

*republica* remains as controversial in modern scholarship as the identity of the *rector rei publicae* of the very fragmentary Books 5 and 6. There is no need here to review the controversy or to list the modern authorities in favor of the most popular solutions: that Cicero had Pompey in mind for the role (with himself as Laelius to the Emperor's Scipio);<sup>26</sup> that Cicero himself was the intended *rector*; or that we have here some impersonal theorizing, with no particular political figure in the writer's mind.<sup>27</sup> It would be pretentious to assert that the present investigation offers the definitive solution for a problem that has troubled the minds of virtually all historians of the Late Republic; but it would be rash to leave it out completely from any future consideration of the problem.

(2) The date of composition. We have seen that Cicero started planning the *De republica* in 54, and started working on the composition later in that year. Yet only in 51, shortly after his departure to enter the proconsulate of Cilicia, was the work published.<sup>28</sup> It seems very probable that it had been finished for some time and that Cicero only waited for the best opportunity to give it to the political world of Rome.<sup>29</sup> The Case of the Symbolic Booty was well in line with the hypothesis that Book 1 was written in or soon after 54; the present passage would suggest that Cicero composed the last part of the dialogue in late 53 or early 52—a suggestion that seems easy to harmonize with the available evidence.<sup>30</sup>

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26. Cf. Cic. *Fam.* 5. 7.

27. For a survey of modern scholarship, see P. L. Schmidt, "Cicero 'de re publica': Die Forschung der letzten fünf Dezennien," *ANRW* 1. 4. 319–23.

28. (M. Caelius Rufus) Cic. *Fam.* 8. 1. 4: *tui politici libri omnibus vigent*.

29. Cf. M. Gelzer, *Cicero* (Wiesbaden, 1969), p. 212: "Sozusagen als ein geistiges Vermächtnis für die Zeit der Abwesenheit veröffentlichte er in diesen Wochen seine sechs Bücher *de re publica*."

30. It would be idle to speculate why Cicero did not change a reference that later proved irrelevant; but one should consider that some friends, notably Atticus, may have had "advance copies" of the dialogue.

#### ΠΙΟΝΟΣ IN AELIAN *VARIA HISTORIA* 5. 6

According to Aelian, Alexander was so impressed by the fortitude of the Indian sage Calanus on the pyre that "he said Calanus had overcome greater adversaries than himself. For he had fought it out with Porus, Taxiles, and Darius, but Calanus with τὸν πόνον καὶ τὸν θάνατον" (*VH* 5. 6). William M. Calder III (*CP* 78 [1983]: 51) objects that "toil was no enemy of Alexander," and proposes to replace πόνον with φόρον: "abduction, torture, or murder are meant." A very common sense of πόνος, already found in Thucydides (2. 49. 3) and amply discussed in the usual lexica, is "pain." There is an instance, precisely in connection with Calanus, in the only other version of the story cited by Calder, Philo *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 96; Calanus is there said to have written to Alexander: πῦρ μεγίστους τοῖς ζῶσι σώμασι πόνους καὶ φθορὰν ἐργάζεται. Ambrose (*Epist.* 7[37].

35; Migne, *PL* 16. 1139A; Faller, *CSEL* 82 [1968]: 61) renders this sentence: "maximum [*maximus*, MSS] ignis viventibus corporibus dolorem inurit, et gignit corruptionem." It may be added that most of the sources make illness or fatigue the reason for Calanus' suicide: Philo's eccentric story of Alexander threatening to take him on tour (excellently discussed by M. Petit in her edition, *Les oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie*, vol. 28 [Paris, 1974], pp. 93–99) hardly justifies the notion that Aelian's Calanus was afraid of "abduction, torture, or murder."

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#### AELIAN VARIA HISTORIA 5. 6 AGAIN

At *Varia Historia* 5. 6, Aelian writes, with reference to a remark made by Alexander upon the self-immolation of the Indian gymnosophist Calanus, that the former struggled against Porus, Taxiles, and Darius, whereas the latter struggled *πρὸς τὸν πόνον καὶ τὸν θάνατον*. In a recent note in this journal,<sup>1</sup> William M. Calder III has challenged *πόνον* here, conjecturing *φόνον*. But the transmitted *πόνον* is surely sound and may be understood in two senses, not mutually exclusive. It may refer to the physical pain caused by the fire that consumed Calanus. According to Aelian and others, he endured it dispassionately and without moving.<sup>2</sup> Beyond that, Aelian's *πόνον* may refer more generally to Calanus' *καρτερία*, of which his behavior on the pyre is only one example. Indian gymnosophists lived frugally. They stood, sat, or lay—sometimes on stones—naked and motionless in various postures and for long stretches of time under a hot sun. Calanus preached that Zeus, having observed mankind lapsing into luxury and arrogance, had destroyed everything and made life toilsome (*διὰ πόνον τὸν βίον ἀπέδειξε*); virtue and abundance were subsequently restored, but degeneration had set in again, and everything might again be destroyed. Another gymnosophist, Mandanis, taught that men should cultivate a life of *πόνοι* (Strab. 15. 715–16). Strabo's report of these gymnosophistic teachings on *πόνος* is derived from Onesicratus, a pupil of Diogenes the Cynic. Onesicratus, who accompanied Alexander to the East and visited the Indian gymnosophists, not surprisingly saw these ascetics as exponents of Cynic *πόνος*.<sup>3</sup>

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1. *CP* 78 (1983): 51.

2. Aelian: ἀτρέπτως εἰστήκει καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνετράπη πρὶν ἢ διελύθη. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 2. 52; Diod. Sic. 17. 107; Plut. *Alex.* 69; Arr. *Anab.* 7. 3. 5; Lucian *Peregr.* 25. According to Diodorus, while some of the spectators marveled at Calanus' courage and contempt for death, others thought he was mad or vain-gloriously displaying his *καρτερία*.

3. See D. R. Dudley, *A History of Cynicism* (London, 1937; repr. 1967), pp. 39–40, 219–20. Onesicratus, apud Strabo 15. 716, thought of Pythagoras, as well as of Socrates and Diogenes, when Mandanis asked him if gymnosophistic teachings reminded him of anything Greek. For *πόνος* in the Pythagorean tradition, see A. Brinkmann, "Ein Denkmal des Neupythagoreismus," *RhM* 66 (1911): 616–25; W. Burkert, *Love and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), pp. 202–3.