UNDIS ET TEMPESTATIBUS: A NOTE ON THE POLEMIC IN THE PROEM TO CICERO, REP. 1

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The introduction to *De Re Publica* contains an impassioned exhortation to 'virtus' and to the 'vita activa', directed against the proponents of 'otium' / μη πολιτεύεσθαι. In the surviving text of the proem these adversaries are designated only as 'isti'; their identity, or better their affiliations, must be inferred from the arguments they use, and from Cicero's own counter-arguments. It is clear, on this basis, that 'isti' are not an entirely homogeneous group; but equally clearly the anti-Epicurean complexion at several points in Cicero's polemic implies that the group must have included a substantial Epicurean component. This is widely accepted.  

A work that begins with a protreptic to 'virtus' and culminates, in the Somnium, in an exposition of the immortality that awaits the statesman who personifies that 'virtus', has an implicit anti-Epicurean bias, even if the disciples of the Garden are nowhere mentioned by name. Most recently J.D. Minyard, analysing the intellectual climate and competing ideological currents in the late republic, has argued compellingly that in this context Cicero's *Rep.* can be seen as an attempt to reassert the traditional civic values embodied in the 'mos maiorum' against the assault of Epicureanism:  

Cicero's reading of the *De Rerum Natura* looks like a good candidate for the immediate intellectual cause of his *De Re Publica* and, later, *De Legibus*. He had read Lucretius' poem by February of 54 B.C., perhaps some months earlier, and had begun work on the *De Re Publica* the next May. . . . The *De Rerum Natura* will have been a great provocation to Cicero. . . . He could now see how far Epicureanism might go. . . . The political crisis, of which Cicero had long been aware and with which he had spent his life dealing, was now, more than ever before, a fully intellectual crisis as well. . . . [Epicureanism] was a real enemy now, and for the next ten years Cicero dismantled it in essay after essay. . . .

Many points of detail corroborate this hypothesis. It would of course be an oversimplification to explain the *Rep.* exclusively as a counter-attack against Lucretius and the Epicureans, but to discount this vital dimension would be equally inadequate. The remarks that follow pursue Minyard's
suggestion by examining the metaphor ‘in his undis et tempestatibus’ in
the first proem; since however its value and function are determined con­
textually and by thematic respondence, these questions too will receive due
attention.

The appearance of the *De Rerum Natura* in 54 may well have been
the catalyst that activated Cicero’s anti-Epicureanism in the Rep., but his
polemic will also have had a wider social significance. To custodians of
traditional civic values, Lucretius’ poem must have been an ominous sign
of the rising tide of Epicureanism. The *De Rerum Natura* is too difficult
a text to suppose that it had great effect in popularizing the philosophy
(at least outside aristocratic circles); but Lucretius’ exposition was (among
other things) an attempt to offer an alternative to the canon of traditional
civic values and to provide a theoretical justification for political apathy —
and as such its symbolical significance and subversive potential must
have been at least as great, in Cicero’s eyes, as any real impact, and he
may well have perceived the doctrine of Epicurus, here articulated for the
first time in Latin, as an ideological rallying point for opponents of the
tradition he was himself concerned to defend. This has some bearing on
our interpretation of ‘isti’. Cicero’s anti-Epicureanism in the Rep. is best
understood as comprising an ‘academic’ as well as an empirical aspect:
it is aimed specifically at the philosophical theories expounded in the *De
Rerum Natura*, more generally at those individuals whose actual behaviour,
if not their professed allegiance, could be criticized on these same criteria—
contemporary Romans, in other words, whose comportment (whether from
philosophical conviction or otherwise) tended towards ‘quies’ / ‘otium’ /
‘voluptas’ rather than to ‘virtus’ / ‘industria’.5

Two sections in the proem are conspicuous for their clusters of polem­
ical motifs. Of the many historical paradigms, both Greek and Roman,
adduced to illustrate the ideals of ‘virtus’ and the ‘vita activa’, the exam­
ples of the elder Cato (1.1) and of Cicero’s own political career (1.7–8) are
prominently placed at the beginning and towards the end of the surviving
introduction. These sections not only articulate the ideological thrust of
Cicero’s argument but also answer each other in contrapuntal detail, and
as such should be analysed as a balancing pair.

M. vero Catoni homini ignoto et novo, quo omnes qui isdem rebus
studemus quasi exemplari ad industriam virtutemque ducimur, certe
licuit Tusculi se in otio delectare, salubri et propinquo loco. Sed homo
demens ut isti putant, cum cogeret eum necessitas nulla, in his undis
et tempestatibus ad summam senectutem maluit iactari, quam in illa
tranquillitate atque otio iucundissime vivere. Omitto innumerabilis
viros, quorum singuli saluti huic civitati fuerunt, ei qui sunt (haud)
procul ab aetatis huius memoria, commemorare eos desino, ne quis se
Cicero here takes up the cause of his exemplar Cato against the latter’s critics (‘isti’). These detractors argue in Epicurean categories and from Epicurean premises. (1) If the ‘otium’ spurned by the Censor (‘certe licuit ... se in otio delectare’) suggests something akin to their ideal of quietude, the Epicurean connexion is hinted at more clearly in the subsequent pairings ‘tranquillitate atque otio’ and ‘blandimenta voluptatis otique’: this is the terminology of the Ἐπικούρειον. (2) Although Cato had the option (‘certe licuit ...’) of a life of ‘otium’, he preferred the tempests of Roman political life. Mention of an alternative, and a seductive one at that (‘salubri et propinquo loco’), emphasizes that Cato’s decision was the result of a deliberate and reasoned act of choice: he was acting ‘sua voluntate’ and under no external compulsion (‘cum cogeret eum necessitas nulla’) — for which he is duly censured as ‘demens’. The basis for this criticism is clearly the Epicurean ‘exceptio’ formula, which allowed political participation only in emergencies. But voluntary involvement such as Cato’s cannot be justified by this argument: it represents, in fact, an implicit negation of the ‘exceptio’ principle and hints at the opposite Stoic viewpoint.

(3) Cato’s rejection of the ‘otium’ option is described by his critics as follows: ‘in his undis et tempestatibus ad summam senectutem maluit iactari, quam in illa tranquillitate atque otio iucundissime vivere’. The exact value of the storm metaphor is determined contextually through the opposition ‘quam in illa tranquillitate ...’: the basic contrast is thus πολιτεύσαμα — μη πολιτεύσαμα. But the elaborate formal emphasis requires explanation: ‘in his undis et tempestatibus’ is balanced by ‘in illa tranquillitate atque otio’ (the geminations underlining the important notions), ‘iactari’ has its counterpoise in ‘iucundissime vivere’. Is there more to this than just rhetorical ornamentation? The long metaphorical association between sea-storms and politics is of course well-known. Quintilian, commenting on the allegory in Horace C. 1.14 (‘O navis, referent in mare te novi fluctus...’) articulates one widely attested aspect of the image: ‘navem pro re publica, fluctus et tempestates pro bellis civilibus, portum pro pace atque concordia dicit’ (Inst. 8.6.44) — but clearly this is not the nuance in our text, where there is no hint of civil turmoil. More generally, the metaphor may designate the ebb and flow of political life (with emphasis on vicissitudes and unpredictability), and it is taken in this sense by Büchner in his note on Rep. 1.1: ‘Politische Tätigkeit ist ständiger Kampf mit den hochgehaltenen Wogen politischer Leidenschaft’. But since, in our text, ‘undis et tempestatibus’ is used by Cato’s opponents who argue like Epicureans, the
metaphor acquires an additional and very specific contextual nuance. The Epicurean allusion has indeed been noted, but its wider implications remain to be explored. The philosophical framework of reference, suggested in the second half of the antithesis by ‘tranquillitas’ / ‘otium’ (≈ ἀταξία(α)) and ‘iucundissime’ (≈ ‘voluptas’ / ὑπόθεσις), is balanced by an equally precise allusion in the first part, where ‘undis et tempestatibus’ functions as an implicit Epicurean value judgement. The terms of this comparison are well-known: ataractic tranquillity is represented by the image of a calm sea, while a stormy ocean symbolizes the reverse of this positive ideal. The image, attested in both aspects in Epicurus, is elaborated by the poetic imagination of Lucretius:

Suave, mari magno turbantibus sequor ventis,
e terra magnum alterius spectare laborem;
non quia vexari quemquam iucunda voluptas,
sed quibus ipse malis cares quia cernere suave est (2.1–4);
... deus ille fuit, deus, inclute Memmi,
qui princeps vitae rationem invenit eam quae
nunc appellatur sapientia, quique per artem
fluctibus e tantis vitam tantisque tenebris
in tam tranquillo et tam clara luce locavit (5.8–12).

Cicero’s use of both negative (‘undis et tempestatibus’) and positive (‘tranquillitate’) aspects of the image leaves no doubt that specifically Epicurean criteria are here being applied to Cato: from the perspective of his detractors, his zeal for political activity is as senseless as the efforts of the unenlightened ‘pectora caeca’ censured by Lucretius in his second proem. Cato remains active, moreover, ‘ad summam senectutem’, a detail which gives his dedication an uncompromising and absolute quality. To an Epicurean, this is sheer madness — but traditionalists would not miss an allusion to the opposing Stoic ideal, and to this extent the detail enlivens the thrust and counter-thrust of the philosophical polemic.

(4) Finally, Cicero answers the ‘isti’ in his own person. With ‘omitto innumerabilis viros...’ he picks up the motif ‘civitiati saluti esse’ (illustrated earlier by the historical examples of patriotism in the mutilated first sentence of the work, ‘... (im)petu liberavissent, nec C. Duclius A. Atilius L. Metellus terrore Karthaginis’ etc.). But following on immediately after Cato, this ideal seems misplaced — for the Censor’s untiring litigation had little to do with patriotism; it was introduced primarily for its polemical effect (a Stoically tinged counterfoil to the Epicurean ‘in illa tranquillitate atque otio iucundissime vivere’), perhaps also to foreshadow the parallel motif in Cicero’s later sketch of his own career. At any rate, this idea is expanded in the last sentence where Cicero, moving outwards from the particular to the general (‘M. vero Catoni’ — ‘innumerabilis vi-
ros' — 'generi hominum'), effectively answers the critical 'isti' and rounds off the section by formulating a universal law: 'Unum hoc definio, tantam esse necessitatem virtutis generi hominum a natura tantumque amorem ad communem salutem defendendam datam, ut ea vis omnia blandimenta voluptatis otique vicerit'. Against the ideals of 'otium' and 'voluptas' he forcefully asserts the priority of the civic impulse, implanted by nature herself: 'amorem ad communem salutem defendendam'. Man is a political animal.

The polemic in the Cato paragraph is matched blow for blow, both formally and in content, by Cicero's autobiographical sketch at 1.7–8:

Is enim fueram, cui cum liceret aut maiores ex otio fructus capere quam ceteris propter variam suavitatem studiorum, in quibus a puertitia vixeram, aut si quid accideret acerbius universis, non praecepuram sed parem cum ceteris fortunae condicionem subire, non dubitaverim me gravissimis tempestatibus ac paene fulminibus ipsis obvium ferre conservandorum civium causa, meisque propriis periculis pareae commune reliquis otium. Neque enim hac nos patria lege genuit aut educavit, ut nulla quasi alimenta exspectaret a nobis ac tantummodo nostri ipsa commodis serviens tutum perfugium otio nostro suppeditaret et tranquillum ad quietem locum, sed ut plurimas et maximas nostri animi ingenii consiliis partis ipsa sibi ad utilitatem suam pigneraretur tantumque nobis in nostrum privatum usum quantum ipsi superesse posset remitteret. (1.7–8)

(1) The first hint of the synkrisis Cato–Cicero had been the detail 'M. vero Catoni homini ignoto et novo', an allusion which transparently foreshadows the 'novus homo' from Arpinum. (2) Cato's option of 'otium' is answered, with rhetorical amplification, in Cicero's own alternative ('certe licuit ... se in otio delectare' ≈ 'cui cum liceret aut maiores ex otio fructus capere quam ceteris'); but Cicero, like his exemplar, elected the opposite course ('sed homo demens ut isti putant, cum ogeret eum necessitas nulla ...' ≈ 'non dubitaverim...'). The same convictions inform both decisions. (3) The storm metaphor of the first passage reappears, dramatically expanded, in the second ('in his undis et tempestatibus' ≈ 'me gravissimis tempestatibus ac paene fulminibus ipsis obvium ferre'). (4) And finally the second passage, like the first, culminates in a formally comparable generalization based on the preceding particulars ('unum hoc definio' ≈ 'neque enim hac nos patria lege genuit aut educavit'); thematic echoes underscore the parallel thrust of the two texts ('tutum perfugium otio nostro' ≈ 'tranquillum ad quietem locum').

But the differences between the two paragraphs, no less than these obvious similarities, require attention. For a start, 'otium' must be qualitatively differentiated. In the Cato passage, where it is significantly coupled with
'voluptas', it designates a hedonistic rejection of τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι, while the 'otium' that Cicero declines has a more pronounced intellectual and philosophical component. Similarly the storm metaphor in the second passage, while clearly a thematic counterpoise to the earlier 'undis et tempestatibus', now has a different nuance and contextual function. The specific reference is most likely to be to Cicero's suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy, and 'gravissimis tempestatibus' therefore alludes to political upheaval (cf. below, n. 10). But that is clearly not the full extent of its function. The pathos in 'gravissimis', the grandiloquent hyperbole 'ac paene fulminibus ipsis' and the defiant 'me ... obvium ferre' (intensifying the earlier 'maluit iactari') all point to a grandly heroic gesture — performed specifically within the civic framework ('conservandorum civium causa'). The storm metaphor therefore articulates and throws into relief a particular act of political heroism which in turn symbolizes the broader ideal of 'communem salutem defendere', and to this end the next sentence elaborates the antithesis 'private–public' ('meisque propriis periculis parere commune reliquis otium'). It is this essentially civic orientation in the second metaphor that challenges comparison with the earlier Epicurean allusion in 'undis et tempestatibus': Cicero has reversed the original thrust of the image by transforming it from condemnation of τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι to a Stoically tinged metaphor with positive, even heroic, overtones. But the suggestion of political heroism goes beyond mere point-scoring against the Epicureans: as a background, the philosophical debate provides a framework of reference which Cicero has used to exalt and mythologize his personal achievement, i.e. his anti-Epicurean polemic — quite apart from its contemporary social relevance — is also a medium for self-definition.

This style of argumentation, resulting typically when competing value systems use a common vocabulary or store of images to express diametrically opposing ideals, is well documented. When traditional values cease to be taken for granted and established notions are called into question, the relationship between words and the sets they describe becomes fluid; this phenomenon of 'semantic dislocation', as a consequence and symptom of intellectual crisis, has been penetratingly analysed by Minyard with reference to the late republic and to the diction of Lucretius in particular. The principle extends also to metaphorical usage: when the underlying notions are questioned or reinterpreted, the images that articulate these notions will themselves undergo a change in value. Lucretius provides excellent examples for this process when, in his attack on the popular literary depiction of love (4.1037ff.), he ironically deploys against its proponents their own conventional erotic imagery in order to debunk it. Cicero too pointedly counters and undermines Epicurean views by deploying against them (inverted) reminiscences of Lucretius. Describing the immortality that awaits patriotic statesmen, his expression 'certum esse in caelo definitum
locum, ubi beati aevö sempiterno fruantur' (Rep. 6.13) recalls Lucretius' own account of the unperturbed Epicurean gods:

\[
\text{omnis enim per se divum natura necessest}
\]

\[
\text{immortali aevö summa cum pace fruatur} \quad (2.646-47).
\]

Verbal echo ironically underscores the opposition: Epicurean apolitical ἄστροφιξις is brought into contrast with the vigorous exercise of 'virtus' ('omnia qui patriam conservaverint, adiuverint, auxerint ...'), and is by implication exposed as an illusion. In a similar vein 'vestigiis ingressus patris et tuis' (Rep. 6.26), spoken by Scipio Aemilianus and expressing his allegiance to the ideals of his forefathers, is an ironic reminiscence of Lucretius' own declaration of fidelity to Epicurus,

\[
\text{cuius ego ingressus vestigia dum rationes}
\]

\[
\text{persecurar ...} \quad (5.55-6). \text{26}
\]

A final example of this kind of polemical allusion takes us back to the proem of Rep. 1. In the Cato passage (1.1) Epicurean 'voluptas' drew fire from Cicero; a little later, when Cicero outlines his own ideal, the term reappears in a passage dense with philosophical allusion — applied now to the cohesive social impulse that is the polar opposite of egoistical hedonism: 'et quoniam maxime rapimur ad opes augendae generis humani, studemusque nostris consiliis et laboribus tutiorem et opulentiorem vitam hominum reddere, et ad hanc voluptatem ipsius naturae stimulis incitamur ...' (1.3). The irony and polemical intent in the repetition cannot be overheard. \text{27}

Lucretian echoes and images are consciously used by Cicero to subvert their original meaning. Employed in a new context and with changed referent, they acquire a polemical edge: Epicurean doctrine is sharply confronted with Cicero's own ideal. The storm metaphors, embedded as they are among other thematic respondences, should also be seen as a complementary pair and interpreted within this style of argumentation. Cicero appropriates the emblematic image from Lucretius, inverts its specifically Epicurean significance, and then redirects it against his Epicurean opponents. Taken together, the two images thus amount to a pointed and polemical riposte to the advocates of 'otium', 'tranquillitas' and 'voluptas', while behind the purely philosophical issues lurks the unmistakable tendency towards self-definition and exaltation.

Notes

1. Thus e.g. M. Pohlens, 'Cicero de re publica als Kunstwerk', in \textit{Kleine Schriften} 2 (ed. H. Dörrie), Hildesheim 1965, 379: 'Die Gegner, mit denen sich Cicero auseinandersetzt, sind die Epikureer' — but he adds (379 n. 3) that 'isti in angulis' (1.2) 'sind von den Gegnern, die Cicero im ganzen bekämpft, verschieden'. A similar distinction is made by A. Grilli (ed.), \textit{M. Tulli Ciceronis Hortensius}, Milano


3. See in particular the penetrating analyses of Fontaine (above, n. 2) passim, and Andreoni (above, n. 1) 281–321; perceptive observations also in S. Santilli (reviewing Grilli, I proemi), A&R 17 (1972) 133–38; H.-T. Johaan, Gerechtigkeit und Nutzen, Heidelberg 1981, 276 with 592 nn. 100 and 101.

4. For a survey of the complex background to the Rep., its antecedents, intention and relevance to the contemporary Roman scene, see M. Geiter, Cicero, Wiesbaden 1969, 212–24; Boyancé (above, n. 1) 182–84; Pfägersdorfer (above, n. 1) passim; P.L. Schmidt, ‘Cicero “De re publica”. Die Forschung der letzten fünf Dezennien’, ANRW 1.4 (1973) esp. 284–85, 319–23; K.M. Girardet, Die Ordnung der Welt,


6. ‘*Omnia blandimenta voluptatis* in particular recalls ‘*blanda voluptas*’ (*Lucr.* 2.966; 4.1263; 5.178): cf. Santilli (above, n. 3) 136.

7. Cic. *Rep.* 1.10, ‘*illa autem exceptio ... , quod negant sapientem suscepturum ul­lam rei publicae partem, extra quam si eum tempus et necessitas coegerit*’; cf. *Sen. Ct.* 3.2, ‘*Epicurus ait: “Non accedit ad rem publicam sapiens, nisi si quid interveniret”*; *Zenon ait: “Accedet ad rem publicam, nisi si quid impedierit.”*’ The rebuke ‘*demens*’, topical in this context (Cic. *Sest.* 23, ‘*laudabat homo doctus philosophos nescio quos ... qui dicuntur praeter ceteros esse auctores et laudatores voluptatis; eosdem praeclare dicere aiebat sapientes omnia sua causa facere, rem publicam capessere hominem bene sane non oportere, nihil esse praestabilius otiosa vita plena et conferta voluptatibus; eos autem, qui divergent dignitati esse servirem, rem publicae consulendum, officii rationem in omni vita, non commodi esse ducesdam, adeunde pro patria pericula, volnera excipienda, mortem oppetendam, vaticinari atque insanire*’), is related to the theme of ‘*stultorum ... vita*’ (*Lucr.* 3.1023).

8. This deliberate rejection of ‘*otium*’, as implied in ‘*certe licuit ... se in otio delectare*’, becomes a topos in anti-Epicurean polemic; thus Cic. *Tusc.* 1.33, ‘*Nemo unquam sine magna spe immortalitatis se pro patria offerret ad mortem. *Liciet esse attuso Themistoclis, licuit Epanchronas, licuit, se et vetera et externa quas eram, nihil [cf. *Rep.* 1.7], sed nescio quo modo inharet in mentibus quasi saeculorum quodam augurium futurorum, iique in maximis ingenii altissimisque animis et exstitit maxime et apparet facilium. Quo quidem dempto quis tam esse amens qui semper in la­boribus et periculis vivet?*’ Grilli, *I proemi* (above, n. 1) 21 quotes later Greek examples of this topos (Plutarch, Maximus of Tyre).


10. So too Cic. *De Or.* 1.2, ‘*Quam spem cogitationum et coasiliorum meorum cum
graves communium temporum tum varii nostri casus fefellerunt; nam qui locus qui­


12. Santilli (above, n. 3) 136; Andreoni (above, n. 1) 284 n. 13; M. Griffin, *GBR* 33 (1986) 76 n. 6.


15. The polemical point in ‘ad summam senectutem’ becomes clear when the motif reappears — this time as a positive ideal — in another salvo against Cicero’s opponents (*Rep.* 1.4): ‘Adiunguntur pericula vitae, turpisque ab his formido mortis (cf. Lucr. 3.64, ‘mortis formidin’): foribus viris opponitur, quisbus magis id miserum videri solet, natura se consumi et senectute, quam sibi dari tempus ut possint eam vitam, quae tamen esset reddenda naturae, pro patria potissimum reddere’. The use of the motif at Sen. *Ct.* 1.4 suggests that it became a standard argument in school polemic: ‘Dices mihi: quid agis, Seneca? deseris partes? Certe Stoici vestri dicit: usque ad ultimum vitae finem in actu erimus, non desinemus communi boso operam dare, aliuvare singulos, opem ferre etiam inimicos, eniti manu. Nos sumus quos nihil annis vacationem damus et, quod ait ille vir disertissimus, canitiem galea premimus; nossums apud quos usque eo nihil ante mortem otiosum est ut, si res patitur, non sit ipsa mors otiosa ... ’ The ideal is well illustrated in the person of Cato, ‘qui ... maximus laboribus ad summam senectutem summa cum gloria vixit’ (Cic. *Verr.* 2, 5.180).

16. Cf. Büchner’s commentary (above, n. 4) 76f.; Girardet (above, n. 4) 174.


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20. For the background see De Or. 3.13–14, with Girardet (above, n. 4) 171: Cicero's brother Quintus suggests withdrawal into 'otium', but Cicero declines.

21. This selfless dedication is idealized in Cicero's account of his own role in the Catilinarian affair: Cat. 3.1–3, 15, 25; 4.1–2 ('Mihi si haec condicio consulatus data est ut omnis acerbitates, omnis dolores cruciatusque perferrem, feram non solum fortiter verum etiam libenter, dum modo meis laboribus vobis populique Romano dignitas salusque paratur... Nunc si hunc exitum consulatus mei di immortales esse voluerunt ut vos populumque Romanum ex caede miserrima, coniuges liberosque vestros virgines Vestalis ex acerbissima vexatione, templaque delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrum ex forevera fiamma, totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate eriperem, quaecumque mihi uni proponetur fortuna subeant'); 19 ('Habetis ducem memorem vestri, oblitum sui...'). Cf. Graff (above, n. 19) 26–26; Gelzer (above, n. 4) 101.

22. Horace's periphrasis for the Stoa, 'nunc agilis fio et mersor civilibus undis, / virtutis verseae custos rigidusque satelles' (Epist. 1.1.16–17), shows that the image was readily understood, and might even suggest an emblematic value in Stoic circles: if this is correct, I think it likely that the positive Stoic image developed in conscious opposition to the negatively tinged Epicurean metaphor.

23. Thus, for example, Lucretius' well-known 'redefinition' of 'pietas' from Epicurean perspective (5.1198–1203). On the phenomenon in general, see also J.B. White, *When Words Lose Their Meaning*, Chicago 1984, passim.

24. See E.J. Kenney, 'Doctus Lucretius', *Mnemosyne* 23 (1970) esp. 380–88 for full discussion of 'the device of borrowing characteristic imagery in order to turn it back on its originalators and their too receptive readers' (380). Further R.D. Brown, *Lucretius on Love and Sex*, Leiden 1987, 132–43, and his comments on e.g. Lucr. 4.1049–56: '[Lucretius] neglects the quality of the metaphor by taking it literally and insisting on the unpleasant physical realities which it implies: namely, deadly force, bloodshed and collapse. Thus he transforms a pretty conceit into a vehicle for expressing his personal view that sexual passion is a harmful condition... ' (133). Cf. also A. Traina, 'Dira Libido (Sul linguaggio lucreziano dell'eros)', in *Studi... Traglia* (above, n. 1), 259–79.

25. As subsequently also Vergil: Lucretius' line 'deus ille fuit, deus, inclute Memmi' (5.8) is echoed — and challenged — in Vergil's own 'O Meliboea, deus nobis haec ortia fecit / namque erit ille mihi semper deus' (Ecl. 1.6–7). Cf. Minyard (above, n. 2) 77f.

26. On these two echoes, see the commentary of Ronconi (above, n. 2) *ad loc.; Maslowski, 'The Chronology... ' (above, n. 2) 74f.

27. Johann (above, n. 3) 276: 'Seine programmatische Idee ist die soziale voluptas, die er der epikureischen voluptas, dem individualhedonistischen Glücksziel pointiert entgegengesetzt'.
Acta Classica is published annually by the Classical Association of South Africa.
The journal has been in production since 1958. It is listed on both the ISI and the SAPSE list of approved publications.

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