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Quoting, Translating, Paraphrasing. Poetic 'Reuse' in Cicero's Philosophical Work

Abstract This paper aims to demonstrate the ways in which Cicero reuses poetic texts, with a particular focus on his *Tusculan Disputations,* Books 3 and 4. In these texts, Cicero addresses the topic of emotions, drawing on the Stoic concept of *apatheia* and contrasting it with the more moderate stance of the Peripatetics. The paper analyses three methods of incorporating poetic text into prose, namely quotation, paraphrase and translation. In certain instances, Cicero employs poetic fragments with the dual objective of refuting the opposing thesis and Romanizing the philosophical concept, thereby rendering it more accessible to his readers. Cicero makes selective use of poetic elements to facilitate the development of his argument. Conversely, he excludes or minimizes those elements that are incompatible with the Stoic ideal of the sage, such as physical symptoms of emotion. Moreover, Cicero's translations in Tusc. 3, 18 and 63 are distinguished by a tendency towards dramatization, universalization and an autobiographical interpretation of the Homeric text.

Introduction

Cicero's engagement with archaic Latin poetry entails a process of selection, refunctionalisation and recontextualisation of the source text. Cicero's 'second gaze' imbues the poetic text with new and different meanings. Nevertheless, this second gaze at the archaic Latin poetry represents the initial and, in numerous instances, the sole surviving glimpse of a poetic production that has survived in fragmentary form. Cicero frequently incorporates poetic references into his prose works, a practice that was already well established in

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the literary tradition prior to his era[1]. Similarly, this is a feature of contemporary philosophical instruction in Athens (cf. Tusc. 2, 26). Cicero's dialogues are replete with poetic passages, which are not only numerous but also of considerable length. In several instances, these are references to works by archaic Latin authors, particularly those of a dramatic nature. Moreover, Cicero does not exclude the quotation of Greek poets, but rather translates the Greek text into Latin or paraphrases the source material[2]. Cicero's "lifelong engagement with the Roman drama"[3] has contributed to its minimal preservation from the total shipwreck of history. However, Cicero offers a restricted perspective on archaic tragedy, as he references a meticulously selected list of authors and works (resembling the canonising process that occurred during the late Republic) and incorporates his citations into the arguments he is developing[4].

The inclusion of extensive poetic passages is justified from both a thematic and an argumentative perspective. In certain instances, the quotation assumes the form of a monologue delivered by an interlocutor with whom Cicero is engaged in debate[5]. However, this is also justified from a rhetorical and stylistic standpoint, as the verses serve to embellish the *disputatio*[6], which is intended for an audience that is cultured, though not necessarily professional. The ornaments were employed for two distinct purposes: firstly, to support the act of teaching *(docere)* and secondly, to delight the audience *(delectare).* Furthermore, the utilization of poetic devices can be justified from a cultural perspective, as it enables Cicero to evoke a collective set of images and a system of values that are shared with his audience[7]. The absence of references to the provenance of the quotations and their context has been attributed precisely to the fact that the passages in question were already well known to Cicero's readers[8]. The poetic quotations are primarily

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1 See Jocelyn 1973, 67–71.

2 For further insight into the function of translated quotations in Cicero's cultural programme, see Marciniak 2020.

3 Schierl 2015, 45.

4 Schierl 2015, 47.

5 Gamberale 1978, 919 n. 4. Indeed, Michel 1983, 445 observes that quotations from poetry are concentrated in the argumentative sections of the *Tusculan Disputations,* rather than in the dialectical or more technical passages. On the use of tragic quotations in Cicero's philosophical work, see also Auvray-Assayas 1998.

6 See Traina 1974, 65.

7 Eigler 2000 posits that the tragic quotation serves as a means of legitimizing philosophical prose. For a detailed examination of the ethical-political dimension of the quotations contained in the *Tusculanae,* see Aricò 2004.

8 Salamon 2004, 141.

drawn from archaic Latin authors who remain relevant to Cicero's contemporary context. This encompasses Ennius, Pacuvius, Accius and authors whose identities remain anonymous.

Moreover, the translation makes reference to Greek poets. Cicero's practice of citation differs from that of his predecessors in that he not only references Latin poetry but also includes quotations from Greek poetry[9]. Furthermore, self-quotations are incorporated: Cicero's objective is to establish a Roman canon of poetry that is parallel to the Greek one[10]. At the time Cicero was engaged in composing his work, ancient tragedy constituted a significant element of Roman culture, with performances continuing to take place. It is important to note that both comedy and tragedy also played an important role in rhetorical training and oratorical education[11]. However, the content of the quotations is more problematic, as poetry, with its "unhealthy charm"[12], presents a danger: that of reason being subverted by the enchantments of verses[13].

The aim of this paper is to examine Cicero's citation technique[14] and the function of the poetic text in his philosophical work, with a particular focus on his *Tusculan Disputations*. In this text, Cicero addresses a number of philosophical themes, including the nature of emotions and the liberation of the soul from them. He employs Stoic ethical principles as a foundation for his arguments[15]. The poetic quotations in Cicero's philosophical works are intended to accurately reflect the manner in which each philosophical school employs poetry in the presentation of its respective tenets[16]. In the corpus of Stoic writings, the use of quotations from poetry is a common device employed for the purpose of substantiating arguments. This is due to the fact that Stoics adhere to the conviction that the concepts presented in pre-philosophical myths are, to some extent, truthful accounts of the universe and nature. Furthermore, they maintain that a considerable number of

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9 Schierl 2022, 151.

10 Bishop 2019, 271.

11 Schierl 2015, 46

12 Aricò 2004, 20.

13 On these aspects, see Jocelyn 1973, 62 f.; Degl'Innocenti Pierini 2008, 44 f. On poetry and philosophy in Cicero in relation to the Platonic conception, see Čulík-Baird 2022, 80–86 with further bibliography.

14 On Cicero's quotation modalities in his *Letters*, see Behrendt 2013, esp. 33–58.

15 On the sources of 3rd and 4th Book of Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations,* see Pohlenz 1906.

16 Jocelyn 1973, 67–69; Bishop 2019, 269.

poets have articulated these truths[17]. This also extends to the field of ethics, in which the study of the emotions (πάθη) occupies a prominent position[18]. It can be reasonably inferred that the frequent quotations from poetry in the *Tusculan Disputations* are a consequence of Cicero's use of sources and philosophical models. Indeed, the Stoics are responsible for developing an accurate and articulate taxonomy of the passions. The depth and complexity of the Stoics' study of emotional expressions can be attributed to two key sources: direct clinical observation of the pathologies of the soul and extensive literary experience of epic and tragic poetry, which often serve as precise "clinical records" of the passions[19]. It was thus appropriate to approach the subject by drawing on the wealth of insights offered by poetry.

Quoting and paraphrasing

We will commence with the emotion of anger, which plays a pivotal role. As Fillion-Lahille has observed[20], Greek and Latin mythology and literature are often accounts of renowned anger. Cicero espouses the unyielding stance of the Stoics, known as *ἀπάθεια,* the complete eradication of the passions from the soul, on the grounds that they considered emotions to be an impediment to the acquisition of *sapientia.* In contrast, Aristotle and his school adopt a more lenient stance, considering anger to be a morally neutral passion[21]. They put forth the notion that, when effectively managed, anger can act as a catalyst for inner fortitude: *iracundiam laudant* [*sc. Peripatetici*] *cotemque fortitudinis esse dicunt* (Tusc. 4, 43)[22].

Cicero presents a refutation of this idea, whereby the initial poetic quotations on anger are introduced with the specific purpose of demarcating the transitions between the anti-peripatetic argument (Tusc. 4, 48). He therefore poses the question of whether anger is an indispensable prerogative of the state of the *vir fortis: an vero vir fortis, nisi stomachari coepit, non potest fortis*

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17 In contrast, Epicurean philosophy eschews the use of poetry in philosophical arguments. The Academics and Peripatetics occupy a position intermediate between the two extremes represented by the Stoics and the Epicureans: Bishop 2019, 269.

18 On this topic, see e.g. Graver 2007.

19 Vegetti 1995, 54.

20 Fillion-Lahille 1984, 7.

21 On Aristotle's views on emotions see e.g. Fortenbaugh 2002.

22 Unless otherwise indicated, the text of the *Tusculan Disputations* is quoted in accordance with the edition by Pohlenz 1918.

esse? The Aristotelian thesis is thus partially reified by the replacement of the abstract term, *fortitudo,* with the phrase *vir fortis,* which refers to the individual who embodies this virtue, and by the choice of a verb, *stomachor,* which focuses on the physiological onset of anger. The term *stomachor* is employed to signify dyspepsia, which is a symptom of resentment and repressed indignation[23]. The selection of this lexeme is consistent with the prevailing tendency in this section of the work to utilize a lexicon that elucidates the adverse implications of anger. The verb *stomachor* is imbued with a comic *nuance,* resulting from the conjunction of colloquialism and technicism. This is achieved through the evocation of a low physical image through the use of a simulated medical lexicon[24]. The term is rarely used in Cicero's treatises and orations[25], which lends particular significance to its use in this passage. Primarily, it serves to reinforce the underlying irony that pervades the anti-peripatetic polemic, effectively reducing the opponent's argument to a purely physical and physiological level. Secondly, it introduces the gladiatorial theme, thereby predisposing the reader to the comic-satirical tone of the poetic quotations that follow.

Cicero posits the notion that anger can be beneficial for a particular category of *viri fortes,* namely gladiators, by exploiting the ambiguity of the term *fortis,* which can signify both physical and moral strength. This enables him to disarm his opponents. By involving the gladiators, whose brute force is not always associated with the choleric impulse, and by citing a verse of unknown origin, probably comic, inserted into his prose[26], Cicero is aware that he cannot avoid addressing the subject of gladiatorial rage *(gladiatoria iracundia).* In doing so, he would have glossed over the proverbial aggres-

23 The association between anger and bile can be traced back to the Homeric era, preceding the Hippocratic theorisation of humours. This is demonstrated by the Homeric noun *χόλος* (Il. 1, 81; 4, 513; 9, 565), which is homeoradical to *χολή* ("bile"). As with the Latin term *bilis,* the Greek word *χολή* is used not only to refer to bile in the strict sense, but also more generally to denote the gastric juices.

24 Hoffer 2007, 89 f.

25 These terms occur 18 times in the rhetorical and philosophical treatises, 10 times in the orations and 27 times in the letters. This can be explained by the colloquialism attributed to these lexemes. For an analysis of their occurrence in Cicero's epistolary, see Hoffer 2007.

26 Cic. Tusc. 4, 48 *Gladiatorium id quidem, quamquam in eis ipsis videmus saepe constantiam: "conlocuntur, congrediuntur, quaerunt aliquid, postulant", ut magis placati quam irati esse videantur.* This poetic quotation, the origin of which is uncertain, was identified by Schlenger (1857, 288) as exhibiting a trochaic rhythm (tr^7). The context and metre appear to suggest a comic derivation. For further details, see Dougan – Mitchell Henry 1934, 154 and Dal Chiele 2019, 6 f.

siveness of these fighters and thus removed much of the imagery associated with these figures[27]. Furthermore, Cicero's personal disapproval of gladiators is evident in his references to gladiatorial combat, which portray the athletes' strength as being solely physical[28]. The philosophical motif is thus Romanized through the *topos* of gladiatorial rage, which is mentioned through an extensive quotation from Lucilius (fr. 153–158 Marx, Terzaghi = 155–160 Krenkel). Cicero illustrates this point by citing the speech of the renowned gladiator Pacideianus[29], who lived during the time of the Gracchi brothers. Pacideianus, overcome by rage and a thirst for revenge, makes an aggressive threat towards his opponent just before he attacks him (Tusc. 4, 48):

> sed in illo genere sit sane Pacideianus aliquis hoc animo, ut narrat Lucilius:
> "Occidam illum equidem et vincam, si id quaeritis", inquit.
> "Verum illud credo fore: in os prius accipiam ipse
> quam gladium in stomacho sura[30] ac pulmonibus sisto.
> Odi hominem, iratus pugno, nec longius quicquam
> nobis, quam dextrae gladium dum accommodet alter;
> usque adeo studio atque odio illius ecferor ira".

> But suppose, if you like, there be in this class of men some Pacideianus of the spirit described by Lucilius:
> "Kill him for my part I shall and shall conquer", he says, "if you ask this.
> This is the programme I think: in the face I shall first be to get one,
> Before in his gut, his leg or lung I plunge my sword.
> Hate for the fellow I fell, fight in anger, and wait we no longer
> Than for us each to fit tight our swords to the grip of the right hand:
> Such is the passion of hate that I feel in my transport of anger"[31].

The primary focus of Pacideianus' discourse is aggression, which is conveyed through a pervasive emphasis on anger, hatred and impetuosity. This is evidenced by the recurrence of specific lexical items that evoke these emotions,

27 Cf. e.g. Sen. ira 1, 11, 1 *gladiatores quoque ars tuetur, ira denudat.*
28 Pierini 1971, 208.
29 See Pierini 1971, 211–214.
30 In lieu of the proposed emendation *furi* ("to that thief"), which was put forth by Tischer (1887, 82) and accepted by Pohlenz (1918, 384), I would prefer *sura* ("calf"), the reading transmitted by **K**. For a more detailed discussion of this passage, see Dal Chiele 2019, 8 n. 40.
31 Translation by King 1950, 380 f. with adaptations.

including *odi, iratus, studium*[32], *odium* and *ira.* The *hysteron proteron, occidam … et vincam,* reverses the natural order of the two actions, indicating that the ferocious Pacideianus is prepared to resort to violence in order to satisfy the audience's demand *(si … quaeritis)*[33]. This characterization of the *vir fortis* is expressed by words driven by anger and hatred. His strength is not derived from internal fortitude but rather from his musculature, which is displayed with a bravado that is reminiscent of a comic mask. This is based on the hatred he incites, which serves to enhance his performance in the fight and overcome the initial fear of his opponent's blows *(in os … accipiam)*[34]. This then provides to Pacideianus the motivation to launch an immediate attack *(nec longius quicquam / nobis, quam dextrae gladium dum accommodet alter).*

The episode recounted by Lucilius must have been a vivid literary memory for Cicero, as evidenced by his references elsewhere to the fight between Pacideianus and Aeserninus[35]. In this instance, he cites it as an episode that is "almost proverbial", or at any rate "paradigmatic" of what Cicero himself refers to as *gladiatoria iracundia*[36]. The emotional impulse in Lucilius' verses and the accentuation of the consequences of excessive anger (inability to self-regulate and eagerness to prevail) have prompted some scholars to propose that the episode itself may be a free reworking of a Stoic motif[37].

Conversely, the Homeric hero, personified by Ajax, serves as a positive exemplar in contrast to the gladiator[38]. In the *Iliad* (7, 206–312), Homer pro-

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32 The term *studium* indicates here a state of impatience and the impetus to action derived from anger: see OLD, s. v., 1831.

33 Coletti Strangi (1980, 15 f.) offers an alternative interpretation of the phrase ("se è proprio questo che volete sapere"). Further information on the participation of the audience in gladiatorial combat in Mosci Sassi 1992, 59.

34 Giusta 1984, 239 proposes the emendation of the reading of *fore in os* into *furias,* asserting that it is unlikely that the furious Pacideianus would have admitted to receiving a blow to the face from his opponent in such a peaceful manner. For a more detailed discussion of the passage, see Giusta 1991, 305–307.

35 Cicero makes frequent reference to the conflict between Pacideianus and Aeserninus; for further details, see Pierini 1971, 210 esp. n. 1. On this motive se also Gaucher 2019.

36 Pierini 1971, 210.

37 This hypothesis is also consistent with the cultural context of Lucilius: Pierini 1971, 209. In this regard, Coletti Strangi 1980, 8 offers a more cautious perspective.

38 A considerable proportion of the Homeric quotations included in Cicero's work are imbued with a moral edification of the individual. Indeed, Arcidiacono (2007, 6) notes that Cicero's concept of *humanitas* has its roots in the Homeric epic and finds concrete expression in the individual personalities of the heroes. This ethical reading of Homer as a teacher of wisdom and the interpretation of heroes as personifications of the virtues (cf. Cic. Att. 7, 11, 3) can be traced back

vides a description of him in the time preceding the duel with Hector. If Cicero had employed poetic quotations to describe the gladiators, seamlessly integrating them into his prose, or, in the case of Lucilius, isolating and clearly identifying them, he now refers to the Homeric text without translating it, but paraphrasing it (Tusc. 4, 49)[39]:

> at sine hac gladiatoria iracundia videmus progredientem apud Homerum Aiacem multa cum hilaritate, cum depugnaturus esset cum Hectore; cuius, ut arma sumpsit, ingressio laetitiam attulit sociis, terrorem autem hostibus, ut ipsum Hectorem, quem ad modum est apud Homerum, toto pectore trementem provocasse ad pugnam paeniteret.

> But in Homer we find Ajax with no sign of this irascibility of the gladiator going out with great cheerfulness to fight his deadly duel with Hector; and his entry, upon taking up his arms, brought delight to friends and dread to foes, so much so that Hector himself, according to Homer's account, with his heart all aquake repented of having given the challenge to battle[40].

The description of Ajax is imbued with immediacy by the construction of *videmus* with the present participle *(progredientem),* which allows the instant perception of the majestic march of the hero[41], who advances smiling *(multa cum hilaritate).* This detail serves to express the inner strength and courage displayed by Ajax as he descends into the battlefield. This outward manifestation is indicative of his inner composure and equanimity. Cicero (or his source) incorporates this element from the Homeric description, omitting the disturbing details (in Homer, Ajax's smile was accompanied by a terrible grimace: Il. 7, 212) that would contradict the image of the hero's exemplary

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to the Sophistic period and was subsequently perpetuated in the philosophical tradition of the Hellenistic and later imperial ages, cf. Wehrli 1928, 69–81. On the moral interpretation of Homeric epics, see Buffière 1973, 251–256.

39 On this passage, see Arcidiacono 2007, 35–37. On the relationship between Homer and Cicero, see also Malcovati 1943, 45–55; Traina 1974, 71–82; Chinnici 2000; Zambarbieri 2001.

40 Translation by King 1950, 381.

41 The Latin construct accurately renders the idea of the hero's progressive advance, as conveyed by the imperfect and the *enjambement* in the Greek text; cf. Hom. Il. 7, 212–213 … *νέρθε δὲ ποσσὶν / ἤϊε μακρὰ βιβάς* ("… His feet took mightly strides") Translations of all Homeric verses quoted are by Wilson 2023, 163.

imperturbability[42]. This tendency to minimize the emotional content in relation to the Homeric source text is evident throughout the entire scene, resulting in a significant reduction of the physical and physiological details that are linked to the description of emotional symptoms in the *Iliad.* For example, Homer states that upon seeing Ajax, the Trojans "shuddered and every one of them was quacking"[43] (v. 215). However, Cicero omits all reference to the body and replaces the symptom (the shudder) with the emotion (terror), effectively reversing the cause-and-effect relationship. A comparable approach is observable in the portrayal of Hector as *toto pectore trementem.* In the Latin text, the hero is identified as the subject of the emotional reaction, which is presented in a more generalized manner than in the Homeric text[44], where the term for 'heart' *(θυμός)* is employed to describe a sensation of the heart jumping into the hero's chest[45]. Cicero intensifies the situation to the extent that Hector appears 'all trembling' and expresses regret for the battle, in order to emphasize that the two heroes fight without angry hatred[46].

These details illustrate the absence of irascibility in Homeric heroes engaged in combat[47]. The Ciceronian paraphrase of the Homeric passage thus places emphasis on those aspects that are most functional in reinforcing Ciceronian argumentation, while attenuating those that are less functional in that regard. In the reference to the calm conversation between the two heroes before the duel, we find the verb *conloquor,* the first lexeme of the poetic quotation used to describe the occasional civil exchange between gladiators (Tusc. 4, 48)[48]. The scene, which is only briefly outlined in the comic verse, is thus recapitulated and amplified through the figures of Hector and Ajax.

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42 Hom. Il. 7, 212 *μειδιόων βλοσυροῖσι προσώπασι* ... ("His face was terrifying, / fixed in a grin").

43 Translation by Wilson 2023, 163.

44 Cicero's deliberate vagueness in the description of rage symptomatology is also evident in Tusc. 4, 52. This contrasts with the Homeric text (Il. 1, 101–303), which provides numerous indications regarding the physical manifestations and verbal expressions of rage, and with the detailed description of the detrimental physical effects of anger in Sen. ira 1, 1, 39: see Dougan – Mitchell Henry 1934, 159.

45 Hom. Il. 7, 216 *Ἕκτορί τ' αὐτῷ θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι πάτασσεν* ("and even Hector's heart was beating fast"). Also the reference to Hector's hesitation is more concise than in the Homeric text (cf. vv. 217–218). Jocelyn (1973, 77) remarks the "misdescription [...] of Hector's state of mind" and traces it back to Cicero's source.

46 Tusc. 4, 49 *Atque hi conlocuti inter se, prius quam manum consererent, leniter et quiete nihil ne in ipsa quidem pugna iracunde rabioseve fecerunt.*

47 Ronconi 1973, 52.

48 The passage is quoted at n. 26.

In Cicero's passage, the figure of Ajax serves a dual function. On the one hand, it develops the idea of the lack of correlation between anger and inner strength, which is only alluded to in the comic verse. It presents itself as a positive paradigmatic figure in relation to the negative model represented by the famous Pacideianus. The mention of Ajax allows for a comprehensive overview of historical figures who were driven by their inner strength and never by anger (Tusc. 4, 49 f.). However, the figure of Ajax is ambivalent. He exemplifies the ideal of inner strength, yet he also exhibits a proclivity towards madness (52 *semper Aiax fortis, fortissimus tamen in furore*). This aspect is introduced through Ennius' authority, which defined anger as the initial symptom of a pathology of the soul *(initium insaniae)*[49]. The theme of madness is employed once more to direct attention to the corporeal manifestation of anger[50], with the objective of refuting the opposing argument. This emotion is presented as a pathological condition, characterized by observable physical and physiological symptoms. Furthermore, the depiction of rage as a form of insanity challenges the second argument proposed by the Peripatetic school, namely the thesis that rage is a beneficial emotion in combat and in all areas of public life (Tusc. 4, 43).

Instead, greater attention is devoted to the relationship between anger and combat, with the objective of demonstrating that the latter is not only inherently futile, even in the context of war, contrary to the assertions of the Peripatetics, but can also prove to be deleterious. The detrimental impact of anger is exemplified by the character of Ajax. As previously discussed, Ajax exemplifies the virtue of fortitude but is also a victim of blind rage. In accordance with the tradition established by Sophocles, this rage ultimately results in Ajax's demise (Tusc. 4, 52–53)[51]:

> nam Aiacem quidem ira ad furorem mortemque perduxit. … semper Aiax fortis, fortissimus tamen in furore; nam
> <***> facinus fecit maximum,

49 Tusc. 4, 52 *an est quicquam similius insaniae quam ira? quam bene Ennius "initium" dixit "insaniae";* Cicero provides a definition of *insania* in Tusc. 3, 8–9. On his distinction between *insania* and *furor* see Taldone 1993. On the concept of 'psychopathology' and its implication both in philosophical and in medical tradition, see at least Pigeaud 1981.

50 Cf. the above remark on *stomachor.*

51 The conjunction of *ira, furor* and *mors* is a defining feature of Ajax's experiences (cf. Sen. ira 2, 36, 5 *Aiacem in mortem egit furor, in furorem ira*). Furthermore, this concept is evident in the story of the Atreides recalled in Tusc. 4, 77: the passage is discussed below, pp. 114–116.

cum Danais inclinantibus summam rem perfecit manu.[52]
Proelium restituit insaniens: dicamus igitur utilem insaniam?

Ajax I need not quote, for him at any rate anger led on to madness and death. … Ajax is always brave but bravest in frenzy; for
Glorious was the deed he wrought when Danaan ranks were falling back;
The common safety he secured: in fury he the fray renewed[53].

It can be stated with a high degree of certainty that the verses in question were written by a Latin tragic poet (F 61 adesp. Schauer = fr. inc. inc. 64–66 Ribbeck³, Klotz = fr. 53–55 Warmington)[54]. Nevertheless, the metrical interpretation of the fragment is less straightforward[55], as is the identification of the boundaries of the quotation[56]. It has been proposed that the word *nam* may be integrated into the initial verse *(nam facinus …)*. The words *proelium restituit insaniens* are considered by some interpreters (or at least the participle *insaniens*) to constitute a comment by Cicero[57], whereas others regard them as part of the poetic quotation[58]. Cicero employs this passage to exemplify Ajax's unwavering resolve, which, despite his affliction with madness, ultimately influences the course of the battle[59]. The verses appear to foreshadow Ajax's mental instability, melding elements of Homeric tradition and tragedy, which represent two distinct phases in Ajax's life. It is possible that the verses cited by Cicero do not actually refer to Ajax, and that Cicero therefore misunderstood the reference. An alternative hypothesis is that the tragedy itself may provide evidence of a peripheral episode in the tradition associated with this hero, potentially derived from a suggestion by Sophocles' *Ajax*[60]. It is similarly conceivable, however, that the anticipation

52 I quote the fragment according to Schauer 2012, 233.
53 Translation by King 1950, 385.
54 Bentley identified the fragment as belonging to the comic genre: cf. Ribbeck 1897, 243 and 282.
55 Pohlenz 1918 interpreted the verses as trochaic, whereas Ribbeck 1897, Klotz 1953 and, most recently, Schauer 2012 regard them as iambic octonaries.
56 Cicero's technique of rendering poetic quotations indistinguishable bears resemblance to that of interpolation: see Moretti 2011, 271f.
57 Cf. Ribbeck 1897, 244; Schauer 2012, 233.
58 See the critical apparatus in Schauer 2012, 233.
59 Graver (2002, 170) posits that the passage in question alludes to the battle at the ships, as recounted by Homer (Il. 15, 674–746).
60 In Soph. Ai. 466–468, Ajax ponders whether it would be prudent to confront the Trojans in order to reclaim his lost honour. His thoughts evoke those of Hector in the moments preceding the assault on Achilles (Hom. Il. 22, 304f.): see Finglass

of Ajax's madness should be ascribed to Cicero himself (or to his source)[61]. The poetic text would therefore be subjected to a process of adaptation in accordance with the philosophical argument being developed. From this perspective, the words *proelium restituit insaniens,* ascribed to Cicero, serve as a crucial interpretive key for interpreting the quoted verses. The phrase *proelium restituit* can be understood as a paraphrase and compendium of the poetic text. Conversely, the term *insaniens* introduces the element of madness to the scene, which is not explicitly present in the tragic text but is fundamental to Cicero's argument. This line of reasoning employs the figure of Ajax to illustrate the futility and even the potential danger of a vehemence that has forsaken reason.

It has been demonstrated that in the symptomatology of emotions, Cicero tends to downplay the physical elements, indicating a preference for the verbal channel over other manifestations of anger. This is exemplified by the lengthy discourse of Pacideianus and is further evidenced in the concluding section of Book 4, which is devoted to the therapy of emotions[62]. In this instance, the intermingling of anger and madness is exemplified by the mention of the quarrel *(iurgium)*[63], which presents a contrast even between two brothers *(etiam inter fratres),* namely Agamemnon and Menelaus. The blood bond between the two protagonists serves to emphasize the profound senselessness of the scene and of the emotions that animate it (Tusc. 4, 77):

> Ira vero, quae quam diu perturbat animum, dubitationem insaniae non habet, cuius inpulsu existit etiam inter fratres tale iurgium:
> "Quis homo te exsuperavit usquam gentium impudentia?"
> "Quis autem malitia te?"

2011, 273 f. Some interpreters posit that Sophocles is alluding to the deeds performed by Ajax during his delirium, referencing a tradition witnessed in the Ciceronian passage and in Philostr. *Heroicus* 35, 12 (cf. e.g. Lobeck 1866, 220). However, an alternative interpretation is also possible, namely that the episode witnessed by the two authors originated from the Sophoclean text: see Follet 2017, 92 n. 4.

61 This is, among other scholars, the position of Giusta (1991, 307), who notes the absence of any mention of *furor* in the quotation. This prompted him to suggest an intervention in the text, namely the correction *summa in re perfuruit manens,* as presented in the critical apparatus: Giusta 1984, 242.

62 This division is typical of the Stoic treatment of emotions: see Pohlenz 1906, 348–355; Tieleman 2003, 305.

63 Cf. the cursory mention of the dispute between Achilles and Agamemnon in Tusc. 4, 52.

> nosti, quae secuntur; alternis enim versibus intorquentur inter fratres gravissimae contumeliae, ut facile appareat Atrei filios esse, eius qui meditatur poenam in fratrem novam:
> “Maior mihi moles, maius miscendumst malum,
> Qui illius acerbum cor contundam et comprimam”.
> quo igitur haec erumpit moles? audi Thyestem:
> “Ipsus hortatur me frater, ut meos malis miser
> Manderem natos”
> eorum viscera apponit. quid est enim quo non progrediatur eodem ira, quo furor?
>
> Next anger which so long as it disorders the soul undoubtedly implies unsoundness of mind, and starts a brawl like this even between two brothers:
> A. “What man in all the world in impudence has ever you surpassed?”
> M. “Who too in malice you?”
> You know what follows; the bitterest taunts are hurled from brother to brother in alternate lines, so that it is easy to see they are sons of the Atreus who plots an unheard of penalty for his brother:
> “More mass of misery must mingled be
> Whereby to break and wring his cruel heart”.
> Which way than is this mass of crash? Hark to Thyestes:
> “Twas my brother’s lips that urged me to consign my sons as food
> To their wretched father’s jaws”.
> He sets their flesh before him. For in what direction will not anger go to the same lengths as madness?[64]

The quarrel is illustrated by a quotation of approximately a verse and a half from a stichomythia, which demonstrates the insulting and violent nature of the dialogue between the two brothers. The passage, originally attributed to Ennius’ *Iphigenia,* is now considered to be an *adespoton*[65]. The quotation evokes an association with two others derived from Accius’ *Atreus* (fr. 200–201 and fr. 229–230 Ribbeck^3 = fr. 165–166 and fr. 196–197 Warmington = fr. 31–32 and fr. 58–59 Dangel)[66]. The poetic verses provide a framework for

64 Translation by King 1950, 416 f.
65 It corresponds to fr. 63 in Schauer 2012: see the critical apparatus ibid., 235.
66 Dangel (1995, 166; 120) interprets the first fragment as ia^6, the second one as tr^7.

reconstructing the essential narrative of the story of the Atreides[67], emphasizing that the source of the enmity expressed in the dispute between the two brothers can be traced back to their father's blind and irrational hatred, manifested in the abhorrent act of serving his own brother, Thyestes, the flesh of his children.

The cluster represents a common strategy of quotation in Cicero's oeuvre[68]. In our passage, this serves to illustrate the cyclical nature of violence, which is instigated and perpetuated by anger and madness. The structure is perfectly symmetrical, opening and closing with a verse and a half and comprising two whole verses in the middle. In Book 4, Cicero avoids an exhaustive examination of the outward manifestations of anger. In this instance, however, the anger is expressed in the form of verbal aggression, characterised by the use of insulting language. Furthermore the externalisation of anger illustrated once more through the medium of words, in the speech of Pacideianus. Cicero thus demonstrates a clear preference for the verbal channel over other physiological manifestations, although this is only alluded to.

Moreover, the representation of the internal processes of the soul in speeches constitutes a topic of considerable interest within the field of rhetorical studies. These encompass a range of techniques aimed at evoking emotional responses from the audience *(movere)*[69]. It is worthy of note that the quotation of Accius' *Atreus* is, in fact, also a self-quotation. Cicero had previously referenced the same verses in the third book of the *De oratore* (217, 219), where he addressed the topic of *actio* and, in particular, the modulation of the voice in accordance with the emotions one seeks to convey[70]. Accius' *Atreus* thus serves as an exemplar of the vicious circle of violence and madness born of rage[71], marking the intertextual relationship between

67 Cf. Tusc. 1, 106. For an analysis of Accius' treatment of this myth, see: Baldarelli 2004, esp. 104–266.

68 Cicero frequently employs a cluster of poetic quotations as a mode of quotation: cf. Moretti 2011, 258 f.

69 On the intricate relationship between rhetoric and passions, see e.g. Gastaldi 1995; Graver 2002, esp. 167–169 on anger; Petrone 2004; Konstan 2007; Remer 2017, esp. 34–62.

70 The relationship between the dramatic performance and that of the orator, both of which aim to engage the audience through the use of vocal and gestural language and emotional appeal, is examined by Aricò 2020, with further bibliographical references.

71 See Petrone 2002, 246; cf. Cic. de or. 3, 217 *aliud enim vocis genus iracundia sibi sumat, acutum, incitatum, crebro incidens: "Ipsus hortatur me frater ut meos malis miser / manderem natos..." … et Atreus fere totus.* In this context, the term *Atreus* refers to both the tragedy and the character.

De oratore and *Tusculanae disputationes,* in the arduous endeavour to fuse ethical reflection and rhetoric[72].

Translated quotes

The poetic quotations from Greek authors translated by Cicero number approximately thirty[73], which must be added to the *Aratea,* partly transmitted in direct form. In comparison to quotations from Latin authors, those translated from Greek undoubtedly offer greater potential for adaptation of the source text[74], given the greater degree of flexibility and variability of translated quotes. Of particular interest are two translations of passages from the *Iliad* (Cicero's most frequently translated epic poem)[75], which are cited in Tusc. 3, 18 and 63. They may be regarded as representing an autobiographical reinterpretation of the source texts[76]. The quotations in question evince a heightened emotional resonance in comparison to that of the Greek text[77].

The initial example of a translated quotation is thematically aligned with the preceding cases, as it pertains to the subject of anger. In the *Tusculanae Disputationes* (3, 18), Cicero cites his translation of *Iliad* 9, 646–648, in which

72 Indeed, Cicero endeavours to achieve a challenging reconciliation between the Peripatetic thesis of the usefulness of anger as a necessary component of *actio* and the unyielding stance of the Stoics, acknowledging the simulation of emotions by the orator: see Dal Chiele 2019, 17 f. Cicero frequently incorporates poetic quotations, particularly from the domain of tragedy, into his speeches: see Moretti 2011, 255–275 (focused in *Pro Sestio* and *Pro Caelio*); Petrone 2011 and 2016.

73 These are frr. 23–48 Bl.², which are translations from Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Epicharmes, Solon. In addition, frr. 49–56 Bl.² are translations of epigrams, enigmas, oracles, *sententiae.*

74 On the adaptation (of style and content) of the translated quotation, see Costanza 1950, 173 f. and Marciniak 2020, 63. With regard to the assessment of Cicero as poet, see Marciniak 2018, with a comprehensive bibliography.

75 A total of seven translations of the *Iliad* are extant (frr. 23–29 Bl.²), in comparison to two for the *Odyssey* (frr. 30–31 Bl.²). For an analysis of Cicero's predilection for the *Iliad,* see Arcidiacono 2007, 11.

76 A further example of this approach is the translation of Hom. Il. 5, 89–91 quoted by Gellius (15, 6, 3), so Ronconi 1973, 45 f.; see also the remarks of Traina 1974, 79 f. The inclination towards an autobiographical interpretation of the myth is also discernible in the epistolary genre, where poetic quotations are customarily presented in Greek: see Zambarbieri 2001, 35–46, De Caro 2006, Arcidiacono 2007, 12 f.

77 Ronconi 1973, 46.

Achilles describes the rekindling of anger at the memory of the offence suffered by Agamemnon:

> ἀλλά μοι οἰδάνεται κραδίη χόλῳ ὁππότε κείνων
> μνήσομαι ὥς μ’ ἀσύφηλον ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔρεξεν
> Ἀτρεΐδης, ὡς εἴ τιν’ ἀτίμητον μετανάστην.
>
> And yet my heart is swollen up with anger
> whenever I remember what he did –
> how Agamemnon, son of Atreus,
> humiliated me among the Greeks,
> and treated me like someone with no honor,
> an outcast with no place to call his home[78].

Cicero offers a commentary on a Homeric passage by Dionysius of Heraclea (Tusc. 3, 18), a Stoic philosopher and student of Zeno[79]. It seems reasonable to posit that the passage is derived from Dionysius’ treatise in two books, entitled *Περὶ ἀπαθείας*[80]:

> Itaque non inscite Heracleotes Dionysius ad ea disputat, quae apud Homerum Achilles queritur hoc, ut opinor, modo:
> “Corque meum penitus turgescit tristibus iris,
> Cum decore atque omni me orbatum laude recordor”.
>
> And so in dealing with the passage in Homer where Achilles laments to this effect, I think:
> Big is the heart in my breast with a gloomy swelling of anger,
> When I remember that I have been robbed of my honour and glory,
> Dionysius of Heraclea argues not unskilfully[81].

Dionysius posits that emotions constitute a form of psychic pathology, a process of inflammation within the soul. Consequently, those who are considered to possess wisdom are, by definition, excluded from this condition

78 Translation by Wilson 2023, 220.
79 The information regarding Dionysius of Heraclea derive from Diogenes Laertius, Cicero himself (cf. *SVF* DE 422–434) and Philodemus.
80 Diogenes Laertius (7, 166) provides a list of titles of Stoic works by Dionysius of Heraclea.
81 Translation by King 1950, 247.

(Tusc. 3, 19 *sapientis … animus semper vacat vitium, numquam turgescit, numquam tumet*). Dionysius posits that the Homeric poem is an optimal vehicle for elucidating moral philosophy in a dialectical form[82].

The aforementioned passage serves to illustrate the manner in which the poetic quotation was already present in Cicero's source text, which he takes care to translate. The phrase *ut opinior* can be interpreted as a translator's expression of humility[83]. It is less plausible to suggest that the aside imparts to the quotation the tone of an approximate and extemporaneous recollection, and that the verses were commented upon without being quoted in the source text[84]. The practice of offering commentary on poetic texts is a common occurrence within the tradition of Stoicism[85]. Furthermore, the utilization of examples drawn from Homer's works constitutes a salient aspect of the ethical reflection characteristic of the philosophical schools that emerged during the Hellenistic era. In particular, the character of Achilles represents an impetuous hero prone to anger[86], which stands in contrast to the Stoic ideal of the *sapiens*[87].

The Homeric passage is concerned with the renewal of Achilles' anger at the memory of the humiliation suffered by Agamemnon during the altercation between the two heroes. A direct and precise comparison between the Latin and Greek texts can be made solely with regard to the initial Latin verse; the second one draws its inspiration from Homer. Cicero's translation is notable for its elevated stylistic register, its universalization of the experience described, and its dramatization of the Greek text[88]. The terms *penitus* and *tristibus* are typically regarded as additions made by the translator, which serve to intensify the verse both phonically (through the use of alliteration involving the letters *t* and *r*) and semantically[89]. This is evident in the use of the adverb, which situates the genesis of wrath at an unspecified depth within the heart. However, this is not the case with the clause *tristibus iris,* which is,

82 Cappelletti 1996, 90.

83 "*Hoc, ut opinor, modo* bezeichnet das Folgende als Ciceros eigene Übersetzung" (Heine 1957, 14), see Dougan – Mitchell Henry 1934, 23.

84 Cf. Chinnici 2000, 54.

85 Cappelletti 1996, 89.

86 Buffière 1973, 316. 334 f. On the Stoic interpretation of Homer, see also Long 1992.

87 As Chinnici (2000, 53) notes, the inchoative verb *turgesco* is notably reused in § 19 *sapientis … animus … numquam turgescit.*

88 In general, the accentuation of emotional resonance represents a pivotal feature of the Latin translation: see Traina 1974, esp. 65–68.

89 Traina 1974, 81; Chinnici 2000, 55.

in fact, an analytical rendering of *χόλῳ*[90]. In this instance, Cicero has chosen to utilize the term *ira* as a translation for the Greek word *χόλος,* which denotes anger without implying the physical reaction that is typically associated with this emotion. This reflects Cicero's tendency to eschew a direct correlation with the symptomatology of anger, as evidenced by the Homeric paraphrase in Tusc. 4, 49. Conversely, the adjective *tristis* is employed by Cicero to convey a more abstract and evocative representation of the chromatic note of gloom[91] and the quality of bitterness than is evident in the Greek text. In the context of the ancient imaginary, these elements are traditionally associated with *χόλος/bilis* and, more generally, with anger. It can thus be argued that in the context of the Ciceronian translation, the term *tristis* does not merely signify the intensity or violence of anger[92], rather, it reflects an attempt to maintain the essential (albeit implicit) semantic features of the Greek noun, namely anger with its connotation of gloom and bitterness.

The inchoative verb *turgesco* accurately denotes the initial phase of the progressive transformation in Achilles' emotional state[93], translating the Greek *οἰδάνομαι.* This indicates the moment at which wrath resurfaces, prompted by memory[94]. No documented attestations of this meaning of *turgesco* have been identified prior to this. However, prior to its technical value in the psychic sphere being established, the verb must have been used especially in an agricultural context, as evidenced by its occurrences in Varro[95]. The second verse represents a significant departure from the original Greek text. Cicero transforms the reference to a specific, albeit contingent, episode into a more general statement, eliminating the use of proper nouns *(ἐν Ἀργείοισιν, Ἀτρεΐδης).* The subject of the sentence is no longer Agamemnon; rather, the Latin text directs attention to Achilles, who is both the subject and object of the phrase. Cicero places particular emphasis on his condition of deprivation of honour,

90 The phrase *tristis irae* has a certain afterlife in the Latin literature: see e.g. Verg. ecl. 2, 14 (cf. the variation *triste … ira* in 3, 80 f.); Aen. 3, 666; Hor. carm. 1, 16, 9; Stat. Theb. 12, 574; Sil. 10, 225.

91 Dougan – Mitchell Henry 1934, 23.

92 According to Chinnici 2000, 55.

93 Traglia (1950, 136 f.) identifies the inchoative and the frequentative verbs as forms that serve to intensify the expressivity of Cicero's poetic language.

94 The aorist *ἔρεξεν* serves to emphasise the exactitude of the circumstances that precipitate Achilles' emotional response: see Chinnici 2000, 53.

95 Persius will recover the technical meaning of *turgesco* in sat. 3, 8 … *turgescit vitrea bilis,* where *bilis* indicates anger from a physiological point of view and recalls Homer's *χόλος.*

with the phrase *me orbatum* occupying a prominent position between the masculine caesura in the 3rd foot and the bucolic diaeresis.

Cicero replaces the evil suffered *(ἀσύφηλον)* with the good lost *(decore atque laude)*[96]. The phrase *decore atque omni laude (me orbatum)* appears to have been inspired by the term *ἀτίμητος* at v. 648 *(… ὡς εἴ τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην),* which is intensified by the use of a couple of terms, the presence of *omnis,* and the sense of privation, which assumes a more individual connotation. It is noteworthly, however, that the Latin version does not emphasise the concept of social exclusion to the same extent as the Greek text (647 *με vs. ἐν Ἀργείοισιν,* 648 *μετανάστην*). Conversely, the text places greater emphasis on the deprivation of values, namely *decus* and *laus,* which are closely associated with the social and political dimension[97]. The etymological figure *(cor … recordor)* provides a frame for this phrase of gnomic tone, which represents an experience that is universally relatable and that Cicero himself had undergone[98].

In Tusc. 3, 63, Cicero provides an extensive list of potential human responses to the loss of loved ones, which can be considered an inventory of grieving reactions[99]. Bellerophon, the sole male character in a line-up of natural mothers (Niobe, Hecuba) and putative mothers (Medea's nurse), is emblematic of the grief-stricken father, who seeks solitude to express his anguish[100]. Niobe's transformation into stone can be interpreted as a reflection of her enduring quest for solace and silence in her mourning[101]. In contrast, Hecuba represents the anguished scream of heartbreak, while Medea's nurse symbolises the overwhelming outpouring of grief in the face of nature's indifference[102]:

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96 Traina 1974, 82.

97 In the source text, the idea of privation is given by ἀ- privative of *ἀτίμητος.*

98 Traina 1974, 82.

99 Chinnici 2000, 58.

100 Indeed, Scarcia (1984, 205 n. 9) describes a 'Bellerophon complex', which bears resemblance to the 'Philoctetes complex': the sense of solitude resulting from a poignant personal tragedy allows Cicero's to identify himself with Bellerophon; the solitude suffered for political reasons favours his identification with Philoctetes.

101 The petrification is emblematic of Niobe's enduring, voiceless anguish. Cicero thus proffers a rationalising interpretation of the myth, which serves to illustrate the process of 'Entmythisierung' of the Niobe myth, a process that had already commenced during the Hellenistic era (cf. Philem. fr. 101 Koch): Bömer 1976, 49, Forbes Irving 1990, 146–148. On Ovid's elaboration of the myth, see Aresi 2019, esp. 147–151.

102 The theme of discourse with the natural elements is discussed in Scarcia 1984, 203 n. 6.

> … ex hoc evenit ut in animi doloribus alii solitudines captent, ut ait Homerus de Bellerophonte:
> “Qui miser in campis maerens errabat Aleis
> Ipse suum cor edens, hominum vestigia vitans”.
> Et Nioba fingitur lapidea propter aeternum, credo, in luctu silentium, Hecubam autem putant propter animi acerbitatem quandam et rabiem fingi in canem esse conversam. sunt autem alii, quos in luctu cum ipsa solitudine loqui saepe delectat, ut illa apud Ennium nutrix:
> “Cupido cepit miseram nunc me proloqui
> Caelo atque terrae Medeai miserias”.
>
> Hence it comes that, in times when the soul is grieved, others seek out solitude, as Homer says of Bellerophon:
> “In the Aleïan plain he desolate wandered in sorrow,
> Eating his heart out alone, and the footsteps of men he avoided”.
> And Niobe is imagined in stone to represent, I suppose, everlasting silence in sorrow, while they think that Hecuba on the other hand, by reason of a sort of fierceness and fury of soul, was imagined to have been changed into a bitch. There are, moreover, other mourners who often find delight in holding converse with solitude itself, like the well-known nurse in Ennius:
> “Longing has come upon me now, poor wretch,
> To heav’n and earth to tell Medea’s woes”[103].

The couplet dedicated to Bellerophon is a Ciceronian translation (fr. 24 Bl.^{2}) of Homer, *Iliad* 6, 201 f.:

> ἤτοι ὃ κὰπ πεδίον τὸ Ἀλήϊον οἶος ἀλᾶτο
> ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων
>
> […] Alone and lost, he wandered
> across the Alean plain, heartsick with grief,
> avoiding any human habitation[104].

Cicero’s translation marks the beginning of a series of three mythological *exempla* (Bellerophon, Niobe, Hecuba) that depict parents grappling with the

103 Translation by King 1950, 301.
104 “[…] Alone and lost, he [*sc.* Bellerophon] wandered / across the Alean plain, heartsick with grief, / avoiding any human habitation”, translation by Wilson 2023, 141.

loss of their children. The experiences of these figures bear resemblance to those of Demosthenes, who is referenced immediately prior[105].

The Homeric text is preoccupied with Bellerophon's isolation, wandering and misanthropy, beginning with the toponym, which allows for a word play between the terms *Ἀλήϊον, ἀλᾶτο* and *ἀλεείνων*[106]. This can be regarded as a form of exile, which appears to place Bellerophon in a state of limbo between life and death[107]. The Homeric text does not elucidate the reasons for this. However, based on the preceding verse, which was omitted by Cicero, it has been postulated that a penalty has been incurred for an infraction. As verse 200 makes a vague reference to the divine hatred of the hero *(ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ καὶ κεῖνος ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν)*[108], an alternative hypothesis is that Bellerophon was mourning the death of two of his three sons, a theme that is recalled in verses 203–205.

This is the interpretation that Cicero (or his source) puts forth regarding the Homeric passage, as found in the *scholia*[109]. In Tusc. 3, 63, Bellerophon is, in fact, remembered as an emblem of the grieving father, rather than as a character generically affected by that 'endogenous' and unfounded melancholy that has been attributed to him by tradition, from Aristotle onwards[110]. It seems reasonable to posit that Cicero discerned a reflection of his own experience in the narrative of the hero[111]. Consequently, the concept of loneliness, represented by the Greek term οἶος, is replaced by that of pain, reiterated in two synonymous and alliterative terms: *miser* and *maerens*[112]. The second term is emphasised by the masculine caesuras in the third and fourth feet. Furthermore, in addition to *errabat,* the words *miser* and *maerens* necessitate the utilisation of the voiced alveolar consonant *(miser, maerens, errabat),* thereby providing a compensatory element that aligns with the triple alliteration observed in the source text *(Ἀλήϊον, ἀλᾶτο, ἀλείνων).* The

105 Demosthenes had indeed lost his daughter. Cicero refers to the criticism directed at him by Aeschines (cf. in Ctes. 77) concerning his failure to respect the period of mourning.

106 Stoevesandt 2016, 87.

107 D'Alfonso 2008, 1–5. On the connection between silence and exile, see Degl'Innocenti Pierini 2007.

108 "But then Bellerophon aroused the hatred of all the gods", translation by Wilson 2023, 141. On the suspected interpolation of vv. 200–202, see Stoevesandt 2016, 86 f.

109 Sch. Il. 6, 200–205 ed. Erbse 1971, 166; further details in Scarcia 1984, 204 n. 8.

110 Cf. e.g. Arist. Probl. 30, 1, 953 a; Giusti 1933, 42–49, Scarcia 1984, 202 f. n. 5.

111 Cicero thus identifies himself with Bellerophon, with whom he shares the experience of mourning: on the 'Bellerophon complex' see above, n. 100.

112 Traina 1974, 81.

alliterative clause *vestigia vitans* exhibits a structural resemblance to the Greek one *(ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων).* In the second verse, the masculine caesura in the third foot separates the two perfectly symmetrical hemistichs, both of which are closed by the participle *(edens ... vitans).* The Latin *ipse,* which occupies a prominent position in the verse, has no direct equivalent in Greek. Furthermore, the pronoun, emphasised by the term *suum,* serves to reinforce the image of a man who evades the footsteps of others by consuming his own heart[113].

Consequently, Bellerophon is isolated from the social dimension as a result of his grief, which renders him a "living dead". The voluntary exile that the hero has imposed upon himself is analogous to that which Cicero enacts following the death of Tullia, which occurred a couple of months ago and is described in a letter to Atticus (12, 15), written just before *Tusculan Disputations*[114]:

> in hac solitudine careo omnium colloquio, cumque mane me in silvam abstrusi densam et asperam, non exeo inde ante vesperum. secundum te nihil est mihi amicius solitudine. in ea mihi omnis sermo est cum litteris. eum tamen interpellat fletus; cui repugno quoad possum, sed adhuc pares non sumus.
>
> In this lonely place I do not talk to a soul. Early in the day I hide myself in a thick, thorny wood, and don't emerge till evening. Next to yourself solitude is my best friend. When I am alone all my conversation is with books, but it is interrupted by fits of weeping, against which I struggle as best I can. But so far it is an unequal fight[115].

The Alean plain is characterized by an overwhelming sense of solitude, which evokes the solitude depicted in this letter as the forest of Astura *(solitudo),* Cicero's refuge in suffering[116]. This is a location with a tangible existence, imbued with profound emotional and symbolic significance. The forest is depicted as a dense and intricate environment, characterised as an unwelcoming and inaccessible place *(silvam ... densam et asperam).* It is a

113 Chinnici 2000, 61.
114 On Cicero's grief over the death of his daughter, see Baltussen 2009.
115 Translation by Shackleton Bailey 1966, 89.
116 Cic. Att. 12, 13, 2 *latibulum et perfugium doloris mei.*

space of solitude, shaped by the necessity to find solace for one's pain[117]. Furthermore, it can be conceptualised as an expression of the primacy of nature, in which cultural norms are superseded[118]. Indeed, Cicero conceals himself here, as though he were an animal in its lair. The act of crying represents the primitive and instinctive aspect of emotional expression. This is in contrast to the domain of the written word, which finds expression in a context that is separate from the gaze of others. This phenomenon is distinct from the stages where tragedies are represented, which Cicero criticizes as a means of displaying pain[119].

In this letter, Cicero's emotional state remains unresolved, as evidenced by his continued weeping. In this instance, he provides an exemplar of the representation of mourning through his own actions. Cicero revisits this topic a few months later in the *Tusculanae Disputationes,* representing it no longer in subjective terms but in objective terms[120]. Consequently, the weeping that overwhelms Cicero is diluted in the *miser* and *maerens* pair of the Homeric translation, which has been probably influenced by the scholia's interpretation of the Homeric text. If the Alean plain, in which Bellerophon wanders, can be considered to represent the liminal space between life and death, then the *silva* of Astura can be seen as a location where nature asserts its dominance over culture. This literary topography thus finds a correspondence in a place that is both real and symbolic, where an equally real and concrete pain finds expression[121].

Conclusions

In conclusion, it can be seen that the quotation does not merely serve a decorative function; rather, it marks important junctures in the argument developed and is adapted (in terms of both form and content) to the passage in

117 In contrast to the *locus amoenus,* where isolation is a deliberate choice and typically involves the separation of a few individuals from the larger group, as observed by Petrone 1988, 7.

118 Petrone 1988, 8.

119 The passage dedicated to Bellerophon is in fact preceded by a quotation from Accius (fr. *inc.* 672 R.[2] = fr. *inc.* 697 Dangel, which in turn elaborates on Hom. Il. 10, 15), which focuses on Agamemnon's ostentatious display of grief and thus constitutes an antiphrastic example with regard to Bellerophon: see Chinnici 2000, 57.

120 Scarcia 1984, 202.

121 Traina 1974, 84.

which it is inserted. In the contexts previously discussed, poetic quotation is frequently employed to challenge the Peripatetic doctrines on the one hand and to reinforce Stoic ones on the other. Furthermore, as demonstrated in the analysis of the interconnection between *ira* and *fortitudo,* the poetic citation evokes a set of images that align with both the author and the audience. By challenging the notion of *gladiatoria iracundia,* Cicero effectively Romanizes a Greek philosophical motif, rendering it more accessible to his readers. In certain instances, Cicero's prose is modified to align with the poetic style of the text with which it is paired (this is exemplified, for instance, by the use of *stomachor* in Tusc. 4, 48). Conversely, in other instances, the quotation is adapted to align with the existing syntax of the prose, being incorporated into it (cf. Tusc. 4, 52 f.).

The act of quoting is inherently partial, as it entails a selection on the part of the author who is quoting, which is influenced by a number of factors, including the author's value system, cultural background, personal experience, and the objectives of his work. This is exemplified by the two translations from the *Iliad* in Tusc. 3, 18 and 63. Cicero occasionally selects from the poetic *corpus* those myths, situations, *sententiae,* scenes and characters that are most appropriate for illustrating the themes he is discussing. This can be viewed as an 'appropriation' of the source text, which is occasionally shaped by the reasoning he is conducting. This is evident in his discussion of the anticipation of Ajax's madness (4, 52 f.), in the depiction of Achilles as deprived of glory and honour (3, 18), or in Bellerophon's solitary and silent wandering (3, 63).

In the case of the translated quotation, the selection operates on a further degree, as it does not merely entail identifying the pericope to be quoted; rather, it involves the act of *vertere,* which is, in fact, a work of relative creation that frequently claims its autonomy from the original. The relationship between the translated and the source text is analogous to that of *imitatio*[122]. In both instances, Cicero offers an autobiographical reinterpretation of the Homeric text. His translations are distinguished by an elevation of the stylistic register, the universalization of the experience described in the quoted text, its dramatization and the minimization of the physical dimension of emotions (cf. e.g. *tristibus iris* in 3, 18, which translates *χόλῳ*).

In the case of the paraphrase, Cicero further elaborates the poetic text by amalgamating it with his prose. Similarly, as seen in Tusc. 4, 49, he identifies the elements of the source text that he intends to enhance and excludes

122 Traina 1989, 93.

or minimises the others. As previously discussed, the translation presents a reduction in emotional data, namely a downplaying of physical details and emotional symptoms.

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