

no one for a longer time, if the Peloponnesians (οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι) should invade their land—in the seventeenth year after the initial invasion they should have gone to Sicily, when already in every respect worn down by war, and have committed themselves to a war no less great than the one already existing with the Πελοποννήσου.” In the first place, the sense of Πελοποννήσου cannot be set apart from that of Πελοποννησίων and Πελοποννήσιοι: it appears unreasonable to think that, having twice spoken of warfare with “Sparta and her allies,” Thucydides should conclude by referring to war with no more than “[peoples of] the geographical Peloponnesus.” Second, to take Πελοποννήσου in a narrow, geographical sense detracts from the significance of the very point which Thucydides here is concerned to make: that, contrary to all expectation, Athens was able to undertake and sustain a major war in the west at a time when she was still engaged in the homeland in an already prolonged war with a powerful enemy. His point is served by emphasizing the strength of the enemy in Greece itself—but that strength is minimized, not emphasized, if Πελοποννήσου is taken to signify anything less than “Sparta and her allies,” i.e., “the Peloponnesian League.”

On the basis of such passages, Πελοπόννησος in Thucydides seems to be more than just a geographical term.

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†DUNTIA (CICERO LUCULLUS 135)

Sed quaero quando ista fuerint Academia vetere †duntia, ut animum sapientis com-moveri et conturbari negarent: mediocritates illi probabant et in omni permotione naturalem volebant esse quandam modum. [Cicero *Lucullus* 135]

decreta *F*² dicta *N* dictata *Ha*.

So Otto Plasberg's edition.¹ The fuller apparatus in his 1907 edition merely spells out the MSS readings in greater detail, and adds J. S. Reid's suggestion *declarata*,² in the main text of that edition, Plasberg still read *decreta*, as did Reid and most other previous editors except Karl Halm.

Halm was justified in his conjecture *dictata* for the *dicta* of the majority of MSS known to him in 1861, or even to Reid in 1885.³ Only after the establishment by Plasberg of a proper stemma based on ABV could one treat the majority of MSS

1. "*Academicorum*" *reliquiae cum "Lucullo"* (Leipzig, 1932), p. 96 (= fasc. 42 of *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta quae manserunt omnia*). I accept Plasberg's explanation (in the apparatus ad loc. of his *editio maior*, *M. Tulli Ciceronis "Paradoxa Stoicorum," "Academicorum" reliquiae cum "Lucullo"* e.q.s., vol. 1 [Leipzig, 1907], p. 147) of the MSS reading *Academia vetere*. K. Halm's *ab Academia vetere* (*M. Tullii Ciceronis "Lucullus"* in I. G. Baiter-K. Halm [eds.], *M. Tullii Ciceronis Opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. 4 [Zurich, 1861]) would only do (and is only required) with a verb like *dicta*, *dictata*, or *decreta*.

2. This is only offered in the apparatus ad loc. in Reid's great edition (*M. Tulli Ciceronis "Academica"* [London, 1885], pp. 336–37) as *fort. leg.* In his main text, Reid adopts *decreta* of *F*² (which he still ascribed to E [= Erlang. 847], included now by Plasberg among the *deteriores*).

3. Reid's apparatus ad loc.: "*dicta* codd. (cf. § 103) exc. B (*durata*) et A (*dunt tia*).” If Reid's B (described by him, p. 66, simply as “another Leyden MS; XIIth cent.”) is the same as Plasberg's B (= Vossianus 86), then, on the evidence of Plasberg's 1907 edition, it reads *duntli aut.* A (Vossianus 84) does not appear to me to separate *dunttia* into two words, as reported by Reid and Plasberg; see the photocopy published by Plasberg (*Cicero: Operum philosophicorum Codex Leidensis Vossianus Lat. Pol. 84* [Leyden, 1915], fol. 103r.). But this is a minor point.

as *recentiores*.⁴ Since both A and B read *dunttia* (so does the first hand in F), one can regard the *dicta* of N (cited here in place of the deficient V) and the *decreta* of F² (and most *recentiores*) as mere emendations. Reid's reference, in his apparatus ad loc., to *Lucullus* 103 in support of *dicta* is irrelevant in our context. Nor is his reference, on behalf of the alternative *decreta*, to *Lucullus* 27 of much help: there *decreta* is discussed by Cicero as one of the Latin renderings of *δδγμα*.⁵

But neither *dictata* nor *decreta* will do—followed, as our corrupt word is, by *ut . . . negarent*. What we require is something like, "When did the Old Academy have the steadfastness [or courage, or stubbornness] to deny that the wise man is ever perturbed?" Now that we know what the archetype was likely to have read, the appropriate reading is virtually offered us by its corrupt reading. For paleographically, the nearest word to †*dunttia* which would make Latin and sense in this context is *duritia*. (We must read *fuertit* for the MSS *fuertint*, itself already a correction, once †*dunttia* was taken to conceal some plural noun. The archetype was most likely to have read *fuertit*, with no abbreviation on the *i*.)

This emendation is amply confirmed by the whole drift of the passage. The particular argument, beginning with the first sentence of our paragraph, is concerned with the divergence between the views of Zeno and those of the "Old Academy" (both Antiochus and the real Early Academy) on the Zenonian "numquam timere numquam dolere sapientem." We are then told—still in the same sentence—"tibi vero Antioche minime [*sc. necessarium*]." On the exposition of Antiochus' view in the rest of that sentence follows our sentence, where *duritia* (as I suggest) would continue the same train of thought. It would also give sense to the *ut* clause and contrast well with the Academy's *mediocritates* and *naturalis modus*. Indeed, the same train of thought is further carried on in the first sentence of 136 ("atrocitas quidem ista tua quo modo in veterem Academiam inruperit nescio"), where *atrocitas* would parallel *duritia*. The whole of the discussion, beginning with the second sentence of 132, is meant to demonstrate that, *pace* Antiochus, the Stoic wise man and the wise man of the Early Academy cannot be one and the same: "nam aut Stoicus constituatur sapiens aut veteris Academiae—utrumque non potest" (132).

External evidence is hardly lacking. In *De oratore* 3. 62 we have *duritia* explicitly ascribed to the Stoics. In *De domo sua* 97, *duritia* is mentioned as an aspect of a *sapientia* which is unmistakably Stoic, although names are not mentioned. The contrast between the early Stoics' *duritia* and the Early Academy's *moderatio* is well illustrated in the famous philosophical section of *Pro Murena* (60 ff.). In 60, where we are given a sketch of the personal and philosophical traits of Cato's character, Cicero says: "accessit istuc doctrina non moderata nec mitis sed, ut mihi videtur, paulo asperior et durior quam ut veritas aut natura patitur." (What *natura patitur* is, of course, the *naturalis modus* of *Luc.* 135.) In the next paragraph, this harsh and unnatural doctrine is identified with that of *summo ingenio vir*, Zeno, and part of it is "solos sapientes esse, si distortissimi sint, formosos, si mendicissimi, divites, si servitutum serviant, reges," a sentiment repeated, in very similar words, in *Lucullus* 136. In contrast to this harsh Zenonian view, Cicero faces Cato with the more moderate view of the Early Academics (*Mur.* 63): "nostri, inquam, illi a

4. See Plasberg's 1922 edition, pp. xxi–xxiv.

5. Reid's edition, p. 208, note on *decretis*.

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