

An Anthology of
Neo-Latin Poetry
by Classical Scholars

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Volume 9

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Bloomsbury Publishing Plc
50 Bedford Square, London, WC1B 3DP, UK
1385 Broadway, New York, NY 10018, USA
29 Earlsfort Terrace, Dublin 2, Ireland

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First published in Great Britain 2024

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A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Barton, William M., editor. | Harrison, S. J., editor. |
Manuwald, Gesine, editor. | Xinyue, Bobby, editor.

Title: An anthology of Neo-Latin poetry by classical scholars / edited by William M.
Barton, Stephen Harrison, Gesine Manuwald, and Bobby Xinyue.

Description: New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2024. |
Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2023028739 (print) | LCCN 2023028740 (ebook) |
ISBN 9781350379442 (hardback) | ISBN 9781350379459 (paperback) |
ISBN 9781350379466 (pdf) | ISBN 9781350379473 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Latin poetry, Medieval and modern. |
Latin poetry, Medieval and modern—Translations into English. |

Latin poetry, Medieval and modern—History and criticism.

Classification: LCC PA8120 .A58 2024 (print) | LCC PA8120 (ebook) |
DDC 871/.03—dc23/eng/20230727

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023028739>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023028740>

ISBN: HB: 978-1-3503-7944-2
ePDF: 978-1-3503-7946-6
eBook: 978-1-3503-7947-3

Typeset by RefineCatch Limited, Bungay, Suffolk
Printed and bound in Great Britain

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Editing Cicero (and Translating Aratus) in Sixteenth-Century Europe: Jan Kochanowski (1579) and Hugo Grotius (1600)

Daniele Pellacani

Introduction

In his younger years¹ Cicero produced the first Latin translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, a Greek didactic poem of the Hellenistic period that consists of an astronomical section (vv. 1–732) followed by a catalogue of weather-signs (vv. 733–1154). The *editio princeps* of Cicero's *Aratea*, edited by Victor Pisanus and published by Antonio da Strata (Venice 1488) reproduced a manuscript owned by Giorgio Valla, which is likely to be identified with Montpellier, École de Médecine, H 452, fol. 70r–82v: it therefore only contains Cicero's verses preserved in the direct tradition.² Périon, in his 1540 edition, was the first who also published fragments from the indirect tradition, supplementing the missing lines with parallels from Vergil and especially from the translations of Aratus' poem made by Germanicus (first cent. CE) and Avienius (fourth cent. CE). Further fragments of the indirect tradition were added in Morel's edition (Paris 1559; 1569²), which served as basis for the *Aratea* published by Patricius in his collection of Cicero's fragments (Venice 1561; 1565²): but Patricius made extensive revisions to Cicero's poem,³ thanks to the collaboration of Paolo Manuzio and Jan Kochanowski (*Cochanovius meus*), his compatriot and fellow student at the University of Padua.⁴

Jan Kochanowski (Sycnya 1530 – Lublin 1584), destined to become the father of Polish poetry,⁵ was a Latin poet as well as a classical scholar, as testified by his edition of Cicero's *Aratea* (Cracow 1579) in which he chose to supplement the missing hexameters with a personal Latin translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena*.⁶ For this work, not lacking in brilliant conjectures, Kochanowski used the *Aratea* editions of Morel and Lambin (Paris 1566; 1573) as well as Turnèbe's *Adversaria* (Paris 1564).⁷ On the whole, the perspective is more poetic than philological, as testified by the choices not to

differentiate graphically his own verses from those of Cicero and to rewrite entire hexameters by Cicero in order to make them more consistent with the Greek model.⁸ Kochanowski's interest in Aratus and the Latin *Aratea* matured during his Paduan years (1552–8) through his friendship with the scholar and future bishop Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki, but received new stimulus during a short trip to France (late 1558–spring 1559), in which Kochanowski, thanks to his friend Carolus Utenhove, got to know two poets who attempted poetic translations of Aratus' *Phaenomena* in those years: Rémy Bellau, who produced a French version in Alexandrine lines (published posthumously in 1578, but already partly collected in the 'Seconde Journée' of *La bergerie*, 1565) and Nicholas Allen, who translated it into Latin hexameters (Paris 1561).⁹ Possibly it was this experience that persuaded Kochanowski not only to supplement Cicero's *Aratea* with a Latin translation of his own, but also to produce a Polish translation of Aratus' poem, a project on which he started working already on his return from France, but which would be published only in 1585, after his death.¹⁰ This peculiar interaction between Greek poetry, Cicero's poetic fragments and original Polish poetry would characterise, even more significantly, Kochanowski's most memorable work, *The Laments (Treny: 1580¹; 1583²)*, which includes, like stones in a mosaic, translations of Cicero's poetic fragments that are themselves translations of Homer and the Greek tragedians: this intertextual perspective is already stated in the work's epigraph, the quotation of Cicero's translation of Hom. *Od.* 18.136–7 (= Cic. fr. 31 Bl.): *tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse | Iuppiter auctiferas lustravit lumine terras.*¹¹

The same choice to integrate the lost verses of Cicero's *Aratea* with a Latin translation of his own was made again – apparently independently of Kochanowski – by a young Hugo Grotius (Hugo de Groot: Delft, 1583 – Rostock 1645). In 1600 Grotius – probably at the instigation of his teacher J. J. Scaliger, who had just edited Manilius' *Astronomica*¹² – published the *Syntagma Arateorum*, in which he printed the Greek text of Aratus' *Phaenomena* along with the Latin translations of Cicero, Germanicus and Avienius, followed by exegetical notes.

Universally known for his activities as a diplomat and jurist,¹³ the Dutch humanist devoted himself, from his youth, to classical studies as well as poetry, to the point that Lucian Müller did not hesitate to define him as the most noteworthy of all Dutch Latin poets.¹⁴ From a philological point of view, the most striking feature of the *Syntagma Arateorum* is undoubtedly the text of Germanicus, supplemented in numerous *loci* thanks to the use of ms. Leiden, Voss. Lat. Q 79, a Carolingian illuminated manuscript that represents the most authoritative witness of the ζ branch of Germanicus' tradition, unknown to previous editors (who only knew manuscripts belonging to the μ branch).¹⁵

With regard to the text of Cicero's *Aratea*, Grotius consulted ms. Leiden Voss. Lat. F 121 (fol. 1v–2v)¹⁶ as well as the editions of Périon, Morel, Lambin and the *Adversaria* of Turnebus, which are never cited, with the consequence that the conjectures of these scholars were for centuries considered ingenious intuitions of the young Grotius.¹⁷ A similar attitude can also be recognised from an analysis of his translation of Aratus, where Grotius shows himself to be indebted in some cases to the solutions devised by Allen,¹⁸ who is never mentioned.

From a literary perspective, his Latin translation of Aratus is particularly significant because it anticipates later developments of Grotius' poetic production: during his imprisonment in Loevestein Castle (1618–21), he would conceive a cultural project aimed at 'transferring the facets of Greek poetry that he considered most important to Latin, Western culture',¹⁹ a project that would materialise in the following years with the Latin translations of Stobaeus' *Anthologion*, the epigrams of the *Anthologia Graeca* and the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides.²⁰

Notes

- 1 For the problematic chronology of Cicero's *Aratea* see Pellacani 2015: 8–15.
- 2 Cic. *Arat.* fr. 34.1–471; the other verses of the direct tradition (472–80) are only transmitted by ms. London, British Library, Harley 647 (IX¹) and its descendants: see Pellacani 2024a.
- 3 See Buescu 1941: 146. The poetic fragments represent Nidecki's most significant addition to the edition of Cicero's fragments published by Carlo Sigonio (1559; 1560), one of his Paduan teachers: see Grouchala 1991: 450–1; Axer 1996: 170–1.
- 4 See for example Grouchala 1991: 452–3.
- 5 On Kochanowski cf. the essays collected in Bilinski 1985; on his poetic production see in particular Weintraub 1952; Pelc 1986.
- 6 Kochanowski 1579: *M. T. Ciceronis Aratus, Ad Graecum exemplar expensus et locis mancis restitutus ...*, Cracoviae 1579 (repr. Cracoviae 1612).
- 7 For an analysis of Kochanowski's textual criticism see Bilinski 1984: 224–31 and especially Grouchala 1989: 117–28; for previous *Aratea* editions referred by Kochanowski see Grouchala 1989: 160.
- 8 On the poetic, rather than philological, value of Kochanowski's edition, see in particular Axer 1996: 173–5, but also Grouchala 1989: 129–43, who analyses some verses of Cicero rewritten by Kochanowski in order to emend errors of interpretation.
- 9 *Ad Illustrem et inclytum principem Eduardum semarum . . . Nicolai Aleni Essentani Angli, Arati Phaenomena*, Parisiis 1561; a reference to Allen's translation can perhaps be recognised in the epigram placed by

- Kochanowski in the preface of his edition, where, recalling the Latin translators of Aratus, he also names a *doctor Britannus*: see Bilinski 1984: 216. For Kochanowski's possible connections with Bellau and Allen, see Grouchala 1989: 68–71.
- 10 *Phaenomena Albo Wyras Znakow Polnocnych*, published in the edition of Kochanowski's works edited by Jan Januszewski (Cracow 1585); in this Polish version only the astronomical section of the poem is translated. For the chronology of the two translations see Grouchala 1989: 78–92, who believes that the Latin translation was written in Czarnolas, where Kochanowski lived from 1574, after his retirement from public life (see also Axer 1996: 172). Grouchala 1991: 455 points out that in the preface to his second edition of Cicero's fragments (1565) Nidecki encouraged Kochanowski to undertake a Polish translation of Aratus' poem.
- 11 Axer 1996: 176: 'nel ciclo che gli avrebbe dato l'immortalità nella poesia polacca, scritto a meno di due anni di distanza [sc. from his *Aratei* edition] Kochanowski continuò a trattare le traduzioni ciceroniane dal greco come sfida e come ispirazione'; see also Cytowska 1979; Axer 1979; 1984: 164–5.
- 12 Cf. Bruhel 1961: 46 n. 102.
- 13 On Grotius' biography see Kahn 1983; Nellen 2014; for his education at Leiden University see also van Dam 1996.
- 14 Müller 1867: 78. For an overview of Grotius' poetic production see Eyffinger 1982; 1982b; 1984; Nellen / Rabbie 1991.
- 15 For the manuscript tradition of Germanicus see Pellacani 2024b. Thanks to the intercession of Janus Dousa, Grotius obtained a state subsidy to purchase the manuscript from the heirs of Jacob van Suys; the picture of the constellations preserved in this codex served as model for the engravings by Jacob de Gheyn that form the iconographic apparatus of the *Syntagma Arateorum*: cf. van Dam 1996. For the Greek text of Aratus, Grotius collated ms. Heidelberg, Palat. Gr. 40: see Buhle 1793: xxiv.
- 16 Buescu 1941: 65.
- 17 Buescu 1941: 109, 117–18, 148–9.
- 18 For this translation, published in 1561, see n. 9.
- 19 Eyffinger 1984: 92.
- 20 On this 'second phase' of Grotius' poetic production see Eyffinger 1982: 68–72; 1984: 92–5.

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Kochanowski: Latin text

[Source of Latin text: Kochanowski 1579]

In order to analyse how Kochanowski integrated his own translation into his edition of Cicero's *Aratea*, the beginning of Aratus' astronomical section will be scrutinised (for its text see Appendix). After the proemial hymn to Zeus, Aratus begins his catalogue of the constellations, taking as starting point the celestial axis and the north pole, around which the two Bears wheel (19–48). Of this section, only six fragments of Cicero's translation have been preserved,¹ corresponding to about 15 hexameters. In the text of Kochanowski here they are not italicized to distinguish them clearly from the verses translated by Kochanowski (in italics).

- 22 Caetera labuntur celeri caelestia motu,
Cum caeloque simul noctesque diesque feruntur.
Axis stat semper, neque partem inclinat in ullam:
- 25 *Sed medius magnae pervadens viscera terrae,
Pracipitem coeli radiantis sustinet orbem.*
Extremusque adeo duplici de cardine vertex,
Dicitur esse polus: *latet alter mersus in undis:*
E regione alter Boream super arduus extat.
- 30 *Hunc arcti circum geminae voluuntur: easdem
Plaustra etiam dicunt, et imago est proxima plaustris,
Lumina si obtineant sua temonesque rotaeque,
Quodsi forte ursas magis appellare libebit:
Ora micant obversa feris: capite altera tergo*
- 35 *Imminet alterius: cursus resupinus utrique.
Si qua fides famae, Cressa tellure profectas
Iuppiter in coelo, victus pietate, locavit:
Dictaeo quod ab iis foret enutritus in antro,
Saevum Curetes cum delusere parentem.*
- 40 *Ex iis altera apud Graios Cynosura vocatur,
Altera dicitur esse Helice: latera huius, et ardens
Cauda illustratur stellarum lumine claro,
Quas nostri septem soliti vocitare Triones.
Hanc Graii observant, pelagi per caerula nautes,*

¹ Cic. *Arat.* fr. 3–8 Soub.; Kochanowski obviously omits fr. 4b *hic [est qui] terra tegitur*, first identified by Soubiran (Paris 1972).

English translation

The other celestial bodies slide in rapid motion, 22
and day and night are dragged along with the sky.
The axis always stands still and does not tilt even slightly,
but crossing in the middle the great earth's bowel 25
holds the fast sphere of the shining sky.
The axis' extreme points
are called poles: one is hidden, submerged by waves,
the other rises high in the hemisphere above Boreas.

 Around him the two *Arctoi* turn: they are also called 30
Waggons, and their appearance is similar to a waggon
if the yoke-beams and wheels had stars of their own;
but perhaps it is more correct to call them Bears: the beasts' snouts
shine one in front of the other, with her head one looms
over the other's back: both move with their paws facing up. 35
If legend can be believed, Jupiter, as a sign of respect,
placed them in the sky, originating from the land of Crete,
for he was fed by them in the cave of Dicte
when the Curetes deceived his cruel father.

 One of these is called Cynosura by the Greeks, 40
the other is named Elice: its flanks and shining
tail are illuminated by the clear light of the stars,
which our people are used to call the seven oxen.
The Greeks look at her when they sail the blue sea;

- 45 *Germanae numero stellarum, disposituque
Par Cynosura, polum sublimis lustrat eundem.*
Hac fidunt duce nocturna Phoenices in alto.
Sed prior illa magis stellis distincta refulget,
et late prima confestim a nocte videtur:
- 50 Haec vero parva est, sed nautis usus in hac est.
Nam cursu interiore brevi convertitur orbe:
Atque haec Sidonias nunquam est frustrata carinas.
Has inter, veluti rapido cum gurgite flumen,
Torvus draco serpit subter, superaue revolvens
- 55 Sese: conficiensque sinus e corpore flexos,
Oceano tingi metuentes implicat Arctos.

Cynosura, equal to her sister in number of stars and position,
travels, high, the same heaven. 45

On her the Phoenicians rely as a night guide on the high sea.
But the other shines brighter thanks to her stars
and is much the first to be recognised at nightfall;
Cynosura, on the other hand, is small, but it is useful for sailors: 50
in fact, with a faster path, it revolves in a smaller circle
and never mislead the ships of Sidon.

Between the Bears, in the likeness of a river with raging currents,
the grim Serpent streaks, writhing on high
and down below: and forming sinuous coils with his body 55
envelops the Bears that fear plunging in the Ocean.

Commentary

22–29 *The Axis and the Poles* (= Arat. 19–26)

This section includes two Ciceronian fragments that, like the following ones, are taken from the long self-quotation that Cicero inserts in *De natura deorum* 2, within the speech of the Stoic Balbus. Arat. fr. 3 Soub. (21–2 = *Nat. D.* 2.104) describes the continuous movement of the constellations around the celestial axis; fr. 4 (27–8 = *Nat. D.* 2.105) defines the two poles as the extreme points of the axis, a concept reinforced through the iconic *ordo verborum*. In emphasising the axis' fixity, Kochanowski reverses the order of the model (24: *Axis stat semper* = ἄξων αἰὲν ἄρηρεν; *neque partem inclinat in ullam* = οὐδ' ὀλίγον μετανίσσεται), a solution perhaps influenced by Germ. 19: *axis stat motus² semper vestigia servat*. A similar choice can be recognised in the description of the two poles, whose antithesis is emphasised by the chiasmic structure (28–9: *latet alter mersus in undis | e regione alter Boream super arduus extat*): the reference to the ocean – which Arat. 25–6 pleonastically refers to the north pole (ὁ δ' ἀντίος ἐκ βορέαιο | ὑπόθεν ὠκεανοῖο) – is anticipated to explain the invisibility of the south pole (*latet alter mersus in undis*: cf. Arat. 25: οὐκ ἐπίοπτος), a solution influenced by Germ. 22–3, where the south pole is defined as *pars mersa sub undas | Oceani*. The tendency towards emphasis is achieved through adjectivisation and the use of the attributive present participle, an ephrastic feature often used in Cicero's *Aratea*:³ the axis *medius magnae pervadens viscera terrae* (cf. *Stat. Theb.* 9.451: *cavae . . . viscera terrae*; *Silv.* 3.1.113: *invitae . . . viscera terrae*) | *praecipitem coeli radiantis sustinet orbem* (same line-ending in *Cic. Arat.* fr. 34.73, but cf. the description of Atlas at *Verg. Aen.* 8.137: *aetherios umero qui sustinet orbis*), a translation that expands Arat. 22–3: ἔχει δ' ἀτάλαντον ἀπάντη | μεσσηγὺς γαῖαν περὶ δ' οὐρανὸς αὐτὸν ἀγινεῖ (perhaps assuming the *varia lectio* οὐρανόν, accepted by modern editors).

30–56 *The Bears* (= Arat. 26–48)

Arat. 26–7 Δύω . . . | Ἄρκτοι, emphasised by the strong hyperbaton, is translated by replacing the numeral with the poetic *geminus*, thus forming a phrase attested in *Prop.* 2.22.25; *Ov. Met.* 3.45; *Manil.* 3.382, 5.19. Here Kochanowski adapts the Greek name to Latin morphology (*Arcti*), a form

² This is the incomprehensible text found in the editions prior to Grotius 1600, who printed *axis at immotus* on the basis of the Leiden manuscript.

³ See Pellacani 2019: 134 *et passim*.

rare in poetry, but attested in Hygin. *Astr.* 3.1.95. The wordplay of Arat. 27: Ἄρκτοι ἅμα τροχόωσι, τὸ δὴ καλέονται Ἄμαξαι, which introduces the alternative name for these constellations, is replaced by the polyptoton framing v. 31, clearly modelled on Germ. 26–7: *plaustraque quae facies stellarum proxima verae, | tres temone rotisque micant sublime quaternae* (note also the replacement of the Germanican chiasmus with the epic coordination *temonesque rotaeque*). For the reference to the third appellation (*Vrsae*), Kochanowski merges Germ. 24 *Romani cognominis Vrsae* with Germ. 27–8 *si melius dixisse feras, obversa refulgent | ora feris*, as confirmed both by the conditional phrase and by the words *ora micant obversa feris* (with *variatio* in the *ordo verborum* and in the verb indicating brightness).

As the *aition* of these two constellations, Arat. 30–5 reports the catasterism of the bears that fed the infant Zeus while he was hidden in Crete to escape the violence of his father Cronos. In translating this section, Kochanowski combines several models: the ablative *Cressa tellure*, which translates Κρήτηθεν, is taken from Germ. 32 *Cresia ... tellus*; the description of the catasterism combines the first half of Ov. *Met.* 13.843 with Lucr. 5.1188: *in caeloque deum sedis et templa locarunt* (but cf. also Cic. *Arat.* fr. 34.145–6: *Eridanum ... in parte locatum | caeli*); and an explicit reference to Jupiter's *pietas* is made in Avien. *Arat.* 111: *custoditae referens pia dona salutis*. Like Germanicus and Avienius, Kochanowski omits the geographical reference to Mount Ida, while the iconic hyperbaton *Dictaeo ... in antro* recalls Verg. *Georg.* 4.152, where it is stated that the bees, attracted by the cymbals of the Curetes, *Dictaeo caeli regem pavere sub antro*; for the rare verb *enutritum* cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.289: *Naiades Idaeis enutrivere* (sc. Hermaphroditus) *sub antris*, perhaps mediated by Verinus, *Flam.* 2.42.59: *Castaliis quamvis sis enutritus in antris*.

In lines 40–4 Kochanowski inserts two Ciceronian fragments that are quoted, in this order, in *Nat. D.* 2.105; while fr. 6 translates Arat. 36–7, fr. 5 represents an independent expansion by Cicero, who, through a ‘translator’s note’, provides the Latin name for Ursa Maior.⁴ In *Nat. D.* 2.105 the two fragments are linked by a prose insertion – *cuius* (sc. *Helices*) *quidem clarissimas stellas totis noctis cernimus* –, which Kochanowski reworks in poetic form (41–2) by omitting the temporal determination and instead emphasising, also through alliteration, the brightness of the constellation, in accordance with a characteristic feature of Cicero’s *Aratea*:⁵ *et ardens* (the same line-ending at [Ov.] *Hal.* 113) again attests to the use of the attributive present participle; *lumine claro* (the same line-ending at Catull. 64.408; Avien.

⁴ For the order of these two fragments see Pellacani 2015: 88.

⁵ See Pellacani 2015: 20–1; 2019: 137–9.

Arat. 484) modifies the Ciceronian phrase *claro cum lumine* (Arat. fr. 34.277; 298; 323; 389; but cf. also 263 *claro collucens lumine Cancer* and the clausulae of Arat.107 *lumine claret*; 180 *lumine clarae*).

Arat. 37–44 reports the different modes of navigation of the Greeks, who follow Ursa Maior, easier to recognise but more distant from the north pole, and the Phoenicians, who instead orient themselves by following Ursa Minor; Cicero quotes twice only the lines relating to the Phoenicians (fr. 7 = *Nat. D.* 2.106 and, partially, *Ac.* 2.66). In v. 44 Kochanowski condenses Arat. 37–8: Ἑλική γε μὲν ἄνδρες Ἄχαιοι | εἰν ἄλι τεκμαίρονται ἵνα χρή νῆας ἀγινεῖν in the periphrasis *pelagi per caerula nautes* (for the expression *pelagi caerula*, not classical, cf. Petrus Damiani, *Carm.* 81.3: *pelagi mihi caerula sulcat* and, with identical metrical placement, Gambarara, *Navig.* 2.273–4: *pelagique ad caerula proras | convertunt*); the noun *nautes* – which appears both in the 1579 and the 1612 editions – must be understood as an allograph of *nautae*, unless one assumes a misprint for *nantes*, which would constitute a further example of the attributive present participle. Lines 45–6 find no parallel in the Greek text: here too Kochanowski reworks the prose expression that Cicero, in *Nat. D.* 2.106, uses to connect the two poetic quotations: *parilibusque stellis similiter distinctis* (= *Germanae numero stellarum, disposituque | Par Cynosura*) *eundem caeli verticem lustrat parva Cynosura* (= *polum sublimis lustrat eundem*, with double *variatio* of the noun designating the pole and the adjective qualifying *Cynosura*). Line 52, which closes the section, translates Arat. 44: τῆ καὶ Σιδόνιοι ἰθύντατα ναυτίλλονται, reworking Germ. 47: *Sidoniamque ratem numquam spectata* [sc. *Cynosura*] *fefellit*: note the double synonymic *variatio* of *Sidoniam ratem* with *Sidonias . . . carinas* (cf. Avien. *Arat.* 136: *Sidoniis . . . carinis*, with identical metrical position) and of *fefellit* with the alliterative *est frustrata*.

Arat. 45–8 introduces the constellation of the Serpent, which meanders, river-like, between the two Bears. Kochanowski quotes the Ciceronian translation of Arat. 45–7 (fr. 8 = *Nat. D.* 2.106) and supplements it with his own translation of Arat. 48: Ἄρκτοι, κυαννέου πεφυλαγμένοι ὠκεανοῖο. He is clearly inspired by Verg. *Georg.* 1.246: *Arctos Oceani metuentes aequare tingi*, which in turn is part of a rewriting of Arat. 45–7 (Verg. *Georg.* 1.244–6: *maximus hic flexu sinuoso elabitur Anguis | circum perque duas in morem fluminis Arctos, | Arctos Oceani metuentes aequare tingi*);⁶ in Kochanowski the

⁶ For the influence of Vergil's *Georgics* see Axer 1996: 174: '[Kochanowski] colmò le lacune con alcuni versi propri, il cui ideale era rappresentato dal modello virgiliano delle *Georgiche*.'

different *ordo verborum* and the substitution of the *nexus aequore Oceani* with the simple *Oceano* enable insertion of the verb *implicat*, necessary because in Cic. *Arat.* fr. 8 the subject is the Serpent (and not the Bears, as in *Arat.* 47–8).

Grotius: Latin text

[Source of Latin text: Grotius 1600]

In his edition of Cicero's *Aratea*, Grotius – unlike Kochanowski – takes care to distinguish graphically his own translations from the Ciceronian hexameters: this graphic solution, perfectly consistent with the philological aims of his work, would be maintained in Cicero's *Opera omnia* edited by Orelli, Baiter and Halm (Zurich 1861), which reprints Grotius' edition, including his additions (vol. 4, pp. 1013–47). Once again, presented here is the beginning of the astronomical section of the poem.

- Caetera labuntur caeleri celestia motu,
 20 Cum caeloque simul, noctesque diesque feruntur;
Axis at immotus nunquam vestigia mutat,
Sed tenet aequali libratis pondere terras;
Quem circum magno se volvit turbine coelum:
 Extremusque adeo duplici de cardine vertex
 25 Dicitur esse Polus, *quorum hic non cernitur, ille*
Ad Boream, Oceani supera confinia tendit:
Quem cingunt Vrsae celebres cognomine Plaustri,
 Quas nostri septem soliti vocitare Triones.
Alterius caput, alterius flammantia terga
 30 *Aspicit, inque vicem pronas rapit orbis in ipsos*
Conversas humeros. Crete (si credere fas est)
Ad caeli nitidas axes venere relictæ:
Iupiter hoc voluit, quem sub beneolentibus herbis
Ludentem Dicti, grato posuere sub antro,
 35 *Idaeum ad montem, totumque aluere per annum,*
Saturnum fallunt dum Dictæi Corybantes.
 Ex his altera apud Graios Cynosura vocatur
 Altera dicitur esse Helice, *quæ monstrat Achivis*
In pelago navis quo sit vertenda, sed illa
 40 *Se fidunt duce nocturna Phoenices in alto.*
 Sed prior illa magis stellis distincta refulget,
 Et late prima confestim a nocte videtur.
 Haec vero parva est, sed nautis usus in hac est:
 Nam cursu interiore brevi convertitur orbe,
 45 *Signaque Sidoniis monstrat certissima nautis.*
 Has inter, veluti rapido cum gurgite flumen,
 Torvu' Draco serpit, subter, superaque revolvens
 Sese, conficiensque sinus e corpore flexos,
 Quos cani tangunt immunes gurgitis Arctoi.

English translation

The other celestial bodies slide in rapid motion,
and day and night are dragged along with the sky. 20
But the axis, motionless, never changes position,
but keeps the earth in balance, balancing its weight;
around it the sky revolves in a great vortex.

The axis' extreme points
are called poles: one of them is not visible, the other 25
rises above Ocean's horizon, on the side of Boreas.

Around him the Bears wheel: they are known as the Waggons,
which our people usually call the seven oxen.

One's head gazes at the flaming hips
of the other, and the rotation moves them into a prone position, 30
on their backs. If you can believe it, they went up
into the sky's bright vault after leaving Crete:

Jupiter willed it, whom they deposited, when he was a child,
on the fragrant meadows of Dicte, inside a beautiful cave
near Mount Ida, and fed him for a whole year, 35
while the Corybantes of Dicte deceived Saturn.

One of these is called Cynosura by the Greeks,
the other is named Elice. It is she who among the waves shows
to the Achaeans where to direct their ship; but on the other 40
the Phoenicians rely as a night guide on the high sea.

But the first shines brighter thanks to her stars
and is much the first to be recognised at nightfall;
Cynosura, on the other hand, is small, but it is useful for sailors:
in fact, with a faster path, it revolves in a smaller circle
and shows infallible signs to the Sidonian sailors. 45

Between the Bears, in the likeness of river with raging currents,
the grim Serpent streaks, writhing on high
and down below: and forming sinuous coils with his body,
which the Bears, free from contact with the grey sea, touch.

Commentary

19–26 *The Axis and the Poles* (= Arat. 19–26)

After quoting Cic. *Arat.* fr. 3, Grotius (21–3) completes the description of the celestial axis by reworking Germ. 19–21: *axis at immotus semper vestigia servat | libratasque tenet terras et cardine firmo | orbem agit*: the literal quotation of the first half verse is accompanied by the *variatio* of *semper vestigia servat* in *numquam vestigia mutat*, with double antonymic (and isoprosodic) substitution that leaves the sense, as well as the metre, unchanged (for the line-ending *vestigia mutat* cf. Germ. 439; 522); at line 22 Germanicus' phrase *libratas tenet terras* is completed by the ablative phrase *aequali . . . pondere*. This last is attested in poetry only in Marrasio, *Carm.* 30.16–8: *et lances geminas aequali pondere Librae | intravit* (sc. *sol*) as a variation of *aequato pondere* employed, likewise with reference to Libra / Claws in Germ. fr. 4.27 Bl.: *aequato libratae pondere Chelae* and Manil. 4.548: *aequato . . . sub pondere Librae*. Consistent with the Greek text he adopted (περὶ δ' οὐρανὸς αὐτὸν ἀγινεῖ: see *Notae*, p. 2: 'Mihi non displicet Mathematicorum lectio: περὶ δ' οὐρανὸς αὐτὸν ἀγινεῖ – Leontius: καὶ ἄξων λέγεται ἐπεὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἄγεται'), Grotius states that it is the sky that rotates (*se volvit*) around the axis (*quem circum*); with *magno . . . turbine* he adapts to the sky a phrase attested in Flavian epic, especially referring to winds (Val. Fl. 6.353; 8.366–7; Sil. 12.570).

The reference to the two poles (24–5 = Cic. *Arat.* fr. 4) is completed with a fairly faithful translation of Arat. 25–6: line 26 combines an incipit attested in Priscian's *Periegesis* (96, 543, 556) with the line-ending of Avien. *Orb.* 323; with *Oceani confinia* Grotius understands the reference to the Ocean as a poetic metonymy for the horizon, consistently with his exegesis of Arat. 26 (*Notae*, p. 2: 'Aratus ubique horizontem vocat oceanum, ut et Homerus').

27–49 *The Bears* (= Arat. 26–48)

In introducing the Bears, Grotius – unlike Kochanowski and the ancient Latin translators – does not give the Greek name of these constellations, but only the Latin names *Vrsae* – *Plaustra* (the line-ending, which modifies Germ. 25: *Romani cognominis Vrsae*, is possibly influenced by Allen's translation: *cognomine plaustra vocarunt*). Reversing the order in which the fragments are quoted in *Nat. D.* 2.105, Grotius inserts here Cic. *Arat.* fr. 5 (*quas nostri septem soliti vocitare Triones*), assuming that the relative *quas* refers to both constellations. This solution would be adopted by all later editors (with the exception of Ewbank and Pellacani), but it contradicts the *testimonium*, where *quas* clearly refers to the stars of *Ursa Maior* (*Nat. D.*

2.105: *Helice, cuius quidem clarissimas stellas totis noctibus cernimus, 'quas . . . Triones'*: see Pellacani 2015: 88). The description of the reciprocal position of the two Bears (29–31) is again presented as a *variatio in imitando* of Germ. 29–31: *caput alterius super horrida terga | alterius lucet: pronas rapit orbis in ipsos | decliveis umeros*.

Lines 31–6 report the catasterism of the two Bears. The aside *si credere fas est* appears, in the same metrical position, in Sil. 3.425, but the line-ending *credere fas est* is already in Manil. 3.553; 4.896; v. 32 combines Verg. *Aen.* 6.790: *magnum caeli ventura sub axem* (Anchises announcing to Aeneas the future apotheosis of Iulus' line) and Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.212–3 (the hyperbolic description of Stella's joy, who, at the announcement of his wedding, *ire polo nitidosque errare per axes | visus*). The description of the cave on Dicte is clearly influenced by Allen's translation, where the Curetes *muscoso procul occolluere [sc. Iovem] sub antro | Dictamo fultum molli, et bene olentibus herbis*: note on the one hand the rendering of the epithet εὐώδεις⁷ with the periphrasis *sub beneolentibus herbis* (at line-end as in Allen), on the other hand the expression *grato posuere sub antro*, which modifies Allen's translation through an echo of Hor. *Carm.* 1.5.3 (*grato, Pyrrha, sub antro*); the reference to *Corybantēs*, instead of Curetes, is clearly influenced by Germ. 38: *Dictae . . . Corybantēs*.

At lines 36–7 Grotius inserts *Arat.* fr. 5, in which Cicero mentions the names of the two Bears; the following comparison between Greek and Phoenician navigation (*Arat.* fr. 7) is introduced by the translation of *Arat.* 37–8: Ἐλίκη γε μὲν ἄνδρες Ἀχαιοὶ | εἰν ἀλί τεκμαίρονται ἵνα χρῆ νῆας ἀγνεῖν, where the Homeric εἰν ἀλί is rendered by a half-line that echoes Lucr. 4.432 *in pelago nautis*, thus reproducing the *variatio synonymica* of the model (*Arat.* 38: εἰν ἀλί = *in pelago*; 39: θάλασσαν = *in alto*). In quoting Cic. *Arat.* fr. 7 Grotius corrects the transmitted *hac* (referring to Cynosura) with *se*, thus opting for the reflexive construction of *fido*. After the quotation, the section is concluded with the translation of *Arat.* 44: τῆ καὶ Σιδόνιοι ἰθύντατα ναυτίλλονται, where the verb *monstro* forms a sort of ring composition (cf. 38) that rounds off the *excursus*; the phrase *certissima signa* is attested in Verg. *Georg.* 1.439, and then in Germ. 5; 255; 521 (but in reference to constellations).

The passage ends with the quotation of Cic. *Arat.* fr. 8, which introduces the Serpent, completed by Grotius' translation of *Arat.* 48; unlike

⁷ Moving from the meaning of this epithet, Grotius (*Notae*, p. 2) corrects the transmitted Δίκτης (dative of a masculine or neuter toponym not attested elsewhere) with Λύκτης, a conjecture recently accepted by Kidd 1997: 186–7 (*contra* Martin 1998: 80–1: 'c'est peut-être trop facile, et on ne peut pas vraiment dire que Lyctos soit près de l'Ida').

Kochanowski, Grotius reproduces the syntax of the Greek model, with the Bears (designated by the Grecism *Arctoi*) as the subject of *tangunt*: he chose this verb because in the Greek text of Aratus he prints the *varia lectio* φόνται (which he understands in the sense of its compound ἔμφω: ‘to attach’, ‘to grasp’), and not the technical φέρονται accepted by modern editors. In translating κυανέου πεφυλαγμένοι ὠκεανοῖο with *cani ... gurgitis* he preserves, even with variation, the chromatic detail, recalling a phrase attested in Catull. 64.18 and later in *Ciris* 514; Stat. *Theb.* 11.43; Avien. *Arat.* 308: overall, the expression can be interpreted as a triple *variatio synonymica* of Germ. 63: *tumidis ignotae fluctibus Arctoe*.

