

Platone et Aristotele [cf. the first sentence of *De or.* 3. 62], moderati homines et temperati, aiunt . . . omnis virtutes mediocritate quadam esse moderatas." Examples could be multiplied; I have chosen only the most striking parallels.⁶ But one ought not to omit Seneca *De constantia sapientis* 15. 4, where *Stoica duritia* is mentioned as a commonplace (even if Seneca himself takes exception to it).

This, of course, is the *duritia* of the early Stoics⁷—especially of Zeno. The commonest Greek counterpart of *duritia* in the Latin glossaries is σκληρότης.⁸ This is not the place to discuss the various meanings and usages of σκληρός, or of σκληρότης, in philosophical and biblical Greek.⁹ I shall only note that σκληρότης is not confined, in our tradition, to Zeno's doctrine. An anecdote narrated of Zeno in a number of sources¹⁰ tells the story of how the austere and stern old man became mollified under the influence of wine, and reports his own "materialistic" (and most probably not wholly serious) explanation. Two of our sources for this anecdote (Athenaeus 55F; Eustathius ad *Od.* 21. 293) describe Zeno himself as σκληρός. The third has αὐστηρός, another Greek equivalent of *durus*.¹¹ One remembers, too, that not only does Cicero refer to the moderation and regard for nature in the doctrines of the Early Academics (as in our passage), but he also describes the men themselves as *moderati homines et temperati* (*Mur.* 63)—just as the early Stoics are *horridiores*, *asperiores*, and *duriores* (*Fin.* 4. 78); and Antiochus, whose ethical doctrines happen to be milder and nearer to those of the Early Academics (whose tradition he claimed to have revived), is also "homo natura lenissimus—nihil enim poterat fieri illo mitius" (*Luc.* 11). Cato's personality is portrayed in *Pro Murena* 60 as suited by his very nature, family background, and early training to adopt the harsh doctrines of early Stoicism. "Psychologism?" Not, perhaps, consciously. But implicitly, the assumption that "the doctrine is the man" is plainly there.

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6. But see also *Lael.* 48 (virtually the same contrast, with special application to *amicitia*); *Fin.* 4. 78; *Tusc.* 1. 104.

7. Cic. *Fin.* 4. 79: "quam illorum tristitiam atque asperitatem fugiens Panaetius." It is significant that Cicero, in the same sentence, continues: "semperque habuit in ore Platonem, Aristotelem, Xenocratem, Theophrastum, Dichaearchum." The milder ethics of Panaetius is related by Cicero to influences of the Early Academics and Peripatetics.

8. *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*, ed. G. Goetz and G. Gundermann (Leipzig, 1878–99), 2:57. 13, 433. 39, 433. 43; 3:207. 33, 503. 63, 606. 15.

9. Not much help can be obtained from the much-quoted article by K. Dietrich, "Bedeutungsgeschichte griechischer Worte," *RhM* 60 (1905): 236 ff., which treats this word chiefly from the point of view of modern Greek derivatives.

10. Von Arnim, *SVF*, 1:285.

11. Diog. Laert. 7. 26; *Corpus glossariorum*, 2:57. 14, 554. 8 in marg.

COMMODA AND INSIDIAE: CATULLUS 84. 1–4

Several critics, having accepted the identification of the Arrius of this poem of Catullus with Cicero's Q. Arrius of *Brutus* 242, have observed that the phrase *requierant omnibus aures* in line 7 of the poem would have particular point if Arrius was a familiar figure in the courts.¹ It has also been suggested that the words

1. E.g., C. L. Neudling, *A Prosopography to Catullus* (Oxford, 1955), p. 10; C. J. Fordyce (ed.), *Catullus* (Oxford, 1961), p. 375; K. Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems* (London, 1970), p. 419. We have

commoda and *insidiae* belong to the same context, as words grown familiar in Arrius' orations.² It seems better not to take them as military terms,³ since the only evidence for this man's military activity (if one accepts that he should be identified with the praetor of 73 B.C.) puts it almost twenty years earlier than the date of this poem; for many years political and forensic matters seem to have been the preoccupation of Q. Arrius, as the description in the *Brutus* suggests.

We agree with the suggestion that *commoda* and *insidiae* are likely to have been an orator's terms, reflecting the political concerns of the man using them;⁴ but we believe we can suggest a more particular relevance than has hitherto been offered. As a *cliens* of Crassus, Arrius was active in the promotion of Caesar's consular candidature in 60 B.C. He was led to expect the consulship of 58 as a reward for his services to the coalition among Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar; but he failed to be elected because of a shift in the balance of power within the coalition in 59 which brought Pompey and Caesar closer together and left Crassus, and his candidate, temporarily on the outer.⁵

In this light, *insidiae* would refer, not to the "maneuvers of the other party" (so Benedict Einarson), but, with even more fidelity to its basic meaning, to the blighting of Arrius' opportunities by maneuvers among his own *amici*.⁶ Likewise *commoda* in Arrius' speeches would not signify "perhaps the interests of his client, more probably the interests of the state" (so Einarson again), but rather the interests of Arrius himself,⁷ and would gain in piquancy thereby. The *commoda* on which Arrius' speeches harped will have been his own expectations of *nobilitas* from the consulship of 58 B.C.,⁸ and the *insidiae* will have been the blighting of those hopes.

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elsewhere argued that the Arrius of Cic. *Brut.* 242 is to be identified with the Arrius of Liv. *Per.* 96 who was praetor in 73, and that this man was a long-serving *cliens* of M. Crassus ("The Aspirations of Q. Arrius," *Historia* 24 [1975]: 220-31).

2. Quinn, *Poems*, p. 419. Neither W. Kroll (ed.), *Catullus* (Stuttgart, 1959), p. 257, nor Fordyce, in his edition, p. 375, sees any point in the choice of the words.

3. As does D. N. Levin, "Arrius and his Uncle," *Latomus* 32 (1973): 589-90.

4. B. Einarson, "On Catullus 84," *CP* 61 (1966): 188; cf. Quinn, *Poems*, p. 419.

5. For evidence and discussion, see "The Aspirations of Q. Arrius," pp. 226-28.

6. For a public complaint of *insidiae* from *amici*, see Cic. *Rab. Post.* 33 (where there is a close linguistic parallel to Catullus 84 in *perfidia, beneficium, insidiosae*), and *Tog. cand.* frags. 5 and 6 Puc- cioni (the ingratitude of C. Antonius and Q. Mucius Orestinus in opposing Cicero despite earlier *beneficia* conferred on them). Cf. *Fam.* 5. 12. 4, and *QFr.* 1. 3. 8 (again with a close linguistic parallel in *amor, assiduitas, insidiosissime*; the passage [ironically] involves Arrius).

7. For another new man's identification of his *commoda* with tenure of the consulship, see Cic. *Dom.* 145; cf. *Rosc. Am.* 111, and *Leg. Man.* 7. For *commodum* in the sense of "les intérêts propres d'un individu," see J. Hellegouarc'h, *Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis politiques sous la république* (Paris, 1972), p. 556.

8. A parallel for such expectations in comparable circumstances is to be found in the case of Vatinius, deplored by Catullus in poem 52, written about the same time. (For the date, see R. Ellis, *A Commentary on Catullus* [Oxford, 1889], pp. 142-43; Fordyce's edition, pp. 221-22. *Contra*, A. A. Barrett, "Catullus 52 and the Consulship of Vatinius," *TAPA* 103 [1972]: 23-38.)