

WENDELL CLAUSEN

CICERO AND THE NEW POETRY

Cicero is now usually remembered, if remembered at all, as a poet for an unfortunate line:

O fortunatam natam me consule Romam! (1)

and for his criticism of the New Poets, of which too much perhaps has been made.

Cicero's criticism consists of three brief comments, personal and incidental, the earliest in a letter to Atticus (late Nov. 50 B.C.). The crossing to Brundisium was speedy and pleasant, he writes, with a fair wind: *flauit ab Epiro lenissimus Onchesmites* – an elegant spondaic hexameter in the new style, Cicero's witty improvisation, which he invites Atticus to sell as if it were his own to any New Poet he please (2). It is clear that Cicero was out of sympathy with these modish young poets; he was amused, the older man of letters, and annoyed, for reasons not entirely literary (3).

(1) Cicero intended a hexameter in the high archaic style. A. Traglia, *La lingua di Cicerone poeta*, Bari 1950, 230 compares Lucr. 5, 1334 *si quos ante domi domitos satis esse putabant*, for other examples of such intentional assonance in Lucretius see Munro on 1, 826. Cf. also Ennius, *ann.* 378 V.² *isque Hellesponto pontem contendit in alto* and see C. Conrad, *Traditional Patterns of Word-order in Latin Epic from Ennius to Vergil*, «HSCP» 1965, 211.

(2) *Att.* 7,2,1 *hunc σπονδειάζοντα si cui uoles τῶν νεωτέρων pro tuo uendito*. The spondaic hexameter, which Cicero disliked—he all but avoids it in his *Aratea*—had become a mannerism with the New Poets, to judge from Catullus 64; see N.B. Crowther, *OI ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΙ, Poetae Noui, and Cantores Euphorionis*, «CQ» n.s. 20, 1970, 322. *νεώτεροι* was a technical term of Alexandrian criticism, as Cicero doubtless knew. Aristarchus applies it in a depreciatory sense to poets after Homer: see T.P. Wiseman, *Cinna the Poet*, Leicester Univ. 1974, 51; A. Cameron, «HSCP» 84, 1980, 136. The Greek term was appropriate in a private letter, less so in a formal essay: *poetae noui* may therefore be taken as Cicero's translation of *οἱ νεώτεροι*, and he intended no compliment.

(3) Calvus was a rival in politics and oratory (Tac. *dial.* 18 *Ciceronem a Caluo quidem male audisse tamquam solutum et eneruem*); Cinna became a Caesarian. Cf. H.C. Gotoff, *Cicero's Elegant Style*, Univ. of Illinois 1979, 29 f. (on the question of Atticism) «It may be safely assumed that Calidius was not, as Calvus so vigorously was, a detractor of Cicero, and that Cicero was not nearly so offended by a particular style as he was by the particular stylists who were attacking him». I have argued, in «CP» 71, 1976, 37 ff., and again in *The Cambridge History of Clas-*

The first of Cicero's public references to the New Poets is rather curious. In *orat.* 161 (46-5 B.C.) he remarks that the suppression of final *-s* used to be a feature of refined speech but now seems a bit countrified (*subrusticum*); and the New Poets now avoid it, *quam nunc fugiunt poetae noui*. We used to talk like this, he adds, quoting from Ennius' *Annals* and Lucilius. Cicero's tone is regretful, even slightly aggrieved, as if the New Poets were somehow to blame for a detail of poetic technique reflecting a general change in pronunciation. Cicero himself had been avoiding this archaism in his verse for some fifteen years now (4); nor is it likely that any poet, however traditional, writing in the mid-40's still employed it. Yet Cicero can hardly have hoped or wished to deceive contemporary readers; he writes with a perceptible emotion and seems to be thinking of the contrast, which the New Poets were concerned to emphasize, between their new poetry and the old – the old poetry Cicero so admired and respected (5).

Cicero's other public reference to the New Poets, in *Tusc.* 3,45 a year or so later, is also rather curious. He quotes from Ennius' *Andromacha* the magnificent lines:

*O pater, o patria, o Priami domus,
saeptum altisono cardine templum,
uidi ego te adstante ope barbarica
tectis caelatis laqueatis,
auro ebore instructam regifice. (92-6 V. 2, 87-91 Jocelyn)*

And then exclaims *O poetam egregium! quamquam ab his cantoribus Euphorionis nunc contemnitur*. Who were these poets, *cantores Euphorionis*? Not Catullus or Calvus, both of whom had now been dead for some years (6). In all probability Cinna, who labored for nine years to be as obscure as Euphorion and, according to his friend Catullus (95), succeeded brilliantly; Cinna and contemporary poetasters of the same persuasion, possibly Cornelius Gallus, now in his mid-twenties, who translated Euphorion and was, like Cinna, a pupil of Parthenius (7). No doubt as a very young man interested in Hellenistic poetry Cicero had read Euphorion; but he mentions him

sical Literature 2, Cambridge 1982, 193 ff. (hereafter *CHCL*), that Catullus' *libellus* ends with poem 50. This being so, the contrast between 49 and 50—the penultimate and ultimate poems of the *libellus* would be pointed: Cicero, ornate and pompous (an effect contrived in seven hendecasyllables); and Calvus, witty and elegant.

(4) See J. Soubiran, *Cicéron, Aratea, Fragments poétiques*, Paris 1972, 96 f.

(5) Cf. Catullus 36 and 95 and see Clausen, *Callimachus and Latin Poetry*, «GRBS» 5, 1964, 188 f., *CHCL*, 184 f., 200 f.

(6) Calvus appears to have died not long after Catullus; see G.W. Bowersock, «Entret. Fond. Hardt» 25, 1979, 60 f.

(7) See Clausen, *opp. citt.*, 190 f., 185 f.

only here and, some months later, in *diu.* 2, 133 *ille uero nimis etiam obscurus Euphorion, at non Homerus. uter igitur melior?* Cicero compares Euphorion unfavorably with Homer, as he defends Ennius, *alter Homerus*, (8), against the *cantores Euphorionis*.

There is a certain irony in the reflection that Cicero himself had once been, in effect, a New Poet: the very young man who translated Aratus' *Phaenomena*, who composed the *Pontius Glaucus*, the *Alcyones*, was a student of Hellenistic elegance and concerned to represent it in Latin; and the older man, therefore, an expert if unfriendly critic of such poetry: *cantores Euphorionis*.

Cicero seems not to have been embarrassed – he was not a man easily embarrassed – by the evident contrast between his youthful poetry and the poetry and literary opinions of his maturity. Except for his translation of Aratus, he never mentions these juvenile efforts; but for his *Aratea* he cherished a lifelong affection. In *nat. deor.* 2, 104 (45 B.C.), Balbus, looking at Cicero, professes himself so delighted by the *Aratea* that he has committed much of it to memory; and thereupon quotes piecemeal some eighty-eight lines (9).

I now propose to examine a passage from the *Aratea* in which Cicero has taken advantage of an opportunity afforded by Aratus: a digression or *ἐκφρασις* of ten lines on the constellation Orion.

Orion seems originally to have been a Hercules-like figure, «especially at home in Boeotia... a giant of extraordinary strength and skill in the chase, clearing the earth of monsters and wild beasts» (10). Among the places visited by Orion was the island of Chios, where he labored mightily for the king Oenopion in order to win his daughter's hand; but Orion, impatient of delay, violated the daughter in a drunken passion and was blinded by Oenopion (11). Aratus puts Orion's death on Chios; according to other accounts he was killed on Delos (or Crete), either by Artemis herself, whose chastity he had attempted, or by a monstrous scorpion which she raised up against him. The scorpion and Orion were thereafter translated to the skies, where Orion forever flees the rising of the Scorpion. The development of the Orion

(8) That is, Ennius author of the *Annals*, a long epic poem of the kind condemned by Callimachus and after him by the New Poets, themselves authors of miniature epics, epyllia. Cicero seems to imply that the New Poets despised Ennius' tragedies; but again he was writing with more emotion than accuracy.

(9) *Atque hoc loco me intuens, «Vtar», inquit, «carminibus Arateis, quae a te admodum adulescentulo conuersa ita me delectant, quia Latina sunt, ut multa ex eis memoria teneam».*

(10) D.L. Page, *Corinna*, London 1953, 35.

(11) For the story of Orion see Küentzle, Roscher's *Lexikon* 3, 1, 1018 ff., for Orion and Oenopion in particular, Stoll, Roscher's *Lexikon* 3, 1, 791 ff., and Keyssner, *RE* 34, 2273 ff.

story is clear enough and typical: an old story to which an erotic motif was added in the Hellenistic period (12).

Here is Aratus' version (13):

Ἄρτεμις ἰλήκοι. προτέρων λόγος, οἳ μιν ἔφαντο
 ἐλχῆσαι πέπλοιο, Χίω ὅτε θηρία πάντα
 καρτερὸς Ὠρίων στιβαρῇ ἐπέκοπτε κορύνῃ,
 θήρης ἀρνύμενος κείνῳ χάριν Οἰνοπίωνι. 640
 Ἡ δέ οἱ ἐξαυτῆς ἐπετείλατο θηρίον ἄλλο,
 νήσου ἀναρρήξασα μέσας ἐκάτερθε κολώνας,
 σκορπίον, ὅς ῥά μιν οὔτα καὶ ἔκτανε πολλὸν ἔοντα
 πλειότερος προφανεῖς, ἐπεὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἤκαχεν αὐτήν.
 τοῦνεκα δὴ καὶ φασὶ περαιόθεν ἐρχομένοιο 645
 Σκορπίου Ὠρίωνα περὶ χθονὸς ἔσχατα φεύγειν.

And here is Cicero's translation, or rather elaboration, of Aratus, which shows how diligently he had schooled himself in the style and manner of Hellenistic poetry (14). (I offer my own text, which differs in some particulars from those of Traglia (15) and Soubiran).

Orion quondam manibus uiolasse Dianam 420
dicitur, excelsis errans in collibus amens,
quos tenet Aegaeo defixa in gurgite tellus,
Bacchica quam uiridi conuestit tegmine uitis.
ille feras uecors amenti corde necabat,
Oenopionis auens epulas ornare nitentis. 425
at uero pedibus subito percussa Dianae
insula discessit disiectaque saxa reuellens
perculit et caecas lustrauit luce lacunas.
e quibus ingenti existit cum corpore prae se
scorpios infeste praeportans flebile acumen. 430
hic ualido cupide uenantem perculit ictu,
mortiferum in uenas fundens per uulnera uirus:

(12) Quite possibly by Euphorion, as Kubiak suggests, p. 19 n. 36 (see n. 14, below).

(13) Its self-contained character is indicated by the repetition: 637 ἔφαντο, 645 φασὶ. Similarly, in Cicero's rendering the first line (with my emendation) and the last begin with *Orion*. There are two other such stories in Aratus, 98-136 (Astraea): note 98 φασὶν, 100-1 λόγος γε μὲν ἐντρέχει ἄλλος ἀνθρώποις (cf. Cicero, frs. 17, 18, 19, especially 19, with Soubiran's note); and 216-24 (Hippocrene): note 216 φασὶ (Cicero's translation is lost).

(14) Credit for recognizing the special character of Cicero's translation and explaining it in detail belongs to David P. Kubiak, *The Orion Episode in Cicero's Aratea*, «CJ» 77, 1981, 12 ff.

(15) A. Traglia, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Poetica Fragmenta*, Milan 1963.

*ille graui moriens constrauit corpore terram.
quare cum magnis sese Nepa lucibus effert
Orion fugiens commendat corpora terris.* 435

420 *Orion quondam* Clausen: *ut quondam Orion* codd.: *ui quon-*
dam Orion Grotius: *uir quondam Orion* Soubiran 422 *tellus*
Housman: *Chius* codd. 430 *infeste* Goodyear: *infesta* codd.

420-1 *Orion quondam manibus violasse Dianam*
(*dicitur*)

The reading of the MSS is evidently corrupt. Grotius' conjecture *ui* is neat but incompatible, as Soubiran notes, with *manibus*. Better is Soubiran's own conjecture; but initial *uir* seems too emphatic and the apposition *uir ... Orion* inept (16). My conjecture supposes a slightly puzzled reader, perhaps of late antiquity – in any case, a reader unfamiliar with Hellenistic narrative technique and therefore surprised by the abruptness with which *Orion quondam* follows on *fama uagatur* (419). Missing a connection of some sort, he supplied *ut*; whether the same reader also changed *ut Orion quondam* to *ut quondam Orion* for the sake of the meter (no matter the grammar) cannot be determined but makes no difference to the argument (17).

Cicero presents the story of Orion (under the influence of some Hellenistic precedent?) as an epyllion, an epyllion as it were in miniature; a form of poetry invented by Callimachus in his *Hecale*, with its abrupt opening line: Ἀκταίη τις ἔναϊεν Ἐρεχθέος ἔν ποτε γουνῶ. This studied simplicity – initial proper noun or adjective followed by indefinite temporal advero – which occurs once again in Callimachus, *Aet. fr. 75,4 Pf.* Ἥρην γὰρ κοπέ φασι, (18), is closely

(16) See his edition, p. 226 n. 9 «opposé au *Dianam* final»; possibly but when man and god are contrasted in Latin the word used is not *uir* but *homo* (or *mortalis*), as in Germanicus 649 (quoted by Soubiran) *ausum hominem diuae sacrum temerasse pudorem*. See Clausen, «AJP» 86, 1965, 96 f., adding Catull. 68, 141 *nec diuis homines componier aequomst*, Tib. 1, 6, 4 *insidias homini composuisse deum*, Hor. *carm.* 4, 4, 8 *sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum*. (For the contrast in Greek see N.J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Oxford 1974, line 111 θεὸς θνητοῖσιν, adding Alcaeus Mess. 18, 6 Gow-Page, Meleager 20,2 Gow-Page). The word naturally opposed to *uir* is not *dea* (*diua*) but *femina*; cf. Cicero's translation of Soph. *Trach.* 1062-3 (Soubiran, p. 274 line 18) *sed feminae uir feminea interimor manu* and see *TLL* s.v. *femina* 458,9. One might compare Verg. *ecl.* 6,66 *utque uiro Phoebi chorus adsurrexerit omnis*, but there the poet was primarily concerned to avoid the dative of the pronoun *is*; see Norden on Verg. *Aen.* 6, 174, Housman on Lucan 1, 293.

(17) A deliberate attempt at emendation appears in 463, where the MSS have *abditur Orion obiit simul abditus umbra est*. Maybaum's conjecture *abditur Orion, Lepus et simul abditus umbra est* may be right, though what Cicero wrote, I suspect, was *abditur Orion, simul et Lepus abditus umbra est* (for *Lepus* at this place in the line cf. 121, 158). In any case, a reader, confronted with *abditur Orion simul abditus umbra est*, supplied *obiit* (from 465 *obit*) to repair the meter.

(18) The beginning of an ἔκφρασις on the ἱερὸς γάμος, or sacred marriage, of Zeus and Hera

imitated by subsequent writers of epyllia: Theocritus 24,1 Ἡρακλέα δεκάμηνον ἔόντα ποχ' ἄ Μιδεᾶτις, Moschus, *Europa I* Εὐρώπη ποτε Κύπρις ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἤκεν ὄνειρον, (19), Cicero, *Arat.* 420-1 *Orion quondam manibus uiolasse Dianam / dicitur*, (20), Catullus 64, 1-2 *Peliaco quondam prognatae uertice pinus / dicuntur liquidas Neptuni nasse per undas* (21).

The line, as emended, begins and ends with a proper name: *Orion... Dianam* (22); an arrangement of which Cicero was particularly fond. Occasionally he imitates Aratus, as in 16,1; 5-6 (23); 33, 3; 55-6 (24); 454; but elsewhere the arrangement is his own, as in 140, 184, 261, 277, 317, 358, 382, 387, 468, and owes nothing to Aratus (25).

421 *excelsis errans in montibus amens*

424 *ille feras uecors amenti corde necabat*

There is little I can add to Kubiak's fine discussion of these lines. One might however adduce Minos of old roaming the Cretan hills for love of Britomartis: Callim. *Hymn* 3, 190-1 ἦς ποτε Μίνως πτοιοηθεὶς ὑπ' ἔρωτι κατέδραμεν οὖρεα Κρήτης. Or the Tereus of Accius (26):

*Tereus indomito more atque animo barbaro
conspexit ut eam, amore uecors flammeo,
depositus facinus pessimum ex dementia
confingit.*

(636-9 R.³)

– but the poet breaks off, appelled by his own temerity: κύν, κύν, ἴσχεο, λαιδρὲ θυμέ. Similarly, at the beginning of Aratus' ἔκφρασις, 637 Ἄρτεμις Ἰλήχοι.

(19) See W. Bühler, *Die Europa des Moschos*, «Hermes, Einzelschr.» 13, 1960, *ad loc.*

(20) It may be of some significance that *quondam* occurs only here in the *Aratea*. For a parallel in Cicero's prose cf. *Manil.* 22 *primum ex suo regno Mithridates profugit ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam fugisse dicitur*. In this sense, *dicitur* occurs only once elsewhere in the *Aratea*: 43-4 *Mercurius parvus manibus quam dicitur olim / infirmis fabricatus in alta sede locasse*.

(21) On the similarity of Catullus to Cicero, much more striking if *Orion quondam* is read, see Kubiak, «AJP» 102, 1981, 41 f. That the translator of Callimachus should have been interested in the translator of Aratus seems likely-whatever Catullus thought of the later Cicero.

(22) For *Orion* at the beginning of the line cf. 291 *Orion claro*, 368 *Orion, umeris*, 435 *Orion fugiens*.

(23) *Arat.* 5-6: *Booti
Spicum illustre tenens splendenti corpore Virgo.*

Phaen. 96-7: Βούττω
Παρθένον, ἦ ρ' ἐν χερσὶ φέρει Στάχυν αἰγλήεντα.

(24) *Arat.* 55-6: *Equus ille tenetur
Piscibus; huic ceruix dextra mulcetur Aquari.*

Phaen. 282-3: Ἰχθύες ἀμφινέμονται
Ἴππον· πὰρ δ' ἄρα οἱ κεφαλῇ χεῖρ Ὑδροχόου.

(25) In general, however, Cicero's model is Aratus, for where the two can be compared such lines are somewhat more frequent in Aratus than in Cicero: cf. *Phaen.* 301, 316, 506, 591, 597, 621, 626, 661, 667, 691, the design of which Cicero was unable to reproduce. In *Arat.* 320 ff. Cicero expands on Aratus, so that five successive lines end with the name of a constellation; an effect unparalleled in Aratus.

(26) Kubiak, *op. cit.*, 16 cites Accius' *Meleager* 450 R.³ *heu, cor ira feruit caecum, amentia rapior ferorque.*

422-3 *Aegaeo defixa in gurgite tellus,
Bacchica quam uiridi conuestit tegmine uitis*

From its inception *gurges* was a poetic word, occurring in the fifth foot of the hexameter (27). It is first attested in Lucilius 40 M. *e gurgite salso*; with a proper adjective first here (28), then in Catull. 65,5 *Lethaeo gurgite* (29) and Verg. *georg.* 4,387 *Est in Carpathio Neptuni gurgite uates* (at the beginning of an ἔκφρασις). Cicero may well be indebted to Pacuvius 420 R.³ *in Aegaeo fretu* (30).

defixa seems an odd verb to apply to Chios; Delos was the wandering island, until fixed in its place by a grateful Apollo: Callim. *Hymn* 4,13 πόντῳ ἐνεστήρικται, 53-4 ἀλλ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ κύμασιν Αἰγαίοιο ποδῶν ἐνεθήκαο ῥίζας (31), Stat. *Theb.* 7.182-3 *potuit Latonia frater / saxa (nec inuideo) defigere Delon*. Aratus is alone in locating Orion's death on Chios; according to others he perished on Delos (32): is Cicero here alluding, after the fashion of Hellenistic poets, to the commoner version of the story?

Chius is either an intrusive gloss which has displaced *tellus* or a deliberate if ignorant conjecture, perhaps again of late antiquity; for it is incredible that Cicero, especially with Aratus 638 ἐλκῆσαι πέπλοιο, Χίῳ ὅτε θηρία πάντα before him, could have made such an error (33). Furthermore, since Cicero is at pains to identify the island without naming it, the name, even if it were metrical, would spoil the effect: that is, the line *Bacchica quam uiridi conuestit tegmine uitis* serves to identify Chios (34), above all others the island of Bacchus and the vine, and would be otiose were the island already named (35).

(27) See *TLL* s.v. 2360, 3.

(28) See *TLL* s.v. 2364, 23.

(29) There are four other instances of *gurges* in Catullus, all, appropriately, in poem 64.

(30) In preference to the prosaic *in Aegaeo mari*; see *TLL* s.v. *Aegeus* 945, 15. The phrase was unusual enough to attract the attention of Varro, *ling.* 7, 22. Cf. also Lucilius 466 M. *Carpathium mare transuectus cenabis Rhodi*.

(31) Cited by Soubiran.

(32) As noted above. See Kubiak, *op. cit.*, 18 f.

(33) See Housman, «CR» 16, 1902, 103 = *Classical Papers*, Cambridge 1972, 552. Youth is no excuse: Kubiak, *op. cit.*, 15 n. 25.

(34) Together with *Aegaeo... in gurgite* and the king's name: Oenopion was exclusively a Chian hero. It is of some interest perhaps that Parthenius, in summarizing the story, does not name the island, *περὶ ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων* 20.1 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Οἰνοπίωνος καὶ νύμφης Ἑλικῆς Ἄερῳ κόρη γενέσθαι: ταύτης δὲ Ὀρίωνα τὸν Ὑριέως ἐρασθέντα παρ' αὐτοῦ παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν κόρην, καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν τε νῆσον ἐξημερῶσαι τότε θηρίων ἀνάπλεων οὔσαν, λείαν τε πολλὴν περιελαύνοντα τῶν προσχώρων ἔδνα διδόναι. G. Knaack would insert ἐν Χίῳ after Ἑλικῆς; «ut sit quo referri possit τὴν νῆσον» Martini, Teubner 1902, who accepts the conjecture.

(35) *Bacchica* is rendered emphatic by its initial position and its separation from *uitis*; see Conrad, *op. cit.*, 228. Very rarely does Cicero introduce such ornamental epithets into his translation: 129 *Neptunia prata* (see Soubiran's note), also 436 *Neptunia Pistris* (Aratus 647 Κήτεος) 227 *Argolicam... Nauem* (Aratus 504 Ἀργώ; see Soubiran's note); 381 *Fides Cyllenia* is a transla-

Such elegantly allusive topography (ἔκφρασις τόπου) is a feature of Hellenistic poetry (36).

Callimachus (a relatively simple example):

ἔστι διειδομένη τις ἐν ὕδατι νῆσος ἀραιή,
πλαζομένη πελάγεσσι πόδες δέ οἱ οὐκ ἐνὶ χωρῇ,
ἀλλὰ παλιρροίη ἐπινήχεται ἀνθέρικος ὥς,
ἔνθα νότος, ἐνθ' εὖρος, ὅπη φορέησι θάλασσα.
τῇ με φέροις.

(*Hymn.4*, 191-5)

Virgil:

sacra mari colitur medio gratissima tellus
Nereidum matri et Neptuno Aegaeo,
quam pius arquitenens oras et litora circum
errantem Mycono e celsa Gyaroque ruinxit,
immotamque coli dedit et contemnere uentos.
huc feror,

(37)

(*Aen. 3*, 73-8)

Apollonius (38):

Ἔστι δέ τις αἰπεῖα Προποντίδος ἐνδοθι νῆσος,
τυτθὸν ἀπὸ Φρυγίης πολυληίου ἠπείροιο
εἰς ἄλλα κεκλιμένη ὄσσον τ' ἐπιμύρεται ἰσθμός,
χέρσω ἐπι πρηγῆς καταειμένη· ἐν δέ οἱ ἀκταὶ
ἀμφίδυμοι· κεῖται δ' ὑπὲρ ὕδατος Αἰσῆποιο.
Ἄρκτων μιν καλέουσιν Ὀρος περιναιετάοντες.

(*Arg. 1*, 936-41)

Virgil:

insula Sicanium iuxta latus Aeoliamque
erigitur Liparen fumantibus ardua saxis,

tion of Aratus 597 Λύρη ... Κυλληναίη. Nor does Cicero introduce a mythological reference independently: 146-8 (Phaethon's sisters) is an elaboration of Aratus 360 πολυκλαύτον ποταμοῖο like the story of Orion, on a somewhat larger scale.

(36) Derivative from Homer, *Il.* 2, 811-14; 11, 711-12, *Od.* 4, 844-7.

(37) Cf. *tellus* / ... *Neptuno Aegaeo*, / *quam pius arquitenens*: *Arat.* 422-3 *Aegaeo... in gurgite tellus*, / *Bacchica quam*. Cf. also *Aen.* 6, 23 *contra elata mari respondet Cnosia tellus*. Like the ancient reader responsible for *Chius* in *Arat.* 422, Burman would read *Delus* for *tellus* in *Aen.* 3, 73 («Videamus tamen, annon poetica ratione exquisitius ponatur genericum nomen, tellus» Heyne).

(38) The island is named, but at the very end, almost as an afterthought. Cf. also *Arg.* 1, 915-18.

*quam subter specus et Cyclopum exesa caminis
antra Aetnaea tonant, ualidique incudibus ictus
auditi referunt gemitus, striduntque cauernis
stricturae Chalybum et fornacibus ignis anhelat,
Volcani domus et Volcania nomine tellus. (Aen. 8, 416-22)*

Cicero's ἔκφρασις τόπου, though not different in kind, is naturally less ambitious owing to its context.

Cicero was also concerned to provide a suitably pathetic setting, of which there is only a hint in Aratus, for the story of Orion as he imagined it. Thus Cepheus holds out his hands unceasingly in supplication as the dread Sea-beast approaches Andromeda: 413-15 *fera Pistrix / labitur, horribilis epulas funesta requirens. / hanc contra Cepheus non cessat tendere palmas* (39). At the rising of the Scorpion both Andromeda and Neptune's Sea-beast (436 *Neptunia Pistrix*) flee, and Cepheus yields as far as he can. Cassiopeia too glides away, weeping piteously for her daughter: 442 *labitur illa simul, gnatam lacrimosa requirens* (40). But the manner of Cassiopeia's departure from the heavens is highly indecorous: 443: *neque ex caelo depulsa decore* (41); a punishment inflicted on her by the Nereids, because she dared to contend with them in point of beauty. Aratus singles out Doris and Panope as Cassiopeia's rivals: 657-8 οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλεν ἐκείνη Δωρίδι καὶ Πανόπῃ μεγάλων ἄτερ ἰσώσασθαι; and Doris and Panope duly emerge in Germanicus 666 and Avienus 1207. But not in Cicero:

*hanc illi tribuunt poenam Nereides almae,
cum quibus, ut perhibent, ausa est contendere forma (446-7).*

In the earlier tradition-for Doris and Panope seem to be Aratus' innovation-the Nereids are referred to indiscriminately in the plural: Ps.-Eratosth. *Catast.* 16 ταύτην ἱστορεῖ Σοφοκλῆς ... ἐν Ἀνδρομέδᾳ ἐρίσασαν περὶ κάλλους ταῖς Νηρηίδων (42). Together with a certain independence of Aratus

(39) Aratus 629-31 τὸ δὲ οἱ μέγα δαῖμα Κήτεος ἡερόεις ἐπάγει νότος· ἀντία δ' αὐτὸς ἐκ Βορέω μεγάλη ἀνὰ χειρὶ κελεύει. *horribilis epulas funesta requirens* is Cicero's addition-«pour souligner le pathétique de la situation» Soubiran.

(40) Aratus 653-4 ἡ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ παιδὸς ἐπέιγεται εἰδῶλοιο δειλῆ Κασσιόπεια. Note the parallelism: *funesta requirens, lacrimosa requirens; requiro* is not found elsewhere in the *Aratea*.

(41) A rare adverb before Cicero, who uses it several times (see *TLL* s.v.), being found only in Plaut. *Asin* 409. Similarly, 431 *infeste* (F.R.D. Goodyear, «CR» n.s. 28, 1978, 33) is found before Cicero only in a tragic fragment, Pompilius 1 R.³, and only once again in Cicero, in his earliest extant speech, *Quinct.* 66 *inimicissime atque infestissime contendere*. With *infesie praepor-tans* cf. *Cupide uenantem* in the next line (Cicero tends to be repetitive) and 123 (the Greater Dog) *infesto ... cursu*.

(42) Testimonia in S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* 4, Göttingen 1977, 156. See also Soubiran here.

Cicero here displays a modicum of poetic invention, the phrase *Nereides almae* being unique (43). And here, with a formula recalling Hellenistic narrative, *ut perhibent* (44), this intensely Hellenistic representation of Aratus 629-58 in Latin concludes.

(43) Or virtually so: Sidon. Apoll. *Carm.* 22, 18 *Nereidum chorus almae*. The adjective belongs in the first instance to Venus (see *TLL* s.v. 1703, 39), with whom the Nereids were intimately associated: Herzog-Hauser, *RE*, 33, 8 «Neben den eigentlichen Wassergeistern ... tritt vor allem Aphrodite in enge Beziehung zu den N. (vgl. Aelian. *hist. an.* 14, 28; Luk. *Tragoed.* 87)».

(44) See Norden on Verg. *Aen.* 6, 14, who however fails to cite this the earliest instance in Latin. *Ut perhibent* is not found elsewhere in Cicero.