# C. VALERII CATULLI *CARMEN* 66: A CRITICAL EDITION WITH INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION AND TEXTUAL COMMENTARY

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**Summary:** This article presents a new critical edition of Catullus' *Carmen* 66 along with an introduction, a translation and a textual commentary. The text, based on fresh collations of the manuscripts *O* and *G*, deviates from the Oxford text by R.A.B. Mynors in 27 cases. Furthermore, it is the first edition to consider the conventional first two lines of Catullus 67 as the last two lines of Catullus 66, an idea independently conjectured by Alex Agnesini in 2011 and Ian Du Quesnay in 2012.[1]

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This article presents a new critical edition of Catullus' *Carmen* 66 with an introduction, a translation and a textual commentary. The introduction is divided into five sections. The first section gives a brief survey of the textual transmission of Catullus from the fourteenth to the twentieth century. The second section provides more detailed information on the three principal manuscripts of Catullus, *O*, *G* and *R*. In the third section I describe my editorial principles. The fourth section presents a stemma, a description of *sigla codicum* and a bibliography of the works mentioned

1 This article is a slightly revised version of a paper I wrote in 2016 at Corpus Christi College, University of Oxford. I am immensely grateful to my supervisor, Professor Stephen Harrison, for his generous help and supervision.

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in my *apparatus criticus*. Finally, in the fifth section I list my 27 deviations from R.A.B. Mynors' Oxford edition (corrected reprint, 1960) which I take to be the standard edition of Catullus in the English-speaking world. The translation is meant to express my understanding of the sense of the poem as closely as possible. I have therefore chosen to translate the poem into prose rather than within the metrical restrictions of verse. In the textual commentary I explain the reasons behind my choice of a broad selection of readings. All translations from Latin and Greek into English are my own.

## 1.1 THE TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF CATULLUS

The textual transmission of Catullus' poetry is almost uniquely sparse and famously corrupt.[2] From late Antiquity until the fourteenth century Catullus has not left many traces.[3] One of the few and very significant traces is the Carolingian manuscript ***T*** (*Codex Thuaneus* after its sixteenth-century owner Jacques-Auguste de Thou), a late ninth-century *florilegium* which includes 66 lines of poem 62. *T* is the oldest direct witness we possess to Catullus' poetry; but since the manuscript does not contain Catullus 66 I do not make use of it in this paper.

Shortly after 1300 an extant manuscript of Catullus was discovered in Verona; but by the end of the century it had disappeared again, a fate shared by numerous codices in that period.[4] This manuscript, commonly referred to as ***V*** (*Codex Veronensis* from its place of discovery), is consid-

2 Propertius seems to be the only other major Latin poet with an equally sparse and corrupt transmission. For convenient surveys see Tarrant 1983a: 43-45 (on Catullus) and 1983b: 324-26 (on Propertius).

3 For recent accounts of the reception of Catullus from Antiquity to the fourteenth century see Kiss 2015a: xiii-xvii; Gaisser 2009: 166-75; 1993: 1-18; Butrica 2007: 15-30. Ullman 1960: 1028-38 gives a comprehensive survey of the scattered reception of Catullus in medieval writers.

4 Cf. Reynolds & Wilson 2013: 141: "the humanists also had a capacity for losing manuscripts. Once they had carefully copied a text, they were liable to have little interest in the manuscript which had preserved it."

ered the pre-archetype of all the preserved extant manuscripts of Catullus.[5] Its rediscovery is famously described in an enigmatic epigram probably written between 1303 and 1307 by the Vincentine notary Benvenuto dei Campesani (1250-1323).[6]

Before the disappearance of *V*, the equally lost ***A*** was presumably copied directly from it. *A* is considered the archetype of the manuscripts ***O*** (*Codex Oxoniensis* from its current location), undated but from approximately 1360, and ***X***, now also lost. By the end of the fourteenth century the manuscripts ***G*** (*Codex Sangermanensis* after its former location), dated to 1375, and ***R*** (*Codex Romanus* of the Vatican Library), c. 1390, were copied from *X*. *R* was copied for the influential Florentine chancellor Coluccio Salutati, whose hand, identified as $R^2$, has added 133 variant readings to the manuscript.[7] In comparison, *G* contains 93 variant readings ($G^1$, the hand of the scribe, and $G^2$, a later hand), while *O* does not contain any. The three late fourteenth-century manuscripts *OGR*, all written in Northern Italy, constitute our principal extant witnesses to the text of Catullus. I will describe these manuscripts in further detail in section two of this introduction.

5 D.S. McKie was the first to suggest the existence of a manuscript between *V* and *OX* in his doctoral dissertation (Cambridge 1977). McKie's unpublished dissertation has not been available to me, but his view of *V* as the pre-archetype and *A* as the archetype of *OX* is widely accepted. See recently Kiss 2015a: xviii and Trappes-Lomax 2007: 16.

6 The epigram, preserved in the fourteenth-century manuscripts *G* and *R*, runs as follows (the codex is the narrator): *Ad patriam uenio longis a finibus exul. / Causa mei reditus compatriota fuit, / scilicet a calamis tribuit cui Francia nomen, / quique notat turbe pretereuntis iter. / Quo licet ingenio uestrum celebrate Catullum, / cuius sub modio clausa papirus erat*; 'As an exile I arrive to my fatherland from distant borders. / The cause of my return has been a fellow-citizen, / that is, a man to whom France has given her name on account of his writing, / and who notes the journey of the crowd that passes by. / Thanks to his intelligence you may celebrate your Catullus, / whose papyrus has been shut beneath a bushel.' See Kiss 2015b: 2-6 for a recent discussion of the epigram.

7 Ullman 1960: 1040: "The ownership is attested by Coluccio's peculiar pressmark on fol. 1: "71 carte 39", the word *carte* standing for *chartae*, leaves or folios, the number before it being the number in Coluccio's library, apparently. This same type of entry appears in most of Coluccio's books, of which I have seen well over one hundred."

Catullus' poetry might have been rediscovered in the fourteenth century; but his poems were in a very poor condition. The corrupt state of the manuscript tradition was a source of frustration for its earliest scribes. Thus, the scribe of *G* wrote an apology to the reader on the last page of his edition (folio 36r). Whether the scribe formulated the complaint himself or copied it from *X* is not entirely clear;[8] but it certainly bears witness to just how poorly preserved Catullus' poetry was in the century of its rediscovery:

> Tu lector quicumque ad cuius manus hic libellus obvenerit Scriptori da veniam si tibi cor[r]eptus videtur. Quoniam a corruptissimo exemplari transcripsit. Non enim quodpiam aliud extabat, unde posset libelli huius habere copiam exemplandi. Et ut ex ipso salebroso aliquid tamen sugge[re]ret decrevit pocius tamen cor[r]uptum habere quam omnino carere. Sperans adhuc ab aliquo alio fortuito emergente hunc posse cor[r]igere. Valebis se ei imprecatus non fueris.[9]

During the fifteenth century a considerable amount of manuscripts were copied from *R*, a few were copied from *G*, while none were copied from *O*. The fertility of *R* is probably explained by Coluccio Salutati's influential position in the Italian cultural classes.[10] Of these manuscripts, commonly known as the *codices recentiores*, more than 120 are identified.[11]

8 Thomson 1997: 32 argues with reference to McKie's unpublished dissertation (Cambridge 1977) somewhat convincingly that the unscholarly scribe of *G* can hardly be the author of the complaint.

9 'You, the reader into whose hands this little book has come, please excuse the scribe, if the book will seem corrupt to you. For he has transcribed it from a highly corrupt exemplar. There did not exist anything else, from which he could have had the opportunity to copy this book. And in order to take anything out of this rough exemplar he decided that it was better to have it in a corrupt condition than to lack it altogether, in the hope that another copy might emerge from which he could correct it. Farewell, if you will not curse him.'

10 Kiss 2015b: 14. Kiss further suggests that *O* "may have seemed a hopelessly corrupt manuscript of Catullus rather than one of the best ones available, so there seems to have been no reason to copy it."

11 For a recent study of the *codices recentiores* see Kiss 2015b and 2015c, where the manuscripts are numbered and listed.

Due to the corrupt state of the manuscript tradition the scribes usually compared and added readings from other manuscripts, which resulted in a high degree of contamination. Accordingly, the *codices recentiores* do not seem to contribute significant information on Catullus' textual transmission. Their chief and very significant contribution lies in their conjectures and emendations, to which the *apparatus criticus* of every modern edition of Catullus bears solid witness.

The great age of Catullan conjectures, however, arose in the subsequent centuries. After the publication of the Venice *editio princeps* in 1472 manuscripts quickly stopped being copied. Instead, humanist scholars began producing commentaries and emending the corrupt text.[12] The vigorous activities of these Renaissance humanists can hardly be overestimated.[13] Numerous conjectures of theirs are today accepted readings; and even when they are wrong, their conjectures can be of great help in showing the modern reader and editor where the paradosis might be corrupt.[14]

As in many other fields of classical philology, Catullan studies flourished in the nineteenth century, and another great age of Catullan conjectures arose.[15] My present edition of Catullus 66 has benefited greatly from conjectures by scholars such as Emil Baehrens (1848-1888), Theodor Heyse (1803-1884) and Karl Lachmann (1793-1851). The nineteenth century also saw the revival of the principal manuscripts *OGR* and the first employment of *O* and *G* in critical editions. Ludwig Schwabe (1866) was the first editor to base his text on *G*, while *O* was rediscovered in the Bodleian Library and presented by Robinson Ellis (1867), who famously failed to acknowledge its importance. Emil Baehrens (1876) was the first editor to make full use of the manuscript in his edition. Finally, *R* was rediscovered in the Vatican Library by William Gardner Hale in 1896.[16] But it was

12 Gaisser 1992: 207-16.

13 Cf. Reynolds & Wilson 2013: 142 on the fifteenth-century humanists: "A glance at the apparatus criticus of many classical texts – Catullus is a good example – will show how frequently scholars of this period were able to correct errors in the tradition."

14 This principle applies to conjectures in general. Cf. Nisbet 1991: 70, 75.

15 Goold 1983: 12 counts 147 corrections to the text made in the nineteenth century compared to 37 in the seventeenth and 16 in the eighteenth.

16 Hale 1896.

not until the middle of the twentieth century that the relationship between *OGR* was fully realised and utilised in a critical edition, namely R.A.B. Mynors' edition from 1958.[17]

The twentieth century has seen ten critical editions of Catullus' *opera*,[18] and several editions devoted to single poems.[19] Additionally, Robin Nisbet's seminal article "Notes on the Text and Interpretation of Catullus" (1978) has inspired a new wave of conjectures and revivals of forgotten conjectures on Catullus. This conjectural activity has in recent years been greatly helped by Dániel Kiss' online repertory of conjectures on Catullus, which has also made high resolution digital images of *O* and *G* available to its readers.[20] However, two important tasks on the text of Catullus still need to be done. First, there is a need for a new critical edition of Catullus, which employs more conjectural solutions than usual in the text and *apparatus criticus*.[21] Secondly, the *codices recentiores* need to be further identified, analysed and put into a *stemma*. Dániel Kiss is currently working on the *codices recentiores*; and I hope that with this edition of Catullus 66 I may be able to demonstrate, however modestly, some of the editorial principles from which a future edition of Catullus might benefit.

17 Cf. the review of Goold 1958: 95. Ellis 1902 and Kroll 1928 use *OGR* in their editions but do not recognize the importance of *R*. See also description of the *sigla codicum* in Cazzaniga 1941: xv [unnumbered page], who does not recognize *R* as a descendant of *V*.

18 Thomson 1978 (revised 1997); Goold 1983; Eisenhut 1958 (new edition 1983); Bardon 1970 (revised 1973); Mynors 1958 (revised 1960); Schuster 1949; Cazzaniga 1941; Kroll 1923; Lafaye 1922; Ellis 1904.

19 For instance Harrison 2004, a text and translation of Catullus 63; Marinone 1997, a double edition of Catullus 66 and Callimachus fr. 110. In addition, Gail Trimble has an edition of Catullus 64 coming through the Cambridge University Press.

20 Kiss 2013.

21 Further elaboration and documentation in section 1.3 of this paper.

## 1.2. THE PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPTS OF CATULLUS 66 (*OGR*):

- *O* (*Oxoniensis Canonicianus* class. lat. 30 in the Bodleian Library)

The *Codex Oxoniensis* is the oldest of the three principal manuscripts. It was probably written in Venice in 1360. The manuscript is written on parchment in Italian Gothic minuscule, also known as *Rotunda*. Its unknown scribe is considered to have been a competent copyist but a poor Latinist.[22] The scribe appears to have focused more on the layout of his codex than on the text itself.[23] As a result *O* does not contain any of the variant readings assumed to have been present in *V*.[24]

*O* is not known to have left any descendants. The manuscript was rediscovered at the Bodleian Library in 1867 by Robinson Ellis, who did not recognize the importance of his discovery. In 1876 Emil Baehrens acknowledged the importance of *O*, which he used as the foundation of his text alongside the manuscript *G*.

- *G* (*Parisinus* lat. 14137 in the Bibliothèque National de France)

The *Codex Sangermanensis* is the second oldest of the principal manuscripts. It was written in 1375, most likely in Verona.[25] Its scribe has been identified as Antonio da Legnago, who wrote the manuscript on parchment in Italian Gothic minuscule and added a few titles and marginal readings to the text, which he otherwise left unfinished. The other variant readings in *G* are by a later scribe, commonly referred to as $G^2$, who

22 Cf. Mynors 1958: v: (O), *optime scriptus ab homine uix satis docto, sedulo tamen ac modesto, et qui saepe quod non intellexisset describere mallet quam textum coniecturis sollicitare* ('*(O)*, written perfectly well by a scarcely learned, though diligent and moderate man, who often prefers to copy what he does not understand, rather than disturbing his text with conjectures').

23 Thomson 1997: 28-29.

24 Cf. Trappes-Lomax 2007: 16.

25 Parisinus lat. 14137 (= *G*), fol. 36r: *1375 mensis octobris 19* ('19 October 1375').

took the readings from the manuscript *m*, an early copy of *R*.[26] Seven of the 93 variants are on poem 66.[27]

*G* is held to have been copied from the lost manuscript *X*, a brother of *O*. C.I. Sillig (1830) was the first modern editor to make use of *G*, but the manuscript was not used properly until Schwabe's edition in 1866.

- ***R*** (*Ottobonianus* lat. 1829 in the Vatican Library)

The *Codex Romanus* is the brother of *G*, copied for the Florentine chancellor Coluccio Salutati, probably in 1390. Like its brother, *R* was copied from the lost codex *X*, the brother of *O*, and like *O* and *G* the manuscript is written on parchment in Italian Gothic minuscule. The hand of Coluccio Salutati, commonly referred to as $R^2$, has added 133 variant readings to the manuscript. 17 of these variants are on poem 66.[28]

*R* was dramatically rediscovered by William Gardner Hale in 1896 when he realized that the Vatican Library had miscatalogued the manuscript. Hale never managed to publish a full collation of *R*, which was instead published by D.F.S. Thomson in 1970. The first editor to make use of *R* was Ellis in 1902, but the importance of *R* was not acknowledged properly until Mynors' edition in 1958.

## 1.3. EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

In 2000 Stephen Harrison published an article on the need for a new text of Catullus. In Harrison's view the existing editions of Catullus are too reluctant to emend the text and present too few alternative readings in

26 See McKie 1989 on the manuscript *m*.

27 66.21 (Et / al. at), 66.24 (nunc / al. tunc), 66.35 (Sed / al. si), 66.54 (asinoes / arsinoes), 66.55 (-que / al. quia), 66.56 (aduolat / al. collocat), 66.57 (legerat / al. legarat).

28 66.5 (sublimia / al. sublamia uel sublimina), 66.21 (et / al. at), 66.24 (nunc / al. tunc), 66.29 (mictens / mittens), 66.29 (que / quae [que]), 66.35 (sed / al. si), 66.45 (atque / al. cumque), 66.48 (celitum / al. celorum, al. celtum), 66.53 (mutantibus / nutantibus), 66.54 (asineos / al. arsinoes), 66.56 (aduolat / al. collocat), 66.57 (ciphiritis / al. zyphiritis), 66.63 (uindulum / uuidulum), 66.71 (parce / pace), 66.74 (qui / al. quin), 66.79 (quem / al. quam), 66.86 (indigetis / al. indignis, al. indignatis). Cf. the collation of Thomson 1970: 13.

their apparatus.[29] Harrison argued that, since the textual transmission of Catullus is considerably flawed, there is a greater need than usual for conjectures in the text and for alternative readings in the apparatus. The only edition of Catullus that meets the demands for emending the text, Goold's text from 1983, does not supply an apparatus. Accordingly, the ideal text should combine the conjectural boldness of Goold with an extensive and conjecturally informative apparatus. Harrison summarised his views by suggesting three editorial principles:[30]

1. The text should have an *apparatus criticus* which is free of minor orthographical variants. Since the apparatus will already be more than usually extensive due to the mentioning of variant readings, recordings of orthographical variants without any bearing on the meaning should be avoided.
2. The apparatus should cite the three main manuscripts *OGR* singly rather than using the sigla *V*, *X* or *A* to indicate accordance between the manuscripts. *OGR* vary sufficiently at crucial points to make this a significant help to the reader.
3. Due to the poor transmission of Catullus' poetry the text and the apparatus should contain more conjectural solutions than usual. Numerous conjectures worth mentioning have been made in the past; and there are still many unsolved problems and good conjectures to be made.

I find these editorial principles convincing and I have strived to use them throughout my text.[31] In addition, I have applied Dániel Kiss' practice of

29 Harrison 2000: 66-70. The need for a new edition of Catullus has recently been repeated by Tarrant 2016: 147.

30 Harrison 2000: 69-70. Tarrant 2016: 145 might be said to express these principles in general terms: "A minimal definition of a satisfactory edition might be one that accurately reports the essential manuscript evidence and reflects the current state of thinking about a text well enough to provide a basis for further study."

31 In contrast to Thomson 1997 I do not record minor orthographical variants and misspellings such as *himeneo* (O, line 11), *assirios* (OGR, line 12) and *dissidium* (GR, line 22). My employment of the two other editorial principles should be evident throughout my text and apparatus. My apparatus is positive rather than negative; for the distinction between these two styles see Tarrant 2016: 162-63.

citing the *codices recentiores* individually rather than using collective *sigla* like Mynors and Thomson.[32] Since Kiss has identified and listed some 129 of the *codices recentiores*,[33] I believe that citing the manuscripts individually will be of great help to the reader who wishes to check the references given in the apparatus. I cite the manuscripts in accordance with Kiss' identification of them, and I list them in section 1.4.2 of this introduction. Finally, neither of the manuscripts *O*, *G* and *R* is considered decisively superior to the others in establishing the text of Catullus. When the manuscript readings differ, I therefore choose to print whichever reading (or conjecture) I find is of greatest merit.[34]

The present edition is based on my own transcription and collation of the manuscripts *O* (fols. 28r-29v) and *G* (fols. 26v-27v) which are accessible in high resolution digital images on Dániel Kiss' *Catullus Online. An Online Repertory of Conjectures on Catullus*.[35] The manuscript *R*, located in the Vatican Library, has not been available to me. When referring to *R* I primarily rely on D.F.S. Thomson's collation of the manuscript; where I suspect that Thomson has collated incorrectly (for instance in lines 17, 18, 35, 82) I rely on the information given in Kiss' *apparatus criticus*.[36]

32 Kiss 2013; Thomson 1997; Mynors 1958.

33 Kiss 2015c.

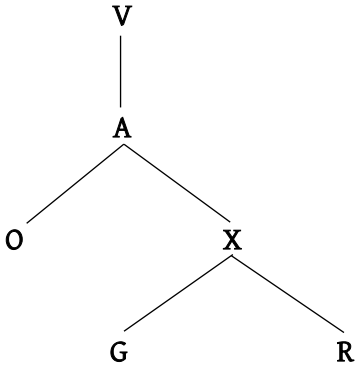
34 Cf. Tarrant 2016: 57 on the manuscripts: "when G and R agree against O, the two readings have equal stemmatic value, and the reading of the archetype can only be ascertained by weighing the relative merits of the readings." See also Trappes-Lomax 2007: 1: "There is only one criterion: *si melius est, Catullianum est*."

35 Kiss 2013.

36 Thomson 1970; Kiss 2013.

## 1.4. STEMMA, SIGLA CODICUM AND WORKS MENTIONED IN THE APPARATUS CRITICUS

### 1.4.1 Stemma[37]




### 1.4.2 Sigla codicum[38]

| | |
|---|---|
| O = Oxoniensis Bodleianus Canonicanus class. lat. 30 | c. 1360 |
| G = Parisinus lat. 14137 | 1375 |
| $G^2$ = a later hand in *G* | |
| R = Vaticanus Ottobonianus lat. 1829 | c. 1390 |
| $R^2$ = Coluccio Salutati | |
| MS 4 = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Diez. B Sant. 37 | 1463 |
| MS 8 = Bologna, Bibliotheca Universitaria 2621 | 1412 |
| MS 28 = Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Magl. VII 1158 | 1460-1470 |
| MS 31 = Florence, Bibliotheca Riccardiana 606 | 1457 |
| MS 46 = London, British Library Add. 11915 | 1460 |
| MS 52 = London, British Library Egerton 3027 | 1467 |
| MS 59 = Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale di Brera AD xii 37 | 1450 |

37 I use the traditional *sigla* of the manuscripts, although they do not indicate that *V*, *A* and *X* are lost (cf. section 1.1).

38 The information on *OGR* is taken from Thomson 1997: 97; cf. Harrison 2004: 514. Information on manuscripts other than *OGR* is derived from Kiss 2015b: 173-77.

| | |
|---|---|
| MS 78 = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 7989 | 1423 |
| MS 122 = Vicenza, Bibliotheca Civica Bertoliana G 2.8.12 (216) | 1460 |
| MS 129a = 'The Codex Tomacellianus', in private hands | 1448-1458 |

### 1.4.3 Works mentioned in the apparatus criticus[39]

Agnesini, A. 2011. 'Catull. 67.1s.: *incipit* della *ianua* o *explicit* della *coma*?' *Paideia* 66: 521-40.

Ald. = Avancius, H. & A. Manutius. 1502. *Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius*. Venetiis.

Avancius, H. 1495. *Hieronymi Auancii Veronensis artium doctoris in Val. Catullum* ... Venetiis.

Avancius, H. 1535. *Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Gallus restituti per Hieronymum Avancium, Cardinali Farnesio dicantur* ... Venetiis.

Baehrens, E. 1872. *Analecta Catulliana*. Ienae.

Baehrens, E. 1876. *Catulli Veronensis Liber, Volumen I.* Lipsiae.

Bentley, R. 1697. *Notae ad Elegiam Catulli de Coma Berenices* in T.J.G.F. Graevius (ed.) *Callimachi Hymni, Epigrammata, et Fragmenta* ... Ultrajecti, 436-38.

Calphurnius, J. 1481. [*Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii Carmina et Statii Siluae*], Vicentiae.

Canter, G. 1564. *Gulielmi Canteri Ultraiectini Novarum Lectionum Libri Quattuor.* Basileae.

Corradinus de Allio, J.F. 1738. *Cajus Valerius Catullus in integrum restitutus,* Venetiis.

Ed. 1472 = [*Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii carmina et Statii Siluae*, Venezia] – Catullus' *editio princeps*; editor identified as Hieronymus Squarzaficus; printed by Vindelinus de Spira.

Friedrich, G. 1908. *Catulli Veronensis liber*. Lipsiae & Berolini.

Gigli, A. 1880. *I carmi di C. Valerio Catullo Veronese novellamente espurgati, tradotti ed illustrati per uso delle scuole Italiane.* Roma.

Guarinus, A. 1521. *Alexandri Guarini Ferrariensis in C. V. Catullum Veronensem per Baptistam Patrem Emendatum Expositiones* ... Venetiis.

Haupt, M. 1837. *Quaestiones Catullianae.* Lipsiae.

39 The bibliographical information is derived from Kiss 2013.

Hertzberg, W.A.B. 1862. 'Anmerkungen' in W.A.B. Hertzberg & W.S. Teuffel *Die Gedichte des Catullus in den Versmaßen der Urschrift übersetzt*. Stuttgart, 107-50.
Heyse, T. 1855. *Catulls Buch der Lieder in deutscher Nachbildung*. Berlin.
Lachmann, K. 1829. *Q. Catulli Veronensis Liber ex recensione Caroli Lachmanni*. Berolini.
Larsen, K.M.E. 2017a. 'Catullus 66.53 and Virgil, *Eclogues* 5.5' *CQ* 67.1, 304-7.
Larsen, K.M.E. 2017b. 'Through the Airy Waves. Catullus 66.55' *Mnemosyne* 70, 521-24.
Lenchantin de Gubernatis, M. 1928. *Il libro di Catullo Veronese*. Torino.
Lobel, E. 1949 [on 66.78 in R. Pfeiffer (ed.) *Callimachus*. Vol. I. *Fragmenta*, Oxford, 121].
Marcilius, T. 1604. *In C. Valerium Catullum Asterismi*. Parisiis.
McKie, D.S. 2009. *Essays in the Interpretation of Roman Poetry*. Cambridge.
Muretus, M.A. 1554. *Catullus. Et in eum commentarius M. Antonii Mureti*. Venetiis.
Nisbet, R.G.M. 1978. 'Notes on the Text of Catullus' *PCPhS* 204, 92-115.
Owen, S.G. 1893. *Catullus: with the Pervigilium Veneris*. London.
Palladius, F. 1496. *In Catullum commentarii*. Venetiis.
Parthenius, A. 1485. *In Catullum commentationes*. Brixiae.
Pisanus, B. 1522 [marginal notes in a copy of Calphurnius 1481, now in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Inc. Magl. A. 3. 39].
Pleitner, K. 1876. *Studien zu Catullus*. Dillingen an der Donau.
Politianus, A. 1472-94 [annotations in his copy of the *editio princeps* of 1472, now in Rome].
Postgate, J.P. 'Catulliana' *JPh* 17, 226-67.
Puccius, F. 1502 [marginalia taken over from Puccius by Pisanus 1522].
Puteolanus, F. 1473. *Val. Catulli Veronensis poetae doctissimi liber ad Cornelium ...* Parmae.
Rehm, B. 1934. 'Catull 66, 1 und der neue Kallimachosfund' *Philologus* 89, 385-86
Riese, A. 1884. *Die Gedichte des Catullus*. Leipzig.
Schmidt, B. 1887. *C. Valeri Catulli Veronensis Carmina ... Editio Maior*. Lipsiae.
Schrader, J. 1776. *Liber Emendationum*. Leovardiae.

Skutsch, O. 1970. 'Zur Überlieferung und zum Text Catulls' *Acta Philologica Aenipontana* 3, 68-69.
Statius, A. 1566. *Catullus cum commentario Achillis Statii Lusitani.* Venetiis.
Trappes-Lomax, J.M. 2007. *Catullus: A Textual Reappraisal.* Swansea.
Trappes-Lomax, J.M. 2012. 'Further Thoughts in Catullus' *Paideia* 12, 633-45.
Vossius, I. 1684. *Cajus Valerius Catullus et in eum Isaaci Vossii observationes.* [London].
Watt, W.S. 1990. 'Notes on Three Latin Poets' *CPh* 85, 129-31.
Zwierlein, O. 1987. 'Weihe und Entrückung der Locke der Berenike' *RhM* 130.3/4, 274-90.

## 1.5 Deviations from R.A.B. Mynors' edition (1960²)

| | Mynors (1960²): | Larsen (2019): |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | dispexit *Calphurnius* | despexit *OGR* |
| 1. | lumina *OGR* | limina *Rehm* |
| 8. | Beroniceo *OGR* | Bereniceo *'codices omnes' teste Avancio* |
| 9. | multis *OGR* | uotis *McKie* |
| 9. | dearum *OGR* | deorum *MS 120* |
| 11. | nouo *OGR* | nouis *Aldine* |
| 11. | hymenaeo *OGR* | hymenaeis *Aldine* |
| 12. | iuerat *ed. 1472* | ierat *OGR* |
| 17. | intra *OGR* | citra *Nisbet* |
| 21. | et *OGR* | aut *Hertzberg* |
| 43. | oris *OGR* | orbe *MS 44* |
| 47. | facient *OGR* | faciant *Puteolanus* |
| 47. | cedant *OGR* | cedunt *Harrison** |
| 53. | nutantibus *OGR²* | motantibus *Guarinus in comm.* |
| 55. | aetherias *OGR* | aerias *Trappes-Lomax* |
| 55. | umbras *OGR* | undas *Zwierlein* |
| 59. | †hi dii uen ibi† *OGR* | hic liquidi *Friedrich* |
| 74. | ueri *MS 31* | imi *Nisbet* |
| 77. | dum *OGR* | iam *Harrison** |
| 77. | fuit omnibus *OGR* | muliebribus *Skutsch* |
| 83. | casto *OGR* | casti *Gigli* |
| 83. | cubili *OGR* | cubilis *Gigli* |
| 85. | a *OGR* | uae *Trappes-Lomax* |
| 91. | tuam *Ald.* | tui *Calphurnius* |
| 93. | utinam *GR* | iterum ut *Corradinus de Allio* |
| 94. | fulgeret *OGR* | fulguret *'codex antiquus' teste Avancio* |
| 95-96. | *om.* | *add. Agnesini* |

## C. Valerii Catulli *Carmen* LXVI
### *Coma Berenices*

Omnia qui magni despexit limina mundi,
    qui stellarum ortus comperit atque obitus,
flammeus ut rapidi solis nitor obscuretur,
    ut cedant certis sidera temporibus,
ut Triuiam furtim sub Latmia saxa relegans
    dulcis amor gyro deuocet aerio;
idem me ille Conon caelesti in lumine uidit
    e Bereniceo uertice caesariem
fulgentem clare, quam uotis illa deorum
    leuia protendens bracchia pollicita est,
qua rex tempestate nouis auctus hymenaeis
    uastatum finis ierat Assyrios,
dulcia nocturnae portans uestigia rixae,
    quam de uirgineis gesserat exuuiis.
estne nouis nuptis odio Venus? anne parentum
    frustrantur falsis gaudia lacrimulis,
ubertim thalami quas citra limina fundunt?
    non, ita me diui, uera gemunt, iuerint.

**1** despexit *OGR*, dispexit *Calpurnius 1481*, descripsit *McKie 2009* limina *Rehm 1934*, lumina *OGR* **2** obitus *MS 59 1450,* habitus *OGR* **4** certis *GR*, ceteris *O* **5** sub latmia *MS 122 1460*, sublamina *O*, sublimia *GR* (*al.* -lamia *uel* -limina $R^2$), sublatmia *Calphurnius 1481* relegans *MS 122 1460*, religans *OGR* **6** gyro *ed. 1472*, guioclero *OGR* **7** in lumine *Vossius 1684*, numine *OGR*, lumine *Canter 1564*, limine *MS 46 1460* **8** e bereniceo *'codices omnes' teste Avancio 1495*, ebore niceo *OGR* **9** uotis ... deorum *McKie 2009,* multis ... dearum *OGR*, cunctis ... deorum *Haupt 1837*, templis ... deorum *Pohl 1860* **11** qua rex *Puteolanus 1473*, quare ex *OGR* nouis auctus hymenaeis *Ald. 1502*, nouo auctus hymeneo *OGR*, nouo auctatus hymenaeo *Goold 1969* **12** uastatum *MS 31 1457*, uastum *OGR* ierat *OGR,* iuerat *ed. 1472* **15** est ne *OGR* anne *MS 52 1467*, atque *OGR* parentum *OGR*, maritum *Schmidt 1887* **16** falsis *OGR*, salsis *Heyse 1855* **17** ubertim *GR*, uberum *O* citra *Nisbet 1978,* intra *OGR* limina *MS 31 1457*, lumina *OGR* **18** diui *MS 78 1423*, diu *OGR*, di ut *Statius 1566* iuerint *ed. 1472*, iuuerint *OGR*

id mea me multis docuit regina querelis
inuisente nouo proelia torua uiro.
aut tu non orbum luxti deserta cubile,
sed fratris cari flebile discidium?
quam penitus maestas exedit cura medullas!
ut tibi tunc toto pectore sollicitae
sensibus ereptis mens excidit! at <te> ego certe
cognoram a parua uirgine magnanimam.
anne bonum oblita es facinus, quo regium adepta es
coniugium, quod non fortior ausit alis?
sed tum maesta uirum mittens quae uerba locuta es!
Iuppiter, ut tristi lumina saepe manu!
quis te mutauit tantus deus? an quod amantes
non longe a caro corpore abesse uolunt?
atque ibi me cunctis pro dulci coniuge diuis
non sine taurino sanguine pollicita es,
si reditum tetulisset. is haud in tempore longo
captam Asiam Aegypti finibus addiderat.
quis ego pro factis caelesti reddita coetu
pristina uota nouo munere dissoluo.
inuita, o regina, tuo de uertice cessi,
inuita: adiuro teque tuumque caput,
digna ferat quod si quis inaniter adiurarit!
sed qui se ferro postulet esse parem?

**21** aut *Hertzberg 1862*, et *OGR* (*al.* at $G^2R^2$), an *Puccius 1502* non *GR*, uno *O* **22** fratris *GR*, factis *O* **23** quam *Bentley 1697*, cum *OGR* **24** tibi *OR*, ibi *G* tunc $OG^2R^2$, nunc *GR* sollicitae *MS 122 1460*, solicitet *OGR* **25** te *add. Avancius 1535* **26** magnanimam *MS 31 1457*, magnanima *OGR* **27** quo *Puccius 1502*, quam *OGR* adepta es *Calphurnius 1481*, adeptos *O*, adeptus *GR* **28** fortior *GR*, forcior *O*, fortius *MS 129a 1450* ausit *Puccius 1502*, aut sit *OGR* **29** tum *GR*, cum *O* **31** tantus *OGR*, tantum *MSS recentiores*, *iterum coni. Schrader 1776* **32** abesse *OR*, adesse *G* uolunt *OGR*, ualent *Baehrens 1876* **33** me cunctis *Puccius 1502*, pro cunctis *OR*, pro cuncis *G* **34** taurino *om. O* **35** si $G^2R^2$, sed *OGR* tetulisset *MS 28 1460-70*, te tulisset *OGR* haud *Ald.* 1502, aut *OGR*, haut *Statius 1566* **41** ferat quod *GR*, feratque *O*, feret quod *Puccius 1502* adiurarit *Ald. 1502*, adiuraret *OGR*

ille quoque euersus mons est, quem maximum in orbe
progenies Thiae clara superuehitur,
cum Medi peperere nouum mare, cumque iuuentus
per medium classi barbara nauit Athon.
quid faciant crines, cum ferro talia cedunt?
Iuppiter, ut Chalybon omne genus pereat,
et qui principio sub terra quaerere uenas
institit ac ferri stringere duritiem!
abiunctae paulo ante comae mea fata sorores
lugebant, cum se Memnonis Aethiopis
unigena impellens motantibus aera pennis
obtulit Arsinoes Locridos ales equus,
isque per aerias me tollens auolat undas,
et Veneris casto collocat in gremio.
ipsa suum Zephyritis eo famulum legarat,
Graia Canopitis incola litoribus.

**43** quem *GR*, quae *O* maximum *Puccius 1502*, maxima *OGR* orbe *MS 44 1474*, oris *OGR* **44** Thiae *dub. Vossius 1684, sine dub. Bentley 1697*, phitie *O*, phytie *GR*, Phthiae *Parthenius 1485* **45** cum $RG^2$, tum *OG* peperere *MS 122 1460*, propere *OGR*, rupere *Guarinus 1521 in comm., iterum coni. Pleitner 1876* cumque $OR^2$, atque *GR* **47** faciant *Puteolanus 1473* (ῥέξωμεν *Callimachus*), facient *OGR* cedunt *Harrison** (εἴκουσιν *Callimachus*), cedant *OGR* **48** Chalybon *Politiano 1472-94 attributum* (Χαλύβων *Callimachus*), celerum *O*, celitum *GR* (*al.* celorum $R^2$, *al.* celtum $R^{2bis}$) **50** ferri *MS 31 1457*, ferris *OGR* stringere *Heyse 1855*, fingere *O*, fringere *GR* **51** fata *GR*, facta *O* **52** memnonis *O*, menonis *GR* **53** motantibus *Guarinus 1521 in comm., iterum coni. Larsen 2017a*, nutantibus *OG*, mutantibus *R* (n- $R^2$), nictantibus *Bentley 1697* **54** arsinoes $OG^2R^2$, asinoes *GR* Locridos *Bentley 1697*, elocridicos *OGR* ales *MS 31 1457*, alis *OGR* **55** isque *O*, is que *GR* (*al.* quia $G^2$) aerias ... undas *Larsen 2017b*, aethereas (-rias *O*) ... umbras *OGR*, aerias ... umbras *dub. Riese 1884, iterum coni. Trappes-Lomax 2012*, aetherias ... undas *Zwierlein 1987* auolat *O*, aduolat *GR* (*al.* collocat $G^2R^2$) **56** collocat *O*, aduolat *GR* **57** Ζεφυρῖτις *Callimachus*, cyphiritis *OG*, ciphiritis *R* (al. zy- $R^2$) legarat *O*, legerat *GR* **58** Graia *Lachmann 1829* (Graiia *Baehrens 1874*), Gracia *O*, Gratia *GR*, grata *Ald. 1502* Canopitis *Statius 1566* (Κανωπίτου *Callimachus*), conopicis *O*, canopicis *GR*, canopeis *Calphurnius 1481*

hic liquidi uario ne solum in lumine caeli
ex Ariadnaeis aurea temporibus
fixa corona foret, sed nos quoque fulgeremus,
deuotae flaui uerticis exuuiae,
uuidulam a fluctu cedentem ad templa deum me
sidus in antiquis diua nouum posuit.
Virginis et saeui contingens namque Leonis
lumina, Callistoe iuncta Lycaoniae,
uertor in occasum, tardum dux ante Booten,
qui uix sero alto mergitur oceano.
sed quamquam me nocte premunt uestigia diuum,
lux autem canae Thetyi restituit;
(pace tua fari hic liceat, Rhamnusia uirgo,
namque ego non ullo uera timore tegam,
nec si me infestis discerpent sidera dictis,
condita quin imi pectoris euoluam:)
non his tam laetor rebus, quam me afore semper,
afore me a dominae uertice discrucior,

**59** hic liquidi *Friedrich 1908*, hi dii uen ibi *OGR*, inde Venus *Postgate 1888* lumine *MS 8 1412*, numine *OG,* mumine *R*, limine *MS 52 1467* **60** ariadnęis *MS 122 1460*, Ariadneais *Ald. 1502*, adrianeis *OGR* **61** nos *GR*, uos *O* **62** exuuie $G^2R$, exunie *O* **63** uuidulam *Guarinus 1521*, uindulum *OGR* (uiridulum *corr.* $G^2$, uuindulum $R^2$) deum me *MS 31 1457*, decumme *OGR* **65** Virginis *GR*, Virgis *O* **66** Callistoe iuncta Lycaoniae *Parthenius 1485*, calixto iuxta licaonia *OGR* **69** quamquam *GR*, quicquam *O* **70** autem *MS 4 1463*, aut *OGR* thetyi *Ald. 1502*, theti *OR*, then *G* restituit *Politianus 1472-1494*, restituem *OGR* **71** parce *OGR* (*corr.* $R^2$) hic *OGR*, haec *Puteolanus 1473*, hoc *Owen 1893* Rhamnusia *A. Guarinus 1521*, ranumsia *O*, ranusia *GR*, ramnusia *Calphurnius 1481* **72** ullo *O*, nullo *GR* **73** si me *MS 52 1467*, sine *OGR* discerpent *MS 31 1457*, diserpent *OGR* dictis *GR*, doctis *O*, diuis *Avancius 1535*, dextris *Bentley 1697* **74** condita *OR*, candita *G* quin $R^2$, qui *OGR* imi *Nisbet 1978*, uere *OGR*, ueri *MS 31 1457*, nostri *Watt 1990* euoluam *Puteolanus 1473*, euolue *OGR*, (quae ueri pectoris) euoluo *Baehrens 1885* **75** afore *Statius 1566*, affore *OGR* **76** afore *Statius 1566*, affore *OGR* discrutior *OGR*

quicum ego iam uirgo quondam muliebribus expers
unguentis una uilia multa bibi.
nunc uos, optato quas iunxit lumine taeda,
non prius unanimis corpora coniugibus
tradite nudantes reiecta ueste papillas,
quam iucunda mihi munera libet onyx,
uester onyx, casti colitis quae iura cubilis.
sed quae se impuro dedit adulterio,
illius uae! mala dona leuis bibat irrita puluis;
namque ego ab indignis praemia nulla peto.
sed magis, o nuptae, semper concordia uestras,
semper amor sedes incolat assiduus.
tu uero, regina, tuens cum sidera diuam
placabis festis luminibus Venerem,
unguinis expertem non siris esse tui me,
sed potius largis affice muneribus.
sidera corruerint, iterum ut coma regia fiam;
proximus Hydrochoi fulguret Oarion!
o dulci iucunda uiro, iucunda parenti,
salue, teque bona Iuppiter auctet ope!

**77** qui cum *OGR* iam *Harrison**, dum *OGR* muliebribus *Skutsch 1970,* fuit omnibus *OGR* **78** uilia *Lobel 1949*, milia *OGR* **79** quas *Calpurnius 1481*, quem *OGR* (*al.* quam $R^2$) **80** prius *Palladius 1494*, post *OGR* unanimis *Marcilius 1604*, uno animus *OGR* **81** reiecta *MS 122 1460*, retecta *OGR* **83** casti ... cubilis *Gigli 1880*, casto ... cubili *OGR* colitis que *R*, colitisque *O*, queritis que *R* **85** dona leuis bibat *ed. 1472*, leuis bibat dona *OGR* uae! mala *Trappes-Lomax 2007*, amala *OGR* **86** indignis (*al.* indignatis) $R^2$, abindignatis *O*, ab indigetis *GR* **87** uestras *MS 52 1467*, nostras *OGR* **91** unguinis *Bentley 1697*, sanguinis *OGR* siris *Lachmann 1829*, uestris *OGR* tui *Calphurnius 1481*, tuum *OGR*, tuam *Ald. 1502* **92** affice *MS 52 1467*, effice *OGR* **93** corruerint *Lachmann 1829*, cur iterent *OGR*, cur retinent *Puccius 1502*, cursum iterent *Lenchantin de Gubernatis 1928* iterum ut *Corradinus de Allio 1738*, utinam *GR*, utina *O* **94** hydrochoi *ed. 1472*, id rochoi *OR*, idrochoi *G* fulguret *'codex antiquus' teste Avancio 1495,* fulgeret *OGR,* fulgeat *Ald. 1502* **95-96** [Cat. 67.1-2] *add. Agnesini 2011* (χ[αῖρε] φίλη τεκέεσσιν [τοκ- *Lobel 1952*] *Callimachus*)

## C. Valerius Catullus: *Carmen* 66
### *The Lock of Berenice*

He who looked down on all the boundaries of the great universe,
Who learnt the risings and settings of the stars,
How the flaming brightness of the rapid sun grows dark,
How the constellations fade at certain times,
How, secretly banishing Selene beneath the rocks of Mount Latmos,
Sweet love calls her down from her airy orbit;
That man, Conon, saw me in the heavenly light,
A flowing lock of hair from Berenice's head,
Shining brightly, whom she promised with vows to the gods,
As she stretched out her smooth arms,
At the time when the king, blessed with a new wedding,
Had set out to lay waste the Assyrian borders,
As he carried sweet traces of the nocturnal war,
Which he had waged over virginal spoils.
Is Venus hated by new brides? Or do they deceive
The joys of their parents with false tears
Which they shed abundantly on this side of the marriage chamber?
They do not, so may the gods help me, grieve truly.
So my queen taught me with her many laments,
When her new husband had gone off to the grim battles.
Or did you not, abandoned, weep for your deserted bed,
But rather the lamentable separation from your dear brother?
How deeply did anguish devour your mournful marrow!
How then, as you were troubled in all your heart,
Was your mind cut off when your senses failed! Yet certainly I
Have known you as courageous since your early maidenhood.
Or have you forgotten that noble deed, by which you obtained a royal
Marriage, a deed no stronger man would have dared?
But when you, depressed, sent your husband away, which words did you speak!
By Jupiter, how often did you dry your eyes with your hand!
Which mighty god changed you? Or is it because lovers
Do not wish to be far away from the body of their beloved?

And there to all the gods for the sake of your dear husband
Not without blood from bulls you vowed me,
If he should come back. In no time at all
He had added Asia to the borders of Egypt.
For these achievements I, given as due to the heavenly crowd,
Discharge those former vows with a new gift.
Unwillingly, o queen, did I leave your head,
Unwillingly: I swear by you and your head;
May anyone who swears falsely by this get what she deserves!
But who can claim to be equal to iron?
Even that mountain was overthrown, the greatest in the world
Over which Thia's illustrious descendant is carried,
When the Persians gave birth to a new sea, and when the youth
Of the Orient sailed with the fleet through the middle of Mount Athos.
What can locks of hair do, when such things succumb to iron?
By Jupiter, may the whole race of the mining Chalybes perish,
And he who first began to search for veins underground
And to increase the hardness of iron.
Just after I was severed my sister locks were mourning my fate,
When the brother of Ethiopian Memnon showed himself,
Beating the air with his rapidly moving wings,
The winged horse of the Locrian Arsinoe,
And lifting me through the airy waves he flies away,
And places me in the chaste bosom of Venus.
For this reason Zephyritis herself had chosen him as her messenger,
The Greek inhabitant on the Canopian shores.
Then, so that not only the golden crown from Ariadne's temples
Should be fixed in the diverse light
Of the clear sky, but that I too should shine,
The devoted spoil of a blond head,
As I came a little wet from the billow to the temples of the gods,
The goddess placed me as a new constellation among the old.
For touching the Virgin's and the savage Lion's
Lights, close to Callisto the Bear, daughter of Lycaon,
I move to my setting, as a guide before the slow Bear-keeper,
Who is barely dipped in the deep ocean late at night.

But even though the steps of the gods trample me by night,
The dawn, however, restores me to white-haired Thetys;
(Allow me at this point to speak, virgin Nemesis,
For I will not hide the truth through any fear,
Not even if the constellations rend me with their hostile words;
I will on the contrary express the secrets from the bottom of my heart:)
I am not as happy at this as I am tormented at being absent
Forever absent from my mistress' head,
With whom I already as a virgin, devoid of matrimonial
Perfumes, once drank many cheap scents.
Now you, whom the marriage torch has united on the longed-for day,
Do not yield your bodies to your loving husbands,
While you bare your breasts with your garment thrown away,
Until the perfume jar pours delightful presents to me,
Your perfume jar, you who honor the laws of the chaste marriage bed.
But she who gives herself to filthy adultery,
That cursed woman, may the light dust drink her wicked,
useless gifts;
For I do not seek any rewards from unworthy persons.
But rather, o brides, may ever harmony inhabit,
May ever continuous love inhabit your homes.
You indeed, my queen, when you, looking at the constellations,
Will propriate the goddess Venus with festal lights,
Do not allow me to be without your perfume,
But rather present me with plentiful gifts.
May the constellations fall down, so that I again could become a royal
lock;
Let Orion the Hunter shine next to Aquarius the Water-bearer!
O queen, delightful to your sweet husband, delightful to your parent,
Farewell, and may Jupiter enrich you with good help!

## TEXTUAL COMMENTARY

**1. despexit *OGR*, dispexit *Calphurnius 1481*, descripsit *McKie 2009*:**

Modern editors all adopt Calphurnius' conjecture *dispexit*, 'he discerned', and with good reason. The key sense of the paradosis *despexit* is 'looking down' which fits awkwardly with the context of looking at the sky; and *dispexit* in the sense of perceiving heavenly phenomena is indicated in *OLD* (s.v. 3) and, more importantly, paralleled in Catullus' contemporary Lucretius:

- Lucr. 2.741-42: *nam cum caecigeni, solis qui lumina numquam / dispexere*[40]

As in Catullus, the paradosis in Lucretius is *despexere* which has later been emended into the now universally accepted *dispexere*. Thus, there is a strong possibility that Calphurnius' conjecture *dispexit* is the correct reading in Catullus 66.1 as well.

However, I believe that the first line of Callimachus' poem, unknown to Calphurnius,[41] is instructive in establishing the right verb in Catullus. Pfeiffer (1949: 112) notes that γραμμαί is an astronomical *terminus technicus*: "γραμμαί *h.l. non solum lineae, quibus caelum in partes dividitur, sed etiam delineationes 'geometricae' siderum esse videntur*".[42] Pfeiffer (1949: 112) goes on to suggest that Callimachus in lines 1 and 7 perhaps juxtaposes the act of looking down on an astronomical map and of looking up at the sky. In a note to his translation of the line Trypanis (1958: 81) also suggests that "on the charts of the stars the sky was divided by lines into sections. This is probably the meaning of ἐν γραμμαῖσιν." Finally, Harder (2012: 802) agrees that Conon "studied the maps of the stars or an astronomical globe and then discovered the shape of

40 Lucr. 2.741-42: 'For when those born blind, who have never seen the lights of the sun.'

41 Apart from a few ancient testimonia Callimachus' poem was unknown until the publications by Vitelli 1929 and Lobel 1952. For a schematic presentation of the transmission of the poem see Hansen & Tortzen 1973: 32.

42 Pfeiffer 1949: 112: 'γραμμαί seem in this place not only to be the lines, by which the sky is divided into parts, but also the 'geometrical' sketches of the constellations.'

the new constellation, which was not yet in the maps, in the sky (cf. 7 ἐν ἠέρι)."

This sense of juxtaposition between looking down at the maps and then looking up at the sky is perfectly expressed by the paradosis *despexit*, but it is lost in Calphurnius' and McKie's conjectures. Barrett (1982: 136) notes that Latin "has no equivalent to γραμμαί" and concludes that *despicere* "which usually implies looking down from a height, is a splendid verb to use of an omniscient astronomer who can survey the whole universe by looking down at his charts." Although Catullus uses *despicere* in the sense of 'despise' in 64.20, which is the only other place in his *opera* where the verb is transmitted, I agree with Barrett that Catullus, in order to elucidate the sense of looking down in Callimachus' ἐν γραμμαῖσιν, might have written *despexit* in place of the neutral ἰδών, 'having looked at', in Callimachus. Therefore, I think that the manuscripts are right in transmitting *despexit*, although Calphurnius' conjecture is very elegant indeed.

limina *Rehm 1934*, lumina *OGR*:

In connection with *magni ... mundi* (66.1), 'of the great universe', Rehm's conjecture is a natural translation of Callimachus' astronomical *terminus technicus* ὅρον, which, according to the parallels to Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione* given in Pfeiffer (1949: 112), means something like 'the limit of the sky'; cf. Trypanis (1958: 82) who translates πάντα τὸν ἐν γραμμαῖσιν ἰδὼν ὅρον as "having examined all the charted (?) sky", and Nisetich's (2001: 164) translation: "He who conned the sky mapped out from end to end on charts". For the erroneous paradosis see Catullus 66.17 where *OGR* clearly mistake *limina* for *lumina*. Since *limina* is not a *terminus technicus* in itself the corruption may have been caused through normalisation by a scribe unfamiliar with the Greek technical term or through a confusion of *i* (one stroke) and *u* (two strokes).

2. obitus *MS 59*, habitus *OGR*

The conjecture *obitus* agrees with the familiar pairing of *ortus* and *obitus*. See for instance:

- Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 1.59: *nam et signorum ortus et obitus definitum quendam ordinem seruant.*[43]
- Cic. *Fat.* 17: *signorum ortus obitusque perdiscere.*[44]
- Verg. *G.* 1.257: *nec frustra signorum obitus speculamur et ortus.*[45]

For words being corrupted by an initial *h* see Nisbet (1991: 87).

**5. sub Latmia *MS 122*, sublamina *O*, sublimia *GR*:**

MS 122's conjecture fits nicely with the mentioning of *Triuia*, i.e. Artemis/Selene, and *dulcis amor*, 'sweet love', in the next line. The object of Artemis/Selene's desire, Endymion, is held to have dwelled on Mount Latmos (e.g. Theoc. *Id.* 20.37-39 and Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.57-58). The strokes in *-tmi-* could have been read as *-min-* (O) by an inattentive scribe. A later, more attentive scribe could in turn have corrected the nonsensical *sublamina* into *sublimia* (GR), 'lofty', in order to make it agree with *saxa*, 'rocks'.

**relegans *MS 122*, religans *OGR*:**

The reading of the manuscripts is unmetrical. The conjecture *relegans*, 'banishing', fits well with the context of a goddess' shameful submission to a mortal. For the strong wording of *relegans* see Callimachus' contemporary Apollonius Rhodius' description of the affair between Selene and Endymion in *Argonautica* 4.57 and 4.62-64.

**7. in lumine *Vossius 1684*, numine *OGR*, lumine *Canter 1556*:**

Canter's conjecture *lumine*, 'the light', with Voss' addition *in* matches Callimachus' ἐν ἠέρι, 'in the sky'. The reading of *OGR* might be explained by the corruption *caelesti(i)n(l)umine*.

43 Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 1.59: 'For both the risings and the settings of the constellations keep a certain fixed order.'

44 Cic. *Fat.* 17: 'To learn thoroughly the risings and the settings of the constellations.'

45 Verg. *G.* 1.257: 'Nor in vain do we observe the risings and the settings of the constellations.'

**9. uotis ... deorum *McKie 2009*, multis ... dearum *OGR*, cunctis ... deorum *Haupt 1837*:**

In the context it does not seem clear at all why Berenice would promise the lock of hair to 'many of the goddesses' as the paradosis reads, especially since the paradosis in 66.33-34 says that she promised the lock *cunctis diuis*, 'to all the gods'. This prompted Haupt to suggest *cunctis ... deorum*, 'to all of the gods', which is somewhat supported by Callimachus' πᾶσιν ... θεοῖς, 'to all the gods', unknown to Haupt. The partitive in Haupt's conjecture is, however, unparalleled in both Greek and Latin. Given the mentioning of *pristina uota*, 'the former vows', in 66.38, which would otherwise stand unexplained, McKie's conjecture seems to be the best reading, although Haupt's conjecture does agree with the sense in Callimachus. For a parallel to the genitive in *uotis ... deorum*, 'with vows to the gods', see:

- Livy *praef.* 13: *cum bonis potius ominibus uotisque et precationibus deorum dearumque*[46]

Palaeographically *uotis* is not far from *multis*, and it could very well have been corrupted by a scribe yet unfamiliar with *pristina uota* in 66.38. Additionally, *dearum* and *deorum* look similar in miniscule manuscripts and can easily be confused.

**11. nouis ... hymenaeis *Ald. 1502*, nouo ... hymeneo *OGR*:**

The paradosis *nouo auctus hymenaeo*, 'blessed with a new wedding', presents a hiatus after *nouo* which Catullus generally avoids.[47] The reading of the Aldine edition is in better accordance with Catullus' general practice than the paradosis by (i) avoiding the hiatus and (ii) using the plural of *hymenaeus*. Catullus uses the plural of *hymenaeus* in two other places, both unanimously transmitted by *OGR*, in the sense of 'wedding', whereas he does not use the word in singular in that sense. Cf.:

- Cat. 64.20: *tum Thetis humanos non despexit hymenaeos*[48]

46 Livy *praef.* 13: 'With good omens, rather, and with vows and prayers to the gods and the goddesses'.

47 Cf. Trappes-Lomax 2007: 3, 9-10 on hiatus in Catullus.

48 Cat. 64.20: 'Then Thetis did not despise a mortal wedding.'

- Cat. 64.141: *sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos*[49]

**auctus *OGR*, auctatus *Goold 1969***

Goold's reading *auctatus*, 'enlarged by', avoids the hiatus in the manuscripts; but the transmitted *auctus* is in better accordance with Catullan practice. Catullus uses the participle of *augeo* twice (64.25, 64.165) in the sense of 'blessed with' (*OLD* s.v. 6b), transmitted by the manuscripts, but he does not use the participle of *aucto* anywhere else; instead he uses the verb once (67.2), transmitted by the manuscripts as well. Thus, the Aldine reading *nouis auctus hymenaeis* (see previous entry) will be the best way to avoid the hiatus transmitted by the manuscripts.

**12. uastatum *MS 31*, uastum *OGR*:**

The unmetrical paradosis must have been caused by haplography.

**ierat *OGR*, iuerat *ed. 1472*:**

The paradosis is usually corrected into *iuerat*. But according to Marinone (1997: 96) a long *ī* in the perfect sense of *eo* is well-attested in the comic poets: *īeram* (Plaut. *Amph.* 401), *īero* (*Capt.* 194; *Stich.* 484), and *īerant* (Ter. *Ad.* 27). The lock generally speaks in an archaic and colloquial manner which fits well with Roman comedy.[50] Therefore, I see no need to emend the paradosis here.

**15. anne *MS 52*, atque *OGR*:**

A disjunctive conjunction is needed, since the second question poses an alternative to the first question. The reading *anne* is in accordance with line 27, and it is palaeographically close to the paradosis.

**17. citra *Nisbet 1978*, intra *OGR***

Catullus uses neither *intra*, 'within', nor *citra*, 'on this side of', elsewhere in his poems. Therefore, the choice of reading depends on the tricky sense of *thalami*. According to *LSJ* (s.v.) θάλαμος can

49 Cat. 64.141: 'But a happy marriage, but a long-desired wedding.'

50 Cf. for instance the many contracted forms in the lock's speech, such as *cognoram* for *cognoveram* (66.25), *alis* for *alius* (66.28) and *tristi* for *trivisti* (66.30). For morphological contraction as a part of colloquial diction in Roman comedy see Karakasis 2014: 568.

mean (i) an inner room or chamber; (ii) a women's apartment in the house; (iii) a bedroom; (iv) a bride-chamber / bedroom of an unmarried son; (v) the house in general. According to *OLD* (s.v.) *thalamus* can mean (i) an inner chamber or apartment, esp. for sleeping; (ii) the bedroom or apartment occupied by a married couple. The noun is attested twice in Callimachus (*Ep.* 5.9; *Hymn* 6.112), but never in relation to marriage. In Catullus, the noun is attested in two other places:

- Cat. 61.185: *uxor in thalamo tibi est*[51]
- Cat. 68.103-4: *ne Paris abducta gauisus libera moecha otia pacato degeret in thalamo*.[52]

In 61.185 the sense is clearly (ii) 'marriage-chamber', whereas the sense in 68.104 is probably (i) 'bedroom'. However, as Catullus 61.76-106 tell how *noua nupta*, 'the new bride' (cf. 66.15), weeps as she walks out of the doors of her family house to the bridegoom's *cubile*, 'bed', I find Nisbet's conjecture attractive. As a possible parallel Nisbet (1978: 101) points to Medea's return in:

- Ov. *Met.* 7.238: *constitit aduenies citra limenque foresque*[53]

The corruption may have occured through a scribe misreading *ci* for *in* or through normalisation, since *intra* is a commoner preposition than *citra.*

**limina** *MS 31*, **lumina** *OGR*

In the context *lumina*, 'lights', does not make any sense, while *limina*, 'thresholds', fits well with *citra* and *thalami*, marking the boundaries outside of which the brides shed their tears. The noun *lumina* occurs frequently throughout the poem, but in this place as in 66.1 the manuscripts must have mistaken *limina* for *lumina.*

**18. iuerint** *ed. 1472*, **iuuerint** *OGR*:

Fordyce (1961: 332) argues that *iuerint* "is in origin an *s*-aorist optative formation" and shows that the form is attested in Plautus,

51 Cat. 61.185: 'Your wife is in the wedding-chamber'.

52 Cat. 68.103-4: 'Lest Paris might spend undisturbed leisure in a peaceful chamber after having enjoyed his abducted paramour.'

53 Ov. *Met.* 7.238: 'When she arrived she stopped on this side of the threshold and the doors'.

Terence and Propertius. The parallels to Roman comedy fits well with the lock's general manner of speech (cf. entry 12 on *ierat*). The change into *iuuerint* has probably occured through normalisation.

**21. aut *Hertzberg 1862*, et *OGR* (*al.* at $G^2R^2$), an *Puccius 1502*:**

The paradosis does not seem the right way of beginning the line. What is needed is rather a disjunctive conjunction introducing the question. Puccius' *an* is certainly a possibility. But given *et* and the alternative *at* in the manuscripts, I think that Hertzberg's conjecture is better. The first letter is separated from the rest of the line in *O*; and monosyllables at the beginning of a line are in general liable to corruption (Kenney 1958: 65). Sometimes (though rarely) *aut* is abbreviated to $a^t$ in medieval manuscripts (Cappelli 1982: 34). If the first letter was lost in the manuscript, the scribe could easily corrupt *aut* into *et*. For *aut* introducing an alternative question see Catullus 29.21.

**23. quam *Bentley 1697*, cum *OGR*:**

Bentley's *quam* turns the line into an exclamation which fits the context. The corruption may have occured through a scribe misreading *quam* for *quom* and a later scribe correcting *quom* into *cum*. Cf. *quom* in the sense of *cum* in the Gallus fragment (Plate IV in Anderson, Parsons and Nisbet 1979 [unnumbered page]). Trappes-Lomax (2007: 19) even argues that Catullus "spelled the conjunction *quom* not *cum*."

**25. te *add. Avancius***

The addition of *te* is necessary (i) in order to make a long syllable of the naturally short *at* before the two short syllables *<te> ego* (with elision) and (ii) as a direct object for *cognoram*. It has probably been lost due to double haplography: *at(te)ego*.

**27. quo *Puccius 1502*, quam *OGR*:**

Puccius' conjecture expresses the instrumental sense of *facinus*, 'deed'. The medieval abbreviations of *qui* and its oblique forms are liable to be confused.

**28. fortior *GR*, forcior *O*, fortius *MS 129a***

The reading of the manuscripts qualifies Berenice, while the conjecture qualifies *facinus*, 'deed'. Both of these readings make good sense in the context. I choose to print the paradosis partly because it is the *lectio difficilior* (it is easier to imagine *fortior* being corrupted into *fortius* because of *quod* than the other way around), and partly because the adjective fits well with Berenice's display of bravery when she had her adulterous first husband, Demetrius the Fair, killed as she caught him in bed with her mother.[54]

**31. tantus *OGR*, tantum *MSS recentiores*:**

The conjecture *tantum*, 'so much', expresses the extent to which Berenice has been changed from her previous brave state of mind (66.27-29) into her present sorrowful condition. The paradosis indirectly expresses the extent to which Berenice has changed by referring to the greatness of the god who has changed her (probably Amor). The reading of the manuscripts could be a corrupted form due to assimilation, agreeing with *quis*, but it is not unparalleled:

- Verg. *Aen.* 2.281-82: *o lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum, / quae tantae tenuere morae?*[55]

Since the paradosis is definitely the *lectio difficilior* and attested in Vergil, who famously echoes Catullus 66 elsewhere in the *Aeneid* (Cat. 66.39-40 in *Aen.* 6.460 and 6.492-94), I choose to print *tantus*. Finally, for *tantus deus* in the sense of 'mighty god' see:

- Stat. *Theb.* 3.309-10: *tantosque ex ordine vidi / delituisse deos*[56]

**33. me *Puccius 1502*, pro *OGR*:**

Puccius' conjecture is certainly a necessary correction of the nonsensical paradosis. The corruption may have occured

54 For the colourful historical background see Thomson 1997: 448-49 and Gutzwiller 1992: 362.

55 Verg. *Aen.* 2.281-82: 'O light of Dardania, o most reliable hope of the Trojans, what great delays have held you?'

56 Stat. *Theb.* 3.309-10: 'and I saw the mighty gods hide all in a line.'

through an inversion of *pro* later in the same line in order to make it agree with *cunctis*.

**35. haud** ***Ald. 1502*****, aut** ***OGR*****, haut** ***Statius 1566*****:**
The Aldine conjecture is necessary to the sense. It could have been corrupted into *aud*, later corrected into *aut*, at a time where the *h* was not pronounced. I prefer the Aldine reading to Statius' conjecture of the archaic form, as *haud* is the standard spelling in Catullus and generally (see e.g. Lindsay 1894: 616).

**41. adiurarit** ***Ald. 1502*****, adiuraret** ***OGR*****:**
The verb needs to be in the future perfect in order to express the unfulfilled condition for the main clause. The corruption may have been caused by a scribe with insufficient Latin or by a confusion of the similar-looking *-i-* and *-e-*.

**43. orbe** ***MS 44 1474*****, oris** ***OGR***
The paradosis *oris* is not found anywhere else without a defining adjective. The conjecture is an easy correction, but it does suggest that the poet is exaggerating, since Mount Athos is not larger than Mount Olympos, for instance.

**44. Thiae** ***Bentley*****, phitie** ***O*****, phytie** ***GR*****, Phthiae** ***Parthenius 1485*****:**
Parthenius' conjecture is the most attractive palaeographically, but it does not seem to make sense that the agent of the sentence should be a descendant of Achilleus or a Phthian woman. Thia's descendant is either her son the Sun or her grandson Boreas. I believe that the Sun is meant, since he is traditionally carried across the sky in his carriage (e.g. *Hymn. Hom.* 31.8-9, 14-16); but the northern location of Mount Athos might point towards Boreas.

**45. peperere** ***MS 122*****, rupere** ***Guarinus 1521 in comm., iterum Pleitner 1876*****, propere** ***OGR*****,**
The paradosis is, once again, unmetrical. Trappes-Lomax (2007: 212) recommends Guarinus' conjecture by referring to *OLD* s.v. 4a, where the sense of *rumpo* is given as "to make or open up by bursting (a passage, hole, or sim.)." However, as the direct object

of the verb is *nouum mare*, 'a new sea', and not *montem*, 'the mountain', *rupere* seems to make little sense. Better still is the conjecture of *MS 122*, *peperere*, with the sense of 'create', 'produce' or indeed 'give birth to' (*OLD* s.v. 1, 4, 5) a new sea. The corruption may have been caused by haplography or by failure to recognise a rare verb-form.

**47. faciant *Puteolanus 1473*, facient *OGR*:**

The paradosis is good and well-attested Latin. Cf.:

- Ov. *A.A.* 3.655: *quid sapiens faciet, stultus cum munere gaudet?*[57]

However, in view of the subjunctive in Callimachus' ῥέξωμεν, 'what can we do', unknown to Puteolanus, I tend towards the conjecture *faciant*. For a similar subjunctive see:

- Verg. *Ecl.* 3.16: *quid domini faciant, audent cum talia fures?*[58]

The letters *a*, *e* and *u* look rather alike in minuscule manuscripts and can easily be confused.

**cedunt *Harrison**, cedant *OGR*:**

I interpret *cum* as a *cum temporale* which normally requires a verb in the indicative (cf. Rubenbauer-Hofmann §253a). Harrison's unpublished conjecture has the further advantage of reproducing the indicative mood of Callimachus' εἴκουσιν, 'they yield to'.

**50. ferri *MS 31 1457*, ferris *OGR***

The paradosis is a grammatically correct form of *ferrum*, but it is unattested in Latin and is probably the result of dittography here. The conjecture of *MS 31* is paralleled in:

- Varro *Rust.* 2.9.15: *ne noceat collo duritia ferri.*[59]
- Plin. *HN* 36.127: *quid ferri duritia pugnacius?*[60]

**stringere *Heyse 1855*, fingere *O*, stringere *GR***

Heyse's conjecture is palaeographically elegant given *ferris fringere* in GR. The conjecture reproduces some of the sense of

57 Ov. *Ars am.* 3.655: 'What will the wise man do, when the stupid man is happy?'
58 Verg. *Ecl.* 3.16: 'What can proprietors do, when thieves dare such things?'
59 Varro *Rust.* 2.9.15: 'lest the hardness of the iron harms the neck.'
60 Plin. *HN* 36.127: 'What is more obstinate than the hardness of iron?'

Callimachus' τυπίδων ἔφρασαν ἐργασίην, 'they taught the working of hammers', as *stringere* is a *terminus technicus* for increasing the hardness of a metal (*OLD* s.v. 1b).

**53 motantibus *Guarinus 1521 in comm., iterum conieci*, nutantibus *OGR²*, mutantibus *R*, nictantibus *Bentley 1697*:**

I suggest that *motantibus … pennis*, 'with rapidly moving wings', describes the rapid, vigorous movement of Callimachus' κυκλώσας βαλιὰ πτερά, 'having whirled its swift wings', better than the paradosis and Bentley's conjecture. The use of *motantibus* in relation to Zephyrus is paralleled by Vergil, who echoes Catullus 66 in the *Aeneid* (see entry 31) as well as Catullus 62 and 64 in *Eclogues* 4 and 6:[61]

- Verg. *Ecl.* 5.5.: *siue sub incertas Zephyris motantibus umbras*[62]

The rare participle *motantibus* could very well have been corrupted into the much commoner *nutantibus* (OG) and *mutantibus* (R) through acts of normalisation.

**55. aerias … undas *scripsi*, aethereas (aetherias) … umbras *OGR*:**

I suggest that *aerias … undas*, 'the airy waves', matches the sense of Callimachus' ἠέρα … ὑγρόν, 'the wet air', better than the paradosis. I have combined the conjecture *aerias … umbras*, 'the airy shadows', by Trappes-Lomax (2007) with the conjecture *aetherias … undas*, 'the ethereal waves', by Zwierlein (1987). The expression *aerias … undas* is paralleled in Lucretius:

- Lucr. 2.152: *quo tardius ire / cogitur, aerias quasi dum diuerberat undas.*[63]

It might be worth mentioning that the *aurae* seem to be the habitat for winds in the *Aeneid*:

61 The song of the Fates (Cat. 64.326-81) is echoed in Verg. *Ecl.* 4.46-47, while *Vesper Olympo* (Cat. 62.1) seems to be echoed in Verg. *Ecl.* 6.86 (and in *Aen.* 1.374 and 8.280).

62 Verg. *Ecl.* 5.5: 'or under the shades that are uncertain because the west winds move about'.

63 Lucr. 2.152: 'Therefore it is forced to go more slowly, while it sort of cleaves the airy waves.'

- Verg. *Aen.* 1.58-59: *ni faciat, maria ac terras caelumque profundum / quippe ferant rapidi secum uerrantque per auras.*[64]

**58. Graia *Lachmann 1829*, Gracia *O*, Gratia *GR*, grata *Ald*, Graiia *Baehrens 1874*:**

The word in Callimachus is not preserved; but the paradosis in Catullus suggests that Callimachus used an ethnic adjective to balance K]ανωπίτου, 'of Canopus'. Thomson (1997: 457) rejects Baehrens' *Graiia* as unmetrical because "it would surely have to be scanned" as a dactyl. But Lachmann's conjecture *Graia*, 'Greek', scans perfectly well. Cf.:

- Ov. *Met.* 15.9: *Graia quis Italicis auctor posuisset in oris / moenia*[65]
- Val. Flacc. *Arg.* 1.599: *Graia novam ferro molem commenta iuventus*[66]

These parallels make it plausible that the correct reading is *Graia* in Catullus. Pfeiffer (1932: 202-4) rejects the reading of Γραῖα in Callimachus because it would mean "old" rather than "Greek". But even if this is correct and Callimachus used a more obscure ethnonym such as Φθῖα, 'from Phthia', Catullus could have grasped the ethnic sense and written the straightforward *Graia*.

**59. hic liquidi *Friedrich 1908*, hi dii uen ibi *OGR*, inde Venus *Postgate 1888*:**

These words are severely obscured in the manuscripts. Postgate's suggestion is ingenious, but suffers from revealing divine agency earlier than in Callimachus' version, unknown to Postgate. Friedrich's conjecture has the attraction of adding an adjective to *caeli*, 'of the sky', and thereby balancing *uario … lumine*, 'the diverse light'. For *liquidum caelum*, 'the clear sky', see:

- Ov. *Met.* 1.23: *et liquidum spisso secreuit ab aere caelum*[67]
- Stat. *Theb.* 4.7: *liquido quae stridula caelo / fugit*[68]

64 Verg. *Aen.* 1.58-59: 'If he did not do this, the rapid <winds> would surely take seas and lands and the lofty heaven with them and sweep through the air.'

65 Ov. *Met.* 15.9: 'which ancestor had placed the Greek walls on Italian ground.'

66 Val. Flacc. *Arg.* 1.599: 'When the Greek youth had created a strange devise with iron.'

67 Ov. *Met.* 1.23: 'and separated the clear sky from the dense atmosphere.'

68 Stat. *Theb.* 4.7: 'which fled whistling through the clear sky.'

Friedrich (1908: 419-20) argues that *uen* in the sense of *Venus* is "eine übergeschriebene erklärende Glosse" like *uen* for *diua* in Cat. 64.8 (*O*, fol. 21r). This leaves us with the manuscript reading *hi dii ibi* which is close to *hic liquidi*, as *cl* and *d* are easily confused in the manuscripts (cf. Cat. 7.5: *oraclum*] *oradum* OR, *ora dum* G).

**63. uuidulam *Guarinus 1521*, uindulum *OGR*:**

The paradosis is unmetrical. The conjecture matches Callimachus' λουόμενον, 'washed', unknown to Guarinus, and is in accordance with Catullus' predilection for coining diminutives.[69] The strokes in *-uui-* are likely to be read as *-uin-* by an inattentive scribe. As mentioned above, *-a-* and *-u-* are so paleographically close that confusion easily occurs.

**66. Callistoe iuncta *Parthenius 1485*, calixto iuxta *OGR*:**

Parthenius' conjecture corresponds to the Greek dative -οῖ (Trappes-Lomax 2007: 214). For a parallel use of *-oe* for -οῖ elsewhere in Catullus see:

- Cat. 64.255: *euhoe bacchantes, euhoe capita inflectentes*.[70]

For another Greek dative in Catullus see 66.70: *Tethyi*, 'to Tethys'. The final vowel in the paradosis *iuxta* is long and therefore unmetrical. The conjecture restores the metre.

**71. hic *OGR*, haec *Puteolanus 1473*, hoc *Owen 1893*:**

The paradosis marks a narrative parenthesis. The suggested conjectures all make perfect sense, but since there is no problem with *hic*, 'here, at this point', I do not see any reason to emend it.

**73. dictis *GR*, doctis *O*, diuis *Avancius 1535*, dextris *Bentley 1697*:**

I understand *infestis ... dictis* as an instrumental ablative, 'with hostile words', and I do not see any reason to question the reading of *GR*. The antropomorphism of Bentley's conjecture seems to strecth the meaning too much. The lock is the narrator of the

69 For diminutives elsewhere in Catullus' *carmina maiora* see 61.22, 53, 57, 174; 62.52; 63.35, 66; 64.103, 131, 317; 65.6. See also Sheets 2007: 198-99 and Goold 1983: 6 for this distinctive feature of Catullus' diction.

70 Cat. 64.255: 'euhoe they ragingly shouted, euhoe while shaking their heads.'

poem, and it is therefore natural for her to utter words (and probably also for the stars to understand them).

**74. imi *Nisbet 1978*, uere *OGR*, ueri *MS 31*:**

As Nisbet (1978: 91) notes, "*vere* is not an adverb naturally found with *euoluere*, which is not primarily a verb of speaking." The conjecture *ueri* is attractive and generally accepted in modern editions, but it is also unparalleled. Nisbet's conjecture *imi* is palaeographically close to the paradosis (cf. Trappes-Lomax 2007: 216) and reasonably paralleled in:

- Cat. 64.198: *<querelas> quae quoniam uerae nascuntur pectore ab imo*[71]
- Lucr. 3.57-58: *nam uerae uoces tum demum pectore ab imo / eliciuntur*[72]

**77. iam *Harrison**, dum *OGR***

If we accept Skutsch's conjecture *muliebribus* for *fuit omnibus* (see next entry), the verb is removed from the *dum* clause, which is not really needed. Callimachus' ὅτ' ἦν ἔτι, 'when I was still', can easily be expressed by Harrison's unpublished *iam*, 'already (as)'.

**muliebribus *Skutsch 1970*, fuit omnibus *OGR*:**

Skutsch's conjecture agrees with Callimachus' γυναικείων, 'of married women', whereas the paradosis is not to be found in Callimachus. Although Catullus in 64.338 and 66.91 uses *expers*, 'without', with the normal genitive, the ablative according to *LS* s.v. is "ante-class.", and (based on the examples given) quite Plautine. This agrees with the lock's archaic and colloquial manner of speech (cf. entry 12 on *ierat*). The use of *expers* with ablative is attested in Lucretius:

- Lucr. 2.1092: *<natura uidetur> ipsa sua per se sponte omnia dis agere expers*[73]

71 Cat. 64.198: 'For <the complaints> are truthfully born from the bottom of my heart.'

72 Lucr. 3.57-58: 'For only when true words are being drawn from the bottom of the heart.'

73 Lucr. 2.1092: 'Nature appears to do everything herself of her own accord without the gods.'

- Lucr. 6.1181: *lumina uersarent oculorum expertia somno*[74]

**78. uilia *Lobel 1949*, milia *OGR*:**

Lobel's conjecture matches Callimachus' λιτά, 'plain'. It has probably been corrupted into the similar-looking *milia*, 'thousands', through an act of normalisation.

**80. prius *Palladius 1494*, post *OGR***

Palladius' conjecture corresponds to *quam*, '(before) that', in line 82. The medieval abbreviations of *post* and *prius* look alike and can easily be confused by an inattentive scribe (cf. Cappelli 1982: 15).

**83. casti ... cubilis *Gigli 1880*, casto ... cubili *OGR*:**

The ablative in the paradosis does not qualify *iura*, 'the laws', very clearly (is the sense instrumental or locative?). Gigli's conjecture makes the sense of *iura* clear. For a possible parallel see:

- Ov. *Her.* 16.286: *<metuis> castaque legitimi fallere iura tori*[75]

**85 dona leuis bibat *ed. 1472*, leuis bibat dona *OGR***

The correction by the *editio princeps* restores the metre which has been corrupted through a transposition of *dona*.

**uae! mala, *Trappes-Lomax 2007*, amala *OGR*:**

Trappes-Lomax (2007: 218) argues that the exclamatory *a* does not fit the context. Instead he suggests the exclamation *uae!* "as prophetic of well-deserved misfortune." This parenthetical exclamation is suitable for an imprecation (*OLD* s.v. 2b), and it finds parallels in:

- Ov. *Ib.* 205: *tot tibi uae! misero uenient talesque ruinae*[76]
- Ov. *Am.* 3.6.101: *Huic ego, uae! demens narrabam fluminum amores!*[77]

74 Lucr. 6.1181: 'they rolled their eyes which were devoid of sleep.'

75 Ov. *Her.* 16.286: 'Are you afraid to deceive the chaste laws of a lawful marriage-bed'?

76 Ov. *Ib.* 205: 'So many and such destructions will come down upon you, cursed, miserable man!'

77 Ov. *Am.* 3.6.101: 'To such a stream I, cursed one!, was so foolish as to tell the love-stories of the rivers!'

**91 unguinis** *Bentley 1697 438*, **sanguinis** *OGR*:

Bentley's conjecture certainly fits the context better than the paradosis. The corruption may have been caused by normalisation, since *sanguis*, 'blood', would be the normal thing to offer to a deity, as in Catullus 66.33-34 and 68.75-76.

**tui** *Calphurnius 1481*, **tuum** *OGR*, **tuam** *Ald. 1502*:

In 66.77-78 the lock distinguishes between the scents of married women and the cheap scents of maidens. A similar specification may be seen in 66.82-83 where the lock stresses that the new brides should make offerings from their own perfume jars. Calphurnius' conjecture fits well with this context, as it specifies that the newly wed Berenice should make offerings of her own perfume to the lock. The Aldine conjecture *tuam (me)* is an idiom frequently found in Latin love poetry; but as the lock is not Berenice's lover, and Nisbet and Hubbard furthermore note that this expression is unparalleled in Greek,[78] from which Catullus translates, I find Calphurnius' conjecture most attractive. The corruption may have been caused by dittography: *tuim me*, and a later scribe correcting the nonsensical *tuim* into *tuum* without acknowledging the gender of the speaker.

**93 corruerint** *Lachmann 1829*, **cur iterent** *OGR*, **cur retinent** *Puccius 1502*, **cursum iterent** *Lenchantin de Gubernatis 1928*

Lines 93 and 94 are notoriously difficult. Every conjecture in line 93 needs to make sense of the miraculous proximity in 66.94 of the normally widely separated constellations Aquarius and Orion. Neither Puccius' conjecture ('why do the stars restrain me?') nor that of Lenchantin de Gubernatis ('may the stars repeat their course') seem to explain the proximity of Aquarius and Orion in 66.94. Lachmann's conjecture is closest to enabling this proximity, as the two constellations certainly could be shining next to each other, if all the constellations had fallen from the heaven. Critics sometimes object that this destruction of the universe would kill Berenice and so prevent the lock from optaining her wish to be reunited with the queen; but as Heyworth (2015:

78 Nisbet & Hubbard 1970: 295. Cf. Du Quesnay 2012: 177.

136) has recently argued, the line could simply illustrate that the lock is so eager "to return to Berenice's head that it wishes for the destruction of the universe in order to bring this about." The further implications of the proposed catastrophe should probably not be taken too literally.

**iterum ut *Corradinus de Allio 1738*, utinam *GR*, utina *O***

The sense of the line seems to require an indication that the lock wishes to return to her previous state. This sense is made clear by the conjecture of Corradinus de Allio. The corruption may have happened at some point after *corruerint* was corrupted into *cur iterent* through an act of haplography due to the similarity of *iterent* and *iterum*. This would have left *ut* which may in turn have been corrected into *utinam* (GR) in order to make it agree with the wish seemingly to be expressed in the subjunctive *fiam*, 'I wish I could become'.

**94 fulguret *'codex antiquus' teste Avancio 1495*, fulgeret *OGR*, fulgeat *Ald. 1502*:**

For the verb to agree with the present subjunctives in 66.93, it needs to be in the present tense. The conjecture ascribed to an old manuscript by Avancius is closer to the paradosis than that of the Aldine edition, and it is paralleled in Statius' description of Sirius, the brightest star in the night sky:

- Stat. *Theb.* 4.784: *Icarii quamuis iuba fulguret astri*[79]

**95-96 [Cat. 67.1-2] *add. Agnesini 2011***

In every printed edition of Catullus 66 the poem ends after line 94, and poem 67 begins with the lines:

- Cat. 67. 1-3: *o dulci iucunda uiro, iucunda parenti,*
*salue, teque bona Iuppiter auctet ope,*
*ianua, quam Balbo dicunt seruisse benigne*[80]

79 Stat. *Theb.* 4.784: 'even though the mane of the Icarian star should shine.'

80 Cat. 67.1-3: 'O you, delightful to the sweet man, delightful to the parent, I salute you, and may Jupiter enrich you with good help, you door, whom they say served Balbus in a friendly manner.'

However, although the last part of the poem by Callimachus is in a severely fragmentary condition, the poem seems to have contained two further lines. According to Harder (2012: 852) an initial χαῖρε, 'farewell', "seems fairly certain", while the papyrus also attests the words φίλη τεκέεσσι, 'dear to (your) children'. Lobel (1952: 98), the first editor of the papyrus, suggested in his commentary that the correct reading might have been φίλη τοκέεσσι, 'dear to (your) parents'.

It is well-established that "divisions between poems in Catullus should always be open to editorial judgement", as *OGR* mark very few divisions themselves.[81] Thus, *O* has no division between poem 66 and 67, while *G* and *R* have in their margins a rubricated sign, written in a different ink, of a division after 66.94. But in view of the words *iucunda parenti / salue* in Catullus 67.1-2, which, translated as 'farewell (my queen), delightful to your parent', is an almost precise translation of the few attested words in Callimachus (with Lobel's suggestion): χ[αῖρε] φίλη τοκέεσσι, 'farewell (my queen), dear to your parents', I think that Agnesini (2011: 527-40) and Du Quesnay (2012: 181-83), who have separately come to the same conclusion, are right in suggesting that the couplet *o dulci iucunda uiro, iucunda parenti, / salue, teque bona Iuppiter auctet ope* is in fact the conclusion of poem 66 and not the beginning of poem 67. As Du Quesnay (2012: 182) rightly notes, *dulci ... uiro* neatly picks up *dulci coniuge* in 66.33, and Heyworth (2015: 136) further demonstrates that poem 67 can begin in a perfectly intelligible and Catullan manner with the vocative *ianua* (67.3). For parallels to the sense of *salue* as 'farewell' at the end of an address or a hymn and to its similarity to the Greek χαῖρε, see the list and discussion in Heyworth (2015: 136-37).

81 Heyworth 2015: 135.

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