CATULLUS 68

Edited with an Introduction
and a Detailed Commentary

TESI DI PERFEZIONAMENTO
SCUOLA NORMALE SUPERIORE
CLASSE DI LETTERE E FILOSOFIA

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Pulcherrima omnino haec elegia est, atque haud scio, an ulla pulchrior in omni Latina lingua reperiri queat. Nam et dictio purissima est, et mira quadam affectuum uarietate permista oratio, et tot ubique adspersa uerborum ac sententiarum lumina, ut ex hoc uno poemate perspicere liceat, quantum Catullus ceteris in hoc genere omnibus praestare potuerit, si uim ingenii sui ad illud excolendum contulisset.

   Marcus Antonius Muretus (1554: 109v-110r)

A rambling poem quite unworthy of the author.

   Walter Savage Landor (1842: 361)

This is perhaps the most artificial, though it is hardly one of the most successful, of the poems of Catullus.

   Robinson Ellis (1876: 320)

With the exception of some of the shorter epigrams this is to me one of the least pleasing of all Catullus' poems: it strikes me as prosaic, ill-conceived and ill-put together. He seems to be unhinged by grief for the loss of his brother; under some constraint too perhaps; for he was surely living with his father ... I cannot help also fancying that he had hardly caught the full meaning of Manlius' epistle ...

   H.A.J. Munro (1878: 170)

Verbose de Allii erga se meritis poeta declamat, nam e poeta rhetor fit, admodum quidem ineptus ille sed tamen quid sibi velit sat dispicimus: gratias agit Allio qui sibi fletu tabescenti opem tulerit.

   J.J. Hartman (1916: 96)

Bei irgendeinem Spätling muß doch Catull das unerfreuliche Verschränken der Gedanken und Geschichten gelernt haben, das er in seinem epischen Gedichte und seiner größten Elegie gleichermaßen anwendet.

Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1913: 292)

In carmen 68, dieser gewaltigen Polyphonie catullischen Lebens und Schaffens, treffen wir auf den denkwürdigen Versuch des Dichters, der mythischen Erfahrung seiner Liebe endgültigen und umfassenden Ausdruck zu verleihen.

Godo Lieberg (1962: 152)

There is no certain sign in Catullus' poetry of his brother's death, apart from the references to it in Poem 65, beyond one splendid poem (101) and one rather unsatisfactory one (68), and only of Poem 101 can be said that the *chose vécue* has poetry made out of it. The melancholy that pervades 68 and which produced that curious poem could be the result of any experience affecting the poet deeply, and was in fact not an experience of an unusual kind. And in any case, there is more of Lesbia in Poem 68 than there is of the brother.

Kenneth Quinn (1969[2]: 83)

Poem 68 is probably the most extraordinary poem in Latin. It is clearly experimental in many respects and its quality highly uneven, laboured artificiality vying with sublimity. Not a small part of its extraordinariness lies in the disparate facets of Catullus' experience it covers: his relationship with Lesbia, the death of his brother.

R.O.A.M. Lyne (1980: 52)

PREFACE

"Über das 68. Gedicht Catulls zu schreiben fordert nachgerade ungewöhnlichen Mut."

Hugo Magnus[1]

Catullus 68 is a text out of the ordinary. In less than two hundred lines of an almost perfect elegance the poet addresses a distraught acquaintance, he praises a friend who has helped him to start a relationship with his beloved, he describes her beauty as she arrived at the rendez-vous, he compares her to the mythical heroine Laodamia, speaks of the Trojan War and laments the death of his brother. This caleidoscope-like text contains highlights such as the studiedly casual address to the Muses (lines 41-52) and the simile of the refreshing stream (lines 57-62). Over two thousand years after it was composed, it can still reward the reader.

Unfortunately, it is also an extremely problematic piece of text, more so perhaps than any other surviving poem of Catullus'. It has been badly damaged in transmission: even in the earliest surviving manuscripts it contains at least three lacunae and countless corruptions, some of which have not yet been corrected. Its interpretation remains highly controversial even after half a millennium of modern Catullan scholarship, and after the publication of a very considerable amount of secondary literature devoted to it. It is not even agreed how many poems it consists of – one, two, or three?

The aim of this volume is to provide an analysis of Catullus 68 based on micro-philological study of the text. This is the opposite of the approach that has been followed by many earlier interpreters of Catullus 68, who started by interpreting the text as a whole and dealt with problematic details only in a second phase by fitting them into the framework that they had established. This has been the case not only in many articles, but also in the two most exhaustive discussions of the text to date, in Sarkissian's book, which is essentially a running commentary, and to a lesser extent also in the detailed study by Coppel.[2] In itself, such an approach is not without merit. This is how most people deal with most kinds of texts, after all – when we are reading the morning paper, it does not trouble us too much if we fail to understand a rare adjective, since the meaning of the article probably does not depend on that word, and since the journalist has probably set out the essentials of the story quite clearly. But poem 68 is different in a number of respects. It has been marred by textual corruption, which calls for remedies not used by the average newspaper reader. Even if it had survived intact, it would probably have presented us not with just one difficulty, but with several – some of these at crucial junctires. I will also argue that in the first forty lines of the text we cannot even trust Catullus to have informed us fully of the essentials of the story, since these lines were not intended for the general reader in

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[1] "Writing about Catullus' poem 68 requires almost extraordinary courage." Magnus 1908: 876.
[2] Sarkissian 1983; Coppel 1973.

the first place. As a result of all this, a detailed analysis starting from the smallest points of detail may be the only way to make sense of this text.

Naturally, my commentary is not restricted to the main stumbling-blocks, but I have commented on points of interest throughout the poem. Many words and phrases are easy to understand, but they call for comment because of their overtones or special colour. A detailed attention to these matters is justified by the fact that Catullus' poems are the first collection of Latin personal poetry (poetry written in the voice of the author and concerned mainly with what is presented as his or her life) to survive to our day. There had certainly been written personal poetry before Catullus, and more of it was written in his day, but some of these works only survive in fragments, while many more have been lost. This makes it hard to determine not only how novel was Catullus in his day, but also what kind of language he used: would it have struck his first readers as artificial or as colloquial, as conventional or as revolutionary? Modern critics often label Catullus and friends of his such as C. Helvius Cinna and C. Licinius Calvus as 'Alexandrian' or 'Callimachean' – but while it is evident that they were strongly influenced by Callimachus and other Hellenistic poets, they can hardly have imported the Latin that they used from Alexandria. In order to be understandable, Catullus had to take his Latin from somewhere: but where? I try to indicate which of the phrases in this text are colloquial, and which were proper to poetry or to elevated prose. Also, I try to pin down where Catullus 68 echoes earlier poetry in Greek or Latin, and where later poets echo it in turn. (I use 'echo' as a neutral term to cover all sorts of imitation, conscious or not. In many cases it simply indicates an act of poetic recycling, where a later author re-used a phrase that Catullus had conveniently inserted into an elegiac distich.) One of the most interesting discoveries that I have made while working on this volume was to see how strongly Catullus draws on the language of Ennius and the Republican tragedians in the more elevated passages. This suggests that Catullus may not have been a revolutionary, as is sometimes supposed, but rather an innovator.

Two important problems concerning Catullus 68 are not discussed elsewhere in this volume. One is its position within Catullus' poems as they survive in the earliest manuscripts. It has been a controversial question among scholars whether the collection as we have it was arranged by Catullus himself, or by somebody else. If we accept that this was done by the poet, then it becomes possible to search for the principles according to which he arranged the poems, as a number of scholars have done.[3] But how can we determine who arranged the collection? One proof for authorial arrangement would consist of a poem written to stand in its present position. This could be the case for poem 1, which dedicates a *lepidus nouos libellus*, a new book of verse, to the historian Cornelius Nepos – but Catullus' surviving poems add up to over 2,400 verses, while contemporary books of verse did not contain much more than 1,000 lines of poetry, so the volume introduced by poem 1 cannot have been identical to our collection.[4] This is the only surviving poem

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[3] For a helpful overview of this maze-like debate see now Skinner 2007a. Lieberg 1958 and Most 1981 argue for meaningful patterns that involve Catullus 68.

[4] On the book-roll in Roman poetry see Van Sicke 1980: 12 and *passim*.

of Catullus' that was clearly written to stand in one particular place within a collection. Another proof of authorial arrangement would be if there emerged a meaningful pattern that was so marked that it could only have been the work of the author. In my view none of the patterns that have been detected in the Catullan corpus allow for such a conclusion. A third line of inquiry has been followed by Butrica, who has tried to infer how Catullus' poems circulated in the 1st century A.D. from quotations from his works in later Roman authors. He concluded that our collection was divided into at least five or six parts: a collection of *Hendecasyllabi* (poems 1-58, 1-60 or even 1-61?); the *Epithalamium* (62); the *Attis* (63); the epyllion, which was perhaps known as the *Ariadna* (64); and a collection of *Carmina* in elegiac couplets (65-68b) and one of *Epigrammata* (69-116), or else a collection of elegiac *Carmina* (65-116).[5] He notes that "the purely generic nature of the title *Hendecasyllabi* and *Carmina* suggests an origin in commerce or in literary classification – the intervention of an editor or a bookseller, in other words."[6] In short, the current arrangement of Catullus' poems does not appear to be the work of the author at all.

Another problem that is not discussed in this volume is the role of Catullus 68 in the development of Latin love elegy. One may well consider 68b (lines 41-160) as the first surviving example of this genre; in particular, the intricate mixture of mythological and contemporary subject-matter and the comparison of the poet's beloved Lesbia to the mythical heroine Laodamia prefigure the elegies of Propertius. However, the first text of a certain type to survive need not have been the first text of that type to exist. In this case we know of many proto-elegies or early elegies that have gone lost: Mimnermus' *Nanno*, Antimachus of Colophon's *Lyde*, and Hellenistic elegies; and in Latin poems by contemporaries of Catullus' such as C. Licinius Calvus. A study of Catullus and Latin love elegy has just been published by Miller[7]; but there is still space for a detailed investigation of the origins of the genre. It will hardly need saying that this would be beyond the scope of the present volume. I suspect, for one, that Latin love elegy developed only gradually: in a first phase Catullus, Calvus and Gallus may have used the elegiac metre to write long poems as well as epigrams, on love but also on other themes; and a relatively homogeneous genre consisting of long elegiac poems on love and little else may only have emerged with Propertius' second book and with Tibullus: Propertius' first book is still accompanied by a coda consisting of two epigrams. In any case, Latin elegy will have gone through a marked development from Catullus' generation to the Augustan elegists: this becomes manifest if one compares the somewhat old-fashioned language of Catullus 68 to the refined, smooth style of Ovid or Propertius. One should certainly resist the temptation to treat the author of this text as if he were yet another Augustan elegist.[8]

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[5] Butrica 2007: 19-23.

[6] *Ibid.* 21.

[7] Miller 2007.

[8] Such a teleological method has been pursued by Streuli in his partial commentary of 1969, which he actually splits up into a textual and an elegiac (i.e. literary) commentary that run parallel to each other.

When I started working on this volume, I wanted to assemble a variorum edition, in which the views of all scholars of note on every problem would be quoted. This project soon turned out to be impracticable: since the *editio princeps* of 1472 there have appeared many scores of editions of Catullus, dozens of commentaries, and prodigious amounts of scholarly studies; those on Catullus 68 alone fill many thousands of pages. I have had to skip and to omit; in compensation, I have tried to make the bibliography as complete as possible.

The following pages will show only up to a point how much I owe to earlier Catullan scholarship, in particular to earlier commentaries. One source of inspiration were the great Renaissance triad of Muretus, Statius and Scaliger. Among more recent commentators Ellis and Kroll excel in erudition, Thomson in familiarity with the primary manuscripts, and Fordyce in lucidity and common sense. Finally, I should mention the work that this volume hopes to supplant. There has only appeared one commentary on Catulus 68 so far, a thin book published in 1788 by the Dutch scholar Laurentius Santenius in preparation for a commentary on all of Catullus that he never wrote. He is not well known today, but his commentary on Catullus 68 is an excellent achievement: where necessary, he listed the readings of an impressive number of manuscripts (he appears to have come quite close to discovering *O*, almost eighty years before it caught the eye of Ellis) and displayed laudable judgement in commenting on the text.

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It was my supervisor, Gian Biagio Conte who set me working on this topic; I would like to thank him for having made this match and for having supported me throughout this project. I owe much of what I know about textual criticism to his seminars. Philip Hardie, Stephen J. Harrison, Arnd Kerkhecker, John D. Morgan and Ernst A. Schmidt read parts of this dissertation in various stages of completion and made helpful comments, as have Glenn W. Most and participants of his research seminar at the Scuola Normale. In the autumn of 2007 James J. O'Hara invited me to present part of the thesis as a talk at the Department of Classics at the University of North Carolina; he and his colleagues and students proved a responsible and congenial public, and I have benefited much from their comments. In Pisa my friends Gianfranco Adornato and Federico Biddau advised me on questions of iconography and spelling, respectively; Gianfranco also procured a picture of a *capsa*. Christian Kaesser, Jürgen Leonhardt, R.G.M. Nisbet, John M. Trappes-Lomax and Michael D. Reeve advised me on various matters, David S. McKie allowed me to use his excellent doctoral dissertation, while D.F.S. Thomson helped me to track down the Hale-Ullman Papers. Part of the proofs were read with characteristic acumen by my grandfather, Kálmán Ruttkay, who brought an outsider's eye to Latin scholarship and made many helpful criticisms.

I did the bulk of the work in the well-stocked library of the Scuola Normale Superiore, first as a visiting scholar and then as a *perfezionando*. At a time of economic difficulties for the Republic of Italy I was given

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INTRODUCTION

CATULLUS 68: HOW MANY POEMS?

> "I assume here what it seems outrageous to deny, that the Mallius of the first part (11) is the Allius and Mallius (66) of the second."
>
> Robinson Ellis

> "... wenn zuletzt gesagt worden ist, dasz sich die einheit nie und nimmer erweisen lasse, w e n i g s t e n s   n i c h t   f ü r   h o m i n e s   e l e g a n t i o r e s, so kann dies nur in dem bekannten sinne gelten, in welchem *elegantia* dilettantismus bedeutet."
>
> Fritz Schöll

> "There is in fact very strong evidence that we are dealing with two separate poems and attempts to show that the 160 lines constitute a single entity are as good an example as any of the perversity of which the human mind is capable."
>
> Brian Arkins[9]

The origins of the controversy

There are two strong stops within the transmitted text of *carmen* 68, one after line 40 and one after line 148, at both of which the speaker abandons his previous run of thought and turns to a new addressee. These stops divide the text into three sections: lines 1-40, addressed to a friend; lines 41-148, addressed to the Muses; and lines 149-160, once more addressed to a friend. For over two centuries, scholars have been debating whether or not the first of these three sections is a separate poem; but it has also been proposed that three sections are poems in their own right. (If lines 1-40 and 41-160 are treated as separate poems, they are generally referred to as Catullus 68a and 68b; in the case of a division into three poems lines 41-148 become poem 68b and lines 149-160 poem 68c. For no other reason than convenience, I will speak of *carmen* 68 to indicate all of the text, but of poems 68a and 68b – and on occasion 68c – to indicate its constituent parts.)

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[9] Ellis 1867: 320; Schöll 1880: 472 „... if, as has been said lately, the unity [of the poem] can never be proven, a t a n y r a t e n o t f o r h o m i n e s e l e g a n t i o r e s, this can only be taken in the popular sense in which *elegantia* stands for dilettantism"; Arkins 1999: 81.

At first sight, this debate could appear to be merely about whether or not to divide up a semi-continuous text along its internal joints, about editorial tastes and preferences rather than questions of interpretation. The following pages should make it clear that this is not the case. In fact, the proponents of unity and those of division have put forward entirely different interpretations of *carmen* 68. This controversy is not about mere editorial choice, but about what is the substance of this poem or of these poems; and as such, it has to be considered carefully.

Carmen 68 appears as one poem in Catullus' manuscripts as well as in the great editions of the Renaissance. Lines 1-40 were first printed as a separate poem in 1785 in an anthology of Latin poetry translated into German by the man of letters, diplomat and statesman August Rode (1751-1837, after attaining nobility in 1803 von Rode).[10] He explains why he has done so in his introductory note:

> "In Brindley's edition, which I have before me, [this poem] is about 120 verses longer; but it appears from their contents that they do not belong to this letter. They constitute a separate poem in praise of Manlius, which is not of the best sort, and in which the apostrophe to Catull's dead brother is repeated almost literally. I have felt it justified to leave out this pitiful appendage."[11]

Rode's anthology was not a critical edition and it did not even contain a Latin text of the poems that he had translated; however, his separation of lines 1-40 from the rest of the poem was soon taken up in a slightly more scholarly work, the bilingual 1793 pocket edition published by his acquaintance the poet, translator and literary critic Karl Wilhelm Ramler (1725-1798).[12] As an editor of contemporary German poetry, Ramler was notorious for re-writing passages that he found deficient, for which Goethe duly lampooned him as "the crab in B***" (Berlin), whose pincers clip off many a burgeoning poetic flower, and as a barber who shaves his customers free but against their will and cuts into their skin and nose.[13] He dealt with Catullus along similar lines: he bowdlerized the text thoroughly, removing all obscenity and turning homosexual love affairs into heterosexual ones. As for poem 68, he treated its first forty lines as a separate poem, giving in a foot-note the same reasons for this that had already been given by Rode; and in an egregious case of the pot

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[10] Rode 1785: 81-85. On Rode see Hofäus 1889 and Arndt 1936.

[11] Rode 1785: 81f. "In der Brindleyschen Ausgabe, die ich vor mir habe, ist er [*sc.* der Brief] noch um 120 Verse länger; allein der Inhalt derselben zeigt, dass sie nicht zu dieser Epistel gehören. Sie machen ein eignes Lobgedicht auf den Manlius aus, welches eben nicht von der besten Art ist, und worin die Apostrophe an den verstorbenen Bruder Katulls fast wörtlich wiederholt wird. Ich habe mich berechtiget geglaubt, diesen elenden Anhang weg zu lassen."

[12] On Rode's acquaintance with Ramler see Arndt 1936: 194; on Ramler see Petrisch 1888 and Fromm 1998. His pocket-sized Catullus of 1793 has become very rare, its 1803 reprint (with a different layout and less footnotes) somewhat less so.

[13] J.W. von Goethe, *Xenien* 74 and *Das Neuste von Plundersweilern* 59-70; see also *Xenien* 106 and 358f.

calling the kettle black he blamed an overtly meddlesome critic for the confusion. [14] He treated lines 41-160 less mercifully: he left out lines 73-132 and 137-142, noting that Catullus will hardly have wanted to put his mistress to shame by comparing this adulteress who had a husband and two paramours to the exemplary Laodamia. [15]

Rode's anthology of verse in translation and Ramler's bowdlerized bilingual Catullus could hardly have been expected to make an interesting contribution to scholarship. Their separation of Catullus 68.1-40 appears to have gone unnoticed for fifty years until it was re-proposed in 1849 by Fröhlich, who failed to attribute it to either of them. [16] During the century and a half that has passed since then, hardly any Catullan scholar appears to have had a first-hand knowledge of Rode's book; most sources wrongly date his intervention to 1786. [17] However, the debate about the (dis)unity of the poem has continued ever since the middle of the 19th century. There has emerged no consensus about the question; it has been argued back and forth without being settled; an epic catalogue has been drawn up of those supporting and those opposing the separation, almost as if the faith of a bigger group were to be trusted more; and names have been coined for the members of the two camps: "unitarians" for one side, and "separatists" or "chorizontes" for the other, with variants in German and Italian. [18] The quotations above this chapter will show how frustrating this debate appeared to many of the participants, as the lapse of time brought no consensus, but often just the re-appearance and re-combination of the old arguments, sometimes re-incarnated in a less sophisticated guise. But passionate appeals are of no use here; this controversy can only be settled, if at all, if the arguments for either proposition are reconsidered one by one.

Before we start doing so, we better take a look at the interpretations offered by either camp. There are two extreme positions in this controversy. According to one, the poem is one unified whole as it appears in the manuscripts, with a tripartite structure, as Catullus addresses a friend at the beginning and at the end of the poem (in lines 1-40 and 149-160, respectively) and turns to the Muses to praise the same friend in the middle section (lines 41-148). In the first section the friend asks Catullus to send him some poetry (*munera Musarum*, line 10): the more formal and elevated central section (lines 41-148) would then be the poetry composed by Catullus in compliance with his friend's request. According to the opposite interpretation, lines 1-40 would arise out of a different occasion than lines 41-160, they would be concerned with different friends of Catullus', and Catullus would reject the first friend's request of poems that he mentions in line 10,

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[14] Ramler 1793: 320, n. 10 = Ramler 1803: 308f., n. 10. His suspicions of the critic: "Ein Kunstrichter hat sie vermuthlich zu dieser eilfertigen poetischen Epistel hinzugethan, ihr einen grössern Werth zu geben" (*ibid.*). Ramler does not attribute the division to Rode, but in an anthology of this type one would hardly expect that.

[15] Ramler 1793: 327f., n. 10 ~ Ramler 1803: 314f., n. 12.

[16] Fröhlich 1849: 262f.

[17] Thus e.g. Kroll on Cat. 68 (p. 219): "daß zuerst Rode (1786) und Ramler (1793) das Gedicht teilten ..."

[18] For the list see Nencini 1907: 4 with the corrections of Magnus 1908: 878.

so that one would not have to look for the poem or poems that he sent to this friend. These are the classic "unitarian" and "separatist" positions; but there exist others. One is Ramler's view that *carmen* 68 contains passages that an editor has sewn together from at least three poems of Catullus'. This view has been discussed and dismissed on the previous pages. Another is that of Ellis, who believes that lines 1-40 and 41-160 constitute separate poems written on different occasions, but are concerned with the same friend of Catullus'. A third is that of Tenney, who argues that lines 1-40 were the first draft of Catullus' reply, while lines 41-160 were the poem that he actually sent to his addressee.[19] A fourth has been proposed by Kroll, in whose view Catullus first wrote lines 1-40, in which he rejected his friend's request, then he recalled this friend's past services to him and composed lines 41-148, which he presents to him in the last section of the *carmen* as a poetic gift.[20] For simplicity's sake, I will first discuss the arguments for the two extreme positions, and it will only take minimal changes to apply them to the theories of Ellis, Frank and Kroll.[21]

Arguments in favour of the unity of *carmen* 68

(U 1) ***Carmen* 68 is one poem in the manuscripts.**
This has to be the starting point of any discussion of the problem. However, Catullus' manuscripts are very unreliable witnesses when it comes to dividing the poems from one another, so their evidence is of doubtful value on this matter.[22]

The division of the Catullan corpus into individual sections and the titles given (or not) to these in the principal MSS have been the subject of a thorough analysis by McKie, who distinguishes between several strata of divisions and titles.[23] McKie assigns the divisions before and after poem 68 to the oldest group of divisions, which may reflect the paragraphi (marginal signs of various types) that were used to mark the beginning of a new poem in antiquity, and even in Catullus' autograph.[24] But if the divisions before and after poem 68 may go back to Catullus himself, it does not follow that they must therefore enclose one single poem. Paragraphi are easily lost in transmission, and this must have happened quite often in Catullus' textual tradition, as many of his poems are jumbled together in the principal MSS without any concern for sense or metre: for example these MSS present poems 40-49, 65-67 and 101-116 as one undivided piece of text.[25]

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[19] Tenney 1914.

[20] Kroll on *c.* 68 (p. 218).

[21] I thought I would be the first to follow such a strategy, until I encountered it at Pennisi 1959: 92f.

[22] This is true for the manuscript tradition of many an author: see Heyworth 1995.

[23] The analysis: McKie 1977: 38-95. The division into strata: *ibid.* 74 and 79-89.

[24] *Ibid.* 74-79.

[25] *Ibid.*, 77f., and see the table on pp. 95a-c.

As a result, the fact that the MSS do not divide poem 68 after verse 40 only provides an extremely weak *argumentum e silentio* in favour of the unity of the poem. Since there have been proposed many other arguments for the (dis)unity of the poem, the evidence of the MSS on this matter is best ignored.[26]

(U 2) *Carmen* **68 has a tripartite structure, of which lines 1-40 form the first part.**

The tripartite structure would involve [i] by way of introduction a consolatory note to a friend (lines 1-40), [ii] a formal and highly crafted central part addressed to the Muses, in which the same friend is praised (lines 41-148), and [iii] an epilogue addressed once more to the friend (lines 149-160). The proposed symmetry may well appear attractive.

However, sections [ii] and [iii] already contain symmetrically arranged pairs of sections of roughly equal length devoted to the same subject-matter; moreover, sections [i] and [iii], the supposed prologue and epilogue, are of unequal length, of 40 and 12 lines respectively.[27] On the other hand, the outer sections could perhaps be more loose and 'conversational' in their structure as they are in their style. No unitarian seems to have proposed the Procrustean expedient of stretching the epilogue to the right length by hypothesizing the loss of lines before line 149 or after verse 160: the transition from line 148 (an end to the preceding formal composition on the note of Catullus' satisfaction with Lesbia) to line 149 (a reference to the preceding composition as a *munus*, a gift for Allius) is natural, and the last distich of *carmen* 68 provides a convincing final note about the poem's most important subject-matter, Lesbia. It should also be noted that such a tripartite structure would be otherwise unparalleled in contemporary Latin poetry, while a highly artistic core poem with a shorter note accompanying it would have a parallel in Catullus' *carmina* 66 and 65. In any case, it is possible that Catullus should have written a poem with such a tripartite structure, possible, but nothing more than that.

(U 3) The friend addressed in lines 1-40 has asked Catullus for *munera et Musarum et Veneris* (line 10); Catullus rejects one of his two requests (*tibi <u>non utriusque</u> petenti copia posta est*, line 39), namely that for the *munera Veneris* (see lines 15-30); he does not reject the *munera Musarum*, that is, he must have sent his friend the poem he had asked for; that poem must be 68.41-148.

This is not the only possible interpretation of lines 1-40, nor is it the most plausible one. There the addressee has asked for *munera Musarum*, that is, poetry, but it is not clear whether he asked for any particular kind of poetry (see line 10n.). He needs reading-matter to distract him during his sleepless nights (lines 7f.), which seems to imply a longer poem or poems, and thus hardly an impromptu composition by Catullus. Also, he would surely have paid Catullus a big compliment by asking for some of the poet's own compositions, and Catullus could be expected to comment on such a request in his reply – which he does not do. Last but not

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[26] Thus already Wiseman 1974b: 89, Godwin 1995: 203 and Thomson 1997: 473.

[27] The existence of the symmetrical sections of equal length within 68.41-148 has been pointed out by Westphal 1867: 73-91 and, stripped of his theory that this symmetry originates in obscure Greek forms of composition, it has found general favour: see Skutsch 1892: 138-144, Kroll p. 219, Fordyce p. 344 and (with less clarity) Quinn p. 373.

least, *non utriusque* in line 39 could be taken to mean 'not both, that is, only one of the two' as well as 'not both, that is, neither'. In fact there are parallels for both usages (see *ad loc.*), but in view of the apologetic tone of all the relevant parts of lines 1-40 (namely lines 11-14 and 27-40) and especially of line 14 *ne amplius a misero dona beata petas* the latter interpretation seems to be correct, that is, Catullus appears to have complied with neither of his friend's requests. This constitutes an argument in favour of division, though not a compelling one – Catullus could well have rejected his friend's request for reading-matter but sent him a relatively short eulogy.

(U 4) Lines 20 and 22-24 are repeated with minor variations at lines 92 and 94-96; this is only possible within the same poem.

The exact opposite of this argument is used more often, that this repetition can only be conceived in the case of two distinct poems. In fact, this is the longest and most conspicuous example of repetition within Catullus' poetry, but there are more. Shorter passages are repeated with or without minor changes both within the same poem (8.3 ~ 8.8; 16.1 = 16.14; 24.5 ~ 24.10; 36.1 = 36.20; 45.8f. = 45.17f.; 52.1 = 52.4; 57.1 = 57.10; 42.11f. = 42.19f.; the refrains in 61, 62 and 64.327-381 are less relevant) and outside it (21.2f ~ 24.2f. ~ 49.2f.; 23.1 ~ 24.5; 41.4 = 43.5). Repetition in Catullus can be said to indicate neither unity nor disunity.

(U 5) The *hospitis officium* mentioned in the first part of the poem (line 12) is the service the friend in the second and the third part of the poem has paid to Catullus by providing him with a house in Rome to make love with his mistress (lines 68f.).

In this way one could conveniently explain a difficult phrase in the text and clarify the general relationship between the protagonists. In the past, the friend would have provided Catullus with a house for his amorous rendez-vous; in his present difficulties he would call on the poet to return the favour and help him. Since the friend would have provided Catullus with a house at a place where he was not resident (and the scene of Catullus' first encounter is often assumed to be Rome, if they met at a time when the poet was not yet permanently established there, as lines 34f. already show him to be), this service would be spoken of as an act of *hospitium* or guest-friendship.

For the purpose of this line of thought it does not matter whether *hospitis officium* in line 12 means 'a duty done by a guest-friend', that is, by Catullus' friend in the past, or, as seems to suit better the preceding verb *odisse* (see *ad loc.*), 'the duty of a guest-friend', i.e., Catullus' duty to help out his friend in the present. However, a bond of *hospitium* implies mutual hospitality, while the friend in lines 41-160 did not host Catullus, but merely provided him with an address where the poet could meet his mistress, and this address does not even appear to have been his own, but rather that of the *domina* mentioned in lines 68 and 156 (see *ad loc.*). In lines 41-160 Catullus never refers to his friend's services as *hospitium*, but only as *officia*: note line 42 *quantis officiis* and line 150 *pro multis officiis* (note the plural *officia* 'dutiful deeds', in contrast with the abstract singular *officium* 'the duty'). We can be practically sure that the bond of guest-friendship

between Catullus and his addressee implied by the phrase *hospitis officium* in line 12 does not have anything to do with the events described in lines 41-160. It constitutes no argument, then, for the unity of the poem.

(U 6) *muneraque et Musarum et Veneris* in line 10 is echoed by *confectum carmine munus* in line 149.
This could be an echo, if lines 41-148 constituted the *munera Musarum* that Manlius had asked for. In fact, they do not: see above under (U 3).

(U 7) Lines 1-40 do not make sense as a separate poem.
As Williams puts it, "[t]he reply 1-40 ends very abruptly (and if it ends at that point, there must be a strong temptation to regard it as only the fragment of a poem)."[28]

Lines 37-40 recapitulate Catullus' most persistent concern until that point: that his friend should not be offended by the poet's inability to comply with his request. He has made the same point twice before, in lines 11f. and lines 31f. It makes good sense to let a poem end on such an important note.

It is indeed somewhat surprising that two sorts of elements are absent from lines 1-40: the clarification of some issues that are merely hinted at (what misfortune has the friend suffered? what requests has he made to Catullus?) and the circumstantial detail that one would expect in a letter ("Yesterday, when I arrived in Verona…"). But it is possible to explain the absence of both: if lines 1-40 were sent to their addressee by Catullus as a genuine letter, he will not have needed to explain in them what his friend already knew; and the lack of circumstantial detail also occurs in two other letters in verse by him, poems 65 and 116, and may be due to the influence of poetic convention or practice, as the poet normally refrains from serving irrelevant, unimportant or petty pieces of information to his reader. Therefore lines 1-40 make excellent sense as an individual poem.

(U 8) There can be found a plausible overall interpretation of *carmen* 68 as a unitary composition; the arguments that have been brought up against such an interpretation are based on points of detail that are too small or too ambiguous; therefore *carmen* 68 must be one single poem.
This line has been taken not only in articles on poem 68, the scope of which might not allow for a full consideration of all the evidence, but also in three of the most significant studies into *carmen* 68 that have appeared in the twentieth century.

Lieberg writes that "all significant points of view have already been set out sufficiently in the international discussion during the recent decades" about whether or not poem 68 should be divided, and "in the process it has become clear ... that the question cannot be answered either way on the basis of external criteria. The external criteria do not allow for a precise answer because they can be interpreted in various ways according to the assumptions of the interpreter regarding methodology and aesthetics. Today the issue has entered a phase in which the issue would be to test these contradictory assumptions according to psychological and philosophical categories. One would have to ask how far logical contradictions do not need to dissolve the

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[28] Williams 1968: 229.

artistic unity of the poem ..."[29] From the following pages of his book it turns out that by "external criteria" he means questions of detail such as the arguments discussed on these pages. In short, Lieberg believes that one cannot answer the question whether Catullus 68 is unitary or divided on the basis of questions of detail because one's assessment of these depends on one's preliminary assumptions about methodology and aesthetics. He calls into question whether logical contradictions should necessarily lead one to conclude that one has to do not with one text but with several. A similar note is hit by Coppel in the introduction to his detailed study of *carmen* 68. He writes that in fact "the situation is much more complicated here than would appear from a point of view that takes the words of the text of the letter just as they stand."[30] Lieberg and Coppel each proceed to give an interpretation of the poem that takes into consideration a great many points of detail, but they resort to this licence not to take everything at face value.

Sarkissian has made a slightly different case for a rather similar approach. He gives a fair summary of the work that had been done on the poem before him: "Scholars have concentrated on the followign six problems: 1) the name of the addressee or addressees, since the manuscripts are contradictory on this point; 2) the distress of the addressee of 68a and the nature of the *Munera et Musarum et Veneris* which he requests; 3) the text and meaning of lines 27-30; 4) the proper case and the meaning of *domina* in line 69; 5) the identity of the person referred to in lines 157-58; 6) the scheme that best delineates the structural pattern of the poem. The overriding question, of course, is whether 68 is one poem or two". He notes, quite correctly, that these problems are, to a degree, interrelated; and he declares his intention to consist not in dealing with these particulars, but rather in "formulating a comprehensive interpretation of the poem", and, since he has found an interpretation that, in his eyes, seems to work, he takes it for granted that he has assumed passable solutions for these problems. He says that in any case "I shall treat them as secondary issues".[31]

I will discuss these approaches in inverse order, starting with that of Sarkissian. His approach is to look at the poem as a whole, to work out an overall interpretation and to fit the details into this, rather than starting with the details and working slowly towards the interpretation of the whole. In theory, such an approach may well work, on the condition that none of the details turn out to clash awkwardly with the interpretation that one has chosen. Often they do not; and in many cases readers, viewers and interpreters deal in this way with works of art of all sorts. It is sensible, to be sure, to take an overall look first, before trying to fit everything

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[29] Lieberg 1962: 152 "... die internationale Diskussion der letzten Jahrzehnte alle wesentlichen Gesichtspunkte bereits genugsam erörtert hat... Dabei hat sich ergeben ... daß sich die Frage auf Grund äußerer Kriterien nicht in dem einen oder anderen Sinne entscheiden läßt. Die äußeren Kriterien erlauben keine präzise Antwort, weil sie je nach den methodischen und ästhetischen Voraussetzungen des Interpreten verschieden ausgelegt werden können. Die Frage ist heute in ein Stadium eingetreten, in dem es darauf ankäme, eben diese sich gegensätzlich gegenüberstehenden Voraussetzungen mit psychologischen und philosophischen Kategorien zu prüfen. Es wäre zu fragen, inwieweit logische Widersprüche die künstlerische Einheit des Gedichtes nicht aufzuheben brauchen ..."

[30] Coppel 1973: 10: „Die Dinge liegen hier weit komplizierter, als es bei einer Betrachtungsweise den Anschein hat, die die Worte des Brieftextes einfach so nimmt, wie sie dastehen."

[31] Sarkissian 1983, esp. 5f., whence the passages quoted above, and *passim*.

that one sees into the picture as a whole, but if one subsequently finds a detail that has different implications from what one first thought, it is not acceptable to say that it is just a detail and that the overall picture that one has formed must surely be correct. On the contrary, one has to take a closer look at that detail and decide whether it truly contradicts the overall picture – in which case the latter has to be revised. This applies not only to textual criticism, but to solving any sort of problem. If somebody is found with a bullet in his heart, a good judge will convict for the murder not the person who may have been expected to have had the most reasons to kill the victim, but the person whose fingerprint is found on the weapon from which the fatal shot was fired. A correct interpretation of a difficult text is not one that at first sight seems right, but one that makes sense of all its constituent parts, all and without exception. In this case we already know that at first sight it seems possible to interpret Catullus 68 as a unitary poem, but since it also seems possible to interpret it as two separate poems following one another, Sarkissian's approach cannot result in a firm case in favour of unity.

Lieberg's position is slightly more complex. He appeals to the concept of "artistic unity", and suggests that this might not be ruled out by logical contradictions. But there have been detected no glaring inconsistencies in any other personal poem of Catullus', or indeed in any other ancient personal poem; in particular, the characters in a poem are never said to be in two mutually exclusive states. And quite apart from this lack of parallels, it is hard to see for what reason a notable number of contradictions could be present in a relatively short Latin personal poem. If we are to accept the presence of contradictions within one and the same poem, we have to understand why there are there. Short of this, an appeal to the "artistic unity" of the poem to render its self-contradictions acceptable becomes tautological and therefore meaningless: there can only be "artistic unity" between constituent parts that make up one meaningful whole, and if it is called into question whether those parts make up one whole at all, the very presence of "artistic unity" is in question; so that an appeal to it is no more than the assertion by an observer that (s)he believes that the poem is in fact unitary.

Nor does it help when Lieberg points out that "[t]he external criteria do not allow for a precise answer because they can be interpreted in various ways according to the assumptions of the interpreter regarding methodology and aesthetics". In fact every instance of interpretation, every instance of the use of language rests on a variety of assumptions regarding methodology at any rate, though not necessarily regarding aesthetics; this is just as true of Lieberg's own approach as of those used by his predecessors.

Coppel makes a slightly different point in arguing that Catullus 68 is a very complicated text that should not always be understood literally. It is a convention of language that it has to be taken literally, unless there is a tangible reason not to do so; and in a philological debate it is inevitable to specify that reason. For example, if I say "Sara has a number of cats and dogs", this can reasonably be taken to mean that she has several; if I say on the other hand that "it was raining cats and dogs yesterday", it would be perverse to assume that cats and dogs kept falling out of the sky, since I am using a common idiom that simply means "it was raining heavily". In this case there is a reason, which can be specified easily, while unless I was using some sort of elaborate code, no reason could be adduced for which "Sara has a number of cats and dogs" should not be interpreted literally. A scholar interpreting a difficult text in a language that is reasonably well understood

can only claim that an expression should be interpreted in some other way if (s)he can come with a plausible reason. In this way the problem is moved down from the level of the text as a whole to that of its details, which is where the inquiry has to be pursued further.

Some arguments that are not wholly dissimilar from those proposed by Lieberg, Coppel and Sarkissian *would* be admissible, however. One would be an argument regarding scale, that (say) one minor inconsistency would be admissible within a text of some length; for example, one slight contradiction would not undermine the unity of the *Aeneid* (it could be due to inattentiveness on Virgil's part, to the fact that the poem had not been completed or fully revised, or to something similar). But in the presence we are dealing with a piece of text that, if unitary, cannot have been much longer than 160 lines. Lieberg's position could also be defended with reference to the obscurity of the text, on the ground that it is so hard to understand that what looks like a contradiction might not be one after all. But for all its ambiguities, Catullus 68 is not anywhere near so difficult as to allow for this desperate measure. (Sarkissian may seem to be taking a similar line, but in fact it is despair with the scholarly debate that brings him to ignore the points of detail, and not the difficulty of the matter itself.) In the end the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and we have to look at the points of detail one by one to see whether they allow us to draw a conclusion of some sort.

Arguments in favour of separating *carmen* 68 after line 40

(S 1) The name of Catullus' friend addressed in lines 1-40 begins with a consonant, and that of the friend featuring in the rest of the poem with a vowel; so they cannot be one and the same person; therefore a new poem has to start at line 41.

If this reasoning would leave no room for doubt, it would demolish the case for the unity for the poem altogether; however, several counter-arguments have been proposed. The situation is complicated and we better start with an overview of the passages that contain the name(s) of the friend(s), as they stand in the principal manuscripts. The text below is a very tentative reconstruction of the archetype *A*. Where the manuscript tradition leaves place for doubt for its reconstruction, I use italics; the forms concealing a name have been underlined.

68.11   sed tibi ne mea sint ignota commoda <u>mali</u>   uel <u>ma*n*li</u>

             neu me odisse putes hospitis officium

11 commoda *OG*: comoda *R*: incommoda <u>117</u> <u>59</u> <u>84</u> γ   mali *A*: al. mauli *R²:* manli <u>40</u> <u>31</u>, Muretus: malli αβ: Mani *Lachmann*: mi Alli *Diels*: amice *Schöll*

68.30   id <u>mali</u> non est turpe magis miserum est

30 mali *A* : manli <u>10</u> <u>31</u> <u>49</u>: malli β: Mani *Lachmann* : mi, Alli *Schöll*

68.41   non possum reticere deae quam <u>fallius</u> *ī*re

                iuuerit aut quantis iuuerit officiis

41 quam fallius *A*: quam Mallius <u>13</u> <u>106</u>: qua Mallius <u>14</u> <u>50</u> <u>98</u>^{2mg.} <u>126</u>: quam Manlius <u>24</u> <u>49</u>: qua Mallius *Politianus*, <u>17</u> <u>85</u> <u>86</u>: qua me Allius *Scaliger*   in re *R*: ire *O*: īre *G*   42 iuuerit … iuuerit *X*: inuenit … uiuerit *O*: iuuerit … fouerit *Cornelissen*: iuuerit … auxerit *Usener*

68.50   in deserto <u>*alli*</u> nomine opus faciat

50 in deserto alli *A (*ali *X)*: deserto in Mallii *Calphurnius*

68.66   tale fuit nobis <u>allius</u> auxilium   uel m<u>a*nl*i</u>us

66 allius *O*: uel manllius *O*¹ *ad finem uersus*: manlius *X*: Manius *Lachmann*

68.149   hoc tibi quod potui confectum carmine munus

               pro multis <u>aliis</u> redditur officiis

149 hoc (*nisi* haec *O*: *res parum liquet*)   quo *Muretus*   150 aliis *A*: Alli *Scaliger* (Manli *iam* <u>30</u>)

The evidence for the name(s) of the friend(s) has been mangled badly, as is the case with so many other names in Catullus.[32] The principal manuscripts *O*, *G* and *R* variously use forms of Alius, Allius, Malius, Manlius, Manllius, Maulius and Fallius, and in one passage (line 149) they have a grammatically correct but incoherently used form of *alius* at a point where the name of the addressee has been reconstructed. Out of the forms that they use only Allius and Manlius are known Roman names; but the other forms, except Fallius, could easily be misspelled versions of these or of the similarly well attested name Mallius. The extraordinary confusion in the manuscripts cannot be due merely to textual corruption, but it has to be ascribed in part to misguided interventions by medieval readers, as is shown by the presence of variants in the primary manuscripts at lines 11 and 66, and by the range of forms attested at line 66 – *allius*, *manllius* and *manlius*.

Archimedes said that if he were offered one solid point (and a long enough lever), he would tilt the earth out of its axis; here one such solid point is given by the poem's metre. At lines 11 and 30 it calls for a name that begins with a consonant, while at line 50 it requires one beginning with a vowel. Out of the other three places where a name occurs, lines 66 and 149 would be suited by either. (Note that nōbīs in line 66 has a long ī.) Meanwhile, line 41 is corrupt – the manuscripts contain the bizarre non-name *fallius*, and their text is ungrammatical because there is no accusative to go with *iuuerit* in the following line.

Paradoxically here we have another solid point. As was first seen by Julius Caesar Scaliger, the manuscripts' reading *quam fallius i(n) re* must have arisen from *qua me allius in re*; this must have involved the misreading of QUAMEALLIUS as QUAMFALLIUS in a MS written in capital script, that is, written not

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[32] See e.g. 32.1, 37.1 and 41.1 for some salient cases of names being mistreated in Catullus' manuscripts.

later than the 6th century A.D., as in later types of script the letters E and F do not resemble each other. That gives us a correct form of the Roman name Allius and a sentence that obeys the rules of Latin grammar. It comes as near to certainty as an emendation possibly can.[33] The fascinating circumstance that the error must have been made by someone misreading a capital manuscript has revealing implications both for Catullus' manuscript tradition – a reading that is manifestly wrong could survive for perhaps over a millennium without any trace of an attempt to correct it – and for the reading *Allius*: that must have been present in a manuscript written before the 7th century A.D..

Now we have not one but two Archimedean points, and we can work further from these. Lines 11 and 30 require a name that begins with a consonant; at line 41 there is a strong case for reading *Allius*; and at line 50 for a name that begins with the vowel – thus once more *Allius*, which is the only one beginning with a vowel among the names that come into consideration; meanwhile, a name beginning either with a vowel or with a consonant would suit lines 66 and 149.

Separatists have an easy case here: they can conclude that lines 1-40 were addressed to a friend whose name begins with a letter M, that is, one Manlius or Mallius, and the rest of the *carmen* is concerned with a different friend, who is called Allius.[34] That would fit the evidence perfectly. However, unitarians have come up with as many as six ways of reconciling the evidence of the manuscripts with the unity of the poem. I shall discuss these in chronological order.

(a) **There is one friend, called Mallius or Mallius: in the one passage that requires a name that starts with a vowel (line 50) one should read *deserto in Malli* or *Manli* for the manuscripts' *in deserto al(l)i.***
Calphurnius printed *Deserto in mallii* in his Vicentine edition of 1481, and he was followed by many Renaissance editions; and less than twenty years ago Newman proposed to write *deserto in Manli*.[35] However, these conjectures are not easy to accept. *deserto in manli* could only have yielded *in deserto al(l)i* in two otherwise unconnected steps, if the first two words exchanged places and *manli* was corrupted to *al(l)i*. There would have been little reason for the second of these two steps if the

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[33] Thus already Wiseman 1974b: 88.

[34] Here the evidence provided by *O* is essential, since it shows that the archetype had *allius* in line 66, where *G* and *R* read *manlius*. Before *O*'s readings were published by Ellis in 1867, separatists had to accept Lachmann's conjecture *Manius* in that line: thus Fröhlich (1849: 262f.) thought that lines 41-160 were addressed to one Manius Allius, while Heyse in his edition of 1855 gave the addressee the name Manius Acilius.

[35] Newman 1990: 228.

original text did not contain any form of the name Allius; and a miscount of the minims in *desertoinmanli* written in a minuscule script can be excluded because as we have seen, a manuscript from no later than the 6th century A.D. must have read *qua me allius* at line 41. Moreover, if one reads *quam mallius* or *quam manlius* in line 41, then the first *iuuerit* in the following line will not govern any accusative and will become unintelligible (see the note *ad loc.*). Calphurnius printed *qua mallius*, but it is hard to see how that could have yielded the transmitted reading *quam fallius*.

This line of reconstruction raises a whole series of problems that do not arise at all if one writes Allius in lines 41-148. It is best abandoned.

(b) *Carmen* 68 is unitary and is addressed to someone who had two *gentilicia*, Manlius or Mallius and Allius.

This was the view held by Scaliger, who explained in his *Castigationes* that "Alterum uero cognomen huic Manlio fuit Alius, uel Allius."[36]

Many Romans had two or more *cognomina* – one should just think of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus and L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi. However, the names Manlius, Mallius and Allius are *gentilicia*. During the Republic only two or three men are attested with a double *gentilicium*, presumably because they have been adopted, and in each case "the original name" (i.e. the latter one among the pair of *gentilicia*, standing in the same position as adoptive *cognomina* in -*ianus*) "is a non-Roman name ending in -*ienus*, perhaps more liable to be used as a cognomen than a nomen ending in -*ius*".[37] It is only during the Empire that double *gentilicia* become less rare.[38]

It is a problem, then, that in this period there are attested no individuals with two common Roman *gentilicia* comparable to our hypothetical Manlius (or Mallius) Allius, or Allius Manlius (or Mallius). If in fact there existed such people, they will have been very few. If they did exist, it is still very unlikely that a poet should have referred to such a person within the same poem sometimes by one *gentilicium* and sometimes by the other one: his readers were used to people having one *gentilicium* only, after all, and if they were not provided with information to the contrary (e.g. the double name Manlius Allius), they would surely have thought that Manlius and Allius were two different people, as they were living in a world where at least 99% of people had one *gentilicium* only. All this argues strongly against Scaliger's hypothesis.

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[36] Scaliger 1577: 84.

[37] On double *gentilicia* under the Republic see Salomies 1992: 12 (whence the quotation) with Shackleton Bailey 1975: 82 and 101-103. The men in question are C. Annius Bellienus, C. Aelius Paetus Staienus or Staienus Paetus and perhaps Q. Salvius Salvidienus. Adoptive *cognomina* such as *Bellienianus might have appeared long and cumbersome and, in view of the rarity of these *gentilicia*, unnecessary.

[38] On double *gentilicia* under the Empire see Salomies 1992: 24-42.

(c) *Carmen* **68 is unitary and concerned throughout with one friend called M'. (= Manius) Allius, who is referred to alternately by his *praenomen* Manius and by his *gentilicium* Allius.**

This ingenious solution was first proposed by Lachmann in his 1829 edition. Lachmann printed *Mani* in lines 11 and 30 and *Manius* in line 66, and wrote forms of Allius elsewhere. A variant goes back to Bernhard Schmidt, who wrote *Mani* in lines 11 and 30 but *Allius* in line 66, as the evidence of *O* makes it practically certain that that was the reading of the archetype, and it is attractive to let the poet use consistently the *praenomen* of the poet in this part of the elegy.[39] Schmidt is followed in this by Kroll and Mynors.

The principal manuscripts' *mali* at lines 11 and 30 cannot have arisen directly out of an original *Mani*: an *n* does not easily become corrupted into an *l*. One could think of a two-stage corruption MANI > MANLI > MALI – or a copyist or a reader could have changed forms of the rare *praenomen* Manius into forms of the reasonably common *gentilicia* Mallius or especially Manlius.[40] That could have taken place relatively early, say, in late antiquity, so perhaps it need not worry one too much that Manius is not among the names attested in the MSS.

What is doubtful is whether Catullus could have addressed someone alternately by his *praenomen* and by his *gentilicium*. He does not do anything of the sort anywhere else in his poetry. He uses the *praenomen* only twice, along with the *cognomen* at 10.30 *Cinna est Gaius* (the unusual formula is apparently a result of "the speaker's confused embarrassment" according to Fordyce *ad loc.*) and together with the *gentilicium* at 49.2 *Marce Tulli* (as a formal term of address, surely used ironically). He does not address anyone by his *praenomen* alone.

The *praenomen* is used only relatively rarely as a form of address in Latin texts. Dickey has calculated that out of all passages in which a Roman male is addressed by one name only, the *praenomen* is used in 6%, the *gentilicium* in 16% and the *cognomen* in 78%.[41] She proceeds to analyze these occurrences in detail and notes that "[t]he normal use of the praenomen, in both address and reference, is for the speaker's close relatives", but on occasion it is also used to express contempt, to imitate the Latin spoken by Greeks (who appear to have been prone to use the *praenomen* by mistake, as they only had one name and were unfamiliar with the intricacies of Roman nomenclature), neutrally for fictitious characters, as a pseudonym, or in order to avoid ambiguity with other potential addressees if the rest of their name was identical, and also in a flattering sense in order to ingratiate oneself with the person addressed – and in addition to all this, rare *praenomina* such as Appius or Servius could be used more freely, as if they were *cognomina* or

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[39] Schmidt 1887: CXXVI (on 68.66).

[40] Morgan 2008: 149 n. 4 brings up as an example the corruption in the MSS of *M'. Tullius* at Livy 2.19.1. That is not quite a straightforward parallel, as there the *praenomen* had been abbreviated in the MSS (see p. 34, n. 63), but the mechanism is plausible in any case.

[41] Dickey 2002: 56.

gentilicia.[42] This analysis is modified in part by a recent article by Morgan, who points out that there is evidence for the use of the *praenomen* among close friends: in a letter to Atticus Cicero recalls having turned to his friend the senior politician Sex. Peducaeus with the words *Sexte, quidnam ergo?*, while Martial addresses friends of his as *Aule* and as *Mani*.[43] Cicero even uses the *praenomen Sexte* to address an adversary.[44] If the *praenomen* could be used as an intimate or, better perhaps, an informal term of address, this would explain its use by fictional characters, and also its ingratiating usage noted by Dickey: a flatterer or a parasite would naturally pretend to be a close friend.[45]

In his article Morgan argues that in lines 11 and 30 the vocative *Mani* "can be justified in at least five mutually compatible and mutually reinforcing ways", namely on account of (i) its relative rareness, (ii) the addressee's close friendship with Catullus, (iii) their close familiarity, (iv) in imitation of the tendency of Greeks to address Romans by their *praenomen*, as the addressee would have been particularly Hellenized, and (v) because of the addressee's *mollitia*, his effeminacy.[46] In our case (i) may not apply, as Manius was not nearly as rare as the rare aristocratic *praenomina* Appius, Spurius and Kaeso, which were used quite often on their own; (iv) raises more questions than it answers (could Catullus have been so tactless as to drop a hint about the excessive Hellenization of his addressee at such a delicate moment?); and Morgan's category (v) is based on a misinterpretation of Horace *Sat.* 2.5.32f. *gaudent praenomine molles / auriculae*, where *molles* does not mean 'effeminate' but simply 'soft' as a generic epithet for 'ears': compare Cat. 25.2, where ear-lobes are listed among other soft objects.[47] This leaves (ii) and (iii). It might be better to take the use of the *praenomen* among close friends and that among intomages as one category. However, it could be a problem that Catullus does not appear to be particularly close to the addressee of these lines (see line 9n.) – though the addressee's personal difficulties may have called for a language of intimacy. In any case, it does remain a problem that elsewhere in his poetry Catullus does not address anyone by his *praenomen* alone – not even his closest friends, whom he calls *Verani* (9.1, 28.3), *Licini* (50.1, 50.8) and *Calue* (14.2, 96.2), nor his brother, whom he simply addresses as *frater* (65.10, 68.20, 68.21, 68.92, 101.2, 101.6, 101.10), even though at home he might have used the *praenomen*. Does Catullus, and do Roman writers in general, avoid the *praenomen* for some particular reason – for example because they want the general public to be able to identify their addressee?

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[42] Dickey 2002: 63-67 (quotation from p. 63).

[43] Morgan 2008: 148f. *Sexte, quidnam ergo?*: Cic. *Att.* 10.1.1. *Aule*: Martial *Epigr.* 6.54.2, 6.78.1, 7.14.1, 9.81.1, 11.38.1 and 12.51.1. *Mani*: *ibid.* 10.13(20).3.

[44] Cic. *Quinct.* 38 and 40. Here he uses the *praenomen* in alternation with the *gentilicium* (*ibid.* 37 *Naeui*), but it is surely significant that he has the liberty to do so.

[45] The *praenomen* is used regularly by fictional characters in comedy: note Tit. *com.* 32 *Tiberi*, Afran. *com.* 3 *Numeri*, 95 *Serui*, 211 *Manius*, 272 *Numerius* and 304 *Tite*.

[46] Morgan 2008: 148f. (quotation from p. 148).

[47] The passage by Horace comes from a longer speech (*Sat.* 2.5.23-57) about how to entice a rich old man to include you in his testament. Here the use of the *praenomen* is a linguistic trick to simulate intimacy.

Morgan is a separatist, while Lachmann, Schmidt, Kroll and Mynors are unitarians; they also have to account for the alternate use of the *praenomen* and the *gentilicium* within the same poem. Within the surviving body of Latin poetry there is only one possible parallel, Ovid's *ex Ponto* 4.1, where the poet addresses Sextus Pompeius first as Pompeius and as Sextus (lines 1f. *Accipe, Pompei, deductum carmen ab illo, / debitor est uitae qui tibi, Sexte, suae*) and then only as Sextus (line 35 *sic ego pars rerum non ultima, Sexte, tuarum*).[48] But Ovid's strategy there is significantly different from the one used here by Catullus according to Lachmann. Ovid uses first the *praenomen* and the *gentilicium*, which identify the addressee, and then the *praenomen* alone, to achieve variation, intimacy or both. We have no poems in which a man is addressed now by his *praenomen* and then by his *gentilicium*, and in prose it is extremely rare: the only example may be Cicero, *pro Quinctio* 37-40, where Sextus Naevius is addressed now as *Sexte* and then as *Naeui*.[49]

In Lachmann's reconstruction of the poem *praenomen* and *gentilicium* are used indiscriminately: we have the more formal *gentilicium* in lines 41 and 50 in close company with the familiar *praenomen* in line 66 (and also in line 30, but that passage has a very different tone). This is mitigated in the variant proposed by Bernhard Schmidt, in which forms of the *praenomen* are reconstructed only in lines 11 and 30. In that case the *praenomen* would be banished from the more elevated central section of the poem (lines 41-148) to the informal introduction (lines 1-40). However, the metre calls for the vocative of the *gentilicium* Allius also in line 150 in the informal epilogue (lines 149-160), which thus cannot stand in true symmetry with the introduction, as a unitary reading would require. Even Schmidt's variant leads to an inconsistency in tone between different parts of Catullus 68. It could be salvaged if we interpreted Catullus 68 with Ellis as two different poems (1-40 and 41-160) written on different occasions, but concerned with the same person, who is addressed by his *praenomen* in the first poem and is referred to by his *gentilicium* in the second. However, there do not appear to be any grounds for identifying the friend addressed in lines 1-40 with the friend praised and addressed in lines 41-160 other than the possible unity of the poem.

To sum up, Lachmann's idea that the addressee was called Manius Allius and that Catullus addressed him and referred to him alternately by his *praenomen* and by his *gentilicium* does not work. Address by the *praenomen* alone is not found anywhere else in Catullus and only rarely in Roman poetry. The alternation between the *praenomen* and the *gentilicium* is even more rare, and it would appear to imply changes of tone that simply cannot be detected within the text.

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[48] Helzle 1989: 44 suggests that the introductory combination of *praenomen* and *gentilicium* is analogous to the form with which Cicero introduces his essays that he dedicates to his friends, and that in line 44 „[p]resumably Ovid uses Pompeius' *praenomen* because he did not have a *cognomen*". Perhaps Ovid simply needs to identify his friend, and he wants to avoid using the fateful name Pompeius.

[49] See n. 44 above.

(d) **All of *carmen* 68 is addressed to one person, one Allius; at line 11 there stood originally *amice* ('my friend') or *mi Alli* ('my Allius'), and at line 30, *mi, Alli* ('to me, Allius').**

This was proposed by Schöll, who thought that line 11 originally contained the vocative *amice*, which was supplanted by the gloss *mali* (a corrupt form of *mi alli*, encountered by a scribe in line 30 and added above *amice* in line 11).[50] Most other proponents of the theory prefer to read *mi Alli* in line 11 as well as in line 30.

MIALLI > MALLI > MALI is not implausible as an *iter corruptionis* and what is more, Catullus does use the forms of address *mi Catulle* (10.25), *mi Fabulle* (13.1, 28.3) and *Lesbia, mi cupido* (107.4), though he uses the plain vocative much more often. Schöll does not resort to this expedient for the reason that possessive *mi* would not seem to be elided by the poets in this period, unlike the short dative *mi* (the latter is elided at 31.5, 76.26, 77.3 and 99.13); consequently he writes *mi, Alli* in line 30 and *amice* in line 11, but that is evidently very far from the transmitted reading *mali* and is awkwardly repetitive after *amicum* in line 9. He may well be excessively scrupulous here. If possessive *mi* is not used before a vowel by poets in the 1st century B.C., that might simply be because (unlike Catullus) they do not use it often; in fact there are no examples of the word in Horace, Virgil, Propertius, Tibullus or Ovid. Cicero still uses it before a vowel in the phrases *mi Attice* (14x in *ad Atticum*), *mi Antoni* (*Att.* 14.13b.3), *mi Oppi* (*Fam.* 11.29.3) and *mi optime et suauissime frater* (*Q.fr.* 2.15.2) – and he will hardly have deviated from standard Latin practice and admitted hiatus at this point. The unelided possessive is found in Scaliger's conjecture *mi amice* at Cat. 58b.10, but that hardly proves anything.

The real problem with all this is that elision does not occur in the sixth foot of any other Catullan hexameter.[51] Elision in the sixth foot of the hexameter is also avoided by Tibullus, Ovid and Propertius, and apparently also by Virgil, though it is allowed on occasion by Horace.[52] It should hardly be introduced into the text by conjecture.

(e) **All of *carmen* 68 is addressed to one person, called Mallius or Manlius. In the first part of the poem, which is a private letter in verse (lines 1-40), he is addressed by his real name; but after line 41 he is referred to under a pseudonym, Allius (apparently echoing *alius* 'another'): in thanking him for helping an adulterous affair get off the ground, Catullus uses a pseudonym so as not to embarrass him publicly.**

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[50] Schöll 1880: 472f.

[51] An apparent exception is constituted by the enclitics *es* (e.g. 66.27 *adepta es│*; also at 66.29) and *est* (e.g. 62.11 *parata est│*; also at 62.57, 61 and 62; 64.147 and 301; 68.39, 141 and 159; 69.7; 86.5 and 96.5); but they do not appear to be treated as distinct words.

[52] Not in Propertius, Tibullus or Ovid: Platnauer 1951: 82-86. Platnauer disregards *es* and *est*, as do I in the following. A survey of Verg. *Ecl.*, *Geo.* and *Aen.* 1-5 yielded no examples. In Horace note *Sat.* 1.3.39 *ipsa haec │*, 1.4.43 *atque os │*, 2.6.13 *hac prece te oro │*, 2.8.92 *narraret earum et │*, *Epist.* 1.7.27 *decorum et │* and *A.P.* 49 *rerum et │*.

This solution was proposed by Frank.[53] It was also adopted by Skinner, who however treats 68a and 68b as two separate poems.[54] It runs into two objections.

First of all, *Allius* does not look like a pseudonym. It does not resemble the three pseudonyms used elsewhere by Catullus: *Lesbia* for his beloved, *passim* (one Clodia according to Apuleius *Apol.* 10); on one occasion (79.1) *Lesbius* for someone close to her (to all appearances for her brother, the notorious tribune P. Clodius Pulcher); and *Mentula* for Caesar's chief engineer Mamurra. None of these pseudonyms are Roman names, at least not of people at Catullus' level of society (*Lesbius* and *Lesbia* are attested as slave names, but Lesbia was a free woman with a husband but with lifestyle choices of her own, witness 11.17-20, 37, 79.1 and 68.146) and their meaning is clear at first sight – *Lesbia* means 'a woman from Lesbos', the island of famously beautiful women and of the fabled poetess Sappho; *Lesbius* is the one-off pseudonym of a kinsman of Lesbia's; and *Mentula* means 'Prick'. *Allius*, however, is no „flimsy pseudonym" or „redender Name", as is suggested by Skinner, but a real Roman gentile name, that of the male members of the *gens Allia* (see *RE* s.v.). Its resemblance to *alius* is fortuitous and limited (the distinction between single and double consonants is important in Latin) and would hardly have swayed a Roman reader into thinking that it was a pseudonym, just as an English reader encountering the name 'John Brown' would take it to be the real name of one of the many men called John Brown, and not the pseudonym of someone with brown hair or a brownish complexion.

But there are problems with the very notion that Catullus would be using a pseudonym here in order to maintain secrecy in a delicate matter. On other occasions his attitude to discretion varies – for his beloved he uses the pseudonym Lesbia, but he declares his intention to *ad caelum lepido uocare uersu* the love-affairs of his friend the shy Flavius (6.17) and gives away much potentially embarrassing information about himself (see poems 32 and 56) and his friends (10.13, 6.4f.). In lines 41-148 of *carmen* 68 he shows the same inclination to tell all: after the exclamation *non possum reticere ... qua me Allius in re / iuuerit* (lines 41f.) he sets out a veritable poetic programme of preserving his friend's name for posterity (43-50), so that no spider should weave its web over Allius' abandoned name (49f.). The phantasy implies a tombstone, with inscribed on it the name of the deceased: his real name, evidently, and not a pseudonym given by the poet for the occasion. It would have no point to try to make Allius famous under a pseudonym.

In short, Tenney's theory is inconsistent both with the circumstance that Roman readers would have taken Allius to be a real name rather than a pseudonym, and with the fact that Catullus states that he wants to preserve his friend's name from oblivion.

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[53] Tenney 1914: 68.

[54] Skinner 2003: 143.

(f) All of *carmen* 68 was composed on one single occasion and was addressed to someone called Mallius. One should reconstruct this name in all of the above passages, except that one should write *illi* in line 50 and *illis* in line 150.

This was proposed by Pennisi.[55] He suggests that the corruption of *illis* in line 150 into the *aliis* in our manuscripts would have triggered the corruption of *illi* in line 50 into *alii*, whence there would have arisen the phantom name *al*(*l*)*ius*. In the original *illi* in line 50 would have reflected *illius* in line 44.

This would result in the following text at lines 49f.:

<div align="center">

nec tenuem texens sublimis aranea telam

in deserto *illi* nomine opus faciat.   [and not *Alli*]

</div>

Here the dative *illi* would clumsily disrupt the prepositional phrase *in deserto ... nomine*; presumably it would have to be taken as a dative of disadvantage, but the construction would be cumbersome all the same ('the spider should not weave its web *to his detriment* over [his] abandoned name'). The genitive *Alli*, transmitted in *O*, raises none of these problems. In line 150 Pennisi's emendation *illis* would not be so glaringly problematic, but before *uestrum ... nomen* in line 151 one has reason to expect the name of the addressee: thus *Alli*.

Nor is the elaborate *iter corruptionis* proposed by Pennisi convincing: it is implausible that a corruption (*illis* to *aliis* in line 150) should have triggered another one one hundred lines away (*illi* to *alii* or something similar in line 50), especially given that no form of *alius* would have made the vaguest sense in the second of these passages.

Both the original text and the mechanism of corruption reconstructed by Pennisi are unconvincing. His theory can be dismissed.

In short, the only plausible reconstruction of the name(s) of the addressee(s) is the separatist one by which lines 1-40 would have been addressed to someone whose name was Manlius or something similar, and lines 41-160 to someone called Allius. As many as six explanations have been offered by unitarians for how all of the poem could refer to one person, but none of these are convincing.

(S 2) The friend addressed in lines 1-40 has asked Catullus for *munera et Musarum et Veneris* (line 10); Catullus rejects both requests (*tibi <u>non utriusque</u> petenti copia posta est*, line 39), so he cannot have sent the friend any poetry such as 68.41-160.

The evidence for this is inconclusive, and the phrasing of the requests would suit both a unitarian and a separatist case: see above under argument (3).

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[55] Pennisi 1959: 232-235.

(S 3) Lines 20 and 22-24 are repeated with minor variations at lines 92 and 94-96; this is only possible if the two passages come from two different poems.

This repetition is also used as an argument in favour of the unity of *carmen* 68: see argument (U 4) above, and note the conclusion drawn there that this feature of the *carmen* cannot be used as an argument for or against unity.

(S 4) From lines 5f. (especially the phrase *desertum in lecto caelibe*) it transpires that the addressee is a single man who has been deserted just recently by his beloved; meanwhile in line 155 *et tu simul et tua uita* the addressee turns out to have a beloved; therefore they must be two different people, and *carmen* 68 has to be divided after line 40.

This would be a strong argument for separation, but unitarians have argued vigorously that the two passages involved should (or could) be interpreted otherwise.

One may well start with the passages in question. Lines 5f. read:

> quem neque sancta Venus molli requiescere somno
> desertum in lecto caelibe perpetitur,

This means: "... whom neither holy Venus allows to rest in gentle sleep, left alone as he is in a bed that is a bachelor …". *desertus* has strong overtones of sexual rejection and could either mean 'left behind' by one particular partner, or 'shunned' by potential partners in general (see *ad loc.* and compare line 29n. *deserto … cubili*). The passage comes from a description of the troubles of the addressee, who is described as "overwhelmed by harsh fortune" (line 1) and as a shipwreckling who has been cast ashore and is on the verge of death (lines 3f.). The distich adds more concrete information about the present situation of the addressee: he is lying alone on his bed, deprived of sex.

Meanwhile, line 155 reads:

> sitis felices et tu simul et tua uita

This means: "be happy, you and your sweetheart", as *uita* is a standard term of endearment (see *ad loc.*). The addressee of lines 149-160 is not single.

These two passages seem to contradict each other. Kießling tries to resolve the contradiction by suggesting that with the words *et tu simul et tua uita* Catullus "expresses his hope that there should be no more need for his consolation".[56] But there appear to be no further signs in any other part of *carmen* 68 that Catullus would

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[56] „consolatione sua non iam opus esse auguratur", Kießling 1877: 14.

be nudging his friend gently towards such a position[57] – and in fact, in lines 5f. he treats it as an inevitable fact, and as a misfortune to be set right, that the person addressed there has no partner, and apologizes profusely that he is unable to provide a remedy (see esp. lines 11-14, 31f. and 37-40). In this situation it would be highly tactless to write to his friend 'I hope you and your beloved are well' – highly tactless and very much unlike Catullus, who always treats his friends with thoughtfulness and tact: compare *carmen* 96 to the bereaved C. Licinius Calvus, as well as poems 13, 14, 28 and 47. It is not plausible that he could have written to a friend in this way.

Coppel interprets lines 1-8 in an entirely different way, as reflecting the original letter sent to Catullus by his friend, who had expressed in rather exuberant terms of a misplaced eroticism his deadly boredom in the absence of Catullus and his desire for the company of the poet. Therefore, he concludes, those lines have no bearing on the question whether the friend has a partner or not.[58] But the language of lines 1-8 would be very, very exuberant for such an interpretation: the friend is referred to as being close to death (line 4) and as having a pressing lack of sex (lines 5f.). Coppel compares the use of erotic language in *carmen* 50 to describe the poet's longing for the company of his friend Calvus, but that is a different case: poem 50 does not contain any direct reference to sex (*multum lusimus in meis tabellis* in line 2 refers not to erotic games, for which one could hardly find a less suitable bedding than writing-tablets, but to literary games), but Catullus uses jestingly the language of erotic desire to describe his longing for his absent friend: he is *incensus* and *miser*, food does him no good and sleep does not come to him, so that he tells Calvus of his *dolor* and turns to him with *preces*, his entreaties – and Calvus better give in to them, or else he will incur the vengeance of the goddess Nemesis. It is exactly the lack of sexual undertones in Catullus' friendship with Calvus that makes such a joke possible. Meanwhile, the description of the addressee in lines 5f. of the present poem may be incomplete, but it does offer enough details to establish a general picture: he is lying alone in his bed, without a partner, and cannot sleep, the reason of which is left unspecified but may well be connected to his love-life. It is hard to assume with Coppel that in fact this man does have an active love-life, and that the images of him lying abandoned in his bed reflect his desire for the marvellous company of his absent friend Catullus.

So the addressee of lines 1-40 is deeply troubled by being single; the addressee of lines 41-160, meanwhile, turns out to have a *uita*, a beloved – indeed, his love-life seems so unproblematic as to require no comment apart from the farewell greeting addressed to him and his beloved at line 155. This is a major contradiction, and none of the attempts by unitarians to settle it have been satisfactory.

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[57] His elaborate treatment of Laodamia's marriage, and of his own happiness with Lesbia, is irrelevant from this point of view: there is no indication in the text, not even a highly implicit one, that these could be models for his friend to follow.

[58] Coppel 1973: 15-33: the interpretation; *ibid.* 24 & 31: no bearing on whether the friend is single or not.

(S 5) In lines 1-40 Catullus says he has renounced all love-affairs (lines 15-26), while in lines 41-160 he is involved in a relationship with Lesbia (see esp. lines 135f., 147f. and 159f.).

In lines 15-26, Catullus states that he had an eventful amorous life only before his brother's death (lines 15-20), that his brother's death completely ended this way of life for him (*totum hoc studium fraterna mihi mors / abstulit*, lines 19f.), and that it ended all his joys (*tu mea tu moriens fregisti commoda*, line 21; *omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra*, line 23). But in lines 135f. Catullus refers to his relationship with Lesbia in the present and the future tenses (*quae tamen etsi uno non <u>est contenta</u> Catullo, / rara uerecundae furta <u>feremus</u> erae*), in lines 147f. again in the present tense (*quare illud satis <u>est</u>, si nobis is <u>datur</u> unis / quem lapide illa diem candidiore <u>notat</u>*), and he ends the poem on the closing note of a valediction to his beloved (lines 155 and 159-160: *sitis felices et tu simul et tua uita … … et longe ante omnes mihi quae me carior ipso est, / lux mea, qua uiua uiuere dulce mihi est*: note also that he claims to be happy here, unlike in lines 15-26): his affair with Lesbia is very much alive, he is happy with it and hopes that it will continue in the future as well.

In lines 1-40 Catullus has no love-life to speak of, while in lines 41-160 he has Lesbia. This is hardly possible within the same poem. If it is accepted that both lines 1-40 and 41-160 give a correct picture of the poet's life at the time of composing them, then we must be dealing with two distinct poems written at different stages of the poet's life.

(S 6) What is told or implied about the friend in lines 1-40 cannot be reconciled with what is told or implied about the friend in lines 41-160.

The friend in lines 41-160 is someone Catullus has been deeply indebted to since the start of his relationship with Lesbia, a person whose praises he sings in extravagant terms (lines 41-66) and who has found him an address for his amorous *rendez-vous* with the love of his life. The friend in lines 1-40, on the other hand, is someone Catullus acknowledges as his *hospes* (line 12) but is pleasantly surprised that this man calls him an *amicus* (line 9). Also, it seems that the friend in lines 1-40 needs to be told of the fact that Catullus lives in Rome (lines 34-36). In short, Catullus seems to be less close to the friend in lines 1-40 than to the friend in lines 41-160.

Conclusion: at line 41 there begins a new poem

Several of the arguments in favour of separating *carmen* 68 after line 40 would already be very strong on their own: the problem of the names (S 1); the fact that the addressee of the first forty lines is single, while that of lines 149-160 has a partner (S 4); and also the fact that in lines 1-40 Catullus says that he has no love-life to speak of, while in lines 41-160 he is fully involved in his relationship with Lesbia (S 5). Also, he seems to be much less close to the addressee of lines 1-40 than to the friend in lines 41-160 (S 6). On the other hand, none of the arguments that have been proposed in favour of the poem's unity stand up to scrutiny. Therefore the conclusion is inevitable that *carmen* 68 should be separated after line 40 to form two

individual poems, written by Catullus apparently in two different stages of his life, as he had two very different friends in mind. In fact, lines 1-40 appear to have been composed earlier than 41-160, when Catullus' brother had already died but he was not yet together with Lesbia.

How could the unity of this piece of text have found so many defenders? We should remember in what form it reached its first modern readers in northern Italy in the 14th century: as a continuous piece of text that was marred by textual corruption and that could barely be understood. Their priorities lay naturally with making sense of this highly obscure text rather than with cutting it into pieces for no obvious reason. In fact a very early reader already tried to make sense of Catullus 68 as a whole: the readings of the principal manuscripts in line 66 (see *ad loc.*) indicate that the archetype contained the reading *allius* in the text and *uel manlius* in the margin, a variant that must have been added by a learned and intelligent reader who had realized that it was odd that there should appear two different names within the same poem and tried to remedy this situation. Many corrupt passages had to be emended before the possibility could be taken into consideration that what was known as Catullus 68 could consist of two separate poems. It is slightly surprising that this was not proposed by any of the great scholars during the Renaissance but by a little-known German scholar in the late 18th century, apparently by Karl Wilhelm Ramler, a literary critic and minor scholar of Procrustean inclinations, but Glenn Most has suggested to me that Ramler might have come upon the solution because he was preparing the translation.

How is it possible that in the two centuries that have passed since then the separation has not found universal acceptance? In my view two factors are to be blamed for this: on one hand the obscurity of those parts of the text that deal with the personal situation of Catullus and his addressees, namely lines 1-40 and 157-160 – an obscurity that is due not to textual corruption but to the fact that the reader is given less information than (s)he might expect; and on the other hand to superficial features of the text that might seem to suggest that it is unitary: its apparent tripartite structure (U 2), the presence of similar themes in 68a and 68b (friendship, love and helping a friend in distress), the apparent verbal echoes (U 5 and 6), the mention of a request for poetry in lines 1-40 (U 3) and above all the possibility of establishing an overall unitary interpretation, if one does not take certain details into consideration (U 8). These features could have caused the poems to be placed beside one another in the Catullan collection as we have it; indeed, one poem (apparently the latter one, 68.41-160) could have been built using the motifs (*domus*, *munus*, *officium*, *hospitium*) of the other, for reasons no deeper than mere convenience.

Two poems or three?

In his 1884 edition Riese divides *carmen* 68 into three separate poems, 68a (lines 1-40), 68b (lines 41-148) and 68c (lines 149-160). More recently he was followed in this by Goold in his edition of 1983, though not

in that of 1973 or in his 1988 revision of Postgate's old Loeb. It is worthwhile to quote in full Riese's introductory note to 68c:

„That lines 149-160 do not simply constitute the epilogue within 68^b appears clearly from the fact that there Allius is always spoken of in the third person, but here he is addressed directly (the switch of address in Catullus discussed at 8.5 does not come into consideration here). 68^c is a companion piece to 68^b, just as *carmen* 65 is to 66; and 65.15f. *Ortale, mitto haec expressa tibi carmina Battiadae* is decidedly similar to *hoc tibi confectum carmine munus, Alli, redditur.*"[59]

He may be attaching more weight than necessary to the change of addressees after line 149 (in poem 8, which contains even more such changes, he is tempted to emend, quite unnecessarily); however, his observation that the relationship between 68.149-160 and 68.41-148 is very similar to the relationship between *carmen* 65 and *carmen* 66 is correct. In both cases, we are dealing with a personal covering note addressed to a friend accompanying a highly wrought poem that is sent as a gift.

This attractive run of thought is undermined by the facts that *carmen* 66 is the translation of a literary classic while 68.41-148 are an independent composition, that 68.41-148 arises from the same biographic and dramatic occasion as 68.149-160, and especially by the way in which 68.41-160 form one structural whole with a series of corresponding elements. This will be discussed in detail in the introductory section on poem 68b; for now it should suffice that in this structural scheme lines 149-160 correspond to the introductory section at lines 41-66, which is also about Allius' help to Catullus, and therefore the two sections must make part of the same poem.

Therefore Catullus 68 should be divided into two poems only: into poem 68a (lines 1-40) and poem 68b (lines 41-160, with a strong internal break after line 148).

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[59] „Daſs v. 149-160 nicht einfach den Epilog in 68^b bilden, erhellt deutlich daraus, daſs dort von Allius stets in dritter Person gesprochen, hier er aber angeredet wird (der zu 8.5 besprochene Wechsel der Anrede bei C. kommt hier nicht in Betracht). 68^c ist Begleitschreiben zu 68^b, wie c. 65 zu 66; und 65, 15f. *Ortale, mitto haec expressa tibi carmina Battiadae* ist mit *hoc tibi confectum carmine munus, Alli, redditur* entschieden gleichartig."

CATULLUS 68A: THE ADDRESSEE

We have just seen that while in lines 41-160 (that is, Catullus 68b) there appears a friend of Catullus called Allius, lines 1-40 (that is, poem 68a) are addressed to a different person, whose name begins with an M. Who is he, and what is his name?

He is addressed in lines 11 and 30, where the primary manuscripts (*O*, *G* and *R*) all write *mali*. There was no such Roman name as *Malius, but *mali* could easily be a corrupt form of *manli* (especially if written as *māli*) or of *malli* (through haplography from *malli*), which are the vocatives of the Roman gentile names Manlius and Mallius. Both the omission of an *n* after a vowel and the use of a single consonant for a double one are well attested in Catullus' manuscript tradition. An *m* or an *n* is omitted regularly in the principal MSS, as at 9.2 *antistans* (*OGR* have *antistas*), 28.9 *o Memmi* (*O* has *omne mi*: *GR* have *omnem mi*; Mynors reconstructs *omē mi* for the archetype) and 31.13 *gaudente* (for *gaude* in *O* and *gaudete* in *GR*)[60], while a single consonant is used for a double one with equal facility, as at 25.11 *conscribillent* (even if it is incorrect, *conscribilent* in *OGR* must surely descend from this form), 61.129 *uilicae* (*iulice O*: *uillice GR*) and 23.17 *mucusque* (*muccusue OGR*). This is to say that *mali* in lines 11 and 30 could come either from *Manli* or from *Malli*. Alternatively, Morgan has suggested in a recent article that the addressee was called Manius Curius, whom Catullus would have addressed by his *praenomen* as *Mani*.[61] In this case, *mani* would have been corrupted either to *manli* or to *malli*, either of which could have yielded the archetype's *mali*. No other Roman names suit the metre and the manuscript evidence, and the correct form is surely one of the three.

We may well start with the most exotic candidate of the three, the *praenomen* Manius. It is advocated by Morgan on the basis of a complex set of arguments. He states that "the unusual *praenomen* 'Manius' was vulnerable to being corrupted to the common *gentilicia* 'Manlius' or 'Mallius' by scribes already in late antiquity".[62] He illustrates this with one single example, Livy 2.19.1. In fact there the corruption appears to have had a different cause, but it is certainly imaginable that an excessively zealous reader or scribe should have turned *mani* into *manli*.[63] Morgan also argues that the *praenomen* would be acceptable as a form of

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[60] Bergk's conjecture *gaudente* is rightly defended by Goold 1958: 94.

[61] Morgan 2008.

[62] Morgan 2008: 141.

[63] Livy 2.19.1: Morgan 2008: 149 n. 4. Livy wrote *consules Ser. Sulpicius M'. Tullius*, where *M'. Tullius* was restored by Sigonius with the help of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, while his MSS read *m. manlius tullus* (*M*), *m. mālius tullus* (*PH*), *m. manlius tullius* (*O*), *m. mamlius tullus* (*F*), *m. m alius tullus* (*B*), *m. manilius tullus* (*RD*), *m. mimlius tullus* (*L*) and *m. manilius tullus* (*V*); in each of these save *L* and *B* there stands a horizontal line above the free-standing letter *m* to indicate that it is an abbreviation, while in *B* there stands such a line above the second free-standing letter *m* (see the Oxford Classical Text of Conway and Walters, and that of Seymour).
This cluster of corruptions probably arose as follows: (i) the gloss *manius* was added in order to explain the rare abbreviation *m'* ; (ii) a copyist incorporated this gloss into his text, which now read *m' manius tullius*; (iii) somebody

address in poem 68 for a number of reasons.[64] These have been discussed above (see pages 24f.); only one of them stands up to scrutiny, the familiar or informal use of the *praenomen* among close friends – but line 9 of this poem suggests that Catullus was not particularly close to the addressee. At any rate, these arguments would prove not that *Mani* is the correct reading here, but merely that it is possible. The *praenomen* needs to be supported by a concrete argument; and Morgan provides one by pointing out an apparent verbal echo of line 28 of the present poem in a letter sent to Cicero by the notorious rake Manius Curius during the next decade.[65] The phrase does not occur anywhere else in surviving Latin literature. Now lines 27-29 of this poem could constitute a direct quotation from the letter Catullus is replying to. Morgan concludes that "it is hard to resist the temptation to identify Catullus' friend and correspondent with Cicero's friend and correspondent, Manius Curius."[66]

There are two problems with this run of thought. First of all, Morgan assumes that *de meliore nota* in line 28 must be a quotation from the letter of Catullus' addressee. That is a gamble, and in fact lines 27-29 probably paraphrase a section of the letter of the addressee rather than quoting it *ad litteram* (see *ad loc.*), though they could evidently use individual phrases from it in doing so. Secondly, Morgan believes that the recurrence of the phrase *de meliore nota* is significant, that is to say, he sees it as a verbal mannerism of one particular individual. He dismisses Shackleton Bailey's view of *de meliore nota* as "highly colloquial" on the ground that "a 'highly colloquial' ancient Latin phrase should be attested in works of prose by several ancient authors distributed broadly throughout an interval of several decades or even centuries" and concludes that a "phrase which is attested only twice, within an interval spanning only a single decade, and which moreover nicely occupies the second half of a pentameter, is likely to be not a 'colloquialism' but rather an idiosyncratic poeticism."[67] There are two problems with this line of reasoning. First of all, there is nothing poetical about Curius' short note to Cicero. Secondly, Morgan appears to assume that we have a good knowledge of colloquial Latin, so if a phrase is attested only twice in our sources and not ten, twenty or forty times, it can hardly be attributed to it. That is not the case: the stylized, formal Latin that was used by most Roman writers should not be confused with the language that they will have used at dinner parties. The colloquial Latin of the lower classes only survives in Petronius, in Pompeian graffitti and in a number of other inscriptions; the colloquial Latin of the educated classes only survives in letters and on occasion also in other literary genres such as satire and technical prose. The fact that *de meliore nota* only occurs in Catullus

found it strange that an abbreviated *praenomen* was not followed by a *gentilicium* and changed *manius* to *manlius*; (iv) in some MSS this was corrupted further to *mamlius*, *manilius* and *mimlius*. Morgan's idea that here *manlius* arose directly from *malius* is implausible, as it would not account for the survival of the abbreviated form of the *praenomen* alongside its full corrupt form.

[64] Morgan 2008: 148f.

[65] Curius *ap.* Cic. *Fam.* 7.29.1 (written in November 45 B.C.). On Manius Curius see *RE* s.v. *Curius*, 6 and Morgan's article, which provides rich prosopographical detail.

[66] Morgan 2008: 142.

[67] Shackleton Bailey 1977: 2.263; Morgan 2008: 149f.

68a and in Curius' letter to Cicero is not simply due to chance: Catullus 68a is a letter in verse, Curius' letter is a prose letter, and letters are an important source for colloquialisms. Catullus 68a contains many more set expressions and colloquial turns of phrase; and it is safe to include *de meliore nota* among these because *nota* is used within similar expressions by a range of authors including Horace, Ovid, Columella, Petronius and Seneca the Younger.[68] The two attestations of *de meliore nota* come within a decade or so from each other – the phrase may have been rather shortlived, like many modern colloquialisms. In short, the fact that *de meliore nota* only occurs in Catullus 68a and in a letter of Manius Curius' does not enable us to identify its addressee with Manius Curius.

In default of the possibility of identifying the addressee with any known individual, we have to build upon the evidence provided by the text as best as we can. Here we should have a look at the evidence for the names not only in lines 1-40, but in all of Catullus 68, which appeared as a unitary piece of text already in the archetype *A*, in the pre-archetype *V*, and plausibly already for some time before that, and as we shall presently see, the names in lines 1-40 influenced how those in 41-160 came to be written.[69] I list all the occurrences of the names of Catullus' friends in 68a and 68b as reported by the three principal MSS. I highlight all forms starting with an M.

<u>Title</u>	**Ad Mallium** R^2mG^2: *om. OG^1*
<u>68.11</u>	**mali** *OGR*: **al' mauli** R^2
<u>68.30</u>	**mali** *OGR*
<u>68.41</u>	quam fallius *OGR*: qua me Allius *Scaliger*
<u>68.50</u>	alli *O*: ali *GR*
<u>68.66</u>	allius *O*: **(ue)l manllius** O^1 *ad fin. uersus*: **manlius** *GR*
<u>68.150</u>	aliis *OGR*: Alli *Scaliger*

Here we encounter rather perplexingly traces both of Manlius and of Mallius. I discuss the points of interest one by one (see the Commentary for a full discussion of each passage).

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[68] Parallels for *nota*: see line 28n.   Colloquialisms and set expressions in lines 1-40: note preliminary *quod* (lines 1 and 27) and how it is taken up by *id* (line 30) and *id gratum est* (line 9), the stereotypical contrast between *turpis* and *miser* (line 30), *quod cum ita sit* (line 37) and the contrast between *petenti* and *ultro* (lines 39f.).

[69] McKie 1977: 38-95 conducted a thorough study of the divisions between individual poems and the titles above them in the last stages of the transmission of the text of Catullus (the pre-archetype *V*, the archetype *A* and its descendants *O*, *X*, *G* and *R*). He drew the convincing conclusion that during these last stages, all of which except for *V* can be dated securely to the 14th century, the number of divisions increased steadily; that is, where there is no division in the present MSS, there will have been none in *V* either.

(1) R^2 (Coluccio Salutati) has added the **title** *Ad Mallium* above the text. We can be certain that titles in *OGR* such as this do not go back to Catullus' time (see the Commentary) – so *Ad Mallium* must have been made up later, but by whom, and why? McKie reasons that since no form of the name Mallius occurs in *carmen* 68 as written in the principal MSS, "if the title has been invented from the text, the text at that time read malli and not mali" at lines 11 and/or 30, that is, the title would have been added to the pre-archetype *V* or to an earlier manuscript.[70] But need it have been invented from the text? It is also possible to conceive of a scenario in which someone found another title in his exemplar (for example *Ad Malium*), concluded that this needed correcting, and turned it into *Ad Mallium*. In particular, Salutati had the mindset and the competence to do this, and if the title was only created by him, that would explain why it had so little effect on the text of the poem and the marginalia in the principal MSS (see the Commentary).

(2) R^2's variant *al' mauli* at **line 11** must go back to a variant *manli* added to *X* or an earlier MS, whether in order to correct a form considered corrupt such as the principal MSS' *mali* or because the person adding the variant found a form of the name Manlius somewhere else in his text – e.g. in line 30, or in the title.

(3) At **line 66** the archetype *A* must have contained *allius* in the text and *manlius* as a variant; *O* added the variant (*ue*)*l manllius* at the end of the line (note the spelling mistake), while *X* discarded *allius* and put the variant *manlius* into his text. Someone must have added the variant *manlius* to *A* or to an earlier manuscript. Why? Here his text contained a correct form of a real Roman name, *allius*, and there could have been no manuscript authority whatsoever for the form *manlius* at this point. He must have imported *manlius* from somewhere else – e.g. from line 11, line 30 or the title. This suggests that the correct form of the name may in fact be Manlius.

However, there is yet more evidence to consider. Line 54 of *carmen* 68 is printed by all recent editors, surely for good reason, as follows:

> lymphaque in Oetaeis Malia Thermopylis

The three principal MSS, however, write the fourth word as *maulia*. At some point during the transmission of the text, a scribe who did not understand the learned reference to Malis, a region in North-Eastern Greece, made a mistake in copying the epithet – but why this particular mistake? *maulia* is an absolute *uox nihili* and is bound to reflect something else – evidently *manlia*. But why would anyone have written *malia* as *manlia*? Possibly because he was misled by the forms of the name Manlius which appeared elsewhere in his text, he wrongly took the adjective *malia* to refer to the family of this person and proceeded to correct it to suit his

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[70] McKie 1977: 62.

interpretation. The same phenomenon can be observed in the *recentiores*, where the three forms of names beginning with an M (*mali* at lines 11 and 30 and *manlius* at line 66 in *G* and *R*, from which most or all *recentiores* descend) and the adjective *maulia* at line 54 are given similar forms quite often: fifteen MSS (my MSS 4 7 10 28 31 52 66 and class η) write forms of Manlius (*manli*, *manlia* and *manlius*) in all four passages, while two (12 and 45) write forms of the fictitious name *Mamlius (*mamli*, *mamlia* and *mamlius*). The same phenomenon appears to have given rise to the principal MSS' *manlia* in line 54. This means that a relatively early MS, probably an ancestor of the pre-archetype *V*, contained forms of the name Manlius. Since this is as far as we can go back in the manuscript tradition, on the basis of its authority alone we would have to reconstruct forms of the name Manlius.

The names Manlius and Mallius are often confused in the MSS of classical authors with each other (and also with the name Manilius, which can fortunately be excluded here for metrical reasons).[71] On one hand, the name Manlius, of foreign (possibly Etruscan) origin, contains the consonant cluster –nl–, which Latin generally assimilates to –ll– (*conloquium* > *colloquium*): Manlius may not have been pronounced very differently from Mallius. On the other hand, the phonologically more straightforward name Mallius is much more rare than Manlius: *RE* lists 101 Manlii and 7 Manliae against only 17 Mallii. The confusion of these *gentilicia* is so widespread that there are many more cases in which it is hardly possible to tell which name a person bore.[72] As a result, we cannot escape the problem of infinite regress: if we succeed to prove that an early MS contained a form of either of the names Manlius and Mallius, it always remains possible that it should have arisen from a form of the other name. It might never be possible to reach certainty in this matter. However, the odds are in favour of Manlius: this has better manuscript authority than Mallius and it is about six times more common, as we have seen.

It may or may not be relevant that in another poem of Catullus', in the wedding-song that is our poem 61, there appears a person who was certainly called Manlius. There the principal manuscripts treat the bridegroom with true impartiality and make him once a Mallius (61.16 *mallio OGR*) and once a Manlius (61.215 *maulio O*: *manlio GR*). However, a son that he might have in the future is referred to as *torquatus* (thus *GR* at 61.209: *O* has *torcutus*), so that he can be identified as a member of the venerable and numerous patrician family of the Manlii Torquati (a full 21 of the 101 Manlii listed in *RE* are assigned to their ranks). They appear to have insisted firmly on spelling their name as Manlius rather than Mallius.[73] Can our Manlius (if that was indeed his name) be identified with the Manlius Torquatus celebrated in poem 61? This was first suggested by Muretus in 1554 and has been proposed repeatedly since then.[74] However, it is the question

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[71] Thus *RE* 14.1.909f. and 1149.

[72] *RE* 14.1.1149.

[73] *RE* 14.1.1149.

[74] Thus already Rode 1785: 81 ("*Manlius*, an den dieser Brief gerichtet, ist wahrscheinlich derselbe *Manlius Torquatus*, der den Katull nach Rom gebracht, und auf dessen Vermählung mit einer *Julia* wir ein schönes Hochzeitsgedicht unter

whether the evidence at our disposal points in this direction, and indeed whether it is compatible with such a hypothesis at all.

Morgan argues that it is not, as the bridegroom of poem 61 had been sleeping with a *puer concubinus* before his marriage, and after his marriage he would have had no occasion to ask Catullus for the *munera et Musarum et Veneris*: "[t]he phrase *desertum in lecto caelibe*, which would be absurd if applied to Manlius Torquatus when he was still sleeping with his own *concubinus*, would also seem inappropriate if his young bride had died some time after their marriage, in which case he would much more appropriately have requested that Catullus compose for him a *consolatio* than some bittersweet erotic verses."[75] There is certainly such a case to be made, though he might be overstating it. The bridegroom is teased for having been excessively attached to his *puer concubinus*, so before his marriage he had little opportunity for being frustrated sexually;[76] after his marriage he had a beautiful wife, and if she died, he would have reacted differently; poem 68a implies romantic trouble of a sort that he cannot have had either before or after his wedding; so – according to this line of thought – poem 68a must be addressed to a different person. However, ribald jokes were a standard part of Roman weddings and perhaps they should not be taken at face value here.[77] Nor does it seem impossible that the bridegroom of poem 61 should have faced a romantic catastrophe after his wedding, for example if his wife decided to leave him. While it is far from certain that poems 61 and 68a should refer to the same person, it is certainly not impossible.

Poem 68a only contains very general information as to the identity of its addressee; poem 61 tells slightly more about the Manlius Torquatus whose wedding it is celebrating, and the question arises whether we can identify him with any known individual. There come into question two Manlii Torquati: L. Manlius Torquatus (80)[78], praetor in 49 and therefore born in 88 B.C. or slightly earlier, and the Manlius Torquatus (72) who was quaestor in 43 and was therefore born in 73 B.C. or slightly earlier.[79] Now those poems of

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den Gedichten Katulls finden"), most famously Schwabe 1862: 332-344, and more recently also Most 1981: 116f., who however assumes that this person is called Mallius Torquatus.

[75] Morgan 2008: 141.

[76] Cat. 61.134-141.

[77] On the *Fescennina iocatio* (61.120) see Fordyce *ad loc.*

[78] I distinguish the members of the family by the number of their prosopographical entry in *RE* 14.1 s.v. 'Manlius'.

[79] According to Münzer (see his prosopographical entries in *RE* and esp. 14.1.1181f. for the family tree), Manlius Torquatus (72), the quaestor of 43, was the son of A. Manlius Torquatus (76), the praetor of 70. Mitchell 1966: 27 points out that Cicero's reference to the sons of A. Torquatus (76) as *pueris quibus nihil potest esse festiuius* (*Fam.* 6.4.3) cannot have included a young man who would have become quaestor only two years later (Sulla had fixed the minimum age for this office at 30); hence she concludes that Manlius Torquatus (72) must rather have been the son of L. Manlius Torquatus (79), consul in 65, and the brother of L. Manlius Torquatus (80), praetor in 49 (see her family tree on pp. 30f.). However, our abundant sources on L. Manlius Torquatus (80) contain no mention of a brother, and Cat. 61.204-208 ('have children, so that your family may perpetuate itself') would seem to imply that the addressee was an

Catullus' that are datable come from the years 56-54 B.C., and one would expect *carmen* 61 to have been written some time around then (a date that suits either candidate) to celebrate the wedding of a real Manlius Torquatus. An identification of this young man with L. Manlius Torquatus (80) is favoured by three factors. One is chronology: he would also have come from roughly the same generation as Catullus. Another is the status of his family. The bridegroom celebrated in *carmen* 61 is extremely rich – he can afford a bridal bed covered in Tyrian cloth (61.165) and owns not just one handsome slave-boy, but several (61.134f.) – and comes from a *domus potens et beata* (61.149f.). This could be said with more justice of L. Manlius Torquatus (80), whose father L. Manlius Torquatus (79) had been consul in 65 B.C., than of Manlius Torquatus (72), who was probably the son of A. Manlius Torquatus (76), who had only attained the praetorship in 70.[80] Third, L. Manlius Torquatus (80) shares many traits with other members of Catullus' circle of acquaintances, as will appear presently. This means that the traditional identification of the bridegroom in poem 61 with L. Manlius Torquatus (80) may well be correct.

In poem 68a, on the other hand, we only get a rough sketch of his personality: he has been gravely afflicted by some sort of unspecified misfortune (lines 1-4) and neither the pleasures of love nor those of reading poetry bring him relief (lines 5-8), so that he turns for help to Catullus (line 10). However, the poet is not a close friend of his (line 9) and apparently he even needs to be told that Catullus' permanent home is in Rome (lines 33-36). He was evidently a well-to-do young Roman with an interest in reading and an active love-life. Such a description would suit many young Romans of this generation, but a short biographical sketch of L. Manlius Torquatus (80) will show that they are very much in line with what we know about him.[81]

He was born in or before 88 B.C., at least 39 years before his praetorship. In 66 B.C., still a very young man (*adulescentulus*, Cic. *Fin.* 2.62), he took part in the prosecution of the consul-elect P. Cornelius Sulla for electoral corruption (*de ambitu*). Sulla was condemned and barred from the Senate and Torquatus' father was elected in his place, which meant the first consulship for the venerable family of the Manlii Torquati since 164 B.C. In later years Torquatus persisted in his hostility against P. Sulla, prosecuting him in 62 B.C. on the charge of violent subversion (*de ui*), basically for involvement in the Catilinarian conspiracy. Sulla was defended successfully by Q. Hortensius Hortalus and by Cicero, whose defence speech survives. Eight years

only child. At *Fam.* 6.4.3 Cicero could have been talking about A. Manlius Torquatus (76)'s younger sons only, or he could simply have been mistaken about their age. It appears more likely that Manlius Torquatus (72), quaestor in 43, should have been one of the sons of A. Manlius Torquatus (76), praetor in 70. He may well have been the T. Manlius Torquatus (86) whom Cicero called an *optimus adulescens* at *Deiot.* 32 (delivered in 45 B.C.), though in this case he would not carry his father's *praenomen*, and perhaps also the Torquatus (72a) addressed by Horace at *Epist.* 1.5.3 and *Od.* 4.7.23; but we have no way of telling him apart from his brothers.

[80] On the controversy surrounding his parentage see the previous note.

[81] For more information on him see especially Münzer's entry in *RE* 14.1.1203-1207 (s.v. Manlius, 80), still the fullest biographical account, with Berry 1996, 17-20; but note also *MRR* 2.135 & 445 & 485 & 3.136; Neudling 1955, 116-125; Mitchell 1966: 27-29; and Castner 1988: 40-42. On the date of his praetorship see n. 84 below.

later Torquatus tried unsuccessfully to prevent Sulla from prosecuting A. Gabinius on the same charge for which he had been condemned and thereby to gain readmission to the Senate.[82] He filled a series of minor offices in the Sixties: those of *tresuir monetalis* and of *quindecimuir sacris faciundis* in 65 B.C., and that of *tribunus militum* in 61.[83] He appears to have reached the praetorship in 49 B.C.[84] His office catapulted him into the Civil War, in which he joined the side of Pompey, as did most senators. We find him near Formiae in January 49 B.C., anxious that Pompey might abandon Italy to Caesar; at the head of six cohorts in Alba in late February; trying to defend Oricum in Illyria with native troops in the first days of 48 B.C. and commanding a legion near Durrachium in early July with success in a pitched battle. He also took part in the African War. After the defeat at Thapsus on 6 April 46 he tried to flee by sea to join the Republicans in Spain, but at Hippo Regius his ship was surrounded by the enemy and he died, probably by committing suicide.[85]

We have two major sources of information on the personality of L. Manlius Torquatus: Cicero's speech *Pro Sulla* (buttressed by other sources about the trial) and his dialogue *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*. At Sulla's trial Torquatus appears to have attacked his friend Cicero for his unprincipled defence of Catiline's fellow conspirator Sulla, for his provincial origin and even for his *regnum*, for the oppressive and almost autocratic power that he attained by crushing Catiline.[86] Gellius tells us that he directed a highly offensive taunt against the other counsel for the defence, the highly respectable Q. Hortensius Hortalus, but this backfired:

[82] In the event, Gabinius was condemned by default *in absentia*, and it is not clear whether it was because of this that Sulla was readmitted to the Senate, or after another successful prosecution, or because of Caesar's pardon: see Berry 1996: 12.

[83] For the date of the first two offices see Crawford (*MRR* III.136) against Gruber (*MRR* II.135 and 485). On his tribunate see Cic. *Sul.* 24 with Berry 1996 *ad loc.*

[84] Cic. *Fin.* 2.74 (dramatic date: 50 B.C., or slightly earlier) implies that he is just about to hold the praetorship. The traditional view is that he was praetor in 49 B.C., as Caesar writes at *B.C.* 1.24.3 that *L. Manlius* (*Mallius* codd.) *praetor Alba cum cohortibus sex profugit, Rutilius Lupus praetor Tarracina cum tribus.* This identification has been called into doubt by Shackleton Bailey 1968: 4.342f., who commented on Cic. *Att.* 8.11B.1 *nam L. Torquatum, uirum fortem et cum auctoritate, Formiis non habemus; ad te profectum arbitramur* as follows: "It seems hardly credible that C(icero) should not have added *praetorem* here, if in fact Torquatus held the office. ... Torquatus had been at Formiae up to 10 February (cf. 147 (VII.23).1), and it is possible that Caesar's L. Manlius (or Mallius) is a different man. Other possibilities are that Caesar made a mistake about his office or that *praetor* after his name is a copyist's anticipation of *Rutilius Lupus praetor* almost immediately following." However, Münzer (*RE, loc. cit.*; thus also Neudling 1955: 120) already pointed out that *cum auctoritate* in Cicero's letter could well constitute a reference to Torquatus' praetorship.

[85] Formiae: Cic. *Att.* 7.12.4; Alba: Caes. *B.C.* 1.24.2f. with Cic. *Att.* 8.11b.1 (cfr. 9.6.1); Oricum: Caes. *B.C.* 3.11.3f; Durrachium: Lucan, 6.285-288 with the *Schol. Bern. ad loc.* (199 Usener), and Orosius 6.15.19f.; Hippo Regius: *Bell. Afr.* 96 ('Torquatus') and Oros. 6.16.4f. ('T. Torquatus'), cf. Cic. *Brut.* 265f. and *Att.* 13.19.4.

[86] Cicero defending conspirator: Cic. *Sul.* 3-10. Provincial origin: *Sul.* 22-25 with the *Schol. Bob. ad loc.* (362f. Orelli = 79f. Stangl). *Regnum*: *Sul.* 21f.

cum L. Torquatus, subagresti homo ingenio et infestiuo, grauius acerbiusque apud consilium iudicum, cum de causa Sullae quaereretur, non iam histrionem eum esse diceret, sed gesticulariam Dionysiamque eum notissimae saltatriculae nomine appellaret, tum uoce molli atque demissa Hortensius 'Dionysia,' inquit 'Dionysia malo equidem esse quam quod te, Torquate, □μου!ο!, □ναφρ⟩διτο!, □προ!δι⟩νυ!ο!.[87]

Torquatus appears to have behaved rudely and tactlessly during the trial, treating his adversaries with aristocratical arrogance. A very different picture emerges from the first books of the *De Finibus*, in which Cicero let Torquatus act as the principal advocate of Epicureanism.[88] He characterized him as polite, mild, benign and a bit bland, with a truly unshakable faith in Epicurean doctrine and highly deferential to the two figures of authority central to his life, Epicurus and his father.[89] Cicero lets him come over as a highly respectable young man who tries to do the impossible and to reconcile Epicureanism with his venerable family traditions as well as his patriotism, his ambitions and his standards of decency. In the dialogue Cicero comments repeatedly on Torquatus' learning and on his accomplishments as a poet, and his unusual erudition also comes to the fore in Cicero's epitaph of him in the *Brutus*.[90]

In much that we know about him, L. Manlius Torquatus resembles other members of Catullus' circle: he was an orator like C. Licinius Calvus, involved in politics like Calvus as well as C. Helvius Cinna and C. Memmius, an Epicurean like Egnatius and C. Memmius, and learned and rich, like many members of the circle including Catullus. Last but not least, he appeared to have been a poet himself.

The addressee of Catullus 68a has asked the poet for *munera et Musarum et Veneris*, while Hortensius calls Torquatus □μου!ο!, □ναφρ⟩διτο!, □προ!δι⟩νυ!ο!. The resemblance between the two phrases could be attributed to the fact that Torquatus was somehow sexually and intellectually challenged in his private life – or simply to the fact that love and literature were important preoccupations of the Roman elite in this period. Moreover, poem 61 describes a Torquatus who can hardly be called □ναφρ⟩διτο!. Another aspect of poem

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[87] Gell. 1.5.3.

[88] The *Lucius noster* mentioned by Cicero at *Att.* 7.2.4 (written ca. 25 Nov. 50 B.C.) on account of his philosophical views has also been identified with L. Manlius Torquatus (Neudling 1955: 119f.), but Shackleton Bailey 1968 *ad loc.* argues that he must be L. Saufeius.

[89] Unshakeable faith: *Fin.* 1.14f. Epicurus: 1.38. Father: 1.39.

[90] Cic. *Fin.* 1.25 *quid tibi, Torquate, quid huic Triario litterae, quid historiae cognitioque rerum, quid poetarum euolutio, quid tanta tot uersuum memoria uoluptatis adfert?*, 2.107 *poema, orationem cum aut scribis aut legis, cum omnium factorum, cum regionum conquiris historiam* and *Brut.* 265 *erant in eo plurimae litterae, nec eae uulgares, sed interiores quaedam et reconditae.* Pliny *Epist.* 5.3.5 lists not one but several Torquati among famous Romans who have written light verse.

68a that may support such an identification is how its addressee tries to alleviate his troubles by seeking alternative sources of pleasure. This was in line with Epicurean doctrine, but it hardly proves that he was an Epicurean, let alone that he was L. Manlius Torquatus. In short, poem 68a does not contain enough evidence to enable us either to accept or to reject definitively the identification of the addressee with L. Manlius Torquatus. The identification would be plausible, but nothing more. This need not trouble us too much: most other poems of Catullus' do not contain this type of information about the addressee either, and the addressee of poem 68a has the additional misfortune of having a very common name. We cannot be certain about his identity.

CATULLUS 68A: THE POEM

The very first distich of poem 68a shows that it is a response to a letter from a friend of the poet's, who was probably called Manlius, as we have just seen; so the poem turns out to be a letter in verse. In his letter Manlius told Catullus that a grave misfortune had befallen him (lines 1-4) and he asked the poet for help (3f.). Catullus explains that while he finds it very flattering that Manlius puts such trust in him (9f.), he is unable to do as asked (11-40, esp. 11-14). Manlius has asked him for romantic help (*munera Veneris*, see line 10) as well as for books to read (*munera Musarum*, *ibid.*), but he is unable to provide either of these, the former because his brother's death put an end to his love-life (15-32), and the latter because he is in Verona, while his library is in Rome (33-36). He apologizes and asks Manlius will not attribute his non-compliance to ill-will or a lack of generosity (36-40).

This short piece of text has been studied intensively since the middle of the 19th century, but there is still no consensus about a surprisingly high number of questions that it raises. What kind of misfortune has Manlius been though? What help has he asked from Catullus? In particular, has he made one request, or two? What do lines 27-30 mean, and do they contain a direct quotation from Manlius' letter? And does Catullus reject Manlius' request(s) in full (as has been assumed above), or only in part?

The problematic passage at lines 27-30 can be treated more or less in isolation, as it constitutes a self-enclosed digression that only has limited relevance to the rest of the poem. It is discussed in the Commentary.[91] The rest of the problems form an interconnected network. As in a complicated mathematical equation, everything depends on everything else: any ideas that we might have about Manlius' misfortune, about the help he asked for or about Catullus' reply will inevitably influence our views about the other two problems. It follows that if we come to hold a mistaken view of one aspect of this poem, it is likely to upset our understanding of the entire text. If it is possible to clear these difficulties at all, they can only be cleared by painstaking and careful detective-work.

Manlius' difficulties, his request to Catullus and Catullus' reply are not simply the most important themes of poem 68a, but they constitute its very *raison d'être*. It is striking how few clues there are in the text that could help us make sense of these matters. It is not stated explicitly at any point what Manlius' difficulties were; the help that he has asked from Catullus is described only through the filters of metaphor ('help to a shipwrecked man', lines 3f.), generalization (*dona beata*, line 14) and allegory (*munera et Musarum et Veneris*, line 10); and Catullus' reply to his request(s) remains highly oblique – we look in vain for a

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[91] Even this step of isolating lines 27-30 may be seen as controversial, as Coppel 1973 and Morgan 2008 see these lines as the key to understanding the rest of the poem – but see the note on lines 27-30, and pp. 35f. above.

straightforward Yes or No. In short, the text fails to clarify a number of clear issues. This needs to be explained. How is it possible that the reader is left in the dark about matters of such vital importance?

Catullus' poem 68a is, like several other poems of his, a letter in verse.[92] To be more precise, it is a reply to a letter from the addressee. In that letter Manlius had described the misfortunes that had overcome him and had asked the poet for help. This means that if we had Manlius' letter as well as Catullus' reply to it, we would know perfectly well what was Manlius' problem, what he asked from Catullus, and whether or not lines 27-29 of this poem contained a verbatim quotation from his letter.[93]

That letter is now lost, but it was certainly read by two people, Manlius and Catullus. It is easy, then, to answer our question why poem 68a is so extraordinarily obscure: it is a real letter, that is, it was written in order to be sent to its addressee and to communicate a given message to him; and since it was intended in the

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[92] Other unambiguous cases of letters in verse in the Catullan corpus are *carmen* 35, where the papyrus is addressed (35.2 *uelim Caecilio, papyre, dicas*) and *carmen* 65, which is a note accompanying some translations of Callimachus (65.15f. *mitto / haec expressa tibi carmina Battiadae* – and note that *haec carmina* implies several translations: Catullus does not use the poetic plural).   Some other poems of Catullus' may well be considered as letters in verse because they convey an ephemeral message to their addressee: such are *carmina* 9 and 50 (messages to friends who have spent time with Catullus but gone home), 13 (a dinner invitation), 14 (an instantaneous reply to a friend who has sent a humorous gift) and 116 (a note to a friend who has been asking the poet to send him some translations, like 65 and, *mutatis mutandis*, 68a). One could compare with these an epigram by Catullus' friend Cinna (*frg.* 11 *FPL*) is a note that once accompanied a gift of a luxury edition of Aratus sent by the poet to its anonymous addressee.   In fact, Catullus addresses a contemporary in a majority of his poems, a part of which could also be considered as letters in verse, but here one should practise caution: some of these poems will hardly have been sent as letters, because they are highly offensive and/or addressed to celebrities (e.g. 21, 23, 25, 29, 47, 49, 54, 86 and 93); and in other poems Catullus addresses a place (17, 31, 37 and 44), an animal (2), an object (4 and 36) and even himself (8 and 46). Catullus evidently detaches the device of the address from its real-life context of letters and conversations and uses it in new ways that are made possible by the fiction that his poems speak to all.

[93] Hartman 1915: 92 maintains the opposite: "responsum ad *Manlii* epistolam certum de rebus certis quas ex ipso responso tam bene cognoscimus ut epistola illa – licet periisse eam vehementer doleamus – opus non sit." But this is surely a wild (note "vehementer") exaggeration: the controversy about how poem 68a should be interpreted was well on its way by this time, even though Hartman maintains that there is an interpretation that is manifestly correct.

first place for its addressee alone, it need not contain information that the addressee already knows.[94] As has been pointed out by Citroni, "anyone can note how little care Catullus takes to provide the general reader, far away in space and time, with certain assumptions that are necessary to understand a poem, assumptions that were, on the other hand, certainly known to the addressee and to the circle of friends".[95] That this is the case in poem 68a was already noted by Coppel.[96] In this case there is no reason to assume even that Catullus' close friends knew what blow of fate had struck Manlius, or what Manlius had asked Catullus to do for him; so the information necessary to understand the poem in full may have been restricted to its author and its addressee.

But while poem 68a is more obscure than most comparable short poems in Latin, it is easier to understand than many private letters. Private letters often puzzle the general reader because they contain many points of detail that are left unclarified – but the problem with Catullus 68a is that it describes many issues only in generic terms. Manlius is described as 'overcome by cruel fortune' (line 1) and 'shipwrecked' (3f.), and what he asked for is characterized as 'the gifts both of the Muses and of Venus' (line 10). In fact it is not hard to follow poem 68a in broad lines, and it is probably less obscure than, for example, most letters that survive from Cicero's correspondence, if the reader forgets all that (s)he knows about their context. In short, it is much more obscure than what one would expect from a poem, but less obscure than what one would expect

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[94] Ernst A. Schmidt has drawn my attention to an interesting parallel at Suet. *Vita Horati* 67-70 Rostagni *uenerunt in manus meas et elegi sub titulo eius et epistula prosa oratione quasi commendantis se Maecenati, sed utraque falsa puto; nam elegi uolgares, epistula etiam obscura, quo uitio minime tenebatur.* The letter in question could have been genuine, and hard to understand simply because Horace referred elliptically to issues that he and Maecenas knew about, but the general public did not. But it is questionable whether Horace would have been able to refer to highly private matters in a letter in which he presented himself to Maecenas, and *obscura* may just indicate that the letter in question had a contorted style. Perhaps we should trust the judgement of Suetonius and assume that the letter was a fake: after all, he had a much better knowledge of late Republican and early Imperial epistolography than we can ever hope to have.

[95] Citroni 1979: 46: "Chiunque … può constatare quanto poco Catullo si preoccupi di fornire al lettore anonimo, lontano nello spazio e nel tempo, certi presupposti necessari per comprendere il carme, presupposti che erano invece certamente noti al destinatario e alla cerchia degli amici." Compare p. 47: "per almeno gran parte dei carmi con destinatario reale Catullo pensa in primo luogo al destinatario e alla cerchia degli amici".

[96] Coppel 1973: 102f. and 137-140. But even though Coppel recognizes that as poem 68a is a private letter, it does not provide the general reader with all the information necessary to understand it, he proceeds to give it a highly detailed interpretation.

from a private letter. This could be explained in at least two ways. Catullus could have been writing for two sorts of public at the same time: in the first place for Manlius, but in the second place also for the general reader, expecting posterity to look over his shoulder, as it were.[97] Obviously this need not have been a fully conscious process. This would explain why he does not give us detailed information about Manlius' personal circumstances, but why he takes eight lines to recapitulate the letter he is replying to. One should compare Eduard Fraenkel's analysis of the recapitulation at the start of poem 50, which is ostensibly a letter from Catullus to C. Licinius Calvus: there six lines are taken up by a description of the literary games played by the two young men on the previous evening.[98] Fraenkel notes that since Calvus could be expected to remember what he had done the night before, the description must have been included for the sake of the general reader. He may well be right, and one can interpret the recapitulation in the first ten lines of poem 68a in a similar way, as intended for the general reader – though an alternative interpretation may well be possible. In correspondence recapitulations can be used to show that the author cares for and pays attention to the addressee: witness evergreen formulas of correspondence such as 'It was so lovely to see you last night, my dear'. However, it remains true that poem 68a is reasonably easy to understand in broad lines. It is possible to see it, along with much of Catullus' personal poetry, as Janus-faced, as intended for its addressee and perhaps a small circle of friends on one hand, and for the general public on the other hand, with ample opportunity for conflict between the interests of these two groups of addressees. As general readers we are puzzled by the obscurity of poem 68a; meanwhile, Manlius probably expected to receive a more personal reply (though I cannot bring myself to think that he was disappointed at receiving such a beautiful poem).

Alternatively, poem 68a could be less obscure than one might expect due to the generic pressure exerted on it by the medium of poetry. Then as now, most poetry in circulation had been written for the general public: it was concerned with matters of general interest and did not normally contain obscure references to matters that only a limited circle of people surrounding the author could be familiar with. So even if Catullus did not actually intend poem 68a for the general reader as well as for Manlius, he may have met the needs of the general reader as well because this is what he normally did in his poems, or this is what he was used to in poems in general. But this may be a tautological restatement or indeed a sub-category of the previous explanation: a poet who is (also) writing for the general public without being aware of it, simply because of the pressure exerted on him by the genre he is working in, is writing for a general public as much as one who is writing (also) for the general public out of conscious choice.

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[97] Many Roman prose letters were in fact intended for the general public: one should think of the first nine books of the letters of Pliny the Younger, of Seneca's *Epistulae Morales*, and of the 'letters' that served as a preface to various works of literature. On the category see Cugusi 1983: 115-135 (with caution: Cugusi p. 115 considers as "lettere pubbliche" all those "la cui divulgazione non lede il segreto epistolare").

[98] Fraenkel 1957: 314.

In any case, poem 68a is in the first place a private letter, and this has important consequences for its interpretation. A well-written text composed for the general reader can be understood per definition by any astute and intelligent person who is sufficiently familiar with the tradition that it comes from. To be sure, there are authors who are hard to understand even though they are writing for a general public – say, Pindar, Thucydides or Tacitus – but this is because their style is often contorted and difficult, and not because they are not writing for the general reader. In fact, their works are problematic on a different scale from Catullus 68a; their overall meaning tends to remain remarkably clear. On the other hand, the obscurity of poem 68a is not caused by the difficulty of its style, but by the fact that it was not written for our sake in the first place. As we have seen, poem 68a simply does not give explicit answers to a considerable number of fundamental questions that it raises; it only happens to give a number of hints, from which we can work further and try to answer these questions *by inference, and not by interpretation*. We are no longer guided by the author, but have to rely on our own wits to detect the clues offered by the text and to draw our own conclusions from them. It is crucial to be aware of what this implies. We can expect to be able to understand all important aspects of most literary texts, as those texts were written for general readers such as us; but Catullus 68a was not written for the general reader in the first place, so we may not have at our disposal all the information it takes to understand it even only in very broad lines.

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Let us now go through our initial questions one by one. The most important one that arises, though not the easiest one, is: what misfortune has overcome Manlius?

'Having been overwhelmed by cruel fate and fortune', Manlius has sent Catullus 'a letter written in tears' (*conscriptum lacrimis epistolium*), in which he asks him for help (lines 1f.). He is characterized as a shipwrecked man, cast ashore (*eiectum*, line 3) by the stormy sea, and as being in grave need of a good Samaritan to lift him up and help him recover 'from the threshold of death' (*a mortis limine*, line 4). There follow two relative clauses which have as their antecedent *naufragum* in line 3, that is, the shipwrecked man of the metaphor, but in fact they describe Manlius, who 'is neither allowed to find rest in sweet sleep by holy Venus', abandoned (*desertum*) as he lies 'in his bachelor bed' (*in lecto caelibe*, lines 5f.), 'nor is he cheered up by the Muses with the sweet song of the poets of old, as his worried mind wakes without respite' (lines 7f.).

The first pair of distichs of the poem describe the misfortune that has overcome Manlius, or rather they allude to it, through the phrase *fortuna casuque oppressus acerbo* and through the dramatic but strikingly uninformative image of the shipwrecked man. The second pair of distichs describe Manlius' condition as it is now, after the disaster. The perfect participles *oppressus* and *eiectum* in the first pair of distichs contrast with the present indicatives *perpetitur*, *oblectant* and *peruigilat* in the second pair (but note the perfect participle

desertum in line 6). The second pair appear to describe not Manlius' misfortune, but its consequences, or rather aspects of its aftermath: he lies alone at night, awake, deprived of love and sex, and cannot distract himself by reading classical poetry.

Manlius has suffered some sort of grave misfortune. The phrase *fortuna casuque oppressus acerbo* would seem to imply that the disaster had been brought upon him by an external cause that is perhaps an impersonal force – but Catullus may simply be mitigating the blow by describing it in these terms. It is less humiliating to suffer at the hands of the ineluctable powers of nature than at those of other human beings, or indeed of oneself. The shipwreck metaphor is similarly hard to understand. It would imply that Manlius needs to be rescued 'from the threshold of death' (*a mortis limine*, line 4). But from his continuing desire to make love and to read good poetry he does not appear to be on the verge of death, unless he is contemplating suicide; so once again the words of the poem may not reflect on the nature of Manlius' situation, but at most on its seriousness.

One word from the rest of the poem could cast further light on Manlius' misfortune. Afflicted as he is, Venus does not let him find rest in sleep, as he lies all alone in his bachelor's bed, *desertum in lecto caelibe* (lines 5f.). As a perfect participle describing Manlius, *desertum* resembles *oppressus* and *eiectum* and could also be taken to refer to Manlius' misfortune – but once again this is not inevitable. It complicates matters that *desertum* could mean two things: 'abandoned' by one particular lover, or 'shunned' by all potential lovers, or even by all and sundry (see *ad loc.*). The first interpretation would seem the most likely here in view of the erotic context, and in this case we could conveniently identify the departure of Manlius' lover with the misfortune that has befallen him. However, it is not inevitable; and since (as we shall soon see) Manlius is asking Catullus to procure him unspecified erotic delights, one could argue that he was not broken-hearted after being abandoned by a lover, but sexually frustrated in general.

Here ends the evidence. Scholars have proposed a broad range of theories about Manlius' misfortunes. Most interpreters believe that they were of an amorous nature. Parthenius proposed that Manlius' wife or mistress must have died. This theory has found favour with a series of scholars, most notably with Schwabe, who read poem 68a in conjunction with *carmen* 61: he believed that L. Manlius Torquatus, whose marriage is celebrated in poem 61, subsequently lost his wife and smitten with grief he wrote to Catullus, whose reply we have in poem 68a.[99] A number of scholars believe Manlius to have been abandoned by his beloved, others think that she (or perhaps he, as one might add) must have left him only temporarily, while others still

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[99] Schwabe 1862: 343f. Manlius' misfortune is reconstructed as the death of his mistress also by Palladius in his 1496 edition as well as Scaliger 1577, Doering 1788-1792, Ellis 1889[2] and Guglielmino 1915.

prefer to speak of amorous troubles of an unspecified sort: Moriz Schmidt writes about "liebesfatalitäten".[100] One scholar thinks that Manlius' problem was unrequited love, while others believe that there are two alternatives, that he must have lost his wife or beloved either literally, as she died, or metaphorically, as she left him.[101] Others still identify Manlius' affliction with separation from Catullus, with a terminal illness and with the loss of an elder brother or perhaps of a child.[102] Finally there are those who believe that it may not be possible to identify more closely the misfortune Manlius has suffered.[103]

We can eliminate some of these possibilities at once. Manlius cannot be terminally ill: he would be eager to make love (lines 5f.) and asks Catullus, who is no doctor, to 'restore him to life' (lines 3f.). There is no sign anywhere in the poem that he has lost an elder brother or a child. Separation from Catullus could downcast one who was dependent on him for his daily entertainment (we have no sign that this was the case for Manlius or for anyone else), but it could hardly be construed as a cruel stroke of fate of the type alluded to in line 1. The death of Manlius' wife or beloved would explain his intense sorrow, but not his being *desertus*.[104] Moreover, it is hardly credible that someone who has just lost the partner whom he dearly loved should complain that he is now deprived of sex. And Manlius does not seem to be suffering from unrequited love: *desertus* would imply in this case that his love was requited at first. There remain in the ring the hypotheses that he should have been left behind by his partner, or that he should have suffered some unspecified sort of romantic (or erotic) misfortune. But we should also keep open other possibilities. What if Manlius could not access the joys of love because of some other sort of difficulty – due to financial or social problems – or if his main problem was entirely different, but it was aggravated by the fact that he happened to be unable to console himself with the pleasures of love?

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[100] Manlius abandoned by beloved: Perrotta 1927, Tescari 1935, Salvatore 1949, Godel 1965, Kinsey 1967, Levine 1976, Sandy 1978, Shipton 1978, Citroni 1979, Tuplin 1981, Woodman 1983, Courtney 1985, Forsyth 1987, Powell 1990, Fear 1992, Casali 1996 and hesitantly also Vahlen 1902.   Temporary absence of beloved: Pennisi 1959 and Sarkissian 1977 and 1983.   "liebesfatalitäten": M. Schmidt 1880: 782; thus also Westphal 1867, Birt 1890, Quinn 1970, Wiseman 1974, Goold 1983, Lefèvre 1981 and Simpson 1994.

[101] Unrequited love: Bright 1976.   Death or departure of wife/beloved: Howald 1918 and Fordyce 1961.

[102] Absence of Catullus: von Mess 1908, Coppel 1973 and Skinner 2003.   Terminal illness: Schöll 1880.   Loss of eldest brother or of a child: Léon Herrmann 1957.

[103] Thus Magnus 1875, Riese 1884, Prescott 1940 and Thomson 1997.

[104] Birt 1890: iv also thought that in this case his bed would have had to be called *uiduus* rather than *caelebs*, but in fact *caelebs* can also characterize widowers: see *ad loc.* (line 6).

I propose a twofold solution. There is, on one hand, a minimal position. Some highly distressing event has changed Manlius' life for the worse. He is now single and is shunned by potential partners or people in general, or else he has been abandoned by his partner not too long ago (*desertum*, line 6); he spends his nights lying awake all alone (lines 5f.); and he cannot soothe his troubled mind by reading classical poetry (lines 7f.). All of this is stated explicitly. On the other hand, it is possible to join up these small pieces of information into a coherent story. Manlius could have been abandoned (*desertus*) by his lover, which could have left him utterly shattered, and he could ask Catullus for some alternative erotic pleasures, the *munera Veneris* mentioned in line 10. If our Manlius is the same person as the Manlius Torquatus who is the bridegroom in poem 61 and L. Manlius Torquatus, praetor in 49 (see pp. 38-43 above), then it is possible that he should have had some sort of trouble with his young wife Vibia Aurunculeia.[105] Roman wives had the right to divorce their husband unilaterally, but in a relatively patriarchal society the biggest threat to a husband may have been a wife who chose to wreak havoc upon his reputation and his peace of mind, witness the cases of Clodia Metelli and of Messalina.[106]

Manlius' misfortune is described in strong terms in lines 1-4, but that does not rule out such an erotic interpretation – nor should Catullus be taken, as Quinn would have it, to criticize Manlius implicitly through these words for reacting so strongly to such a minor event. Other members of Catullus' circle were deeply shaken when they lost their beloved: Calvus mourned obsessively his dead wife Quintilia (*carmen* 96), while Catullus describes himself as gravely ill and even on the verge of death after his affair with Lesbia has ended (76.15-26). Those who believe that Manlius' sufferings are excessive for someone who has problems merely of a romantic nature should think twice.

But while it is absolutely plausible both (1) that *desertum* in line 6 should refer to Manlius' abandonment by his partner and (2) that this abandonment should be the misfortune that is referred to in the initial lines of the poem, we cannot be certain even about the first assumption. As for the second, it would be quite possible for Manlius to have experienced some other sort of misfortune – for example illness, financial ruin, family trouble or a political setback – and to have been left by his partner, or by all potential partners, in the subsequent turmoil. Many possibilities remain open, and will remain so as long as we do not discover more about the life of Manlius, that is to say, probably forever.

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[105] The principal MSS call her Iunia (61.16) Aurunculeia (61.82f.), but two *cognomina* would be surprising; hence Syme (*ap*. Neudling 1955: 185) conjectured Vibia.

[106] On divorce cfr. Treggiari 1991: 435-482; for the relevant legislation see *Dig.* 24.2 and 50.16.191.

What kind of help did Manlius ask from Catullus? I will start with a question of detail. Did he make one request or two? Line 10 is often considered to be ambiguous:

68.10   muneraque et Musarum hinc petis et Veneris.

The phrase *munera et Musarum et Veneris* very probably means not 'the gifts of the Muses and of Venus', i.e. one single group of gifts coming from all these goddesses, but 'the gifts of the Muses, and those of Venus', i.e. two separate groups of gifts, one from each goddess – and parallels in ancient literature make it clear that the gifts of the Muses were poetry, while those of Venus were either physical love or some way of obtaining it (see *ad loc.*). This still allows for two possibilities: Manlius could have made two requests, one connected to poetry and the other connected to love, or else he could have made just one that somehow combined both gifts, e.g. for love poetry. But the latter possibility is ruled out by the last lines of the poem:

68.37   quod cum ita sit, nolim statuas nos mente maligna
                    id facere aut animo non satis ingenuo,
               quod tibi non utriusque petenti copia posta est:
                    ultro ego deferrem, copia siqua foret.

Line 37 must translate: 'that you have not been provided with a supply of both things that you asked for'; *utriusque* implies two items, and standing in conjunction with *copia*, a pragmatic term for 'a stock' or 'a supply' of something, it cannot possibly refer to two aspects of the same request. Nicolaus Heinsius, Hermes and R.G.M. Nisbet proposed to emend *utriusque* away, but the text makes sense and is perfectly idiomatic, so one should interpret rather than emend.

And in fact this interpretation squares well with the rest of the poem. In his recapitulation of Manlius' letter Catullus emphasizes two features of his friend's present suffering, his sleeplessness due to his erotic deprivation (lines 5f.) and his inability to soothe his mind by reading the classics (lines 7f.), and where the central part of his reply falls into two sections, one dealing with love and sex (lines 15-32)[107] and the other with books (lines 33-36). Attempts to take *munera et Musarum et Veneris* to refer to one request appear to have been based not on any aspect of the text, but on the commonsense consideration that Catullus would have been able to provide a friend with love poetry. That is certainly true; but as the text contains indications of a different state of affairs, we must give up our preliminary expectations.

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[107] *multa satis lusi* (line 17) and *totum hoc studium* (line 19) are sometimes taken to refer to poetry as well as love-making – but their context shows that this cannot be the case (see *ad loc.*). The words *non est dea nescia nostri, / quae dulcem curis miscet amaritiem* (17f.), which clearly refer to amorous pursuits, clarify that the games implied by *lusi* were erotic, while *hoc studium* refers back to Catullus' amorous pursuits.

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Does Catullus reject both Manlius' requests, or only one? He starts his reply by telling Manlius to hear about his own troubles, lest he think that the poet 'dislikes the duties of a guest-friend' (line 12) and he continue 'to ask happy gifts from a wretched man' (line 14). Since the poet is wretched (*miser*) himself, he is by implication unable to provide Manlius with these 'happy gifts'. In the next section (lines 15-32) he explains why he cannot (*nequeo*, line 32) provide Manlius with the *munera Veneris*: the death of his brother has put an end to his amorous pursuits (19-26) and he cannot give Manlius the gifts that mourning has taken from him (31f.). In the following sections he explains why he has barely any books with him where he is now (that is, in Verona – witness line 27): his library is in Rome, where he lives, and here he has only one boxful of bookrolls with him (33-36). Therefore Manlius should not attribute it to ill will or a lack of generosity if Catullus does not provide him with a stock of both things that he has asked for: he has no such stock to hand (37-40).

At line 32 Catullus explicitly tells Manlius that he does not provide him with the gifts that mourning has taken from him, that is to say, the *munera Veneris*. On the other hand, his rather controversial statement *quod tibi non utriusque petenti copia posta est*, 'that you have not been provided with a stock of both things that you asked for' (line 39), allows for two interpretations. One can take *non utriusque* to mean 'not both, but only one' and infer that Manlius has been given the *munera Musarum* but not the *munera Veneris* – but one can also take it to mean 'not both, but neither' and conclude he has not been given anything (see *ad loc.*). This is possible because Catullus does not reply outright to the request for the *munera Musarum*; he only says, somewhat elliptically, that he does not have many books with him, but just the contents of one single box or *capsula* (line 36), and he could well have sent off part or all of this to Manlius; or else poem 68a itself could have constituted the reading-matter that Manlius would have asked for – though this is unlikely: a forty-line poem would hardly have distracted Manlius during his sleepless nights.[108]

The rest of the poem rules out the possibility that Catullus would only have turned down one of Manlius' requests. Catullus starts his reply by telling him 'not to continue seeking happy gifts from a wretched man' (line 14): he is wretched, and therefore unable to give Manlius what he has asked for. The last line of the letter, *ultro ego deferrem, copia siqua foret*, 'I would give it to you unasked/willingly, if there were any stock (of it at my disposal)', has similar implications: Catullus has no *copia* of either of the things that Manlius has requested at his disposal.

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[108] Catullus would have sent Manlius some *munera Musarum* from the *capsula* according to Most 1981: 122. The *munera Musarum* is poem 68a itself: Clauss 1995: 238.

Could he have been expected to reject Manlius' request for reading-matter any more explicitly? One should note that he dismisses the request for *munera Veneris* not with a straightforward No, but with the circumlocution 'you will forgive me for being unable to comply' (lines 31f.). Perhaps a direct refusal would have appeared too brusque. Moreover, Manlius had presumably asked Catullus to send him the *munera Musarum* straight away, and it will have been an answer of sorts that the messenger carrying Catullus' letter will not have handed him any book-rolls.

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But what has Manlius asked from Catullus? In line 10 the objects of his request are described as *munera et Musarum et Veneris*, 'the gifts both of the Muses and of Venus'. This perplexing circumlocution has been interpreted in a large number of ways. There are those who take *munera et Musarum et Veneris* to conceal one single request for poetry (*munera Musarum*) with erotic contents or charm (*munera Veneris*)[109] – but we have already seen that there must have been two requests, which excludes this type of interpretation. On another view, *munera et Musarum et Veneris* would still stand for one request for love poetry, but Manlius would also have asked for a loan of books, which is mentioned only in lines 33-36.[110] This would be counterintuitive: Catullus' description of Manlius' present sufferings (lines 5-8), his statement that Manlius has asked for *munera et Musarum et Veneris* (line 10) and his discussion of Manlius' requests (lines 15-36) all have an erotic and a literary part, and it is surely much more plausible to take the three erotic and the three literary sections to refer to the same pair of underlying issues.

But while most interpreters agree that *munera Musarum* and *munera Veneris* stand for two different things, there exist wildly divergent views as to what these may be. *munera Musarum* is taken practically always to refer to poetry of some sort, but it is a matter of controversy whether *munera Veneris* should be taken to refer to erotic poetry or for one of many sorts of practical help to let Manlius get on with his love-life. A group of scholars sees a contrast between *munera Musarum* and *munera Veneris*: Manlius would have asked Catullus to write him artistic Alexandrian poems (for which books would be needed: compare lines 33-36) and love-poems.[111] Only a few other scholars take *munera Veneris* to refer to love poetry.[112] Others take it to refer to

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[109] Thus Schmidt 1880, Riese 1884, Baehrens 1885, Frank 1914, Howald 1918, Tescari 1935, Della Corte 1951b, Lieberg 1962, Vretska 1966, Quinn 1970, Goold 1983 and Godwin 1995.

[110] Thus Ellis 1876[1] and Munro 1878[1], who writes (p. 171): „'musarum et Veneris' seems to me almost a hendyadis".

[111] Thus Schöll 1880, von Mess 1908, Guglielmino 1915, Jachmann 1925, Perrotta 1927, Salvatore 1949, Fraenkel 1962, Cremona 1967 and Citroni 1979.

[112] Thus Magnus 1875. Catullus should write some love-poems, and send some that he has already written: Lenchantin de Gubernatis 1928. He should write a poem of consolation with erotic contents: Westphal 1867.

some sort of practical contribution to Catullus' love-life, generally to assistance with amorous adventures or to an introduction to a girl who is available.[113] Vahlen takes *munera Musarum* to indicate that Manlius asked Catullus to let him become one of Lesbia's lovers – but this rests on an interpretation of lines 27-30 that is almost certainly wrong.[114] Others believe that Manlius must have asked Catullus to reconcile him with his beloved,[115] while others still believe that Manlius is asking sexual favours from Catullus himself.[116]

The interpretation of *munera Musarum* is only slightly less controversial: some believe that Manlius has asked Catullus for poetry of any sort, others that he has asked for poems by Catullus that Catullus has already written, and a third group believes that he has asked Catullus to write something especially for him.[117]

Let us look at the evidence for each request, starting with that for the *munera Musarum*. In Greek poetry, 'the gifts of the Muses' is a standard term either for 'the poetic art' or for 'song(s)' or 'poetry' (see line 10n.). Here the former possibility can be ruled out straight away, as the distraught Manlius can hardly have wanted to start a new career as a poet. He is unable to distract himself on his sleepless nights with 'the sweet song (*carmine*) of the writers of old' (lines 7f.), while Catullus apologizes that he does not have many books with him (lines 33-36): evidently he has asked Catullus for some sort of reading-matter. So *munera Musarum* must refer to poetry – but of what sort?

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[113] Thus Birt 1890 & 1904, F. Skutsch 1892, Kroll 1923, Barwick 1947, Horváth 1960, Fordyce 1961, Wiseman 1974, Woodman 1983, Courtney 1985, Fear 1992 and Prescott 1940, who however notes that Catullus could grant the two favours "by the single act of composing a sensual love-poem in the modern contemporary style" (p. 500).

[114] Vahlen 1902, who takes lines 27-29 to contain a direct quotation, with *hic* (line 28) referring to Rome, where Manlius is, and where all the fashionable young men warm themselves in a deserted bed (*deserto … cubili*, line 29) – that is, in the bed of Lesbia, deserted by Catullus. However, it is almost certain that this difficult passage contains no direct quotation, so that *hic* must refer to Verona, where Catullus is: see *ad loc*.

[115] Godel 1965, Levine 1976, Shipton 1978 and Tuplin 1981.

[116] Kinsey 1967, Most 1981, Forsyth 1987 and Morgan 2008.

[117] Poetry of any sort: Westphal 1867, Magnus 1875, Birt 1890 & 1904, F. Skutsch 1892, Kinsey 1967, Most 1981, Woodman 1983, Courtney 1985, Forsyth 1987 and Fear 1992.   Alexandrian poetry by Catullus, in part already written: Lenchantin de Gubernatis 1928.   Poetry to be written by Catullus: Schöll 1880, von Mess 1908, Guglielmino 1915, Kroll 1923, Jachmann 1925, Perrotta 1927, Barwick 1947, Salvatore 1949, Prescott 1940, Horváth 1960, Fordyce 1961, Fraenkel 1962, Godel 1965, Cremona 1967, Wiseman 1974, Levine 1976, Sarkissian 1977 and 1983, Shipton 1978, Citroni 1979 and Tuplin 1981.   Greek poetry in translation: Levine 1976.

Catullus paraphrases Manlius' request (*munera Musarum*) and refuses it ('no, I do not have enough books with me') in general terms. Manlius evidently did not ask for one particular work. He made a generic request – but he could have asked for

(A) poetry of any sort;

(B) poetry of some particular type;

(C) poems to be written by Catullus;

(D) poems that Catullus has already written.

Baehrens, Quinn and many other scholars believe in version **(C)**, that Manlius asked Catullus to write him something (see above). It is obviously an attractive idea that a love-sick friend should ask the author of famous erotic poems to write him something that will console him or brighten up his mood. The notion of love's wounds, or love itself, healed by poetry may find a parallel in the poems about the 'healing' of the love-sick Polyphemus by Philoxenus of Cythera, Theocritus and Callimachus (see on lines 7f.). However, these more or less ironical Greek works about the bungling Cyclops do little to prove that two young men in Late Republican Rome could believe seriously that lovesickness could effectively be healed by poetry. There is no sign that Catullus ever thought so; when in difficulties, he prays to the gods (*carmen* 76b = 76.17-26), tries to talk sense into himself (poem 8) and expects consolation from his friends (poem 38, and compare 96), but is under no illusion (for an illusion it would be) that poetry has the power to put an end to one's passion. Manlius evidently needed poems not to put an end to his passion but as reading-matter during his sleepless nights. He was evidently in need of a text of some length, which could hardly have been written in a day or two.[118] In fact, out of Catullus' surviving works only poem 64 is of the right length to distract a native speaker of Latin for a significant amount of time. Last but not least, asking a poet for his poems is a big compliment and if Manlius had asked Catullus for his, one may well expect Catullus to have commented in some way, as he does in poem 65 – but that is not the case. All this amounts to a strong case against possibility **(C)**, that Manlius should have asked Catullus to write him something, and the last two arguments apply equally to possibility **(D)**, that he should have asked Catullus for some poems he had written in the past. That leaves two possibilities: either **(A)** that Manlius should have asked for whatever poetry Catullus thought fit to send, or **(B)** that he should have asked for some special sort of poetry.

This may be the best stage at which to consider a widespread interpretation of Catullus' apology in lines 33-36 that he has no books with him. Fordyce comments on 68.33: "The excuse is revealing evidence of the

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[118] Compare Cat. 95.1-3, where the poet celebrates Cinna's exquisite slowness in putting together his epyllion *Zmyrna* in nine years, and dismisses Hortensius (if the name is correct), who churns out 'five hundred thousand in one' (there follows a lacuna in the MSS, but we certainly have to do with five hundred thousand verses, which are probably the produce of one single year).

methods and ideals of the *doctus poeta*; what is expected of him is Alexandrian poetry, translated from, or modelled on, Greek, and for that he needs his library" – a view that had already been held by Kroll, who writes that "in order to write poetry or to translate in the ancient sense of the word, Catullus needs a small library containing the works of the authors who can be considered as valid examples."[119] In fact Catullus does not say so, and none of his surviving compositions (apart from his two translations from Greek) require him to have consulted his source texts over and again; though he uses earlier literature extensively, he does not appear to be more familiar with it than any erudite reader. Poem 68a itself shows that he is perfectly capable of composing poetry off his cuff. The run of thought in lines 33-39 points in a different direction. Catullus explains that he only has one boxful of books with him, as he left the rest at Rome (lines 33-36), and therefore (*quod cum ita sit*, line 37) he hopes that Manlius will not be offended that he does not comply with his request. This implies that he needs the books not in order to be able to comply, but in order to comply, evidently by sending some of them to Manlius.

What kind of books did Manlius need? During his sleepless nights 'the Muses do not relieve him with the sweet song of the poets of old' (lines 7f.), either because he does not have those poets to hand or for some other reason, for example because he is already familiar with their works. Here Catullus qualifies 'the song of the poets of old' with the complimentary epithet *dulcis*, 'sweet'. Catullus and his 'neoteric' friends are sometimes believed to have disliked all that was old and to have conceived of themselves as radical innovators – but one should note not only Catullus' high regard for Sappho and Callimachus and his friend Cinna's warm words about Aratus (*frg.* 11 *FPL*³), but also his considerable debt to Ennius.[120] Catullus calls bad poets the bane *of his own epoch* (14.23 *saecli incommoda, pessimi poetae*) and as a rule he reserves his invective for contemporaries such as Caesius and Aquinus (14.18), Suffenus (14.19 and poem 22), Volusius (poem 36 and 95.7f.) and Hortensius (95.3, if his name should not be emended there with Munro to *Hatrianus* or with Housman to *Hatriensis*, 'the man from Hatria', i.e. Volusius). It is only once that he criticizes an earlier poet, namely the fourth-century B.C. elegist Antimachus of Colophon – not simply for being bad, but for being bad but nevertheless popular in his day (*at populus tumido gaudeat Antimacho*, 95.10). Just like Callimachus, Catullus directs his criticism not against inferior trends in the past, but against the production and appreciation of inferior poetry in his own age.

Manlius' troubled mind is not soothed by good classical poetry (lines 7f.). Either he has none at hand, or what he has fails to distract him. He has asked Catullus for *munera Musarum*. He may have asked for contemporary poetry, not because he preferred it to the classics, but because he needed unfamiliar reading-matter to distract him from his worries – and Catullus, many of whose friends were poets themselves, would

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[119] Kroll on 68.33: "C. braucht, um dichten oder im antiken Sinne übersetzen zu können, eine kleine Bibliothek, in der namentlich die als vorbildlich geltenden *auctores* vertreten sein müssen."

[120] Cinna on Aratus: *frg.* 11 *FPL*. Catullus and Ennius: Froebel 1910.

have been well placed to provide him with it. But he could also have asked for a selection of good classical poetry. The mention of 'the poets of old' in line 7 would seem to support our hypothesis **(B)**, that Manlius should have asked for some sort of poetry in particular – but we cannot tell whether this was classical or (more likely perhaps) contemporary poetry.

But what are the *munera Veneris*? In Greek poetry the phrase 'the gift(s) of Aphrodite' refers either to love-making itself or to something or someone that is an accessory to it: a partner, marriage or sex-appeal (see further the Commentary on line 10). In short, *munera Veneris* could stand either for sex itself, or else for something that would have enabled Manlius to have his share of it (a partner, a rendez-vous *vel sim.*). This would allow for a very broad range of interpretations, but not all of these may be possible in view of the rest of the poem. Once again, it is worthwhile to go through the passages that might reflect on this request. There are two of these. Manlius is described as lying alone in his bed, deserted or else shunned by all; deprived of love and sex, he is unable to sleep (lines 7f.). He has asked Catullus for the *munera Veneris* (line 10); the poet apologizes that he is unable to provide these because his brother's death has put an end to all his erotic pursuits (lines 15-32).

It is very unlikely that *munera Veneris* should stand for love-poetry. First of all, there would be no parallels for such a usage, and it is easy to see why: unlike sex-appeal, marriage or a partner, love-poetry does not tend to make it easier for its recipient to obtain sexual satisfaction. Moreover, it is not easy to see what kind of love-poetry could soothe Manlius' sufferings, as they are described in lines 7f. He would hardly want to read about others enjoying the same pleasures from which he has been barred himself. Finally, this interpretation would be at odds with the terms in which Catullus rejects Manlius' request for he *munera Musarum*. The death of Catullus' brother put an end to the erotic delights which he had occasion to enjoy as a young man (lines 15-26), so that it is not shameful but sad that all the best young men in Verona spend their nights alone (27-30); therefore Manlius will forgive him for not providing the gifts (i.e. those of Venus) that his bereavement has deprived him of (31f.). Catullus cannot give to Manlius what his bereavement has deprived him of, that is, the erotic games which he had enjoyed so often in the past; and lines 27-30 confirm, if it needs to be confirmed at all, that these games were not literary pastimes, but very real erotic adventures.

Several interpretations have been proposed along these lines. Rather straightforwardly, some have taken *munera Veneris* simply to mean 'love-making'.[121] Having been deprived of sex for some reason or another, Manlius would have asked Catullus to have pity on him and to make love to him himself. This interpretation has the advantage of hermeneutical simplicity: *munera Veneris* is taken in the most fundamental and most frequent sense of the Greek phrase 'the gifts of Aphrodite'. However, there are difficulties of a different sort.

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[121] Thus Kinsey 1967, Most 1981, Forsyth 1987 and Morgan 2008.

If a wealthy Roman male[122] was desperate for sex and for sex only, why should he have asked a friend in a distant town to come and fulfil his desires? After all, he would have had plenty of possibilities to satisfy his natural drives with an obliging slave or with a professional.[123] Travel would have been time-consuming and exhausting, and possibly too much to ask from a person that he was not particularly close to: and Catullus does not appear to have been very close to Manlius (see line 9n.). Moreover, it is doubtful whether a well-to-do young Roman male would readily have seen a peer as an object of desire in the first place. We do get evidence for Catullus and peers of his other pursuing other freeborn young men – Catullus and Aurelius are after Juventius, while Caelius goes for Aufillenus – but Juventius is a *puer*, apparently only a teenager, and Aufillenus need not have belonged to Catullus' generation either.[124] His poems suit well the stereotypical picture that the sexuality of adult Roman males was directed either at a woman or at a young boy. Ancient homosexuality was different from its modern counterpart: there seem to be hardly any examples of a mature Roman male expressing desire for another man of his age, and there may be none at all in what survives of Latin love poetry.[125] It may never have occurred to Manlius that he could view Catullus as a potential sexual partner.

munera Veneris, then, stands not for the act of love-making itself, but for something related to it – something that brings it on, presumably. One should note especially the words *quae mihi luctus ademit, / haec tibi non tribuo munera* in lines 31f.: the gifts that Catullus cannot give to Manlius are identical to those he lost when his brother died and his gallant adventures came to an abrupt end. This suggests that *munera Veneris* should be taken as a general term for erotic adventures, rather than as a euphemism for 'a partner', 'a prostitute' or the like – but one should be cautious here: *munera Veneris* is Catullus' term, and not necessarily Manlius', and we do not know whether Manlius asked Catullus to undertake any particular action (to find him a girlfriend, a prostitute, adventures or whatever else), or just to help him in any way that he saw fit to make his love-life more successful. As has been said, a wealthy Roman male could use a prostitute or a slave to obtain sexual satisfaction – but Manlius may have been looking for more, for an emotionally fulfilling

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[122] Whether or not Manlius was not the same person as the L. Manlius L. f. L. n. Torquatus, who came from a *domus potens et beata* (61.149f.), he was rich enough to read many books and to correspond by mail.

[123] Slaves: Cat. 61.119-141; professionals: Cat. 6.5f., 10.1-4, 55.6-12. Horace recommends these as readily available sex objects in *Sat.* 1.2 – note esp. 117f. *ancilla aut uerna … puer, impetus in quem / continuo fiat.*

[124] Catullus and Aurelius pursuing Juventius: *carmina* 15, 21, 24, 48, 81 and 99. Caelius pursuing Aufillenus: 100.1f. Juventius is a *puer* (not a slave, but a free youth): 21.11. On the consular Juventii see *RE* 10.1.1361f., on Catullus' favourite Cic. *Att.* 1.16.6, 13.21a.4 and 13.28.4 with Shackleton Bailey 1965-68 *ad loc.* and *RE* 10.1.1370f. s.v. Juventius Thalna (27).

[125] Note that Horace touches only briefly upon boys and nowhere atyll upon men in his discussion of the variety of partners available at *Sat.* 1.2.

encounter with a beautiful and educated woman (or boy, though *caelibe* in line 6 suggests otherwise).[126] In this case he could well have expected that this well-connected poet, who claimed to have three hundred thousand friends (Cat. 9.1f.), would be able to guide him to a partner of the right quality. Not to the partner that he has lost: Catullus would have to be romantically active himself to comply with his request (cfr. lines 15-32); evidently Manlius counted on his social connections. Unfortunately, Catullus has not been his former self for some time now and is unable to help.

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Let us sum up what we have discovered about the events underlying Catullus 68a. Manlius has experienced some sort of misfortune. This may have consisted in his being abandoned by his beloved, or in something else. Now he lies all alone in his bed, abandoned, he is deprived of sex, and cannot sleep; nor can he soothe his mind by reading Classical poetry. He has written to his distant friend Catullus, and asked the poet to send him some poetry and to help him get a love-life once again. Poem 68a is Catullus' reply. The poet explains that since he is in dire straits himself, he is the wrong person to ask for these gifts: his love-life has been ended by the death of his brother, and he only has a couple of books with him in Verona, as he has left his library in Rome. He hopes that Manlius will not attribute it to any ill-will on his part that he does not comply with either of his friend's requests.

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So much for the contents of the poem. It remains to consider its tone and its style.

Quinn has read Catullus 68a as a mild reproach: the poet would have found Manlius' emotional outburst exaggerated and out of all proportion to the amorous misfortune that would have caused it, and he would be trying to reassure his friend that he may soon be together with his girlfriend again (unitarians often read in this key the greeting of the addressee and his partner in line 155: see pp. 29f. above), or he would be implicitly criticizing him by contrasting his own bereavement with his friend's rather hysteric reaction to his petty loss. Most of these interpretations are based on the idea that the description of Manlius' misfortune as an unmitigated disaster (lines 1-4) would be out of all proportion to an amorous misfortune. But Catullus describes his break-up with Lesbia in similarly grave terms.[127] Elsewhere he tries to console his friend Calvus after the loss of his mistress Quintilia.[128] We are not dealing with Victorian gentlemen: he and his

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[126] For the attention paid to beauty, charm and cultivation in Catullus' circle compare Cat. 6.1-5, 10.3f., 13.4, 24.1-3, 41.1, 43, 86, etc.

[127] Cfr. Cat. 8, 11.21-24, 68.53-56, 76, 85, etc.

[128] Cat. 96.

friends appear to have found romantic matters very important indeed. [129] It is very unlikely that Manlius'
reaction to his break-up should have struck him as exaggerated – if this was indeed the misfortune that had
affected Manlius. Nor has detailed analysis of the text revealed the slightest trace of hidden criticism of the
addressee.

In fact, Catullus treats Manlius with politeness and tact.[130] He explains at length why he cannot comply with
Manlius' requests (lines 15-36), and asks his friend repeatedly not take this for a sign of ill-will (lines 11-14
and 37-40, and cfr. 31f.). His careful recapitulation of Manlius' letter in lines 1-8 may itself have been
intended to reassure his friend that he understands his situation (see *ad loc.*). Such an interpretation is
supported by the words *fortuna casuque oppressus acerbo* at the start of the poem, which attribute Manlius'
misfortunes not to human agency of any sort but to the ineluctable forces of fate: it was not caused by his
cruel girlfriend, it is suggested, nor indeed the hapless Manlius himself, but mighty and impersonal forces of
nature that strike down humans at will. One may well pick out a number of touches that add warmth and
politeness to the poem: Catullus' assertion that he is happy to be called Manlius' friend (line 9), his statement
that Manlius will forgive him (*ignosces*, a polite expression) for not giving what he no longer possesses
(lines 31f.), and even the vocative *Manli*, which is used in two emotionally charged passages (lines 11 and
30).

In its style, poem 68a is a hybrid, mixing the rather colloquial language of prose letters with the elevated
idiom of poetry.[131] It uses a number of expressions that are proper to prose letters: thus epistolary *quod* (lines
1, 27 and 33), *id gratum est mihi* (line 9), *accipe* (line 13) and *ignosces* (line 31). The rambling initial period
(lines 1-10) and other loosely constructed sentences (lines 11-14 and 37-40) are also proper to this register.
As one would expect from a letter to a friend, the poem contains a number of colloquialisms: *hinc* 'from me'
(line 10) and *illa domus* 'she [*i.e.* Rome] is my home' (line 34). Other expressions are typical of Latin prose:
conscriptum (line 2), *tempore quo* (line 15), *nam quod* (line 33), *quod cum ita sit* (line 37) and *id facere* (line
38). There also appear in the poem words that are attested in poetry during the Republic but never or only
very rarely during the Empire: *quoniam* (line 9) and *incommoda* (line 11). On one occasion we find an odd
and unique variation on a set phrase in prose: *multa satis* for *satis multa* (line 17). There also appear
expressions that would be at home in pathetic speech of any sort: *fortuna casuque oppressus acerbo* (line 1)

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[129] Flavius does not tell whom he is seeing: *c.* 6. Varus' tactless girlfriend: *c.* 10. Fabullus' *candida puella*: 13.4.
Aurelius pursuing Catullus' boyfriend: *c.* 15 and 21. Caecilius' learned girlfriend: 35.8-17. Allius' beloved: 68.155.
Rufus' difficulties at finding a partner: *c.* 69 and 71. Gellius' adventures at home and elsewhere: *c.* 74, 78, 80, 88-91.
Caelius pursuing Aufillenus and Quintius going after Aufillena: *c.* 100.

[130] Thus Vahlen 1902: 1031.

[131] See the detailed analysis by Coppel 1973: 114-127.

and the contrast between *turpe* and *miserum* (lines 29f.). On the other hand, much is reminiscent of high poetry: metaphor (2-4), allegory (5-8, 10 and 17f.), enallage (line 6 *in lecto caelibe*), verses with interlocking word-order (6f., 16) and even a golden line (29) alongside poetic words and expressions: *spumantibus aequoris undis* (line 3), *dulcem curis miscet amaritiem* (line 18) and possibly also *illic mea carpitur aetas* (line 35).

In the view of Coppel, the poem contains a limited number of passages in a high poetic style (lines 1-8, 15-24 and 29) but for the most part it is nothing more than versified prose that contains the occasional "Brieffloskeln", epistolary highlights (lines 9-14 except for 13, 25-28 and 30-40). His explanation is that Catullus' letter is basically prosaic and that the passages in a high poetic style constitute quotations from or references to Manlius' letter, which was a letter in verse and which Catullus could thus quote easily.[132] But this cannot be the case: the longest passage in a high poetic style comes at lines 15-24, which describe Catullus' past joys and his present unhappiness due to the death of his brother, and which certainly cannot constitute a quotation from Manlius' letter. Coppel's view has been rejected by Citroni, who has proposed that lines 15-26 constitute the core of the poem not because of their bulk or contents but because with this colourful autobiographical exposition Catullus has provided his friend (who had asked for the *munera Musarum*) with proper poetry, even if just on a small scale – poetry which describes misfortunes similar to those of the addressee, and consoles him by putting his suffering in perspective.[133] This is an attractive interpretation because of the length of the passage and its prominence within the poem. However, pathetic and poetic touches are not restricted to this section, but appear also in other emotionally charged passages: in the description of Manlius' past misfortunes and present sufferings (lines 1-8) and in the climax of the description of the Veronese young men's miserable lack of a proper love-life (line 29). On the other hand, it would be incongruous for Catullus to use the high style in explaining why he cannot give Manlius what he has asked for (lines 11-14 and 31-40): here he uses the lower style proper to prose letters. Catullus 68a is a letter as well as a poem: in its style it draws on the language both of epistolography and of high poetry, not merely to achieve variety, but to give its contents a suitable tone: pragmatic matters are dealt with in an epistolary style, and more emotional issues in the elevated language of poetry.

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[132] Coppel 1973: 114.

[133] Citroni 1979: 72-84.

CATULLUS 68B

'Goddesses, I cannot keep quiet about how or in what matter Allius has helped me, but I tell it to you, you tell it on to many thousands, and let this paper speak even as it becomes old' (lines 41-46). Catullus was desperate at the time because he could not start a relationship with Lesbia, but Allius provided him with a house in which at long last the two lovers could meet (67-69). Now the poet tries to repay the favour by composing a poem in honour of Allius and preserving his name for posterity. He has reached his goal.

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Greek poets had been writing poems of praise for long. Pindar, Bacchylides and Simonides wrote epinicians to honour victorious athletes as well as 'encomia' (though the name of this genre does not go back beyong the Alexandrian period) in praise of people such as rulers and beautiful youths.[134] In the Hellenistic period Theocritus wrote poems in praise of Hieron II of Syracuse (*Id.* 16) and of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (*Id.* 17), while Callimachus praised the Queens Arsinoe II Philadelphus (*frg.* 228 Pfeiffer) and Berenice II (*frg.* 110) as well as the courtier Sosibius (*frg.* 384). More surprisingly, Callimachus' *Twelfth Iambus* (*frg.* 202) celebrates the newborn daughter of the author's kinsman Leo. On a smaller scale, individuals were praised practically throughout Greek lyric and elegiac poetry of all periods. Mimnermus, Sappho, Alcaeus, Anacreon, Ibycus, Theognis and Antimachus all praised their beloveds; Alcaeus complimented his brother on his achievements as a soldier (*frg.* 350 Voigt), while in a memorable passage Theognis tells his beloved Cyrnus that now that by writing about him he has given him wings with which he can roam through the world, and his name will live on forever even after he dies (Theogn. 237-252). An awareness of the power of song to confer immortality goes back as far as the *Iliad* (6.357f.).

How does Catullus 68b fit into this tradition? Newman suggests that here Catullus has "taken up and Romanized" Callimachus' *Twelfth Iambus*.[135] As an admirer of Callimachus he is very likely to have known this poem, but it is the question how far he followed it. The *Twelfth Iambus* has survived only in fragments, but its contents can be made out with a reasonable degree of certainty.[136] Now there are two points of contact

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[134] It is not completely certain that Bacchylides wrote 'encomia', as his entry in the *Suidas* does not specify the genres in which he wrote, but very likely in view of his fragments 20-20F Snell-Maehler.   ---   On poems of praise see further *Neue Pauly* s.v. 'Enkomion'.

[135] Newman 1990: 237, who also suggests that Catullus "is really looking over Callimachus' (and Philicus'?) shoulder to the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* and to Pindar": he sees these as the source of the $\Rightarrow\alpha\mu\beta\iota\kappa\downarrow \Rightarrow\delta\Upsilon\alpha$ that has influenced Catullus (pp. 43f.) and of the technique of verbal echoes that he applies in poem 68b (pp. 229f.), respectively.

[136] See Kerkhecker 1999: 218-249, and add a new fragment on the papyrus *P. Lips. Inv. 290v*, which will be published shortly.

between these poems. The first is their purpose: both were written in praise of an individual who was not distinguished in conventional terms, and who was close to the poet (in the case of the *Twelfth Iambus* this is the baby daughter of Callimachus' kinsman Leo). The second is a novel conception of the role of the Muse(s), who are no longer considered the source of all poetic achievements in these two texts, but Catullus asks them to popularize his art, while Callimachus simply addresses one of these goddesses (see lines 41-50n.). On the other hand, the differences between the two poe,s remain striking: there is no close verbal connection between what survives of the *Iambus* and Catullus 68b, and even their metre is different (catalectic trochaic trimeters κατ□ !τ⇔ξον and elegiac distichs, respectively). This means that poem 68b may have been inspired by the *Twelfth Iambus* in its overall conception or also in one or two technicalities, but it does not echo the *Iambus* at any point, and Catullus may not have had it in mind at all.

Could Catullus be following a lost model here? Given the quantity of earlier texts that have gone lost, one certainly has to entertain this possibility: he could have imitated a lost Hellenistic poem, or perhaps a Roman one that we know nothing about. I believe, however, that this was not the case. Catullus thought that Allius had done him an exceptional favour, and he wanted to thank him in an exceptional way – so it is hardly surprising if there are no close parallels for what he wrote.

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One reason why poem 68b is so effective is that it is not restricted to the praise of Allius, but touches on several key themes of Catullus' poetry: his relationship with Lesbia, the mythical past, and the death of his brother. As is well known, the poet goes through these themes one by one, and then once again in reverse order, which gives a 'Chinese box' structure to the text:

A	lines 41-68	Allius' help
B	69-72	Lesbia's arrival
C	73-86	Laodamia's love for Protesilaus
D	87-90	the Trojan War
E	91-100	the death of Catullus' brother
D'	101-104	the Trojan War
C'	105-130	Laodamia's love for Protesilaus
B'	131-148	Lesbia's arrival and Catullus' relationship with her
A'	149-160	*envoi* to Allius

There is space for disagreement about questions of detail, in particular about where section A should end (after line 66, 68 or 69?). Ferguson has argued for a different set of responses, only covering lines 41-148, which would go as follows[137]:

a	lines 41-50	*foedus* of Allius and Catullus	10 lines
b	51-56	Catullus' own love: torture of desire	6
c	57-72	Allius' relief compared: epiphany of the *diva*	16 (13 + 3)
d	73-86	Laodamia and Protesilaus	14
e	87-88	Helen	2
f	89-90	Troy: tomb	2
g	91-100	dead brother	10
f'	101-102	Greek youth: hearth	2
e'	103-104	Paris	2
d'	105-118	Laodamia and Protesilaus	14
c'	119-134	Laodamia's love compared: epiphany of the *diva*	16 (13 + 3)
b'	135-140	Catullus' own love: torture of self	6
a'	141-148	*foedus* of Catullus and his mistress	10 [138]

This analysis would change the picture radically, in that the corresponding sections would be of an equal length; one could catch Catullus out planning the poem beforehand and composing it meticulously section by section. However, there are a number of reasons for which it does not work. Section (a) does not correspond thematically to section (a'), despite their headings, which are misrepresentative: the main theme of (a) is Catullus' gratitude for Allius and his attempt to return him a favour by preserving his name in song, while the main theme of (a') is not the relationship of Catullus and Lesbia, but the poet's view of her and in particular of her infidelities. This is also the main theme of (b'), so that there is no thematic break at all between (b') and (a'). The title of (b') too is unrepresentative, as Catullus does not torment himself in this section but simply puts up a brave face and does his best to live with Lesbia's infidelities. The key theme of (e) is not Helen. The tomb in (f) and the hearth in (f') are mentioned only in passing, and do not correspond to each other. In short, this table of responses does not stand up to scrutiny.

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[137] Ferguson 1985: 228 ~ 1988: 37. For convenience's sake I have added the initials (a)-(g) and (a')-(f'). A similar but slightly less elaborate set of responses was already proposed by Franz Skutsch 1892: 140 = 1914: 48, who unites sections (e) and (f) as well as (f') and (e'). What is said here about Ferguson's set of responses can applied *mutatis mutandis* also to that of Skutsch.

[138] Taking count of two lost lines after line 141.

The first table does, and it is surely of crucial importance for understanding Catullus 68b. It shows among other things that lines 149-160 are an organic part of the poem, rather than accompanying it as a covering note. It is important, then, to take this concatenation for what it is: for nothing less, but also for nothing more.

First of all, not all these sections correspond to neatly distinguishable units of text: sections B and D end in mid-sentence, as does probably section A. This means that the sections are more clearly articulated in the second half of the poem: the first half is simply characterized by a progression from theme to theme, while in the second half the same progression continues, but each theme also corresponds to one or more sentences. Nor are the pairs of corresponding sections of equal length, except for D and D'. This means that the structure of the poem is based merely on a progression of themes, and not of distinct units of text each of which is devoted to one particular theme. Why do the sections start to be articulated more clearly at the centre of the poem? The most radical explanation would be that Catullus composed its first half before deciding to go over the same themes once again in reverse order, so as to obtain the 'Chinese box' structure. But it is implausible that he should ever have intended the first half to stand alone, as it is not complete on its own: the poet can only have left off describing his rendez-vous with Lesbia with her still standing on the threshold (section B, lines 70-72) if he was planning to return to the subject and describe what happened afterwards (section B', lines 131-134). At the very latest when he wrote line 73 Catullus must already have had the 'Chinese box' structure in mind – but his treatment of the structure changed as he was writing the poem. The second half of the text is articulated more clearly, it is more orderly, more closely argued, and perhaps even more rational than the first half. The reason may be simply that it is easier to start a project than to finish it off, to tuck away all the loose threads. Everyone who has gone on a long walk in the mountains will know that starting out is a relatively easy, almost impulsive activity, but it always takes an amount of rational planning to return.

While the thematic progression within the poem is clear, not all pairs of sections treat exactly the same theme. There is no such problem with the mythological pairs, C and C' as well as D and D', as these basically tell two halves of the same story; but there are significant differences between A and A', and between B and B'. In A the poet addresses the Muses to praise Allius, and he describes how Allius has helped him; in A', which constitutes a sort of epilogue or *envoi*, the poet turns directly to Allius, wishes him well and greets him, his partner, the very house that Allius has arranged for him and its châtelaine, and he closes the poem with the poem with Lesbia. Not only are the contents of the two sections quite different, but at the end of the second one, and of the entire poem, there stands a reference to Lesbia (a very effective one, to be sure), which would be more at home in the sections B and B'. Likewise, the parallelism between B and B' is limited: B consists of a short but memorable description of Lesbia's arrival at the house procured for the lovers by Allius, while the first part of B' (lines 131-136) completes this description, much as C' completes C and D' completes D, but the second part consists of a long account of Catullus' relationship with Lesbia (lines 137-148). In the biographic pairs of sections the thematic structure of the poem turns out

to be rather flexible; evidently Catullus was able to treat mythological lore in a more orderly way than the complex realities of his own life.

Why did he structure the poem in this way? Westphal argues that the structure is traditional and goes back ultimately to the division of the citharodic nomes into parts that is attributed by Pollux to Terpander.[139] There the parts would have corresponded to each other in the sequence A-B-C-B'-A', with a mythical narrative standing in the centre, as in Catullus 68b. The same structure would have been exhibited by Stesichorus' songs and by Pindar's non-epinician poetry, which is where Catullus would have encountered it. Westphal was writing in 1867, but already in 1892 Franz Skutsch pointed out that his reconstruction of the terpandric nome has been refuted by Crusius.[140] Skutsch noted that he could not find anything similar to the compositional scheme of poem 68b anywhere in ancient literature, but he believed that it was surely based on a model in Alexandrian poetry.[141] More recently, Stephen Harrison compared the structure of the proem to Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, and suspected that the two poems may share a Hellenistic model.[142] But it is the question whether we need to look for its model at all. My view is that the extravagant structure of Catullus 68b is just one of the characteristics that make it a virtuoso piece: Catullus was not following any example, but he simply gave an exceptional structure to the poem with which he wanted to honour Allius. Lyne may have hit the mark when he called Catullus 68b an experimental poem – one that was meant to stand out, rather than conforming to any tradition.[143] Ring-composition was common in ancient literature from the *Iliad* onwards[144] – but it appears to have been a spectacular one-off strategy on the part of Catullus to compose a poem that consisted of pairs of thematic blocks of text that were arranged symmetrically around a central core.

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[139] Westphal 1867: 73-92; Pollux 4.66 = Terpander *test.* 39 Gostoli.

[140] Franz Skutsch 1892: 138 = 1914: 47; on the structure of the *nomoi* see now Gostoli 1990: XXIIIf.   ---   Westphal's idea that lost poems by Pindar and Stesichorus must have displayed a similar structure can no longer stand in view of the substantial fragments of Pindar's paeans and of Stesichorus' poetry that have been rediscovered since the beginning of the 20th century.

[141] Franz Skutsch 1892: 144 = 1914: 52.

[142] Thus he told me *uiua uoce*. The pattern that he detects is not completely symmetrical, but ABCDEDCB in the case of Lucretius 1.1-145, and ABCDEFEDCB in the case of Catullus (where his sections and mine are by and large identical, except that he sees lines 1-40 as the initial section and lines 141-148 as the second section on Allius). The problem with this is that lines 1-40 do not appear to be connected in any way to 41-160.

[143] Lyne 1980: 52.

[144] On ring-composition in the *Iliad* see Mark Edwards 1991: 44-48, with references.

These thematic blocks cover five subjects: Allius, Lesbia, Laodamia, the Trojan War, and the death of Catullus' brother. It is evident why Catullus writes about Allius, whom he wants to praise, and about Lesbia, whom Allius helped him to meet. But what is the role of the other three subjects within the poem?

As Lesbia enters the house in which she is to meet Catullus, she is compared to Laodamia entering the house of her bridegroom Protesilaus (lines 70-76). The poet simply states that the two women entered in the same way, but he does not state where exactly there lay the point of resemblance. In describing Lesbia's *entrée* he emphasizes her seductive beauty (lines 70-72); in describing that of Laodamia he stresses her passionate love for her husband (line 73). The hinge between the two subjects in the second part of the poem is equally ambiguous: Lesbia is simply called 'worthy of yielding to her (i.e. to Laodamia) either in nothing or in little' (line 131). Are the two women competing in beauty or in passion? Laodamia has been characterized (from line 73 onwards) in the first place as passionate; she is called beautiful only in passing (line 105). Lesbia is described once again as very attractive (133f.). She also turns out to be an adulteress with many lovers (lines 136-148), which would seem to be incompatible with monogamous passion of the type displayed by Laodamia. Catullus may not actually have drawn this inference, but in any case he does not call Lesbia passionate anywhere in this poem. Could Laodamia be not only a parallel for Lesbia on account of her beauty, but also an exemplar of passion whom Catullus wishes (consciously or not, and in any case rather unrealistically) that Lesbia should imitate?

The very fact of a comparison between Laodamia and Lesbia may appear surprising: Lesbia is Catullus' mistress, a flesh-and-blood woman, even if an exceptionally alluring one, while Laodamia is a lady from the fabulous world of myth. But Catullus does not appear to have had a sophisticated historical consciousness, and he may not have felt that there was a difference in sort between his contemporaries on one hand and the mythical characters who are said to have consorted with gods on the other. In fact, his pessimistic coda to poem 64 (lines 384-408) implies that he saw his contemporaries as direct descendants of the heroes, even though the letter were morally superior – and more glamorous. It elevates Lesbia that she is compared to Laodamia, but it does not make her less human.

It had not been unusual in Greek literature to tell a myth within a poem or to allude to one, especially in a poem concerned with praising somebody: one should think of Pindar's and Bacchylides' epinicians, and of Simonides' Plataea elegy. It may be especially relevant here that Antimachus of Colophon's *Lyde*, a long poem in elegiac distichs written in memory of his dead mistress, contained a number of mythological episodes – but Catullus may not have considered Antimachus an example to follow, since at 95.10 he dismisses him as turgid. In the Hellenistic period an attention to the erotic aspect of mythology becomes widespread – but I do not know of any poems from this age in which real-life love affairs are compared to mythological ones. Erotic myths were also prominent in Laevius Melissus' *Erotopaegnia*, a collection that contained a poem or section entitled *Protesilaodamia*, which is echoed by Catullus in line 46 here (see *ad*

loc.) – but here too it is not clear whether romantic myths were put side by side with the author's personal experiences. In any case, Catullus will certainly have read many books in which erotic myths were recounted, from where it will only have been a small step to put his personal experience in love side by side with the myths about the subject. What is striking about Catullus' use of myth here is not so much where it might come from, but rather how closely it prefigures Propertius', and to a lesser degree Ovid's, practice of comparing their mistress to an assortment of heroines and goddesses.

Inserted into the myth is a related myth, that of the Trojan War. Catullus deals with it relatively briefly in twice four lines, emphasizing the commotion that it caused, the tragic loss of lives, and (true to form) the erotic cause of the war, Helen's abduction by Paris. He refers to Helen as a *moecha* (line 103), which is an abusive term for an adulteress – a term that could be applied to Lesbia here. Rather nonchalantly, Catullus judges the two women by entirely different standards.[145]

The myth of the Trojan War serves as a transition to the subject of the death of the poet's brother. Catullus has simply lifted a big part of his lament (lines 92 and 94-96) from poem 68a; he has slightly remodelled part of the passage, but it still sits uneasily in such a happy poem. Why has he chosen to put the lament at the core of this text? The narrative does not call for it in any way – perhaps he just decided to pay his brother a tribute. One should compare his lament for his brother in the middle of poem 65, and especially the words *numquam ego te, uita frater amabilior, / aspiciam posthac? at certe semper amabo, / semper maesta tua carmina morte canam* (65.10-12). This may have been one of the occasions on which he did so.

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We have skipped the first two themes, Allius and Lesbia, as their relevance to the poem is obvious. But there are a number of other reasons for which they call for comment. Here I will assume that Catullus is talking about his own life rather than telling fiction in the first person singular; but the following paragraphs also apply, *mutatis mutandis*, if one prefers to give his poetry a non-autobiographical reading.

Allius helped Catullus to meet Lesbia by providing them with a house in which they could meet. The house was not his own, but it belonged to or was run by a lady or *domina* who remains anonymous in the poem;[146] and Allius has simply convinced her to host the lovers during their rendez-vous. Why does Catullus make so much out of this?

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[145] Later, after splitting up with Lesbia, he calls her paramours *moechi* (11.17, 37.16), but he never applies the term *moecha* to her.

[146] The *domina* is mentioned in lines 68 and 156. It is not possible to identify her, as is sometimes done, with Lesbia: see *ad loc.* Nor is she Allius' beloved, who is mentioned separately in line 155.

In lines 51-56 he describes his incessant tears before he was helped out by Allius: he fell in love with Lesbia but was driven to despair, evidently because it appeared to be impossible to pursue an affair with her. If a pair of lovers want to have a sexual relationship in a big city, they must find a space in which they can meet in private. Catullus and Lesbia evidently did not have such a space. Lesbia was married (cfr. line 146n.), and they could not meet in her home. Evidently they could not meet in Catullus' lodgings either. Like most Roman young men, he may not have been living on his own, but with friends or relatives.[147] Nor were there any convenient alternatives: ancient Rome had no hotels or pensions into which a pair of lovers could withdraw for a brief tryst. Catullus was unable to pursue his love-affair; he was desperate. It was at this point that Allius saved the day by finding him a house and an indulgent chatelaine.

The Lesbia episode raises two problems. First of all, Catullus does not name his mistress in poem 68b. Can we be sure that she is Lesbia? I think we can. We learn that she is beautiful, she is married, she has many lovers, and Catullus is very much in love with him. Elsewhere he describes Lesbia as beautiful, married, and somewhat of a nymphomaniac.[148] She is also the only woman he is known to have been in love with; in fact, he regularly stresses the uniqueness of his feelings for her.[149] It is extremely unlikely, then, that the *puella* in poem 68b should not be Lesbia.[150]

Though Lesbia is another man's wife and she has a number of other lovers, Catullus expects to be happy 'so long as she is alive' (line 160). This has perplexed Sarkissian, who considered it out of the question that any human being should hold such a position, and concluded that the poem must have been written well after its dramatic date, at a time when Catullus had fallen out of love with Lesbia, in "an attempt … to put the Lesbia affair into perspective."[151] He attributed the unconvincing quality of the poem to how "the poet succeeds brilliantly in depicting Catullus' miserable failure at self-deception."[152] But this is another paradox: if Catullus is depicting self-deception realistically in these lines, how can we be sure that he is not actually deceiving himself? The problem may lie not with the poem, but rather with the nature of romantic love, which can distort our perception of our beloved, of ourself, and of reality in general. I have witnessed love-affairs of all sorts, including some that were destined to fail even more manifestly than that between Catullus

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[147] Marcus Caelius left his father and went to live on his own in Rome (Cic. *Cael.* 17f.): this may have been quite unusual. We find Catullus' friend Veranius living with his brothers and his mother (Cat. 9.3f.).

[148] Beautiful: 43.7 and 86. Married: 83 (but note 70!). Promiscuous: 11.17-20 and 58, cfr. 37.14-16 (where the *puella* is not named) and 79 (on Lesbia's kind feelings for Lesbius).

[149] Note 8.5 *amata nobis quantum amabitur nulla* and 87.1f. *Nulla potest mulier tantum se dicere amatam / uere, quantum a me Lesbia amata mea est*.

[150] My countryman István Károly Horváth argues for the contrary, that Lesbia and the *candida diua* of poem 68b are two different persons (Horváth 1960: 336f.). He draws his arguments from the chronology of Catullus' life, but in fact we have very little solid knowledge about this slippery and difficult subject.

[151] Sarkissian 1983: 7.

[152] *Ibid.* 4.

and Lesbia. Twenty-five years have passed since Sarkissian published his book, and by now it is probably general knowledge that people who are not in the least monogamous can still be experienced as desirable. In fact, it may be the very degree of sexual liberation that makes these people so attractive, as they promise joys that the frustrated or repressed crowds have not been able to obtain. It is no chance perhaps that Marilyn Monroe has become a sexual idol, while millions of faithful wives have not. In any case, in the fermenting atmosphere of Italy in the Fifties B.C. Catullus met Lesbia and he fell in love with her. She promised genuine and free love; she was also a nymphomaniac adulteress. Catullus cared more for the content of their relationship than for its form; it mattered more to him that he was in love with her, and that she seemed to reciprocate his feelings (or at any rate he was able to think so), than that she was married to somebody else and that she had other lovers alongside the poet.

<p style="text-align:center">*****</p>

It has already been pointed out that the text does not fall neatly into these thematical sections: some of them begin in mid-sentence. The one strong break within the poem comes before the start of the epilogue in line 149, where the poet turns to his friend Allius and refers to the preceding lines as *hoc … confectum carmine munus*, 'this gift accomplished by a poem', as something external to the epilogue (which is of course a fake move, as the epilogue is anchored safely within the symmetrical structure of the text). But the rest of poem 68b is notable for its unity, despite the range of subjects that it covers; it is delivered in one breath, as it were.

The poem starts off with an address to the Muses. Catullus treats them as his equals: he addresses them somewhat informally as *deae* and explains to them that he cannot keep quiet about how Allius has helped him (lines 41f.). He tells them a poem, and asks them to tell it on to many others (45-48). This is also a model of what happens in this passage: Catullus is talking ostensibly to the Muses, but in reality to his readers. After line 52 the Muses are forgotten as the poet continues his monologue, in the course of which he addresses the goddess Nemesis (lines 77f.), his deceased brother (92-96) and Laodamia (105-108, 117f., 129f.); the epilogue, on the other hand, is a letter to Allius. This technique is made possible by the fiction that poetry speaks to all; it is to be developed further by Propertius and Tibullus, whose poems contain some truly vertiginous shifts of perspective.

Still, the most extraordinary aspect of poem 68b may be neither its form nor its structure, but what is achieved by Catullus within this framework. At the start he tells the Muses, and by implication also the reader, that he wants to repay Allius for his past service by preserving his name for the ages to come (lines 41-50). This calls for a poem of the highest quality – and Catullus pulls out all the stops. He employs an astonishing abundance of poetic devices. Most conspicuous among these are the similes: those of the heat of Mt Etna and of the springs at Thermopylae (lines 53f.), of the stream (57-62), the storm-tossed sailors (63-65), the tunnel dug by Hercules (109-116), the birth of an heir to an aged *paterfamilias* (119-124) and the

female dove (125-128, which contains a small comparison as an inset at line 128). The pair of sections on Laodamia and the intervening piece of text also constitute one long simile, since the heroine is mentioned in the first place because she is comparable to Lesbia (see lines 73 and 131). On this count over half the poem would consist of similes.[153] But the poem uses a broad range of other images and poetic devices as well. Among these are personification – time should not cover up what Allius has done (lines 43f.), Troy 'brought death' unto Catullus' brother (91f.) – and allegory – Venus instilled passion into the poet and scorched him (51f.), Cupid was running around Lesbia (133f.). There are many metaphors: Catullus' cheeks were constantly wet 'because of a sad shower' (56), Allius 'opened a closed field with a broad path' (67), Troy is 'the bitter ashes of all men and all virtue' (90), Laodamia was thrust into a chasm by a whirlpool of her seething passion (107f.) and the birth of an heir to the old *paterfamilias* 'rouses a vulture from his grey head' (124). We also find examples of a characteristically Catullan use of metaphor, in which an abstract phenomenon is rendered more tangible by being described in terms of an everyday process: the paper on which the poem is written should speak out as an old woman, that is, the poem should reach a broad readership (46); the spider should not weave its web over Allius' abandoned name, meaning that he should not be forgotten (49f.); Hercules performed his labours 'so that heaven's door would be worn down by more gods, and Hebe would not remain a virgin for long', in other words, so that he should become a god and marry Hebe (115f.); Catullus is happy to get as his share 'those days which Lesbia marks out with whiter chalk', that is to say, those which she considers the most special (147f.); and the days that pass 'should not touch Allius' name with rust' (151f.). The intellect of the reader is kept awake by learned circumlocutions – 'the two-faced goddess of Amathus' (51), 'the Trinacrian cliff' (53), 'the Rhamnusian maiden' (77), 'the son of Amphitryon, son of a fake parent' (112); oblique references to the story of Laodamia and to an obscure Arcadian myth about Hercules (109-117); and by the odd neologism (112 *falsiparens*, 140 *omniuoli* and possibly also 128 *multiuola*) and innovative usage (112 *audit*). Most of the words used in this poem would be at home both in urbane conversation and in urbane poetry, though there are some vividly colloquial turns of phrase (82 *una atque altera*, 146 *ipsius ex ipso*), especially in the epilogue (152 *haec atque illa ... atque alia atque alia*, 155 *sitis felices* and *tua uita*, 160 and 132 *lux mea*). The one truly colloquial word is *moecha* in line 103, with which the poet brands the adulteress Helen, whose irresponsible behaviour caused the Trojan War. Elsewhere there stand out Greek proper names and adjectives, often in clusters (lines 53f., 65, 86-90, 109, 112f.), as well as words from the language of Roman high poetry, that is, tragedy and Ennian epic (87 *primores Argiuorum*, 99 *obscena*, 101 *properans* and *pubes*, 102 *Graia* and 104 *thalamo*), or words proper both to high poetry and to elevated prose (91 *letum*, 102 *penetralis ... focos*).

It would be possible for a poem to contain all this, but to fall apart into its constituent parts. I am convinced that Catullus 68b does not, and that the different sections, images, words and poetic devices within it add up to a pleasing whole. I believe that they are connected by two threads that run through the poem.

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[153] See the perceptive discussion of the role of similes in this poem by Feeney 1992.

One is the theme of human and divine relationships, of what could be termed 'social interaction'. Catullus' liaison with Lesbia is compared explicitly to the marriage of Protesilaus and Laodamia, and to that of Jupiter and Juno. All three are presented in a positive light, even the last one of the three: the supreme god may be a notorious philanderer, but his marriage is treated as the prototype of all marriages and love-affairs, human or divine. Hercules' marriage to Hebe also receives a brief mention (line 116). Lesbia's cuckolded husband receives no consideration – we only know that he exists because Catullus gloats that he has snatched her from his very lap (146); nor do Lesbia's other lovers, who are not mentioned anywhere at all – we only get to know Catullus is not enough for Lesbia on his own (135). In case there remains space for any misunderstanding, I would like to add that they have not been airbrushed out by Catullus: he has simply ignored them, as one can ignore almost any obstacle when one is in love. It is a more impressive feat of selective thinking that Catullus extols his own adulterous relationship with Lesbia (lines 135-148, esp. 143ff.), while using strong terms to denounce that of Paris and Helen (103f.). Evidently he has not stopped to think about the potential implications of his opinion about them.

Another type of relationship prominent in the poem is that between peers: the friendship between Allius and Catullus; the bond between Catullus and his brother; and the solidarity of the Greek heroes who went to fight under Troy (cfr. lines 101-104). Once more the figures who do not fit into the pattern are passed over quickly, not only Paris, but also Eurystheus (114). The hyper-optimistic quality of this poem also explains a glaring omission, that while we get to know that before Allius entered the scene Catullus could not start a relationship with Lesbia, and that he was desperate about this (cfr. lines 51-56 and 67), but we are not told who was not letting them get together, how, why. After Allius' intervention and the happy first rendez-vous such questions evidently ceased to matter. In short, the poem describes mankind attaining happiness through love and through friendship.

Another red thread running through the text, though a much more elusive one, is an attention to beauty, movement, thought, knowledge, development. Lesbia's beauty is described in two memorable passages (lines 70-72 and 133f.). Laodamia is *pulcerrima*, 'most beautiful' (105). No more is said explicitly about these matters, but I believe that with its images depicting the beauty of nature (57-62), the pleasures of love (125-130) and happiness in general (63-65, 119-124) and with its choice assortment of delightful thought, rhythm, sound and language the poem depicts, celebrates and enacts human happiness. There are dark patches, to be sure – the loss of life under Troy, and Laodamia's bereavement and unhappy widowhood – but these do not weigh up against Catullus' happiness with Lesbia, they do not threaten their present and future joys.

Catullus 68b is, in short, a celebration of happiness attained through love and through friendship. I see it as a true literary masterpiece.

THE TRANSMISSION AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT

The earliest four surviving manuscripts of the poems of Catullus, except of *carmen* 62, are the following:[154]

O   The MS *Canonicianus classicus latinus 30* of the Bodleian Library in Oxford.   *O* was written in elegant Italo-Gothic letters by a calligrapher who was "an abysmally poor Latinist".[155] It was left incomplete: no titles and hardly any initials have been added in the empty spaces that have been spared out for them.[156] A handful of marginal notes have been taken over from the exemplar (see line 66n.). The style of the writing shows that it was written somewhere in Northern Italy in the 14th century.[157]

G   The codex *Parisinus latinus 14137* in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, once conserved in the abbey of St-Germain-des-Prés, whence its *siglum G*.   The scribe was identified by Giuseppe Billanovich as Antonio del Gaio da Legnago (ca. 1350-1385), the disreputable Chancellor of Cansignorio della Scala (1340-1375, ruler of Verona from 1359 onwards).[158] In the *subscriptio* Da Legnago notes that he finished the manuscript on 19 October 1375, as Cansignorio lay dying. *G* too was left incomplete, like *O*: Da Legnago left lines empty for the titles, but left most of these empty, and took over only a handful of the marginal notes that were (as we shall see) present in his exemplar. Cansignorio died shortly after he completed the text of the MS, and he undoubtedly had more urgent business to attend to.[159]

R   The codex *Ottonobianus latinus 1829* in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.   It was copied by a professional scribe for Lino Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406, Chancellor of the Florentine Republic from 1375). Salutati then went over the text himself and checked the MS against its exemplar, copying titles and marginalia (apart from some rare cases in which these had already been added by the scribe), inventing more titles and making conjectures of his own. Since *O* and *G* were left incomplete, Salutati (R^2) is our best source for fourteenth-century titles and marginalia; however, one must try to distinguish those that he copied from

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[154] For a more detailed account of these MSS see Thomson 1997: 28-38.

[155] Thomson 1997: 28.

[156] Thomson *loc. cit.* suggests that "*O* … may well have been set aside in favour of the more faithful rendering which *X* gives of *A*'s text" – that is to say, *O* would have been set apart because someone would have realized that it contained too many mistakes. In fact it is not unusual to find manuscripts in which the titles, the initials and/or the marginalia were not added: this is also the case with *G* (see above). If anybody had checked the text of *O* when it was copied, he would surely have tried to correct at least part of the mistakes, and there is no trace of this. It simply appears to be due to chance that *O* was never completed.

[157] Thus McKie 1977: 242, n. 1. Thomson 1997 dates *O* to "?ca. 1360" in his Introduction (p. 28) and to "ca. 1370?" in his Table of Manuscripts (p. 81). Either date would be strongly hypothetical.

[158] Billanovich 1959: 160-167, who gives more information on this unsavoury character.

[159] Thus McKie 1977: 178 and Thomson 1997: 31.

his exemplar from those that he made up himself. His titles were attributed convincingly to a number of strata by McKie; Thomson tried to tell apart his conjectures from the variants that he had taken over from his exemplar, but McKie cast strong doubts on the validity of the procedure that he employed, so it has to be considered from case to case whether a note by Salutati contains a conjecture of his or an older textual variant.[160]

R is not dated, but with the help of references to Catullus in Salutati's correspondence it can be dated safely to the period 1375-1394, and with some probability to the years 1391-92.[161]

m   The codex *Marcianus latinus 12.80 (4167)* in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice.   An early copy of *R* datable to 1398-1400, either by Poggio Bracciolini or by someone close to him.[162]

m is a copy of *R*, but the other three MSS do not derive from each other, although they are closely related, as is shown by the high number of errors that they have in common. *G* and *R* often agree against *O*, sometimes in error, and most notably in the omission of 92.2 *amat* - 92.4 *nisi*, while *O* omits a considerable number of passages that are conserved by *G* and *R*. Evidently *G* and *R* share a common ancestor; they are not siblings of *O* but its nieces or nephews, as it were.

Campesani's epigram   A curious little poem conserved in *G* and *R* casts some light on the transmission of Catullus in the Middle Ages. In its *inscriptio* in *G*, *Versus domini Beneuenuti de Campexanis de Vicencia de resurrectione Catulli poete Veronensis*, the epigram is attributed to the Vicentine poet Benvenuto de Campesani (1250/55-1323). It reads as follows:

> *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 libet ingenio uestrum celebrate Catullum,*[163]
>   *cuius sub modio clausa papirus erat.*

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[160] McKie 1977: 38-95c distributed the titles into strata. Thomson 1973: 113-121 tried to tell apart *R²*'s conjectures from the variants that he took over from *X* with the help of the different hands that copied the variants in *m* (*m¹* and *m²*), but a fresh analysis of the evidence led McKie 1977: 201 to conclude that the notoriously difficult "palaeography of R apart, the R² readings present a united front which cannot be breached by reference to any copy of R". Thomson 1997: 35f. did not respond directly to McKie, but re-proposed parts of his old theory, noting however that "it is of importance more for the purposes of codicology than for the primary purpose of reconstituting the text, to know for sure whether there were two R² recensions or only one" (*ibid.* 38)

[161] McKie 1977: 181; Thomson 1997: 33f.

[162] On the date and origin of *m* see McKie 1977: 98-117 and esp. Thomson 1997: 35-38, with further references..

[163] The MSS have *licet* and *celebrate*; Olszaniec 2006 conjectured *celebrare*, but I rather write *libet ... celebrate*.

The epigram refers to the return (*reditus*) of Catullus' collection to his native Verona (*Ad patriam uenio*) from a distant place (*longis a finibus*) where he was read little, if at all (witness line 6). The poem celebrates the physical return of Catullus' volume to Verona and his 'resurrection', the fact that he is read once again – read by his townsmen, who are told to be glad at having back their very own poet (*uestrum celebrate Catullum*). Benvenuto's poem was probably composed in honour of this important event. It appears to have been inscribed or inserted into the precious volume the return of which it celebrates.[164]

X, V and A   What kind of stemma should be drawn up on the basis of this evidence? It was already shown by Hale, who had discovered *R* in 1896, that *G* and *R* were derived from a common ancestor that was closely related to *O*, and a lucid and thorough analysis of the evidence by McKie only confirmed this conclusion.[165] Consequently, Mynors and Thomson in his 1978 edition draw up a stemma[166] in which *G* and *R* share a common ancestor *X*, and *O* and *X* share a common ancestor *V* (for *Veronensis*), which is identified with the MS brought to Verona around 1300 A.D. that is mentioned in Benvenuto de Campesani's epigram:
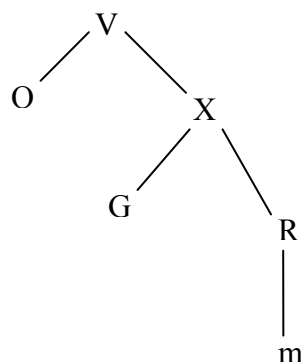

The evidence was analyzed again with notable lucidity by McKie, who also studied how Catullus was quoted by Northern Italian pre-humanists in the first two decades of the 14th century. He concluded that they must

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[164] On the epigram see further Butrica 2007: 26-28, with full references. Butrica 27f. suggests that the poem "commemorates a notary named Francesco who metaphorically restored Catullus to life for his home-city by undertaking the challenge of copying the ancient Veronensis into a script comprehensible to his contemporaries". But there is a strong emphasis in the text on distance and spatial separation, and it is hard to believe that a poem commemorating an act of transcription should contain a line as misleading as *Ad patriam redeo longis a finibus exul*, and no hint that this is in fact a metaphor. The traditional interpretation of the poem, outlined above, is surely correct.

[165] Hale 1899: 138f.; McKie 1977, esp. 96-152. Hale was disbelieved for long because he failed to publish a full collation of *R*, but his analysis of the stemma is surely convincing.

[166] Mynors 1958: v-viii and xvi; Thomson 1978: 69.

have been using not the archetype, but an earlier codex.[167] He transferred the siglum *V* to this codex, even though he noted that "[w]hether V was itself the (?Carolingian) ms brought back to Verona or an immediate transcript of the resurrected Catullus is a separate question that remains to be answered".[168] He did not give the archetype any particular siglum; it was christened *A* (for *Archetypus*) by Thomson in the introduction to his edition of 1997.[169] In this case the stemma is as follows:

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            V
            |
            A
           / \
         O     X
              / \
            G     R
                  |
                  m
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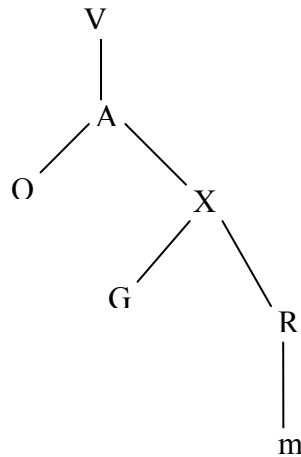
Rather inconsistently Thomson continued to use *V* in his apparatus for the agreement of *O*, *G* and *R*, where one should evidently use *A*.

The *codices recentiores*   Catullus was read extremely rarely during the Middle Ages, and only by a restricted group of intellectuals during the 14th century; but with the flowering of the Renaissance his popularity increased spectacularly. Thomson lists over 100 surviving manuscripts of his poems from the 15th century, though only about 7 from its first third.[170]

What is the relationship between these manuscripts and *O*, *G* and *R*? Do they descend from these, or do they have independent value as witnesses? Hale, who discovered *R* in 1896, believed that all the *recentiores* descended from this codex, apart from a few that displayed signs of the influence of *G*. His suggestion was initially received with skepticism, especially by scholars from continental Europe, but after the appearance of the excellent edition of Mynors, which was based on *OGR*, it gradually gained ground and has come to

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[167] McKie 1977: 38-95.

[168] *Ibid.* 88f. Thomson 1997: 26f. is equally cautious. Giuseppe Billanovich 1988: 48f. identifies the recovered manuscript with *X* and tells an elaborate story about how it may have arrived in Verona.

[169] Thomson 1997: 24-27 (on the relationship of *V* and *A*) and 93 (a chart of the stemma).

[170] Thomson 1997: 72-91.

resemble a *communis opinio*.[171] Thomson has only discussed part of the problem in the introduction to his edition of 1978, and in the table of manuscripts and the stemma in both his editions (the introduction to his 1997 edition contains no section on the *recentiores* at all).[172] There clearly remains room for scepticism here, as has been pointed out by M.D. Reeve in a memorable review of Thomson's 1978 edition: as he put it, "suspicious natures may consider it a little too neat that out of 100-odd manuscripts all the rest should derive from the only three that antedate 1395."[173] It would be possible to prove this right or wrong with reference to the readings of *OGR* and to those of the *recentiores* – but nobody has done so, nor is it difficult to see why. We are dealing with over 100 heavily interpolated manuscripts; drawing up a full stemma may not be exactly an "impossible task", as was suggested by McKie, but it is certainly not something that is easily done.[174] In the absence of such an investigation one has to treat the *recentiores* with caution. They appear to contain very little that is not found in *OGR* and that cannot easily be attributed to conjecture and corruption. While only a thorough study could bring certainty, on the basis of the experience of others and myself with the *recentiores* I believe that the text of all of them may very well be based on *OGR*, especially on *R*, but on occasion they may show the influence of older manuscripts from the same tradition, such as the pre-archetype *V*. One salient case is line 3 of poem 34, which is missing in *OGR* but is found in MS 106 (the Vatican codex Urbinas lat. 812) and in the first Aldine edition of 1502. It is first attested in 1496 in the commentary of Palladius, who claims to have found it 'in uetustiore exemplari', 'in an older copy of the text'. There may well be other cases of this type.[175] However, it is clear by all accounts that Catullus' Renaissance readers were prepared to make a big effort to correct his text, so if we find an attractive textual variant in a manuscript from this period, the default assumption that we should make is that it is probably a conjecture or a mistake. In Catullus 68 the *recentiores* certainly offer no variants that cannot be explained like this.

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[171] Mynors 1958: viii solved the problem in a rather cavalier way by asserting that "[q]uod ad ceteros codices attinet, … omnes a codicibus OGR originem aut duxerunt aut, quod nobis idem ualet, duxisse possunt". Goold 1958: 95 commented that "Mynors' edition solves this problem once and for all by providing enough ms readings to prove Hale's hitherto unsubstantiated claim (*TAPA* 53 [1922] 111) that 'all the manuscripts except O G R are derived from these three, and … we may and must cut off the whole web below the manuscripts O G R.' " Mynors has certainly not proven this, and his words indicate that he did not care whether or not it was the case; he simply believed that in any case it was possible to base an edition on *OGR*, since they enabled one to reconstruct the lost *Codex Veronensis*.

[172] Introduction: Thomson 1978: 33-41. Table of manuscripts: Thomson 1978:44-63 and 1997: 72-91. Stemma: Thomson 1978: 69 and 1997: 93.

[173] Reeve 1980: 179f.

[174] McKie 1977: 28.

[175] Until the last quarter of the 20th century, the *recentiores* found champions on the European continent such as Francesco Della Corte (1951: 3-191) and Catullus' editors for the Teubner series, Schuster, Bardon and Eisenhut. Della Corte's position was demolished by Zicàri (1952), while the Teubner editors disbelieved Hale's stemma and treated Lachmann's *Datanus* (4) as an independent witness well after it had been demonstrated by Ullman (1960: 1052f., cfr. Thomson 1978: 35-41) that this codex was a copy of the *Riccardianus* (31).

The *apparatus criticus* I should clarify how I have put together my *apparatus criticus*. Since I base my edition on *O*, *G* and *R*, I report all significant readings of these MSS, and omit negligible variants of spelling. I only quote the *recentiores* where they offer an attactive reading or one that is illuminating in some way. This is to say that I effectively treat the *recentiores* as sources of conjectures. I naturally try to attribute each such variant to the source(s) where it is first attested, with one condition: if a variant is attributed to only one MS *in apparatu* as well as in the commetary, that means that I could find it only in that one MS.

Mynors used the Greek letters α – θ to refer to readings that derived from eight annotated manuscripts; he used α and β to refer to such a manuscript itself and γ – ζ to refer groups of manuscripts that descended from such a codex, while η and θ were used both for the parent MS (nos. 122 and 52, respectively) and for their descendants. This ingenious system of reference was conserved by Thomson, and I continue to use it here. With γ Mynors and Thomson meant 'all the MSS of the γ class, or several'; I only use it to refer to all the MSS of that class.

For the rest, I refer to the *recentiores* not by their name (e.g. *Ricc. 606* or *Riccardianus*), but by an underlined numeral (e.g. 31), which is their number in the Table of Manuscripts in Thomson's edition of 1997.[176] I provide a list of the MSS in the Sigla (pp. 82-84).

I have studied *O*, *G* and *R* and most or all of the *recentiores* conserved in Budapest, Florence, Oxford, Paris, Rome, Tübingen and Venice myself. For the other MSS quoted in my apparatus I used the Hale-Ullman Papers, a set of notes on the MSS of Catullus (including collations or transcriptions of 114 of them, as of 2008) and on those of some other authors, that is conserved at the Department of Classics of the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. In general, I have been able to add little to Thomson's excellent account of the principal MSS, especially of *G* and *R*, in his 1997 edition, but it has been possible to improve considerably on his account of the *recentiores*.

When I started working on this volume, I intended to quote in the apparatus all conjectures that have ever been made. This turned out to be impracticable, as two groups of sources defied such a treatment. The *codices recentiores* are a valuable source of conjectures – in fact, a majority of those that I accept first appear there – but for every good reading they contain ten or twenty worthless ones. This, and the sheer number of *recentiores* that we have, means that one has to be selective in quoting them even in a detailed study such as this one. Almost equally intractable are the editions that were published between the middle of the 16th and the middle of the 19th century. Before Lachmann, editors were by and large unable to assess the value of manuscripts; they quoted them pell-mell and often gave undue weight to readings that have appeared since then to lack all authority. Some such readings, such as *copia facta est* in line 39, continued to be quoted and

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[176] Thomson 1997: 72-91.

even printed by Lachmann and later editors, but many others have been ignored. There is no reason to revive most of these. In short, even in an edition on this scale it is inevitable to be selective when quoting conjectures. Still my apparatus is probably more full than that of any other edition of this text. The inconvenience caused by its bulk is hopefully counterbalanced by the value of the information that it contains.

Orthography   One problematic aspect of the constitution of the text involves choices regarding spelling. Current editions of Catullus generally follow the spelling conventions of the later Roman Empire. The evidence of inscriptions and nuggets of information conserved by later writers show that earlier authors used a different orthography, or rather orthographies: conventions not only changed over time, but they were flexible to the point that one can sometimes find different forms of the same word within the same text. This makes it very difficult to infer what orthography Catullus would have used. The problem has been studied by Cremona in an important article that has not received the attention that it deserves.[177] The forms that he studies fall into two groups. In the case of the first group we know that only one form was used in the late Republic, but it became obsolete only later. Here Catullus must have evidently used the earlier forms, such as initial *uo-* rather than *uu-* (*uolturius*), *quoi* rather than *cui*, *quom* rather than the conjunction *cum*, and double intervocalic *s* (*caussa, diuissio, cāssus*).[178] The second group comprises alternative forms which existed alongside each other in the mid-1st century B.C., sometimes even within one and the same text. In these cases Cremona tries to determine with the help of the MSS which form Catullus will have used. He suggests that in line 82 of poem 68 we should write *hiemps* rather than *hiems*, since *O* writes *hyemps*, while *G* and *R* have *hyems*.[179] It is certainly probable that the archetype should have read *hyemps* – *O* was in the rule more conservative than *X* – but it is in any case impossible to tell whether the *p* was inserted by Catullus himself or by a later copyist (see *ad loc.*). Still more problematic is the choice between *ei* and *i*. In an earlier period the spelling *ei* was reserved for genuine diphtongs such as *deico* and *bonei* nom. pl., but by this time *ei* had already merged with *ī* in the spoken language, and *ei* and *i* were often used indiscriminately in writing. Cremona infers from the evidence of the MSS that in rare cases Catullus wrote *ei*, using the archaic spelling generally in order to give a touch of antiquarianism to what he wrote, as when a modern English pub is called 'The Olde Taverne'.[180] But I find it hard to believe that Catullus with his racy style should have followed such a strategy. In general, there is very little reason to trust the manuscripts in questions of spelling: the archetype *A* was already extremely corrupt, and it contained medieval forms such as the dative *michi*, so it is not certain and not even probable that its orthographical archaisms should go back to Catullus.

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[177] Cremona 1958.

[178] Cremona 1958: 408f., 410f. and 425f. On double intervocalic *s* see on line 67 *clausum*.

[179] Cremona 1958: 426f.

[180] Cremona 1958: 414-418.

It has been hard to decide whether to follow Cremona's recommendations, as far as I found them acceptable. In principle I am strongly in favour of his approach, not only for the sake of precision, but also because it would be closer to how the words originally sounded, with interesting consequences for the poem: note the assonance in *quom nequeo* in line 32 and the alliteration in *qui quom* in 121. But Cremona's proposals only affect a part of the orthographical problems posed by Catullus' text, and they raise some questions. How should we spell a Greek loanword with an intervocalic *s*: as *Musa* or as *Mussa*? As of now, I do not have the competence to solve questions of this type, and in matters of spelling I prefer to follow previous editors by and larde. I have continued to write *cui*, *cum* and *causa*, and have only changed the orthography if individual words, where necessary.

Reconstructed manuscripts

X	The common ancestor of *G* and *R*	14th c.
A	The common ancestor of *O* and *X*	14th c.
V	The ancestor of *A*	late 13th c.?

Primary manuscripts

O	Oxoniensis Canonicianus class. lat. 30	14th c.
G	Parisinus bibl. nat. 14137, *olim* Sangermanensis	1375
R	Vaticanus Ottobonianus lat. 1829	between 1375 and 1392 (1390-92?)
R²	the hand of Lino Coluccio Salutati, who commissioned and corrected *R*	after *R*, and before 1407

Secondary manuscripts

Three types of abbreviations are used for these:
  - *m* for an early copy of *R* (see p. 75);
  - the Greek letters α-θ for two manuscripts and six groups of manuscripts from the 15th century, each of which contain a group of humanistic emendations (see p. 79);
  - underlined numerals in all other cases, corresponding to the number of each manuscript in the catalogue assembled by Thomson (see p. 79).

α = 8
β = 78
γ = 1 38 40 56 73 103
δ = 3 59 84
ε = 10 49 59
ζ = 28 45 46
η = 42 75 107 108 116 118 122 128
θ = 48 52 66 85 90

m = 115

1	Austin, Texas – Humanities Research Center 32.	1451
3	Berlin – Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Diez. B. Sant. 36.	1450-60?
4	Berlin – Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Diez. B. Sant. 37.	1463
7	Berlin – Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Diez. B. Sant. 56	1481
8	Bologna – Biblioteca universitaria 2621.	1412
10	Brescia – Biblioteca civica Queriniana A VII 7.	ca. 1455-60?
12	Carpentras – Bibliothèque Inguimbertine 361.	1440-50?
13	Cesena – Biblioteca Malatestiana 29 *sin.* 19	1474
14	Cologny (Geneva) – Biblioteca Bodmeriana Bodmer 49	ca. 1495
17	Edinburgh – National Library of Scotland Adv. 18.5.2	1495
23	Firenze – Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana *plut.* 36.23.	ca. 1425
24	Firenze – Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Ashburnhamensis 260	ca. 1500?
28	Firenze – Biblioteca Nazionale Magl. VII 1158	1460-70
30	Firenze – Biblioteca Nazionale Incunab. Magl. A 3 39.	notes added in 1522[181]
31	Firenze – Biblioteca Riccardiana 606.	in or just before 1457[182]

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[181] This is a copy of Calphurnius' 1481 Vicenza edition that was annotated by Bernardus Pisanus in 1522 with the help of F[ranciscus] Puccius' much-emended copy of the book (thus the *subscriptio* on fol. 28v). Puccius' emendations date back to 1502 (see Thomson 1997: 88, on no. 119).

38	Hamburg – Stadt- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, Scrin. 139. 4.	ca. 1460-70
40	Leiden – Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. lat. in oct. 59.	1453
42	Leiden – Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. lat. in oct. 51.	ca. 1460?
45	London – British Library Additional Ms. 11674.	1450-75
46	London – British Library Additional Ms. 11915.	1460-70?
48	London – British Library Burney 133.	1470-80?
49	London – British Library Harley 2574.	ca. 1460?
50	London – British Library Harley 2778.	ca. 1450-75
52	London – British Library Egerton 3027.	1467
56	Milan – Biblioteca Ambrosiana H 46 *sup.*	ca. 1460-70
58	Milan – Biblioteca Ambrosiana M 38 *sup.*	ca. 1430-40?
59	Milan – Biblioteca Nazionale di Brera (Braidense) AD xii 37.	slightly before 1450?[183]
66	Naples – Biblioteca Nazionale IV. F. 61.	1505?
69	Oxford – Bodleian Library lat. class. e. 3.	ca. 1460-70?
73	Oxford – Bodleian Library Canonicianus class. lat. 33.	1450+
75	Oxford – Bodleian Library Laud. Lat. 78.	ca. 1460-70
78	Paris – Bibliothèque Nationale Par. lat. 7989.	1423
82	Paris – Bibliothèque Nationale Par. lat. 8232.	ca. 1450-1475
84	Paris – Bibliothèque Nationale Par. lat. 8234.	ca. 1450?
85	Paris – Bibliothèque Nationale Par. lat. 8236.	ca. 1500
86	Paris – Bibliothèque Nationale Par. lat. 8458.	1474+
90	Pesaro – Biblioteca Oliveriana 1167.	1470
98	Vatican – Barberini lat. 34	mid-15th-cent.
103	Vatican – Palatinus lat. 910.	ca. 1475?
104	Vatican – Palatinus lat. 1652.	prob. ca. 1455
105	Vatican – Urbinas lat. 641.	ca. 1465-70
106	Vatican – Urbinas lat. 812.	1502+[184]
107	Vatican – Chisianus H. IV. 121.	ca. 1467?
108	Vatican – Vaticanus latinus 1608.	1479
109	Vatican – Vaticanus latinus 1630.	ca. 1425
110	Vatican – Vaticanus latinus 3269.	ca. 1470
113	Vatican – Vaticanus latinus 7044.	1520
115	Venice – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Marc. lat. 12.80.	1398-1400
116	Venice – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Marc. lat. 12.81.	ca. 1460-70?
117	Venice – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Marc. lat. 12.86.	ca. 1440-50?
118	Venice – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Marc. lat. 12.153.	ca. 1460-70
119	Venice – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Marc. lat. 12.127.	notes from 1502[185]
122	Vicenza – Biblioteca Bertoliana G. 2.8.12 (216).	1460
126	Wolfenbüttel – Herzog August Bibliothek Gudianus lat. 65.2 Aug. 8°	1486+
128	Wolfenbüttel – Herzog August Bibliothek Gudianus lat. 332.	1460+[186]

[182] Inside the front cover of this MS and on its last page the hand that has copied part of the codex (including part of the Tibullan corpus and the *Epistola Sapphus*) has added astronomical data. Inside the cover an example is drawn from the year 1457, while on the last page there is an overview of data for the years 1457-1464; these were evidently added in 1457. The codex was copied by five different hands, evidently over a longer period of time, as is shown by the fact that the first hand, which copied Cat. 1.1-64.278, used one exemplar (*G* or more likely a descendant of it), while the second hand, which copied Cat. 64.279-116.8, used another, "an exemplar descended from *R*" (thus Ullman 1960: 1053, with good reason, as the scribe incorporates into the text readings that are absent from *R*; ignore the straight line leading from *R* to this MS in the stemma at Thomson 1997: 93). If successive scribes copying this MS used different exemplars, it is no longer possible to date all the work to 1457; but it can hardly have taken place much earlier.

[183] Tibullus, added by the same hand after Catullus' poems, is dated 1450; but "Cat. written within a few years prob. of Tib.- there are difs. in t. letters, due to being written at dif. time" (B.L. Ullman in the collation of the codex now conserved at Chapel Hill, North Carolina).

[184] Thomson dates this MS tentatively to 1495-1500, but it must be later than the first Aldine edition of 1502, from which it draws readings (e.g. 68.157 *dominam dedit*), though it certainly does not follow the Aldine consistently and thus it cannot have descended from it. It displays some characteristic features of earlier editions, notably the transposition of 62.11 after 62.12, so it could well descend from a copy of one of these, e.g. of the 1475 Venice edition, that had been corrected against the Aldine. The wholesale dislocations in the last part of the book deserve further study and may well suggest that there should have intervened another MS between the emended printed edition and the present codex.

[185] This is a copy of the first Aldine edition of 1502 with notes that were added in 1530 by Donato Giannotti, who copied the annotations of Francesco Pucci, which he had made in 1502 (see Thomson 1997: 88, on no. 119).

[186] If Thomson (1997: 88, on no. 122) is right to suppose that 128 descends from 122, which is dated 1460, then it must have been written slightly later.

Early editions and works of textual criticism

ed. 1472   *ed. anon.* (Venetiis, 1472)
ed. 1473   *ed. anon.* (Parmae, 1473)
Calphurnius   ed. Hieronymus Calphurnius (Vicentiae, 1481)
Palladius   ed. Palladius Fuscus (Venetiis, 1496)
Av. *Em.*   Hieronymus Avantius, *Emendationes in Val. Catullum et in Priapeias* (Venetiis, 1495)
Av. *Em.*[2]   *ed. aucta eiusdem operis, quae una cum editione Veneta anni 1500 impressa est*
1500   impr. Iohannes de Tridino de Cereto, usus exemplaribus ab Auantio adnotatis (Venetiis, 1500)
Ald(ina prima)   ed. Hieronymus Avantius, impr. Aldus Manutius (Venetiis, 1502)
Trinc(auelliana) ed. Hieronymus Avantius, impr. V. Trincavellius (Venetiis, ca. 1535)

CATULLI CARMEN LXVIIIA

Quod mihi fortuna casuque oppressus acerbo

   conscriptum hoc lacrimis mittis epistolium,

naufragum ut eiectum spumantibus aequoris undis

   subleuem et a mortis limine restituam,

quem neque sancta Venus molli requiescere somno   5

   desertum in lecto caelibe perpetitur,

nec ueterum dulci scriptorum carmine Musae

   oblectant, cum mens anxia peruigilat –

id gratum est mihi, me quoniam tibi dicis amicum,

   muneraque et Musarum hinc petis et Veneris.   10

sed tibi ne mea sint ignota incommoda, Manli,

   neu me odisse putes hospitis officium,

accipe, quis merser fortunae fluctibus ipse,

   ne amplius a misero dona beata petas.

tempore quo primum uestis mihi tradita pura est,   15

   iucundum cum aetas florida uer ageret,

multa satis lusi: non est dea nescia nostri,

   quae dulcem curis miscet amaritiem.

sed totum hoc studium luctu fraterna mihi mors

   abstulit.   o misero frater adempte mihi!   20

tu mea, tu moriens fregisti commoda, frater,

   tecum una tota est nostra sepulta domus,

omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra,

   quae tuus in uita dulcis alebat amor.

cuius ego interitu tota de mente fugaui   25

   haec studia atque omnes delicias animi.

quare, quod scribis Veronae turpe Catullo

   esse, quod hic quisquis de meliore nota

Super carmen Ad Mallium *R²mG²*: *uersus uacuus in O*   1 Quo *O*   2 conspersum *Cl. Schrader*: constrictum *Baehrens*   hoc *X*: hec *O*: *om. Muretus*   mittis *O*: mittit *G*: mictit *R*: -tt- *R²*   epistolion *Trappes-Lomax*   3 naufragum <u>12</u> <u>31</u> <u>50</u> ζη: naufragium *A*: naufragi *N. Heinsius*   6 disertum *G*   peruigilet <u>48</u> <u>52</u>   7 uet^rm *O*   8 cui *Statius*   9 ducis <u>52</u> <u>7</u>[1]   10 petit *G*   11 incommoda <u>117</u> <u>59</u> <u>84</u> γ: commoda *OG* : comoda *R*   manli <u>40</u> <u>31</u>: mali *A*: al. mauli *R²*: malli αβ: Mani *Lachmann*: mi Alli *Diels*: amice *Schöll*   12 seu *G*   sospitis *Cl. Schrader*   16 *hunc uersum post u. 49 iterauit A* : *hinc om. O*   17 luxi *R* : *corr. R²*   Musis *Hermes*   18 amaritiem *R*: amaritonem *O*: amariritiem *G* (*corr. ipse*)   20 abscidit <u>52</u>   o misero *m*: om- *A*: ei m- *Baehrens*   21-24 *post 62.8 transp. Froehlich*: *post 101.6 transp. A. Weise*: *del. Bernhardius*   21 commoda *Gm*: comoda *OR*   24 in uita α: inuita *A*   26 omnem *O*   delitias *R*   27-30 *del. Landor*   27 uetone *O*: *corr., ut uid., O*[1]   catullo <u>31</u> ζ: catulle *A*: Catullo est *Froehlich*   28 quod hic *A*: quoad *Froehlich*   quisquis *A*: quisq₃ <u>69</u> <u>117</u>: quisquam *Muretus*: quiuis *Lachmann*   nota <est> *Perreius*

frigida deserto tepefactet membra cubili,

   id, Manli, non est turpe, magis miserum est.   30

ignosces igitur, si, quae mihi luctus ademit,

   haec tibi non tribuo munera, cum nequeo.

nam quod scriptorum non magna est copia apud me,

   hoc fit, quod Romae uiuimus: illa domus,

illa mihi sedes, illic mea carpitur aetas,   35

   huc una ex multis capsula me sequitur.

quod cum ita sit, nolim statuas nos mente maligna

   id facere aut animo non satis ingenuo,

quod tibi non utriusque petenti copia posta est:

   ultro ego deferrem, copia siqua foret.   40

CATULLI CARMEN LXVIIIB

Non possum reticere, deae, qua me Allius in re   41

   iuuerit aut quantis iuuerit officiis,

ne fugiens saeclis obliuiscentibus aetas

   illius hoc caeca nocte tegat studium,   44

nec tenuem texens sublimis aranea telam   49

   in deserto Alli nomine opus faciat,   50

sed dicam uobis, uos porro dicite multis   45

   milibus et facite haec charta loquatur anus   46

...   47

   notescatque magis mortuus atque magis.   48

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29 tepefactet *Bergk*: -facit *A*: al. -factat *R²*: -fecit *12* γ: -fiunt *85*: -fiant *codex nescioquis sec. Vossium*: -fiat *Cl. Schrader*: -faxit *Lachmann*   30 manli *10 31 49*: mali *A*: malli β: Mani *Lachmann*: mi, Alli *Schöll*   31 ignoscens *O* siq₃ (= sique) *R* (*corr. R²*)   32 cum *X*: tum *O*: quoi *N. Heinsius*   34 hec *O*   36 ima *O*   exmultis *O*   mo *O*: *corr.* *O¹*37 noli *O*   nos *A*: me *Ald.*   38 ingenuo *ante corr. et* al. ingenuo *in marg.* α: ingenio *A*   39 non *A*: nulla *Nisbet* utriusque *A*: prius usque *N. Heinsius*: penite usque *Hermes*: hucusque *Nisbet*   petenti *A*: petiti *106, Parthenius* copia posta (facta *31 4*: praesto *Froehlich*: porcta *Ribbeck*: parta *Schwabe*: aperta *uel potius* prompta *Baehrens*) est *A*: exempla paraui *Nisbet*   40 ultra *23 38 56 58*   deferrem η: differrem *OR*: differem *G*   *Post u. 40 initium noui carminis indicauit Rode*   41 qua me Allius *Scaliger*: quam fallius *A*: qua Mallius *Politianus*: qua manlius *85*: quam manlius *8²*: quam mallius *4² 7²*   in re *R*: ire *O*: īre *G*   42 iuuerit … iuuerit *X*: inuenit … uiuerit *O*: iuuerit … fouerit *Cornelissen* (*cfr. Agius,* Epicedion Hathumodae *74* fouerit officiis): iuuerit … auxerit *Usener*   43 ne *Calphurnius*: nec *A*: non β: nei *Baehrens*   seclis β¹ᵐᵍ: sedis *A*   45-48 *post* 49-50 *transposui*: 45-46 *post* 42 *Froehlich*   49 ne *Dousa* subtilis *codd. deperditi teste Vossio, coni. Nisbet*   *Post* 49 *uersum* 16 *iterauit A* (iocundum cometas florida ut ageret scribens): *om.* η   50 in deserto alli (ali *X*) *A*: deserto in Mallii *Calphurnius*   45 porto *O*   46 ecficite *Trappes-Lomax* cerata *O*: certa *X*: al. carta *R²*: cera *Statius*   47-48 *post* 50 *transp. Froehlich*   (47)-50 *del. Weise*   (47)-48 *del. Hand* 47 *uersum hinc om. A; alii aliter supplerunt* (*uide comm.*)   48 notescamque *G*

nam mihi quam dederit duplex Amathusia curam   51

   scitis et in quo me torruerit genere,

cum tantum arderem, quantum Trinacria rupes

   lymphaque in Oetaeis Malia Thermopylis,

maesta neque assiduo tabescere lumina fletu   55

   cessarent tristique imbre madere genae.

qualis in aerii perlucens uertice montis

   riuus muscoso prosilit e lapide,

qui cum de prona praeceps est ualle uolutus,

   per medium densi transit iter populi,   60

dulce uiatorum lasso in sudore leuamen,

   cum grauis exustos aestus hiulcat agros;

ac uelut in nigro iactatis turbine nautis

   lenius aspirans aura secunda uenit

iam prece Pollucis, iam Castoris implorata: 65

   tale fuit nobis Allius auxilium.

is clausum lato patefecit limite campum,

   isque domum nobis isque dedit dominam,

ad quam communes exerceremus amores.

   quo mea se molli candida diua pede   70

intulit et trito fulgentem in limine plantam

   innixa arguta constituit solea,

coniugis ut quondam flagrans aduenit amore

   Protesilaeam Laodamia domum

inceptam frustra, nondum cum sanguine sacro   75

   hostia caelestis pacificasset eros.

---

51 nam *OR*: non *G*   52 torruerit *Turnebus*: corruerit *A*   cinere *N. Heinsius*: uenere *Schrader*   54 limphaque *O* incetheis *O*: in eetheis *G*: in cetheis *G[1] corr.*: in oetheis *G[1] corr. iterum*: in oethis *R*   malia <u>46</u>: maulia *A*   termopilis *O*: termophilis *G*: termophylis *R*   55 lumina <u>52</u> <u>108</u> <u>85</u>: nummula *O*: numula *X*   56 cessarent θ (*sed* <u>90</u> –m): cessare ne *A*   57-58 *et* 61-62 *post* 66 *transp. et* 59-60 *del. Trappes-Lomax*   57 praelucens *Nisbet*   59 de prona *R*: deprona *OG*: de prono *Santenius*   ualle <u>31</u> ζη: ualde *A*: colle *Santenius*: Alpe *Rossberg*   uoluptus *O*: *corr., ut uid., O[1]*   60 per medium *A*: per campum *Baehrens*   densi *A*: sensim *Haupt*: ludens *uel* uadens *Palmer*: splendens *aut* ridens *Postgate*: lenti *Peiper*: properi *Nisbet*   transit iter *A*: transgreditur *aut* -uehitur *temptabam*   populi *A*: scopuli *Huschke*   61 dulce <u>110</u>[1]: duce *A*   uiatorum *O*: uiatori *X*: al. –rum *R[2]*   lasso <u>75</u> <u>107</u> <u>108</u> <u>116</u> <u>118</u>: basso *A*   leuamen *Calphurnius*: leuamus *A*   62 hiultat *O*   63 ac *Palladius*: hec *O*: hic *X*   uelud *R*: *corr. R[2]*   64 lenius β: leuius *A* 65 prece *A*: pare *Trappes-Lomax*   implorata η: implore *A*: implorante *Status*: imploratu *Lachmann*: implorati *Heyse* (-ei *Schwabe*): implorato *Trappes-Lomax*   66 allius *in contextu et* ł (= uel) manllius *ad finem uersus O*: manlius *X*: Manius *Lachmann*   67 classum *X*   68 isque (*2°*) *A*: atque *Froehlich*   dominae *Froehlich*   69 Adq[m] (*siue* ad quem *siue* ad quam) *O*: ad quam *X*: ad quem *Baehrens*: cum qua *Riese*: ut clam *Schöll*: atque ubi *Thomas*: possis ut iam (ut *S.J. Harrison*) *aut* in qua *scribere, sed uide comm.*   coeuntes *Birt*   70 cura *Baehrens*   72 inixa *O*   argulta *R*: *corr. R[1]*   73-142 *del. Landor*   73 amorem *A*: *corr. R[2]*   74 protesileam *O*: prothesileam *X*   laudomia *A*   75 inceptam <u>90</u>: incepta *A*: incepto *Froehlich*   nondum cum *A*: cum nondum *Trinc.*   76 pacificass₃ (*i.e. siue* –em *siue* –et) *O* heros *O*

nil mihi tam ualde placeat, Rhamnusia uirgo,

  quod temere inuitis suscipiatur eris!

quam ieiuna pium desideret ara cruorem

  docta est amisso Laodamia uiro,   80

coniugis ante coacta noui dimittere collum,

  quam ueniens una atque altera rursus hiems

noctibus in longis auidum saturasset amorem,

  posset ut abrupto uiuere coniugio,

quod scibant Parcae non longo tempore abesse,   85

  si miles muros isset ad Iliacos.

nam tum Helenae raptu primores Argiuorum

  coeperat ad sese Troia ciere uiros,

Troia (nefas!) commune sepulcrum Asiae Europaeque,

  Troia uirum et uirtutum omnium acerba cinis,   90

quae nunc et nostro letum miserabile fratri

  attulit.   ei misero frater adempte mihi,

ei misero fratri iucundum lumen ademptum,

  tecum una tota est nostra sepulta domus;

omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra,   95

  quae tuus in uita dulcis alebat amor.

quem nunc tam longe non inter nota sepulchra

  nec prope cognatas compositum cineres,

sed Troia obscena, Troia infelice sepultum

  detinet extremo terra aliena solo.   100

ad quam tum properans fertur <simul> undique pubes

  Graia penetralis deseruisse focos,

  77-78 *del. Trappes-Lomax*   77 rāmusia *O*: ranusia *X*   78 heris *O*   79 desideret *iam* β, *nisi fallor, et certe* <u>104</u> <u>116</u> <u>69</u>: deficeret *A*   80 laudomia *A*   uirgo *A*: *corr.* R^2G^3 81 noui *Trinc.*: nouit *OG*: uenit nouit *R*: uenit *exp. R^1*: al. uo- R^2: nouum β² <u>31</u>   dimictere *R*   82 hyems *X*: hyemps *O*: hiemps *L. Mueller, fort. recte*   84 abinnupto *O*: ab rupto *G*   85-86 *del. Trappes-Lomax*   85 quod scibant Parcae haut longum fore, Protesilaus *Froehlich*   scibat *Lachmann*: scirant *L. Mueller*   longo tempore: *possis etiam* longum tempus   abesse <u>46</u> ηθ: abisse *A*: uixe *Ribbeck*: obisse *Baehrens*   86 si miles *O*: similles *G*: similes $RG^{2?}$ 87 cum *O*   91 quae nunc et *Marcilius*: que uetet id *A*: quae (uae!) etiam id β^{1corr.} (id *om. Sillig*): quaeue etiam id *Calphurnius*: quae nempe et *Ald.*: quae, ue, ter *Scaliger*: quaene etiam id *Lipsius*: quae uae uae et *Dousa*: uae mihi, quae est *uel* quaene etiam *N. Heinsius*: quae nuper *Passerat*: quaemet et id *Vossius*: quin etiam id *Huschke*: queis ueluti *Froehlich*: quaeque itidem *Hertzberg*: quare etiam *Haupt*: quae uitai *Ribbeck*: quin eadem et *C. Paucker*: haec etiam *H.A. Koch*: quae uel sic *Bergk*: quae uel et id *Rossbach*: quae ueterum id *scripsit et fort. alibi* quae nuper id *coniecit Heyse*: qualiter id *Ellis*: quae uelut his *Palmer*: qua ualet, id *Macnaghten*   nostro *A*: nostrae *Ribbeck*   frater *A*: al. fratri R^2 92 hei *X*   frateter *X*: *corr.* G^1R^2 93-96 *del. Froehlich*   93 hei *A*   iocundumque limine *O*   ademptum α: adeptum *A*   94 sepulcra *OR*: sepulta *G*   96 inuita *O*   97 quem <u>52</u>^1: que *A*   sepulcrea *G*: *corr. ipse*   98 cognatos *A*: *fort.* cognatas *scribendum*   cineris *A*   101 tuum *G*   fertur *A*: feruentior *Vossius*   simul *add. ed. 1472*: unde *Lipsius*: cuncta *Froehlich*: lecta *Eldick*   pupes *O*   102 greca *A*: Graia *L. Mueller*: Graiia *Trappes-Lomax*   foccos *O*

ne Paris abducta gauisus libera moecha

    otia pacato degeret in thalamo.

quo tibi tum casu, pulcerrima Laodamia,   105

    ereptum est uita dulcius atque anima

coniugium: tanto te absorbens uertice amoris

    aestus in abruptum detulerat barathrum,

quale ferunt Grai Pheneum prope Cyllenaeum

    siccare emulsa pingue palude solum,   110

quod quondam caesis montis fodisse medullis

    audit falsiparens Amphitryoniades,

tempore quo certa Stymphalia monstra sagitta

    perculit imperio deterioris eri,

pluribus ut caeli tereretur ianua diuis   115

    Hebe nec longa uirginitate foret.

sed tuus altus amor barathro fuit altior illo,

    quod †tuum domitum† ferre iugum docuit.

nam nec tam carum confecto aetate parenti

    una caput seri nata nepotis alit,   120

qui cum diuitiis uix tandem inuentus auitis

    nomen testatas intulit in tabulas,

impia derisi gentilis gaudia tollens

    suscitat a cano uolturium capiti,

nec tantum niueo gauisa est ulla columbo   125

    compar, quae multo dicitur improbius

oscula mordenti semper decerpere rostro,

    quam quae praecipue multiuola est mulier.

sed tu horum magnos uicisti sola furores,

    ut semel es flauo conciliata uiro.   130

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103 ne *G*: nec *OR*: nei *Baehrens*   ps (= pars) *O*   104 octia *O*: ocia *X*   paccato *O*   105 quo 31 ζ: quod *A*   tum *OR*: cum *G*   laudomia *A*   108 arruptum *G*: *corr. ipse*   baratrum *A*: barathrum η   109 fuerunt *G*: *corr. ipse* Pheneum *Av.* Em.[2]: peneum *A*   cilleneum *A*   110 siccare *Schrader*: sicari *O*: siccari *X*   112 audit *Palmer*: audet *A*: gaudet *Weise*   falsi parens *A*   amphitrioniadis *O*: amphy- *X*   113 stimphalia *OR*   114 perculit β: pertulit *OR*: pertullit *G*   deterrioris *G*   heri *A*   115 tereretur *R*: terreretur *O*: treerretur *G*: terretur *G[1]R[2]*   116 hebe et *O?* (*uide comm.*)   117 sed tuus ardor amore adeo fuit acrior illo *Froehlich*   barathro η: baratro *A*   118 quod *Ald.*: qui *A* tuum *A*: diuum 31: tum 75: in uita (*post* qui) *Vossius*: tunc *Corradinus de Allio*: durum *Lachmann*: tamen *Heyse*: te *Macnaghten*   domitum *A*: indomitum 8[2], *fort. recte*: dominum *Ald.*: indomitam *Statius*: domitam *Lachmann*: tunc domitam *Macnaghten*: te domitam *Friedrich*   119 nec tam carum *O*: nec causa carum *X*: al. neque tam carum *R[2]* 122 ceratas *Schrader*   124 suscitat a η: scuscitata *OR*: scusoitata *G* (*uide comm.*): suscitata α   uulturium *Av.* Em.[2], 106: uoltarium *A*   126 compar que *R*: comparque *OG*   128 quam quae *Puccius* (119): quamquam *A*: quantum *Calphurnius*   129 tu horum ηθ: tuorum *A*   130 es flauo ζηθ: efflauo *O*: eflauo *X*

aut nihil aut paulum cui tum concedere digna

   lux mea se nostrum contulit in gremium,

quam circumcursans hinc illinc saepe Cupido

   fulgebat crocina candidus in tunica.

quae tamen etsi uno non est contenta Catullo,   135

   rara uerecundae furta feremus erae,

ne nimium simus stultorum more molesti:

   saepe etiam Iuno, maxima caelicolum,

coniugis in culpa flagrantem contudit iram,

   noscens omniuoli plurima furta Iouis.   140

atqui nec diuis homines componier aequum est

...

...

   ingratum tremuli tolle parentis onus.

nec tamen illa mihi dextra deducta paterna

   fragrantem Assyrio uenit odore domum,

sed furtiua dedit mira munuscula nocte   145

   ipsius ex ipso dempta uiri gremio.

quare illud satis est, si nobis is datur unis

   quem lapide illa diem candidiore notat.

Hoc tibi quod potui, confectum carmine munus

   pro multis, Alli, redditur officiis,   150

ne uestrum scabra tangat robigine nomen

   haec atque illa dies atque alia atque alia.

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131 paulum *Colocius*, 85 30: paulo *A*   tum 30: tu *A*   132 contullit *G*   133 circumcursans *X*: circum cursans *O*
135 cotēpta catulo *O*: -llo *corr. ipse*   136 uerecunde *Santenius*   here *A*   137 *citat Hieremias de Montagnone,*
Compendium moralium notabilium *2.1.5*   scimus *R*: simus *OG, Hieremias de M.*   139 flagrantem *A*: flagrauit β² 66
contudit iram *Hertzberg*: cotidiana *O*: quotidiana *X*: continet iram *Santenius*: concoquit iram *Lachmann* (conquoquit
Schwabe): condidit iram *Pohl*: concipit *aut* colligit iram *Baehrens*: custodibat *Birt*   Post uersum 139 *duo uss. excidisse*
suspicatus est Statius   140 noscens omniuoli *A*: omniuoli ignoscens *N. Heinsius*   plurima *A*: perfida *uel* turpia
Baehrens   furta 31 ζθ: facta *A*: pacta *uel* probra *Baehrens*   141 atqui 48 85: atque *A*: at quia 31 ζ, *Munro*: at qui 52
componier 104 50 110: componere *A*   equum *A*: fas 106, *L. Herrmann*   Post u. 141 lacunam ind. *Marcilius*: uersum
141 (ut, siquidem diuis *scribens*) post 136 *et* 137 post 140 coll. *Froehlich*   142 tale *Birt*   opus *Postgate*   143 nec
tamen *A*: non etenim *Froehlich*: nec tandem *Baehrens*   dextra 109 73 56 52 (dexstra *Schwabe*: decstra *Ellis*): deastra
O: de astra *X*: Vesta *Vossius*: de aula *Baehrens*   deducta *A*: de ducta *Postgate*   144 fragrantem 31 117 4: flagrantem
A   145 furtiua *OG*: furtie *R*, a *super* e scripsit *R¹*   mira *A*: nigra *Calphurnius*, 7 85: prima *N. Heinsius*: niuea
Schrader: mire *uel* media *Landor*: rara *Haupt*: mi Iro *Froehlich*: muta *Heyse*: tacita *Lain*: pura *Thomson*   munusclà *O*
147 his *X*: hiis *O*   148 diem *ed. 1473*: dies *A*: notat *Fisch*   candiore *O*   notat *A*: dies *Fisch*   Post u. 148 initium
noui carminis indic. Riese   149 siue hoc siue haec *O* (*uide comm.*)   quo *Muretus*   150 Alli *Scaliger* (Manli *iam*
30): aliis *A*   limine *Froehlich*   151-152 *om. Froehlich* (*in u. 47 sed scabra intactum seruet rubigine nomen scribens*)

huc addant diui quam plurima, quae Themis olim

    antiquis solita est munera ferre piis.

sitis felices et tu simul et tua uita,   155

    et domus <illa> in qua lusimus et domina,

et qui principio nobis †terram dedit aufert†

    a quo sunt primo omnia nata bona,

et longe ante omnes mihi quae me carior ipso est,

    lux mea, qua uiua uiuere dulce mihi est.   160

  153 addant 106: addent *A*   plurimaque *O*   155 sitis ζηθ: satis *A*   et tua uite *OG*: tua uirtute *R*: et tua uite *R¹*: *corr.* *R²*   156 illa *add. Postgate* (*ita possis etiam ista scribere*): ipsa 31 ζηθ: ipsi *Pantagathus*: ipse *Scaliger*: *post* qua *add.* nos 7²: *ibid. add.* olim *nescio quis*   luximus *R*: *corr.* *R²*   157-158 *alibi transtulendos esse susp. Schwabe*: *primo post* 160 *transp., deinde del. Doering*: *post* 154 *transp. Rossbach et Pennisi*: *post* 140 *Vretska*   aufert / a quo sunt primo] a quo / sunt primo <nobis> *Perrotta e cod. recentiori, fort. e* 8²   157 et qui *A*: det qui *Doering* (*primo*): dum qui *Vahlen*: ei qui *Newman*   principio *A*: praecipue *Palladius*: quam primo *B. Schmidt*   nobis *A*: quam *Birt*: uobis *Froehlich* terram dedit *A*: dominam dedit *Ald., unde et* 106: teneram dedit *Statius*: te trandedit (*sic!*) *Scaliger, unde* te tradidit *Mitscherlich, fort. recte*: me tradidit *Froehlich*: -met eram dedit *Schwabe*: quam tradidit *Owen*: rem condidit *et deinde* dextram dedit *Ellis*: *primo* curam dedit, *postea* (*sed id ambigue*) taedam dedit *Baehrens*: terriculam dedit *Birt*: se et eram dedit *Perrotta*: terram dat et *Lenchantin de Gubernatis*: erat omnia *Kinsey*   aufert *A*: auream 106: a quo *Ald.*: Oufens *Scaliger*: auspex *Lipsius*: , ubertim *Wetstein*: Anser *haud absurde Heyse*: auctor 52^1mg, *Rossbach* (-ore *Vossius*): Afer *Munro* (Aafer *W. Schmid*): hospes *Ellis*: haustis *Baehrens*: audens *Friedrich*: ac uer *F. Walter*: Allius *Viejo Otero*: frater *Kinsey*: Alli *Green*: aufertque *temptabam*   158 a quo] <nunc> a quo *Pighi*: *om. Ald.*   sunt primo] primo sunt *Oksala*: sunt primo <nobis> *Ald.*   primo *A*: primo <iam> *ed. 1472*: nobis *Calphurnius*: primo <mi> *Haupt, haud absurde*: uno *Nisbet*   omnia nata (nota *R, corr. ipse*) bono *A* (bono *littera* a *super* o *addita* 128: bona 46 75): semina nata boni *Peiper*: dulcia nata bona *Kinsey*: plurima *uel* tot mihi nata bona *Nisbet*: condita tanta bona *uel* tanta parata bona *Trappes-Lomax*   159 michi quae *X*: m'q₃ (= michique) *O*   160 dulce mihi est β: michi dulce est *A*

68A: A LETTER TO MANLIUS

[Title]   In each of the principal MSS *O*, *G* and *R* the scribe has left out a line above the poem. This space remains empty in *O*, but in *G* and *R* later hands (*G²* and *R²*) have added the title *Ad Mallium*. McKie (1977: 49-53) has shown that *G²* has taken his titles (and everything else) from *m*, which is a copy of *R* as modified by *R²*, that is, Coluccio Salutati. Consequently our only independent witness for the title *Ad Mallium* is *R²*. However, it cannot be ancient, as none of the titles above Catullus' poems go back to antiquity (McKie 1977: 75f. and Butrica 2007: 19-24 – the title given to poem 62 in the 9th-century anthology *T* may constitute an exception, but that has no bearing on the titles in *OGR*). *Ad Mallium* must have been made up by somebody – but by whom, when, and why?

No form of the name Mallius occurs in *carmen* 68 in *O, G* and *R*, which leads McKie (1977: 62) to conclude that "if the title has been invented from the text, the text at that time read malli and not mali" at lines 11 and/or 30, that is, in this case the title would have been added to the pre-archetype *V* or to an earlier manuscript. It may well appear plausible that *Ad Mallium* should conserve the genuine form of the name of the addressee, which would have been corrupted at lines 11 and 30 *mali*. However, it is possible to turn this line of reasoning upside down. At lines 11 and 66 a marginal note was added to a manuscript at an earlier stage of the tradition (at line 11 to *X* or an earlier manuscript, and at line 66 to *A* or an earlier manuscript). The reader who added these notes (if we can attribute them to the same author) was clearly an intelligent person who knew his Latin well, and in fact we know that Catullus was read in the early 14th century by humanists in Padua and Verona (see Thomson 1997: 24-27). This reader added forms of the name Manlius – but if he found a form of the name Mallius in the title of the poem, why did he not add that?

In fact, the title can be accounted for in more ways than one. It could be a conjecture of Salutati's, who was sufficiently erudite to know that Mallius was a good Roman name, unlike Malius; who was familiar with the tendency of the Northern Italian scribes responsible for the archetype and *X* to make double consonants single and vice versa; and who had just gone through poem 61, where he read *mallio* in the text in line 16 (thus *OGR*) and above which he expanded the original title *Epythalamus* (sic!) to *Epythalamus Junie et Mallii* (see McKie 1977: 51 and 62f.). To be sure, in this case it has to be explained why this thorough and methodical man did not try to correct as much as possible of Catullus 68 and why he did not add a note such as *al' malli* to his MS at lines 11 and 30. This might not be so surprising if he worked through his text more or less line by line, because reaching line 11 and finding in his exemplar *X* the marginal note *al' manli* or *mauli* he may well have concluded that the name of the addressee may have been marred by more than a simple spelling error. Similarly, *Mallium* could be a conjecture by an earlier reader, though this hypothesis would raise the same objection as that of McKie, that if a correct Latin name was present in the title of the

poem through several stages of transmission, it is hard to see why no forms of this name have appeared in the text and the marginalia.

Since the origin of this title is unclear, all the available evidence has to be taken into account if one wants to identify the addressee of poem 68a. This is done in the Introduction (pp. 34-43).

1-10 'You are writing to me about your troubles and turn to me for help; I am happy that you consider me your friend and seek the gifts of Venus and the Muses from me.' Catullus recapitulates the contents of Manlius' letter (lines 1-8) and gives his immediate reaction (lines 9-10).

The initial period continues through ten lines; it receives structure from the fact that each elegiac distich coincides with one single thought element (cf. Kroll on line 1), or in lines 7f. and 9f. with several closely connected ones. In Catullus' poems periods of similar length are found not only in an epistolary context (65.1-8), but also outside it, where they are "no longer excused by the epistolary style" ("nicht mehr durch den Briefstil entschuldigt", Kroll on line 1; thus lines 51-62 and 70-76 below, as well as 64.1-7 and 66.1-14). Ellis and Kroll put a colon after line 10 and let the sentence go on for another four lines, but a full stop seems preferable, as lines 11-14 constitute a section of their own.

The fact that Manlius' letter is recapitulated through eight lines strongly suggests that whether or not consciously, the poet was writing not only for him but also for the general reader, who is informed about the outlines of the situation that has given rise to the poem, though not nearly about every detail of Manlius' predicament. Tellingly, the very first distich indicates that this poem is a letter written in response to another one – and Manlius will hardly have needed to be told as much (see further the Introduction, pp. 45-47). But it is important to view these lines from the perspective of the addressee as well. Catullus recapitulates his letter in attentive detail, apparently taking care not to touch upon any particular that could re-open a fresh wound or be potentially embarrassing upon publication; indeed he allegorizes Manlius' erotic sufferings as the result of divine intervention (lines 5f.). Having recapitulated his friend's request, the first thing that he says about it is that it is a compliment to him (lines 9-10).

It is sometimes suggested that the description of Manlius' troubles in lines 3-8 contains quotations of some sort from Manlius' *epistolium*, that the recapitulation picks up the metaphors (Kroll on 68.4) or "the extravagant language" (Quinn on 68.1-10) of the original letter, possibly with a hint of reproach. But there is a simple reason for which these lines cannot contain extensive direct quotation from Manlius' letter: if they did, it would have had to be a verse letter written in the same metre, but if one changes the verbs in line 4 (*subleuem* and *restituam*) from the first to the second person singular, the metre is ruined. As for the imagery, it is no more extravagant than in many other passages that are certainly of Catullus' own making – compare 75.16-20, 95.2, and especially 68.21-24 below. The metaphor of shipwreck in lines 3f. is given such an important place that it could conceivably pick up on something (not necessarily more than a word or two) that Manlius had written, and the hint in the words *in mortis limine* (line 4) that Manlius is near death is so radical that Catullus may not have invented it himself, but none of this is certain; these lines evidently pick up the contents of Manlius' letter, but not necessarily any of the words through which it was expressed.

1f. The poem starts with a reference to the letter of the addressee, just like a letter read out in a Plautine comedy: *miles lenoni Ballioni epistulam / conscriptam mittit Polymachaeroplagides* (Pl. *Pseud.* 998f.). Here Catullus uses the vocabulary of epistolography (*quod*, *conscriptum*, *mittis*, *epistolium*) to start his poem with a typical epistolary topos, that of the reference to a letter, whether one's own or that of the addressee (see further on *quod* in line 1).

1 The verse is echoed by Virgil at *Aen.* 5.700 *at pater Aeneas casu concussus acerbo* and possibly also by *Ciris* 313 *tene etiam fortuna mihi crudelis ademit*, which echoes line 20 below.

Quod   Not to be taken with *hoc epistolium* (*pace* Quinn), as a noun cannot be accompanied by a relative as well as a deictic pronoun: here and at lines 27 and 33 below *quod* is used on its own as if it were a sort of accusative of extent, meaning 'as to the fact that', 'as for' (see Kühner-Stegmann 2.269f. and Hofmann-Szantyr 573f.). The construction is found in Plautus and prose authors ranging from Cicero through Caesar to Tacitus (see *OLD* s.v. *quod*, 6a,) and occasionally in poetry outside comedy (thus at Lucr. 2.532 and 5.916, Verg. *Aen.* 11.177, Ov. *Her.* 17.261 and 17.43 but Kenney 1996 *ad loc.* interprets it as 'though', [Ov.] *Am.* 3.5.41 and *Priap.* 6.1) but not in Tibullus, Propertius and Horace, nor in any other poem of Catullus'. It is used especially in letters, typically to pick up a subject that has been brought up by the correspondent in the letter one is responding to (thus Cic. *Fam.* 5.2.6 *quod scribis non oportuisse Metellum, fratrem tuum, ob dictum a me oppugnari* and Ov. *Her.* 17.261f. *quod petis ut furtim praesentes ista loquamur, / scimus quid captes conloquiumque uoces*). It is used most often within the letter as a formula of transition ('Now as for …'), but it is also found as an introductory formula, as here (thus in Cic. *Fam.* 7.25, 7.32, 7.33, 14.12 and 14.13, Caec. *ap.* Cic. *Fam.* 6.7 and Cael. *ap.* Cic. *Fam.* 8.1). Also paralleled in prose letters is the reference to the letter of the correspondent (Cic. *Fam.* 7.32.1 *quod sine praenomine familiariter, ut debebas, ad me litteram misisti*) and the way *quod* (whether or not meaning 'As for') is taken up by *id gratum est* in line 9 (thus Cic. *Fam.* 12.28.2 *quod societatem rei publicae conseruandae tibi mecum a patre acceptam renouas, gratum est … gratum etiam illud, quod mihi tuo nomine gratias agendas non putas: nec enim id inter nos facere debemus*, 14.8 *quod celeriter me fecisti de Caesaris litteris certiorem, fecisti mihi gratum*, Cicero *fils ap.* Cic. 16.21.8 *de mandatis quod tibi curae fuit est mihi gratum*, Plin. *Ep.* 6.7.2 *gratum est quod nos requiris, gratum quod his fomentis adquiescis* and 3.5.1 *pergratum est mihi quod tam diligenter libros auunculi mei lectitas* and Fronto *Epist.* p. 60.17f. Naber = 55.6 van den Hout[2] *utique illud ipsum, quod tanta ad me scripsisti, cum cras uenturus essem: id uero mihi longe fuit gratissimum*; cfr. also Plin. *Ep.* 6.3.1 and Sulpicia *ap.* [Tib.] 4.10.1). The poem starts with the vocabulary and syntax proper to Roman letters.

O writes *Quo*, which was found by Vossius in a MS (possibly in *O* itself: I know of no other MS that presents this reading, though here my notes only cover about half the *recentiores*) and Santenius reports that Nicolaus Heinsius found it worth preserving, probably in order to turn the first distich into a question (*Quo … mittis epistolium?*), which would have been answered in the following verses (*naufragum ut …*). However, Santenius noted that "*quod* firmari tamen videtur v. 9.", that is, *id* in line 9 must pick up an epistolary *Quod*.

mihi *mitto* 'to send', 'to have delivered to someone' can take either *ad* with the accusative (thus 12.13f.) or the dative (12.15, 14.6, 65.15f., 116.1f.; see *TLL* 8.1178.48-1181.40). The dative is not unusual, *pace* Fordyce, but simply the more emotional alternative of the two.

fortuna casuque Both *fortuna* and *casus* can refer to chance events and circumstances good (*OLD* s.v. *casus* 7, s.v. *fortuna* 4a, 6, 7b, 9), bad (*casus* 4, 8, 11, *fortuna* 4a, 10) or neutral (*casus* 4, *fortuna* 5, 7a). They are essentially synonyms meaning 'chance', 'luck', 'fate', differing only in form and derivation; one should note Cicero's definiton at *Div.* 2.15 *quid est enim aliud fors quid fortuna quid casus quid euentus, nisi cum sic aliquid cecidit sic euenit ut uel aliter cadere atque euenire potuerit? quo modo ergo id, quod temere fit caeco casu et uolubilitate fortunae, praesentiri et praedici potest?* In more elevated contexts they are often used together as a set pair, especially in urbane prose: thus also at Cic. *Clu.* 58 and *Tusc.* 5.25, Verg. *Aen.* 3.317f., Ov. *Tr.* 2.107f., Liv. 28.44.8, and see further *TLL* 3.584.61-70 and 6.1.1195.1-11.

By using these words Catullus attributes Manlius' misfortune to impersonal outside forces that are beyond anybody's control ('fate', 'destiny') and thereby he lifts the responsibility for what has happened off the shoulders of his friend. This may be a significantly tactful gesture: in this period Romans expected a man to restrain his grief, and criticized those who did not or could not. When Cicero was in exile, Atticus encouraged him to restrain his grief (cfr. Cic. *Att.* 3.10.2), while his friends Ser. Sulpicius Rufus and L. Lucceius encouraged him to do the same after the death of his daughter (*Fam.* 4.5 and 5.14), and in his response to Lucceius the orator expressed his shame that he could not (*Fam.* 4.6.1 *turpe enim esse existimo me non ita ferre casum meum ut tu tali sapientia praeditus ferendum putas*). Cicero gave the same advice to others (at *Fam.* 5.16 and *ad Brut.* 1.9 = 17) but after his death he received bad marks from self-discipline from Livy, who wrote that *omnium aduersorum nihil ut uiro dignum erat tulit praeter mortem* (*ap.* Sen. *Suas.* 6.17, who quotes it from Livy's lost Book 120). Catullus' friends had a different view of what was suitable: Catullus consoles the distressed Manlius with as much tact as he does his bereaved friend Calvus (poem 96), and expected to be consoled himself (poem 38). The dramatic way in which Manlius had given vent to his feelings is reminiscent of his more bitter poems about Lesbia.

oppressus 'Overwhelmed' or 'crushed' by misfortune – a strong word: cfr. Cic. *Fam.* 4.6.1 *opprimor interdum et uix resisto dolori,* Lucr. 1.63 *oppressa graui sub religione* (of mankind before Epicurus) and esp. Petr. 71.1 *si illos malus fatus oppresserit.*

acerbo Here, *acerbo* qualifies both *fortuna* and *casu* □πʃ κοινοˋ, even though *fortuna* has a different gender: compare *falsa* at Cic. *Brut.* 62 *genera etiam falsa et ad plebem transitiones*, where it qualifies *transitiones* as well as *genera*. *acerbus* properly indicates the taste of vinegar or unripe fruit ('Having a sour flavour, acid, bitter', *OLD* s.v. 1a); for its very common metaphorical use ('cruel, harsh, pitiless', *OLD* s.v. 3) compare also line 90 below, and Cat. 73.5 *quem nemo grauius nec acerbius urget.*

2 conscriptum ... lacrimis Manlius' letter was 'written in tears' (thus Ellis, Kroll and Fordyce). *conscribo* is often used of writing a letter – note e.g. Pl. *Pseud.* 998f. *epistulam / conscriptam* and Cic. *Att.* 13.50.1

conscripsi ... epistulam Caesari; for its use with an instrumental ablative indicating the ink used cfr. Sen. *Dial.* 62.3 *libros quos uir ille fortissimus sanguine suo scripserat* and Tert. *Pudic.* 14 *epistolam non atramento sed felle conscriptam*. Here Thomson interprets *conscriptum lacrimis epistolium* as 'a letter bedewed' or 'smudged with tears', i.e. 'inscribed' by them (for the usage cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.5.17f. *conscriptaque uino / mensa* and Cat. 25.10f. *ne ... latusculum manusque ... flagella conscribillent*), but that would be counterintuitive: there is no indication that *epistolium conscriptum* should not be taken in its normal sense 'a letter written'.

The very impossibility of a letter written in tears puts the language under tension and adds force to the expression, and suits well this passage with its repeated touches of *fortissimo*: Manlius has been 'overcome by fate' (line 1) and shipwrecked (line 3) and is on the threshold of death (line 4), and he came to use his tears even as ink. It is not unusual for Catullus to resort to extravagant hyperbole (cfr. 50.2, 65.12, 68.55f., 68.70, 85.2). There is no need to suspect the reading *conscriptum* on the ground that it is impossible to write a letter in tears and to adopt the emendation *conspersum* proposed by Cl. Schrader *ap.* Santenius, supported by Trappes-Lomax (2007: 227f.), or *constrictum* proposed by Baehrens in his commentary (he explains that "umor constringit naturaliter papyrum").

Tears and crying are mentioned regularly in texts from the late Republican period. At lines 55f. below, Catullus describes without any trace of embarrassment his incessant tears when he was unable to meet Lesbia. Cicero tells Atticus that he could not help but cry at the sight of Pompey addressing a public meeting in 59 B.C. as a shadow of his former self, having lost the dignity he had once possessed (*Att.* 2.21.3: *non tenui lacrimas cum illum ... uidi ... contionantem ...*). In exile in the following year, he writes to his family that he cannot write to them or read their letters without crying (*Fam.* 14.4.1 *cum aut scribo ad uos aut uestras lego, conficior lacrimis sic ut ferre non possim*; thus also *Fam.* 14.2.1 to his wife Terentia: *ad te uero et ad nostram Tulliolam non queo sine plurimis lacrimis scribere*) and that he has almost rendered some letters illegible with his tears (*Fam.* 14.3.1 *accepi ab Aristocrito tris epistulas, quas ego lacrimis prope deleui. conficior enim maerore ...*). He reminds his friend Atticus how much his misfortunes caused them both to cry (*Att.* 3.15.4 *sed tu tantum lacrimas praebuisti dolori meo, quod erat amoris, sicut ipse ego*). Thirteen years later, his friend the historian L. Lucceius suggests, not without a hint of reproach, that he may "have surrendered [himself] to tears" because of the death of his daughter Tullia (*Fam.* 5.14.2 *sin autem †sicut† hinc discesseras, lacrimis ac tristitiae te tradidisti*). Later, letters stained by tears are to feature prominently in elegy: thus Prop. 4.3.3f. *si qua tamen tibi lecturo pars oblita derit, / haec erit e lacrimis facta litura meis* and Ov. *Her.* 3.3f. *quascumque aspicies, lacrimae fecere lituras, / sed tamen et lacrimae pondera uocis habent*, *Trist.* 1.1.13f. *neue liturarum pudeat: qui uiderit illas, / de lacrimis factas sentiat esse meis* and 3.1.15f. *littera suffusus quod habet maculosa lituras, / laesit opus lacrimis ipse poeta suum*. The Romans of the 1st century B.C. aappear to have been more prone to cry than modern Westerners.

Surprisingly little has been written about the expression of grief on the part of the ancient Romans, but one should note Erskine's excellent discussion of Cicero's way of dealing with his grief after the death of his

daughter Tullia (Erskine 1997). Cicero tried to overcome his grief; here Manlius takes the Epicurean line and tries to console himself with alternative sources of pleasure.

hoc ... epistolium   'This little letter'. *epistolium* is the Latinized version of the Greek ἐπι!τ⟩λιον (see *LSJ* s.v.), the post-classical but not too rare diminutive of ἐπι!τολ→. *epistola*, which was well-established in Latin by Catullus' time, had no Latin diminutive. The imported Greek diminutive *epistolium* is found first here and does not re-appear until Apuleius, *Apol.* 6 & 79. Later Hilarius *op. hist. fragm.* 2.13 writes *epistolia, id est litteras communicatorias* and the *Glossae Graeco-Latinae* 84ᵛ.19 equate the word with ἐπι!τ⟩λιον. While Apuleius could well have taken the word from Catullus, this can hardly be said of Hilarius, and one should note the use of ἐπι!τ⟩λιον in a work by that highly Hellenized Roman, the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (1.7.5): the Greek diminutive may have been well-established in vulgar Latin. Greek words and expressions appear regularly in Cicero's letters to Atticus (which is the most informal part of his correspondence) and in Lucilius' Satires, and they are used often by Petronius' freedmen: many Romans must have been as bilingual in their speech as they were in their culture. In Catullus it is notable that while he does not use Grecisms too frequently, they often appear in a conversational context, where he is addressing someone: compare 12.3 *mnemosynum* (a *hapax* in Latin), 16.2 *pathice* and 57.2 *pathico* (the word is found again in Martial and Juvenal and frequently in Pompeian graffitti), 22.5 *palimpsesto* (also in Cic. *Fam.*), 25.7 *catagraphos* (another *hapax*), 98.4 *crepidas ... carpatinas* (*carpatinus* is a *hapax* but *crepida* is found in Cic. *Rab. Post.* and regularly afterwards), and perhaps even 64.154 *leaena* (also found in Varro *L.L.* and Cic. *Glor.*).

Here *epistolium* has the advantage of fitting more easily into an elegiac couplet than the iambic *epistolam*. However, the author's liking for diminutives is well known (see Riese xxv). Here the dimimutive may have emphasized the brevity of Manlius' letter, it may have been used in an emotive sense (cf. Coleman 1999: 60) to emphasize Catullus' affectionate feelings towards Manlius, or even to express pity (thus Cic. *Att.* 2.23.1 *recreandae uoculae causa*, translated by Shackleton Bailey as "to refresh my poor voice"). In Greek, at any rate, ἐπι!τ⟩λιον need not mean more than 'a letter' (thus at M. Aur. 1.7.5).

Trappes-Lomax (2007: 228) suggests that the word should be written as *epistolion*, as "it is an exotic import from Greek" and a poet as learned as Catullus could be expected to have retained the original spelling. However, this is unlikely if, as seems possible, *epistolium* was already circulating as a loan-word – and Latin appears to have converted Greek diminutives in *–ion* quickly into *–ium* (note that this has happened to all Plautine characters whose names were originally Greek diminutives of this type). As our word ends in *–ium* in the MSS of all authors who use it, there appears to be no reason to emend.

Muretus omits *hoc* without comment, perhaps by mistake. His omission is rejected by Santenius ("male omisit Muretus") but it is accepted by Baehrens *ad loc.*, who notes that *hoc epistolium* "eius qui scribit litteras indicat; eius cui respondetur epistulam, etiamsi oculis scribentis est subiecta, nudum 'epistolium' satis designat' ", and by Trappes-Lomax (2007: 228), who argues that it should be deleted "unless some parallel can be found for using *hic* for 'this letter to which I am replying' as opposed to 'this letter which I am writing' ". But the laws of language fix only the meaning of *hoc* and not what item it should refer to in a particular context; if with 'this letter' one mostly refers to the letter that one is writing, this is due to

statistical likelihood and not to the rules of the language. In this case it is hard to see how this deictic pronoun could have been inserted by an interpolator, and it makes very good sense: it calls to life the scene of the poet in the process of replying to a letter, implying as it does 'which I have in front of me' (thus Thomson).

It is not uncommon for Catullus to enact such a scene: in his letter in verse to Caecilius he addresses the letter-paper (35.2), while at the very start of the *Liber* he pretends to be poring over the completed book-roll and hesitating whom to dedicate it to (1.1f.). The latter parallel is almost certainly a fictitious scene (Catullus will have composed the dedication before the book-roll was completed), so this *hoc* hardly suffices to show that he was actually holding his correspondent's letter in his hands, as he wrote this, *pace* Ellis, Kroll and Thomson. In fact, its function is not to point to the letter that he is holding in his hands (such a gesture would have no practical purpose whatsoever), but to let the reader imagine him as he does so. Of course, he may have been doing so as well; but as humanity is not genetically predisposed to telling the truth, a single word hardly suffices to show that.

3f. Catullus recapitulates Manlius' request for help through a metaphor in which Manlius is characterized as a shipwrecked man cast ashore by the sea, barely alive and in urgent need of a good Samaritan to lift him up and bring him back to life. After the phrase *fortuna casuque oppressus acerbo* (line 1n.) Manlius is characterized once again as having been afflicted by an elementary catastrophe, a disaster from outside.

Commentators quote two kinds of parallels: occurrences of the Hellenistic motif of the Storm of Love, and of the homegrown Roman image of shipwreck standing for any kind of disaster. It is worthwhile to look at each of these in detail in order to understand better the origins of the image used by Catullus.

The Storm of Love may have been inspired by Semonides of Amorgos' comparison of women to the sea, treacherous and changeable (*frg.* 7.37-40 West), but it emerges fully in Greek epigram from the Hellenistic period onwards, where it is used by Hedylus or Asclepiades at *A.P.* 5.161, by Meleager at *A.P.* 12.157, by Philodemos at *A.P.* 10.21 = *epigr.* 8 Sider (cfr. Sider *ad loc.*), by the consul Macedonius at *A.P.* 5.235.5f., and by the author of the anonymous epigram *A.P.* 12.156. In Latin poetry it is adopted by Horace at *Od.* 1.5 (cfr. Nisbet & Hubbard 1970 *ad loc.*) and Propertius at 3.24.11-18. I quote in full one characteristic example, an epigram by Catullus' contemporary Philodemus (*A.P.* 10.21 = *epigr.* 8 Sider):

> Κ⌠πρι γαληνα⇔η, φιλον⌠μφιε, Κ⌠πρι δικα⇔οιω
>   σ⌠μμαξε, Κ⌠πρι Π⟩ψϖν μ°τερ ▢ελλοπ⟩δϖν,
> Κ⌠πρι, τ∫ν ″μ⇔σπαστον ▢π∫ κροκΥϖν/μ′ παστ⌒ν,
>   τ∫ν ξι⟩σι χυξ↓ν Κελτ⇔σι νειφ⟩μενον,
>
>
> Κ⌠πρι, τ∫ν ″σ⟨ξι⟩ν με, τ∫ν ο⌠ δεν⇐ κϖ ‾φ▢ λαλε⟨ντα,
>   τ∫ν σΥο πορφυρΥ⊗ κλυζ⟩μενον πελ▢γει,
> Κ⌠πρι <u>φιλορμ⇔στειρα</u>, φιλ⟩ργιε, <u>σ®ζΥ με</u>, Κ⌠πρι,

Να ⸤ακο⸣ω ≥δη, δεσπ⸥τι, πρ⸤ω λιμ⸤ναω.

The speaker prays to Aphrodite that he may achieve peace and happiness in love. The first epithet through which he addresses her is γαληνα⇔η, 'Mistress of the calm waters', and he picks up the maritime imagery in the last three lines of the poem, as he states that he is washed by her purple sea and appeals to her to rescue him and to bring him to the harbours of the Naiads. Here the rough seas stand for the suffering experienced by a passionate lover in the course of a turbulent love-affair. They clearly cannot stand for any other sort of adversity, nor for adversity in general. That is characteristic for the Storm of Love: its erotic implications are always spelled out quite clearly. Another typical feature of the image is irony. It compares being in love to sailing over rough seas; but there is an essential difference between these two experiences, namely that one is much more dangerous than the other: love cannot kill a man, at least not directly, while rough seas can. The distressed lover compares himself to someone who is, by all objective criteria, in a much more difficult situation, and by doing so he calls into doubt what he is saying: after all, his suffering is simply the product of his own extravagant passions. The image serves to console the speaker indirectly by hinting that his situation is not that bad after all, and to entertain the reader and to confront him with the paradox that while being in love can cause no end of suffering, certain people are prepared to submit to it of their own accord.

The present passage meets neither of these criteria: it is not clear whether the addressee's troubles are due to love, and the use of the image is certainly not ironical. What we have to do is not the motif of the Storm of Love, but the homegrown Roman image of shipwreck standing for any kind of disaster: as Baehrens puts it, "naufragium de quauis magna calamitate dicitur". The examples are too numerous to list; there follows a selection.

naufragium is used frequently to refer to any kind of disaster or catastrophe, as in *inc. trag.* 84 *naufragia, labes generis, ignoras, senex?*; Cic. *dom.* 129 *in illo rei publicae naufragio*, *Fam.* 1.9.5 *rei familiaris naufragia*, *Att.* 3.15.7 *istos labores quos nunc in naufragiis nostris suscipis*, *Tusc.* 5.25 *naufragia fortunae* and *Sest.* 15 *totum superioris anni rei publicae naufragium*; Liv. 22.56.2 *reliquias tantae cladis uelut ex naufragio colligentem*; and see further *OLD* s.v. *naufragium* 1b. The phrase *patrimonio naufragus* is used by for someone who has squandered his fortune at *Sul.* 41 *ut aliquis patrimonio naufragus, inimicus oti, bonorum hostis* (compare *Phil.* 12.19 *ex naufragio luculenti patrimoni*) and, apparently in a development of the same usage, *naufragus* alone has come to stand for people who are utter failures, as at Cic. *Cat.* 2.24 *contra illam naufragorum eiectam ac debilitatam manum*. Cicero also uses *naufragia* to mean 'the ruins of something, the scattered remains': thus *Phil.* 11.36 *an cetera ex eodem latrocinio naufragia conligam?* and 13.3 *illa naufragia Caesaris amicorum* (see further *OLD s.v. naufragium* 2b). The set phrase *naufrago tabulam*, 'a board for a shipwrecked man' is used literally by Petronius at 115.13 *de tam magna naue ne tabulam quidem naufragum habes*, but more often it is found figuratively in the sense 'help for the desperate': thus at Cicero *Att.* 4.19.2 *haec enim me una ex naufragio tabula delectat*, Seneca *Benef.* 3.9 *"Dedi tibi patrimonium": sed ego naufrago tabulam*, and within a more elaborate image of shipwreck at Ov.

Ib. 18. Full-length metaphors of this type are found in poetry – apart from the present passage also at Verg. *Geo.* 3.541-3 *iam maris immensi prolem et genus omne natantum / litore in extremo ceu naufraga corpora fluctus / eluit*, Ov. *P.* 1.2.59f. *credo / mollia naufragiis litora posse dari* and 2.9.9 *excipe naufragium non duro litore nostrum*, and also Lucan 1.498-504 – but also in prose: compare Cic. *Att.* 2.7.4 *nunc uero cum cogar exire de naui non abiectis sed ereptis gubernaculis, cupio istorum naufragia e terra intueri*, *Inv.* 1.4 *hinc nimirum non iniuria, cum ad gubernacula rei publicae temerarii atque audaces homines accesserant, maxima ac miserrima naufragia fiebant* and *Rab.Perd.* 25 *nec tuas umquam ratis ad eos scopulos appulisses ad quos Sex. Titi adflictam nauem et in quibus C. Deciani naufragium fortunarum uideres* (here he addresses the tribune Labienus). In all registers of Latin writing the image of shipwreck is used frequently to characterize catastrophe, disaster, ruin.

The image itself may be stereotypical, but Catullus' use of it is not: he describes Manlius as a shipwrecked man who has been cast ashore barely alive by a stormy sea and is in urgent need of help. The image reminds one of the description of Odysseus cast ashore on Scheria at the beginning of *Odyssey* 5, and the pathetic touch may even show the influence of Hellenistic epigrams on people who had died in shipwreck.

However, the genealogy of the image should not obscure its meaning and its force. The terms in which it is put add pathos and dramatic urgency to the poem: Manlius' misfortune is characterized as an onslaught the elements, his call for help as a request to come to the aid of a man very nearly dead.

naufragum   The principal MSS write *naufragium*, which does not make sense. The Renaissance conjecture *naufragum* makes excellent sense, is often used in shipwreck imagery and is palaeographically plausible: someone copying a minuscule manuscript could have miscounted the minims in *–um* and read it as *–ium*. Nicolaus Heinsius conjectured *naufragi* 'shipwrecking', to be taken with *aequor* (cfr. Hor. *Od.* 1.16.10 *mare naufragum* and Tib. 2.4.10 *naufragi ... unda maris*; see further *OLD* s.v. *naufragus*, 2); however, this would be less easy palaeographically, and it would be less suitable than *naufragum* both in terms of sense (it would qualify not the afflicted Manlius but somewhat gratuitously the 'seas' that have caused his misfortune) and in terms of register (in this active sense the word is only found in higher poetry, while all the words in this passage are notably plain).

eiectum   The *mot propre* for someone who has been 'cast ashore' by the stormy sea: compare Pl. *Rud.* 72f. *in saxo ... sedent eiecti: nauis confracta est eis*, Ter. *Andr.* 923 *Atticus quidam olim naui fracta ad Andrum eiectus est*, Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 72 *quid tam est commune quam ... mare fluctuantibus, litus eiectis?*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.578 and 4.373, Ov. *Her.* 7.89 *fluctibus eiectum*, and see further *OLD* s.v. *eicio* 3a and *TLL* 5.2.303.52-82. In late antiquity several authorities equate *eiectus* with *naufragus* (Serv. 'auctus' on Verg. *Aen.* 1.578, Claud. Don. on *Aen.* 4.373, *Gloss.* 5.533.23), wrongly: there is no guarantee that someone who suffers shipwreck will also be cast ashore.

The word recurs in metaphors of shipwreck at Cic. *Cat.* 2.24 *contra illam naufragorum eiectam et debilitatam manum* and *dom.* 137 *in naufragio rei publicae, tenebris offusis, demerso populo Romano, euerso atque eiecto senatu*: it may have been a standard ingredient.

spumantibus exspuit undis   This expressive phrase not only describes the waves buffeting the shore, but it also renders their sound by the alliteration of *spu-* and the hissing *s*-sounds, and their force by the rhythm of these words in which word-accent coincides with verse-accent. Catullus used the same phrase in the same place within the hexameter at 64.155 *quod mare conceptum spumantibus exspuit undis* (since a reference to a seething sea is more appropriate here, this suggests that poem 68a was composed before poem 64). Catullus appears to have modelled his image on Ennius *trag.* 118 Jocelyn *maria salsa spumant sanguine* (note the *s*-sounds). He was imitated in turn by Virgil at *Geo.* 4.529 *spumantem undam*, *Aen.* 2.209 *spumante salo* and esp. 3.268 *spumantibus undis |.*

4   Note the echo of the line at *Culex* 223f. *cum te / restitui superis leti iam limine ab ipso* (which also reflects Lucr. 2.960, quoted here on *a mortis limine*).

subleuem   In the context of the image of the shipwrecked man the verb has its literal sense 'to lift up' (cfr. Cat. 17.18 *nec se subleuat ex sua parte*), but since the point of the image is that Catullus should help Manlius, there is also a hint of the more abstract meaning of *subleuo*, 'To help ..., back up, assist, or encourage' (*OLD* s.v., 2a; thus e.g. Cic. *Clu.* 168 *is hunc suo testimonio subleuat*, ad note its use in a letter by Q. Metellus Celer *ap.* Cic. *Fam.* 5.1.1). The word fits both the invented world of the image in which it stands and the actual message that the image must convey; it acts as a hinge between metaphor and reality.

a mortis limine   'From the threshold of death.' Strictly speaking *limen* could stand for both the horizontal beams surrounding a doorway, for the lintel as well as the threshold (cfr. Pl. *Mer.* 830 *limen superum inferumque* and likewise Novius *com.* 49f.), but 'threshold' is its only meaning that is securely attested in Catullus (at 61.160, 63.65, 67.38 and apparently also at 64.271, while 32.5 and 66.17 are ambiguous), and it seems absurd to think of 'the lintel of death'. On the other hand, the threshold was a familiar image in ancient literature. The phrase γ→ραο! ο⌈δ⟩!, 'the threshold of old age' (surely its beginning, *pace LSJ* and others) is already found in the Homeric epics (*Il.* 22.60 and 24.387 as well as *Od.* 15.246, 15.348 and 23.212) and is taken up by a wide range of later authors (*h.Ven.* 106, Hes. *Op.* 331, Hdt. 3.14.10, Pl. *Rep.* 328e6, Lycourg. 40, Hyp. *Dem.* 22.13-14 /from *frg.* 5/ Jensen = *frg.* 6.24 Kenyon, Menander, *frg.* 629 Körte = *frg.* 671 *CAF* and Ps.-Phoc. 230). In later antiquity Quintus Smyrnaeus 10.426 will write βι⟩του κλυτ⌡ν ο⌈δ⌡ν ⇓κϒ!ψαι.

In Latin the metaphorical use of *limen* 'threshold' to mean 'boundary', 'limit' was conflated with its metonymical use to mean 'building', 'house', 'dwelling': compare Accius *trag.* 530f. *in quos delatus locos / dicitur alto ab limine caeli*, Cat. 64.271 *Aurora exoriente uagi sub limina solis* and Varro *Men.* 568 *limina nidica* (where *nidica* has been suspected but surely makes good sense as an absurdly exaggerated poeticism). For the purely metaphorical use compare Cic. *Arat.* 240 Buescu *annorum uolitantia limina* and more relevantly Lucretius' use of *leti limen* for the proximity of death (6.1157 *languebat corpus leti iam limine ab ipso*, also 2.960) and *uitae limen* for the beginning of one's life (3.681 *tum cum gignimur et uitae cum limen inimus*). The expression may be a vivid poeticism; it is not found in prose before Tac. *Ann.* 3.74.3 *in limine*

belli (see further *OLD* s.v. *limen* 3 & 4 and *TLL* 7.2.1406.21-1408.59). Unless these passages share a lost model, for example in Ennius, the phrase may have become widespread only in the 1ˢᵗ century B.C.

The shipwrecked man in the metaphor is near death: that suggests that Manlius' situation is similarly grave. It is the question whether he is in any way near death. He does not appear to be physically ill – his longing for sex and for reading-matter (cfr. lines 5-10) suggests that he is not. Had he written to Catullus that he was contemplating suicide, as Cicero did to Atticus during his exile (*Att.* 3.7.2)? Or do these words simply express his mental anguish? Catullus had talked about death (surely not suicide, but the natural end of a life full of suffering) after having been abandoned by Lesbia (76.18 *extremam iam ipsa in morte ... opem*) and a couple of lines below he writes that the death of his brother has taken the entire family to the grave (lines 21-26).

restituam   'That I restore (you) to life': thus Ov. *Pont.* 3.6.35f. *extinctos uel aqua uel Marte uel igni / nulla potest iterum restituisse dies* and Hor. *Od.* 4.7.21-24 *cum semel occideris ... non te, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te / restituet pietas*; cfr.*OLD* s.v. *restituo*, 2.

5-8   The second pair of distichs contain a pair of relative clauses that describe not the the unspecified misfortune that has overcome Manlius in the past (its effects on Manlius were described in the first pair of distichs through the perfect participles *oppressus* and *eiectum*) but his current suffering (note the present indicatives *perpetitur*, *oblectant* and *peruigilat*). Each distich describes one of the problems that continue to vex Manlius: the sleeplessness induced by his lack of a partner, and his lack of reading-matter to bring him relief as he lies awake. While his lack of good books will hardly have been a consequence of the misfortune that had afflicted him, his erotic deprivations could well have been due to it – and so much is suggested by the smoothness of the transition from the metaphor describing Manlius' afflicted state to the first symptom: "that I should lift up and restore to life the shipwrecked man ... whom holy Venus does not allow to sleep" (lines 3-5; see the Introduction, pp. 48f. for further discussion).

Manlius' two symptoms that are described here, his lack of sex and of reading-matter, evidently correspond to the two remedies mentioned in line 10 that he had asked from Catullus, the *munera et Musarum et Veneris*: he (see the Introduction, p. 52). One should also note the correspondences between the description of Manlius' problems here and the description of what he had asked for in line 10: *neque ... nec ...* here corresponds to *et ... et ...* there, and the Muses recur in an analogous position, as does the goddess of love.

Here Manlius' two symptoms are described in a pair of distichs that are, as it were, symmetrical: each contains a main clause describing allegorically the failure of a female divinity or several to help Manlius alongside a short participial phrase (*desertum ... caelibe*) or subordinate clause (*cum ... peruigilat*) which describe the sufferings that are not alleviated by the respective goddesses. The final words of the distichs, *perpetitur* and *peruigilat*, both describe Manlius' ongoing suffering, both carry the intensifying suffix *per-* and are of a similar metrical shape. The distichs contain a mix of theological allegory and realistic detail, set out in rather florid language: note that all nouns bar one (*Musae*) carry an adjective.

A somewhat peculiar interpretation of these lines has served as a basis for what has probably been the most detailed analysis of Catullus 68 to date. Coppel (1973: 15-16) read these two distichs as the expression of a vague feeling of frustration, of a dreadful boredom experienced by Catullus' friend. He detected a contrast between the description of the friend's state of mind (his "seelische Situation") in these verses and the account of his actual suffering (his "Leidrealität") in line 1. He argued that since line 29 echoes line 6, the two of them must refer either to the same situation or to analogous sets of circumstances; and since line 29 could not refer to the romantic misfortunes of several people, which would be hard to conceive of, it and line 6 had to refer to "a boredom that darkens one's life" ("eine das Leben verfinsternde Langeweile", p. 16). Catullus' departure would have left his companions disconsolate, and his friend would have written to him and begged him to come back. But if lines 6 and 29 echo each other in describing sexual frustration, that is not to say that the cause of that frustration has to be the same in both instances; and an erotic interpretation of line 29 is far from impossible (see *ad loc.*). There are also problems with Coppel's interpretation of the rest of the poem: *oppressus* in line 1 describes not how the addressee is suffering in the present (his "Leidrealität") but to a devastating blow that he has received in the past (note that it is not a present but a perfect participle), while lines 5-8 do not describe explicitly his state of mind, but they specify the reasons for which he continues to suffer in the present: he lacks sexual diversions and suitable reading-matter. There is no indication whatsoever that the description of these could in fact be a metaphor or allegory for something else. While sexual frustration can conceivably lead to, be accompanied by, or even be a symptom of boredom, there is no suggestion in the text that the addressee is in that state. *anxia* in line 8 indicates that he is not bored but troubled, harrowed, distressed.

5f. "Whom neither does holy Venus allow to come to rest in soft sleep, abandoned as he is in his bachelor's bed." This is one of the most frustratingly obscure passages in the poem. It evidently describes Manlius' sleepless nights as he lies all alone in his bed, deprived of a partner. But what is the cause of Manlius' predicament? He is described as *desertus*, 'abandoned', 'shunned', while his bed is called by way of enallage *caelebs*, 'unmarried' (see *ad loc.*). If these words are to be taken literally, it would seem that Manlius had been left behind (*desertus*) by his wife, so that he became *caelebs* (note that the word can be used for divorcés and widowers as well as for bachelors); in that case her departure could be identified with the devastating event described in lines 1-4. It could appear slightly surprising that he should ask a friend to help him to *munera Veneris*, that is, love-making with someone else than the partner whom he has lost – but perhaps he was not very romantic or he took an Epicurean view of life and tried to compensate a misfortune by alternative pleasures. However, it is not certain whether we should take this distich literally. In particular, it is possible that *caelibe* should imply not 'unmarried' but simply 'single'; and that would open up a much broader range of interpretations: Manlius could have been deserted by a partner who was not his wife, or perhaps he was shunned (*desertus*) by partners in general (on Manlius' predicament see further the Introduction, pp. 49-51).

amori accedunt etiam ... insomnia, aerumna, error, terror et fuga (Pl. *Merc.* 24f.): it was a commonplace of ancient literature and no doubt also of popular thought that love caused sleeplessness, as sometimes it still does. Before Catullus the topos also occurs at Plato *Phaedr.* 251de, Theocr. 10.10 and 30.6, Ap. Rhod. 4.11ff., Ter. *Eun.* 219, Meleager *A.P.* 5.166 and 7.195f.; after him see Hor. *Od.* 1.25.7f., Verg. *Aen.* 4.5, Crinag. *A.P.* 5.119, etc. It becomes a favourite topos of the elegists: see Prop. 1.1.33, 1.3.39f., 1.11.5, 2.17.3, 2.22b.47, 2.25.47 and 4.3.31f., Tib. 1.2.77-80 and 2.4.11, Ov. *Am.* 1.2.1-4, *A.A.* 1.735 and *Her.* 12.171, and also Lygd. (= Tib.3.)4.19f. See McKeown (1987- , vol. 2) *ad loc.* for further references. Catullus plays with this topos at 50.10-15.

5 sancta Venus   'Holy, sacred Venus'. *Sanctus* is rare in Roman cult, except for where Oriental influences can be detected (thus Kroll on Cat. 36.3), but is regularly used for the gods by Latin poets starting with Livius Andronicus, who called Juno *sancta puer Saturni* (*Od. frg.* 16 Warmington = *frg.* 12 *FPL³*). It seems to have been used in imitation of Greek honorific adjectives such as δῖε and μ□καρ (Kroll, *loc. cit.*) and is used of a wide range of deities (see *OLD* s.v. *sanctus*, 3), but love poets apply it especially often to Venus and her son: for the former compare also 36.3f. *sanctae Veneri Cupidinique / uouit* and [Tib.] 4.13.23 *Veneris sanctae considam uinctus ad aras* (after line 15 *hoc tibi sancta tuae Iunonis numina iuro*), and for the latter Cat. 64.95 *sancte puer* and Tib. 2.1.81 *sancte, ueni*.

Venus is present here as the divine administrator of love, including physical love (compare 61.61-64 *nil potest sine te Venus, / fama quod bona conprobet, / commodi capere, at potest / te iuuante*). sancta Venus hardly indicates "the goddess of faithful love", as Ellis would have it: he bases his opinion on Cat. 36.3 and [Tib.] 4.13.23 (both quoted above), but in fact those passages associate *sancta Venus* not with monogamy but with love that is fulfilled and fulfilling: compare the epithet at 61.195f. bona te Venus / iuuerit.

While the reference to the goddess stresses the potentially soothing effects of Venus that Manlius cannot experience, it also elevates the register: Manlius' sexual frustration receives a theological dimension. Note that the epithet prevents the reader from taking *Venus* in a more profane sense, to mean 'erotic charm' and even 'sexual intercourse', as possibly at Cat. 61.44 and 63.17 (contrast Prop. 4.7.19 *saepe Venus triuio commissa est*, and see further *OLD* s.v. *Venus* 3 & 4).

molli requiescere somno   *mollis* is a standard Latin epithet for beds and bedding (see *TLL* 8.1372.48-65). It is used frequently of *somnus* in poetry from Ennius onwards (Enn. *Ann.* 367-8 S., Lucr. 3.112, Verg. *Geo.* 2.470 and 3.435, Tib. 1.2.76 and Ov. *Met.* 1.685); Catullus writes *in quiete molli* at 63.38 and 63.44. However, it does not occur in prose until Seneca's letters (see *TLL* 8.1375.49-55).

Parthenius took *molli ... somno* not with *requiescere* but with *desertum* – but that would result in an awkward word-order; it is better to take *molli somno* as an ablative of cause with *requiescere*, which these two words embrace, and *desertum* on its own. It is somewhat unusual to find *requiescere* with the activity or state that brings one rest in the ablative – but compare Quint. *Inst.* 1.12.4 *stilus lectione requiescit*, and less losely also Cicero *contra contionem Q. Metelli, frg.* 6 Puccioni (*ap.* Prisc. *Inst.* 10.18 = *GL* 2.510.10f.) *nisi eorum exitio non requieturam*. The verb normally takes the ablative of the place of rest (*requiescere lecto*,

Prop. 1.8.33 and Tib. 1.1.43; *terra requieuit ... Sabaea*, Ov. *Met.* 10.480) or *in* with the ablative of the state or activity giving one rest (Cic. *Cael.* 79 *in huius spe requiescit*, *de Orat.* 2.234 *requiescam in Caesaris sermone quasi in ... deuersorio*, Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.27 *in hac lectione requiescendum*).

Catullus' phrase is echoed by Maximian *Eleg.* 1.39 *quamuis exiguo poteram requiescere somno*.

6   This line is echoed by line 29 (see *ad loc.*) and also by Ovid at *Her.* 1.7 *non ego deserto iacuissem frigida lecto* and 13.107 *aucupor in lecto mendaces caelibe somnos* and by Seneca at *Ag.* 184-186 *neue desertus foret / a paelice umquam barbara caelebs torus, / ablatam Achilli diligit Lyrnesida* (Clytemestra of Agamemnon). There might also be an echo at Sen. *H.F.* 245f. *caelibis semper tori / regina*.

desertum   This is the only word within Catullus 68a that characterizes the misfortune that has befallen the addressee as some particular event. In view of its potential weight, it should be considered carefully.

desertus started its existence as the perfect past participle of *desero* (for a nearly complete list of occurrences see *TLL* 5.1.684.38-55). *desero* and *desertus* share a somewhat complex history. In Plautus *desero* simply refers to the action of abandoning people, not in an erotic but in a practical or an ethical sense, while *desertus* is absent from the existing plays (it is attested as an inferior textual variant in the sole surviving fragment of the *Agroecus*). *desertus* comes to be used later along these lines: still free from erotic overtones, it means 'shunned by men', 'abandoned', 'an outcast', in Terence (*Ph.* 751 *ego autem, quae essem anus deserta egens ignota*), Accius (*trag.* 415 *exul inter hostis, exspes expers desertus uagus*), Cato the Elder (*orat.* 204 *ecquis incultior, religiosior, desertior, publicis negotis repulsior?*), Cicero (*Verr.* 2.4.146 *o desertum hominem, desperatum, relictum!* and *Q.fr.* 3.1.15 *ad urbem accessit ...; nihil turpius nec desertius*), Lucretius (6.1242 *desertos, opis expertis*) and others (see further *TLL* 5.1.684.55-7). On one occasion *desertus* is found with erotic overtones in this general sense in Terence (*Heaut.* 391 *desertae uiuimus*, of aging prostitutes who have lost their clients). A major change in meaning can be detected in Catullus. He uses *desertus* in a double sense, for erotic as well as existential abandonment by one particular person, for Ariadne abandoned on Naxos by Theseus at 64.57 *desertam in sola miseram se cernat harena*. Later poets continue to apply the word to abandoned heroines (Virgil to Creusa at *Aen.* 2.562 and Ovid to Scylla at *Met.* 8.113 and to Ariadna at 8.176). But in Catullus we also encounter an entirely erotic use of *desertus* for abandonment by one single person: for that of the newlywed Berenice whose husband has left her to go on a campaign (66.21 *et tu non orbum luxti deserta cubile*) and that of the slave-boy whose master has transferred his attentions to his young bride (61.122f. *desertum domini audiens / concubinus amorem*). By this time *desero* seems to have become the *uox propria* fore the action of erotic abandonment, possibly in parallel with a shift in morals; there might simply not have been much need for such a word in the more puritanical world of the 2nd century B.C. Later poets continue to use *desero* in the same sense of abandoning one's lover (cfr. Prop. 1.3.43, 2.8.29, 2.17.3, 2.18.8 and 2.21.46, Verg. *Aen.* 2.572, and Ov. *Rem.* 215 and *Her.* 5.75).

Here *desertum* could mean two things: either 'abandoned', 'left behind' by one particular partner (this is the later use) or 'abandoned', 'shunned' by lovers or by people in general (this is the earlier use). One has to

choose between these interpretations on the basis of the context. In view of *in lecto caelibe* I think that the former is much more likely to be correct, but it is not possible to achieve certainty in this matter.

There has also been proposed a third interpretation: that *desertum* would mean 'left behind', 'left alone' and would indicate no more than a temporary separation of the addressee from his partner (thus Coppel 1973: 22f.). In fact there is no evidence for such a usage, and the parallels that have been adduced are merely apparent. At Cat. 66.21 (quoted above) Berenice, whose husband has left her temporarily to go on a campaign, is called *deserta*: but there the poet uses strong language in a tongue-in-cheek attempt to exaggerate Berenice's predicament (note that in the same verse he writes about her 'orphaned bed', her *orbum ... cubile*). Nor is it relevant that in a series of passages imitating this one Propertius and Ovid always speak of temporary separation and never of total abandonment (thus Prop. 3.6.23 *gaudet me uacuo solam tabescere lecto*, Ov. *Am.* 3.19.42 *cur totiens uacuo secubet ipsa toro* and 3.10.2 *secubat in uacuo sola puella toro*, *Ars* 2.370 *et timet in uacuo sola cubare toro* and *Her.* 16.317f. *sola iaces uiduo tam longa nocte cubili / in uiduo iaceo solus et ipse toro*): Propertius and Ovid did not know any more than we did about Manlius' personal circumstances, they were free to re-use Catullan phrases as they saw fit, and it is easy to see that their plots are less radical in general than those of Catullus: Lesbia can betray or abandon Catullus and leave him half dead, but long-term (if fickle) attachments are a characteristic feature of Augustan love elegy. Likewise, *abrepta desertus coniuge Achilles* at Prop. 2.8.29 (Briseis has been taken from him by force, and against her will) indicates not that in this version of the story she went to Agamemnon of her own accord, but that Achilles felt no better than if she had done so. In general, it is possible to *desertus* (or any other word) otherwise than literally as long as it is clear from the context how the word is to be understood: but if there is no such indication, it has to be taken literally. Catullus 68a provides no such indication, so one has to take *desertus* in one of the senses in which it is attested unambiguously in an erotic context, to mean 'abandoned by a lover' or 'shunned by all'.

G's slip *disertum* is understandable in view of the attention Catullus pays elsewhere to eloquence (cfr. 22.2, 49.1 and 50.7f., and note *disertum* at 53.5).

in lecto caelibe   Manlius' bed is *caelebs*; that is, a term characterizing its owner has been transferred by enallage to the bed itself. It is the question what *caelebs* tells us about Manlius' personal circumstances.

Ovid writes of Pygmalion that *sine coniuge caelebs / uiuebat thalamique diu consorte carebat* (*Met.* 10.245f.). A man can be called *caelebs* if he is unmarried or, as Ovid puts it, *sine coniuge*: that is to say that he can be a bachelor, a widower or a divorcé. This is the meaning of the term in legal texts at Gai. *Inst.* 2.111 and 2.286, cfr. 2.144, Ulp. *Reg.* 8.6 and 17.1, and see also *CIL* 2.1964 = *Lex Municipii Malacitani* at 2.35f. In literary texts it is often contrasted with *maritus*: see Pl. *Cas.* 290 and *Merc.* 1018, Sen. *Epist.* 94.8, Quint. *Inst.* 5.10.26 and *Decl. Min.* 247 p. 12 Ritter, Suet. *Galba* 5 and Calp. *Decl.* 22. In two cases the word is found with the meaning 'widower', at Prop. 4.11.94 *caelibis ad curas nec uacet ulla uia* (Cornelia instructs her children to take care of their father after her death) and at Pliny *N.H.* 10.104 *nisi caelebs aut uidua nidum non relinquit* (of the dove).

In the present passage *caelibe* evidently indicates that Manlius lacks a spouse, or indeed any kind of partner – but how exactly? Schwabe (1862: 1.343) and Hartman (1916: 93) think that the word indicates that he is a widower; but in fact *caelebs* only carries this meaning on two isolated occasions (see above) and there are further problems with their theory. Catullus calls Manlius *desertus*, 'abandoned' or 'shunned', and even if his wife should have 'left' him by committing suicide, this would hardly be a suitable term to refer to a bereaved person; Manlius has asked Catullus for *munera Veneris*, that is, alternative sources of sexual satisfaction, which is hardly typical of bereaved husbands in deep mourning; and the poem suggests as a whole not that Manlius has been widowed, but that he has received a bitter blow of some sort himself, and he is now trying to cope with the consequences.

It would suit the context better if *caelibe* were to mean 'single', 'alone', i.e. lacking not a spouse but a partner (this is the suggestion of Quinn 1969: 108, n. 15 and Sarkissian 1983: 47, n. 16). In this case Manlius would have been left behind (*desertus*) by his partner – presumably by a woman, as Most (1981: 122, n. 52) rightly points out that *caelebs* is not found elsewhere in a homoerotic context, while same-sex marriage is only attested in ancient Rome from the 1st century A.D. onwards (see Williams 1999: 245-252; some of these unions involved the eccentric Emperors Nero and Elagabalus, others only lesser citizens). But elsewhere *caelebs* always means 'lacking a spouse' and never 'lacking a partner'. Catullus could have taken the liberty to extend the meaning of the word in this direction. One should note that since Roman society never fully condoned extramarital liaisons, there does not appear to have been a stable set of terms describing such affairs and the roles that are possible within them: there was nothing like the set of terms in modern English, which has one set of terms for liaisons that do not involve marriage ('boyfriend', 'girlfriend', 'partner', 'relationship' and 'single') and another for those that do ('wife', 'husband', 'spouse', 'marriage' and 'unmarried'). Elsewhere Catullus drew on the language of friendship to describe his relationship with Lesbia (see Reitzenstein 1912: 30f.); here he could be drawing on the language of marriage. Still, it is awkward that *caelebs* is not attested in this sense.

Coppel (1973: 22) argues that since at Ov. *Her.* 13.105 and Sen. *Ag.* 185 *caelebs* refers to people who have been separated temporarily from their spouse, the word may well mean the same here, that Allius' beloved has just gone on a journey. However, it is questionable whether one can regard as parallels passages in which *caelebs* is used to describe not separation in general, but separation of a dramatic and potentially definitive sort: that of Laodamia and Clytemestra whose husbands have gone to fight under Troy. (In both cases the word is used with a degree of tragic prescience: both Laodamia and Clytemestra will see their marriage end, for different reasons.) *caelebs* is certainly not used anywhere for someone whose spouse has gone to the neighbours', or to the next town.

The most straightforward interpretation of the word may be the most literal one. Manlius' bed may be called *caelebs* simply because he is unmarried. Perhaps his wife left him, or he simply thought that he was sexually frustrated because he did not have a wife. The former hypothesis would go well with *desertus*, though less well with Manlius' request that Catullus find him an alternative source of sexual satisfaction. The latter

would agree well with Manlius' reproach to Catullus reported in lines 27-29, but less well with the desperate tone of his letter (compare lines 1-4).

caelebs stands in agreement not with Manlius but with his bed; *in lecto caelibe* effectively means *in lecto caelibis*. Some of the phrases in which we find this type of enallage have a colloquial feel to them: note Cat. 6.6 *uiduas noctes* and the common expression *caelebs uita*, though that is not attested before the Augustan period (it is found at Hor. *Epist.* 1.1.88, Ov. *Her.* 13.107 and *Tr.* 2.163, Sen. *Phaed.* 231 and 478, Tac. *Ann.* 12.1 and Gell. 5.11.2). In poetry Catullus appears to have started a fad of applying to a piece of furniture an adjective characterizing the marital or romantic state of a person: note Cat. 66.21 *orbum ... cubile* and 67.6 *ianua ... facta marita*, Ov. *Her.* 1.7 *deserto ... lecto* and 13.107 *in lecto ... caelibe*, and also *caelebs torus* at Sen. *Ag.* 185 and *H.F.* 245. Here the device provides Catullus with a valuable opportunity to characterize Manlius with another epithet alongside *desertum* (he hardly ever lets two adjectives stand in agreement).

perpetitur This word is echoed elegantly by *peruigilat* in line 8: see on lines 5-8.

The use of the indicative (note also *oblectant*) in this relative clause with a causal colouring is not an archaism, as Heusch (1954: 150-152) believes: compare e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 14.31 *o fortunata mors, quae natura debita pro patria est potissimum reddita*. Not all such *qui*-clauses take the subjunctive in classical Latin, though it is not completely clear why some do and others do not. Kühner-Stegmann (2.292, with references) state that they take a subjunctive "if the cause ... is not an external, objective one, but arises from the essence, from the character of the person or thing"[187] involved, while Hale (1887-89: 2.118) observes that "since Plautus' time [the subjunctive] has become the habitual mode after *ut qui, utpote qui*, and *quippe qui* … and … also … after adjectives indicating qualities the operation of which would bring about the act of the *qui*-clause"; see also the more summary discussions by Hoffmann-Szantyr 2.559f. and Handford 1946: 165-167.

7f. Another allegorical passage: the Muses do not soothe Manlius with the sweet song of the writers of old, as his troubles keep him awake. Either he tried reading these authors, but they failed to distract him, or he did not have enough books to hand (this seems likely but I do not think that it can be ruled out).

What kind of literature is Catullus thinking of? He characterizes it as "the sweet song (*carmine*) of the writers of old", which certainly does not imply that old poetry is bad, while new poetry is good: we are not dealing with a *querelle des anciens et des modernes*. Fordyce writes that "the Greek poets must be meant; neither Catullus nor anyone who shared his tastes would have used *dulcis* of the older school of Latin poetry", but in fact there is little evidence to suggest that Catullus was hostile to earlier Roman poets: he reserves his criticism for contemporaries (see *carmina* 22, 36 and 95) and for the Greek poet Antimachus of Colophon (at 95.10) and echoes Ennius extensively (see Froebel 1910 and the index to Kroll's commentary; cfr. also lines 135n. and 138n. below). The idea that the "neoteric poets" disliked Ennius goes back to Cicero (at *Tusc.* 3.45), who may have been more familiar with their writings than with their literary tastes. Valerius Cato was a philologist *avant la lettre* and was evidently quite fond of Lucilius, whom he emended (see [Hor.] *Sat.* 1.10.1-3). The anthology of bad verse sent to Catullus by Licinius Calvus contained the works of

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[187] "Er [*d.h.* der Konjunktiv] steht namentlich, wenn der gegebene Grund kein äußerlicher, objektiver ist, sondern sich aus dem Wesen und Charakter der Person oder Sache ergibt ..."

contemporaries; and it made Catullus exclaim that bad poets were the plague of his own epoch, not of the past (14.22). Like Callimachus, the "neoteric poets" appear to have been interested in earlier authors and impatient with contemporaries whom they judged inferior. As a result, one can hardly tell whether it was reading Latin or Greek authors that Manlius could not get to sleep.

The power of poetry to heal the lovesick mind is a familiar theme from earlier Greek poetry. It is first attested in the beginning of the 4th century in the dithyramb *Cyclops* or *Galatea* by Philoxenus of Cythera (see frg. 822 *PMG*), whence it was taken over by Theocritus (11 *passim* and esp. 11.1-3) and Callimachus (*epigr.* 46 Pfeiffer). However, these three authors use this theme in one rather peculiar context, the story of Polyphemus, who consoled himself with poetry after he was rejected by his beloved Galatea. The ungainly Cyclops consoled himself with poems of his own making, while Manlius would like to distract himself by reading the works of others; the parallel is hardly relevant here.

7f.   nec ueterum dulci scriptorum carmine Musae / oblectant   It seems the most natural to take *ueterum ... scriptorum* with *dulci ... carmine*, so that this phrase means 'nor do the Muses please with the sweet song of the writers of old'. However, Kroll compares Eur. *Med.* 421f. Μο⌈!αι δ′ παλαιγενῨῶν λ→φου!□ □οιδ∩ν / τ□ν ⁄μ□ν | μνε⌊!αι □πι!το!⌐ναν (there □οιδ∩ν comes from □οιδ⟩! 'singer'; also attested is the variant □οιδ□ν, from □οιδ→ 'song', but it is surely inferior: see Page 1938 *ad loc.*); if that is echoed here, then *ueterum ... scriptorum* have to go with *Musae* and one must translate 'nor do the Muses of the writers of old please with their sweet song'.

It is an attractive conceit that the goddesses of literary production fail to soothe Manlius with poetry: Catullus writes as if they were sitting by Manlius' bedside and reciting poetry to him. From Homer onwards the view of Greek poets was that the Muses filled them with inspiration; Catullus considers them no longer as the ultimate source, but merely as the benevolent patrons of all good poetry. Compare lines 41-46n. below ('Muses, I tell you this, so that you may pass it on to thousands of readers') and poem 105 (the Muses do not let Mamurra ascend their mountain) and contrast *munera Musarum* in line below and *Musarum fetus* at 65.3, which reflect the older view.

7   ueterum … scriptorum   *ueteres scriptores* is a standard expression in prose for classical authors: cfr. Cic. *Arch.* 18, *Inv.* 2.6, *Div.* 1.31 and *Brut.* 205, Liv. 3.23.7, Val. Max. 4.2.1, Fronto *Epist.* p. 18.17 Naber = 14.13 van den Hout[2] and p. 62.14 Naber = 56.19 van den Hout[2], Gel. 1.4.8, 1.7.18, 5.6.27 etc. It carried positive and even honorific overtones: compare Tac. *Ann.* 2.83.3 *satis inlustre si ueteres inter scriptores haberetur*.

dulci … carmine   The singular *carmine* is abstract ('song', 'singing') and not concrete ('a poem'): compare 64.24 *uos ego saepe meo, uos carmine compellabo*, 90.5 *gratus ut accepto ueneretur carmine diuos* and perhaps even *confectum carmine munus* in line 149 below.

8   oblectant   Such a clause can take an indicative as well as a subjunctive: see on line 6 *perpetitur*.

mens anxia peruigilat 'His troubled mind keeps awake'. A powerful phrase to describe Manlius' suffering: in *mens anxia* the ictus coincides with the word-accent and in *peruigilat* with the intensifying prefix, which gives these words an emphatic and almost intense quality.

anxius does not mean 'worried' (*OLD*), and certainly not 'worried about something', but rather 'oppressed', 'troubled', 'distressed'. Having been abandoned by Theseus, Ariadne is *anxia* (64.203). Cicero felt that the word was connected to *angere* and *angor* (*Tusc.* 4.27 and 4.57).

peruigilet is found in some of the *recentiores* and was printed by Scaliger. However, purely temporal *cum*-clauses take the indicative (Wackernagel 1926: 1.244) and we are dealing with such a clause here: Manlius is not relieved by poetry while he lies awake, and not because he is doing so. There is no need to change the indicative found in the principal MSS.

A number of later writers describe anxiety and waking using similar language: note Sen. *Thy.* 570f. *pauidusque pinnis / anxiae nocti uigil incubabat* and *Dial.* 1.3.10 *licet ... mille uoluptatibus mentem anxiam fallat, tam uigilabit in pluma quam ille in cruce*, Stat. *Silv.* 3.5.1f. *Quid mihi maesta die, sociis quid noctibus, uxor, / anxia peruigili ducis suspiria cura?*, Sil. 8.209 *anxia ducebat uigili suspiria corde* (thus Bentley: *uoce* MSS) and less closely even Ov. *Met.* 13.370f. *uigili date praemia uestro / proque tot annorum cura, quibus anxius egi*. None show a clear debt to Catullus; they rather suggest that *anxius* and (*per*)*uigilare* were two set elements in descriptions of mental distress in Latin.

9 id Used in a loose epistolary construction after *Quod* 'as to' in line 1 (see *ad loc.*), which it does not simply pick up: 'As to your sending me this little letter ..., this is ...'. Compare *quod ... , id ...* in lines 27-30 below.

gratum est mihi On its own, *gratum est* is a simple 'I'm grateful', 'thank you' ('*uox gratias agentis*', *TLL* 6.2.2261.35-50). For the construction *gratum est id quod*, especially common in letters, see on *Quod* in line 1; in Catullus compare also 2b.11f. *tam gratum est mihi quam ferunt puellae / pernici aureolum fuisse malum*.

me quoniam tibi dicis amicum Catullus expresses satisfaction that Manlius has called him a friend. The fact that this needed stating implies that they will have been acquaintances rather than close friends (thus Thomson *ad loc.* and Skinner 2003: 152), though *gratum* hardly suggests "Catullus' polite surprise at Manlius' claim to friendship" (Wiseman 1974b: 102).

quoniam does not introduce a subject or object clause amplifying *id* (cfr. Heusch 1954: 101-103) but is properly causal; Thomson correctly translates it as 'inasmuch as'. For *amicus alicui* 'a friend to', 'a friend of' see further *TLL* 1.1903.51-1904.5. *dicis* is found in the principal MSS, but the humanistic conjecture *ducis* (accepted by Calphurnius and some other earlier editors) is not unattractive: 'inasmuch as you consider me a friend' is certainly smoother than 'inasmuch as you call me a friend'. However, the transmitted reading finds some support in Cic. *dom.* 68 *qui me ... amiciorem uobis ceterisque ciuibus quam mihi extitisse ... dixit*.

10 '… and that (it is) from here (that) you seek the gifts both of the Muses and of Venus': Catullus describes his friend's request through an elegantly allusive phrase. The circumlocution and the reference to the goddesses elevate the tone of the passage, but do not make it easy to understand for the general reader. What has Manlius asked Catullus for? The matter is controversial. There are those who take *munera et Musarum et Veneris* to refer to one single entity, that is, love poetry. Meanwhile, others distinguish the *munera Musarum* from the *munera Veneris*. In this case *munera Musarum* must evidently refer to some sort of poetry; *munera Veneris* could refer to a girlfriend or a prostitute, to sex with Catullus, or even to love poetry.

Proponents of the first view sometimes treat *munera et Musarum et Veneris* as a sort of a hendiadys (thus most recently Trappes-Lomax 2007: 230). In ἓν διὰ δυοῖν means 'one through two', and the hendiadys is variously defined as a "figure of speech in which a single complex idea is expressed by two words connected by a conjunction" (*OLD*), "putting two substantives connected by a copulative conjunction, instead of one substantive and an adjective or attributive genitive" (Gildersleeve-Lodge 436) and a "coordinative accumulation replacing a subordinative one"[188] (Lausberg 1960: 340). Some unambiguous examples are Cic. *Ver.* 2.5.36 *ad memoriam posteritatemque* (i.e. 'to the memory of prosperity') and Verg. *Geo.* 2.192 *pateris et auro* (i.e. 'with cups of gold', 'with golden cups'). In these cases we are dealing with two substantives that are grammatically juxtaposed even though they form a unified concept, for which one would expect "one substantive and an adjective or attributive genitive" (Gildersleeve-Lodge, *loc. cit.*). That is not the case here, so it is best to drop the term 'hendiadys'. What is at stake here is whether *munera et Musarum et Veneris* refer to two groups of gifts, one coming from the Muses and the other from Venus, or to one single group of gifts originating from the Muses and Venus. The question is whether or not two nouns in the genitive depending on a plural noun and linked to one another by *et ... et ...* split the group of items described by the plural noun into two sub-groups. There are some parallels (cfr. *TLL* 5.2.55-57):

• Cic. *Ver.* 2.1.60 *et istius et patris eius accepi tabulas omnis ... patris quoad uixit, tuas, quoad ais te confecisse.* 'I have received all the account-books both of this individual and of his father …, those of his father for as long as he lived, those of you for as long as you claim to have kept them.' All the account-books of either person, one set for each.
• Cic. *Clu.* 192 *quantos et uirorum et mulierum gemitus esse factos* 'How many groans both of men and of women there had been' - that is, groans by men and groans by women.
• Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 30 *et C. Mari et ceterorum uirorum ... mentis* (an accusative plural). 'The minds both of Gaius Marius and of other men': one of each.

Here the two genitives always sub-divide the plural on which they depend into smaller groups, or into individual items. This would seem to confirm the suspicion raised by Schöll (1880: 472, accepted by Thomson as correct) that *et ... et ...* is strongly disjunctive, that it sets off against each other the items that it

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[188] „Eine koordinierende Häufung anstelle einer subordinierenden Häufung".

introduces. Now the construction that we are looking at is both elaborate and very rare, and one could object that it did not have a constant meaning, but writers could make it up and use it as they saw fit. However, two other paths of thought lead to the same conclusion.

A number of ancient writers refer to the gifts of the Muses and to those of Venus. As a correct analysis of *munera et Musarum et Veneris* is essential for an understanding of poem 68a, I give an exhaustive list.

A) MUNERA MUSARUM

(i) Kingly eloquence

• Hesiod, *Theogony* 93   το⇔η Μου!□ϖν ⇓ερ↓ δ)!ι! □νψρ⊕ποι!ιν.   In the twelve lines before this one Hesiod has described how a king is able, thanks to the favours of the Muses, to speak well in public, to earn the people's respect and to make wise judgements.

(iia) μου!ικ→, the art of composing songs (or poems)

• Archil. *frg*. 1 West   ε⇒μ⇐ δ□ /γ∅ ψερ□πϖν μ′ν □Ενυαλ⇔οιο □νακτο! / κα⇐ Μου!Υϖν /ρατ∫ν δ∩ρον /πι!τ□μενο! ...

• Solon *frg*. 13.51f. West   □λλο! □Ολυμπι□δϖν Μου!Υϖν π□ρα δ∩ρα διδαξψε⇔!, / ⇓μερτ°! !οφ⇔η! μΥτρον /πι!τ□μενο! …

• *Lyr. Adesp*. 959 *PMG*   ο⌈ γ□ρ/ν μΥ!οι!ι κε⌈⌈ται / δ∩ρα δυ!μ□ξητα Μοι!□ν / τ∪πιτυξ)ντι φΥρειν.

• Antipater of Sidon, *AP* 7.14.1-4 & 7f. Σαπφ⊕ τοι κε⌈ψει!, ξψ∅ν Α⇒ολ⇔, τ□ν μετ□ Μο⌈!αι! / □ψαν□ται! ψνατ□ν Μο⌊!αν □ειδομΥναν, / □ν Κ⌈πρι! κα⇐ □Ερϖ! !υν□μз ƒτραφον, □! μΥτα Πειψ⊕ / ƒπλεκ□ □ε⇔ζϖον Πιερ⇔δϖν !τΥφανον ... □οιδ∩ι / □φψιτα μνη!αμΥναι δ∩ρ□ □Ελικϖνι□δϖν. Sappho is described as 'the singer mindful of the immortal gifts of the Muses'. Note how in the first part of the epigram she is associated both with the Muses (to whom she belongs) and with Aphrodite and Eros (who educated him).

• Also Anacreon *frg*. 2 West, quoted below under *C*.

(iib) μου!ικ→, song (poetry and music combined, as in early Greek poetry) or poetry

• Hesiod, *Theogony* 103   ... ταξΥϖ! δ′ παρΥτραπε δ∩ρα ψε□ϖν.   The 'gifts of the goddesses' (of the Muses: see line 100) are the song of the □οιδο⇔ and the κιψαρι!τα⇔ (see lines 96-103), which 'easily change the mind' of a person who is sad.

• Alcman, *frg*. 59b *PMGF*   το⌊το Ωαδη□ν ƒδειφε Μϖ!□ν / δ∩ρον μ□καιρα παρ!Υνϖν / □ φανψ□ Μεγαλο!τρ□τα.   We know nothing about the context of this fragment, but the poet appears to be describing a song that Megalostrata has performed.

- Theognis 249f.   ο⌈ξ ⟨ππων ν⊕τοι!ιν ⁄φ→μενο!, □λλ□ !ε πΥμχει / □γλα□ <u>Μου!□ων δ⌒ρα</u> ⇒ο!τεφ□νϖν.   Theognis' friend Cyrnus will be transported through Greece by 'the splendid gifts of the violet-crowned Muses', i.e. Theognis' poems.

- *Theognidea* 1056-58   α⌊λει, κα⇐ <u>Μου!⌒ν</u> μνη!⟩μεψ□ □μφ⟩τεροι: / α□ται γ□ρ τ□δ□ ƒδϖκαν ƒξειν κεξαρι!μΥνα <u>δ⌒ρα</u> / !ο⇐ κα⇐ ⁄μο⇔, ⟨μΥλο⟩μεν δ□ □μφιπερικτ⇔ο!ιν.   The addressee should play the *aulos* and along with the speaker they should 'remember the Muses', as they have given them 'these pleasing gifts', that they sing 'to those living all around': the Muses' gifts are song and music.

- Bacchylides 19.3f.   There are countless ways of song for the man ⌉! □ν <u>παρ□ Πιερ⇔δϖν λ□–</u> / ξη!ι <u>δ⌒ρα Μου!□ν</u> ...   – that is, who knows how to compose poetry.

- [Leonidas of Tarentum], *AP* 7.715.5f.   ο⌊νομα δ□ ο⌈κ ≥μυ!ε Λεϖν⇔δου: α⌈τ□ με <u>δ⌒ρα</u> / κηρ⌈!!ει <u>Μου!Υϖν</u> π□ντα!⁄π□ ±ελ⇔ου!.   His poetic achievements have ensured immortality for Leonidas.

- Horace, *Epist.* 2.1.243   *ad libros et ad <u>haec</u> <u>Musarum dona</u>*   'To (these) books, and these gifts of the Muses': to books and their contents; the context shows that these are the poems of Choerilus of Iasus.

(a variant on iib) 'the gifts of the Muses and of Apollo' = μου!ικ→

- Plato, *Lg.* 796E6   Τ∫ το⇔νυν το⌈τοι! ∞φ°! περ⇐ <u>τ□ τ□ν Μου!⌒ν τε κα⇐ □Απ⟩λλϖνο! δ⌒ρα</u> ... With this term Plato refers back to another passage (664B-673B), where he had been discussing choral singing.

B) *MUNERA VENERIS*

(i) erotic attractivity, sex-appeal

- *Iliad* 3.54f.   ο⌈κ □ν τοι ξρα⇔!μηι κ⇔ψαρι! <u>τ□ τε δ⌒ρ□ □Αφροδ⇔τη!</u>, / ⁄ κε κ⟩μη τ⟩ τε ε™δο!, ⌊τ□ ⁄ν κον⇔ηι!ι μιγε⇔η!.   Paris' beauty (his hair and his looks) would be of little use to him if he were to lie in the dust.   Thus also Paris' response *ibid.* 3.64f.   μ→ μοι <u>δ⌒ρ□⁄ρατ□ πρ⟩φερε ξρυ!Υη! □Αφροδ⇔τη!</u>: / ο⌊ τοι □π⟩βλητ□⁄!τ⇐ ψεϖν⁄ρικυδΥα δ⌒ρα...

- *Theognidea* 1303f.   ο⌈κΥτι δηρ∫ν / ♣φει! Κυπρογενο⟨! <u>δ⌒ρον</u> ⇒ο!τεφ□νου.   The speaker encourages a young boy to yield to him 'for you will not possess for long the gift of the violet-crowned goddess who sprung forth on Cyprus.'

(ii) love-making, sexual intercourse

- Mimnermus *frg.* 1.1-3 West   τ⇔! δ′ β⇔ο!, τ⇔ δ′ τερπν∫ν □τερ ξρυ!°! <u>□Αφροδ⇔τη!</u>; / τεψνα⇔ην, ⌊τε μοι μηκΥτι τα⌊τα μΥλοι, / κρυπταδ⇔η φιλ⟩τη! κα⇐ με⇔λιξα <u>δ⌒ρα</u> κα⇐ ε⌈ν→ ...   In Mimnermus' rather repetitive list of benefits that Aphrodite bestows on mankind, 'the gifts' stand between 'furtive love-making' and 'going to bed'. Note the echoes of *Il.* 3.64f.

- *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 102f.   Demeter looked like an old woman × τε τ〉κοιο / εϑργηται <u>δ⊕ρϖν</u> τε φιλοστεφ□νου □Αφροδ⇔τη!, 'who has been debarred from giving birth and from the gifts of garland-loving Aphrodite'.

- [Hesiod], *Ehoiai*, *frg.* 76.5-10 Merkelbach-West   ∂ μϒν =α π[οδ⊕κη! δ⏟□ □Αταλ□ντη / 〈ετ□ □ναινομϒνη <u>δ ⎺ρα</u> ⎺[ξρυ!°! □Αφροδ⇔τη!, / τ∩ι δ′ ⎺περ⇐ χυξ°! πϒλε[το δρ〉μο!, ±′ □λ∩ναι / ± ⎺′ φυ ⎺γ ε⏟ν: τ ∩ι κα⇔ =α δολο ⎺[φρονϒϖν προ!ϒειπεν: / ∀∈ ⎺ψ〈γατερ Σξοιν°ο!, □μ[ε⇔λιξον •τορ ƒξου!α, / δ]ϒ ⎺φο τ□δ□ ⎺□γλα ⎺[□] δ∩ρ ⎺α ψ ⎺ε ⎺[□! ξρυ!°! □Αφροδ⇔τη! ...   Atalanta refused 'the gifts of golden Aphrodite'.   Note the echo of *Il.* 3.64 in the last line.

- [Hesiod], *Ehoiai*, *frg.* 195 Merkelbach-West = [Hesiod], *Scutum* 46-47   παvv〈ξιο! δ□ □ρ□ ƒλεκτο !‖ν α⇒δο⇔ηι παρακο⇔τι / τερπ〉μενο! <u>δ⊕ροι!ι</u> πολυξρ〈!ου □Αφροδ⇔τη!.   On Amphitryon.   Apparently another echo of *Il.* 3.64.

(iii) marriage
- *Theognidea* 1293f.   Atalante went to the mountain-tops   φε〈γου!□ ⇓μερ〉εντα γ□μον, ξρυ!°! <u>□Αφροδ⇔τη!</u> / <u>δ∩ρα</u> ...   Another Iliadic echo.

(iv) a partner
- Euripides, *I.A.* 180f.   Π□ρι! ∫ βουκ〉λο! □ν ƒλαβε / <u>δ∩ρον τ□! □Αφροδ⇔τα!</u> ...   Of Helen.

(v) erotic delights, pleasurable thoughts of love?
- Anacreon *frg.* 2 West, quoted under *C* below.

C) MUNERA MUSARUM AND MUNERA VENERIS MENTIONED TOGETHER

- Anacreon *frg.* 2 West   ο⌠ φιλϒϖ, ⌉! κρητ°ρι παρ□ πλϒϖι ο⇒νοποτ□ζϖν / νε⇔κεα κα⇐ π〉λεμον δακρυ〉εντα λϒγει, / □λλ∋ ⌠!τι! Μου!ϒϖν τε κα⇐ <u>□γλα□ δ∩ρ□ □Αφροδ⇔τη!</u> / !υμμ⇔!γϖν ∕ρατ°! μν→!κεται ε⌠φρο!〈νη!.   Anacreon writes of 'mixing the splendid gifts of the Muses and of Aphrodite' at a party: that is, mixing the gifts of the Muses, that is, poems (*A* ii above), apparently with erotic delights, pleasurable thoughts of love (*B* v). Anacreon is probably thinking of the banqueter who likes erotic verse rather than of the author of sympotic love poetry.

D) A variant: the ƒργα of Aphrodite, Dionysus and the Muses

• Solon *frg*. 26 West   ƒργα δ′ Κυπρογενο⊔! ν⎸ν μοι φ⇔λα κα⇐ Διον⎛!ου / κα⇐ Μου!Υϖν, ☐ τ⇔ψη!☐ ☐νδρ☐!ιν ε⎾φρο!⎛να!   Solon expresses his liking for the *ƒργα* of Aphrodite, Dionysus and the Muses, the works or actions proper to each of them – that is, presumably, making love, drinking and reciting poetry.

Isolated instances (*A* i) apart, 'the gifts of the Muses' and 'the gifts of Aphrodite/Venus' were used in ancient literature not for anything that these goddesses happened to have given to a man, but for their characteristic or stereotypical gifts to mankind. This may well be illustrated with the help of Solon's fragment 13 West. This is the first part of the poem, at the start of which Solon prays to the Muses (lines 1-8: Μο⎸!αι Πιερ⇔δε!, κλ⎸τΥ μοι ε⎾ξομΥν⊗: / ⎞λβ⎠ν μοι πρ∫! ψε⌒ν μακ☐ρϖν δ⎠τε *etc.*). He asks them for divinely sanctioned wealth, for a good reputation among men, for being pleasing to his friends and vexing to his enemies, and somewhat repetitiously that he may possess riches, attained righteously. However, he does not use the phrase Μου!Υϖν δ⌒ρα for any of these gifts: he reserves that for the gift of being able to compose poetry (see lines 51f., quoted under *A* iia above). By this time Μου!Υϖν δ⌒ρα has become a shorthand term not for whatever the Muses might give to a man, but for their principal gift to mankind: poetry, or the poetic art. In Hesiod's *Theogony* 'the gifts of the Muses' is used once in this sense and once for the persuasive eloquence of a king; in later Greek literature it is found in this sense alone. Zicàri was right to say, then, that "in 68.10 *munera Musarum* repeats a well-known formula" ("ripete una nota formula", Zicàri 1965: 237 = 1977: 148).

In the case of 'the gifts of Aphrodite/Venus' the situation is slightly more complex. The phrase δ⌒ρα ☐Αφροδ⇔τη! is used first in the *Iliad* (*B* i) for Paris' sex-appeal. It is well known that Paris owed his powers of seduction to Aphrodite, and the poet of the *Iliad* seems to have thought that the goddess had simply given the hero stunning good looks. In later times the phrase is used on four occasions for love-making (*B* ii) and once each for sex-appeal, as in the *Iliad* (*B* i), for marriage (*B* iii), for a partner (*B* iv) and apparently for pleasurable thoughts of love (*B* v). Apparently it could be used either for love-making itself or for what could lead to it or was otherwise associated with it.

'The gifts of the Muses' and 'the gifts of Aphrodite' are set expressions in ancient literature for two distinct groups of items, and consequently it is impossible to take *munera et Musarum et Veneris* here to mean 'the gifts that come both from the Muses and from Venus'. But could they manifest themselves together – could Manlius have asked one thing from Catullus (e.g. love poetry) that would have provided him both with the gift of the Muses (poetry) and with the gift of Venus (love)? After all, Anacreon writes in *frg*. 2 West of 'mixing' the gifts of the Muses and those of Aphrodite, evidently by reciting love poetry (see *C* above). Catullus may well be echoing that passage here. Could he too be thinking of mixing together the gifts of the Muses and those of Venus?

This can be answered with the help of a detailed analysis not of this passage alone, but of all of poem 68a. At the end of this letter in verse Catullus expresses his regret that he could not give Manlius both things that he had asked for. The key word is *utriusque* in line 39 (see *ad loc.*). Likewise, in the introductory distichs he

describes two symptoms of Manlius' misfortune, a lack of sexual relief (lines 5f.) and of suitable reading-matter (7f.). These are introduced by *nec ... nec ...* , which stands in parallel to *et ... et ...* here. There is a similar bipartite division in the central part of the poem, in which Catullus describes why he is unable to comply with Manlius' requests: he explains first that he has no love-life to speak of (lines 15-32) and then that he has only a couple of books to hand (33-36). Evidently Manlius has made two requests, one for *munera Musarum* and one for *munera Veneris*.

Catullus does not describe directly Manlius' requests in any other part of the poem. One can only make conjectures about what Manlius may have asked, and in order to do so one has to interpret the poem as a whole: this is done in the Introduction.

hinc petis   The monosyllable *hinc* is strongly emphatic: coming after a somewhat harsh elision, it coincides with the heavy ictus after the diaeresis in the pentameter. Catullus is grateful for the fact that Manlius is asking for the gifts of the Muses and Venus <u>from him</u>.

For *hinc* 'from here (where I am)', 'from me' compare Pl. *Truc.* 525 *sauium sis †pete† hinc* (perhaps we should read *sauium pete hinc sis* with Bothe; in any case the emendations that have been proposed do not affect the parallel) and *Capt.* 964 *dic quid fers, ut feras hinc quod petis*. The usage seems to have belonged to the language of conversation (thus also at Pl. *Most.* 1025, *Poen.* 1351 and *Pseud.* 969 as well as Sen. *Benef.* 6.11.4) and to that of letters (thus here, at Sen. *Epist.* 68.9 and at Fronto *Epist.* p. 24.12 Naber = 21.5 van den Hout[2]). In Augustan poetry *hinc* is only used for *ab hoc* or *ab his*, and never in a spatial sense but only in a causal or a genealogical one (thus at Ov. *Am.* 2.9.16 and Verg. *Aen.* 1.234f.; see further *TLL* 6.3.2802.28-43). The other attestations of *hinc* 'from me' in Catullus are doubtful: at 63.74 the Renaissance emendation *huic* seems preferable to the MSS' *hinc*, as the line already contains an ablative of separation, while at 116.6 *hinc* could be taken in this sense (thus Kroll) or it could mean something else ("on these grounds", Thomson), or else one could emend it to *huc* with Muretus or to *hic* with an anonymous humanist (Mynors and Fordyce may be right to accept *hic*). However we have *istinc = ab ista* at 76.11 (cfr. Kroll *ad loc.*, and note the conversational tone of poem 76).

Veneris   Giardina (2007) proposed to emend this to *Cereris*, as *munera Cereris* is a well-attested circumlocution for 'wheat' and it would be more straightforward than *munera Veneris*. But as far as we can tell, the problems of the addressee of Catullus 68a are amorous and not financial or dietary: there is no reason to question the soundness of the text, and in fact the emendation would change it for the worse (thus Kiss 2008 and Olszaniec 2008).

11-14   'But hear about my own troubles, so that you will not suspect me of being a neglectful friend and will no longer seek happy gifts from an unhappy man.' This is the transition from Catullus' recapitulation of Manlius' letter and his immediate reaction to it to his reply: note *sed* in line 11.

Rather than denying his friend's request outright, the poet tactfully sets out the reasons for which which he cannot comply with it. Manlius has asked him for *dona beata*, but he is *miser* and therefore not in the

position to give them; he implies that Manlius would do better to ask them from somebody else. If Catullus cannot comply with his friend's request, it follows that he will not do so either; it is not necessary to state the denial any more explicitly.

Ellis and Kroll put a semi-colon after line 10, instead of the full stop preferred by most editors, and they turn lines 1-14 into one long sentence. That is not ungrammatical, but it seems slightly better to treat lines 11-14 as a separate sentence as they have a different function from what precedes.

11   sed tibi ne   The sequence is irregular: one normally finds the emphatic pronoun after *sed ne* (as in Cic. *Fam.* 2.3.1 *sed nec mihi placuit nec cuiquam tuorum* and *Planc.* 55 *sed neque tu*) and the unemphatic pronoun after a word further on in the clause (Cic. *Ver.* 2.2.178 *sed ne illud quidem tibi dicere licebit*). There metrically convenient sequence *sed tibi ne* appears to be unparalleled; however, Catullus may be following the licence established by Ennius *frg. trag.* 21 Jocelyn *sed mihi neutiquam cor consentit cum oculorum aspectu*.

incommoda   'Troubles', 'misfortunes' (*OLD* s.v. *incommodum*, 2a). During the Republic the word is present in all registers of Latin, including tragedy (Acc. *trag.* 350), but it is hardly found in Augustan poetry (only at Hor. *A.P.* 169 and Ov. *Pont.* 4.9.81; cfr. Hor. *Epist.* 1.18.75 *incommodus*) and is absent from later verse and Tacitus. See also on line 21 *commoda*.

Manli   As in practically all his poems that are addressed to someone, Catullus identifies his addressee by name; only poems 60 and 104 have an anonymous addressee. Here the principal MSS write *mali* and it is difficult to reconstruct the name of the addressee, let alone to identify him: most likely he was called Manlius, and he may have been the L. Manlius Torquatus whose wedding is celebrated in poem 61, but he could also have been called Mallius (see the Introduction, pp. 34-43). But while no certainty is possible at this point, we should certainly reconstruct a name, as it serves to characterize the friend as one particular person, a unique individual whom the poet does his best to treat with tact and consideration, and not as stock character or a nameless addressee.

The vocative recurs at line 30. It is typical of Catullus to call his addressee by name several times within a short poem (this also happens in poems 17, 23, 25, 31, 36, 50, 52, 56, 65, 88, 98, 100, 110 and 112): we get the impression of a speaker doing his best to hold the attention of his addressee. In Augustan poetry multiple vocatives occur in Propertius' first book of elegies (in 1.4, 1.7, 1.13 and 1.20) and in Horace's *Satires* (in 1.6 and 2.1), but not in the more formal artistry of Horace's *Odes*, *Epodes* and *Epistles* (except for in close succession at *Od.* 2.14.1 and 4.13.1f.; contrast *Od.* 1.28.2 *Archyta* and 1.28.23 *nauta*). Catullus' vocatives often coincide with more direct or more emotional passages: here Catullus addresses Manlius first when he sets out to explain why he cannot comply with his request, and for the second time when he replies explicitly to a reproach of Manlius'.

Here *R* contains the variant *al' mauli* in the hand *R²*, Coluccio Salutati, who copied variants from *R*'s exemplar *X* but also added conjectures of his own (see also the Introduction, pp. 74f.). Since there is no such name as *Maulius, in this case we can be practically certain that *mauli* is a corrupt form of *manli*. Thus

Salutati must have copied the note from *X*, and the question is only whether the variant *manli* was added to *X*, to the archetype *A*, or to an earlier MS. Since the archetype certainly contained the variant *uel manlius* for *Allius* in line 66 (see n.), it could have contained this variant *al' manli* as well. While *X*, who incorporated *manlius* into the text in line 66, would have had a motive to add the variant *manli*, in this case he would probably also have changed the title of the poem to *Ad Manlium*.

12   odisse ... hospitis officium   Catullus refers to himself as Manlius' *hospes*, his guest-friend, that is, they lived in different places and one of them had hosted the other at least once. On the other hand, he is slightly surprised at being called Manlius' *amicus* (see line 9n.): evidently for him *hospitium* did not necessarily imply *amicitia*. It is the question whether most Romans would have subscribed to such a view. *hospitium* features prominently in the lists of close relationships gathered by Gellius 5.13, most notably in a quotation from the first-century A.D. jurist Masurius Sabinus' monograph on civil law: *in officiis apud maiores ita obseruatum est: primum tutelae, deinde hospiti, deinde clienti, tum cognato, postea adfini* (Gel. 5.13.5). Guest-friendship is valued by Cicero at *Off.* 2.64 and in the Aristotelian *Magna Moralia* (at 2.11.46 = 1211a12-14) it is argued that this is the firmest type of φιλ⇔α because there can be no rivalry between citizens of different *poleis*. However, the lists quoted by Gellius do not include *amicitia* and there seem to survive no comparisons of *hospites* with *amici*. Catullus simply appears to have perceived *hospitium* as a more distant and formal bond than *amicitia*, which could involve for those of his generation frequent contact and even intimacy. On *hospitium* see further the *OCD* s.v. 'friendship, ritualized' (imprecise but useful) and Wiseman (1971: 33-38), who observes that *hospites* tend to be social equals, which would place Manlius in upper-class Roman society.

odi can mean not only 'I hate, I detest', but also simply 'I dislike, I am impatient with, I find it disagreeable' (cfr. Fordyce as well as Skutsch 1910: 231-233 and Fraenkel 1957: 263). But it is not clear how *odisse ... hospitis officium* should be interpreted. There are two possibilities:

   (a) 'that I dislike the dutiful deed of my guest-friend', that is, a dutiful deed done in the past by Manlius for Catullus' sake;
   (b) 'that I dislike the duty of a guest-friend', that is, Catullus' duty to help his guest-friend Manlius.

There are no close parallels for *odi* in either sense. The verb is not used at all for not appreciating a present, a favour or the like (a), while the difficulty with (b) is that although *odi* is well attested in the sense of rejecting a course of action for the present or the future (*oderunt peccare boni*, Hor. *Epist.* 1.16), the course of action is always expressed by a verb in the infinitive; the closest parallel to this passage would be Ov. *Met.* 7.583 *ut uitam odissem*. In any case, this sort of ambiguity would be rather clumsy, and at most one of the above interpretations can be correct. I suspect that this is (b) in view of the parallels and also because it would be oddly concise to refer to an important event in the past as *hospitis officium*.

Ellis (*ad loc.*), Schöll (1880: 473) and other unitarians have accepted interpretation (a), and identified the dutiful act of the addressee with the *officia* mentioned in lines 42 and 150 below. However, it is very much the question whether providing someone with a house in which to meet his girl-friend can qualify as an act of *hospitium*.

There is evidently no need to write *sospitis* for *hospitis* here, which was proposed by Schrader *ap.* Santenius.

13   In describing his own condition, Catullus picks up the nautical imagery he used for his friend's misfortunes in lines 3f. Some take this to be an act of veiled criticism: Catullus would suggest that he is in more dire straits than Manlius, but complains less. This line is taken by Sarkissian (1983: 9), who infers from the word *merser* that "Catullus actually goes under", unlike Manlius. I do not think that the text contains anything that would support such an interpretation; in particular, *merser* refers to being in the process of going under (see *ad loc.*), which is not manifestly worse than to have suffered shipwreck and to be on the threshold of death, as is said of Manlius in lines 3f. On the contrary, by applying to himself the imagery with which he has characterized the fate of his friend Catullus seems to say "I am in the same situation as you" (note the emphatic *ipse* 'I myself' at the end of the line): the resumption of the shipwreck imagery serves not to distance Catullus from Manlius but to bring him closer to his addressee.

accipe   Not 'listen' or 'hear' (*pace OLD* s.v. *accipio*, 18, Ellis *ad loc.* and others), but 'grasp the point', 'understand' or 'take the meaning' of what Catullus is about to tell. Compare 35.5f. *nam quasdam uolo cogitationes / amici accipiat sui meique* and 64.325 *accipe quod laeta tibi pandunt luce sorores* (the Parcae to Peleus). The verb is used in this sense throughout Latin literature, by authors as varied as Plautus, Terence, Cicero, Sallust, Horace, Ovid, Tacitus and even Virgil (*Aen.* 2.65, Aeneas to Dido), often in conversational contexts, but Catullus is clearly following its epistolary usage to introduce a longer account: thus Cic. *Att.* 4.15.4 *nunc Romanas res accipe* and Pliny *Epist.* 5.6.3 *accipe temperiem caeli, regionis situm, uillae amoenitatem*. For refs. See further *TLL* 1.306.45-309.76.

quis   I.e. *quīs*, an alternative form for the dative-ablative plural *quibus*, a relic from the time in which *quis* and *qui* had interchangeable forms that followed the thematic and the consonantal declensions. Leo (1912: 316 n. 1) ably summarizes its history and use: "In der älterem Literatur fast verloren … taucht der Dativ-Ablativ *quis* bei Lucilius (4mal), dann bei Varro, Sallust, in Ciceros Briefen und gleichzeitig bei Lucrez und Catull wieder auf, lebt dann in Horazens Satire und im Epos Vergils und der folgenden, während die feineren Stilarten ihn entweder perhorresciren wie Horazens Lyrik, Vergils bucolica, oder vermeiden wie die Elegie. Es ist offenbar eine der Formen, die in der Sprache des Lebens immer geblieben sind; in der Zeit des Plautus und Terenz in niedriger Sprachsphäre, dann in den gebildeten Umgangston recipirt, dann in die Poesie, bald als ein Wort der Umgangssprache (Catull, Horaz), bald als ein Wort altertümlichen Klanges, das sich in höheren Stil schickte (Epos)." Elsewhere Catullus only uses the word in more elevated passages within the longer poems (at 63.46, 64.80, 64.145 and 66.37), apparently with overtones of refinement rather than of archaism; here it may be used to add an elevated touch to the shipwreck metaphor. On the form see further

Neue-Wagener 2.469f. (a list of its occurrences, which reach into the late Empire and beyond), Heusch (1954: 101-103) and Austin (1971) on Verg. *Aen.* 1.95.

merser   While here this could be taken as a repetitive 'I keep going under', 'I keep being submerged', with the waves bobbing over Catullus' head, parallels suggest that we are dealing with one single action that is going on in the present: 'I am in the process of going under', 'I am being submerged'. The metaphorical use becomes common from this period onwards: thus Lucr. 5.1008 *rerum copia mersat*, *CIL* 6.1527.2.63 (the '*Laudatio Turiae*') *maerore mersor*, Hor. *Od.* 4.4.65 (on the Roman nation) *merses profundo, pulchrior euenit* and later, in 389 A.D., in the context of a full shipwreck metaphor at *Panegyr.* 2.7.4 *naufragos atque fluitantes ab illis quibus mersebantur erroribus aegre aetas recepit*. Compare *mergo* at Verg. *Aen.* 6.614f. *me fata mea et scelus exitiale Lacaenae / his mersere malis*, ibid. 6.615 and later (*OLD* s.v. *mergo* 10 and *TLL* 8.835.18-51) and Horace *Epist.* 1.2.22 *aduersis rerum immersabilis undis* (of the hero of the *Odyssey*, the archetypal submergeable man). There are at most only very distant parallels in Greek: compare the 5th-century B.C. elegist Euenus' *frg.* 2.6 West = *AP* 11.49.6 βαπτ⇔ζει δ□ ⌈πνϖι, γε⇔τονι το⸜ ψαν□του (of Bacchus), and a series of fully-fledged metaphors by novelists from the 1st century A.D. onwards: Ach. Tat. 3.10.1 το!ο⌈τϖι πλ→ψει βαπτι!ψ°ναι κακ⌒ν, Hld. 2.3.4 τ°ι !υμφορ□ι βεβαπτι!μϒνον, 4.20.1 and 5.16.2, and Charis. 2.4.4.

fortunae fluctibus ipse   The grave sound of these words matches their dramatic contents: there is a preponderance of long syllables (as already in *quis merser*), the ictus coincides with the word-stress, as does foot-end with word-end after the last three feet, and the alliteration (perhaps suggestive of the splashing of the waves) highlights the words *fortunae fluctibus*. This alliterative phrase is also used by the Augustan rhetorician Albucius Silus *ap.* Sen. *Controv.* 1.1.10 *tollite uestras diuitias, quas huc atque illuc incertae fortunae fluctus appellet* and by Pliny at *N.H.* 5.73 *quos uita fessos ad mores eorum fortunae* (*fortuna* Mayhoff) *agitat*.

14   dona beata   'Happy gifts', a daring case of enallage in which an adjective characterizing a person associated with the gifts is transferred to the gifts themselves. Commentators compare Prop. 4.7.60 *aura beata*, of the Elysian breeze (Fordyce), and *domos ... castas* at Cat. 64.384 (Baehrens). In an elegant conceit the phrase both refers to the giver (Catullus) and to the recipient (Manlius): they have to be given by a happy person to someone else whom they would make happy as well.

The meaning of *beatus* extends from 'happy' to 'wealthy' (of joyful ownership), as does that of its Greek equivalent ⸜λβιο!. On its metonymical use *de rebus uel ipsis felicibus uel homines reddentibus felices* see *TLL* 2.1915.33-1916.72, and compare Cat. 9.5 *nuntii beati* and 23.24 *commoda tam beata*. The notion of 'happy gifts' occurs already at *Od.* 7.148 το⌈!ιν ψεο⇐ ⸜λβια δο⌈εν and 8.413 = 24.402 μ□λα ξα⌈ρε, ψεο⇐ δϒ τοι ⸜λβια δο⌈εν, and cfr. 13.41f. πομπ↓ κα⇐ φ⇔λα δ⌒ρα, τ□ μοι ψεο⇐ Ο⌈ραν⇔ϖνε! / ⸜λβια ποι→!ειαν.

15-26 'I had my share of amorous adventures after assuming the *toga uirilis*, but the death of my brother took away all happiness from my life.'

This is the first section of the central part of the poem (Kroll on 15-32 notes that here begins the *tractatio* after the poem). It corresponds to a standard ingredient of oratory, the *narratio*, a long narrative in the central section of the poem, which served to convince the audience of the speaker's view of events; the analogy could be due to chance, or Catullus could be using a model that had been inculcated into him by his teachers or by the orators whom he listened to.

The narrative falls into two parts: the poet's reminiscence of his youthful diversions (lines 15-18) and his account of his brother's death (19-26), into which he has sandwiched a lament in which he actually addressed the deceased (20-24). However, as so often in Catullus, there is no straightforward chronological narrative. It may be worthwhile to analyze the structure of these lines in some detail:

Line 15 *(tempore ... pura est)*	'When I received the *toga uirilis*…	Temporal anchor
16 *(iucundum ... ageret)*	'… and was enjoying my happy youth …'	Temporal anchor, repeated
17 till caesura *(multa satis lusi)*	… I had my share of fun …	Narrative statement 1
17, caesura - 18 *(non ... amaritiem)*	… I know Aphrodite well enough.	Narrative statement 1, repeated
19 – 20 *init. (sed ... abstulit)*	But my brother's death ended all this.	Narrative statement 2
20 – 24 *(o ... amor)*		Lament, within which:
20 *(o ... mihi)*	My dear brother …	Invocation
21 *(tu mea ... frater)*	… you have crushed my life …	Statement of loss 1
22 *(tecum ... domus)*	… extinguished our family …	Statement of loss 2
23 *(omnia ... nostra)*	… caused all our joys to perish …	Statement of loss 3
24 *(quae ... amor)*	… which your love had nourished.	Statement of situation anterior to loss
25f. *(cuius ... animi)*	At whose death I rid myself of all this, and of all other diversions.	Narrative statement 2, repeated

Both narrative statements are made twice, with the second clearer than the first (1 is less ambiguous the second time, 2 is more general and also clearer: his brother's death made him give up not only erotic pleasures, but pleasures of all sorts). The three statements of loss make an even stronger impression of a mind overwhelmed by grief and returning over and again to the source of its grief. Even the temporal anchor is repeated, and the second time it sets the action in emotional as opposed to physiological time – and it is characteristic of Catullus' subjective style that both chronological references set it out against Catullus'

personal development alone: 'When I was a young man…', not 'Five years ago…'. In short, the lament has a thoroughly subjective structure, with emotional content altering narrative regularity, and statements emphasized through repetition.

Catullus' assertion that his brother's love nourished his pleasures in life and that after the death of his brother he banished all these joys from his mind (lines 23-26) are as startling for their introspective depth as little else in ancient literature outside his poems. As long as no source can be found from where he could have taken over such a confession, it remains the easiest to assume that he is indeed writing about his own experiences here. What he says about them is quite extraordinary. His brother's affection and support ensured him a pleasurable love-life. It is fashionable today to see Roman sexuality as a matter of power relations, with a rich, free-born adult male using sexually a woman or a socially inferior, youthful male. Here it emerges that Catullus' love-life is related to his social life: it is interrupted by the death of his brother not because that affected in any way his status in society (in fact, it may even have increased the value of his inheritance), but because he could find no substitute for his brother's affection and support.

15   tempore quo primum   In this context the phrase cannot mean 'when first', which is what one would expect, as Catullus received the *toga uirilis* only once; it cannot mean 'ever since' either, which is how Quinn would render it, as Catullus' love-life has been interrupted in the meantime; Baehrens has surely been right to paraphrase it with *ubi primum*, 'as soon as'. In fact, *tempore quo primum* is found at the same place within the hexameter in Lucretius (5.917, meaning 'as soon as'), Virgil (*Aen.* 9.80, 'when first') and Valerius Flaccus (2.82, 'as soon as'). These passages are otherwise unrelated, and Kroll's hypothesis of a lost Ennian model is attractive. That passage may have been reinterpreted by later poets in view of prose phrases such as *quo tempore primum* ('as soon as', Cic. *Quinct.* 46 and *Clu.* 162; 'when first', Plin. *N.H.* 14.97) and *ab eo tempore quo primum* ('immediately from the time that', Colum. 12.30.1). Cfr. also line 113n. *tempore quo*.

uestis mihi tradita pura est   The *toga pura*, *libera* or *uirilis* (of undyed light wool) was handed to an upper-class Roman youth of about 16 to mark his passage to adulthood, generally at the festival of the *Liberalia* on 17 March, in a ceremony where he laid down the golden *bulla* or amulet that had protected him during childhood and the purple-bordered *toga praetextata* proper to well-born children, magistrates and priests. The most detailed account of the ceremony available is still given by Marquardt (1879: 122-134); see now also Néraudau (1984: 148f. & 251-256), Eyben (1993: 6f.) and Rawson (2003: 142-145), who refers to the dissertation of Dolansky (1999), which I have been unable to consult. Among the sources note Cic. *Att.* 5.20.9, 6.1.12 and 9.6.1. On the *togae* involved see Wilson (1924, esp. 51-56) and Wilson (1938: 130-132).

A number of authors mark out this event as the beginning of a youngster's sexual licence: thus also Propertius 3.15.3f. *ut mihi praetexti pudor est ablatus amictus / et data libertas noscere amoris iter*, Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.68f. *quem non corrupit pubes effrena nouaeque / libertas properata togae?*, Cic. *Phil.* 2.44 (wearing the *toga praetexta*, Mark Antony was bankrupt; with the *toga uirilis* he became a prostitute) and Pers. *Sat.* 5.30-35 with Kißel (1990) ad loc. The change of dress must have constituted a powerful initiation ceremony, as after it the teenager would all of a sudden be recognizable from his clothes no longer as a child, but as a

man (and a Roman citizen), that is, as a very different kind of sexual agent. „Die heißblütigen Südländer begannen gleich darauf mit Liebschaften", "hot-blooded Southerners began their love-affairs straight away", as Kroll remarked in 1923: in 21st-century Europe this haste looks less unfamiliar.

The passage implies that Catullus was well past his teens when he wrote poem 68a.

16   Catullus describes the joys of his youth in a verse with strongly intertwined word-order, the daring artificiality of which seems to resemble the vigour of his amorous adventures.

Cicero *Top.* 32 dismisses a legal definition that is too general with the words *hoc est quasi qui adulescentiam florem aetatis, senectutem occasum uitae uelit definire*: evidently it was commonplace to speak of youth as 'the flower of one's lifetime' or else as here as 'the flowery age'. This has its roots in Greek (note *Il.* 13.484 ×βη! □νψο!, Solon *frg.* 25.1 W. ×βη! ∕ρατο⌠!ιν ∕π□ □νψε!ι, *Theogn.* 994 παⁱ! καλ∫ν □νψο! ƒξῶν, Xen. *Smp.* 8.14 ⊄ρα! □νψο! etc.) and recurs frequently in Latin, often with erotic overtones (Porc. *frg. poet.* 3.4 *FPL³ ob florem aetatis suae*, Cic. *Cael.* 9 *in illo aetatis flore* and *Phil.* 2.3 *gratiam non uirtutis spe sed aetatis flore conlectam*, Lucr. 3.770 and likewise 5.847 *cupitum aetatis tangere florem* and see further *TLL* 6.1.934.60-935.40; thus Cat. 17.14 *uiridissimo nupta flore puella* and cfr. 100.2). On the other hand, references to youth as the springtime of one's life is relatively rare in Greek (only in a series of speeches: Hdt. 7.162.1, Pericles *ap.* Arist. *Rhet.* 1.7.34 = 1365a32f. and 3.10.7 = 1411a2-4, and also Demades *frg.* 68 De Falco *ap.* Athen. 3.99d), but becomes common in Latin (thus Lucr. 5.888 *puerili aeuo florente iuuentas*, 5.1074 *equus florenti aetate iuuencus*, 3.1008 *aeuo florente puellas*, Cic. *Sen.* 20 *temeritas est uidelicet florentis aetatis*, Hor. *A.P.* 115f. *maturusne senex an adhuc florente iuuenta / feruidus*, Liv. 30.12.17 *forma erat insignis et florentissima aetas*, *Eleg. Maec.* 7 *iuuenes prima florente iuuenta*, *CE* 1240.3 *prima florente iuuenta* and see further *TLL* 6.1.922.72-82). *floridus* is rarer than *florens*, but is a favourite word of Catullus' (also at 61.21 and 63.66, and used for youthful beauty at 61.57 *floridam ... puellulam* and 61.186 *ore floridulo nitens*, with *florens* only found at 64.251); the other attestations of *florida aetas* are of uncertain date or late (*CLE* 473.2 *cum frui debueram aetate florida luce*; Vulg. *prov.* 17.22 *animus gaudens aetatem floridam fecit*, for καρδ⇔α εˊ φραινομΥνη εˊεκτεⁱˉν ποιεⁱˉ in the Septuagint; Cassiod. *in psalm.* 24.6 p. 178B Migne *iuuentutem uero non tantum floridam aetatem posuit, sed praecipitationis audaciam*).

Here *uer ageret* means "was keeping its springtime" (Fordyce). The vocabulary of this verse appears strongly conventional: compare Lucr. 6.359 *cum tempora se ueris florentia pandunt*.

17   multa satis lusi   'I have had my share of fun'.

multa satis   Not attested elsewhere, this phrase is the inversion of the standard prose usage where *satis* precedes a case of *multi* (at Cat. *Agr.* 32.2; Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.36, *Clu.* 202, *Sest.* 1, *Mil.* 92, *De Orat.* 1.264, *Top.* 1 and 90, *Rep.* 2.70, *Luc.* 147, *Fin.* 2.59, *Off.* 1.151 and 3.33, *Fam.* 6.4.4 and 9.15.1, *Att.* 11.25.3 and 14.14.1, *Q.fr.* 2.1.3; Varro *L.L.* 6.97; Cels. 3.6.9 and 5.26.21c; Col. 5.5.16; Liv. 23.18.6; Sen. *Ep.* 19.1 and 81.3; Val. Max. 3.2.24 and Tac. *Dial.* 32.7; in poetry only *satis multas* at Ov. *Pont.* 3.5.10). *satis*, *nimium* and *ualde* go before the adjective that they qualify (this is generally true of Latin adverbs qualifying any type of word).

Thus Catullus gives an individual twist to a common and rather un-poetical phrase. Compare the inversions at 69.7f. *mala ualde est* / *bestia* and Verg. *Geo.* 2.458f. *o fortunatos nimium ... / agricolas*.

lusi The amplificatory phrase *non est ... amaritiem* shows these games to be erotic rather than literary: thus already Hermes (1888: 12f.) and Vahlen (1902: 1026 n. 1). Catullus uses *ludere* and *lusus* in an erotic sense at line 156 below and also at 17.17, at 61.126, 203 and 204, while at 2.9 there appears to be a *double entendre*. This is paralleled by, but need not follow, earlier and not too widespread Greek usage: at Anacr. *frg.* 358.4 *PMG* □Ερϖ! ν→νι ποικιλο!αμβ□λϖι !υμπα⇔ζειν προκαλεῖται the sexual meaning might be supplied from the context, but at Xen. *Symp.* 9.2 παιφο∖νται πρʃ! □λλ→λου! (of two young slaves – note the Doric future: the expression is put into the mouth of an uneducated Syracusan and cannot be too rarified) the verb is clearly an euphemism for sex on its own right : thus too πα⇔ζϖ at Arist. *H.A.* 572a30 and Septuagint *Ge.* 26.8, and πα⇔γνιον used for a sexual partner at Anaxandr. 9.3 *PCG*, Ar. *Eccl.* 922 and Plu. *Ant.* 59. In Latin compare Afranius *com.* 222 *datatim uxorem ut ludas* before Catullus. After his time the word is found frequently in Ovid (*Am.* 1.8.86, 2.3.13, *Ars* 2.389, 3.62), in the more urbane parts of Petronius, and in Martial; also in a poem in phalaecian hendecasyllables in the manner of Catullus inscribed onto a statue of Priapus in Tibur, *CIL* 14.3565 = *CE* 1504 A 5, and in an elegant inscription found on the wall of a basilica in Pompeii, *CIL* 4.1781 *ME]A·VITA·MEAE·DELICIAE·LUDAMUS·PARUMPER* / *]HUNC LECTVM·* ... ; apparently it could be used in urbane conversation. See further *TLL* 7.2.1773.81-1774.26 (*ludo*) and 7.2.1889.33-52 (*lusus*).

17f. **non est dea nescia nostri, / quae dulcem curis miscet amaritiem** *multa satis lusi* had been somewhat vague; now Catullus goes over the same ground again and makes it clear that his many games in the past were love-affairs. He does so in a particularly well crafted phrase that contains an allegory, a learned allusion and a litotes that turns what could well be a boast into an urbane understatement.

In Greek poetry it is the lover who is familiar with the goddess (cfr. Bacch. 5.174f. ν° ⌈ν ʄτι ξρυ!Υα! / Κ⌈πριδο!, Callim. *Aet. frg.* 75.49 Pfeiffer ο⟨τινε! ο⌈ ξαλεπο∖ ν→ιδΥ! ε⇒!ι ψεο∖ and later Nonn. 2.108 ν°ι! □Ερϖτο!): Catullus inverts the topos and is imitated by the author of the *Ciris* at 242f. *non est Amathusia nostri / tam rudis*.

17 nostri Catullus uses regularly the first person plural for the first person singular, in this poem also in lines 34, 37 (see n.), 66, 68, 91, 132, 136f. and 147 (though not 156f.: see n.). "The plural of authorship is not pompous, but (if anything) more urbane than *ego*" (Nisbet & Hubbard 1970 on Horace *Od.* 1.6.5): it should not be confused with the *pluralis maiestatis*, which came to be used by monarchs and potentates from the late Empire onwards (Hofmann-Szantyr 20). Its use by Catullus is interpreted in detail by Slotty (1927: 288-305) and Maguinness (1939), but their theories appear to be too complex; in particular, it is hard to accept Maguinness' eight categories of plural for the singular. For a more restrained and more plausible survey see Hofmann-Szantyr 19-21, who point out that the usage may have arisen in colloquial Latin but is found in a broad range of stylistic registers and generally indicates the engagement of one's interlocutor in one's own

actions (compare the plural of demonstration in English: "as we have seen …") or of oneself in those of others; however, in Catullus, Cicero's letters, the elegists, Sallust, Tacitus, Martial and other authors *ego* and *nos* often appear to be interchangeable. This plural is regularly used in contexts of strong emotion, notably of pity: compare here lines 91f. *nostro letum miserabile fratri / attulit*, 64.138 *nostri miserescere*, 77.4 *misero eripuisti omnia nostra bona* and 83.3 *si nostri oblita taceret*

18 It will only have required a modicum of learning to identify the goddess who 'mixes sweet bitterness to the cares [of love]' as Venus, the goddess of love, as the topos is extremely common: see Sappho *frg.* 130.1f. Voigt □Ερο! δη│τΥ μ□ │ λυ!ιμΥλη! δ〉νει, / γλυκ⌠πικρον □μ□ξανον 〉ρπετον, Theogn. 1353f. πικρʃ! κα⇐ γλυκ⌠! Λτι κα⇐ □ρπαλΥο! κα⇐ □πην↓! / 〉φρα τΥλειο! ʃηι Κ⌠ρνε νΥοι!ιν □Ερϖ!, Eur. *Hipp.* 347f. *Φα.* τ⇔ το∖ψ□ ⌡ δ↓ λΥγου!ιν □νψρ⊕που!∕ρ□ν; – *Τρ.* ×δι!τον, ∈ παῖ, ταῖτʃν □λγειν〉ν ψ□ □μα, Asclepiades *A.P.* 12.153.3f. οῖδ□ ⌡ μελιξρʃ! □Ερϖ! α⇒ε⇐ γλυκ⌠!, □λλ□ □νι→!α! / πολλ□κι! ″δ⇔ϖν γ⇔νετ□∕ρ∩!ι ψε)!, Meleager *A.P.* 12.81.1f. │!οι φλ〉γα τ↓ν φιλ〉παιδα / ο◊δατε το∖ πικρο∖ γευ!□μενοι μΥλιτο! and 12.154.4 ο™δε τʃ πικρʃν □Ερϖ! !υγκερ□!αι μΥλιτι and Pl. *Cist.* 67f. *Amor et melle et felle est fecundissimus: / gustui dat dulce, amarum ad satietatem usque oggerit* and *Pseud.* 61 *dulce amarumque una nunc misces mihi*. The image has been studied in detail by Carson (1986).

curis In Catullus the meaning of *cura*(*e*) and *curare* ranges from anxiety and worries about unspecified matters (31.7) through concern for one's clothing (64.69) or for the promises that one may break (64.148), the act of caring for a relative (41.5) and the grief of bereavement (65.1) to the care, concern and worries of someone who is experiencing the pangs of passion, especially one seriously in love: thus also in line 51 below, at 64.72, 64.95 (which is echoed here), 64.250, 66.23, and apparently also at 2.10 and 62.16. This amorous use of *cura*(*e*) is already found in Plautus at *Epid.* 135 *illam amabam olim, nunc iam alia cura impendet pectori*, an epigram by Valerius Aedituus (from the late 2ⁿᵈ century B.C.?), *frg.* 1 *FPL³ ap.* Gell. 10.9.10 *dicere cum conor curam tibi, Pamphila, cordis*, Lucr. 4.1059f. *hinc illaec primum Veneris dulcedinis in cor / stillauit gutta et successit frigida cura* (note the contrast of pleasure and pain, as here) and 4.1067 *seruare sibi curam certumque dolorem* and often in later writers (see *TLL* 4.1474.80-1475.41). The word is also used *in concreto* for one's beloved by Catullus' near contemporary Ticida at *frg.* 2 *FPL³ Lydia doctorum maxima cura liber* and often by later writers (Verg. *Ecl.* 10.22, Tib. 2.3.31, etc.; see *TLL* 4.1475.42-60 with 4.1466.57-81). In this romantic sense *cura* implies concern and emotional involvement.

Hermes (1888: 12) found it incongruous that Catullus should have wanted to describe human life as a chain of worries and conjectured *Musis*, but this is evidently unnecessary.

19-24 'Your death has put an end to my love-affairs, my good times, my very family and my joys.' Catullus laments his brother in highly emotional terms; he apostrophizes him in the middle of the letter (see line 20n.) and calls his death a catastrophe.

The idea that a person is the sole guarantor of one's life and well-being first appears in the famous words of Andromache to Hector, whose death she rightly fears, at *Iliad* 6.429f.: □Εκτορ, □τ□ρ !⌠ μο⇔ Λ!ι πατ↓ρ

κα⇐ π〉τνια μ→τηρ / ±δ′ κα!⇔γνητο!, ‖ δϒ μοι ψαλερʃ! παρακο⇔τη! and then in Sophocles' *Ajax* at 514-519, but this seems to be the first time that it is used in a lament. Here the unexpected change of address within the poem (a technique that is to be developed further by Propertius and Tibullus) and the sudden apostrophe of Catullus' brother makes for a powerful expression of grief. The apostrophe of the deceased is a frequent feature of laments since the *Iliad* (cfr. 18.333-342, 19.287-300 and 23.19-23), and Catullus addresses his dead brother regularly (cfr. lines 92-96 below, 65.10-14 and poem 101). How he does so here recalls the act of *conclamare* or calling the deceased by name from the moment of death until the body was cremated or inhumated, which was a standard part of Roman funerary practice (cfr. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 6.218 and see further Toynbee 1971: 43f., Kierdorf 1973: 73 and *Neue Pauly* s.v. 'Conclamatio'; the ritual is already alluded to at Ter. *Eun.* 348). Here "the repetitions *fraterna–frater–frater* and *tu–tecum–tecum–tuus* are pathetically eloquent" (Fordyce); Thomson compares with the former the triple valedictory cry at Verg. *Aen.* 6.506 *ter uoce uocaui* and at Ov. *F.* 563f. *terque "uale!" dixit, cineres ter ad ora relatos / pressit*. Catullus laments his brother in very similar lines in poem 68b. It is worthwhile to put the two versions side by side (I underline the words that are identical in both versions):

68a.19-25	**68b.91-97**
sed totum hoc studium luctu fraterna mihi mors	quae nunc et nostro letum miserabile fratri
ab<u>stulit</u>. o <u>misero frater adempte mihi</u>,	<u>attulit</u>. ei <u>misero frater adempte mihi</u>,
tu mea tu moriens fregisti commoda, frater,	ei misero fratri iucundum lumen ademptum,
<u>tecum una tota est nostra sepulta domus</u>,	<u>tecum una tota est nostra sepulta domus</u>;
<u>omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra</u>	<u>omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra</u>,
<u>quae tuus in uita dulcis alebat amor</u>.	<u>quae tuus in uita dulcis alebat amor</u>.
cuius ego interitu tota de mente fugaui ...	quem nunc tam longe non inter nota sepulcra ...

Note also the echo of 68a.19 and 68b.92 at 101.6 *heu <u>miser</u> indigne <u>frater adempte mihi.</u>*

Three lines (22-24 = 94-96) are repeated word for word, and one (20 ~ 92) with minor alterations. Which passage copies which one? The lament for the brother is an organic part of poem 68a, where it starts in mid-verse with what appears to be an impromptu invocation of the poet's brother. In poem 68b, on the other hand, it appears to have been inserted as a single block of text: it is connected loosely to what precedes with a relative pronoun (*quae*, line 91) that appears to introduce nothing more than a statement of factual coincidence (we cannot be sure about this, as *nunc et* in line 91 are conjectural). A detailed comparison of the two passages reinforces the same impression. Line 20 is a powerful verse, with *abstulit* receiving strong emphasis in enjambment (see *ad loc.*), and *o* is just what one would expect before a vocative; in line 92 on the other hand the unnecessary emphasis on *attulit* is awkward and *ei* is not particularly suited before a vocative but is justified by the epanaphora *ei ... ei ...* . It is easy to understand why line 21 did not end up in poem 68b (*fregisti commoda* is less elevated than one would wish), but not why line 93, pathetic but neutral,

would not have been taken over into poem 68a. Also, the epanaphora of various forms of *tu* makes better sense in lines 21-24 than in 94-96: one would expect such a series to start with the nominative, and certainly not with the compound form *tecum*. In 68a Catullus professes to have been single and unhappy ever since the death of his brother, while in 68b he is happy and with Lesbia. And most importantly, lines 95f. ('your death has put an end to all my joys') contradict the general contents of poem 68b, and especially lines 159f. ('I am happy as long as Lesbia is alive'), while they fit perfectly into poem 68a. Evidently Catullus first wrote poem 68a, and then he recycled parts of it in 68b.

Poem 101 was probably written after both 68a and 68b: *misero ... adempte mihi* in lines 20 and 92 is stronger than *miser ... adempte mihi* at 101.6 and looks like the original phrase, and while in 101 Catullus purports to perform the funerary rituals for his brother, lines 97-100 suggest that nothing of the sort has taken place as yet.

Trappes-Lomax (2007: 239) follows Fröhlich (1849: 265) in deleting lines 93-96 on the ground that "Catullus is too good a poet to have to decorate one poem with second-hand lines lifted from another poem". (Fröhlich also deleted 21-24: see *ad loc.*) In fact, the lines have not simply been lifted from 68a but they have been adapted to their new context (see above). More importantly, while one can delete lines 93-96, one cannot remove line 92 without leaving a gaping hole, even though it is a close imitation of line 20; and it undermines the logic of this operation that it is physically impossible to remove the repetition entirely. In fact, repetition occurs in Catullus' manuscripts to such an extent that it is hardly possible to accept the view of Trappes-Lomax (2007: 10-12) that it is always due to interpolation. It also occurs at the following passages (I use the tilde ~ in cases where a line is not repeated verbatim): 8.3 ~ 8.8; 16.1 = 16.14; 21.2f ~ 24.2f. ~ 49.2f.; 23.1 ~ 24.5; 24.5 ~ 24.10; 36.1 = 36.20; 41.4 = 43.5; 45.8f. = 45.17f.; 52.1 = 52.4; 57.1 = 57.10; 42.11f. = 42.19f. and 64.154 ~ 107.6 (the refrains in poems 61, 62 and 64.327-381 are not relevant here). It is telling that there are no serious incongruities between the supposed interpolations and their textual environment. There is no reason why Catullus need have thought with Trappes-Lomax (*loc. cit.*) that a good poet should not repeat himself, or with Holzberg (2002: 165f.) that repetition implies a lack of profound emotion: the Romantic notion that artistic quality or authenticity requires every phrase to be unique is certainly not a law of nature.

19   totum hoc studium   'This whole pursuit'. *studium* can refer to any activity or pursuit (*OLD* s.v. 4), including youthful ones: *plerique omnes faciunt adulescentuli / ut animum ad aliquod studium adiungant, aut equos / alere aut canes ad uenandum aut ad philosophos* (Ter. *An.* 55-57). Here it has been interpreted in a variety of ways, as embracing not only the *munera Veneris* of line 10, but also the *munera Musarum* (thus Frank 1914: 67 n. 2 and Skinner 2003: 146, who comments that this is one of a series of "ambiguous expressions" in the poem that "might embrace poetry as well as erotic pleasure"). In fact, the deictic pronoun *hoc* points back to one particular item, namely the erotic games just mentioned in line 17.

19f.   luctu fraterna mihi mors / abstulit   The expression is struggling, circuitous, even clumsy, but powerful. *luctu* is superfluous. *fraterna mors* is a striking circumlocution with a suitably harsh sound (note the triple *r*, the *littera canina*, the sound of which resembles the growling of a dog: Lucil. 377 Marx and Pers. 1.109f.); the monosyllable *mihi* is lodged awkwardly after *fraterna* (one would expect it to come after *abstulit*, but here it stresses Catullus' bond with the deceased) and its unemphatic last syllable receives the weight of the verse's last ictus; the line is closed by the monosyllable 'death'; and *abstulit* stands in a highly emphatic position at the start of the next line. The right words to express pain.

20   ábstulit   The word stands in a highly emphatic position: the stress that falls naturally on its first syllable, before the unusual consonant cluster, is reinforced further by the strong ictus at the beginning of the line; and it is isolated further as it constitutes a one-word enjambment. Catullus also uses enjambment elsewhere (see also lines 107 and 126 below as well as 37.14, 83.6, 84.2, 86.2 and 87.2), but nowhere to such effect.

'It took him away': this hugely emphatic word carries the key information not about the event itself (that was already given by *fraterna mors* in the previous line) but about how it was experienced by the poet: he feels that he his brother has been snatched away from him by an external force. The humanistic conjecture *abscidit* would do away with this forceful word.

o misero frater adempte mihi   "By beginning the apostrophe in the middle of the second line of a couplet, the poet dramatizes the spontaneity and anguish of Catullus' outburst" (Sarkissian 1983: 10). The verse is repeated at line 92, but with *ei* instead of the initial *o*. In the critical apparatus of his edition (which appeared in 1876) Baehrens proposed to write *ei* here as well, and this has been re-proposed by Trappes-Lomax (2007: 228) as it "regularizes the exclamations", evidently by bringing the two passages closer to each other. However, Baehrens changed his mind in his commentary (which appeared in 1885) and noted that " 'o' hic in sollemnis inuocationis initio, contra LXVIII[b] 52 [*i.e. in* 68b.92 – *D.K.*] in parenthesi 'ei' aptius". *o* is used regularly with the vocative (see *OLD* s.v. 1 and *TLL* 9.2.8.6-9.84, and compare *Ciris* 286 *o mihi nunc iterum crudelis reddite Minos*), while *ei* is not; so *o* better here; but in lines 92f. the epanaphora *ei ... / ei ...* would not be possible with *o*.

Catullus' apostrophes to his brother here, at verse 92 below and at 101.6 *heu miser indigne frater adempte mihi* were imitated frequently by later Latin poets. This verse, line 92 or both are echoed at Ov. *Her.* 9.166 *et patria et patriae frater adempte tuae*, Stat. *Theb.* 9.53 *quando alius misero ac melior mihi frater ademptus* (cfr. line 93 here *ademptum   I*), *Ciris* 313 *tene etiam fortuna mihi crudelis ademit* (perhaps with an added touch of line 1 *fortuna casuque oppressus acerbo*), *CE* 1119.5 *maeret cara soror quae fratrem luget ademptum* ("primi fere saeculi", Buecheler *ad loc.*) and possibly even at *Oct.* 178 *ut fratrem ademptum scelere restituat mihi*.

frater   After Lesbia and himself, his dead brother is the third person Catullus addresses most often in his poems (see also lines 21 and 92 and also 65.10, 101.2, 101.6 and 101.10). We do not know the brother's *praenomen*, as the poet always calls him *frater*. Plain *frater* is a common way of addressing a brother in

comedy (Pl. *Curc.* 697, *Men.* 1133, *Aul.* 120, 127 etc. as well as Ter. *Eun.* 1051, *Phorm.* 895 etc.) and is found later in prose (Cic. *De Orat.* 1.4) as well as poetry (Verg. *Aen.* 12.883, Ov. *Her.* 11.25): it was probably the most common way of addressing a male sibling in real life as well, with the vocative of the *praenomen* coming a close second (see Dickey 2002: 257-263).

adempte   Compare 68.31 *ademit* and 68.93 *ademptum*, all referring to Catullus' brother. Death, or its cause, is said to *adimere aliquem* (*alicui*) only in poetry (*TLL* 1.683.26-51): thus Naev. *com.* 95 *deos quaeso ut adimant et patrem et matrem meos*, Pl. *Epid.* 362f. *illam ... mihi adempsit Orcus*, Ter. *Andr.* 697 *hanc nisi mors mi adimet nemo*, Hor. *Od.* 2.4.10 *ademptus Hector*, Ov. *Met.* 4.142 *"Pyrame" clamauit, "quis te mihi casus ademit?* In prose only the set phrase *uitam adimere* is used, especially in pathetic contexts (thus *Rhet. Her.* 4.65 *non uox mea tibi uitam ademit?* and Cic. *Planc.* 101 *sin ... uitam mihi fors ademisset*; see further *TLL* 1.682.68-683.9).

21-24   Lachmann repeated these verses (and also line 93 and a slightly re-written version of line 101.6) in a tentative to fill the lacuna after 65.8, apparently without too much confidence that he was doing the right thing. In an attempt to improve on Lachmann's edition Fröhlich (1849: 263) proposed to leave out 21-24 (and also 93-96), noting that they "belong not here, as emerges from the context, but in poem 65" ("gehören nicht hieher, wie der Zusammenhang zeigt, sondern in Carm. 65"). I think that these lines are actually required by their context, as 25 would follow too abruptly after 20. In any case it is fanciful to assume that an interpolator should have excised a passage from one poem and inserted it into two others, into places where they make good sense.

21   **fregisti**   'You ended', 'destroyed', 'put an end to' – a use of *frango* (*OLD* s.v. 9b) that is relatively rare in high poetry: compare Caecina *ap.* Cic. *Fam.* 6.7.3 *tot malis tum uictum, tum fractum studium scribendi* and Lucr. 4.1084 *sed leuiter poenas frangit Venus inter amorem*.

commoda   Here the word cannot mean 'advantage, benefit' (*OLD*) or *utilitas, emolumentum* (*TLL*). The sense rather seems to be 'convenience, prosperity', i.e. favourable external circumstances: compare Ter. *Eun.* 372 *tu illis fruare commodis*; Cic. *Cluent.* 150 *quam multa sunt commoda quibus caremus, quam multa molesta et difficilia quae subimus! atque haec omnia tamen honoris et amplitudinis commodo compensantur* and Cicero *fils ap.* Cic. *Fam.* 16.21.2 *socium enim te meorum commodorum semper esse uolui*. In Republican authors *commodum*, *commoda* and the adjective *commodus* (already at Enn. *Ann.* 281 Skutsch) are widespread, but from the Augustan period onwards they rather less common in poetry (except for the works of Ovid) than in prose (see *TLL* 3.1921.71-1922.2; on *incommoda*, which has a rather similar distribution, see the note on line 11).

Here, *commoda* is an apparent echo of *incommoda* in line 11, which occupies the same part of the line. *commoda* and *incommoda* are Catullan buzzwords, occurring also at 23.24, 61.63 and 84.1 (*commoda*) and 14.23 (*incommoda*).

22   Catullus' brother has taken his entire family with him into the grave. This is surely an elaboration of Andromache's famous statement at *Il.* 6.429f. Ἕκτορ, □τ□ρ !⟨ μο⇔∕!ι πατ↓ρ κα⇐ π⟩τνια μ→τηρ / ±δ′ κα!⇔γνητο!, !║ δϒ μοι ψαλερ∫! παρακο⇔τη! that Hector constitutes her entire family (so she would see his death as an unmitigated disaster). Andromache's words also inspired Propertius' phantasy about losing Cynthia at 1.11.22-24 *aut sine te uitae cura sit ulla meae? / tu mihi sola domus, tu, Cynthia, sola parentes, / omnia tu nostrae tempora laetitiae* (perhaps under the influence of this passage: for further echoes of the present poem in Prop. 1.11 see further on lines 31 and 69), but Catullus' version of the topos appears to have proven the most influential: compare *Epic. Drusi* 263f. *spes quoque multorum flammis uruntur in isdem; / iste rogus miserae uiscera matris habet*, Verg. *Aen.* 11.394f. *Euandri totam cum stirpe ... procubuisse domum* (note the clear echo of this verse) and Auson. *Epit.* 14 *Hectoris hic tumulus, cum quo sua Troia sepulta est: / conduntur pariter, qui periere simul*.

tecum una   'Together, along with you', repeated emphatically in the following line. Until Catullus' time *mecum, tecum* etc. *ūnā* is used in a variety of genres ranging from comedy (*tecum una*, Pl. *Asin.* 240 and 771, Ter. *Hec.* 273; *mecum una*, Naev. *com.* 87, etc.) apparently through tragedy (*tecum <una>* restored at Acc. *trag.* 370) to rhetoric (*tecum una*, Cic. *Div. Caec.* 37 and *Dom.* 70, etc.), philosophical dialogue (*mecum una*, Cic. *Div.* 2.140), historiography (*nobiscum una*, Sall. *Cat.* 52.10; *uobiscum una*, *ibid.* 20.17) and letters (*mecum una*, Cass. *ap.* Cic. *Fam.* 12.11.1; *nobiscum una*, Cic. *Att.* 3.25). After this time it is only found once in Virgil (*mecum una*, *Ecl.* 2.31), and once in a speech by an imitator of Cicero's (*mecum una*, [Cic.] *Sal.* 5). The construction *ūnā cum* becomes rarer but survives (cfr. Quint. *decl. min.* 354, Sil. 16.547, Tac. *Ann.* 13.38, etc.)

sepulta   It is not uncommon for *sepelio* to be used metaphorically: compare Ter. *Phorm.* 943 *sepultus sum* 'I'm done for', Cic. *Man.* 30 *bellum exspectatione eius attenuatum atque imminutum est, aduentu sublatum ac sepultum*, Prop. 3.15.9 *cuncta tuus sepeliuit amor*, Ov. *Her.* 7.92 *nec mea concubitu fama sepulta foret*, and see further *OLD* s.v., 3. Here however it is used in a zeugma, both metaphorically and literally, as a sort of hinge (compare *subleuem* in line 4 and *perierunt* in line 23): Catullus' family was buried alongside his brother – that is, he was buried, and it was devastated; it was as if the family had been buried alongside him.

domus   A key term in poems 68a and 68b: see lines 34n., 68, 74, 94, 144, 156. Here it refers to the 'house' of the Valerii Catulli, the household or family (*nostra domus*, of Catullus and his brother), and not to any physical house (*pace* Skinner 2003: xii, who sees a reference to Catullus' hypothetical house in Rome in this phrase). The usage is widespread (see *OLD* s.v. *domus* 6a and *TLL* 5.1.1981.15-1986.44) and is proper to the highest registers of Latin literature: epic (Verg. *Aen.* 5.121) as well as the most elevated rhetoric (Paul. *orat.* 2 *ut si quid aduersi populo Romano inmineret, totum in meam domum conuerteretur*; Cic. *Ver.* 1.94 *cur sodalis uxorem, sodalis socrum, domum denique totam sodalis mortui contra te testimonium dicere?*).

23   Another metaphor: along with Catullus' brother there perished all Catullus' joys. The force of the phrase lies in the zeugmatic use of *pereo*: its use for phenomena that cease to exist is commonplace, but here Catullus' joys actually appear to die along with his brother, the language almost attributes to them a life of

their own (see on *sepulta* in the previous line). The sentiment is found already at Eur. *Alc.* 347 !‖ γ□ρ μοι τϒρχιν ⁄φε⇔λου β⇔ου, and the passage is imitated later by Auson. *Epigr.* 8.5 *nulla mihi ueteris perierunt gaudia uitae*, but until Shakespeare (*Romeo and Juliet* iv.5 *My child is dead / And with my child my joys are buried*) it is hardly expressed with as much force as here.

24 Catullus' brother had 'nourished' his joys not in any practical way (*pace* Friedrich) but metaphorically, through his affection (*amor*) for the poet.

The verse is echoed by Ovid at *A.A.* 2.152 *dulcibus est uerbis mollis alendus amor*.

in uita I.e. *tua*, 'during your life', while you were alive'. Thus also at Lucil. 1239 *cenasti in uita numquam bene*, Cic. *Phil.* 1.30 *quem potes recordari in uita inluxisse tibi diem laetiorem*, *Parad.* 26 *in uita tu ... una syllaba te peccasse dices?*, *Fin.* 2.74 *teque nihil fecisse in uita nisi uoluptatis causa?* and *Tog. Cand. frg.* 19 Puccioni *ap.* Asc. p. 91 Clark *dignitatem ... quam reliqua in uita es consecutus*. The phrase *in uita* is common during the Republic, but from the Augustan age onwards it is practically restricted to prose (it is only found in poetry at Prop. 2.9.43 and Hor. *Sat.* 2.8.4).

tuus ... dulcis ... amor 'Your sweet love': compare *tuus altus amor* at line 117 and *Thesei dulcem ... amorem* at 64.120. *tuus amor* is common: compare Cic. *Fam.* 5.15.1, 9.16.1, 10.21a.1, 10.24.1, 11.29.3. *dulcis amor* is a favourite turn of phrase of Catullus' (also at 64.120, 66.6 and 78.3) and is common elsewhere (Verg. *Ecl.* 3.109-110, *Geo.* 3.291f. and *Aen.* 6.455, Hor. *Od.* 1.9.15, Ov. *F.* 5.653, Stat. *Theb.* 2.399, etc.; note Cic. *Fam.* 2.1.1 *dulcem et optatum amorem tuum*).

alebat The metaphorical use of the verb is widespread: cf. e.g. Cic. *Sest.* 82 *illi parricidae, quorum ecfrenatus furor alitur impunitate diuturna* and *Brut.* 126 *hic orator* (i.e. C. Gracchus) *... non enim solum acuere sed etiam alere ingenium potest*, Tib. 2.6.21 *Spes alit agricolas*, and see further *OLD* s.v. *alo* 5-7 and *TLL* 1.1711.35-1712.25.

25 cuius ... interitu 'Because of whose death'. *interitus*, first attested only in 66 B.C.E. (*de uxoris interitu*, Cic. *Clu.* 31), does not mean 'violent or untimely death' (*OLD*), as Cicero also uses it at *Brut.* 3 for Q. Hortensius Hortalus, who died of natural causes (Cic. *Fam.* 8.13.2), but appears to be used in prose as a more elevated synonym for *mors*. It is absent not only from 'low' texts such as Petronius, but from much of Classical Latin poetry: it is found only here in Catullus, only twice each in Ovid (in *Her.* and *Tr.*) and Horace (in *A.P.*), once in Propertius and Virgil, and not at all in Tibullus, Persius, Martial and Juvenal.

"The ablative denoting external cause (as opposed to internal cause or motive) is not common" (thus Fordyce on 14.2). In Catullus note also *Helenae raptu* in line 87 below as well as 14.2 *munere isto* (which is the only example that is not a verbal noun) and 65.22 *aduentu matris*. See further Fordyce *loc. cit.* and esp. Kühner-Stegmann 1.394-396 and Hofmann-Szantyr 132-134

tota de mente Cfr. 64.69f. *illa ... toto ex te pectore, Theseu, / toto animo, tota pendebat perdita mente*. The simple ablative *tota mente* (Verg. *Aen.* 4.100, Ov. *Ars* 3.424 and *Met.* 5.275, Sen. *Phaedr.* 185, *Nat. Quaest.*

7.1.1, *Epist.* 45.5, etc.) was a standard turn of phrase, as was *totis mentibus* (Sil. 10.190, Quint. 12.1.31): see further *TLL* 8.732.59-67.

fugaui   A strong word: after his brother's death Catullus 'chased out', 'expelled' amorous thoughts and all traces of delight from his mind. He also uses the image at 64.398 *iustitiamque omnes cupida de mente fugarunt*. It is not too rare: compare Liv. 3.19.5 *cum Caesone filio suo uirtutem, constantiam, omnia iuuentutis belli domique decora pulsa ex urbe Roma et fugata esse*, Ov. *Rem.* 358 *ex omni est parte fugandus amor*, Plin. *N.H.* 22.149 *ita fugari uitium arbitrantes* (where *uitium* refers to a medical condition); see further *TLL* 6.1.1501.75-1502.39.

26   haec studia   This picks up *hoc studium* in line 19, which refers to Catullus' amorous pursuits (see *ad loc.*). Kroll points out that here it stands in the plural apparently because of the influence of *delicias*.

omnes delicias animi   Here *deliciae* means 'an enjoyable activity or pastime', 'a pleasure, 'a delight' (cfr. *OLD* s.v., 1a and esp. Pl. *Rud.* 426 *otium ubi erit, tum tibi operam ludo et deliciae dabo*, and see Fordyce on Cat. 50.3). *omnes* indicates that it is a true plural – Catullus states that he has banished from his life 'all the delights of my soul'. For its connection with *animus* compare Hor. *Od.* 4.8.9f. *nec tibi ... animus deliciarum egens* and Pl. *Trin.* 354 *aliquantum animi caussa in deliciis disperdidit* (cf. also *optatos animi coniungite amores* at Cat. 64.372), for pleasures wholesale at Lucr. 5.1450 *delicias quoque uitae funditus omnis* and for its erotic overtones Pl. *Pseud.* 173f. *uos quae in munditiis mollitiis deliciisque aetatulam agitis / uiris cum summis, inclutae amicae*.

Catullus uses both *deliciae* and *delicatus* in a variety of senses (*deliciae*: Cat. 2.1, 3.4, 6.1, 32.2, 45.24, 69.4 and 74.2; *delicatus*: 17.15 and 50.3) and with their hedonistic overtones they appear to have been veritable buzz-words for the poet and his circle (see Krostenko 2001: 187 and 11 n. 22, with further references). They were controversial terms: a mere mention of *deliciae* (whether the use of the term or a reference to the phenomenon that it denoted) was enough to elicit a tirade from Gellius' conservative uncle (Cat. 74.2). Cicero uses the term with marked distaste: note *Cael.* 27 *deliciarum obiurgatio*, *ibid.* 44 *amores autem et deliciae quae uocantur*, *Rosc. Am.* 120, etc.

27-30   A particularly vexed passage: how should it be written, and what does it mean? The principal MSS' unmetrical *tepefacit* in line 29 is easily replaced by something more plausible; with similarly little effort one can choose between the transmitted vocative *Catulle* and the conjectural dative *Catullo* in line 27; but it remains very difficult to settle how these lines should be interpreted.

It may be best to start with the most radical remedy that has been proposed. Landor (1842: 361) noted that these lines "appertain to some other piece, and break the context"; later he appears to have come to believed that they were not by Catullus at all (Ellis 1867 *in app.* quotes him as remarking that *Miserum est uere si hos quattuor uersus Catullus scripserit*). They were also deleted by by Trappes-Lomax (2007: 229f.) not only as irrelevant to their context, but also besause if they were genuine, they would already have been corrected, but we are faced with problems seemingly without remedy, and "Manlius, who is after all a friend, [would surely

not] employ the offensively hyperbolical expression *quisquis de meliore nota*". But *quisquis de meliore nota* means nothing more than "every person of the better sort" (and Catullus was certainly capable of snobbism: compare poem 23); it may not be impossible to solve the problems posed by these lines; and they are certainly not irrelevant to their context: *id … non est turpe, magis miserum est* (line 30) refers back to the previous section (lines 19-26), in which the poet explains that his current cloistered lifestyle is due to the death of his brother. On the other hand, there are good reasons to consider these lines genuine: their style closely resembles that of the rest of the poem (note the epistolary formula *quod scribis*, the commonplace element in the contrast between *turpe* and *miserum* and the enallage of *desertus*, as of *caelebs* in line 6) and line 29 was imitated by Ovid (see *ad loc.*). We have no reason to assume that they are not genuine.

Catullus picks up a remark from Manlius' (verses 27-29) and replies to it (verse 30). Is he paraphrasing Manlius' letter, or is he quoting it directly? Most recent editors believe that we are dealing with a paraphrase, and in line 27 they adopt the humanistic emendation *Catullo*. But the principal MSS' vocative *Catulle* was defended by Santenius, who printed *Quare, quod scribis: Veronae…* and commented: *ita interpunxi, ut in huc versu incipiat Manlium, tamquam scribentem, inducere, usque ad finem vicesimi noni.* Note here the words *tamquam scribentem*: Santenius evidently thinks that the words *Veronae … cubili* do not constitute a real quotation from Manlius' letter, but they were made up by Catullus on the basis of what Manlius had written. Perhaps Santenius assumes that Manlius' letter had not been a verse letter in elegiac distichs. But Catullus' circle of friends was permeated by literature, so we cannot be so sure of this; and it is assumed by some scholars, most prominently by Quinn, that we are dealing with a genuine quotation. Quinn prints these lines as follows:

> quare, quod scribis, 'Veronae turpe, Catulle,
>   esse, quod hic quisquis de meliore nota
> frigida deserto tepefactat membra cubili,'
>   id, Manli, non est turpe, magis miserum est.

More recently, Wiseman (1974: 96-100) has argued that the quotation should be shorter:

> quare, quod scribis 'Veronae turpe, Catulle,
>   esse,' quod hic quisquis de meliore nota... *etc.*

In both cases one has to supplement *est* after *turpe* and translate "Therefore as to what you write, that 'Catullus, it is shameful to be in Verona (…)' ". I do not translate the phrase that Santenius and Quinn include in the quotation, but Wiseman does not, as it is rather controversial how it should be interpreted; I will rather discuss it separately below.

There is a strong tendency in Latin epistolography to paraphrase the letter that one is replying to rather than to quote from it. In my experience this is still the case in traditional (hand-written) correspondence today:

there is simply no need to take the time and trouble to quote one's correspondent *ad litteram*, as long as one reacts to the points that (s)he has raised. (The situation is notably different in e-mail, where one can cut and paste easily.) Quinn has pointed out that "a verse letter is not a normal letter": it is presumably written with greater care and with less haste than a letter in prose, so it would be technically easier for the author to include a verbatim quotation, even though this would probably be a very unconventional thing to do.

Catullus introduces his paraphrase or quotation with the words *quod scribis*. The phrase is common in Cicero's correspondence, where it serves practically always to introduce a paraphrase rather than a quotation. However, there are a couple of exceptions, but these involve one-word quotations or quotations of a proverbial character (see *ad loc.* below). The Romans had no quotation marks at their disposal, and one would expect a clearer statement than *quod scribis* that a quotation is to follow: for example *quod ita scribis*, which is used in this sense by Cicero at *Fam.* 5.2.3.

In view of all this, one would expect a paraphrase rather than a quotation at this point; but can one be sure? I think we can, on stylistic grounds. *quod scribis, 'Veronae turpe, Catulle, / esse,(') quod ...* would be awkward in the extreme: four stops would fall between seven words, and standing in enjambment the bland *esse* would receive an extraordinary amount of emphasis. The clumsy, halting quality of this run of words would stand off starkly against the smoothness of the surrounding lines.

The alternative is to take lines 27-29 to contain not a quotation from Manlius' letter, but a paraphrase. This has been done since the Renaissance, when someone wrote *Catullo* in line 27. Accordingly, Mynors and Thomson write the passage as follows:

> quare, quod scribis Veronae turpe Catullo
>   esse, quod hic quisquis de meliore nota
> frigida deserto tepefactet membra cubili,
>   id, Manli, non est turpe, magis miserum est.   [*here Mynors writes* Mani]

Once again, *esse* stands in enjambment and receives an awkward amount of emphasis. Also, it is hard to make sense of *Veronae turpe Catullo esse*. This has generally been taken to mean *Veronae esse turpe Catullo esse*, 'that it is shameful for Catullus to be in Verona'. Kroll has set out the two ways in which our text could be made to suit such an interpretation: *esse* could stand □π∫ κοινο∖ both with *Veronae* and with *turpe*, or the second *esse* that would go with *turpe* could have been omitted tacitly. But Kroll himself admits that such an □π∫ κοινο∖ construction would be "etwas kühn", "somewhat bold" – in fact it would lack parallels; and so would the elision of one *esse* out of two (we only find elisions of a single instance of *esse*, as at Prop. 1.6.9 *illa meam mihi iam se denegat*). Fordyce and Thomson cautiously favour the second interpretation. However, it would have the further weakness that the missing *esse* would have to go with *turpe*, as *esse* can only be omitted when it is an auxiliary verb but not when it means 'to spend time', 'to stay' in a certain place, so the *esse* that we do have would have to go with *Veronae* – but in fact it stands

closer to *turpe*. This would be an extremely confusing construction; Fordyce speaks of "a very awkward brachylogy", but that is an understatement.

One solution would be to follow Fröhlich (1849: 263) and to write *turpe Catullo est* (and in this case we could treat these words either as a quotation or as a paraphrase). This is quite easy from a palaeographical point of view: *Catullo est* could have been abbreviated as *catullo ē*, which is close to the transmitted *catulle*. However, it still leaves us with *esse* perched awkwardly in enjambment.

By chance I came upon another solution. We can take *turpe* with *esse* and the *quod*-clause as the complement of *turpe*. The construction is unusual, and apparently unknown to the standard grammars (compare the discussion of subordinate clauses introduced by *quod* in Kühner-Stegmann 2.269-279 and in Hofmann-Szantyr 572-584), but note the following parallels:

• Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.147 *ait indignum facinus <u>esse quod</u> ego in senatu Graeco uerba fecissem; quod quidem apud Graecos Graece locutus essem, id ferri nullo modo posse*.

• Cic. *Fam.* 1.7.1 *legi tuas litteras, quibus ad me scribis gratum tibi <u>esse quod</u> crebro certior per me fias de omnibus rebus et meam erga te beneuolentiam facile perspicias ...*

• Cic. *Fam.* 7.3.6 *sunt enim qui, cum meus interitus nihil fuerit rei publicae profuturus, criminis loco putent <u>esse quod</u> uiuam ...*

• Caes. *B.G.* 1.44.6 (from a speech reported in *oratio obliqua*) *eius rei testimonium <u>esse quod</u> nisi rogatus non uenerit et quod bellum non intulerit, sed defenderit.*

• Liv. 30.42.10 (from a speech reported in *oratio obliqua*) *gratumque id senatui <u>esse quod</u> socios populi Romani, quando iure foederis non possit, armis tueatur.*

An *accusatiuus cum infinitiuo* construction in which the infinitive is *esse* normally takes two accusatives, as in *censeo Karthaginem delendam esse*. But in the present passage, and in the parallels listed above, one accusative is replaced by a clause introduced by *quod* and containing a subjunctive. One might have expected another *accusatiuus cum infinitiuo* dependent on the main infinitive; but the accumulation of infinitives would be unseemly and potentially confusing.

In this case these lines mean '… as to you writing that it is shameful for Catullus in Verona that everyone of a better sort …' etc. Since *esse* is closely linked to *quod*, it is no longer awkwardly exposed at the start of the line. As far as I can see, this is the only way in which these lines can be interpreted satisfactorily.

It remains to consider the meaning of *quisquis de meliore nota / frigida deserto tepefactet membra cubili*. This has been taken to mean two things. Most scholars assume that the people in question have to sleep in abandoned, empty beds, and they warm their limbs as best as they can. In the view of Ellis, Quinn and Coppel (1973: 26-33), on the other hand, the young men warm their limbs in a bed that has been deserted by someone – that is, in the bed of Lesbia, which has been abandoned (*desertus*) by Catullus when he left for Verona after the death of his brother. In that case *hic* has to refer to Rome, where Manlius is writing from. That makes sense in the interpretation of Quinn and Coppel, who see a direct quotation in these verses; less

so in the reading of Ellis, who prints no quotation marks and writes *Catullo* in both his editions, but states in his commentary that these verses contain an assertion of the addressee's – that is to say, he believes that the addressee has written of Catullus in the third person singular (this is very uneconomical: one would expect the second person in this case, and that is what we find in the MSS). Now we have seen that these lines appear to contain no direct quotation. Also, it is implausible that Catullus should have referred to the bed that he had abandoned with the words *deserto ... cubili*. In this case Latin would require not a bare participle, but a relative clause (*cubile quod deserui*), as it is crucial to know who the bed has been abandoned by, while the participle merely indicates the fact that it has been abandoned.

This leaves us with the first interpretation. We are faced with an accumulation of words indicating amorous misfortune – *frigida membra* and *deserto ... cubili* – and alongside these with *tepefactet*. Evidently each of the people in question tries to warm up their limbs in an empty bed: unable to warm himself by making love vigorously he is forced to pile up the blankets. Coppel (1973: 15f.) has seen that there could be a problem with *deserto* here, as romantic misfortune does not tend to affect crowds of people at the same time. He proposes to read these lines as a direct quotation and suggests that Manlius' grave problem will simply have been that Catullus left Rome, which put an end to all good cheer among his friends – but Manlius' misfortune is described in the gravest terms in lines 1-4 (see *ad loc.*) and it is hard to believe that these could describe such a petty event. However, Coppel failed to take into consideration another possibility: *deserto* need not mean 'abandoned by somebody': it can also mean 'shunned by all' (see on line 6 *desertum*). Manlius is evidently reproaching Catullus for the fact that in his stuffy home-town Verona no fashionable young man has a love-life to speak of. That is at least his idea of provincial life: the double erotic pursuit described in poem 100 suggests that in reality Verona may not have been such a stuffy place after all. So Manlius is reproaching Catullus for having withdrawn to a cloistered existence in a provincial town that offers in his view not the slightest opportunity for erotic adventures. *Veronae* and *hic* refer to the same place, first from the point of view of Manlius ('in Verona, where you are staying'), then from that of Catullus ('here').

27   quare quod scribis   Thus also Cic. *Fam.* 12.2.2 *quare quod scribis te confidere ...* On its own, *quod scribis* was clearly a set turn of phrase in Roman letters: it occurs 68 times in Cicero's correspondence. It introduces an indirect quotation in every case, save four: at *Att.* 12.25.2 *quod scribis 'ἄγγ→ραμα'* and 12.34.3 *quod enim scribis 'extremi'* it introduces a one-word quotation, while at *Att.* 8.15.2 *nec me mouet quod scribis 'Ioui ipsi iniquum'* and 12.1.2 *sed quod scribis 'igniculum matutinum <γεροντικ⟩ν>',* γεροντικ⊕τερον *est* ... it introduces one that is "proverbial and non-personal in expression" (Thomson). One should contrast *Fam.* 5.2.3 *Quod autem ita scribis, 'pro mutuo inter nos animo'.* Latin writers did not have semi-colons and quotation marks at their disposal and had to state explicitly when they were about to make a direct quotation, as Cicero does before the prosopopoeiae in his first speech against Catiline (*Cat.* 1.18 *quae tecum, Catilina, sic agit et quodam modo tacita loquitur: 'Nullum iam ... '* and 1.27 *etenim si mecum patria, quae mihi uita mea multo est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis res publica loquatur: 'M. Tulli,*

quid agis? ... '). In general, *scribo* tends to be used in the same way as *dico* and most other verbs of saying (except *inquam* and, on occasion, *aio*), which always introduce an indirect quotation.

Note the epistolary *quod* 'as to the fact that …', introducing a new subject that has been brought up by the addressee (see lines 1-10, with commentary). It is not picked up by *id* in line 30 (see the note there) and it does not refer to what Manlius is writing, but to the fact that he is writing it: 'As to your writing that in Verona ...'

Catullo   The primary MSS write the vocative *catulle*, which is defended by Santenius ('si inter duo commata legatur, vulgato non deterius est'); but see on lines 27-30 for the case (definitive, I think) that we have to do with an indirect quotation here, which requires the dative. "The change is almost nothing, and no change is more frequent in our MSS. than the assimilation of terminations, even when the sense is completely ruined by it" (Postgate 1888: 251 with 267): the alteration of *turpe catullo* to *turpe catulle* would have parallels such as 4.2 *nauium celerrimus*] –*ium* -*imum A*, 23.24 *tu commoda*] *tua A, cursu dea menstruo*] *menstrua A*, 53.3 *meus crimina Caluos*] *meos A* and 61.227 *munere assiduo*] –*e* –*e A*. Alternatively, the corruption could be due to the customary carelessness of copyists at the end of the verse, to a scribe's perplexity at Catullus' reference to himself in the third person, or simply to the obscurity of the passage. Catullus often speaks of himself in the third person: see line 135 below, and also 6.1, 7.10, 8.12, 11.1, 13.7, 14.3f., 38.1, 44.3, 49.4f., 56.3, 58.2f., 72.1, 79.3 (following on a second-person address in the previous verse) and 82.

28   quod hic   Fröhlich (1849: 263) conjectured *quoad* 'insofar as', but that would be unmetrical (it is monosyllabic in all three of its attestations in poetry during the 1st century B.C., at Lucr. 5.1213 and 5.1433 and Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.91) and would not make sense.

quisquis   Here this would have to mean not 'whoever', but 'everyone'. The difficulty was already recognized in the Renaissance, when Perreius proposed to add *est* after *nota* at the end of the verse, but that does not go well with the subjunctive that is usually reconstructed in the following verse (and with good reason: see on *tepefactet*); and for the same reason one cannot tacitly add *est* with Fordyce. A variety of conjectures have been proposed: *quisque* (a variant from the Renaissance, but it would be unmetrical), *quisquam* (Muretus) and *quiuis* (Lachmann *in app.*). But as is pointed out by Kühner-Stegmann 2.199, "just as *quisque* can have the meaning of the relative *quisquis*, so viceversa, *quisquis* too can be used in an indefinite sense"[189] (perhaps we have to do with a series of mistakes rather than a rule) – and their examples show that this is not only possible in the neuter (thus Pl. *Trin.* 881 *unum quicquid singillatim*, 'everything, item by item', Lucr. 5.264 *primum quicquid*, etc.) and in set phrases such as *quoquo modo* (Cic. *Mil.* 9, Tac. *Ann.* 15.53, etc.), *quoquo pacto* (Ter. *Eun.* 1083) and *quaqua de re locuti* (Tac. *Ann.* 6.7 etc.), but also in the masculine: thus at Cic. *Fam.* 6.1.1 *quocumque in loco quisquis est* (P. Manutius conjectured *quisque*), *CIL* 1.593.13 (*Tabula Heraclea*: the text of a legal statute enacted probably under Julius Caesar) *quod quemquam h(ac) l(ege) profiteri oportebit*, Liv. 8.38.11 *in suo quisquis gradu obnixi* (*quisque* in the codex *O* is an

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[189] „Wie *quisque* im Sinne des relativischen *quisquis*, so steht umgekehrt wieder auch *quisquis* in indefinitem Sinne."

innovation, as *quisquis* is found in all other MSS) and Liv. 41.8.10 *liberos suos quibusquibus Romanis ... mancipio dabant* (thus the MSS: *quibusuis* Weissenborn, *quibuslibet* Novák). This may also be the correct reading at Q. Cic. *pet.* 17 *ut quisquis est intimus ac maxime domesticus* (*quisquis* codd. *HVB*: *quisque FD*).

de meliore nota   *nota* must have been used for the *titulus*, the label indicating the type of wine inside the cask or amphora. It is is attested for the type or vintage of wine (thus at Cic. *Brut.* 287 *ut si quis Falerno uino delectetur, sed eo nec ita nouo ut proximis consulibus natum uelit, nec rursus ita uetere ut Opimium aut Anicium consulem quaerat – atqui hae notae sunt optumae*; also Hor. *Od.* 2.3.8 *interiore nota Falerni* and *Sat.* 1.10.24 *Chio nota si commixta Falerni est*), and hence in a somewhat informal metaphor also for the quality of things other than wine: note Ov. *Am.* 2.5. *uolo non ex hac illa fuisse nota* (of kisses), Col. 3.2.19 *secundae notae uites*, Petr. 116.5 *urbanioris notae homines*, Sen. *Ep.* 15.3 *pessimae notae mancipia* and *Ben.* 3.9.1 *quaedam* [i.e. *beneficia*] *non sunt ex hac uulgari nota*, and see further *OLD* s.v. *nota*, 5b-c. The set phrase *de meliore nota*, 'of a better label', is also used by Curius *ap.* Cic. *Fam.* 7.29.1 *Sulpici successori nos de meliore nota commenda*.

29   This is a so-called 'golden line', a hexameter consisting of two adjectives and two nouns with a verb placed in the middle, where the first adjective agrees with the first noun and the second adjective with the second noun in the pattern A^1 A^2 V N^1 N^2. A similar line in which the adjectives and nouns correspond to each other in reverse order in the pattern A^1 A^2 V N^2 N^1 is known as the 'silver line': compare e.g. Cat. 64.314 *libratum tereti uersabat turbine fusum*. These two types of hexameter are absent from Greek poetry (where they would have been harder to realize than in Latin, which has freer word-order, no definite article and longer words than Greek). In Latin silver lines are found first in the young Cicero's *Aratea* (in *frg.* 32 Buescu at line 111 *aestiferos ualidis erumpit flatibus ignes* and line 438 *extremas medio contingens corpore terras*), while golden lines first appear in Lucretius (note 3.345 *mutua uitalis discunt contagia motus*) and in Catullus, who markedly prefers the golden line (also at 64.59, 129, 163, 172, 235, 264 and 351 and at 66.13) to the silver one (at 64.314, 321 and 368). It is hard to tell exactly what consists a golden or silver line and what does not, and surveys such as this one are only approximative: here I treat participles as verbs, but exclude lines that contain an article or another short word alongside the standard ingredients. It may not be important to arrive at an exact definition, as neither the name or the definition of the golden and the silver line go back to antiquity, and poets appear to have written lines of this type not because they were trying to do so, but because it resulted from a particular style of composition. If one lets most nouns be accompanied by an adjective, often puts the verb in the middle of the hexameter, and often separates the adjectives from the nouns which they qualify, then one is bound to end up writing verses of this type, alongside many variants: this is the case for example in Catullus 64. This style of composition seems to have been developed by Latin poets in the 1st century B.C. under the influence of Alexandrian poets such as Euphorion and Hermesianax who resorted to similar, albeit less elaborate, patterns of word order. On the golden and the silver line see further Conrad (1965: 234-241).

frigida ... membra Since erotic fervour was associated with heat, *frigidus* was used regularly to indicate a lack of passion: thus at Verg. *Geo.* 3.97 *frigidus in Venerem senior* (a horse), Ov. *Am.* 2.1.5 *in sponsi facie non frigida uirgo* and 2.7.9f. *in te quoque frigidus esse ... dicor*, *Rem.* 491f. *quamuis infelix media torreberis Aetna, / frigidior dominae* (*glacie* recentiores) *fac uideare tuae*, Petron. 20.2 *inguina mea mille iam mortibus frigida* (cfr. 129.7) and Mart. 3.34.2 *frigida es ... Chione*. See further *TLL* 6.1.1329.73-82 with 1322.50-58 and 1339.29-32.

deserto ... cubili It is possible to take *deserto* with *cubili* ('a deserted bed'), but it is better to treat it as a case of enallage, with the adjective characterizig the owner of each bed, as is the case in line 3 *lecto caelibe* (see *ad loc.*): compare the pathetic fallacy at 64.133 *perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu* (which may echo this passage) and Prop. 1.3.2 *languida desertis Cnosia litoribus* (cfr. 1.15.17f., 1.18.1, 1.18.32 and 1.17.2) The present phrase is imitated by Ovid at *A.A.* 3.69f. *tempus erit quo tu, quae nunc excludis amantes, / frigida deserta nocte iacebis anus*, *Met.* 7.710 *deserti foedera lecti* and *Her.* 1.7 *non ego deserto iacuissem frigida lecto*.

Here *deserto cubili* can be interpreted in two different ways: each bed, or rather its owner, could have been 'abandoned' (a) by all and sundry, by bedfellows in general, or (b) by a particular partner. Since more beds and more owners are at stake, and since the latter include Catullus, who has not been abandoned by anybody. it is almost certain that (a) is correct (see also on 27-30). It is interesting, however, that Ovid could have it both ways when imitating this phrase: at *Ars* 3.70 he let *desertus* mean 'shunned by all' (a), and at *Her.* 1.7 and *Met.* 7.710 'abandoned' (b) (see above).

The phrase picks up *desertum in lecto caelibe* in line 6 (see *ad loc.*). The echo puts what is described in either verse on a par: as with line 13 *merser*, Catullus implicitly suggests that his situation is basically similar to that of Manlius.

tepefactet A difficult crux: how should this word be written, and what does it mean? The principal MSS *OGR* write *tepefacit*, while R^2 (Coluccio Salutati) has added *al' factat* in the margin. Thomson (1997: 43) believes this to be a conjecture of Salutati's. In fact, the verb *tepefacto* is unattested elsewhere (its twin form *frigefacto* appears in Plautus at *Poen.* 760 and *Rud.* 1326) and it does not seem likely that Salutati or any but the best Renaissance scholars should have conjectured a *hapax*. It is more probable that he should have copied this variant from *X*, and that like *al' mauli* in line 11 (see *ad loc.*) it should reflect an older stage of the tradition. Since *tepefacit* is far more common than *tepefactat* (in Catullus it is also found at 64.340), *tepefacit* appears to be a banalization and *tepefactat* the older form. Elsewhere *esse quod* always takes a subjunctive (see on 27-30), so rather than *tepefactat* we need a subjunctive form of *tepefacto*. The obvious choice is Bergk's *tepefactet*, which first appeared in Rossbach's Teubner edition of 1854 (and one should give Bergk credit for his originality: he cannot have been aware of the variant in *R*, which was only discovered by Hale in 1896; at most he could have been using a MS such as 23, which is the only one of the *recentiores* that I know of to contain a form of *tepefacto*). Most editors from the twentieth century print this, with Quinn and Bardon preferring *tepefactat*. Lachmann's *tepefaxit* (i.e. *tepefacsit*) is not far from *OGR*'s reading *tepefacit*, but it comes from the wrong verb. So does *tepefiat*, proposed by Schrader, and this would

also result in an inadmissibly awkward construction (*quisquis tepefiat frigida membra*: a passive present indicative would be used with an accusative of respect, where one would expect a present indicative active with an object in the accusative). The Renaissance variants *tepefecit* and *tepefiunt* come from the wrong verb and are not subjunctives, while *tepefiunt* would also yield a construction every bit as awkward as Schrader's *tepefiat*, and the same can be said of *tepefiant*, which Vossius claims to have found in an 'optimus liber' (I have been unable to identify his source). *tepefactet* is certainly the best bet.

In any case, what does the word mean? *tepefacto* is, as we have seen, a *hapax*, but *tepefacio* tends to mean 'to make tepid', 'to warm up (slightly)'. *tepeo* and its derivatives usually imply a positive, if moderate, warmth; contrast however Lucan. 4.284 *paulatim cadit ira ferox mentesque tepescunt*. Here evidently the cold limbs of the young men are brought to a tepor – but by what: love-making, or something else? In an amorous context words from this root can stand for passion (Ov. *Her.* 11.26 *nescio quem sensi corde tepente deum* and *A.A.* 2.359f. *Helene, ne sola iaceret, / hospitis est tepido nocte recepta sinu*, Petron. 135.15.5f. *nam quis concubitus, Veneris quis gaudia nescit? / quis uetat in tepido membra calere toro?*, Stat. *Silu.* 1.2.139f. *ipsam iam cedere sensi / inque uicem tepuisse uiro*), for moderate passion (Hor. *Od.* 1.4.19f. *tenerum Lycidan ... quo calet iuuentus / nunc omnis et mox uirgines tepebunt*, Ov. *Rem.* 7 *saepe tepent alii iuuenes: ego semper amaui*), for insufficient passion (Prop. 1.13.26 *nam tibi non tepidas subdidit illa faces*, Ov. *A.A.* 2.445 *fac timeat de te tepidamque recalface mentem* and *Rem.* 692 *quid iuuat admonitu tepidam recalescere mentem?*) and for no passion at all (Ov. *Am.* 2.2.53f. *seu tepet ... siue amat*). The only fixed ingredient is evidently a concept of tepor, of moderate warmth; for the rest the exact significance of the word has to be inferred from its context. For this see further on 27-30.

30 'That is not shameful, Manlius; rather, it is sad': Catullus deserves not reproaches but commiseration, since he is not to be blamed for his present lack of amorous diversions.

The juxtaposition of *turpis* and *miser* is common, especially in speeches, in letters and in poetry of a rhetorical bent: thus Cic. *Vat.* 21 *turpissimo miserrimoque spectaculo*, *Att.* 8.2.3 *hoc miserius, hoc turpius quicquam?*, *Q. fr.* 1.3.6 *in tam misera tamque turpi uita*, etc.., Lucr. 4.1174f., Liv. 5.53.4 *haec migratio nobis misera ac turpis* and 2.40.8 (speeches), Ov. *Pont.* 2.3.37 *turpe putas abigi, quia sit miserandus, amicum*, *Am.* 1.10.39f., *Rem.* 658f., *Her.* 9.19f., etc., Sen. *Dial.* 2.14.4, Pers. 1.3, Calp. *Ecl.* 3.86f., [Quint.] *Decl. mai.* 6.8, Val. Max. 2.6.11, etc. For their contrast compare Cic. *Quinct.* 98 *non turpis ad te sed miser confugit* and *Att.* 7.18.1 *sciremus utrum turpi pace nobis an misero bello esset utendum*, Sen. *Tro.* 710f. *nec turpe puta / quicquid miseros fortuna iubet*, and esp. Cic. *Har. Resp.* 49 *miserum magis fuit quam turpe*.

Here and in lines 32 and 34 below Catullus punctuates in the second half of the pentameter. As is pointed out by Kroll, he does not do so anywhere else in the long poems, and in the epigrams only at 110.4. Even in its metrical technique poem 68a is not exceedingly refined.

id This picks up not *quod* in line 27 (which is used in a loose epistolary construction and means 'as to you writing that ...': see *ad loc.*), but the entire point made by Manlius, that is, all of *Veronae ... cubili* in lines 27-

29. What is 'sad rather than shameful' is not Manlius' writing about something, but the situation that he is writing about.

Manli See line 11n.

magis 'Rather', 'instead', 'on the contrary'. Usages such as this "show how readily *magis* could become in later Latin an adversative particle, the ancestor of Ital. *ma* and Fr. *mais*" (Fordyce on 73.4). Thus also Sall. *Hist.* 3.48.17 M. *neque ego uos ultum iniurias hortor, magis uti requiem cupiatis*, Verg. *Ecl.* 1.11 *non equidem inuideo, mirror magis*, Prop. 2.3.53 *quem non lucra, magis Pero formosa coegit*, Pl. *Bac.* 130, Ter. *Hau.* 895, Varro *Antiquitates Rerum Humanarum* 25 *frg.* 1 Semi *ap.* Gell. 17.3.4, Cic. *de Orat.* 2.253, Sall. *Iug.* 85.49 and 96.2, [Sall.] *Rep.* 1.8.9, Sen. *Suas.* 5.2, Quint. *Inst.* 11.2.5 and 11.3.162 and *decl. min.* 364 = p. 396.14 Ritter. It becomes common in late antiquity: see further *TLL* 8.60.22-78. Its use at Cat. 73.4 *immo etiam taedet obestque magis* (thus the Aldine edition: *magisque magis* MSS), accompanied by the connective –*que*, is less radical.

31f. 'So you will forgive me if I do not provide you with the gifts that my mourning has deprived me of, as I am unable to do so.' *igitur* attaches this couplet the preceding run of thought ('I am out of practice in love myself, and cannot help you to it', lines 15-26), while *nam quod* in line 33 picks up a new argument that has not been discussed (see *ad loc.*). Catullus has explained why he has no love-life to speak of at present (lines 15-26) and in a digression he has cleared himself from Manlius' accusation that it was shameful for him to lead a cloistered existence in Verona (lines 27-30), so now he is able to ask Manlius to excuse him for not providing him with the *munera Veneris*. The point is missed by Most (1981: 121f.), who takes *nam* in line 33 to indicate a relationship of cause and effect and concludes that in lines 31f. "Catullus rejects both requests".

31 The verse is echoed by Prop. 1.11.19f. *ignosces igitur si quid tibi triste libelli / attulerint nostri: culpa timoris erit*, a poem in which Catullus 68 is imitated more often: see further on line 22 and on line 69 *communes*.

ignosces 'You will forgive me if…': a formula of apology in which the fact of being forgiven is already taken for granted. It appears for the most part in polite or very polite letters (Cic. *Fam.* 5.13.5 and 15.17.1, *Att.* 3.15.4 and 10.4.6, and *Q. fr.* 2.13.3, Caesar *ap.* Cic. *Att.* 9.6a, Trebonius *ap.* Cic. *Fam.* 12.16.3, and also in compositions that are in letter form at Prop. 1.11.19, which echoes this passage – see the previous note –, Ov. *Pont.* 2.2.126 and Plin. *N.H. praef.* 4); in conversation that is either genuinely polite (Cic. *de Orat.* 2.39) or ironically so (Horace *Sat.* 1.9.72); and also in speeches (Quint. *declam. min.* 288 = p. 155.21 Ritter and sarcastically at Martial *epigr.* 4.26.4).

luctus The word can stand both for the formal act of mourning and for the state of mind (see *OLD* s.v.).

ademit See on line 20 *adempte*.

32 The verse is echoed by Ov. *Her.* 14.124 *quaeque tibi tribui munera, dignus habes*.

tribuo   Simply 'I grant', 'I give', and not as formal as 'I bestow' (cf. *OLD* s.v., 2a). The word is widespread in most registers of Classical Latin, though it is absent from Virgil and Petronius only uses it in a verse passage at 121.107. It often denotes the action of giving a gift: thus Cic. *Fam.* 8.10.3 *ut aliquid Pompeio tribuat, quoduis quamlibet tenue munusculum* and *Off.* 2.50 *rei publicae tribuat hoc muneris*, Ov. *Met.* 2.44f. *quoduis pete munus, ut illud / me tribuente feras*, Plin. *N.H.* 31.41.3 *Marcia ... inter reliqua deum munera urbi tributa*, Stat. *Theb.* 9.376 *hoc tibi semidei munus tribuere parentes*, etc.

cum nequeo   In archaic Latin it was the rule to use the indicative after causal *cum*, and this is found on occasion in the classical period: thus at Cic. *Ver.* 1.28 *quid faceres pro innocente homine et pro propinquo, cum propter hominem perditissimum atque alienissimum de officio ac dignitate decedis et committis ut ... uideatur*, *Fam.* 11.16.2 *hoc cum populus Romanus meminit, me ipsum non meminisse turpissimum est* and *Att.* 11.25.2 *HS ... exprimes ab Hermogene, cum praesertim necesse erit*, Lucr. 2.1067-1069 *cum materies est multa parata, / cum locus est praesto nec res nec causa moratur / ulla, geri debent nimium et confieri res*, Verg. *Aen.* 9.248-250 *non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis, / cum talis animos iuuenum et tam certa tulistis / pectora* and Vitruv. 2.3.4 (on a particular kind of dried earth) *cum est leuis, ... non recipit in se nec combibit liquorem*. Causal *cum* with the subjunctive expresses a logical ground, a motivation that is not immediate or obvious but that one has to think of, an inference, as it were (as opposed to straightforward factual causation that is expressed by *quod* or *quia*), but by using *cum* with the indicative an "author merely sets out the matter at stake, without taking into consideration the causal connection" ("Der Schriftsteller begnügt sich eben mit der rein äußerlichen Gegenüberstellung der Tatsachen, ohne den kausalen Zusammenhang zu berücksichtigen", Kühner-Stegmann 2.348), possibly if the causation is conceived of as more straightforward and manifest than where a subjunctive is used. See further Kühner-Stegmann 2.346-8, Hoffmann-Szantyr 624f. and, with some caution, Heusch (1954: 150f.). Hale (1887-89: 2.256, cfr. 2.204-7), on the other hand, characterizes this type of usage as the "old indicative narrative *cum*-clause" (not merely causal, but adding a new event to the narration), which "is met with in Scipio Minor, Varro, Caesar, Cicero, the author of the Bellum Hispanum, Nepos, Virgil, Livy, Tacitus, Suetonius, Gellius, and probably many others."

quoi (< *quom*), a conjecture of Nicolaus Heinsius' *ap.* Santenius, is unnecessary.

33-36   'For as to my having only a few books with me, that is because my home is in Rome, and only one single box of books has followed me here.' After having rejected one of Manlius' pair of requests (line 32 *haec tibi non tribuo munera, cum nequeo*) Catullus moves on to the other one, that for reading-matter. He does not reject this one explicitly, but just gives the reasons for which he is unable to comply. An explicit reply is probably no longer necessary after lines 13f.; and in any case Manlius will already have noticed that no books were forthcoming along with the letter.

33   nam quod   Not '[and I cannot give you the other either,] for' (Fordyce, *probante* Thomson), which would not take into account *quod*, but rather 'for as to …', 'for as far as … is concerned'. *nam quod*

introduces a new point that is in some way related to what has been said so far: compare Pl. *Asin.* 7f. *ut sciretis nomen huius fabulae; / nam quod ad argumentum attinet, sane breuest*, Cic. *Phil.* 8.16 *in hoc uno te plurimum uidisse concedo. nam quod me tecum iracunde agere dixisti solere, non est ita* and *Att.* 3.13.2 *quod me saepe accusas cur hunc meum casum tam grauiter feram, debes ignoscere ... nam quod scribis te audire me etiam mentis errore ex dolore adfici, mihi uero mens integra est*; also *Cael.* 4f., *Phil.* 4.15 and 5.48, *Att.* 3.10.2, *Fam.* 3.8.2, Ter. *Heaut.* 16, Lucr. 3.41 and 5.916, Liv. 5.29.9, Petron. 68.8, etc. The expression is found frequently in this sense in prose, in the comedians and Lucretius, but not in Augustan poetry except for Ov. *Her.* 20.155, where it is admitted perhaps on account of its epistolary overtones. On this use of *quod* see on lines 1-10; on the transitional use of *nam* see the *OLD* s.v. *nam* 4, Kühner-Stegmann 2.117f. and Hofmann-Szantyr 1.504f.

scriptorum non magna est copia apud me   For the expression compare Caes. *B.G.* 1.16.2 *ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia suppetebat* and Vitr. 8.1.2 *in creta tenuis et exilis et non alta est copia* (i.e. of water). It seems better to take *non* with *magna*, which it precedes, rather than with *est* (compare the parallel from Vitruvius, where it must go with *alta*).

Does *scriptorum* mean 'of writers' (from *scriptores*) or 'of writings' (from *scripta*)? Today it is possible to use 'writer' metonymically for what (s)he has written, as in 'I have read a couple of Greek writers', meaning that I have read their works. A writer once told me that she had been translated into Hungarian – she herself, rather than her books. However, it is not clear whether such a metonymical use of the word was at all possible in Latin. The *OLD* does not list any such use of *scriptor*, and I have not been able to track down any. Commentators quote Horace *Sat.* 2.3.11f. *quorsum pertinuit stipare Platona Menandro, / Eupolin, Archilochum, comites educere tantos?*, but that is a special case. Here Horace describes a big library in a little house in terms of a big crowd of great authors crammed into the dwelling: we are dealing with a full-grown metaphor, made up for the occasion, and the passage does little to prove that *scriptor* could be used metonymically. On the other hand, *scripta* is used practically always not generically for writings or books but for writings of a particular sort, or of a particular author: very often it is accompanied by the genitive of the author, as also in Catullus at 36.6f. *electissima pessimi poetae / scripta* and 44.18f. *nefaria scripta / Sesti*. Where there is no genitive, as at Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.74f. *in medio qui / scripta foro recitent* and at Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.83 *Quid Aristotelen* [scil. *commemorem*]*? Quem dubito scientia rerum an scriptorum copia an eloquendi suauitate an inuentionum acumine an uarietate operum clariorem putem*, the context shows who is the author of the writings. One way to solve this problem would be by assuming that the *scripta* are those of Catullus himself – so no author would need to be mentioned. But I doubt whether such an interpretation is possible: nothing in the rest of the poem points in this direction, while Catullus would surely have commented extensively on such a flattering request, and even in this case it is not clear whether a cavalier *scriptorum* could be taken to mean 'my writings'. On the other hand, *scriptorum* has already occurred in line 7, where it must come from *scriptor*, and perhaps this would have served the meaning of the word here. At any rate Manlius was fully aware of what he had asked, so he would not have had to face these problems of interpretation.

copia is used regularly for books: note Cic. *Fin.* 3.7 (of Cato the Younger surrounded by Stoic writings) *in summo otio maximaque copia quasi helluari libris ... uidebatur* and 3.8 (Cicero to Cato) *hanc totam copiam iam Lucullo nostro notam esse oportebit, Att.* 2.6.1 *libris me delecto, quorum habeo Anti festiuam copiam,* Hor. *Epist.* 1.18.109f. *sit bona librorum et prouisae frugis in annum / copia,* Ov. *Trist.* 3.14.37f. *non hic librorum, per quos inuiter alarque, / copia* and Quint. 10.1.83, quoted in the previous note. Cfr. *TLL* 4.898.43-46.

34f.   Catullus normally lives in Rome (note the present tenses), even though he is away at the moment. He uses warm tones to describe his life in the capital: the positive associations of *domus* and *sedes* are lent emphasis by the pleonasm and the epanaphora of *illa* and *illic*, all referring to Rome. The epanaphora may be a commonplace device – note the parallel at Cic. *Phil.* 12.24 *itaque in urbe maneo. si licebit, manebo. haec mea sedes est, haec uigilia, haec custodia, hoc praesidium statiuum* – but the passage appears to have met with some success: it was imitated by Ovid at *Met.* 1.574f. *haec domus, haec sedes, haec sunt penetralia magni / amnis,* 3.637 *illa mihi domus est* and 5.495-7 *gratior omni / haec mihi terra solo est; hos nunc Arethusa Penates, / hanc habeo sedem,* and apparently also by Virgil at *Aen.* 8.39 *hic tibi certa domus, certi (ne absiste) penates* and by Lucan at 8.132f. *hic sacra domus carique penates, / hic mihi Roma fuit.*

34   hoc fit, quod   *hoc* is a causal ablative. The turn of phrase lacks parallels, but cfr. *eo fit, quia* at Pl. *Amph.* 756, *Curc.* 61 and *Rud.* 24 as well as Ter. *Haut.* 505; it could well be colloquial.

illa domus   Rome *is* Catullus' house: this is another metaphorical use of *domus* after line 22. The use of *domus* to indicate a person's place of origin or residence (*OLD* s.v., 4) is quite common in inscriptions (see *TLL* 5.1.1974.4-14 and note esp. *Luceria domo* in *CIL* 1².791 = 3.6541a, an inscription from Attica from between 59 and 53 B.C.; see further *TLL* 5.1.1976.64-1977.41) and it also occurs on occasion in literary texts: compare Ov. *Tr.* 1.5.67-70 *nec mihi Dulichium domus est Ithaceue Sameue ... sed ... Roma,* Stat. *Theb.* 8.556 *quamuis Cyrrha domus* and Mart. 10.68.1f. *Cum tibi non Ephesos nec sit Rhodos aut Mytilene, / sed domus in uico, Laelia, Patricio* (see further *TLL* 5.1.1974.4-14). The phrase indicates that Catullus has permanent living arrangements of some sort in Rome, but not necessarily a *domus,* let alone one "plausibly identifiable with the house lent him by Allius in 68b", *pace* Skinner (2003: xii).

35   sedes   'Seat', 'home': an emotional and somewhat elevated word, when used in this sense. Altogether absent from comedy, it is especially at home in the language of high poetry, rhetoric and historiography and is a favourite word of Catullus' in poem 64 (in lines 43, 48, 85, 160, 176 and 229; meaning 'seats' only in lines 292 and 303) and elsewhere in contexts elevated (here and at 66.88 and 67.4) or, on one occasion, not (81.3f. *iste tuus moribunda ab sede Pisauri / hospes*). For the meaning and overtones of the word compare Cic. *Fam.* 4.8.2 *quae est domestica sede iucundior* and *Phil.* 12.24, quoted above on 34f.

mea carpitur aetas   *carpere* can indicate only picking fruit and plucking flowers, as at Cat. 62.43 *idem* [sc. *flos*] *cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui,* but also "the action of taking a part from a whole" in general (Austin

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1955 on Verg. *Aen.* 4.2, and cfr. Cat. 64.310 *aeternumque manus carpebant rite laborem*), so here *carpitur* must mean 'it passes, bit by bit'.

aetas generally means 'time' from a human point of view, and hence 'life', 'age' and also 'youth', a sense in which it is well attested (see *OLD* s.v. *aetas*, 4a and *TLL* 1.1127.23-1129.4). However, here Catullus is making a statement of the type 'I live in Rome', so I think that one should translate the word as neutrally as possible, simply as 'life' or even as 'time'.

It is the question whether *mea carpitur aetas* is a strongly positive and means something like 'I pick the flowers of youth' (thus Levine 1976: 70 and Sarkissian 1983: 12), or it is neutral and simply means 'I pass my youth'. The closest parallel is an epitaph from Italy from no later than Trajan, *CE* 1165.5-6 *rapta est octauo fatis instantibus anno, / carpebat uitae tempora dum tenerae*, which does not seem to help. The possible echo of *iucundum cum aetas florida uer ageret* in line 16 speaks in favour of the first interpretation, as do parallels (albeit not too close ones) such as Pindar *frg.* 123.1f. Snell-Maehler Ξρ°ν μ′ν κατ□ καιρ∫ν /ρ⊕τϖν δρϒπε!ψαι, ψυμϒ, !∥ν □λικ⇔αι and Ovid *Met.* 10.83-85 *amorem / in teneros transferre mares citraque iuuentam / <u>aetatis</u> breue uer et primos <u>carpere</u> flores* (note the erotic contents of both passages). This interpretation is proposed by Levine (1976: 70) and Sarkissian (1983: 12). But it is hard to see how *illic mea carpitur aetas* could refer to enjoying life to the full while standing alongside *illa domus, / illa mihi sedes*, which patently do not mean anything of the sort. Perhaps it is simply a pathetic way of saying 'I live there': such an emotional colouring is already present in *domus* and especially *sedes* (see *ad loc.*) and it is also present in the epitaph quoted above as the closest parallel.

36 capsula   The diminutive of *capsa*, a word which, like *scrinium* (Cat. 14.18), can refer to boxes of any sort, but especially to those containing books: note Porphyry's comment on Hor. *Epist.* 2.113 *scrinium capsas dicit, in quibus scripta omnia reponantur*. The most detailed accounts of the evidence are still in Daremberg-Saglio s.v. *capsa* and by Birt (1907: 248-255). These boxes were made of beechwood (Plin. *N.H.* 16.229) with luxury versions in metal and ivory (Daremberg-Saglio *loc. cit.*); in this period they were normally cylindrical (*scrinia curua*, Ov. *Tr.* 1.1.106) and had space for about five to fifteen rolls: see the illustration on the next page. They could be used for transporting papyrus rolls (Sall. *Cat.* 46.6 *scrinium cum litteris quas a legatis acceperat*; cfr. Sen. *Contr.* 10.6 *praef.* and *Dial.* 4.23.4, and Juv. 10.117) as well as for storage, in bookshops (Cat. 14.18 and Stat. *Silu.* 4.9.21) and also at home for one's everyday papers (Cic. *Div. Caec.* 51, Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.113, Suet. *Nero* 47.2, Plin. *Epist.* 7.27.14), for waste-paper (Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.268) and for one's own writings (Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.120, 1.4.22 and 1.10.63f., Pliny *N.H.* 25.7). They could even contain writing-tablets (Juv. 6.277f. *quae scripta et quot lecture tabellas, / si tibi zelotypae retegantur scrinia moechae*).

The standard view has it that in Roman libraries the book-rolls were stacked on open shelves (thus e.g. Strocka 1981, Fedeli 1989, Blanck 1992: 152-160 and Casson 2002: 61-89; cfr. Wendel 1943), but Catullus' statement that he has taken with him to Verona only one *capsula* out of many implies that he stores his books in boxes. There is more evidence for this use of *capsae* in libraries: note Ov. *Tr.* 1.1.105-107 *in nostrum*

fueris penetrale receptus / contigerisque tuam, scrinia curua, domum, / aspicies illic positos ex ordine fratres and *Pont.* 1.1.23f. *Antoni scripta leguntur / doctus et in promptu scrinia Brutus habet* (i.e. the boxes containing his works are ready to hand); also Pliny, *Ep. Tra.* 10.65.3 *recitabatur autem apud me edictum, quod dicebatur Diui Augusti ...; recitatae et epistulae diui Vespasiani ... et diui Titi ... et Domitiani ...; quae ideo tibi non misi, quia ... in scriniis tuis esse credebam* and in later antiquity *Hist. Apoll.* 6.

A wall-painting from Pompeii. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. no. 4675.
Note the *capsa* containing seven papyrus rolls in the middle.

sequitur   It is surprising to find *sequitur* where one would expect *secuta est*. Fordyce proposes two explanations: 'goes with me to Verona whenever I go there' or 'has gone with me now to Verona', "the present being used of a past action whose effect extends into the present", while Thomson entertains the first possibility along that of a loose 'conversational' use. In fact, *sequitur* is also used by the Claudian medical writer Scribonius Largus to describe the books that he has taken along with him on a journey: *sumus enim, ut scis, peregre nec sequitur nos nisi necessarius numerus libellorum* (*praef.* 14 Sconocchia, from the introductory epistle to his *Compositiones*). This shows that we are not faced with a grammatical anomaly, but with a surprising use of *sequor*. Evidently it is possible to speak of the books that one has taken along on a trip as if they were part of one's retinue.

37-40   'Therefore do not think that it is out of malice (*mente maligna*) or a lack of generosity (*animo non satis ingenuo*) on my part that you do not receive a supply of both things you asked for: I would volunteer

you both, if I had any to hand.' By way of conclusion, the key point is stated once more: Catullus is very sorry not to be able to comply with Manlius' requests. This has already been implied in lines 11-14 and in the central section of the poem (lines 15-36), but here it is stated more explicitly.

Does Catullus refuse both Manlius' requests here, or only one of the two? The phrasing is ambiguous, especially *non utriusque* in line 39, which could indicate a refusal of both requests just as easily as a refusal only of one of the two. Here the modern interpreter is at a disadvantage compared to the original addressee Manlius, who would have known exactly what he had asked for and what he could expect to receive if Catullus would have complied with his two requests. In particular, he had asked for books (witness lines 10 and 33-36), presumably to be sent by the same messenger as the letter; and he would have known already before reading this letter (and Catullus too would have been aware of this) whether this request of his had been honoured or not from whether or not the messenger carrying Catullus' letter would have handed him some books as well. We have to reason along other lines. The rest of the letter contains no explicit statement by Catullus that he rejects or complies with his friend's request; but the words that Manlius should "no longer seek happy gifts from a wretched man" (line 14) do come very close to this. There is an exposition of some length as to why Catullus is unable to provide his friend with the *munera Veneris* (lines 15-26 and 31-32), and this culminates in the explicit refusal *haec tibi non tribuo munera* (line 32). The other request, that for the *munera Musarum*, is dealt with more perfunctorily, by the short statement that Catullus has only a few books with him, as his home is in Rome (lines 33-36). The possibility that Catullus did send Manlius a couple of rolls after all cannot be excluded straightforwardly, but it appears extremely unlikely in view of a number of circumstances. Terms such as *ultro ego deferrem, copia siqua foret* (line 40; compare lines 11-14 and see the Introduction, pp. 53f.) do not seem suitable for a partial denial; then one would expect not "if I had something, I would give it to you" but "I am sorry that I can only give you this". In particular, one should note the way in which the *capsula*, or case for book-rolls, is mentioned in line 36: as "just one book-case out of many", not "this book-case that you will receive along with this letter" or something in that vein. And it takes considerable effort and strain to interpret the last two lines of 68a can as a partial refusal: then verse 39 would mean 'that I can comply lavishly with only one of your two requests …' So while there is no hard evidence that Catullus refuses Manlius' request for the *munera Musarum* as well as that for the *munera Veneris*, every indication points that way.

37 **quod cum ita sit** A set turn of phrase that is a favourite of Cicero's (it occurs 7x in his letters, 5x in his speeches and 4x in his philosophical and rhetorical works) and is found on occasion in other prose writers (Liv. 5.54.6, Col. 12.20.1, [Quint.] *decl. mai.* 6.14 and Gell. 17.12.5) but in poetry only here and at Juvenal 5.59. Compare esp. Cic. *Att.* 8.11d.5 *quod cum ita sit, maxime uellem primum semper tecum fuisse* (or –*issem* with some of the MSS).

nolim statuas A friendly request: compare Cic. *Att.* 2.1.6 *nolim ita existimes* and 11.13.5 *quotiensque habebis cui des ad me litteras, nolim praetermittas*. *O* writes *noli statuas*, which is less elegant but still makes sense; it was printed in the Venetian edition of 1500.

nos   For 'we' meaning 'I' see line 17n. *nostri*. Trappes-Lomax (2007: 230) would write *me* with the first Aldine edition, as everywhere else in this poem Catullus would be using the singular (but see line 17) and because the alliteration in *me mente* would be preferable (but would it not sound like a stutter?).

The Augustan poets often use the polite plural when turning down a request in a formal act of *recusatio*, as at Prop. 1.7.5, Hor. *Od.* 1.6.5 and Ov. *Am.* 2.18.3.

mente maligna   When applied to a person, *malignus* can mean 'grudging, niggardly' (*OLD* s.v. 1 and *TLL* IA, and note the antonyms *malignus largus* at Pl. *Bac.* 401), but from this period onwards also 'ill-disposed, unkind' (*OLD* 3 and *TLL* IIA, and compare Cat. 67.3-5 *ianua, quam Balbo dicunt seruisse benigne ... quamque ferunt rursus gnato seruisse maligne*); here a hint of the latter meaning may already be present. In Latin, *mente* is often used with an adjective in its proper sense to describe a state of mind, as here (see further *TLL* 8.728.45-730.40); in the vulgar language this construction comes to be used more widely and gives rise to the adverbs of the Romance languages (see Väänänen 1963: 98f.).

38   id facere   Not colloquial, *pace* Thomson, but just unpoetic: well attested in comedy (Pl. *Asin.* 67, 213 and 853, *Mil.* 1277, *Poen.* 24, etc., Ter *Andr.* 613, *Eun.* 1070 and *Hec.* 266) and prose (Cic. *Ver.* 2.5.151, *Inv.* 1.70, *Rep.* 1.10 and *Fam.* 2.1.1, Caes. *B.G.* 4.16.6, Var. *L.L.* 6.67 and *R.R.* 9.96, Liv. 22.56.4, Vell. 2.71.3, Plin. *N.H.* 24.181 and *Epist.* 2.5.10, Quint. *Inst.* 4.2.87, etc.; not in Sallust or Tacitus), but in classical poetry only found here and at [Sen.] *Oct.* 454. Other similar phrases are equally rare in non-comic poetry: note Cat. 85.1 *id faciam*, Lucr. 2.141 *id faciant* and 2.292 *id facit*, and Ov. *Tr.* 3.14.7 *ita fac*.

animo non satis ingenuo   A characteristic or action is *ingenuus* if it befits a free-born Roman, as do bashfulness (61.79 *ingenuus pudor*), keeping one's part of a deal (110.5) and being generous to a friend in distress (here). The use of *ingenuus* to mean 'generous' is post-classical and rare (*TLL* 7.1.1548.6-10).

39   non utriusque   *utriusque* indicates unambiguously that Manlius has made two requests, and that *munera et Musarum et Veneris* in line 10 must be taken to refer to two different items. In fact, this is also suggested by the rest of the poem (cfr. on line 10, and see also the Introduction, p. 52). This removes the *raison d'être* of the conjectures of Hermes (1888: 14) and Nisbet (1978: 105), who assume that *utriusque* must be corrrupt, since there can have been made only one request. There may have been a similar rationale to the conjecture of Nicolaus Heinsius (*ap.* Santenius). In any case, all three can be excluded on quite unconnected grounds. Heinsius' *prius usque* and Hermes' *penite usque* are hard to understand, in particular *usque*, the use of which would be unparalleled here (Hermes compares Prop. 2.8.15f. *usque / in nostrum iacies uerba superba caput?*, but there *usque* simply means 'always'). Nisbet considers rewriting much of the line to read *quod tibi non* (or *nulla*) *hucusque petenti exempla paraui*; his substitute for *utriusque* is *hucusque*, but that is not attested in this temporal sense until the 4th century A.D.: see *TLL* 6.3.3072.46-58. *utriusque* is surely correct.

However, there has been controversy about the meaning of *non utriusque*: does it indicate that Catullus rejects both Manlius' requests, or only one of them? Should it be interpreted as *neutrius* 'of neither' or as

unius tantum 'only of one'? Over a century ago German scholars tried to solve the question by studying Catullus' treatment of the negation in admirable detail (see Rassfeld 1898 and Birt 1904: 437-439), but their research has not led to widely accepted conclusions. The problem is that the negation is flexible and can be used in a variety of ways, and its exact meaning has to be inferred from the context wherever it occurs. Birt (1904: 436) pointed out that it is obvious that when the two words *non utriusque* are closely connected, they have to mean *alter tantum*; but it is the question whether they are closely connected here. Vahlen (1902: 1031 = 1923: 2.659) and Birt maintained that they were not and the negation qualified the whole clause *utriusque ... est*, but they could not prove their case with the help of compelling linguistic arguments.

In fact, *non* is found with a form or derivative of *uterque* in two senses in the literature of the classical period:

1) *non uterque* etc. = 'not both of the two, but only one, or neither'

- Nepos *Att.* 13.3 *namque in ea* [i.e. *familia*] *erant pueri litteratissimi, anagnostae optimi et plurimi librarii, ut ne pedisequus quidem quisquam esset, qui <u>non utrumque</u> horum pulchre facere posset ...*
- Ovid *A.A.* 2.683 *odi concubitus, qui <u>non utrumque</u> resoluunt*
- Quintilian *Inst.* 10.1.48 *age uero, <u>non utriusque</u> operis ingressu in paucissimis uersibus legem prohoemiorum non dico seruauit sed constituit?*   (Homer in the proems of *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.)

2) *non uterque* etc. = 'not both of the two, that is, only one'

- Statius *Theb.* 12.720-2 *iamque alternas in proelia gentes / dissimilis Bellona ciet; non clamor utrimque, / <u>non utrimque</u> tubae: stat debilis altera pubes ...*
- Suetonius *Gramm.* 12.1 *Cornelius Epicadus, L. Cornelii Sullae dictatoris libertus ... filio quoque eius Fausto gratissimus fuit, quare numquam <u>non utriusque</u> se libertum edidit.*
- Hyginus *Astr.* 4.1.2 *etsi non nemo dubitat quare <u>non utrique</u> circuli, hoc est aestiuus et hiemalis, uno nomine appellentur ...*
- Clemens *Dig.* 40.9.24   *duobus manumissis, si unius libertate fraudentur, <u>non utriusque</u>, sed alterutrius impediri libertatem*
- Paulus *Dig.* 34.9.5.14 *Qui principale testamentum arguit, et a secundis tabulis repellendus est: item a codicillis ad testamentum factis licet non confirmatis; non idem sequendum est, si secundas tabulas uel codicillos coarguit, quia <u>non utrumque</u> hoc casu improbasse uidetur.*
- Ulpian *Dig.* 29.4.20 *pr.   si eadem res diuersis personis ab instituto et substituto fuerit relicta, <u>non uterque</u>, sed qui ab instituto accepit solus uindicabit.*
- Ulpian *Dig.* 46.7.13 *sed ubi commissa est ex priore causa, ex altera ... amplius non committitur; altera causa enim, <u>non utraque</u> inhaeret stipulationi.*

- Servius *auctus* in Verg. *Aen.* 2.37 [added to a Servian note ending in *quomodo ergo has iunxit*] *cum <u>non utrumque</u>, sed alterutrum fieri poterat quod suadebantur?*

- Servius *auctus* in Verg. *Aen.* 3.516 *quidam autem 'arcturum uel pluuias hyadas' accipiunt, quia <u>non utraque</u> uno tempore oriuntur*

There appears to be a development from the first meaning towards the second one, but this may be due to chance (in the precise language of scientific, scholarly and legal texts *non uterque* is perhaps more likely to mean 'just one' than 'either one or zero', and more such texts survive from the later Empire). The parallels from Quintilian and Statius show that the construction could be used in both senses in the Flavian period. These parallels certainly do not enable us to infer what the expression must mean in the present passage. I suspect that here and elsewhere it must simply mean 'not both', and that one always has to infer from the context whether this means 'only one', 'at most one', or 'neither of the two'.

In this case we are forced to try to infer from the context what *non utrumque* must mean. Here the apologetic tone of all of poem 68a and in particular the statement in lines 13f. that Manlius should not seek happy gifts from a wretched man imply that Catullus has rejected both requests (see the Introduction, pp. 53f.).

petenti   The contrast between *petenti* here and *ultro* in the following line makes good sense and is also found at Liv. 5.18.5 *Quirites, delatum mihi ultro honorem huic petenti ... mandatis*, so there is no need to adopt Parthenius' emendation *petiti*.

copia posta est   A puzzling phrase: while it appears easy to make out its overall meaning (something like 'a supply has been made available'), it is hard to pin down the exact force of *posta*. Two alternative interpretations are possible.

pono often means 'to set before one (as food)', 'to serve': compare Pl. *Aul.* 836 *qui mi holera cruda ponunt*, Cato *Agr.* 81 *ubi coctum erit, irneam confringito, ita ponito*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.705f. *ministri / qui dapibus mensas onerent et pocula ponant*, Hor. *Sat.* 2.8.91, Liv. 6.40.12 etc. Perhaps one should include under the heading the phrase *in medio positus* 'open, available to all' (Cic. *Div. Caec.* 33, Hor. *Epist.* 1.127f. *in medio positorum abstemius herbis / uiuis* and *Sat.* 1.2.108, Sen. *Dial.* 11.17.2 *uirtus in medio posita est* and *Epist.* 73.2 and 82.12, Quint. *Inst.* 7.10.15 *ars satis praestat si copias eloquentiae ponit in medio* and *decl. min.* 271.5 = p. 110.14 Ritter, Curt. 4.1.31 and Plin. *Paneg.* 88.4). The *OLD* includes under this lemma (s.v. *pono*, 5) the present passage, and also Hor. *Epist.* 1.18.111 *satis est orare Iouem quae* (or less likely *qui*, with other MSS) *ponit et aufert*. So here *tibi ... posta est* could mean something like 'served up to you', 'set before you'.

Another use of the verb has to do with investment. It can mean 'to lay out (money) at an interest': thus at Lucil. 550f. Marx *cetera contemnit et in usura omnia ponit / non magna* and Hor. *A.P.* 421 *diues positis in faenore nummis* and *Epod.* 2.70, and also 'to invest a sum', as at Cic. *Tul.* 15 *pecuniam nescio quo modo quaesitam dum uolt in praedio ponere, non posuit, sed abiecit*. However, it is also used for 'investments' that take the form of favours of presents (thus at Cic. *Fam.* 13.54 *apud gratos homines beneficium ponis*, Ov. *Am.* 2.3.18 *dum bene ponendi munera tempus habes*, Liv. 34.49.11, Sen. *Ben.* 6.11.3) and sometimes even

without any hint that the investment will ever be reciprocated, as at Verg. *Aen.* 6.610f. *qui diuitiis soli incubuere repertis / nec partem posuere suis* and possibly also at Cic. *Flac.* 56 *quo in oppido uniuersa pecunia a tota Asia ad honores L. Flacci poneretur*. (See the *OLD* s.v., 14, which however appears to suggest that the abstract uses of the word should have preceded the concrete ones, but surely one would expect the opposite.)

posta is a syncopated form of *posita*, found only here in Catullus; elsewhere he only uses *positus* and its compounds (*supposita* 67.32, *oppositast* 26.2, *compositum* 68.98 and *positam* 63.55) with their convenient pair of short syllables. Syncopated forms originated in the spoken language and became progressively more common over time (see Väänänen 1963: 40-45 for a detailed account). The case of *positus > postus*, however, cannot be treated as a simple contrast between a conservative literary and a progressive vulgar form, as the attestations of *postus* and its compounds have a somewhat curious distribution: the syncopated form is absent from Plautus and Terence, it is first found in Cato the Elder (*Agr.* 151.2 *expostum* and 161.3 *posturus* alongside 14.5 *posita*, 105.2 and 154 *positum* and 46.1 *positurus* – but unusual forms may have been regularized in the MS tradition of a prose author) and Ennius (*frg. inc.* 23 Vahlen *repostus*) and is used by many later poets, including Lucilius (*frg.* 84 Marx *compostae*), Lucretius (1.1059 and 3.857 *posta*, 4.150 *opposta*, etc.), Varro of Atax (*frg.* 8.2 *FPL³ composta*), Horace (*Epod.* 9.1 *repostum*), Propertius (4.2.29 *imposta*) and Virgil (*repostum* at *Aen.* 1.26, taken from Ennius according to Servius *ad loc.*; also 1.249 *compostus*, *Geo.* 3.527 *repostae*, etc.). It appears to be avoided by all classical prose authors, but is found in inscriptions (e.g. *CIL* 6.10458 *VBE·POSTA·EST* – note here the spelling mistake in *ube*) and from the 4th century A.D. onwards also in prose works by Iuvencus, Prudentius and Corippus (see further Neue-Wagener 3.533f.). Wotke (1886: 146) and Norden on *Aen.* 6.24 *supposta* treat the poetic usages of *postus* and compounds as archaisms that are used for the sake of metrical convenience, mostly at the end of the hexameter, as here; however, the late and epigraphic uses suggest that *postus* continued to be used alongside *positus* in the spoken language throughout antiquity. Tellingly, it is *postus* rather than *positus* that has left its mark on the Romance languages: compare Italian *posto*, Spanish *puesto*, Portuguese *posto*, Romanian *pus* etc.

Since it is hard to make sense of *posta est*, there have been made since the Renaissance a series of attempts to emend it; however, a syncopated form is less likely to be the product of corruption, and none of the conjectures are convincing. The oldest one may well be the best: *facta est*, which first appears in MS 31 in the mid-15th century and is actually found in about half of Catullus' *codices recentiores*. *copiam facere* is perfectly good Latin: compare Pl. *Asin.* 848 *amanti argenti feci copiam* and *Curc.* 330 *argenti rogo uti faciat copiam*, and also Sen. *Ep.* 39.1 *utriusque rei tibi copiam faciam*. The problem is that it is hard to see how *facta* could have turned into *posta*. Trappes-Lomax (2007: 231) suggests that this was through "no more than the accidental substitution of one word by a similar word of the same metrical form", but such cases tend to result either in manifest absurdities or in banalizations, and not in a phrase that is surprising but that could well make sense. On the other hand, as Schwabe (1864: 15) puts it, "in uicem uerbi *posta*, quod non intellegebatur, facillime uerbum faciendi in hac formula usitatissimum substitui potuit." Trappes-Lomax

points out that "(among others) Graevius, Maittaire, Lachmann and Haupt" write *facta*, as does Heyse, but that was before Hale's discovery of *R* in 1896 and the subsequent clarification of the *stemma codicum*; it was inevitable that earlier editors should give too much attention to the *recentiores*. Lachmann, for one, took *facta est* from one of the pair of MSS on which he based his edition, his codex *D* (the Berlin MS Diez. B. Sant. 37 = my 4) – and Ullman (1960: 1052f.) has shown that this MS is a copy of the Riccardianus 606 (my 31), in which *facta* is first attested. In the 20ᵗʰ century no editor appears to have written *facta*.

The later emendations are less convincing. Fröhlich (1849: 263) conjectured *praesto*, and this was printed in 2005 by Pérez Vega and Ramírez de Verger, but it does not mean the right thing: after *petenti* we need 'it has been made available' and not 'it is ready'; Baehrens' *prompta* and *aperta* do not work for the same reason. Ribbeck (1862: 377) proposed *porcta*, but the form *porctus (for *porrectus*) is not attested anywhere else. Schwabe (1864: 15) suggested *parta*, but the image of childbirth would be odd, and there is certainly no way in which Catullus could have manufactured *munera Veneris* for Manlius.

40 ultro deferrem *ultra* is found in a handful of the *recentiores* and was also proposed by Moriz Schmidt (1880: 785), who explains it as '*super numerum*', i.e. 'in addition to what you have asked'. But *ultro* must be correct, as *ultro deferre* is well attested as a set phrase. It normally means 'to give, grant (something to somebody) of one's own accord, without having been asked to do so', at Cic. *Fam.* 4.13.2 *nec mihi quicquam tali tempore in mentem uenit optare quod non ultro mihi Caesar detulerit* as well as Pl. *Ps.* 1242 and *Men.* 689, Cic. *Planc.* 65, *Phil.* 2.49, *Fam.* 13.55.1, probably 13.29.5, and *Tusc.* 5.104, Lent. *ap.* Cic. *Fam.* 12.15.6, Lucr. 6.1135f., Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.21f., Liv. 3.53.6 , 5.18.5 (quoted on line 39 *petenti*) and 5.27.13, Trog. *frg.* 38.152 Seel = Iust. 38.5.9, Sen. *Cl.* 1.9.12, Stat. *Theb.* 7.156f., Suet. *Jul.* 17.2, Papin. *dig.* 13.5.25, (Liv.) *Perioch.* 56.12; [Brut. *ap.* Cic.] *ad Brut.* 1.17.4, and cfr. Cic. *Fam.* 13.18.1, Verg. *Aen.* 3.154f. and Tac. *Ann.* 2.43. The phrase is especially common in prose, and occurs regularly in letters. A weaker meaning 'to give, grant willingly (something to somebody, who has asked for it)' is attested at Hor. *Epist.* 1.12.22f. *utere Pompeio Grospho et si quid petet, ultro / defer; nil Grosphus nisi uerum orabit et aequum* (*pace* Fedeli 1997 *ad loc.*: Horace is instructing Iccius to comply with Grosphus' requests, not to read the mind of a stranger).

It is the question how *ultro deferrem* should be interpreted in the present passage. One can take it to mean 'I would give of my own accord, unasked' – i.e. if Catullus had been in the position to give what Manlius had asked from him, he would have given it even if Manlius had not asked for it. Alternatively, one can take *ultro* to mean 'readily', as at Hor. *Epist.* 1.12.22f. This is suggested by the contrast between *ultro* and *petenti* in this distich, which is also found in Liv. 5.18.5 (quoted on line 39 *petenti*) and has a less close parallel in Cic. *Fam.* 4.13.2 (quoted above).

68B: IN PRAISE OF ALLIUS

41-50 'Goddesses, I cannot keep quiet about how Allius has helped me; I tell it to you, and you tell many others and make him famous in ages to come.' It is not unusual for an ancient poem to start with an invocation of the Muses and an outline of the contents, but Catullus has used these standard ingredients in a highly original fashion.

The invocation of the Muses "is a mark of an elevated style" ("ist ein Kennzeichen hohen Stils", Syndikus 1990: 262), in particular of epic. In Hellenistic poetry they are invoked at the beginning of Books 1 and 4 of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* and of Rhianus' epic *Heliaca* (cfr. *CA* p. 12, *frg.* 19) and also in passages with an epic colouring within hexameter hymns (Callim. *Hymn.* 3.186 and Theocr. 22.116f., quoted below), at the start of of Matro of Pitane's comic epic *Attikon deipnon* (*frg.* 534.1 *SH*) and in a Sotadean line modelled on the first verse of the *Iliad* (*CA* p. 244, *frg.*18). All invocations of the Muses attested in Latin poetry before Catullus stand in such a context: at the start of Livius Andronicus' *Odusia* (*frg.* 1 *FPL³*), of Naevius' epic on the Punic war (*frg.* 1 *FPL³*) and of Books 1 and 10 of Ennius' *Annales* (1 and 322 Skutsch). However, in Hellenistic poetry the Muses are also invoked at the start of encomia: of Theocritus 16 (in praise of Hieron II of Syracuse) and 17 (in praise of Ptolemy II Philadelphus) and later of a iambic poem that seems to have glorified Mark Antony (*frg.* 1131B *SH* ⌷Αντϖν⇔ϖι τι, Μο⌊!α, προ!λ⌷λη!ον – the exact reconstruction of the line is uncertain), and also in Callimachus' *Twelfth Iambus* at *frg.* 202.19f. Pfeiffer α ε̄⇔!ομαι, / Μο⌊!α, τ°ι μικκ°ι τι, where the poet sets out to praise a newborn baby.

It had been conventional wisdom since Homer that the Muse inspired the poet or even told him the *ipsissima verba* that he was to sing: this view is still found at Callimachus *Hymn.* 3.186 ε⇒πϒ, ψε→, !⌉ μ′ν ⌷μμιν, ∕γ∅ δ⌷ ∞τϒροι!ιν ⌷ε⇔!ϖ and Theocritus 22.116f. ε⇒πϒ, ψε⌷, !⌉ γ⌷ρ ο™!ψα:∕γ∅ δ⌷ ∞τϒρϖν⌉ ποφ→τη! / φψϒγφομαι. A different conception of their role emerges in Callimachus' *Twelfth Iambus*, quoted a little earlier, where the poet simply tells the Muses that he will sing something. A similar conception may underlie Ap. Rhod. 1.20-22 ν⌊ν δ⌷ ⌷ν ∕γ∅ γενε→ν τε κα⇐ ο⌊νομα μυψη!α⇔μην / ″ρ⊕ϖν ... Μο⌊!αι δ⌷ ⌉ ποφ→τορε! ε™εν ⌷οιδ°!, if there⌉ ποφ→τορε! means 'interpreters' (thus e.g. *LSJ*) and not 'inspirers' (thus Fordyce on Cat. 68.41-46; on the passage see further Green 1997: 202f., with references). The *Twelfth Iambus* has a domestic theme – Callimachus sets out to praise the newborn daughter of a kinsman – and it would perhaps be inappropriate for the poet to ask the august goddesses to inspire him to such a song. The present poem is even more personal, to the degree that it would hardly make sense for Catullus to turn to the Muses for inspiration: after all, he has a strong personal interest at stake and knows the facts of the story better than anybody else. Thus he asks the goddesses not to tell him what to sing or to inspire him, but only

to ensure that his poem reaches a broad public (Syndikus 1990: 262f.). He uses a direct, conversational tone and treats the goddesses as friends or confidantes – we are very far from the formal style of a hymn.

Fröhlich (1849: 263f.) suggested that these lines have been mixed up in transmission: in his view the correct sequence would have been 41f. – 45f. – 43f. – 49f. – 47f. – 51 etc. (he modelled his verse 47 on 151: see *ad loc.*). This is not acceptable, because it would take at least two transpositions to reach the transmitted text if we start from such a text, and because it separates 45f. and 48, which express the thought 'but I tell it to you, so that Allius should become famous' and should surely be left together. But Fröhlich's proposal highlights a very real difficulty: the run of thought is rather confusing and repetitive in these lines – and transposition may well be the right remedy to this problem. In particular, it is attractive to bring together 43f. and 49f., both of which make the point 'so that he should not be forgotten'; and *nec* in line 49 would make good sense directly after *ne* in line 43 (which is Calphurnius' conjecture for the transmitted reading *nec*) rather than picking it up after four lines, as happens in the vulgate.

There are four different ways of taking 43f. and 49f. together: either distich could come before the other, and they could precede or follow lines 43f. In 41f. Catullus dismisses the possibility of keeping quiet, while from line 51 onwards he explains why Allius deserves praise, so it is more likely that the pair of distichs about the potential consequences of keeping quiet about Allius (43f. + 49f.) should come before the pair about Catullus' goal in telling the Muses about it (45-48). 43f. is far more likely to come first in this position: if 41f. were followed by 49f., Allius' name would occur in two successive distichs. In my arrangement its two occurrences are separated by four lines, and in the transmitted text by eight; in this respect the transmitted text would be better, but I believe that it is intolerably crooked.

41 Non possum reticere   Many Greek and Latin poems start with negated first-person statements: thus also Cat. 91 *Non ideo, Gelli, sperabam te mihi fidum* and 97 *Non (ita me di ament!) quicquam referre putaui*, Asclepiades *A.P.* 12.46.1 O⌈κ εὐμε ο⌈δэ⁄τϒϖν δⁱο κεⱱκο!ι, κα⇐ κοπιⱭ ζ⌒ν, Leonidas *A.P.* 5.188.1 O⌈κ ▢δικϒϖ τʃν ▢Ερϖτα, γλυκⱴ!: μαρτⱴρομαι α⌈τↆν / Kⱴπριν, etc. It is especially common for a poem to start with 'I cannot …': thus Sappho *frg.* 102.1 Voigt Γλⱴκηα μ▢τερ, oↆτοι δⱴναμαι κρϒκην τʃν ◊!τον and Simonides *frg.* 21.3 *IEG²* O⌈⏋ ̄δⱴναμαι, χυξ[→], π ̄εφυλαγμϒνο! ε[™]ναι ⏐πηδ〉! (it is likely, though not certain, that these two lines start a poem) as well as Tib. 1.8.1f. *Non ego celari possum, quid nutus amantis / quidue ferant miti lenia uerba sono*, and later at Nicarchus *A.P.* 11.242 O⌈ δⱴναμαι γνⱭναι, π〉τερον ξα⇔νει Διⱴδϖρο!, Palladas *A.P.* 11.378.1 O⌈ δⱴναμαι γαμετⁿ! κα⇐ γραμματικⁿ! ▢νϒξε!ψαι, and in an anonymous epigram at *A.P.* 12.19.1 O⌈ δⱴναμα⇔ !ε ψϒλϖν ψϒ!ψαι φ⇔λον (for further references, some of which I have been unable to track down, see Milanese 1988).

deae   It is so common for the Muses to be invoked at the start of a poem that they need not be named explicitly: thus already *Il.* 1.1 ψε▢; also Ap. Rhod. 4.1f. ψε▢ … Moⱱ!α, Διⱴ! τϒκο!.

qua me Allius in re   Here the principal MSS read *quam fallius*, which must be corrupt: there existed no such Latin noun or proper name as **fallius*; also, *quam (aliquis) in re iuuerit* does not make sense where the *res* has not been defined beforehand; and *iuuerit* without an accusative is very clumsy. All these problems

are solved by Scaliger's brilliant emendation *qua me Allius in re*. The gentile name Allius is well-attested (see *TLL* 1.1687.21-1688.11) and it is also found at lines 50 and 66 below, and Scaliger (1577: 84) also inserted it into line 150 with another convincing emendation; *qua ... in re* 'in what matter' is anticipatory, so that it is no longer a problem that the *res* has not yet been defined; and *me* supplies the accusative that goes with *iuuerit*. It is possible to reconstruct a straightforward and simple *iter corruptionis*: someone copying a capital manuscript has evidently misread QVAMEALLIVS as QVAMFALLIVS, having overlooked the lowest vertical stroke of the E. (It distracts little from Scaliger's achievement that in fact he reconstructed QVA M' ALIVS: he was using inferior MSS that read *quam falius* and in this case he was misled by his interest in archaic orthography.)

Scaliger's conjecture is almost universally accepted, though Newman (1990: 229, n. 1), who believes that Catullus 68 is one unitary poem, proposes to write *quam Manlius in re / iuuerit*, which he translates as "How much Manlius helped in a practical matter." To illustrate his interpretation of *in re* he adduces Cic. *Ver.* 2.5.8 *cum nihil tam coniunctum sit quam negotiatores nostri cum Siculis usu, re, ratione, concordia*, but that can hardly count as a parallel: there we have not *in re* but the simple causal ablative *re*, and refers not simply to an unspecified matter or business but to financial interests. The same applies to another potential parallel, Pl. *Pseud.* 19 *iuuabo aut re<d> aut opera aut consilio bono*. Furthermore, *in re* 'in a practical matter' would be bland and meaningless (what other ways of helping are there?) and *quam manlius* could not have given rise to the principal MSS' *quam fallius* in any straightforward way. The same applies to *quam Mallius* (a humanistic conjecture) and *qua Mallius* (Politian). Scaliger's conjecture may be regarded as certain (thus also Wiseman 1974b: 88).

It appears impossible to identify our Allius with any known individual. His *nomen gentilicium* was especially common not only in Campania, Samnium and Umbria, but also in Catullus' native Cisalpine Gaul (*TLL* 1.1687.30-32). It may have an Etruscan origin (*ibid.* 1687.20f.). The spellings *Alius* and *Alia* are also attested on occasion (*ibid.* 1687.82-1688.4), but the correct was probably *Allius*, and here that is supported both by the testimony of the MSS (the corruption preserved an earlier form, so a capital MS, that is, one written not after the 6th century A.D., must have written *Allius*) and by the metre. Alternatively, we could be dealing with an alternation of the type *littera/lītera*.

qua ... in re 'in what business', 'in what matter' is significant: Allius has helped Catullus in what he considered the most important matter of all, in his love affair with Lesbia. His help is precious because of this (*qua ... in re*) and because of the size (by Catullus' standards) of the service that he rendered to the poet (*quantis ... officiis* in the following line). For the idiom of helping someone *in aliqua re* compare Pl. *Epid.* 113 *is est amicus, qui in re dubia re iuuat, ubi rest opus*.

42   iuuerit ... iuuerit   This is the reading of *X*, which no doubt reflects that of the archetype; *O*'s *inuenit ... uiuerit* looks like a simple slip. In order to avoid the repetition Cornelissen proposed to read *fouerit* for the second *uiuerit*, while Usener suggested *auxerit*. As far as I know, all editors continued to print *iuuerit ...*

iuuerit, but Nisbet (1978: 106f.) argued vigorously in favour of Cornelissen's *fouerit*, pointing out that this passage appears to have been imitated in A.D. 874 by a monk called Agius in his *Epicedium Hathumodae*:

73   uos melius nostis quanto me semper amore,

          quantis incolumis fouerit officiis.

Subsequently, *fouerit* was printed by Goold in his 1983 edition as well as by Godwin, and it is also accepted by Trappes-Lomax (2007: 231). However, the situation is far from clear-cut. It has been a matter of controversy whether or not Agius imitated Catullus: this has been accepted by Trappes-Lomax (2007: 18) but was called into doubt by Butrica (2007: 24). The possible parallels are listed and discussed in Appendix I; in my view they are too close and too numerous to be the result of chance, so Agius indeed appears to be imitationg Catullus. But it remains problematic to use his echoes to establish the text of Catullus, as he does not distinguish in any way between what he has taken over from Catullus and what he has made up himself. In the present case there could appear to be little ground for such an objection, as Cornelissen conjectured *fouerit* unawares of the echo of the passage in Agius. The parallel would appear to confirm his intuitions and to provide the sort of hard data on which editors since Lachmann have preferred to base their texts rather than on their personal *iudicium*. However, this line of thought involves two hidden assumptions, and it is worthwhile to have a closer look at both: first of all, that Cornelissen had good reasons to suspect that *iuuerit* was corrupt and to propose *fouerit* in its place; and second, that Agius lifted *fouerit* from his MS of Catullus. Among the commentators of the last century and a half, Ellis, Fordyce and Quinn do not comment on the problem posed by *iuuerit ... iuuerit*; Riese notes that one *iuuerit* out of the two has to be corrupt; meanwhile, Baehrens, Kroll and Thomson think that the repetition is genuine and emphatic ("emphatic, almost excited" according to Thomson): Catullus is very grateful for Allius' help, and mentions it twice. Baehrens notes that this type of repetition also occurs at Verg. *Ecl.* 4.24f. *occidet et serpens, et fallax herba ueneni / occidet* as well as *Aen.* 11.453 *arma manu trepidi poscunt, fremit arma iuuentus* and 12.698 *deserit et muros et summas deserit arces*, Hor. *Od.* 2.8.17f. *adde quod pubes tibi crescit omnis, / seruitus crescit noua* (though here the second *crescit* is suspected by some editors) and 2.16.23f. *ocior ceruis et agente nimbos / ocior Euro* and Stat. *Theb.* 9.701f. *dulce comae radiisque trementes / dulce nitent uisus*. One could also compare the repetition of *Troia* in lines 88-90 of this poem, and one should note that repetition often occurs in a pair of clauses separated by *aut*: thus Pl. *Amph.* 153 *qui me alter audacior homo est aut qui confidentior?* and *Capt.* 480 *quis ait "hoc" aut quis profitetur?*, *Asin.* 32 *quid istuc est, aut ubi istuc est terrarum loci?*, *Capt.* 921 *aut iam nihil est aut iam nihil erit*, *Mil.* 1068 *aut facturum aut non facturum* and *Persa* 210 *quid male facio aut quoi male dico* and variations on a verbal root such as Pl. *Mil.* 1412 *quod tu hodie hic uerberatu's aut quod uerberabere*, Ter. *Phorm.* 809 *una omnis nos aut scire aut nescire hoc uolo* and Cato *Agr.* 7.4 *serito aut inserito*. In these pairs of clauses the repetition reinforces the links between the two alternatives but highlights their individual traits; it can lead to coherence as well as to clarity. In the light of this the present passage is not unusual at all. And in fact, Cornelissen's conjecture is not very attractive: *iuuerit* 'he helped

me' is a much more suitable expression for what Allius did to Catullus than *fouerit* 'he cherished me'. It is a striking coincidence that *fouerit* is also used by Agius in an apparent echo of this line. However, the coincidence may simply be due to the fact that Agius and Cornelissen both decided that *iuuerit* needed changing (Agius because the abbess Hathumod had not helped him in any way, Cornelissen because he decided that the word had to be corrupt) and they came across the same substitute.

43f. There may be an echo of these lines at Sen. *Her. F.* 291-293 *quidquid auida tot per <u>annorum</u> gradus / abscondit <u>aetas</u> redde et <u>oblitos</u> sui / <u>lucisque pauidos</u> ante te <u>populos</u> age* (Seneca makes a different use of the association of memory with light).

43   ne   This is a conjecture of Calphurnius'; the transmitted reading is *nec*, after which *tegat* in the following line would have to be taken as a potential subjunctive. It is defended by Ellis *ad loc.*, who translates 'nor can time conceal …', but this would disrupt the run of thought, unlike the energetic final subjunctive after *ne*. These lines constitute not a cautious assertion but a forceful and highly personal statement by Catullus about how he is going to re-pay Allius the favour of having helped him in his love-affair. Having defended *nec* in 1876 in his commentary and having printed it in his 1878 edition, Ellis himself was converted to *ne* and wrote it in his 1904 Oxford Classical Text.

The corruption may well have triggered by *nec* at the start of line 49. Baehrens (1885 *ad loc.* and p. 51) argues in favour of the spelling *nei*, but this does not appear to be attested after *CIL* 1.582.19, the *Tabula Bantina*, which bears the text of a law written some time between 133 and 118 B.C.

fugiens … aetas   It is here that *fugio* is first applied to time in surviving Latin literature, an usage that is common in later poetry: compare Hor. *Od.* 1.11.7f. *fugerit inuida / aetas* and Sen. *Phaedr.* 446 *aetate fruere: mobili cursu fugit*; less closely Verg. *Geo.* 3.284 *fugit interea, fugit irreparabile tempus* and see further *OLD* s.v. *fugio* 8a and *TLL* 6.1.1484.11-27.

aetas stands for time itself, as also at Enn. *Ann.* 406 Skutsch *postremo longinqua dies* (gen.) *confecerit aetas* and Cic. *Marc.* 11 *ut tropaeis et monumentis tuis adlatura finem sit aetas*; see further *OLD* s.v., 7a and *TLL* 1.1137.73-1138.21. *aetas* is often contrasted with shorter units of time: thus Cic. *N.D.* 2.64 *consumit aetas temporum spatia annisque praeteritis insaturabiliter expletur*, Sen. *Her. F.* 291f. (quoted above on 43f.) and Lucr. 1.467f. *ea saecla hominum … irreuocabilis abstulerit iam praeterita aetas* (note the contrast with *saecla*).

saeclis obliuiscentibus   Probably an ablative absolute. Note Varro's definition of the noun at *L.L.* 6.11 *saeclum spatium annorum centum uocarunt, dictum a sene, quod longissimum spatium senescendorum hominum id putarunt* (his etymology is wrong: see Ernout-Meillet s.v.). *saec(u)lum* can refer to a generation, understood either as a group of people or as a period of a time, or to a race of men, or to a long period of time, in particular to a century (*OLD* s.v.). Elsewhere, except at 64.22 *o nimis optato saeclorum tempore nati*, Catullus always uses the word in connection with the relation of time to memory and literature, as here: thus 1.8-10 *quicquid hoc libelli, / qualecumque, quod … plus uno maneat perenne saeclo*, 14.23 *saecli*

incommoda, pessimi poetae, 43.8 *o saeclum insapiens et infacetum!*, 78b.3f. *te omnia saecla / noscent et qui sis, fama loquetur anus* and 95.6 *Zmyrnam cana diu saecula peruoluent*. This connection seems to have been commonplace: thus also Cinna *frg.* 14 *FPL³ saecula permaneat nostri Dictynna Catonis*, Cic. *Div.* 1.36 *hos ... mentiri iudicemus nec saeculorum reliquorum iudicium quod de ipsis futurum sit pertimescere* (on the authors of astrological works), Lucr. 3.629f. *pictores itaque et scriptorum saecla priora / sic animas intro duxerunt sensibus auctas* and Quint. 10.1.92 *dicent haec plenius futura saecula* (they should pass judgement on the Emperor Domitian's literary talents).

While the word is often written in the MSS as *sec-* rather than *saec-* (thus the *OLD*), the correct form is surely the latter: *CIL* 10.1401.6 (A.D. 44/46) writes *SAECVLI* and the word is related to Gallic *hoedl* 'life-time, life' (Ernout-Meillet). Here Catullus is using the anaclastic form *saeclum*, which he prefers to *saeculum* (he uses the former 6x, the latter 1x), as do other Republican poets (Pl. 3x against 1x, Ter. 2x against 0x and most conspicuously Lucr. 45x against 0x; Caec. Stat. and Cic. 1x against 0x; only in Cinna 0x against 1x). *saeculum* is the only form found in prose, apart from Cicero's rhetorical and philosophical works (15x *saeclum* alongside 30x *saeculum*). From the Augustan period onwards the anaclastic form is gradually eliminated even in poetry: Propertius has *saeclum* 3x against *saeculum* 2x, Virgil 5x against 9x, Ovid 3x against 21x, Silius 6x against 21x and Valerius Flaccus 2x against 4x. Horace, Tibullus, Manilius and Lucan only use the longer form.

Note the archetype's error *sedis*: it must result from the misreading of a minuscule MS, in which *cl* resembled *d*. The mistake was already corrected by the scholar who copied MS β (78, that is, the famous Codex Traguriensis) for his own use, as he added *seclis* in the margin as a variant some time after copying the text.

44 caeca nocte Catullus picks up Accius *trag.* 33 *deum regnator nocte caeca caelum e conspectu abstulit*, a stark phrase that was imitated similarly by Lucr. 1.1115f. *nec tibi caeca / nox iter eripiet*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.397f. *multaque per caecam congressi proelia noctem / conserimus* and *Geo.* 3.260 and directly or through Virgil's mediation also at *Ciris* 523, Ov. *Met.* 6.472f., 10.476 and 11.521, Sen. *Oed.* 1049 and *Thy.* 668, Lucan 4.244 and 10.506, Sil. 10.538f. and 13.254 and a number of Christian authors: see *TLL* 3.44.72-77. The present passage is probably echoed by Ovid *Tr.* 3.6.31f. *quaecumque adeo possunt adferre pudorem, / illa tegi caeca condita nocte decet*. Here *caeca* is passive and means 'obscure', as at 64.207f. *caeca mentem caligine Theseus / consitus*; see further *OLD* s.v. 5a and *TLL* 3.44.70-45.44. For *nox* 'darkness' compare 51.11f. *gemina teguntur / lumina nocte*.

49f. As so often in Catullus, an abstract phenomenon is rendered palpable through an image drawn from real life. The use of cobweb imagery to characterize neglect is conventional: cfr. *Od.* 16.34f. □Οδυ!!°ο! δϒ που εⅠν↓ / ξ→τει ∕νευνα⇔ϖν κ□κ□ □ρ□ξνια κεⅡται ∕ξο∖!α and Theocr. 16.96f. □ρ□ξνια δэ ε⇒! ⏐πλ□ □ρ□ξναι / λεπτ□ δια!τ→!αιντο. In the present image Allius' name has been inscribed somewhere, probably not onto "a statue or bust identified by a *titulus*" (Clauss 1995: 240) but rather onto a funerary

monument (Fordyce), which is the place *par excellence* for the conservation of the memory of the dead, and which is more prone to be neglected than a statue. The fact that in the future a thin (*tenuis*) cobweb may conceal Allius' name altogether emphasizes the oblivion that threatens him.

The spider is presented as a sort of craftsman going about his or her own business, rather sympathetically: note the alliterative phrase *tenuem texens ... telam* and the positive word *opus*, 'product', 'creation'.

The passage is echoed at Prop. 2.6.35f. *immeritum uelauit <u>aranea</u> fanum / et mala <u>desertos</u> occupat herba deos* and Ov. *Am.* 1.14.7f. *pede ... gracili deducit <u>aranea</u> filum, / cum leue <u>deserta</u> sub trabe nectit <u>opus</u>*.

49   tenuem … telam   The slightness of cobwebs is a conventional motif in Greek poetry: compare □ρ□ξνια λεπτ□ at *Od.* 8.280 and Arat. *Phaen.* 1083, Philoxenus *PMG* 836 (e) 6 λεπτ□! □ρ□ξνα! and Antipater of Sidon, *A.P.* 6.174.1f. ™!ον □ρ□ξναι / τε\φαι λεπταλϒον !τ□μον□/πι!τ□μεναι.

sublimis aranea   The epithet simply means 'elevated' and need not imply that the spider is at a great height, witness Varro *R.R.* 1.57.1 *triticum condi oportet in granaria sublimia*, *Bell. Afr.* 84.2 *elephans ... militem proboscide circumdat atque in sublime extollit*, Cels. 4.8.3 *caput ... etiam in lecto sublime habendum est* and Verg. *Aen.* 11.67 *hic iuuenem agresti sublimem stramine ponunt*. Brink (1971: 236f.) on Horace *A.P.* 165 has analysed the use of the adjective in the higher registers of Latin literature, but his conclusion that "*sublimis* is a noble and antique word" needs to be qualified: it is common not only in tragedy (5x in Ennius, 1x in Naevius and 1x in Accius; 12x in Seneca's tragedies and 1x in the *Octavia*) and epic and related genres (not in Ennius' *Annales*, but 16x in Virgil's *Aeneid*, also 1x in the *Eclogues.* and 4x in the *Georgics.*, 20x in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and 20x in his other works, 9x in Lucan and 15x in Statius' *Thebaid*) but also in technical writing (3x in Cato *Agr.* as *sublimiter*, 7x in Varro *R.R.*, 4x in Celsus, 19x in Columella and 46x in Pliny *N.H.*; also 37x in Quintilian *Inst.* as a term of literary criticism): note the parallels quoted above. It may be common more elevated Latin not because of its tone or associations but on account of its meaning.

Nisbet (1978: 107f.) proposed to emend *sublimis* to *subtilis*, a conjecture that only appears to have been accepted by Trappes-Lomax (2007: 232), who quotes Vossius' remark that "*Subtilis* pro *sublimis* habent libri nonnulli"; the MSS in question may have gone lost, as I have not found the word in any of the *recentiores*. Nisbet objects to *sublimis* because it would imply a height at which no spider would spin its web and it would be "too grand a word to be used naturally of the insect." Against these arguments see the previous paragraph, but it must be said that *subtilis* is an admirable conjecture: it is close to the transmitted *sublimis* and can easily be applied to a spider. But Mario Telò pointed out to me that a similar point has already been made with *tenuem*, so *subtilis* could well be superfluous.

This is one of the few cases in which Catullus violates 'Hermann's Bridge', that is, the rule that trochaic caesura is not admitted in the fourth foot of the hexameter. Elsewhere he does so only in the epigrams at 76.1, 84.5 and 101.1, and less drastically at 73.5 (*ut mihi, quem nemo grauius nec acerbius urget*: here *nec* goes closely with *acerbius*). Offences against this rule are rare in Hellenistic poetry (West 1982: 155) but less so in Propertius, Tibullus and especially in Ovid, about 6% of whose hexameters violate Hermann's Bridge (Platnauer 1951: 10). The rule appears to be a consequence of a technique of versification rather than

a desire to avoid any particular sound-effect (cfr. West 1982: 37f.), so that the fact that the Latin elegiac poets breach it more often than their Greek predecessors would simply indicate that they have adopted new, freer techniques of composition.

50   in deserto Alli   Calphurnius' conjecture *in deserto Mallii* (which later scholars, including Newman, easily changed into *in deserto Manli*) is unacceptable: see the Introduction, pp. 21f.

opus faciat   Compare ƒργον □ραξν□ϖν at Callim. *Hecale frg.* 42.6 Hollis = 285.12 *SH* and later also at Dion. Per. 757.

45   porro dicite   *porro* is a pragmatic word, widespread in prose of all sorts (*Rhet. Her.* 4x, Cic. 79x *orat.*, 38x *rhet.-phil.* and 38x *epist.*, Caes. 1x, Colum. 31x, Celsus 2x, Sen. *maior* 8x, Sen. *minor* 29x, Petron. 3x, Plin. *N.H.* 2x etc.) and in comedy and mime (Plaut. 54x, Ter. 40x, Afran. 3x, Caecil. and Labien. 1x) and used very often by Lucretius (74x), but only twice by Catullus, apparently on account of its conversational overtones (here in an informal address to the Muses, and at 45.3 in an actual conversation). It is rare in elevated poetry during the Republic (2x in Pacuv., not in Enn. or Acc.), in the Augustan poets (only 3x in Verg. *Aen.*, 1x in Hor. *Sat.* and 3x in *Epist.*, and 1x in Ov. *F.*) and in general in epic (also 1x in Lucan, 1x in Stat. *Theb.*, 3x in Silius, 1x in Val. Fl.).

Here *porro dicite* means not 'continue to speak', as in Plautus (in *perge porro dicere* at *Amph.* 803, *Cist.* 754 and *Trin.* 777 as well as *Pers.* 296 *scis quid hinc porro dicturus fuerim*), but 'say in turn', 'tell in turn' (cfr. *OLD* s.v. *porro*, 4).

45f. multis / milibus   To be taken together: *milibus* cannot go with *loquatur*, as Catullus always leaves *et* in the first place of the clause. The first certain cases in which it is postponed are found in the Augustan poets: see *TLL* 5.2.897.52-898.6.

46   et facite   Trappes-Lomax (2007: 232) proposes to write *ecficite* on the ground that "[p]ostponed *et* is not Catullan". That is correct, but the solution is surely to take *multis / milibus* together with *dicite*: see the previous note. It would be hard to justify the asyndeton in *uos porro dicite multis; / milibus ecficite haec charta loquatur anus.*

facite haec charta loquatur anus   The Muses should let the paper (*charta*, which is feminine) speak, when it will be an old woman: that is, in future ages they should let the poem be read or recited widely. It is characteristic of Catullus to associate poetry closely with the material on which its written (thus also in poems 1 and 95.7f., cfr. 22 and 36) and to refer to the future condition of an object by personifying it as a senior or hoary-headed individual: he does the same thing at 95.6 *Zmyrnam cana diu saecula peruoluent* and at 78b.3f. *te omnia saecla / noscent et qui sis, fama loquetur anus*, which resembles this passage closely (the second half of the pentameter fits here better and it seems likelier that the present passage was written first).

What makes the image effective and slightly humorous is that old women were considered to be naturally talkative: if the papyrus sheet containing the poem will be an old woman, it will hardly be able to stop talking. Ancient literature abounds in talkative old women: note Aristoph. *Thesm.* 1073 □πολεῖ! μ□ ∈ γρα\ !τϖμυλλομϒνη, Callim. *Hecale frg.* 310 Pfeiffer = 58 Hollis □ε⇔πλανα ξε⇔λεα γρη〉!, Plaut. *Cist.* 149 *utrumque haec, et multiloqua et multibiba, est anus,* Mart. 11.50.8 *garrula saga* and the *anus* who is called a *sermocinatrix inmodica* at Apul. *Met.* 9.17. Cicero *Sen.* 55 lets Cato the Elder make the point that *senectus est natura loquacior.*

charta 'a sheet of papyrus' comes from the Greek ξ□ρτη!. In Latin the word remained in the first declension but became feminine; Lucilius 709 Marx still uses the masculine plural *charti*. The word is widespread, but less common in prose than in poetry before Apuleius, perhaps due to chance (cfr. *TLL* 3.997.5-9). Catullus also uses it at 1.6, 36.1 and 36.21. The principal MSS consistently spell the word as *carta*; however, it is written with a *h* in the MSS of Catullus' contemporaries Lucretius (3.10, 4.790, 6.112 and 6.114) and Cicero (*Cael.* 40, *Rab. Post.* 40, *Fam.* 7.18.2, *Att.* 2.20.3 and 5.4.4, *Q. fr.* 2.15.1, *frg. poet.* 6.48 *FPL[3] = Div.* 1.40) and appears to have retained it in Lucilius' *Satires* (709 and 1085 Marx), while Probus *GL* 4.10.20-22 lists *charta* among the *nomina post c litteram habentia h.* The unaspirated form is preferred by the MSS of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (3.30.8). The epigraphic evidence is ambiguous (see *TLL* 3.996.73-81), but of doubtful value in this case, as *CE* 972.5 *charte,* which is listed in the *Thesaurus* as the only possible attestation of the word on an inscription from the 1st century B.C., could well date from the Renaissance (cfr. Buecheler *ad loc.* in *CE*). Cremona (1958: 431f., with n. 130) notes that we are dealing with an old loan-word, already acclimatized in Latin, and like *purpura, ampora, tus* and *Poeni,* deprived of its aspiration. However, Catullus appears to have had a strong sense of propriety in using or omitting aspirations (cfr. poem 84) and the balance of evidence combined with the origin of the word strongly suggests that educated speakers of Latin in the mid-1st century B.C. would have preferred the aspirated form. The MSS' *carta* could well be a Medieval innovation.

Note the assonance in *haec charta.*

Statius' ingenious conjecture *cera* 'wax (tablet)' rests on the belief that *tabellis pro chartis utebantur antiqui* (Festus p. 542 Thewrewk = pp. 490-492 Lindsay). Catullus indeed talks of writing on tablets (50.2, cfr. 42) but papyrus sheets appear to have been used quite widely in this period, even for private letters, witness Cic. *Fam.* 7.18.2 *miror quid in illa chartula fuerit quod delere malueris quam haec <non> scribere, Att.* 2.20.3 *charta ipsa ne nos prodat pertimesco* and *Q. fr.* 2.15.1 *calamo et atramento temperato, charta etiam dentata* ('on polished paper') *res agatur.* In any case a poem reached the public written on papyrus and not on perishable wax tablets; this was the format in which Catullus could expect this composition to become famous.

These words could well be echoing a passage from Laevius' *Protesilaodamia, frg.* 13 *FPL[3] fac papyrin<a…> haec terga habeant stigmata.* These highly obscure words have been interpreted in a variety of ways (see Frassinetti 1974: 315-317 and Courtney 1993: 130f.); on the basis of this parallel and phrases such as *linea terga* (Verg. *Aen.* 10.784) and *aerea terga / loricae* (Stat. *Theb.* 9.552f., where some editors

prefer Gronorius' conjecture *texta*) Laevius' fragment could be translated as 'let the hides (*i.e.* sheets) of papyrus carry tattoo-marks (*i.e.* writing)'. It could perhaps be a request for inspiration addressed to a divinity.

47   The lacuna in the principal MSS disrupts the metre, as a hexameter is followed by another. In theory any odd number of lines could have fallen out, but it is generally assumed that only one pentameter is missing; and given the fact that lines 46 and 48 make the same point, this is very probably correct. The lost line would have contained, then, further instructions to the Muses as to how they should make Allius famous. In the lacunose text the transition is abrupt from the mention of the paper in line 46 (*haec charta loquatur anus*) to that of Allius in line 48 (*notescatque … mortuus*); presumably the lost line contained an element that made the change of subject much smoother – a pronoun, such as *illius* in line 44, or a periphrasis of some sort; a form of his name is unlikely after it has occurred in lines 42 and 50.

A number of supplements have been proposed since the Renaissance:

omnibus et triuiis uulgetur fabula passim	(Thomas Seneca?)
omnibus inque locis celebretur fama sepulti	(Petrus Odus)
sed scabra intactum seruet rubigine nomen	(Johann von Gott Fröhlich)
ut qualis fuerit, dum uixit, carmina narrent	(Theodor Heyse)
uersibus ut nostris etiam post funera uiuat	(Emil Baehrens)
milibus ut facile in uita noscatur ab ipsis	(Giovanni Pascoli)
notescatque magis uiuos uolitetque per ora	(Theodor Birt)

The first supplement is found in the MSS βζη and in some later *recentiores*. In β and 56 it is attributed to Seneca, i.e. the humanist Thomas Seneca from Camerino (born in 1391 and still alive in 1472), while in 28 the author is identified as Philelphus, that is, Francesco Filelfo from Tolentino in the Marches of Ancona (born in 1395 or 1398, dead in 1481). Given that β was written in 1423, probably well before 28 and 56, both of which are dated to 1460-70 by Thomson (1997: 76 and 79), the former attribution inspires more confidence (thus Mynors 1958: x f., n. 2). It is a lively and attractive verse, though by no means an impeccable one: *passim* is little more than a metrical stopgap, there is no reference to Allius, and the expectation that he should be talked about at every crossroads due to this poem seems wildly unrealistic. The *coup de grâce* was delivered to this supplement by Haupt (1837: 42), who pointed out that there are no examples of postponed *et* in Catullus (see on 45f. *multis / milibus*).

The second supplement is found in numerous *recentiores* and in the Venice edition of 1475, and is attributed in MS 82 to Petrus Odus (Pietro Odi of Montopoli in Lazio, also known as Odo, Oddo, Oddone and Oddi, a humanist and Neolatin poet who died in 1463/64: see Graziosi Acquaro 1970: 7-22). It is much less attractive than the previous one: the enclitic *–que* is attached not to the first word in the clause, nor to any important one, but to the humble preposition *in*; it is hard to catch the meaning of *celebretur fama*; and the

reference to Allius' funeral is pointless and out of place, as his death is announced only in the following line with *mortuus*. (Odus has taken *fama sepulti* from Propertius 2.13.37, which echoes the present passage: see on line 48 below.)

Fröhlich (1849: 264) based the third supplement on line 151, which he jettisoned along with line 152. In his reconstruction line 47 follows verse 50, which he writes as *in deserto Alli limine opus faciat*. The shift from *Alli* in the genitive in that verse to him being the implied subject of *seruet* in this one is awkward; and in any case it is very hard to believe that an interpolator should have removed a verse from one part of a poem and based on it a distich of his own that he inserted at a different point within the text. In fact no feature of lines 151f. suggests that they could have been interpolated.

The supplement of Heyse and that of Baehrens (which is printed by Goold in his 1983 edition) are in reasonable Latin, with minor weaknesses – in the former *carmina narrent* is unattractive both because of the construction used (can a *carmen* be said to recount something in Latin?) and because of its contents (Catullus sets out to honour Allius with one poem, and not with many), and in the latter the ablative of cause *uersibus ... nostris* looks suspicious, and once more it is incongruous to read about Allius' funeral in the supplement before he is called *mortuus*, dead, in the next verse. Heyse's supplement may be the best one on offer, but it is rather bland, it does not have the dazzling quality of many genuinely Catullan lines.

The sixth supplement is printed by Giovanni Battista Pighi in his 1961 luxury edition of Catullus' poems. In his critical notes he attributes it to Pascoli, who is surely the great Italian poet Giovanni Pascoli (1855-1912), almost as prolific a writer in Latin as in his native language. I have not been able to track down where this supplement was first published, but there appear to be no other scholars of this name. This supplement starts with *milibus ut facile*, which resembles *milibus et facite* in the previous line; Pascoli seems to have thought that the line could have fallen out due to haplography. In fact, haplography tends to occur when the eye of a scribe jumps from the first to the second occurrence of a particular combination of letters; consequently it is the first rather than the second occurrence that is left out. This is not the case in Pascoli's supplement, but it is not unconceivable that in this case a scribe should have copied line 46, mistaken line 47 for what he had just copied, and continued by copying 48. The supplement itself is attractive apart from *milibus ... ab ipsis*, which would pick up *multis / milibus* in lines 45f., but *ipsis* is harsh (10.9f. *nihil neque ipsis / nec praetoribus esse nec cohorti* is only remotely similar, and there too *nec ipsis* has often been suspected: see Trappes-Lomax 2007: 53f.), and it would be awkward to limit the thousands of readers mentioned in the previous pair of lines (*multis / milibus*) to Allius' lifetime only. *multis / milibus* is a generic, collective expression meaning 'many thousands of men', a reference made in passing, as it were, and it is highly unlikely that it should have subsequently been picked up by the poet.

Like Pascoli, Birt (1904: 428) reasoned that the verse must have fallen out due to haplography, but unlike Pascoli he thought that the beginning of the lost verse must have resembled the beginning of the one that followed it, as one would expect in such a case. This accounts for the words *notescatque magis*; they are followed by *uiuos uolitetque per ora*, which is based on Ennius' topical auto-epitaph *frg. uar.* 17f. Vahlen *Nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu / faxit. cur? uolito uiuos per ora uirum*. However, the transition

from *charta loquatur anus* to *notescatque magis* is very rough in the absence of a pronoun or a similar term referring to Allius – and *notescatque magis* is hard to translate in Birt's supplement (though not in line 48): 'and he should become more famous' - more than what? Moreover, the whole hypothesis that the line has been lost through haplography may be called into question: lines can be omitted due to a number of causes or indeed for no particular reason at all even by the best of scribes, and here we are dealing with a scribe who was capable of omitting a single pentameter while copying a poem written in elegiac distichs.

It is all too easy to criticize the supplements of others, especially as long as one does not propose any of one's own. I do not want to disparage anyone from trying his or her hand at filling in this lacuna; but it is a very difficult task to fill in a lacuna with a perfect Latin pentameter written in the style of a particular author: the supplement must not only make sense, be in correct Latin, and only use phrases and constructions that could have been used by the author himself, but it must be elegant to boot. The difficulty of the task should remind us of the quality of what does survive of Catullus' poetry.

48   Propertius may well be echoing this line when he writes *nec minus haec nostri <u>notescet</u> fama <u>sepulti</u>, / quam fuerant Pthii busta cruenta uiri* (2.13.37f.).

notescatque   Though not common, the verb appears to have been the *uox propria* for this concept, witness an inscription from the Augustan period, the *'Laudatio Turiae'* at *CIL* 6.1527.2.18 *VT · AVCTOR · MEÓRVM · PERIC[VL]ORVM · NÓTÉSCERET* and Phaedr. 3.3.3 *notescet quae* (i.e. *causa*) *nunc primum fabella mea*; cfr. also Prop. 2.13.37, quoted above. Later it appears in Pliny the Elder, Seneca's *De Beneficiis* and Suetonius (once each) and becomes a fad of Tacitus', who uses it five times in his *Annals*.

magis … atque magis   The original expression for 'more and more' was *magis magisque*, which is attested in drama (1x each in Plautus, Pacuvius and Afranius) and in prose (1x each in Sisenna, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and the *Bellum Africum*, 5x each in Cicero and Sallust, 4x in Livy) but this iambic phrase could not be used in dactylic poetry. For some reason or another *magis et magis* remained rare (1x each in Cicero, Calpurnius Siculus and the *Priapea*, and nowhere else) but in dactylic poetry there emerged *magis ac magis* (2x in Lucretius, 1x in the *Aeneid*, and from Pliny the Elder onwards also in prose: for references see *TLL* 2.1071.74-1072.11) or *magis atque magis* (3x in Virgil and in Stat. *Theb.*, 1x in the *Culex*, 2x in Lucan and 4x in Valerius Flaccus, but this appears to have been too ponderous for prose). Catullus inserted another word into this phrase, as did later Horace at *Sat.* 2.3.318f. *cum magis atque / se magis inflaret*.

mortuus   Not tactless or harsh: compare 3.3 *passer mortuus est meae puellae* and 64.153 *neque iniacta cumulabor mortua terra*.

51-56   The Muses know how Catullus suffered when his love for Lesbia was as yet unfulfilled. Why? From his poems, as one would expect, but in fact none of Catullus' surviving poems describes his frustration at not being able to start a relationship with Lesbia; only 100.7 *cum uesana meas torreret flamma medullas* could look back at this period. Had Catullus written poems about this experience that no longer survive?

Alternatively, it could be assumed that as the protectresses of poets the Muses would have intimate knowledge about their lives.

51 duplex   'Two-faced', 'deceitful', a rare but not unparalleled use of the word: thus Plaut. *Truc.* 781 *ne duplicis habeatis linguas* (and more literally for a snake with a forked tongue at *Asin.* 695 *fac proserpentem bestiam me, duplicem ut habeam linguam*), Hor. *Od.* 1.6.7 *duplicis ... Vlixi* and Ov. *Am.* 1.12.27 *ergo ego uos rebus duplices pro nomine sensi* (addressed to a pair of writing-tablets); see further *TLL* 5.1.2259.57-80. There is no need to accept the fanciful suggestion of Newman (1990: 235) that *duplex Amathusia* "is not "treacherous" Venus, but the *double* Venus, the heavenly and earthly Aphrodite familiar from Plato's *Symposium*."

Amathusia   A sufficiently exotic reference to the goddess of Love. Amathus was a city on the south coast of Cyprus with an ancient temple of Aphrodite, mentioned by Pausanias 9.41.2 and Tacitus at *Annals* 3.62, who implies that the cult title of the goddess was Amathusia (see further *RE* and *OLD* s.v. Amathus; Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. tells of a cult of Adonis Osiris).

Catullus is the first surviving author to mention the connection of the goddess with the city, and it is not clear what source he may have been using – but one should note that his friend C. Helvius Cinna had written a recondite and learned epyllion *Zmyrna* about a Cypriot princess, which is probably Catullus' source for the obscure Cypriot river-name Satrachus (Cat. 95.5). *Amathusia* is used again of Venus by Ovid at *Am.* 3.5.15 *culte puer puerique parens Amathusia culti* and by the author of the *Ciris* at 242f. *non est Amathusia nostri / tam rudis* (this also echoes lines 17f. above). Compare also Catullus' inclusion of Amathus in a list of places in which the goddess is worshipped at 36.14, and how Virgil follows suit at *Aen.* 10.51.

It is surprising that this difficult word survives intact in the principal MSS.

curam   See on line 18.

52 in quo ... genere   'In what fashion' (Goold): for this apparently conversational usage compare Cic. *Att.* 4.2.7 *quo in genere nunc uehementer laboratur*, *Q.F.* 2.11.5 *lusique in eo genere et familiariter et cum dignitate* and *de Orat.* 2.17 *qui ... in aliquo genere aut inconcinnus aut multus est*, and also the Ciceronian expression *in omni genere* 'in every respect' (cfr. *Att.* 12.33.2 *tota domus in omni genere diligens*; see further *OLD* s.v. *genus*, 12b). The phrase is *in* quo genere, and not *quo genere*: the preposition is used as *genus* is seen as a category to which an action can belong, and not as a way in which it can be performed. The usage is alien to Augustan poetry: after Catullus and Lucretius poets tend to restrict *genus* to the meanings 'race, lineage, species'.

Here the phrase *in quo ... genere* refers to the fashions in which love can act upon one and not to the conceivable types of love-affairs, "quorum nimirum uaria erant genera, uirginis nobili loco natae, libertinae, pueri alicuius" (Baehrens): Catullus is concerned not with the social classification of his love-affair, but with the turbulent way in which he experienced it.

The parallels guarantee that the transmitted phrase is correct, and the conjectures that have been proposed are not particularly convincing: Nicolaus Heinsius' conjecture *cinere* would fit badly with *torruerit*, while Schrader's *uenere* would be odd after *Amathusia*.

torruerit   All the MSS that I know of read *corruerit*, while *torruerit* was found by Santenius in two codices and is defended by Turnebus. Here most editors print *torruerit*; only Kroll writes *corruerit*, but he proceeds to comment that *torruerit* does, after all, seem more likely. *torruerit* is plausible (Baehrens rightly notes that *c* and *t* are often exchanged for one another; they resemble each other very closely in Gothic minuscule), but is it necessary?

corruerit would be a transitive use of *corruo*, unusual but attested, especially in archaic or archaizing contexts: compare Plautus *Rud.* 542 *ibi me conruere posse aiebas ditias*, Varro *L.L.* 5.139 *corbes ab eo quod eo spicas aliudue quid corruebant* (he is reconstructing an earlier usage), Lucr. 5.367f. *quae possint ... / corruere hanc rerum uiolento turbine summam*, Apul. *Met.* 8.8 *Charite ... uelut graui tonitru ... percussa corruit corpus et obnubilauit animam* (see Hijmans & al. 1985 *ad loc.*) and also Iulianus Aeclanensis (Pseudo-Rufinus) *in Osee 6.8f.* = 2 29ʳ *in sacrilegio corruendo*. Elsewhere Catullus uses the verb once at the very most, and intransitively, at 66.93, where Lachmann's proposal *corruerint* for *A*'s *cur iterent* is possible, but so is Pontanus' *cur retinent*. Here the problem with *corruerit* is that it means the wrong thing: much though Venus may have tormented Catullus, she did not destroy him or incapacitate him in any way.

torruerit, on the other hand, would refer to scorching, an activity proper to the forces of love in Catullus (compare 100.7 *cum uesana meas torreret flamma medullas*) and elsewhere (Hor. *Od.* 4.1.12 *si torrere iecur quaeris idoneum*, to Venus; also *ibid.* 1.33.6, 3.9.13, 3.19.28; Prop. 3.24.13 *correptus saeuo Veneris torrebar aeno*; Ov. *Am.* 3.2.40; *OLD* s.v. 2b). Also, it would neatly anticipate the fire imagery in the following distich. I am confident that it is correct.

53f.   'When I was burning as much as Mount Etna and the hot springs of Thermopylae': Catullus compares his ardent passion to two well-known natural phaenomena. The exaggeration inherent in the comparison is characteristic of Catullus at his most passionate.

The similes are cast in suitably recherché language: one should note the circumlocution *Trinacria rupes* and the accumulation of Greek and Grecizing words in line 54.

53   **arderem**   *ardeo* is first used for amorous passion by Catullus (see further *TLL* 2.485.20-67), and he is rather fond of this root: note 2.8 *credo, ut tum grauis acquiescat ardor*, 45.15f. *multo mihi maior acriorque / ignis mollibus ardet in medullis* and 62.23 *iuueni ardenti castam donare puellam*.

Trinacria rupes   'The Trinacrian cliff' is a learned circumlocution for Mount Etna on Sicily, one of the best-known volcanoes of the Mediterranean. *Trinacrius* is a calque of the Greek adjective Τριν□κριο!, which comes from Τρινακρ⇔α, which is mentioned already by Thucydides 6.2.2 as an ancient name for the triangular island Sicily (it appears to have arisen through popular etymology from Ψρινακ⇔η, the name of

the island of the cattle of the Sun in the *Odyssey*, after that was identified with Sicily: see *RE* s.v. 'Thrinakia').

The word *rupes* already appears in the language of high poetry at Accius *trag.* 505, where it still means 'cliff', as at Cat. 61.28 and 64.154; its metonymical use ('cliff', i.e. 'mountain') is first attested here, but becomes common in the Augustan poets: compare Prop. 1.1.14 *Arcadiis rupibus*, Verg. *Ecl.* 6.29 *Parnasia rupes*, etc.

There may be an echo of the present passage in the *Panegyricus Messallae* = [Tib.] 3.7.56 *Aetnaeae Neptunius incola rupis*.

54   This line contains an extraordinary accumulation of Grecisms, real (*Oetaeis*, *Malia* and *Thermopylis*) or perceived (*lympha*); only the humble prefix –*que* and the preposition *in* would have come across as genuine Latin words. On the subject see the section 'Geographical and Mythological Proper Names' in Ross (1969: 95-104).

Here Catullus describes the warm springs that gave the Pass of Thermopylae its name. The pass consists of a narrow strip of level ground between Mt Oeta and the Gulf of Malis; in a feat of erudition Catullus crams all these natural features into this line. The pass is described in detail by Herodotus in Book 7 of his *Histories*, and he could well be Catullus' source here: compare 7.176.3 τ∫ δ′ τ∩ν ΨερμοπυλΥϖν τ∫ μ′ν πρ∫! ∞!πΥρη! ∖ρο! ▢βατ〉ν τε κα⇐ ▢π〉κρημνον, ∣ χηλ〉ν, ▢νατε⫙νον∧ τ↓ν O♢την ... ƒ!τι δ′∧ τ°ι∧!〉δϖι τα⟨τηι ψερμ▢ λουτρ▢, τ▢ Ξ⟨τρου! καλΥου!ι ο⇓∕πιξ⊕ριοι .... Though Herodotus does not locate the pass explicitly in the land of Malis, he associates it with this territory, not only because of several references to Malis and the Malians (7.196, 7.198.1, 7.201) but also when he calls the traitor Ephialtes who helped the Persians in the famous battle a Malian (7.213-216).

lymphaque   The word is attested in poetry already in Pacuvius *trag.* 244f. *lymphis flauis fuluum ut puluerem ... abluam*, cfr. *ibid.* 422 *lymphata*, while Lucilius 1196 Marx has *inpermixtum limporem*. It is the question whether *lympha* arose from Greek ν⟨μφα and subsequently underwent dissimulation (thus Varro *L.L.* 7.87, the *TLL* 7.2.1941.76-80, quoting Wackernagel, and the *OLD*) or it has a different origin but was assimilated to the Greek word (thus Varro *L.L.* 5.71 *ab aquae lapsu lubrico lympha* and Ernout-Meillet s.v., who compare *limpidus* and Oscan *Diumpais*). In any case it came to be closely associated with ν⟨μφα. It occurs regularly in inscriptions with the religious meaning 'sweet-water nymph' (for references see *TLL* 7.2.1943.40-53) and on wine amphorae indicating their contents to be as clear as water (*TLL* 7.2.1943.54-68), but in the sense 'water' it is restricted to poetry of the Classical period (*TLL* 7.2.1942.21-1943.5). Catullus has a penchant for the word: note 27.5f. *lymphae, / uini pernicies*, 64.162 *candida permulcens liquidis uestigia lymphis*, and also 64.254 *lymphata mente furebant*.

Malia   The nonsensical form *maulia* in the principal MSS can only come from *manlia*, which must have arisen under the influence of *Manli* in lines 11 and 30 (see the Introduction, pp. 37f.). In the original there must have stood *Malia*, as no other candidates fit the metre. The corresponding Greek adjectives have

different forms, Μηλιε(! and Μηλι□! (Herodotus) or Μαλιε(! and Μαλι□! (Attic and Koine Greek); *Malius* may well have been an *ad hoc* invention of Catullus'.

55f.   After fire, water: from Catullus' eyes there flowed an incessant (*assiduus*) stream of tears – as one discovers further on, not because his feelings were unreciprocated, but because he was unable to pursue an affair with his beloved. Catullus describes his despair in an elevated tone, using long, weighty words proper to high poetry as well as a short metaphor (*tristique imbre*).

This pathetic and engaging description was echoed once by Tibullus and apparently no less than six times by Ovid: thus Tib. 1.8.54 *lacrimis omnia plena madent*, Ov. *A.A.* 1.532 *indigno teneras imbre rigante genas* and 3.378 *lacrimis uidi saepe madere genas*, *Her.* 6.70 *lacrimis osque sinusque madent* and 12.192 *lumina nostra madent*, *Met.* 4.674 *tepido manabant lumina fletu* and *Tr.* 1.3.18 *imbre per indignas usque cadente genas*.

55   maesta   'sad', 'dejected': a choice adjective found also in prose (*Rhet. Her.* 2x, Cicero 13x, Caesar 1x, Livy 28x: see *TLL* 8.46.7-28) but more often in poetry, as is often the case with words describing emotions. There it is well-established from the archaic period onwards, albeit not in the most elevated genres (Plautus 7x, Terence 1x; 1x also in Ennius at *Sat. frg.* 13f. *neque ille triste quaeritat sinapi / neque caepe maestum*), but it is less common than *tristis* in the works of all poets before Lucan, with the sole exception of Catullus (*maestus* 12x against *tristis* 7x).

assiduo   The word is well-established in prose since the *Law of the Twelve Tables*, where it means 'landowner', but it is also used by a range of poets under the Republic: Plautus (8x), Terence (4x), Accius (1x *trag.*), Lucilius (2x) and Lucretius (15x). However, *fletus assiduus* appears to have been a set phrase in more elevated Latin: compare Cic. *Clu.* 16 *cotidianis querimoniis et assiduo fletu* and *dom.* 59 *fletus assiduus*.

tabescere   A pathetic word, *tabescere* is used in high poetry already by Livius Andronicus *trag.* 17 *uerno gelu tabescit*; later it is found in Plautus (2x), Terence (1x) and also in Cicero's prose (3x in the letters, 3x in philosophical works and 1x in a speech), and is favoured by Lucretius (7x), but Catullus only uses it here. For the tone and the construction compare Cic. *Cat.* 2.6 *ne patiantur desiderio sui Catilinam miserum tabescere* (a sarcastic use of a pathetic expression) and Lucr. 3.911 *cur quisquam aeterno possit tabescere luctu*.

lumina   I.e. the eyes, which were commonly believed to emit light. This metonymical use of the word is found in an elevated passage by Laberius (*com.* 75) and is common in Catullus' less colloquial poems (also at 51.12, 64.86, 92, 122, 188, 220, 233 and 242 and 66.30) as well as in Lucretius (3.367 and 410, 4.721 and 6.1211, cfr. *lumina oculorum* at 4.825 and 836, 6.184 and 1211). Later it is widespread in poetry, but also occurs in prose – note Nep. *Timol.* 4.1 *lumina oculorum amisit*; see further *TLL* 7.2.1817.54-1820.21 and *OLD* s.v. 'lumen', 9.

fletu This verbal noun is well-established in early tragedy and other high poetry (Enn. 1x in his own epitaph, Pacuv. 2x, Acc. 1x), but it is also common in prose (Cato *orat.* 1x?, Caesar 4x, Cic. *orat.* 10x, *phil.-rhet.* 10x, *epist.* 9x), especially in pathetic contexts, which is how Catullus uses it (here and at 39.3, 64.242, 99.5 and 101.9).

56 tristique imbre 'With, due to a grim rainshower': the metaphor is not found earlier in Latin. It is picked up keenly by Ovid at *Am.* 3.6.68 *spargebat teneros flebilis imbre sinus*, *A.A.* 1.532 (see above on 55f.), *Trist.* 1.3.18 (see above) and 4.1.98 *inque sinum maestae labitur imber aquae.*

tristis is the more common alternative to *maestus* (see on the previous line), found frequently from the Archaic period onwards (Pl. 27x, Ter. 18x, Enn. 3x, Caecil. 3x). Catullus always uses the word in pathetic contexts (also at 2.10, 64.126, 65.24, 99.14 and 101.8).

madere Apparently not a particularly elevated word before this period: it is used by Plautus (9x) and by Cato the Elder (1x in *Agr.*), while on a cista from Praeneste, probably from the Republican period, a cook preparing a meal is given the words *madent recte* (*CIL* 1.2.560e). It enters high poetry with Catullus (here and at 64.368 *alta Polyxenia madefient caede sepulchra*) and Lucretius (who uses it 4x), and is used regularly Augustan poetry (2x Prop., 5x Tib., 8x Ov., 8x Verg.).

genae The Latin word for 'cheek' is found in the language of high poetry already in Ennius (1x *Ann.*, 1x *trag.* and 1x *frg. inc. sed.*) and Pacuvius (1x); it is not found elsewhere in Catullus, but is attested in Lucretius (3x) and Cicero (5x *phil.*, 1x *orat.*).

57-66 Lines 57-62 describe a transparent stream that flows down from a high mountain to a parched plain, where it provides refreshment to the weary traveller. The image is introduced by *qualis*: it is compared to something – but to what?

Muretus and more recently Ellis, Baehrens, Riese, Kroll, Fordyce, Quinn and Thomson have taken the image to characterize Catullus' tears, described in the previous distich. On the other hand, Mynors and Goold print Palladius' emendation *ac* in line 64 (see *ad loc.*) and attach this simile to the successive one, that of the storm-tossed sailors (lines 63-65), letting both similes characterize Allius' help to Catullus, which is described in the successive verses. Trappes-Lomax (2007: 235f.) proposed the more drastic remedy of transposing lines 57f. and 61f. after line 66 (he deletes 59f.); in this way *tale* in line 66 is followed immediately by *qualis* in line 57 and there remains no ambiguity as to where the simile belongs.

The first interpretation is advocated the most forcefully by Fordyce, who raises three objections to Mynors' text: (i) it leaves too abrupt the transition between lines 56 and 57; (ii) the fact that Allius' help is characterized in two similes "makes the structure awkward and unwieldy"; (iii) "elsewhere in Catullus a simile introduced by *qualis* relates to what precedes". But objection (iii) does not hold, because at Cat. 64.269 *qualis* introduces a simile that characterizes what follows, nor does (i), because it is regular practice for Virgil to start a simile with *qualis*, pick this up by a subsequent *talis* (note that here we have *tale* in line 66): this is the case for example at *Aen.* 1.498, 6.205 and 12.330. As for (ii), Homer and Virgil at any rate do

employ double similes. On the other hand, the mountain stream brings relief to the weary traveller (lines 61f.), which fits well if the image characterizes Allius' timely help but hardly makes sense if it were to stand for Catullus' tears. Ellis notes that "the tears of sorrow in the end bring relief (*dulce leuamen*), not less certainly because they continue a long time" but that is not relevant here: Catullus was certainly not hoping that his unhappiness might pass on its own, but he desperately wanted to eliminate its cause by starting an affair with Lesbia.

This debate has been cut short by Franz Skutsch (1892: 141f.) with the help of Georg Wissowa, as he laid bare the literary precedents for this pair of images in Aeschylus *Ag.* 899-901 κα⇐ γ°ν φανε⃝!αν ναυτ⇔λοι! παρ϶ ∧π⇔δα / κ□λλι!τον •μαρ ε⇒!ιδεⅡν ⁄κ ξε⇔ματο!, / ⌡ δοιπ⌡ρϖι διχ∩ντι πηγαⅡον =Υο! and in an epigram by Asclepiades, *A.P.* 5.169 □Ηδ⃒ ψΥρου! διχ∩ντι ξι⊘ν ποτ⟩ν, ″δ⃒ δ′ να⌠ται! /⁄κ ξειμ∩νο! ⇒δεⅡν ε⇒αριν⌠ν ΣτΥφανον: / ×διον δ□ ⌡ π⟩ταν κρ⌠χηι μ⇔α το⃒ ! φιλΥοντα! / ξλαⅡνα κα⇐ α⇒ν°ται Κ⌠πρι! ⃒ π□ □μφοτΥρϖν (thus also Nisbet 1978: 108 and 114, n. 51). Evidently we are dealing with a conventional pair of images, which means that the second interpretation must be correct, and both images must describe Allius' help to Catullus. As a result, one has to punctuate strongly before line 57 and one must accept Palladius' conjecture *ac* in line 64. The parallels also rule out Trappes-Lomax's transposition, which would separate the twin images from one another (incidentally, it would also be awkward if the emphatic *is* in line 67 would not come closely after *Allius* in line 66).

Aeschylus refers to a traveller encountering a stream, and Asclepiades writes of a thirsty person drinking molten snow in the heat of the summer: Catullus combines the two images and writes of a stream refreshing travellers in the summer. He also remodels the second image of the pair: Aeschylus' sailors see the light of day after a storm, while those of Asclepiades see the constellation *Corona Borealis*, but in Catullus' simile they are reached by a mild wind that no longer buffets them. Catullus also adds characteristically lively touches of his own: the elaborate description of the stream and the black storm-clouds.

Nisbet (1978: 108) makes the attractive observation that in the first simile "the analogy extends beyond *leuamen* to the whole situation: *prosilit* and *praeceps* suggest a friend bounding forward (cf. 65.22 'dum aduentu matris prosilit') and rushing to the rescue", the reference to the sweat of the traveller would seem to correspond to Catullus' tears (*tristi ... imbre*, line 56), and the cool mountain stream refreshing the traveller in the heat of the summer resembles Allius who alleviates Catullus' truly scorching (cfr. lines 52-54) passion (thus already Skutsch 1892: 141f.). Meanwhile, Syndikus (1990: 268) sees here an evocation of "the bright world of untouched nature" ("eine lichte Welt unberührter Natur") in *aerius, perlucens, uertex* and *muscosus*: the observation is attractive, but it may be anachronistically Romantic. The alliteration of *p* and *r* in *perlucens, prona, praeceps* and *per* (lines 57-59) and of *u* in *ualle uolutus* (line 59) may well suggest the chattering of the mountain stream, but one should compare *procurrit, prono* and *praeceps* at 65.22f., where no such image is present. Like Ennius and Lucretius, Catullus likes alliteration for its own sake.

This passage is imitated by Virgil at *Geo.* 2.353 *hoc, ubi hiulca siti findit Canis aestifer arua* and at *Geo.* 3.522f. *non qui per saxa uolutus / purior electro campum petit amnis* and more closely by the author of

Culex 123f. <u>primum</u> <u>prona</u> surgebant <u>ualle</u> patentes / <u>aeriae</u> platanus (note that here *pronus* does not have any function at all).

57f.   The description is slightly imprecise, in that most springs are found not on mountain-tops but below them. The mistake is proper to one who has only looked at the mountains from the valley. Like most people before the 19th century, Catullus was no mountaineer.

57   in aerii … uertice montis   A typically Catullan reference to a mountain-top: compare 64.240 *aerium niuei montis liquere cacumen* and 64.390 *Parnasi uertice summo*.

āerius 'in, of, related to the air' comes from the Greek □Υριο!. It should not be confused with *aereus* 'of bronze' or given the native Latin termination *–eus*, *pace* Ellis, Mynors, Quinn and the *OLD*, who write *aerea* (64.291), *aereas* (30.10), *aereum* (64.240) and *aereo* (66.6) alongside *aerii* (here and at 64.142), evidently following *O*'s *aereum* at 64.240, which seems to be a slip by the copyist; elsewhere Catullus' principal MSS always let the word end in *–ius* and never in *–eus*, like the MSS of other classical authors.

The word makes its first appearance in Latin literature in these decades, clearly as a fashionable and somewhat *récherché* epithet: it is found in the poems of Catullus (6x: also at 30.10 *nebulas aerias*, 64.142 *aerii uenti*, 64.240 *aerium ... montis ... cacumen*, 64.291 *aeria cupressu* and 66.6 *gyro ... aerio*) as well as Cinna (*frg.* 11.2 *FPL³ ignis ... aerios*), Varro of Atax (*frg.* 22.6 *FPL³ bos suspiciens caelum ... naribus aerium patulis decerpsit odorem*) and Lucretius (8x: 1.12 *aeriae ... uolucres*, 1.771 *aerias auras*, 2.152 *aerias ... undas*, 3.1044 *aerius sol*, 4.933 *aeriis ... auris*, 5.501 *aerias ... auras* and 5.538 and 5.553 *partibus aeriis mundi*) and also in the prose of Cicero, who uses it in a poetical passage of the *Topica* (77 *aerii uolatus auium atque cantus*) and in his translation of Plato's *Timaeus* (35 *animantium genera ... quorum ... alterum pinnigerum et aerium*). The development in meaning of □→ρ, □Υριο! and *aerius* has been analysed lucidly by Lunelli (1969: 11-61), who attributes the sudden popularity of *aerius* in this period to the influence of Alexandrian poetry (p. 27) and notes its refined quality (p. 21: "Se *aer* in latino era insomma indispensabile, non altrettanto si può dire dell'aggettivo derivato *aerius*, che sul puro piano della comunicazione era quasi un lusso"). Later *aerius* indeed becomes practically restricted to poetry: see *TLL* 1.1061.83-1063.44.

perlucens   Instead of the transmitted reading *perlucens* 'transparent' Nisbet (1978: 108) proposes to write *praelucens* 'shining out', as "*per-* cannot mean 'between' where no background is specified", while *praelucens* "has a function that *perlucens* lacks: Allius's unexpected offer flashes out like a mountain cataract with the first promise of relief". He is supported by Trappes-Lomax (2007: 233), who notes that the "abbreviations for *per* and *prae* are so easily confused that this scarcely contradicts the authority of the MSS." But Syndikus (1990: 268, n. 125) points out that *perlucens* makes good sense here: "if the stream is to offer an enticing drink, it has to be clear, and in the mountain valleys around Catullus' Lake Garda there indeed exist such fast and also transparent currents" ("wenn der Bach einen verlockenden Trunk bieten soll, muß es klar sein, und in den Gebirgstälern um Catulls Gardasee finden sich tatsächlich solche schnellen und

zugleich glasklaren Gewässer"). He quotes Verg. *Geo.* 3.522 *purior electro ... amnis*, which actually echoes this passage (see on lines 57-62). Syndikus' view is confirmed by *TLL*'s entries on *praelucens* (10.2.695.14-696.3), which does not appear to be attested in the sense required by Nisbet's emendation, and on *perlucens*, which is attested in a similar sense as here at Cels. 2.10.17 *si rubet et perlucet* (of the blood), Sen. *Phaedr.* 507 *ubi Lerna puro gelida perlucet uado* as well as *Dial.* 5.35.4 *stagno non ad solum perlucente* and 9.1.8 *perlucentis ad imum aquas*, and Sil. 14.227f. *potant ... perlucentem splendenti gurgite Achaten* (see further *TLL* 10.2.1518.34-38). The last parallel in particular confirms Syndikus' arguments in favour of the transmitted reading.

58 muscoso   In itself the word is not particularly elevated: Varro uses it in a technical description at *R.R.* 1.9.5 *in tenui* [i.e. *terra*] … *arbores plerasque ac prata retorrida muscosa*. However, outside an agricultural context moss seems to have been appreciated greatly by Romans, witness Cicero's praise of a building freshly decorated by a gardener at *Q. fr.* 3.1.5 *iam* □ποδυτηρ⇔ϖι *nihil alsius, nihil muscosius*, Lucretius' description of the haunts of the Nymphs at 5.951 *umida saxa, super uiridi stillantia musco* and Horace's declaration of his tastes at *Epist.* 1.10.6f. *laudo ruris amoeni / riuos et musco circumlita saxa nemusque*. Water, moss and stones became standard ingredients of the literary *locus amoenus*: thus e.g. Verg. *Ecl.* 7.45 *muscosi fontes et somno mollior herba*, *Geo.* 3.143-145 *saltibus in uacuis pascunt et plena secundum / flumina, muscus ubi et uiridissima gramine ripa / speluncaeque tegant et saxea procubet umbra* and Prop. 2.19.30 *uaga muscosis flumina fusa iugis*.

prosilit   This is the *uox propria* for what a spring does, witness Ov. *Met.* 15.270-272 *hic fontes natura nouos emisit ... et ... flumina prosiliunt* and Plin. *N.H.* 5.52 *prosilit fonte* (of the Nile). In the first place it is used of people who stand up suddenly, as at Cat. 65.22 *aduentu matris prosilit*; here it might suggest Allius jumping up to rush to Catullus' aid.

59f.   The distich was deleted by Trappes-Lomax (2007: 233f.), who objects especially to the difficulties with line 60 (see *ad loc.*). However, if a line is difficult, it could be corrupt or simply not so well written (Horace *A.P.* 445-451 treats it as evident that even a good poet is capable of producing obscure or perplexing passages: in Catullus compare poem 102), and this distich does not look like an interpolation: it brings down the stream from the mountains to the plains and if we were to remove it, the traveller being refreshed in the parching heat would be collocated on the mountain-top.

59   Compare Livy 28.6.10 *fretum ... Euripi ... uelut monte praecipiti deuolutus torrens rapitur*: evidently *praeceps* and (*de*)*uolutus* are obvious words with which to describe an object rolling down a steep slope.

de … ualle   'Down from the valley', which is conceived of not as a course followed by the stream, but as a high place from which it descends: thus 17.8 and 23 *de ... ponte*, 59.3 *de rogo*, 66.39 *tuo de uertice*. This is somewhat surprising, but it does not call for a radical remedy such as Santenius' tentative proposal *de prono ... colle* or Rossberg's conjecture *Alpe* (*ap.* Lafaye): it is more likely that Catullus should have treated a

valley as if it were a slope than that *de prono ... colle* or *de prona ... Alpe* should have yielded *de prona ... ualle*. The alliteration in <u>ualle</u> <u>uolutus</u> also speaks against emendation.

prona praeceps   *pronus* 'heading down', 'facing downward' is attested from this period onwards (thus *TLL* 10.2.1930.33-35) in Varro (5x), in Cicero's philosophical writings (4x), in Lucretius (2x) and in Catullus (7x, also at 17.23, 62.51, 64.40, 109 and 313 and 65.23: note its concentration in the long poems). It is a vigorous word, witness passages such as 64.108f. *illa procul radicitus exturbata / prona cadit, late quaeuis cumque obuia frangens*.

praeceps 'headlong', 'precipitate', on the other hand, is ancient: found in Plautus (4x), Terence (4x), Cato the Elder (1-2x *Agr.*) and also in Ennius (*Ann.* 390 Skutsch *praecipe casu* 'in a headlong fall'). Catullus uses the word also at 17.9, 40.2, 64.244, 65.23 and 105.2, to characterize a major fall or jump.

Here these two words express by their sound as much as by their meaning the speed of the mountain torrent. They are juxtaposed in a similar way and in the same metrical position in 65.23 *atque illud prono praeceps agitur decursu* (not of a mountain stream but just of an apple rolling down a girl's lap).

est ... uolutus   'It has rolled on', a passive used in the middle sense: compare Verg. *Geo.* 3.522f. *per saxa uolutus ... amnis* and *Aen.* 6.659 *plurimus Eridanus per siluam uoluitur amnis*, Hor. *Od.* 4.14.25 *sic tauriformis uoluitur Aufidus* and Ov. *Met.* 1.282 *defrenato uoluuntur in aequora cursu* (i.e. *amnes*).

60   A difficult verse. The MSS write *per medium densi transit iter populi*, which one can try to interpret in a variety of ways:

(i)   'it makes its way (*transit iter*) through the middle of a dense crowd of people' – here *transit* is taken to be transitive, its subject is *qui* in the previous line and its object is *iter*;

(iia)   'it crosses (*transit*) the middle of the path (*per medium ... iter*) of a dense crowd of people' – here *transit* is intransitive, its subject is *qui* in the previous line and *iter* goes with *medium*;

(iib)   'it passes by (*transit*) the middle of the path (*per medium ... iter*) of a dense crowd of people' – here the construction is the same as in (iia), but *transit* is given a different interpretation;

(iii)   'its course (*iter*) passes (*transit*) through the middle of a dense crowd of people' – here *transit* is intransitive and its subject is *iter*.

Interpretation (i) is preferred by Huschke (1792: 93-95) and Haupt (1837: 87-89), and according to Ellis also by Weise; (iia) is preferred by Ellis, Riese, Kroll and Fordyce; (iib) was proposed by Baehrens; (iii) occurred to me as a possibility.

Interpretation (i) is problematic, first of all, because when *transeo* is transitive, it means 'to cross' a river, a strait or something similar and not (as would be required here) 'to complete', 'to make' a journey or 'to cover' a distance; in short, it tends to be used for movement across an obstacle and not along a given route.

One possible parallel is Nepos *Ages.* 4.4 *tantaque usus est celeritate ut quod iter Xerxes anno uertente confecerat, hic transierit triginta diebus*, where *transierit* simply means 'he passed', 'he made the trip'; it is not clear whether it should be construed as transitive with *iter* or as intransitive. In any case, in the present passage *transit iter* 'it accomplishes its journey' would be unpleasantly contorted.

medium is connected with *iter* only in interpretations (iia) and (iib), which is a significant advantage in a passage in which practically every noun carries an epithet. In interpretation (iia) *iter* has to mean 'road' or 'path', as at Sisenna *frg.* 74 *HRF impedimentum omne de cunctis itineribus amoliuntur*, Cic. *Q. fr.* 1.1.25 *itinerum atque agrorum ... latrocinio*, Caes. *Gal.* 7.11.8 *pontis atque itinerum angustiae multitudini fugam intercluserant*, in the *Lex Vrsoniensis* from 44 B.C. at *CIL* 1.2.594.77.34-78.38 *quae uiae publicae itineraue publica sunt fuerunt ... eae uiae eique limites eaque itinera publica sunto*, and often elsewhere (see *OLD* s.v., 6a and *TLL* 7.2.539.44-68). Ellis and Kroll compare *Il.* 15.682 λαοφόρον καψ□ ∫ δόν, and Ellis also refers to Nicander *Alex.* 218 λαοφόροι!ιν ∕νιξρ⇔μπτου!α κελε∫ψοι! (here a priestess of Rhea is 'approaching a much-travelled road'), which are thematic rather than verbal parallels. One disadvantage is that it is rather absurd to speak of crossing through the middle of a road; but perhaps *per medium ... iter* means something like 'right across'. All in all, this may be the most attractive interpretation on offer.

For interpretation (iib) *transit* has to mean not 'it crosses' but 'it passes by'. Baehrens compares Lucilius 758 Marx *persuade et transi, sed da quam ob rem transeas*, but the context and even the general meaning of this fragment are absolutely unclear, so it cannot count as a parallel. In fact, Latin distinguishes carefully between *trans-* and *praeter-*, and here *per* guarantees that *trans-* should be taken to mean 'across'.

Interpretation (iii) requires *iter* to refer to 'the course' of the stream. The word is found in this sense in Catullus at 64.357-60 *Scamandri ... cuius iter caesis angustans corporum aceruis / alta tepefaciet permixta flumina caede*, and is well attested elsewhere: compare Varro *R.R.* 1.51.1 *ut si pluerit, non consistat aqua et quam breuissimo itinere extra aream defluere possit*, the *Lex Vrsoniensis* at *CIL* 1.2.594.104.16f. *quo minus suo itinere aqua ire fluere possit* and Verg. *Aen.* 7.801f. *per imas / quaerit iter uallis atque in mare conditur Vfens* (see further *OLD* s.v., 5c and *TLL* 7.2.541.43-61). The one problem with this interpretation is that the subject changes from the previous line (where the subject is the stream itself) through the present one (where the subject is the *iter*) to the next one (where it must be the stream and not its course that refreshes the traveller).

Alternatively, one could try to emend. *per* strongly suggests that the prefix *trans-* is genuine, so one can try to replace *transit iter* by a verb starting with *trans-* that makes sense in the context and has the right metrical shape. The possibilities are *transgreditur* and *transuehitur*. Both verbs are first attested in this sense over a century after Catullus in Pliny the Elder, at *N.H.* 6.128 *transuectusque occurrente Tauro monte in specum mergitur* (of the river Tigris crossing Lake Aretissa) and 18.200 *sole Scorpionis duodecim partes transgresso*, but this may be due to chance; there are simply not that many occasions to write about the movements of an inanimate subject. It is a problem, however, that neither *transgreditur* nor *transuehitur* is particularly close to *transit iter*.

It remains to consider the rest of the line. The words *per medium densi ... populi* have caused more controversy than *transit iter*, but they may well be less problematic. *per medium* is unproblematic and is confirmed by 66.45f. *iuuentus / per medium classi barbara nauit Athon*. Baehrens has proposed to write *per campum* because he believed that *transit* should be taken to mean 'it passes by', but it has already been shown that this is a very unattractive interpretation.

The word *densi* has evoked more perplexity because it is hard to translate and to some it appears unsuitable to this context. However, *densus* is used regularly for closely packed crowds or groups of people, as at Stat. *Theb.* 6.562 *densique cient uaga murmura circi* and *Silv.* 4.4.14 *ardua iam densae rarescunt moenia Romae*, Tac. *Hist.* 3.17 *firmati inter se densis ordinibus* (of a battle formation) and Solin. 49.7 *densissima hic populorum frequentia*. Baehrens has objected to *per medium densi ... populi* on different grounds, because would imply a densely populated area, in which the traveller would have stopped at an inn for a drink rather than helping himself from a stream, but the Romans had less inns at their disposal and they lived in a world less polluted even than early 20th-century Hungary, where the water of some rivers was still drinkable.

A range of substitutes have been proposed for *densi*, but none are particularly convincing. Haupt (1837: 89) suggested *sensim* 'slowly', 'gradually', which would qualify the movement of the river, but *populi* surely requires an epithet; the same objection applies against Palmer's conjectures *ludens* and *uadens* as well as those of Postgate (1912: 12-15), *splendens* and *ridens*. Peiper (1875: 53) proposed *lenti*, interpreting *per medium lenti ... iter populi* as 'through the middle of the road of the slow-moving people'; this is picturesque, but there are problems with this interpretation of *iter* (see above), *lenti* is still not close to *densi*, and it is questionable whether the Romans would have experienced the means of transport at their disposal as slow. Nisbet (1978: 114, n. 49, cfr. 1991: 84f.) proposes *properi* 'speedy', but there remain palaeographical difficulties (he notes that "if the word was once corrupted to *populi*, anything might then have happened"), and the image of people hurrying around in the summer heat would be very odd. Meanwhile, Huschke (1792: 94f.) proposed to change *populi* to *scopuli*, but the collective singular in *per medium densi ... scopuli* 'through the middle of the dense crag' is very unconvincing; one would expect the plural. It is better to leave the transmitted text as it is.

61   This difficult verse poses a whole series of textual problems. The first one is trivial: the transmitted reading is *duce*, but it is easily corrected to *dulce*, which goes excellently with *leuamen*. The correction first appears in the MS 110 as a variant added at a later stage by the scribe who had copied the text of the poems, who is no longer identified with Pomponius Laetus (thus Thomson 1997: 86; but he still attributes this conjecture to him, as does Mynors). The others are less straightforward: one has to choose between the variants *uiatori* (in *G* and *R*) and *uiatorum* (in *O*, and added as a marginal variant by R^2), and one has to find a substitute for the transmitted reading *basso*, which does not appear to make sense. I add at this point for the reader's information that practically all recent editors write *uiatori lasso in sudore* (*lasso* is first found in a number of 15th-century MSS), while Baehrens conserves *O*'s reading *uiatorum basso in sudore*, and Riese writes *uiatorum salso in sudore*.

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How should we solve these problems? A convenient starting-point is offered by the noun *leuamen*, which is attested here for the first time, but is soon met again at Cic. *Att.* 12.16 *quod si esset aliquod leuamen, id esset in te uno*. It is commonly found with the dative of the person or the sufferings relieved: thus also Ov. *Her.* 3.62 *quis mihi desertae mite leuamen erit?* (where *mite leuamen* could be an echo of *dulce ... leuamen* here), Sen. *Med.* 547f. *hoc perusti pectoris / curis leuamen* and *Ag.* 491 *nec hoc leuamen denique aerumnis datur*, *Tro.* 961 *leuamen afflictae* and also Mart. 6.68.5 *hic tibi curarum socius blandumque leuamen*. This suggests that here the dative *uiatori* may well be correct.

The MSS' *basso* is defended by Birt (1904: 428) on the ground that it makes sense and should not be jettisoned. In fact, the adjective *bassus* is first attested in a work of the late grammarian Martyrius, writing probably in the 6ᵗʰ century A.D. (thus the *Neue Pauly* s.v.), who notes that he found it in a number of glossaries, where it was evidently translated as *grassus* (i.e. *crassus*, 'fat'): *bassus etiam, id est grassus, in glossematibus repperi et per b mutam scribi cognoui* (Martyrius, *de B et V*, at *GL* 7.176.14f. Keil). The word is indeed found in a number of surviving glossaries, where it is variously translated as *grossus*, *crassus*, *pinguis*, *obesus* and ʃγξυλο! (see *TLL* 2.1778.11-16). There certainly did exist a vulgar Latin word *bassus* at some point in time, as is also shown by its descendants in many Romance languages (Italian 'basso', Spanish 'bajo', French 'bas' etc.), but it is out of the question that Catullus should have used a word belonging to such a low register in the middle of an elaborate and highly artistic simile. Nor would *basso* 'fat' or 'chubby' mean the right thing: Baehrens (1878: 769) rightly notes that "the image of a corpulent man sweating under his burden of fat could not be more out of place here" ("das bild eines ob seiner fettlast schwitzenden, wolbeleibten mannes hier so unpassend wie nur möglich ist"). Vulgar Latin *bassus* comes into play, if at all, as the cause for which a different word could be corrupted into *basso*. The question is what that word had been.

A Renaissance reader or scribe conjectured or stumbled upon *lasso*. This is an attractive reading because it is close to the transmitted text, the adjective is already attested in Catullus at 63.35 *ut domum Cybebes tetigere lassulae* (it is an old word, found already in Plautus, Terence, Cato and Ennius, and survives in poetry but is avoided by Cicero, Caesar and Livy) and the *uiator lassus* was a frequent figure in Roman funerary verse (*CE* 77.1 = *CIL* 3.9733.1 *quamuis la[ss]e uiator*, roughly from the Augustan period; *CE* 119.1 = *CIL* 1.1431.1 / 5.4111.1 *heus tu, uiator lasse, qu[i] me praetereis*, probably from the 1ˢᵗ century B.C.; and the later inscription *CE* 1125.10 = *CIL* 9.3358.10 *to qui preteriens [legis]ti, lasse uiator*) and also in poetry of a more literary sort (Ov. *Am.* 1.13.13 *te surgit quamuis lassus ueniente uiator* and Mart. *epigr.* 2.6.14 *lassus tam cito deficis uiator*). The one problem is that in the line *dulce uiatori lasso in sudore leuamen* the epithet could be taken with *uiatori* as well as in enallage with *sudore*, even though the latter would seem more likely; a bare *sudore* unaccompanied by an epithet would be unattractive.

Alternatively, one could adopt one of the conjectures adopted by Baehrens (1878: 769), *crassus* or *salsus*. *crassus* can qualify a liquid and indicate that it is 'thick', 'concentrated' (*OLD* s.v., 4a), but one would hardly expect Catullus to qualify the viscosity of the sweat of his imaginary traveller. (Incidentally, *crassus* can also mean 'stout', 'fat', 'plump', witness *OLD* s.v., 2, but Baehrens' *crasso* cannot be taken with *uiatori*, as he

prefers to follow *O* and writes *uiatorum*.) On the other hand, *salsus* is used for sweat by Virgil in his description of the miraculous behaviour of the Palladium at *Aen.* 2.173f. *salsusque per artus / sudor iit* – but there the epithet has the point that the sweat of the statue is salty, like that of any human being, it is entirely natural, while here a reference to the taste of the sweat of the traveller would be rather bathetic, even if one tries with Nisbet (1978: 114, n. 50) to take *salso ... sudore* in contrast with *dulce ... leuamen*: the relief is 'sweet' in the first place because it is pleasant and welcome and not because it consists of a drink of sweet water.

To sum up, we are faced with a choice between *salso*, which is bathetic, and *lasso*, which is ambiguous – at least if we write *uiatori*. But is it possible to write *uiatorum*? We have seen that this reading was preferred by Baehrens and Riese. In his commentary Baehrens argued that *uiatori* must be a conjecture by the scribe of *G*; this was before William Gardner Hale's discovery of *R*, which changed the picture considerably. What reading can we reconstruct for the archetype *A*? It had two direct descendants, *O* and *X*; *O* has *uiatorum*; *X* no longer survives but its two direct descendants, *G* and *R*, both have *uiatori* in the text, and in the latter the variant *al' rum* has been added by the second hand; so in any case *X* must have had *uiatori* in the text. Is *A* more likely to have written *uiatorum* or *uiatori*? *O* is much more conservative, much less prone to conjecture and much worse at Latin than *X*, so his *uiatorum* is a priori a more likely candidate. Why does *X* read *uiatori*, then? It could be a conjecture – but he had no reason to introduce one as the text was not manifestly corrupt. Alternatively, it could be a variant that he found in the margin of his exemplar *A* and having taken it to be a correction, he could have inserted it into his text, as he did with the variant *manlius* in line 66. Finally, it could be a mistake. Written in full, *-rum* does not look at all like *–ri*, but there is a common minuscule abbreviation in which it does: the *r* is written as one single descending line in the shape of a small letter *2*, the bottom line is prolonged to the right and crossed by a vertical line, so the end result is not far from the sequence *ri*. This abbreviation must have stood in *A*; it was copied correctly by *O*; *X* first copied it as *ri*, but he seems to have become aware of his mistake and added in the margin *al' rum*, which was in fact not a variant but a correction, and this note was subsequently copied by R^2. *X* followed the same procedure in other cases as well, as has already been recognized by McKie (1977: 207f.). This is the most straightforward way to account for the readings of the principal MSS and given that a similar development is attested in other passages as well, it seems to cover the truth. Thus the reading of the archetype seems to be *uiatorum*, and *uiatori* appears to be a simple mistake on the part of *X*.

This simplifies the situation drastically, as we no longer have to account for the potential confusion that would arise if *uiatori* would be followed by a form such as *basso*, *lasso* or *salso*. It becomes safe to reconstruct *dulce uiatorum lasso in sudore leuamen*. This is an interesting phrase because *lasso* stands in enallage: it qualifies grammatically *sudor*, but in fact the *uiator*, as it is he who is tired, and not his sweat. The phrase is the more effective because, as has been shown above, the *uiator lassus* was a common figure in Roman poetry, and perhaps also in popular speech.

62   grauis … aestus   For *grauis* meaning 'oppressive' see *TLL* 6.2.2296.9-29 and compare Varro *R.R.* 1.6.3 *ubi lati campi, ibi magis aestus, et eo in Apulia loca calidiora et grauiora*, Hor. *Od.* 2.5.6f. *fluuiis grauem / solantis aestum*, Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 1566 *grauis Titan ubi promit aestus* and Tac. *Ann.* 15.43 *nulla umbra defensam grauiore aestu ardescere*. Though *aestus* is a common word for 'heat', witness the quotation from Varro, it is established in high poetry as early as Naev. *trag.* 48 *iam solis aestu candor cum liquesceret* and is common in Republican drama, especially tragedy (Plaut. 2x, Pacuv. 3x, Acc. 1x). In Catullus compare *aestuosus* at 7.5 and 46.5.

exustos … agros   *exuro* 'to scorch' is a venerable verb, attested already in Plautus (6x), Turpilius (1x), Pacuvius (1x) and Accius (1x) and also used by Lucretius (2x), Cicero (*orat.* 5x, *phil.* 2x), Caesar (1x) and the author of the *Bellum Africum* (1x). For its application to scorching heat compare Pacuv. *trag.* 12f. *sol si perpetuo siet, / flammeo uapore torrens terrae fetum exusserit* and Sal. *Iug.* 19.6 *loca exusta solis ardoribus*, and also Verg. *Geo.* 1.107 *exustus ager morientibus aestuat herbis* and *Aen.* 3.141 *sterilis exurere Sirius agros* (in both cases Virgil may be echoing *exustos ... agros* in the present passage).

hiulcat   A bold expression: the heat makes the ground *hiulcus*, 'gaping', by filling it with cracks. The verb is found again only at Venantius Fortunatus 6.10.5f. *ecce uaporiferum sitiens Canis exerit astrum / et per hiulcatos feruor anhelat agros*, which imitates this passage both directly and through Verg. *Geo.* 2.353 *hiulca siti findit Canis aestifer ora*, and at Pseudo-Augustine, *Sent.* 16 v. 57 (p. 730 Migne) *autumnus frigore torpet, siccitate hiulcat*. This is also the first attestation of the use of *hio* or a derivative for ground that has been cracked by the heat, a usage that is to become quite common in a matter of decades in poetry and prose with a poetic colouring, witness Sall. *Hist. frg.* 4.17 M. *hiauit humus multa, uasta et profunda*, Verg. *Geo.* 1.89-91 *calor ... uenas adstringit hiantes* and Colum. 5.9.12 *cum terra aestibus hiat* and 10.49 *terra bibat fontes et hiantia compleat ora*. This, and its unusual ending, make it unlikely that *hiulco* should have been a coinage of Catullus'.

63   The line may well be echoed at Verg. *Aen.* 1.442 <u>iactati</u> *undis et* <u>turbine</u> *Poeni*.

ac   Here *O* writes *hec* (i.e. *haec*), which makes no sense; *X* has *hic*, which is possible, but not inevitable; the archetype may have read either *hic*, which was then garbled by *O*, or *hec*, in which case *hic* is a conjecture by *X* (this can certainly be said of *neque* at 22.18 and *cecilio* at 35.2, passages in which *O*'s inferior readings *nec* and *occilio* are confirmed by citations of the respective passages by Geremia da Montagnone and Benzo d'Alessandria, two authors from the first third of the 14th century, before any of the principal MSS had been written: see further the apparatus of Thomson). In the eyes of Trappes-Lomax (2007: 234) *O*'s *hec* points to *heic* in the archetype "and the survival of the archaic form would be further evidence that the reading is correct", but it would be surprising if *heic* had survived up to the archetype, only to be regularized all of a sudden in both branches of the tradition. In fact the archetype was not markedly conservative, while *O* was.

hic is retained by Ellis, Baehrens, Riese, Kroll, Quinn and Thomson, is defended by Trappes-Lomax (*loc. cit.*) and is considered more likely by Fordyce (on 57ff.), while Mynors and Goold print Palladius' conjecture *ac*. If the correct reading is *hic*, it has to be taken as an adverb ('here', 'then', 'at this point') and not a

pronoun ('this man'), as this would not go well with *Allius* in line 66. *hic* is found in this sense at 10.24, 44.13 and 67.37 and most notably at 64.269, where *hic qualis* stands at the start of the hexameter and introduces a new simile. *hic uelut*(*i*), on the other hand, is very rare, but is found with a similar meaning at the start of the hexameter at *Aetna* 480 and *Ciris* 490. *ac uelut*(*i*) is much more common: it is found 16x in Virgil, 3x each in Horace and in Propertius, 2x in Petronius (always at the start of the hexameter, except for in Horace and in Petronius); also in Columella (2x), Livy (6x) and Pliny the Elder (4x). Normally it is used in a slightly different sense, with *ac* connecting not two similes but two pieces of actual information, but double similes are rare in all authors.

This means that on linguistic grounds both *hic* and *ac* are possible. But *ac* is required by the context: see above on lines 57-66.

in nigro … turbine   'In a black whirlwind', a stark term for a storm accompanied by dark clouds. *turbo* had already been used for a storm by Ennius *Ann.* 578 Skutsch *flamma loci postquam concussa est turbine saeuo*. Here, at 64.149 and at 64.314 Catullus uses the same form in the same metrical position, perhaps in imitation of Ennius; note also *turbo* at 64.107, also referring to a storm. While threatening black storm-clouds have been commonplace in poetry since Homer (*Il.* 4.275-278, 16.350, 17.591, 18.22, *Od.* 4.180 and 24.315), this particular way of referring to them will prove influential: note the echoes at Verg. *Geo.* 1.320f. *ita turbine nigro / ferret hiems culmumque leuem stipulasque uolantis* and *Aen.* 11.596 *insonuit nigro circumdata turbine corpus*.

iactatis   'Tossed about.' The intensive verb well describes the experience of the sailors during the storm, and is common in a variety of registers from Pl. *Rud.* 369f. *uentisque fluctibusque / iactatae sumus*: see *TLL* 7.1.53.45-54.23.

64   The apparent echo of this line at Sen. *Ben.* 6.7.3 *uentus … licet lenis et secundus aspiret* may be due to a natural tendency to express a similar point using similar words rather than to conscious or unconscious imitation.

lenius   *lenis* has been the *uox propria* for a mild but favourable wind at least since Cato *orat.* 31 *omnem classem uentus auster lenis fert*; see further *TLL* 7.2.1145.20-38.

aspirans   The verb is first attested here, but soon occurs again in prose: note Cic. *N.D.* 2.136 *tum se contrahunt aspirantes, tum in respiritu dilatantur* (of the lungs) and Varro *R.R.* 1.57.1 *granaria … ad quae nulla aura umida ex propinquis locis adspiret*.

65   This line has caused much perplexity. In the principal MSS it ends with *implorate*, which is manifestly corrupt. This can be changed to *implorata*, as was aready done in the 15th century, and can be interpreted either as a nominative with *aura* (thus Bergk 1860: 626f., Ellis, Munro, Riese, Fordyce and the *OLD* s.v. *imploro*, 1) or as an ablative with *prece* (thus Nipperdey and Jordan *ap.* Ellis, Kroll and Thomson; also J.B. Hoffmann at *TLL* 7.1.646.77f.). Alternatively one could write *implorante* (Statius) or *imploratu* (Lachmann

in apparatu, accepted by Baehrens), or one could turn *prece ... implorate* into *pare ... implorato* (Trappes-Lomax 2007: 234f.).

The easiest solution is surely to write *implorata* and to take it as a nominative with *aura secunda*. *imploro* (common in prose from Cicero onwards, but in poetry only 2x in Pl., here, 6x in Verg., 1x in Prop., and later) can mean either 'to ask, to make supplication for something' or 'to call on somebody for help, to invoke somebody'. Here it has to have the first meaning, and there are reasonably close parallels: e.g. Sall. *Cat.* 52.4 *frustra iudicia inplores* and esp. Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.135 *caelestis implorat aquas docta prece blandus*. *preces* are not attested elsewhere with the genitive of the deity invoked, but one should compare Liv. *praef.* 13 *uotisque et precationibus deorum dearumque*, Verg. *Aen.* 11.4 *uota deum ... soluebat* and Prop. 4.1.101 *Iunonis facito uotum impetrabile* (*Iunoni* in some *recentiores* and some modern editions). The alternative solution of taking *implorata* as an ablative with *prece* is not plausible, as *imploro* never takes the entreaty, request or prayer as its object; Plautus *Rud.* 259 *qui sunt qui a domina preces mea expetessunt?* and Cornelia *ap.* Nep. *frg.* 2 *deorum preces expetere* (P. Petruvius proposed *prece*, while Bergk 1860: 626f. would write *paces* or *pacem*, but in view of the former parallel there is no need for either) use a different verb. As for the other conjectures that have been proposed, Statius' *implorante* would need to govern two accusatives, but *Pollucem* would be unmetrical; Lachmann's *imploratu* can be ruled out because *imploratus* is not attested anywhere else; and Trappes-Lomax's *pare ... implorato* is ingenious but unnecessary in the presence of a more simple solution.

The sailors have prayed to Castor and Pollux to send them a favourable wind. The Dioscuri were believed to help those in need, and especially sailors in a storm: see the *Homeric Hymn* addressed to them as well as Alcaeus *frg.* 34 Voigt, Eur. *Hel.* 1495-1505, esp. 1504f. ναⸯται! εⸯ αεⸯ! □νϒμⸯν / πϒμποντε! Δι⸩ψεν πνο□!, and Lucian *Nav.* 9.

66 tale fuit ... auxilium   As at *CIL* 6.25369.a6]*pareret patrono auxsilium et decus* (apparently 1st century BC, with *quoi* for *cui* and *ei* for *ī*) and Ov. *Pont.* 1.9.25f. *respice, quantum / debeat auxilium Maximus esse tibi*; see further *TLL* 2.1621.74-83.

Allius   *G* and *R* write *manlius*; *O* reads *allius*, but after the end of the line the scribe has added *uł* (= *uel*) *manllius*, as if these were the last words of the verse. He has evidently copied the variant from the margin of *A*, getting the spelling slightly wrong in the process and writing *manllius* instead of *manlius*, while the scribe of *X* jettisoned the reading in the text and adopted the variant. *O*'s behaviour suggests that the variant in *A* may have been in the hand of the first scribe, so that he could easily have mistaken it for part of the text; consequently it could already have been present in the pre-archetype *V*.

67   Almost a 'silver line', if the pronoun *is* is disregarded: see Conrad (1965: 234-241) and cfr. on line 29 above.

The image and the words are echoed at Verg. *Aen.* 9.323 *haec ego uasta dabo et lato te limite ducam* and 10.513f. *proxima quaeque metit gladio latumque per agmen / ardens limitem agit*.

clausum Fordyce is probably right to suggest that we should write *claussum claussum* in view of Quintilian *Inst.* 1.7.20 *quid quod Ciceronis temporibus paulumque infra, fere quotiens s littera media uocalium longarum uel subiecta longis esset, geminabatur, ut 'caussae' 'cassus' 'diuissiones'? quo modo et ipsum et Vergilium quoque scripsisse manus eorum docent.* The epigraphic evidence may not support the case (out of the over 20 attestations listed at *TLL* 3.1300.33-51, only *CIL* 5.6473 has *clusserunt*, misspelled as C·IVSSER-, and there are no forms such as *claussi* or *claussus*), but perhaps we simply have no attestations from the 1st century B.C. However, it is difficult to reconstruct Republican orthography: see the Introduction, pp. 80f.

lato … limite A *limes* is an unpaved path or track, often running between separate fields, whence its use for the northern border of the Empire, and its descendants such as Italian 'limite', English 'limit', etc.: cfr. *CIL* 1.2.585.89 (an agrarian law from 111 B.C.) *quae uiae in eo] agro antequam Cartago capta est fuerunt, ea omnes publicae sunto limitesque inter centurias […,* Varro *R.R.* 2.4.8 *in lutosos limites ac lustra,* Ov. *Rem.* 599f. *limes erat tenuis longa subnubilus umbra, / qua tulit illa suos ad mare saepe pedes* and *CIL* 10.4842.45f. (an edict of Augustus') *fistulae ... nisi sub terra, quae terra itineris uiae publicae limi|tisue erit, ponantur conlocentur.* For the image of cutting a *limes* compare Liv. 34.28.2 *cum audisset descensum difficilis et artae uiae esse ... , praemissis qui munirent uiam, lato satis et patenti limite ad Eurotam amnem ... peruenit,* and note Virgil's imitations of this line quoted above.

patefecit A common verb that is established in high poetry as early as Ennius *Ann.* 572 Skutsch *inde patefecit radiis rota candida caelum* and *trag.* 334 Jocelyn *ui patefecerunt Bruges.*

68 The double anaphora of *isque*, the paronomasia *domum – dominam* and the presence in either hemistich of an element that is suppressed in the other one (*nobis* and *dedit*, respectively) make for a verse of particular elegance.

dominam A controversial word: whom does it refer to, and should it be written as *dominam* with the MSS or *dominae* with Fröhlich? (Apart from the commentaries see the discussions by Vahlen 1902: 1034f., Levine 1959: 422f., Kinsey 1967: 42-46, Streuli 1969: 1-10 and 15-21, Wilkinson 1970, Baker 1975, Shipton 1983 and Schilling 1985.) As has often been pointed out, the problem should seen in conjunction with line 156, where the paronomasia *domus – domina* echoes the one in this line. It does not help that in line 156 a word has been lost in the principal MSS, nor that the abbreviation used by *O* at the start of line 69 could be read *ad quam* or *ad quem* (see *ad loc.*).

The key question concerns the identity of the *domina*. Is she Catullus' mistress Lesbia or the lady in charge of the house that Allius put at Catullus' disposal – as Baker put it in the title of his 1975 article, "Mistress or Chatelaine?" Catullus uses a number of other deferential terms to refer to Lesbia in this poem (line 70 *mea ... candida diua*, 132 and 160 *lux mea*, 136 *erae*), so it is tempting to take *domina* in this sense as well. However, he does not use the word in this sense anywhere else in his poems, but only as a deferential term for a goddess (34.9, 35.14 and 63.91), for the owner of an animal or a body part (3.10 and 66.76 – Lesbia's *passer* and Berenice's lock of hair are made to use the language of slaves), and for the mistress running a household (61.31). However, a passage by Lucilius makes it clear that by his time it could already be used as

a term of endearment, albeit a somewhat extravagant one (Lucil. 730 Marx *cum mei me adeunt seruuli, non dominam ego appellem meam*). After Catullus the word is used in this sense by Gallus in the Qaṣr Ibrîm fragment (*frg.* 4.1f. *FPL³ ṭaṇdem fecerunt ç[ar]mina Musae / quaę pọssem domina deicere digna mea*) and it becomes common in poetry from the Augustan period onwards, also in erotic elegy (Hor. *Od.* 2.12.13, Tib. 2.3.5, Prop. 1.1.21, Ov. *Am.* 1.4.47, Mart. 6.71.6, etc.; see further *OLD* s.v. 3b with 3a and *TLL* 5.1.1938.1-26 with 35-41, and see also on *erae* in line 136 below). Since there are parallels for both uses of *domina*, they do not help to answer our question and we must take a closer look at the poem to decide what this word might mean. For convenience's sake I quote the present passage:

68 isque domum nobis isque dedit dominam [*or* –ae *with Fröhlich*]

69 ad quam communes exerceremus amores

The matter stands or falls with how one interprets the words *ad quam*. It is natural to assume that the antecedent of the relative *quam* is the last noun before it, that is, *dominam* (Fröhlich's conjecture *dominae* does not go well with this interpretation). In this case *ad quam* would have to mean 'at whose place', 'in whose house', *chez quoi*, which is a well-established usage (see below); and since the house evidently does not belong to Lesbia, the *domina* would have to be identified with an anonymous chatelaine. It follows that in order to identify the *domina* with Catullus' mistress one either has to take *ad quam* to refer back to something or somebody other than the *domina*, or one has to write something else in its place.

In fact, it is not impossible for a relative pronoun to be further removed from its antecedent: this is the case in Pl. *Epid.* 55 *et is danista aduenit una cum eo, qui argentum petit* and in Cat. 102.1f. *si quicquam tacito commissum est fido ab amico, / cuius sit penitus nota fides animi*. Evidently it is possible to separate the antecedent from the relative pronoun, especially in contexts where the tone is colloquial, or worse (Fordyce has rightly censured Catullus' *carmen* 102 for its slapdash quality). Thus one can look for an antecedent for the relative pronoun earlier in the sentence. There present themselves two candidates, *is*, that is, Catullus' friend Allius, and *domum*; however, the text as it stands does not easily allow for *quam* to be taken with *domum*, which is not the last word in the feminine preceding it, and it does not allow at all for it to be taken with *is*, which is in the masculine. If one identifies its antecedent with *is*, one must evidently write *ad quem*, which was conjectured by Baehrens; there is also a remote possibility that this is the reading of *O* (see *ad loc.*). This would result in the following text:

68 isque domum nobis isque dedit dominam [*or* –ae *with Fröhlich*]

69 ad quem communes exerceremus amores

That would be very awkward Latin, not only because of the distance between the antecedent and the relative pronoun, but also because such a relative clause would have no *raison d'être*: the effects of a gift

characterize the gift and not the giver. It is hard to believe that there should have been such a clumsy pair of lines in such an elegant poem.

The other alternative would be to take *quam* with *domum*. Here the words between the antecedent and the relative pronoun would pose an even larger problem, as one of them (*dominam*) would be of the same gender and number as the pronoun. It helps up to a point if one adopts Fröhlich's emendation *dominae*:

68   isque domum nobis isque dedit dominae

69   ad quam communes exerceremus amores

If *domina* stands in the dative, she has to be a recipient of the *domus* along with Catullus (*nobis*), that is, she must be Catullus' mistress; and if Catullus and his mistress made love *ad* something or somebody, then that something or somebody cannot be his mistress; hence *quam* must refer not to *dominae*, but to some other word in the feminine; and the only available candidate is *domum*. It is still a problem that this line of reasoning is rather complicated: reading Catullus tends to require less effort. In fact, Fröhlich (1849: 264) suggested *isque domum nobis atque dedit dominae*, which is one step further away from the transmitted text. However, let us ignore these problems for the moment and try to interpret the text that we get if we write *dominam*. In that case we would have to take *quam* with *domum*. But what does *domum ad quam* mean? One possibility is to interpret it as *domum in qua* 'the house in which', as do Santen, Weise, Kroll, Streuli and possibly also Quinn, who does not comment on *ad quam* but writes *dominae*. Kroll calls this use of *ad quam* "inconspicuous" ("nicht auffällig"), but in fact none of his parallels show that it is possible at all. This interpretation is defended at greater length by Streuli (1969: 5-10), who uses the detailed investigation of the use of *apud* and *ad* with the accusative instead of *in* with the ablative by Gagnér (1931: 94-116) in order to show that *ad domum* can indeed mean *in domo*. Whether or not this can be the case is a complex question that has to be considered in some detail.

Elsewhere *ad domum* means as a rule 'to the house', as at Cat. 63.19f. *simul ite, sequimini / Phrygiam ad domum Cybebes*, Pl. *Rud.* 116 *aduenire ad alienam domum*, Cic. *Ver.* 2.1.69 *omnes ad eam domum ... profecti sunt*, Ov. *Met.* 8.816 *ad iussam delata domum est*, Prop. 2.29.20, Liv. 39.51.3, etc. On rare occasions *ad domum* can mean 'at the house': thus Sen. *Contr. Exc.* 3.3 *reliquit me tantum ad paternam domum*, where the person mentioned was not allowed to enter, and Quint. *decl. min.* 364 *pauper ad diuitis domum nocte conuiciari solebat*, where the poor man was evidently never invited inside (likewise, B. Schmidt conjectured *ad domum* for *domo* at Sen. *H.F.* 1143f. *prostrata domo / corpora*, but the transmitted text should probably be preserved: see Fitch 1987 *ad loc.*). The range of ways in which *ad uillam* can be used are similar: it normally means 'to the villa', as one would expect, but sometimes 'at the villa', that is, near it, as at Varro *R.R.* 3.3.2 *piscinas ... quae ... habent pisces ad uillam*, 3.3.5 and 3.11.2 as well as Petr. 61.9 *contubernalis ad uillam supremum diem obiit* (surely not in the main building, where the proprietors were staying); and sometimes it means 'at the villa, whether inside or outside', 'in and/or around the landhouse', as at Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 44 *ut esset in agro ac ... aleretur ad uillam* and *Tul.* 20 *dominum esse ad uillam*, Varro *R.R.* 3.17.5

saepe cum eo ad uillam fui and Plin. *Epist.* 2.2.2 *ad uillam partim studiis partim desidia fruor*; but it is not attested in the sense 'inside the villa' (*pace* Streuli 1969: 5-7; on this and the similar expression *apud uillam* see Gagnér 1931: 106 and 116). On the other hand, *ad* can mean 'inside' in the set phrases *ad aedem* 'in the temple' and *ad forum* 'on the forum', but the apparent anomaly is explained by Gagnér (1931: 114 with 99, and cfr. Jacobsohn *ap.* Wackernagel 1928: 237) as follows: originally *aedes* meant 'fireplace' and *forum* 'palisade', and *ad aedem* and *ad forum* (like the related phrases *apud aedem* and *apud forum*) stood for no more than 'at the fireplace' and 'at the palisade'; subsequently the meaning of the nouns changed, as *aedes* came to stand for the building surrounding the sacrificial fire and *forum* for the area surrounded by the palisade; however, the formulae survived and were re-interpreted as 'in the temple' and 'on the forum'. This may be the reason why in a very limited number of cases *ad* is indeed used for *in* with the ablative in other contexts as well. From Livy onwards it is used with place-names (Gagnér 1931: 114f.) and it is used in this sense with a common noun in an inscription from Ostia from Marcus Aurelius' time, *CIL* 14.376.23f. *IDEM · PONDERA · AD · MACELLVM · ET · MEN / SVRAS · AD · FORVM VINAR · S · P · FECIT*. This use of *ad* to describe the place where something happens still survives today in French (*à Paris*, *à l'école*) and Italian (*a Roma*, *all'università*). Evidently it became more frequent in vulgar Latin; however, apart from the types of phrases listed above the usage is extremely rare in written Latin texts of any sort, and even the set phrases *apud* and *ad forum* elicited suspicion: Nonius considers them solecisms (522.20-22 M. = 840.8-10 Lindsay *error consuetudinis* APUT *pro* IN *utitur. itaque uitiose dicimus, cum nos* IN FORO *fuisse dicamus,* APUT *aut* AD FORUM *fuisse, cum* APUT *'iuxta' significet*). What matters for our purpose is that *ad domum* is never used in the sense 'inside the house', nor does *ad* mean 'inside' anywhere else in the poems of Catullus. This speaks against the interpretation outlined above. Finally, if Catulllus intended *domum ... ad quam* to be taken for 'the house … in which', that begs the question why he would not simply have written *in qua* here as he did in line 156 below, if by doing so he could have saved the reader from a huge amount of perplexity.

The alternative is to interpret *domum ... ad quam* as 'the house … at which'. This is the line taken by Syndikus (1990: 271, n. 135), who notes that "the pair will hardly have stayed exclusively within the four walls of the house" ("das Paar wird sich kaum ausschließlich innerhalb der vier Mauern des Hauses aufgehalten haben"). But here *ad quam* is followed by the words *communes exerceremus amores* and must therefore indicate the place where Catullus and his mistress actually pursued their relationship; elsewhere Catullus says explicitly that they made love indoors (line 156 *domus ... in qua lusimus*) and if they could just as well do out of doors whatever they did, he would hardly have been unable to meet Lesbia before Allius found him a house.

Alternatively, one could try to replace the offending phrase *ad quam* with something entirely different. Riese conjectured *cum qua*, Schöll *ut clam*, Thomas (*ap.* Lafaye) *atque ubi*, but one could also write *ut iam* (here *ut* was suggested to me by Stephen Harrison) or indeed *in qua*. Out of these conjectures, *cum qua communes* would provide for a tautologism and an unattractive sequence of three k-sounds, *clam* would make a strong point in the wrong place, and *atque ubi* ('and a place where we could make love') would be tautological after *isque domum ... dedit. ut iam* and *in qua* appear more innocuous, but each of them strays

far from the transmitted text, and as that already makes sense, there is little justification for such a drastic intervention.

As has already been said, *dominam / ad quam* can easily be taken to mean 'a lady at whose place, in whose house'. In this case the *domina* would be the chatelaine, the lady who owned or presided over the house in which Catullus met Lesbia. Apart from the fact that this is the only straightforward way to make sense of the transmitted text, this interpretation is supported by two circumstances. First of all, the paronomasia in line 68 *isque* *domum* nobis isque dedit *dominam* (see the discussion by Schilling 1985) recurs in line 156 *et* *domus* ... et *domina* and also at Cat. 61.31 *ac* *domum* *dominam* uoca (thus Kinsey 1967: 42) and appears to have been commonplace, witness Cic. *Fin.* 1.58 *neque enim ciuitas in seditione beata esse potest nec in discordia* *dominorum* *domus* and *Phil.* 13.19 *cum ... minaretur* *dominis, notaret* *domos*, Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.57f. *quandocumque ... isdem sub* *dominis aspiciare,* *domus!* and Petr. 76.1 *dominus in* *domo factus sum. domus* and *domina*, house and housewife evidently belong together; and this would have clarified the meaning of *domina* here for a Roman reader: she was not Lesbia, but the mistress of the house. Secondly, it would decrease the effect of Lesbia's "dramatic epiphany" at line 70 if she was already mentioned in passing two lines before (thus Kinsey 1967: 43, quoted by Thomson).

In short, the case in favour of identifying the *domina* mentioned here with a chatelaine is convincing, as also at line 156 (see *ad loc.*). Wilkinson (1970) is right to conclude that "Allius had provided not only a house, but a complacent and discreet châtelaine with it, an adjunct which in so dangerous a liaison would be vitally important", despite Kroll's magisterial dismissal of the possibility ("auf die Hausherrin kam nichts an, nur auf das Haus" – "the lady of the house was not at stake, only the house itself"), which appears to be based on his idea of a Roman rendez-vous rather than on a close scrutiny of the text. The chatelaine was an acquaintance of Allius' but not his mistress, as they are mentioned separately in lines 155f., and the honorific term *domina* implies that she will not have been a slave, a subaltern or a prostitute, but a free woman of a certain status, for example, a well-to-do widow, or a married lady whose husband was away.

In short, Allius gave (*dedit*) to Catullus both a house and a chatelaine, that is, he put them at his disposal. It may appear surprising that while Allius, who arranged that Catullus could meet Lesbia in the house, is praised to the skies, the *domina*, who actually owned the house, is not mentioned by name. Did she have a reputation to lose? Her anonymity may be slightly puzzling, but it hardly constitutes "a lapse into bottomless banality" ("ein Absturz in bodemlose Banalität"), as is suggested by Syndikus (1990: 270).

69   ad quam   'At whose place', 'in whose house', 'with whom', '*chez quoi*'. A well-established usage: compare Pl. *Asin.* 825f. *unam ad amicam de die / potare, Capt.* 698f. *meus sodalis Philocrates / in libertate est ad patrem in patria* and *Stich.* 439 *iubebo ad Sangarium cenam coqui*, Cato *Agr.* 7.2 *ad fabrum ferrarium ... ea recte seruantur*, Porc. Lic. *frg.* 3.3 *FPL³ ad Philum se cenitare et Laelium*, Cic. *Cat.* 2.13 *quaesiui a Catilina in nocturno conuentu ad M. Laecam fuisset necne* and *Att.* 10.4.8 *fuit ad me sane diu*, Varro *Men.* 205.3f. *hic ad moechada adulescentem / cubiculum pudoris primus polluit*, Liv. 24.48.9 *ad regem remansit*, Phaedr. 3.4.1 *pendere ad lanium quidam uidit simium*, *CIL* 4.1880 ʟ · ɪꜱᴛᴀᴄɪᴅɪ · ᴀᴛ   ꞯᴠᴇᴍ · ɴᴏɴ · ᴄᴇɴᴏ ·

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BARBARVS · ILLE · MIHI · EST (a wall-inscription from Pompeii or its vicinity); see further *OLD* s.v. *ad* 16a and cfr. *TLL* 1.519.49-520.20 with 521.48-52. This may well have arisen from the use of *ad* to indicate one's addressee and hence to locate one in the presence of a particular public (*ad iudicem* 'in front of the judge', etc.: see *OLD* 17 and *TLL* 1.520.20-75). After Catullus *ad aliquem* never appears to be used to mean 'at somebody's house' in Classical Latin poetry, but it is found with the meaning 'with someone' (Verg. *Aen.* 6.481 *ad superos* 'among the living', Prop. 2.9.29 *si longinquos retinerer miles ad Indos* and 2.18.11, Manil. 1.645; *OLD* 16b).

Many proposals have been made to interpret *dominam / ad quam* in a different way or to emend these two words, but none are convincing: see the previous note. Nor need it trouble one that it is not completely unambiguous whether *O* wrote *ad quam* or else perhaps *ad quem*. In this MS *ad* is followed by a *q* the stem of which is crossed by a thin diagonal line running from bottom left that ends in a point right of centre, while above the letter there is a sign resembling a carelessly written small letter M without the left vertical. *O*'s scribe uses this abbreviation mostly for *quam* (at 2b.1, 3.7, 10.32, 17.20, 24.9, 42.7, 44.8, 45.22, 57.8, 58.2, 58.3, 59.2, 62.50 *bis*, 63.51, 64.71, 64.82, 64.87, 64.92, 66.75, 67.33, 68.41, 68.51 and apparently also at 79.1) but with characteristic inconsistency sometimes also for *quem* (at 62.37, 81.2 and 81.5), perhaps because he confuses it with another abbreviation which he uses for *quem* only, which is a *q* crossed in the same way, but with a horizontal line above it rather than one resembling an *M* (thus at 22.1, 37.19, 53.1 and 67.45). Thus there is a small chance that this abbreviation should be read as *ad quem*. This would be significant if the scribe of *O* would have found *ad quem* in the archetype *A*; in this case *ad quam* in *G* and *R* would have to be a conjecture or an error of the scribe of *X*. However, this possibility is so remote that it may well be excluded. *ad quam* is an unusual usage and can hardly be a conjecture; however, it makes good sense here, unlike *ad quem* (see above on *dominam*).

communes exerceremus amores   Three common words add up to a difficult phrase.

communes has been especially controversial. Baehrens, Kroll and Thomson as well as Horváth (1960: 341f.) take it to mean 'mutual', 'reciprocated', while Fordyce interprets *communes amores* as 'the love we (i.e. Catullus and Lesbia) shared', and Granarolo (1967: 189) equates *communis* with κοιν⟩!. Kinsey (1967: 44), on the other hand, takes these two words to mean 'the love we (i.e. Catullus and Allius) shared', as "Allius and Catullus exercise a common love towards the *domina*"; they have a relationship with the same woman. Meanwhile, in the view of Németh (1984: 44) *communes ... amores* "alludes to a vulgar love-affair" ("fait allusion à un amour commun").

Horváth quotes 72.3f. *dilexi tum te non tantum ut uulgus amicam / sed pater ut gnatos diligit et generos*, but there the distinction is between sexual love and affection, not between vulgar and refined relationships, and there is no proof that *communes amores* could mean 'vulgar love-affairs'; nor could Catullus have used a negative term during his triumphal description of his first rendez-vous with Lesbia. Kinsey's view can be excluded as well, given that Catullus' mistress cannot be the same as Allius' *uita*: the two are greeted separately in lines 155 and 159f. Nor is it plausible that here *communes* should equal *mutuos*. Whether or not used in an erotic context, the two words always mean different things: *mutuus* means 'reciprocal' (cfr. Pliny

the Elder, *N.H.* 17.134 *cum sit mutua cupiditas utrimque coeundi*), while *communis* means 'shared' (cfr. Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 1.26 *communem rem publicam communi studio atque amore defendite*, Lucr. 4.1207 *quare etiam atque etiam dico, est communis uoluptas* with 4.1195, and Ov. *Am.* 2.5.31 *haec tibi sunt mecum, mihi sunt communia tecum*), and the two adjectives are distinguished neatly at Lucr. 4.1201f. *nonne uides etiam quos mutua saepe uoluptas / uinxit, ut in uinclis communibus excrucientur?* – mutual enjoyment of each other yields to shared bonds. Nor is *communis* ever attested with the meaning 'mutual', *pace* Baehrens and Horváth, who believe that this is the case in the Ovidian parallel quoted above, and Kroll, who compares the three parallels from Lucretius. It will hardly have meant 'mutual' here alone.

As has been hinted at above, the entire phrase *communes exercemus amores* is problematic. What does *exercemus amores* mean? Ellis and Baehrens saw a metaphor from physical exercise here. The similar phrase at Cat. 61.227f. *munere assiduo ualentem / exercete iuuentam* may indeed have such associations; there Baehrens compares Ov. *Am.* 1.8.53 *forma, nisi admittas, nullo exercente senescit*, Stat. *Silu.* 1.2.166 *exerce formam et fugientibus utere donis* and Suet. *Dom.* 22 *assiduitatem concubitus uelut exercitationis genus clinopalen uocabat*. However, it does not follow that this is the right way to interpret *exercemus amores*. This phrase is puzzling, but hardly "unique" ("eine Singularität", Streuli 1969: 22): Catullus' surviving works provide a parallel at 71.3 *aemulus iste tuus, qui uestrum exercet amorem*, but unfortunately that passage is equally obscure: *uestrum* appears to equal *tuum* and *uestrum exercet amorem* seems to mean 'he enjoys the love-affair which by rights should be yours', but one cannot be certain. In particular, there need be no reference to love-making here, *pace* Németh (1984: 43), who has misunderstood *OLD* s.v. *exerceo*, 2b. There is an earlier parallel at Plaut. *Mil.* 656 *Venerem, amorem amoenitatemque accubans exerceo* 'reclining for dinner I am all charm and grace', but that is obviously very different from this passage. The one parallel that appears to be both close and straightforward is Tac. *Ann.* 14.20 *gymnasia et otia et turpis amores exercendo* 'by pursuing … disgraceful love-affairs'. This meaning would suit the present passage. It develops further two well-attested Latin usages: the use of the plural *amores* for the concretization of the singular *amor* 'love', that is, for one or more love-affairs (thus also at Cat. 7.8 *furtiuos hominum … amores*, 64.372 *optatos … amores*, 78.3 *dulces … amores* and probably also 96.6 *ueteres … amores*) and the use for *exerceo* with a broad variety of objects with a very general meaning such as 'to pursue', 'to occupy oneself with' or even 'to run', 'to let function' (*c*[*um*] *ui agendi, factitandi, exhibendi sim.*, *TLL* 5.2.1373.14; compare e.g. Sall. *Cat.* 38.4 *uictoriam crudeliter exercebant*, Verg. *Geo.* 3.152 *horribilis exercuit iras*, Plin. *Epist.* 1.10.10 *promere et exercere iustitiam* and Suet. *Aug.* 4.2 *modo unguentariam tabernam modo pistrinum Ariciae exercuisse*). Neither *exerceremus* nor *amores* may refer to the physical side of love in particular – which is not to say that Catullus' love affair with Lesbia was purely Platonic.

communes exercemus amores means, then, '(so that) we should pursue a love-affair together'. The *amores* are *communes* because they involve both Catullus and Lesbia; they are, as it were, their joint property. Even though the phrase is slightly obscure, there is no need to emend the troubling adjective *communes* with Birt (1904: 431) to *coeuntes* (which he took to mean no more than *conuenientes*) or to anything else.

Newman (1990: 236) suggests that *communes* is echoed at Prop. 1.11.15f. *ut solet amota labi custode puella / perfida communis nec meminisse deos*, but there *communis* is used in a slightly different sense and there are no further points of contact between the two passages; however, Propertius' poem does contain clear echoes of Cat. 68.22ff. and 68.31 (see *ad loc.*).

70f. The first half of the description of Lesbia's triumphant entry was imitated by Virgil at *Aen.* 8.608f. *at Venus aetherios inter <u>dea candida</u> nimbos / dona ferens aderat* and apparently also at Ov. *Am.* 1.5.9f. *ecce, Corinna uenit tunica uelata recincta / <u>candida diui</u>dua colla tegente coma*, where Corinna is subsequently compared not to a goddess but to two legendary women of the past, Semiramis and the courtesan Lais (on this echo see Hinds 1987: 8f. and Holzberg 2002: 167f.).

A contrast is implied between Lesbia's soft feet and the hardness of the well-worn threshold.

70 Lesbia's soft feet and white complexion indicate that she leads a sheltered indoor life and make her by Roman standards all the more attractive. *mollitia* and *candor* were felt to be related, witness Pl. *Vid.* 35 *mollitia urbana atque umbra corpus candidumst* (addressed to a pampered young man).

mea … candida diua Lesbia is *candida*, she has a radiant white complexion, a sign of beauty that she shares with a number of other Catullan belles (13.4 *non sine candida puella*, 35.8f. *quamuis candida milies puella / euntem reuocet* and 86.1f. *Quintia formosa est multis. mihi candida, longa, / recta est: haec ego sic singula confiteor*) and that was appreciated as early as Pl. *Pseud.* 1262 *manu candida … amicissimam amicam*. She is not only *candida*, she is Catullus' *candida diua*, his very own 'shining goddess' (on *diui* see line 153n.). She shares the epithet with a range of goddesses in Latin literature (Maia: Verg. *Aen.* 8.138; Venus: *ibid.* 8.608 *dea candida*; Concordia: Ov. *Fast.* 1.637; see further *TLL* 3.241.36-46) and with the effeminate Bacchus and the youthful Cupid (see on line 134 below). Manlier deities such as Vulcan, Mars and Neptune never receive this adjective, which suggests that when applied to a deity, it still refers to his or her fair complexion, and not to a numinous glow (*pace TLL* 3.241.36f., Lieberg 1963: 188 and Clarke 2003: 57f.). All the same, there might also be an undertone of divine radiance to the words of shining in this passage (cfr. 71n. *fulgentem*).

Lesbia is also <u>*mea … diua*</u>, '<u>my</u> … goddess'. The tradition of comparing a beautiful mortal and especially one's beloved to a god goes back as far as Odysseus' ingratiating first words to Nausicaa (*Od.* 6.149-169) and the topos is ably exploited by the Hellenistic epigrammatists, above all by Meleager, who writes that one day chatty Heliodora will outstrip the Graces with her charming speech (*A.P.* 5.148, cfr. 5.149) and who ends up praying to his beloved Theocles as if he were a god, not because of his beauty, but because his power over him (*A.P.* 12.158.7f.); likewise, Polystratus as well as Alcaeus of Messene call their beloved the second son of Aphrodite (*A.P.* 12.91.6 and 12.64); Antipater calls Lais 'more delicate than Aphrodite' and 'the mortal Cythereia' (*A.P.* 7.218); and in an epigram that may be by Artemon Echedemus is called the new Apollo, who has received Attica as his lot (*A.P.* 12.55.3). But there are no signs that Catullus is picking up a Greek model here, and in fact it had been commonplace in Roman literature at least since Plautus to refer to one's

beloved as a goddess: thus Pl. *Bacch.* 217 *ni nactus Venerem essem, hanc Iunonem dicerem*, *Cist.* 313 *ut quo<m Ven>us adgreditur, placet!*, *Curc.* 192 *tun meam Venerem uituperas?* and *Stich.* 748 *Veneris mera est oratio*; ironically also at Lucr. 4.1185 *nec Veneres nostras hoc fallit*; and later at Verg. *Ecl.* 3.68 *meae Veneri* and Ov. *Am.* 3.11.47 *magni mihi numinis instar.*

According to Lieberg (1963: 193f.) here Catullus "detects in the arrival of his beloved the corporeal manifestation of a divine form of being" ("im kommen der geliebten Frau die leibhaftige Manifestation göttlicher Wesensart erschaut"), that is, he considers Lesbia as a sort of goddess, only to realize later in line 141 that she is human after all. This is clearly not the case (thus Holleman 1970 and Syndikus 1990: 274f.): Catullus prostrate himself, utter a propitiatory prayer or make a sacrifice, as a Roman would in the presence of a god; the rendez-vous continues without interruption. Calling her a goddess was simply a way to express his astonishment at her beauty, and perhaps the power that he felt she had over him. Such a compliment need not have had wide-ranging implications for the Romans: note that an exclamation *pro di immortales! Veneris effigia haec quidem est* (Pl. *Rud.* 420) does not prevent a Plautine character from touching up and harrassing the girl in question, declarations of worship can be exploited for a comic effect (Pl. *Poen.* 277f. *nam Venus non est Venus: / hanc equidem Venerem uenerabor me ut amet posthac propitia*) and one can combine such declarations with strong statements of the mortality of the person in question (Ov. *Her.* 13.157-160 *per reditus corpusque tuum, mea numina, iuro ... perque, quod ut uideam canis albere capillis, / quod tecum possis ipse referre, caput*). *mea ... candida diua* simply implies that Catullus found Lesbia beautiful and enchanting: compare the simile at Cat. 61.16-19 *Iunia ... qualis Idalium colens / uenit ad Phrygium Venus / iudicem*.

Baehrens was offended by the fact that Lesbia is called a goddess before being compared with the mortal Laodameia, and conjectured *mea ... candida cura*; but evidently there is no need to suspect *diua* here.

molli … pede   *mollis* is a favourite adjective of Catullus', which he uses 14x (also note *molliculus*, 2x, and *mollesco* and *mollicellus*, 1x each), not only for soft objects (thus e.g. 64.129 *mollia nudatae tollentem tegmina surae* and 65.21 *molli sub ueste*, of the clothes of a young girl) and conventionally for sleep (see line 5n. *molli ... somno*), but also to characterize the supposedly luxurious Arabs (11.5), the passive homosexual Thallus (25.1 and 10), Ariadne's experience of the embrace of her mother (64.88), the day of a man who practises fellatio (80.4), and the bone-marrow of a delicate young girl, aflame with love (45.16 *ignis mollibus ardet in medullis*). He calls his own naughty verses *molliculi* (16.4 and 8). *mollitia*, 'softness', then, is an attractive and even praiseworthy quality in a woman, since it indicates that she participates in a life of luxury, from which her male lover may partake as well, as if by proxy; but when a man is called *mollis*, it is implied that he has been drawn too far into this world and has become effeminate himself.

71f.   Entering the house, Lesbia stepped onto the threshold. According to Baker (1960: 172) she was „clearly doing an astonishingly unlucky thing", while Tuplin (1981: 117) considers her action „an ill omen in a matrimonial context", and Sarkissian (1983: 17) detects „a grim foreboding" in its description. When the bride entered the house of the groom during a Roman wedding, she was supposed to step carefully over the

threshold or to be lifted over it, witness Cat. 61.159f. *transfer omine cum bono / limen aureolos pedes* as well as Plautus *Cas.* 815 *sensim super attolle limen pedes, noua nupta*, Lucan 2.359 *translata uitat contingere limina planta* with the *Commenta Bernensia ad loc.* and Plutarch *Romul.* 15.6 = 26b διαμΥνει δ′ μΥξρι νɭν τɟ τɭν νɼμφην αɼτɭν □φ□ αɼτ°! μɭ ɭπερβα⇔νειν τɟν oɼδɟν ε⇒! τɟ δϖμ□τιον, □λλ□ α⇒ρομΥνην ε⇒!φΥρε!ψαι; thus also Varro *ap.* Serv. *in* Verg. *Ecl.* 8.29, Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 29 = 271d-e, Isid. *Etym.* 9.7.12 and Optatus 6.4.8 = p. 151.15-18 Ziwsa; also Rage-Brocard 1934: 29 with n. 1.

However, one cannot infer from the existence of this custom that under other circumstances it would have been ill-omened to step onto the threshold – and in fact there is ample evidence to the contrary. Humans and gods entering a building regularly step onto it in the Homeric epics (*Il.* 6.375 and 23.201f.; *Od.* 20.128 and 22.2; also *h.Cer.* 188); the cult-song of the Arval Brotherhood appears to have contained an invocation to Mars to jump and stand on the threshold (verse 3 *limen sali sta* – cfr. Norden 1939: 141f.); in the *Aeneid* the Sibyl describes Aeneas as having set up camp on her threshold (Verg. *Aen.* 6.151 *dum consulta petis nostroque in limine pendes*); Tibullus suggests that someone is standing on the threshold of his beloved (1.5.71 *quidam iam nunc in limina perstat*); Ovid exhorts his reader to stop on the threshold if he is on the verge of an unhappy love affair (*Rem.* 80 *in primo limine siste pedem*). St Augustine even records a pagan superstition that involved stepping onto the threshold as one passed in front of one's house (*Doctr. Christ.* 2.31 [2.77] *limen calcare, cum ante domum suam transit*). A variety of other omens were linked in Roman literature to the act of passing the threshold (*TLL* 7.2.1404.38-58) but stepping onto it was evidently not ill-omened in itself. The bride was supposed to avoid something else, namely stumbling, which was ominous whether caused by a threshold (thus Tib. 1.3.19f., Ov. *Her.* 13.85f., *Am.* 1.12.3-6 and *Met.* 10.452, Val. Max. 1.4.2 and Plin. *N.H.* 7.181, and cfr. Verg. *Aen.* 2.242f.) or by anything else (cfr. Cic. *Div.* 2.84 and Plin. *N.H.* 2.24, and see further Bömer 1969-1986 on Ov. *Met.* 10.452).

Sarkissian (1983: 17) proposes that „[c]ertain elements in Lesbia's coming into the house invite the reader to view the meeting as a symbolic marriage", in particular the fact that Catullus is waiting for her inside, as a groom would, and the fact that Cupid is flitting around her wearing a saffron-coloured robe, a colour that was associated with marriage (lines 133f.). It is the question whether there is such an analogy, and if so, how far it goes. Saffron-coloured robes were worn on other occasions as well as marriage (see the note *ad loc.*), nothing is made at all in the poem of the fact that Catullus is waiting for Lesbia inside the house, and later on he states explicitly that she is not his bride (lines 143f.). In any case, Syndikus (1990: 274) is right to point out that the triumphant tone of the description of Lesbia's arrival does not allow for the presence of a bad omen at this point. In this poem Catullus goes out of his way to give a neutral interpretation even to Lesbia's philandering (lines 135-148).

Following a remark of Riese's, Brenk (1987) suggested that the motif of the foot on the threshold was probably a *topos* of Greek literature, in the first place of sacral poetry (he compares the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* at 188f. ″ δ□ □ρ□/π□ oɼδɟν fβη πο!⇐ κα⇔ =α μελ□ψρου / κɭρε κ□ρη, πλ°!εν δ′ ψɼρα! !Υλαο! ψε⇔οιο, and the Homeric motif of someone stepping onto the threshold in entering: see above for refs.), from where it passed into romantic literature. But he bases this second hypothesis on two passages that are

significantly different from the present one: Theocr. 2.103f. ᾱ�øδϒ νιν ⊃!∕ν⟩η!α / □ρτι ψῑρα!│π′ρ οῑδῑν □μειβ⟩μενον ποδ⇐ κοῑφϖι, where Simaitha's beloved Daphnis steps over the threshold and not onto it, and Callim. *Hy. Ap.* 3 κα⇐ δ→ που τ□ ψῑρετρα καλ∩ι ποδ⇐ Φοῑῑβο! □ρ□!!ει, where Apollo does not step onto the threshold, but kicks at the door. Catullus may have taken from Greek poetry not the motif of the foot on the threshold, which is only attested in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (quoted above), but the tendency to state arrival in terms of approaching or passing the threshold or the door.

71 trito ... in limine Here Catullus is probably picking up two phrases from the *Odyssey*, 18.33 οῑδολ ƒπι φε!τολ and 22.72 οῑδολ □πο φε!τολ. The topos recurs in a more elaborate guise at line 115 *pluribus ut caeli tereretur ianua diuis*.

fulgentem ... plantam 'The gleaming sole' of Lesbia, who had a shining-white (*candidus*) complexion, just like *Cupido* who *fulgebat ... candidus* in lines 133f. (these echo the present passage: see *ad loc.*). For the connection between being *candidus* and *fulgere* compare also 8.3 *fulsere quondam candidi tibi soles* and likewise 8.8, Ov. *Hal.* 124 *fulgentes soleae candore* (of sole-fish), Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* 1.17.2 *non rubentis sed candida luce fulgentis* (also of the Sun) and Plin. *N.H.* 37.133 *radiare fulgore candido ut solem*, 37.134 and 37.181 (of various gems).

In ancient literature divine epiphany is often accompanied by a numinous glow: thus Venus shines at Verg. *Aen.* 1.402 *rosea ceruice refulsit* and at 2.590 *pura per noctem in luce refulsit*, while Anchises is amazed by Aphrodite's shining clothes in her Homeric Hymn (84-90) and Demeter is said to glow in hers (189, quoted above on 71f.). It may be in a similar vein that Catullus places Juppiter 'in a radiant temple' (64.387 *pater diuum templo in fulgente*), though the building could be gleaming because of its metal parts (a gilded roof, as on his temple on the Capitolium?) or because it is clean and well-tended. Accordingly, Lieberg (1963: 188) and Clarke (2003: 85) attribute the radiance implied by *fulgentem* to Lesbia's numinous power here. Despite the parallels I am slightly skeptical, as the numinous power of a goddess does not tend to reside in her sole. On the other hand, *fulgeo* is used regularly to describe beautiful women and youths: thus Laevius *frg.* 18 *FPL³ aut / nunc quaepiam alia te ilico / Asiatico ornatu affluens / aut Sardiano aut Lydio / fulgens decore et gratia / pellicuit* (a passage from Laevius' *Protesilaodamia*, surely delivered by Laodamia and addressed to the absent Protesilaus: could Catullus be echoing this poem here as well as in line 46?), Tib. 1.8.31f. *iuuenis, cui leuia fulgent / ora nec amplexus aspera barba terit*, Ov. *Medic.* 68 *fulgebit speculo leuior illa suo*, Sen. *Tro.* 1138f. *fulgent genae / magisque solito splendet extremus decor* and *Phaedr.* 651 *quis tum ille fulsit!* and [Sen.] *Herc. Oet.* 385f. *sic nostra longum forma percurrens iter / deperdit aliquid semper et fulget minus* and 393 *per ipsas fulget aerumnas decor*.

72 innixa A woman resting her weight (*innixa*) on a sandal was a familiar image in Roman literature. Catullus appears to be imitating or sharing the same model with the 2ⁿᵈ-century B.C. comedian Turpilius' *com.* 31 *sandalio innixa digitulis primoribus* (unfortunately we know nothing about the context of this line, but the diminutive *digitulis* seems to express affection; Cavallini 1984/85 suggests that it too may describe a

furtum amoris), while he is imitated in turn by Propertius at 2.29b.40 *prosilit in laxa <u>nixa</u> pedem <u>solea</u>*, and perhaps also by Ovid as he describes the Muse at *Am.* 3.1.31f. *mouit pictis <u>innixa</u> cothurnis / densum caesarie terque quaterque caput* and *Pont.* 4.16.29 *Musaque Turrani tragicis <u>innixa</u> cothurnis*. Here *innixa* is not superfluous before *constituit* (*pace* Kroll) but indicates that Lesbia lets her weight rest on her sandal.

arguta A puzzling word. Achilles Statius, Ellis, Baehrens, Merrill, Kroll, Fordyce, Quinn, Goold, Thomson and Pérez Vega take it to mean 'shrill', 'harsh', describing the sound made by Lesbia's sandals. Goold (1983) translates *arguta ... solea* as 'with a tap of her sandal'. On the other hand, Muretus took *arguta* to characterize not the sound but the shape of Lesbia's footwear, and he was followed by Santenius and Riese.

argutus comes from *arguo*; and Ernout and Meillet s.v. explain that the original meaning of the verb was 'faire briller, éclaircir, éclarer'; thus *argutus* would have meant initially 'brilliant, shining, conspicuous'. The classical uses of the adjective are well explained by Fordyce: "*argutus* and *argutiae* can be applied to anything that makes a sharp impression on one of the senses – most often of hearing (Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 22 'argutum nemus', *Georg.* i. 143 'arguta serra', i. 294 'argutum pecten', Prop. i. 18. 30 'argutae aues') but also of sight (Cic. *Leg.* i. 27 'oculi arguti', 'quick eyes', *de Or.* iii. 220 'manus arguta', 'restless hands' [surely 'conspicuous hands' or 'gestures' – D.K.]: Virg. *Georg.* iii. 80 'argutum caput', 'with clear-cut lines'), and even of smell (Pliny, *N.H.* xv. 18) and of taste (Palladius iii. 25.4 'argutos sapores'): their metaphorical uses correspond – of quickness of mind, incisiveness of style, expressiveness in art." Catullus does not use *argutus* anywhere else, only the derivative *argutatio* in the acoustic sense at 6.10f. *tremulique quassa lecti / argutatio inambulatioque*, but it is hard to infer from this with Ellis that like Propertius he would be confining *argutus* to the sense of sound.

The question is then: did Lesbia's sandal catch Catullus' eye or his ear? (Fordyce also considers the alternative translations 'quick-moving' and 'twinkling', but there may be parallels for neither.) Both interpretations are possible, but a reference to how Lesbia's sandal looked ('neat', 'elegant', 'shapely') may suit the context better: there is already a strong visual quality to *candida* and *fulgentem* in the previous two lines. Catullus sees Lesbia arrive, as the reader is to imagine, and he is stunned. Alternatively, *arguta ... solea* could indeed describe the creaking of Lesbia's sandal, whether as an omen of some sort (but this is unlikely: see above on 71f.) or to indicate her arrival: as Baehrens puts it, „Catulus amasiam expectans ecce audit signum optatissimum aduenientis, solearum crepitum", comparing *Priap.* 83.40f. = '*Quid hoc noui est?*' 40f. *sed ille cum redibit aureus puer, / simul sonante senseris iter pede…*

Brenk (1983) suggests that *arguta* here may stand for the Greek adjective λιγ⟨!, which has associations of sharpness, fineness, and precision; but a Roman reader could hardly have caught the allusion.

constituit I.e. *fulgentem in limine plantam ... constituit*, 'she set her shining sole on the threshold': from *constituo* 'to place' rather than *consisto* 'to stand'; Lesbia does not stand on the threshold, but puts her foot on it. The use of *constituo* with a body part is unusual (*TLL* 4.511.53 lists no parallels), but the sense is clear. The verb regularly takes *in* with the ablative and not, as one would perhaps expect, with the accusative: compare *Rhet. Her.* 3.34 *in loco constituere ... Domitium*, Cic. *Ver.* 6.3 *arripuitque M.' Aquilium constituitque in conspectu omnium* and Lucr. 4.132 *constituuntur in hoc caelo*; see further *TLL* 4.510.60-

511.65. *constituo* is not used elsewhere by Catullus, and is avoided by many poets: it is absent from Horace, Tibullus, Phaedrus, Persius and Statius; it is found 1x in Propertius and 2x in Juvenal.

solea *omnia ... ferme id genus, quibus plantarum calces tantum infimae teguntur, cetera prope nuda et teretibus habenis uincta sunt, 'soleas' dixerunt, nonnumquam Graeca uoce 'crepidulas'* (Gellius 13.22.5): the *solea* was a sort of sandal consisting of a flat sole with a slightly raised rim that was attached to the foot with straps and left it practically bare (see further *Neue Pauly* s.v. 'Schuhe' (with illustration) and 'Sandale'): it enabled Lesbia to show the world her *candida planta*. The *solea* appears to have been worn especially by women (Cic. *Har. Resp.* 44 *a muliebribus soleis*, Prop. 2.29b.40, Ov. *A.A.* 2.212 and Plin. *N.H.* 34.31); among men it was used in convivial contexts (Pl. *Most.* 384, *Truc.* 363, 367 and 479, Hor. *Sat.* 2.8.77 and *Epist.* 1.13.15), by Hellenized dandies (cfr. Cic. *Ver.* 2.5.86 *stetit soleatus praetor populi Romani cum pallio purpureo tunicaque talari muliercula nixus* and *Har. Resp.* 44, T. Castricius *ap.* Gel. 13.22.1 *soleatos tamen uos, populi Romani senatores, per urbis uias ingredi nequaquam decorum est* and Sen. *Dial.* 5.18.4 *ne senatores populi Romani soleatus occideret!*), by Trimalchio, who had no taste (Petr. 27.2 *soleatus pila prasina exercebatur*) and by characters in Apuleius' novel (*Met.* 9.21). Male citizens were expected to wear the *caliga* in public (see *Neue Pauly* s.v.).

73-142 Landor (1842: 361) did not appreciate the 'Chinese box' structure of the poem and wanted to delete the two sections about Laodamia and Protesilaus as well as the central section about Catullus' brother. He thought that these "intermediate lines belong to *two* other poems; both, perhaps, addressed to Manlius".

73-86 The first of the two sections of the poem on Protesilaus and Laodamia begins with a comparison of Lesbia's arrival to that of Laodamia in the house of her future husband (lines 73f.); Catullus comments on the fate awaiting the house (75f.), prays to avoid offending the gods himself (77f.) and gives a rather elliptical description of the couple's brief marriage from the perspective of heroine (79-86). This section follows the previous one seamlessly – it actually starts in mid-sentence – and leads on no less smoothly to the next section, that on Troy (lines 87-90).

Laodamia's passionate love for her husband is highlighted in these lines, as it is in the other parts of the poem that are devoted to her (lines 105-108, 117f. and 129f.). In this the heroine does not resemble Lesbia, who has many lovers alongside her husband (lines 135-148). Catullus appears to treat this difference between the two as insignificant.

73 coniugis … amore These pair of words receive strong emphasis by how they frame the line, especially *coniugis* (note that the first ictus of the line coincides with the word-accent): it was with love *for her husband* that Laodamia was so much ablaze. *coniugis* recurs in the same position in line 139, where the context is Juno's marriage to Juppiter, and *coniugium* stands at the start of line 107. Marriage is a key theme of this myth as Catullus tells it.

ut Delayed, as often in Catullus: see line 3n.

quondam   The word locates the action in an earlier epoch: cfr. line 111 below, 64.1, 64.382 and already Enn. *Ann.* 30 Skutsch *quos homines quondam Laurentis terra recepit.*

flagrans   The verb is first attested not much earlier at *Rhet. Her.* 4.51 *domus hostili flagra<n>t incendio*, but it is already common in this generation: it is used by Lucretius (3x), Nepos (3x) and especially often by Cicero (19x *orat.*, 17x *rhet.-phil.*, 5x *epist.* and 1x *poet.*); Plautus uses the noun *flagrantia* (*Rud.* 733). Its metaphorical use for flaming passions, as here, is quite common: thus 67.25 *impia mens caeco flagrabat amore*, Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.75 *flagrare cupiditate atque amentia* and *Att.* 5.11.1 *non dici potest quam flagrem desiderio urbis*, Hor. *Epod.* 5.81f. *non amore sic meo flagres uti / bitumen atris ignibus*, Tac. *Ann.* 14.1 and Sil. 5.590 and 11.352. Compare also the metaphors of burning in lines 52-54.

74   This is one of two three-word pentameters in Catullus; the other one is at line 112 below. While four-word pentameters were common in Greek poetry, three-word pentameters were extremely rare (note Tyrt. *frg.* 4.6 West ε⌠ψε⇔αι! =→τραι! □νταπαμειβομϒνου! and compare *adesp. eleg.* 14a *IEG*², probably of four words, one of which was the enclitic τ□). Hellenistic poets appear to avoid this type of line, even though on occasion they use one word to fill half the pentameter (see on line 112 *Amphitryoniades*); in the mid-1st century A.D. the technique is revived by Leonidas of Alexandria (*AP* 9.12.2 and 9.12.4). I could not find any three-word pentameter in the Augustan elegists; there survives one of four words by Catullus' friend Cinna (*frg.* 11.4 *FPL*³).

Catullus' three-word pentameters contain a high concentration of Greek or Grecizing words: as in the case of the 'golden line' (see line 29n.), he seems to have taken it for granted that Grecisms and virtuoso versification go together, even if the virtuoso technique in question was not favoured by his literary models.

Protesilaeam   I.e. that of Protesilaus, as "-*eus* represents the Greek termination −ειοω" (Fordyce): in adjectival endings of this type ει was not transcribed as *i* but as *e*. Trappes-Lomax (2007: 237) argues for the spelling *Protesilaeiam*, since Catullus transcribed Greek proper names with minute exactitude; but there are no attestations for this type of transcription.

The Greek adjective Πρϖτε!ιλ□ειο! is first attested slightly after Catullus at Strabo 7 *frg.* 51 (52) = p. 331 Corais and 13.1.31 = p. 595 C., and apparently nowhere else. Strabo writes about τ∫ Πρϖτε!ιλ□ειον, that is, Protesilaus' tomb on the northern shore of the Dardanelles, which Catullus may have visited it on his trip to Troy (cfr. poem 101). However, the adjective could be a coinage of Catullus', like *Malia* (line 54).

Laodamia   Here as in lines 80 and 105 the principal MSS call the heroine *Laudomia*. In Greek she is called Λαοδ□μεια, and it is beyond doubt that –*dom*– should be corrected to –*dam*–; however, there has been controversy as to whether one should write *Lao*– or *Lau*–. As many MSS and a number of inscriptions write *Laudamia*, *Laucoon* and so on, Usener (1865) argued that Greek λαο– (from an original λαΩο–, which was preserved in some dialects well into the classical period) must have become *lau* in Latin and proposed to write *Laudamia*, which has been accepted by editors including Baehrens, Mynors, Quinn and Godwin. His arguments were countered by Goold (1958: 113) and Oliver (1959: 52f.), who pointed out that the spelling *Lau*– is evidently due to a regularization in popular speech of the vowel combination –*ao*–, which did not

exist in Latin, to –*au*–, which did; that inscriptions provide examples of *Lau*– as well as of *Lao*–; that forms such as *Laudomia* (in the principal MSS of Catullus) and *Laodomia* (at *CIL* 5.1348 and a variant in the MSS at Ov. *Am.* 2.356, *Her.* 13.2 and elsewhere) probably arose under the influence of an initial *Lao*- (unless they are due to the influence of *domare*); and that "forms with *Lau*-, such as *Laudiceni*, probably represent a diphthongized pronunciation, usual no doubt in ordinary speech, but ill-suited to metrical Muses" (Goold 1958: 113). In fact, all inscriptions appear to write the name of the heroine as LAODOMIA (*CIL* 5.1348), LAODAMIA (6.26881) and LAODAMIA (10.5920); there seems to be no epigraphic evidence for LAVDAMIA or LAVDOMIA. Goold and Oliver are certainly right to conclude that we should write *Laodamia*. This has been printed by Goold in his editions as well as by Thomson.

Here too Trappes-Lomax (2007: 237) takes to the letter the principle that "Catullus and Ovid … transcribe Greek names with minute exactitude" (Oliver 1959: 53) and proposes to write *Laodameia*; but there seem to be found no forms of the name in –*eia* in the MSS and in the epigraphic evidence. In fact, *Laodamia* is a correct phonetic transcription of the Greek word, since by this time ει was already pronounced as < ī > (Cicero pointed out at *Fam.* 9.22.3 that Latin *bini* could be mistaken for the Greek βινεῖ͂).

75f.   In what sense had Protesilaus' house been begun in vain, and what sort of a sacrifice had not been made first? Commentators assume very reasonably that the house had been begun for the married couple but not yet been completed when Protesilaus left for Troy, and that things ended badly because no sacrifice had been made to win the support of the gods for the new building. *inceptam frustra* could be seen as "a paraphrase of the Homeric δόμο! ″μιτελ→!" (Ellis), the phrase with which the house of the dead Protesilaus is described at *Iliad* 2.701. The omission of the sacrifice is more problematic: it is not found in any surviving version of the myth, and Catullus could have drawn it either from a lost text such as Euripides' *Protesilaus* or Laevius' *Protesilaodamia*, or he could have made it up himself to explain why the house was left unfinished and the marriage failed (on this and the versions of the myth that are attested see the Appendix II).

Thomas (1978) notes that this interpretation would lead to a contradiction between Catullus' views (in lines 77f. he would appear to pray not to have to marry without due ceremony) and his practice (he is happy to have an extramarital affair: lines 143-148). He proceeds to propose a radically different interpretation: he identifies the *hostia* with Iphigenia and takes the *cum*-clause merely to be temporal, as an indication that the house had been begun before the start of the Trojan War. But Catullus simply utters a general prayer that he may not act rashly against the will of the gods; and it is not clear how even the most erudite Roman reader would have been able to identify the wholly anonymous *hostia* with Iphigenia.

75 inceptam   The principal MSS' *incepta* is easily corrected to –*am*, as it cannot agree with anything other than *domum* in the text, and a final *m* often goes missing; the correction was already made by 1470, when MS 90 was copied. Fröhlich (1849: 262) proposed *incepto*, which would have to be taken with *amore* in line 73; he compares *Ciris* 328f. *non ego te incepto, fieri quod non pote, conor / flectere amore*. That is

ingenious, but here *amore* stands too far from the past participle to be taken up by it in any understandable way.

nondum cum   Trappes-Lomax (2007: 237) re-proposed the transposition *cum nondum*, already printed by Avantius around 1535 in the Trincavelli edition, as "it is impossible to believe that Catullus inverted the normal word order so as to produce the cacophonous jingle *nondum cum/quom.*" I myself prefer the sound of *nondum cum*, as with *cum nondum* the negative element *non–*, already emphatic in itself and carrying the word-stress, would also receive the weight of the ictus, and would be unduly highlighted.

There is no secure parallel for *nondum cum*, while *cum nondum* is only attested rarely from the 2nd century A.D. (Paul. *Dig.* 41.4.2.2, Ulp. *Dig.* 4.4.3.3 and 28.8.8, Papin. *Dig.* 5.1.41, and Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 6.177). At Livy 44.19.1 *cum* has been inserted variously before and after the MSS' *nondum*. But elsewhere *nondum* often stands in an initial emphatic position: compare 64.386 *nondum spreta pietate*, Cic. *Caec.* 34 *nondum de Caecinae causa disputo, nondum de iure possessionis nostrae loquor*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.698f. *nondum illi flauum Proserpina uertice crinem / abstulerat*. Delayed *cum* is common: see line 16, 37, etc.

Incidentally, *nondum* is not found in high poetry before Catullus (it is absent from Ennius, Pacuvius and Accius), nor in Lucretius, but such a practical word can hardly have had an unpoetic feel to it; and Catullus uses it also in poem 64 (in line 219 and 386). Poets choose their words not only according to their feel, but also according to their meaning; and certain types of epic and tragic poets may not have much use for a word that means 'not yet'. In the event, the word becomes common in 'silver' Latin poetry: it is used 59x by Ovid, 35x by Seneca in his tragedies, and 58x by Statius.

sanguine sacro   *sacer* is properly said of the sacrificial animal itself: thus Pl. *Rud.* 1208 *agni et porci sacres* and *Men.* 290, Cato *orat.* 75, Varro *R.R.* 2.4.16, Verg. *Geo.* 2.395 *stabit sacer hircus ad aram*, etc.: see *OLD* s.v., 1b. Here it stands in enallage.

76   hostia   The technical term for the sacrificial animal, long established in poetry: attested in Plautus (8x), Ennius (2x), Pacuvius (1x) and Titinius (1x).

caelestis … eros   'The masters in the sky', i.e. the gods: on *erus* (first used perhaps only for the slave-master) see on line 114.

pacificasset   Unlike derivatives such as *pacificator* and *pacificatio*, the verb is relatively rare under the Republic and the Empire: it is first attested at Pl. *Stich.* 517 *satin ego tecum pacificatus sum, Antipho?* (a passive in the middle sense, as later Just. 17.2.15 *pacificatus cum omnibus finitimis*) and then here. Before late antiquity the transitive use of the active verb is only attested in poetry (also at Sen. *Ag.* 225 *mentemque tibimet ipsa pacifica tuam* and Sil. 15.421 *pacificans diuos*), but given its rarity in all constructions this may be due to chance rather than to poetic licence.

O abbreviates the ending to a shape resembling a number 3 reaching below the line that he uses both for *–em* (as in line 73 *amorem*) as well as for *–et* (as in line 86 *isset*). There is no question as to how it should be resolved here, but it is worthwhile to note the ambiguity, which is rather characteristic of this calligrapher-scribe: compare line 69n. *ad quam*.

77f. Catullus interrupts his narrative briefly to direct a prayer to the goddess Nemesis (*Rhamnusia uirgo*: see *ad loc.*), whom he asks that he may never to have a desire that is contrary to the will of the gods.

Such interjected apotropaic prayers (" – may it never overcome me – ") go back as far as the Odyssey, where one is uttered by the swineherd Eumaeus (15.359f.). The technique is also used by Hesiod (*Op.* 270-272), but it becomes especially common in Hellenistic poetry: compare Theocr. 26.27-30 ο⌈κ □λΥϖ: μηδ□ □λλο! □πεξψομΥνϖ Διον⌈!ϖι / φροντ⇔ζοι, μηδ□ ε⇒ ξαλεπ⊕τερα τ⌒νδε μογ→!αι ... α⌈τ∫! δ□ ε⌈αγΥοιμι κα⇐ ε⌈αγΥε!!ιν □δοιμι and Callimachus *Hymn.* 1.69 !⌒ν τερ□ϖν· □ τ□ ⁄μο∫̂!ι φ⇔λοι! ⁄νδΥφια φα⇔νοι!, 3.129-137 ο∑! δΥ κεν ε⌈μειδ→! τε κα⇐ ⟨λαο! α⌈γ□!!ηαι ... π⟩τνια, τ⌒ν ευη μ′ν ⁄μο⇐ φ⇔λο! ⌊!τι! □ληψ→!, / ε◊ην δ□ α⌈τ⟩!, □να!!α, μΥλοι δΥ μοι α⇒′ν □οιδ→ (not quite apotropaic), 6.116f. Δ□ματερ, μ↓ τ°νο! ⁄μ⇐ν φ⇔λο!, ⌊! τοι □πεξψ→!, / ευη μηδ□ ⌡ μ⟩τοιξο!: ⁄μο⇐ κακογε⇔τονε! ⁄ξψρο⇔ and *Aetia* frg. 110.71f. Pfeiffer ΠαρψΥνε, μ↓] κ ‾‾‾‾‾‾ οτΥ!ηι[!, □Ραμνου!ι□!: ο⌊τ]ι! ⁄ρ⌈φει / βο⌊! ʃπο!⌉ (the supplements of Lobel, Barber and Merkelbach are quite plausible: see Skinner 1984: 135f.). The last of these prayers is translated by Catullus at 66.71, and he adds a similar prayer at the end of his poem on Attis (63.91-93). Here Catullus conserves something of the chatty, conversational character of the Hellenistic examples (see on *tam ualde*).

Trappes-Lomax (2007: 237f.) wants to delete these lines on the grounds that "it is impossible to parallel the insertion of such a couplet" and that *inuitis ... eris* would have to mean 'against the will of my masters'. We have seen the parallels; on *inuitis ... eris* see *ad loc.*

77 tam ualde 'So very much': the phrase does not appear anywhere else in poetry, and in prose it is used only by Cicero (1x *orat.*, 4x *rhet.-phil.* and 8x *epist.*), Petronius (4x), Quintilian (1x in *decl. min.*), the Augustan rhetor Porcius Latro (*ap.* Sen. *Contr.* 10.6.1), Seneca the Younger (3x) and Fronto (1x in a letter) – a hyperbolic phrase with a colloquial colouring, as it seems. This makes it suited to the apotropaic prayer, which often has conversational overtones (see on 77f.).

Rhamnusia uirgo A circumlocution for the goddess Nemesis (on whom see Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 1233b18-26, *RE* and *OCD* s.v., and Finglass 2007 on Soph. *El.* 792), who had a well-known sanctuary at Rhamnus in northeastern Attica; her local cult image was known to Catullus' contemporary Varro (*ap.* Plin. *N.H.* 36.17), who considered it one of the most beautiful statues in the world. Catullus also mentiones the goddess at 50.2, where he simply calls her *Nemesis*, and at 66.71 *pace tua fari hic liceat, Rhamnusia uirgo*, another interjected prayer that he has taken over from Callimachus (see on 77f.), where he uses the same circumlocution as here. She is probably the goddess described as encouraging soldiers at 64.395, where the readings of the principal MSS (*ramunsia O*: *ranusia X*) should probably be emended to *Rhamnusia* with the *editio princeps* rather than to Baehrens' *Amarunsia* (Skinner 1984: 134, n. 1 and Trappes-Lomax 2007: 204f.), in which case we have three Catullan hexameters ending with *Rhamnusia uirgo*.

According to Skinner (1984: 138), Nemesis matters here not only as the deity punishing irresponsible behaviour, but also as a mythological character, whose rape by Zeus led to the Trojan War (*Cypria frg.* 9

PEG = 7 *EGF ap.* Athenaeus 8, 334b-d): by mentioning her the poet would be referring to the disasters of the Trojan War and the death of his brother, and he would even register "a subliminal apprehension that the death of his brother may be a kind of reprisal for [his] unlawful union [with Lesbia], just as Laodamia was punished by the loss of Protesilaus and Greeks and Trojans alike paid for Helen's crime." But the phrase *Rhamnusia uirgo* can hardly allude to the story of Nemesis' rape by Zeus and her giving birth to Helen; moreover, Catullus expresses no shame or embarrassment in connection with his affair with Lesbia: note his gleeful boisting about having snatched her from the lap of her husband (line 146). In fact, Greek writers consistently treat Nemesis as the avenger of hybristic speech, but at 50.2 and in the present passage Catullus treats her as the avenger of hybristic actions in general: he has evidently misunderstood her role, and this makes more sense if he has been using only one source.

The goddess' epithet appears to be a calque not of □Ραμνου!ι□!, which has been reconstructed at Callim. *Aet.* frg. 110.71 Pf. (quoted above on 77f.), but of □Ραμνου!⇔α, which is attested only much later., in Latin in Apuleius at *Met.* 11.5 and in Greek in the lexicons of Zenobius (5.82), Hesychius and Suidas s.v. (not in Photius, despite the *RE* s.v.). The prominence of the word in the lexicographers suggests that it may have been common as a cult title.

The principal MSS write the goddess' epithet here as *rāmusia* (*O*) or *ranusia* (*X*); at 64.395 as *ramunsia* (*O*) and *ranusia* (*X*); at 66.71 as *ranunsia* (*O*) and *ranusia* (*X*). Some of the trouble was caused by the letters *mnu*, which became in minuscule a confusing sequence of seven minims. This part of the word is easy to restore – but what about its beginning: should we write *Ram-* with Mynors and others, or *Rham-* with Thomson? Allen (1965: 33) notes that "[d]uring the first century B.C. the spelling *rh-*, *-rrh-* was introduced to render the Greek −=−, −==−" and one may well ask whether Catullus adhered to the practice (cfr. Trappes-Lomax 2007: 205). His manuscripts write *Rhodum* (4.8) and *Rhenum* (11.11), and they prefer the aspirated form at 65.7 *Rhoeteo* (*retheo O*: *rhaeeteo G*: *rheetheo R*: *rhetheo R²*); while they are no reliable witnesses in questions of orthography, as in anything else, they suggest that Catullus may have preferred to write *Rh–*.

78 temere Well established in poetry of all registers since the archaic period (Pl. 11x, Ter. 11x, Caecil. 1x, Enn. 1x *Ann.* and 1x *trag.*, Lucil. 1x, Turpil. 1x, Accius 1x *com.* and 1x *trag.*; 6x in Lucr.).

inuitis … eris   The *eri* in question are the gods: compare *caelestis ... eros* in line 76 and *deterioris eri* in line 114, with n.   *inuitus* in the ablative is often used to express divine disapproval: thus also 76.12 *dis inuitis*, and see further *TLL* 7.2.235.3-8.

suscipiatur   The verb enters the vocabulary of high poetry in this period: among earlier poets it was only used by Plautus (3x) and Terence (6x), but it occurs in Catullus (5x) and Lucretius (7x) and becomes common in later poetry.

79 quam 'How much', to be taken in the first place with *desideret*, but possibly also with *ieiuna*.

ieiuna … desideret ara   The altar is *ieiuna*, 'unfed' or 'hungry' (though in English the context would require 'thirsty'): it is treated as if it were an animate being. *desideret* too may be a personification ('it longed for') rather than a simple statement of need ('it required'): compare Hor. *Od.* 4.11.6-8 *ara … auet immolato / spargier agno*. However, Pliny uses *desidero* of trees (*N.H.* 17.249 *desiderant autem maxime rigari quae adsueuere*, also 15.4 and 17.17) and the personification may have been too common to be felt strongly. The ambiguity is preserved by the translation 'it called for'.

The reading *desideret* probably appeared as early as β. There we now read *defideret*, but the cross-bar of the *f* looks suspiciously gray, like the corrections by a later hand, and unlike the black ink used by the scribe; also, the scribe's own *f*'s tend to have a longer and more robust cross-bar. I believe that the scribe wrote *defideret* and that this was later turned into the nonsensical *defideret* under the influence of the principal manuscripts' *deficeret*.

pium … cruorem   In the first place, "the blood is *pium* because it is shed in doing reverence to the gods" (Quinn). This usage of the adjective is quite common in later poetry: cfr. Verg. *Aen.* 4.637 *pia … uitta*; *ibid.* 5.745 *farre pio*; Tib. 2.2.3, Ov. *Am.* 3.3.33 and *Her.* 21.7 *pia tura*; Pompon. *trag.* 6 *aras … pias* and similarly Sen. *Phaedr.* 498f.; see further *TLL* 10.1.2239.46-54. However, Vossius and Thomson see here a reference to the blood of the dutiful (*pius*) Protesilaus. This would suit *pium* (which is used on occasion in enallage for something belonging to a dutiful person: cfr. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 3.42 *parce pias scelerare manus* and esp. 10.617 *nunc pereat Teucrisque pio det sanguine poenas*) and especially *cruor*. A word with a strong emotional charge, it is proper to elevated prose and especially to high poetry (2x in Acc. *trag.*; Ennius has *cruentus* in a tragic fragment and *cruentare* in the *Annals*). In our sources *cruor* indicates blood especially once it has left the body ('gore'), and it is used often but not always of tragically spilled human blood: compare Verg. *Aen.* 8.106 *tepidusque cruor fumabat ad aras*, and note Servius' comment that *frustra quidam cruorem pecorum, sanguinem hominum uolunt*.

80   amisso … uiro   The following lines show that this must mean 'when she had to part from her husband' (*OLD* s.v. *amitto*, 9a) and not 'when she lost him, as he died' (*OLD s.v.*, 9b).

81   Laodamia's untimely separation from Protesilaus is described in terms of her having had to let go of his neck: their married life is characterized as one continuous embrace.

coniugis … noui   'Of the man who has just become her husband.' This use of *nouus* does not imply a contrast with a previous husband: compare 61.32 *coniugis cupidam noui* and *noua nupta* at 61.91f., 61.96 etc. (thus already Ter. *Ad.* 751 *noua nupta eadem haec discet?*). See further *OLD* s.v., 15.

dimittere collum   Romans tended to think of an embrace in terms of having one's arms around somebody's neck: compare 35.9f. *manusque collo / ambas iniciens roget morari* (also in a context of farewell), 9.8f. *applicansque collum / iucundum os oculosque suauiabor*, 64.332 *leuia substernens robusto bracchia collo* and see further *TLL* 3.1660.25-61.

82   una atque altera rursus   *unus atque* (or *et*) *alter* 'a couple (of)' is a set phrase, apparently urbane and somewhat elevated; among poets it is only used by Horace (1x *Sat.*, 2x *Epist.*, 1x *A.P.*), Ovid (6x, but not in *Met.*) and Juvenal (1x), while in prose it is found in Cicero (5x *orat.*, 1x *epist.*), Sallust (2x), Valerius Maximus (1x), Columella (2x), Tacitus (1x *Dial.* and 1x *Hist.*), Suetonius (8x), Gellius (4x) and Apuleius (1x, in *Met.*). It can either stand for 'two', as at Cic. *Clu.* 38 *cum unum iam et alterum diem desideraretur*, *Att.* 14.18.1 *tuis et unis et alteris litteris* and Ov. *Her.* 15.182 *et sub ea uersus unus et alter erunt* (referring to the subsequent distich), or for 'a few', 'not many', as at Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.74 *si uersus paulo concinnior unus et alter* and Colum. 4.27.6 *pampinos summouere, nisi ad renouandam uitem unus atque alter seruandus est*. Here the former meaning seems more likely.

hiems   Since *O* writes *hyemps*, while *G* and *R* have *hyems*, the spelling *hiemps* is adopted by Lucian Müller in his edition. It is also proposed by Cremona (1958: 426f.). For the epenthetic *p* compare the perfects *dempsi* and *sumpsi* as well as Vulgar Latin *autumpnus*, *contempno*, *dampnum*, *sompnus*. The spelling *hiemps* is attested at least once in authoritative MSS of authors including Cicero, Caesar, Varro, Horace, Virgil, Livy, Celsus, Columella and Tacitus (see *TLL* 6.3.2773.64-83 and Neue-Wagener 1^3.217f.), while the Hadrianic grammarian Terentius Scaurus has to point out twice that the correct form is not *hiemps* but *hiems* (*GL* 7.21.6-9 and 7.27.3-17): evidently both were use in his time. In the epigraphic evidence we find *hiemps* (*CIL* 1^2 p. 281 [f].9 = *CIL* 6.32505, from somewhere in Italy) alongside *hi ems* (*CIL* 8.12588, from Carthage) and *iemns* (*CIL* 14.2030, from Ostia; the date of all three inscriptions is uncertain). Since *O* is less innovative than *X* (= *GR*), it is more likely to conserve the reading of the archetype, though it is also more likely to make foolish errors; but in any case if the *p* was present in the archetype, it could well have been inserted by someone during Antiquity or the Middle Ages. See further the Introduction, p. 80.

83   noctibus in longis   Nights are longer during the winter and Catullus assumes that it is then that Laodamia would have been able to satiate herself with love-making (on indoor activities during winter nights compare Verg. *Geo.* 1.291-296).

auidum saturasset amorem   A phrase that appears surprisingly and even suspiciously modern, but there are parallels for *auidus* as well as for *saturo*: compare Var. *Men.* 342 Astbury *postquam auida libido rapere ac comedere* (the reading is uncertain) *coepit* and Cic. *Cato* 39 *uoluptatem corporis ... cuius uoluptatis auidae libidines temere et ecfrenate ad potiendum incitarentur* for the former and Cat. 64.119f. *nondum / lumina sunt gnati cara saturata figura* and *Rhet. Her.* 4.65 *exple meas inimicitias et iracundiam satura tuo sanguine* for the latter.

84   abrupto … coniugio   For *abrumpo* 'to interrupt', 'to end prematurely' compare esp. Sidon. *Epist.* 9.6.1 *abrupto contubernio ancillae* and also Verg. *Aen.* 8.579 *nunc, o nunc liceat crudelem abrumpere uitam* with 9.497, and *CE* 1219.1-3 = *CIL* 6.25871.1-3 *uiginti duo erant anni ... abrupit dirae sortis iniqua dies* (see further *TLL* 1.141.3-71). It is a strong word.

85f.   The Parcae knew that Laodamia's marriage would soon be interrupted if her husband left for Troy, that is, in this case he was fated to die soon. It is typical of Catullus to tell about an event by saying that it was or is known to this or that character: compare line 109 *ferunt*, line 112 *audit* and especially the song of the Parcae at 64.323-381, in which they foretell the life and death of Achilles. Here however he lets this narrative device take the shape of a characteristic element of ancient Greek religion, the conditional prophecy: if X happens, Y is bound to follow; if Protesilaus left for Troy, he was fated to die. This is not found in any other ancient version of the myth, but it resembles a prophecy first attested in Ovid (*Her.* 13.93-100, cfr. Auson. 12.12 Green) that may already have been present in Euripides' lost *Protesilaus*, that the first Greek soldier to jump off his ship under Troy was fated to die. Protesilaus did so and soon he found his death.

Trappes-Lomax (2007: 238f.) proposes to delete this distich, as the reader does not need to be told about the prophecy, the neuter relative pronoun *quod* follows awkwardly after *coniugio* and the *nam*-clause in lines 87f. follows just as well after line 84 as after 86. We have just seen that the prophecy is not attested elsewhere, and that it serves as a very Catullan narrative device; *quod* is not particularly problematic (see below); and in fact the *nam*-clause follows less well after line 84 than after 86, as it makes more sense as an explanation of why Protesilaus had to go to Troy (line 86) than of why Laodamia's marriage had to end (line 84).

Fröhlich (1849: 262) would re-write the distich as *quod scibant Parcae haut longum fore, Protesilaus / si miles muros isset ad Iliacos*. That would solve at least two problems, the awkwardness of *quod* referring to *abrupto ... coniugio* and that of *miles* meaning 'as a soldier'. However, it is far from the transmitted text, and it is very unattractive on account of the harsh elision, the prosaic *haut longum fore* and the pentesyllable *Protesilaus* standing at the end of the line after a strong stop.

85   **quod**   The antecedent is not *coniugio* but *abrupto ... coniugio* 'the breaking-up of her marriage.'

scibant   For the ending *–ibant* instead of *–iebant* to accommodate forms that would not fit into a dactylic line compare 64.319 *custodibant* and 84.8 *audibant*. By-forms of the imperfect in *–ibam*, *–ibas* etc. are attested in poetry regularly, though not often, from Plautus onwards: see Neue-Wagener 3.316-319. The irregularity should not be removed with Lucian Mueller's *scirant*, which would spoil the drama: the point is that the Parcae knew where events would lead, while Laodamia did not. Lachmann tentatively suggested *scibat* in his apparatus, but this too would spoil the contrast, and *Parcae ... tempore* would be startling. It is characteristic of Catullus to describe part of the action from the perspective of a third party: see on 85f. above.

Parcae   The name of these native Roman goddesses (on whom see *OCD* s.v. 'fate' and *Neue Pauly* s.v. 'Parcae') suggests that they were originally associated with childbirth: compare *pario*, *partus*. However, Livius Andronicus *frg.* 23 *FPL³ quando dies adueniet, quem profata Morta est* already attributes prophetic powers to them (cfr. the context of the fragment at Gel. 3.16.11). At 64.303-385 Catullus has assimilated

them to the Moirai of Greek mythology, who spin the thread of life, and this passage too shows Greek influence: Catullus' Parcae have foreknowledge about a man's life and death.

longo tempore   This weighty expression suits well the grave contents of this passage. It is found on occasion in prose (1x in Cic. at *Div.* 1.12, 1x in Colum., 2x in Liv., 8x in Plin. *N.H.*, 1x in Sen. *N.Q.*), especially in the precise and ponderous language of the law (1x in Gai. *Inst.*, 21x in *Dig.*) and also in poetry from Catullus onwards (Ov. *A.A.* 1.38, *F.* 3.682 and 6.670, *Tr.* 3.1.76, etc.). It stands in the same position within the verse at Ov. *Met.* 7.280f. *fit uiridis primo nec longo tempore frondes / induunt* and *Her.* 19.39 *quid loquar interea tam longo tempore, quaeris?* (*tam longo tempore* thus also at Lucan 7.72 and Mart. *Epigr.* 10.36.7), which may be echoing the present passage or a common model. Compare the apparent echoes of Cat. 66.35 *haud in tempore longo* at Ov. *Her.* 20.15 *nunc tempore longo*, Lucan 5.120 *sic tempore longo* and Juv. 9.16 *tempore longo*, all at the end of the verse.

abesse   The principal MSS' *abisse* is still printed by Kroll; *abesse* is a conjecture from the Renaissance, while Baehrens proposed *obisse* and Ribbeck (1862: 377f.) suggested *uixe*. The perfects *abisse*, *obisse* and *uixe* are not suitable to conditional foreknowledge regarding the future; and we need a word that refers not to Protesilaus, nor to his marriage, but to its end or breakdown (*abrupto … coniugio*). Ribbeck interprets *quod scibant Parcae non longo tempore uixe* as 'which [marriage] the Parcae knew him [*i.e. Protesilaus*] not to have lived out for long', but this twists the words, and such a phrase would also have to contain a subject-accusative (*eum* or something similar). So the only candidate to remain in the field is *abesse*, which is close to the transmitted reading and makes sense, though there seem to be no parallels for the construction *non longo tempore abesse*. When used temporally, *absum* is either construed with an adverb (*longe abest*) or with a neuter (*multum abestis*). The present phrase may have arisen through analogy from expressions containing an ablative of comparison such as *multo maior*. Alternatively, one could write *quo scibant … non longum tempus abesse*; but I prefer to retain *longo tempore*.

86   The line is echoed by Prop. 2.13.48 *Iliacus Grais miles in aggeribus*.

miles   Referring predicatively to Protesilaus ('if he went … as a soldier'), and not a collective singular ('if the soldiers went …'): Protesilaus had to die because he went to Troy himself, not because the Greeks did.

Iliacos   The calque of the Greek □Ιλιακ⟩! (*Cypria frg.* 1.5 *PEG* = 1.5 *EGF*, Callim. *Aet. frg.* 114.25 Pfeiffer) is first found here in Latin. From this period onwards it is common in Latin (Hor. 3x, Prop. 2x, Verg. *Aen.* 24x, Ov. 26x, Manil. 2x, Mela 1x, Lucan. 6x in *Civ.*, and he wrote poem entitled *Iliaca* that no longer survives: Plin. *N.H.* 7x), and by no means rare in Greek.

87   Helenae raptu   An ablative of external cause ('due to …'): see on line 25 *cuius … interitu*.

87f.   primores Argiuorum … uiros   The phrase recalls expressions from the *Iliad* such as 2.82 μϒγ□ □ρι!το! □Αξαι∩ν, 3.227 *f*φοξο! □Αργε⇔ϖν and 15.643 ∕ν πρ⊕τοι!ι Μυκηνα⇔ϖν. But it has been cast in the conventional language of Latin high poetry, where both *Argiuus* and *primores* were well established

by this time. *Argiuus*, meaning not only 'Argive' but also more generally 'Greek', is used by Ennius (3x *trag.*) and Accius (4x *trag.*) as well as in Plautus (1x); Catullus also uses it at 64.4 *Argiuae robora puppis*. Used in this sense ('the first and foremost'), *primores* is already found at Plaut. *Amphitr.* 204 *delegit uiros primorum principes*, Turp. *com.* 164 *amicos utor primoris uiros* and Accius *trag.* 325f. *primores procerum prouocauit nominans / si esset quis, qui armis secum uellet cernere*; it is found elsewhere in solemn contexts (Varro *Logistorici frg.* 42 Semi *ap.* Aug. *Civ.* 7.34 *rem tantam detulit ad Senatum. ubi cum primores quasdam causas legissent ...* , Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.69 *primores populi arripuit populumque tributim*, Livy 1.54.2 *primores Gabiniorum*, and see *TLL* 10.2.1267.65-1268.21), especially in poetry and historiorgraphy, but is absent from the prose of Cicero, who may have considered this archaism too mannered. In short, Catullus makes a Greek point using very Roman words.

For the combination of a spondaic fifth foot with a Greek proper name compare lines 89 and 109 below as well as 64.74 *egressus curuis e litoribus Piraei* and 64.358 *quae passim rapido diffunditur Hellesponto* (note also the genitive plural in a similar position at 64.78 *electos iuuenes simul et decus innuptarum*). This combination seems to have been somewhat of a fad among poets of this generation, witness Cicero's jest about a verse that came to his mind at *Att.* 7.2.1 *flauit ab Epiro lenissimus Onchesmites (hunc* !πονδει□ζοντα *si cui uoles* τ⌒ν νεϖτΥρϖν *pro tuo uendito)*. Catullus has 43 *spondiazontes* in about 794 hexameters, i.e. about 5.4%; the proportion is similar in the surviving fragments of Cinna (1 in 16, i.e. 6.3%) and Varro of Atax (2 in 37, i.e. 5.4%), while the surviving hexameter-endings of Calvus (there are 9 of them) and those of Furius Bibaculus (of which there are 11) yield no examples. The proportion is much lower in other Latin hexameter poets, for example in Ennius' *Annals* (10-16 *spondiazontes*, i.e. 2-3%: see Skutsch 1985: 51), Lucretius (32 of them, i.e. 0.43%: see Winbolt 1903: 128) and Virgil (33 of them, i.e. 0.26%: see Cupaiuolo in *Enciclopedia virgiliana* s.v. 'esametro').

88   coeperat ad sese Troia ciere   Troy calls the foremost of the Greeks to herself as if it were not a city but a person. This prepares the ground for its violent denunciation in the following lines.

89   nefas!   This emotional exclamation is first found here; later also in Virgil (4x *Aen.*), the *Aetna* (1x), Seneca (1x in *Tro.*), Statius (4x *Theb.*, 2x *Silu.*) and Valerius Flaccus (7x); in prose only once in the *Declamationes Maiores* falsely attributed to Quintilian (at 6.6), in contrast to *pro nefas!*, which occurs both in poetry and in prose (1x in Sen. *Ag.*, 2x in Apul. *Apol.* and 1x in *Flor.*, and 2x in Calp. *Decl.*). The exclamation stands in the same position within the verse at Verg. *Aen.* 7.73 *uisa (nefas!) longis comprendere crinibus ignem* and 10.673 *quosque (nefas!) omnis infanda in morte reliqui* as well as at Val. Fl. 5.39 *bina (nefas!) toto pariter mihi funera surgunt*.

commune sepulcrum   The phrase indicates a 'shared', 'public' or 'common grave', a site where anyone could be buried: note the words of the 3rd-century A.D. jurisconsult Aelius Marcianus that *in commune ... sepulcrum etiam inuitis ceteris licet inferre* (i.e. *mortuum*; *Dig.* 1.8.6.4) and compare Lucr. 5.259f. *omniparens eadem rerum commune sepulcrum ... terra* and Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.10 *hoc miserae plebi stabat*

commune sepulcrum with Porphyry as well as Fedeli (1994) *ad loc.* In practice a *commune sepulcrum* may not have been much different from a modern cemetery, but upper-class Romans, status-conscious and individualistic, seem to have considered it degrading. They preferred to be buried in a plot of land of their own, close to their relatives, with a suitable monument marking the site.

Asiae Europaeque   On spondaic fifth feet involving exotic names see on 87f. *primores Argiuorum ... uiros.*

90   The line contains three cases of elision; Catullus set his personal record at five in 73.6 *quam modo qui me unum atque unicum amicum habuit.* Elisions are relatively rare in 68b (about one in every 2.7 lines), more so than in 68a (there we find one in about every 1.8 lines): see Ross (1969: 121).

The present line is probably echoed by Virgil at *Aen.* 1.565f. *quis Troiae nesciat urbem / uirtutesque uirosque et tanti incendia belli?* (note the image of the war as a conflagration).

uirum et uirtutum omnium   The figura etymologica *uir – uirtus* is already found at Enn. *trag.* 254 Jocelyn *sed uirum uera uirtute uiuere † animatum adiecit †* and is common later: compare Verg. *Aen.* 1.566 (see the previous note) and 8.500 *flos ueterum uirtusque uirum*, Liv. 10.23.7 *quod certamen uirtutis uiros in hac ciuitate tenebat*, Vel. 2.105.2 *uirum multiplicem* [*in*] *uirtutibus*, Lucan. 3.484 *uirtus incerta uirorum*, Gel. 6.1.6 *uirum esse uirtutis diuinae*, etc.

omnium must be taken □π∫ κοινο∖ with *uirum et uirtutum.* The exaggeration is typical of Catullus: compare e.g. line 158 below and 77.4 *eripuisti omnia nostra bona.*

acerba cinis   In a stark metaphor Catullus equates Troy with the ashes of the countless dead of the war. Ashes appear to have been a rhetorical topos: note *Rhet. Her.* 4.12 *nisi sanctissimae patriae miserandum scelerati uiderint cinerem.*

Most authors treat *cinis* as masculine, but Catullus' MSS write *acerba cinis* here and *mutam ... cinerem* at 101.4, but *cognatos ... cineres* in line 98 below (the gender of the adjective is guaranteed metrically only in the present passage). This is in line with Nonius' statement (p. 198 M. = 291.8-14 Lindsay) that *cinis masculino Vergilius ... feminino apud Caesarem et Catullum et Caluum lectum est, quorum uacillat auctoritas*, i.e. Calvus and Catullus and presumably also Caesar use the word both ways. In fact the word is not attested in Caesar's surviving writings, while in Calvus' fragments it is found twice in the feminine (*frgg.* 15f. *FPL³*, with its gender guaranteed metrically in the first passage) but nowhere in the masculine. Lucretius too uses *cinis* in the feminine (at 4.926, where the gender is not guaranteed metrically). The word receives both genders in the MSS of two prose authors, of the medical writer Scribonius Largus, writing under Claudius (masc. at 122, fem. at 114, 237 and 244) and of Apuleius (masc. at *Met.* 4.14 and 4.29, fem. at 9.12). In the fourth century A.D. the feminine is used by the medical writer Q. Serenus and in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (see *TLL* 3.1070.9-12). It is well attested in funerary inscriptions from Rome (*CE* 1017.2 = *CIL* 6.14831; *CE* 1054.2 = *CIL* 6.28228 *fin.*, perhaps from the 1ˢᵗ century B.C.; *CE* 1099.1 = *CIL* 6.2938; *CE* 1545.6; *CIL* 6.8431.7; *CIL* 6.27593.5f.; *CIL* 6.28228.6) as well as from Capua (*CIL* 10.4142.3). The descendants of *cinis* in the modern Romance languages are feminine; some of them, such as the Catalan 'cendra' and the Spanish 'ceniza', appear to come from the late Latin neuter plural *cinera* (thus Ernout-

Meillet s.v. *cinis*), but the Italian word 'cenere' does not (here Latin *cinera* would have yielded *'cenera'). This suggests that in Latin the feminine will have been the more popular and the masculine the more literary form.

A number of other explanations have been proposed for the use of the word in the feminine. Walde-Hofmann s.v. *cinis* compare *fauilla*; Klotz (1931: 344f.) thinks that Ennius must have used the word in the feminine in a lost passage in imitation of the Homeric word !ποδι→ (*Od.* 5.488); Ernout-Meillet s.v. *cinis* suggest that the poets may have used the word in the feminine to let it correspond to κ⟩νι!; and Lunelli (1978: 91-93) argues that *cinis* is used in the feminine by Catullus, Calvus and Lucretius in imitation both of !ποδι→ (which is found in Callimachus as well as in Homer) and of κ⟩νι!, for reasons of metrical convenience and in a marriage of poetic refinement with a popular element, as this was the gender of the word in vulgar Latin. But the attestations of *cinis* in the femine in technical texts and in a range of inscriptions make it impossible to see it as a refined Grecism. We are evidently dealing with a colloquialism that was filtered out of the literary language in the Augustan period.

It is surprising to find *cinis* both in the masculine and in the feminine within a relatively short and rather polished poem: *acerba cinis* here clashes with *cognatos ... cineres* eight lines below. A methodical textual critic would want to write *cognatas ... cineres* below, or even *acerbu' cinis* here (the ecthlipsis of the *s* may have been rare, but it often provoked corruption) – but the inconsistency of the text is confirmed by the testimony of Nonius. To be sure, Nonius' text of Catullus could have been corrupt: Gellius' manuscripts contained no less than three different versions of Cat. 27.4 (Gel. 6.20.6), and Nonius was writing two and a half centuries later. In fact, there survives no text in which both the feminine and the masculine are metrically guaranteed, and the two forms do not seem to occur side by side in any inscription; nor does there seem to be any other example of the same word being treated both as a masculine and as a feminine within the space of ten lines in a carefully written text. However, one should compare the word *finis*, which is used by Virgil both in the masculine (13x) and in the feminine (8x); for example in *Aeneid* 5 it is masculine in lines 82, 225 and 630, but feminine in lines 328 and 384. This fluctuation is already found in Virgil's oldest manuscripts, and is confirmed by Gellius 13.21.12, who states that the poet made the word masculine or feminine according to the requirements of euphony. What we do not find anywhere else in ancient literature is the use of a word in two different genders within such a short piece of text.

91-96   Much of these lines has been copied and re-adapted from lines 19-24 in poem 68a: see the detailed discussion there.

91 quae nunc et   A difficult textual problem. The principal MSS write *que uetet id*, in which *que*, that is, *quae* could well be taken with *Troia* in the previous line; *uetet* makes no sense; and *id* could be taken with *letum miserabile*, but as was rightly pointed out by Haupt (1841: 11), this would have the perplexing implication that Catullus' brother would have died in the same way as the Greek and Trojan heroes slain during the Trojan War.

Santenius, Lachmann, Schwabe, Baehrens and most more recent editors print Nicolaus Heinsius' conjecture *quaene etiam*. This has the advantage of being reasonably close to the transmitted text – but is it good Latin? The commentators compare the interrogatives at 64.180-184 *an patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui / respersum iuuenem fraterna caede secuta? / coniugis an fido memet consoler amore? / quine fugit lentos incuruans gurgite remos?* and at Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.20-24 *'at magnum fecit, quod uerbis Graeca Latinis / miscuit.' o seri studiorum, quine putetis / difficile et mirum, Rhodio quod Pitholeonti / contigit? 'at sermo lingua concinnus utraque / suauior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est.'* In each of these cases *–ne* turns a relative clause into a question. Here, on the other hand, it is impossible to see what question *–ne* would introduce – Catullus can hardly be asking himself whether his brother has died under Troy after all, and not somewhere else. The conjecture is highly unconvincing.

Ellis prints his own conjecture *qualiter id* in his two editions and in his commentary, while Thomson cautiously adopts Marcilius' *quae nunc et* in his 1997 edition (in 1978 he had still written *quaene etiam*). Ellis' text does not work: not only does it conserve *id*, but it duplicates it with *qualiter*. In fact, the adverb is not found anywhere else before the Augustan period. On the other hand, Marcilius' *quae nunc et* is good Latin and perhaps not unacceptably far from the transmitted reading. *nunc* may appear a bit bland, but the relationship between the heroic past and the present is not without parallel as a theme in Catullus' poetry (compare the end of poem 64), and it works well as a hinge that attaches one thematic block of the poem (Troy) to another (the death of Catullus' brother). In such an artificial construction the hinges may well be somewhat recherché. Also, *quae nunc* here would be echoed by *quem nunc* in line 97. The problems with it are that *nunc* is not too close to *uetet*, and that it is metrically unattractive – the line begins ponderously with three long syllables, which mean essentially nothing – but it may be the best candidate on offer.

Let us quickly evaluate the other conjectures that have been proposed. We have already seen the arguments against conserving *id*; this rules out Lipsius' *quaene etiam id*, of which Nicolaus Heinsius' *quaene etiam* is merely a simpler version, Vossius' *quaemet et id*, Huschke's *quin etiam id* (Huschke 1792: 96f., advocated by Trappes-Lomax 2007: 239), Rossbach's *quae uel et id*, Heyse's *quae ueterum id* (which I found in his edition of 1855) and *quae nuper id* (which is sometimes attributed to him), and Macnaghten's somewhat absurd *qua ualet, id* (Macnaghten 1897: 149f.). Calphurnius' *quaeue etiam id* also belongs to the category, but there the pronoun can simply be omitted; one could simply write *quaeue etiam*, which is discussed below. Another sizeable group is constituted by those conjectures in which an exclamation of grief is added. Thus the humanist who copied the MS β first wrote *que uetet id* but corrected this to *que ue etiam id*, which is not far from Sillig's *quae (uae!) etiam*. Scaliger conjectured *quae, ue, ter* (apparently he meant *uae*), Dousa proposed *quae uae uae et* and one of Nicolaus Heinsius' two conjectures here was *uae mihi, quae et* (it is reported by Doering, who writes *est*, but this may be just a slip). What makes this an attractive idea is that is that in the 14th century *uae* would have been written as *uę* or as *ue*, which would go some way towards explaining the principal MSS' *uetet*. Haupt (1841: 12) rejected Sillig's conjecture on the ground that *uae* is never elided, and Raphelengius' proposal could be ruled out for the same reason – but perhaps Haupt is too critical here: if *uae!* is not used elsewhere before a vowel by the poets of the late Republic and the Empire,

that might simply be because it is relatively rare, and it does stand before a vowel in Plautus, who always appears to elide it in this position (thus certainly at *Capt.* 650, *Per.* 270 and *Stich.* 594, and probably also at *Asin.* 273 and *Capt.* 885). In any case, it is the question whether *quae (uae!)* would be effective just two lines after *Troia (nefas!)*. Raphelengius' conjecture is unconvincing also because (if I am not mistaken) *uae uae* is not found anywhere else before the Vulgate; and Scaliger's *ter* is no more plausible – it would presumably have to go with *miserabile*, but the distance between the two words makes this very unlikely. The most idiomatic of these conjectures may well be Nicolaus Heinsius' *uae mihi, quae et*, but that strays very far from the transmitted text.

There still remain a number of alternatives. Several editions attribute the conjecture *quaeue etiam* to Calphurnius. In fact he wrote *quaeue etiam id*, as has already been mentioned, and even that may not have been a conjecture: his edition reads *Quæ ue ēt* (i.e. *etiam*) *id nostro*, but *ēt* looks suspicious because he uses no abbreviations in his text apart from the sign *&*, and even in his preface, where he uses abbreviations more freely, he never writes *ēt* for *etiam*. In the preface he complains about the numerous printer's errors that have crept into his text, and this looks like one: an *ē* may have crept into the printer's box of *e*s – and given rise to a 'conjecture'. Later editors detached *id* and attributed to Calphurnius the proposal *quaeue etiam*, which is close to the transmitted text but implausible, as –*ue* does not introduce any sort of alternative. Meanwhile, Avantius' first Aldine edition of 1502 has *quae nempe et*, but *nempe* 'no doubt', 'to be sure' is used as a rule to accompany a statement that might appear controversial (see *OLD* s.v.), while the devastation caused by the Trojan War and the death of his brother are unquestionable facts in the eyes of the poet. Haupt (1841: 12-14) proposed *quare etiam*, but one can hardly speak of a causal relationship between the death of Catullus' brother and the Trojan War. In Bergk's *quae uel sic* (*ap.* Rossbach) it is not clear what could be the force of *uel*. Hertzberg proposed *quaeque itidem*, but *quaeque* could not mean 'and who' without a preceding relative. Palmer's *quae uelut his* would be awkward without a subsequent *et*. Ribbeck (1862: 378) proposed *quae uitai nostrae*, but this involves changing *nobis* as well, which is not manifestly corrupt, and the emendation is strongly implausible not as much on account of the archaic genitive –*ai*, normally scanned as a spondee and unparalleled in Catullus, which is easily corrected to –*ae*, but because *uitae nostrae* would not make sense; it could hardly go with *fratri*. As for H.A. Koch's *haec etiam*, it is too far from the transmitted text to convince. All these conjectures can be crossed out.

This leaves Passerat's *quae nuper*; *queis ueluti* proposed by Fröhlich (1849: 265); and C. Paucker's *quin eadem et*. These are possible in theory, but none has the right mixture of elegance and closeness to the transmitted reading so as to convince. Marcilius' *quae nunc et* is not perfectly elegant, but I think that it is acceptable. Rather hesitantly, I put it into the text.

letum miserabile   *letum* is an archaic word that survived in a solemn formula still used at public funerals at this time, as Varro *L.L.* 7.42 tells us: *in funeribus indictiuis* (i.e. those announced by a herald)*, quo dicitur 'ollus leto datus est', quod Graecus dicit* λ→ψηι*, id est obliuioni*. The word seems to have entered the language of poetry from this formula, witness Ennius *trag.* 283f. Jocelyn *quorum liberi leto dati / sunt in bello* and Pacuv. *trag.* 148 *is quis est? – qui te, nisi tu illum occupas, leto dabit*, and compare the text of a

law at Cic. *Leg.* 2.22.15 *<bo>nos* (suppl. Urlichs; alii alia) *leto datos diuos habento*. The word is found in Plautus (3x), Ennius (3x), Pacuvius (1x), Accius (4x), in the poems of Cicero (3x), Propertius (4x), Tibullus (2x) and Horace (8x) and is a favourite word of Lucretius (33x) and of Virgil in the *Aeneid* (here 35x; 2x in *Geo.*, not in *Ecl.*). It is also found on occasion in prose (3x in Cicero, not in his speeches; 2x in Nepos; 6x in Livy; 1x in Curtius; 3x Pliny the Elder; etc.); it is used in a low genre in a letter of Cicero's to Atticus: *uide quam turpi leto pereamus* (10.10.5). *Pace* Ernout-Meillet s.v., the word is not poetical, but pathetic. In Catullus' poems it is found here and twice in poem 64 (at lines 149 and 187), and compare *letifero* at 64.194. *miserabilis* is first found at Cic. *Ver.* 2.5.163 *acerba imploratio et uox miserabilis*, then here, and afterwards it is common in prose and poetry.

92   attulit   Idiomatic (*letum afferre* is found at Cic. *Ver.* 2.5.118 and *Div.* 2.62, Quint. *Decl. min.* 270 p. 104.7 Ritter and Apul. *Apol.* 78, and cfr. Sen. *Phaedr.* 857), but awkward on account of its position in enjambment, and of the weighty coincidence of the word-accent with the first ictus of the verse: this bland verb receives an amount of emphasis that is entirely disproportionate to its contents. Evidently Catullus was adapting line 20 *abstulit. o misero frater adempte mihi*, where the emphasis on *abstulit* is entirely justified, and he did not change the verb but only the prefix.

93-96   These lines were deleted by Fröhlich (1849: 265), who is followed by Trappes-Lomax (2007: 239), but they are surely genuine: see on lines 19-24 above.

93   iucundum lumen   Apparently a set phrase, witness Verg. *Aen.* 6.363 *per caeli iucundum lumen et auras* and *CE* 963.1 = *CIL* 6.17130.1 *o iucundum lumen superum, o uitae iucunda uoluptas* (a funeral inscription from Rome from 12 B.C.).

97-100   Catullus' brother has been buried in distant Troy, far from the ashes of his relatives: this painful point is elaborated in two distichs that resemble the lament for Catullus' brother (discussed on lines 19-24 above) in their repetitiveness. It adds to the mournful effect of these lines that the hexameters consist of spondees everywhere apart from their fifth foot.

97   sepulchra   The principal MSS write *sepulcra*, but it may be better to write –*chra*: Gellius 2.3.3 includes *sepulchrum* among a list of words to which the *ueteres* had added a *h*, and the epigraphical evidence also seems to go this way (there is as yet no *TLL* entry for the word): the index to *CIL* 6 (the city of Rome) lists 73 aspirated forms against 53 unaspirated ones.

98   The verse may be echoed by Ov. *Met.* 13.615f. *inferiaeque cadunt cineri cognata sepulto / corpora*. Characteristically, Ovid seems to have made a literalistic conceit ('related bodies', of the birds sprung from Memnon's body) out of Catullus' enallage.

cognatos … cineres   Enallage: 'related ashes' for 'the ashes of a relative'. On the gender of the noun see on line 90 *acerba cinis*.

compositum   Often used for interring the ashes and bones of the deceased after the cremation: compare Hor. *Sat.* 1.9.28 *omnis composui* 'I have buried them all', Ov. *Fast.* 5.426 *compositique nepos busta piabat aui*, *CE* 373.3 (from Moguntium, i.e. Mainz in Germany, from around 70 A.D.) *hic ego nunc iac[eo] fatis compostus [i]niqu[is]*, *CE* 1016.3f. = *CIL* 6.7419.3f. (from Rome) *iucundum, quaeso, corpus ne flete parentes / compositum fato sollicitare caput*, etc.: see further *OLD* s.v., 4c and *TLL* 3.2116.22-55. The juxtaposition of *compositum* with *cineres* here recalls passages such as Ov. *Fast.* 3.547 *compositusque cinis* (sc. *est*), *Pont.* 1.2.109f. *nec male compositos, ut scilicet exule dignum, / Bistonii cineres ungula pulset equi* and *CE* 1001.5 = *CIL* 6.6502 *compositos tantum cineres humus integat oro*.

99   obscena   'Fateful', 'baneful'; thus also for example at Hor. *Epod.* 5.98 *obscenas anus* (i.e. witches), Verg. *Aen.* 7.417 *frontem obscenam rugis arat* (Allecto), Ov. *Her.* 5.119 *obscenam ponto demergite puppim!* (Cassandra of the ship bringing Helen to Troy) and Lucan 4.311f. *cadit omnis in haustus / certatim obscenos miles* (of poisoned water), and see further *TLL* 10.2.159.23-60. Varro's words at *L.L.* 7.96 show that at this time the word could either be written as *obscenus* or as *obscaenus*. In prose it is found only from Cicero onwards, and in this sense it remains predominantly poetical (thus *TLL* 10.2.158.76-79).

infelice   'Unhappy', 'miserable' seems slightly weak after 'baneful' – but a highly emotional lament may well be slightly dishevelled.

The ablative in *–e* is "a metrically convenient substitute for the normal form in *–i*": thus Fordyce on 43.4 *elegante*, who also notes 35.12 *impotente*, 63.7 *recente*, Lucr. 2.635 *pernice* (alongside 5.559 *pernici*), Verg. *Ecl.* 8.75 *impare* and Ov. *Her.* 8.103 *reduce*. On the licence, which existed in prose as well as in poetry, see further Neue-Wegener 2.54-58.

100   detinet   Catullus writes as if his brother were not dead, but just detained in a foreign country.

extremo … solo   An exaggeration: though very far from Rome, the Troad could hardly be seen as the end of the world, unlike India (Cat. 11.2 *siue in extremos penetrabit Indos*) or the Don (Hor. *Od.* 3.10.1 *extremum Tanain si biberes, Lyce*).

The metonymical use of *solum* 'soil' for 'land', 'territory' is mainly poetic or rhetorical: see *OLD* s.v., 5.

terra aliena   'A foreign land', 'the land of others': cfr. 63.14 *aliena … petentes uelut exules loca*, Lucr. 5.546 *tellus … aliena*, Cic. *Sest.* 7 *in alienis terris iacentem* (of an exile), Livy 28.35.10 *in Hispania, terra aliena atque ignota* and see further *TLL* 1.1570.71-1572.35.

101   properans   *propero* and its derivatives are especially common in comedy (120x Pl., 20x Ter., etc.) and in prose, especially of a colloquial sort (Cic. 22x *orat.*, 9x *rhet.-phil.*, 50x *epist.*), but they are well-established in high poetry (2x Pacuv., 2x Acc. *trag.*, 2x Cic. *Arat.* and 2x Lucr.). Catullus uses the root elsewhere at 63.30 *citus … properante pede chorus* and 63.34 *ducem … properipedem*.

fertur 'They say': this highlights that Catullus is simply re-telling a story, a myth. He resorts to the device often: compare *quale ferunt Grai* in line 109 below as well as 2B.1f. *tam gratum est mihi, quam ferunt puellae / pernici aureolum fuisse malum*, 64.1f. *Peliaco quondam prognatae uertice pinus / dicuntur liquidas Neptuni nasse per undas*, 64.19 *tum Thetidis Peleus incensus fertur amore* (i.e. probably *incensus esse fertur*), 64.76 *nam perhibent olim*, 64.124 *saepe illam perhibent*, 64.212 *namque ferunt olim*.

<simul> undique   The line is half a foot too short in the primary MSS; one should add something to fill the gap – but what? The most convincing remedy is the Renaissance supplement *simul*, as *simul undique* is found in the same position within the hexameter at Verg. *Aen.* 11.610 *exhortantur equos, fundunt simul undique tela*, Lucan. 7.54 *indulgens regno, qui tot simul undique gentis*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.161 *pectora congestisque auidae simul undique dextris* and Val. Fl. 1.121 *feruere cuncta uirum coetu, simul undique cernit* (for the phrase cfr. also Livy 9.14.9, 30.3.3 and 36.10.7). *cuncta* was proposed by Fröhlich (1849: 265) but is less euphonius than one would wish (*cuncta undique*), while Eldick's *lecta* would clash with *deseruisse focos*: the homes were left empty. Lipsius' *unde* is unattractive because it would cause a lengthening *in arsi* in the second syllable of *fertur*, because *unde undique* is not attested, and because if it did, it would presumably have meant 'from somewhere or other' like *unde unde*, while we know that the people in question arrived from their homes. Vossius tried another remedy and proposed to turn *fertur* into *feruentior*, but *fertur* is a quintessentially Catullan form (see *ad loc.*) and it is essential because it governs the indirect statement.

pubes   Thus also 64.4 *Argiuae robora pubis* and 64.267 *Thessala pubes*. When it meant 'youth' and not 'loins' it was an elevated word, proper to high poetry (*inc. trag.* 32f. *omnes Danai atque Mycenenses, / Attica pubes*; later at Tib. 1.7.5 *pubes Romana*, Verg. *Aen.* 2.477 *Scyria pubes*, etc.), official formulae (Pl. *Pseud.* 126 *pube praesenti in contione*, where a public crier is imitated) and pathetic rhetoric (Cic. *Mil.* 61 *totam rem publicam, omnem Italiae pubem, cuncta populi Romani arma*).

102   Graia   The principal MSS write *greca* or *grȩca* and most editors duly print *Graeca*; Lucian Mueller's emendation *Graia* is accepted by Baehrens and Goold. In comedy, satire and prose *Graecus* is either the only form attested (thus e.g. in Cato the Elder, Terence, Lucilius, in Horace's *Satires* and in Cicero's speeches, apart from poetic quotations) or it is by far the more common form (10x against 1x in Plautus), while in more elevated poetry *Graius* is either more common than *Graecus* (4x against 2x in Ennius, 7x against 2x in Cicero and 45x against 10x in Ovid; however 8x against 8x in Horace's poems except the *Satires*) or it is the only form attested (thus in Naevius and Pacuvius, in Accius' tragedies, in Lucretius, Virgil, Tibullus and probably also Propertius, depending on how 4.8.38 is reconstructed). Catullus does not use *Graecus* anywhere else, but he has *Graia* at 66.58 (also at the start of the pentameter) and *Grai* at 68.109, just eight lines from here. Since the present passage is notably elevated, he can be expected to have used the poetic adjective here as well, and it could easily have been regularized to the everyday form.

At 66.57 the principal MSS write *gratia* and Baehrens restored the spelling *Graiia*; in view of this Trappes-Lomax (2007: 240) argues that here too we should write *Graiia*. But it is the question whether any value

should be attached to the orthography of the manuscripts (see the Introduction, pp. 80f.); and I believe that a medieval scribe could also have changed *graia* into *gratia*.

penetralis … focos *Vestae ... uis ... ad aras et focos pertinet ... nec longe absunt ab hac ui di Penates, siue a penu ducto nomine ... siue ab eo quod penitus insident; ex quo etiam penetrales a poetis uocantur* (Cic. *N.D.* 2.67f.). *penetralis* refers to the inmost part of a Roman home, containing the hearth and the gods of the house; it is a far more religious term than 'intimate'. It is not attested before this period, but Cicero's statement implies that he had found it more than once in high poetry (Lucretius uses it 3x eccentrically to mean 'penetrating'). *foci penetrales* seems to have been a pathetic set phrase, witness Cic. *Har. Resp.* 57 *deorum ignis, solia, mensas, abditos ac penetralis focos* and Verg. *Aen.* 5.660 *rapuitque focis penetralibus ignem*.

103f. Finally Catullus describes the Trojan War not in terms of casualties but in terms of its cause, which he pragmatically identifies with Helen's adulterous relationship with Paris. His language expresses outrage and contempt (note *moecha*): dropping the elevated tone of the previous distichs, his language becomes plain and he chides Paris and Helen as if they were real-life adulterers.

103 ne The archetype appears to have read *nec*, as this is found in *OR*; *ne* is first found in *G*. Baehrens proposed to write *nei*, but this spelling was obsolete by Catullus' time: see on line 43.

abducta This neutral word becomes strongly negative when it is applied to carrying off a woman: thus Pl. *Asin.* 70 *quam amabam abduxit ab lenone mulierem*, Afran. *com.* 301 *gnatam ab illo abducere* (and he had written a play entitled *Abducta*: see *com.* 1-3), Cic. *Flacc.* 72 *uxorem abduxit ab Amynta praegnantem,* Verg. *Aen.* 7.362 *perfidus alta petens abducta uirgine praedo*, Ov. *Am.* 1.9.33 *ardet in abducta Briseide magnus Achilles* and see *TLL* 1.61.5-16.

gauisus I.e. 'rejoicing': the perfect participles of certain deponents indicating a mental or physical condition can be used with a present meaning: see Hofmann-Szantyr 391; according to Kühner-Stegmann 1.759, this usage describes a condition that has already arisen; cfr. Gildersleeve-Lodge 181 "the action of the participle is conceived of as continuing *up to*, and sometimes *into*, that of the leading verb".

libera For *libera otia* 'unimpeded leisure' compare Hor. *Epist.* 1.7.35f. *nec / otia diuitiis Arabum liberrima muto*, Ov. *A.A.* 2.729f. *cum libera dantur / otia, furtiuum nec timor urget opus* (an occasion for unhurried love-making) and Fronto, *Epist.* p. 224.3f. Naber = 227.7f. Van den Hout[2] *ludo et ioco et otio libero per quattriduum uniuersum operam dares*; see *TLL* 7.2.1286.71-73.

moecha This strong and almost obscene word stands in stark contrast with the tone of the preceding lines and highlights the outrageous nature of Helen's unfaithfulness.

In Greek thought and law a μοιξ⟩! was a man who pursued a secret sexual relationship with a freeborn woman without the consent of her husband or legal guardian (see Latte in *RE* 15.2.2446-2449 s.v. μοιξε⇔α). In Latin literature *moechus* normally just means 'adulterer': thus Pl. *Ba.* 917f. *miles Mnesilochum cum uxore opprimeret sua / atque obtruncaret moechum manufestarium* (cfr. *Poen.* 862

manufesti moechi) and Cael. *ap.* Cic. *Fam.* 8.7.2 *Seruius Ocella nemini persuasisset se moechum esse nisi triduo bis deprehensus esset*. The word and its derivatives are found from the archaic period onwards, almost always in less elevated genres such as comedy, satire and private letters (12x Pl., 4x Ter., 1x each Lucil., Laber., Var. *Menipp.*, Cael. *epist.*, Aug. *epist.*; 10x Cat., Hor. 6x *Sat.* and 1x *Od.*, Phaedr. 4x, Juv. 14x and Mart. 30x). Higher genres prefer *adulter*, which is less shocking (cfr. Verg. *Aen.* 10.92 *me duce Dardanius Spartam expugnauit adulter* – the present passage re-phrased in more palatable terms?). Vulgar terms of abuse are not noted for their precision, and *moechus* and its kin could also be used in general for men with unwholesome sexual habits: thus Pl. *Truc.* 610 *moechum malacum, cincinnatum*, Lucil. 1058 Marx *moechocinaedi* and Cat. 37.16 *omnes pusilli et semitarii moechi*; see further *TLL* 8.1324.82-1325.17.

In Greek the feminine of μοιξ⟩! is normally μοιξ□!; only Aristophanes of Byzantium (*ap.* Eust. *in Od.* 14.350 = p. 1761.24 *ed. Rom.*) claims that there exists a form μοιξ→. In Latin *moechas* is found only once (Var. *Men.* 205 Astbury), but *moechus* has given rise to the native formation *moecha* (see Kroll on Cat. 42.3). This can be used either specifically to mean 'an adulteress', as here, or as a general term of abuse, 'a slut' (thus *moecha turpis*, *putida moecha* etc. in Cat. 42). Even in the former sense *moecha* will have been highly offensive, the right word to brand the irresponsible adulteress Helen, whose infidelity caused the death of so many good men.

Being one of Lesbia's lovers, Catullus was playing with fire.

104 pacato   Not 'pacified', as often, but 'at peace' (*TLL* 10.1.22.71f.).

in thalamo   In Greek ψ□λαμο! is used of a variety of inner rooms and spaces, especially of the women's chambers, the most intimate part of a house (*LSJ* s.v., I; from the *Iliad* onwards). In Latin the word first occurs in the *Iliad* of one Naevius, of uncertain date but possibly Sullan (cfr. *FPL³* p. 119; *frg.* 2 *FPL³ penetrat penitus thalamoque potitur*), and in Catullus (also at 61.185 and at 66.17). In the Augustan period it is already frequent (1x in *Carmen de Bello Actiaco*, 5x in Prop., 23x in Virg., 1x in Hor., 77x in Ov., etc.); it does not occur in prose before Petronius (2x).

105 quo … casu   'Through which event' (for this sense of *casus* compare Cic. *Fam.* 10.23.4, of someone trying to commit suicide: *in quo casu tamen interpellatus adhuc uiuit et dicitur uicturus*) and not 'through what fortune', 'by which chance event' (which is the more common meaning of the word: see line 1n. *casu*). There was nothing casual about Protesilaus' death.

pulcerrima   Did Catullus write *pulcer* or *pulcher*? Catullus' archetype may only have contained unaspirated forms: for most of the text these are found in all principal MSS (23.5, 23.8, 57.1, 57.10, 61.84, 64.28), while from poem 79 onwards *X* appears to have chosen to write aspirated forms (79.1 and 3, 86.5). But the MSS are of dubious value when it comes to reconstructing spelling: see the Introduction, pp. 80f.

Cicero describes how he used to omit the aspiration in imitation of earlier Romans and said *pulcer*, *Cetegus*, *triumpus* and *Kartago*, only to change track later when he noticed that this seemed too unnatural, as people

were using the aspirated forms (*Orat.* 160). Inscriptions from this period use both *pulcher* and *pulcer* (see Sandys 1885: 180 on Cic. *Orat.* 160 *pulcros*). It is safer to follow the MSS here.

106   uita dulcius atque anima   A set expression, witness Cic. *Fam.* 14.7.1 *Tulliolam, quae nobis nostra uita dulcior est*, *Lydia* 57 *letum uita mihi dulcius esset* (cfr. 52) and Lucan 5.739f. *non nunc uita mihi dulcior ... cum taedet uita, laeto sed tempore, coniunx*. In this poem note *mihi quae me carior ipso est* in line 159: Laodamia is no less passionate in her love than Catullus.

107   coniugium   A strongly emphatic word. It stands isolated in enjambment at the start of this distich; its emphatic position is appropriate to its significance and need not be a sign of unsophisticated technique ("ein Zeichen von unentwickelter Technik"), as Kroll argues.

This metonymical use to mean not 'wedding' but 'spouse' is found as early as Accius *trag.* 500 *coniugium Pisis petere* and is well attested in later poetry: thus Prop. 3.13.19f. *certamen habent leti, quae uiua sequatur / coniugium* (of Oriental widows), Verg. *Aen.* 3.296 *coniugio Aeacidae Pyrrhi sceptrisque potitum* and *CE* 1192.1f. = *CIL* 12.861.1f. *debita coniugio Apelles pia carmina scribit, / quam rapuit mors inimica uiro* (2nd c. A.D., from Arles); see further *TLL* 4.325.16-46.

107f.   tanto te absorbens uertice amoris / aestus in abruptum detulerat barathrum   The clause illustrates not *ereptum est ... coniugium* but *uita dulcius atque anima*, which was the most striking part of the preceding clause, though syntactically not the most important one. Note the pluperfect, which describes Laodamia falling in love before losing her husband (thus Kroll).

The metaphorical use of *aestus absorbens* for passion and similar states of mind seems to have been commonplace: thus Pl. *Bac.* 470f. *meretricem indigne deperit. – non tu taces? / – atque acerrume aestuosam: apsorbet ubi quemque attigit*, Cic. *Leg.* 2.9 *ne aestus nos consuetudinis absorbeat* and *Brut.* 282 *hunc quoque absorbuit aestus quidam insolitae adulescentibus gloriae*.

107   tanto … uertice amoris   For the image of the whirlpool compare Cic. *Tusc.* 2.21 *nunc, nunc dolorum anxiferi torquent uertices* (the metaphor is absent from the passage he is translating, Soph. *Trach.* 1088f.), Sen. *Ep.* 82.3 *non satius est uel sic iacere quam in istis officiorum uerticibus uolutari?* and Sil. 4.230 *qua medio pugnae uorat agmina uertex*.

It seems to have been a matter of controversy in antiquity whether one had to write *uertex* or *uortex*. Quintilian *Inst.* 1.7.25 notes the view that the original spelling had been *uortex* (and *uorsus*, a similar case), which was first changed into *uertex* by Scipio Africanus; however, the grammarian Caper states that *uortex fluminis est, uertex capitis* (*GL* 7.99.11 Keil, cfr. 7.97.15), while Charisius agrees with Pliny the Elder that *uertex a uertendo dicitur, uortex a uorando* (*GL* 1.88.16). In the MSS the two forms are used more or less indiscriminately; so it is safer to conserve the principal MSS' *uertice*.

absorbens   'Devouring' (*TLL* 1.184.68-185.31).

108 The line is echoed by Virgil's description of Charybdis at *Aen.* 3.421f. *imo barathri ter gurgite uastos / sorbet in abruptum fluctus*.

abruptum … barathrum The Greek loan-word *barathrum* 'chasm, abyss' (not 'gorge') had already been used by Plautus (*Bac.* 149, *Curc.* 121 and *Rud.* 570) and is also found in Lucretius (6.606). Later it is found regularly, though not frequently, in poetry (Hor. 1x *Sat.* and 1x *Epist.*, Verg. *Aen.* 2x, Colum. 1x in a verse passage, Stat. 4x, Val. Fl. 2x, Mart. 2x, Sil. 1x), and it occurs only very rarely in prose (only at Vitr. 10.16.11 and 3x in Apul.). Here Catullus may be using it simply because it is the term with which Greek authors referred to the cave dug by Hercules near Pheneus (see on lines 109-116); in any case as a Greek loan-word it is well suited to the Greek myth, while its native Latin equivalents would have been less suitable: *uorago* would have clashed with *absorbens* and *uertice*, while Hercules could not have dug a *hiatus*.

109-116 In an extended simile Catullus compares the depth of Laodamia's love to that of the *barathrum* dug by Hercules when he hunted down the Stymphalian birds (lines 113f.).

As one of his twelve labours, Hercules had to rid the town of Stymphalus in Arcadia of the pernicious birds that were infesting it. Stymphalus lies in a depression between the Arcadian mountains, as does Pheneus, lying just 15 km to the northwest. The waters that gather in the depression surrounding Pheneus are led off through at least two caves that function as natural underground channels (see Frazer 1898: 4.231-234 on Paus. 8.14.2 and especially Baker-Penoyre 1902). These unusual natural features seem to have had a prominent role in local myth: according to one story, the people of Pheneus would have noticed Pluto carrying off Core through such a channel (Conon *FGH* 1.15 Jacoby – note •ν δΥ τι ξ□!μα∕ν Κυλλ→νηι), while Pausanias 8.14.2 tells another story about the shafts: τ□ δ′ β□ραψρα ο⇃ Φενε□ται τα⸤τ□ φα!ιν ε™ναι ξειροπο⇔ητα, ποι°!αι δ′ α⸢τ□ □Ηρακλ̈α τηνικα⸤τα ∕ν Φενεⲟι παρ□ Λαον⟩μηι τ°ι □Αμφιτρ⸢ϖνο! μητρ⇐ ο⇒κο⸤ντα. One should note the word β□ραψρα in Pausanias' account; according to Eratosthenes (*frg.* III B 105 Berger *ap.* Strabo 8.8.2 = p. 389 Corais) the locals called them ζΥρεψρα.

Pausanias was writing two centuries after Catullus and his version of the myth must reflect what he heard in Pheneus: note the words ο⇃ Φενε□ται τα⸤τ□ φα!ιν ε™ναι … Catullus, on the other hand, does not appear to have travelled through rural Arcadia and must have been using a literary source. He dates the construction of the shafts to a different stage within the hero's career than do Pausanias' Pheneates – not to Hercules' stay with a local woman of Pheneus, which was evidently a local legend, but to his well-known expedition against the birds infesting the nearby Stymphalus. Ellis suggests that Catullus could be following Callim. *Del.* 71 φε⸤γεν δ□ ∫ γΥρϖν μετ⟩πι!ψε Φενει⟩!, but Callimachus does not say anything about the βΥρεψρα in this passage. In this case we cannot track the source of Catullus' erudition; his reputation as a *poeta doctus* is well-deserved.

In this passage Catullus uses elevated language; apart from the poetic vocabulary and the Grecisms one should note the strong alliteration: *siccari pingue palude solum*, *quod quondam*, *montis … medullis*, *tempore … imperio*, and so on. Hercules' achievement calls for the high style.

109 quale Here and at 111 *quod* the channel is not mentioned explicitly; this is potentially confusing and must have triggered the corruption of *siccare* to *siccari* in line 110.

Grai A poetical form ('Grecians'): see on 102 *Graia*.

Pheneum prope Cyllenaeum The town of Pheneus lay below Mount Cyllene in Arcadia. The Greek word causing a spondee in the fifth foot is characteristic of Catullus and 'neoteric' poetry: see on 87f. *primores Argiuorum ... uiros*.

110 The verse is probably echoed by Tib. 2.3.6 *uersarem ualido pingue bidente solum*.

emulsa … palude 'With the swamp milked out', a daring metaphorical use of the rare verb *emulgeo*, which is also used by Catullus at 80.8 *emulso labra notata sero*, and elsewhere only twice by Columella, before it resurfaces in Servius and two Christian authors: see *TLL* 5.2.539.31-55.

pingue … solum These words stand in the same metrical position in Tib. 2.3.6, which is probably echoed in this verse (see above); they are also found at Verg. *Geo.* 1.64, *Aen.* 4.202 etc. and in later poets such as Lucan 4.12 and Statius *Theb.* 4.444, often in patent imitation of Virgil. However, *pinguis* appears to have been the standard term for rich, fertile ground and is used often with *solum* in technical prose: thus Mela 3.62, Colum. 1.4.5, 2.2.2 etc., Pliny *N.H.* 14.25, 14.28 etc., Frontin. *Aqu.* 15.1, Sen. *N.Q.* 6.26.1; see further *TLL* 10.1.2171.16-50.

111 The spondees and the assonance of *is* in this line appear to be suggestive of the effort it took Hercules to dig the abyss.

quondam The word locates the action in a distant past: see line 73n.

caesis montis … medullis A grandiloquent phrase, though its ingredients are not at all unusual: *caedo* 'to quarry' is well attested (*OLD* s.v., 9; *TLL* 3.57.25-66), while the metaphorical use for *medulla*(*e*) for the inmost part of any being or object had been common since Plautus and Ennius (*OLD* s.v., 2 and 4f.; *TLL* 8.600.21-602.16).

112 The three-word pentameter is a *tour de force* of metrical virtuosuity: compare line 74n., and note the Grecisms in both verses. Kroll believes that Catullus is actually copying a lost Greek verse ending in χευδοπ□τωρ □Αμφιτρυωνι□δη!, but in fact there survive no three-word pentameters from the Hellenistic period, and it is much easier to assume that Catullus is simply composing in the Greek style, or to be more precise according to his idea of it.

audit There can be little doubt as to Palmer's conjecture *audit*; neither the principal MSS' *audet* and Weise's *gaudet* would have much point. The construction *audit fodisse = fodisse dicitur* appears to be unique, but compare the uses of *audio* with the nominative at Hor. *Sat.* 2.7.101 *subtilis ueterum iudex et callidus audis*, Stat. *Theb.* 4.503f. *cassusne sacerdos / audior?* and Apul. *Met.* 10.35 *Cenchreas peruado, quod oppidum audit quidem nobilissimae coloniae Corinthiensium* ('part of the famous colony of …); see

further *OLD* s.v., 5a and *TLL* 2.1291.48-71. The verb had an archaic equivalent *clueo*, which is construed with an infinitive at Plautus *Ba.* 925 *Atridae duo fratres cluent fecisse facinus maxumum* and Lucr. 4.51f. *eius imago, / cuiuscumque cluet de corpore fusa uagari*. In Greek □κο⌠ϖ (*LSJ* s.v., III.1-3 and *DGE* II.3) and κλ⌠ϖ (*LSJ* s.v., III) are similar but are generally construed with a nominative; note the infinitive at Hdt. 3.131.3 □Αργεⱱοι ≥κουον μου!ικ↓ν ε™ναι □Ελλ→νϖν πρ∩τοι.

falsiparens   'With a fake father', because Hercules had famously been fathered not by Amphitryo, the father of his mother Alcmena, but by Jupiter. The epithet is an absolute *hapax legomenon* and was probably coined by Catullus himself. Other compounds starting with *falsi-* had been used by earlier poets (*falsidicus* 2x in Pl. and it is a *uaria lectio* at Acc. *frg.* 9.1 *FPL³*; *falsificus* 1x Pl. and *u.l. ibid.* in Acc.; *falsiiurius* 1x in Pl.; *falsiloquus* 2x in Pl.) and recur in late antique authors, often as the calques of Greek expressions: see *TLL* 6.1.200.79-201.47. Here Catullus could have been inspired by χευδοπ□τϖρ at Callim. *Hy. Dem.* 98, though that epithet means 'a deceitful father' rather than 'son of a fake father'.

Amphitryoniades   This is the first occurrence in Latin of the Greek patronymic □Αμφιτρυϖνι□δη!, which is found before Catullus in Hesiod and the *Hesiodea* (*Theog.* 1x, *Scut.* 4x, *frgg.* ca. 3x), Pindar (3x), Bacchylides (3x), Theocritus (4x), Simmias of Rhodes (1x), Nicander of Colophon (1x) and two epigrams of dubious date and authorship (see below). After Catullus the Latin epithet is used by Propertius (4.9.1) and by Virgil in the *Aeneid* (8.103 and 8.214), by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* (2x), by Lucan (1x), Petronius (1x in a poetic passage at 123.206), Statius (8x), Valerius Flaccus (3x) and Silius Italicus (6x).

This is the only surviving passage in ancient literature in which this epithet fills the second half of a pentameter; it fills the first half in an epigram present in a collection attributed to one Socrates (*A.P.* 14.55.6, no later than the early 3rd century A.D.?) and in an epigram probably by one Samius (*A.P.* 6.114.2, from roughly around 200 B.C.?) Catullus' source could be either of these epigrams or (more likely perhaps) Theocritus.

113   tempore quo   Bare *tempore quo* is not uncommon in hexameter poetry of the early Empire (Prop. 4.2.51 and 4.10.7, Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.34* and 2.5.62, Ov. *Her.* 4.67, *Ciris* 232, Juv. 3.53* and Sil. 3.101, always at the start of the verse, as here, except for the two asterisked occurrences) but in prose it is not attested until the later 1st century A.D. (Fron. *Aqu.* 122.3), and it only becomes common in the 4th (*Vulg. Gen.* 21.2, *Job* 6.17 and *Ecl.* 7.1 as well as Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1.448, 2.445, 6.359 and 6.431). It probably started its existence as a variation on phrases from prose such as *eo tempore quo* (Cic. *orat.* 1x, Liv. 5x), *ex eo tempore quo* (Cic. *epist.* 2x, Caes. 1x, Liv. 1x), *ab eo tempore quo* (Cic. *orat.* 1x), *eo ipso tempore quo* (Cic. *orat.* 1x and *epist.* 1x), *eodem (fere) tempore quo* (Cic. *rhet.*, Varro *R.R.*, Liv., Plin. 1x each) and *illo tempore quo* (Ascon. 1x). The innovation may be Catullus'.

certa … sagitta   'With his unerring arrows' (a collective singular), as at Hor. *Od..* 1.12.23f. *metuende certa, / Phoebe, sagitta*, Ov. *Met.* 1.519f. (Apollo to Daphne) *certa quidem nostra est, nostra tamen una sagitta / certior* and Sil. 2.111f. For *certus* 'unerring' see *OLD* s.v., 13 and *TLL* 3.924.17-55.

Stymphalia monstra   'The Stymphalian monsters': the reader is expected to know the story about Hercules and the Stymphalian birds and to fill in the details.

114   perculit   Compare 64.363f. *bustum / excipiet niueos perculsae uirginis artus*. *percello* 'to smite' is a strong and somewhat pathetic word; by this time it was well-established in high poetry (Enn. *Ann.* 3x and *trag.* 1x; Cic. *poet.* 4x; Lucr. 4x) and in elevated prose, notably historiography and oratory (Cat. *Orig.* 1x; *Rhet. Her.* 1x; Cic. *orat.* 18x, *rhet.-phil.* 7x and *epist.* 6x; Caes. 1x; Hirt. *B.G.* 3x; Nep. 5x; Sal. 17x), but not only there (Pl. 4x, Ter. 1x, Afran. *com.* 1x, Var. *L.L.* 1x and *Men.* 1x).

imperio deterioris eri   'At the command of a lesser lord than he': an allusion to Eurystheus of Argos, whom Hercules had to serve, a famous story already by the time of the *Iliad* (8.362-369, 15.639f., 19.132f.), and the paradox stated here is already found at *Od.* 11.621f. μ□λα γ□ρ πολ⌋ ξε⇔ρονι φϖτ⇐ / δεδμ→μην, ⌡ δϒ μοι ξαλεπο⌋ !⁄πετϒλλετ□ □ϒψλου!, which Catullus appears to be echoing here.

The Romans *non eros nec dominos appellabant eos quibus iuste paruerunt, denique ne reges quidem, sed patriae custodes, sed patres et deos* (Cic. *Rep.* 1.64): evidently *erus* and *dominus* were more or less interchangeable deferential terms of address. From the earliest times *erus* is used for the divine masters of the world (*OLD* s.v. 1c) as well as the human masters of slaves (*OLD* 1a-b), animals (*OLD* 2) or property (*OLD* 3), mostly in poetry, but on occasion also in prose (Cic. *Off.* 2.24, cfr. Varro *L.L.* 10.12 and Marx' conjecture at *Rhet. Her.* 4.63). Catullus uses *erus* in a variety of ways: as a blanket term for the gods (68.76 and 68.78), for a husband who is the master of his wife (61.109), for the owner of an estate (31.12) and even for that of a boat (4.19), while he uses *era* for goddesses (63.18, 63.92, 64.395) as well as for his mistress (68.136; see the note there). *erus'* derivatives *erilis* 'belonging to the master (of a slave)' and *erifugus* 'on the run from the master' (only at Cat. 63.51f. *erifugae famuli* – apparently an impromptu neologism) suggest that the most characteristic use of the term may have been that by a slave towards his/her master.

Initially Eurystheus was the master and Hercules had to serve him; with the phrase *imperio deterioris eri* Catullus takes for granted Hercules' later status as a god.

115f.   Hercules had to kill the Stymphalian birds in the because he was told to do so by Eurystheus (*imperio deterioris eri*), but as a result of this and other labours he could become a god and marry Hebe; here Catullus represents these rewards as the true purpose of his toils. The point is already made at *Od.* 11.602f. α⌠τ⌡! δ′ μετ□ □ψαν□τοι!ι ψεο⌠!ι ⁄ τϒρπεται∧ν ψαλ⇔ηι! κα⇐ ʄξει καλλ⇔!φυρον □ηβην and less closely at Pi. *Nem.* 1.69-72 α⌠τ⌡ν μ□ν ∧ν ε⇒ρ→ναι τ⌡ν □παντα ξρ⟩νον <∧> !ξερ∩ι / ″!υξ⇔αν καμ□τϖν μεγ□λϖν ποιν□ν λαξ⟩ντ□ ⁄φα⇔ρετον / ⌋λβ⇔οι!∧ν δ⊕μα!ι, δεφ□μενον / ψαλερ□ν □ηβαν □κοιτιν κα⇐ γ□μον / δα⇔!αντα π□ρ Δ⇐ Κρον⇔δαι.

115   It is typical of Catullus in his long poems to make a simple point in a roundabout way: here he says not 'so that there should be more gods' but 'so that more of them should wear down heaven's gate'. Well-worn thresholds are a common motif in ancient literature; in this poem see already see 71n. *trito ... in limine.*

caeli … ianua   *ianua autem est primus domus introitus, dicta quia Iano consecratum est omne principium* (Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1.449): *ianua* was used for the door of a building, similarly to *fores*, while *porta* was reserved for the gates of a city or a fort. The Romans imagined the abode of the gods in the sky (and also the nether world) not as a walled city but as a house: compare Enn. *Ann.* 586 Sk. *diuom domus altisonum cael*, Lucr. 6.358 *caeli domus* and Verg. *Aen.* 10.101 *deum domus alta*, and see *TLL* 5.1.1978.44-70 and 1978.79-1979.14.

116   Hebe nec   Hebe was equated with the native Roman goddess Iuuentas (see Hor. *Od.* 1.30.7 with Nisbet & Hubbard 1970 *ad loc.*) but tends to retain her Greek name in mythological poetry: thus also at Ov. *Met.* 9.400, Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.27, Val. Fl. 8.231 and [Sen.] *Oct.* 210 *deus Alcides possidet Heben*.
In *O* the letters *Heb* are followed by a high dot with an inverted c-shape around it and below this a small sign resembling a $_2$. Thomson *in app.* tentatively interprets this as *Hebe et*.

117   Catullus boldly compares the depth (i.e. the profundity, the commitment and force) of Laodamia's love with the depth (i.e. the physical depth) of the cave excavated by Hercules.
Fröhlich (1849: 265) would rewrite the verse as *sed tuus ardor amore adeo fuit acrior illo*, but Hercules is not in love with Hebe, and lines 117f. show that Laodamia's love has to be compared not with his feelings but with the *barathrum*.
tuus altus amor   'Your profound love' for Protesilaus. There is no exact parallel for *altus amor*, but the epithet is used regularly of feelings and sensations: compare Verg. *Aen.* 1.209 *premit altum corde dolorem* together with *CE* 1183.7 = *CIL* 9.3279 (from Corfinium) *hic finem dolor altus habet*, Tac. *Hist.* 4.82.1 *altior inde Vespasiano cupido adeundi sacram sedem*, *OLD* s.v., 15a and *TLL* 1.1781.5-27.
On *tuus amor* 'your love (for somebody else)' see on line 24.

118   The principal MSS write the first pentameter of this verse as *qui tuum domitum*, which is patently corrupt. How should it be corrected? Recent editors have written either *qui tamen indomitam ferre iugum docuit* with Heyse and Statius (thus Mynors, Quinn, Goold, Thomson, Perez Vega and Ramírez de Verger) or *qui tunc indomitam ferre iugum docuit* with Corradinus de Allio and Statius (Kroll), taking the relative clause to describe Laodameia's *amor*, which is mentioned in the previous line (*sed tuus altus amor barathro fuit altior illo*). However, there are a number of difficulties with these reconstructions. Trappes-Lomax (2007: 241) rightly points out that *qui tamen indomitam ferre iugum docuit* cannot mean 'unbroken though she was, it taught her to carry the yoke', as "where *tamen* follows a relative pronoun it implies an opposition between the content of the main clause and the content of the relative clause so that knowing the former one would not expect the latter; cf. *OLD* s.v. *tamen* 6". He advocates the solution advocated by Kroll – but *tunc* would be a bland and quite meaningless stop-gap (for the dangerous temptation to reconstruct words of this type see line 91n.). But there is another argument against both these reconstructions. They let the relative clause in the pentameter qualify a word in the middle of the hexameter: *sed tuus altus amor barathro fuit*

altior illo, / qui ... , which would be unusual, awkward and confusing: 'your deep love was deeper still than that abyss – [your deep love] which taught an unbroken girl to carry the yoke'. Also, this clause would be factually wrong, as there is no sign anywhere in the poem, nor anywhere else in ancient literature, that Laodameia was reluctant to get married; on the contrary, she was burning with desire during her wedding (lines 73f.). We better look for another remedy.

Let us return to the text of the principal MSS:

> sed tuus altus amor barathro fuit altior illo,
> †qui tuum domitum† ferre iugum docuit.

Here Laodameia's profound love is compared with *barathro illo*, after which there follows a relative clause that is corrupt. One may well expect the clause to qualify not Laodameia's *amor*, but the *barathrum*. In that case the first word of line 118 should be corrected to *quod*, which was already written by Avantius in the first Aldine edition. *illo*'s emphatic position at the end of line 117, detached from the noun that it qualifies, makes good sense if it is taken up immediately by *quod*: *ille qui* constitutes a common formula of transition (cfr. Cat. 4.1, 42.7, 51.1-3 and 58.1f.; *OLD* s.v. *ille*, 3a; *TLL* 7.1.347.82-349.8). The correction is palaeographically plausible, as *quis*, *qui* and their conjugated forms are often mistaken for one another, especially when abbreviated (compare the difficulties caused by the abbreviated pronoun in *O* in line 69).

In this case the distich would presumably mean that the *barathrum* may have been dug by a god in bondage, but it was still less deep than Laodameia's love for her husband. The pentameter would mean something like 'that taught Hercules [the great god, the mighty hero *etc.*] to bear the yoke of servitude'. In Latin the metaphor of the yoke is used as often for servitude (thus Cic. *Phil.* 1.6 *iugum seruile*, *Rep.* 2.46 *iniustum illud durae seruitutis iugum*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.78 *arua aliena iugo premere*, Hor. *Od.* 2.6.2 *Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra*; *OLD* s.v. *iugum* 2a; *TLL* 7.2.641.43-642.7) as for the yoke imposed by a marriage, a relationship, or spousal control (Pl. *Curc.* 50 *iamne ea fert iugum?* 'Is she already yours?', Hor. *Od.* 2.5.1f. *nondum subacta ferre iugum ualet / ceruice*, Stat. *Silu.* 1.2.164f. *numquamne uirili / summittere iugo?*; *OLD* s.v., 2b; *TLL* 7.2.641.26-43 and 642.8-28), and the two images can even be combined (Ov. *Her.* 9.5f. *quem numquam Iuno seriesque immensa laborum / fregerit, huic Iolen imposuisse iugum*, Deianeira to Hercules, and 6.97 *scilicet ut tauros, ita te iuga ferre coegit*, Hypsipyle to Iason).

It remains to reconstruct the words of the first hemistich. *domitum*, along with some of the minims that precede it, probably conceals *indomitum*, which is already found as a variant in a manuscript from the 15th century; it was also proposed by Fröhlich (1849: 265) and has been suggested to me by Stephen Harrison. This word would aptly describe Hercules' untamed vigour; it is already attested in Old Comedy (Pl. *Ba.* 612 *proteruo, iracundo animo, indomito, incogitato*, Men. 862f. *equos ... indomitos, ferocis*), is a favourite adjective of Catullus' (also at 50.11, 63.33, 64.54, 64.107, 64.173, 103.2 and 103.4) and is used for heroes and martial gods (Verg. *Aen.* 2.440 *Martem indomitum Danaosque ad tecta ruentis*, Ov. *Met.* 13.335 *indomitae deberi praemia detrae*), also to emphasize the importance of their defeat (Luc. 2.581f.

indomitumque regem ... ad mortem ... ire coegi, Pompey of Mithradates). In fact, *indomitus* does not appear to be used anywhere else for a virgin, which provides further confirmation for the case against the traditional interpretation of this distich (that usage is only attested in Greek: *TLL* 7.1.1224.29f. compares *Od.* 6.109 παρψϒνο! □δμ→!). The reconstruction of a form of *indomitus* here is confirmed by the similar juxtaposition of *iugum* and *indomitus* at 63.33 *ueluti iuuenca uitans onus indomita iugi* (there *iugi* is a convincing humanistic conjecture for *luci*).

Between *quod* and *indomitum* there should probably stand a noun that agrees with the latter – a word meaning 'the god', 'the hero' or something of the sort. Unfortunately, *heroa* would be unmetrical, as would *deum*; *diuum* would not, but it would turn Hercules into a god when he is still human – a point that was emphasized just three lines earlier. *dominum* is palaeographically far from *tuum*. Alternatively, one could write *tunc*, but that is less attractive not only because it is a meaningless stopgap, but also because the adjective *indomitum* would be rather abrupt on its own, especially since Hercules has not been mentioned directly since line 112.

This line drove even Scaliger (1577: 120) to despair; he commented "(neque enim dissimulare sustineo) nullum idoneum sensum ex hoc uersu elicere possum."

119-124 The affection of the aging *paterfamilias* for his sole late-born grandson who saves the family fortune from falling into the hands of strangers is used as a foil for Laodamia's love for Protesilaus (line 128).

There were precedents for the image in Greek poetry. A simile involving the love of a rich father for his one late-born son is found in the *Iliad* (9.481f. κα⇐ μэ/φ⇔λη!э ⊃! ε◊ τε πατↆρ ˥ν παῖδα φιλ→!ηι / μο�device�device... (there *iugi*... — κτε□τε!!ι), while Pindar describes the delight of an aging father in his son, "as wealth that receives the imposition of an alien shepherd as its share is most hateful for one who is dying" (Pi. *Ol.* 10.86-90 □λλэ ⊄τε παῖ!/φ □λ⟩ξου πατρ⇐ / πουεινʃ! ⟨κοντι νε⟩τατο! τʃ π□λιν ≥δη, / μ□λα δϒ o⇓ ψερμα⇔νει φιλ⟩τατι ν⟩ον: / πε⇐ πλο⎜το! ⎩ λαξØν ποιμϒνα / πακτʃν □λλⲧριον / ψν□ι!κοντι !τυγερ⊕τατο!). Newman (1990: 234) also compares Euripides *Ion* 478-480, but there the chorus merely comments on the joy caused by children that will inherit one's wealth. Catullus follows in the first place Pindar (thus Sarkissian 1983: 29 and also Steiner 2004: 275, who sees a whole series of echoes of the *Tenth Olympian* in the present poem, though the resemblances that she points out appear too weak to convince), but perhaps also the *Iliad* (thus Kroll on line 119).

Catullus remodels the traditional image, making the newborn child not the son of the *paterfamilias*, but his grandson, the son of his only daughter; and he gives it a "wholly Roman cast" (Newman 1990: 234) by adding the details of the young man having his name entered in his grandfather's will, restoring the glory of the family name and chasing away the 'vulture' who has been waiting eagerly for the death of the old man to get hold of his property. While there is certainly a Roman flavour to each of these details, taken together they describe a situation that is absolutely unrealistic.

First, it is hard to see how the new-born grandson could have been the only possible heir to his grandfather's property (on Roman inheritance law see further *Neue Pauly* s.v. 'Erbrecht', III, and *OLD* s.v. 'inheritance', with references). The legacy of a Roman citizen who died intestate (i.e. without leaving behind a legally valid will) passed to his *sui heredes*, that is, to those of his descendants of either sex, whether natural or adopted, who were in his *patria potestas*, and also to his wife, if she was in his *manus*. In our case it would be the question whether the daughter of the *paterfamilias* was in the *patria potestas* of her father or in the *manus* of her husband. In the former case she would have been per definition among her father's *sui heredes* and would have had to be named in his will for it to be valid (see *Neue Pauly*, loc. cit.). In the latter case she would no longer have counted as a close relative, and due to the *lex Voconia* of 169 B.C. she would have been ineligible to be declared an heir by a citizen belonging to the highest census class (with property worth at least 100,000 *as*: see *Neue Pauly* s.v. *lex Voconia*). In this case, however, it would have been possible to name her husband as an heir; and if he was no longer alive, then she would normally have passed back to her father's *patria potestas* and become a *sui heres* again. The only truly problematic possibility would have been if her father or her husband would have freed her from his power through *emancipatio*, if her husband had died, and no other suitable male heir was been at hand – but this is implausible: if she was an only child, it would have been singularly imprudent for the family to let her marry *cum manu* or undergo *emancipatio*, as this would have disqualified the only available heir to the property.

Equally problematic is the reference to the 'vulture' who is hoping to lay his hands on the old man's inheritance. The person is evidently a *captator*, a seeker of inheritances, who is a familiar figure in Roman literature under the Empire (see Hor. *Sat.* 2.5.57, Petron. 125.3 and 141.1, Sen. *Benef.* 4.20.3, Juv. 5.98, 6.40 and 10.202 with 12.114). A *captator* was believed, probably not without reason, to use an impressive repertoire of ploys to wheedle a rich man into naming him as his heir. Here the *paterfamilias* is overjoyed at the birth of a grandson who can inherit his property, and he appears to be highly conscious of the possibility that his inheritance may fall into the wrong hands. It is unlikely that such a person should ever have named a *captator* as his heir. Catullus appears to have combined the Roman stereotype of the *captator* with Pindar's image of a father worried that his estate may fall into the hands of strangers.

Finally, the young grandson has his name entered in his grandfather's will and thus restores glory to the name of the family that has long been derided (*derisi gentilis*, line 123). In fact in ancient Rome a son took the gentile name of his father and belonged legally to his paternal family. When the continuity of the family name was threatened, the Romans resorted to adoption, often of the testamentary kind – but the present passage can hardly be taken to refer to such a procedure, since the young grandson sees his own *nomen* entered in the tablets of the will (line 122), which suggests that he was simply named as his grandfather's heir.

Catulllus took an image from Greek literature and added to it a series of Roman elements, without paying much attention to realism or to legal niceties. Still, the image which he created may be unrealistic, but it conveys dramatically the joy of a family precariously near extinction at the birth of an heir.

119 The line is echoed by Virgil at *Aen.* 4.599 *quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem*.

nam nec tam carum   Not as much as was Protesilaus to Laodamia.

confecto aetate   'Worn out, enfeebled by old age' (*OLD* s.v. *conficio*, 13b), a set expression: compare Enn. *Ann.* 522f. Skutsch *fortis equus ... nunc senio confectus quiescit*, Caes. *Gal.* 6.31.5 *aetate iam confectus*, Sal. *Iug.* 9.4 *morbo atque aetate confectus, quom sibi finem uitae adesse intellegeret*, Verg. *Aen.* 4.599 (see the previous note), Col. 2.1.2 *terram sicut muliebrem sexum aetate anili iam confectum*, and see further *TLL* 4.202.50-64.

120   **una … nata**   'His only daughter': for this emphatic use of *unus* compare e.g. line 135 *uno non est contenta Catullo*, 45.14 *huic uni domino usque seruiamus* and 73.6 *qui me unum atque unicum amicum habuit*; see further *OLD* s.v. *unus*, 7f.

caput seri … nepotis   'A lateborn grandson.' The metonymical use of *caput alicuius* to mean *aliquis* was quite widespread, especially in poetry, like the analogous use of κ□ρη in Greek: compare 15.16 *ut nostrum insidiis caput lacessas* and 116.4 *tela infesta <meum> mittere in usque caput* as well as Calvus *frg.* 3 *FPL³ Sardi Tigelli putidum caput uenit*; see further *OLD* s.v. *caput*, 7 and *TLL* 3.404.3-406.34. In prose *caput Gai* seems to have meant something like 'Gaius' person': compare Cic. *Ver.* 2.2.98 *cum uero abs te tui capitis causa peteret*, *Pis.* 30 *indemnati ciuis atque integri capitis ... proscriptio* and Caelius *ap.* Cic. *Fam.* 8.1.4 *quod illorum capiti sit!* (of those spreading a false rumour).

121   **diuitiis … auitis**   *auitus* can either mean 'of one's grandfather (*auus*)', as here, or 'ancestral', as at 25.68 *inepte, quae palam soles habere tamquam auita* (i.e. as if they were venerable heirlooms). The word is first attested in these decades (Cic. *Ver.* 1.1.13 *nulla res tam patria cuiusquam atque auita fuit* and 2.3.43 *paternus honos et auitus*, Var. *Men.* 258 Astbury *auito ac patrio more precantur*). Like *patrius*, it had a very positive ring for the patriarchal Romans.

uix tandem   Fordyce on 62.2 is surely right to interpret this set phrase, consisting as it does of *uix* 'just about' and *tandem* 'at long last', as "implying that the event takes so long to happen that it comes near to not happening at all", witness Cic. *Fam.* 3.9.1 *uix tandem legi litteras dignas Ap. Claudio*, Ov. *F.* 4.343f. *Claudia ... credita uix tandem teste pudica dea* and Liv. 44.5.9 *uix tandem ex insperato stabilem ad insistendum nanctis locum*. The expression is already found in the comedians (Pl. *Most.* 727, Ter. *Andr.* 470 and *Phorm.* 234), but Catullus seems to be the first to use it in non-comic poetry here and at 62.1f. *Vesper Olympo / exspectata diu uix tandem lumina tollit*. After him it becomes firmly established in elevated poetry (Verg. 4x, Ov. *F.* and Stat. *Theb.* 1x, Val. Fl. 3x).

122   **nomen … intulit**   'He entered his name', i.e. 'he had his name entered', 'his name was entered'. Fordyce on 64.305 *quatientes corpora* ('with their bodies shaking') explains that "by a not uncommon idiom the subject is represented as performing an action in which he is actually the patient", comparing also 17.24 *si pote ... excitare ueternum*, 64.206 *concussitque micantia sidera mundus*, Lucr. 5.415 *constiterunt imbres*

et flumina uim minuerunt and 6.645 *pauida complebant pectora cura*, Prop. 2.19.25f. *sua formoso Clitumnus flumina luco / integit* and 4.3.27 *diceris et macie uultum tenuasse*.

For *infero* 'to enter' compare Cic. *Flacc.* 20 *quam ... facile falsas rationes inferre et in tabulas quodcumque commodum est referre soleant*, Colum. 1.7.7 *nec conditum cum fide rationibus inferunt* and Petron. 53.8 *quicumque ... mihi fundi empti fuerint ... in rationes meas inferri uetuo*; see further *OLD* s.v., 7b and *TLL* 7.1.37-44.

testatas … in tabulas   'The tablets that have been confirmed by witnesses', those of the *paterfamilias*' will. The perfect participle of the deponent *testor* 'I testify' often has a passive meaning: thus e.g. Cic. *Ver.* 1.48 *eius modi res, ita notas, ita testatas, ita magnas, ita manifestas*,   *Fam.* 5.20.5 *pecunia grauissimis ... certissimisque monimentis testata* and Nep. *Alc.* 4.5 *eiusque deuotionis quo testatior esset memoria*; see further Neue-Wagener 3.94-96.

123   impia … gaudia   'shameless', 'nefarious joy', i.e. 'Schadenfreude'. If an onlooker rejoices at the demise of an ancient family, (s)he is being *impius* not because (s)he breaks any particular bond of *pietas* or social obligation, which certainly do not bind one to strangers, but because (s)he offends against decency and the moral order of the world. Being *impius* need not be directed at anybody in particular, and it can even be a character trait (*TLL* 7.1.623.19-40).

gaudium with the genitive for 'joy at something' is quite common: thus Cic. *Phil.* 13.45 *praecipio gaudia suppliciorum uestrorum*, Ov. *Met.* 14.653 *ut caperet spectatae gaudia formae*, and see further *TLL* 6.1.1718.2-21.

derisi gentilis   *nominis* is omitted after *nomen* in the previous line. In classical Latin the expression *nomen gentile* is only found at Suet. *Nero* 41.1 (cfr. *TLL* 6.2.1867.16-19), while substantival *gentile* is not used anywhere else in this sense.

This detail implies that the *paterfamilias* was the last representative of his *gens*, and had no male agnate relatives. The young son not only preserves the family line but also keeps a venerable gentile name from extinction – though we should not ask how the son of a daughter can do this: see on lines 119-124.

124   suscitat a   Here *OR* read *scuscitata* (evidently this stood in *A*) and *G* has *scusoitata*. Thomson (1997) reports in his apparatus that *G¹* corrected this to *scusitata*, but I could find no trace of this in the manuscript. Here the verb suggests that the vulture is shooed away from the old man's head.

cano … capiti   From Plautus onwards this alliterative expression was a set ingredient of pathetic references to old age: compare Pl. *Cas.* 517f. *cur amem me castigare, id ponito ad compendium. / 'cano capite', 'aetate aliena', id ponito ad compendium, Merc.* 305 *tun capite cano amas, senex nequissime?*, also *Asin.* 934, *Ba.* 1101 and 1208, Tib. 1.1.72f. *nec amare decebit / dicere nec cano blanditias capite*, Ov. *F.* 5.57 *magna fuit quondam capitis reuerentia cani* and Pers. 1.83f. *nilne pudet capiti non posse pericula cano / pellere?*; see further *TLL* 3.297.8-13. Catullus, who has an eye for old age (cfr. line 46), often uses *canus* 'hoary-headed':

compare 61.155, 64.350, 66.70 (translated from Callimachus), 95.6 and 108.1. Here "*cano* increases the *impietas*" ("*cano* steigert die *impietas*", Kroll).

uolturium   Here and at 108.4 *lingua exsecta auido sit data uolturio* Catullus uses *uolturius* rather than *uoltur*, which is found only from the Augustan period onwards. In this period the word was written as *uolturius* and not *uulturius* (Cremona 1958: 408f.).

This was a common term of abuse: compare Pl. *Capt.* 844 *uolturi* (voc.), *Mil.* 1044 *uolturio plus humani credo est* and *Trin.* 101 *sunt alii qui te uolturium uocant*, Scaur. *orat.* 9f. *nefarius uolturius, patriae parricida* and 10 *uolturius rei publicae*, Cic. *Sest.* 71 *duo uolturii paludati* and *Pis.* 38 *appellatus est hic uolturius illius prouinciae, si dis placet, imperator*. Catullus' use of it for a legacy-seeker is especially apt, as vultures feed on carcasses. The same image (though not the word) is used later by Seneca at *Ben.* 4.20.3 *ingratum uoco, qui aegro adsidit, quia testamentum facturus est, cui de hereditate uel de legato uacat cogitare. faciat licet omnia, quae facere bonus amicus et memor offici debet: si animo eius obuersatur species lucri, captator est et hamum iacit; ut aues, quae laceratione corporum aluntur, lassa morbo pecora et casura ex proximo speculantur, ita hic imminet morti et circa cadauer uolat*.

125-128   An image from Roman society is followed by one from the animal world: Laodamia's passion is compared to the delight of a dove in her partner – and the dove 'is said' (*dicitur*, a self-conscious note) to be much more eager in kissing than an especially passionate woman.

Doves were considered to be passionate but monogamous: thus Prop. 2.15.27f. *exemplo iunctae sibi sint in amore columbae, / masculus et totum femina coniugium* and Pliny *N.H.* 10.104 *pudicitia illis prima et neutri nota adulteria. coniugi fidem non uiolant communemque seruant domum; nisi caelebs aut uidua domum non relinquit*; see further *RE* 4A2.2489.29-2490.9 and Otto 88f. They were proverbial kissers, witness also Matius *frg.* 12.2 *FPL*[3] *columbulatim labra conserens labris*, Ov. *Am.* 2.6.56 *oscula det cupido blanda columba mari*, Pliny *N.H.* 10.32 *illam exosculationem* [sc. *coruorum*]*, quae saepe cernitur, qualem in columbis esse*, Martial 1.109.2 *purior osculo columbae* and also the fragment *uincit columbos osculis* that is attributed to Lucilius by the humanist Nicolaus Perottus (*in* Mart. 1.109.2 at *Cornu Copiae* fol. 668 = c. 1028; the fragment is dismissed as spurious by Mueller on p. 164 of his edition and is omitted by Marx, perhaps undeservedly).

125   niueo … columbo   On white doves compare 29.7f. *perambulabit omnium cubilia / ut albulus columbus aut Adoneus* and Alexis *frg.* 217.1 *CAF* λευκ∫! □Αφροδ⇔τη! ε⇒μ⇐ γ□ρ περι!τερ⟩! (doves in general were sacred to Aphrodite: thus Verg. *Aen.* 6.193 with Servius *ad loc.*, Prop. 3.3.31, Ov. *Met.* 15.386 and Nero *frg.* 2.1 *FPL*[3]). Before the development of synthetic whiteners completely white animals (and clothes, such as the *toga candida* of electioneering politicians) were held in greater renown than they are today.

126   improbius   'More shamelessly', 'more wantonly' – a common usage: compare 57.1 and 57.10 *improbis cinaedis*, Cic. *Scaur.* 8 *libidinosam atque improbam matrem* and Ov. *Am.* 2.5.23 *improba ... iungentes oscula uidi*; see further *OLD* s.v. *improbus*, 7 and *TLL* 7.1.691.51-71. The word carried a strong charge of moral disapproval, and it is very unusual to find it in a positive context. Perhaps it adds to the portrayal of the female dove as voluptuous beyond all bounds. For the unusual use of a strong word see line 129n. *furores*.

127   The female dove 'keeps snatching kisses with her biting beak', an image of strong assertivity if not of aggression.

decerpere   A striking use of *decerpo*: compare *Copa* 33 *tenerae decerpens ora puellae*.

128   quam quae   First proposed by Puccius, it is surely the right correction for the principal MSS' *quamquam*. It makes good sense, and the *iter corruptionis* is easy to reconstruct: the abbreviation of *quae* must have been mistaken for that of *quam*. Calphurnius' *quantum* makes much less sense (the relative *improbius* must introduce a comparison between different quantities, not between similar ones) and it is not clear how it could have yielded *quamquam*.

multiuola   'Who desires much', 'who is not easily satisfied', 'passionate' (*pace* Fordyce, who interprets the word as *multos uolens*, i.e. 'promiscuous'). The word is not found again until the late 4th century A.D., when it re-appears in Christian authors with the meanings 'promiscuous' (thus Vulg. *Sirac.* 9.3 *ne respicias mulierem multiuolam, ne forte incidas in laqueos illius*, where the Septuagint writes γυναικ⇐ ∞ταιριζομΥνηι; also *Gloss.* 5.223.7 *Multiuolus desideria habens in multis*) and 'voracious', 'greedy', which is closer to what we have here (Priscill. *tract.* 1.28 = p. 1428 Migne *sibi teneant scismaticorum calumniae multiuolas uoluntates*, Cassian. *conl.* 24.4.3 *nec multiuolam animi sui sentiunt uanitatem* and Epiphan. *in euang.* 16 p. 12.5 = p. 842 Migne *beatos dicit pauperes spiritu, id est spirito dei uno quam multiuolo daemoniorum* [i.e. *praeditos*]; also *Gloss.* 5.223.6 *Multiuolam multis delectationibus*). This can be explained in two ways: "the word may have belonged to popular language" (Fordyce), or it was a poetic compound that somehow found its way into Christian religious discourse, in which case it could have been coined by Catullus, as was *omniuoli* in line 140 below. For the formation Baehrens compares *multicupidus* at Varro *Men.* 545 Astbury *quam dereliquit multicupida iuuenilitas*; note also the widespread *beneuolus* and *maleuolus*.

Traditionally minded Romans believed that women should stay at home and spin; Catullus clearly had other ideas.

129 tu … sola   Apparently 'you on your own': Laodamia outdid in passion the *paterfamilias* and the dove, taken together. What is lost in neatness of expression is gained in power.

horum magnos … furores   A bold use of a strong word: *furor* is "the technical term for mental derangement" (Fordyce on 50.11). For its use here compare Cicero's taunt to Verres *uide quid intersit inter*

tuam libidinem maiorumque auctoritatem, inter amorem furoremque tuum et illorum consilium atque prudentiam (*Ver.* 2.5.85): the word expresses the subversive and menacing power that love and desire can exercise over the mind. This usage of *furor* is not rare (see also Lucr. 4.1069 and 1117, Verg. *Ecl.* 10.388, Prop. 1.1.7, 1.4.11 and 1.13.20, Ov. *A.A.* 1.342*, Rem.* 497, *Met.* 3.479 etc.; compare its pseudo-amorous use at Cat. 50.11), but it is a surprise to find it in such a positive context. Even Propertius and Ovid do not imply that *furor* might be a good thing; Catulllus does.

The phrase also refers to the affection of the *paterfamilias* described in lines 119-124 for his grandson. It is only a very minor problem that *furores* is not an appropriate word for anything short of passionate love.

130 ut semel 'As soon as', 'from the moment when': compare Lucil. 1079 Marx <u>ut semel</u> *in pugnas, Caeli, te inuadere uidi*, Volcacius *frg.* 2.2f. *FPL³* (as printed by Courtney 1993: 88) *iter hinc in Asiam fecit. in nauim* <u>ut semel</u> */ conscendit, uisus nusquam est* and Cic. *Att.* 1.19.6 <u>ut semel</u> *Nonarum illarum Decembrium ... immortalem gloriam consequi, non destiti eadem animi magnitudine in re publica uersari.* The expression is found regularly, though not often, in a variety of registers of Latin except for the lowest (1x each in Cic. *Att.* and *Brut.*, Lucr., Caes., Prop., Verg. *Aen.*, Hor. *Sat.*, Cels., Petron., Plin. *N.H.*; 2x in Sen. *filius* and 5x in Ov. and Liv.).

flauo Two thousand years ago as today, blond hair was unusual among the peoples of the Mediterranean, and the ancient Greeks and Romans considered it a sign of beauty. In particular, it was attributed to certain gods and heroes: in the Homeric epics to Achilles (*Il.* 1.197 and 23.141), Meleager (*Il.* 2.642), Menelaus (*Il.* 3.284, *Od.* 1.285, 3.326, etc.), Odysseus (*Od.* 13.399 and 431), Demeter (*Il.* 5.500), the sorceress Agamede (*Il.* 11.740) and Rhadamanthys (*Od.* 4.564 and 7.323). Blond heroes and deities continue to appear regularly in later Greek literature, and also in Latin (see the extensive discussion by Pease 1935: 471-473 on Verg. *Aen.* 4.590). Catullus is especially fond of this trait: apart from Protesilaus he also makes blond Ariadna (64.63), Theseus (64.98) and Berenice (66.62; she merely had beautiful hair in his Callimachean original).

flauus is already found in Ennius' *Annals* (377 Skutsch, cfr. 453) and in Pacuvius (*trag.* 244); it becomes more common in Lucretius (1.938 and 4.13) and Catullus (5x: see above and also at 67.33, and cfr. 64.354 *flauentia ... arua*). The word is found less often in prose than in poetry (*TLL* 6.1.887.77 – e.g. not in Cicero and Caesar): poets had more occasions to speak of blond hair.

conciliata This would appear to refer to Laodamia's union with her husband when they got married, and not to her being re-united with him when he briefly returned from the underworld: that would call for *reconciliata*. For *concilio* meaning 'to bring a woman to a man as a wife, match' (*OLD* s.v., 1b) compare Ov. *Am.* 1.13.42 *num me nupsisti conciliante seni?* and Vell. 2.59.2 *cum ei dignatio Iulia genitam Atiam conciliasset uxorem*, and less closely Lucr. 5.962f. *Venus in siluis iungebat corpora amantum; / conciliabat enim uel mutua quamque cupido.*

131 aut nihil aut paulum … concedere The primary MSS write *paulo*; *paulum* is a Renaissance conjecture attributed in recent editions to Colotius or Colocius, that is, the humanist Agnolo Colocci (1467-

1549 – see *Nomenclator* 96), whose annotated copy of the *editio princeps* (now Vatican Incunab. III.18: see Gaisser 1993: 27) I have not been able to consult. I have found the conjecture in the MSS 85 and 90.

All the modern editions that I have seen, starting with Doering, print *paulo*, but *paulum* is defended by Streuli (1969: 39-42) and Trappes-Lomax (2007: 241), who points out that as "*nihil* and *paulo* are doing the same job in the same sentence, they should be in the same case", and this is exactly what we find in a number of similar passages: thus Cic. *N.D.* 2.118 *nihil ut fere intereat aut admodum paululum*, Horace *Epist.* 1.15.33f. *nequitiae fautoribus et timidis nil / aut paulum abstulerat* and Apul. *Flor.* 15 *Plato nihil ab hac secta uel paululum deuius*; see further Streuli *loc. cit.* and *TLL* 2.1568.82f. The phrase *nihil aut paulum* appears to have been reasonably common, perhaps proper to lively conversation (in the parallels note the colloquial forms *paululum* and *nil*).

For *nihil concedo alicui* 'to yield in nothing to', 'to be inferior in no respect to' compare Cic. *Leg.* 2.7 *huic amoenitati ... Thyamis Epirotes tuus ille nihil (opinor) concesserit*, *Att.* 14.18.3 *neque ei quicquam in desperatione concedo* and *Phil.* 9.9 *non multum eius perturbationi meus dolor concedebat*, Prop. 4.2.9 *at postquem ille suis tantum* (the word is suspect) *concessit alumnis* and Ov. *F.* 2.675 *nec tu uicino quicquam concede roganti*.

132   lux mea   A common term of endearment, also found in line 160 below: compare Ovid *A.A.* 523f. *mulier ... dixit / 'lux mea' quaeque solent uerba iuuare uiros* (of Tecmessa addressing Ajax), Cic. *Fam.* 14.2.2 *hem, mea lux, meum desiderium ... , mea Terentia* (cfr. 14.5.1 *si tu et Tullia, lux nostra, ualetis*), Prop. 2.14.29 and 2.28.59, Sulpicia *ap.* Tib. 4.3.15, Mart. 7.14.7, etc.: see further *OLD* s.v. *lux*, 5b and *TLL* 7.2.1914.80-1915.19.

nostrum … in gremium   "In what remains of Latin writing the noun *gremium* commonly denotes the area of the human body which extends from the waist to the bent knees of a seated or half-reclining individual, i.e. in plain English, the 'lap'. Less commonly it denotes the enclosure formed by the chest and the arms, i.e. the 'bosom' " (Jocelyn 1984: 18). Here it plainly means 'lap', which is the proper place to seat one's girlfriend: compare 45.1f. *Acmen Septimius suos amores / tenens in gremio* (thus also at 3.8, while 67.30 is hard to make sense of: see Jocelyn 1984: 29).

133f.   When Lesbia came to meet Catullus, Cupid himself was flittering around her. "Cupid hovers round these lovers as he does round Acme and Septimius in poem 45" (Fordyce). As has been already noted by Baehrens, in Roman visual art it is not unusual to add one or more Cupids to scenes of a romantic sort (for images see *LIMC* s.v. 'Eros/Amor, Cupido'). Love himself is in the air: Cupid's presence gives Lesbia's attractivity a supernatural dimension and sanctions Catullus' love for her.

133 circumcursans hinc illinc   An idiomatic expression, witness Ter. *Heaut.* 512 *hac illac circumcursa*, and compare Cic. *Att.* 9.9.2 *ne ... cursem huc illuc uia deterrima* and *N.D.* 2.115 *tantus caeli ornatus ex corporibus huc et illuc casu et temere cursantibus*, Sen. *Apocol.* 9.6 *modo huc modo illuc cursabat*, Tac.

Hist. 5.20.1 *pluribus nuntiis huc illuc cursantem* and *Ann.* 15.50 *cum ardente domo huc illuc cursaret incustoditus*. circumcurso is only attested during the Republic (also at Pl. *Rud.* 233, Ter. *Heaut.* 512, Lucr. 4.400) and late antiquity (see *TLL* 3.1127.43-63), while *circumcurro* is rare in the Classical period (1x Vitruv., 1x Quint., perhaps 1x *in tmesi* in Verg. *Aen.*). The intensive aptly describes a child running to and fro: compare Tib. 1.10.16 *cursarem uestros cum tener ante pedes*.

134 *fulgebat crocina <u>candidus</u> in tunica* recalls lines 70f. *quo mea se molli <u>candida</u> diua pede / intulit et trito <u>fulgentem</u> in limine plantam*: Lesbia's spellbinding beauty is mirrored by youthful looks and the divine gleam of the god of Love.

crocina … in tunica Cupid is wearing a saffron-coloured tunic. In visual art the god is practically always depicted naked from Attic vase-painting onwards (see *LIMC* s.v. 'Eros' and 'Eros/Amor, Cupido') and his nudity is a commonplace in Augustan poetry (cfr. Prop. 1.2.8 *nudus Amor formae non amat artificem*, Ov. *Am.* 1.10.15 *et puer est et nudus amor* and *Met.* 10.515f. *qualia … / corpora nudorum tabula pinguntur Amorum*). Curiously, he does not appear to be called naked in Greek literature before Moschus 1.15 γυμν∫! ∣λο! τ⟩ γε σ⌒μα (see further Fedeli 1980 on Prop. 1.2.8 and Mantero 1979: 175): for example, when Plato describes the god in detail in the *Symposium* (203c-d), he calls him unshod but not naked. Earlier still, Sappho *frg.* 54 Voigt had described Eros as ƒλψοντ□ /φ ∣ρ□νϖ πορφυρ⇔αν περψϒμενον ξλ□μυν. Catullus may well be following her here. It is not particularly surprising that he lets the god wear not a ξλ□μυ! but a *tunica*, the vest-like Roman garment worn under the *toga* by adult citizens but also on its own by young boys (see Wilson 1938: 55-69, and note especially plate XLII, which depicts a bronze statue of a young boy wearing a *tunica*, conserved in the Capitoline Museum at Rome); the young sons of Roman citizens could also wear a *toga praetexta*, but that would hardly have suited an airborne young god. However, the tunic worn by most Romans was plain white, with or without a purple stripe, while that of Cupid is *croceus*, 'saffron-coloured', that is, orange (on the colour see André 1949: 153-155). According to Baehrens and Kroll, it has this colour for the sake of the contrast with Cupid's skin, as at 61.9f. *niueo gerens / luteum pede soccum* (of the orange-yellow socks of Hymenaeus, the god of marriage); but such a marked deviation from the norm of white and purple dress calls for a less casual explanation.

Here Cupid is wearing a saffron-coloured tunic, while in poem 61 the socks of the god of marriage are orange-red: *croceus* and *luteus* evidently referred in origin to shades of yellow obtained with dyes prepared from different plants, the saffron (*crocus* – see *RE* s.v. 'Saffran'), or rather its stamina, and the weld (*lutum*). Pliny makes an interesting observation about the latter colour: *lutei uideo honorem antiquissimum, in nuptialibus flammeis totum feminis concessum, et fortassis ideo non numerari inter principales, hoc est communes maribus ac feminis, quoniam societas principatum dedit* (*N.H.* 21.46), that is, *luteum* was the traditional colour of the nuptial veil (on which see Rage-Brocard 1934: 22 and n. 2 with references, though the scholiast on Juv. 6.225 who calls the *flammea* [sic!] *sanguineum* may be misinformed). Pliny guesses that it might be as a result of this custom that the colour is not worn ordinarily by Roman men and women. Ovid *Met.* 10.1f. *croceo uelatus amictu ... Hymenaeus* describes the god of marriage as wearing saffron-coloured

garments, and the colours *croceus* and *luteus* are used together by Fronto at *Epist.* p. 22.4-6 Naber = 19.3-5 van den Hout[2] *uestem quoque lanarum mollitia delicatam esse quam colore muliebri, filo tenui aut serico; purpuream ipsam, non luteam nec crocatam* (on what an orator should wear; Naber conjectured *crocotam*); hence Mantero (1979 *passim*, esp. 182f.) infers that the colour *croceus* had nuptial associations, and Clarke (2003: 72f.) infers from Cupid's orange *tunica* that Catullus wants to marry Lesbia.

In the following lines (135-148) Catullus states explicitly that he is satisfied with being one of Lesbia's paramours, so he is not planning consciously to marry her – but he could long for it unconsciously. More importantly, however, the use of yellow garments (including the *crocota*, i.e. the *crocota uestis*) does not appear to have been restricted to weddings: it could be associated with a mythical princess (Scylla *in tenui fuerat succincta crocota* at *Ciris* 252), actors (Apul. *Apol.* 13 *histrionis crocota*), effeminate men and/or Orientals and/or homosexuals and/or eunuchs (a taunt to the Trojans at Verg. *Aen.* 9.614 *uobis picta croco et fulgenti murice uestis*, Apul. *Met.* 11.8 *simiam pilleo textili crocotisque Phrygiis catamiti pastoris specie*, and note the *crocota* of the homosexual eunuch worshippers of the Syrian Goddess at Apul. *Met.* 8.27 as well as the *galbina* worn by effeminate homosexuals at Juv. 2.97) and also with adulterers (Juv. 6.362 *O22 discinctus croceis et reticulatus adulter*). A jibe of Cicero's involving the *crocota* is of particular interest here because of its date (the speech from which it comes was delivered in 56 B.C., while Catullus' datable poems come from the years 56-54 B.C.): *P. Clodius a crocota, a mitra, a muliebribus soleis purpureisque fasceolis, a strophio, a psalterio, a flagitio, a stupro est factus repente popularis* (Cic. *Har.* 44). The jibe is directed at P. Clodius Pulcher, who was reputed to have profaned the mysteries of the Bona Dea disguised as a woman. Here Cicero claims that Clodius became popular when he started to dress like a woman and to act like one, adopting a disreputable lifestyle in line with the tastes of the rabble. Cicero puts the *crocota* into the same category as the *mitra*, which was an oriental head-dress, and the *psalterium*, which was a sort of harp associated once again with homosexuals and actors, witness Scipio Minor *orat.* 20: *cum cinaedulis et sambuca psalterioque eunt in ludum histrionum ... uirgines puerique ingenui*. It should not cause surprise that the same taste in dress is attributed to women (not to Roman matrons, of course, but to women of a more dubious sort), to actors, to passive homosexuals and to adulterers. A Scipio or a Cicero could locate all these groups within the same depraved, corrupt sub-culture, and Cicero's jibe that Clodius found popular favour by posing as an effeminate catamite implies that in some parts of Roman society such behaviour was much appreciated. Saffron-coloured dress was worn by ordinary Roman women only during weddings, if at all (tradition surely required the less extravagant *flammeum luteum*, a veil dyed with weld, as Pliny says), but in circles of a more hedonistic sort which conservative Romans found thoroughly disreputable it may have constituted a cherished luxury, the exotic accessory of a life of pleasure.

Scipio, Cicero and Juvenal found this life-style immoral; Catullus, who frequented prostitutes (witness poems 32, 41 and 110), was erotically interested in Juventius Talna, the scion of a noble family (thus poems 48, 81 and 99), had a passionate, adulterous love-affair with a married woman, whose promiscuity he accepted into the bargain (lines 135-148 below) and wrote about all of this without the least touch of embarrassment, evidently had different standards.

All this makes it very hard to tell why exactly Cupid is wearing a saffron-coloured robe at this point. Is it an unconscious hint that Catullus wants to marry Lesbia? Or is the god wearing this exotic and luxurious garment simply to add glamour to this special occasion? In view of lines 135-148 ('in fact Lesbia is not my wife, and she also has other lovers, but I will put up with it all') the second possibility appears much more likely.

in tunica is sometimes used to mean 'wearing a tunic', especially when accompanied by an adjective, which is not possible with *tunicatus*: compare Cic. *Rab. Post.* 27 *in tunica pulla*, Prop. 2.6.14 *in tunica suspicor esse uirum*, 2.29b.26 *ostrina cum fuit in tunica* and 4.2.38 *demissis institor in tunicis*. Similarly *in toga* (Cic. *Phil.* 1.18, *Sen.* 11 and *Fam.* 6.6.5, Vell. 2.29.3, Pliny *N.H.* 7.117, Quint. *Inst.* 2.16.8, Tac. *Ann.* 1.12, Mart. *Epigr.* 6.50.2, etc.), *in armis* (Cic. *Sen.* 11 *nec uero in armis praestantior quam in toga*) and so on: *OLD* s.v. *in*, 36a.

candidus   Cupid has a radiant white complexion. In the view of Clarke (2003: 58) his whiteness is a sign of his divine power, but it is surely a sign of his youthful looks, as only two male gods are ever called *candidi*, namely the youthful Cupid (here and at Prop. 2.3.24 *candidus ... Amor*) and the effeminate Bacchus (Hor. *Od.* 1.18.11 *candide Bassareu*, Prop. 3.17.29 *candida ... colla*, of Bacchus' neck, and Lygdamus *ap.* [Tib.] 3.6.1 *Candide Liber, ades*, and already at Eur. *Ba.* 457; see on line 70 above for the application of the term to a goddess). In fact, in the visual art of the late Republic and the Roman Empire whiteness is a special characteristic of Bacchus and Cupid (for illustrations see *LIMC* s.v. 'Dionysos/Bacchus' and 'Eros/Amor, Cupido'). Bacchus' fair skin is part of his characterization as an effeminate young man and can be attributed to his indoor, luxurious lifestyle; Cupid on the other hand is fair-skinned because he is a child, and perhaps also because just as Bacchus he is associated with a life of rest and of luxury (in fact, both gods are depicted as slightly overweight). This is exactly the life that Catullus aspires to here.

135-148   "Lesbia is not satisfied with me alone, but I shall accept it, so as not to act like a boor; why, the queen of the gods also accepts the infidelities of her husband; and anyway, Lesbia is not my wife but that of somebody else; it is enough if she sees me on her most special days." Catullus' attempt to come to terms with the promiscuity of his beloved has caused incredulity among scholars, including Sarkissian (1983 *passim*, e.g. p. 23). I for one have seen similar things happen, and believe that love can dull one's common sense to a surprising degree.

Catullus' self-deception puts the language under strain: see on line 137.

135   tamen etsi   'Even though'. This conjunction is also found in Plautus (*Most.* 1167), Ennius (*Ann.* 560 Skutsch), Pacuvius (*trag.* 46 and as a textual variant also in the epitaph that the poet supposedly wrote for himself: *Epigr. Pac.* 1 *ap.* Gel. 1.24.4, see *FPL*[3] p. 75), Terence (*Andr.* 864), Varro (*De Sermone Latino frg.* 31 Semi *ap.* Annaeum Cornutum *ap.* Cassiodor. *GL* 7.154.2), Lucretius (3.1018) and Cicero (*De Orat.* 2.210 and *Att.* 12.1.1 as well as 5.17.2, where one should surely divide *nos_(tamen_etsi ...* rather than *nos_tamen (etsi ...* with the current editions). In the Augustan period *tamen etsi* disappears entirely from poetry, while in

prose it is replaced by *tametsi*. It survives in the conservative language of the law (Gai. 1x, *Dig.* 4x) and possibly once in a declamation ([Quint.] *decl. mai.* 6.16).

136   uerecundae   This perplexing word has been interpreted in three ways: (i) in the active sense as 'modest', 'restrained'; (ii) in the passive sense as 'deserving of respect', 'awe-inspiring'; (iii) as the adverb *uerecunde*, used of how Catullus accepts Lesbia's infidelities: 'discreetly', 'showing restraint', 'modestly'. *uerecunde* has been read with more or less certainty by Santenius (1788: 56), Peiper (1875: 54), Birt (1904: 429) and Büchner (1950 and 1957). Given that the principal MSS do not distinguish systematically between –*ae* (or –*ę*) and –*e*, *uerecunde* is not a real conjecture (*pace* Lieberg 1962: 256) but just an alternative interpretation of the text. Catullus would be proposing to 'bear modestly' (*uerecunde feremus*) his mistress' infidelities. *uerecunde* would reflect the self-conscious shyness felt by the poet in the face of the Mistress (*era*); Büchner (1957: 341, n. 74) compares Cic. *De Orat.* 1.171 *uerecundius hac de re iam dudum loquor, quod adest uir in dicendo summus*. However, it is the question whether such an attitude would be in character for Catullus, and *uerecundus* indicates in any case not that one generously ignores someone else's faux pas, but that one is reluctant to commit any oneself. In particular, *uerecunde ferre* is not attested anywhere; this is admitted by Büchner (1950), who tries to remedy this problem by detecting a contrast between *uerecunde ferre* here and *moleste ferre* in the following line, but there the second phrase is neither used nor implied. Thus *uerecunde* is hardly possible here; Bickel (1950) calls it "kaum mögliches Latein"). And Reynen (1974: 152) notes that there are further grounds to expect an adjective here: it is extremely common for a noun standing at the end of the pentameter to be qualified by an adjective standing at the end of the verse (thus 25x elsewhere in this poem at lines 38, 54, 58, 60, 62, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, 84, 86, 98, 100, 102, 104, 108, 112, 122, 124, 130, 132, 134, 140, and cfr. 20, 92 and 146) and if one noun out of two carries an epithet, the other tends to do so as well (thus Kroll on 109.6).

In his discussion of the deification of the beloved in ancient poetry and in particular in Catullus 68, Lieberg (1962: 253-259) has proposed to take *uerecundae* as a passive, a view that was also held by by Reynen (1974). In this case, *erae ... uerecundae* would be a term of deference and almost of worship: 'of my awe-inspiring mistress'. Lieberg (1962: 258) translates *uerecundae* as "verehrungswürdig", that is, 'worthy of worship' or 'adorable' in the literal sense of the word. This is not unattractive, since earlier in the poem Catullus has called Lesbia 'my shining goddess' (*mea ... candida diua*, line 70). However, an isolated attestation of *uerecundus* in the passive ('causing respect or shame') is first found two and a half centuries after Catullus in a low literary text (in the *Vetus Latina* at *1Cor.* 12.23, preserved at Ambr. *Epist.* 72 col. 1074d, where it is used for the private parts, perhaps as a calx of the Greek term α⇒δοῖα; that is to say, it is not very close to the present passage) and it only re-appears in the late 4th century (Amm. 14.6.6, 21.16.1, 30.8.4, *Vulg. Ezech.* 22.10, *Hist. Aug. Prob.* 10.4). *Pace* Reynen (1974: 153), it is irrelevant that *uerecundia* appears to be found much earlier in a passive sense (Cic. *ad Brut.* 1.10.3 *posteritatis uerecundia*, Liv. 1.6.4 *aetatis uerecundia*, etc.: see further *OLD* s.v., 1b), as this can easily be explained not as a true passive ('the respectfulness of') but as an active concept accompanied by a genitive of object ('deference, respect for',

OLD). Reynen (1974: 154) proposes that *erae ... uerecundae* is a translation of π⟩τνια α⇒δο⇔η, a phrase that is not attested anywhere in surviving Greek literature but which he believes that Catullus could have found in a Hellenistic poem that no longer survives. This is evidently no more than guesswork. Nor is the interpretation of *erae ... uerecundae* as 'my awe-inspiring mistress' in line with the context. This passage is followed by a reference to the numerous infidelities of Jupiter (lines 138-140) and the comment that *atqui nec diuis homines componier aequum est*, 'however, it is not fair for humans to be compared with the gods' (line 141); that is, Catullus considers not only himself but also his mistress as all too human – a verse in which "the pair of lovers leave the higher spheres and make a rather rough landing on the ground" ("daarin komen de beide geliefden tamelijk onzacht uit de hogere sferen op de grond terecht", Holleman 1970: 192). It is not clear how Lesbia could be treated as a goddess just five lines earlier.

But it is also problematic to take *uerecunda* in an active sense. How can the word be applied to an adulteress? As an untypically perplexed Quinn is right to ask, "[d]oes *uerecundae* express a hope for the future, or betray self-deception about the present?" In the former case Catullus would be hoping that with time his love or, as Bickel (1950) puts it, his "Seelenliebe" would turn Lesbia into a decent woman. However, there is no sign at all that Catullus expects Lesbia to change – but rather the contrary: he notes that she is unfaithful to him in the present (line 135) and proceeds to explain how he will deal with this in the future (lines 136-148). Quinn proposes the alternative that Catullus might be deceiving himself here, that he would somehow be thinking that she was decent and modest (i.e. monogamous) while being fully aware of her infidelities. This view is held by Kroll as well as by Streuli (1969: 49), according to whom the function of the epithet is to let Lesbia appear purer – but it beggars belief. The next word after *uerecundae* is *furta*; one can only speak of 'a chaste adulteress' by way of paradox, and there is no sign of that. There is no other way in which one can juxtapose two words that contradict each other.

But perhaps these do not. Baehrens, Ellis, Fordyce and Thomson take *uerecundae* to refer to behaviour rather than to morals and give the epithet a causal sense: 'Catullus will bear with his lady's frailties, for she is decorous and they are few' (Ellis); 'we shall bear with her affairs since she is circumspect and they are few and far in between' (Fordyce). Following Vulpius, Baehrens compares [Verg.] *Cat.* 5.12f. *meas chartas / reuisitote, sed pudenter et raro* and Ter. *Hec.* 552 *si modeste ac raro haec fecit* (i.e. *ad amicam ire*). Fordyce defines *uerecundia* as 'the feeling that keeps one from going too far … and offending the susceptibilities of others'. Cicero notes that *iustitiae partes sunt non uiolare homines, uerecundiae non offendere* (*Off.* 1.99) and that *imitatur ... uerecundiam timiditas* (*Part.* 81). *uerecundia*, then, was the quality of being reserved, discreet, respectful, of shrinking back from offending others. It was sometimes associated with women, who were expected to be reserved by nature: cf. Enn. *trag.* 181 Jocelyn *quae tibi in concubio uerecunde et modice morem gerit* and Cic. *Orat.* 64 *oratio philosophorum ... casta uerecunda, uirgo incorrupta quodam modo*. Germanic scholars such as Kroll, Bickel (1950) and Streuli (1969) translate *uerecundus* as 'sittig', i.e. 'decent', but that is misleading; the key aspect of *uerecundia* is not moral probity but a discreet or shy reserve. As Holleman (1970) has pointed out, the word is applied to adulteresses on other occasions as well. In his famous description of a tryst with Corinna, Ovid comments that shy girls must be received in a

reassuring environment, with the windows shuttered: *illa uerecundis lux est praebenda puellis, / qua timidus latebras speret habere pudor* (*Am.* 1.5.7f.). Elsewhere he notes that the divine adulterers Mars and Venus behaved discreetly at the start of their liaison: *sed bene concubitus primo celare solebant; / plena uerecundi culpa pudoris erat* (*A.A.* 2.571f.).

Taken in this sense, the epithet *uerecundae* is in line with what Catullus says about his mistress in this poem. She did not come to Catullus as a bride but gave him her little gifts stealthily at night, snatched from the very lap of her own husband (lines 143-146); she was evidently just as discreet when meeting her other lovers. Lesbia is the only major character in Catullus' poems whose identity he consistently conceals by the use of a pseudonym; she may have been quite averse to publicity (cfr. Wiseman 1985: 130-137).

Here Catullus appears to expect not to be offended by Lesbia's future liaisons, since she is, in his view, discreet; she does not behave scandalously and might even conceal her other affairs from him as much as from others. Of course, he was hardly in a position to object.

furta 'Thefts', i.e. 'clandestine love-affairs'. Catullus is the first author to use *furtum* and *furtiuus* in this amorous sense (*furtum* here and in line 140 below, *furtiuus* at 7.7f. *sidera ... cum tacet nox, / furtiuos hominum uident amores*) but if the innovation is really his, it is certainly not bold: Sallust *Hist.* 1 *frg.* 112 M. uses *furta belli*. Afterwards the usage becomes widespread: thus Verg. *Geo.* 4.346 and *Aen.* 10.91, Prop. 2.2.4, 2.30.28, 4.7.15 and 4.8.34, Tib. 1.2.36, Sulpicia *ap.* Tib. 4.5.7, Ov. *A.A.* 1.33 (*nos Venerem tutam concessaque furta canemus*), *Met.* 1.606, Petron. 100.1, etc.: see further *OLD* s.v. *furtum*, 2b and *TLL* 6.1.1649.48-1650.28 as well as 1644.42-63 (on *furtiuus*).

erae 'Mistress', a honorific term used normally for a goddess (*OLD* s. v. 1, only in poetry: thus Cat. 63.18, 63.92 and 64.395) or for the mistress of a slave (*OLD* s. v. 2; common in poetry but also present in prose at Petr. 74.15 and conjectured at 105.6; not in Cat.). It is used of a beloved woman only here and at Ov. *Her.* 9.78 *aequaque formosae pensa rependis erae* (Deianeira to Hercules, referring to Omphale), in a line that appears to echo this one – note the identical syntactical and metrical shape of the two verses, and the fact that *erae* stands in the same position. The Augustan elegists prefer to call their beloved *domina*.

137 The verse is quoted around 1300 A.D. by the Paduan judge Hieremias da Montagnone in his book *Compendium moralium notabilium* at 2.1.5. For a collation of Hieremias' manuscripts see Ullman (1910: 81). Hieremias had access to a text that preceded the archetype (see the Introduction, pp. 75f.).

stultorum more 'As fools do' – a widespread use of *more*: cfr. Pl. *Rud.* 346 *lenonum more*, Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.5 *more Atheniensium uirginum*, Lucr. 4.1264 *more ferarum*, the ubiquitous *more maiorum* (Cic. *Ver.* 2.5.12, 2.5.22, etc.), and see further *TLL* 8.1526.54-60.

stultus and its derivatives are not vulgar, but only moderately bathetic: they belong to the standard vocabulary of comedy (110x in Pl., 27x in Ter., 2x in Caec., 2x Titin., 2x Afran.) and of Cicero (*orat.* 81x, *rhet.-phil.* 130x, *epist.* 48x), and are avoided only in the very highest registers of poetry (in Republican tragedy only 1x each in Enn. and Naev., and not in Enn. *Ann.*; 3x Lucil., 4x Lucr., 5x Prop., 4x Tib., in Verg. only 2x in *Ecl.*, 32x Hor. but only 2x in *Od.*, 33x in Ov. but only 2x in *Met.*). Catullus only uses *stultus* here

and in a particularly bathetic epigram at 78.5. Here the bathetic word underscores how unsuitable it would be for Catullus to object to Lesbia's peccadilloes.

The conjecture *tutorum* 'of guardians' was published in the same year by Baehrens in the critical apparatus of his edition and by Pleitner (1876: 9); more recently it has been advocated by Trappes-Lomax (2007: 242). Baehrens *in comm.* and Trappes-Lomax find *stultorum* too general; Baehrens notes that "ratione caret, stultos, quorum plurima sunt genera, simpliciter poni pro zelotypis". But *stultorum* has the precise point that it would not be an intelligent course of action for Catullus to reprimand Lesbia for her behaviour – and thereby to trouble her and risk alienating her. He should rather act broad-mindedly and put up with her peccadilloes. Compare the similar run of thought at Ter. *Hec.* 343f. *nam qui amat quoi odio ipsus est, bis facere* stulte *duco: / laborem inanem ipsus capit et illi* molestiam *affert.*

Also, it is doubtful whether Baehrens' *tutorum* would be suitable here. Trappes-Lomax explains that "*tutores* were proverbially officious", and compares Pl. *Aul.* 430 and *Vid.* 23 and Pers. 3.96. However, in all these passages the person who would be kept in check by the hypothetical *tutor* is male; no source mentions an over-protective *tutor* meddling with a female ward. Trappes-Lomax also quotes Cic. *Mur.* 27 *mulieres omnes propter infirmitatem consili maiores in tutorum potestate esse uoluerunt*, but here Cicero is being imprecise in an attempt to make fun of arcane legal stipulations to maximum effect. In fact, *tutores* were assigned to two categories of people: to children of both sexes who were not in the *patria potestas* of a *paterfamilias* (their father, paternal grandfather or paternal great-grandfather) and to adult women who "became independent on the death of [their] father or husband" (Gardner 1986: 14). Lesbia, whose husband was very much alive (cfr. line 146n.), did not fall into this category.

molesti   'Troublesome', an unpoetical word: it is common in comedy (Pl. 65x, Ter. 14x, Afran. 2x) but is used very sparingly by other poets (Lucil. 1x, Lucr. 1x, Prop. 2x, Hor. *Sat.* 4x and *Epist.* 2x, Ov. *Am.* 2x and *A.A.* 2x, Sulpicia 1x, Lucan 1x, not in Verg. or Tib.). Apart from here, Catullus uses it only in the polymetric poems, at 10.33, 42.8, 51.13 and 55.1. Just like *stultorum*, this bathetic word aptly illustrates the harm that could arise if Catullus were to criticize Lesbia.

138-140   Catullus sets as an example for himself Juno's acquiescence in the face of her husband's infidelities. In fact her vindictiveness towards most of his lovers, including Semele, Danae, Alcmena and Io, was a key motif of many myths. As so often, Catullus alters a canonical myth to let it suit his story.

138   maxima caelicolum   A honorific reference to the goddess in the high poetic style: note the compound adjective and the archaic genitive plural in –*um*. It is the result of the conflation of two lines from Ennius' *Annals*, 444 and 445 Skutsch: *o genitor noster Saturnie, maxime diuom* and *optima caelicolum, Saturnia, magna dearum*. The epithet *caelicola* seems to be an Ennian coinage (see also *Ann. frg. dub.* 6 Skutsch) and is proper to high poetry, most of all to epic: it is found also in Lucilius (1x), the *Aeneid* (8x), the *Metamorphoses* (2x), Lucan (4x), Petronius (at 126.18.4 in an epigram), Seneca's tragedies (2x), Statius

(*Theb.* 7x, *Ach.* 1x, *Silu.* 1x), Juvenal (1x), Valerius Flaccus (3x) and Silius Italicus (18x). It is not found in prose before Apuleius (2x *Plat.*, 1x *Socr.*). Catullus also uses the word at 64.386 and ironically at 30.4.

139   coniugis in culpa   'As regards to her husband's *faux pas*', 'in view of it': for the usage compare Sal. *Cat.* 52.12 *sint misericordes in furibus aerari*, Prop. 3.19.28 *uictor erat quamuis, aequus in hoste fuit*, Ov. *Am.* 1.7.9 *uindex in matre patris ... Orestes*, Livy 6.22.4 *foedeque in captis exercuere uictoriam* (see *OLD* s.v. *in*, 41d and *TLL* 7.1.779.65-781.56 on the '*in*' *occasionis*).

culpa is used regularly for philandering: see *OLD* s.v., 3b and *TLL* 4.1298.27-30.

flagrantem contudit iram   An interesting textual problem. The principal MSS write *flagrantem cotidiana* (*O*) or *flagrantem quotidiana* (*GR*). Here we have a series of proper Latin words (*cotidianus* and *quotidianus* are legitimate by-forms of the adjective *cottidianus*) but they make no sense, as the sentence that runs through lines 138-140 contains no finite verb. Scholars have tried to remedy this situation in three different ways: first, by emending *flagrantem* (the man who copied β later corrected the word to *flagrauit*); second, by suggesting that a pair of lines may have fallen out after line 139 (this was the idea of Statius); third, by emending *cotidiana* or *quotidiana* (Santenius may have been the first to pursue this path).

The first solution is unconvincing: *flagrauit* 'she was roused to anger' does not suit the image of a conciliatory Juno that we need here, *flagrantem* does not look corrupt at all and is hard to see what process of corruption could have given rise to such an attractive form. On the other hand, *cotidiana* does look corrupt, as it would be oddly superfluous after *saepe*. Statius' proposal that there is a two-verse lacuna after this line is intelligent, but it does not get rid of *cotidiana*, and the text runs well except for the lack of a verb. *cotidiana* is corrupt, then; but how should it be corrected?

Santenius proposed *continet iram*, and in fact the noun goes well with *flagrantem* (cfr. Liv. 40.56.2 *uelut ab incendio flagrantis irae* and *ira flagrantior* at Apul. *Plat.* 1.10 [217] and Amm. 16.12.49, and the connection of heat with anger is commonplace: in Catullus note 64.124 and 64.197), while *continet* 'she restrains, keeps to herself' means the right thing and has a parallel in this sense at Brut. Cass. *ap.* Cic. *Fam.* 11.3.2 *te miramur ... non potuisse continere iracundiam tuam quin nobis de morte Caesaris obiceres*. Santenius' *continet iram* does not appear to have been accepted by any recent editor, but it is surely not unattractive.

Lachmann suggested *concoquit iram* 'she digests her anger', and this has been printed by many editors including Kroll, Mynors (supported by Fordyce) and Quinn as well as Schwabe, who spelled *conquoquit*, which is closer to *G*'s *quotidiana* (the reading of *O*, which was unknown to Schwabe, in fact shows that the archetype is more likely to have read *cotidiana*). However, *concoquo* 'to cook thoroughly, to digest' is never used of suppressing a sudden impulse (see *OLD* s.v. 4 and *TLL* 4.82.81-83.9), which makes it hard to accept this conjecture.

Hertzberg's *contudit iram* 'she crushed, suppressed her anger' is close to the transmitted reading, as it may have yielded *cotidiana* through an intermediate form such as *cōtuditinā* (cfr. Goold 1988: 148, n. 1). A close parallel at Columella 6.2.4 is already quoted by Ellis: (*uituli*) *si nimis asperi erunt, patere unum diem noctemque desaeuiant; simul atque iras contuderint, mane producantur...* This conjecture is put into the text

by Ellis, Thomson, Goold and Godwin, is accepted by Syndikus (1990: 289, n. 205) and is advocated by Trappes-Lomax (2007: 239f.).

None of the other proposals on offer are nearly as good. Pohl's *condidit iram* is unconvincing, as *condo* is not attested in this sense, while Baehrens' *concipit iram* 'she conceives anger' and *colligit iram* 'she builds up anger' make Juno angry where the logic of the text needs her to be tolerant. A more drastic solution was proposed by Birt (1904: 429), who conjectured *custodibat* and took it with *flagrantem* to mean 'she guarded him as he was inflamed by passion'; but once again this would make Juno shrewish where she has to be broad-minded.

In short, Hertzberg's *contudit iram* is the most convincing conjecture. Santenius' *continet iram* also deserves mention, but Trappes-Lomax (2007: 243) notes that a verb in the perfect tense is more suitable, as "Jupiter was not still seducing mortal women in Catullus' time, and *saepe* makes it clear that the reference is to the past events of the mythological age."

140   The line is echoed by Prop. 2.30.28 *et canere antiqui dulcia furta Iouis* and probably also by Ov. *Met.* 1.605f. *atque suus coniunx ubi sit circumspicit, ut quae / deprensi totiens iam nosset furta mariti* (also of Juno).

noscens   This can be interpreted in two ways: (i) 'becoming aware of', 'hearing of' each infidelity in turn or (ii) 'knowing of', 'being aware of' Jove's many infidelities. The present tense of *nosco* 'I get to know' is inchoative (see *OLD* s.v., 1c), unlike the perfect *noui* 'I know', which argues for interpretation (i). However, the present participle would imply contemporaneous action, while Juno presumably suppressed her anger not while but after she discovered some peccadillo of her husband's. One possibility, then, is to interpret the participle as if it were a perfect. This type of substitution is known and comes naturally in view of Latin's lack of a perfect participle active: see Kühner-Stegmann 1.757, who quote Tac. *Ann.* 12.48 *Quadratus cognoscens proditum Mithridaten ... uocat consilium*. Hofmann-Szantyr 386f. go as far as stating that there is no firm rule for the temporal relationship between the action expressed by the finite verb and that expressed by the present participle; in their view this relationship has to be inferred from the context from case to case and the crucial aspect of this participle is only that it expresses a durative action, i.e. it stands for a present or an imperfect rather than a perfect (cfr. Neue-Wagener 3.134). Alternatively, we could go for interpretation (ii): Juno forgave her husband, since she already knew about a thousand and one peccadilloes of his; her past experience taught her to be tolerant. This is the line of thought in Ov. *Met.* 1.605f., which echoes the present passage (see the previous note).

Others concluded that the line must be corrupt and tried to emend it: Nicolaus Heinsius proposed *omniuoli ignoscens*, while Baehrens thought of *perfida pacta*, *turpia probra* and *turpia facta*. Baehrens' conjectures would weaken the potential tautology, as his conjectures would add either new information or elements of moral shock, while Heinsius' *ignoscens* would remove it altogether. The transmitted text is confirmed by the echoes of the line in Propertius and Ovid (see the previous note).

omniuoli   This *hapax legomenon* is surely a Catullan coinage inspired on *multiuola* in line 128 (see the note there).

plurima furta   The principal MSS write *facta* 'deeds', while *furta* 'amorous adventures' is a conjecture from the 15th century; Baehrens proposed a number of more drastic conjectures to make better sense of *noscens* but it is possible to solve this problem less invasively (see the note there). Most recent editors write *furta* but Thomson retains *facta*, comparing in his 1997 commentary Prop. 1.18.25f. *omnia consueui timidus perferre superbae / iussa neque arguto facta dolore queri*; however, there *facta* refers not just to romantic *faux pas* but to cruel deeds in general. Here Juno has to know not Jupiter's past actions (*facta*) but his amorous *faux pas* (*furta*: on the word see on line 136). Before *facta*, *plurima* would be pointless; *furta* makes it significant: Jupiter had committed no end of peccadilloes. *plurima furta* stands in neat balance to *omniuoli* (Jupiter accomplishes what he desires) and picks up Lesbia's *rara ... furta* mentioned in line 136. The conjecture is confirmed further by echoes of the line in Propertius and Ovid (see on line 140).

The corruption may well have taken place when an abbreviation was misread. This could happened in a minuscule script similar to that of *O*, who writes *facta* as *fca* with a small arc above the gap between the *c* and the *a*, and in Gothic minuscule the letters *c* and *t* strongly resemble each other; if *furta* was abbreviated to *fta* with an accent denoting an *r* above the gap between the *f* and the *t*, it could easily be misread as *fca*, i.e. *facta*.

141   atqui   This is surely the right correction for the principal MSS' unmetrical *atque*. The alternative *at quia*, favoured by Munro (1878), is attested apparently only once in Classical Latin (at Sen. *Suas.* 2.10), and the accumulation of conjunctions in *at quia nec* would be unpleasant. Meanwhile, *atquī* 'but', 'however' means the right thing and adds a lively, conversational touch. It is common in comedy and prose, where it is used especially in dialogue (cf. *OLD* and *TLL* s.v.), and is firmly attested in Catullus (also at 23.12, 37.9 and 67.31).

componier   The archaic form of the passive infinitive in –*ier* is frequent in the writings of Plautus, Terence and their contemporaries, though even here the classical form in –*i* is more common (see the detailed discussion in Neue-Wagener 3.224-235). Catullus uses it here and five times in poem 61 (line 42 *citarier*, 65, 70 and 75 *compararier* and 68 *nitier*); it is common in Lucretius (45x) and is used by Cicero in his poetry (6x *Arat.* and 1x in a translation from Homer at *Div.* 2.64). It is used on occasion by Varro of Atax (1x), Propertius (1x), Horace (1x in *Od.*, 5x in *Sat.* and 3x in *Epist.*), Virgil (1x in *Geo.* and 5x in *Aen.*), Ovid (1x in *Met.*), Phaedrus (1x), Manilius (1x), Juvenal (1x), Persius (2x) and other poets. In classical prose it is only used in legal and religious formulae.

142   "Das Rätsel dieser Verse ist kaum lösbar", as Kroll put it, "it is hardly possible to solve the riddle posed by these verses", i.e. of this and the preceding one. The crux of the problem lies in the words *tolle* and *onus*. Baehrens, Riese and Quinn take *tolle* to mean 'remove', 'do away with' on the basis of parallels such as Verg. *Aen.* 10.451 *tolle minas*, Hor. *Od.* 2.5.9f. *tolle cupidinem / immitis uuae* and *Epist.* 1.12.3 *tolle*

querelas, Ov. *Am.* 1.8.66 *tolle tuos tecum, pauper amator, auos* and *A.A.* 1.718 *taedia tolle tui*. However, the basic meaning of *tollo* is 'to lift up' and the verb only means 'to remove' when its basic meaning is excluded by the context, or else when the removal is done by lifting up. Thus one may well expect *tolle onus* to mean not 'remove the burden' but 'lift up the burden', and there are parallels for this usage: compare Ov. *Met.* 12.281f. *inque umeros limen tellure reuulsum / tollit, onus plaustri*, Vitr. 10.1.2 *onera machinis pertrahuntur ut ad altitudinem sublata conlocentur* and Scaev. *Dig.* 19.2.61.1 *euenit, ut onerata nauis in ipsa prouincia nouem mensibus retineretur et onus impositum commisso tolleretur*, and in a metaphorical sense at Cic. *Ver.* 2.3.1 *non solum quid oneris in praesentia tollant, sed quantum in omnem uitam negoti suscipere conentur*. There is no parallel for *tollere onus* in the sense 'to remove a burden', and it is extremely doubtful whether any Roman would ever have understood the expression in this way. In short, *tolle ... onus* should be taken to mean 'lift up the burden', 'shoulder the burden'. For the metaphorical use of *onus* compare Cat. 31.7f. *o quid solutis est beatius curis, / cum mens onus reponit ... ?*

However, it is hard to see how the image of shouldering the burden of an aged parent could follow on the previous line, and a number of scholars have tried to emend the text. Lachmann conjectured *tremulist illa* and Haupt *olla*, Birt (1904: 429) proposed to write *tale* for *tolle* and Postgate (1888: 253) suggested *opus* for *onus*, which was printed by Goold in his 1983 edition (not in that of 1973, however, nor in his 1988 revision of the old Loeb) and was also advocated by Trappes-Lomax (2007: 243). But these proposals are not convincing: it is not clear how comparing humans with the gods (line 141) could constitute a burden of a trembling parent, while it would put the Latin under strain to take Postgate's *tolle ... opus* to mean 'do away with the task of': at Propertius 3.11.22 *tollere opus* means 'to raise a building'. Kroll suspects that the line may have been transposed, but if we removed it, there would remain a lacuna, as both the preceding and the following lines are hexameters, and it is not likely that a line should have been transposed to fill such a hole. It is easier to assume with Marcilius that there is a lacuna before this line, which presumably once contained the words that would have made sense of it. Fröhlich (1849: 266) suggests that lines 137 and 141 (after which there follows no lacuna) exchanged places, and proposes to write <u>*ut, siquidem*</u> *diuis homines componier aequum est, / saepe etiam Iuno, maxima caelicolum* (141 and 138) and *ne nimium simus stultorum more molesti: / "ingratum tremuli tolle parentis onus!"* (137 and 144). However, his reconstruction of the text is problematic in more ways than one (there is no need for an introductory phrase before *saepe etiam*; it does not solve anything to put line 144 in quotation marks) and it is hard to imagine how two lines could have exchanged places over a considerable length of text.

This means that the most economical solution to the problem is Marcilius' lacuna. There need not have gone lost more than one single distich: this much is suggested by the apparent correlation between the two conjunctions *nec* in the previous and in the following line, either of which introduce a circumstance that makes the infidelities of Catullus' mistress even less reproachable than those of Jupiter.

It is not easy to reconstruct the run of thought, but perhaps not impossible. In all of lines 135-148 Catullus considers his own position regarding Lesbia's infidelities, in what almost amounts to an address to himself (note line 136 *feremus*, 137 *ne ... simus* and 143 *mihi*), so he could well have directed the imperative *tolle* in

this line at himself. But why should he have told anybody to shoulder the burden of an aged parent? After all, the burden is *ingratum*, 'unwelcome' – presumably neither to the parent nor to the speaker, but to a third party. The command may simply be negative – Catullus may tell himself not to engage in the scrupulous meddlesomeness proper to the older generation (cfr. Cat. 5.2f.) and especially to an elderly father or mother. In this case there would have to stand *ne* before the imperative (cfr. 62.59 *ne pugna*), probably at the beginning of the previous verse; *ne* could be followed by a participial clause and the line could be closed by the vocative *Catulle*. But it is hard to link even the negative command 'do not take up the burden of a meddlesome father' with the contents of the last surviving verse (line 141), 'it is not fair to compare humans to the gods', and the other line that has fallen out may well have contained another explanation of why Lesbia's *faux pas* are even less worthy of attention than those of Jupiter, to the extent 'nor is it stylish to make a fuss about things like this', as an aged father would. The conclusions can be summed up in a tentative reconstruction:

141   atqui nec diuis homines componier aequum est,
141a   <nec … … … … … … … … … ,
141b   ne … … … … … … … … … , Catulle,>
142   ingratum tremuli tolle parentis onus.

It is worthwhile to mention in passing the supplement provided by Goold in his editions of 1973 and 1983, *nec mala, quot Iuno quantaue, nos patimur. / tolle igitur questus, et forti mente, Catulle*; in the following verse he writes *opus*. These are attractive, lively lines, but they do not solve the problem with *tolle … onus*.

tremuli   The adjective had been applied to the elderly since Ennius (*Ann.* 34 Skutsch *cum tremulis anus … artubus*) and Plautus (*Curc.* 160 *anus tremula*) and this vivid image is used by Catullus no less than four times: thus 61.154f. *tremulum mouens / cana tempus anilitas*, 64.307 *corpus tremulum* of the Parcae and cfr. esp. 61.51 *tremulus parens*. It remains common in later poetry: see Prop. 4.1.49, 4.7.73, Tib. 1.6.78, Ov. *Met.* 10.414, 14.143, 15.212, Manil. 2.855, etc.

143   nec tamen   'But … not', 'and anyhow … not' (Fordyce), 'and in any case … not' (Thomson), 'nor': the phrase is hard to translate and troubles most commentators. Fröhlich (1849: 266) and Baehrens (*in app.*) are tempted to emend; the former proposes *non etenim* 'in fact not' (but *nec* here is guaranteed by *nec* in line 141, which Fröhlich transposes unconvincingly) and the latter *nec tandem* 'nor last of all' (the minuscule abbreviation of *tandem* closely resembles that of *tamen*: *tm* with a dash above the second letter rather than *tn* with a similar dash), while Ellis and Fordyce compare the weakened uses of *et tamen* without a strong sense of contrast at Lucr. 1.1049-1051 *suboriri multa necessest, / et tamen ut plagae quoque possint suppetere ipse, / infinita opus est uis undique materiai* and 5.1175-1178 *aeternamque dabant uitam, quia semper eorum / suppeditabatur facies et forma manebat, et tamen omnino quod tantis uiribus auctos / non temere*

ulla ui conuinci posse putabant as well as Cic. *Sen.* 16 (after a quotation from a speech of Appius Claudius Caecus' in Ennius' *Annals*) *notum enim uobis carmen est, et tamen ipsius Appi exstat oratio.*

However, it is surely the easiest to assume that *nec* here stands in parallel with *nec* in line 141. Each of these introduces a reason for which it is not possible to compare the relationship of Catullus and Lesbia to that of Jupiter and Juno: (i) it is not fair to compare gods to humans (line 141 – though it is hard to see how the lost lines and line 142 fitted into this); (ii) the two relationships are different because Jupiter and Juno were married while Catullus and Lesbia are not (lines 143-146). Here *nec tamen* (which I would translate with 'nor in fact': see *OLD* s.v. *tamen*, 2b) introduces the more important objection, one that applies not to the comparison but to the parallel: the two relationships are not similar at all because that of Catullus and Lesbia is clandestine. This is probably better than Baehrens' *nec tandem* 'nor, last of all', which appears somewhat pedantic and quite unlike Catullus.

dextra deducta paterna   Catullus has distilled the wedding ceremony to two essential ingredients, the ceremony of escorting the bride to the house of her husband, for which *deducere* was the standard term (thus Pl. *Cas.* 472 and 881, Caes. *Gal.* 5.14.1, Prop. 4.3.13, Lygd. = [Tib.] 3.4.31, and see further *TLL* 5.1.272.80-273.16) and the approval of the father, who handed over the bride to the groom (Cat. 62.60). In the view of the jurist Pomponius the act of escorting the bride was an obligatory part of every Roman wedding and if it did not take place, a marriage was not valid (*Dig.* 23.2.5); the approval of the father of the bride was also necessary (Paulus *Dig.* 23.2.2).

Here *dextra deducta paterna* can easily be translated as 'led on by the right hand of her father'. However, most commentators (including Ellis, Baehrens, Riese, Fordyce and Quinn) find this problematic, because "the bride's father did not take part in the formal *deductio* to her new home" (Fordyce). In fact, it is the question whether the ceremony had such rigid rules – and even whether it had a name of its own: *deductio* is only used by Pomponius *loc. cit.*, and *deduco* simply means 'to escort'. Festus p. 245 M. = 282 L. writes that the bride is escorted by three children both whose parents were alive (*patrimi et matrimi pueri praetextati tres nubentem deducunt, unus, qui facem praefert ex spina alba, quia noctu nubebant, duo, qui tenent nubentem*, which is followed by Rage-Brocard 1934: 24f.) but whatever his source for this information, he seems to describe an ideal ceremony rather than contemporary practice; it is hard to believe that all weddings should have involved a torch made from the *spina alba*. In poem 61 Catullus mentions several torches (61.114 *tollite, <o> pueri, faces*) and one *praetextatus* escorting the girl (61.174f. *mitte brachiolum teres, / praetextate, puellulae*). There also survive descriptions of quasi-*deductiones*: Plautus uses *deduco* for a slave bringing a slave-girl to his quarters in a wedding ceremony of sorts (Pl. *Cas.* 881 *ubi intro hanc nouam nuptam deduxi, recta uia in conclaue adduxi*), while Ovid uses it for Erigone being led by her nurse to her father Cinyras at the start of their incestuous relationship (*Met.* 10.462). The essential ingredient of the "*deductio*" seems to be the act of escorting prescribed by Pomponius in the *Digest*, and not the presence or absence of any particular person in the procession. There is no reason to take *dextra deducta paterna* in any other way than 'led on by the right hand of her father'; one need not take *dextra ... paterna* counterintuitively as an ablative of separation ('from the *manus* of her father', Riese) or *deducta* even less plausibly as *tradita*

(Fordyce), nor is there any need to write *Vesta* (Vossius, who had found *veta* in a MS then in Milan, now probably lost), *de aula* (Baehrens) or *de ducta* (Postgate 1912: 15).

There is some controversy about what spelling should be used. *dextra* is a conjecture from the early 15th century; the principal MSS read *deastra* (O) or *de astra* (X). Given the fact that under the Republic median *x* was also written as *xs* and as *cs*, Schwabe proposed *dexstra*, while Ellis conjectured *decstra*, which would both be closer to the readings of the principal MSS than *dextra*. An interesting parallel is provided by 17.3, where *OGR* write *ac sulcis*; Hand conjectured *axulis*, but Ellis proposed the spelling *acsuleis*. In both passages the evidence of the primary MSS would seem to point towards the spelling *cs*. However, there seem to be no examples of this in securely datable inscriptions from this period, which write the later median *x* either as *x* (thus *CIL* 1.2.590, the *Lex Municipi Tarentini* from 89-62 B.C., has *faxit* at 9.4 and *proxumeis* at 9.8) or as *xs* (*CIL* 1.2.589, the *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* from 71 B.C., has *deixserint* in line 33, while *CIL* 1.2.592, the *Lex de Gallia Cisalpina* from 49 B.C., has 1.43 *proxsume*, 2.20 *duxserit* and 2.33 *noxsiaue*). On the other hand, there are over 100 instances in which Catullus' principal MSS write median *x* as *x*, which makes it risky to reconstruct *acsulis* at 17.3 and *decstra* here. Such forms could, however, been introduced by a later scribe with a misguided passion for archaisms.

144 This is very nearly a golden line (for the concept cfr. line 29n.); it is, if the participle *fragrantem* is counted as an adjective.

fragrantem Assyrio … odore The house of the groom would have been fragrant with Oriental perfumes during the wedding. For the practice compare 64.284 *domus iucundo risit odore* (a pleasant fragrance, possibly of the flowers just mentioned, at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis) and *Ciris* 512 *non thalamus Syrio fragrans accepit amomo* (i.e. Scylla never married). Perfumes were keenly appreciated by Catullus and those of his generation (see Cat. 6.6-8, 13.11 and Cic. *Cat.* 2.5), but the use of fragrances to improve the air within a building may have been restricted to temples and weddings.

It is hard to tell what substance would have caused the *Assyrius odor*. Commentators point out that Roman poets use *Syrius* and *Assyrius* interchangeably when writing of Oriental spices and perfumes, though in fact, Syria and Assyria were two quite distinct regions: the former the Eastern shore of the Mediterranean, the latter what is now Eastern Iraq and Western Iran. The most obvious way to perfume the air of a building would have been by burning incense (*tus*) or myrrh (*murra*, *myrrha*). However, these spices were resinous materials imported not from the Levant or Iraq, but from the Yemen and the Horn of Africa, and no ancient author appears to state that they come from Syria or Assyria. More promisingly, the use of *Syrio ... amomo* during a wedding is mentioned at *Ciris* 512 (see above). *amomum* can refer to a range of seeds or the oil pressed from them (see *Neue Pauly* s.v. *amomon*). While they were imported from India and equatorial Africa, they are often said to originate from Assyria: thus Verg. *Ecl.* 4.25 *Assyrium uulgo nascetur amomum* (of the plant), Mart. 8.77.3f. *Assyrio semper tibi crinis amomo / splendeat*, Sil. 11.402 *crinem Assyrio perfundere ... amomo* and Stat. *Silv.* 2.4.34 *Assyrio cineres adolentur amomo*.

On the spices used in the Roman world see further Donato & al. (1975), esp. the list of perfumes on pp. 41-71, and Faure (1987), esp. pp. 232-237 on the spice trade; cfr. also Pliny, *N.H.* 12.63-71 on incense and myrrh and *ibid.* 21.35-41 (a quick survey of a range of fragrances).

145   furtiua … munuscula   On the use of *furtiuus* 'stealthy' for love-affairs see on 136 *furta*. Sexual favours or sexual activity are sometimes described as *munera*: compare line 10 above and 61.227f. *munere assiduo ualentem / exercete iuuentam* as well as Pl. *Asin.* 812 *apud amicam munus adulescentuli / fungare*, Ov. *A.A.* 3.98 *damnis munera uestra carent* (to women who are available) and *Her.* 4.137 *pete munus* (but the text may be corrupt), Petron. 87.8 *et non plane iam molestum erat munus* and Mart. *Epigr.* 9.67.7f. *si uis / accipere hoc munus*, and see further *TLL* 8.1667.11-22.

mira … nocte   The adjective has been suspected by Kroll, Mynors, Fordyce, Thomson, Trappes-Lomax (2007: 243) and others, but Quinn comments that "[m]any boggle needlessly at *mira*". The word is also defended by Arkins (1992).

Much of the perplexity seems to have been caused by the passionate tone of the expression: "romantic as the phrase sounds to modern ears, it can hardly be genuine" (Fordyce). But it may appear stronger than it is: *mirus* has to do not with miracles (a Christian preoccupation) but with *miror* 'I am amazed', and carries no supernatural overtones. In classical Latin it does not mean 'wonderful', but just 'extraordinary', 'remarkable' or 'astonishing' (*OLD* s.v. *mirus* 1); a *nox mira* is not a miraculous night, but just an amazing one. Elsewhere Catullus uses both *nox* and *mirus* in a number of unusual ways: note 7.7 *tacet nox*, 51.11f. *gemina ... nocte*, 61.110f. *uaga ... nocte* as well as 64.51 *mira arte*, 67.29 *egregium narras mira pietate parentem*, and compare *nec* or *neque mirum* at 23.7, 57.3, 62.14 and 69.7. Other Latin authors apply *mirus* to an even broader range of substantives: thus Pl. *Ps.* 512 *mirum et magnum facinus* and *Rud.* 597 *mirum atque inscitum ... somnium*, Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.135 *mirum quendam dolorem* and *Att.* 15.29.2 *mirus ciuis*, Pliny *N.H.* 3.88.5 *mons Aetna nocturnis mirus incendiis* and Fro. *Aur.* 2.6 *arbor mira et noua*. Nor is *mira ... nocte* "nonsense", as Landor (1842: 361) would have it: it makes good sense as a temporal ablative. In view of this all, there is no reason to object to a combination of *mira* with *nox*.

To others, *mira ... nocte* appears problematic not because it is an unusual expression as such, but on account of its context: thus Thomson notes that "it is quite unlike C. to cut across his meaning by introducing" such a notion. *mira ... nocte* indeed disrupts the run of thought: after the statement in the previous distich that Lesbia did not come to Catullus as a bride, one expects to find in this distich a description of the secrecy of their illicit encounters, but *furtiua dedit ... munuscula* is harshly interrupted by *mira*, which makes an entirely different point. Still, it is possible to follow the run of thought: (1) she did not come to me as a bride – (2) she gave me stolen little pleasures at night – (3) yes, a wonderful night that it was – (4) and I managed to steal her from no other place than the lap of her husband (*ipsius ex ipso dempta uiri gremio*). The speaker's attention veers off from the negative aspects of his secret affair to the positive ones, and he justifies it not so much morally as aesthetically: it cannot be a bad thing if it is so wonderful after all. The boast in the following line confirms this interpretation.

Consequently I do not think that one should emend *mira*, but it may still be worthwhile to consider the emendations that have been proposed. The humanistic conjecture *nigra ... nocte* 'in the dark of the night' (first found in Calphurnius' edition and in MS 7, both datable to 1481, and in MS 85, datable to around 1500) means the right thing, is supported by a number of parallels (Lucr. 4.537 *perpetuus sermo nigrai noctis ad umbram / aurorae perductus*, Varro *Men. frg.* 489 Astbury *anates ... paludibus nocte nigra ad lumina lampadis sequens* and Verg. *Aen.* 7.414 *iam mediam nigra carpebat nocte quietem*, cfr. Lucil. 209 Marx *noctis nigrore* and Pacuv. *trag.* 412 *tenebrae conduplicantur, noctisque et nimbum obcaecat nigror*) and is not too far palaeographically from the transmitted reading. It is advocated by Trappes-Lomax (2007: 240). Nicolaus Heinsius' *prima ... nocte* could mean 'on the first night' (as at Ter. *Hec.* 136 *nocte illa prima uirginem non attigit*, Prop. 2.5.15 *nec tu non aliquid, sed prima nocte, dolebis* and compare 3.15.5, Ov. *Fast.* 5.111) or 'early in the night', 'at the fall of night' (thus Ter. *Hec.* 822, Hor. *Od.* 3.7.29 *prima nocte domum claude* and Ov. *Am.* 2.19.38 *incipe iam prima claudere nocte forem*), but neither meaning would be suitable here: the former would be superfluous, as the reader already knows that this was Catullus' first night with Lesbia, and the latter would not suit the context; one would expect only more respectable affairs to be conducted just after dinner. It is not clear what would be the meaning of Schrader's *niuea*. Landor (1842: 361) proposed *mire* or *media*: the adverb *mire* would leave *nocte* oddly without an epithet, but *media ... nocte* would be livelier, and there are some parallels: Pl. *Curc.* 4 *si media nox est siue prima est uespera* and *Amphitr.* 514 *heri uenisti media nocte, nunc abis* as well as Tib. 1.8.59 *ut possim media quamuis obrepere nocte*. Haupt's *rara* 'infrequent' would not be possible after the perfect *dedit*; contrast *rara uerecundae furta feremus erae* in line 136 and Pl. *Truc.* 49 *si raras noctes ducit*. Fröhlich (1849: 266) proposed *mi Iro*, but it is not clear what this would mean. Heyse suggested *muta*, but this would not make a strong point, and *muta munuscula* would be rather cacophonic. *tacita*, conjectured by Lain (1986), would yield an acceptable sense ('in the dead of the night') and it would have a number of parallels – Tib. 1.6.6 *nescio quem tacita callida nocte fouet*, Ov. *Her.* 18.78 *et nitor in tacita nocte diurnus erat*, *Met.* 9.474 *me miseram! tacitae quid uult sibi noctis imago?* and *Fast.* 2.552 *et tacitae questi tempore noctis aui* and 4.651f. *ille dabat tacitis animo responsa quieto / noctibus* – but it is hard to see how it could have yielded *mira*. And Thomson's *pura* would mean the wrong thing; he compares *pura ... sub nocte* at Verg. *Ecl.* 9.44, but that means 'on a cloudless night'. While Landor's *media* and Lain's *tacita* deserve mention, the Renaissance conjecture *nigra* is certainly the best substitute for *mira* that has been proposed to date – but no substitute appears to be required.

146   Lesbia has been 'snatched from the very lap of her very husband': Catullus boasts as if he had snatched her himself in a feat of daring.

ipsius ex ipso   The accumulation is strongly emphatic: compare 74.3f. *hoc ne ipsi accideret, patrui perdepsuit ipsam / uxorem* as well as Pl. *Pseud.* 1142 *tute ipsus ipsum praesens praesentem uides* (where the variant *ipsus coram* is surely inferior) and *St.* 373 *tutin ipsus ipsum uidisti?*, Ter. *Andr.* 532 *adeo in ipso tempore eccum ipsum obuiam* and Cic. *Brut.* 84 *nec mihi ceterorum iudicio solum uidetur, sed etiam ipsorum inter ipsos concessu ita tributum fuisse*.

uiri   Lesbia's *uir* re-appears at 83.1 *Lesbia mi praesente uiro mala plurima dicit*. Who is he? According to the *OLD*, the word *uir* can mean both 'husband' (s.v., 2a) and 'lover' (2b). Could Lesbia's *uir* be her boyfriend or her partner rather than her husband? The odds are against this. While one does come across the latter use in passages such as Prop. 1.6.9f. *illa minatur / quae solet ingrato tristis amica uiro* and Mart. 10.68.7f. *lectulus ... quem lasciuo strauit amica uiro*, the former use is much more common and is the only one attested in Catullus (14x, also in lines 80 and 130). It was probably common enough to be the default meaning of the word: if a Roman heard about a woman and her *uir*, in the absence of other information he will have assumed that he was her husband: compare Sal. *Cat.* 25.2 *uiro liberis satis fortunata fuit* 'she was lucky enough on account of her husband and her children'. Nor is there any sign that *uir* could be used to describe a partner in a long-term extra-marital relationship, as could *amator*; in fact the two words are contrasted at Ov. *Tr.* 2.371f. *adultera, de qua / inter amatorem pugna uirumque fuit*. Lesbia's *uir*, then, must be her husband.

Catullus shows less concern for this man than for Lesbia's numerous lovers, and he in turn feels a great satisfaction when he hears Lesbia denounce her former lover Catullus (poem 83). Evidently he is aware of having only a tenuous hold over her.

147f.   It is enough for Catullus if Lesbia meets her on the days she marks 'with a whiter stone'. The Romans appear to have marked special days on their wall-calendars with white chalk, witness 107.6 *o lucem candidiore nota!* and Hor. *Od.* 1.36.10 *Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota* with Nisbet & Hubbard (1970) *ad loc.* A comparable, if slightly eccentric wall-calendar is described at Petron. 30.3f. *duae tabulae in utroque poste defixae, quorum ... altera lunae cursum stellarumque septem imagines pictas* [i.e. *habebat inscriptos*] *et qui dies boni quique incommodi essent, distinguente bulla notabantur.*

The comparative *candidiore* indicates Catullus' "willingness to compromise" (Clarke 2003: 60). He does not expect to be the only lover of Lesbia; he only hopes that she will mark her appointments with him 'with whiter chalk' than those with her other lovers – that is, she will consider them special, she will prefer him to the rest.

148   lapide … candidiore   *candidus* 'gleaming white' aptly describes white chalk, but the colour white was generally associated with luck, well-being and good omens in the same way that black (*niger*, *ater*) was and is still associated with misfortune: compare Prop. 2.15.1 *o me felicem! o nox mihi candida!* ('happy' and not 'bright', *pace* Clarke 2003: 60) and 4.1.67f. *Roma, faue, tibi surgit opus, data candida, ciues, / omina et inceptis dextera cantet auis!* as well as Ov. *Pont.* 4.4.18 *candidus et felix proximus annus erit*. See further Clarke (2003: 59-61), *OLD* s.v., 7a and *TLL* 3.244.28-43.

diem   The principal MSS read *dies*; *diem* is a conjecture from the late 15th century that has been adopted by most recent editors, though not by Mynors or Quinn. *dies* would have to go with *is* in the previous line, which would result in a violent hyperbaton. Hyperbaton is not impossible *per se* in Catullus – commentators compare 44.8f. *non immerenti quam mihi meus uenter, / dum sumptuosas appeto, dedit, cenas* – but as Goold

(1958: 103) and Trappes-Lomax (2007: 244, whom I quote) point out, "if the antecedent is attracted into the relative clause, it becomes part of that clause and must take its case from it", as does e.g. *munera* in line 154; in other words, the case of *dedit* at 44.9 is very different from that of *dies* or *diem* here because the former is a finite verb, while the latter is a noun, and nouns are declined as a matter of course to suit their grammatical context. I find this convincing and prefer the conjecture *diem*, even though it is not clear how this could have yielded *dies*. Alternatively, one could follow R. Fisch, Baehrens and Trappes-Lomax and let *dies* and *notat* exchange places, but that would make it even harder to account for the *iter corruptionis*.

149   hoc … munus   I.e. the praise of Allius in lines 41-148. The vivid demonstrative creates an atmosphere of immediacy, as if the poet was speaking himself and pointing to what he had just written. A frequent use of demonstratives is one of Catullus' ways of reaching a colloquial, almost conversational tone, and he likes to put them at the start of the verse. Forms and derivatives of *hic* are found in this position no less than 49 times: see also lines 26, 32, 34, 36, 152 and 153.

Once again *O* uses an ambiguous abbreviation, *h'* , which could either be interpreted as *hoc* (also found in *GR* – this is surely what it stands for), or as *haec*.

quod potui   A set phrase, sometimes used as a polite excuse and often parenthetically, as is its twin *quoad potui*; no doubt both expressions were proper to the language of polite conversation. *quod potui* is also found at Verg. *Ecl.* 3.70f. *quod potui, puero … mala decem misi*, Sen. *Benef.* 3.30.1 *id quod potui et id quod feci*, Ov. *Her.* 8.5 and *Epic. Drusi* 237.

Muretus wrote *quo potui* 'as far as I could', and *quo* is re-proposed by Fröhlich (1849: 266), but *quod* makes sense, and the set expression should be preserved.

From the Augustan period onwards it becomes quite common for a poet to speak of the limitations imposed by his abilities: compare Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.12f. *cupidum … uires / deficiunt*, *Epist.* 2.1.258f. *nec meus audet / rem temptare pudor quam uires ferre recusent* and *A.P.* 38f. *sumite materiam uestris, qui scribitis, aequam / uiribus et uersate diu, quid ferre recusent*, Manil. 5.477 *si tanta operum uires commenta negarint* and Lucan. 1.66 *tu satis ad uires Romana in carmina dandas*.

confectum   'Made', 'brought into being', 'brought about'. Elsewhere the verb is often used for composing literary works (*OLD* s.v. *conficio*, 3).

carmine   Apparently 'by singing', 'by poetry' rather than 'by a poem': see on line 7.

150   pro multis … officiis   'Many dutiful deeds' imply more than having found a house in which Catullus could meet Lesbia. Allius must have helped Catullus on other occasions as well – or this one occasion is generously multiplied by the poet.

Alli   The manuscripts have *aliis*, which would offend not against the grammar or the metre, but against the sense: Catullus has set out to praise Allius for his help on one particular occasion, after which he can thank him for his help in general (see the previous note), but not for his help on many other occasions. Moreover, we may expect the addressee to be named after the change of address in the previous line, and also in the

following lines, which make much of the preservation of his name. Since the addressee is evidently Allius, Scaliger's emendation *Alli* is palmary.

redditur   Not 'is given back' but 'is given in return', 'is rendered', as at 64.157 *talia qui reddis pro dulci praemia uita* and 76.26 *o di, reddite mi hoc pro pietate mea*: cfr. *OLD* s.v. *reddo*, 9.

151f.   Catullus would like to prevent Allius' name from being forgotten. Here he makes the same point as in lines 49f., but in a different way, referring no longer to the name of the individual Allius, but to the name of the *gens Allia*. Allius' discreet and potentially disreputable act of having provided a house for the poet and his mistress is to result in glory for his whole family. Most Roman families will have hoped for claims to fame of a different sort; but Catullus had unusual standards, and so did his friends, perhaps.

Fröhlich (1849: 264 and 266) deleted 151f. and used 151 for his supplement of line 47. However, there is nothing suspicious about these two verses, and his supplement is quite unconvincing: see further on line 47.

151   uestrum … nomen   Catullus uses *uester* for *tuus* at 99.6 and possibly also at 39.20 (see Fordyce *ad loc.*), but here *uestrum* should be taken as a true plural referring to the addressee's family name, his *nomen gentilicium*, that is, the name Allius. *nomen uestrum* 'the name of your family' appears to have been a formula with a pathetic ring, witness Cic. *Scaur.* 30 *quod si te omen nominis uestri forte duxit* and Ov. *Tr.* 2.65 *inuenies uestri praeconia nominis illic*.

scabra … robigine   'With rough rust', i.e. 'with rust that makes it rough'. The name is conceived of as a metal object that rusts if it is not maintained properly. For the image of rust compare 64.42 *squalida desertis robigo infertur aratris*. In Greek literature its use to characterize non-use, neglect or idleness is apparently found only at Theocr. 16.16f. π□! ... □ψρε⌐ / □ργυρον, o⌐ δϒ κεν ⇒∫ν □ποτρ⇔χα! τιν⇐ δο⇔η (cfr. Gow 1950 *ad loc.*). In Latin it becomes more common: compare Cato, *carmen de moribus ap.* Gell. 11.2.6 *nam uita humana prope uti ferrum est. si exerceas, conteritur; si non exerceas, tamen robigo interficit*, Ov. *Tr.* 5.12.21 *ingenium longa robigine laesum* and Stat. *Theb.* 3.582 *fessa putri robigine pila*.

scaber is connected to *scabĕre* 'scratch' and indicates what is scaly or rough by nature or especially owing to a disease (*scabies*). *robigo* can refer to the 'rust' affecting a metal, a crop or even a part of a body (see below) and is conceptually similar to *scabies*. Later the accumulative phrase *scabra robigo* comes to be attested frequently in all the senses of *robigo*, especially in poetry: thus Verg. *Geo.* 1.495 *exesa ... scabra robigine pila* and note 2.220 *scabie et salsa laedit robigine ferrum*, Ov. *Met.* 8.802 *scabrae robigine fauces*, *Pont.* 1.1.71 *roditur ut scabra positum robigine ferrum* (cfr. Gaertner 2005 *ad loc.*) and *Fast.* 1.687f. *crescat scabrae robiginis expers ... seges*, Lucan. 1.243 *scabros nigrae morsu robiginis enses* and Petron. 124.274 *stabant aerati scabra robigine dentes*; later also in prose at Col. 3.1.9 *incrementa uirentium ueluti quadam scabra robigine coerceat* (of an inferior soil damaging the shoots of the grapevines) and Plin. *N.H.* 16.20 *item quod aliis subest tunica robigine scabra* (i.e. *glandibus*). I suspect that we may be dealing with a set phrase, even though some of its occurrences in poetry (in particular, Verg. *Geo.* 1.495 and Ov. *Pont.* 1.1.71, where the two words are in the same position within the verse as here) can be due to Catullan influence.

Trappes-Lomax (2007: 244) notes that the correct spelling is probably *robigine* rather than *rubigine*, witness the cognate *Rōbīgus* (a god who averted rust from crops) and the root word *rōbus*, a rustic term for 'red' (Ernout-Meillet s.v.). The word is written *robigo* in the *Fasti Consulares Praenestini* (*CIL* 1, p. 236, from between 6 and 9 A.D.).

tangat 'Touch', 'affect', 'afflict' with an ailment or an evil, as at Cat. 21.8 *tangam te prior irrumatione* as well as Lucil. 642 Marx *uenas hominis tetigit ac praecordia*, Lucr. 1.49 = 2.651 *nec tangitur ira* and Prop. 1.9.17 *uero nec tangeris igni*.

152   haec atque illa … atque alia atque alia   Compare Apul. *Met.* 9.7 <u>hoc et illud et aliud et rursus aliud</u> *purgandum demonstrat*: apparently we are dealing with a set form of speech in the colloquial language. The combination of *hic* and *ille* or derivatives is especially common in Catullus: compare *hinc illinc* in line 133 above as well as 3.9 *modo huc modo illuc*, 6.9 *et hic et illic* (on the text see Trappes-Lomax 2007: 47), 10.21 *nec hic neque illic* and 15.7 *modo huc modo illuc*. Phrases of this type occur regularly in Plautus (*Amphitr.* 229 *utrimque, hinc et illinc* and 594 *et hic et illic*, *Mil.* 151 and *Most.* 565 *et hinc et illinc*, etc.) and are especially common in Petronius (32.3 and 49.9 *hinc atque illinc*, 39.8 *et hoc et illoc*, 114.3 *huc illuc*, etc.). These lively colloquial phrases are found throughout Latin literature: note *huc atque illuc* (Cic. *Rosc. com.* 37, *De Orat.* 1.184 and *Fin.* 5.86, *Bell. Afr.* 73.3, Liv. 3.60.10, Cels. 5.26.14, Sen. *Epist.* 90.24, Petr. 37.1, Quint. *Inst.* 12.10.62 etc.) but are rare in Augustan and later poetry (*huc atque illuc* also at Manil. 4.282 and Sen. *Ag.* 370, *hinc atque illinc* Verg. *Geo.* 3.257 and Sen. *Med.* 343, *hinc et illinc* Mart. *Epigr.* 11.98.3). See further *TLL* 6.3.2716.66-2717.13.

Note the pleasant assonance of *a*, *i* and *l*.

153f.   Catullus asks for Allius the blessings of the gods, those that Themis used to bestow on the dutiful in ages past. Allius' help to Catullus is implied to be an act of *pietas* worthy of the most venerable men of old. No consideration is given to the possibility that helping a friend in an adulterous relationship might not fit seamlessly into this category.

'What Themis bestowed in the past on the pious men of old': in this phrase Catullus combines three different strands of thought. The first strand is what is known as the myth of the Golden Age – tough the term is modern; ancient authors refer to a golden race of men. They are first mentioned by Hesiod, who describes them as leading a carefree and virtuous life (*Op.* 109-126), while Aratus (*Phaen.* 96-114) describes how the Maiden (Παρψϒvo!) associated with this golden race; they called her Justice (Δ⇔κη) but the poet states explicitly that her identity is unclear (*Phaen.* 105 and 98f.). Later the myth is to emerge in Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue* and in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1.89-112).

The second strand is constituted by the figure of Themis, the divine personification of ψϒμι!, 'right(s)' (on the goddess see Hirzel 1907, Vos 1956, Corsano 1988 and the entries in *RE*, *Neue Pauly* and *OCD*). She is absent from the Homeric epics but is a figure of some importance already in Hesiod, who calls her a daughter of Uranus and Gaia (*Theog.* 135) and describes her marriage with Zeus, from which there were

born the Hours, Lawfulness, Justice, Peace and the Moirai (*Theog.* 901-906). From Aeschylus and perhaps already from Pindar onwards, there is attested a tradition that identifies the goddess as a previous owner of the Delphic oracle, after Gaia and before Phoebus and possibly Phoebe (Pi. *Py.* 11.9, Aesch. *Eum.* 2-4, Eur. *I.T.* 1259-1269, Paus. 10.5.6, etc.; see further *RE* V-A2.1628.1-42, Vos 1956: 62-67, Sourvinou-Inwood 1987 and Corsano 1988).

Catullus is the only ancient author to connect her with the Golden Age. Why did he do so? Kroll and Fordyce compare Aratus *Phaen.* 112f. □λλ□ β)ε! κα⇐ □ροτρα κα⇐ α⌈τ↓ π)τνια λα⌒ν / μυρ⇔α π□ντα παρεῙ̂ξε Δ⇔κη, δ⊕τειρα δικα⇔ϖν and Cat. 64.385f. *sese mortali ostendere coetu / caelicolae nondum spreta pietate solebant*, which echoes Aratus *Phaen.* 102f. He appears to have identified Aratus' Maiden with Themis. She could have appeared suitable for this role either in view of her name and her associations with rights and justice, or less likely perhaps because she belonged to an earlier generation of gods and was known as an earlier owner of the Delphic oracle.

The third ingredient in Catullus' mixture is the idea shared by many Romans that their ancestors were more dutiful and more virtuous than themselves, or rather more so than their contemporaries (see below on *antiquis ... piis*). A Greek myth is viewed through Roman eyes.

Compare the similar passages at Cat. 64.384-408, where the poet markedly contrasts the harmony, virtue and piety of the past with the depravity of the present, and at 34.22-24 *Romulamque* (thus Fowler *ap.* Lyne 2002: 604 for *Romulique* in the MSS) */ antique ut solita es, bona / sospites ope gentem*, a prayer to Diana, in which *antique* and *solita es* echo *antiquis solita est* in the present passage.

153 huc I.e. to Catullus' gift to Allius (*hoc ... munus*, line 149).

addant   Here the principal MSS have the indicative *addent*; the humanistic conjecture *addant* is first found in MS 106, datable to not much after 1502. The conjecture appears to have been forgotten and all editors have printed *addent*, but Trappes-Lomax (2007: 244) defends *addant*. He points out that in a prayer one needs a subjunctive, which is surely correct; we already have one in *sitis* two lines below, and an indicative would not make sense before *quam plurima* 'as many as possible'.

diui   *diuus* is a by-form of *deus* that can be used both as an adjective ('divine') and as a substantive ('god'). The word is widely attested in the earliest Latin texts, including the so-called Duenos-inscription at *CIL* 1.2.4 *iouesat diuos*, i.e. *iuuerat per diuos*, and the first verse of the *Carmen Saliare, frg.* 1 *diuum †empta cane, diuum deo supplicate*. At some point *d(e)iuus* gave rise to *deus* (see Ernout-Meillet s.v.) and the two words are already found side by side in Ennius. In classical prose *deus* becomes the standard form, except in religious formulas such as prayers and in especially pious contexts; in poetry the archaism *diuus* remains common. Its survival caused perplexity already among the Romans, who debated whether there was any difference in meaning between the words (see Servius and Servius Danielis on Verg. *Aen.* 12.139; the latter quotes Varro's correct observation that in the past *diuus* had been used simply for *deus*). In Catullus' poems the two words appear to be identical in meaning, but not in tone. Overall he uses *diuus* only slightly more often than *deus* (19x against 16x), but in differrent contexts: in the polymetric poems (1-60) he prefers *deus*

to *diuus* (7x against 2x), in the long poems (61-68b) the proportion is reversed in favour of *diuus* (5x against 17x), and in the epigrams (poems 69-116) he only uses *deus* (4x). The archaic form *diuus* appears more often in the more elaborate, more refined long poems, while *deus*, the form used in spoken Latin, predominates in the more colloquial polymetrics and is the only form used in the epigrams. In 68b Catullus only uses *diuus* (apart from here also in lines 70, 115 and 141) and never *deus*, which casts an interesting light on the style of this poem.

quam plurima, quae   *munera*, the noun qualified by *quam plurima*, has been drawn into the relative clause: compare 64.208f. *oblito dimisit pectore cuncta, / quae mandata prius constanti mente tenebat*.

Themis   See above on 153f.

olim   'In the past', 'in olden days': the word is not superfluous but locates the action of the main verb in a past epoch that is contrasted implicitly with the present.

154   antiquis … piis   The Romans associated all kinds of virtues with the *antiqui* (cfr. Cic. *Mur.* 17 *Curiis, Catonibus, Pompeiis, antiquis illis fortissimis uiris*, Varro *R.R.* 1.13.6 *potius ad antiquorum diligentiam quam ad horum luxuriam* and Verg. *Geo.* 2.174 *res antiquae laudis*) and especially *pietas*, 'dutifulness' (Lucr. 2.1170 *antiquum genus … pietate repletum*).

155   sitis felices   The principal MSS write *satis*, but this was corrected to *sitis* already during the Renaissance. *sitis felices* 'may you be happy, blessed, fortunate' is a benedictory formula of farewell comparable to the Greek greeting χαῖρε: cfr. 100.8 *sis felix, Caeli, sis in amore potens*, Lygdamus at [Tib.] 3.6.30 *sis felix et sint candida fata tua*, Hor. *Od.* 3.27.13f. *sis (licet) felix ubicumque mauis / et memor nostri, Galatea, uiuas* and Apul. *Met.* 2.14 *sisque felix et iter dexterum porrigas*, as well as the inscription *FELIX SIS* on a drinking-cup from Cologne (*CIL* 13.10018.84).

simul et   In prose *simul et* means 'together with', 'along with', 'both … and …', as at *Rhet. Her.* 4.51 *superbi a re simul et uerbis inuenientur*, Cic. *Ver.* 2.3.176 *Timarchides … cui simul et Volcatio pecunia a ciuitate numerata est* and Sal. *Iug.* 85.3 *bellum parare simul et aerario parcere*. In poetry the phrase is often little more than a metrically convenient alternative to *et*, as also at 64.78 *electos iuuenes simul et decus innuptarum*. The licence is as old as Enn. *Ann.* 138 *Tarquinio dedit imperium simul et sola regni* and exploited by many others: note Cic. *Arat. frg.* 32.457 Buescu *aluum, crura, umeros, simul et praecordia lustrans*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.144 *Cymothoë simul et Triton*, , and Ov. *Met.* 7.666 *Cephalus simul et Pallante creati*.

tua uita   Another certain correction for the principal MSS' *tua ui(rtu)te*. *uita* is common as a term of endearment, especially in a romantic context (Cat. 45.13, 104.1 and 109.1, as well as Pl. *Asin.* 614, *Cas.* 135, Cic. *Fam.* 14.4.1, Prop. 1.2.1 and 2.20.11, Ov. *Am.* 3.8.11f., etc.), but not necessarily so (cfr. Pl. *St.* 377 and 584).

156   The first hemistich of this pentameter is half a foot too short in the primary MSS: something has evidently dropped out of the text. If all the words that do survive are genuine, and there is no reason to think

otherwise, then there must have been lost after *domus* or after *qua* either a monosyllable or else a disyllable one syllable of which was elided.

Before adding such a word, it is worthwhile to make sense as well as possible of what remains. *lusimus* evidently refers to amorous games, to the love-making that took place inside the house (see line 17n. for this use of the verb, and compare its use in connection with Lesbia at 8.6). It does not provide any sensitive details: here as elsewhere Catullus describes only in general terms what went on during the rendez-vous (compare lines 69, 132 and 145). In fact he never describes making love to Lesbia, even though he can be quite explicit about other erotic encounters (cfr. 32.7f. and 56.7).

The verse closes with the noun *domina*, which also occurs in line 68. Its meaning in both passages has been highly controversial (see on line 68 for references). Who is the *domina* – Catullus' mistress, or the chatelaine of the house that has been put at his disposal?

At this point it is worthwhile to compare this verse with lines 68f.:

68   isque domum nobis isque dedit dominam,

69   ad quam communes exerceremus amores

Both line 68 and line 156 share the pair of words *domus – domina* as well as a word in the first person plural; in line 68 the latter is the pronoun *nobis* and in line 156 the verb *lusimus*; however, *in qua lusimus* here is equivalent to whole of verse 69, which is evidently being echoed in this verse. The *domina* in line 68 and the *domina* in the present line must be the same person.

Here as in line 68 *domina* is accompanied by *domus*, and idioms of the type *domus et dominus* 'the house and its master' strongly suggest that the two belong together, that the *domina* is not Lesbia but the chatelaine of the house in which she met Catullus. The epanaphora of *et* in the present passage (*et tu – et tua uita – et domus – et domina*) also suggests that the *domina* is yet another recipient of Catullus' greetings. Finally, Lesbia is greeted in lines 159f. in terms that suggest that she has not been mentioned for some time. As in line 68, here too the *domina* appears to be not Lesbia but an anonymous chatelaine.

A Renaissance supplement championed by Birt (1904: 430), *et domus in qua <nos> lusimus et domina*, appears to have been based on the hypothesis that the *domina* was Lesbia. But it is not clear whether a native speaker of Latin would have understood such a line as *et domus in qua nos lusimus et [lusit] domina* or as *et domus (in qua nos lusimus) et domina*; the former version would have made better sense of the emphatic nominative pronoun *nos*, the latter of the paronomasia *domus – domina*. In support of the former version Slotty (1927: 291) adduced a supposed parallel in Vedic, *ā́ yád ruhā́va Váruṇaṣ ca nā́vam* (he did not specify its source), but a Sanskrit phrase can hardly count as evidence for the correct interpretation of a Latin one. This problematic supplement is best abandoned. The same job would be done more smoothly by the supplement *et domus <ipsi> in qua lusimus et domina*, which appears to have been proposed first by the Brescian humanist Pantagathus (Ottaviano Pacato, 1494-1567) and is printed by Pighi. Scaliger wrote *ipse*, but the singular would be exceedingly awkward before *lusimus*.

All these supplements presuppose the identification of the *domina* with Lesbia, which has just been rejected. Others make more sense if the *domina* is the chatelaine. Most recent editors adopt the humanistic supplement *et domus <ipsa> in qua lusimus*, meaning 'and the very house in which we made love'. Here *ipsa* would be justified by the fact that houses are inanimate and people generally do not greet them: this pronoun would indicate an exception to the rule, as it were, and turn the house into an animate being for the purpose of the argument. But like 'the very house', it has a skeptical overtone, which is out of place in such an emotional passage. We better look for another alternative. The most obvious candidate *domus <illa> in qua lusimus*, proposed by Postgate (1888: 252). *ille qui* is a common turn of phrase in Catullus and elsewhere (see on lines 117f.), and Postgate's supplement would be, I think, just fine. One could also write *domus <ista> in qua lusimus*: this would be less bland than *illa*, but it is perhaps less plausible given that the house does not belong to Allius. In fact Catullus tends to use *iste* only when there is a strong connection between the noun that it qualifies and the addressee, though there are cases in which this connection is less marked (at 4.10, 15.7, 10.28 and 41.3).

157f.   This is the most problematic distich in all of Catullus 68: the nonsensical *terram dedit aufert* in line 157 cannot stand, but corruptions may be lurking in other places as well. Despite the bewildering range of remedies that have been proposed, more than one editor has been driven to despair: Schwabe writes *in app.* that "omnia hoc loco incerta, praeter quam quod corruptissimus est", Mynors calls line 157 a "locus conclamatus" Schuster brands it a "locus plane desperatus", and even Baehrens is untypically resignant: he starts his note on the distich with the observation that "haec uerba non sine causa pro corruptissimo poetae nostri loco habent docti, ex quorum commentis plurimis nullum adhuc rem acu tetigit." A multitude of remedies have been proposed for this passage, and it may be best to start by considering the more radical ones.

Doering recounts in his commentary that he had first tried to transpose the distich after line 160, letting it start with *det qui*, but he subsequently changed his mind – with good reason: the jubilant reference to Lesbia in lines 159f. already provides for a good note on which to end the poem, and *det qui* could not latch onto those verses in any way that could be called remotely grammatical. He concluded that the lines must have been interpolated: in his apparatus he writes "Sed nunc vix dubito, quin totum distichon v. 157-58 a sciolo quodam appictum sit". Two centuries later, Hering (1972: 42-44) proposed once again to delete these lines. The text would certainly be much less problematic without them, but it is hard to see who would have added them, why and especially in what form. It is hard to believe that anyone capable of composing elegiac distichs could have written something as absurd as *terram dedit aufert*. If we want to delete the distich, we must correct it first; and this brings us back to where we started.

The possibility that the distich may stand in the wrong place was dismissed by Doering, but it was taken up by two other scholars. Vretska (1966: 329f.) transposed it after line 140 to smoothen the transition to line 141 ("als Gedankenbrücke", p. 330) – but in fact the comment on the difference between gods and men in line 141 follows well on the description of Juppiter's infidelities in lines 138-140, and *et qui* in line 157

would not make sense at all after line 140. Rossbach transposed these lines after line 154 in his Teubner edition of 1854, and the same idea occurred to Pennisi (1959: 224-228. According to him, a request to the gods (*diui*) for favours (lines 153f.) would be extended to the god who creates and destroys, that is, Juppiter – and he argued that line 157 should be written as *et qui principio nobis terram dat et aufert*, for which he adduced Horace *Epist.* 1.18.111 *sed satis est orare Iouem qui donat et aufert*. But that line has problems of ist own: Klingner, Borzsák, Shackleton-Bailey and Fedeli in his 1997 Rome edition all write it as *sed satis est orare Iouem quae ponit et aufert*; the primary MSS also present the variants *qui*, *ponat* and *donat*; out of these, *qui* is preferred in Garrod's 1901 revision of Wickham's *Oxford Classical Text*, while none of these editors put *ponat* or *donat* into their text. (It is striking, to be sure, that Horace uses *aufert* in the same position at the end of the hexameter where the word stands in Catullus' primary MSS. Could Horace be echoing Catullus, or could the corruption in Catullus have been influenced by the passage in Horace?) There are further problems with Pennisi's reconstruction of the passage: the transition from all the gods to one of them could hardly be introduced by *et*, it is very surprising that the temporal marker *principio* should be followed by perfects rather than by present tenses, and it is also not clear why the earth is called Jove's special gift to mankind.

In fact, the difficulties presented by this distich are not external (due to their relationship with their context) but internal (due to their contents). The hexameter is corrupt, as is possibly the pentameter, but the distich fits seamlessly into the textual environment in which it has been transmitted. Compare the following bare-bones summary of lines 155-160: *sitis felices et tu ... et tua uita ... / et domus ... et domina / et qui ... / a quo ... / et ... quae ... / lux mea, qua uiua ...* In this long period the poet greets a number of persons and a house, and each is introduced by *et*. In this controversial distich (underlined in the summary) one more subject is tagged on to *sitis felices* by means of another *et* followed by two relative pronouns and two relative clauses. The relative clauses resemble those describing Lesbia in the following distich; they appear to set out the deeds or qualities in virtue of which the person mentioned in this distich is greeted by the poet. The distich fits into its context so well that it is not credible that it should have been composed to stand anywhere else; it must have been written to stand here, whether by the poet himself or by an interpolator.

terram dedit aufert is ungrammatical nonsense that can be attributed neither to Catullus nor to anyone else capable of composing Latin elegiac distichs at this level (though curiously enough these words are not unmetrical). The easiest way to correct them is probably by writing *aufertque*. This creates a hypermetrical elision, but *–que* in this position is not unparalleled in Catullus and becomes frequent in Virgil: compare Cat. 64.298 and possibly also 115.5, and see Fordyce and Thomson *ad loc.* The suffix *–que* could have been lost easily: it could have been abbreviated and then overlooked by a careless copyist, or else expelled from the text as unmetrical by a zealous dilettante. It is not elegant that *principio* is not balanced by a word or phrase qualifying *aufert*; also, line 158 contains an awkward hiatus in *primo omnia* and an unpleasant double epithet in *a quo ... primo ... bono* (though this defect is healed easily if one writes *bona*). These shortcomings need not matter too much if the distich is not genuine: not every interpolator is a good stylist. And in fact it would have made sense for a Christian reader to have added to the series of greetings at the end of this poem one

directed to God the Creator. He could have had an obvious source in the Vulgate text of the very first verse of the Book of Genesis, *In principio creauit Deus caelum et terram*; likewise, the adjective *bonus* is prominent in Genesis' account of the Creation (1.4 *et uidit Deus lucem quod esset bona*, 1.10 *et uidit Deus quod esset bonum*, etc.) and the expression *terram dare* does not appear to be attested before the Vulgate's text of *Ezechiel* 45.8, *sed terram dabunt domui Israhel secundum tribus eorum*. However, there are a number of difficulties with such a hypothesis. First of all, *et qui principio* at the beginning of line 157 is also found at the start of the verse at 66.49, while *omnia ... bona* in line 158 also stands in the same position at 77.4: these elements are undoubtedly Catullan. Here one could compare 61.92-96, a passage which Georg has identified convincingly as an interpolation by "someone wanting to try his hand at writing in the metre of 61, and using Catullian building blocks" (Georg 1996: 304). In that passage the recurrence of genuine Catullan phrases is certainly no indication of authenticity. Here, however, *omnia* and *bona* are separated by *nata*, used in a relatively rare classical sense ('come about', 'arisen'). Also, it is hard to accept the possibility that a medieval interpolator could have composed a distich containing a hypermetric elision. Moreover, one would expect a reference to God to stand not in the penultimate place but in a more prominent position; scribes usually thank Him at the end of a work or a manuscript. To sum up, this distich were an interpolation, it would have a strange mix of characteristics: on one hand, the interpolator would have fitted it excellently into a genuinely Catullan passage, he would have used Catullan phrases, given a word an unusual classical sense, and made use of hypermetrical elision; on the other hand, he would have written something as insipid as *terram dedit aufert<que>* and he would have lodged his pious reference to God carefully in between the distichs of the poem, rather than attaching it to its end. It is hard to believe that there could ever have existed such an interpolator.

But if the distich is genuine after all, it cannot refer to a creator-god: the Roman pantheon did not contain any such deity, and even if it did, it would hardly be possible to explain why Catullus should have wished him well only in passing after three people and a house and before his mistress. The distich must refer to somebody else, to a human contemporary of Catullus', who had been uniquely helpful to him *principio*, 'in the beginning', apparently at the start of the poet's all-important relationship with Lesbia. In this case line 157 has to be altered much more extensively.

The mass of conjectures that have been proposed give a lie to the view that philology is an unproductive discipline. I will discuss them one by one, as far as possible according to the part of the text that they affect.

157   et qui principio   Several proposals have been made to modify the initial *et*: Doering has suggested *det*, Vahlen (1902: 1043 = 1923: 2.673) *dum* and Newman (1990: 231) *ei*. None of these are plausible: *det* would need to have an explicitly stated object, *dum* would have to refer to one specified period of time, and *ei* would function in this context neither as a dative singular pronoun, nor as an explanation expressing pain or anguish. *et qui*, on the other hand, mirrors *et* in the preceding two lines and *et ... qua* in line 159, and is surely correct.

principio is considered genuine by most scholars. Palladius printed *praecipue*, but this would require not an absolute gift ('he gave us this or that') but a relative one ('more than others he did this or that to us') and it is not clear how the line could be interpreted in such a way. Another alternative would be Bernhard Schmidt's conjecture *quam primo*, but this is far from the transmitted text, and the Latin for 'as soon as possible' is *quam prim<u>um</u>*; nor would any phrase with such a meaning bring tangible gains above the transmitted text.

In fact, *et qui principio* found at the start of another Catullan hexameter at 66.49. This makes it likely that here too it should be genuine.

nobis   This word has been modified to *quam* by Birt (1904: 157) and to *uobis* by Fröhlich (1849: 266).

Birt would write the verse as *et qui principio quam terriculam dedit aufert*. This is ingenious, as *terricula* is indeed attested in Lucilius, Accius and Seneca the Younger in the sense 'object of terror, bogy' (*OLD* s.v.). However, it is hard to see what *terriculam dedit* would mean: a *terricula* is not equivalent to *terror*, fear itself, but something that evokes fear, and it is hard to imagine what kind of fear Catullus could be writing about in this happy passage, and why he would thank a person who had frightened him. Last but not least, *quam terriculam* is quite far from the transmitted reading *nobis terram*.

Fröhlich's conjecture *uobis*, on the other hand, is palaeographically very close to *nobis*; as it is connected with his reading of the following words, it is discussed in the next note.

terram dedit aufert   These puzzling words are manifestly corrupt because they are ungrammatical (*aufert* cannot follow on *dedit* without a connective), even though they are not unmetrical. A variety of remedies have been tried out on them, which will be discussed here more or less in a chronological sequence.

Avantius or another humanist conjectured *dominam dedit*. It is followed by *a quo* in the first Aldine edition of 1502 and by *auream* in MS <u>106</u>, which displays its influence. In any case it is completely implausible, because *domina* has already been used in the previous line. No more convincing is Achilles Statius' conjecture *teneram dedit*: the adjective *teneram* can hardly mean 'a tender girl', 'a tender girl-friend', and 'tender' would have been a singularly unsuitable epithet for the experienced adulteress Lesbia.

These two emendations rest on the not unreasonable assumption that the object of *dedit* must have been Catullus' mistress; in more recent times most scholars have assumed that its object must be something else. It is notable that practically all of them are in favour of conserving *dedit* or *-didit* (Kinsey conjectures *erat omnia*): a verb is a valuable commodity that is not easily jettisoned.

Statius' great rival Scaliger conjectured *te trandedit Oufens*. This is a feat of ingenuity because it is close to the transmitted reading *terram dedit aufert* and therefore palaeographically plausible, and it yields what appears to be acceptable Latin; and it also displays an impressive erudition. However, on closer inspection neither *Oufens* nor *trandedit* turn out to be convincing. The name *Vfens* (written like this) only appears to have been used for a river and for epic characters in Virgil and Silius, and there existed an administrative division of the Roman nation called the *tribus Oufentina*; but no historical figure appears to have been called *Oufens* or *Vfens* (thus *RE* s.v. *Ufens*). As for *trandedit*, it should be compared with forms such as *transque dato* in the *Law of the Twelve Tables* (*ap.* Fest. p. 402.33 Lindsay), *transdare* at Terence *Ph.* 2, *transdito* in a law from 123 or 122 B.C. (*CIL* 1.583.54), *transdes* and *transdunt* in Accius (*trag.* 366 and 630) and

transdidi used by Fronto (*Epist.* p. 95.4 Naber = 87.3 van den Hout[2]). Following the logic of these parallels here one would have to write *transdedit* rather than Scaliger's *trandedit*, but that is a minor matter: *transdedit* could easily have been corrupted to *trandedit*, and then to *terram dedit*. However, the spelling *transdare* for *tradere* and the pronunciation that it mirrors appear to have have become extinct by the start of the 1st century B.C., after which it is only used by Accius and Fronto, authors prone to archaism. (The *OLD* s.v. *trado* notes that this spelling is also used at *FJRA* 3.132.16, a contract of purchase from the 2nd century A.D., but there *tradedisse* appears to be a simple spelling mistake.) Nor is it clear why Catullus should have used an archaism at this point. It is unlikely in the extreme that he should have written *tran(s)dedit*.

Most correctors, therefore, have worked with Mitscherlich's *te tradidit*, which is less close to the transmitted reading, but we shall see presently that this is not as big a problem here than elsewhere, and the verb makes good sense here: *trado* is well attested in the sense 'to introduce', 'to present', 'to entrust to the care of' (thus Cic. *Att.* 5.13.2 *Philogenem et Seium tradidi, Apollonidensem Xenonem commendaui, Fam.* 7.17.2 and *Caec.* 14, Caes. *Ciu.* 3.57.1, Hor. *Epist.* 1.18.78, Ov. *Fast.* 3.629). Thus the man referred to here would have introduced Allius to Catullus (*nobis te tradidit*). Since it was Catullus who needed the help of Allius and not viceversa, Fröhlich (1849: 266) prefers to write *uobis me tradidit, auctore / a quo* etc.; here *uobis* could easily have yielded *nobis*, but the change of *me* to *te* would be unlikely, and in his words of farewell Catullus is looking at events from his own point of view.

In the place of *aufert* one could then reconstruct the name of this person. Scaliger's conjecture *Oufens* has already been ruled out. Munro's *Afer* is possible, though perhaps not close enough to the transmitted *aufert*; the alternative spelling *Aafer*, proposed by Schmid, is closer (in a capital script *AAFER* could perhaps have yielded *AVFER*, and thence *aufert*), but as far as I know, Catullus' MSS offer no further hints that long vowels were ever doubled during the transmission of the text. On the other hand, Heyse's *Anser* is both possible and attractive. A poet Anser is mentioned by Ovid (*Trist.* 2.435) along with Cinna, Cornificius and (Valerius) Cato, who were all friends of Catullus'. In his note on Verg. *Ecl.* 9.36 (cfr. 7.21) Servius calls Anser *Antonii poetam, qui eius laudes scribebat*. The scholiast adds that the poet received the *ager Falernus* from his patron, which seems incredible, but one should compare Cic. *Phil.* 13.11 *de Falerno Anseres depellantur*. It is not impossible that Anser would have been a friend of Catullus' in the 50s B.C. as a young man, and that twenty years later he would have become the court poet of Mark Antony. The conjecture *Anser* is also attractive on grounds of palaeography and common sense: written in minuscule and with a tall ʃ it would have resembled quite closely *aufer*, which is not at all far from the reading of the manuscripts; and a word apparently referring to a goose in the middle of an elegant love poem may be more apt to be corrupted than most. But it should be kept in mind that this edifice, attractive though it may appear, is built on nothing more than hypothesis; we cannot be sure that Anser was a friend and even that he was a contemporary of Catullus'.

One may well expect *tradidit* to have been followed by the name of the man referred to; Green conjectured *Alli*, but if the name of the man was neither Anser nor Allius, it may well have gone lost forever. *Alli* is not convincing, for one; it is not required after *te* and would appear pointless, unlike the other vocatives in this

poem; in effect it would not be much more than a metrical stopgap. Other sorts of words have been conjectured as well. A Renaissance manuscript contained *auctor*, which is also conjectured by Rossbach; Vossius suggested *auctore* (to go with *a quo*). Both words would be unnecessary, as *principio* and *primus* would already make it clear that this man was the first to do what he did; and they would also fit rather oddly into this context: one is the *auctor* of something not if one has made it possible but if one has created it oneself, and lovers rarely attribute responsibility for their love-affair to anybody else. Cremona (1967: 264f.), on the other hand, combines Mitscherlich's *te tradidit* with Lipsius' *auspex*, a word that was used for a functionary at a wedding ceremony (*OLD* s.v. 2). Cremona argues that an *auspex* was present in order to ensure an auspicious (*auspicatus*) outcome for the nuptial union, but this does not appear to have been the case: an *auspex* is an 'augur' (*OLD*), and he was surely present at the ceremony not as a man of good omen, but to check the auspices. In any case, if one adopts Mitscherlich's conjecture, then the person in question must have introduced Allius to Catullus (*nobis te tradidit*), in an event that probably did not resemble a wedding ceremony.

Another possibility is to leave *terram dedit* intact and emend only *aufert* to *auspex* (Lipsius), *ubertim* (Wetstein), *audens* (Friedrich), *a quo* (Perrotta), *haustis* (Herzog), *Allius* (Viejo Otero), my *aufertque* or any of the supplements discussed in the preceding paragraphs. Lipsius' conjecture was adopted hesitantly by Thomson in his 1978 edition on the grounds that an *auspex* could set out a *templum* on the ground (Varro *L.L.* 7.8 *in terris dictum templum locus augurii aut auspicii causa quibusdam conceptis uerbis finitus*) – but creating a *templum* is never called *terram dare*, and it is hard to see in what sense a literal or a metaphorical *auspex* could have given earth to Catullus and his beloved. In his edition of 1997 Thomson relinquished the conjecture. Another proposal was made by Oksala (1965: 88), who suggested that we should write *terram dedit auspex* and take *auspex* to refer to Allius himself in his role of the 'best man' in the context of Catullus' relationship with Lesbia (for this meaning of the word see the previous paragraph). However, Allius was already greeted two lines before, so he cannot be greeted here as well.

It is sometimes assumed that *terram dedit* evokes an image of a shipwreck: thus Lafaye translates the phrase as "m'a permis d'aborder", "allowed me to reach the shore". In fact there appear to be no close parallels for such an usage. There are cases in which someone is said to provide one with a safe shore or haven in an image of shipwreck: thus most importantly Val. Fl. 2.316-322 *tunc etiam uates Phoebo dilecta Polyxo … 'portum demus' ait* (she recommends that the Argonauts should be given a friendly reception on Lesbos) and Lucan. 8.192 *portum Fortuna dabit*; the same image is used metaphorically at Ov. *Pont.* 1.2.59f. *cum subit, Augusti quae sit clementia, credo / mollia naufragiis litora posse dari*. Less close are Ov. *Pont.* 2.9.9f. *excipe naufragium non duro litore nostrum, / ne fuerit terra tutior unda tua* and Sen. (?) *epigr.* 15.3f. Baehrens (*PLM* 3.60) *Crispe … naufragio litus tutaque terra meo*; in the first passage Ovid is asking Cotys, King of Thrace, to ensure that he gets a friendly reception when he reaches the country (cfr. Prop. 1.17.25-28 *at uos, aequoreae formosa Doride natae, … mansuetis socio parcite litoribus*, quoted by Oksala 1965: 88, n. 1), while the author of the epigram attributed to Seneca simply states that Crispus is for him what a shore is for a shipwrecked man. Baehrens infers from these parallels that *terram dare* appears to be a suitable expression

for a shipwrecked man but must be accompanied by a specific reference to shipwreck ("necessario … adiciendum esse, quo agi de naufragio appareat"); consequently he conjectures *haustis*, which was subsequently re-proposed by Herzog (1936: 346-348). But *haustis* is unconvincing because as a perfect participle it would have to mean not 'drowning' but 'drowned', 'submerged', 'swallowed by the sea', as at Ov. *Fast.* 3.599f. *figitur ad Laurens ingenti flamine litus / puppis et expositis omnibus hausta perit*, Liv. 33.41.7 *multae eiectae naues, multae ita haustae mari, ut nemo in terram enaret* and Tac. *Hist.* 1.2 *haustae aut obrutae urbes*. As for *terram dare*, it is not attested in this or in any other sense before *Vulg. Ezech.* 45.8 *sed terram dabunt domui Israhel secundum tribus eorum*. This casts doubt altogether on the reading *terram dedit* and rules out a series of more or less ingenious reconstructions: *terram dedit, ubertim* (Wetstein: ingenious but too far from the transmitted *aufert*), *terram dedit audens* (Friedrich), *terram dedit ac uer* (Walter 1940) and *terram dedit Allius* (Viejo Otero 1943: 129f., which would be impossible anyway since Allius has already been greeted in line 155). On the other hand, *terram dedit*, or *terram dedit aufertque*, could well be the conjecture of a pious reader from the Middle Ages. In this case the transmitted text need not be too close to the original reading – which could be *te tradidit*, or anything else.

There have been proposed a considerable number of other emendations for *terram dedit*. It is probably best to start with a pair of relatively similar reconstructions. Avantius wrote the distich as follows in the first Aldine edition of 1502 (we have already dismissed his reconstruction of the start of the hexameter):

> et qui principio nobis dominam dedit, a quo
>   sunt primo <nobis> omnia nata bona

Meanwhile, Perrotta (1927: 145-148) built upon an idea that he found in a humanistic codex (perhaps the Bologna codex <u>8</u>, in which the second hand added the readings of the first Aldine or a similar edition) and proposed the following:

> et qui principio nobis se et eram dedit, a quo
>   sunt primo <nobis> omnia nata bona

The key idea of these two reconstructions is the repetition of *nobis*: used originally by the poet in both lines of this distich, it would have dropped out from the pentameter due to a sort of haplography, *a quo* would have been moved from the end of the hexameter to the start of the pentameter to make it metrically complete, and a complex series of corruptions would have given the hexameter the shape that it has in the principal MSS. However, this raises several problems. First of all, haplography tends to work in a very different way: one of a pair of similar words tends to be omitted along with the intervening text, as happened in *X* at Cat. 92.2-4. Moreover, it is not likely that Catullus should have used twice within the same distich the bland word *nobis* for no tangible reason (contrast lines 41f. *qua me Allius in re / <u>iuuerit</u> aut quantis <u>iuuerit</u> officiis*). Nor

is the rest of the reconstruction any more convincing: it is not clear how *a quo* could have slipped from the hexameter to the pentameter, nor who would have inserted *aufert*, and why. We need a less invasive remedy.

There have been proposed a great many substitutes for *terram dedit*. Schwabe thought of (*nobis*)*met eram dedit*, which is ingenious but unconvincing: *–met* gives a degree of emphasis to the preceding pronoun, whether or not it is used as a metrical stopgap, as at Cat. 64.182 *coniugis an fido consoler memet amore*, but here *nobis* lacks all emphasis. Owen's *quam tradidit* is very far indeed from the transmitted text (how could *quam tra–* have given rise to *terram*?), *quam tradidit aufert* would hardly constitute a ground for a honorable mention on part of Catullus, and *quam* would have to be elaborated in some way, for which there is no space within the distich. Ellis made two conjectures, out of which *rem condidit* is hard to understand, while *dextram dedit* would be too trivial and could hardly be mentioned in one breath with *omnia nata bona* (or else *bono*). Baehrens' *taedam dedit* is unconvincing both because it is too abrupt as a reference to the start of an affair and because it is imprecise – Catullus was all too aware that he was not married to Lesbia, and he has just stated as much in lines 143-146 – and his other proposal *curam dedit* is no better: Catullus can hardly have thought that he fell in love with Lesbia through the agency of somebody else: someone may have introduced them to each other, but he fell in love with her because of what she was like, or how she seemed to be. Birt's *terriculam dedit* has already been discussed above under *et qui principio*. Lenchantin de Gubernatis' *terram dat et aufert* is problematic because *principio* can hardly accompany a present tense, unless the giving would be a repeated action, which would make things even more complicated: it would make sense in a text from the Middle Ages as a respectful reference to God, but not in a poem of Catullus'. Kinsey (1967: 45) proposes *erat omnia frater*; he would write the distich like this:

> et qui principio nobis erat omnia frater
>   a quo sunt primo dulcia nata bona.

He comments (*ibid.* n. 1) that "[a]ny awkwardness in making *felix* refer to the dead may be attributed to Catullus' desire to get the brother in the list" – but he does not see that *sitis felices* in line 155 is a farewell greeting at the close of the letter. Finally, Ferrero (1955: 153 and 439) suggests that the entire distich should be re-written as follows:

> et qui principio nobis se era dedit et infert   (*or else:* et qua principio …)
>   a qua sunt primo omnia nata bona,

He takes both clauses to describe the *domus* mentioned in line 156 and interprets *qui* as a locative meaning 'in which place'. However, *qui* does not appear to be attested in this sense, and even if one writes *et qua*, there arise a number of problems: as Cremona (1967: 262f.) has pointed out, the historic presents *dedit* and *infert* would be out of place one line after *lusimus* and one line before *sunt nata*; the phrase *se dedit et infert* 'she surrenders and goes in' would be puzzling; and it is not plausible that while each of the series of *et*s in

the previous and the following distichs add a new subject to *sitis felices*, the *et qui* introducing this highly corrupt couplet should not do the same.

Out of the conjectures that have been proposed, *te tradidit Anser* is the most plausible. There are good reasons, however, not to put this into the text, especially not into a detailed critical edition. Since the principal MSS' reading *terram dedit aufert* consists of correct Latin words and is metrical (though ungrammatical), the corruption appears to have been non-mechanical, so that it is not clear how far the transmitted text has departed from the original reading. What Catullus wrote may have been quite different from what we read in the MSS. Worse yet, the corruption appears to have obliterated the sole reference to a person who is not mentioned in the rest of the poem; and the transmitted text does not enable us to identify him. We are short of indications regarding the form as well as the contents of these words. *te tradidit Anser* would constitute a perfectly satisfactory emendation – but other emendations may be possible. On the other hand, such a text would introduce a very significant new element into our understanding of the poems of Catullus: it would make him a contemporary and a close friend of the poet Anser; and we cannot be sure that he was either of these. In view of all these uncertainties it is best to leave *te tradidit Anser* in the apparatus.

158   The principal MSS write this verse as *a quo sunt primo omnia nata bono*. There are two problems with this: the hiatus after *primo*, and the strange accumulation of adjectives in *a quo ... primo ... bono*. The latter defect is easily mended if one accepts a Renaissance conjecture and writes *bono*; this is confirmed by *omnia ... bona* in the same position within the distich at 77.4. The hiatus is a more complicated question.

It has been a matter of controversy whether hiatus could be admitted in Catullus' text, in general and also at the caesura of the pentameter. It was already doubted by Haupt (1837: 85f.); Levens (1954: 296) thought that 11 occurrences of hiatus in the principal MSS were genuine; Goold (1958: 106-111) argued with characteristic zeal that in all these cases the text is corrupt and that in fact Catullus never admitted hiatus; Zicàri (1964) defended the position of Levens; finally Goold (1969: 186-193) re-stated his original case with the help of new arguments. However, the Qaṣr Ibrîm fragment of Cornelius Gallus has an instance of hiatus in the line *Fata mihi, Caesar, tum ¦ erunt mihi dulcia, quom tu ...* (*frg.* 3.1 *FPL*[3]). Lyne proposed to remove the hiatus by writing *tum, Caesar, erunt* – but this is unlikely, not only because it results in an unattractive text (the bland *tum* becomes awkwardly exposed), but also because the papyrus was written in the life-time of the author, it was owned by someone in his entourage, and it is hard to imagine that under these circumstances a major metrical error could have found its way into the text and stayed in it. On the other hand, Hollis (2007: 245) suggested that *tum ¦ erunt* "should perhaps be considered not a 'hiatus' but rather the survival of an old licence whereby –m was not always disregarded before an open vowel" (he refers to Priscian *GL* 2.30, and a number of passages where such a licence is observed, such as Ennius *Ann.* 330 Skutsch). On this account, Gallus' fragment would demonstrate the existence not of a licence for hiatus in general, but of a licence for 'prosodic hiatus' involving words ending in *-m* followed by an open vowel. In fact, Lucretius admits hiatus not only in such a context, but also after a long vowel or diphthong at 3.374 *animae ¦ elementa minora* and at 6.755 *sed natura loci ¦ opus effficit*. Hiatus is also well attested in the

Republican dramatists (see Soubiran 1966: 381-385) and it is also found in an anonymous fragment, *frg.* 70 *FPL³ Musae Aonides*. All this undermines Haupt's and Goold's case against the possibility of hiatus in Catullus. In some cases hiatus could be the result of corruption, to be sure – but nothing in the present passage suggests this. I preserve the primary MSS' *primo ¦ omnia*.

Most conjectures affecting this line were proposed in order to remove the hiatus. The most straightforward solution appears to be *primo <mi>*, which was proposed by Haupt (1837: 86). Short words are easily lost, and *res aliqua nascitur alicui* is an established idiom, witness Pl. *Curc.* 706 *dicendi, non rem perdendi gratia haec nata est mihi*, Ter. *Hecyr.* 797 *scit sibi nobilitatem ex eo et rem natam et gloriam esse*, Cic. *Fin.* 4.74 *ex eisdem uerborum praestrigiis et regna nata uobis sunt et imperia et diuitiae* and *Fam.* 16.22.2 *scribes ad me, ut mihi nascatur epistulae argumentum* and Hor. *A.P.* 122 *iura neget sibi nata*. Haupt's conjecture may be attractive not so much because the hiatus is undesirable in itself, but because the line may run more smoothly with an indirect object.

The other reconstructions are less attractive. Pighi conjectured *<nunc> a quo* and printed

> et qui principio nobis terram dedit (aufert
>   nunc), a quo sunt primo omnia nata bona

but this is highly implausible: we have already seen that *terram dedit* does not make sense (see *ad loc.*), and *aufert nunc* is not acceptable as a parenthetical expression: one would need something like *sed nunc aufert*, and clearer grammatical signposts to guide the reader or the listener. Also, it is not clear what this would mean. Oksala (1965: 88) suggested the transposition *primo sunt* instead of the MSS' *sunt primo*, comparing the inversion of *dulce mihi* in line 160, but *a quo primo sunt* would be unacceptable. Calphurnius' *nobis* for *primo* would be strangely repetitive after *nobis* in the previous line. Peiper's *semina nata boni* would change two words, one of them drastically, and jettison the set phrase *omnia bona* in favour of the tautological image of the birth of the seeds of good; Mynors puts this conjecture into his apparatus, but Goold (1958: 108) dismisses it as "ridiculous". Kinsey's *dulcia* is nearly as drastic, and no more convincing: *dulcia ... bona* would be an odd expression because one would expect these adjectives to stand in conjunction and not to qualify each other, and once more we would lose the set phrase *omnia bona*. Finally, Nisbet (1978: 114, n. 41) and Trappes-Lomax (2001: 307, n. 9 and 2007: 244f.) try to reconstruct the text with the help of its echo in Agius' *Epicedium Hathumodae* at lines 57f. *quae nostrae dulcedo simul uel gloria uitae, / in qua sunt una perdita tanta bona?* Hence Nisbet proposes *plurima* or else *tot mihi nata bona*, while Trappes-Lomax first suggested *condita tanta bona*, but six years later he retracted this and proposed *tanta parata bona*. They assume that Catullus' MSS are so corrupt that they reflect less closely what the poet wrote than the echoes of his words in Agius. However, Agius does not tend to lift more than one word at a time from his sources (see Appendix I, esp. p. 266). In this line he imitates not only the present verse but also Cat. 77.4 *ei misero eripuisti mi omnia nostra bona?* Both lines contain the phrase *omnia ... bona*, 'all the good things', but Agius had no use for such a phrase, since he attached great importance to due restraint in mourning, and he

would have never wanted to say that Hathumod took all the good things to the grave with her. It cannot be regarded as significant that he exchanges *omnia* for another adjective; and in the present passage *omnia* is supported by its echo at 77.4.

159f. The poem suitably ends with a reference to Lesbia, who is the last person to be included in the valedictory *sit felix* in line 155. Catullus transforms this greeting into a ringing declaration of loyalty: Lesbia is dearer to him than anybody else, himself included, indeed, she is the cause of his happiness. The conventional phrases he uses to express this may be conventional should not be seen as hackneyed: they are some of the strongest terms available to a speaker of Latin to express affection.

159 longe ante omnes   Baehrens and Fordyce take these words to imply *sit felix*, but that would be puzzling as well as impolite after the manifold good wishes extended to Allius. These words must surely go with *carior*. The construction is not entirely smooth, but Ellis interprets it convincingly as "a condensed expression for *et quae longe omnium carissima, atque adeo me ipso carior est*" on the basis of Lygdamus = [Tib.] 3.4.92f. *et longe ante alias omnes mitissima mater / isque pater quo non alter amabilior*. The phrase *longe ante omnes* is also found at Pliny *N.H.* 35.128 and appears to have been one of a set group along with *longe ante alios* (Livy 1.15.8 and 27.34.1), *longe ante ceteros* (Apul. *Flor.* 16.38, p. 73 Oudendorp) and *longe ante cunctas terras* (Pliny *N.H.* 14.87).

mihi … me carior ipso   Another set phrase: compare Cic. *Att.* 3.22.3 *premor luctu desiderio omnium meorum, qui mihi me cariores semper fuerunt* and 10.11.1 *omnis suos … caros habet, me quidem se ipso cariorem*, Ov. *Met.* 8.405 *o me mihi carior*, *Trist.* 5.14.2 *o mihi me coniunx carior* and *Pont.* 2.8.27 *per patriae nomen, quae te tibi carior ipso est*. Catullus also uses *carior oculis* (82.2-4 and 104.2) and *iucundior uita* (64.215). For other expressions of this type see *TLL* 3.504.58-73.

160 lux mea   An affectionate final reference to Lesbia; for the expression see line 132n.

qua uiua uiuere dulce mihi est   It does not make this expression any weaker that 'my life is pleasant because of so-and-so' is a topos: compare Callim. *frg.* 591 Pfeiffer τεψνα⇔ην |τ□/κε῎νον □ποπνε⸌!αντα πυψο⇔μην, Pl. *Merc.* 471-473 *qur ego ueiuo? qur non morior? quid mihist in uita boni? / certumst, ibo ad medicum atque ibi me toxico morti dabo, / quando id mi adimitur qua caussa uitam cupio uiuere*, Hor. *Epod.* 1.5f. *nos, quibus te uita si superstite / iucunda, si contra, grauis*, Prop. 2.8.42 *uiuam, si uiuet; si cadet illa, cadam* and note its use in formulas of farewell at Fronto *Epist.* p. 59.24f. Naber = 54.14f. van den Hout[2] *amo uitam propter te, amo litteras tecum* and *ibid.* p. 88.11f. Naber = 81.7 van den Hout[2] *uale, domine dulcissime, desiderantissime, causa optima uitae meae*. Note also Cat. 65.10 *uita frater amabilior*.

Ellis calls *uiuere dulce mihi est* Homeric on the basis of *Od.* 24.435f. o⌈κ □ν⁄μο⇔ γε μετ□ φρε!⇐ν ″δ| γϓνοιτο / ζϖϒμεν, but that passage is not likely to be relevant here as *dulcis* is used frequently in Latin for anything that might be experienced as pleasant (*TLL* 5.1.2190.56-2192.76), including life itself: compare

Lucr. 2.65f. *egestas / semota ab dulci uita* and 2.997 *dulcem ducunt uitam* as well as *CIL* 14, *suppl. Ost.* 5186 *DVLCISSIMA · VITA*.

APPENDIX I: ECHOES OF CATULLUS IN AGIUS' *EPICEDIUM HATHUMODAE*

When Hathumod, the first abbess of Gandersheim in central Germany, passed away on 29 November 874 A.D., a scholarly monk called Agius wrote her biography and a lament for her in elegiac distichs. Both compositions still survive. The lament runs to no less than 718 verses and is known as the *Epicedium Hathumodae* or the *Dialogus Agii* on account of its amoebean form (parts of the text are delivered alternately by the poet and by Hathumod's fellow nuns).[190] From Agius' familiarity with the deceased and from his evident learning Traube inferred that he must have been a member of the only monastic community in the area that was a centre of learning at the time, that of the nearby Corvey (Nova Corbeia).[191]

Agius was a poet of considerable learning. In his edition of the *Epicedium* Traube detected echoes especially of the Christian poet Venantius Fortunatus, but also of Horace and Virgil; at one point the poem also echoes a pseudo-Ovidian love elegy.[192] What about Catullus? Traube detected a similarity between line 77 of the *Epicedium* and Catullus 68.42 as well as between line 417 and Catullus 55.7, which he attributed to chance; but over half a century later Nisbet detected three more similarities, argued that Agius must have had access to a manuscript of Catullus and used the parallel detected by Traube in support of a conjecture of Cornelissen's at 68.42 and tried to reconstruct 68.158 on the basis of another parallel.[193] In a pair of works that appeared nearly simultaneously in 2007, Butrica and Trappes-Lomax reached radically different conclusions about this matter: the former maintained strong doubts about Agius' "alleged imitation of Catullus 68", while the latter added two more items to Nisbet's list of parallels, accepted Cornelissen's

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[190] For a brief introduction and a critical text see Traube 1892: 2.369-388.

[191] Traube 1892: 2.370. Traube rejects Pertz's suggestion that Agius was a monk at Lamspringe, and he tries to identify the poet with one Agicus who is known to have joined the monastic community at Corvey between 826 and 856, and also with Hathumod's brother who joined a monastery at the behest of their father Liudolf, Duke of Saxony, as we know from line 555 *filiolum <quo>que coenobio iunxit monachorum*. However, it remains to be seen how Agius could be the same person as Agicus (would we be dealing with alternative names, or with textual corruption?) and especially how he could be Hathumod's brother mentioned in line 555: it is hard to believe that the author should refer to himself in completely neutral terms, and that he should fail to mention altogether that the deceased was his sister.

[192] [Ov.] *Am.* 3.5.1 *nox erat et somnus lassos submisit ocellos* ~ Agius, *Epic.* 653 *nam quotiens somnus lassos obducit ocellos*.

[193] Traube 1892: 2.373 and 1896: 3.781 "*similitudines fortuitas deprendi has*" (cfr. Ullman 1960: 1029f., who is equally incredulous); Nisbet 1978: 106f. and 114, n. 47.

conjecture and proposed another reconstruction of 68.158 on the basis of a parallel in Agius.[194] It is evidently a question of some importance for the establishment of the text of poem 68 whether Agius was imitating Catullus or not; here the passages where he may be doing so are considered one by one.

1) Agius 37-40   quodcirca peto uos, carae sanctaeque sorores,

             ut iam parcatis fletibus et lacrimis,

        parcatis uitae uestrae, parcatis ocellis,

          quos nimium flendo perditis omnimodo.

Cat. 3.16-18   o factum male! o miselle passer![195]

                  tua nunc opera meae puellae

                  flendo turgiduli rubent ocelli.

For topos that crying is bad for one's eyes compare also Prop. 1.18.15f. *tua flendo / lumina deiectis turpia sint lacrimis* and Ov. *Am.* 3.6.57 *quid fles et madidos lacrimis corrumpis ocellos*. As for *ocellus*, it is a favourite word not only of Catullus (7x) but also of Propertius (18x) and Ovid in an elegiac mood (11x *Am.*, 3x *A.A.*, 1x *Her.*, 1x *Fast.*, and nowhere else). Agius may be following Propertius rather than Catullus here, but this is far from certain.

2) Agius 55-58   et nos hanc non ploremus, hanc non doleamus

             et suspiremus uisceribus cupidis,

        quae nostrae dulcedo simul uel gloria uitae,

         in qua sunt una perdita tanta bona?

Nisbet and Trappes-Lomax compare Catullus 68.158 and try to emend that verse on the basis of this passage of Agius'.[196] Here I quote Catullus 68.157f. as written in the principal MSS:

Cat. 68.157   et qui principio nobis terram dedit aufert

            a quo sunt primo omnia nata bono

However, one should also compare the following passage:

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[194] Butrica 2007: 24; Trappes-Lomax 2007: 18.

[195] Here I follow Mynors' text; Goold's proposals to alter it do not affect the echo.

[196] Nisbet 1978: 106; Trappes-Lomax 2007: 18.

Cat. 77.3-6   sicine subrepsti mi, atque intestina perurens
                          ei misero eripuisti mi omnia nostra <u>bona</u>?
                      eripuisti, heu heu <u>nostrae</u> crudele uenenum
                          <u>uitae</u>, heu heu nostrae pestis amicitiae.

One should note the resemblance between Catullus' *nostrae … uenenum uitae* and Agius' *nostrae dulcedo … uel gloria uitae*. Agius appears to have used not one but two Catullan passages as his model – two passages that echoed each other note *omnia nata bono* at 68.158 and *omnia nostra bona* at 77.4), as a matter of fact; one passage appears to have reminded him of another.

<u>3</u>) Agius 71f.   nam minime, ueluti est dignum, nunc dicere possum,
                          quanta ego <u>uobiscum</u> <u>commoda</u> perdiderim.

Cat. 68.21-23   tu mea tu moriens fregisti <u>commoda</u>, frater,
  (22f. = 94f.)   <u>tecum una</u> tota est nostra sepulta domus,
                      omnia <u>tecum una</u> perierunt gaudia nostra …

Catullus had used the striking word *commoda* to describe what he had lost along with his dead brother; Agius uses the same word, and his *uobiscum … perdiderim* resembles Catullus' *tecum una … sepulta est* and *tecum una perierunt*. It is significant that in Agius' poem this passage and the following two follow immediately on one another; we seem to have a cluster of Catullan reminiscences.

<u>4</u>) Agius 73f.   uos melius nostis, quanto me semper amore,
                          <u>quantis</u> incolumis <u>fouerit</u> <u>officiis</u>.

Cat. 68.41f.   Non possum reticere, deae, qua me Allius in re
                      iuuerit et <u>quantis</u> <u>iuuerit</u> <u>officiis</u>.

Once again Agius uses similar (*quanto ~ qua*) as well as identical language (*quantis … officiis*, the latter word at the same place within the distich) to make a similar point, how much the person in question has helped him. At Cat. 68.42 Cornelissen conjectured *fouerit officiis* unawares of the parallel in Agius, and on the grounds of the resemblance between the two passages Nisbet defended *fouerit*, which was accepted by Goold and Trappes-Lomax; nevertheless, it may be better to retain *iuuerit* (see further *ad loc.*).

5) Agius 75-78   uos nostis, quanta iam languida sedulitate,

                         qua anxietate meam gestierit faciem,

               quo desiderio susceperit aduenientem

                        et quam mirandis mulserit obsequiis.

Cat. 96.1-4   Si quicquam mutis gratum acceptumue sepulcris

                         accidere a nostro, Calue, dolore potest,

               quo desiderio ueteres renouamus amores

                        atque olim missas flemus amicitias …

The two passages are linked only by the recurrence of *quo desiderio* at the same place within the distich. Agius' use of *quo desiderio* is slightly surprising, as a saintly abbess receiving a monk could hardly be expected to display (and to be said to display) signs of desire; but he may simply be misusing the language of Latin love poetry. I wonder whether he has taken *languida* from another passage by Catullus:

Cat. 64.219f.   eripit inuito mihi te, cui languida nondum

                     lumina sunt gnati cara saturata figura …

6) Agius 417   ast hoc femellis teneris graue forte uidetur …

Cat. 55.6f.   in Magni simul ambulatione

                 femellas omnes, amice, prendi

Agius uses *femella*, a word found only in Catullus in all that survives of classical Latin literature. Ullman, Nisbet and Trappes-Lomax treat this parallel with caution, as *femella* was probably not uncommon in vulgar Latin: it is attested sporadically in inscriptions and late texts, and after the end of antiquity it gave rise to Old French 'femelle' and thus to the English word 'female'.[197] However, Agius does not regularly use vulgarisms, so this parallel too may well be significant.

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[197] Ullman 1960: 1029f. (he notes that "the *Dialogus* was written in France" – he may have confused Corvey in Germany with Corvey in France); Nisbet 1978: 114 n. 47; Trappes-Lomax 2007: 18. *femella* is attested at *CIL* 4.3890 *PVTEOLANA PEPERIT MASCL III FEMEL II* (a wall inscription from Pompeii), Hesych. *in Lev.* 4.22/31 p. 828c *capram de haedis femellam* (from the Latin translation of a commentary by a Greek ecclesiarch of the early 5th century) and in glossaries: see *TLL* 6.1.456.61-66. The fact that it existed in the spoken language is also indicated by its derivative *femellarius*, which is explained by Isid. *Orig.* 10.107 as *feminis deditus* and equated with *mulierarius*, and is also found in the glossaries: see *TLL* 6.1.456.73.

We have six passages where the text of Agius appears to echo that of Catullus; in all but one (6) the echo involves several words, and in three (1, 3 and 4) the resemblance also involves the broader context in which these words are used. In one case (1) there are other sources which he could have used. Most of the echoes involve Catullus' poems in elegiac distichs (poems 68A and B, 77 and 96), which is the metre of the *Epicedium*, but Agius also echoes at least one poem in phalaecian hendecasyllables (3 and possibly also 55). He must have been familiar with many of the poems of Catullus that survive today, perhaps with all of them. Evidently in Corvey (or somewhere else in central Germany) there existed a MS of Catullus in the mid-9th century.

While it appears practically certain that Agius repeatedly echoes Catullus, it is the question whether Nisbet and Trappes-Lomax are right to base their reconstruction of Catullus 68.42 and 68.158 on the echoes of these passages in the *Epicedium*. Such an approach is problematic because an echo is not a quotation: the presence of a word that has been lifted to the letter from the source text does not guarantee that the next word will have been lifted from there as well. In fact, Agius tends to re-phrase the passages that he echoes rather than quoting them literally; his longest certain verbatim quotation from Catullus, *quo desiderio* at line 77 which picks up Catullus 96.3, consists of just two words. His longest continuous quotation from any author is *iterumque iterumque monebo* in line 397, taken from Verg. *Aen.* 3.436, which only runs to three words. Nisbet and Trappes-Lomax assume that *fouerit officiis* in line 74 is likewise a verbatim quotation from Catullus 68.42, where Catullus' archetype read *iuuerit officiis* but Cornelissen had already conjectured *fouerit* unawares of the parallel in Agius. This is suggestive, but *fouerit* is not an attractive reading at Catullus 68.42 and we may just be dealing with a coincidence (see the commentary *ad loc.*). At line 58 of the *Epicedium*, on the other hand, it complicates matters that Agius is echoing not only Catullus 68.158 but also 77.4, collapsing two Catullan passages into one, as it were; and since Catullus 68.158 is clearly corrupt as it stands in the MSS, there is no straightforward way of telling how much of the line that does not come from 77.4 has to come from 68.158.

While Agius' *Epicedium* provides a unique indication that Catullus was read in Germany in the second half of the 9th century A.D., and that he was understood, which is no small matter, its value is questionable when one tries to reconstruct Catullus' text.

APPENDIX II: CATULLUS' SOURCES FOR THE MYTH OF PROTESILAUS AND LAODAMIA

Several key passages in poem 68b describe Laodamia's love for Protesilaus. She was burning with love for him when they got married (73f.) but their house had been begun in vain, as no sacrifice had been made to the gods (75f.) and as a result of this she had to part with her husband soon (81-84): he had to leave for Troy, where he was fated to die (85f., 105-107). Later on in the poem Catullus may refer to her wedding rather than her re-union with her husband when he came back from the dead (129f.).

Catullus' version of the myth of Protesilaus and Laodamia is unusual in two respects. First of all, he tells the story from the point of view of Laodamia. Male voices and perspectives tend to dominate in ancient literature, and also in the literary versions of this myth, but here the poet emphatizes with the heroine and not with her husband. Secondly, there is the puzzling element that Protesilaus' house has been begun in vain, as a crucial sacrifice to the gods has been omitted. Is this an innovative version of the myth, or is Catullus simply recounting a version that has not survived in any other literary account? What are his sources for the story, and how is he using them?[198]

Let us start with a survey of the known sources for the myth that pre-date Catullus. The earliest of all is the *Iliad*, where Protesilaus is mentioned as the former leader of a contingent of ships from Phthiothis (*Il.* 2.698-702). He is no longer alive – he was killed by a Trojan as he jumped off his ship, the first of the Achaeans to do so – and in his home town there remain his wife in mourning and a half-completed house. Later, the *Cypria* described the hero's death at the hands of Hector (*EGF* p. 32 = *PEG* 1, p. 42 = Proclus, *Chrestom.* 80 Severyns) and identified his wife as Polydora, the daughter of Meleager (*Cypria frg.* 18 *EGF* = 26 *PEG* = Paus. 4.2.7). Sophocles' lost tragedy *Poimenes* described the very first events of the Trojan War, including the death of Protesilaus at the hands of Hector (*TGF* 2.497 Radt). Euripides devoted an entire tragedy to the myth, the *Protesilaus* (*TGF* 5.2.646a-657 Kannicht). There survives a summary of its plot by Aristides (*Or.* 3.365 = *TGF* 5.2 p. 633, *testim. ii*), who tells that Protesilaus had been married just for one day when he had

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[198] On the various versions of the myth see the entries s.v. 'Protesilaos' in *RE* by Gerhard Radke (detailed but slightly dated), in *LIMC* by Fulvio Canciani (a thorough account of the iconographical evidence with a brief but useful survey of the literary sources) and in *Neue Pauly* by Johannes Scherf, as well as Buonamici (1902), Herzog-Hauser (1937), Séchan (1953) and the comments on the myth by Burkert (1972: 269-273). On Euripides' *Protesilaus* see Mayer (1885) and Jouan (1966: 317-366), and note the useful selection of testimonia printed by Kannicht along with the fragments in *TGF* 5.2.633-640.

to leave for Troy, where he was the first Greek to disembark and was duly killed, but in the underworld he obtained permission to return to the living to spend one day with his wife. In the surviving fragments of the play we see Protesilaus being brought back from the dead by Hermes (*TGF* 5.2.646a) and meeting his father-in-law Acastus (647), a debate of some sort taking place about the virtues of women (653 and 657, cfr. 654) and Laodamia stating her loyalty to her deceased husband, perhaps still unawares of his return to life (655). This was probably the first text in which the wife of the hero was called Laodamia. Subsequently there drew on the myth Anaxandrides in his lost comedy *Protesilaus* (*PCG* 2.41f., plot uncertain) in the 4th century B.C., Heliodorus of Athens in his *Protesilaus* (perhaps an epyllion: the only surviving fragment, *SH* 473, is a hexameter) in the 2nd century, and Harmodius of Tarsus in his satyr-play *Protesilaus* (known only from an inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander: see *TGH* 1.309 with 1.37) in the 1st.

The myth also found its way into Latin literature. The tragedies on Protesilaus attributed to Pacuvius and Titius are probably inventions of the unreliable humanist Antonius Vulscus.[199] More solidly attested is the *Protesilaodamia* of Laevius Melissus (*frgg.* 13-19 *FPL*[3]), who probably wrote it a couple of decades before Catullus. The poem appears to have included a description of the wedding festivities of Protesilaus and Laodamia (*frg.* 13) and their wedding night (*frg.* 14), a letter by Laodamia to Protesilaus after he left for Troy, or a speech addressed to him even though he was away, in which she accused him of infidelity (*frg.* 18) and a reference to the death of Protesilaus and to Laodamia's subsequent desire for him (*frg.* 19).[200] Our next surviving source for the myth is Catullus.

Catullus appears to imitating one of the surviving fragments of the *Protesilaodamia* (*frg.* 13) in line 46 of this poem (see *ad loc.*). This makes it likely that he should be following Laevius elsewhere as well. Particularly relevant here is *frg.* 19, *cupidius miserulo obito*, 'more desiringly than the poor little deceased'. The deceased is evidently Protesilaus; the person who is even more desirous than him has to be Laodamia.[201] According to Laevius she loved him even more than how he loved her. This is the loving, passionate Laodamia whom we meet again in Catullus 68b. Catullus refers to Protesilaus' return from the dead (lines 129f.), which is not mentioned in the surviving fragments of the *Protesilaodamia*. Either it was described in a part of the poem that is now lost, or here Catullus could be following another source, for example Euripides' tragedy.

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[199] In his commentary on Ov. *Her.* 13 Vulscus (also known as Volscus) asserted that Ovid followed these plays in much of the poem: see Ribbeck 1875: 326 and Manuwald 2003: 25 n. 4, with references. Vulscus may have been over-confident rather than deceitful.

[200] On the probable context of these fragments see also Courtney 1993: 131-134.

[201] Courtney 1993: 134 interprets the fragment in a different way: "Protesilaus offered himself too eagerly to death" – but this would not go well with *cupidius* (*cupio* indicates a desire for a thing or a person, and not longing to be in a certain state), and the myth offers no hint that Protesilaus wanted to die; he just did his duty.

Catullus calls Protesilaus' house *inceptam frustra*: it had been begun in vain (line 75). This surely goes back to a puzzling passage in the *Iliad*, τοὶ δ᾽ καⵜ ⵜμφιδρυφⵜ! ⵜλοξο! Φυλⵜκηι ⵜⵜλειπτο / καⵜ δⵜμο! ″μιτελⵜ! 'both his wife, with both cheeks torn, and his half-built house remained in Phylace' after the hero's death (*Il.* 2.700f.). The half-built house, which I suspect may have been nothing more than a pathetic detail added by Homer to illustrate the situation of a newlywed, puzzled readers throughout antiquity and gave rise to a surprising number of interpretations. Strabo (7.3.3) thought that the hero's house (that is, his family) had been left incomplete because his wife had been widowed, while Strabo's friend the epigrammatist Diodorus of Sardis wrote about a young man who had left behind a ″μιτελ° ψⵜλαμον, a 'bedchamber that was imcomplete', because he had not been able to marry (*A.P.* 7.627.1f.). Lucian, who let Protesilaus say ⵜπⵜψανον ″μιτελ° μ′ν τⵜν δⵜμον καταλιπⵜν, ξⵜραν τε νεⵜγαμον γυναⵜκα (*D.Mort.* 27.1), apparently took it to refer to an unfinished building, as did his contemporary Philostratus (*Her.* 12.3 = p. 144 Kayser ″μιτελ° δ′ τⵜν οⵜκⵜαν). The commentators of the *Iliad* too were in disagreement. In his rambling note on δⵜμο! ″μιτελⵜ! Eustathius states that the correct interpretation is metaphorical: the house is half complete because it has been deprived of one of its owners – but he adds that some prefer the literal interpretation: ƒνιοι δ′ καⵜ ⵜπλⵜ! οⵜτⵜ, διⵜτι, φα!ⵜν, οⵜκοδομⵜν ψⵜλαμον ⵜπⵜπλευ!εν (p. 325 *ed. Rom.* = 506.13-22 Van der Valk).[202] Such a controversy is only possible as long as the situation is not clarified by any major literary text: Euripides certainly cannot have taken sides in the debate.[203]

Catullus' statement that Protesilaus' house has been begun in vain because no sacrifice has been offered to the gods surely constitutes yet another attempt to make sense of this difficult phrase from the *Iliad*. Catullus may either have stumbled upon it himself while reading the epic, or his attention could have been drawn to it by a schoolmaster, grammarian or commentator, or else the motif of the unfinished house could already have been present in Laevius (this seems the least likely: Laevius' main source was not Homer but Euripides).

Wilamowitz declared that "Thessalicam fabulam novis inventionibus auxit in Protesilai tragoedia Euripides traxitque omnes, qui post eum Laodamiae res tetigerunt";[204] accordingly, Kießling argued that Catullus took

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[202] Eustathius' note has evidently been cobbled together from several shorter notes, the authors of most of which (including one Geographus Abius) have pronounced themselves in favour of the metaphorical interpretation. It may appear attractive because it avoids introducing the unexplained and distracting new narrative element of the unbuilt house, but it can be ruled out for example because in the *Iliad* the word δⵜμο! 'house' always refers to a building and never to a family. – Compare also the alternative interpretations offered by the scholium in *A*: ⵜτοι ⵜτεκνο! ∝ [ ] ⵜλλⵜ πρⵜτερον⟋!τρⵜτευ!εν.

[203] Buonamici 1902: 10f. assumes that the ancient sources do not contradict each other at this point and the houses mentioned at *Il.* 2.701 and at Cat. 68.74f. are metaphorical. This can be the case neither in the *Iliad* (see the previous note) nor in Catullus, where Lesbia entering the house (*domum*, line 68) in which she meets Catullus is compared to Laodamia entering Protesilaus' house (*domum*, line 74), which clearly has to be a physical entity.

[204] Wilamowitz 1929: 91 = 1931: 524f.

his version of the myth from Euripides.[205] In fact we need not assume that Catullus knew Euripides' tragedy, though he was been influenced by him indirectly in any case – after all, the name Laodamia appears to have been attested first in Euripides' play. Wilamowitz is right that Euripides' influence is pervasive, but this does not mean that every later author read his play. On the other hand, Baehrens and Lefèvre have argued that Catullus must be using an Alexandrian source for the myth.[206] Lefèvre bases his case on a unitary interpretation of Catullus 68 ('since Catullus promises his addressee an Alexandrian poem in 68.1-40, there must be something Alexandrian about 68.41-160'); it need not concern us here, since all unitary interpretations have been dismissed in the Introduction (pp. 10-33). Baehrens bases his case on the note on *Il.* 2.700 of Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessalonica.[207] Eustathius attributes the suffering of Protesilaus and Laodamia to the wrath of Aphrodite; he uses the phrases κατ□ μ°νιν □Αφροδ⇔τη! (Baehrens notes that here we encounter the epic word μ°νι!) and ξ〉λϖι □Αφροδ⇔τη!. Baehrens infers from this that Eustathius must have been reporting the contents of an Alexandrian epyllion, which could also have been the source of Catullus' story about the omitted sacrifice. In fact, Catullus writes about the omission of a sacrifice to the gods in general (lines 75f.), which would not make sense if his source had been writing explicitly about the wrath of Aphrodite: it is hard to see how the poet of romantic love should have missed an opportunity to emphasize the power of the goddess of love. Nor do Baehrens' arguments for an Alexandrian source behind Eustathius add up. The word μ°νι! is by no means restricted to epic; and since Aphrodite is notably absent from the ancient versions of the story, her wrath was probably invented by the Byzantine archbishop as he struggled to impose order on a tangle of pagan myths.

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[205] Kießling 1877: 5-12. *Contra*, Baehrens 1877: 410f., who proposes an Alexandrian source: see p. 270. Mayer 1885: 101 reserves judgement.

[206] Baehrens 1877: 410f.; Lefèvre 1991: 314-319.

[207] Eust. pp. 325f. *ed. Rom.* = 506.27-207.14 Van der Valk.

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A note on references

Classical texts are quoted as follows:

Numerical references without the name of the author ('64.27') refer to Catullus; references just consisting of a line number ('line 60') refer to Catullus 68. References to other classical authors, when not self-explanatory, follow the *OLD* and the *TLL* for Latin and *LSJ* for Greek texts. I quote Fronto's letters (*Epist.*) from the edition of S.A. Naber (Lipsiae, 1867) and the second (Teubner) edition of M.P.J. van den Hout (Lipsiae, 1988).

Modern scholarship is quoted in the following ways:

<u>Standard works of reference</u> are quoted in abbreviated form, e.g. '*TLL* 1.1687.30-32' or '*OLD* s.v.'. See section (I) below.

<u>Commentaries and editions of Catullus</u> are quoted by the name of the author only: as 'Fordyce on 43.4', 'Fordyce on 57ff.' (i.e. 68.57ff.), 'Fordyce *ad loc.*', 'Baehrens' *in app.*, or simply Baehrens. See section (II).

<u>Other works of scholarship</u> are quoted as 'Sarkissian 1983', 'Sarkissian 1983: 7', or Austin (1971) on Verg. *Aen.* 1.95. Those on Catullus 68 are listed in chronological order in section (IV), while all others are listed alphabetically in section (V).

I. Abbreviations

CA	Iohannes U. Powell ed. (1925), *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxonii).
CE	Franciscus Bücheler ed. (1895-97), *Carmina Latina Epigraphica, conlegit ...* (Lipsiae) – Vols. 1 (1895) & 2 (1897).
Daremberg- -Saglio	C. Daremberg & E. Saglio edd. (1873-1919), *Dictionaire des antiquités grecques et romains* (Paris).
DGE	Francisco R. Adrados ed. (1986-), *Diccionario Griego-Español* (Madrid).

EGF Malcolm Davies ed. (1988), *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen).

Enciclopedia Francesco Della Corte & alii edd. (1984-1991), *Enciclopedia virgiliana* (Roma).
 virgiliana

Ernout-Meillet A. Ernout & A. Meillet (1932), *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* (Paris).

FGH Felix Jacoby & alii edd. (1923-), *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* (Berlin / Leiden).

FJRA Salvator Riccobono & alii edd. (1940-1943[2]), *Fontes Juris Romani Antejustiniani* (Firenze).

FPL[3] post W. Morel et C. Buechner editionem tertiam curauit J. Blänsdorf (1995), *Fragments Poetarum Latinorum Epicorum et Lyricorum* (Stutgardiae et Lipsiae).

Gildersleeve- B.L. Gildersleeve and G. Lodge (1895[3]), *Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar* (New York).
 -Lodge

GL Henricus Keil ed. (1857-1870), *Grammatici Latini* (Lipsiae).

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Hofmann- J.B. Hofmann, rev. Anton Szantyr (1965), *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (München).
 - Szantyr

Kühner- Raphael Kühner, rev. Carl Stegmann (1912-1914), *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache, Zweiter Band: Satzlehre* (2 vols., Hannover).
 - Stegmann

LIMC Hans-Christoph Ackermann & Jean-Robert Gisler edd. (1981-1999), *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zürich, München & Düsseldorf).

LSJ Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones & Roderick McKenzie (1940[9]), *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford).

MRR T.R.S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, Vols. 1 (New York, 1951), 2 (New York, 1952) and 3 (Atlanta, 1986).

Neue Pauly Hubert Cancik & alii edd. (1996-), *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* (Stuttgart).

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Nomenclator Friedrich August Eckstein (1871), *Nomenclator Philologorum* (Leipzig).

Norden Eduard Norden ed. (1927[3]), *P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis Buch VI* (Leipzig & Berlin).

OCD Simon Hornblower & Anthony Spawforth edd. (1996[3]), *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford).

OLD P.G.W. Glare ed. (1982), *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford).

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