

from the expression of *voluntas populi*: citizens enjoy individual rights of *provocatio* and the protection of *tribuni plebis*, as key elements of the *consensus iuris* that holds the *res publica* together, by making the whole acceptable to citizens generally. By its focus on *voluntas populi* P.'s analysis risks elevating the significance of this term and diminishing the significance of other aspects of *libertas*.

In Part 2's examination of Cicero's philosophy of the human soul, P. finds in *Tusculanae disputationes* a novel conception of 'willpower'. Cicero adopts the term *voluntas* to translate the Stoic βούλησις. P. suggests that, in doing so, Cicero imports attributes of *voluntas* that P. has identified as attaching to it in Cicero's other works and in earlier Latin texts. Thus P. earlier found in *voluntas* an on-rushing quality: it is desire-in-motion. P. cites Varro's etymology of *voluntas*, which drew an association with *volare* ('to fly'). Accordingly, P. argues that Cicero's statement at *Tusculanae disputationes* 4.12 (*voluntas est quae quid cum ratione desiderat*) is to be read as suggesting that *voluntas* is not merely a belief, but a power – willpower – a durable force-in-motion. But the notion of a motive force of some kind was arguably already implicit in the Stoic βούλησις (M. Frede, *A Free Will* [2011], pp. 20–1). Cicero's reasoning here is obscure and potentially incoherent (M. Graver, *Cicero on the Emotions* [2002], pp. 134–9). P. cites alternative analyses of this passage, but could usefully have addressed them more fully in advancing his own interpretation.

In short, P.'s monograph offers much that is of great interest and great value, but its overall method is arguably not always ideally suited to its object.

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CICERO'S *DE NATURA DEORUM* REVISITED

DIEZ (C.), SCHUBERT (C.) (edd.) *Zwischen Skepsis und Staatskult. Neue Perspektiven auf Ciceros De natura deorum*. (Palingenesia 134.) Pp. 277, figs. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2022. Cased, €60. ISBN: 978-3-515-13326-5.

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The book under review, which originates from a conference held at Friedrich-Alexander Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg in 2018, is a valuable contribution to the study of Cicero's *De natura deorum* (henceforth *ND*). The eleven chapters that make up the volume – mostly in German, except for one chapter in French and two in English – address central issues in the analysis of this Ciceronian text from different perspectives.

The collection is organised into four main sections of two or three contributions each, on different topics and perspectives, such as Roman religion and *ND*, *Quellenforschung*, the study of rhetorical and literary aspects of the text, and the reception and tradition of Ciceronian philosophy in ancient and modern times.

After the introduction, in which the editors present the volume and summarise its contents, the first chapter, by W. Stroh, provides a comprehensive analysis of the importance of Roman religion both in Cicero's life and texts, especially between 62 and 56 BCE. This is undoubtedly one of the finest contributions in the volume. After considering Cicero's

exile, the consecration of his house by Clodius as described in *De domo sua* and *De haruspicum responso*, his philosophical writings, and the central role that *pietas* and religion play in them, Stroh concludes that *ND* offers a unique insight into how an educated Roman tried to reconcile traditional religion with modern Greek education. In the following contribution J. Rüpke discusses *ND* from the theoretical perspective of urban religion. He interestingly points out that in this text Roman religion is an intrinsically urban phenomenon: throughout the dialogue the *urbs* is the *Lebenswelt* that the characters have in mind as they argue about religious practices configured in terms of urban institutions and practices, and the intellectual and philosophical debate itself is considered an indicator of *urbanitas*. E. Begemann's article closes the first section with an original approach to religion in *ND*, taking into consideration H. Rosa's resonance theory to examine the relationship and communication between gods and men as described by Velleius, Balbus and Cotta.

The second section deals with *Quellenforschung*. H. Essler compares and contrasts the way in which Epicurean theology – especially regarding the physical nature of the gods – is presented in *ND* 1 with its exposition by Philodemus in *De pietate* and *De dis*. Essler concludes that the references to Epicurus in Cicero mostly have a rhetorical function. Diez provides a lucid overview of the study of the sources of *ND* carried out by German philologists and explains this perspective in the wider political and intellectual context of nineteenth-century Europe.

The papers in the third section examine the relationship between philosophical ideas presented in the dialogue and literary aspects. C. Auvray-Assayas analyses how Cicero is configured as a silent character in the dialogue, who only speaks at the beginning and the end to state his opinion on the speeches. She explains this silence as related to his presentation as an Academic adherent – Cicero chooses to do so to question his *auctoritas* as the author of the text. He is, therefore, configured as a very different character from the Marcus of *De divinatione* and *De fato*, who speaks as one of the main interlocutors. The contribution by R. Woolf looks for an explanation for the existence of not one but two representatives of the Academic perspective in the dialogue and concludes that, while Cotta tends to refute every aspect of the Epicurean and Stoic doctrines, the character of the young Cicero displays his scepticism differently, by evaluating their arguments with a more open-minded attitude, critical but also willing to recognise positives elements. In the chapter that closes this section G.-M. Müller takes into consideration the reference to *ND* in *De divinatione* 1.8, where Quintus points out that a position such as Cotta's could lead to the abolition of religion. In *De divinatione* Academic scepticism is presented as a positive perspective, allowing for critical evaluation and acceptance of some aspects of other schools, such as Stoicism. Müller concludes that *De divinatione* explains and clarifies Cicero's viewpoint in *ND*, showing some elements of convergence between Academic scepticism and Stoicism in his philosophical thinking.

The fourth and final section aims to explore some aspects of the reception and tradition of *ND*. J. Sauer argues that in the *Octavius* (second century CE) Minucius Felix rewrites Balbus' argument, to strengthen his position by taking into consideration Cotta's remarks. D. Kiesel shows how both St Augustine and Julian of Eclanum, when discussing in the fifth century CE if sexual desire is a good or not, include Stoic ideas to support their arguments and refer to Balbus' speech in *ND* 2. Finally, J. Müller explores how David Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (1779) takes *ND* as its model. The most interesting aspect of these three contributions is that they not only recognise Cicero's influence on the tradition, but also reflect on the fact that the later texts can cast new light on the interpretation of *ND*.

Such a variety of perspectives does not affect the volume's unity, since the main hermeneutical challenges of *ND* – such as the configuration of Cicero's character or the

evaluation of the speeches at the end of Book 3 – are addressed repeatedly throughout the collection. The inclusion of an *index rerum et nominum* and an *index locorum* at the end of the volume significantly enhance its usefulness. This book has the great merit of offering an original and up-to-date contribution to the study of *ND*, a Ciceronian text that does not always receive as much attention as it deserves, mainly because of its many complexities. It is thus altogether welcome.¹

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POETIC QUOTATIONS IN CICERO

ČULÍK-BAIRD (H.) *Cicero and the Early Latin Poets*. Pp. xiv + 306. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022. Cased, £75, US\$99.99. ISBN: 978-1-316-51608-9. doi:10.1017/S0009840X2300104X

Plutarch surprises many a modern reader of his *Life of Cicero* when he records that his subject, as a younger man, ‘was thought to be the best poet among the Romans’ (2.4). The subsequent rise and fall of his political career, combined with his notoriously self-indulgent poems *De consulatu suo* and *De temporibus suis*, rather dampened that hype. However, Cicero’s real passion for Latin and Greek poetry persisted throughout his career, as the liberal presence of verse citations across his immense corpus of writings amply attests.

Cicero’s poetic knowledge, and indeed tastes, ranged widely: he cites Latin epic, tragedy, comedy, satire and – occasionally – even farce and mime. More than 500 passages are quoted from twenty-odd poets from the late third and second centuries BCE. Yet, for reasons never made explicit, Cicero seems not to have cited any poet more recent than Quintus Lutatius Catulus and Porcius Licinius – save, that is, for himself: there are 60 or so citations from four of Cicero’s hexameter poems.

Such a treasure trove of citations is of immense value to the literary historian, since most of these quotations comes from lost works, with Cicero being our sole source for the text. In some cases, as for the poor comedian Trabea, an author’s verses are found in Cicero alone. Even with a poem as famous as Catullus 64, it is a private letter of Cicero (*Att.* 8.5.1) that reveals verse 111 to be based on a (Callimachean?) Greek original.

As Č.-B. shows in this carefully compiled book, the fragments of poetry scattered throughout Cicero’s sprawling works provide a revealing, if at times frustrating, window into not just lost Republican poems (and indeed poets) but also Cicero’s relationship with the literature and culture of preceding centuries. Over five chapters she seeks to discover what role Cicero’s poetic citations played in their distinct contexts, asking in tandem what we can infer of these verses’ original source and contemporary societal status.

On the basis of two large appendices of Cicero’s quotations at the close of the book (pp. 231–72), we can observe that he had some pointed preferences. For instance,

¹I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Federico Santangelo for his diligent copy-editing of this review.