the mind'). Thus *Eris* works within the lexical field of love as madness. The Erinyes are also spirits of justice and vengeance, as exemplified in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, and it is here that another marker of the *eris*–ἔρις pun appears, which is the word *poena* 'punishment' in line 8. The semantic link between *Eris*, Erinys and punishment is well established, being explicitly brought out by Hes. *Op*. 804–6:

> πέμπτας δ᾽ ἐξαλέασθαι, ἐπεὶ χαλεπαί τε καὶ αἰναί·
> ἐν πέμπτῃ γάρ φασιν Ἐρινύας ἀμφιπολεύειν
> Ὅρκον γεινόμενον, τὸν Ἔρις τέκε πῆμ᾽ ἐπιόρκοις.

Beware of the fifth days, for they are harsh and angry; it was on the fifth, they say, that the Erinyes assisted at the bearing of *Horkos*, whom *Eris* bore, to be a plague on those who take false oath.

The Erinyes, goddesses of revenge and retribution, are connected by Hesiod with *Eris*, stating that they assisted at the birth of *Horkos*, whom *Eris* bore. The Erinyes, writes Hesiod, are *daimones* who will pursue people who take false oaths, and who, by association, connect strife with the qualities of crime and punishment (at least by familial association).

   The well-established precedent for bilingual and other wordplay in Catullus' work heightens the possibility of wordplay elsewhere. The *eris*–ἔρις pun presents similarity in sound and metre, and is marked by *rixa* in line 4. But the *eris*–ἔρις pun seems to go beyond a simple double meaning. In addition to *rixa*, the poet promotes a semantic field of love, sickness of mind, and punishment through which it is possible to see how ἔρις can evoke the Erinyes—those spirits of vengeance who can bring both madness and punishment. *Eris* is thus a force which seems to have brought about Ravidus' madness, answering the question *quis deus* in line 3, and also (through its equivalent Erinyes) looks forward to *poena* in line 8 and to the punishment he will suffer. The sophisticated nature of the pun can be argued to maintain a light-hearted tone in the poem, rather than a serious one, which helps keep the poem on the side of dry wit rather than scathing attack.

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LUCRETIUS' HOMERIC MOURNERS

ABSTRACT

Lucretius (3.894–9) puts words into the mouths of mourners as part of his attack on the fear of death. The language of the passage has been read simply as mockery of the bereaved, but the poet is using language strongly reminiscent of Homer, in particular from Circe's speech advising Odysseus about the dangers of hearing the Sirens' singing. This adds a level of irony to the passage as the poet has a complex relationship with the bewitching power of poetry.

Keywords: Lucretius; Sirens; Homer; Epicurus; death

As part of the diatribe against the fear of death in Book 3 of the *De rerum natura*, Lucretius puts words into the mouths of unenlightened mourners. In a famous and often imitated passage the mourners address the dead man and commiserate with him on his losses (3.894–9):

> 'iam iam non domus accipiet te laeta neque uxor
> optima, nec dulces occurrent oscula nati
> praeripere et tacita pectus dulcedine tangent.
> non poteris factis florentibus esse tuisque
> praesidium. misero misere' aiunt 'omnia ademit
> una dies infesta tibi tot praemia uitae.'

'Your happy home will no longer welcome you, nor your excellent wife, nor will your sweet children run to snatch kisses and touch your heart with unspoken sweetness. You will not have the power to protect either your prosperity or your family. One hateful day (they say) has pitifully robbed pitiful you of all these things—so many rewards of life.'

The passage has been described as sentimental kitsch which can only be rescued if it is read as sarcastic parody.[1] Kenney,[2] for instance, describes its tone as one of 'irony, rising at times to parody and overt mockery', and describes the sentiments expressed as 'conventional ideas' which the poet attacks 'using the technique of the diatribe'. Both Kenney and Wallach remind readers of the traditional epitaph form as seen in an inscription[3] from third-century Alexandria:

> οὐκέτι δὴ μάτηρ σε, Φιλόξενε, δέξατο χερσὶν
> σὰν ἐρατὰν χρονίῳ ἀμφιβαλοῦσα δέρην,
> οὐδὲ μετ᾿ αἰθέων ἀν᾿ ἀγάκλυτον ἤλυθες ἄστυ
> γυμνασίου σκιερῷ γηθόσυνος δαπέδῳ.

No longer,[4] Philoxenus, does your mother receive you and cast her arms lingeringly about your lovely neck, nor do you go to the famous city with the young men and rejoice in the shaded floor of the gymnasium.

Wallach compares the Lucretian speech unfavourably with Virgil's imitation of it at *G.* 2.523–4 and also Ovid's account (*Tr.* 1.3.63–8, 79–81) of his 'death' on leaving Rome, suggesting that Lucretius' words 'are intended as a parody of the type of expression found in grave inscriptions … or in the lamentation sections of *epicedia*'.[5]

The language of the mourners may be mawkish, but it is not without skill: the repeated *iam iam* imitating the wailing grief, the expressive use of *laeta* as applied to the house itself, the juxtaposition of the key terms *optima … dulces*, the assonance of

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[1] P. Gordon, 'Kitsch, death and the Epicurean', in S. Yona and G. Davis (edd.), *Epicurus in Rome: Philosophical Perspectives in the Ciceronian Age* (Cambridge, 2022), 129–46, at 133–4; B.P. Wallach, *Lucretius and the Diatribe against the Fear of Death: De Rerum Natura III 830–1094* (Leiden, 1976), 46–7.

[2] E.J. Kenney, *Lucretius De rerum natura Book III* (Cambridge, 2014²), ad loc.

[3] F. Preisigke and F. Bilabel, *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten* (Strassburg, 1915), 321, no. 4314, quoted by R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Roman Epitaphs* (Urbana, IL, 1942), 176.

[4] One of the anonymous referees for this article has pointed out that *iam iam* (in the sense of *non iam*) is strikingly close to the sense of οὐκέτι in the Philoxenus inscription and compares the similar sentiment at Verg. *Aen.* 11.71. οὐκέτι as first word is also a common motif in funerary epigrams (e.g. *Anth. Pal.* 7.189, 192, 200–4).

[5] Wallach (n. 1), 48–9.

*opt*ima *... occ*urrent *os*cula evoking the open-mouthed children, the repetition of *dulces …
dulcedine*, the dental consonants of *tacita pectus dulcedine tangent* perhaps indicating the
frisson of pleasure enjoyed by the father. The repeated use of enjambement (*optima …
praeripere … praesidium … una*) adds powerful movement to the speech, along with
emphasis of the element of competition in *praeripere* and the importance of familial
praesidium. Their speech ends with the thing which the dead man misses most—
uitae. The fact that the imagery of the passage inspired Virgil (*G.* 2.523–4) to imitate
it might cause us to think again about its literary quality.

Mynors[6] comments on the Virgilian imitation ('Lucretius began it [3.894–6]'), but
this is to ignore Lucretius' debt to earlier literature, and in particular to Homer[7] who
is later singled out as 'the one and only ruler of the poets' (*quorum unus Homerus |
sceptra potitus*, 3.1037–8) among those poets who belong to the 'great dead'.
Kenney[8] observed that the dead man's future inability to be a source of protection to
his family (3.897–8) recalls the scene in Homer's *Iliad* (6.441–65) where Hector is tak-
ing his leave of Andromache and is grieving in advance for the suffering which his death
will cause her 'when some bronze-clad Achaean' will take her away in tears and reduce
her to the status of a servant at the loom of an unnamed woman.

Tellingly, Hector ends his speech (6.464–5) with the wish that he should be dead
before any of this can come to pass, on the understanding that as a dead man he will
not suffer it—an understanding which Lucretius would certainly share.

There is, however, far more Homeric material than this in Lucretius' words. To begin
with, the poignancy of dying abroad and not coming home again is a common topos[9] in
Homer's *Iliad*. At 14.503–4, for example, Peneleos holds up the head of his enemy
Promachos and predicts that his wife will not 'rejoice in the homecoming of her dear
husband': closer to Lucretius is Sarpedon's request (5.684–8) to Hector to rescue his
body:

> Πριαμίδη, μὴ δή με ἕλωρ Δαναοῖσιν ἐάσῃς
> κεῖσθαι, ἀλλ᾿ ἐπάμυνον· ἔπειτά με καὶ λίποι αἰὼν
> ἐν πόλει ὑμετέρῃ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ᾿ ἔμελλον ἔγωγε
> νοστήσας οἶκόν δὲ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν
> **εὐφρανέειν ἄλοχόν τε φίλην καὶ νήπιον υἱόν**.

'Son of Priam, do not leave me to lie as prey to the Danaans, but help me: let life leave me in
your city, since I am not destined to return home to my own native land, **to gladden my dear
wife and infant son**.'

More graphically, Diomedes (11.393–5) tells Paris that, if he hits a man, 'his wife's
cheeks are gashed in grief, his children are orphaned, while he rots, reddening the earth
with his blood, and there are more birds around him than (weeping) women.'

The notion of dying far from home and leaving one's family was, of course, to
become something of a feature of funerary laments and elegies,[10] but it is tempting

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[6] R.A.B. Mynors, *Virgil Georgics* (Oxford, 1990), 174.
[7] The literature on Lucretius and epic is vast, but good starting points are: D. West, 'Lucretius and
epic', in M.R. Gale (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Lucretius* (Oxford, 2007), 289–99;
R. Mayer, 'The epic of Lucretius', *PLLS* 6 (1990), 35–43; M.R. Gale, *Myth and Poetry in
Lucretius* (Cambridge, 1994), 106–17.
[8] Kenney (n. 2), 193.
[9] J. Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford, 1980), 106–11 discusses, inter alia, 20.389–92,
11.817–18, 17.301–3.
[10] It actually figures less than one might expect in the funerary epigrams, with the exception of the

to believe that the precedent for this sort of language was to be found in the Homeric epics, and that Lucretius (writing in the same epic metre) was well aware of the epic intertext, especially in view of the massive use made by later writers of themes from the *Odyssey* in particular, as demonstrated by Kaiser.[11] When Lucretius' mourners use this same combination of home, wife and children as part of their exploration of the pathos of death, they are tapping into the language of Homer's *Iliad*, with the significant difference that Homer's speakers are living men anticipating death, whereas Lucretius' mourners are addressing a corpse who cannot share their sadness.[12] But there is a closer and even more pertinent source for the mourners' lament.

In the *Odyssey* (12.39–46) Odysseus is being given guidance by Circe about what is in store for him and his men if and when they pass by the Sirens:

> Σειρῆνας μὲν πρῶτον ἀφίξεαι, αἵ ῥά τε πάντας
> ἀνθρώπους θέλγουσιν, ὅτις σφεας εἰσαφίκηται.
> ὅς τις ἀιδρείη πελάσῃ καὶ φθόγγον ἀκούσῃ
> Σειρήνων, **τῷ δ᾽ οὔ τι γυνὴ καὶ νήπια τέκνα**
> **οἴκαδε νοστήσαντι παρίσταται οὐδὲ γάνυνται,**
> ἀλλά τε Σειρῆνες λιγυρῇ θέλγουσιν ἀοιδῇ
> ἥμεναι ἐν λειμῶνι, πολὺς δ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ ὀστεόφιν θὶς
> ἀνδρῶν πυθομένων, περὶ δὲ ῥινοὶ μινύθουσι.

'First of all you will arrive at the Sirens, who beguile everyone who comes to them. Whoever unwittingly draws near to them and hears the voice of the Sirens—**for him no wife and infant children stand by thrilled as he returns home**. On the contrary, the Sirens bewitch him with their clear-toned singing, as they sit in a meadow, and around them is a massive beach of bones from putrefied humans, with the skin shrinking all round them.'

The same basic elements are here again: the home, the wife and the children. The wife lacks an epithet, but the νήπια τέκνα ('infant children') share with her the combination of the verbs παρίσταται ('stand by') and γάνυνται[13] ('are thrilled'), which well encapsulates both their standing in wait for his return and also their shared excitement at seeing him. The theme of joy in γάνυνται is picked up in Lucretius with *laeta*, and οἴκαδε νοστήσαντι becomes Lucretius' *domus accipiet*. Striking also is the contrast of the cosy domestic scene (which will not happen) with the dreadful certainty of the dead sailors as a 'beach of bones from putrefied humans, with the skin shrinking all round them': this same contrast (of hope vs reality) is also found in the *Iliad* (for example 11.816–18).

The Sirens lure sailors with the promise of giving them knowledge,[14] but actually secure their deaths via what Halliwell[15] calls 'a kind of psychotropic paralysis (12.39–46)'. This point was remembered by Plato (*Symp.* 216a), when Alcibiades

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sequence of 'shipwreck' deaths commemorated at *Anth. Pal.* 7.282–307, with Lattimore (n. 3), 199–202; cf. Catull. 68.97–100 for a contemporary of Lucretius using similar language of his own brother's death in Troy.

[11] E. Kaiser, 'Odyssee-Szenen als Topoi', *MH* 21 (1964), 109–36 and 197–224.

[12] Homer's heroes do address corpses but mostly to express contempt, as most famously in the case of the Greeks' taunting and maltreating of the corpse of Hector at *Il.* 22.364–75: see also *Il.* 21.122–4.

[13] Cf. Eur. *Cyc.* 504.

[14] Hom. *Od.* 12.187–91.

[15] S. Halliwell, *Between Ecstasy and Truth: Interpretations of Greek Poetics from Homer to Longinus* (Oxford, 2012), 91–2.

compares the power of Socrates over him to that of the Sirens: βίᾳ οὖν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν Σειρήνων ἐπισχόμενος τὰ ὦτα οἴχομαι φεύγων, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοῦ καθήμενος παρὰ τούτῳ καταγηράσω, 'So I am forced to withhold my ears as if from the Sirens, and make off as fast as I can, for fear I should go on sitting beside him till old age was upon me.'

At this point we need to recall that Epicurus was critical of the dangers of poetry and 'culture', and warned against it in terms reminiscent of the Sirens (Diog. Laert. 10.6):[16]

παιδείαν δὲ πᾶσαν, μακάριε, φεῦγε τἀκάτιον ἀράμενος

Hoist the sails, my boy, and steer clear of all culture.[17]

Lucretius may well be tapping into the topos of 'Siren voices' in his choice of language here, but things are not simple. The mourners are not quoting the Sirens themselves—nobody could do that and live, with the sole exception of Odysseus. They are quoting from Circe's dire warning against approaching the Sirens—and Circe's own bewitching of Odysseus had itself been foiled by the hero being forewarned and forearmed by the god Hermes.[18] Lucretius is thus having it both ways and adding a layer of irony to the text whereby the mawkish mourners are actually undermining their own case by the intertextual reminiscences at work.

Inspired and informed by the divinity (Hermes/Circe/Epicurus), the wise man/Odysseus uses his intelligence to hear the mourners' sentimental irrationality without incurring disaster.[19] The poetic lament for the losses suffered by the corpse is itself a seductively pathetic view of death, which readers have found beautiful enough to imitate[20] but which the poet at once swats with the voice of Epicurean philosophy:

> illud in his rebus non addunt: 'nec tibi earum
> iam desiderium rerum super insidet una.'

they do not also say at this point: 'but you will no longer have any craving for these things by now.'

Odysseus faces the threat of imminent death unless he heeds the advice of Circe, while we will all one day end up part of the inanimate heap of bones on the Sirens' shoreline. The Epicurean wise man, however, will face this prospect armed with the atomic truth

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[16] Cf. 10.120. See also N. Freer, 'Virgil's *Georgics* and the Epicurean Sirens of poetry', in B. Xinyue and N. Freer (edd.), *Reflections and New Perspectives on Virgil's Georgics* (London, 2019), 79–90, at 81 ('the myth of the Sirens perfectly encapsulates Epicurus's views on poetry') and cf. M.R. Gale, *Myth and Poetry in Lucretius* (Cambridge, 1994), 14–18. For wider discussion of the Epicurean attitude towards poetry, see e.g. E. Asmis, 'Epicurean poetics', in D. Obbink (ed.), *Philodemus and Poetry* (Oxford, 1995), 15–34; M.R. Gale, '*Otium* and *uoluptas*: Catullus and Roman Epicureanism', in S. Yona and G. Davis (edd.), *Epicurus in Rome: Philosophical Perspectives in the Ciceronian Age* (Cambridge, 2022), 87–108, at 92–3.

[17] Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 15D = *De audiendis poetis* 1, *Mor.* 1094D = *Non posse suauiter uiui secundum Epicurum* 12.

[18] See Kaiser (n. 11), 208–10 on this scene.

[19] One of the anonymous referees for this article points me towards Diog. Laert. 10.120: 'only the wise man will be able to converse correctly about music and poetry' (μόνον τε τὸν σοφὸν ὀρθῶς ἂν περί τε μουσικῆς καὶ ποιητικῆς διαλέξεσθαι).

[20] Besides Verg. *G.* 2.523–4, Kenney quotes Thomas Gray, *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* 21–4.

about life and death, just as the reader of Lucretius cannot harbour any romantic views of death after the grim realism of the poet's description of putrefaction (3.580–91, 719–21). The Sirens lure sailors with a seductive song which claims to be giving knowledge but only deals out death: Lucretius gives us the knowledge which allows us—like Odysseus—to enjoy the pleasure of the song without losing sight of the fundamental statement (Lucr. 3.830, Diog. Laert. 10.124–5) that 'death is nothing to us' and the serenity which acceptance of this can bring.

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HIDDEN GODS, HIDDEN TEXTS: ARATEAN ECHOES AND ALLEGORESIS IN CICERO, *DE DIVINATIONE* 1.79*

ABSTRACT

This article argues for an as-yet-undiscovered double allusion to Aratus' Phaenomena *(1–5 and 100–7) embedded in Cicero's* De diuinatione *(1.79). This intertextual link sheds light on a now-lost passage of Cicero's* Aratea *and raises some questions about the relationship between Cicero's dialogue and Catullus 64.*

Keywords: Cicero; *De diuinatione*; Aratus; intertextuality; allegoresis

The presence of self-quotations from Cicero's *Aratea* and *Prognostica* in the *De natura deorum* (2.104–14 and 159) and the *De diuinatione* (1.13–15) is a topic to which recent critics have given ample discussion,[1] examining the origin of this citational practice, strategies for achieving self-canonization, and the narrative techniques employed by Cicero to craft these two dialogues and to shape the 'second wave' of his poetic reception—the first being, of course, Lucretius' *De rerum natura*.[2] The purpose of this note is to contribute new evidence to this broader picture and to pinpoint a

   [1] See especially H. Čulík-Baird, *Cicero and the Early Latin Poets* (Cambridge and New York, 2022), 54–6; C. Bishop, *Cicero, Greek Learning, and the Making of a Roman Classic* (Oxford and New York, 2019), 259–300; A.A. Raschieri, '*Aliquanto post suspexit ad caelum et inquit*: the *Aratea* and *Prognostica* across Cicero's works', *Ciceroniana On Line* 3 (2019), 49–71; H. Čulík-Baird, 'Stoicism in the stars: Cicero's *Aratea* in the *De natura deorum*', *Latomus* 77 (2018), 646–70; C. Steel, *Reading Cicero. Genre and Performance in Late Republican Rome* (London, 2005), 49–82.
   [2] E. Gee, *Aratus and the Astronomical Tradition* (Oxford and New York, 2013), especially at 81–109 and 189–231 (the useful 'Appendix B').