should-seek protection and-them from the-path
deducat et uno tempore suscipiat res duas inenodabiles,
should-lead-aside and at-one time should-undertake things two inextricable
unam, ut sine causa fiat aliquid, ex quo existet, ut de
one that without cause happen something from which will-arise that from
nihilo quippiam fiat, quod nec ipsi nec cuiquam physico
nothing anything comes which neither to-himself nor to-any physicist
placet, alteram, ut, cum duo individua per inanitatem
seems-good the-other that when two indivisibles through the-void
ferantur, alterum e regione moveatur, alterum declinet.
are-borne one in a-straight-line be-moved the-other swerve

Licet enim Epicuro concedenti omne enuntiatum aut verum 19
it-is-allowed for to-Epicurus granting every proposition either true
aut falsum esse non vereri, ne omnia fato fieri sit necesse;
or false to-be not to-fear lest all-things by-fate to-happen be necessary
non enim aeternis causis naturae necessitate manantibus verum
not for by-eternal causes of-nature by-necessity flowing true
est id, quod ita enuntiatur: 'Descendit in Academiam Carneades',
is that which so is-stated went-down to the-Academy Carneades
nec tamen sine causis, sed interest inter causas fortuito
nor still without causes but there-is-a-difference between causes by-chance
antegressas et inter causas cohibentis in se efficientiam
preceding and between causes containing in themselves an-efficacy
naturalem. Ita et semper verum fuit 'Morietur Epicurus, cum
natural so both always true was will-die Epicurus when
duo et septuaginta annos vixerit, archonte Pytharato',
two and seventy years he-will-have-lived being-archon Pytharatus
neque tamen erant causae fatales, cur ita accideret, sed, quod
nor still were-there causes fated why so it-should-happen but what
ita cecidit, serie certa causarum casurum, sicut cecidit, fuit.
so fell-out in-a-series fixed of-causes about-to-fall-out as it-fell-out was
Nec ii, qui dicunt inmutabilia esse, quae futura sint, nec 20
nor those who say unchangeable to-be what future are nor
posse verum futurum convertere in falsum, fati necessitatem
to-be-able a-true future to-turn into false of-fate the-necessity
confirmant, sed verborum vim interpretantur. At qui
confirm but of-words the-force interpret but those-who
introducunt causarum seriem sempiternam, ii mentem
bring-in of-causes a-series everlasting they the-mind
hominis voluntate libera spoliatam necessitate fati devinciunt.
of-man of-will free despoiled by-the-necessity of-fate bind

Sed haec hactenus; alia videamus. Concludit enim
but these-things so-far other-things let-us-see concludes for
Chrysippus hoc modo: 'Si est motus sine causa, non omnis
Chrysippus in-this way if there-is motion without cause not every
enuntiatio, quod ἀξίωμα dialectici appellant, aut vera aut
proposition which axioma the-dialecticians call either true or
falsa erit; causas enim efficientis quod non habebit, id nec
false will-be causes for efficient what not it-will-have that neither
verum nec falsum erit; omnis autem enuntiatio aut vera aut
true nor false will-be every moreover proposition either true or
falsa est; motus ergo sine causa nullus est. Quod si ita est,
false is motion therefore without cause none is but if so it-is
omnia, quae fiunt, causis fiunt antegressis; id si ita est, fato
all-things which happen by-causes happen preceding that if so it-is by-fate
omnia fiunt; efficitur igitur fato fieri, quaecumque fiant.'
all-things happen it-is-brought-about therefore by-fate to-happen whatever happens

IV · THE SWERVE AND THE WILL

Epicurus fears that bivalence brings fate, as Chrysippus fears that without it fate fails, and invents the atom's swerve, a swerve without cause. Carneades defended the will better: a voluntary motion of the mind needs no external cause, as an atom falls by its own weight. That Scipio will take Numantia was true from eternity, but not because of eternal causes.

21 Hic primum si mihi libeat adsentiri Epicuro et negare
here first if to-me it-should-please to-agree with-Epicurus and to-deny
omnem enuntiationem aut veram esse aut falsam, eam
every proposition either true to-be or false that
plagam potius accipiam quam fato omnia fieri conprobem;
blow rather I-would-take than by-fate all-things to-happen approve

illa enim sententia habet aliquid disputationis, haec vero non
that for opinion has something of-argument this indeed not
est tolerabilis. Itaque contendit omnis nervos Chrysippus, ut
is tolerable and-so strains all his-sinews Chrysippus that
persuadeat omne ἀξίωμα aut verum esse aut falsum. Ut enim
he-may-persuade every axioma either true to-be or false as for
Epicurus veretur, ne, si hoc concesserit, concedendum sit
Epicurus fears lest if this he-has-granted to-be-granted it-be
fato fieri, quaecumque fiant, (si enim alterum utrum ex
by-fate to-happen whatever happens if for one-or the-other from
aeternitate verum sit, esse id etiam certum et, si certum, etiam
eternity true be to-be that also certain and if certain also
necessarium; ita et necessitatem et fatum confirmari putat)
necessary so both necessity and fate to-be-confirmed he-thinks
sic Chrysippus metuit, ne, si non obtinuerit omne,
so Chrysippus fears lest if not he-will-have-maintained every
quod enuntietur, aut verum esse aut falsum, non teneat
which is-stated either true to-be or false not he-may-hold
omnia fato fieri et ex causis aeternis rerum futurarum.
all-things by-fate to-happen and from causes eternal of-things future
Sed Epicurus declinatione atomi vitari necessitatem fati 22
but Epicurus by-the-swerve of-the-atom to-be-avoided the-necessity of-fate
putat. Itaque tertius quidam motus oritur extra pondus et
thinks and-so a-third certain motion arises outside weight and
plagam, cum declinat atomus intervallo minimo (id appellat
blow when swerves the-atom by-an-interval very-small that he-calls
ἐλάχιστον); quam declinationem sine causa fieri si minus
elachiston which swerve without cause to-happen if not
verbis, re cogitur confiteri. Non enim atomus ab atomo
in-words in-fact he-is-compelled to-confess not for the-atom by an-atom
pulsa declinat. Nam qui potest pelli alia ab alia, si gravitate
struck swerves for how can to-be-struck one by another if by-gravity

feruntur ad perpendiculum corpora individua rectis lineis, ut
are-borne to the-vertical bodies indivisible in-straight lines as
Epicuro placet? Sequitur enim, ut, si alia ab alia numquam
to-Epicurus it-seems it-follows for that if one by another never
depellatur, ne contingat quidem alia aliam. Ex quo efficitur,
is-driven-off not touch even one another from which it-is-brought-about
etiamsi sit atomus eaque declinet, declinare sine causa.
even-if there-be an-atom and-it swerve to-swerve without cause
23 Hanc Epicurus rationem induxit ob eam rem, quod
this Epicurus reasoning brought-in on-account-of that thing because
veritus est, ne, si semper atomus gravitate ferretur naturali
feared he-has lest if always the-atom by-gravity were-borne natural
ac necessaria, nihil liberum nobis esset, cum ita moveretur
and necessary nothing free to-us would-be since so would-be-moved
animus, ut atomorum motu cogeretur. Id Democritus,
the-mind as of-the-atoms by-motion it-was-compelled that Democritus
auctor atomorum, accipere maluit, necessitate omnia fieri,
the-author of-atoms to-accept preferred by-necessity all-things to-happen
quam a corporibus individuis naturalis motus avellere.
than from bodies indivisible natural motions to-tear-away
Acutius Carneades, qui docebat posse Epicureos suam
more-sharply Carneades who taught to-be-able the-Epicureans their
causam sine hac commenticia declinatione defendere.
case without this invented swerve to-defend
Nam cum docerent esse posse quendam animi motum
for since they-taught to-be able a-certain of-the-mind motion
voluntarium, id fuit defendi melius quam introducere
voluntary that was to-be-defended better than to-bring-in
declinationem, cuius praesertim causam reperire non possent;
a-swerve whose especially cause to-find not they-could
quo defenso facile Chrysippo possent resistere. Cum enim
which defended easily Chrysippus they-could to-resist when for

concessissent motum nullum esse sine causa, non concederent
they-had-granted motion none to-be without cause not they-would-grant
omnia, quae fierent, fieri causis antecedentibus; voluntatis
all-things which happened to-happen by-causes antecedent of-will
enim nostrae non esse causas externas et antecedentis.
for our not to-be causes external and antecedent
Communi igitur consuetudine sermonis abutimur, cum ita 24
common therefore the-usage of-speech we-misuse when so
dicimus, velle aliquid quempiam aut nolle sine causa;
we-say to-will something anyone or not-to-will without cause
ita enim dicimus 'sine causa', ut dicamus: sine externa
so for we-say without cause that we-may-say without external
et antecedente causa, non sine aliqua; ut, cum vas inane
and antecedent cause not without some as when a-vessel empty
dicimus, non ita loquimur, ut physici, quibus inane esse
we-call not so we-speak as the-physicists to-whom empty to-be
nihil placet, sed ita, ut verbi causa sine aqua, sine vino,
nothing it-seems but so as of-word for-the-sake without water without wine
sine oleo vas esse dicamus, sic, cum sine causa animum
without oil a-vessel to-be we-may-say so when without cause the-mind
dicimus moveri, sine antecedente et externa causa moveri,
we-say to-be-moved without antecedent and external cause to-be-moved
non omnino sine causa dicimus. De ipsa atomo dici
not at-all without cause we-say about itself the-atom to-be-said
potest, cum per inane moveatur gravitate et pondere,
it-can when through the-void it-is-moved by-gravity and weight
sine causa moveri, quia nulla causa accedat extrinsecus.
without cause to-be-moved because no cause comes from-outside
Rursus autem, ne omnes physici inrideant nos, si dicamus 25
again moreover lest all the-physicists mock us if we-say
quicquam fieri sine causa, distinguendum est et ita
anything to-happen without cause to-be-distinguished it-is and so

dicendum, ipsius individui hanc esse naturam, ut pondere et
to-be-said of-the-very indivisible this to-be the-nature that by-weight and
gravitate moveatur, eamque ipsam esse causam, cur ita feratur.
gravity it-be-moved and-that itself to-be the-cause why so it-is-borne
Similiter ad animorum motus voluntarios non est requirenda
likewise for of-minds the-motions voluntary not is to-be-sought
externa causa; motus enim voluntarius eam naturam in se
an-external cause motion for voluntary that nature in it
ipse continet, ut sit in nostra potestate nobisque pareat,
itself contains that it-be in our power and-to-us obey
nec id sine causa; eius rei enim causa ipsa natura est.
nor that without cause of-that thing for the-cause itself the-nature is
26 Quod cum ita sit, quid est, cur non omnis pronuntiatio
which since so it-is what is-there why not every statement
aut vera aut falsa sit, nisi concesserimus fato fieri,
either true or false be unless we-shall-have-granted by-fate to-happen
quaecumque fiant? Quia futura vera, inquit, non possunt
whatever happens because future true-things he-said not can
esse ea, quae causas, cur futura sint, non habent;
to-be those-things which causes why future they-be not have
habeant igitur causas necesse est ea, quae vera sunt; ita,
they-have therefore causes necessary it-is those-things which true are so
cum evenerint, fato evenerint. Confectum negotium,
when they-have-happened by-fate they-have-happened finished the-business
siquidem concedendum tibi est aut fato omnia fieri, aut
if-indeed to-be-granted to-you it-is either by-fate all-things to-happen or
quicquam fieri posse sine causa.
anything to-happen to-be-able without cause
27 An aliter haec enuntiatio vera esse non potest: ‘Capiet
or otherwise this proposition true to-be not can will-take
Numantiam Scipio’, nisi ex aeternitate causa causam serens
Numantia Scipio unless from eternity cause cause sowing

hoc erit effectura? An hoc falsum potuisset esse, si
this will-be about-to-bring-about or this false could-have to-be if
esset sescentis saeculis ante dictum? Et si tum non esset
it-had-been six-hundred ages before said and if then not was
vera haec enuntiatio: 'Capiet Numantiam Scipio', ne illa quidem
true this proposition will-take Numantia Scipio not that even
eversa vera est haec enuntiatio: 'Cepit Numantiam Scipio.'
overthrown true is this proposition took Numantia Scipio
Potest igitur quicquam factum esse, quod non verum fuerit
can therefore anything done to-have-been which not true was
futurum esse? Nam ut praeterita ea vera dicimus, quorum
about-to-be to-be for as past-things those true we-call of-which
superiore tempore vera fuerit instantia, sic futura, quorum
at-an-earlier time true was the-presentness so future-things of-which
consequenti tempore vera erit instantia, ea vera dicemus.
at-a-following time true will-be the-presentness those true we-shall-call

V · THE IDLE ARGUMENT

Bivalence does not bring fate. The idle argument, that a sick man recovers or not whatever he does, would end all action; Chrysippus answers that some events are co-fated, like recovery and the physician. Carneades' argument ran: if all is fated, nothing is in our power, but something is. Not even Apollo can foretell what has no cause, and a cause is what brings about its effect, not whatever precedes it.

Nec, si omne enuntiatum aut verum aut falsum est, 28
nor if every proposition either true or false is
sequitur ilico esse causas inmutabilis, easque aeternas, quae
does-it-follow at-once to-be causes unchangeable and-those eternal which
prohibeant quicquam secus cadere, atque casurum sit;
prevent anything otherwise to-fall-out than about-to-fall-out it-be

fortuitae sunt causae, quae efficiant, ut vere dicantur, quae
fortuitous are the-causes which bring-about that truly be-said what
ita dicentur: 'Veniet in senatum Cato', non inclusae in
so will-be-said will-come into the-senate Cato not enclosed in
rerum natura atque mundo; et tamen tam est inmutabile
of-things the-nature and the-world and still so is unchangeable
venturum, cum est verum, quam venisse, nec ob eam
about-to-come when it-is true as to-have-come nor on-account-of that
causam fatum aut necessitas extimescenda est. Etenim erit
cause fate or necessity to-be-dreaded is for-indeed it-will-be
confiteri necesse: 'Si hoc enuntiatum: "Veniet in Tusculanum
to-confess necessary if this proposition will-come to the-Tusculan-villa
Hortensius" verum non est, sequitur, ut falsum sit.' Quorum
Hortensius true not is it-follows that false it-be of-which
isti neutrum volunt; quod fieri non potest.
those-men neither wish which to-happen not can
Nec nos impediet illa ignava ratio, quae dicitur; appellatur
nor us will-binder that idle reasoning which is-called is-named
enim quidam a philosophis ἀργὸς λόγος, cui si pareamus,
for a-certain-one by philosophers argos logos which if we-obey
nihil omnino agamus in vita.
nothing at-all we-should-do in life

29 Sic enim interrogant: 'Si fatum tibi est ex hoc morbo
so for they-question if fate for-you it-is from this disease
convalescere, sive tu medicum adhibueris sive non
to-recover whether you a-physician you-will-have-called-in or not
adhibueris, convalesces; item, si fatum tibi est ex hoc
you-will-have-called-in you-will-recover likewise if fate for-you it-is from this
morbo non convalescere, sive tu medicum adhibueris
disease not to-recover whether you a-physician you-will-have-called-in
sive non adhibueris, non convalesces; et alterutrum
or not you-will-have-called-in not you-will-recover and one-or-the-other

fatum est; medicum ergo adhibere nihil attinet.' Recte
fate is a-physician therefore to-call-in nothing it-serves rightly
genus hoc interrogationis ignavum atque iners nominatum
kind this of-questioning idle and inert named
est, quod eadem ratione omnis e vita tolletur actio.
was because by-the-same reasoning all from life will-be-removed activity
Licet etiam inmutare, ut fati nomen ne adiungas
one-may also change-it so-that of-fate the-name not you-add
et eandem tamen teneas sententiam, hoc modo: 'Si ex
and the-same still you-hold opinion in-this way if from
aeternitate verum hoc fuit: "Ex isto morbo convalesces",
eternity true this was from that disease you-will-recover
sive adhibueris medicum sive non adhibueris,
whether you-will-have-called-in a-physician or not you-will-have-called-in
convalesces; itemque, si ex aeternitate falsum hoc fuit: "Ex
you-will-recover and-likewise if from eternity false this was from
isto morbo convalesces", sive adhibueris medicum sive
that disease you-will-recover whether you-will-have-called-in a-physician or
non adhibueris, non convalesces'; deinde cetera. Haec
not you-will-have-called-in not you-will-recover then the-rest this
ratio a Chrysippo reprehenditur.
reasoning by Chrysippus is-censured
Quaedam enim sunt, inquit, in rebus simplicia, quaedam 30
some for are he-said among things simple some
copulata; simplex est: 'Morietur illo die Socrates'; huic,
linked simple is will-die on-that day Socrates for-him
sive quid fecerit sive non fecerit, finitus est
whether anything he-will-have-done or not he-will-have-done fixed is
moriendi dies. At si ita fatum erit: 'Nascetur Oedipus
of-dying the-day but if so fated it-will-be will-be-born Oedipus
Laio', non poterit dici: 'sive fuerit Laius cum
to-Laius not it-will-be-possible to-be-said whether will-have-been Laius with

muliere sive non fuerit'; copulata enim res est et
a-woman or not will-have-been linked for the-thing is and
confatalis; sic enim appellat, quia ita fatum sit et
co-fated so for he-calls-it because so fated it-be both
concubiturum cum uxore Laium et ex ea Oedipum
about-to-lie with his-wife Laius and from her Oedipus
procreaturum, ut, si esset dictum: 'Luctabitur Olympiis
about-to-beget as if it-had-been said will-wrestle at-Olympia
Milo' et referret aliquis: 'Ergo, sive habuerit adversarium
Milo and should-reply someone therefore whether he-will-have-had an-opponent
sive non habuerit, luctabitur', erraret; est enim copulatum
or not he-will-have-had he-will-wrestle he-would-err it-is for linked
'luctabitur', quia sine adversario nulla luctatio est. Omnes
will-wrestle because without an-opponent no wrestling is all
igitur istius generis captiones eodem modo refelluntur.
therefore of-that kind sophisms in-the-same way are-refuted
'Sive tu adhibueris medicum sive non adhibueris,
whether you you-will-have-called-in a-physician or not you-will-have-called-in
convalesces' captiosum; tam enim est fatale medicum adhibere
you-will-recover a-sophism as for is fated a-physician to-call-in
quam convalescere. Haec, ut dixi, confatalia ille appellat.
as to-recover these-things as I-said co-fated he calls
31 Carneades genus hoc totum non probabat et nimis
Carneades kind this whole not approved and too
inconsiderate concludi hanc rationem putabat. Itaque
inconsiderately to-be-concluded this reasoning he-thought and-so
premebat alio modo nec ullam adhibebat calumniam; cuius
he-pressed in-another way nor any did-he-apply chicanery whose
erat haec conclusio: 'Si omnia antecedentibus causis fiunt,
was this conclusion if all-things by-antecedent causes happen
omnia naturali conligatione conserte contexteque fiunt; quod
all-things by-natural linking interlocked and-interwoven happen which

si ita est, omnia necessitas efficit; id si verum est, nihil
if so it-is all-things necessity brings-about that if true it-is nothing
est in nostra potestate; est autem aliquid in nostra potestate;
is in our power is moreover something in our power
at, si omnia fato fiunt, omnia causis antecedentibus fiunt;
but if all-things by-fate happen all-things by-causes antecedent happen
non igitur fato fiunt, quaecumque fiunt.'
not therefore by-fate happen whatever happens
Hoc artius adstringi ratio non potest. Nam si quis 32
this more-tightly to-be-bound the-argument not can for if anyone
velit idem referre atque ita dicere: 'Si omne futurum
should-wish the-same to-bring-back and so to-say if every future-thing
ex aeternitate verum est, ut ita certe eveniat, quem ad
from eternity true is so-that so certainly it-happens in-what to
modum sit futurum, omnia necesse est conligatione naturali
manner it-be about-to-be all-things necessary it-is by-linking natural
conserte contexteque fieri', nihil dicat. Multum enim
interlocked and-interwoven to-happen nothing he-would-say much for
differt, utrum causa naturalis ex aeternitate futura vera
it-differs whether a-cause natural from eternity future-things true
efficiat, an etiam sine aeternitate naturali, futura quae sint,
makes or also without eternity natural future-things which are
ea vera esse possint intellegi. Itaque dicebat Carneades ne
they true to-be can to-be-understood and-so said Carneades not
Apollinem quidem futura posse dicere nisi ea, quorum
Apollo even future-things to-be-able to-tell except those of-which
causas natura ita contineret, ut ea fieri necesse esset.
the-causes nature so held that they to-happen necessary were
Quid enim spectans deus ipse diceret Marcellum eum, qui 33
what for looking-to god himself would-say Marcellus that who
ter consul fuit, in mari esse periturum? Erat hoc quidem
three-times consul was in the-sea to-be about-to-perish was this indeed

verum ex aeternitate, sed causas id efficientis non habebat.
true from eternity but causes it producing not it-had
Ita ne praeterita quidem ea, quorum nulla signa tamquam
so not past-things even those of-which no signs as-if
vestigia extarent, Apollini nota esse censebat; quo minus
traces stood-out to-Apollo known to-be he-held by-which less
futura! Causis enim efficientibus quamque rem cognitis
future-things by-causes for producing each thing known
posse denique sciri, quid futurum esset. Ergo nec de
could finally to-be-known what about-to-be was therefore neither about
Oedipode potuisse Apollinem praedicere nullis in rerum
Oedipus to-have-been-able Apollo to-foretell no in of-things
natura causis praepositis, cur ab eo patrem interfici necesse
the-nature causes placed-before why by him his-father be-killed necessary
esset, nec quicquam eius modi. Quocirca, si Stoicis,
it-was nor anything of-that kind wherefore if for-the-Stoics
qui omnia fato fieri dicunt, consentaneum est huius
who all-things by-fate to-happen say consistent it-is of-this
modi oracla ceteraque, quae a divinatione ducuntur,
kind oracles and-the-other-things which from divination are-drawn
conprobare, iis autem, qui, quae futura sunt, ea vera
to-approve for-those moreover who what future are those true
esse ex aeternitate dicunt, non idem dicendum est, vide,
to-be from eternity say not the-same to-be-said is see
ne non eadem sit illorum causa et Stoicorum; hi enim
lest not the-same be their case and the-Stoics' these for
urguentur angustius, illorum ratio soluta ac libera est.
are-pressed more-narrowly their reasoning unbound and free is
34 Quodsi concedatur nihil posse evenire nisi causa antecedente,
but-if it-be-granted nothing to-be-able to-happen except by-a-cause antecedent
quid proficiatur, si ea causa non ex aeternis causis apta
what is-gained if that cause not from eternal causes linked

dicatur? Causa autem ea est, quae id efficit, cuius est
be-said a-cause moreover that is which that brings-about of-which it-is
causa, ut vulnus mortis, cruditas morbi, ignis ardoris. Itaque
the-cause as a-wound of-death indigestion of-disease fire of-burning and-so
non sic causa intellegi debet, ut, quod cuique antecedat,
not so a-cause to-be-understood ought that what to-each precedes
id ei causa sit, sed quod cuique efficienter antecedat, nec,
that to-it cause be but what to-each effectively precedes nor
quod in campum descenderim, id fuisse causae, cur pila
that into the-Campus I-went-down that to-have-been of-cause why ball
luderem, nec Hecubam causam interitus fuisse Troianis,
I-played nor Hecuba the-cause of-destruction to-have-been for-the-Trojans
quod Alexandrum genuerit, nec Tyndareum Agamemnoni, quod
because Alexander she-bore nor Tyndareus to-Agamemnon because
Clytaemnestram. Hoc enim modo viator quoque bene vestitus
Clytemnestra in-this for way the-traveler also well dressed
causa grassatori fuisse dicetur, cur ab eo spoliaretur.
the-cause to-the-robber to-have-been will-be-said why by him he-was-despoiled

Ennius' nurse wished the ship had never been built, but the felled trees were no cause of Medea's love. What is necessary for a thing is not its cause; Philoctetes' abandonment was true from eternity without being fated. To deny bivalence is shameless. Of the ancient views, that fate rules by necessity or that the soul's motions are free, Chrysippus sought a middle, distinguishing perfect and principal causes from auxiliary and proximate ones.

35 Ex hoc genere illud est Ennii:
of this kind that is of-Ennius

Utinam ne in nemore Pelio securibus
would-that not in the-grove on-Pelion by-axes
caesae accidissent abiegnae ad terram trabes!
felled had-fallen of-fir to the-ground the-beams

Licuit vel altius: 'Utinam ne in Pelio nata ulla umquam
one-could-have even higher would-that not on Pelion born any ever
esset arbor!' Etiam supra: 'Utinam ne esset mons ullus
had-been tree even above would-that not there-had-been a-mountain any
Pelius!' Similiterque superiora repetentem regredi infinite licet.
Pelion and-likewise earlier-things going-back to-go-back infinitely one-may

Neve inde navis inchoandi exordium
nor thence of-the-ship of-beginning the-start
coepisset.
had-begun

Quorsum haec praeterita? Quia sequitur illud:
whither these past-things because follows that

Nam numquam era errans mea domo ecferret pedem,
for never mistress wandering my from-house would-carry her-foot
Medea, animo aegra, amore saevo saucia,
Medea in-mind sick by-love savage wounded

†non ut eae res causam adferrent amoris.
not that those things a-cause should-bring of-love
Interesse autem aiunt, utrum eius modi quid sit, sine quo 36
to-differ moreover they-say whether of-that kind something be without which
effici aliquid non possit, an eius modi, cum quo effici
to-be-done something not can or of-that kind with which to-be-done
aliquid necesse sit. Nulla igitur earum est causa, quoniam nulla
something necessary be none therefore of-them is a-cause since none
eam rem sua vi efficit, cuius causa dicitur; nec id, sine
that thing by-its-own force brings-about of-which the-cause it-is-called nor that without
quo quippiam non fit, causa est, sed id, quod cum accessit,
which anything not happens a-cause is but that which when it-has-come-in
id, cuius est causa, efficit necessario. Nondum enim ulcerato
that of-which it-is the-cause brings-about necessarily not-yet for ulcerated
serpentis morsu Philocteta quae causa in rerum natura
of-the-serpent by-bite Philoctetes what cause in of-things the-nature
continebatur, fore ut is in insula Lemno linqueretur?
was-contained it-would-be that he on the-island Lemnos be-left
Post autem causa fuit propior et cum exitu iunctior.
afterward moreover the-cause was nearer and with the-outcome more-joined
Ratio igitur eventus aperit causam. Sed ex aeternitate vera 37
the-reason therefore of-the-outcome discloses the-cause but from eternity true
fuit haec enuntiatio: ‘Relinquetur in insula Philoctetes’, nec
was this proposition will-be-left on the-island Philoctetes nor

hoc ex vero in falsum poterat convertere. Necesse est enim
this from true into false could to-turn necessary it-is for
in rebus contrariis duabus (contraria autem hoc loco ea
in things contrary two contraries moreover in-this place those-things
dico, quorum alterum ait quid, alterum negat), ex iis
I-call of-which one affirms something the-other denies of these
igitur necesse est invito Epicuro alterum verum esse, alterum
therefore necessary it-is unwilling Epicurus one true to-be the-other
falsum, ut 'Sauciabitur Philocteta' omnibus ante saeculis verum
false as will-be-wounded Philoctetes in-all before ages true
fuit, 'Non sauciabitur' falsum; nisi forte volumus Epicureorum
was not will-be-wounded false unless perhaps we-wish of-the-Epicureans
opinionem sequi, qui tales enuntiationes nec veras nec falsas
the-opinion to-follow who such propositions neither true nor false
esse dicunt aut, cum id pudet, illud tamen dicunt, quod
to-be say or when that shames-them that still they-say which
est inpudentius, veras esse ex contrariis diiunctiones, sed,
is more-impudent true to-be from contraries disjunctions but
quae in his enuntiata essent, eorum neutrum esse verum.
what in these stated were of-them neither to-be true

38 O admirabilem licentiam et miserabilem inscientiam disserendi!
O admirable license and pitiable ignorance of-arguing
Si enim aliquid in eloquendo nec verum nec falsum est, certe
if for something in speaking neither true nor false is certainly
id verum non est; quod autem verum non est, qui potest
that true not is what moreover true not is how can-it
non falsum esse? Aut, quod falsum non est, qui potest non
not false to-be or what false not is how can-it not
verum esse? Tenebitur igitur id, quod a Chrysippo defenditur,
true to-be will-be-held therefore that which by Chrysippus is-defended
omnem enuntiationem aut veram aut falsam esse; ratio ipsa
every proposition either true or false to-be reason itself

coget et ex aeternitate quaedam esse vera, et ea non
will-compel and from eternity some-things to-be true and them not
esse nexa causis aeternis et a fati necessitate esse libera.
to-be bound by-causes eternal and from of-fate the-necessity to-be free
Ac mihi quidem videtur, cum duae sententiae fuissent 39
and to-me indeed it-seems since two opinions there-had-been
veterum philosophorum, una eorum, qui censerent omnia
of-the-old philosophers one of-those who held all-things
ita fato fieri, ut id fatum vim necessitatis adferret, in
so by-fate to-happen that that fate the-force of-necessity brought in
qua sententia Democritus, Heraclitus, Empedocles, Aristoteles
which opinion Democritus Heraclitus Empedocles Aristotle
fuit, altera eorum, quibus viderentur sine ullo fato esse
was the-other of-those to-whom seemed without any fate to-be
animorum motus voluntarii, Chrysippus tamquam arbiter
of-souls the-motions voluntary Chrysippus as-if an-arbiter
honorarius medium ferire voluisse, sed adplicat se ad eos
honorary the-middle to-strike to-have-wished but he-attaches himself to those
potius, qui necessitate motus animorum liberatos volunt;
rather who from-necessity the-motions of-souls freed wish
dum autem verbis utitur suis, delabitur in eas difficultates,
while moreover words he-uses his-own he-slips into those difficulties
ut necessitatem fati confirmet invitus.
that the-necessity of-fate he-confirms unwilling
Atque hoc, si placet, quale sit videamus in adsensionibus, 40
and this if it-pleases of-what-kind it-is let-us-see in assents
quas prima oratione tractavi. Eas enim veteres illi,
which in-the-first speech I-treated them for the-ancients those
quibus omnia fato fieri videbantur, vi effici et
to-whom all-things by-fate to-happen seemed by-force to-be-produced and
necessitate dicebant. Qui autem ab iis dissentiebant, fato
by-necessity said those-who moreover from them dissented from-fate

adsensiones liberabant negabantque fato adsensionibus adhibito
assents freed and-denied fate to-assents applied
necessitatem ab his posse removeri, iique ita disserebant:
necessity from them to-be-able to-be-removed and-they thus argued
'Si omnia fato fiunt, omnia fiunt causa antecedente, et,
if all-things by-fate happen all-things happen by-a-cause antecedent and
si adpetitus, illa etiam, quae adpetitum sequuntur, ergo
if appetite those-things also which appetite follow therefore
etiam adsensiones; at, si causa adpetitus non est sita in
also assents but if the-cause of-appetite not is placed in
nobis, ne ipse quidem adpetitus est in nostra potestate;
us not itself even appetite is in our power
quod si ita est, ne illa quidem, quae adpetitu efficiuntur,
but if so it-is not those even which by-appetite are-produced
sunt sita in nobis; non sunt igitur neque adsensiones neque
are placed in us not are therefore neither assents nor
actiones in nostra potestate. Ex quo efficitur, ut nec
actions in our power from which it-is-brought-about that neither
laudationes iustae sint nec vituperationes nec honores nec
praises just be nor censures nor honors nor
supplicia'. Quod cum vitiosum sit, probabiliter concludi
punishments which since faulty it-is plausibly to-be-concluded
putant non omnia fato fieri, quaecumque fiant.
they-think not all-things by-fate to-happen whatever happens

41 Chrysippus autem cum et necessitatem inprobaret et
Chrysippus moreover since both necessity he-disapproved and
nihil vellet sine praepositis causis evenire, causarum genera
nothing wished without placed-before causes to-happen of-causes the-kinds
distinguit, ut et necessitatem effugiat et retineat
he-distinguishes so-that both necessity he-may-escape and he-may-retain
fatum. 'Causarum enim', inquit, 'aliae sunt perfectae et
fate of-causes for he-said some are perfect and

principales, aliae adiuvantes et proximae. Quam ob rem,
principal others auxiliary and proximate which on-account-of thing
cum dicimus omnia fato fieri causis antecedentibus, non
when we-say all-things by-fate to-happen by-causes antecedent not
hoc intellegi volumus: causis perfectis et principalibus,
this to-be-understood we-wish by-causes perfect and principal
sed causis adiuvantibus et proximis'. Itaque illi rationi,
but by-causes auxiliary and proximate and-so to-that argument
quam paulo ante conclusi, sic occurrit: si omnia fato fiant,
which a-little before I-concluded thus he-meets if all-things by-fate happen
sequi illud quidem, ut omnia causis fiant antepositis, verum
to-follow that indeed that all-things by-causes happen placed-before but
non principalibus causis et perfectis, sed adiuvantibus et
not by-principal causes and perfect but auxiliary and
proximis. Quae si ipsae non sunt in nostra potestate, non
proximate which if themselves not are in our power not
sequitur, ut ne adpetitus quidem sit in nostra potestate.
it-follows that not appetite even be in our power
At hoc sequeretur, si omnia perfectis et principalibus causis
but this would-follow if all-things by-perfect and principal causes
fieri diceremus, ut, cum eae causae non essent in
to-happen we-said so-that since those causes not were in
nostra potestate, ne ille quidem esset in nostra potestate.
our power not that even would-be in our power

Chrysippus likens assent to a cylinder or top: pushed from outside, it rolls by its own nature, so a presentation starts assent but our power completes it. Cicero judges that both sides then differ in words, not substance. The Epicurean swerve is a wish, not an argument, and only confirms fate and necessity; the treatise breaks off in a lacuna.

42 Quam ob rem, qui ita fatum introducunt, ut
which on-account-of thing those-who so fate bring-in that
necessitatem adiungant, in eos valebit illa conclusio;
necessity they-join against them will-avail that conclusion
qui autem causas antecedentis non dicent perfectas neque
those-who moreover causes antecedent not will-call perfect nor
principalis, in eos nihil valebit. Quod enim dicantur
principal against them nothing it-will-avail what for be-said
adsensiones fieri causis antepositis, id quale sit, facile
assents to-happen by-causes placed-before that of-what-kind it-is easily
a se explicari putat. Nam quamquam adsensio non possit
by himself to-be-explained he-thinks for although assent not can
fieri nisi commota viso, tamen, cum id visum
to-happen unless moved by-a-presentation still since that presentation
proximam causam habeat, non principalem, hanc habet
a-proximate cause has not a-principal this has
rationem, ut Chrysippus vult, quam dudum diximus, non ut
reasoning as Chrysippus wishes which a-while-ago we-mentioned not that
illa quidem fieri possit nulla vi extrinsecus excitata (necesse
it indeed to-happen could by-no force from-outside roused necessary
est enim adsensionem viso commoveri), sed revertitur
it-is for assent by-a-presentation to-be-moved but he-returns
ad cylindrum et ad turbinem suum, quae moveri incipere nisi
to the-cylinder and to the-top his-own which to-be-moved to-begin unless

pulsa non possunt. Id autem cum accidit, suapte natura,
struck not can that moreover when has-happened by-its-own nature
quod superest, et cylindrum volvi et versari turbinem putat.
what remains both the-cylinder to-roll and to-spin the-top he-thinks
'Ut igitur', inquit, 'qui protrusit cylindrum, dedit ei 43
as therefore he-said he-who pushed the-cylinder gave to-it
principium motionis, volubilitatem autem non dedit, sic
the-beginning of-motion the-rollability moreover not he-gave so
visum obiectum inprimet illud quidem et quasi signabit
the-presentation presented will-imprint that indeed and as-it-were will-seal
in animo suam speciem, sed adsensio nostra erit in potestate,
in the-mind its-own appearance but assent our will-be in power
eaque, quem ad modum in cylindro dictum est, extrinsecus
and-it in-what to manner in the-cylinder said it-was from-outside
pulsa, quod reliquum est, suapte vi et natura movebitur.
struck what remaining is by-its-own force and nature will-be-moved
Quodsi aliqua res efficeretur sine causa antecedente, falsum
but-if some thing were-produced without a-cause antecedent false
esset omnia fato fieri; sin omnibus, quaecumque fiunt,
would-be all-things by-fate to-happen but-if for-all whatever happen
veri simile est causam antecedere, quid adferri
of-truth like is a-cause to-precede what to-be-brought-forward
poterit, cur non omnia fato fieri fatendum sit? Modo
will-be-able why not all-things by-fate to-happen to-be-confessed be provided
intellegatur, quae sit causarum distinctio ac dissimilitudo.'
be-understood what is of-causes the-distinction and unlikeness
Haec cum ita sint a Chrysippo explicata, si illi, qui 44
these-things since so are by Chrysippus explained if those who
negant adsensiones fato fieri, †fateantur tamen eas non
deny assents by-fate to-happen should-confess still them not
sine viso antecedente fieri, alia ratio est; sed,
without a-presentation antecedent to-happen another reasoning it-is but

si concedunt anteire visa, nec tamen fato fieri
if they-grant to-go-before presentations nor still by-fate to-happen
adsensiones, quod proxima illa et continens causa non moveat
assents because proximate that and containing cause not moves
adsensionem, vide, ne idem dicant. Neque enim Chrysippus,
assent see lest the-same they-say nor for Chrysippus
concedens adsensionis proximam et continentem causam esse
granting of-assent a-proximate and containing cause to-be
in viso positam, eam causam esse ad adsentiendum
in the-presentation placed that cause to-be for assenting
necessariam concedet, ut, si omnia fato fiant, omnia causis
necessary will-grant so-that if all-things by-fate happen all-things by-causes
fiant antecedentibus et necessariis; itemque illi, qui ab
happen antecedent and necessary and-likewise those who from
hoc dissentiunt confitentes non fieri adsensiones sine
this-man dissent confessing not to-happen assents without
praecursione visorum, dicent, si omnia fato fierent eius
the-forerunning of-presentations will-say if all-things by-fate happened of-that
modi, ut nihil fieret nisi praegressione causae, confitendum
kind that nothing happened except by-the-going-before of-a-cause to-be-confessed
esse fato fieri omnia; ex quo facile intellectu est,
to-be by-fate to-happen all-things from which easy to-understand it-is
quoniam utrique patefacta atque explicata sententia sua
since both laid-open and explained opinion their-own
ad eundem exitum veniant, verbis eos, non re dissidere.
to the-same outcome come in-words them not in-fact to-differ
45 Omninoque cum haec sit distinctio, ut quibusdam in rebus
and-altogether since this is the-distinction that some in things
vere dici possit, cum hae causae antegressae sint, non
truly to-be-said can when these causes preceding have-been not
esse in nostra potestate, quin illa eveniant, quorum
to-be in our power that-not those-things happen of-which

causae fuerint, quibusdam autem in rebus causis antegressis
the-causes have-been some moreover in things the-causes having-preceded
in nostra tamen esse potestate, ut illud aliter eveniat, hanc
in our still to-be power that that otherwise happen this
distinctionem utrique adprobant, sed alteri censent, quibus in
distinction both approve but the-one hold which in
rebus, cum causae antecesserint, non sit in nostra potestate,
things when causes have-preceded not it-be in our power
ut aliter illa eveniant, eas fato fieri; quae autem in
that otherwise they happen those by-fate to-happen what moreover in
nostra potestate sint, ab iis fatum abesse ***
our power be from those fate to-be-absent (lacuna)
Hoc modo hanc causam disceptari oportet, non ab atomis 46
in-this way this case to-be-debated it-behooves not from atoms
errantibus et de via declinantibus petere praesidium.
wandering and from the-path swerving to-seek protection
'Declinat', inquit, 'atomus'. Primum cur? Aliam enim quandam
swerves he-said the-atom first why another for certain
vim motus habebant a Democrito inpulsionis, quam plagam
force of-motion they-had from Democritus of-impulse which blow
ille appellat, a te, Epicure, gravitatis et ponderis. Quae
he calls from you Epicurus of-gravity and of-weight what
ergo nova causa in natura est, quae declinet atomum? Aut
therefore new cause in nature is-there which should-swerve the-atom or
num sortiuntur inter se, quae declinet, quae non? Aut
surely-not do-they-cast-lots among themselves which should-swerve which not or
cur minimo declinent intervallo, maiore non? Aut cur
why by-the-smallest should-they-swerve interval a-larger not or why
declinent uno minimo, non declinent duobus aut tribus?
should-they-swerve by-one smallest not swerve by-two or three

47 Optare hoc quidem est, non disputare. Nam neque extrinsecus
to-wish this indeed is not to-argue for neither from-outside
inpulsam atomum loco moveri et declinare dicis,
struck the-atom from-its-place to-be-moved and to-swerve do-you-say
neque in illo inani, per quod feratur atomus, quicquam
nor in that void through which is-borne the-atom anything
fuisse causae, cur ea non e regione ferretur, nec in
to-have-been of-cause why it not in a-straight-line should-be-borne nor in
ipsa atomo mutationis aliquid factum est, quam ob
itself the-atom of-change anything made has-been which on-account-of
rem naturalem motum sui ponderis non teneret. Ita
thing the-natural motion of-its-own weight not it-should-keep so
cum attulisset nullam causam, quae istam declinationem
when he-had-brought no cause which that swerve
efficeret, tamen aliquid sibi dicere videtur, cum id dicat,
might-produce still something to-himself to-say he-seems when that he-says
quod omnium mentes aspernentur ac respuant.
which of-all the-minds spurn and reject

48 Nec vero quisquam magis confirmare mihi videtur non modo
nor indeed anyone more to-confirm to-me seems not only
fatum, verum etiam necessitatem et vim omnium rerum
fate but also necessity and the-force of-all things
sustulisseque motus animi voluntarios, quam hic, qui
and-to-have-removed the-motions of-the-mind voluntary than this-man who
aliter obsistere fato fatetur se non potuisse, nisi ad
otherwise to-resist fate confesses himself not to-have-been-able unless to
has commenticias declinationes confugisset. Nam, ut
these invented swerves he-had-taken-refuge for granted-that
essent atomi, quas quidem esse mihi probari nullo modo
there-were atoms which indeed to-exist to-me to-be-proved in-no way
potest, tamen declinationes istae numquam explicarentur. Nam
can still swerves those never would-be-explained for

si atomis, ut gravitate ferantur, tributum est necessitate
if to-atoms that by-gravity they-be-borne granted it-is by-the-necessity
naturae, quod omne pondus nulla re inpediente moveatur
of-nature because every weight with-no thing hindering is-moved
et feratur necesse est, illud quoque necesse est, declinare,
and is-borne necessary it-is that also necessary is to-swerve
quibusdam atomis vel, si volunt, omnibus naturaliter ***
for-some atoms or if they-wish for-all naturally (lacuna)
