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CATULLUS

Edited with a
Textual and Interpretative
Commentary by
D.F.S. Thomson

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To my wife
ELEANOR

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PREFACE

The text of Catullus offered here replaces my University of North Carolina Press edition of 1978, with the addition of a Commentary devoted in part to textual, in part to interpretative matters. In more than a few places, the object of the Commentary is to make clear the reasoning that lies behind the constitution of the text; it is, at all events, directed in some degree to those who are seriously interested in the textual side of Catullan studies. Especially in the Introduction and Apparatus Criticus, I have also sought to identify and discuss the readings of the fourteenth-century manuscripts and to ascertain the relations among them.

From what I have just written it will be clear that this book is not in the first place intended for the use of beginners, as a 'school edition.' Nevertheless, I have included in the commentary a certain number of observations, and renderings into English of words and phrases, that may appear rather too elementary for more advanced scholars. I have done this for two reasons. First, a translation of a word, or a comment on the meaning of a line or a phrase in the text, is sometimes a valuable instrument for the defence of the text itself. In the second place, for practical purposes it can scarcely be doubted that the graduate readers, at whom the work is primarily aimed, will themselves have students who may seek guidance of this sort; and to these students I hope the commentary may prove at least indirectly useful. Such notes, again, will often (perhaps usually) indicate my disagreement with versions or interpretations commonly adopted and presumed to be correct.

In the commentary, I have tried to do two things especially: first, to take account of all the more recent contributions of scholarship to Catullan studies, and secondly to notice points that are not made in the editions generally available in classical libraries, in particular those of Fordyce and Quinn. Where I found that a particular problem was most helpfully

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illuminated in editions long out of print, I have tried as a rule to give the gist of what they say. In general, I have not sought to reproduce the kind of detailed information – e.g., on the history of individual Latin words, or on Greek literary parallels – that was readily to be found elsewhere, except in cases where such information served the purpose of immediate understanding. On such topics as the two just mentioned, the editions of Kroll and Fordyce provide a great deal of information in an admirably concise form. Both of these, however, are out of date in textual matters, and my hope is that the present edition will in this respect, as well as by virtue of its more comprehensive and up-to-date bibliography, be held to fill a gap. Where manuscripts are concerned, recent codicological research has made it imperative to revise, in several places, what I published in 1978. In the interim, a number of emendations, suggested or revived by scholars of the present day, have found at least some degree of favour; and information has accumulated concerning some of the manuscripts in my Table. Full descriptions of forty-two manuscripts containing Catullus have been published in James L. Butrica, *The Manuscript Tradition of Propertius* (*Phoenix*, Supplementary Volume xvii, Toronto 1984); I have listed these in a new column in the Table. Above all, Dr David S. McKie of Cambridge has written a doctoral dissertation (*The Manuscripts of Catullus: Recension in a Closed Tradition*, Cambridge University dissertation, 1977) that supersedes a part of the introduction to my earlier edition; I am indebted to this fundamental study for correcting at many points the account I previously gave of the history and internal relationships of the cardinal Mss. Where – occasionally – I find myself unable to accept its conclusions, I have noted the fact in the Commentary.

One further function of the new commentary is to explain and defend, not only readings in the text (as I have suggested above) but also remarks made – in a necessarily abbreviated form – in the Apparatus Criticus. In this connection, the readings of *m* (the first manuscript to be copied from *R*) are no longer cited in full; to publish them once, in my 1978 edition, was an inescapable duty, since a proper collation was wanting, but *m* is after all a *codex descriptus* (see the Introduction, p. 35). Accordingly I have for the present edition decided not to give the readings of *m* except where these tell us something of interest or importance about *m*'s exemplar, namely *R* as modified by R^2; in such cases, a note will usually be found in the Commentary. The readings of the second hand in *G* (G^2), which were imported into *G* from *m*, and scrupulously follow those of their parent manuscript, have been eliminated for a like reason.

Throughout the Introduction and Commentary, in writing of the poet I use the abbreviation C. unless this seems to involve possible ambiguity. To certain standard editions of Catullus I refer by initial:

B. = Baehrens
E. = Ellis
F. = Fordyce
Fr. = Friedrich
Kr. = Kroll
Q. = Quinn

For Fe. = Fedeli, see the intr. n. to poem 61.

The initial L., occasionally found in the Commentary, refers to my former tutor, R.G.C. Levens, to whose lectures I owe a great many suggestions, particularly on the subject of metre. The classification of metrical variations in poem 63, which appears in my introductory note, was devised by him.

The abbreviation *CE* refers to my critical edition of 1978. The name 'McKie' should be taken to refer to D.S. McKie's 1977 thesis (see above), unless another date is added. The names of journals are given, wherever possible, in the abbreviated forms employed in *L'Année Philologique*. Other abbreviations include the following:

OLD = *Oxford Latin Dictionary*
RE = Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der kl. Altertumswissenschaft*
TLL = *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*
FLP = E. Courtney, *Fragmentary Latin Poets*

In the Table of Manuscripts, under the heading 'Designations,' I have removed the column allotted to Hale in *CE* and substituted the name of Butrica, since many of the manuscripts that contain Catullus are fully described in J.L. Butrica's *The Manuscript Tradition of Propertius*.

In order that the bibliographies to the poems, taken singly, may act as guides to the progress of research, with few exceptions their contents are limited to the books or articles devoted to the poem itself in each instance. They are arranged chronologically. The main Bibliography, on the other hand, is arranged alphabetically by authors' names. Readers of the Commentary who find a reference in short form may find it amplified in the bibliography to their poem; if not, it will be found in the main Bibliography.

Where a standard edition of Catullus, or of another author, is referred to, the editor's name is given without indication of date. So far as Catullus is concerned these dates may be found on pp. 43–60 of the Introduction. Again, wherever the Apparatus Criticus is referred to and an emendator's name is cited, the place and date of first publication will appear under 'Sources of Emendations' on pp. 94–6. Thirty-four bibliographical references to books or articles cited only once in the present edition have been left on its pages in order to avoid adding to the bulk (already too great) of the Bibliography.

Classical scholars are, one hopes, sufficiently familiar with this procedure to find these few interruptions to their reading not too troublesome in a work of some length.

Since the labours devoted to the present edition, and especially to the Commentary, have extended over many otherwise busy years, I am well aware of my cumulative debt, for advice and assistance, to persons and institutions over and above those named in my 1978 Preface, some of whom have continued to help me (and I beg them to accept this renewal of my thanks). Among newer obligations, I owe to Daphne Levens in particular two generous gifts: that of the volume in which Ellis inscribed his successive collations of *R*, and that consisting in two series of notes on which her late husband (and my tutor) R.G.C. Levens based his lectures on Catullus to undergraduates. I should also like to thank Professor Julia Haig Gaisser for advice on Catullan matters, and in particular for the privilege of early access to her major work *Catullus and His Renaissance Readers* (1993). Since the publication of *CE*, the Department of Classics of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has kindly continued to allow me to consult, for checking purposes, the collations and other materials in its possession. In Canada, my work has been supported both by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and by the University of Toronto. The Department of Classics at this University granted me sabbatical leave to continue it.

My thanks are due also to the Fondation Hardt, the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London, the Nuffield Foundation, the Warden and Fellows of Merton College, the Warden and Fellows of Wadham College, and Professor George Forrest, for providing my studies with a base and for many acts of kindness.

Finally, on a more personal level, I wish to thank my son James for invaluable advice and assistance of a practical sort in matters connected with the operation of a computer; and, in the same field, I would record my thanks to Philippa M.W. Matheson for her judicious and outstandingly accurate work, and for dealing with some unusual problems in a spirit of unflagging helpfulness. To the editors of the University of Toronto Press I should like to say how much I appreciate their patience.

And once again to my wife I declare my gratitude for her never-failing support and encouragement.

D.F.S.T.
Toronto

Catullus

INTRODUCTION

General: The Poet's Life, Works, and Literary Environment

Life and Chronology

The external evidence we possess for the life of Catullus can be summarized in a very few words. Jerome, in his supplement to Eusebius' *Chronica*, offers in effect three pieces of information:
(i) C. was born at Verona in 87 BC (*Abr. ann.* 1930; Ol. 173.2; 150 H);
(ii) C. died aged 30; see (iii);
(iii) C. died in Rome aged 30 (or in his thirtieth year, if we take Jerome's 'XXX aetatis anno' [*Abr. ann.* 1959; Ol. 180.3; 154 H] literally; but see Sumner 1971: 261, on 'the common tendency (*sc.* of Romans) to blur the difference' between 'the 30th year' and '30 years old.' As he remarks, 'there can be no precision.'

Not more than one of these three can be correct. We know from internal references in C.'s poems that he was still alive in 55 (poem 113, the second consulship of Pompey; 55.6, the *porticus Pompei*), and fairly certainly in 54 (references to Britain and Syria in poems 11, 45, 84); as for poem 29, Rambaud 1980 has shown that this could not have been written before the end of 53. Jerome derived his information from Suetonius, *De poetis*. 'To judge by the surviving life of Terence (in that work), it is quite possible that Suetonius gave C.'s age when he died, but not the dates of either birth or death; in that case, Jerome will probably have put the death notice at what seemed to him an appropriate place, and counted back for the date of birth' (Wiseman 1985: 190; he adds in a footnote: 'Cf. Helm ... following B. Schmidt ... for the suggestion that Suetonius' notice of C.'s death immediately followed that of his reconciliation with Caesar in Gaul [Suet.

Iul. 73], and that Jerome therefore chose the first year of Caesar's Gallic command as the peg on which to hang C.'s dates'). Since C.'s death need not, and perhaps should not, be supposed to have occurred immediately after the last datable reference in his poems, and yet obviously some weight must be attached to his failure to mention any events after 53 or so, it would be reasonable to adopt the dates (82–52) first proposed by B. Schmidt 1914: 267–8 (though with a faulty argument, as noted by Granarolo 1982: 27–8, who himself adopts the same dates), and later, by Plessis 1909 and subsequently by Herzog 1936 – at least for the date of death – and by Marmorale 1952.

There is at least one more good reason to choose these dates. From the poems it is clear that, of all the friends of his youth, C. was closest to his fellow-poet Calvus; he speaks of him in all respects as an equal, and (we may fairly say) an age-fellow, without awe or patronage; later writers link their names together, and Ovid (*Amores* 3.9.62) implies that both died young, thus tending to confirm Jerome's point (iii) above. It is extremely unlikely that there was more than a year or so between them in difference of age, if indeed there was as much as that. Now, we know from the elder Pliny (*NH* 7.165) that Calvus was born on 28 May, 82 BC; the birth-date of Catullus must surely be sought at no great distance from this year at any rate.

Further, the manuscripts tell us (see, however, my text and apparatus criticus) that at 12.9 Asinius Pollio is called *puer*. Even if we doubt the reliability of the two principal witnesses to the birth-date of Pollio (traditionally 76), namely Tacitus and Jerome, we can still add the testimony of the elder Seneca and Quintilian and 'rest content' (Sumner 1971: 261) with 77/76/75. If we accept 76 *exempli gratia*, Catullus must be old enough at the time of writing poem 12 to refer to Pollio a little condescendingly as *puer*, but still not old enough to sit at the tables of much older persons instead; so far as this slight argument goes, we may guess that six years of seniority in age would not be too disparate.

There is only one further externally attested fact: the reconciliation between Julius Caesar and C.'s family, mentioned above (on the first page of this Introduction) and recorded by Suetonius in the following words (*Iulius* 73): *Valerium Catullum, a quo sibi versiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulaverat, satis facientem eadem die adhibuit cenae hospitioque patris eius, sicut consuerat, uti perseveravit.* The phrasing implies a certain interval between the time of composition of the offending verses and the day of forgiveness. Mamurra must at the time have been in Caesar's service (and occupying high rank there) for some years, while Caesar himself must have been sojourning, or wintering, in Cisalpine Gaul. This narrows the possible dates to late 55 – early 52 BC.

Although, as we have seen, Jerome's birth-date for C. is wrong, the *place* of the poet's birth, given in the same statement – see (i) above – is independently attested by Ovid (*Amores* 3.15.7) and Martial (14.195), quite apart from the evidence of the poems of C. themselves (poems 35, 68, 100, and especially *Veronae ... meae* at 67.34). Although the gentile name Valerius occurs frequently in Veronese inscriptions (it is not in itself Transpadane but originates rather in south-central Italy), it is interesting to observe that it is not there found in combination with the cognomen Catullus; at Brixia, however (which C., uniquely, claims in poem 67 as the 'mother city' of his native Verona), there are a number of inscriptions recording Valerii Catulli, who seem to have been domiciled there. Since Verona possessed only the *ius Latii* until 49 BC, those who in the time of C.'s boyhood exercised the rights of Roman citizens there – as did C. and his father, who must have been *equites* (C. required both citizenship and equestrian status in order to serve as he did on the staff of a provincial governor; see below) – will have acquired Roman citizenship either (a) by individual grant, or (b) elsewhere before settling in Verona.

It is possible to say with confidence that C. served in Bithynia, during the year 57–6, under Memmius as propraetor; but this is really no more than an inference from C. himself (28.7–9, where he refers to ill-usage under Memmius as *meus praetor*, taken together with poems 10, 31, and 46, where he speaks of having been in Bithynia), added to the known fact that Memmius was praetor in 58, from which we may guess that he probably went on to govern some province in the office of propraetor – Bithynia would be suitable – though in fact the records do not inform us either that he did so, or (if he did) where his province was.

One other *testimonium* is generally included, and rightly so, among the external evidence for C.'s life: the real name of 'Lesbia,' the woman addressed or mentioned in about twenty-six poems (listed in the Introduction to Quinn's edition, p. xvi) was Clodia, according to Apuleius (*Apol.* 10). If this is correct – and there is no reason to doubt it – then the most likely candidate for identification as 'Lesbia' will be one or another of the three sisters, all known as Clodia (or Claudia), of P. Clodius Pulcher, especially since in poem 79 (*Lesbius est pulcer ...*) C. accuses 'Lesbius' (that is, on this identification, Clodius) implicitly of incest with his sister, playing on the word *pulcer* as he does so; cf. Cicero, *Pro Caelio* for the accusation, and certain passages of the letters (*Ad Att.* 1.16.10 *surgit pulcellus puer*; 2.1.4; 2.22.1) for the word-play. Historically, it may be that the charge of incest attached itself in particular to the youngest of the three sisters and was by Cicero transferred by insinuation to the second sister Clodia Metelli, as one of a battery of arguments directed towards representing Cicero's

client Caelius as the victim of a wicked and scheming woman. The case for the traditionally preferred identification of 'Lesbia' with Clodia Metelli is certainly not proved; scholars now admit that the youngest sister will fit the few known facts just as well, provided that the spelling *Clodia*, for *Claudia*, can properly be applied to both of them (and here too there is disagreement). It must be said, however, that since the *Pro Caelio* was a famous and familiar speech the simple mention of 'Clodia' in later literary circles is more likely to have conjured up Clodia Metelli than any other. Moreover, it is clear from 68.145–6 (cf. 83.1–2) that C. paid court to Lesbia when she was still married (to translate *vir* as *amant en titre* makes the story of C.'s courtship improbable). Here chronology enters: the wife of Lucullus was divorced in 66, the wife of Metellus widowed in 59; this makes the wife of Metellus the better candidate unless we suppose (as Professor Wiseman does) that the word *vir* is to be understood as signifying the husband in a second marriage, of which in neither case is there the slightest evidence. For both of these reasons the traditional identification of 'Lesbia' as Clodia Metelli, though it is entirely right that it should be questioned rigorously, as Wiseman has done, should still be held to possess, on its merits, a little extra weight.

The Arrangement of the Poems

In recent times, and particularly in the last two decades or so, the question whether C. himself arranged the collection in the order in which we have it has become one of the liveliest issues in Catullan studies, particularly since (in *Catullan Questions* [1969]) Professor T.P. Wiseman espoused, and defended in subsequent books and articles, the view that C. did so, and (further) that the placing of the poems, and cross-references between them, were intended by the poet to be perceived by the reader as having, throughout the corpus, additional poetic significance beyond that conveyed by the poems themselves taken singly. It would take too much space to rehearse the debate here, but in a carefully selected bibliography (below, pp. 61–5) I have tried to indicate where it can best be followed. Perhaps the first thoroughgoing exposition of the theory of an intentionally integrated pattern of this kind was made in B. Heck's Tübingen dissertation of 1951, 'Die Anordnung der Gedichte des C. Valerius Catullus.' To those who have studied this ninety-two-page dissertation, with its diagrams, it has often seemed that the argument for a planned order, confidently expressed in the section dealing with the first part of the collection, faltered more and more as it approached the end of the *liber Catulli*. Modern arguments, of the same general sort, have tended to induce in those who follow them a similar feeling of *decrescendo*. All the same, who has not been struck,

independently, by the tight coherence and pleasing balance of the first few poems when they are read together? This surely must be C.'s doing.

In the book referred to above, which gained wide attention, Professor Wiseman argued for a three-part division of the collection as published by Catullus, originally in three rolls, *tribus cartis* (= *voluminibus*), like Nepos' work alluded to in poem 1, though he frankly admitted that the parts (poems 1–60, 61–8, 69–116) would be very unequal in numbers of lines per *volumen*. Ten years later, in *Clio's Cosmetics* (1979b), chapter 12 (see especially p. 175 n. 3), he revised this opinion, substituting a division as follows (as suggested by Quinn): poems 1–60 (total, 848 lines), 61–4 (total, 795 lines), and 65–116 (total, 646 lines). He is to some extent influenced here by Macleod 1973, an article with a cyclic view of 65–116 and emphasis on the references to *Battiades* in poems 65 and 116 as a link between the beginning and the end of the last section (assuming the inclusion of poem 116 as an integral part of the collection; in 1969 he had regarded it as an extraneous addition). His argument that the appearance of the Muses in poems 1, 61, and 65 makes all three poems programmatic seems to me of little weight (see Wiseman 1979b: 177), but there are much stronger arguments in favour of his 1979 position (which he adopts also in *Catullus and His World* [1985]). These arguments, which I do not remember him using at all in defence of that position, are two in number, and they are both drawn from another area altogether, namely the history of manuscripts.

It was B.L. Ullman (1955: 103 n. 2) who first drew attention to the fact that '<Ms> *O* begins poem 65 and all subsequent poems with an illuminated initial and capitalized second letter in line with the initial letters of the following verses. This distinctive form may reflect a separate manuscript tradition for poems 65–116.' (Hubbard 1983: 220 n. 8, quotes this observation with approval.) An analogous change in style is noted by McKie (see Preface) at the beginning of poem 61. In his discussion of the titles in the manuscripts, he observes that in spite of the fact that in *O* the last of the short poems, poem 60, ends five lines above the bottom of folio 14^{v}, the scribe begins poem 61 at the top of the next page, contrary to his usual practice; he, too, cites Ullman 1955: 99 in support of the view that this represents 'a survival perhaps of the ancient division of Catullus' work into *libelli*.' More recently, Giuseppe Billanovich has pointed out (1988: 38) that in an annotated manuscript of Terence, British Library Harl. 2525, on fol. 11^{r}, a line from Catullus (52.1), is quoted as being *prope finem primi operis*. The note in question is linked by Billanovich with Petrarch. This too would then imply that by the first half of the fourteenth century, and perhaps for very long before that, the codices of Catullus showed the results of descent in three parts; and some of the evidence points to the

possibility that these parts were originally published separately and for a time travelled in separate streams. The words *prope finem primi operis* would most naturally be taken to confirm the idea, already reached on different grounds, that the first section contained poems 1–60. Since, as many scholars have noted, the final group of these 'polymetric' poems contains several short effusions that are clearly unfinished, experimental, or rejected drafts (see for example poem 58[b], in comparison with poem 55), or even (as some suggest) short scraps found among the poet's papers, all this evidence, taken together, seems to point away from the conclusion that C. himself deliberately assembled or planned a *Gesamtausgabe* in the form in which we have it.

A question which Wiseman does not raise is why, if C. himself carefully isolated the short epigrams in elegiac metre at the end of the collection (poems 69–116), neither Martial (that close follower and imitator of Catullus' shorter poems) nor Statius in his *Silvae*, nor (so far as we are aware) the author of any similarly varied corpus of verse, seems to have thought of doing the same. Another kind of reservation, which I at least entertain, applies to the arguments used by Professor Wiseman to show that the first section (poems 1–60) is divided into subsections (poems 15–26, 28–60) of differing character, clearly announced and described in advance by the 'programmatic' poems 14[b] and 27. Others have objected to the supposition that the poems in these subsections exhibit a peculiar or consistent character; my doubt concerns Wiseman's interpretation of the poems that are said to introduce them. Let us examine poem 14[b] first. Wiseman 1969: 7 writes: 'Why should C.'s readers *shrink* [his italics] from touching his book? The language seems too strong for mere modest deprecation. However, when we consider that the cycle of poems on Aurelius, Furius and Juventius begins immediately afterwards, it becomes intelligible as part of a warning to the reader that poems of an avowedly homosexual nature follow.' But surely this is to dismiss too lightly a much less colourful meaning of *horrere* – amounting to little more than 'hesitate' or 'be unwilling' – attested in passages such as the following:

Plin. *NH*. 8.169 asinae horrent vel pedes ... tinguere

Livy 10.10.11 imminui agrum ... accolas sibi quisque adiungere ... homines horrebat

Iuvenc. 4. 809 sacri sibi nominis horret imponi pondus Constantinus.

For *abhorrere* we may cite Plin. *Ep*. 1.2.5 *ab editione non abhorrere*, which has been translated, quite properly, 'not averse to publishing' (see the reference in the n. on 14[b].3). On an impartial view of the evidence, is it not more in line with the probable intention of this admittedly fragmentary poem to vote for 'modest deprecation' after all? In any event, the suggestion

that the poet utters a warning of something dire to follow appears to fall short of proof.

As for poem 27, Wiseman finds this poem 'apparently pointless' if it relates to a drinking party. He goes on to add: 'It also contains a difficulty which has never been satisfactorily explained: why should the slave pour out bitterer wine?' Consequently, he maintains, the poem is really about *invective*. Now, it cannot be denied that of the following group of poems, if group it be (28–60), a substantial number – a bare majority, perhaps – contain serious invective; but is the percentage sufficient to justify a programmatic announcement of a change to 'the real savage stuff,' as Wiseman puts it? A rapid calculation may find here about seventeen poems, at most, which can truly be described as consisting of 'savage' invective, against sixteen or so which do not seem to fit this description. But the preceding group (15–26) consists entirely, unless I am mistaken, of what would appear to be invective by the same definition; thus the reader can hardly be said to have to face a new group of a startlingly different kind. Finally, if we look at the elegiac epigrams (69–116) placed at the end of the collection, we find that there the proportion of invective to non-invective is about thirty-four to fourteen or fifteen. The character of poems 28 to 60 seems, in this respect, hardly unique.

At this point let us look back at the poem itself, and see what it says. Clearly Catullus uses *amariores* at any rate *as though* it meant *meraciores* (which, by the way, is the actual reading proposed by Sabellicus in his *Ex Catullo*, a set of notes added to his *Annotationes in Plinium et alios auctores*, 1497, p. 10, where it is printed as *meratiores*; for the text see Gaisser 1993: 300 n. 95). Scaliger, for his part, glossed *amariores* as *meraciores* – perhaps independently, rather than following Sabellicus. From the drift of our poem it is reasonable to conclude that the point lies in the strength of the wine, in some sense, rather than its sweetness or bitterness – unless one has already made up one's mind that 'bitterness' *must* be what the poet intends. But there is nothing to force this conclusion, and much to the contrary, especially in view of the fact that the exclusion of water, desiderated in the second and concluding part of the poem, also points in the direction of 'strength.' Much more remains to be said on this point; for a longer discussion, see the note on 27.3 below.

To sum up: the debate on the question whether C. arranged and published the collection of poems as we have it is still open; but the general conclusion that there are three sections, divided at 61.1 and 65.1, is reasonable. Originally these may have been issued in three rolls; their length would be suitable for this. They may even have borne the labels *hendecasyllabi*, *epithalamium* (referring in the first instance to poem 61, where the heading

epithalamus appears in the Mss), and *epigrammata*, after the first-occurring metre in each: we never hear of 'Catullus, Book 1' in antiquity, but we do hear of *Catullus in hendecasyllabis, Catullus in epithalamio* (though in relation to a poem, 62, which is itself *not* an epithalamium, so that the support of a certain kind of proof is wanting). What is hard to believe is that Catullus, who clearly intended to plan his book (as suggested above), ever came to the end of laying it out; poem 58[b], for instance, looks very like the pieces of a rough unfinished draft – discontinued perhaps – especially when we see it in the company of poem 55. As all are agreed, our poet died very young; and as most agree, his poetic career was extremely brief. Whether at the end of it he had time enough to put together a *Gesamtausgabe*, is an open question, of an essentially historical, rather than literary, kind.

The social, literary, and economic background of the poet's life, taking especial note of his Veronese origin, requires at least some brief comments before we proceed further.

From the third century BC onwards, the writers of Latin verse – even those who were not Greeks, or Greek-speaking Italians, themselves – were deeply aware of what was going on in the world of Greek letters under Alexander the Great and in the kingdoms of his successors. Those cultural contacts were reinforced by commercial relations, especially with the richest of the lands and cities of the eastern Mediterranean: Antioch, Pergamum, and above all Egypt, which under the first three Ptolemies, and with the absorption of Cyrene, emerged as by far the wealthiest and most settled realm of them all. But the attraction felt in many parts of Italy, particularly those accessible to trade, for this apparatus of prosperity, was not merely cultural but reflected their own new wealth and aspirations. It was not surprising if the enterprising inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul acquired the habit of making business arrangements with – roughly speaking – the whole Eastern world that many centuries later was to become virtually the private domain of Venice.[1] Their prosperity and self-assurance were based securely on the produce of their own highly fertile plains, linked together by a navigable river and easy land communications, while for the exporting of that produce they had at hand the Adriatic shipping route: short of harbours, indeed, but possessing at least a few useful ports, such as Ancona and Brundisium, on the Italian side. In return, it was easy for citizens of the Greek east – now politically unified and delivered from the internecine war of city against city – to make their way, often in the role of teachers who bore their literary culture with them, to the flourishing towns of Cispadane and Transpadane

1 Wiseman 1985: 110: 'The *Transpadani* had wide horizons'; see pages 107–11 for an expansion of this remark, and especially for the economic background.

Gaul. Among these last Verona stood out as easily the leader by the time of Catullus; this was partly because of its geographical situation, since it lay at the point of intersection of one trade route from the north with another (and the most important of all) that ran from west to east and vice versa. Citizen rights, beginning with the *ius Latii* in 89, were granted, by stages, to all these places during the first century BC. As a result, and because of the highly visible prosperity enjoyed by the inhabitants of the Province, Roman citizens from more southerly parts (C.'s family among them, in all likelihood) settled in Verona and neighbouring cities, in pursuit of trade as well as of military or administrative careers. Naturally, such immigrant families[2] looked in two ways at once: to the north, for the vast opportunities of wealth and comfort it offered, but also to their roots in the south, and particularly to Rome, as the source of coveted honours, of *nobilitas*, and of a more varied and sophisticated social life – especially for young people who craved to be 'in the fashion' – than could be secured in what must inevitably have been regarded, by those with an eye to the glitter of a metropolis, as still essentially a 'provincial' sphere of existence despite the excellence of its schools under Greek teachers. Thus the potent literary culture, originating within the Hellenistic sphere, approached the capital city not only from the south, that is to say from the direction of the Greek settlements of Magna Graecia – as in the time of Ennius – but also from Gallia Cisalpina, where an abundance of natural talent (if we may judge from the numbers of distinguished authors produced there) lay ready for awakening stimuli from the East.

The New Poets and the Alexandrians: Parallels and Influences

Alexandrianism: The Original Impetus

The poetic movement designated by the name of Alexandrianism is centred on the city of Alexandria during the reign of the first three rulers belonging to the Ptolemaic dynasty, and on the famous Library, which was a university in all important respects. Both the library and the service of the royal court were nurseries of poets. If we concentrate attention on those poets who were destined to influence Catullus and his contemporaries, the movement itself may be said to have begun with Philetas of Cos. Philetas (the spelling Philitas seems to be favoured at Cos itself, where it appears on inscriptions) may, indeed, be regarded as the father of an Alexandrian drive towards a more subtle kind of poetry. His dates are earlier, by a generation or so, than those of his successor Callimachus. He flourished as poet and educator

2 Wiseman 1985: 108–9.

in the reign of Ptolemy I, and became the tutor of the future Ptolemy II. His pupils included Theocritus, as well as the Librarian (and renowned literary critic) Zenodotus, and also the poet Hermesianax. He himself was described as *ποιητὴς ἅμα καὶ κριτικός*. It seems that Callimachus had an immense respect for his forerunner Philetas; at any rate, he appears to praise him warmly in the fragmentary prologue to the second edition of the *Aetia* (lines 9–10, with the *Scholia Florentina*). Propertius places him on a pedestal, together with Callimachus, as a founder of elegy (2.34.31; 3.1.1; 3.9.43–4), and Catullus himself surely draws an idea from him at 3.12 (where see the note in the Commentary). In language, Philetas was distinguished for his frequent use of rare vocabulary taken from old poems. His desire to avoid the obvious and the familiar led him to introduce a certain amount of rococo ornamentation in his narratives, and made his compositions obscure, yet highly interesting. These characteristics were passed down to the next generation of Alexandrian poets, along with two other important traits: a taste for mythology, especially that which was clothed in unusual versions of a story, and the ceaseless quest for stylistic and metrical variety. His oeuvre included a hexameter 'epyllion' or short epic,[3] entitled *Hermes*; also a short narrative elegy on Demeter, and a collection of *παίγνια* (the equivalent Latin term would be *lusus*) which Stobaeus seems to distinguish from his *ἐπιγράμματα*, though both were evidently written in the same elegiac metre, so far as we may judge from the few surviving fragments.

Callimachus, in a later reign, exhibits the same dominant interests. In him, as in Philetas, the search for perfect artistry, based on minute attention to detail and the total rejection of the 'thunderous' effects that went with attempts – still made by some in his day, Apollonius Rhodius for example – to rival Homer, were the foundations of a new kind of poetry that was destined to revive the capacity for genuinely original creation. Callimachus had a strong preference for shorter as opposed to more extended literary forms. He did not, however, avoid altogether the art of mythological narrative; but (and here too he trod on new ground) he treated myths as vehicles for the depiction of emotional subtleties, and for the display of recondite learning, especially in offering unfamiliar and entertaining versions of the myths themselves. Because of the latter tendency he has often been rebuked as a 'poet of the study,' a description which in its very nature appeared to deprive his work of all force and freshness. This was especially so in the nineteenth century and for a short time afterwards, when a romantic view of the poet's function prevailed. Yet it remains true that it was this same poetry,

3 The term 'epyllion,' in this sense, is modern; but the genre itself was greatly favoured by the Alexandrians, who first brought it to prominence.

rooted in learning, that revivified the entire literary art. The excitement generated by a feeling of altogether new possibilities, in that place and at that particular time in history, is palpable. Its rejections, as well as its assertions, were to be faithfully echoed, much later, in a Roman setting. When we read Callimachus' declaration *βροντᾶν οὐκ ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ Διός* (*Aetia* 1. 20) we think of Propertius 2.1.39–40 *sed neque Phlegraeos Iovis Enceladique tumultus / intonet augusto pectore Callimachus* and 2.34.32 *non inflati somnia Callimachi*. If Propertius later went so far as to refer to himself as the 'Roman Callimachus' (4.1.64), Catullus, who never does so, at the very least is thoroughly permeated with Callimachean influence; this I hope to show, both in the Introduction and also in the Commentary.

A third figure of the movement, who also made a strong impression on the Italian poets, was Euphorion of Chalcis, a follower of Callimachus in most (though, as we shall see, not all) respects. He had a reputation, which was to be inherited by his Latin imitators, for excessive obscurity. His most frequently discussed work was an epyllion called *Thrax*; here, the poet's attitude to the art of narrative seems to have been overtly anti-Homeric. Unlike Callimachus, Euphorion evidently rejected the entire Homeric tradition, whereas Callimachus had condemned, not Homer himself – whose supremacy in his own domain he recognized – but the feebleness of Homer's imitators, above all Antimachus, in attempting something that no reasonable author could any longer contemplate. On page xx of the introduction to Fordyce's Catullus, it is pronounced that 'the poetry of Alexandria ... was a literature of exhaustion.' Presently it will be clear that I find this verdict overstated; still, few would deny the justice of its application to Antimachus. In Catullus, poem 95, Antimachus stands for the whole class of writers of dull and lengthy conventional epics; regrettably – from C.'s point of view – these still found readers in his own time.

The Reincarnation of Alexandrianism in Italy

Roman literature – or at least the literature of the central tradition, which continued to develop from generation to generation – was almost from its beginnings thoroughly impregnated with Greek influence. This was true to some extent even in prose; notwithstanding the fact that prose was the medium of indigenous Roman institutions – of the law, of the forum, of administration and all public and indeed private business – in its more artistic forms it looked to Greek writers on rhetoric for guidance. Much more was this true of poetry (including drama, which hardly concerns us here). For poets in search of a genre (so to speak), the prestige of Homer, enhanced as it was by the scholarly activities of the Alexandrian commentators based on the Library, ensured that down the centuries the mythical epic maintained

a grip that was never quite loosened. (Conversely, the feeling that one must break away from this is what underlies poetic 'revolutions' in both literatures.) At the same time, the Greek verse forms themselves – not only the Homeric hexameter but its offshoot, the universal and omnipresent elegiac couplet, to take only two examples – swept native Italian metres into deep obscurity. Ennius, as a pioneer in the use of Latin 'heroic' hexameters and also of the elegiac, had a considerable effect on his successors, in both metre and style, however much they rejected his typically 'Homeric' choice of subject. And Ennius was, of course, perfectly aware of the work of Greek fellow-poets, such as Callimachus, whose outlook differed widely from his own.[4] After him, however, there was a great hiatus in the making of poetry at Rome. In the latter part of the second century BC, we become aware of a very different phenomenon. Amateur poets, of indifferent levels of talent (Lutatius Catulus, for instance), set themselves to imitate – not, strictly speaking, to translate – Hellenistic poetry. But the originals on which they focused were not the best. They consisted, for the most part, of a body of decadent erotic epigram in a late and weak stage of the development of that genre, composed in their own time or shortly before it. They regarded their own activities in this field as an elegant accomplishment for their hours of leisure, with no passionate commitment to any search for literary fame or eagerness to express some kind of poetic truth. Cicero in due course inherited their mantle of amateurism: though his metrical technique was respectable, and his translations often deft enough, none of his poems rises above the level of the merely decorative at best. (Still later, the younger Pliny and his friends indulged in poetic composition in just the same spirit.)

About the beginning of the first century, Laevius and a few others wrote attractive Latin verses in a great variety of metres, including the hendecasyllable (named 'Phalaecian' after a minor Greek poet who in his turn had adopted the metre from older lyric and developed its use). These short compositions were written in a Hellenistic vein, but they altogether lack the power of the school of Alexandria. So far as Italy was concerned it was only with the arrival of a Greek, Parthenius of Nicaea, that the situation altered from one of desultory interest to one of excitement. The motive of these fresh stirrings lay in emulating the best creations of those among the Alexandrian poets who were already recognized as masters of the art, Callimachus above all. What Parthenius had to offer this generation of Roman youth no longer consisted in the effusions of Callimachus' followers at one or two removes, but in the works of Callimachus himself, together with those of his predecessor Philetas, and (a less worthy model for imitation,

4 For Ennius and Callimachus, see the references given in Crowther 1971: n. 3.

it must be admitted) of his pupil Euphorion. It was, apparently, Parthenius' influence on Catullus' friend Cinna that was decisive, as I hope to show; and Cinna, in due course, emerged clearly as the leader of the 'neoteric,' or modern, movement in Rome.

From various passages in Cicero (especially *Ad Att.* 7.2.1) we hear of a group (to use the word in a broad sense) of poets in Rome: not, strictly speaking, Roman poets, since many of them, including Catullus himself, originally came from Cisalpine Gaul. Reasons for this have already been suggested (see above, pp. 10–11). All of them were apparently younger than Cicero. In a literary, if not a political, context they were considered as having somewhat revolutionary tendencies; so much is implied in the way Cicero uses the expression *οἱ νεώτεροι* in referring to them. They were enthusiastic followers of the Hellenistic Greek, or (in a wider, as well as a narrower, sense) 'Alexandrian,' poets and epigrammatists, and particularly of Callimachus. Euphorion, whom Cicero elsewhere mentions in connection with the same kind of literary manifestation at a slightly later date, and Rhianus (about whom very little is at present known) also seem to have been favourites of the 'neoterics' or 'poetae novi' as they were variously called. (For a full discussion of these terms, see Crowther 1970.)

It is universally agreed (and agreement reaches back to Ovid's time) that both Catullus and his age-fellow and close friend Calvus (they are always linked together) were among the most distinguished leaders of this 'neoteric' movement. But there were others, more than a handful of whom would have had to be reckoned with if their works had survived (Calvus himself has come down to us in no more than a few short fragments). From our standpoint, most of these poets are shadowy indeed.[5] It is nevertheless important for us to try to ascertain who among them exercised the kind of influence that determined the way in which Catullus himself would develop his genius. In this light, two names are usually considered to be especially prominent: Publius Valerius Cato and Gaius Helvius Cinna. Both were born about 90 BC: that is, they were some nine years older than Catullus, if the birth-date suggested for him above is accepted. In view of C.'s evidently short literary life it is somewhat interesting (but it may be no more than a coincidence) that in poem 95 he hails the emergence of Cinna's poem *Zmyrna* after exactly nine years of labour. If Cinna had been in Bithynia in 66–5, as the *Suda* (s.v. *Parthenius*) relates, then it is legitimate to speculate that he might have provided Catullus both with the notion of going to that province in particular, and with 'contacts' there once he had been appointed to the staff of its governor.

5 See Bardon 1952: passim.

The name of Valerius Cato, the grammarian and critic, is often linked with the neoteric movement, of which he is claimed to have been in some sense the founder. This view has been attacked, on grounds of date, by Professor Wiseman, who seeks to undermine Cato's alleged priority by the following argument:[6]

> It always used to be assumed that Valerius Cato was the leader of the new 'neoteric school,' and the idea has unfortunately survived despite refutation. It rests on Furius Bibaculus' reference to Cato 'making' poets, with the anachronistic idea that he did so as an influential critic ... But according to Suetonius, who quotes Furius' lines, Cato had a high reputation as a *teacher*, especially of boys with poetic talent... He 'made' poets in the schoolroom, and ... the boys he steered to poetry were younger than the generation of Cinna and Catullus.

Hence Professor Wiseman draws the inference that the actual influence of Cato came too late for him to be fittingly named as the pioneer of the neoteric movement.

While I would agree that he did not fill the leading role, it is not for this reason. The words of Bibaculus are these:

> Cato grammaticus, Latina siren,
> Qui solus legit ac facit poetas.[7]

My reservation concerns the verbs in the second line. Terzaghi has suggested[8] (and I am inclined to agree with him) that they ought to be taken very closely together, *solus* being applied to both of them at once; the corollary is that the *poetae* who are the object of *legit* are the same persons as the *poetae* who are the object of *facit*. It is awkward to suppose that what Bibaculus meant to say was this: 'He, and he alone, reads [pedagogically, we must suppose] some poets – i.e., the texts used in the classroom; and he alone (likewise) 'makes' some poets – i.e., the boys.' Rather, if we bring *legit-ac-facit* together, we may find it easier to interpret *facit* in the less usual sense (much less common, admittedly, where there is no 'genitive of value' in the context) of 'judges, evaluates.' (In the Bobiensian scholia on Cicero, *Pro Sestio* 124, the phrase *cuius et originem et causam nominis ... me fecisse commemini* seems to yield this meaning: see Terzaghi 1938 for

6 Wiseman 1974: 53.

7 Fragment 6 *FLP* = 17 M (dubium); Wiseman 1974: 53 n. 53.

8 See Terzaghi 1938.

this and other illustrative passages.) Cato will then not have to be said to 'make' poets but rather to be esteemed for his sagacity in making literary assessments, such as those we may find, at about the same period of history, in a letter of Cicero's (*Ad Quint. Fratrem* 2.9.3) concerning Lucretius, and of course in poem 35, where a friend of Catullus has some criticisms to offer, by way of Catullus himself, to another aspiring poet. If this is so, the recipients of Cato's advice need not be mere boys in the classroom, and can instead be regarded as age-fellows of Cinna, or of Catullus, after all. In any case, even if one hesitates to attribute a rarer sense to *facere* here, it must be further observed that, in another epigram on Cato, Bibaculus remarks:

> Mirati sumus optimum magistrum,
> summum grammaticum, optimum poetam,
> omnes solvere posse quaestiones,
> unum deficere expedire nomen.
> En cor Zenodoti, en iecur Cratetis!

Here we have an apparent distinction and division between three separate functions: *magister*, *grammaticus*, and finally *poeta*. Moreover, the name of Cato, with which the poem begins, is placed on the level of the famous Greek literary critics, with whom the poem ends. And the tone throughout, as in a third epigram on Cato (fr. 2 M, *FLP*) beginning *Si quis forte mei domum Catonis ...*, is that of a friend and associate, rather than a pupil.

We have, then, a picture of Cato – not as 'trail-breaker,' perhaps, but as an esteemed literary critic and a popular member of the neoteric coterie to which Catullus belonged; poem 56 is most likely to have been addressed to him. Both Cinna and Cato wrote miniature epics ('Epyllia,' as we have come to call them). If these two men were slightly older members of Catullus' circle, whom he particularly admired, we may guess that some prompting or desire to emulate his friends' success in that genre may have come to him from one or both of them, inspiring him to venture on a long poem, the *Peleus and Thetis* (poem 64).

To Cinna we may now turn; he was not only an extremely close friend and associate of Catullus, but also – and this was of the greatest importance – a fellow-Transpadane, hailing from Brixia, a neighbouring city to Catullus' Verona. What is particularly noticeable is the prominence especially bestowed by Catullus on a single poem by Cinna, the *Zmyrna*, an epyllion based on a bizarre theme of incestuous love. (It is possible, indeed likely, that the subject was suggested to Cinna by Parthenius, who actually dedicated to another pupil – Gallus – his ἐρωτικὰ παθήματα, a collection of unusual

love-stories from myth.)[9] Catullus appears to hold this work up for the admiration of his friends, as a model of all that poetry should be. If we look at his own masterwork, for it is probable that he so regarded it, namely poem 64, the *Peleus and Thetis*, it is significant that this itself belongs to the genre of the epyllion (and, as such, was destined to be closely studied and sometimes echoed by Virgil among others). Cinna's *Zmyrna*, then, inspired the whole circle of the 'New Poets' by example, just as Cinna himself inspired them by the counsel which he, as a doyen of letters, must be supposed to have offered to his younger fellow-artists; counsel which he had in turn received from Parthenius. The essence of the Callimachean (and Euphorionic) doctrine which both Parthenius and Cinna preached lay in the emphasis they placed on novelty, on variety of forms (πολυείδεια) as well as of metres, and on attention to wit and artistic finish. In the light of the last-named principle, Catullus makes much of the fact that the completion of the *Zmyrna*, to its author's satisfaction, took no less than nine years, in contrast to the facile annual production of works *de longue haleine*, which at least in the Rome of his day were all second-rate narratives destined to speedy and inglorious oblivion. He goes so far as to pronounce that literary immortality, based on perfection of artistic polish, awaits this short piece of work, which had been generated in a notably restricted sphere. In Cinna's person, he evidently felt, Rome had at last placed her name on the poetic map of the world; and she had done so through a younger generation who nourished a spirit of defiance analogous to that in which Callimachus had avoided the easy way of Antimachus – who thought it appropriate for a poet to follow tamely in the footsteps, and so in a sense trade on the long-established reputation, of the old Homeric school. It must nevertheless be added that the ἔπος τυτθόν – as Parthenius regarded it – was still an *epos*; it did not throw overboard the whole idea of writing narrative verse, nor did it abandon mythological subject-matter, and to that extent it was not in the strict sense 'revolutionary.' Rather, it emulated the greatest poetry by finding new kinds of interest within the traditional fields of that poetry, and by writing about those subjects in a brilliant new way. The fact that the epyllion could do all this only made it extremely popular among the Romans of an age of expansion, from Valerius Cato to Catullus and his friend Caecilius (unknown to us except from poem 35, where he is encouraged to improve his poem on the Magna Mater), and also to Cornificius and – eventually – the poet of the *Ciris* in the *Appendix Vergiliana*. Even poem 63 of Catullus, for all its novelty of metre, exhibits many of the traits of what was usually a genre of hexameter poetry. In Gallus, who 'was, after Cinna,

9 Crowther 1976: 68.

the chief disciple of Parthenius,' as Brooks Otis remarks,[10] we attend the birth of something which, while it clearly follows Callimachean norms (to which, later, Propertius and Ovid bear witness), achieved, so far as we know, a new direction in literature, namely Roman subjective love-elegy.

The fact that the *Zmyrna* almost from its publication stood in need of scholarly interpreters[11] testifies to its obscurity, a trait which is attached most frequently to the name of Euphorion among the members of the Callimachean school. As we have seen, it was Parthenius who commended Euphorion's work, for imitation, to his Roman friends and pupils. Among these, Gallus translated some of Euphorion's poems into Latin,[12] while from Macrobius (5.17.18) we discover that *Georgics* 1.437 is based on a line composed by Parthenius himself. If Virgil learned Greek, or Greek criticism, from Parthenius, as Macrobius (or his source) also tells us,[13] then he will have been urged to pay attention to Euphorion as well as to Callimachus, his respect for whose work is plain to see. Euphorion, then, enjoyed a wide popularity in the literary circles of the late Republic, largely because of the influence that Parthenius exerted over Cinna, and hence over Cinna's colleagues and successors. It is not surprising to find that Cicero (who disliked their ways) seems to say, in his often-quoted phrase *hi cantores Euphorionis* (*Tusculan Disputations* 3.45), that they were forever 'going on about' Euphorion; the expression *cantores* may, however, point to that concern for verbal 'music' which was such a prominent feature of Euphorion's style.[14] As we find with many of the Callimacheans, Euphorion's most often-discussed work was an epyllion, the *Thrax*; we have already sketched its characteristics. Parthenius was in some way connected with this piece.

As for Catullus himself, in recent years critical investigation has led to a sharpened appreciation of his literary technique, and to the simultaneous acceptance of two propositions which might seem to be contradictory yet are not: C. adapts his material to his own artistic needs and to a Roman cast of mind, but at the same time he draws deeply from Greek wells and emerges as a supreme imitator of Greek literary technique. The second of these has long been perceived as an ideal consciously entertained by him; but its application has often been considered as limited to a very few poems. The prominence accorded by the poet to his own translations from Callimachus, in particular, is manifest: see poems 65 (line 16), 66, and 116, and compare

10 Otis 1963: 32.
11 Charisius, *GLK* I.134.12.
12 Servius, *ap.* Virgil, *Ecl.* 6.74.
13 5.17.18 *versus est Parthenii, quo grammatico in Graecis Vergilius usus est.*
14 On the disputed meaning of *cantores* and *cantare*, see Allen 1972, Crowther 1970, and Tuplin 1977 and 1979.

poem 95 for his general attitude to Callimachus. And in such poems as 61, 62, 63, 68, there is a deeply Hellenistic (always to some extent Callimachean) feeling, not explicitly paraded but taken for granted. As for another, shorter, poem, until quite lately almost universally assumed to be mainly or entirely autobiographical in reference – the powerful but puzzling fourth poem, *Phaselus ille* – it may be legitimate to suggest, though there can at present be no conclusive proof, that this is perhaps most easily understood as an adaptation of a Callimachean original (Βερενίκης φάσηλος).[15] Catullus is, then, profoundly influenced by Callimachus in both literary impetus and technique. Where he differs from Callimachus and goes far beyond him is in the note of personal passion, as opposed to mere sympathy, which he contrives to infuse into so many of his compositions. To take an example, the *Attis* (63) – a poem which it is hard not to think of as having had some kind of Alexandrian prototype – becomes in his hands the expression of a quite private emotion, made explicit in the three concluding lines. As for the translation from Sappho in poem 51, this clearly has a peculiar kind of personal importance for Catullus, though the precise nature of that importance is still debated.

Some further observations under this head. Catullus prefaces his work, exactly as Callimachus had done in the prologue to the second edition of the *Aetia*, with a programmatic poem in which he sets out his philosophy of truly artistic literary composition. In that poem, the Callimachean themes of smallness (*libellus*), lightness (*nugae*), and metrical variety are successively indicated – the last of these by example rather than by precept (the precept is implied in poem 50, together with a privileged view of that Callimachean excitement of which we have already spoken). Looking towards the end of the book, we notice at once that the elegiac section (metrically considered), from poems 65 and 66 to poem 116, begins and ends with an overt Callimachean reference (and, in the former instance at least, with an imitation). Other poems throughout the collection also echo Callimachus: see, for example, the notes on poems 90 and 95, and especially the introductory note to poem 64, which takes up the argument of R.F. Thomas that the *Peleus and Thetis* is partly at least designed to express Catullus' commitment to Callimachean doctrine in the light of the *Victoria Berenices*. Poem 95 clearly contains a second manifesto in favour of Callimachus' Μοῦσα λεπταλέη and against the 'Homeric' opponents of that approach to poetic art. And with the ninety-fifth poem we come, of course, to Cinna, who may fairly be called the leader of the 'neoteric' movement, and to Cinna's relation to Catullus, of which we have already spoken.

15 See the introductory note to poem 4.

Some final remarks about Catullus as an adherent of the Callimachean doctrine: it is noticeable that Catullus fails to name any Greek predecessors, with the sole exception of Callimachus (unless Bergk is right with his suggestion of *Philetae* to fill the gap at 95.9; but the very fact that this would be an isolated instance may itself tell against the reading). Certainly he does not mention Parthenius; and this may be a further piece of evidence in favour of the proposition that Parthenius' influence reached the New Poets only through the medium of Cinna. Catullus is a Callimachean through and through; and no more so than in his longer compositions.[16] We nowadays recognize in him a much greater element of careful technique, and of conscious refinement of language, than our predecessors detected; we have come to accept the verdict of many critics that if he is the unique poet of a personal love, he is also to be relished for his wit. *Doctus poeta*: the phrase does not merely translate as 'skilful poet,' which indeed is one of several meanings it bears, but implies also the possession of rare and valuable insights, acquired by toil and even research. For many passages in Catullus it might be claimed, as it has been claimed in general terms for his forerunner and sometimes model Callimachus, that 'the poet always succeeds in harmonizing, with the charm of his verse, what the scholar cannot forbear putting in.'[17] And the notion of reaping poetic benefits from this kind of preparation applies as much (we are now aware) to short poems as to long. The very simplest effusion, thrown off with apparently nonchalant ease, is recognized as depending for its immortal qualities on knowledge, as well as on highly developed artistic skill.

Perhaps the chief among Callimachus' gifts to Catullus is the principle of variety. For example, the extremely rare and difficult metre in which poem 63 is written was a novelty employed, and possibly first attempted, by Callimachus. Again, one and the same theme might be tossed about, experimentally, between elegiac and polymetric treatment (poem 50 again). The quest for the unusual, including the paradoxical, theme, and the equally urgent quest for lightness and conciseness in treatment – these, too, are Callimachean. So also is the ironical and often humorous tone that enables the poet to glance with affection at his subject even when he is distancing himself from it: often a single touch, in such a context, will serve to bring the essence of a situation unexpectedly into view. To achieve all of these results, scholarship had to go hand in hand with art. Poetry which had its roots in learning was a new departure, as we noted above; and it was precisely this fresh approach that revivified the long-dormant art, both in a

16 See Lyne 1978; notice also the argument of Thomas 1983 on poem 64.
17 A. Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature*, English translation (London, 1966): 705.

Greek-speaking and (much later) in a Roman context. Moreover, for Rome at least, this reinvigoration lasted for generations, beginning with that of Catullus and his circle.

Since this part of the Introduction does not claim to be in any way a comprehensive history of the neoteric movement, I have omitted many names that might have been expected to occur here (Ticida, for example, and also Furius Bibaculus, except for his lines on Cato), on the grounds that the persons concerned were not of central importance to the artistic tradition we have discussed. To compensate to some extent for this omission, the selective Bibliography has been given a wider range than might otherwise have been thought sufficient, in order to guide the reader's search for full information. In any case, an excellent general survey of the subject, well argued, can easily be found in Lyne's 1978 article. A very few points, however, may be added to supplement the foregoing pages. The *Garland* of Meleager receives no mention here, although not so long ago its reception in the Roman world was believed to have had a profound effect in bringing the New Poets to an appreciation of Hellenistic and Alexandrian verse. In fact it was one among many similar anthologies known at this time in the west, and there is little evidence that it caused any particular stirring of interest. The long-established tradition of the Roman (as opposed to the purely Greek, though still Greek-influenced) elegiac epigram had an effect on Catullus and his contemporaries, particularly in the matter of linguistic style; here, Professor Ross (1969) has carefully established a distinction between poems 69–116 and the rest of Catullus. I have not touched on this aspect of the poet's art. Finally, the peculiar nature of two contiguous pieces, 67 and 68[a], seems to defy any kind of Callimachean classification; poem 67, in particular, could be regarded as merely an extended epigram, of a disparaging sort, were it not that there is in it a kind of internal character development which hardly belongs to the conventional definition of epigram, with its customary stress on unity. For both of these poems the reader is referred to the Commentary.

The History of the Text

(In this section, 'GB' refers to Giuseppe Billanovich, 'Il Catullo della Cattedrale di Verona,' *Scire Litteras* = Bayerische Akad. d. Wiss, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen NF 99 [Munich, 1988]: 35–57. I take this article as my starting-point, though I am obliged to disagree with it in several particulars.)

As every modern editor makes clear, our present text of Catullus rests on three late-fourteenth-century manuscripts known as *OGR*, all extremely faulty. These derive from a common source in the lost manuscript *V*, so

called because it is usually believed, partly on the strength of Benvenuto Campesani's accompanying verses (see below, p. 194), to have turned up in Verona at some (recently much debated) date. The only other pre-fifteenth-century witness – and it is confined to poem 62 – is *T*, so called because it is an item in an anthology, the *codex Thuaneus*, to which we shall presently refer. *T* is of Carolingian date, and shows by its errors that it belongs to the same branch of the tradition as *V*. The secondary manuscript *m*, to be mentioned later, is a close and early copy of *R*.

Chronology of the Text

(a) Fourth to Sixth Century: Archetype.

The script of the archetype is not certain. Some errors in *V* are overwhelmingly likely to date from the use of capital letters: e.g., 68.41 quam fallius *V*, where QVAMFALLIVS was corrupted from QVAMEALLIVS (as Scaliger, with his methodical interest in recovering antique scripts, was the first to see). On the other hand, a half-uncial style of writing is suggested by certain kinds of error, transmitted ultimately to *T* and *V*. For example, at 62.7 the correct reading is obviously *ignes* (imbres *T*, imber *V*); the letter ȝ (g) may have been mistaken for *b* by the scribe of a later age, especially if the parent manuscript was written in northern France, 'where the peculiarity of ȝ standing on the line and not coming below it certainly appears in manuscripts.'[18] In 1900, E. Maunde Thompson (see the Bibliography below) suggested for similar reasons that *V* itself might have been a sixth-century manuscript written in half-uncials, while in 1896 W.M. Lindsay had tentatively suggested, in a letter to Hale, 'Anglo-Saxon' half-uncials.[19]

(b) Mid-Ninth Century: GB's 'v,' predecessor of *V* (see below), is in the Cathedral Library at Verona. Hildemar, a Brescian monk, seems to quote from it in 845 (GB). Bishop Rather saw it there in 966.

See GB 35–6. For the sermon in which Rather mentions his acquaintance with Catullus, GB (n. 7) cites B.R. Reece, *Sermones Ratherii episcopi Veronensis* (Worcester, Mass., 1969), pp. 86[10–12] and 35[10].

(c) Ninth Century (third quarter): *T* (poem 62 only; Table of Mss, No. 80) turns up in an anthology, in French script. Perhaps copied from 't' (GB), an

18 E.W.B. Nicholson (Bodley's Librarian) to W.G. Hale, 26 February 1897, Hale-Ullman Papers, Department of Classics, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

19 2 October 1896. Hale-Ullman Papers (see n. 18 above).

extract from 'v' sent from Verona to France. So far as it goes, *T* 'allows us to see the outlines of a pre-C9th archetype' (McKie: 97).

T is included in the *Codex Thuaneus* – i.e., the anthology belonging, in the sixteenth century, to Jacques-Auguste de Thou (Paris, B.N. 8071). B.L. Ullman (1960b: 1028–9) believed that all of *T*, except the Juvenal extracts, was copied from the Vienna Ms 277 (VIIIC–IXC), now lacking Catullus, which corresponds exactly to a description of materials (two manuscripts) brought by Sannazaro to Naples from France ('ex Heduorum usque finibus atque e Turonibus') about 1504, according to Pietro Summonte (see Richardson 1976: 285–6, and Gaisser 1993: 282 n. 62), though there is no mention of a Catullus in Summonte's description. Ullman went on to suggest that both *T* and Vienna 277 emanated from Tours; this is more than likely (both are French in style of writing, and we have just seen an attribution of the Vienna manuscript to an origin among the *Turones*). Because of the Tours connection, Ullman was tempted to go further and to link this origin with the fact that Venantius Fortunatus 'describes a book of verse loaned him by Gregory of Tours between 573 and 576,' and speculated that this book might have been the archetype of Sannazaro's two manuscripts. (Ullman also found that in Venantius 6.10.6 the word *hiulco* is used with *agros*, as it is in Catullus 68.62, while the only other time the verb occurs in Latin literature – in pseudo-Augustine – the context is different.) But the derivation of *T* from Vienna 277 has itself been challenged, and is now virtually disproved: see Zwierlein 1983: 15–23. (*T* and Vienna 277 are regarded by Zwierlein as two copies of the same parent manuscript.) As for *hiulcare* in Catullus, Ullman himself admitted that this does not occur in poem 62 (the only Catullan poem in *T*), so that Fortunatus must have derived any knowledge of Catullus he had from some manuscript other than the source of *T*. Moreover, the 'book of verse' sent by Gregory, in Ullman's account, turns out to be, rather, a metrical treatise with specimens of different metres. (On these points see now Gaisser 1992: 202, and 1993: 16–17.)

Ellis, in his 1878 edition of Catullus, published (in a plate facing p. 100) a careful transcription of the recto of the first folio of *T* (22 lines). The writer of *T*, though he is even less competent in Latin than the scribe of *O* (see below), has the advantage of standing closer to the archetype by perhaps about five centuries, and this fact does not go unreflected in his readings. At line 63, for example, where *T* correctly gives *pars est*, *O* (following his exemplar *A*; see below) has dropped the word *pars*. Presumably because this leads to a metrical fault, *X*, the parent of *G* and *R*, supplied *data* before *pars*.

(d) 1290–1310: Humanists, chiefly Paduan, show knowledge of a Ms apparently at Verona (*V*). This now lost Ms, in late Gothic script, may be

tentatively dated ca. 1280. It was seen and used by various Paduan and Veronese humanists in the two decades ca. 1290–1310. GB suggests that it was written to replace 'the now worn-out v,' which seems reasonable.

The practitioners of rhetoric, and to some extent of law, in the region of Padua and Verona, some of whom enjoyed access to the treasures of the Cathedral Library at Verona, created a 'springtime' (GB) of (pre)-humanism; see the articles referred to in his notes, esp. n. 9. They included Benzo of Alessandria, Geremia (Hieremias) da Montagnone, and (according to Ellis and though Ullman 1960b: 1038 n. 25, doubts it) the poet Albertino Mussato. Lovato Lovati's involvement with Catullus is asserted by GB but denied by Walter Ludwig ('Kannte Lovato [1241–1309] Catull?,' *RhM* 129 [1986], 329–57). A slightly later figure – friend to Petrarch – is Guglielmo da Pastrengo of Verona (GB, n. 11). On the question of *V*'s Gothic script, see Ullman 1960b: 1037, who lists eleven errors characteristic of Gothic script; but W. Clausen 1976: 42–3 finds ten of them to be 'common' in Carolingian script, and explains away the eleventh. There is however another argument for a later date for *V*.

First be it noted that the humanists just named, who quote and echo Catullus, have one important thing in common: their readings are earlier than those of *A* (see [e] below), and must provisionally (at least) be supposed to be those of *V*. Among them is Geremia (Hieremias) da Montagnone, as we have already noted. At 64.145, where the first hands of *OGR* all read *postgestit*, Hieremias reads *praegessit*. Because *OGR* all endorse the obvious error in *post-*, the error itself cannot be later than their common source *A* or its immediate predecessor. Since *V*, as read by Hieremias, had the correct *prae-*, we must suppose that *post-* came in with *A*. The cause of the error is this: in Mss of later date, but not in Carolingian Mss, we find compendia for *pre* or *pri* (p̊) on the one hand, and for *post* (p̊) on the other, which are easily confused. *A* has, it appears, misread *V*'s *p̊gestit* as *p̊gestit*. This implies that *A*'s exemplar, *V*, belonged to a period when the compendium in question had come into use, and was therefore of humanistic date, or at any rate later than the ninth century. (We may compare 62.21 and 22, where the word *matris*, spelled out in full in the ninth-century manuscript *T*, is given by *R*, for instance, in the abbreviated form *mat*ᵗs). Similarly, at 64.153 *O* miscopies what must have been *p̊da* in *A* (preda *GR*) as *postea*. Even more strikingly, in the much-debated line 11 of the same poem, where *GR* give the correct *primam*, using a compendium (*p*ʳ*mam*), *O* diverges into the reading *p̊eam* (*posteam*; in the margin, he changed it into *proram* – see the note in the Commentary).

(e) ca. 1300: A scholar, conjecturally identified (by GB) with Albertino Mussato, copies from *V* a Ms, also in late Gothic script, which I propose to

call *A* (= GB's 'x'), and enters marginal and other corrections. The scribe of *A* is probably the author of the *Tu lector* addition (see below); if so, he has no second Ms available to correct the deficiencies of which he complains in his exemplar; consequently, it must be supposed that the changes he makes are his own. In a penetrating account of the history of the titles in Catullus (chapter 2 of his 1977 dissertation) Dr McKie has securely established the fact that a manuscript must have intervened between *V* and *OX* (it is nowadays agreed that the surviving Mss *G* and *R* derive from a lost parent Ms, designated *X*) so that the once-prevalent view that *OX* came directly from *V* has to be given up. *A* contained a number of marginal and interlinear variants that must go back beyond *X*, since a few of them have slipped into *O*; for these variants in *A* (so far as they were inherited by R^2 through *X*) see below, pp. 40–1. It may be observed that GB (see his stemma and notes, pp. 53–4) concurs with McKie, whose work he does not appear to have studied, on this point of a manuscript intervening between *V* and *OX*. The account given by GB (to anticipate slightly) allots to Mussato a role in 'improving' his Ms with corrections, metrical notes, and so forth, which consorts well with Mussato's known talents; whereas that same account, if we accept it, leaves little scope for scholarly activity on the part of *X*, which emerges as little more than an apograph of *A*. This too happens to agree with McKie, who in his final chapter assigns to *X* a quite minor role in contributing to the corpus of variants and corrections bequeathed to us by R^2. Examining the text of poem 64, where he finds some 180 divergences between *O* and *X*, McKie identifies only a very few as due to emendatory activity on *X*'s part, though some certainly are (p. 265): for one possible instance to be added to his list, see (c) above (*sub fin.*).

(f) ca. 1315: Benvenuto Campesani (d. 1323) records in an epigram the 'recovery from afar' of Catullus by (?) the notary Francesco (*a calamis, tribuit cui Francia nomen*).

The meaning of Campesani's epigram, and the facts underlying it, are the greatest puzzles in this whole question of the *resurrectio Catulli*. I give the text below, following that of the poems. GB (pp. 48–9) believes *X* to be the Ms mentioned in the epigram: he opines that it was written for political reasons with a dedication to Cangrande of Verona by Campesani, in a bid for protection (*A* having been lent for the purpose by the former pro-Paduan activist Mussato, who also longed for peace and personal liberty); the statement in the first line that Catullus was returning *longis a finibus* was meant to disguise the (to Cangrande, displeasing) fact that it came from exile in Padua, a Guelph city hostile to Verona, under the pretence that the place from which it returned was some 'remote Cathay.' Whether Cangrande would have been deceived by this fantastic invention of a 'distant' origin, as GB claims that scholars and editors for centuries past have been, is a moot point; but if one wishes, as GB does, to assert that Catullus had never left Verona since late antiquity (the time of the archetype), then one must find some plausible explanation for those awkward words at the beginning of the epigram. It appears to be still an open question whether *V*'s ninth-century parent (GB's 'v') really remained always at Verona, as GB insists, or was brought (from France, where its exemplar had gone? Cf. *T*) by the notary Francesco, and destroyed when *V* was made.

(g) 1345–8: Petrarch, at Verona, sees and (possibly) copies and annotates, a Ms which may have been *A*. See (x?) in the Stemma on p. 93.

As I have suggested above, one difficulty in the acceptance of GB's view that the Ms accompanying Campesani's epigram is to be identified with *X* lies in the reasonable assumption that Petrarch, who takes his readings of Catullus invariably from what we may call the *AX* tradition, but at a stage before *X* itself (yet nowhere agreeing with *O* against *X*), must be thought of as somehow close to *A*;[20] and the date allotted to *X* by GB is more than thirty years before Petrarch either came to stay in Verona or shows any knowledge of Catullus (his quotations of Catullus begin in 1347). For Petrarch's adherence to the readings we trace to *AX*, as opposed to the readings of *O*, three passages will suffice as evidence. At 65.5, he quotes *lethei gurgitis* (not *loethi*, as in *O*); at 39.16, he gives *risu*, not *O*'s *risti*; and at 35.4, *menia*, where *O* has *veniam*. It is generally thought likely that Petrarch possessed a (complete) Catullus of his own, though its fate is uncertain. U. Bosco, in what Ullman 1955: 181 described as a 'valuable article' (it has been strangely neglected by scholars since Ullman's book appeared), maintained that Petrarch's quotations of Catullus show that he did not own a complete text of the poet, but drew all of them from an anthology containing poem 64 and a few other poems. (See *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 120 [1942]: 65–119, esp. 108–16). Ullman himself (1955: 195–200) answered Bosco, conceding that some of Petrarch's Catullan quotations were at second hand but showing that 'six or seven quotations prove that <Petrarch> saw a complete Catullus' (199), even if 'it cannot be proved' (195) that he owned one. That the text he used was complete is strongly suggested by the fact that his citation of the opening of poem 49 in his Ambrosian Library copy of Virgil (on Servius *ad Aen.* 1.110) adds *et rel<iqua>*, 'indicating that he had the whole poem before him' (Ullman 1955: 197). The same conclusion is drawn by Ullman (197–8)

20 See McKie's thesis, p. 289.

from the general remark on poem 64 in the Virgil (fol. 52r), which shows that Petrarch was familiar with the structure of the poem as a whole. Hale, who had originally suggested (*CR* 20 [1906]: 164) that Petrarch's text was similar to that of *O*, withdrew this opinion in *CP* 3 (1908): 243–4. For external evidence, chiefly from the letters of Coluccio Salutati, making it virtually certain that Petrarch was not the owner of *X*, see McKie 1977: 88 and 175–86. For another argument to the same effect ('P. used the word *peplon* for poem 64; it is similarly used by G. da Pastrengo, but does not penetrate to *X*'), see GB, p. 42. Some slight evidence that Petrarch himself may possibly have contributed emendatory suggestions to the margins of *A* in a few places is afforded by at least the following two passages:

35.4 menia *Petrarca*, veniam *O*, meniam *GR*: ? veniam *A*, meniam al. menia *X* (hence menia R^2).

39.11 etruscus *Petrarca*, et truscus *OGR*: ? et truscus, *i.m.* etruscus *A*, et truscus al. etruscus *X* (hence al. etruscus R^2)

Petrarch's practice of annotating Mss in his possession, and influencing thereby their later destiny, is of course well known; GB ('Dal Livio ...') and McKie: 170 ('<his> seminal influence on so many texts') have drawn attention to this in connection with his Livy and Propertius.

(h) ?ca. 1360: Two sister Mss, *X* (now lost) and *O* (Table of Mss, No. 72), are copied (*O* apparently directly; for *X* see 64.139 n.) from *A*.

(Here I diverge widely from GB, who believes that *X* was copied in 1314 by Francesco under Campesani's direction. But McKie has shown conclusively that Petrarch's text predates *X*.) GB also dates *O* in 1375; nothing absolutely forbids this, but *O* (unfinished in execution, the work of a good calligrapher but abysmally poor Latinist) may well have been set aside in favour of the more faithful rendering which *X* gives of *A*'s text. In other words, *X* may have been written expressly to replace the faulty *O*.

The date I have suggested above can only be approximate. It should be noted that the scribe of *X* carefully checks his copy against *A*, adding what appear to be a set of variant readings, generally prefixed by 'al<iter>.' Often these are really corrections, *A*'s readings being given after X's initial faulty transcription; since the text was already written, they had to be added, rather than inserted, so that the Ms would not be disfigured by overwriting. (Later scribes, such as that of *m*, do the same thing.)

With rare exceptions, *O*, unlike *X*, has little concern for his text: he is a trained calligrapher, and his principal interest lies in the appearance of his page. This explains why in his work, which was laid aside before receiving the decoration for which it was designed, he leaves spaces for the titles which were to be added later (they are part of the décor), but does not bother

to reproduce either the variants and marginalia, or Campesani's epigram, or the *Tu lector* addition (see below), which were certainly in *X*. For this reason, it is unnecessary to regard *O*'s omission of these last-mentioned elements as making it doubtful that the *Tu lector* addition was generated by *A* rather than *X* – *pace* McKie (288), who argues: 'It [i.e., the *Tu lector*, etc.] could of course go back further <than *X*,> to the parent of *X* and *O*; but the subscription has not been copied by *O*, who ends without any indication that he has seen it (unlike the titles, for which he made provision by leaving interstices).' *O* is useful because, though he makes many mistakes in transcription, in principle he doggedly adheres to what he sees, or thinks he sees, in *A*. At some places, where *X* either slips or does not adequately check his reading with that of *A*, *O* can help in restoring the text of *A* (and hence, probably, of *V*): such are, in poem 64, lines 139, where *O* alone has *blanda*; 273, where *X* apparently omitted *-que*; and 381, where *X* had *sub tegmina ducite*. But in general, as McKie (chapter 6) has shown, the reputation long enjoyed among scholars by *O* as a far more accurate reproducer of the common parent shared by *OX* (my *A*) must be called in question: most of the time, for *A*-stream readings, we should consult *X* rather than *O*. It may be repeated that it is to this stream that the citations and allusions in Petrarch always adhere, never to the readings of *O* where these diverge from it. Indeed, *O* had rather a small influence on the later tradition as well.[21]

The chronicle of *O*'s physical movements is still obscure. It was copied from *A* (see above) – there is no need to suppose that another Ms intervened – at Verona, most probably, or at any rate in northeast Italy (the hand is certainly north Italian, and the scribe's habit of doubling intervocalic consonants where they should be single and *vice versa* smacks of the practice of scribes in the Veneto at that period). Zicàri dealt with the vexed question of readings similar to those of *O* that appear in various groups of Mss, the earliest of which is dated 1423 (Parisinus 7989 = Table of Mss, No. 78).[22] He pointed out that in the year 1390 a copy of Catullus, in which the name is spelled Catulus (as in *O*, but not in *G* or in *R*), turns up in an inventory of the books belonging to a Genoese humanist in the service of the Visconti. Marked similarities to the Parma Ms (Table of Mss, No. 88) copied (in 1471) in the Visconti castle at Pavia suggest that this humanist's library, with the Catullus, went to the Pavia library when he died; yet by 1426, when the books in the library were catalogued, it was not there. On the other hand, the decoration on fol. 1r implies that it was

21 See Zicàri 1958: 79–99 = *Scritti*, 1978, 79–104, for a detailed study of that influence.
22 See n. 21 above.

in Lombardy ca. 1430; so it may by then have come back to Pavia from wherever it was sent (could it have gone to Florence, in 1423, as the result of an effort by the scholarly scribe of Parisinus 7989 to 'improve' the readings of that *R*-derived Ms?). At all events the Pavia Ms agrees with *O* in (for example) the reading *blanda* at 64.139, which is unknown to *GR* and is otherwise shared only with a few late Mss. How *O* could have reached Pavia by 1390 is still uncertain. Zicàri, following a suggestion by É. Pellegrin 1955: 46, thought it might have been included in the loot brought from Verona and Padua in 1387 by Gian Galeazzo Visconti; but see GB ('Dal Livio ...,' 163–4); he dismisses this notion, claiming that almost all the classical Mss at Verona disappeared and were destroyed at the time of the fall of the Scaligers. The subsequent history of *O* may have unrolled in northeast Italy; it is not altogether without interest that it made its way to Oxford from a *Venetian* collection. As Ullman (1960b: 1040) noted:

> *O* is in a collection bought in 1817 from the large library of Matteo Canonici of Venice. He had been in such cities as Parma, Bologna, and Ferrara, where we may suppose that he acquired some of his books. Some he obtained from Mantua. Thus northern Italy is again indicated as the original home of *O*.

GB traces *O* directly from *V*, without the intervention of *A* or any other Ms; this represents a second major difference between his stemma and the views of McKie and myself.

(i) 1375: *G* (Table of Mss, No. 87) is copied from *X*, at Verona, by Antonio da Legnago.

19 October 1375 is the date inscribed in *G* by Antonio da Legnago, who finished writing it while Cansignorio della Scala (the ruler of Verona, whose chancellor Antonio was) *laborabat in extremis*. The same year, according to GB, saw the copying of *R* (see below, however) from *X* (at Verona, he believes); he also conjectures that *O* may have been made in that year, at Verona and directly from *V*, possibly by Giacomo dalle Eredità.

In 1877 Max Bonnet made for the first time a serious effort to determine which of the changes and insertions in *G* are due to the original scribe and which are in a second hand. As to the second hand itself, Schwabe erroneously supposed the date of this to be only slightly later than that of *G*; see the first page of the *Praefatio* to his Berlin edition of 1886 ('paullo recentiori'). At least two editors of considerable repute, who were permitted to make use of Bonnet's collation (now at Chapel Hill), relied to a great extent on the accuracy of his findings. It must be said, however, that his attempt to disentangle the two important hands in *G* was only partially successful.

This will be evident to anyone who takes the trouble to examine the minute studies of the hands and inks in *G* made by Hale's pupils (especially Susan Ballou and O.M. Washburn) under Hale's direction. The hands and inks of G^1 and G^2 are indeed so similar that many distinctions escape the eye of a camera. Hale and his students, Ullman among them, in the end had to leave some questions unresolved, even after using a very powerful lens and re-examining difficult places repeatedly on widely separated dates and in different lights. In these matters I have tried to build on their work, and to use the same methods. After each examination in Paris, I have checked my own decisions with the voluminous notes that Hale left to Ullman. Where I have finally rejected the verdict of either or both of them, it is for reasons that seemed to me palaeographically sound. Decisions related to *G* which appear in the Apparatus Criticus are those that have exacted by far the greatest amount of time and care; my aim has been to render them accurate, in terms of palaeography, as far as is humanly possible.

After copying out his basic text from *X*, *G*'s scribe went back to the beginning and began to add the variants, and a few explanatory scholia, which he had observed in his exemplar. (These we call the 'G^{1c}' additions.) For some reason, however, he soon stopped doing this. (Did the political situation, immediately after the death of Cansignorio, impose more urgent tasks? As McKie: 178 points out, two days previously Antonio had been appointed one of the regents to Cansignorio's designated successors, who were still minors.) There are times when he adopts in his text – not retrospectively, but at the first stage of transcription, or so it would appear – what must have appeared as a variant reading in *X*.[23] At some later date, probably around 1400, *G* turns up in Florence, where it was to receive, after 1397/8 (see below), a second stream of corrections in a different hand (G^2) which were drawn entirely from *m*, an apograph of R/R^2. These corrections include the m^2 changes and additions (which I now attribute to a different scribe) as well as the original work of m^1. Since both of the scribes who contributed to *m* are concerned only to reproduce or correct what they see in R/R^2, it follows that the G^2 changes and additions, like those in m/m^2 which they copy, are entirely dependent on R/R^2, and have nothing of their own to contribute to the search for what must have been in *A* or in *V*.

We must now address the problem of the *subscriptio*. Since a very thorough account of this has been given by McKie: 168–78, a few remarks will suffice. The *subscriptio* is in three parts (see the instructive facsimile in McKie: 176 for their layout); all are in the hand of *G*. The second part, which is indented – as the others are not – and lacks the notarial flourishes which

23 See below, pp. 39–40, for examples.

adorn the other two entries, seems to have been squeezed into an interstice (it has hardly three short lines); this part contains Antonio's name and the date of writing. The third part (a gloss from Papias on the name Lesbia) is only of importance because, being the only one of the three to be found in another Ms (*R*), it clearly was present in *X*. Was the first, and by far the longest, entry also copied from *X*? É. Chatelain thought so, a century ago (*Paléographie des classiques latins*, Part I, pl. XV, n.). It should perhaps be given in full:

Tu lector quicumque ad cuius manus hic libellus obvenerit Scriptori da veniam si tibi coruptus videbitur. Quoniam a corruptissimo exemplari transcripsit. Non enim quodpiam aliud extabat, unde posset libelli huius habere copiam exemplandi. Et ut ex ipso salebroso aliquid tamen suggeret decrevit pocius tamen coruptum habere quam omnino carere. Sperans adhuc ab alliquo alio fortuito emergente hunc posse corigere. Valebis si ei imprecatus non fueris.

This complaint by the scribe that there was only one Ms extant that he could lay his hands on, and a bad one at that, seems much more suitable to the first quarter of the fourteenth century than to the last quarter. Moreover, as McKie: 173 has pointed out, its despair over improving the text until another Ms might emerge argues a serious concern which hardly fits the character of *G*'s first scribe (G^1), who from *A* took only a very few titles, and a round dozen of variants – and these only at or near the beginning of his text – and who evidently failed completely to take the elementary step of checking his readings against those of his exemplar. This does not seem to be a scholarly scribe, distressed at the lack of means to correct the corrupted text before him. Contrast, in every respect, what we have seen to be the character and procedures of *A*, who may well have been someone like Mussato (GB's nominee). *A* (whoever he was), and also R^2 (who was certainly Coluccio Salutati) both set about revising the text extensively; *G* does not dream of this, for all that he adds in the margin those few early variants taken from *X*. If, then, the *Tu lector* complaint suits *A* and does not suit *G*, we have every reason to suppose that the complaint was merely inherited by *G* and was copied by the latter in the same uncritical spirit as that in which he reproduced the handful of variants and the gloss on *Lesbia* (which, as already remarked, we know to have been at least in *X*). *Per contra*, Salutati, who presided over and directed the writing – at his own scriptorium in Florence – of *R*, eminently possessed a critical sense; hence the rearrangement by which Campesani's epigram is in *R* transferred to the head of the Ms, while the *Tu lector* complaint, being no longer relevant, is omitted; the Lesbia-gloss, not too obviously irrelevant, is added after

the *Deo gratias* at the end, in very small letters in Coluccio's own hand (therefore, the scribe was originally told to leave it out, and its inclusion was an afterthought).

It is, then, reasonable to attribute the *Tu lector* complaint to *A*. McKie more than once considers this possibility (against *X*): the only thing that deters him is the fact that *O* does not have it, but we have seen (above, p. 29) reasons to discount this. The irregularities of spelling (*coruptus* in two places, *corr-* elsewhere; *alliquo*; *corigere*) with their double for single consonants and vice versa, suggest an origin in the Veneto (and this would not clash with Mussato's authorship, though it is not admissible as evidence (*O* shows the same phenomenon). The inconsistencies in spelling also indicate that *G* copied, rather than originated, the complaint. Finally, the substitution of *suggeret* for *suggereret* was 'a strange mistake to make, if the note was his (i.e., *G*'s) own <work>' (McKie: 169).

G had, as might be expected from its proximity to *R* and to *m*, a family of its own; but it was not nearly so large a family as many scholars have supposed. Even if we include the now lost manuscript from which the first part of Riccardianus 606 (Table of Mss, No. 31 – the parent of Lachmann's *D*, No. 4 [see *CE*, 35–40]) was copied, and also the mere influence, rather than *patria potestas*, which *G* seems to have exerted over the San Daniele Ms (No. 93), its offspring and descendants can be easily counted on the fingers of one hand. And those '*G*' manuscripts we do possess (e.g., Nos. 18 and 65) are descendants, probably several generations removed and 'contaminated' from other sources; there are not in the case of *G* such manuscripts as we find in the immediate family of *R*, namely those that in one way or other betray a first-hand acquaintance with the face of the parent Ms. A test of descent from *G* rather than *R* is the reading *colitis* at 66.83.

(j) ?1391: *X*, which had finally reached Florence, is copied there to the order of Coluccio Salutati; the copy is *R* (Table of Mss, No. 101). Coluccio (R^2) makes changes and adds variants, some taken from *X* – and thus largely inherited from *A* – and some of his own creating. (GB believes that *X* was copied at Verona by *R*, and never went to Florence at all. For several reasons, including a consideration of the editing and checking procedures of R^2, especially where lines were omitted by R^1, this is unacceptable.)

I do not see that we are compelled to subscribe to McKie's view that the removal to Florence of *X* certainly took place in 1375, immediately after Coluccio had requested it, or that (even if it did) there was not a considerable delay before it could be satisfactorily copied in *littera grossa* (see Ullman 1960a: 12-15; see also Novati II. 386, on Coluccio's failing eyesight at this period). It is also important to bear in mind that Coluccio has not a single

quotation of Catullus in his surviving correspondence before 1391–2 at the earliest; the very few quotations we do have suddenly begin at that date. One of them is in Novati III. 36; that letter dates from 1392–4. The other is claimed by McKie to date from '1383–91,' but the claim requires examination. It is given near the *end* of Coluccio's *De Laboribus Herculis* – in the last ten per cent of the completed text – a work *contemplated* within the years 1383–91 (*inter annos 1383 et 1391 nova operis ratione inita*, Praefatio p. vii), but mentioned as actively being proceeded with only during the years after 1391. It looks, on this evidence, as if the actual words of Catullus began to be a new and exciting discovery for Coluccio either in the years 1391–2, or a trifle later. If there was a delay in carrying out Coluccio's wish to bring *X* to Florence for copying, it could possibly have been due to the very troubled state of Verona in those years. In any event, 1375 or 1376 seems too early for the copying of *R* from *X*.

We do not know the name of the writer of *R*, but he was obviously a professional scribe (see for example the flourishes on *Deo gratias* at the end), working to the order of Coluccio in the latter's scriptorium. Coluccio instructed his scribe to produce only the bare text, reserving most of the task of correcting for himself. Evidently he told the scribe to leave spaces for the titles, marginal variants, and notes (on metre, for example) which he had observed to exist in *X*. Later on, he addresses himself to *R*, making (apparently in a first rapid 'run-through') many corrections out of his own head, and also taking – a few at first, but more in a second, more careful recension – a number of variants from *X*, some of which originate with *X* itself but more go back to *A*. Thus these R^2 contributions ('R^{2}' here denoting everything written in *R* in the hand of Coluccio) represent three strata in the early textual history of Catullus. See the tables on pp. 38–43 below for the assignment of individual readings to one or other of these strata. In those pages, I have made it my aim to refrain from taking any given variant further back in the tradition than the evidence positively demands; sometimes, where that evidence is susceptible of more than one explanation, I have been reluctantly compelled to add a question-mark to the attribution.

In his attempts at original emendation 'ope ingenii' (as the humanists used to express it), Coluccio Salutati was often remarkably successful, though of course not always. For a vivid illustration of his procedures and weaknesses in this domain, let us glance at 44.11, where plainly the reading of *V* and also that of *A* must have been that which we find in *OGR*, namely *oratione minantium petitorem*. As the editor Achilles Statius discerningly saw in 1566, this is the correct reading, if we allow for the false word division that attaches the first *m* to the following instead of the preceding word, and also allow for the failure of scribes to realize that *Antium* is a proper name. Not

guessing at the second of these two facts, but correctly divining that the syntax demanded that *orationem* should be in the accusative case, Coluccio first placed a virgula over the *e* of *oratione*, producing the required case (*-nē*), and then proceeded to change the case of *petitorem* to the genitive plural *petitorum* (by a dot of expunction and a superscript *u*) in agreement with the still-remaining participle *minantium*. The correction, such as it is, has an ingredient of truth in it, for *orationem* is after all the correct reading; and thus, even in this context, Coluccio has earned a measure of literary immortality as the author of a permanent emendation.

Together with a number of Coluccio Salutati's other manuscripts, *R* seems to have come into the possession or keeping of the Medici family in Florence. It was there, and because of this fact, that in the year 1457 the splendid Codex Laurentianus 33.12 (Table of Mss, No. 21) was copied, apparently from *R* itself, by Gherardo del Ciriagio for Giovanni Cosimo de' Medici. Then again we find it in Florence about 1475, when the R^3 additions were made to it by the person who, at that period, was secretary to Donato Acciaiuoli.[24] No doubt Donato owed his access to, and perhaps at least temporary custodianship of, the manuscript to his stalwart championship of the Medici. After the decade of the 1470s there is a gap in which it is hard to follow the movements of *R*. We know, however, that it was in Rome by a time certainly no later than 1566, and possibly a good deal earlier; for it, or a close copy of it, became the Codex Maffeianus – i.e., belonging to Achilles Maffei – which was used by Statius in 1566, together with other Mss, for his edition of Catullus (Ullman 1908: 10–17). Probably *R* stayed in Rome from that time onwards, until in due course it passed into the collection of Cardinal Ottoboni, and thence ultimately into the library of the Vatican, where it slumbered (under a false inventory number) until its rediscovery by William Gardner Hale in 1896; see the accounts of this discovery in *CE* 6–9 and Thomson 1973: 121–6.

(k) ca. 1399: In Florence, *m* (Table of Mss, No. 115), a copy of *R*, is made on paper for Coluccio Salutati. *m* follows R/R^2 even in minute details, but does so in a rather slapdash fashion, hurrying especially towards the end (see the textual notes in the Commentary). A little later, the anonymous scribe I now call m^2 (in *CE* I identified him as Poggio himself, and hence referred to him as *m'*) compares *m*'s work with *R* and finds that it needs to be 'up-dated' to conform more closely with *R* (one suspects that Salutati

24 Thomson 1970. The identification of the R^3 hand was first suggested by A. C. de la Mare. If my collation is compared with the present edition it will be seen that the R^3 readings are seldom, if ever, original.

himself directed this revision to be undertaken; see below). Still later, *G* (which has only a few variants in the first hand, taken directly from *X* at the time of original copying, and virtually limited to the first few folios) is given very many additions and corrections (G^2) to make it conform exactly to m/m^2. G^2 certainly knew no other Ms than *m* as a source of alternative readings; clearly he had no acquaintance with either *X* or *R*.

After *R* had been at least partially revised by Coluccio (R^2), a copy was made on paper in what appear to be three successive phases of an attempt to shape a new style of writing that strives to imitate the *lettera antica* as a replacement (of a more easily legible sort) for the currently used Gothic hands.[25] From our point of view, accordingly, it foreshadows the 'humanistic' script as practised by Poggio. If it is indeed written by him,[26] it may be worth recalling that at this time (1397/8) Poggio worked as a tyro in Coluccio's scriptorium, and further that he shows, even at this time in his eighteenth year or so, the same inclination to disagree rather violently with his master on minor issues such as spelling which in practice we observe to be shown by the writer of *m* towards R/R^2 – that is, towards Coluccio's habits.[27]

So much for the intentions of $m(^1)$. As for m^2, he for his part is so far from taking issue with Coluccio on any matter that his sole concern, as already suggested, is to correct, and supplement, *m* in such a way that the copy will finally conform in the minutest details to its exemplar R/R^2. It is m^2 who, in the parent Ms *R* itself, contributes the marginal or interlinear additions we find at 55.16 (fol. 14^r) and 64.276 (fol. 25^r). In the first of these, *m* by a slip replaces the obviously correct *crede* with the nonsensical *crude*; m^2 replaces this with *crede* from *R*, but expresses it as a variant: 'al. crede'; he then writes, in the margin of *R* itself, *al. crude*, as though *m*'s error had the status of a true variant! At the other place, 64.276, where *R* gives the unmetrical *tamen* (arising from confusion, in the Gothic script of *V* or of

25 de la Mare 1977: 89.

26 See de la Mare and Thomson 1973. Their view has however been vigorously challenged by McKie (1989); he attributes to Niccolò Niccoli the hand which inserted the marginal spelling correction *phrygium* in *R* at 61.18. As for m^1 and m^2, he assigns them to two different scribes, as I have come to do, and reasonably finds the Poggiesque features in m^1 to be attributable not to P. himself but to the *example* of Poggio, working in the Florentine milieu where Niccoli also was influential in the development of a new script; see page 76 of his article.

27 Since our article was published, GB has claimed the discovery of a slightly earlier manuscript written by Poggio in the same general style: 'Alle origini della scrittura umanistica,' *Miscellanea Augusto Campana, Medioevo e Umanesimo* 44–5 (Padua 1981): 125–40. See also the illustration of fol. 1^r of *m* in de la Mare 1973 I. i, frontispiece.

A, between *tū* and *tn̄*), *m* had substituted the word *tibi* – no doubt in an endeavour to heal the metrical fault. In his turn, m^2, who unlike m^1 does not have the independence to try this kind of emendation himself, nevertheless thinks it necessary to add the *R*-reading *tn̄* (= *tamen*) in the margin of *R*, and to alter *R* itself by adding *al. tibi* above the line, simply because he has found *tibi* in *m*. (It will be clear enough from his former effort at 55.16 that he does not do so out of an intelligent concern for the metre.)

If m^2's scribe is now to be seen as a different person from m^1, there will no longer be any need to posit a considerable gap of years between the original writing of *m* (together with those readings in R/R^2 that are closely followed by m/m^1) and the revisions in the m^2 hand, simply in order to conform with the known movements of Poggio, including his absence in Rome. (It was because in 1978 I identified both *m* and m^2 with Poggio himself that I then gave the latter the siglum *m'*.)

Some categories of *m* or m^2 reading attach themselves entirely or predominantly to some kinds of R^2 contribution, others to other kinds. This suggests that they reflect two separate recensions of *R* by Coluccio, perhaps a few (but not many) years apart. It is clear that Coluccio must have had at least a brief look over *X* almost as soon as it was prepared for him; the lines omitted by *R* at 61.142–6 and 64.353–6 could not otherwise have been supplied by Coluccio. (The marginal restoration at 42.12 could easily have been prompted by a glance at line 20.)

In *CE* (App. Crit.), as in the present edition, and also in my collation of *R* (published in 1970), no distinction whatever is made between 'earlier' and 'later' contributions by R^2 to *R*. In an article written over twenty-five years ago[28] I sought to evolve a method of separating two recensions in R^2 by noting whether a given R^2 correction or variant was picked up by *m* or only (later) by m^2. Now that the entire time-span for Coluccio's critical activity in respect to *R* can be reduced to no more than five or six years (that is, between 1391/2 and 1397/8), this theory is of less significance, and I am willing to urge it only in a modified way. I still believe that there were two R^2 recensions which may be approximately distinguished by being reflected either in m^1 or in m^2, according to whether they were earlier or later. Some of the evidence for this will be given in the notes in the Commentary. To the earlier recension, for instance, should be attributed the few passages – three only, as the lists on pp. 38–40 of the Excursus will show – where inherited variants, of a striking sort, derived by R^2 from X, or else from *A* by way of *X*, are reflected in m^1. (The contrast, in the proportion of these included in m^1, with the many

28 Thomson 1973.

variants invented by R^2 himself which are so included, is arresting: see the lists in the Excursus below.) As for R^2's corrections (as opposed to variants), these are overwhelmingly original to R^2 himself, and all but a very few of these are taken up by m^1. We may say, then, that Coluccio at first ran rather quickly through *R*, with an eye on *X* for obvious slips and omissions, and later (at the time he had reserved for finally entering the titles and metrical notes) made a careful second recension based on the readings of *X*. After all, Coluccio must have grappled with *X* at least twice: once in order to see what it contained and to reserve certain critical functions (the necessity for which he must have gauged at this earlier encounter) for himself; and at a later time, once the whole of the text had been laid out and carefully copied by his scribe in accordance with his instructions, in order to set about fulfilling the functions he had chosen, and carefully to discharge them. To sum up: we should, I think, still reckon with two separate recensions by Coluccio, in the former of which he must be supposed to have consulted *X* to some extent, but more spasmodically – that is, less rigorously and systematically – than in the latter. But 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 R^2 recensions or only one.

These, then, are the Mss of Catullus up to 1400. They are listed in the Table of Manuscripts, as are the secondary Mss of later date (only two of them earlier than 1425), almost all of which derive from *R* either directly or indirectly.[29] Nothing should obscure the fact that, as Hale and Ullman (see below) insisted, *R* is the foundation of the later tradition.

Excursus.
Variant Readings in the Hand of R^2: Suggested Origins

(The following lists, numbered 1 to 3 and embracing variant readings attributed to *A*, to *X*, and to R^2 himself, must of necessity contain a number of speculative attributions. Possibly *X* copied *A* indirectly: see 64.139 n.)

1. Variants originating in self-correction by *X*, and usually revealing *A*'s readings. (The *first* reading given – i.e., that of *X*'s probable text – is normally *corrected* by the variant reading, following 'al.' The latter is taken

29 See, however, Zicàri 1958 for a certain amount of cross-influence, chiefly found in manuscripts of northeast Italian origin, of readings apparently deriving from *O* or from a copy of *O*.

to represent *A*'s text.) Observe that all of these, except those at 15.13 and 39.4, are first taken from R^2 by m^2, not by m^1. Notice how often, when *X* 'emends' by a variant, *G* adopts the variant as his text.

3.9 al. vacat hoc verbum [The word *movebat*, from line 8, is not added in *O*]
7.4 feris al. fretis (not in G^1) See the Commentary
9.4 suam al. sanam (*O*) (al. sanam G^1)
10.13 non al. nec (*O*) (al. nec G^1)
12.2 ioco al. loco (*O*) [*X* was right, but *A* plausible] (al. loco G^1)
14.16 false (*OR*) al. salse (*G*) (false *A*, false al. salse *X*) [*G* took the variant; cf. 23.7, 100.2]
?15.13 pudenter al. prudenter (m^1) [Wrong correction by *X*, without Ms authority: an attempt by *X* to emend? *X*, like *G*, did not recognize, or did not understand, *pudenter*]
16.12 vos al. hos [*X* was right, but text corrupt]
23.7 ne al. nec [ne *A*, ne al. nec *X*; *X* attempts to emend (*G* took the variant)]
24.5 neque 1°] nec al. neque [*X* emends in a variant (*G* took the variant)]
25.7 sathabum al. setha (= *G*) [sathabum *A*, sathabum al. setha- *X* (*G* took the variant)]
28.11 parum al. pari (*O*) (al. pari G^1)
28.12 verba al. verpa <ve>l urpa (urpa *O*)
30.9 inde al. idem
35.4 meniam al. menia [veniam *A*?] But see the Commentary
39.2 seu al. sei
39.4 (m^1) pii al. impii (*O*) [*X* was right, but text corrupt (*regum filii*)]
50.13 omnem al. essem (*O*)
?53.4 manus al. inanius (= *G*) [? manus *A*; but *X* thought it *looked* like inanus, yet saw *inanus tollens* would be unintelligible; hence wrote *manus al. inanius*?]
59.1 fallat al. fellat
61.225 bolnei al. bonei [? bonei *A*; bolnei al. bonei *X*; i.e., *A* tried to 'modernize' the spelling of *bonei*, but his superscript *i* was taken for an *l* by *X*]
63.49 miseritus al. miseriter [Did *A* have an unclear abbreviation for the final syllable?]
63.49 maiestas al. maiestates [Both wrong, but text very corrupt]
64.55 tui se al. terni [*X* misread *A*; at all events, there must sometime have been a supralinear abbreviation for *re*, intended to be placed over *se* – which would bring us close to Voss' restored text – but taken (by *X*, perhaps) as meant to stand over *tui*, read as *tni*]
64.89 mirtus al. -tos (mirtos *O*) [mirtus al. -tos *X*]

64.109 omnia al. obvia
64.344 tenen al. teuen (teuen *O*) [Both wrong, but text very corrupt]
65.1 confectum al. defectum (defectu *O*)
66.5 sublimia al. sublamia (sublamina *O*) vel sublimina [i.e., *X* has difficulty in reading *A*; cf. 53.4, 61.225] See the Commentary
66.24 nunc al. tunc
66.45 atque al. cumque
66.54 asineos al. arsinoes
66.56 advolat al. collocat [advolat from line 55 avolat]
66.86 indigetis al. indignatis [Prof. Courtney suggests that *indignatis* may derive from *indignis* with *al. eis* added above]. See the Commentary
68.46 certa al. carta (cerata *O*) [certa *A*? Here again, *A*'s supralinear correction seems to have been ambiguously placed]
68.119 nec causa <carum> al. neque tam <carum>
74.1 lelius al. Gellius
80.6 tanta al. tenta
83.4 samia al. sana [? sanna *A*, as in *O*]
100.2 treron- *O*, trenor- *R*, veron- *G* [Attempt to improve sense and metre, on the part of *X*, whose al. veron- here emends, in the guise of a variant reading]
?100.6 est igitur est al. exigitur [Attempt at emendation by *X*; *G* took the variant]

2. Variants that may possibly have stood *as such* in *A*. (All of these were transmitted to R^2 by way of *X*.) Observe that all, except 15.11, are first taken from R^2 by m^2, not by m^1.

1.8 al. mei [A marginal note, which does not attempt to replace *libelli*, but 'explains' it]
2.3 al. cui (O^1)
2.3 petenti al. patenti (petenti *V*) (al. patenti G^1)
4.27 al. castorum (castrum *V*)
6.9 al. hic (hec *V*) (hic *s.s.* G^1; al. *add.* G^2)
7.6 al. beari (beati *V*) (al. beari G^1)
7.9 al. basia (basiei *V*) (al. basia G^1)
10.8 al. quonam (quoniam *V*) (al. quonam G^1)
10.9 al. neque ipsis (neque nec in ipsis *V*) (al. neque ipsis G^1)
12.4 al. salsum (falsum al. salsum *O*)
12.15 al. muneri (numeri *V*) (al. muneri G^1) [Metrical emendation?]
15.11 (m^2) al. ut iubet (cf. ut al. iubet *O*) [ut iubet *A*? ut al. iubet *O*, mistaking *l* for *l.* = al.; ut lubet al. ut iubet *X*?]

16.12 al. hos (= *O*) (cited by *X* from *A*, though *vos* is better)
22.15 vel neque nec (*O*)
?23.7 al. nec (nec *G*) (ne *V*) [Emendation picked up by *G*; cf. 6.9]
?25.5 al. aries (*O*) vl. alios (*G*) [No obvious 'error' corrected by *X*]
25.7 (?sătha *A*) [satha- *OR*, saetha- *G*, al. setha (= R^2)*X*]
34.21 al. placet (*O*)
39.11 al. etruscus (= Petrarch)
63.28 ?thiasus al. iis *A* (= Rm^1), ?thyasiis *X* (thiasiis R^2, thiasis *O*, thysiis *G*, thyasiis G^1)
?64.324 (see Section 3)
66.86 al. indignatis
?68.11 al. mauli [Possibly an emendation by *X*, based on *A*'s (?: see *O*) *maulio* at 61.215]
101.1 multas [Correction by *A*, not by *X*; otherwise either *G* or *R* would show signs of it]

2a. Other possible variants by *A* (not in R^2):

2.9 luderem *O*, *corr.* O^1, al. luderem G^1 (ludere al. luderem *AX*?) [Unmetrical]
3.14 al. quae G^1 (-que *V*). [No vestige in R/R^2]
3.14 .i. pulcra OG^1

3. Variants originating with R^2 himself. Though variants in form, these are in fact intended as corrections (some *ope ingenii*, some from other classical authors). Observe that about 30 per cent of these are taken from R^2 by the 'first hand' (m^1) in *m*; contrast, in this respect, Sections 1 and 2. The 'al.' preceding each of the readings in this section is omitted.[30]

6.9 ille
10.27 deferri
12.16 hoc
13.10 quod
14.15 optimo

30 Arguing against a former view based on an identification of m^2 which I have since abandoned (see pp. 35–9), McKie 1989: 69 cites four lines (17.17, 44.20, 64.28, 78^b.4) where R^2's corrections are false or ineffective and therefore, he suggests, due to *X*, not to R^2. Three of them present *cruces* only solved generations or centuries later; in all, R^2 – a sensitive critic short of time for reflection – did his hurried best with what he saw. There are other places where R^2 offers a variant which is faulty either metrically or otherwise; e.g., 12.16, 17.23, 34.15, 36.18, 45.13, 64.11, 64.23, 66.48, 68.81.

15.17 tum (suggested by Pliny's *tunc*?) [quoted by Coluccio, 1391+, with *tum*]
16.12 quod
17.17 vim (m^1)
17.23 hunc eum
23.1 servus est (m^1)
28.14 vobis (m^1)
32.1 ipsicilla
?33.4 volantiore But see the Commentary
34.15 noto es
36.12 ydalium (m^1; from Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.681, 693?)
36.18 venire
39.14 puriter (m^1)
39.20 expolitior (m^1)
42.3 iocum (m^1)
44.20 sertio (m^1)
45.13 septinuelle
51.5 quod
53.5 salapputium (from Seneca, *Contr.* 7.4.7?)
55.4 in (m^1)
55.22 no- (m^2) [observe *V*'s reading, *sis*]
58^b.3 pinnipes (m^1)
61.38 in modum (m^1)
62.37 quid tum
63.18 ere citatis (m^1)
?64.3 phasidos See the Commentary
64.11 amphitrionem R^2 *bis*
64.23 matre
64.28 neptine (m^2)
neutūne R^2 *bis*
64.132 avectam
64.285 os
64.288 nonacrios
?64.324 tu tñ opis [Possibly, however, 'the only surviving trace of the correct *tutamen*' (McKie: 126)]
65.7 Troia
66.21 at
66.35 si (m^1)
66.48 celorum
celtum R^2 *bis*
66.74 quin

66.79 quam
66.86 indignis (m)
?68.11 mauli But see Section 2
68.29 factat
68.81 vo-
68.91 fratri (m^1)
71.1 quo
77.4 mi
78^b.4 -e- (m)
92.4 amat [Justifiable correction by R^2, given the omission of two lines by *R*; R^2 saw only *X*, who *omitted* the lines – so he corrected *amo* to *amat* in order to make sense. *A*, which R^2 did *not* see, had the lines]
97.1 quicquam
100.2 -ant
103.3 numi

The Progress of Catullan Studies from the *Editio Princeps* to the Present Day

(For a full account of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions, the reader should consult Gaisser 1993: xii–xiii and 24–192. To Professor Gaisser's research on this period I am greatly indebted, particularly in the first part of the following section.)

The text of Catullus was first printed in 1472, at Venice, by Vindelinus de Spira (Wendelin von Speyer), in a volume that also contained the poems of Tibullus and Propertius, in addition to the *Silvae* of Statius. For the *Silvae*, as well as for Catullus, it was the *editio princeps*; but for Propertius[31] priority must be conceded to the edition printed at Venice in February of the same year by Federicus de Comitibus. Nevertheless, even in the case of Propertius all editions before 1500 can be shown to be derived from de Spira's slightly later edition – except, of course, for the *princeps* itself.[32] From this moment, the works of the *tresviri amoris* – Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius – tended to be published together in a single volume, sometimes with the addition of a part of Statius or Ovid, or of both, and sometimes with that of Avantius' *Emendationes in Catullum* (see below, p. 48). By the date of the first edition, scores of manuscripts of Catullus were in circulation, all

31 Also, apparently, for Tibullus; see D. Coppini, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* IX (1979): 1162 n. 3.
32 See Butrica 1984: 160.

of them exhibiting a deeply corrupted text based on *V*, the desperate state of which is noted in the subscription to *G*, inherited from a predecessor, as McKie (170–7) has shown. There were no manuscripts in existence which were good enough, or differed sufficiently from *V*, to have afforded a more intelligible version of the poet's text, for the purpose of correction or even of comparison. In 1472, de Spira simply took up the first manuscript that lay to hand (one that was close in its origins to No. 46 in my Table),[33] just as he did for Propertius (in the latter case, either Vat. Barb. lat. 34 – which about 1493–5 acquired an anonymous marginal commentary – or a similar 'commonplace conflation of readings of F and g.')[34] There was virtually no attempt at editing, though a 'Life' of Catullus – adapted from that of Sicco Polentonus[35] – has been added. As was the fashion in the Humanistic period, the *editio princeps* became the basis of the received text for the time being; so it was a copy of de Spira's edition, extremely faulty as it was, that had to carry the annotations of Angelus Politianus, together with two separate subscriptions, written twelve years apart.[36] Similarly annotated copies include one belonging to A. Colotius.[37] Consequently, when we come to the Parma edition of the following year, we are not surprised to find that *1473* (which did in fact receive some editing at the hands of Franciscus Puteolanus) is merely a revised version of *1472*, corrected to some extent from a member of the *O*-influenced group of manuscripts to which No. 122 in my Table belongs.[38] Since the reading *iuventi* at 48.1 is present in *Sen.* (No. 95 in the Table), and also in *γ*-class manuscripts, but not in those influenced by *O*, it seems just possible that Puteolanus also saw a second manuscript. In the colophon to the Statius part he is credited by his printer with the intention of correcting the Venice edition of 1472, and moreover with no fewer than 3000 emendations to Catullus and Statius alone, generated in the process of doing so.

An edition nowadays ascribed to Milan – previously, to Venice – and dated 1475, simply repeats the text of de Spira 1472, with the same 'Life' of Catullus. Its direct descendant is the Reggio (Calabria) edition of 1481, which sets out simply to correct it. At least for Catullus, however, a much more important and influential text-edition was that published, in this same year 1481, at Vicenza, and edited by Joannes Calphurnius. His work likewise

33 See Zicàri 1958 = *Scritti*, 1978: 106.
34 Butrica 1984: 145, 160.
35 *Scriptores illustres latinae linguae*, ed. B.L. Ullman (Rome, 1928), II: 63–4.
36 Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana Inc. 50 F 37; the subscriptions mentioned are on fols. 37^{r} and 127^{v}.
37 See the illustration in Gaisser 1993: 27.
38 Zicàri 1958: 95–6 = *Scritti*, 1978: 99. For *O*-type changes in *1473* see Gaisser 1993: 33.

treats *1472* as a *textus receptus* and – as the dedicatory epistle to Hermolaus Barbarus makes abundantly clear – its raison d'être lay in his discovery of the corrupt state of the Venice edition and a desire to print a version that made sense. He did not (like Puteolanus in 1473) compare the *editio princeps* with a manuscript. Indeed, it is not at all certain that he had access to any manuscript; for him, printed editions alone were the source of the text.[39] What he did was to examine *1473* against *1472*, sometimes combining their readings, and frequently advancing his own suggestions. It is clear, however, that textual improvement, rather than a commentary of any kind, is what he had in mind throughout.

When we turn to Politianus' notes, made in the margins of the *editio princeps* (as we noted above), we find on the contrary that, although a desire to improve the text is still the dominant motive, there is at least an element of commentary as well. In the subscription to Propertius in the same book, written in 1485, he uses the expression *vel corrigere vel interpretari*, though elsewhere he explicitly declines to compose a full commentary. Politianus' notes are concerned with points of metre and of grammar; linguistic *notabilia*, including difficult words; and illustrative parallels in Greek as well as in Latin. (These last were sometimes adduced as being helpful in restoring the text.) In the same year, 1485, in which Politianus composed the subscription (to Propertius) just mentioned, a full commentary on Catullus was at last published, under the name of Antonius Parthenius of Verona; the publication reflects the intense pride of that city in its native poet. Not only this; it draws attention to the interpretations of Tibullus by Bernardinus Cyllenius on Tibullus, of Domitius Calderinus on Statius, Juvenal, and Martial – and both of these scholars were Veronese. Parthenius' edition contains a 'Life' of Catullus, a history of lyric poetry, and a commentary that begins with a discussion of the identity of 'Cornelius' in poem 1, and ends with a metrical note on elided *s* in poem 116; finally there is an epistle to the reader, promising more studies on Catullus, in the form of *Quaestiones* (which in fact were never published). There is however a defensive note in Parthenius' dedication; he 'has rushed his work into print to forestall someone else, and now he is afraid of the consequences.'[40] The person referred to was Baptista Guarinus, who seems to have been engaged at this time on an edition of his own. But Parthenius in the end established his claim to have produced the first Catullan commentary (and Guarinus' notes were suppressed until 1521, when Baptista's son Alexander Guarinus incorporated them in his own edition). The work of Parthenius

39 Gaisser 1993: 42.
40 Gaisser 1993: 82.

is designed to clear up the kinds of difficulties in reading Catullus that would be encountered by pupils in school, rather than mature scholars. Its creator regarded it, in all modesty, as provisional. Nevertheless it is, unlike Politianus' contributions (to which we shall return in a moment), a *complete* commentary, not just an examination of selected problems. At the very outset, Parthenius is the first to realize that 'Cornelius' in poem 1 cannot be Cornelius Gallus the poet (despite the heading 'Ad Cornelium Gallum' in *1472* and subsequent editions), but must be the historian; even Politianus had been misled into identifying 'Cornelius' with the poet. Parthenius, whose learning was distinctly limited, naturally came to many wrong conclusions; among them some false poem divisions, which he passed down to the early sixteenth-century editors, and a totally wrong interpretation of poem 35 as being concerned with love, not literature.[41] Generally, however, Parthenius confines his commentary to minor points; he will explain what figure of speech is used, or describe the tone of a certain passage. His discussion of poem 63, however, goes beyond this and offers genuine literary criticism, as his successors recognize.[42] The text he used was that of Calphurnius, but with corrections out of his own head (fifteen of which have endured to the present). Lacking the brilliance of Politianus, he nevertheless established a comparatively intelligible text – for its time – and, profiting by his schoolroom experience, initiated as early as 1485 the procedures and practice applicable to a full line-by-line commentary on his author. In comparison, Propertius had to wait a couple of years longer, until in 1487 the elder Philippus Beroaldus produced his Bologna commentary (which derived its text from Calphurnius' Vicenza edition of 1481).[43] What may be termed the spasmodic mode of commentary, ignoring the claims of continuous exposition and concentrating on individual problems selected for their interest, was practised by Beroaldus himself, in relation to Catullus, in his *Annotationes Centum* of 1488. This mode, which suited the epideictic tendency of brilliant scholars who were averse to drudgery, could be said to be a fashion of the times, beginning from about 1475, when Domitius Calderinus added his *Elucubratio in quaedam Propertii loca quae difficiliora videbantur* to a commentary on Statius' *Silvae* and the pseudo-Ovidian *Epistula Sapphonis* (Rome); this work should by no means be described as a commentary on Propertius, especially for the later books, where it is very thin indeed. Similar essays in this fashionable mode were published by Hermolaus Barbarus in *Castigationes Plinianae* of 1492, and by Politianus

41 Gaisser 1993: 91–2.
42 Gaisser 1993: 94–5.
43 See Butrica 1984: 164.

in the first series of his *Miscellanea*, dated 1489. In the last-named work there are no more than seven discussions of passages in Catullus.[44] Most of these are developed from the marginal notes, already referred to, which had been written between 1473 and 1485. All of them were prompted by the annotations of Parthenius, whose commentary had already been republished more than once and was now accepted as the 'standard' edition of Catullus.

The next editor of a thoroughgoing commentary on Catullus (it was published at Venice in 1496) was Palladius Fuscus, or Niger. Although he was born in Padua, he spent most of his working life in Dalmatia, where he held various educational and legal appointments after unsuccessfully seeking a teaching post in Udine. He, too, had to take as his basis for revision the now established commentary of Parthenius. The corrections he made to it were sometimes, but not always, his own; he depends on the work of Hermolaus Barbarus (consisting of a number of Catullan observations in the *Castigationes Plinianae*) as well as those of Beroaldus in the *Annotationes Centum* (referred to above) and also those of Avantius in his *Emendationes in Catullum* (published in 1495), which we shall presently discuss. In other words, Palladius had a second-rate talent, and his work was in large part derivative. But he did in fact expand the basis of knowledge on which future commentators would draw. Where he had nothing to add, he would merely reproduce Parthenius' note. Essentially, then, by the end of the century there was in the field a school edition – that of Parthenius – with some modifications by others; it served the needs of a rapidly growing public of young readers, and for the next few decades all interpretation tended to focus on the wording of Parthenius' notes, rather than on the text of the poet himself so far as that was accessible. In the last decade we should also mention, as being similarly based on Parthenius, the brief contribution of Sabellicus (whose real name was Marcus Antonius Coccius), contained in twenty annotations 'Ex Catullo' appended to a volume consisting of notes on Pliny the Elder; these annotations were published in 1497, though they had been composed apparently between 1485 and 1493. Sabellicus' intention was to correct the *text* of Parthenius, *ope ingenii*; at 27.2, for example, instead of the accepted reading *amariores* he urges the claims of *meraciores* (later reintroduced as a gloss by Scaliger), but does not press the correction.[45] Again, poem 29 is divided by Sabellicus into two separate poems;[46] and he, for the first time, separates poems 2 and 3.

44 They are listed in Gaisser 1993: 70.
45 Gaisser 1993: 300 n. 95; on p. 49 she draws attention to his modesty and diffidence.
46 As it was to be again, much later, by P.R. Young <Forsyth> in *Classical Journal* LXIX (1969): 327–8.

For a greater figure than Sabellicus, however, we must go back a year or two. Hieronymus Avantius (Girolamo Avanzi) initially created his *Emendationes in Catullum* in the years 1492–3, then privately circulated them among his friends, and finally published them at Venice in 1495; there was a second edition, considerably enlarged and altered, which appeared, also at Venice, in 1500. Both of these editions are concerned with problems of text and metre; Avantius' interest in interpretative commentary is minimal, and (unlike Politianus) he seldom quotes illustrative passages from other authors, Greek or Latin (and if he does, his quotations are not on a lavish scale). As to textual readings, however, he made a careful study of two manuscripts that came his way, as well as the previous editions; all of which sources of information he collated and compared. The second edition, unlike the first, accompanies a text of Catullus (and of Tibullus and Propertius); but the text itself is practically the same as that of Parthenius (whose pupil Avantius had been), although Avantius is given credit for it. On this second edition was based the epoch-making first Aldine text-edition of 1502, and also the second Aldine of 1515, for both of which he functioned as Aldus' editor; and he was also largely responsible for the *editio Tricavelliana* of about 1535. To anticipate a little: the Aldine editions displaced all others and became the rocklike foundation of the very many texts in circulation – including a stream of counterfeit Alduses, printed in Lyons (by Gryphius) and elsewhere, during the entire first half of the sixteenth century.

It may be remarked in passing that Avantius' *Emendationes*, like the work of Parthenius, originated as a manifestation of loyalty to his native Verona, particularly directed against Politianus for the latter's attacks on another Veronese scholar, Domitius Calderinus (though the note of hostility to Politianus was removed from the 1500 edition). Avantius still starts from Parthenius; but unlike Sabellicus, who corrects Parthenius only by his own wits, Avantius uses external information in order to do so. In the event, it was Avantius who produced the new *textus receptus*, in the shape of the first Aldine edition and its successors. Aldus' bold step in turning out no fewer than 3000 copies – a quite remarkable number, for that age – of his handily sized 1502 edition, contributed not a little to its triumphant success. Another point in its favour was Avantius' application to the study of Catullan metres, which he placed on a sound footing, based on Catullus' own practice, and giving a historical context for metrical developments; an imperfect knowledge of the laws of metre had, in fact, caused recent editors of Catullus' text to print a succession of false readings.

About the time (1493–5) when Avantius was bringing his *Emendationes* to birth, a still extant manuscript (Vat. Barb. lat. 34) shows marginal annotations, quoting Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, Beroaldus, and Sabellicus,

as well as the basic source, Parthenius.[47] It is evident also that Pontanus, who died in 1503, was interested in Catullus; he possessed a manuscript of the poet's works, and imitated him in his own compositions, and we are told that he wrote some kind of commentary (perhaps no more than annotations in the margins of a text); it was never published, and is now lost. In any case, its direction seems to have been neither text-critical nor interpretative, but rather concerned with the substitution of his own words where the text of Catullus appeared to be unintelligible as it stood: the outstanding example of this procedure is, of course, his marginal suggestion of the line *qualecumque quod* (or *quidem*) *ora per virorum* at 1.9, which was mentioned and discussed by Avantius, Palladius, and Hermolaus Barbarus.[48] These notes by Pontanus were later regarded by him as youthful *lusus*; and despite their author's great reputation they had very little influence on the future course of Catullan scholarship. Just before Pontanus' death, notes on Catullus were written by his friend (and Politianus' former pupil) Franciscus Puccius, who lectured both in Florence and later in Naples, in the course of a highly distinguished public, as well as academic, career. Puccius – who seems to have had only a partial acquaintance with Pontanus' notes – is concerned with the text, with poem divisions, with metre, and with general interpretation. Besides Pontanus, he mentions Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, and Beroaldus. Puccius' notes circulated in many versions during the next few decades,[49] though the original version has not been identified. The Neapolitan connection includes Aulus Janus Parrhasius, who (like Puccius) seems to have taken his inspiration from Pontanus. An unfinished commentary (on the first few poems only) in Parrhasius' own hand survives, together with his transcription of Puccius' annotations; this commentary, which comprehends both text and interpretation, has been dated between 1512 and 1519.[50]

In 1521, Alexander Guarinus published *Expositiones in Catullum*, with the double purpose of preserving the textual corrections entered long before, in a manuscript, by his father Baptista (who had died in 1505), and of advancing his own textual and interpretative contributions. The commentary has a great deal to offer, but for some reason commanded little influence. In 1521–2, Pierius Valerianus delivered a successful course of lectures on Catullus at the University of Rome; but they were never

47 Butrica 1984: 299–300; Gaisser 1992: 209.
48 Gaisser 1992: 210–11.
49 Eighteen copies are described in Gaisser 1992: 243–8.
50 B. Richardson, 'Pucci, Parrasio and Catullus,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica* XIX (1976): 277–89, esp. 288.

published, and the manuscript was partly destroyed, five years later, in the Sack of Rome.[51] In 1535, an undistinguished edition of the text was produced by Melchior Sessa, whose principal aim (apparently) was to rival Aldus in profitability.

After about 1535, not much was done in the field of criticism for the poet's works as a whole, though two commentaries on individual poems may be mentioned: Franciscus Robortellus, *Explicatio in Catulli Epithalamium* (poem 61), printed at Florence in 1548, and Bernardinus Realinus, *In Nuptias Pelei et Thetidis* (poem 64), printed at Bologna in 1551. Neither of these two commentaries had much influence on later studies.[52] In 1553, Petrus Victorius devoted twelve of the chapters of his *Variae lectiones* to Catullus. (He added further chapters in later editions.) Sometimes he explains passages, often from the idiom of Greek and Roman Comedy. Clearly he owes a debt to Puccius, whose notes he had copied out in 1521.

With Marcus Antonius Muretus, whose commentary on Catullus first appeared at Venice in 1554, we enter a new age (indeed, Doering in 1788 was to style it the *aetas Muretiana*). Yet, as Ellis correctly noted, Muretus' commentary was distinctly slighter than that of Alexander Guarinus, and 'less minute in the explanation of particular words,' but reinforced by a greater knowledge of Greek; nevertheless still disappointing inasmuch as there is 'very little for the elucidation of passages where the allusion is really recondite.'[53] What is above all interesting in Muretus is the union, characteristic of French Humanism in that period, of poetry and scholarship. The scholarship itself, however, was directed towards poetic explication and away from textual emendation and indeed all study of the text as such, the text being taken as something virtually established. As one of Ronsard's circle, Muret had been a prominent member of a youthful – almost revolutionary – movement, later to be known as the Pléiade. For the purposes of literary creation, Catullan attitudes, and style, and even metre, were recommended for imitation to young practitioners by Muretus in his lectures. So far, so good. But even as he was completing his commentary on the poems of Ronsard, Muretus suddenly found himself forced into exile on accusations of pederasty, to which a charge of heresy was added. Paulus Manutius – Aldus' successor – made a place for him in Venice, assigning to him the editorship of a series of classical texts, beginning with Catullus. While he was studying this poet, he acquired by good fortune the notes on various authors made by Petrus Victorius in 1553, containing twenty-four

51 See Gaisser 1993: chapter 3, 109–45; also 1992: 255–9.
52 Gaisser 1992: 283–4 and 286–8.
53 Ellis, *Commentary*[2]: viii.

chapters specifically devoted to Catullus himself. Muretus accordingly used Victorius (and sometimes acknowledged the fact), but also abused him, and disparaged his scholarship wherever he could.

In estimating Muretus' success, it must be borne in mind that no commentary on the whole of Catullus had been published since that of Alexander Guarinus thirty-three years before, though – as we have seen – many editions and reprints of the text alone had appeared, including pirated reproductions of the first and second Aldines. Muretus himself based his text largely on the second Aldine (or possibly a reproduction thereof), but he incorporated with this the suggestions of earlier editors. Though in the matter of textual accuracy his is by no means a thoroughgoing or systematic revision, his sheer talent enabled him on several occasions to make a material contribution to the improvement of the text. Of course he inherited a more purified *textus receptus* than his predecessors had possessed; but he also ventured emendations of his own, not from any appeal to manuscript evidence but out of clear-headed personal judgment. It should be repeated, however, that he considered his business to lie with the content – that is to say, with the poetry of Catullus. Hence his reluctance to tamper unduly with the given text, and his extreme conservatism in admitting 'modern conjectures and supplements, no matter how apposite.'[54] On the other hand, Muretus' pronounced interest in Catullan metre, for reasons already given, is reflected in the fact that he is the first editor of a published commentary to observe that poem 4 is in the pure iambic, which is, as he notes, so hard to bring off in Latin (Pierius Valerianus had caught this point in his unpublished lectures). He is especially interested in the longer poems, on which his literary observations are outstanding for their acuteness. In general, however, his commentary as a whole shows, from the point of view of detailed scholarship, the effects of the haste with which it was produced. A second edition in 1558 merely added Tibullus and Propertius to Catullus.

A far more significant edition, if scholarly ends are considered, was that of Achilles Statius (Aquiles Estaço, a member of a well-established Portuguese family), who began to study the Roman poets as a preparation for the pious enterprise of translating the Psalms of David into a variety of Latin metres (one wonders if he was aware of the version of these same Psalms made in 1551 by the Scottish humanist, George Buchanan, when he was detained in Portugal by the Inquisition).[55] When with this end in view he

54 Gaisser 1993: 261.
55 The text of Buchanan's paraphrase of the Psalms is given in *Opera Omnia* (Edinburgh, 1715), II: 1–100. See Ian D. McFarlane, *Buchanan* (London, 1981): 247–86, for an account of this work and its composition.

had composed a body of notes on Tibullus, Virgil, Lucretius, the Odes of Horace, and Catullus, those to whom he showed this work pressed him to publish it. He decided to begin with Catullus (in 1566) and followed this with Tibullus (in 1567); but the notes on Virgil even today remain in manuscript, and those on Lucretius seem to be lost, as do those on Horace (though an unconnected commentary on the *Ars Poetica* had appeared in 1553). As for the Psalms in Latin, these too remain in manuscript, along with sacred and profane lyrics (*carmina*, showing very little influence from Catullus). There is a copy of the first Aldine, containing his marginal notes, in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Rés. p. Yc. 375); but here the annotations are infrequent and very brief.[56] In his published commentary, Statius is – by contrast with Muretus – interested primarily in textual problems. His literary observations are not very numerous, and they are more limited in scope than Muretus'; under this head, his topics include such matters as the effectiveness of particular words or phrases in their context. In one department, however, his range is wider than that of Muretus: many parallels are adduced to explain Catullan linguistic usage, not only from Latin and Greek authors, but also – a notable departure – from inscriptions. In this field, even Scaliger sometimes does little more than merely repeat him.[57] He was interested in comparing the readings of a group of manuscripts, to which he often refers;[58] and he cites emendations offered by other Humanists, many of them contemporary with himself – but he never mentions the work of Muretus. Apart from a difference in aims and methods (he is 'factual and historical where Muretus is uncritical and literary' [Gaisser 1993: 175]), factions were clearly involved. The party in Rome to which Statius belonged was that of Petrus Victorius, Gabriel Faernus, and Fulvius Orsinus, none of whom was friendly to Muretus. For all its good qualities, Statius' commentary was much less influential than Muretus'; it never had a second edition of its own, and was not reprinted until the seventeenth century brought in a fashion for variorum editions. Above all, in his use of multiple manuscripts he strikes out on a new and hitherto unmapped path. Even if he did not 'weigh' his manuscripts (Victorius and Faernus had done this better), cited them unevenly, and did not provide full collations, yet 'not since <Avantius> had anyone studied the text so thoroughly and in such detail.'[59] It is the more surprising, given this interest in text rather than in content, that Statius did not produce a critical edition arising directly

56 I rely on Gaisser 1992: 265, not having seen the volume myself.
57 Ellis, *Commentary*[2]: viii.
58 See Ullman 1908: passim.
59 Gaisser 1993: 177.

from his own research but was content to rest on the second Aldine as the basis of his studies. Nevertheless what Statius had to say in textual matters had a powerful influence on Joseph Justus Scaliger, the author (in 1577) of the next notable edition. Although Scaliger professed to despise the work of Statius, still he used it repeatedly and often followed it closely.

On the other hand, Scaliger had at least initially a high regard for Muretus, whose influence is no less evident in his work than that of Statius; but because of a literary trick by Muretus,[60] he approached him in a spirit of rivalry and 'getting even.' Yet Scaliger was in any case a great individualist in many respects. For the first time, so far as editors of Catullus were concerned, he attempted systematically to reconstruct the history of the text and to explain the genesis of false readings; in what may be called a partial anticipation of the 'method of Lachmann,' he even went so far as to seek to reconstruct an archetype, pronouncing on the script in which it must have been written, and also where it was written. The collations he made with this end in view are to be found in the margins of his copy of the 1569 Plantin Catullus.[61] Consequently Scaliger's 1577 edition is a landmark in textual studies. Though it was attacked by several distinguished scholars, including Petrus Victorius, it ran into several reprintings, the series of which extended throughout the seventeenth century if we include variorum editions. In effect, this challenging edition became the *textus receptus* for the philological epoch to come (Doering's *aetas Scaligerana*). Its great leap forward was to amass readings methodically from manuscript evidence, thus modifying the practice, established now for over a century, of altering the base text by simply examining and comparing the printed editions. Unfortunately, the manuscript he chiefly collated for the purpose – the present British Library MS Egerton 3027 – is virtually worthless, as Ellis, who first identified it, pointed out.[62] But Scaliger reinforced his new method by looking for, and finding, resemblances between his chosen Ms and the seven manuscripts of which the readings are given (though somewhat erratically) by Statius; and he saw that 'such close agreement could come about only if all the manuscripts were descended from a common exemplar.'[63] In other words, he formed an impression – supported by Benvenuto Campesani's epigram, which accompanied the text in his collated manuscript – that a single Verona codex (our *V*) underlay the entire body of extant manuscripts. He also concluded from the nature of the common

60 Gaisser 1993: 179.
61 Now at Leiden: Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 755 H 23.
62 Ellis, *Commentary*[2]: viii.
63 Gaisser 1993: 185.

errors that this codex was in 'Lombardic' (a term then used to include Carolingian) script. Scaliger's method would have yielded outstandingly successful results if it had been applied to really good manuscripts. As it was, his advancement of Catullan studies resulted substantially from innate intelligence as much as from his use of the body of collations made partly by himself, partly by Statius.[64] Presented in a controversial way, his conclusions naturally provoked opposition; but the remarkable fact is that the work of Scaliger remained quite unchallenged, as the newly established 'standard' text-plus-commentary, at least until Passerat's posthumous Catullus appeared in 1608, and continued to dominate the field for some time thereafter. There are certain 'cultural' reasons for this: if Statius, with his versification of sacred literature, emerged as a characteristic figure of the counter-reformation period in Rome, Scaliger, on his part, marks the transfer of Catullan studies to the now somewhat puritanical North, a geographical region where Catullus (who unlike his follower Martial was not a satirist and could teach no moral lessons) was out of favour.[65] When in the 1580s the elder Janus Dousa extolled Catullus to his Dutch compatriots, it was as a model of style; a similar, purely literary, end was served by the collection of parodies and notes on poem 4, published in 1579.

If, at this period, the influence of Scaliger's Catullus was profound, especially in the Low Countries, there were nevertheless some stirrings in Paris, where Jean Passerat was studying Catullus intensively. He did not particularly relish emerging as a rival to Scaliger, and possibly refrained for this reason from completing his annotations.[66] But his commentary is – as Ellis notes – particularly good on the wedding poems, 61 and 62; it is also rich in the accumulation of passages cited to illustrate the meaning of individual words. The *praelectiones* (as he called his commentary) are somewhat unequal, and most of the short poems are omitted from them. What we have, therefore, scarcely amounts to a regular commentary on Catullus as a whole. Though it was published after his death (he died in 1602), Passerat's work really belongs to the sixteenth century – as clearly do the four lectures, ostensibly on poem 63,[67] by Robertus Titius, an outspoken critic and rival of Scaliger's, which were published at Bologna in 1599.

The seventeenth century was an age of consolidation, marked by various editions and compendia, such as Janus Gruterus' *Lampas, sive fa*

64 Gaisser 1993: 186–7.
65 Gaisser 1993: 192.
66 Ellis, *Commentary*[2]: ix.
67 See, however, Gaisser 1992: 216.

artium liberalium (Frankfurt, 1602), which embraced the commentaries of Sabellicus, Robortellus (on poem 61), and Realinus (on poem 64), and the Paris variorum edition of 1604, which was to be followed by less ample versions in 1659 and 1680. The rather brief annotations of Johannes Livineius (d. 1599) came out posthumously in 1521 when they were added to the second (Frankfurt) impression of an edition by Janus Gebhardus; Livineius frequently finds occasion to disagree with Scaliger's commentary, and with that of Muretus. Of the *Asterismi* of Marcilius, little need be said; a slight work, several times reprinted but in no way influential, these 'Asterisms' first appeared as a part of the 1604 edition already mentioned, but may have been composed before that date. Towards the end of the century we encounter the considerable figure of Isaac Vossius, whose edition (bearing the date 1684) was published in London from sheets apparently printed in Leiden. Vossius industriously collected manuscripts, which he compared with some effect, and was moreover an accomplished scholar in several different fields; in editing Catullus, as Ellis remarks, he supplemented his knowledge in one department of philology by his experience in another.[68] To quote Ellis further: '<Vossius>, unlike Passerat, throws light on corrupt or hitherto unexplained passages ... Of all commentaries on Catullus, his is the most erudite.' This goes far to explain why the work achieved such a wide circulation, inaugurating Doering's *aetas Vossiana*. At about the same time, the reviving interest in Catullus in France was shown by the appearance of the first *editio in usum Delphini* (Paris, 1685). Finally, it should be added that the seventeenth century also saw the publication of no fewer than seven commentaries exclusively devoted to poem 64.

The earlier part, at least, of the eighteenth century was not a fertile period in the history of Catullan scholarship. It is dominated – if the word can be used – by the two Paduan editions of Johannes Antonius Vulpius (Volpi), published respectively in 1710 and 1737. Although it was voluminous, and professed to be all-embracing, it contained very little that was new, though conscientiously repeating the material of previous commentaries. Sober, pedantic, and clerically decorous, it relied on multiple quotations of parallel passages, rather than helping the reader who sought an understanding of Catullus; and even the quotations themselves are of a commonplace and uninteresting sort. If there was an *aetas Vulpiana* (Doering's term again), it was marked by a somewhat cautious dullness. Johannes Franciscus Corradinus, whose edition, marred by fraudulent claims,[69] appeared in 1738,

68 Ellis, *Commentary*[2]: ix.
69 On these, see Gaisser 1992: 217.

has at least the merit, noted by Ellis, of seeing Catullus as his own best expositor; and modern texts credit him with one good emendation, at 39.17.

Much later in the century, the *editio Bipontina* (Zweibrücken, 1783) includes a useful check-list (*notitia literaria*) of earlier editions. Five years later, F.W. Doering published at Leiden his edition (reprinted in 1792 and subsequently), which exerted a surprising amount of influence in view of its very sparse commentary; it furnished the text for several nineteenth-century Catulluses, including the London *editio Delphina* of 1822. Also in 1788, Laurens van Santen, whose interests lay primarily in the text, published a short but important study of poem 68 as a sample of an intended commentary on the whole of Catullus; but this was the year when Doering's work emerged, and (regrettably) Santen's commentary was discontinued. In the preface to his sample, Santen reveals that he had sought far and wide for readings in manuscripts:

> No fewer than twelve scholars are named who had contributed MS readings, and one of these had excerpted ... seven MSS with his own hand. He complains, however, that many codices still remained of whose readings he could procure no information; and by an accident which has preserved the sheets of paper on which the variants had been written out for Santen but not sent, we know that among these was the celebrated Canonici codex (*O*) ... Santen's *apparatus criticus*, therefore, though large, was not complete. It comprised, however, the Datanus. When Santen's library was sold in 1800, it was purchased by H.F. von Dietz, by whom it was subsequently transferred to the Royal Library of Berlin. On this collection, partly of actual MSS, partly of the collations supplied to Santen by his friends, Lachmann ... based his epoch-making edition of 1829, laconically informing his readers that he had selected two MSS, the Datanus (*D*) and another which he called *L* (for Laurens van Santen) as representing all the rest. '*Codices D et L, cum quorum alterutro ceteri non interpolati ubique consentiunt, hac editione totos exhibemus.*'[70]

With the name of Lachmann, we enter the realm of nineteenth-century scientific – in large measure, German – philology. The two manuscripts just indicated (Nos. 3 and 4 in the Table) lay close to Lachmann's hand in Berlin, but were regrettably inadequate for his purpose. *D* had a long career in critical apparatuses as a 'good' manuscript, thanks to Lachmann's commendation and the prestige of his name; its expulsion from this undeserved place, largely due to B.L. Ullman, has now been accepted.[71] I. Sillig, who in 1823 had

70 Ellis, *Commentary*[2]: xvi–xvii.
71 See *CE*, Introduction: 35–40.

collated the Dresden manuscript (No. 15 in the Table), correctly assigning it a place among the poorer Mss, announced in 1830 his discovery of *G*, one of the three 'cardinal' fourteenth-century manuscripts, though its great importance was not adequately recognized until 1862, when L. Schwabe published his *Quaestiones Catullianae*.[72] Sillig's work on the text was followed closely by Moritz Haupt, with *Quaestiones Catullianae* in 1837 and *Observationes Criticae* in 1841, resulting in some successful emendations (a field in which the harvest had, naturally, now become increasingly meagre). Haupt's edition of Catullus, however, was not to appear until 1853. General descriptions of Catullus' poetry were written by O. Ribbeck, in 1863,[73] and later by A. Couat,[74] who discussed the topic of Catullus' relationship to the Alexandrian poets.

Schwabe followed up his 1862 *Quaestiones* with a full text-edition (Giessen, 1866) – the first, be it noted, to offer a collation of the readings of *G* – which twenty years later he was to expand into a notable second edition (Berlin, 1886) that gave in its apparatus criticus a painstakingly accurate record of the readings of *O* and *T* as well as of *G*, and also contained two extremely useful lists of *testimonia* (comprehensive, to 1375, with a selective supplement to 1500), and an *index verborum*. To return to the 1860s: A. Rossbach's edition (1867), and that of Lucian Müller (published in 1870) need not detain us here. Looking for a moment into the next decade, we notice a useful little Jena dissertation of forty-three pages, entitled *De Catullo Graecorum imitatore*, by K.P. Schulze, of whom we shall hear more presently. Robinson Ellis' first text-edition appeared in 1867; it called attention to *O*'s importance, but failed to exploit it fully. Meanwhile, from 1859 to 1867, he had been working on a commentary, accumulating a vast quantity of illustrative references and parallel passages in Greek and Latin. This was first published in 1876, and followed two years later by a second text-edition. At the same time, Emil Baehrens – who in 1874 had published his *Analecta Catulliana* on textual questions – brought out his text-edition (1876), in which the text was for the first time based on the authority of *G* and *O* alone. Baehrens' commentary, in Latin, followed in 1885; it was ample in bulk, but marred by waywardness in its readings:

72 This work also embodied – though not, as is usually supposed, for the first time; W.T. Jungclaussen had essayed the task in 1857 – an attempt to establish a firm chronology for the events in Catullus' life, mainly based, as was inevitable, on references in the poems.
73 *Geschichte der römische Dichtung* I: 312.
74 *Étude sur Catulle*, Paris, 1874.

Baehrens was handicapped by a literal and prosaic mind which led him to insist that a poet should express himself in terms of standard literary usage; consequently much of his space is taken up with the manufacture of difficulties which would trouble no one nowadays, and the tendency of his solutions is towards re-writing Catullus in a manner which, if he had so written, would have been fatal to his survival as a poet.[75]

Ellis' commentary achieved a second edition in 1889; disorganized in method, it still compels admiration for its sheer wealth of marginal reference. The year 1879 saw the appearance of H.A.J. Munro's *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus*, an examination of selected poems and passages.[76]

In the 1880s some notable additions were made to the critical literature on Catullus. After Baehrens' commentary (1885), Ellis produced (in 1889) the second edition of his own. Of E. Benoist's Paris commentary, where textual and interpretative notes were separated, the first volume appeared in 1882 (the work was completed by E. Thomas in 1890). A. Riese's edition of 1884, with a commentary, was unambitious but sound. B. Schmidt's *editio maior*, with prolegomena but no commentary, came out in 1887. J.P. Postgate's Catullus text in the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* is dated 1889. The year 1893 saw the publication both of E.T. Merrill's Boston Catullus, with a commentary directed to students (and a facsimile reproduction of one folio of *O*), and also of K.P. Schulze's revision of Baehrens, which sought to exalt the manuscript known as *m* (No. 115 in the Table) to a position of equal importance with *G*. Unfortunately, Schulze (whose reports of *m*'s readings were far from accurate) was half right, in a sense, since *m* was later shown to be a close copy of the still-to-be-discovered *R*. Naturally, Schulze defended *m*, and regarded *R*, on its unveiling three years later, as an upstart – which led to infinite trouble.[77] In 1896, apart from W.G. Hale's momentous discovery of *R* in the Vatican library, there appeared an unpretentious but sensible (and most attractively produced) Catullus – taking of course no account of *R* itself – edited by A. Palmer.

For our present purpose the twentieth century may be said to have begun with Ellis' two Catulluses (1904, in the Oxford Classical Texts series; London, 1911). Ellis had made two separate visits to Rome, in 1897 and 1902, in order to collate *R* for himself; but his eyesight was failing, and

75 R.G.C. Levens, in *Fifty Years (and Twelve) of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford, 1958): 358. The comparison between Ellis' and Baehrens' rival commentaries, on the same page, is worth reading *in extenso*.

76 Ellis regarded this book, not quite fairly, as an extended review of his 1876 Catullus.

77 See, for the whole story, Thomson 1973: 121–6.

he did not wish to encroach on Hale's territory. In 1908, G. Friedrich published an outstandingly rich commentary – where it existed, that is; for its author annotated only those passages and those questions that engaged his keen interest. Although it lacks an apparatus criticus, it well repays consultation. C. Pascal's Catullus (1916) and that of G. Lafaye (1922; often reprinted) show no great originality. Merrill's text-edition of 1923 failed to make an impression on scholars and was withdrawn. But, also in 1923, W. Kroll brought out an edition with notes, which (augmented in 1929 and subsequently) has remained a favourite to this day. It is particularly well informed on the subject of Greek influences and parallels, and amounts to a major commentary despite its compact format. M. Lenchantin's Italian edition of 1928 is clear and helpful in comment, though conservative in text. I. Cazzaniga's text-edition (first published in 1941) is judicious in its readings, which bear comparison with those of Mynors (see below). M. Schuster's Teubner edition of 1949 was revised and improved by H. Eisenhut in 1958, the year when R.A.B. Mynors' Oxford Classical Text appeared. This important Catullus, which conveniently grouped the secondary manuscripts under Greek letters, showed taste and discretion; it could however have profited from a closer study of the later hands in *R*, for example.[78] In 1961 a commentary was provided for it (with the exception of thirty-two poems 'which do not lend themselves to comment in English')[79] by C.J. Fordyce. Fordyce's notes are the repository of decades of close study of Roman literary usage, and are supremely informative about Latin syntax, grammar, and style. In poetical analysis, and literary criticism in general, they are uneven: sometimes excellent (on poem 45, for example), sometimes dismissive and inadequate (e.g., on poem 85). G.B. Pighi's handsomely printed and illustrated three-volume edition of 1961 was a work of Veronese *pietas*, financed as a public service by a local bank, and was not produced for sale.

In 1970 Kenneth Quinn's commentary, intended for the use of students, brought in a fresh (and primarily literary-critical) interpretation of the

78 The searching review-article by G.P. Goold ('A New Text of Catullus,' *Phoenix* XII [1958]: 93–116) still deserves to be consulted. Inter alia, it clothes with statistics the observation first made (as far as I am aware) by Ellis in the preface to his commentary, that the contributions made to the improvement of the text of Catullus in the period of Italian Humanism immeasurably outweigh the contributions of all other periods combined.

79 The editor was not responsible for this omission; the proof lies in the fact that, in the first printing, there are references to notes that do not appear in the commentary. He told me himself that the publishers, hopeful of a school market, consulted thirty headmasters and headmistresses, and that it was on the advice thus canvassed that the poems in question were not included.

poems. In the same year, Henry Bardon published his first Catullus, which was followed by a second version, for Teubner, in 1973. My own critical edition (*CE*) appeared in the United States in 1978; in it, I sought inter alia to give for the first time an accurate account of the readings of *m*. W. Eisenhut produced his own Teubner edition in 1983; G. P. Goold brought out in the same year a briefly annotated text with an English translation. Among recent articles, editions, and commentaries, published after 1981–2 and hence not included in J. P. Holoka's bibliography, are the following:

R.J. Tarrant, 'Catullus,' in *Texts and Transmission*, ed. L.D. Reynolds, 1983, 43–5.
H.P. Syndikus, *Catull: Eine Interpretation* (vol. 1, 1984; vol. 2, 1990; vol. 3, 1987).
P.Y. Forsyth, *The Poems of Catullus: A Teaching Text* (addressed to the needs of undergraduates), 1986.
P. Fedeli, *Introduzione a Catullo*, 1990.
A.G. Lee, *Catullus, Edited with a Translation and Brief Notes*, 1990.
G. Lafaye, *Catulle* (12th edition, revised and corrected by S. Viarre), 1993.

A notable contribution, falling just before this last period, was the collection of Marcello Zicàri's extremely important and previously scattered articles (many of which had appeared in Italian journals that were difficult of access) by Piergiorgio Parroni into the volume *Scritti Catulliani* (Urbino, 1978). Of Professor Wiseman's many Catullan studies, the latest, *Catullus and His World: A Reappraisal* (1985), contains a very useful appendix on references to Catullus in ancient authors. Two works by Professor Julia Haig Gaisser (the article on Catullus in the series *Corpus Translationum et Commentariorum*, volume VII, of 1992, and the monograph of almost 450 pages on *Catullus and his Renaissance Readers*, published in 1993) are mentioned in the Introduction and elsewhere in this book. Lastly, mention should be made of V.P. McCarren's *A Critical Concordance to Catullus* (Leiden, 1977), which fills the need for a convenient index verborum.

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On the History of the Text

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– 1957. 'Calfurnio editore di Catullo,' *A&R* 3: 157–9 = 1978: 105–8.
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– 1959. 'Il Catullo di Guarnerio d'Artegna,' *IMU* 2: 453–65 = 1978: 109–22.
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CHANGES FROM THE TEXT OF THE CRITICAL EDITION OF 1978

Reference	*Read:*
1.8	libelli,
3.17	vestra [line 16 in parentheses]
17.6	Salisubsili
22.6	regiae novae libri,
24.7	'quid?
27.4	ebriosa
29.10	et aleo. [Corr.]
20	Gallicae ... Britannicae.
32.1	ipsimilla,
36.15	Dyrrachium
37.17	omnes,
38.2	(*del.* est)
43.4	lingua.
5	Formiani,
45.26	venerem
46.3	auris.
48.3	trecenta;
51.8	<vocis in ore>
54.2	at, mi
55.9	†avelte† (sic usque
11	reduc<ta pectus,>
14	amice.
58^b.6	cursum:
7	dicares,
61.15	taedam;
25	umore:

PHOENIX

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CATULLUS

Edited with a Textual and Interpretative Commentary by D.F.S. Thomson

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Toronto Buffalo London

30	Aganippe,
40	Hymenaee,
154	usque,
170	urit in
215	Manlio, ut facile obviis
62.54	marita,
56	innupta manet
63.39	Sol
54	operta
63	puber
64.73	ferox qua robore
100	quam tum saepe
153	iniecta
175	haec
196	miserae, imis
215	longe
271	Solis,
292	circum [Corr.]
334	umquam tales
351	putriaque
395	Rhamnusia
65.1	defectum
66.74	nostri
77	fuit,
91	ne
92	effice muneribus
93	cur iterent 'utinam coma regia fiam,'
67.5	nato
20	attigerat,
33	qua molli percurrit
68.23	gaudia [Corr.]
91	quae nunc et
133	Cupido
157	†terram dedit aufert†
71.4	est apte nactus
74.4	Harpocraten.
76.3	in ullo
23	contra ut me
83.6	coquitur.
86.6	veneres.
90.4	relligio,

95^{b} (heading)	[*Delete* '95^{b}' and close up]
97.2	utrum os
3	immundior ille est
101.4	cinerem,
6	mihi.
102.3	me aeque esse
107.3	nobis quoque, carius auro
109.1	proponis:
2	perpetuum usque
110.3	quod mentita inimica es,
111.4	ex patruo <parere>.
112.1	<est qui>
2	discumbit:
115.1	†instar†

TABLE OF MANUSCRIPTS

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Ellis	Zicàri	Butrica	Date	Contents
1		Austin, Texas: Humanities Research Center HRC 32				1451	C (to 61.134) T
2		Bergamo: Bibl. civica Σ 2.33 (3)		p	1	post 1459; XV 3/4?	TPC+
3	Diez.	East Berlin: Deutsche Staatsbibl.					
		Diez. B. Sant. 36	L			1450–60?	C+
4		37	D			1463	C+

Note: In the column headed Contents, C = Catullus, T = Tibullus, P = Propertius, and + = other matter. In the column headed Zicàri, double lower-case letters refer to his 'Ricerche' (1958); single lower-case letters, to his 'Il "Cavrianeus"' (1956) or, in two instances, to 'Il codice pesarese,' where (1953) is added. For bibliographical details see p. 68.

The following Mss have the α-class transpositions (see No. 8 n.): 2, 8, 9, 12, 17, 22, 27, 35, 39, 41, 47, 48, 50, 52, 64, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 74, 76 (but see n.), 77, 82, 83, 90, 92, 95, 100, 102 (but see n.), 104, 105, 107, 109, 111, 112, 117, 121, 127 (but see n.).

1 Codex Antenoris Balbi. In Ellis' time it belonged to Walter Ashburner; hence it is also known as Codex Ashburneri. See Carter 1960.

2 Close to No. 41. Written in Italy, probably northeast. See Zicàri 1956: 152–62 = 1978: 68–77. Discussed by Cremaschi 1955: 88–91; and for the date, 94).

3 Codex Laurentianus, or more properly Santenianus (i.e., of Laurens van Santen). The second hand reveals *O*-influence not mentioned in Zicàri 1958 (M.D. Reeve, *Phoenix* 34 [1980]: 181).

4 Probably, though not certainly, written in northeastern Italy. A copy of No. 31; see Ullman 1960b: 1052–3.

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Ellis	Zicàri	Butrica	Date	Contents
5		40				ca. 1460–70	C
6		46				ca. 1600	C
7		56				1481	C
8	α	Bologna: Bibl. universitaria 2621	B	b		1412	C
9	Bon.	2744		bn		ca. 1460-80?	C (to 88.6)
10	Brix.	Brescia: Bibl. Queriniana A vii 7		qu	10	post 1451 (ca. 1455–60?)	PCT+
10a = 94		Brussels: Bibl. Royale IV. 711					

5 Copy of a copy (slightly corrected, with influence from another manuscript, and with marginal index and notes added) of No. 19.

6 A copy, made by 'M.P.' (fol. 1), of No. 17. In No. 17 the line 44.9 was at first omitted, then added below the last line on the page, which is 44.20. The marks added to indicate displacement are small and faint. In No. 6, 44.9 is written immediately after 44.20 with no hint of anything wrong. The copy, apparently very carefully done, exhibits on fol. 72^{v} the following date and note of ownership ('additum aliena manu' in the exemplar, according to M.P., who plainly thought of them as a single addition): 'an(n)o 1495 MCCCCLXXXXV. Antoni Seripandi et amicorum.' The last four words are absent from No. 17, at least as it now stands. See Gutiérrez 1966, who gives Seripando's date of birth as 1485. If we accept this, the date 1495, cited above, is not that of the note of ownership, but presumably confirms the date found in a fragmentary state in No. 17. See now Cunningham 1983 (on No. 17): 123.

7 Written at Ferrara. The Propertius (Diez. 57 = Butrica, No. 5) formerly bound with it and written in the same hand is dated 1481 in the *subscriptio*. The Propertius is signed 'G.F.'

8 Codex Bononiensis (α). Written, or at least finished, at Venice by Girolamo Donato. Text published (with photographic illustrations) by Pighi 1954. See Zicàri 1956. All the α^{2} corrections and variant readings are in the hand of Ermolao Barbaro (Herm. Barbarus, 1454–95), who owned it; Mynors suggested in the preface to his 1958 edition (p. ix, n. 1) that many of these were taken from the 1481 edition by Calphurnius, which was dedicated to Barbaro. The order of the poems ('α-class transpositions') is confused: 44.21–62 are placed between 24.2 and 25, and there are certain omissions. (There are slight variations in other manuscripts.)

9 The readings of this manuscript show a family likeness to those of No. 12. The hand is somewhat similar in style to that of *R*^{3}. Text published by Codrignani 1963.

10 Written in Ferrara? Text published by Cremona 1954. Close to Nos. 49 and (less strikingly) 59.

10a See 94 n.

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Designation: Ellis	Zicàri	Butrica	Date	Contents
11		Budapest: National Museum 137				XV	C
12	Carp.	Carpentras: Bibl. Inguimbertine 361		cr	13	1440-50?	CTP
13	Caes.	Cesena: Bibl. Malatestiana 29 *sin.* 19		cs		1474	CT+
14		Cologny, Geneva: Bibl. Bodmeriana Bodmer 47				ca. 1495	C
15	Dres.	Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibl. Dc 133		dr	16	ante 1479	CPT

11 Written in central Italy, possibly Florence. Not now considered to have belonged to Matthias Corvinus. On fol. <1> (unnumbered) a note of presentation by 'Jacobus Antonius,' 18 May 1528. See Bartoniek 119–20. Unknown to Hale and Ullman.

12 Written in northeastern Italy. Contains 92.3–4 (cf. O). At the top of fol. 2, a note of ownership: 'marci donati iuris consulti patricij veneti.' (See also Butrica p. 215.) The annotations in the Propertius may possibly be by him. Donatus was a considerable patron of humanists, and himself composed a number of Latin orations: examples in Codices Vat. lat. 5197 and Marc. 11.59 (4152). Professor Butrica, to whom I am indebted for the above information, also informs me that though there may originally have been two manuscripts (difference in decoration of initials and a blank folio at the end of the last gathering of the Catullus suggest this), the consecutive numbering of the gatherings and early binding show that the two must have been joined at an early date.

13 Written probably in Romagna (Zicàri 1958: 96 = 1978: 100). A direct and very early copy of *1473*. Dated at the end of the Catullus (f. 51^r). Most of the notes and corrections seem to be by the first hand, despite a note on the flyleaf at the end which seems to attribute them to Giuseppe Isei, or Isaeus (ca. 1500; see his Lactantius in the same library, 2 *dextr.* 11). See Zazzeri 1887. On the influence of *1473*, see now Gaisser 1993: 32–4 and nn. 36–8.

14 Written by Lodovico Regio of Imola, who also wrote, at about the same time, No. 17 (q.v.). Also close to No. 106. Formerly owned by S.C. Cockerell. See Pellegrin 1982: 92–4.

15 Written in Italy, 'in or near Milan' (Butrica 1984: 64). One hand only. The transcript at Chapel Hill (University of North Carolina, Department of Classics) lacks the following: 107.6 *nobis* ... 113.4 *adulterio*. Collated by Sillig for his edition (1823). Used by Hand (1809; see especially p. 22). Heyne also used it for his Tibullus, Barth for his Propertius. It was purchased in 1479 by the famous jurist Jason de Mayne, who lived at Pavia from 1471 to 1486 (autograph note on fol. 200^v; arms on fol. 1^r). The flyleaf contains a note of ownership suggesting that the owner was a certain Paulinus: 'per primam, tertiam et ultimam vocalem et has literas, p. l. n. s., cognosci<tur> meus dominus.' Close to Nos. 37 (with which in the Propertius it shares at least one highly unusual reading) and 57.

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Designation: Ellis	Zicàri	Butrica	Date	Contents
16		Dublin: Trinity College Library 929			17	XV	PC
16a		1759				XV (2nd)	C+
17	Edin.	Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland Adv. 18.5.2				1495	C
18	Esc(a)	Escorial Ç. IV. 22(a)			18	ca. 1450–60?	TCP+
19		Ç. IV. 22(b)				XV med.	C
20	Laur.	Florence: Bibl. Laurenziana 33.11		(La^4)	21	post 1472	CPT
21		33.12		La^2		1457	CT
22		33.13		La^1		XV 1/4	C Pers.
23		36.23		(La^3)		ca. 1425	Ov. (*Fasti*) C+
24	Ashb.	Ashb. 260				ca. 1500?	C

17 Written by Lodovico Regio of Imola, apparently in 1495 (the date, given in the *subscriptio*, has been partly erased); but No. 6 (on which see my note), apparently a copy of this manuscript, has an addition which seems to confirm the date. The same scribe, at about the same date, wrote No. 14. For a description of No. 17, see now Cunningham 1983. Close to No. 106.

18 Written in northern Italy: see Zicàri 1959: 456, = 1978: 113, n. 13. One of the few manuscripts in the *G* tradition; see the note on No. 65 (of which it is the parent, according to Hale, Ullman, and Butrica). Single Humanistic book-hand; notes in a second hand. See Ghiselli 1987, which has a complete photographic reproduction.

19 Close to *γ* class. One hand only (humanistic cursive).

20 Written at Florence by Bartolomeo Fonzio (1445–1513); see de la Mare 1976b: plate XXIII. There are some marginal annotations, also by Fonzio. The arms are those of Francesco Sassetti (1420–91), who was closely connected with the Medici as a collector of manuscripts; many of Fonzio's were written for him. See de la Mare 1976a: 178. Noting its 'advanced editing,' Hale records the opinion of Heyse and other scholars that this manuscript is 'the original of the *editio princeps*.' In fact it appears to have been copied *from* the *editio princeps*; Professor Butrica assures me that this is quite certain for the Propertius, and see now de la Mare 1985: L487 ('copied in part at least' from *1472*).

21 Written at Florence by Gherardo del Ciriagio (cf. No. 83) for Giovanni Cosimo de' Medici. Close to No. 95; hence fairly close to *R*, and of good tradition. Many of its readings suggest direct copying from *R*. See de la Mare 1985: L496.

22 Spells *michi*, not *mihi*; cf. No. 95. Close to No. 8 (cf. No. 109).

23 The writer is identifiable as Bartolomeo di Piero Nerucci of San Gimignano. The arms are possibly those of Mattia Lupi of San Gimignano. This manuscript (note the relatively early date) is very close to *R*: e.g., 2b.3 *erat negatam*, 73.6 *habet habuit*. Cf. No. 95, and see the Stemma Codicum. See also de la Mare 1977: 98–100.

24 A direct copy of No. 44. (Formerly Saibante 324.)

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Designation Ellis	Zicàri	Butrica	Date	Contents
25		Ashb. 973				XVI med. (post 1548)	C
26	Magl.	Bibl. Nazionale Magl. VII 948				1475	Pers. Juv. C
27		1054				ca. 1480–90	TC
28		1158				1460–70	C
29		Panciatichi 146				1475	*Priap.* TC+
30		Inc. Magl. A.3.39				(nn) 1522	CTP Stat. (*S.*)+
31	Ric.	Bibl. Riccardiana 606				(prob.) 1457	CT+
32		2242 (25)				XVII	C (63.37–93 and poem 64) +
33		2242 (25 *bis*)				XVII	C (poem 64) +
34		Genoa: Bibl. civica Berio Cf. arm. 6				XV	TC (see n.)

25 Written (at Florence?) by Braccius Ricasulanus, who also added the variants and marginal notes (signed on fol. 31). Note the references to an Aldine edition: e.g., at 2.8 'Ald. tum gravis acquiescat.' On the date, see further, in the Commentary, 63.77 n.

27 Descended from No. 109 (cf. No. 92); corrected from a manuscript similar to No. 79. Formerly a Strozzi manuscript.

28 Corrected in a sixteenth-century hand; some of the corrections appear to depend ultimately, if not immediately, on the first Aldine edition (e.g., 64.21 *tum*). Formerly a Strozzi manuscript.

29 Written at Pistoia by Francesco Viviano, 'Lambertini F. notarium collensem.' Good textual tradition. Close to *m* (No. 115) rather than to *R* (e.g., 8.5 *amabiliter*).

30 Notes and emendations in the hand of Bernardus Pisanus, written in the margins of a copy of Calphurnius' 1481 edition. The *subscriptio* to the notes on Catullus reads as follows (giving the date): '... recognovi ego Ber. pisanus collato emendatissimo F. Puccij exemplari anno MD.xxij.' See Gaisser 1992: 244, and Richardson 1976: 278.

31 Parent of No. 4, q.v. Written by 'two scribes, the first ending at 64.278. The two scribes used entirely different exemplars. The first part is a rather faithful descendant of *G*, with some readings derived from a late manuscript. The second part is based on an exemplar descended from *R*.' (Ullman 1960b: 1053). See further the Introduction, pp. 33 and 56. There are some later additions, such as names in the margin, which in Ullman's view might be attributable to Bartolomeo Fonzio (on whom see note on No. 20).

32 63.37–93 and 64. Marginal and interlinear commentary.

33 Poem 64 only: variant readings.

34 Catullus incomplete, lacking 68.101–50 and 104–16. Formerly contained Propertius also. See Della Corte 1985: 235–42

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Designation Ellis	Zicàri	Butrica	Date	Contents
35		Göttingen: Universitäts-bibl. Philol. 111b		g	38	(prob.) 1456	TPC
36		112				XVI	C (64) +
37	Grat.	Grenoble: Bibl. de la ville 549 (858: 117)		gr	39	1472	TCP
38	Hamb.	Hamburg: Stadt-u.-Univ.-Bibl. *scrin.* 139.4	H		41	ca. 1460–70	TPC
39	Voss.	Leiden: Bibl. der Rijksuniversiteit Voss. lat. in oct. 13		le	42	1459+	TPC
40		59				1453	TC+
41		76		l		1451	CT
42		81		ln	44	ca. 1460?	*Priap.* CTP+
43		St Petersburg [formerly Leningrad]: Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library cl. lat. Q 6				XV ex.	C+

35 Written at Bologna (Prof. de la Mare). On the group to which it belongs, see Zicàri 1956: 152–3 = 1978: 68. Dated on fol. 1 (Tibullus); see however Butrica 1984: 119 and Zicàri 1956: 149 = 1978: 64–5, for some conflicting indications of date.

37 Written at Pavia. Single Humanistic cursive hand; some additions, and many corrections, in the same or a contemporary hand. Dated at end of Propertius. Close to No. 57, and to No. 15 (where see n.).

38 Written at Ferrara. Not now considered to have belonged to Matthias Corvinus. Marginal variants (fol. 118^{r}, poem 1, only) in a later hand somewhat resembling that of R^{3}. *Ad patriam* epigram at end of text.

On Nos. 39–42, see de Meyier, 1977.

39 Related to Nos. 9 and 12. Miscellaneous contents are similar to those of No. 10.

40 Written by 'presbiter petrus Antonides.' Dated on fol. 81^{r}. Descended from a manuscript that had 23 lines to a page (note the transpositions in poems 63 and 64; cf. Nos. 73 and 103). Close to No. 38.

41 Written by Antonio Beccaria of Verona (b. ca. 1400); the manuscript is identifiable as number 17 in the list of his books. See Zicàri 1956: 152–62 = 1978: 68–77. On the first leaf (originally the cover) is a note of ownership: FEDERICI CERVII. Cerruti was born in 1541 at Verona; on his library, see the references in Zicàri 1956, n. 30. Close to No. 2.

42 Possibly copied in northeastern Italy (it has η-class affiliations). Close to No. 107, and also (strikingly) to No. 78 (β). See Müller 1961, where the manuscript (including selections from Petronius) is designated as F. See the discussion by de la Mare 1976b: 223–4.

43 Some of its readings are reported in Henry Bardon's Teubner edition, under the siglum λ; see his *praefatio*, p. xvii. Its existence was known to Hale, but I find no

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Designation Ellis	Zicàri	Butrica	Date	Contents
44	add.	London: British Library Additional 10386			(51)	(prob.) 1474	C (orig. + P = Add. 10387)
45		11674	c			XV 3/4	TC
46		11915	a	a(1953)		1460	C
47		12005	b			1460–70?	Mart. C (to 64.400 *lugere*)
48		Burney 133	d			1470–80?	C
49	Harl.	Harley 2574	h	ha	58	ca. 1460?	TPC+
50		2778			59	ca. 1450–75	PC
51		4094	h^2			XV	C (61; 62; 2; 10; 5–9; 11–17.14)+
52	Cuiac.	Egerton 3027	P	p(1953)	56	1467	PTC *Priap.*

report of its contents in his papers or those of Ullman. See Zicàri 1965: 236 = 1978: 147 n. 12, for a reading shared with No. 52.

44 Written at Verona by Pierfilippo Muronovo, as was also British Library Ms Add. 10387 (a Propertius, dated 1474, in the same hand as the Catullus, and on paper bearing the same watermark), which was originally bound with it (as Saibante 329); it may be noted that No. 24, which is a direct copy of our manuscript, was formerly Saibante 324.

45 Formerly at Siena, where it may have been written. From the Piccolomini manuscripts. At 64.28 it has *neptunine* (cf. No. 60 and the second hand, β^2, in No. 78). The arms are probably those of Martinozzi, of Siena.

46 Formerly in the library of Mapheus Pinelli, of Venice. Corrected (early) from another manuscript, probably contemporary. Its origins lie close to the parent Ms of *1472* (Zicàri 1957: 157 = 1978: 106).

47 Close to No. 50. Related also to No. 82, the text of which is better if not earlier.

48 A fine Neapolitan manuscript, adorned with the emblems of the Aragonese kings of Naples (no arms). Single Humanistic book-hand. The titles are from the same source as those of No. 52. Copied from a corrected manuscript up to 64.183, then changed, as the scribe's note informs us, to copying from an uncorrected exemplar; hence no variant readings are given from 64.184 onwards.

49 The decoration suggests that the manuscript originated in Rome or Naples. One hand only. See Butrica 1984: 132–43 for its possible derivation from a Ms belonging to Giovanni Aurispa.

50 Ferrarese; Strozzi family arms. Single humanistic book-hand; no corrections. On the page immediately preceding the text: 'ego Alexander Branchaleonus.' Close to No. 47; cf. also No. 82.

51 The contents include letters dated 1442 and 1443.

52 Codex Cuiacianus (Scaligeri), Codex Perusinus. Written by Pacificus Maximus Irenaeus de Asculo ('Asculanus' or da Ascoli), Professor at Perugia. Many corrections, variant readings, glosses, and notes by the first writer, but in different inks. See,

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Designation Ellis	Zicàri	Butrica	Date	Contents
53		[formerly] London: Robinson Trust (now in private hands). Phillipps 3400				ca. 1475	C
54	Ambr.	Milan: Bibl. Ambrosiana D 24 *sup.*		am		ca. 1500	C
55		G 10 *sup.*				XV (med.?)	TC (101; 62.39–48; 59–66; 5; 8; 13)+
56		H 46 *sup.*			64	ca. 1460–70	PTC+
57		I 67 *sup.*		as	65	ca. 1470–80?	CPT
58		M 38 *sup.*	A			ca. 1430(+?)	C
59		Bibl. Nazionale di Brera (Braidense) AD xii 37		br		1450?	TC+
60		Mons: Bibl. de la ville 218.109		mt	68	XV (2nd)	T[Ov.]*Ep.*15CP

on this manuscript and on Scaliger's use of it, Grafton 1975, especially 158ff. Closely related to No. 85. Apparently removed between 1533 and 1577 from the library of San Salvatore at Bologna. Parent Ms of θ class (Mynors, p. xi)

53 Written in northeastern Italy (Padua?) by Bartolomeo Squara. Has 'munus Francisci Mutatii P.V.' on the flyleaf. The late Alan Thomas (London) included it in his catalogue 41, 1980. It was sold by him to a dealer in the U.S.A., as Mrs Shirley Thomas has kindly informed me.

54 At 4.10 omits *post* (characteristic of δ-class manuscripts).

55 Fols. 75–7 contain parts of Catullus, in this order: 101; 62.39–48; 62.59–66; 5; 8; 13. The style looks early. A note of ownership reads: 'Liber D. Grimani Car^{lis} S. Marci ... Nunc Patriarcha Aquileie.' Domenico Grimani became Cardinal 13 September 1493, Patriarch of Aquileia 21 March 1498; he died 27 August 1523. The last three words quoted look like an addition; possibly the book was given to Grimani before he left Rome for Venice.

56 Cf. *Tom.* Closely related to No. 38; possibly written at about the same time. At 68.47, this marginal note: 'Seneca supplevit' (surely derived from the note 'supplevit Seneca' in No. 78).

57 Lacks (1) *Ad patriam* epigram, (2) poem 1. Written by a professional scribe 'in or near Milan' (Butrica, p. 64). 'Early' style. Dotted *y*s. Some of its readings suggest a close relationship to γ and ζ classes. Close to Nos. 15 (see n.) and 37.

58 Clearly early style (heavy strokes; cf. No. 109).

59 Date at the end of the Tibullus (which is in the same hand as the Catullus, but in a different ink). Closely related to No. 10.

60 Copy (direct or at one remove) of No. 78. Written in a non-Italian hand (Zicàri 1958: 90 = 1978: 93), possibly at Padua or Trogir (Butrica 1984: 136). See also A.C. de la Mare (n. on No. 78) for an alternative account. Formerly at Tournai.

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Designation Ellis	Zicàri	Butrica	Date	Contents
61		Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibl. lat. 473				XV	C (begins at *4.7 negare*)
62	Neap.	Naples: Bibl. Brancacciana IV A. 4				XVII	C (frag.) +
63		Bibl. oratoriana dei Gerolamini C. F. III. 15		74		1484	PC Stat. (*S.*) T
64		Bibl. Nazionale IV. F. 19		70		1467+	CTP+
65		IV. F. 21		72		1450-60?	CP
66		IV. F. 61				1505?	C+
67		IV. F. 63				XV (late)?	Stat. (*A.*) Ov. C (1–54.2)
68		New Haven, Connecticut: Beinecke Library, Yale University 186				ca. 1470?	TC
69	Bodl.	Oxford: Bodleian Library lat. class. e. 3		78		ca. 1460–70?	TPC

61 Descendant, but not a direct copy, of No. 124. Has α-class titles. Two folios missing (from 12.11 to 21.1 inclusive).

63 Written at Florence by Antonio Sinibaldi for the Aragonese royal family of Naples (cf. No. 48). Neapolitan decoration. For the writer, see Ullman 1960a: 118–23. Copied from *1472* (de la Mare 1985: I.485).

64 Written at Naples (note the predominantly Neapolitan authorship of the humanistic additions). From the library of Aulus Ianus Parrhasius (Aulo Giano Parrasio, 1470–1522): 'the heir of Valla, Politian and Laetus, who continued their methods' (Sabbadini 1905: 159, 170). Ownership note (fol. 165^{v}) of Antonio Seripando, who was a pupil of Francesco Pucci and inherited many of Parrhasius' manuscripts. On Antonio Seripando, see note on No. 6. See Richardson 1976, and de Nolhac 1887. Some θ-class readings.

65 Written in Italy. Single Humanistic book-hand. One of the very few manuscripts in the *G* tradition, as contrasted with the numerous direct or indirect descendants of *R*. A copy of No. 18. Cf. also No. 93 for the influence of *G*.

66 At 17.25 has *derelinquere* (the reading of *O*). Date is from a blotted n. on fol. 13^{v} or 14^{r}.

68 Copy of a corrected copy of No. 31. One hand throughout. See Shailor 1984

69 Written in Italy. Single humanistic cursive book-hand, except for additions in a more formal script (fols. 130, 133, 134) and notes and additions in another hand. Closely related to Nos. 70 and (probable exemplar) 121. Has 'petrus odus' supplement at 68.47 (cf. No. 82).

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Designation Ellis	Zicàri	Butrica	Date	Contents
70		e. 15	Phil. alter			1459+	C+
71		e. 17	Phil.	f		1453	CT
72	*O*	Canon. lat. 30	O	O		ca. 1370?	C
73	Canon.	33				1450+	TC
74		34				XV ex.	CT *Priap.*
75	Laud.	Laud. lat. 78		ld		ca. 1460–70	TC (to 109.6)
76	Pat.	Padua: Bibl. capitolare C 77			80	ca. 1468–9?	PC+
77		Palermo: Bibl. comunale 2. Q. q. E. 10				1459+	TC+

70 Written, according to Ullman, by the scribe of a Tibullus in the British Library (Ms Add. 11962), which was probably joined to it at first. Dated by the inclusion, among the miscellaneous contents of the volume, of the poem 'Pii Papae 1459' (cf. Nos. 2, 39, and 77). Closely related to Nos. 69 and 121. Has 'petrus odus' supplement (see No. 82).

71 Copied, probably directly, from No. 41. Venetian (Conegliano). The *subscriptio* to the Tibullus part reads: 'Tibulli poetae liber explicit III° Idus sextilis M°CCCC°LIII° Conegl(i)ani mei Francisci Crobati Veneti.' One hand only. At 55.17 has the reading *lacusteolae* (cf. α). See Zicàri 1956: 153–6 = 1978: 68–71.

72 Codex Oxoniensis (*O*). See Introduction, pp. 28–30. On the date and certain other matters, see Hunt 1975: 80. The corrections are by the first scribe, not – as many scholars have supposed – by a second. (Professor de la Mare has expressed to me her opinion that there is no reason to attribute anything in *O* to a second hand.)

73 Closely related to No. 38.

74 This manuscript seems to have influenced No. 85, q.v.

75 Written at Padua. Closely related to (descended from?) No. 128. Corrected in a slightly later hand.

76 Close to α (No. 8). Written by Pietro Barozzi (1441–1507). The writer, who became bishop of Belluno, was translated to Padua in 1487.

There are now at Padua four manuscripts by Barozzi; two of them are signed. One of these, Ms C.74, is dated thus in the *subscriptio*: 'absolvi ego Petrus Barrocius Patricius Venetus XI Kal Octobres MCCCCLXVIII.' On the relationship of our manuscript to Nos. 48, 52, and 90, see Zicàri 1953, especially 13–17 (1978: 50–4), where some of its readings are given. For a further list of readings, see Pighi 1951: 36ff. Though an α-class manuscript, it seems to be independent of the group of α-derived manuscripts discussed in Zicàri 1956. There are certain similarities to No. 35 (e.g., 87.2 *amata mea;* and the two verses 87.3–4 are omitted). Much correction, of the first part at least, was done by the original scribe from a manuscript other than his exemplar. Some corrections in poem 62 were added later by a different hand.

77 Written by 'Johannes Asper, alias Scharp.' Markedly similar, especially in the second part of its contents, to No. 70; but it does not exhibit the 'petrus odus' supplement.

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Designation Ellis	Zicàri	Butrica	Date	Contents
78	*β*	Paris: Bibl. Nationale 7989		pa	82	1423	TPC Petron.
79	Par.	7990			83	1475+	TCP
80	*T*	8071	T			IX	Juv. C (poem 62)+
81	Par.	8231				XVII	C (poem 64, nn.)+
82		8232				XV 3/4	C *Priap.* +
83		8233			84	1465	CTP
84		8234	C			ca. 1450?	TC
85		8236			86	ca. 1500	PTC *Priap.*
86		8458			88	1474+	TPC+
87	G	14137	G	G		1375	C

78 Codex Traguriensis (*β*). Written by a scholar for his own use. For the place of writing (probably Florence) and the scribe's place of origin (Venetian territory?), and for a description, history, and bibliography, see de la Mare 1976b: 239–47.

79 Florentine. Arms not identified. Later belonged to Cardinal Ridolfi. Closely connected with No. 111. The Propertius was copied from the edition published at Milan in 1475. Cursive. See de la Mare 1985: I.491.

80 Codex Thuaneus (*T*). Ullman believed it to be a copy of the Vienna florilegium Cod. lat. 277; but see Zwierlein 1983: 15-23; he shows that *T* and Vienna 277 are copied from a common parent. Since Vienna 277 now lacks Catullus, it cannot be demonstrated that *T*'s Catullus extract came from the parent Ms. See Richardson 1976.

82 At 68.47: 'petri odi supplementum' (cf. Nos. 47, 50, 69, and 70); for Petrus Odus supplement see Mynors' edition, p. xi. The manuscript is by several hands: on fols. 91–130 there is a Greek Aratus by 'Joh. Rhosus, presbyter' of Crete (note on flyleaf, which has apparently been displaced), but the whole codex is not, as might be hastily supposed, written by him. The Aratus part is dated 1488.

83 Codex Memmianus. Written at Florence by Gherardo del Ciriagio (cf. No. 21). Copy of a slightly corrected copy of No. 95 (cf. Nos. 105 and 117). All these manuscripts show a close relationship to *R* (see the Stemma Codicum).

84 Codex Colbertinus.

85 Very close to No. 52, with which it shares not only the readings common to the *θ* class but many that are not present in the other members of that class. May have been written in the vicinity of Padua, and may be linked with a group of four manuscripts of the *Priapea*, two of which are hybrid and contain readings (absent from the two 'purer' manuscripts) which are very close to the readings of the manuscript under review.

86 Written in Rome. Bought at Constantinople in 1672; thought to have been looted from Matthias Corvinus. See Delisle 1868: I.297 n. 3.

87 Codex Sangermanensis (*G*). Written at Verona, probably by Antonio da Legnago. For writer and date, see Billanovich 1959: 160–5.

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Designation Ellis	Zicàri	Butrica	Date	Contents
88		Parma: Bibl. Palatina HH5.47 (716)		pm	91	1471	PCT
89		HH3.124 (1092)				1736	C
90		Pesaro: Bibl. Oliveriana 1167 (formerly 1217)			92	1470	CTP+
91		Rome: Bibl. Casanatense 15			97	1470–1	TPC (lacking 27.5–61.142 and 108–116)
92	Cors.	Bibl. Corsiniana 43.D.20				ca. 1500	TC+
93	Dan.	S. Daniele del Friuli: Bibl. Guarneriana 56			104	ca. 1455	P Ov. (*H.* 15) TC+

88 Written at Pavia by Bernardo Prato of Parma 'in arce papie apud Magistrum Gandulfum de Bononia castellanus' (fol. 110, at end of Catullus, together with date). Close to No. 129a; cf. No. 104. At 64.139 reads (with *O* and a few late manuscripts) *blanda* instead of *nobis*.

89 Apparently the author's manuscript of Vulpius' annotated edition of 1737. Contains two *nihil obstat* certificates, signed by clerics and dated 1736.

90 Written at Siena by Francesco Fucci of Città di Castello. See Zicàri 1953 = 1978: 43–60. Dated in the *subscriptio* to the Catullus; other parts are dated separately.

91 Written by Pomponius Laetus, with rubrication by Bartolomeo Sanvito; see Muzzioli 1959: 337–52 (date, p. 348). British Library Ms Sloane 777 belongs to the same series. Cf. also No. 110.

92 A descendant of No. 109 (cf. No. 27). The note on poem 14b, 'in codice antiquo non leguntur hic,' which appears in No. 86, and a similar observation in the manuscript under review, were first indicated by Mynors; cf. Richardson 1976: 285.

93 Not, as Hale once supposed (though he later changed his mind), a G-tradition manuscript, but rather a manuscript in the *R α* tradition prevalent in northeastern Italy, with, however, substantial influence from the tradition of *G*. Compare for example 112.1 *homoque* (= R^2), 112.2 (*est G, es OR, om. SDan.*). For an example of possible *α*-influence cf. 68.38 *ingenuo*. See Zicàri 1959 = 1978: 109–22. For the date, see D'Angelo 1970: 28, item 134 (inventory dated 1461). There are two different hands, the second of which begins on fol. 31 at 64.351. There are few corrections; most of them are in the former hand, identified by Zicàri 1959: 460 = 1978: 117–18, as that of Battista Cingolano. See Ghiselli 1987, which contains photographs of a few folios.

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Designation Ellis	Zicàri	Buttrica	Date	Contents
94		(formerly) Schlägl (Austria): Prämonstratenserstiftsbibl. 143 Cpl. 59				1465	Aristotle Cic. (*De fato*) Hor. (*Epod.*) C+
95	Sen.	Siena: Bibl. Comunale H.V. 41				ca. 1425	C+
96	Tub.	Tübingen: Universitätsbibl. M[e] 104				XV (2nd)	TC+
97		Turin: Bibl. reale *Varia* 54				ante 1466	C (1–61)
98		Vatican: Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana Barberini lat. 34		109		XV (med.?)	TPC+

94 (= 10a). Written at Pavia by Johannes de Rabenstein. One hand only. Dated at end of Catullus (fol. 96[v]). A later note on the same page claims that the readings are exactly the same ('*eaedem plane*') as those of No. 57. For the contents, see Vielhaber and Indra 1918: 249–50. Unknown to Hale and Ullman. For the knowledge of this manuscript I am indebted to the director of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Saint John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota. Now in the Bibl. Royale (Albertina), Brussels. See Gaisser 1981.

95 Very close to *R*; a sister of No. 22 (see the Stemma Codicum). Spells *michi, nichil*. Among the contents (fol. 48) there is a dedication to Coluccio Salutati which is not without interest. Corrected in a mid-fifteenth-century hand; No. 117 derives from it *before* correction (see Nos. 83, 105, 112 nn.).

96 Written by a professional scribe: 'scrips. Heinricus Koch de Sch[...].' Some of the spellings are old-fashioned (*michi, nichil, capud, velud*), but many of the readings suggest influence of the later tradition from β to η, especially that of the γ class. None of the readings corresponds to those introduced by the 1472 edition, but some to those first found in the edition of 1473. Unknown to Hale and Ullman.

97 Epigram *Ad patriam* at end of the (incomplete) text. Agrees in a few places with γ class; much more frequently, with δ class, to which there is a fairly marked resemblance; but hardly more than once with ϵ class. Disagrees more often than not with ζ class, and much more often than not with η (about 18 disagreements in 25 readings) and also θ (some 21 disagreements in 30 readings). At the end, a note of ownership, some of it erased or illegible, which reads in part: 'Ego Iohannes baptista clericus parmensis emi hunc catullum a quodam Scriptore b... re<giensi?> pro quinquaginta be<zanti?>is anno dñi milesimo sexagesimo sexto die ...' Not known to Hale or Ullman.

Vatican Library. For the Barberini, Ottoboni, and Chigi collections, including Nos. 98–102 and 107 below, see especially Pellegrin 1975.

98 On the annotations (chiefly based on *Parth.*), see Gaisser 1992: 228; she dates the annotator's work tentatively in 1493–5 (ibid. 209).

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Designation Ellis	Zicàri	Buttrica	Date	Contents
99	Ottob.	Ottob. lat. 1550			116	XV med.	CP+
100		1799		v		post 1460	C
101	*R*	1829	R	R		1375+	C
102	Ottob.	1982				XV (2nd)	C (to 63.44)+
103	Pal.	Pal. lat. 910			118	ca. 1475?	T Ov. PC+
104		1652			119	1445–59 (prob. ca. 1455)	TCP+

99 Certainly a descendant of No. 23 (both omit the lines 61.125–9, 62.54–5, 62.62; and there are a great many striking agreements besides, even against other manuscripts that correspond very closely with No. 23 in general). Yet it was probably not a direct copy, but a copy of a copy, for the following reasons: at 22.3 (*itemque*) and 40.3 (*advocatus*) it agrees with *m* (No. 115: see Introduction, pp. 35–8) against both No. 23 and *R*; it spells *michi, nichil*; and (what is more significant) after 55.10 the scribe missed several lines and began to write line 18, but stopped after three words (detecting his error), erased the words, and replaced them with line 11. This means that the scribe must have been copying from a manuscript that had lines 11 and 18 on the same page – but this is not true of No. 23. (The last observation I owe to an unpublished note by Ullman). At 63.25 it agrees with No. 15 (*sacra cohors*). Written perhaps in northeastern Italy; Ullman suggested the Friuli. See G. Mercati, *Codici latini Pico Grimani* = Studi e Testi 75 (1938): 253.

100 Copy of a corrected manuscript close to *a*. Cf. Nos. 22 and 105. See Zicàri 1956: 153–62 = 1978: 68–77.

101 Codex Romanus (*R*). See Introduction, pp. 33–5. For a collation, with brief introduction, see Thomson 1970.

102 Written in Italy (Humanistic cursive). A miscellany from P. Laetus' circle. See Gaisser 1992: 250–1, for contents and date. There is a fifteenth-century note in a German hand: 'Wolfgangus Gügler clericus Frisingensis diocesis.' Has *a*-class transpositions, with a variation: 24.5–10 are left out; then, after the end of poem 62, we find 24.3–10 (there are two versions of 24.3 and 4). See Kellogg 1900. On fol. 215[v], at the end of the printed text of Aesop, appears the date 1475.

103 Written perhaps in northeastern Italy. Dated 1467 at the end of the Tibullus, and also on fol. 91[v]; but Ullman guessed 1475 for the Catullus (on fols. 306–42, in a different hand from the Tibullus, and probably slightly later); in doing so he compared with it 'the Leyden Tibullus.' (By this he presumably meant Voss. o.42, dated 1473).

104 Two parts: fols. 1–28, Tibullus (perhaps not all by one hand); 28[v]–129[v], Catullus, Calpurnius, Propertius, written by Giannozzo Manetti ca. 1450 or somewhat later. Both parts have decorated 'vine-stem' initials, in a mid-century style which may be Florentine, but could be Roman, as could the script of the first part. The initials may of course have been added later; but if they are Roman then they, at least, are likely to have been executed in the mid-1450s, when Giannozzo was in exile in Rome and before he went on to Naples. He died in 1459. On fol. 132 there is a poem composed 'a m[agistro] petro o[do] Montipolitano die xii febr. 1460/Pro clar[mo] viro Dño Jañozio Manetto.' Against Sabbadini (1905: 16, n. 82) Ullman points out that there is no proof

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Designation Ellis	Zicàri	Butrica	Date	Contents
105	Urb.	Urb. lat. 641			120	ca. 1465–70	CTP
106		812				1495–1500?	C
107	Chis.	Chigi H.IV.121		ch		ca. 1467	CT
108	Vat.	Vat. lat. 1608		va		1479	C *Priap.*
109		1630	V			ca. 1425+	Plaut. C+
110		3269				ca. 1470	C *Priap.*
111		3272			124	ca. 1465–70	PTC+

that this is the autograph of Petrus Odus, and holds it to be 'almost certain' that it is not. Another version is given by Schenkl 1883: 293. Close to No. 129a; cf. No. 88.

105 A sister of No. 83; probably copy of a copy of No. 95. Written at Florence by C. Sinibaldus (see de la Mare 1985: I.538; on C. Sinibaldus, ibid. 432).

106 Close to Nos. 14 and 17. This must be the 'Vaticanus' of Santen (cf. the reading 68.141 *fas*, with Santen's note). For the writer's name the *subscriptio* gives the following: 'ego Iulius Cesar Ia … cus sentinatus [i.e. from Sentino in Umbria] scripsi.' Note of ownership on fol. 70^{r}: 'Ant^{s} Borg^{s}.'

107 Written in Rome by Guido Bonatti of Mantua (d. 1494?). See Ms Chigi H. V. 169 (Ovid *Amores, Priapea*, etc.), which is by the same hand but in a different ink, and is dated 1467 (inside the back cover; at the end of the *Priapea*, in the same hand, the words 'finit per me Guidonem Bonactium'). Our manuscript, though written relatively late, represents a fairly early state of the text.

108 Written in Rome for Pope Sixtus IV: on the first page, the arms of the della Rovere family, surmounted by the papal insignia, indicate Sixtus as the original owner. See Muntz and Fabre 1887: 155 (account book of Sixtus IV): 'Satisfeci scriptori qui scripsit Catullum poetam et Priapeiam Virgilii simul in bonis litteris ducatis tribus, die ultimo maii 1479.' Professor Reeve informs me that the *Priapea* part derives from a printed edition; but in the Catullus part I find little to suggest that either the readings of the 1472 edition or those of the 1473 edition have been followed, and some positive evidence to the contrary. At 66.11, however, the reading *quare ex* has been emended to *qua rex* (= 1473 edition), which suggests that in one or more passages the latter edition may possibly have been consulted.

109 The Plautine contents (consisting of the following plays only: *Amphitruo, Asinaria, Aulularia, Captivi, Curculio, Casina, Cistellaria, Epidicus*) may point to a date ca. 1425+ – before, that is, manuscript *D* of Plautus arrived in Rome (in 1429), and became known. The parent, or ancestor, of Nos. 27 and 92. Close to No. 8 in character.

110 It is stated on the manuscript that it was written by Pomponius Laetus (1428–98); the statement ends with the name of 'Ful. Ors.' (Fulvio Orsini, 1529–1600). Categorical as it is, the statement about Laetus appears to be based on Orsini's fantasy. Nevertheless, the manuscript clearly originated in Laetus' circle. Cf. No. 91. Part of No. 145 once formed a part of this manuscript.

111 Close to No. 28, according to Hale; cf. also No. 79. On a flyleaf: 'Catullo … di mano di huomo dotto, Ful. Ors.' (cf. note on No. 110). More than one hand, but the hands

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Designation Ellis	Zicàri	Butrica	Date	Contents
112		3291				XV 3/4	Lucr. Pers. *Priap.* CT+
113		7044				1520	C
114		11425				XV (late)	TC
115	*m*	Venice: Bibl. Nazionale Marciana lat. 12.80 (4167)	Ven.			1398–1400	C
116	Marc.	12.81 (4649)		mr		ca. 1460–70?	TC
117		12.86 (4170)				ca. 1440–50?	Ov. C
118		12.153 (4453)		mo		ca. 1460–70	TC+

are of about the same date. There are only a few corrections or variant readings; for the most part these were made or added by the first hand in each passage, and immediately after writing.

112 One hand only. See de Nolhac 1887: 359, no. 16. Fairly close to either *R* or *m*. Related to Nos. 83 and 105.

113 The indication 'Catullus, copied by Basilius Zanchus (1581)' in Kristeller 1967: 342, is partly incorrect. The date (MDXX Kal. Mart.) is given on the flyleaf, preceded by the following (heavily overscored but partly legible): 'Catullus Petrei Bergomatis ex antiquissimo exemplari Joviani Pontani diligentissime descriptus.' At the bottom of the page, in a later hand: 'Ego Laurentius Gambara Brixianus fidem facio librum hunc scriptum esse manu Basilii Zanchi Bergomatis, cuius consuetudine et amicitia usus sum per multos annos. 1581.' Here the date 1581 is plainly meant to be understood as that of Gambara's correcting note (observe the punctuation and phrasing). The erasures appear to be Gambara's. Note the references to a manuscript described as that of Pontanus. For Petreius and Pontanus, see further Richardson 1976: 279 and n. 1. Ullman 1908: 10, n. 1, observes that Petreius was the 'Academy' name of Basilius (Zanchi): see his reference to Tiraboschi. Ullman also notes that Zanchi died in Rome in 1558 or 1560.

114 See Ruysschaert 1959: 17. One scribe only. A note inside the cover reads 'Dono di Pio X.'

115 Codex (Venetus) Marcianus (*m*). A very close copy of R/R^{2}, written at Florence. See the Introduction, pp. 35–8, on the scribe's identity and other matters; for a description see de la Mare and Thomson 1973.

116 Written probably at Padua or Venice; possibly in Rome. Capitals by Bartolomeo Sanvito of Padua (1421–1511/12). At 66.83 reads *colitis* (= *OG*).

117 Very close to No. 95 (e.g., 45.16 *medulis*, 58b.7 *mihic*, 63.25 *diva cohors*, 80.6 *canta vocare*: these and other readings show that it was copied before the exemplar was corrected). It should not be included in the η class; Mynors (pref., p. x) evidently confused it with No. 116.

118 May have been written at Padua. The hand is similar to the early work of Sanvito (see note on No. 116). Has the β titles. See Zicàri 1958: 80–8 = 1978: 80–90.

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Designation Ellis	Zicàri	Butrica	Date	Contents
119		(ed. Ald^{1}, nn) 12.127 (4020)				1530	C
120		(ed. Ald^{2}, nn) 12.128 (4021)				XVI (med.?)	C
121		Venice: Museo Civico Correr fondo Cicogna 549			32	XV	T Ov. PC
122	Vic.	Vicenza: Bibl. Bertoliana G. 2.8.12 (216)		Vic. vu	133	1460	TCP
123	Vind.	Vienna: Nationalbibl. 224			134	1463+	CTP
124		3198				ca. 1460	C Petron. T+

119 A copy of the first Aldine edition (Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius) with notes derived from those of Francesco Pucci, which were made in 1502; copied in 1530 by Donato Giannotti (signed on title page: 'Donati Jannotij.' At the end of the Propertius there is a further note: 'Franciscus Puccius haec annotavit anno Salutis MDII, Augustino Scarpinella comite studiorum, secutus fidem antiquissimi codicis qui primum fuit Berardini Vallae patricij Romani viri doctissimi dein ab eo datus est Alfonso secundo Regi Neap^{no} principi litterarum amantissimo. Consulit Laurentius Benivenius ut omnia in suum exscriberet: ego autem cum ipso Laurentij sic adtuli ut nihil intermissum sit. Absolutum opus An. MDXXX iiij Cal. Augusti. Obsessa urbe. Donatus Jannoctius'). For the diffusion of Pucci's notes, and for a copy of the 1481 Reggio edition, now in Florence, which belonged to Pucci and has virtually the same note down to *amantissimo*, see Brian Richardson, 'Pucci, Parrasio and Catullus,' who also mentions Benivieni on pp. 279–80, and esp. Gaisser 1992: 243–9.

120 Plainly later than No. 119, with the contents of which the annotator appears to be well acquainted. The same abbreviations are used ('p' for Puccius, 'v.c.' for *vetus codex*), but others ('A,' for example) are added.

121 Written in Italy. Two Humanistic cursive hands; originally two separate manuscripts. The Catullus, fols. 127–75, is in a different hand from the rest. Close to Nos. 69 and 70. Cf. also Nos. 47, 50, 82, and 104. The correcting hand in the Catullus may be that of Petrus Odus.

122 Written at Padua by Bartolomeo Sanvito (cf. Nos. 116 and 118) for Marcantonio Morosini of Venice. One hand only, including the addition of many variant readings, and of a small number of corrections; but the manuscript is very carefully written, with few errors. Many of its readings correspond with those of the 1473 edition, the editor of which may possibly have consulted this manuscript as a source of ideas for improving the text. Evidently the parent of the η class, as No. 52 is of the θ class.

123 Direct copy of No. 124. Belonged to Matthias Corvinus. See Csapodi 1969: 71, 302, and pl. CVI; de la Mare 1985: I.496 tentatively attributes the hand to Gabriel de Pistorio.

124 Written by Giorgio Antonio Vespucci (ca. 1434–1514). Described by de la Mare 1976: 230 (see n. 3 for references to other descriptions, and n. 4 on the question of date).

No.	Short Title	Location and Press-Mark	Designation Ellis	Zicàri	Butrica	Date	Contents
125		3243				1499	C (to 54.6)
126		Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibl. 65.2 Aug. 8°			136	1486+	CTP
127	Gud.	283 Gud. lat.				ca. 1500	C
128		332 Gud. lat.		gu		ca. 1460	TC+
		Location unknown:					
129		(formerly) Phillipps 6433			146	XV?	PTC
		In a private collection:					
129a	Tom.	Codex Tomacellianus			143	XV med.	PCT

Supplementary List (Short Fragments or Extracts)

No.	Location and Press-Mark	Date	Contents (C.)
130	Basle: Universitätsbibl. F.II.35	1534	(f. 19) frag.
131	Cracow: University Library no. 3244, DD.12.15	XVI ex.–XVII in.	(ff. 2^{r}–9^{v}) extracts
132	Florence: Bibl. Laurenziana Strozz. 100	ca. 1460–80?	poem 49

125 Written in Germany.

126 Written by Clemens Salernitanus, who worked at Naples in the second half of the fifteenth century. The Propertius was copied from the Brescia edition of 1486. Arms apparently those of Montefeltro. Venetian illumination. There is insufficient proof of its having belonged to Matthias Corvinus.

127 Copy of a copy of No. 100. Order of poems: 1–24; 44.21–62; 30–44.20; 63–116 (that is, in general it has the α-class transpositions).

128 Probably the parent or ancestor of No. 75. Incorporates some ζ-class readings, e.g., 44.19 *gestire cesso* (found also in Nos. 45 and 46).

129 W.G. Hale believed this to be identical with No. 52; see Hale 1908: 238. No. 52, however, contains no indication that it ever was a Phillipps manuscript. I have not discovered what led Hale to identify the two.

129a The designation, which I suggested, was accepted by Professor Butrica; see Butrica 1984: 106–10.

131 'Selecta Phalerciorum Q. Valerii Catuli, Veronensis.'

No.	Location and Press-Mark	Date	Contents (C.)
133	Florence: Bibl. Nazionale (fondo naz.) II. ix. 8	1479(?)	5; 13; 31.6–10; 64.143–4; 49; 39.16
134	London: British Library Additional 21908	XV	(f. 45^{v}) *'Ad patriam'* epigram
135	Marseilles: Bibl. de la ville 1283	XVII	extracts
136	Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibl. lat. 7471	XV–XVI	poem 49
137	Nice: Bibl. de la ville 85	XV med.	(Juv., *Schol. Sat.* vi.8, f. 23^{r}): 3.1–5, 8–10, 17–18

133 'Excerpta Catulli' on fol. 133^{rv}. Date 1479 in Arabic and Roman numerals appears (among scribbles) on fol. 149, followed by the words 'Hic liber est Caesaris Malvicini Viterbiensis.' Later the book belonged to Iohannes Laurentius Puccius (this, with its further history, is recorded on fol. 146^{r}).

137 Date probably after 1450. Superb Venetian binding. On fol. 23^{r} (in margin), scholia to the sixth satire of Juvenal, line 8, including the following excerpts from Catullus (poem 3):

Catullus in primo:	Et subdit	Et paulo post
Lugete o veneres cupidinesque	Nec sese agremio illius movebat	Tua nunc opera, meae puellae
quantum est hominum venustorum passer	Sed circumsiliens modo huc modo illuc	Flendo turgiduli rubent ocelli.
mortuus est meaeque puellae quem plus	Ad solam dominam usque papillabat	
oculis illa suis amat		

(I have expanded some of the standard abbreviations used.)

See Beldame 1982, where the manuscript is assigned to the twelfth century. Inspection reveals significant errors in Beldame's report of the above-quoted extracts from Catullus. The scholia 'were in the scribe's exemplar,' and are therefore for the most part earlier (not later, as Beldame seems to say, p. 77) than the present text. In this connection I have two observations to make: (1) Though *papillabat* is, so far as I know, a unique reading, it may well be a mistake for *pipillabat*, which would point to a date scarcely before 1460; on the other hand, (2) the inversion *oculis illa* occurs chiefly in manuscripts of the first half of the fifteenth century. The apparent division of Catullus into 'chapters' (*capitula*; hardly 'books') implied by the words *in primo* of the heading is also intensely interesting, since it appears not to be paralleled except (in a different form, where poem 3 is not in the first 'chapter,' and at a prehumanistic date) in the context discussed by Ullman 1910. On the general character of the scholia, Beldame (77, n. 3) remarks that they differ both 'from those known since Pithou, and also from those collected by Cramer (*In D. Junii Juvenalis satiras commentarii vetusti* ..., Hamburg, 1823).' Perhaps they deserve further examination.

No.	Location and Press-Mark	Date	Contents (C.)
138	Paris: Bibl. Nationale nouv. acq. lat. 719	ca. 1476	(f. 49) 78.1–5
139	Rome: Bibl. Casanatense 904	XVI (1st)	*Florilegium Sententiarum*
140	Vatican: Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. lat. 1471	XVI (2nd)	55.20
141	Ottob. lat. 1507	XV	(f. 115^{v}) poem 49
142	Regin. lat. 1879	1491	(f. 144^{v}) frag.
143	Vat. lat. 2886	XV	(f. 139) frag.
144	2951	XV	5; 49; 8
145	7192	1527	extracts (ff. 165^{r}–184^{v})

138 The first part of the manuscript was written at Modena and dated 1476 (fol. 19); the date 1477 also appears (fol. 30^{v}).

141 Exhibits the late fifteenth-century arms of Bartolomeo Ghisilardi of Bologna.

145 Part of this manuscript was originally part of No. 110, q.v.

'Ghost' Manuscripts

A small number of manuscripts, the existence of which has been recorded or alleged, are not included in the Table of Manuscripts: some of these do not exist at all, while others have been wrongly identified.

Poppi, Biblioteca Rilliana Ms 54 contains no Catullus but only Tibullus and Propertius, despite Mazzatinti 1896: 134, and also Fanfani 1925: 16, where the wording is exactly the same; and despite a printed label inside the front cover: 'Tibullii [sic] Catulli Propertii opera exeunte Saec XIV [sic] cum adnotationibus.' I can detect no sign that a Catullus has been removed; this, I now find, was also Zicàri's opinion (see below). Further, on the flyleaf there is a note of purchase, as follows: 'Hic liber vocatur Tibullus,' etc. At the end of the Tibullus, these words: 'Finis die sabbati hora 3^{a} die decima aprilis 1472 Senis in domo Ludovici Doti. ego Gaspar. et Audivi A ... poeta.' (Several words have dropped out. For the erased name, Professor Butrica suggests 'Maximo Pacifico,' for whom see the note on No. 52 in the Table of Manuscripts.) The writers and compilers of inventories, quoted above, and

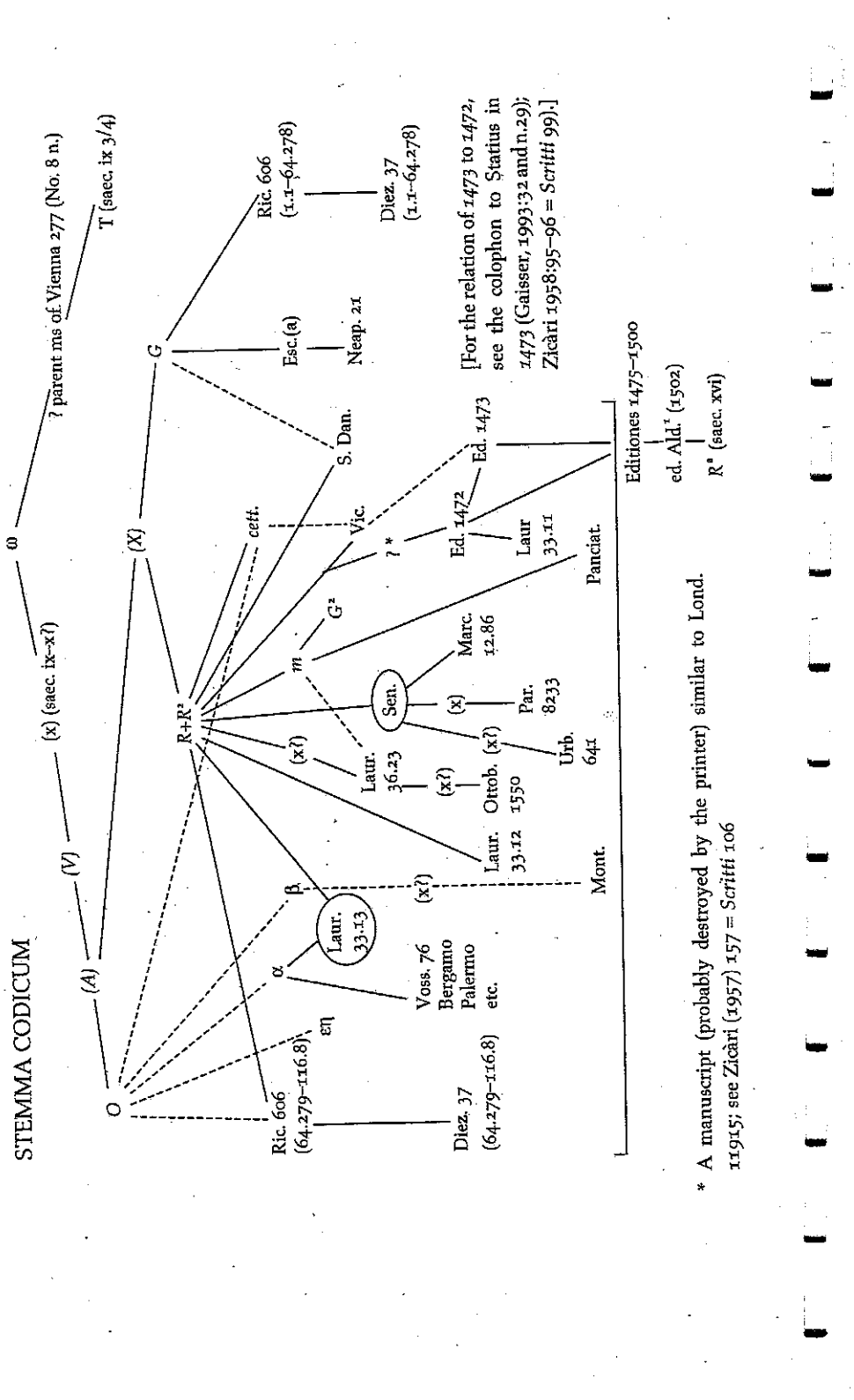
also Ferguson 1934: 66–7, give the alleged contents in the order Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius. See now Butrica 1984: 287–8.

Other 'ghosts' may be more summarily dealt with. Codex Parisinus 8074, which has been reported to contain Catullus, is a Prudentius. For what is sometimes referred to as 'Hamburg Ms 125' see No. 38 in my table and notes; there is only one Hamburg manuscript of Catullus. The reported fragment at St Andrews University is merely a specimen of the modern calligrapher's art.

In Hale's article 'The Manuscripts of Catullus' (Hale 1908: 233–56) on pages 242 and 243 there is a supplementary list of 'MSS and other material not found (or not identified).' Referring to this list, I make the following observations:

Cavrianeus is now Göttingen Ms Philol. 111b (No. 35 in my table).

The manuscript alluded to in the words 'London: in aedibus Iacobaeis (Mss Angliae, T. ii, p. 247, No. 8236)' is Voss. lat. in oct. 59 (No. 40 in my table). See de Meyier 1977: 105–8. For 8236 read 8636 (Tibullus, Catullus).



* A manuscript (probably destroyed by the printer) similar to Lond. 11915; see Zicàri (1957) 157 = *Scritti* 106

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SIGLA

V	fons communis codicum *OGR* (nunc deperditus)	ca. 1280?
O	Oxoniensis Bodleianus Canonicianus class. lat. 30	s. XIV (ca. 1360?)
G	Parisinus lat. 14137	anni 1375
R	Vaticanus Ottobonianus lat. 1829	ca. 1390?
T	Parisinus lat. 8071 (carmen 62)	s. IX
m	Venetus Marcianus lat. 12.80 (4167)	ca. 1398–1400

$O^1G^1T^1m^1$ codex ab ipso librario vel statim vel brevi correctus; similiter a^1 β^1 (vide sis infra)

$G^2G^3G^4$
$R^2R^3R^a$
m^2
} manus recentiores

a	Bononiensis bibl. Universitatis 2621	1412
β	Parisinus lat. 7989	1423
γ–θ	Quamquam hisce notis intellegendum est maiorem fere codicum partem, immo persaepe omnes, consentire, est ubi lectionem in paucis admodum codicibus invenias; si in uno tantum exstat, notam sic interclusi: (*θ*)	
γ	Mediolanensis Ambrosianus H 46 *sup.* Oxoniensis Bodleianus Canonicianus class. lat. 33 Codex Antenoris Balbi sive Ashburneri (= No. 1)	

Leidensis Vossianus lat. in oct. 59
Vaticanus Palatinus lat. 910 .
Hamburgensis scrin. 139.4

δ Mediolanensis Braidensis (Brerensis) AD xii 37, no. 2
Parisinus lat. 8234
Berolinensis Diezianus B. Sant. 36

ϵ Mediolanensis Braidensis (Brerensis) AD xii 37, no. 2
Brixianus bibliothecae Querinianae A vii 7
Londiniensis bibliothecae Britannicae Harleianus 2574

ζ Florentinus bibliothecae nationalis Magliabechianus VII 1158
Londoniensis bibliothecae Britannicae add. 11915
Londoniensis bibliothecae Britannicae add. 11674

η Vicentinus bibliothecae Bertolianae G. 2. 8. 12 (216)
Guelferbytanus 332 Gudianus lat.
Leidensis Vossianus lat. in oct. 81
Oxoniensis Bodleianus Laudianus lat. 78
Venetus Marcianus lat. 12.81 (4649)
Venetus Marcianus lat. 12.153 (4453)
Vaticanus Chisianus H.IV.121
Vaticanus Vat. lat. 1608

θ Londoniensis bibliothecae Britannicae Egertonianus 3027
Londoniensis bibliothecae Britannicae Burneianus 133
Pisaurensis bibliothecae Oliverianae 1167
Parisinus lat. 8236
Neapolitanus bibliothecae nationalis IV. F. 61

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CATULLI VERONENSIS LIBER

1

Cui dono lepidum novum libellum
arida modo pumice expolitum?
Corneli, tibi: namque tu solebas
meas esse aliquid putare nugas
iam tum, cum ausus es unus Italorum
omne aevum tribus explicare cartis
doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis.
quare habe tibi quidquid hoc libelli,
qualecumque quod, <o> patrona virgo,
plus uno maneat perenne saeclo.

1 1 *Ausonius, Eclogarum liber 1.1* 1–4 *Schol. Veron. in Vergilium, Ecl 6.1* 1–2 *Plinius, Naturalis historia 36.154* *Isidorus, Etymologiae (= Origines) 6.12.3* *Pastrengicus, De orginibus rerum (ed. Veneta) p. 88b* 1, 2, 4 *Grammatici Latini (ed. H. Keil) VI: 148 (Marius Victorinus), 261 (Caesius Bassus), 401 (Terentianus); cf. 298 (Atilius Fortunatianus)* 3–4 *Plinius, Naturalis historia 1 praefatio 1* 4 *Petrarca, Epistolae rerum senilium 11.3* 5–7 *Pastrengicus, De originibus rerum (ed. Veneta) p. 16a*

1 2 arida *Servius, Pastrengicus, V?*, arido *OGR* punice *R, corr. R²* 5 tum ϵ: tamen *V* es ϵ: est *V* 6 evum (euū) *O, Pastrengicus*: eum *GR, corr. R²* 8 habe tibi η: tibi habe *V* libelli] al. mei G^1R^2 9 <o> *add.* θ, est (ē) *Statius* quidem *1472* (qualecumque quidem est, patroni ut ergo *Bergk*) 10 perire *O*

non si Pegaseo ferar volatu,
non Rhesi niveae citaeque bigae;
adde huc plumipedas volatilesque,
ventorumque simul require cursum:
quos vinctos, Cameri, mihi dicares,
defessus tamen omnibus medullis
et multis languoribus peresus
essem te mihi, amice, quaeritando.

59

Bononiensis Rufa Rufulum fellat
uxor Meneni, saepe quam in sepulcretis
vidistis ipso rapere de rogo cenam,
cum devolutum ex igne prosequens panem
ab semiraso tunderetur ustore.

60

Num te leaena montibus Libystinis
aut Scylla latrans infima inguinum parte
tam mente dura procreavit ac taetra
ut supplicis vocem in novissimo casu
contemptam haberes, a nimis fero corde?

61

Collis o Heliconii
cultor, Uraniae genus,
qui rapis teneram ad virum

58[b] 2 *Ratherius, episcopus Veronensis, in sermone anno 963 habito (p.624 ed. Ballerini = Migne, Patrologia Latina CXXXVI: col. 736)* pennigero, ut poeticus ille, volatu

4 thesi *O* vinee *OR* niveis citisque bigis *Muretus* 5 hunc *R, corr. R*[1] plummipedas *GR* 7 vinctos *GRm*, victos *O*, iunctos *G*[2]: cunctos *Vat. 1630* 8 deffessus *O* 9 langoribus *R* praesens *O* 10 esse *O* mihi,], mi *Scaliger* amiceque ritando *O*

59 1 Rufulum *Av.*: rufum *V* fellat *O*, fallat *GR*, al. fellat *R*[2] 3 capere *β* 5 abse miraso *O*

60 1 libistinis *β*[2]: libissinis *O*, libisinis *GR*, libysinis *m* 2 scylla δε: silla *V* 4 suplicus *O*, supplicus *G*, supplitiis *R*, -ciis *m* 5 contemptam (*η*): contentam *O*, contenptam *O*[1], contem *G*, conteptam *G*[1]*R* animis *R*

61 1 obellicon iei *O*, o Eliconei *GR*

virginem, o Hymenaee Hymen,
o Hymen Hymenaee;

cinge tempora floribus
suave olentis amaraci,
flammeum cape, laetus huc
huc veni, niveo gerens
luteum pede soccum;

excitusque hilari die,
nuptialia concinens
voce carmina tinnula,
pelle humum pedibus, manu
pineam quate taedam;

namque Iunia Manlio,
qualis Idalium colens
venit ad Phrygium Venus
iudicem, bona cum bona
nubet alite virgo,

floridis velut enitens
myrtus Asia ramulis
quos Hamadryades deae
ludicrum sibi roscido
nutriunt umore:

quare age, huc aditum ferens,
perge linquere Thespiae
rupis Aonios specus,
nympha quos super irrigat
frigerans Aganippe,

4 (hymenei *R*[3?]) hymen *om. OR* (*add. R*[3]) 5 o hymen hymenee *Ald.*: hymen o hymenee hymen *OR*, o hymenee hymen *G* 7 amaraci *O*[1], amarici *V* 8 flammeum *Vat. 1630*: flameum *V* 12 nupcialia *R, corr. R*[2] concinens *β*: continens *V* 13 tinnuula *OG*, tinnuiula *R, corr. R*[2] 15 spineam *Parth.* 16 iunia *V*, Junia *G*[2]: Vibia *Syme* manlio *θ*: mallio *V* 17 id alium *O* (*et R, sed minimo intervallo*), ad alium *G, corr. mG*[2] 18 frigium *V*, phrygium *m* 21 vult *O* 23 amadriades *V* 24 ludricum *OG* roscido (*δ*): rosido *V* 25 nutriunt et *R, corr. R*[1] 28 aovios *O*

ac domum dominam voca
coniugis cupidam novi,
mentem amore revinciens,
ut tenax hedera huc et huc
arborem implicat errans.

vosque item simul, integrae
virgines, quibus advenit
par dies, agite in modum
dicite, o Hymenaee Hymen,
o Hymen Hymenaee,

ut lubentius, audiens
se citarier ad suum
munus, huc aditum ferat
dux bonae Veneris, boni
coniugator amoris.

quis deus magis anxiis
est petendus amantibus?
quem colent homines magis
caelitum, o Hymenaee Hymen,
o Hymen Hymenaee?

te suis tremulus parens
invocat, tibi virgines
zonula soluunt sinus,
te timens cupida novus
captat aure maritus.

tu fero iuveni in manus
floridam ipse puellulam

31 ac *V*: ad *1472* (*et R*^{3}) 33 revinciens ϵ: revincens *V* 34 hac et hac *Itali* (*Pal. 1652, Bodl. e 15, Vat. 3269, alii*) 38 in nodum *V*, al. in modum *R*^{2} 40 o hymenee (hi- *O*) hymenee hymen (hi- *O*) *V*: hymen o hymenee hymen (ζ) 41 lubencius *O* 42 citaries *O* 46/47 anxiis/est *Haupt*, est ama/tis *Bergk*: amatis/est *V* (49a) conperaries ausit *O*, comperarier ausit *GR*: *del.* (γ) 50 o hymen (hi- *O*) hymenee hymen *V*: hymen o hymenee hymen (ζ) 51 suis tremulus η: sui si remulus *V* 53 zonulla *O*, zonulas *Peiper* 55 maritus *Muretus*: maritos *V* 56 fer o *V* (fer oiuveni *O*) 57 puelullam *O*

dedis a gremio suae
matris, o Hymenaee Hymen,
o Hymen Hymenaee.

nil potest sine te Venus,
fama quod bona comprobet,
commodi capere, at potest
te volente. quis huic deo
compararier ausit?

nulla quit sine te domus
liberos dare, nec parens
stirpe nitier; at potest
te volente. quis huic deo
compararier ausit?

quae tuis careat sacris,
non queat dare praesides
terra finibus; at queat
te volente. quis huic deo
compararier ausit?

claustra pandite ianuae;
virgo, ades. viden ut faces
splendidas quatiunt comas?
. . . . . .
. . . . . (80)

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
tardet ingenuus pudor.
quem tamen magis audiens,
flet quod ire necesse est. (85)

58 dedis agremio sue matris *V*, d. a gremio s. m. *m* 59–60 o hymenee hymen (hi- *O*) hymenee (matris *hinc om.*) *V*, o hymenee hymen o hymenee *R*^{2} 61 nichil *V*, nil *mG*^{2}*R*^{3} 63 comodi *R*, *corr. R*^{2} 65 comparier *O* 66 quid *GR*, *corr. R*^{2} 68 nitier β: vities *O*, vicier *GR* 70 comparies *O* 75 comparier *O*, comparĩ *G*(*corr. G*^{1}) 77 ades *adn. Marc. 12.128*: adest *V* 78 quaciunt *O* *Post 78 lacunam statuit Ellis, post 79 L. Mueller*

flere desine. non tibi, Au-
runculeia, periculum est
ne qua femina pulcrior
clarum ab Oceano diem
  viderit venientem.

talis in vario solet
divitis domini hortulo
stare flos hyacinthinus.
sed moraris, abit dies.
  prodeas, nova nupta.

prodeas, nova nupta, si
iam videtur, et audias
nostra verba. viden? faces
aureas quatiunt comas;
  prodeas, nova nupta.

non tuus levis in mala
deditus vir adultera,
probra turpia persequens,
a tuis teneris volet
  secubare papillis,

lenta sed velut adsitas
vitis implicat arbores,
implicabitur in tuum
complexum. sed abit dies;
  prodeas, nova nupta.

o cubile, quod omnibus
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

82/83 Au/runculeia *sic divisit Turnebus* 83 / aurunculeia *O*, / arunculeia *GR* 88 ortullo *OG*, -ulo G^1 (*et* G^2) *R* 89 iactintinus *O*, iacintinus *GR* 90 abit (δ): abiit 91 *om. V: add. Ald.* 94 viden (θ), vide ut *Parth.*: videri ut *O*, viden et *R*, viden ut *GR* 99 probra turpia *Calph.*: procatur pia *V* 101 se cubare *O* 102 lenta ꝭ *O*, lentaꝯ *GR* lenta qui *Av.*, l. quin *Trinc.* velut] vult *O* 105 abit ηθ: abiit *V* (107–8) *"o cubile quod omnibus / candido pede lectulis: post ista duo carmina fenestra in codice antiquo sequitur et sine dubio tres desunt versus" A. Guarinus, qui et* 109–111 *om.*

. . . . . .
  candido pede lecti,

quae tuo veniunt ero,
quanta gaudia, quae vaga
nocte, quae medio die
gaudeat! sed abit dies;
  prodeas, nova nupta.

tollite, <o> pueri, faces:
flammeum video venire.
ite concinite in modum
"io Hymen Hymenaee io,
  io Hymen Hymenaee."

ne diu taceat procax
Fescennina iocatio,
nec nuces pueris neget
desertum domini audiens
  concubinus amorem.

da nuces pueris, iners
concubine; satis diu
lusisti nucibus; libet
iam servire Talasio.
  concubine, nuces da.

sordebant tibi vilicae,
concubine, hodie atque heri;
nunc tuum cinerarius
tondet os. miser a miser
  concubine, nuces da.

109 hero *V* 110 quae εζ: -que *V* 111 quae δε: -que *V* 112 abit ηθ: abiit *V* 114 o *add.* η 115 flammeum ε: flammineum *O*, flamineum *GR* vido *O* 117, 118, 116 *hoc ordine GR;* 117, 116 (*om.* 118) *O* 118 io *add. V* (*idem in similibus quae sequuntur*) 119 taceat γ: taceatis *V* 120 fosceninna *O* iocatio *Heinsius*: locatio *OR*, lotatio *G*, locutio R^2 121 ne R^2 nucen *G*, *corr.* G^1 125 diu] domini *O* 127 nam *O* 129 villice *GR* 132 misera *O*, miserah *R*, miser ah GR^2

diceris male te a tuis
unguentate glabris, marite,
abstinere, sed abstine.
io Hymen Hymenaee io,
io Hymen Hymenaee.

scimus haec tibi quae licent
sola cognita, sed marito
ista non eadem licent.
io Hymen Hymenaee io,
io Hymen Hymenaee.

nupta, tu quoque quae tuus
vir petet cave ne neges,
ni petitum aliunde eat.
io Hymen Hymenaee io,
io Hymen Hymenaee.

en tibi domus ut potens
et beata viri tui,
quae tibi sine serviat
(io Hymen Hymenaee io,
io Hymen Hymenaee)

usque, dum tremulum movens
cana tempus anilitas
omnia omnibus annuit.
io Hymen Hymenaee io,
io Hymen Hymenaee.

transfer omine cum bono
limen aureolos pedes,
rasilemque subi forem.
io Hymen Hymenaee io,
io Hymen Hymenaee.

134 diceris *1473*: diceres *V* male *G*, malle *OR* tu *R*, *corr. R*¹ 135 unguenta te *V* 138 *om. V, add. β* 139 simus *O* quod *R*, -que *OGR*¹, *corr. R*² 142–6 *desunt in R, add. in margine R*² *(habet m)* 143 *om. O* 144 quae *R*², que *V* tuis *GR*², *corr. R*²*bis* 145 patet *G* 146 ne *R*² 148 *om. OG* 151 sine serviat *Parth.*, sine fine servit *invitis numeris γ*: sine servit *V* 153 *om. O* 155 anilitas *η*: anilis etas *O*, annilis etas *GR* 158 *om. O* 159 homine *R*, *corr. R*¹(*R*²?) 160 aureleos *R* 161 nassilemque *O*, rassilemque *GR*, *corr. R*² subi *ζη*: sibi *V* 163 *om. O*

aspice intus ut accubans
vir tuus Tyrio in toro
totus immineat tibi.
io Hymen Hymenaee io,
io Hymen Hymenaee.

illi non minus ac tibi
pectore urit in intimo
flamma, sed penite magis.
io Hymen Hymenaee io,
io Hymen Hymenaee.

mitte brachiolum teres,
praetextate, puellulae:
iam cubile adeat viri.
io Hymen Hymenaee io,
io Hymen Hymenaee.

<vos> bonae senibus viris
cognitae bene feminae
collocate puellulam.
io Hymen Hymenaee io,
io Hymen Hymenaee.

iam licet venias, marite:
uxor in thalamo tibi est,
ore floridulo nitens,
alba parthenice velut
luteumve papaver.

at, marite, ita me iuvent
caelites, nihilo minus

164 intus *Statius*: unus *V* 169 ac *R*, hac *OG* 170 urit in *Goold*: uritur *OG*, urimur *R* 171 flama *GR*, *corr. R*² penite] perit en *O. Skutsch* 175 praetextare *O*, prectate *R*, *corr. R*² puellulae *η*: puelle *V* 176 adeant *GR* 179 vos *add. Av.* (*qui et* unis senibus bonae) viris (*γ*): unis *V* 180 bene *R*³ (beue *ed. Rom.*), breve *α*: berve *V* 181 puellulam *η*: puellam *V* 185 tibi est *β* (*sig. transp. add. β*²): est tibi *V* 187 vult *GR*, vultu *R*² 189–93 *post* 198 *V*: *huc revocavit Scaliger* 189 at, marite, ita me iuvent *Scaliger* (at marite *iam B. Pisanus Puccium ut videtur secutus*): ad maritum tamen iuvenem *V* 190 nichil ominus *O*, nichoilominus *G*, nichilominus *G*¹, nichilhominus *R*, nichil-ominus *R*²

pulcer es, neque te Venus
neglegit. sed abit dies;
perge, ne remorare.

non diu remoratus es:
iam venis. bona te Venus
iuverit, quoniam palam
quod cupis cupis, et bonum
non abscondis amorem.

ille pulveris Africi
siderumque micantium
subducat numerum prius,
qui vestri numerare vult
multa milia ludi.

ludite ut lubet, et brevi
liberos date. non decet
tam vetus sine liberis
nomen esse, sed indidem
semper ingenerari.

Torquatus volo parvulus
matris e gremio suae
porrigens teneras manus
dulce rideat ad patrem
semihiante labello.

sit suo similis patri
Manlio, ut facile obviis
noscitetur ab insciis

191 pulcher es *"alii" apud Robortellum*, pulcher is *Puccius* (?), *adn. Marc.* 12.127: pulcre res *V* neque *θ*: nec *V* 192 negligit *GR* abit *ηθ*: abiit *V* 193 rememorare *GR* 194 remoratus *Calph.*: remota *O*, remorata *GR* 196 iuverit *θ*: invenerit *V* 197 cupis capis R^2 198 abscondis *ζη*: abscondas *V* 199 africi *Heinsius* (africei *Lachmann*): enicei 200 micancium *O* 202 vestri *β*: nostri *V* vult *Calph.*: volunt *V* 203 ludi *ed. Rom.* (lud *Scaliger*): ludere *V* 204 ludite ut *Parth.* (ut *iam Calph.*): et ludite et *V* 205 liberos *in rasura* 207 nididem *O* 208 ingenerati *O* 209 torcutus *O* 210 egremio *G*, e gremio *OR*, *corr.* R^2 213 semihiante *Scaliger*: sed michi ante *V* 215 maulio *O*, mallio *Laur.* 36.23, *δ* ut *scripsi*: et *V* facie *Burman* insciis *ζη* (-ieis *Lachmann*): insciens 215/216 omnibus / … ab insciis *Dawes* obvieis *Pleitner*: omnibus *V* 216 noscite ab

et pudicitiam suae
matris indicet ore.

talis illius a bona
matre laus genus approbet,
qualis unica ab optima
matre Telemacho manet
fama Penelopaeo.

claudite ostia, virgines:
lusimus satis. at, boni
coniuges, bene vivite et
munere assiduo valentem
exercete iuventam.

62

Vesper adest; iuvenes, consurgite; Vesper Olympo
exspectata diu vix tandem lumina tollit.
surgere iam tempus, iam pinguis linquere mensas;
iam veniet virgo, iam dicetur hymenaeus.
Hymen o Hymenaee, Hymen ades o Hymenaee!

Cernitis, innuptae, iuvenes? consurgite contra;
nimirum Oetaeos ostendit Noctifer ignes.
sic certest; viden ut perniciter exsiluere?
non temere exsiluere; canent quod vincere par est.
Hymen o Hymenaee, Hymen ades o Hymenaee!

62 1 *Varro, De lingua latina* 7.50

217 suae *Calph.*, suo (*ζ*): suam *V* 218 iudicet *O* 219/220 bona matre/laus *V* 220 egenus *O* 221 ab *om. O* 222 telemacho *ζ*: thelamacho *O*, theleamacho *GR* 223 pene lopeo *O*, penolopeo *GR* 224 ostia *Carp.*: hostia *V* 225 at boni *ζη*: ad bonlei *O*, ad bolnei *GR*, al. bonei R^2 226 bene vivite *ζη*: bone vite *V* 227 assiduo *ζη*: assidue *V* 228 exercere *O*

62 1 olimpo *O* 3 pingues *GR* liquere *O* 4 imeneus *O* 5 hymes ades *R*, *corr.* R^1 hymeneae … Hymenaeae *T* 6 con surgi eretera *T*, consurgere contra *γ* 7 oeta eos *T*, oetheos R^3, hoc eos *V* ignes R^3, imbres *T*, imber *V* 8 sic certe est *Statius* (certest *Haupt*): siccer tes ·i· (=id est) *T*, sic certe si *V*, sic certe R^2 exiluere *TV* 9 quod *T*, quo *V* vincere *B. Guarinus*: visere *TV* par est *T*, parent *V* 10 hymene (hymeno T^1) hymeneae hymeneae ades ·o· hymeneę *T*, hymen ohymenee (o hymene *G*, o hymenee *Rm*) hymen (hi- *O*) ades o hymenee *V*

Non facilis nobis, aequales, palma parata est;
aspicite, innuptae secum ut meditata requirunt.
non frustra meditantur: habent memorabile quod sit;
nec mirum, penitus quae tota mente laborant.
nos alio mentes, alio divisimus aures;
iure igitur vincemur: amat victoria curam.
quare nunc animos saltem convertite vestros;
dicere iam incipient, iam respondere decebit.
Hymen o Hymenaee, Hymen ades o Hymenaee!

Hespere, quis caelo fertur crudelior ignis?
qui natam possis complexu avellere matris,
complexu matris retinentem avellere natam,
et iuveni ardenti castam donare puellam.
quid faciunt hostes capta crudelius urbe?
Hymen o Hymenaee, Hymen ades o Hymenaee!

Hespere, quis caelo lucet iucundior ignis?
qui desponsa tua firmes conubia flamma,
quae pepigere viri, pepigerunt ante parentes,
nec iunxere prius quam se tuus extulit ardor.
quid datur a divis felici optatius hora?
Hymen o Hymenaee, Hymen ades o Hymenaee!

Hesperus e nobis, aequales, abstulit unam.
. . . . . .

11 nobis *V*, nobilis *T* aequales *Lachmann*: (a)equalis *TV* 12 aspice *O* secum *Tp*, qu… secum O^1GR (querunt secum *O primo*) meditata requirunt *T*, meditare querunt … meditata requaerunt *Ric. 606*$^{1(2?)}$ 13 hunc *O*, habent (hn̄t) *GR* memora psilequod… 14 *versum habet T, om. V*: *adhuc latente T, rest.* (*ex codice nunc deperdito*) *Parrhasius* laborent *Vossius* 15 nos *V*, non *T* (*supra scr.* al. dividamus G^3) 17 nunc *T*, non… convertite *T*, commictite *R*, committite OGR^2 18 incipiant *T*, *corr.* T^1 res pondere… 19 hymeneae … hymeneae *T* 20 quis *T*, qui *V* fertur *TV*: lucet (*γ*) 21 complexu… velere (vellere T^1) *T* amatris *O*, *corr.* O^1 22 con plexu *T* avellere *V*, avelle… Natam *T* 24 credelius *T* 25 Kymeno hymeneę Kymenades ·o· Kymeneę *T* 26 qui… qui *V* 27 firmes *V*, fines *T* flama *G* 28 quae *T*, quo *V*, quod *θ Tub.* (*et* R^3) … 29 vinxere *O* 30 a *om. T* optacius *O* 31 Kymeno Kymeneae Kymenades oKymenee… 32 Hesperusę *T* equales *V*, equalem R^2, ęqualis *T* *Post* 32 *lacunam statuit Av*…

. . . . . .
namque tuo adventu vigilat custodia semper.
nocte latent fures, quos idem saepe revertens,
Hespere, mutato comprendis nomine Eous
at lubet innuptis ficto te carpere questu.
quid tum, si carpunt, tacita quem mente requirunt?
Hymen o Hymenaee, Hymen ades o Hymenaee!

Ut flos in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis,
ignotus pecori, nullo convulsus aratro,
quem mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber;

multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae:
idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui,
nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae:
sic virgo, dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est;
cum castum amisit polluto corpore florem,
nec pueris iucunda manet, nec cara puellis.
Hymen o Hymenaee, Hymen ades o Hymenaee!

Ut vidua in nudo vitis quae nascitur arvo,
numquam se extollit, numquam mitem educat uvam,
sed tenerum prono deflectens pondere corpus
iam iam contingit summum radice flagellum;
hanc nulli agricolae, nulli coluere iuvenci:
at si forte eadem est ulmo coniuncta marita,

45 *Quintilianus, Institutio oratoria 9.3.16*

35 comprendis *O*, comprehendis *GR* (*corr.* G^3), comperendis *T* eous *Schrader*: eospem *T*, eosdem *V* 36 at libet *V*, adlucet *T* in nuptis *GR* 37 quittum *T*, quod tamen *V*, al. quid tum R^2 carpiunt *T* tacita quem *δε*: tacita quam *V*, tacitaquema *T* 38 Kymeno Kymeneae Kymenales Kymeno Kymeneę *T* 39 secretis *R*, *corr.* R^2 ortis *V* 40 convolsus *T*, conclusus *V*, contusus R^2 41 quaemulcens aurefirma soleducat *T* *Post* … *lacunam unius versus* (<iam iam>…) *indicavit Spengel* 42 obtavere *V* 43, 44 *om.* 45 dum cara *a*, *Quintilianus*: tum c. *TOG*, cum c. *R*, tum c. R^2 suis sed *ηθ*, suis est *T*, *Quintilianus*: sui sed *V* 46 amixit *R*, *corr.* R^2 48 Kymeneo Kymeneę Kymenades Kymeneę (o *om.*) *T* 49 ut *V*, et *T* 50 numquam (nun- G^1) mitem (vitem *O*) educat …vam *V*, quam muniteam ducatuvam *T* 51 deflectens *V*, perflectens *T* 52 flacellum *T* 53 agrigcule *T*, agriculle T^1 nulli coluere *O*, nulli colluere *GR*, *corr.* R^2, multi acoluere *T* …uventi *O*, *corr.* O^1 54 at si *V*, apsi *T* est ultimo *GR*, *corr.* R^2 marita *T*, marito *V*

multi illam agricolae, multi coluere iuvenci:
sic virgo dum innupta manet, dum inculta senescit;
cum par conubium maturo tempore adepta est,
cara viro magis et minus est invisa parenti.
Hymen o Hymenaee, Hymen ades o Hymenaee!

Et tu ne pugna cum tali coniuge, virgo.
non aequum est pugnare, pater cui tradidit ipse,
ipse pater cum matre, quibus parere necesse est.
virginitas non tota tua est, ex parte parentum est,
tertia pars patris est, pars est data tertia matri,
tertia sola tua est: noli pugnare duobus,
qui genero sua iura simul cum dote dederunt.
Hymen o Hymenaee, Hymen ades o Hymenaee!

63

Super alta vectus Attis celeri rate maria,
Phrygium ut nemus citato cupide pede tetigit
adiitque opaca silvis redimita loca deae,
stimulatus ibi furenti rabie, vagus animis,
devulsit ili acuto sibi pondera silice.
itaque ut relicta sensit sibi membra sine viro,
etiam recente terrae sola sanguine maculans,
niveis citata cepit manibus leve typanum,

63 1 *Grammatici Latini VI: 154 (Marius Victorinus), 411 (Terentianus)* 2 *Grammatici Latini VI: 262 (Caesius Bassus)*

55 coluere (*γ*), acoluere *T*, acc- *V* iuventi *OG, corr. G*² 56 innupta *H. Weber* (cf. *Quint. ad* 45): intacta *TV* dum (2°) *V*, tum *T* 57 connubium *V* 58 cura *TV, corr. R*² viro *TOGβ*¹, virgo *R* 58b *add. Muretus* 59 tu *V*, tua *T* ne *B. Guarinus* (nei *Baehrens*) nec *TV* 60 equom *T* (equum *β*), equo *V* 61 ipse *om. R, add. R*² 62 *om. T* 63 pars patris est *Parrhasius*, pars patrist *Haupt* (pars patri *iam Av.*): patris *T*, pars patri *V* pars est *T*, est *O*, data pars *GR* 64 solit tu est noli tuignare *T* 66 Kymeno Kymeneae kymenades -o- Kymeneae *T* ... hymenee *G*, -ne *G*¹

63 1 vetus *O* attis *Terentianus, Marius Victorinus*: actis *V* celeri *testes vett., θ*: celere *V* 2 (*sim.* 20, 71) frigium *V*, phrygium *m* 3 adutque (?) *O* (*desunt apices*) 4 ibi *Puccius* ubi *V* animis *a*, animi *Parth.*: amnis *V* 5 devolsit *Haupt*: devolvit *V* ilei *Bergk*: ileas *V* pondera silice *Av.*: pondere silices *V* 7 et iam *G* maculas *V* 8 typanum *Scaliger*: timpanum *O*, tym- *GR*

typanum tuum, Cybebe, tua, mater, initia,
quatiensque terga tauri teneris cava digitis
canere haec suis adorta est tremebunda comitibus.
"agite ite ad alta, Gallae, Cybeles nemora simul,
simul ite, Dindymenae dominae vaga pecora,
aliena quae petentes velut exules loca
sectam meam exsecutae duce me mihi comites
rapidum salum tulistis truculentaque pelagi,
et corpus evirastis Veneris nimio odio;
hilarate erae citatis erroribus animum.
mora tarda mente cedat: simul ite, sequimini
Phrygiam ad domum Cybebes, Phrygia ad nemora deae,
ubi cymbalum sonat vox, ubi tympana reboant,
tibicen ubi canit Phryx curvo grave calamo,
ubi capita Maenades vi iaciunt hederigerae,
ubi sacra sancta acutis ululatibus agitant,
ubi suevit illa divae volitare vaga cohors,
quo nos decet citatis celerare tripudiis."
simul haec comitibus Attis cecinit notha mulier,
thiasus repente linguis trepidantibus ululat,
leve tympanum remugit, cava cymbala recrepant,
viridem citus adit Idam properante pede chorus.
furibunda simul anhelans vaga vadit animam agens
comitata tympano Attis per opaca nemora dux,
veluti iuvenca vitans onus indomita iugi;
rapidae ducem sequuntur Gallae properipedem.
itaque, ut domum Cybebes tetigere lassulae,
nimio e labore somnum capiunt sine Cerere.

9 typanum *Scaliger*: timpanum *V*, tym- *m* tuom *Lachmann*: tubam *V* Cybebe *Sillig* (-es *iam Bentley ad Lucanum 1.600*): cibeles *V*, cyb- *m* tua *Grat.* (*primo*): tu *V* matri *O* 10 quatiensque *a*: quatiens quod *V* tauri *ζ* (taurei *Lachmann*): tauri et *V* 12 cibelles *O*, cibeles *GR* 13 pecora *Av.*: pectora *V* 14 aliena quae *P. Laetus, B. Guarinus*: alienaque *V* loca *B. Guarinus, Polit.*: loca celeri *V* 15 execute *V*, excute *R*² 17 evitastis *OR* 18 here citatis *Av.*, aere citatis *Lachmann* (ęrę *vel* aere *iam εη*): erocitatis *O*, crocitatis *GR*, al. ere citatis *R*² animum *ε*: an animum *V* 19 cedat *OR*, cedit *G* ite] te *O* 20 (*cf.* 35, 84, 91) Cybebes *Bentley*: cibelles *O*, cibeles *GR* 23 menades vi *η*: menade sui *V* ederigere *Calph.*: ei derigere *V* 27 actis *ζη*, athis *Tom.*: atris *V* mulies notha *O*, *transp. O*¹ nota *GR*, nova *ζ* 28 thiasus *R*, thiasiis *R*², thiasis *O*, thysiis *G*, thyasiis *G*¹ 31 anelans *GR* animam agens *Lachmann*, animagens *OR*, aīa gēs *G* 32 athys *β*, athis *δ*: actis *V* oppaca *O* 33 iugi *1472*: luci *V* 34 properipedem *B. Venator*: propere pedem *V* 35 domum] pedomum *G, corr. G*¹ Cybebes *Bentley*: cibelles *O*, cibeles *GR* lasulle *O*

praesentes namque ante domos invisere castas
heroum, et sese mortali ostendere coetu,
caelicolae nondum spreta pietate solebant.
saepe pater divum templo in fulgente residens,
annua cum festis venissent sacra diebus,
conspexit terra centum procumbere tauros.
saepe vagus Liber Parnasi vertice summo
Thyiadas effusis evantis crinibus egit,
cum Delphi tota certatim ex urbe ruentes
acciperent laeti divum fumantibus aris.
saepe in letifero belli certamine Mavors
aut rapidi Tritonis era aut Rhamnusia virgo
armatas hominum est praesens hortata catervas.
sed postquam tellus scelere est imbuta nefando
iustitiamque omnes cupida de mente fugarunt,
perfudere manus fraterno sanguine fratres,
destitit extinctos natus lugere parentes,
optavit genitor primaevi funera nati,
liber uti nuptae poteretur flore novellae,
ignaro mater substernens se impia nato
impia non verita est divos scelerare penates.
omnia fanda nefanda malo permixta furore
iustificam nobis mentem avertere deorum.
quare nec talis dignantur visere coetus,
nec se contingi patiuntur lumine claro.

385 heroum et sese *Io. Bapt. Sigicellus, teste Statio* (et *iam* 1472): nereus se se *V* *Post* 386 languidior tenera cui pedens sicula beta (*cf.* 67.21) *V*: *del. Parth.* 387 in fulgente *G*, *corr.* G^2 residens *Baehrens*: revisens *V* 388 cum η (qū 1473) dum *V* venissent η: venisset *V* duobus *O*, *corr.* O^1 389 terram *O* cemtum *R*, *corr.* R^1 procurrere (currus) β tauros *Lond. add. 10386*: currus *V* 390 sumo *O* 391 thiadas *O*, thyadas *GR* ovantis R^2 esit *O* 392 certatim α: certatum *V* ruentes *V* 393 acciperent $\zeta\eta$: acciperet *V* lacti *V*, al. leti R^2 spumantibus π 394 mauros *G* 395 ramnusia 1472, amarunsia *Baehrens*: ranusia *GR*, ramunsia *O* 396 ortata *O* 397 scelus tellus *O*, *corr.* O^1 nephando *O* 398 iusticiamque *OG* iustitiamque *R* 399 fratres] manus fratres *R*, *corr.* R^1 400 natus *O*, natos *GR* 402 nuptae *Maehly*, ut hinc nuptae *Baehrens*: ut in nupte *O*, ut inn- *G*, ut inupte *R* poteretur η: potiretur *V* novellae *Baehrens*: noverce *V*, -cae R^2 404 penates (-ta *Bodl. Canon. 33* (penates 1472): parentes *V* 406 iusticiam *G*, *corr.* G^2 mente advertere *O*

65

Etsi me assiduo defectum cura dolore
sevocat a doctis, Hortale, virginibus,
nec potis est dulcis Musarum expromere fetus
mens animi, tantis fluctuat ipsa malis –
namque mei nuper Lethaeo in gurgite fratris
pallidulum manans alluit unda pedem,
Troia Rhoeteo quem subter litore tellus
ereptum nostris obterit ex oculis.
. . . . . .
numquam ego te, vita frater amabilior,
aspiciam posthac? at certe semper amabo,
semper maesta tua carmina morte canam,
qualia sub densis ramorum concinit umbris
Daulias, absumpti fata gemens Ityli. –
sed tamen in tantis maeroribus, Hortale, mitto
haec expressa tibi carmina Battiadae,
ne tua dicta vagis nequiquam credita ventis
effluxisse meo forte putes animo,
ut missum sponsi furtivo munere malum
procurrit casto virginis e gremio,
quod miserae oblitae molli sub veste locatum,
dum adventu matris prosilit, excutitur,
atque illud prono praeceps agitur decursu,
huic manat tristi conscius ore rubor.

65 5 *Petrarca, Epistolae familiares 24.5.19*

65 1 defectu *O*, confectum *Gm*, –ttum *R*, al. defectum R^2 2 sevocat $\zeta\eta$: sed vacat *V* 3 dulcis musarum $\zeta\eta$ (-ces η): dulcissimus harum *V* (havum *O*) fretus *O*, fletus ϵ 5 letheo θ, lethaeo in *Parth.*: loethi *O*, lethei *GR*, *Petrarca* factis *O* 6 pallidullum *O* 7 Tidia *O*, Tydia *GR*, al. Troia R^2 retheo *O*, rhaeeteo *G*, rheetheo *R*, rhetheo R^2 supter *G*, *corr.* G^1 littore *O* 9 *om. V* 11 aspitiam *R* at ζ: aut *V* 12 carmina γ: carmine *V* canam ζ: tegam *V* 14 Daulias η: Bauilla *O*, Baiula *GR*, al. Daulas R^2 assumpta *O*, asumpti *G*, assumpti *R* facta gemes *O* ithilei *O*, ythilei *G*, ithiley *R* 15 memroribus *R*, *corr.* R^1 16 battiade β^2: acciade *G*, actiade *OR*, bactiade (*adscripta b littera perquam minuta*) R^2 18 effluxisse *O*, effuxisse *G* (*corr.* G^1) 20 proccurit (c *exp.* O^1) *O* 21 locataum (a *exp.* O^1) *O* 23 illic ... preces *O* 24 orbe *R*, *corr.* R^2

66

Omnia qui magni dispexit lumina mundi,
  qui stellarum ortus comperit atque obitus,
flammeus ut rapidi solis nitor obscuretur,
  ut cedant certis sidera temporibus,
ut Triviam furtim sub Latmia saxa relegans
  dulcis amor gyro devocet aerio:
idem me ille Conon caelesti <in> lumine vidit
  e Bereniceo vertice caesariem
fulgentem clare, quam multis illa dearum
  levia protendens brachia pollicita est,
qua rex tempestate novo auctus hymenaeo
  vastatum finis iverat Assyrios,
dulcia nocturnae portans vestigia rixae,
  quam de virgineis gesserat exuviis.
estne novis nuptis odio Venus? anne parentum
  frustrantur falsis gaudia lacrimulis,
ubertim thalami quas intra limina fundunt?
  non, ita me divi, vera gemunt, iuerint.
id mea me multis docuit regina querellis
  invisente novo proelia torva viro.
et tu non orbum luxti deserta cubile,
  sed fratris cari flebile discidium,
cum penitus maestas exedit cura medullas.
  ut tibi tunc toto pectore sollicitae
sensibus ereptis mens excidit! at <te> ego certe
  cognoram a parva virgine magnanimam.

66 15 *Hieremias de Montagnone, Compendium moralium notabilium 4.6.3*

66 1 dispexit *Calph.*: despexit *V* 2 obitus (ϵ): habitus *V* 3 flameus *V* obsculetur *O* 4 ceteris *O* 5 sub latmia (η): sublamina *O*, sublimia *GR*, al. sublamia vel sublimina (*sic*) R^2 relegans η: religans *V* 6 gyro *1472* (guro *Ellis*), clivo ϵ: guioclero *V* 7 in lumine *Vossius* (lumine *iam* ζ), limine *Heinsius*, in limite *Doering*, in culmine *Maehly*: numine *V* 8 e beroniceo η: ebore niceo *V* 9 dare *G*, *corr. G*^{2} cunctis *Haupt* (*fort. recte*) 10 policita *O* 11 qua rex *1473*: quare ex *V* avectus (ϵ), *Peiper* himeneo *O* 12 vastatum ζη: vastum *V* iverat γ: ierat *V* assirios *V* 13 noctume *G*, *corr. G*^{2} 14 exivius *O* 15 anne θ: atque *V* 17 uberum *O* limina ζ: lumina *V* 18 divi β: diu *V* geniunt *O* iuerint *1472*: iuverint *V* 19 q̄relis *O* 21 et *V*, al. at R^2 non] vero (ūo) *O* 22 fratris] factis *O* dissidium *GR* 23 cum] quam *Bentley*, tum *Lachmann*, ut *Baehrens* 24 ibi *G* tunc *O*, nunc *GR*, al. tunc R^2 sollicitae (η): solicitet *V* 25 ex cidit *R*, exc- R^2 te *add. Trinc.* 26 magnanimam ζη: magnanima *V*

anne bonum oblita es facinus, quo regium adepta es
  coniugium, quod non fortior ausit alis?
sed tum maesta virum mittens quae verba locuta es!
  Iuppiter, ut tristi lumina saepe manu!
quis te mutavit tantus deus? an quod amantes
  non longe a caro corpore abesse volunt?
atque ibi me cunctis pro dulci coniuge divis
  non sine taurino sanguine pollicita es,
si reditum tetulisset. is haud in tempore longo
  captam Asiam Aegypti finibus addiderat.
quis ego pro factis caelesti reddita coetu
  pristina vota novo munere dissoluo.
invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi,
  invita: adiuro teque tuumque caput,
digna ferat quod si quis inaniter adiurarit:
  sed qui se ferro postulet esse parem?
ille quoque eversus mons est, quem maximum in oris
  progenies Thiae clara supervehitur,
cum Medi peperere novum mare, cumque iuventus
  per medium classi barbara navit Athon.
quid facient crines, cum ferro talia cedant?
  Iuppiter, ut Chalybon omne genus pereat,
et qui principio sub terra quaerere venas
  institit ac ferri stringere duritiem!
abiunctae paulo ante comae mea fata sorores
  lugebant, cum se Memnonis Aethiopis
unigena impellens nutantibus aera pennis
  obtulit Arsinoes Locridos ales equus,

27 quo *Puccius*: quam *V* adepta es *Calph.*: adeptos *O*, adeptus *GR* 28 quo ζη forcior *O*: fortius *ed. Iuntina anni 1503* ausit *Puccius, ex eisdem fortasse codicibus quos citat P. Nucettus apud Robortellum*: aut sit *V* 29 cum *O* mictens *R*, *corr.* R^2 que *GR*, quae R^2 30 tersti *Av.* 32 adesse *G* 33 me *Puccius*: pro *V* cuntis *G* 34 taurino *om. O* 35 sed *V*, al. si R^2 redditum *O* tetulisset ζ: te tulisset *V* haud *Ald.*, haut *Statius*: aut *V* 36 asyam *GR* 38 disoluo *O* 40 capud *OR* (*corr.* R^2) 41 feratque *O* adiurarit *Av.*: adiuraret *V* 43 quae *O* maximum *Puccius*: maxima *V* 44 Thiae *Vossius*, Phtiae *iam* η, Phthiae *B. Pisanus, Puccium ut videtur secutus*: phitie *O*, phytie *GR* sup?vehitur *O*, *corr.* O^1, super vehitur *G* 45 tum *OG*, cum *R* peperere η: propere *V* cumque *O*, atque *GR*, al. cumque R^2 48 chalybon *vel* chalybum *Politianus*: celerum *O*, celitum *GR*, al. celorum R^2, al. celtum R^2*bis* 49 querrere *O* 50 ferri (*ita iam* ζη) stringere *Heyse*: ferris fingere *O*, ferris fringere *GR* 51 facta *O* 52 menonis ethyopis *GR* 53 mutantibus *R*, *corr.* R^2: nictantibus *Bentley* aeria *R* 54 arsinoes *O*, asineos *GR*, al. arsinoes R^2 Locridos *Bentley*, Locricos *Stat.*: elocridicos *V* ales ζ: alis *V*

isque per aetherias me tollens avolat umbras
et Veneris casto collocat in gremio.
ipsa suum Zephyritis eo famulum legarat,
Graia Canopeis incola litoribus.
hic, liquidi vario ne solum in lumine caeli
ex Ariadnaeis aurea temporibus
fixa corona foret, sed nos quoque fulgeremus
devotae flavi verticis exuviae,
uvidulam a fluctu cedentem ad templa deum me
sidus in antiquis diva novum posuit.
Virginis et saevi contingens namque Leonis
lumina, Callisto iuncta Lycaoniae,
vertor in occasum, tardum dux ante Booten,
qui vix sero alto mergitur Oceano.
sed quamquam me nocte premunt vestigia divum,
lux autem canae Tethyi restituit,
(pace tua fari hic liceat, Rhamnusia virgo,
namque ego non ullo vera timore tegam,
nec si me infestis discerpent sidera dictis,
condita quin nostri pectoris evoluam)
non his tam laetor rebus, quam me afore semper,
afore me a dominae vertice discrucior,
quicum ego, dum virgo quondam fuit, omnibus expers
unguentis, una vilia multa bibi.

55 advolat *GR* 56 collocat *O*, advolat *GR*, al. collocat R^2 57 cyphiritis *OG*, ciphyritis zyphyritis R^2 legarat *OR*, legerat *G*, al. legarat G^2 58 Graiia *Baehrens* (graia *iam Lachmann*): gracia *O*, gratia *GR* canopeis *Tub.* (canopieis *ed. Rom.*), canopitis *Statius* (canobitis *iam Ald.*): canopicis *GR*, con- *O* 59 hic liquidi *Friedrich*: hi dii ven ibi *V* lumine *α*, limine *θ*: numine *V* (mumine *R*) 60 ariadneis *θ*: adrianeis *V* avira *G*, *corr.* G^2 61 nos *GR*, vos *O* 62 exuvie *R*, eximie *OG* 63 uvidulam *B. Guarinus*, uvidulum *ζη*: vindulum *V*, viridulum R^2 afluctu *G*, *corr.* G^2 ad flāma *R*, *corr.* R^1 deum me *ζη*: decumē *V* 66 Callistoe iuncta Lycaoniae *Parth.*: calixto iuxta licaonia *V*, calisto i.l. *αβ* 67 ocasum *OG* (*corr.* G^2) bootē *O*, boothen *G*, boothem *R* 69 quicquam *O* 70 autem *Diez. 37*: aut *V* tethyi *B. Guarinus*: theti restituit *Lachmann*: restituem *V* 71 parce *V*, *corr.* R^2 Ramnusia *Calph.*: ranunsia *O*, ranusia *GR* 72 ullo] nullo *GR* 73 si me *θ*: sine *V* discerpent *Ric. 606*, discerpant *β*: diserpent *V* 74 candita *G* qui *V*, al. quin R^2 nostri *Watt*; veri *Ric. 606* (verei *Lachmann*): vere *V* evoluam *1473*: evolue *V* 75 afore *Statius* (abfore *iam* β^2): affore *V* 76 afore *Statius* (abfore *iam β*): affore *V* discrutior *V* 77 omnibus *suspectum* hymenis *Eschenburg et Wilamowitz* 78 una] nuptae *Morel* vilia *Lobel*: milia *O*, millia *GR*

nunc vos, optato quas iunxit lumine taeda,
non prius unanimis corpora coniugibus
tradite nudantes reiecta veste papillas
quam iucunda mihi munera libet onyx,
vester onyx, casto colitis quae iura cubili.
sed quae se impuro dedit adulterio,
illius a mala dona levis bibat irrita pulvis:
namque ego ab indignis praemia nulla peto.
sed magis, o nuptae, semper concordia vestras,
semper amor sedes incolat assiduus.
tu vero, regina, tuens cum sidera divam
placabis festis luminibus Venerem,
unguinis expertem ne siris esse tuam me,
sed potius largis effice muneribus
sidera cur iterent "utinam coma regia fiam,"
proximus Hydrochoi fulgeret Oarion!

67

O dulci iucunda viro, iucunda parenti,
salve, teque bona Iuppiter auctet ope,
ianua, quam Balbo dicunt servisse benigne
olim, cum sedes ipse senex tenuit,
quamque ferunt rursus nato servisse maligne,
postquam es porrecto facta marita sene.
dic agedum nobis, quare mutata feraris
in dominum veterem deseruisse fidem.
"Non (ita Caecilio placeam, cui tradita nunc sum)
culpa mea est, quamquam dicitur esse mea,

79 quas *Calph.*: quem *V*, al. quam R^2 80 prius *B. Guarinus*: post *V* unanimis *θ* (-eis *Baehrens*): uno animus *V* 81 reiecta *η*: retecta *V* 82 quam *V*: quin *Lachmann* (*qui in* 80 non post *legerat*) 83 colitisqꝫ *O*, colitis que *G*, queritus que *R* 85 levis b. d. *V*: *ordinem rest. 1472* inita *G* 86 indignatis *O*, indigetis *GR*, al. indignis R^2, al. indignatis R^2*bis* 87 vestras *θ*: nostras *V* 91 unguinis *Bentley*: sanguinis *V* ne *Baehrens*: non *V* siris *Lachmann* (siveris *iam Scaliger*): vestris *V* tuam *Av.*: tuum *V* 92 affice *θ* 93 cur retinent? *Pontanus*, corruerint *Lachmann* utina *O* 94 Hydrochoi *1472*: id rochoi *V* (idr- *G*)

67 4 senex] senes *O* 5 quamquam *O* nato *Froehlich*, natae *Baehrens*: voto *V* maligno *G*, malīgno *R*, *virgulam eras.* R^1(R^2?) 6 es *Ald.*: est *V* porecto *G*, porretto *R*, *corr.* R^2 pacta *Badian* marita *ζ*: marite *V* 7 agedum *Calph.*: age de *V* nobis *γδ*: vobis *V* 8 venerem *GR* desseruisse *G*, *corr.* G^1 9 plateam *R* 10 quaquam *O*

nec peccatum a me quisquam pote dicere quicquam;
verum †istius populi ianua qui† te facit,
qui, quacumque aliquid reperitur non bene factum,
ad me omnes clamant: ianua, culpa tua est."
Non istuc satis est uno te dicere verbo,
sed facere ut quivis sentiat et videat.
"Qui possum? nemo quaerit nec scire laborat."
Nos volumus: nobis dicere ne dubita.
"Primum igitur, virgo quod fertur tradita nobis,
falsum est. non illam vir prior attigerat,
languidior tenera cui pendens sicula beta
numquam se mediam sustulit ad tunicam;
sed pater illusi gnati violasse cubile
dicitur et miseram conscelerasse domum,
sive quod impia mens caeco flagrabat amore,
seu quod iners sterili semine natus erat,
ut quaerendum unde <unde> foret nervosius illud
quod posset zonam solvere virgineam."
Egregium narras, mira pietate, parentem,
qui ipse sui gnati minxerit in gremium.
"Atqui non solum hoc dicit se cognitum habere
Brixia Cycneae supposita speculae,
flavus qua molli percurrit flumine Mella,
Brixia Veronae mater amata meae,
sed de Postumio et Corneli narrat amore,
cum quibus illa malum fecit adulterium.
dixerit hic aliquis: quid? tu istaec, ianua, nosti,
cui numquam domini limine abesse licet,
nec populum auscultare, sed hic suffixa tigillo
tantum operire soles aut aperire domum?

12 istius] isti R^2, isthaec *Par. 8458, alii* (istoc β^2) populo ϵ qui te] quidque *Statius* (*fortasse* istud populi est "ianua quicque facit,") 16 qui vis *V* senciat *G* 17 qui *Pucci* quid *V* possim ζ 18 nobis δ: vobis *V* ve *O* 20 attigerat η: attigerit *V* 21 *om., post* 64.386 *habet O* 22 ad *Calph.*: hanc *V* 23 illusi *Baehrens*, ille sui *Scaliger*: illius *V* 27 ut *Bergk*: et *V* quaerendum unde unde *Statius* (q. aliunde *iam Ald.*), quaerendus is unde *Lachmann*: querendus unde *V* 29 parentum *O* 30 sunt *O* 31 hoc dicit se *O*, se dicit *G* se dicit hoc *R* 32 Cycneae *Vossius* (cycnea *iam Petreius, Pontanum secutus*): chinea *V* supposita speculae *Pontanus*, supposita in specula *Ald., Petreius*: suppositum specula *V* 33 qua *Zicàri*: quam *V* moli *O* praecurrit *Trinc.* Mel(l)a η: melo *O*, mello *GR* 34 tuae *Trinc.* 35 posthumio *V* narrat] amat *G* 37 dixit *O* hic *G*, hec *O*, his *R* (*corr.* R^1) quid] qui *Ald.* iste *V*, *corr.* R^2 38 deum *O* lumine *O* 39 ascultare *O* hic ζ, hoc γ hec *V* sufixa *O*

saepe illam audivi furtiva voce loquentem
solam cum ancillis haec sua flagitia,
nomine dicentem quos diximus, utpote quae mi
speraret nec linguam esse nec auriculam.
praeterea addebat quendam, quem dicere nolo
nomine, ne tollat rubra supercilia.
longus homo est, magnas cui lites intulit olim
falsum mendaci ventre puerperium."

68(a)

Quod mihi fortuna casuque oppressus acerbo
conscriptum hoc lacrimis mittis epistolium,
naufragum ut eiectum spumantibus aequoris undis
sublevem et a mortis limine restituam,
quem neque sancta Venus molli requiescere somno
desertum in lecto caelibe perpetitur,
nec veterum dulci scriptorum carmine Musae
oblectant, cum mens anxia pervigilat:
id gratum est mihi, me quoniam tibi dicis amicum,
muneraque et Musarum hinc petis et Veneris.
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 vestis mihi tradita pura est,
iucundum cum aetas florida ver 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,

41 audivit *R* 42 solam $\zeta\vartheta$: sola *V* ancillis *quidam Venetus* (*apud Robortellum*): concillis *O*, conciliis *GR* 43 ut pete *O* 44 speraret *Calph.*: sperent *V*, speret R^2 45 addebant *O* 46 ne *a*: te *V* collat *GR*, *corr.* R^2 47 cui *B. Guarinus et Pall.* (quoi *Lachmann*): qui *V* littes *O* intullit *G* 48 mendaci β: mendacii *V*

68(a) 1 quo *O* 2 haec *O* mittit *G*, mictit *R*, -tt- R^2 3 naufragum $\zeta\eta$: naufragium *V* 6 disertum *G* 7 veterm (vet^{e}m) *O* 8 ansia *O* 10 petit *G* 11 incommoda γ: commoda *V* (comoda *R*) manli *Ric. 606*, malli *a*, Mani *Lachmann*, mi Alli *Diels*: mali *V*, al. mauli R^2 (*signum vocativi* o *add. supra* G^3) 12 seu *G* 16 *om. O*, *post* 49 (i. cometas f. ut a.) *repet. V* 17 luxi *R*, *corr.* R^2 18 amaritionem *O*, amariritiem *G* (*corr.* G^1) 20 omis- *V* (*corr. m*)

tu mea tu moriens fregisti commoda, frater,
tecum una tota est nostra sepulta domus;
omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra
quae tuus in vita dulcis alebat amor.
cuius ego interitu tota de mente fugavi
haec studia atque omnes delicias animi.
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.
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 vivimus: illa domus,
illa mihi sedes, illic mea carpitur aetas;
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.

68(b)

Non possum reticere, deae, qua me Allius in re
iuverit aut quantis iuverit officiis,
ne fugiens saeclis obliviscentibus aetas
illius hoc caeca nocte tegat studium;
sed dicam vobis, vos porro dicite multis
milibus et facite haec carta loquatur anus.

. . . . . .

notescatque magis mortuus atque magis,

21 comoda *OR* (*corr. m*) 24 in vita *a*: invita *V* 26 omnem *O* delitias *R* 27 vetone *O* *corr. O*^{1} catullo *ζ*: -e *V* 29 tepefactet *Bergk*, -fecit *γ*, -faxit *Lachmann*: tepefacit *V* -factat *R*^{2} cubilli *O* 30 manli *ε*, *Ric. 606*, malli *β*, Mani *Lachmann*, mi, Alli *Schoell* mali *V* 31 ignoscens *O* siqꝫ *R*, *corr. R*^{2} 32 tum *O* 34 hec *O* 36 ima *O* me mo *O*, *corr. O*^{1} 38 ingenuo *a primo*, ingenio (al. ingenuo *in margine*) *a*^{1}: ingenio 39 hucusque *Nisbet* posta *V*: praesto *Froehlich*, prompta *Baehrens*, parta *Schwabe* 40 deferrem (*η*): differrem *V* (differem *G*)

68(b) 41 qua me Allius *Scaliger*: quam fallius *V* ire *O*, īre *G*, in re *R* 42 invenit *O* 43 ne *Calph.* (nei *Baehrens*), non *β*: nec *V* seclis *β*^{1} *in margine*: sedis *V* 45 porro *O* 46 cerata *O*, certa *GR*, al. carta *R*^{2}: cera *Statius* 47 *om. V* 48 notescamque *G*

nec tenuem texens sublimis aranea telam
in deserto Alli nomine opus faciat.
nam mihi quam dederit duplex Amathusia curam
scitis, et in quo me torruerit genere,
cum tantum arderem quantum Trinacria rupes
lymphaque in Oetaeis Malia Thermopylis,
maesta neque assiduo tabescere lumina fletu
cessarent tristique imbre madere genae,
qualis in aerii perlucens vertice montis
rivus muscoso prosilit e lapide,
qui cum de prona praeceps est valle volutus,
per medium densi transit iter populi,
dulce viatori lasso in sudore levamen,
cum gravis exustos aestus hiulcat agros:
hic, velut in nigro iactatis turbine nautis
lenius aspirans aura secunda venit
iam prece Pollucis, iam Castoris implorata,
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 diva pede
intulit et trito fulgentem in limine plantam
innixa arguta constituit solea,
coniugis ut quondam flagrans advenit amore
Protesilaeam Laodamia domum
inceptam frustra, nondum cum sanguine sacro
hostia caelestis pacificasset eros.
nil mihi tam valde placeat, Rhamnusia virgo,
quod temere invitis suscipiatur eris.

49 subtilis *Nisbet* *Post 49 v. 16 iteratum V: del. γδ* 50 alli *O*, ali *GR* 51 nam] non *G* 52 torruerit *Turnebus* (*Adv. 16.1*): corruerit *V* 54 limphaque *O* oetaeis *η*: cetheis *O*, cetheis *G*, cetheis *G*^{1}, oetheis *G*^{1}*bis*, oethis *R* malia (*ζ*), maulia *V* termopilis *O*, termophilis *G*, termophylis *R* 55 lumina *θ*: nummula *O*, numula *GR* 56 cessarent *θ*: cessare ne *V* 59 valle *Laur. 36.23*: valde *V* voluptus *O*, *corr. O*^{1} 60 densi] properi *Nisbet* 61 dulce *P. Laetus*: duce *V* viatorum *O*, viatori *GR*, al. -rum *R*^{2} lasso *η*: basso *V* 63 levamen *Calph.*: levamus *V* 62 hiultat *O* 63 hic *GR*, hec *O*: ac *Pall.* velud *R*, *corr. R*^{2} 64 lenius *β*: levius *V* 65 implorata *η*: implorate *V* 66 allius *O*, <ve>l manllius *O*^{1} *in margine*, manlius *GR*: Manius *Lachmann* 67 classum *GR* 68 dominam *V*: dominae *Froehlich* 72 inixa *O* argulta *R*, *corr. R*^{1} 73 amorem *V*, *corr. R*^{2} 74 prothesileam (-tes- *O*) laudomia *V* 75 inceptam *Turnebus* (*Adv. 21.17*): incepta *V* 76 heros *O* 77 rāmusia *O*, ranusia *GR*

quam ieiuna pium desiderat ara cruorem
docta est amisso Laodamia viro,
coniugis ante coacta novi dimittere collum,
quam veniens una atque altera rursus hiems
noctibus in longis avidum saturasset amorem,
posset ut abrupto vivere coniugio,
quod scibant Parcae non longo tempore abesse,
si miles muros isset ad Iliacos.
nam tum Helenae raptu primores Argivorum
coeperat ad sese Troia ciere viros,
Troia (nefas!) commune sepulcrum Asiae Europaeque,
Troia virum et virtutum omnium acerba cinis,
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,
quae tuus in vita dulcis alebat amor.
quem nunc tam longe non inter nota sepulcra
nec prope cognatos compositum cineres,
sed Troia obscena, Troia infelice sepultum
detinet extremo terra aliena solo.
ad quam tum properans fertur <lecta> undique pubes
Graeca penetralis deseruisse focos,
ne Paris abducta gavisus libera moecha
otia pacato degeret in thalamo.
quo tibi tum casu, pulcerrima Laodamia,
ereptum est vita dulcius atque anima
coniugium: tanto te absorbens vertice amoris
aestus in abruptum detulerat barathrum,

68(b) 90 *Nonius vol. 1, p. 291 (Lindsay)*

79 desideret θ (defideret *iam* β^1): deficeret *V* (*et* β *primo, ut videtur*) 80 laudomia *V* virgo *V*, *corr.* R^2G^3 81 novi *Trinc.*, novum β^2: novit *OG*, venit novit *R* (venit *exp.* R^2) al. vo- R^2 dimictere *R* 84 abinnupto *O* 85 scirant *L. Mueller*, scibat *Lachmann* abesse $\zeta\eta$: abisse *V* 86 similes *OR*, similles *G* 87 cum *O* 91 quae nunc et *Marcilius*, quaene etiam *Heinsius*, quaeve etiam *Calph.*: que vetet id *V* frater *V*; al. fratri R^2 92 hei *GR* frateter *GR*, *corr.* G^1R^2 93 hei *V* iocundumque limine *O* ademptum α: adeptum *V* 97 quem (η): que *V* sepulcrea *G*, *corr.* G^1 98 cineris *V* 101 tuum *G* lecta *add. Eldik*, simul *1472*, cuncta *Froehlich* pupes *O* 102 foccos *O* 103 ne *G*, nec *OR* pars *O* 104 octia *O*, ocia *GR* paccato *O* 105 quo ζ: quod *V* cum *G* laodamia ζ: laudomia *V* 108 arruptum *G*, *corr.* G^1

quale ferunt Grai Pheneum prope Cyllenaeum
siccare emulsa pingue palude solum,
quod quondam caesis montis fodisse medullis
audit falsiparens Amphitryoniades,
tempore quo certa Stymphalia monstra sagitta
perculit imperio deterioris eri,
pluribus ut caeli tereretur ianua divis,
Hebe nec longa virginitate foret.
sed tuus altus amor barathro fuit altior illo,
qui tamen indomitam ferre iugum docuit.
nam nec tam carum confecto aetate parenti
una caput seri nata nepotis alit,
qui, cum divitiis vix tandem inventus avitis
nomen testatas intulit in tabulas,
impia derisi gentilis gaudia tollens
suscitat a cano volturium capiti;
nec tantum niveo gavisa est ulla columbo
compar, quae multo dicitur improbius
oscula mordenti semper decerpere rostro,
quam quae praecipue multivola est mulier.
sed tu horum magnos vicisti sola furores,
ut semel es flavo conciliata viro.
aut nihil aut paulo 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,
rara verecundae furta feremus erae,

109 fuerunt *G*, *corr.* G^1 Pheneum *Av.*: peneum *V* cilleneum *V* 110 siccare *Schrader*: siccari *V* (sicari *O*) 112 audit *Palmerius*: audet *V* falsi parens *R* amphytrioniadis *V* (-phi- *O*) 113 stimphalia *OR* 114 perculit β: pertulit *OR*, pertullit *G* deterrioris *G* heri *V* 115 terreretur *O*, treerretur *G*, tereretur *R*, terretur G^1R^2 116 heb$\bar{3}$(= hebe et?) *O* 117 baratro *V* 118 tamen *Heyse*, tunc *Corradinus de Allio*: tuum *V* indomitam *Statius*: domitum *V* 119 nec tam carum *O*, nec causa carum *GR*, al. neque tam carum R^2 122 ceratas *Schrader* 124 suscitat a θ (suscitata *iam* α): scuscitata *OR*, scusoitata *G*, scusitata G^1 voltarium *V* 126 compq̄ *O*, comparq̄ *G*, compar q̄ *R* ī probius *G* 128 quam quae *Puccius* (?) *adn. Marc. 12.127*, quantum *Calph.*: quamquam *V* 129 tu horum η: tuorum *V* 130 es flavo $\zeta\eta$: efflavo *O*, eflavo *GR* 131 paulum *Colotius* tum *Trinc.*: tu *V* 132 contullit *G* 133 circum cursans *O*, circumc- *GR* 135 cotēpta catulo *O* (catullo O^1) 136 here *V*

ne nimium simus stultorum more molesti;
saepe etiam Iuno, maxima caelicolum,
coniugis in culpa flagrantem contudit iram,
noscens omnivoli plurima facta Iovis.
atqui nec divis homines componier aequum est
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
ingratum tremuli tolle parentis onus.
nec tamen illa mihi dextra deducta paterna
fragrantem Assyrio venit odore domum,
sed furtiva dedit media munuscula nocte
ipsius ex ipso dempta viri 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,
ne vestrum scabra tangat robigine nomen
haec atque illa dies atque alia atque alia.
huc addent divi quam plurima, quae Themis olim
antiquis solita est munera ferre piis.
sitis felices et tu simul et tua vita,
et domus <ipsa> 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 viva vivere dulce mihi est.

137 *Hieremias de Montagnone, Compendium moralium notabilium 2.1.5*

137 scimus *R* 139 contudit iram *Hertzberg*, concoquit iram *Lachmann*: cotidiana *O*, quot- *GR* 140 facta *V*: furta ζ 141 atqui θ, at quia δ: atque *V* componier *Pal. 1652, Harl. 2778, Vat. 3269* (-iere *Bodl. e 3*): componere *V* equum] fas *Urb. 812* *Post 141* *lacunam indicavit Marcilius* 142 opus *Postgate* 143 dextra θ: deastra *O*, de astra *GR* 144 fragrantem ηθ: flagrantem *V* (*cf.* 6.8) 145 furtiva *OG*, furtivē *R* (a *supra scr.* R^1) media *Landor* (mĩa?), rara *Haupt*, muta *Heyse*: mira *V* 147 hiis *O*, his *GR* 148 diem *1473*: dies *V* candiore *O* 149 hoc *V* (*nisi* h̄= haec *O*) quo *Muretus* 150 Alli *Scaliger* aliis *V* 153 plurimaque *O* 155 sitis ζη: satis *V* et tua vite *OG*, tua virtute (*om.* et) *R* et tua vite R^1, *corr.* R^2 156 ipsa *add.* ζη, *post* qua *add.* nos *alii* luximus *R*, *corr.* R^2 157 te trandedit (*sic*) *Scaliger* auspex *Lipsius* 158 nota *R*, *corr.* R^1 bona (ζ): bono *V* 159 michiq3 *O*, michi q̄ *GR* 160 dulce mihi est β, dulce mihi (*om.* est) ζ: m. d. est *V*

69

Noli admirari, quare tibi femina nulla,
Rufe, velit tenerum supposuisse femur,
non si illam rarae labefactes munere vestis
aut perluciduli deliciis lapidis.
laedit te quaedam mala fabula, qua tibi fertur
valle sub alarum trux habitare caper.
hunc metuunt omnes, neque mirum: nam mala valde est
bestia, nec quicum bella puella cubet.
quare aut crudelem nasorum interfice pestem,
aut admirari desine cur fugiunt.

70

Nulli se dicit mulier mea nubere malle
quam mihi, non si se Iuppiter ipse petat.
dicit; sed mulier cupido quod dicit amanti,
in vento et rapida scribere oportet aqua.

71

Si cui iure bono sacer alarum obstitit hircus,
aut si quem merito tarda podagra secat,
aemulus iste tuus, qui vestrum exercet amorem,
mirifice est apte nactus utrumque malum.
nam quotiens futuit, totiens ulciscitur ambos:
illam affligit odore, ipse perit podagra.

70 4 *Petrarca, Invectiva contra medicum 2; cf. Canzoniere 212.4*

69 2 ruffe *V* 3 non si illam rarae *Ald.* (non i. r. *iam Calph.*; carae *Ellis*, coae *Baehrens*): nos illa mare *V* 4 delitiis *R* 5 qua] que *V*, *corr.* $G^{3?}$ 6 vale *O* subalarum *OR* (sub alarum O^2), suballarum *G*, -alar- $G^{3?}$ 8 qui cum ζη: cui cum *V* 10 frigiunt *O*
70 1 male *O*
71 1 cui *Calph.*: qua *V*, al. quo R^2 iure *Pall.*: viro *V* sacer alarum *Calph.*: sacratorum *O*, sacrorum *GR* obstit *R*, *corr.* R^2 hyrcus *GR* 2 quem θ: quam *V* podraga *GR* secat ζ: secunt *O*, secum *GR* 3 nostrum β 4 murifice *R*, *corr.* R^1 apte *Dres.*^{1}: a te *V* 6 podraga *G*

2 Characteristically, C. extends his *diffamatio* by adding something else to Rufa's discredit: she is a *bustirapa* (Plaut. *Pseud.* 361), though there is no suggestion that she is additionally a *moecha* by trade, as Q. suggests (which would remove the intended horror of *uxor Meneni*); *tunderetur* (l. 5) = *vapularet*, 'she was being hammered,' without any implication of sexual relations.
sepulcretis occurs only here.

4 Cf. Ter. *Eun.* 491 *e flamma petere te cibum posse arbitror*, Tib. 1.5.53–4 *ipsa fame stimulante furens herbasque* [*escasque* Muretus] *sepulcris / quaerat et a saevis ossa relicta lupis.*

5 *semiraso ustore*: the *ustor*, described as *sordidus* by Lucan, 8.738, was the slave of the *libitinarius*. The fact that he is *semirasus* suggests that he is in fact a *fugitive* slave (Apul. *Met.* 9.12): half the runaway's head was shorn, as a means of recognition.

60

Structure: unitary (single-sentence address).

A single-sentence outburst of indignation at the unkind dismissal, by a friend, of C.'s appeal for sympathy and perhaps for help in an extremity of despair. It is not (explicitly, at any rate) connected, as poem 38 seems to be, with illness of mind or body; rather, the situation appears to be like that which we have encountered in poem 30. The name of the person addressed is not stated; but it is fairly clear that she, or he, is addressed in terms traditionally appropriate to an object of love rather than of mere friendship. As Weinreich 1959 points out, even though part of the topos goes back to *Iliad* 16.33–5 (Patroclus to Achilles: 'child of sea and rocks, not of Peleus and Thetis') – cf. V. *Aen.* 4.365–7 – much is due to Euripides, *Medea* 1342–3 (cf. 1358–9 and also *Bacchae* 988–90); the topos is usually applied to love relations. Notice also that C. here uses the choliambic metre, which as a rule he reserves for serious attacks (apart from poem 31, where the 'limping iambic' is chosen for special reasons); it is unlikely, therefore, that the lines are no more than an 'exercise' in a literary genre. Weinreich's belief that Lesbia is the addressee is supported by Lieberg 1966. The material appears to be used again at 64.154–7 (see line 1 n.).

1 For a (possible) reworking of the same notion in a different context by C., cf. 64.154–6. F. illustrates the history of the concept from Homer (*Il.* 16.33–5), Virgil (*Aen.* 4.366), and Ovid (*M.* 8.120–1). Cf. also Eur. *Med.* 1342–3.
Libystinis: see App. Crit., and notice *m*'s independence in the matter of spelling. Cf. V. *Aen.* 5.37 and 8.368 *Libystidis ursae* for another form of the adjective.

Libyssae occurs at 7.3. For the form *Libystinus* cf. Macrob. 1.17.24 (the only other instance in Latin).

2 *Scylla*: the picture given of her is Hellenistic (as in Lucr. 5.892, V. *Ecl.* 6.75, *Aen.* 3.426–8), not the Homeric one of *Od.* 12.85.

4 *novissimo*: this meaning of *novissimus* (= *extremus*) is rare (except in Tacitus: to F.'s three citations or references, namely *A.* 6.50, 12.33, 15.44, add the closing words of *Agric.* 45 *novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui*). Among poets, Statius has (in the same sense) *novissima verba* at *A.* 1.381. Cf. the use of *novissime* (adv.) at Catullus 4.24.

5 *contemptam haberes*, 'treat with contempt'; B. and Kr. compare Plaut. *Cas.* 189 *vir me habet pessumis despicatam modis.* Cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* 572, Ter. *Eun.* 384. As E. puts it, 'the combined verb and participle are not simply = the verb alone, they give the idea of permanence or settled determination.'
We may plausibly reconstruct *A*'s reading as follows: *contẽtam* (perhaps hard to read; notice how *G* at first hesitates, and even *O* has second thoughts).

Weinreich, O. 1959. 'C. c. 60,' *Hermes* 87: 75–90.
Lieberg, G. 1966. 'C. 60 und Ps. Theokrit 23,' *Hermes* 94: 115–19.

61

Structure: (45 + 30) + 45 + (30 + 30) + 115 (including gaps in text) as follows:

Lines	*Number of lines*		
1–45	45		Invocation to Hymen
46–75	30		Praise of Hymen — Hymn (formal in style)
76–113	45		Praise of the bride (reassuring her)
114–43	30	*Deductio*	*Fescennina iocatio*; to the bridegroom
144–73	30	*Deductio*	Address to the bride (encouraging her)
174–end	115		*Epithalamium* (properly so called)

Place of the action: In 1–113: at the bride's former home. A chorus of girls (companions of the bride), assembled there, is called upon by the poet, acting as *choragus* or choirmaster (cf. Aristophanes, *Ran.* 372ff.), to invoke Hymen as the god of marriage (36–45).

In 114–73: during the progress of the torchlight procession escorting the bride from her old home to the new (*deductio*). At l. 149, she comes within sight of the bridegroom's house; at l. 173, she arrives there. The Fescennine verses are deemed to be spoken by or on behalf of a male chorus (friends of the bridegroom).

In 174–228: at the bride's new home. The chorus of boys and youths, which has accompanied her, is still present; but the poet (who has acted as master of ceremonies throughout) may now, perhaps, speak with his own voice, rather than as *choragus* – notice the first person singular in l. 209 – as he gives the final blessing on the wedded pair, in the shape of a wish for children.

For a thoroughgoing analysis of the poem, and an especially penetrating account of its use of different kinds of language in its functionally differing component parts, see Fedeli 1972.

In artistry the sixty-first poem is one of the most successful, while in atmosphere it is surely one of the happiest, of C.'s compositions. It was written to celebrate the marriage of a pair whom C. evidently knew: one Manlius Torquatus (see ll. 16, 209, 215), who is most likely to have been L. Manlius Torquatus, praetor 49 BC (see F.) and who may or may not be the same as the Manlius of 68[a] (= 68.1–40), and his bride, whose name is given in the Mss as Iunia (l. 16) Aurunculeia (l. 82). (Since each of her names, as given, represents the *nomen* of a *gens*, there is a great deal to be said for Syme's suggestion of *Vibia*, as a known *praenomen*: cf. *ILS* 7819 [Praeneste], for example.) The affectionate, not to say tender, way in which C. – or his poetic persona – addresses and seeks to reassure the bride (who like many Roman brides was clearly very young) suggests that she may have been at least distantly related to him; the bridegroom, on the other hand, is mentioned much more briefly and more distantly. Such a *praenomen* as Vibia would strongly suggest central Italian origins; if C. belonged (as has been suggested) to a branch of the Valerii who came north to Verona from that region in the disturbances after the Social Wars, a family connection (perhaps two generations removed) is not unthinkable.

That the poem was designed for recitation or 'performance' – by a pair of choirs – at the actual wedding ceremony, is in the highest degree unlikely, for several reasons. (i) Philodemus, *De Musica* (ed. Kemke) 68.37–40, writing about 50 BC, says of his time *νῦν δὲ δή σχεδόν καὶ παντάπασι καταλελυμένον τῶν ἐπιθαλαμίων* – i.e., the singing of epithalamia (at weddings) had died out, or virtually so. (ii) As Fedeli remarks towards the end of his monograph (p. 128), little or no regard is paid in poem 61 to the conventions of the ceremony; most of the significant ritual acts of a Roman wedding are totally ignored. (iii) The poem is not fully dramatized; it is in parts, and to a considerable extent, a descriptive monologue.

Professor T.P. Wiseman (1985: 199) nevertheless appears to suggest that poem 61 was indeed 'an actual choral ode to be sung simultaneously with, and as a part of, the ceremonies it describes,' which seems to encounter all three of the objections I have just raised. Moreover, an ode should maintain

a public, rather than drop intermittently into a private and colloquial, level of *language*; nor should it have, as a separate and distinguishable element, a hymn to Hymen. In two publications, both cited by Wiseman 1985: n. 71, Professor F. Cairns suggests – though to all appearance merely en passant – that poem 61 is to be classed as a choric ode, 'though without necessarily implying anything about performance in real life,' as W. puts it; but (as Fedeli has shown in great detail) the originality of Catullus is such that, for all his awareness of literary tradition, it is hard indeed to squeeze him within the template of generic composition.

In the time of Catullus the lustre of Sappho's name attached to an entire book of epithalamia, composed for real persons. When the form was revived in the Hellenistic age, we *know* that this was done as a literary exercise because (as F. has pointed out in his introduction to this poem) the only surviving example, Theocritus XVIII, celebrates the marriage not of flesh-and-blood mortals but of characters in myth. In C.'s generation we know of glyconic epithalamia by Ticidas and by Calvus (a single short fragment remains from each of these). Calvus, like C. in poem 62, at least experimented also with hymeneal 'songs' in hexameters. Here too the revival of the form was surely a matter of artistic interest, rather than of social utility. When Ovid later said (*Ex Ponto* 1.2.131–2) to his friend Fabius Maximus

> ille ego, qui duxi vestros Hymenaeon ad ignes,
> et cecini fausto carmina digna toro,

he is still sufficiently under the spell of tradition to say *cecini*; but of course the epithalamium in question was never meant to be sung (and it would not in any case have been sung by an individual).

Metre: A stanza, not of three glyconics plus one pherecratean, as in poem 34, but of four glyconics plus one pherecratean (cf. Anacreon, frs. 1 and 2 D). Synaphea is observed – i.e., within the stanza the lines are regarded as merging into each other without a break so that *syllaba anceps* is not permitted at the end of the line (except at the end of the stanza). Corinna (*Suppl. lyr.* 2 D) similarly maintains synaphea, though in her stanza the glyconic has a different form. The Mss show one exception to this (line 185 *est tibi*); modern editors transpose (to *tibi est*), as it is thought unlikely that C. would in this one place have broken a rule elsewhere so strictly observed, and it was just as easy and natural to write *tibi est*. There may be one instance of a short syllable ending a glyconic, if the Ms reading is correct, at line 215 *omnibus*; but this is not really surprising, since lengthening of short syllables ending in a single consonant occurs in Latin poetry even within

lines. For *-us* lengthened before a vowel cf. 64.334, where the transposition *tales umquam*, printed in the first edition of my text, spoils the balance of this line and the next; in Virgil, cf. *Geo.* 2.5 *gravidus autumno*, 4.453 *non te nullius exercent*, *Aen.* 4.64 *pectoribus inhians*. Elision between lines is allowed. In the refrain, the second *io* could be either one syllable without elision, or two syllables with elision; but since it must be a monosyllable at the beginning of the line, clearly it should be read as a monosyllable each time it occurs. In general, *io* can in Latin be treated either as a disyllable (with vocalic *i*) or as a monosyllable (with consonantal *i*); for a similar flexibility cf. V. *Aen.* 1.288 *Iulius a magno dimissum nomen Iulo*. *Io* is a disyllable in Ov. *M.* 5.625 *et bis 'io Arethusa, io Arethusa' vocavit*; but it is a monosyllable in Mart. 11.2.5 *clamant ecce mei 'io Saturnalia' versus*. Note that in the Ovidian passage there is hiatus before disyllabic *io*; this would not be allowed before monosyllabic *io*, where the *i* is consonantal. Likewise, a short syllable ending with a consonant is lengthened before monosyllabic *io*.

(NOTE: In the detailed nn. on this poem, Fe. = Fedeli 1972.)

1 Notice the hiatus, which frequently occurs after an exclamation, and particularly after the exclamation *o*.

C. is the first Roman poet to use displaced (postponed) *o* (Fe. 24).

2 The god of marriage (Hymen) is described as the offspring (*genus*, a solemn word) of Urania. See Estevez 1977/78, who points out that if the name of a Muse must stand between *cultor* and *genus*, three Muses are available, each of whom is attested in antiquity as Hymen's mother: Terpsichore, Calliope, Urania. But the first two names will not produce the trochaic opening which, in glyconics, C. overwhelmingly prefers. More important is this: *Aphrodite Urania* stands for pure, or wedded, love (note the frequency of *bonus* etc. in this poem; cf. 180 n.); this, and the association of the 'iunctura' *Aphrodite Urania*, might themselves suffice to cause C. to select this particular Muse (for Muse she is, as the mention of Helicon shows) in preference to others. Callim. fr. 2a.42ff. gives Urania.

3 After mentioning the god's abode and parentage, C. adds a *qui*-clause; this 'relative-style' is closely linked with the technique of the 'cletic' hymn (Fe. 23).

5 Fe. and others would read *Hymen o*, since the collocation *o Hymen* seems not to occur in Greek; cf. also poem 62. (Clearly ll. 4–5 were wrongly divided, *hymen* at the end of 4 being transferred to the opening of 5.) In that case, *Hȳmen* in 4 will be followed by *Hȳmen* in 5 (cf. again poem 62). But, as F. points out, C. prefers a trochaic opening (above, n. 2, and F. 238).

8 Scholars are divided on the question whether the comma should follow *cape* (B., Kr., Fe.) or *laetus* (Fr., Mynors). Fr. quotes *cape laetus* from Hor. *Od.* 3.8.27 and *cape tura libens* from [Tibullus] 3.11 = 4.5.9, also *accipe laetus* from Statius

S. 3.4.7 (and a similar expression is found at V. *Aen.* 6.377, *cape dicta memor*). Cf. esp. 64.393 *acciperent laeti divum*. On the other side, Kr. and Fe. rely on Plato, *Legg.* 4.712b ἵλεως εὐμενής θ' ὑμῖν ἔλθοι and *h. Orph.* 6.10 βαῖνε γεγηθώς, passages that Fe. regards as decisive. Fr. quotes several instances of *huc huc*, claiming that when this phrase occurs it is always at the beginning of a clause, as at 64.195 (though even he explains *laetus* as 'also to be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ' with *huc huc*). The punctuation adopted in the text appears to be supported by the otherwise usual division of the line, in this poem, after the third or fifth syllable, as Kr. points out.

9 *niveus*: a new word, much used by C. (Fe. 27 n. 1).

10 *luteum*, 'red'; cf. 188 n.

11 *excitus*: Kr. equates this with ἀνακληθείς, 'summoned,' probably rightly despite the objection by Fe. (27 and n. 2), who follows *TLL* ('laetus, bono et erecto animo').

13 R^{2}'s correction is independent (followed by *m*), and essentially metrical.

14 The wedding god himself is called upon to dance; usually, this action is assigned to choirs of young people.

15 The purely Roman ritual that caused Parthenius to conjecture *spineam* is described by F. But the symbolism of pine torches at a wedding is familiar in poetry and art; and indeed 'torches' may stand for the wedding itself (64.25 and 302).

16 *namque* = γάρ (the *reason* for invoking the god is an essential part of the hymn; Kr. compares Ar. *Ran.* 876–83).

Iunia: the objection to *V*'s reading is that the bride will be given two gentile names, which is unparalleled. See the intr. n. on Syme's suggestion (*Vibia*).

Manlio must be right. See the Ms readings at line 215, and the mention of Torquatus 209; this family did not use the name *Mallius* (cf. Cicero and Livy for the spelling).

17 *colens*, of a god's abode: cf. 1–2, recalled here (still in prayer style). *colere* is not exactly = *custodire*, *servare*, as Fe. (following *TLL*) asserts.

18–19 *Phrygium* ... *iudicem*, Paris. 'Phrygian' = Trojan, cf. 63.2 n., 64.344 n., and Callim. *H.* 5.18. For this 'Alexandrian' style of learned allusion, cf. 2 *Uraniae genus*.

19–20 *bona* ... *alite*. Although the terms *auspex* and *auspicium* were still employed in connection with love and marriage (45.19 and 26), the taking of auspices, in the literal sense (i.e., from the flight of birds) was by C.'s time obsolete so far as weddings were concerned: see Cicero, *De div.* 1.28 (quoted by eds. and Fe.). For metaphorical *alite* = *auspicio*, cf. Hor. *Epod.* 10.1 *mala soluta navis exit alite* and the passages quoted here by F.

21 *floridis*, a 'poetic' word (Fe. 33).

velut: cf. l. 102 and 64.105 n.

enitens, in a literal sense (of flowers etc.) is rare (see Fe. 33).

22 The myrtle had both a connection with Venus and a special relation to the Judgment of Paris (Fe. 32).
Asia: not the Roman province of Asia (*Ă*-), but the coastal region of Lydia, around the mouth of the Cayster and the city of Ephesus (not 'the Maeander,' as F. has it). Kr. translates 'Orient,' rejecting the Cayster allusion; but see Fe. 33–4.

23 *Hamadryades*: properly tree nymphs, but here = nymphs in general.

25 Metrically unique (spondee for dactyl in the second foot); but *roscido ... umore* seems a natural 'iunctura' (cf. Pliny *NH* 9.38); a similar metrical substitution occurs in poems 55 and 58[b]; and *nutriuntur honore* (Mähly; rejected by Fe. 30 n. 2) would give feeble sense, even though the deponent form (cf. V. *Geo.* 2.425, where Mynors reads *nutritor*) is attested as correct by Priscian. See F. for a metrical parallel from Seneca, and for Wilamowitz' explanation (namely that apparent, though not real, parallels are to be found in such Greek glyconic lines as Anacreon, fr. 11 D *συρίγγων κοιλώτερα*).

26 *age* is (like ἄγε in Greek) common in requests.
aditum ferens: prayer-style; cf. 43; also 63.47 and 79 *reditum ferre*.

27 *perge* + infin. simply implies the notion of haste (examples in Kr.); F.'s 'set about leaving' is hardly right. At V. *Geo.* 1.16, a god is similarly called down from his dwelling-place.
linquo (for *relinquo*) is archaic (Fe.).

27–30 *Thespiae ... frigerans ... Aonios*: these three words seem to have been invented by C. (Fe. 38). They refer, of course, to Mount Helicon and its surroundings (for the location of *frigerans Aganippe*, see Paus. 9.29.5).

31 *ac* is identified by Ross 1969: 28–9 as 'a connective of archaic formality.'

31–3 With this punctuation, *novi coniugis* is an objective genitive, related to *cupidam*, which agrees with *dominam*. I see nothing against this. Kr., following M. Bonnet, has no comma at the end of 32, and would make *cupidam* (*mentem*) predicative, in close association with *amore revinciens*; i.e., the bridegroom's *mens* passes from 'desire' to 'love' under the impulse of Hymen. But if this is so it is hard to see how *revinciens* is connected to *voca*. B., again, wished to read *cupidi novam* (with a comma after *novam*), leaving *mentem* unmodified; *coniugis cupidi* was to be a possessive genitive, depending on *novam domum*; but the order would then become unnatural, with no gain in meaning. Kr., punctuating as B. did, suggested taking *coniugis novi ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* with *domum* and *cupidam*, which is forced and improbable. F. seems to misinterpret Wilamowitz, as quoted by Fr. (in his *Nachträge*).

32 On the meaning of *cupidus* see Biondi 1979 (with Granarolo's review).

34 *huc et huc* = *huc illuc*; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 4.9.

36 *vosque* = *vos quoque*; cf. possibly 102.3 *meque* (*V*; but see text and n.), and perhaps (if Bergk's *gaudente* is rejected) 31.13.
simul, 'in unison with me.'

38 *in modum* appears to mean, not 'in time' (= *in numerum*), but 'in tune' (see examples in Fr., and cf. F.).

41 *ut*: notice that *quo* need not always be used in clauses of purpose involving a comparative.

42 *citarier*: there are five instances in poem 61 of the archaic infinitive in *-er*; elsewhere in C. this occurs only at 68.141 (but see App. Crit. and n. there). The verb *cito* belongs to the vocabulary of prayers, as do *munus* (in this sense) and *bonus*, used of gods (Fe.).

44 *bonae Veneris*: cf. line 195, and see Alfonsi 1967.

45 *coniugator*: a hapax eiremenon, apparently invented by C. (though Calvus, fr. 6 M, has *cara iugavit corpora conubiis*; and cf. *coniugare* at Cicero, *De off.* 1.58).

46 *quis deus* is regular and normal, whereas *qui deus* is unattested in poetry and very rare in prose (Fe. 43 n. 1).

46–7 The Mss have *amatis/est*, which is of course unmetrical. The most widely accepted emendation is Bergk's *est ama/tis* (though the only other division of a word between two lines can be justified as a very special case – the need to include the bride's own name at some point in a poem on her wedding; cf. 82 n.). Those who accept it (including Fr., Kr., Mynors – but F., who prints Mynors' text, has serious doubts about it and urges a solution on the lines of Haupt's *anxiis est* – and also Fe.) cite, as a parallel, 45.20 *amant amantur*, which will not serve (see B. and F. for cogent objections). Bergk (*Philologus* 16 [1860]: 619) and Fe. (44) refuse to accept *anxietas* as appropriate to the lover who has a prospect of happiness, though Fe. admits that there are passages where the epithet *anxius* is used of persons in love (e.g., Cicero, *TD* 4.70, *Ad Att.* 2.24.1); but Fe. claims that such passages refer to fears that the love will be short or the lover unfaithful, and that such feelings are not in point here. Yet the next two stanzas seem to refer to various specific forms of anxiety experienced even towards the time of the wedding (see 51 n.); and not much is to be gained by pointing out that *anxius* is not exactly synonymous with *timens* (54). When Fr. asserts 'Hier ist ... von glücklicher Liebe die Rede,' he is probably thinking of 45.20, to which he at once refers, rather than ll. 46–7, which (with *est petendus*) seem to cover the entire course of love; see also his own citations, especially those from Ovid. On the whole it seems right to adopt Haupt's emendation, or something of the sort. The reading *amatis* at the end of 46 can be explained as prompted by *amantibus* at the end of 47.

51 *tremulus*: surely not 'of the shakiness of age' (F.; cf. 'der greise Vater,' Kr.), either here or in 68.142, which F. quotes in support. In the latter passage it clearly means 'anxious' (Munro 1905: 193), and is appropriated to the natural tendency of a parent to worry about the young (indicated by *suis* in the present passage). Here, too, it must mean 'anxious'; see the foregoing n. Cf. 64.242 and

379 for the adj. *anxius*, similarly applied; Prop. 2.22.42 *geminos anxia mater alit*. A Roman father would often be under forty years old at the time of a daughter's wedding, since girls married very young; that he should be *tremulus* because of age could hardly be a sufficiently typical circumstance to serve in a poem such as this. If 'anxious' is the proper translation, then *suis* can be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *tremulus* and *invocat*.

m's careless error *remus* is characteristically preserved, as a variant, by G^2.

53 *zonam solvere* (cf. 2^b.3) = ζώνην λύειν (*Odyssey* 11.245; see 2^b.3 n.), which however is said to the *bridegroom*; but cf. Eur. *Alc.* 177–8 (with κορεύματα), *AP* 7.324 ζώναν λυσαμένα of the bride who allows the bridegroom to untie it. C.'s sources are, as Fe. remarks, literary, not antiquarian. *soluunt sinus* implies shaking out the folds of the garment when the confining ζώνη is loosened.

54 *timens*: Fr. supports the Ms reading by several quotations; notice especially Hor. *Ep.* 1.16.65 *qui cupiet metuet quoque* (cf. also Kr.).

54–5 The unfamiliar, because archaic, spelling *novos* (in the nominative) produced *V*'s *maritos*. Cf. 53.3, where *Calvos* has similarly produced *meos*.

56–8 Much the same sentiment appears in 62.21–4; though the expression there is stronger, voiced as it is by a choir of girls with a point to make in the singing contest in which the are opposed to the youths. There is no necessary allusion here to the tradition of 'capture' associated with a Roman wedding.

56 *manus*: editors (and Fe. 48) have seen in this word a reference to the legal expression *conventio in manum*, denoting a bride's transfer from the tutelage of her father to that of her husband; but the husband's legal assumption of (singular) *manus* was, as F. notes, 'obsolescent or obsolete' in C.'s time; the poetic value of such a notion is hardly evident; and, what is more important, the plural (*manus*) here suggests otherwise.

61 *nil potest sine te*: hymn-style (see refs. in Kr.).

m's *nil* is metrically sound. Why, then, does m^2 feel obliged to add – and invent – *al. nihil*? Simply, it seems, to make the point that *if R*'s *nichil* were a valid reading, then it ought to be spelled *nihil*.

61–75 The last three stanzas of the invocation to Hymen are well annotated by E. (summarized by F. as follows: 'the blessings of marriage in the relation of man to woman, in the family, and in society.'). Notice especially Cicero, *De off.* 1.54, quoted by E. as a parallel.

64 *volente*, used in the 'sacral' sense, of divine approval.

65 *m*'s error (*-per-*) agrees with *O* by mere accident.

66 *quit* (R^2m^2) = *O*; it was probably in the margins of *X*. (Unrevised *CE* has '*corr. R*,' wrongly.)

67 *dare*, properly said of the mother (e.g., at V. *Aen.* 1.274, quoted by F.).

68 *nitier*: for the idea, cf. Eur. *IT* 57; also Cicero, *Cael.* 79 *unico filio nititur*, Sen. *Contr.* 2.1.7.

72 *queat* should not be replaced by an indicative; the imagined country which 'had no marriage rites' (71) is purely hypothetical, and such a country can hardly be the subject of a categorical statement in this context.

praesides: only freeborn citizens could serve in the legions; but the distinction made here is not that between legitimate and illegitimate children, since presumably, in a country where marriage (and hence the concept of legitimacy) was unknown, the disqualification of the illegitimate would not apply. Rather, what C. appears to say is that but for the institution of marriage, with its several advantages, many people would not have children at all (L.).

76 Fe. (56, and 117 n. 2) would take *ianuae* as vocative plural, 'admitting Callimachean influence and comparing *h. [2] Apoll.*, line 7,' and also because 224 (below) answers to 76 (presumably, therefore, because of the plural *ostia* in 224).

77 Since in 94–5 the words *faces quatiunt comas* again occur, with *viden* (or *vide ut*) clearly addressed to the bride (92 *nova nupta*), it is likely that here too *viden ut* is addressed to her. If so, it could scarcely follow immediately upon *adest* in the third person. Those who retain *adest* must take *viden ut* as a 'stereotyped formula' (F. on 62.8), similar in form but addressed to *several* persons, which seems less satisfactory. Notice that the doors have just been opened – this is a new section of the poem – and the bride is about to appear for the first time; *ades* need not be a command, but at most a request, repeated in successive stanzas (in the form *prodeas n.n.*) until she appears. Notice also that *viden ut* is followed by the indicative, being 'quasi-poetical' (F.); the phrase is colloquial (as the 'iambic shortening' of the second syllable demonstrates), and Virgil seems to follow C. in using it in this way.

78 *comas*: an ancient metaphor, applied to comets, flames, etc.

78–9 Apparently the last two lines of one stanza have been lost, together with the first two of the next. They probably alluded to, or described, a struggle in the bride's heart between maidenly bashfulness (*pudor* 79) and desire. She is clearly the subject of *audiens* 80, and equally clearly inclines more towards bashfulness.

79 *tardet* = *tardescit* (cf. 4.26, where *senet* = *senescit*); not necessarily subjunctive, as Kr. holds.

80 *audiens*, 'obeying'; cf. V. *Geo.* 1.514 *neque audit currus habenas*.

82 *Au-*: it is permissible to divide between two lines a *name* that cannot otherwise be fitted into glyconics; cf. 46–7 n.

84 *femina*, 'woman,' significantly; the word denotes married as well as unmarried (64.143, Fr.). Its use may serve to reassure the bride, whose girlish diffidence forms the context of the passage.

85–6 There is no reason to see (with B., E., Fe., and others) a specific reference to the morning after the wedding. More prosaically expressed, what is said is: 'no

fairer woman has ever lived.' Mention of dawn (*venientem* = *surgentem*) adds a touch of hopefulness. Cf. V. *Aen.* 7.218.

86 *viderit*, past tense: 'never in history' (including myth, no doubt). Usually it is the Sun, or Dawn, that 'sees'; cf. Eur. *Hec.* 635, Callim. *H.* 3.249 (Kr.).

88 *divitis*: *Iliad* 11.68 *ἀνδρὸς μάκαρος κατ' ἄρουραν*.

89 *stare*, 'stand up straight' (B.).
flos hyacinthinus, for *hyacinthus*, has (according to Ronconi, quoted by Fe.) an 'intonazione culta.' The comparison is a traditional topos; see L. Alfonsi, 'Sul nuovo Anacreonte' (P. Oxy. 22.2321), *Aegyptus* 35 (1955): 201–5.

92–3 *si videtur*, a polite (though colloquial) idiom; cf. *sodes*, etc.
audias n. v., 'hear our request' (prayer formula).

94 See the App. Crit. Those (B., for example) who believe that the reading *vide ut* conveys more urgency than *viden* may compare 62.12 *aspicite ut*. On C.'s use of *viden (ut)* see G. Pascucci, *SIFC* 29 (1957): 174–96. The unmetrical reading *viden ut* is probably an unconscious echo of line 77.
R^2 makes an easy and obvious correction (apart from metre) of *R*'s *viden et*; R^2's *viden ut* (= *G*) is independent of *O*'s *videri ut*, and probably independent of any marginal correction in *X*, since satisfactory support from *O* is not forthcoming.

97 *non* governs the whole stanza: 'it is not true that ...,' i.e., 'you need not fear lest ...' *tuus* is also important; see the tr. below. The order produces a studied distribution of emphasis. There is also a hidden compliment to the bride: 'because of your beauty and attractiveness, it will certainly not be *your* husband ...' This point is underlined at the close of the stanza: observe what is said in 100–1, and notice the echo of *tuus* in *tuis*.
in + abl. is stronger than simple ablative: 'in the person of ...'

98 *deditus*: cf. Lucr. 3.647.

102 *lenta*, 'pliant.' It was, of course, the vine that was 'sown beside' the tree, rather than vice versa; but the ambiguity may not be merely poetical. Cf. Cato *Agr.* 32.2 *vites ... adserantur*, Varro *RR* 1.16.6 *vitis adsita* (glossed *iuxta satus*, B.). Perhaps tr. 'growing beside.' As Fe. (64) remarks, C. here takes a traditional Greek motif and uses Roman images to express it.
For *vult* in *O*, see line 21.

107 Cf. Ticidas, fr. 1 M.
There is another lacuna here, probably of three lines only, and it is hopeless to try to fill it (for attempts to do so, see Fe. 67 n. 3).

108 *candido* either (of the bed) = *eburneo*, or quite possibly of a human being: cf. 9–10 *niveo pede*; also 64.162–3, and 68.70–1.

109 *quae* = *qualia*.

110–12 *quae ... gaudeat*, purposive: 'for him to enjoy.'
vaga, 'as the night passes.'

114–48 The bride emerges from the house she is leaving; the *pueri* raise their torches to accompany and guide her in procession (*deductio*) to the house of the bridegroom. As they move, they utter the *fescennina iocatio*, traditional banter addressed directly or (as here, in part) indirectly to the newly married couple, and ritually seen as a device for warding off the evil eye (*fascinum*). Notice that the poet calls on *pueri* only; not the *virgines* (37), for whom this rough banter was considered unseemly. Cf. Varro *Men.* 10 *pueri obscenis verbis novae nuptulae aures returant*.

117–18 The words *io H.H. io, io H.H.* will serve as a refrain at the end of each stanza from 136 to 183. *io* is probably a monosyllable at both places in the refrain; theoretically it might at the second occurrence be treated as disyllabic, with elision; but uniformity has a prior claim. In Ov. *M.* 5.625 (quoted in the intr. n.), the anguished effect of the repetition demands such uniformity, though the former *io* could in theory be regarded as monosyllabic. Cf. Mart. 11.2.5 for *io* as a monosyllable.
See App. Crit., and observe that *GR* (and from line 175 onwards, *O* also) add a superfluous *io* to the second line of this refrain each time it occurs, thus rendering it unmetrical, while *O* omits the line itself at 138, 143, 148, 153, 158, 163 (at 138, *GR* also omit the line; at 148, *G* omits it). These additions and omissions indicate, of course, that the metre was simply not grasped.

120 R^2's attempted correction (unexceptionable on purely palaeographic grounds, but of course inferior in sense to *iocatio*) is original. For other corrections by R^2, see lines 121 and 139.

121 On the scattering of *nuces* at weddings, see Serv. *ad Ecl.* 8.30 (*sparge, marite, nuces*): Servius has a variety of explanations (fertility ritual included), showing that the Romans themselves had inherited no clear account of it.
linquere nuces (cf. Schol. Pers. 1.10) is a figurative expression for putting childhood behind one; cf. 125–6 *satis diu lusisti nucibus*.

122 *audiens*: several nineteenth-century scholars repudiated this reading because 'hearing' a mere report is not in question; the *concubinus* knew of the wedding in advance, and is now attending it. So Fe. (79) defends the interpretation *audiens* = *intellegens* here, citing *TLL*. Nevertheless, *audiens* in the literal sense may be right; the *concubinus* is among the listeners to a lengthy *fescennina iocatio* – poetically shortened by C. – which made much of the transference of the bridegroom's affections from the *concubinus* himself to the bride. The genitive *domini* has also been questioned, on the grounds that it is the emotions of the *concubinus* that have been 'betrayed,' and that therefore we should read *domino* (dative of agent); see Fr.'s n. Cf. however [Ov.] *Ep. Sapph.* (= *Ep.* 15) 155 *Sappho desertos cantat amores*, where *desertus* = 'given up.'

123, 125, 128, 130, 133 *concubinus*: the word is repeated in derision, since he has ceased to be this.

127 The form of the ancient cry, uttered at weddings, was *Talasio*: Livy (1.9) implies that this was a dative, and so much is also to be inferred from Plut. *Rom.* 15.2 *τὸν Ταλάσιον ἐπᾴδουσι*; Martial however seems to regard *Talasio* as a nominative form (see *OLD* s.v. *Talasio*). Clearly C. treats it as dative, with *servire*. Does *lubet* 126 refer to the bridegroom's wish for himself or for the *concubinus* (= *lubet domino te servire Talasio*)? The former interpretation (with *domino* understood) may seem to strain the Latin; but it is hard to see in what sense the *concubinus* might be said *servire Talasio*, and hard also to supply with confidence a dative for *lubet*. Schrader (*Emend.*, 10) suggested *iubet*, taking *Talasio* (nominative) as its subject; but *iubet* would then lack an object, and *servire* a subject, so not much would be gained. Perhaps, reading *lubet*, translate: 'Our (general) desire (at this moment, *iam*) is to serve Talasius [= Hymenaeus, see Plut. *l.c.*]'; that is, 'What we are about now is the joyful celebration of a real wedding' (and your child's-play, ll. 125–6, is superseded).

129 *vilicae*, the wives of the bailiffs (supervisors) of slave-operated farms, were proverbially 'dragons,' of whom the young slaves might well be terrified – with the exception of the master's *concubinus*, in whose eyes they might be said *sordere* (= 'be despised,' cf. V. *Ecl.* 2.44 *sordent tibi munera nostra*).

131–2 In Martial 11.78.4 (quoted by F.) the bride herself is satirically depicted as snipping off the long effeminate locks of her husband's favourite slaves: *tondebit pueros iam nova nupta tuos*. Some editors (e.g., Fr.) take *tondet os* as implying shaving; but Martial at least cannot mean this.

134 *diceris*: present (*-ĕris*) or future (*-ēris*)? Surely present: the jesting (*iocatio*) at the bridegroom's expense is something for (and of) the wedding day only; it would be contrary to the spirit of the occasion – in bad taste, indeed – to prophesy at his marriage that, once married, he will be said to prefer male slaves to his new bride. Translate: 'They are saying you find it hard to refrain; but (from now on) refrain you must!'

male = *aegre*; cf. V. *Geo.* 1.360 *male temperat unda carinis* (B.).

134–6 *te ... abstinere*: cf. esp. Plaut. *Curc.* 37 *dum ted abstineas nupta, vidua, virgine, iuventute et pueris liberis, ama quidlubet.*

139 The emendation to *soli*, commonly attributed (as by Fe., p. 80 n. 2) to A. Statius, already appears (more than a century earlier) in *Cod. Par. Lat. 8233* (No. 83 in the Table of Manuscripts). The required meaning (*solus* = *caelebs*) is not elsewhere attested, and *sola* yields perfectly good sense: 'Yes, we are aware that you have experienced only those <sexual indulgences> that to bachelors are permitted by custom, <such as your relationship with the *concubinus*>, (and that you have not sought to taste the forbidden fruit of other kinds of *liaison* – [see 134–6 n.]); but (140–1) to a married man even such *permitted* pleasures (*ista eadem*) are forbidden.' On the plural *licent* see F.

144 R^2's 'late' correction *tuus* is not picked up by m^2 and is therefore missing from G^2. Because the lines (142–6) were in the margin of *R*, and in a second hand (R^2) at that, it seems as though m^2 did not treat them as part of the text, and thus ignored *corrections* by R^2 contained in them (even though *m* had not of course overlooked R^2's basic text of the lines).

144–6 Leaving the *fescennina iocatio*, and turning to the bride (in preparation for the new scene that opens with 149), the poet-as-choirmaster adopts a different tone: delicacy replaces ribald banter; yet a humorous note, or undertone, remains. Cf. Williams 1958: 22. The advice to the bride to be *morigera*, normally delivered by the *pronuba*, is here transferred to the poet and subjoined to the *fescennina iocatio* (Fe. 87).

145 *cave ne*: S.G. Owen, on the basis of 50.19, proposed *deneges*; it may be that (as L. suggested) he saw *cave*, without *ne*, as a poetic use of colloquial idiom. (Owen's text of Catullus, with a few notes, was published in a limited edition [London, 1893], and hardly merits inclusion in the Introduction or in the Bibliography; it is mentioned only here and at 29.20.)

146 *ni*: archaic form of *ne* (final). See F., who finds in its use here a 'desire to avoid having two *ne-* clauses depending on the same verb,' whereas Fe. (87) regards the deliberate archaism as marking a change of style (hence tone) from the familiar language of the *fescennina iocatio* to the fresh address to the bride.

R^2, followed by *m*, makes an unnecessary correction here through failure to understand that *ni* = *ne*.

149–63 The procession arrives at the bridegroom's house; 149 *en tibi* is 'deictic.'

149–51 Fe. (90) points to the use of elevated style here, as contrasted with the return to a familiar style in 154–61.

149 *en* ('deictic'), for *em*, was coming into use in C.'s time; see B., who compares 55.12 (cf. my n. there). Cicero would have said *ecce tibi*.

ut potens, 'how rich' (*potens* = *opulentus*); B. compares Cicero, *Cael.* 62 *mulier potens*; cf. also Hor. *Od.* 1.35.23 *potentis domos*.

151 *serviat*, 'be at your service': cf. Ov. *Ep.* 4.164 *serviat Hippolyto regia tota meo* (Fr.).

153–4 Notice that here, for once, the refrain is placed parenthetically within a sentence-clause.

155 *tempus* (rare in the singular, in this sense) for *caput*.

On *m*'s intermittent attachment to the diphthong *ae* (he reads *aetas* here), see de la Mare and Thomson 1973: 189–90. At 53.4 and 64.50, for example, *m* changes *R*'s *hec* to *haec* (cf. 76.15 and 16), and similarly *que* to *quae* at 61.151, 68.91, 69.5.

156 *annuit*: indicative, because it is a *general* statement about old age. The frequent nodding of the head, which (as F. says) looks like a continuous 'Yes,' is

poetically equated with loss of authority and consequent readiness to give in to everyone. Cf. Ov. *Ep.* 19.45–6 (quoted by F.) *adnuit illa fere non nostra quod oscula curet, sed movet obrepens somnus anile caput.*

159 For the custom of carrying a bride over the threshold of her new home (to avoid the bad omen of a stumble there), see E.'s notes. (It may well be that there is no reference here to carrying her, and that she is merely urged not to stumble.)

transfer has two objects (*limen*, after *trans*; *pedes*, after *fer*).

161 *forem* = the doorway as a whole, including lintel (hence *subi*) and threshold (hence *rasilem*). L. suggested that *rasilem* might be an adjectival 'transference' of the general notion of smoothness, alluding to the Roman custom of greasing the doorposts; but I find this notion over-subtle, and it is neither necessary nor desirable to strain for archaeological comprehensiveness in this poem (see intr. n.). Professor Christopher Brown first drew my attention to K. Latte's article in *Glotta* 32 (1953): 35–6, which suggests that C.'s phrase owes something to Sappho, fr. 117A (Voigt) = Hesychius Ξ 85, *ξοάνων προθύρων· ἐξεσμένων*, quoted by Vossius with reference to Hesychius. See now Campbell 1982: 140 and 141 n.

164–6 There are two principal interpretations: (i) the husband has dined (with guests) in the *atrium* of his house and is still at table (*accubans*) when the bride arrives (E. and Riese); the chief prop of this theory is the argument that in C.'s time *accubo* could only mean 'recline at table'; (ii) the husband is caught sight of inside the house, whether or not he has participated in the *deductio* until its arrival there; if not, he may have left the procession and gone ahead (Fr. supposes him to have entered the house while his bride paused to anoint the doorposts, a traditional rite for which no place is otherwise given); he is now seated, alone, on a *torus* (165) of some kind, to await the bride's arrival. Against the linguistic argument in (i), Fe. (93 n. 1) quotes *TLL*. Fe. also points out that even if there could have been a *cena nuptialis* in the bridegroom's house, by Roman custom the bride was present throughout (92 n. 2; to Fe.'s references add Plaut. *Curc.* 728 and Cicero, *Ad Q.F.* 2.3.7, both quoted by E.). As for the question whether the bridegroom is supposed to have taken part in the procession, the fact that he is addressed by the *pueri*, at l. 135 for instance, does not necessarily imply his presence. The *torus* is certainly not the marriage bed (which is in an inner room; see 176–85), nor is it just any couch; Pasquali (see F., and esp. Fe. 93 nn. 5 and 6, and 94) supposed, probably rightly, that it is the *lectus genialis*, archaically and poetically seen as the object within the *atrium* that best symbolizes both the dignity of the bridegroom's house and his eager reception of his bride.

166 *immineat* = *inhiet*. F. quotes Ov. *M.* 1.146 and *Culex* 90; add Livy 30.28 *in propinquam <spem> imminebant animis*, and ἐγκειμαι as used in Theocr. 3.33 (the latter quoted by Fr.). The word implies both a physical and an emotional 'inclination.'

170–1 Cf. 35.15, 45.15–16, 100.7; also (probably of jealousy) 77.3.

170 See App. Crit. *uritur*, of *flamma*, would be most unusual; as Kr. remarks, one would expect – the other way round – *pectus uritur flamma*. Hence I have adopted Goold's suggestion, *urit in*.

171 *penite* (*V*), as an adverb, would be unique. It may be supposed to have arisen, or been coined (perhaps by C.), from *penitus*, which appears as an adjective in Plautus (see F.), but is normally indeclinable and is used, in the form just given, as an adverb. O. Skutsch (see App. Crit.) proposed to read *perit en*, which is decidedly tempting. Fe., however (91–2), accepts *penite* against Skutsch, seeing an artistic purpose in the accumulation of exaggerated expressions of passion, applied to the husband, which further serve to emphasize the bride's bashfulness and reserve.

175 The use of the singular *praetextate* (though by custom two *praetextati* accompanied the bride, while one bore the torch) has been explained as an adaptation of the Roman ritual to the Greek, which allowed for only one *παράνυμφος*. It is arguable that in ll. 174–6 this youth is seen by C. as accompanying the bride to the very door of the *thalamus*, whereas by the Roman custom the responsibilities of the *praetextati* ceased at the door of the house. On these points see Fe. 97. But the latter conclusion is not strictly necessary (the procession may have halted at the outer door, 161–76); and it should at least be borne in mind that *only* the singular of the word *praetextatus* will fit the glyconic line (Fr. understates this by saying 'leichter'), while in poetic address a singular may perfectly well deputize for a plural.

It is tempting, but unnecessary, to suppose that R^2 – here followed by *m* – drew his correction from *X*; it is well within Coluccio's own capacity, as a glance at his many original emendations will show.

176 *X*'s false reading *adeant* may well be due to a notion, carelessly entertained, that *viri* is plural and therefore the verb should agree with it.

179 For the missing syllable (metrically indispensable), B. suggested *o*, which might appear to be more easily lost (as at 114; cf. 1.9) than *vos*; but (as Fr. said, admitting this), the repeated *io*'s, immediately preceding and presently to follow, make *o* unlikely.

180 *cognitae*, i.e., sexually known (*cognoscere* = *γιγνώσκειν*) (cf. *Gen.* 24.16: 'And the damsel was ... a virgin, neither had any man known her'). The adverb *bene* is added 'to show' (as L. put it) 'that a word of doubtful respectability' (Ov. *Ep.* 6.133 *turpiter illa virum cognovit adultera virgo*) 'is being used in a good sense'; *bene* = *honeste*, cf. Ov. *Ep.* 13.117 *lecto mecum bene iunctus in uno.*' Cf. 197 *bonum ... amorem.*

185 β (*Cod. Paris. 7989* = Table of Mss, No. 78, dated 1423), which was written by a scholar for his own use, corrected *R*'s *est tibi* (the only example in poem 61 of hiatus between lines); β^2, about a century later, clearly wanted to revert to the *textus receptus*. Bentley should not be credited with the correction.

187 On *vult*, see ll. 21 and 102. R^2 (*m*) makes a miscorrection; G^2 is doubtful, and, though he accepts it, he repeats *G*'s *vult* as a variant reading.

188 *luteum* here = 'red' (cf. 10). Fr. points out that the poppy was a symbol of fertility, quoting Ov. *M.* 11.605 and *F.* 4.151.

189–98 A larger transposition: this time of stanzas, not merely of words.

189–90 *ita ... caelites*: cf. 66.18 *ita me divi ... iuerint*, and also 97.1; a colloquial phrase (Kr. compares Cicero, *Ad Att.* 1.16.1).

195 *bona Venus* (cf. line 44; also lines 61–2): see Alfonsi 1967, who gives a convincing account of the overtones, both social and religious, of the phrase in question.

197 A plausible miscorrection by R^2(*m*) is adopted by G^2.

199–201 For the figures of sand and stars as representing finite but uncountable numbers, cf. 7.3; C. is the earliest Latin author to use the sand in this way, but Plautus has the figure of the stars (Fe. 108). Greek philosophy made use of the figure to represent finite, but uncountable, numbers; see Cicero, *Acad.* 2.110.

201 *subducat* must, despite E.'s opinion and F.'s uncertainty on the question, be jussive, not potential subjunctive; otherwise the verb of the relative clause (*qui ... vult ...*) would have to be in the subjunctive as well.

203 *ludi*, 'lovemaking'; cf. 68.17 n.

204 Notice how the opening repeats the close of the preceding line; cf. 92.

205 *date*: cf. 67 n.

207 *nomen* = *genus*; *nomen* also does duty as the subject of *ingenerari* (E.). The point of *indidem* ('from the same stock') is that C. hopes that such an old, and distinguished, family may not have to resort to the too-common Roman expedient of adoption.

210 R^2 corrects, on first principles I think; the change from *et* to *e* is easy and obvious.

213 *si michi ante* Mss (not far from the correct reading, though this was never divined before Scaliger). Scan *sēmĭhiāntĕ* (- ◡ - ◡).

215 See 16 n. on the reading *Manlio* (*maulio O*), here and elsewhere.

215–16 Two words give rise to difficulty: (i) *insciens* (*V*), which scarcely appears to make sense; (ii) *omnibus*, which breaks the synapheia prevailing in the sequence of glyconic lines, since it (uniquely, for poem 61) ends the line with a doubtful quantity. (i) was early dealt with (ζη) by substituting *insciis*; Lachmann suggested the archaic spelling *inscieis* as the source of the corruption to *insciens*. (ii) is usually set right by transposition (see App. Crit.); Fe. (111 n. 2) accepts the simple exchange of *insciis* and *omnibus*. I have however decided to

print *obviis*. It can be defended in terms of palaeography, since at 64.109 *O* has *obvia*, while *GR* have *omnia*. Moreover, *omnibus* may seem exaggerated; the son will be recognized by *some* people who have not met him before, namely those who know his father; but surely not by *all* strangers. Cf. however – in a similar context – Ov. *Tr.* 4.5.32 *quilibet*.

On the whole question, Fr. has some useful remarks on pp. 263 and 278–9. See also F.

217 *V*'s *-am* is due to assimilation to *pudicitiam. suae*, as a correction, is better than *suo*, which has already appeared, in the same stanza, at 214.

219–23 'The point of this stanza seems to be that as the previous stanza has expressed the hope that the son of this pair will resemble his father, it is the bride's turn to have something said about her; so the slightly forced analogy of Telemachus and Penelope is brought in to express the hope that he will derive good moral qualities from his mother' (L.). Cf *Odyssey* 1.215ff.; '*bona* = human (mother), *optima* = divine (hero-mother),' B. For the poetic fame of *Penelopea fides* see Ov. *Tr.* 5.14.35–6.

223 *Penelopaeo*: on the spelling, in Greek and in Latin, see A.E. Housman, *J. Phil.* 53 (1914): 54ff. (esp. 73).

224 *claudite*: cf. *pandite* 76. The 'circle' is completed here; and this repetition of the idea helps to prove that C. himself considered lines 1–75, addressed to Hymen, as a thing apart from the principal narrative action of the poem.

virgines: notice that C. does not give any function at this point either to the Greek or to the Roman *pronuba*. But who are the *virgines*? It may be significant that in 76 the door is *ianua*, clearly a house-door; here the appropriate door is that of the *thalamus*. (Believing it to be the *Haustur*, Fr. identifies the *virgines* as domestic slaves, who must close it from within). Fe. (118–19, q.v.), pointing out that an epithalamium was by literary tradition assigned to a choir of maidens, identifies the *virgines* here with those of l. 37. But the antiquarian question is, once again, of little significance, although it might be thought that the poem's action is rounded off more neatly if there is only one such choir.

225 *at* often 'preludes a change of addressee' (B.).

R^2's correction is not original, or he would almost certainly have written *boni*. *O*'s *bonlei* must surely have appeared as a reading in *X* also; R^2, by half-correcting (with the sense of *boni* in view, yet preserving the *-ei* ending of the Ms tradition), shows his uncertainty. See also p. 39.

226 *bene vivite* = *felices, concordes vivite* (a traditional formula of general goodwill, on taking leave of the couple; cf. the Greek wish for ὁμόνοια). C. is not 'moralizing,' as ll. 227–8 (cf. next note) clearly show; see Fe. (119).

227 *munere*, 'function' in a sexual sense. Cf. Claudian, *Epithal. Pallad. et Celerinae* (*carmina minora* 25) 130, who makes Venus say – at the end of an epithalamium – *vivite concordes et nostrum discite munus.*

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62

Structure: (excluding the one-line refrain): (G = girls; Y = youths). The usually accepted structure is as follows:

4 + 4 + 8	5 + 5 + (?) + (?) + 9(10?) + 10	8
Y G Y	G Y G Y G Y	Y(?: see Goud 1995)
1–10 11–19	20–31 32–8 39–58	59–66
Introduction	|——Singing-match——|	Epilogue
	(*carmen amoebaeum*)	

N.B. Where I have written (?) twice in the first line, Goud 1995 would substitute 6(+?) in each instance; see his article.

Notice that both the introduction and the rest of the poem end with a pointed statement, eight lines long – the first by way of challenge, to open the debate; the second to claim victory and to draw the moral. Both of these are commonly supposed to be uttered by the youths. Goud has a quite different attribution of the epilogue: see his article.

This poem, like poem 61, is concerned with a wedding; or rather with the theme of marriage, since there is nothing to tie it to a particular wedding or even to a definite place. (At the outset, the geography is vaguely Greek.) What it has in common with poem 61 is a delicate approach, here made explicit in the epilogue, to an unmarried girl (perhaps, in this poem, representing – as it were – all unmarried girls) to persuade her to enter into marriage. This explains why the youths dominate the debate, and even the preparation for it in ll. 11–18; unless they are destined to win, the cause of marriage is lost. All this is evident. What is also evident is that the composition is in its essence a singing-match, of the kind developed by Theocritus and found in Virgil's third and seventh Eclogues. With this genre goes a strong interest in near-mathematical symmetry (for which see the diagram above, though in the second of the three strophe-antistrophe episodes of the *carmen amoebaeum* the text is so heavily damaged that we can only guess how many lines should be given to the girls and youths respectively). According to the rules, the utterance of each singer, or choir, should be answered by the respondent(s) in the same number of verses, but with greater force. At the end, the continuation of the victor's song (perhaps with no pause, this time, for the dividing refrain) disturbs the balance of the two sides, yet can be weighed against the opening lines; moreover it has, as we have said, a generalizing function, revealing that which it is the intention of the poet to say by means of the poem as a whole.

On the history of *T* (No. 80 in the Table of Mss), a Carolingian manuscript (*Codex Thuaneus*, an anthology) which from Catullus contains poem 62 only, see the Introduction, pp. 23–4.

1 *Vesper* = Venus, as the 'evening star' (the first celestial body to become visible as the sky darkens); also, but at other times (35 n.), the 'morning star,' Ἑωσφόρος (= *Lucifer*).
Olympo = *caelo* (not the mountain; cf. *Oetaeos* 7 n.).
2 *tollit*, not of course implying a genuine stellar 'rising.'
4 Notice the lengthening in *dicetur*, before the Greek word *hymenaeus*, and followed by a strong 'caesura' in the fifth foot: cf. 64.20, 66.11; also V. *Aen.* 7.398, 10.720; and similarly before *hyacinthus*, V. *Ecl.* 6.53, *Geo.* 4.137, *Aen.* 11.69 (F. on 64.20).

6 Because of *T*'s garbled *consurgi eretera*, some scholars have wished to transfer the question-mark to the end of the line and read *consurgere* (Mowat; see E.) or *consurgier* (Radke 1972), on the grounds that l. 7 becomes easier to understand if it gives the girls' explanation of the boys' action in rising (l. 6). Against it stands the *V* reading, and also the poet's possible desire to establish antithetical expression in the girls' and boys' 'strophes' at this stage. The case for change is not quite made, since (i) the *V* reading can be taken pretty well in the required sense, and (ii) *contra* more naturally applies to the second group, who *rise to face* those who have already risen.

7 *nimirum*, 'no doubt <because>.'

Oetaeos: it is true that Mount Oeta is in Thessaly, and the very mention of the name sets the imagined scene of the poem in Greece. But we must not suppose, with E., that this shows *Olympo* (l. 1) to refer also to a mountain. In fact, 'Oetean' is as symbolic, or metaphorical, as 'Olympus' (= sky): the region of Trachis, including Oeta, was the birthplace and home of Heosphorus (Ἑωσφόρος), or *Lucifer* (see l. 1 n.), whose son Ceyx was king of that realm (Ov. *M.* 11.268ff.). Cf. V. *Ecl.* 8.29 (and Servius ad loc.) for a typical example of reference to Oeta in connection with *Lucifer* or *Vesper*; for further examples see F. For the corruption of *ignes* to *imbres/imber*, or *vice versa*, see Tib. 1.1.48 (where the generally accepted *imbre* is independently attested only in the *Florilegium Gallicum*); cf. F. Della Corte, *GIF* 20 (1967): 105–9 (supporting *imbre*, with refs.) and A. Chetry, *GIF* 14 (1961): 349–54 (supporting *igne*). See also Rosemary Burton, *Classical Poets in the Florilegium Gallicum* (Frankfurt, 1983): 18, who gives further references. Corruption of *imber* to *ignis* appears at Lucr. 1.784, 785, Germ. *Arat.* fr. 3.63, and Valerius Flaccus 5.415. At Lucr. 1.744, *imbrem* has been suggested for *ignem OQ*. Fr. has a long note on the phenomenon. See the Introduction, p. 23, for the importance of this reading in *dating* the common source of *T* and *V*.

ignis is used of a star's light at Hor. *Od.* 3.29.18 (Kr.).

8 *sic certest*, colloquial: 'Yes, that's it'; cf. 80.7. (R^2 attempts an original correction and is very nearly successful.)

viden ut is also colloquial (cf. 61.77 n.), and also formulary: notice its application to a number of people.

9 *vincere*: Kidd 1974: 32 defends *visere*, which he translates 'to look at a sight worth seeing'; but see F. on this tr. Moreover, the youths are not going to sing *of Hesperus*, as F. suggests (nor is there any proof that the girls believe it, wrongly), but of something intangible, namely attitudes to marriage. It is important that the whole of lines 1–18 should be seen to establish the context of a singing-match; *visere* would detract from this. I cannot agree with Kidd's objection to *vincere*, that it '<makes> the line anticipate the contest-theme, which is properly introduced in the next stanza and does not belong here,' or

with his claim that 'the emendation has in fact foisted on C. a rather inept line.' In any case, following its regular meaning, *par est* = rather 'it is likely <that they will win>' than 'it is worthwhile <to look at>.' In other words, the leader of the girls is warning them that they face a determined opponent who, as things stand, looks like winning.

11 As at 68.39 (where see n.), the *non* applies to the whole clause: 'it is not true that . . .'

aequales (*-is*, the accusative form in *TV*, is surely due to *nobis*, or else arises from false agreement with *palma*), 'age-fellows' (Greek ἥλικες), often used (in poetry) by young people in referring to one another; cf. Pacuv. 113–14R² *hymenaeum fremunt aequales*.

parata est, 'lies in store' or 'is ready-made' (see F.).

12 Notice the simple haplography by which, in *V*, *-tata* becomes *-ta* (hence the corruption).

12–14 The girls' expression (*adspicite* . . .) is one of intense concentration on a well-rehearsed (*meditata*) song.

14 The genuineness of the line is attested by *T*: see App. Crit. The indicative *laborant* should be left; it is unusual in this kind of relative clause, but cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 905 *novistin hominem? – Ridicule rogitas, quicum una cibum capere soleo* (Fr.). For parallel passages, otherwise with the subjunctive, see Kr. and Fr. Cf. also F. on 64.157, where again the indicative is used.

15 *nos*, adversative: 'while we, for our part, . . .'

alio . . . alio. Editors disagree as to whether this means 'we think of one thing while we listen to another,' or 'our minds are distracted (i.e., not, like the girls', concentrated), and so are our ears' (with *alio* repeated for emphasis); I prefer the latter (perhaps they have been thinking of the banquet, as Kr. suggests) – it is hard to see the exact force of *divisimus aures* on the former interpretation. For *mentem/animum dividere*, cf. V. *Aen.* 4.285.

17 *nunc* and *saltem* should be taken together.

convertite (*T*), 'bring to bear,' is much the better reading; it is doubtful whether *commiitite* could really mean 'concentrate.'

22 *retinentem*, 'clinging to' <the embrace of her mother>.

24 The Augustan poets also use this comparison (perhaps following C.?); examples in F.

27 *desponsa . . . conubia* refers to the ceremony known as *sponsalia*; the *sponsio* was a kind of contract ('giving away,' before the wedding day) between the bride's father and her *fiancé*. It may be that *viri* and *parentes* are 'generalizing' plurals (F.), only one *vir* and one *parens* being involved; less likely is the explanation that *viri* means the fathers of both, and *parentes* the mothers of both (Schulze, Fr.). See Serv. Sulpic. on *sponsalia*, *ap.* Gell. 4.4, for the basis of the former view.

28 Take *quae* (repeated) with *conubia*. E. supposes that *ante* implies that the bride's father made his commitment first, the bridegroom later; but of course *ante* belongs to both parts of the clause; cf. ll. 15, 42 (and 44, 53, 55), 58.

The verb *pepigere* is repeated; notice the change of form (cf. V. *Ecl.* 10.13–15, quoted by F.). For the meaning of *pepigere*, cf. Val. Fl. 8.154 *nil tecum pepigere parentes*.

29 *iunxere*, as at 78.3 *iungit amores*; F. quotes Cicero, *De or.* 1.37 *conubia coniunxisse*.

32 The following passage, of five lines or slightly more, was omitted, no doubt because the writer's eye leapt from one line beginning *Hesperus* ... to another. It probably contained a claim by the girls that the evening star of the wedding night should be considered as a thief, robbing maidens of their virginity. See Kidd 1974: 30, who finds a source for the youths' reply in Bion. fr. 8.6–7 *οὐκ ἐπὶ φωρὰν ἔρχομαι, οὐδ' ἵνα νυκτὸς ὁδοιπορέοντος ἐνοχλέω*. On *custodia* = *φυλακή* (the abstract word), see Wistrand 1961.

32b Clearly, one line – just possibly more – has been lost at the beginning of the youths' reply. A balance of six lines against six would meet every requirement. As Goud 1995 suggests, probably the similes in lines 39–58 were intended as climactic, and therefore constituted the longest sections of the singing-match.

33 *tuo adventu* is contrasted with *nocte* (= the dead of night, as opposed to the evening and early morning).

34 *idem* seems to endorse the false notion (conventional in poetry) that Venus could be the evening star of one day and the morning star of the next.

35 The reading *eosdem* (see App. Crit.) must be very old, since *T* has *eospem*. A case can be made for it, on the grounds that *mutato nomine* is enfeebled if the actual name follows, and that the name *Eous* is not positively required. On the whole, however, the emendation may be allowed to stand. See Cataudella 1970/2 for a possible Callimachean model (perhaps taken from the *Hecale*) for this line.

comprendis: there is no reference to 'furtive' *amours* here.

37 R^{2v}'s *quid tum*, though presented as a variant, is a correction (there is, of course, no link with *T*'s differently spelt *quittum*. m^2 carelessly copies it as *quid tñ* (*tamen*), so that G^2 – who already sees *tamen* in *G* – can do no more than borrow m^{2v}'s *quid* to replace *G*'s *quod*.

39ff. For the image of the flower in the enclosed garden, cf. Sappho fr. 105(c) L-P *οἷαν τὰν ὐάκινθον κτλ.* (possibly from an epithalamium), and with this also cf. the end of poem 11. Lines 39–47 have been compared with Soph. *Tr.* 144–9 by Alfonsi 1970, and by Akbar Khan 1971, who also points to Eur. *Hipp.* 73–81.

40 *ignotus*: see Akbar Khan 1971.

convolsus (*T*): cf. 64.40 *convellit*. R^{2v}'s *contusus* is a heroic, but unsuccessful, attempt at original correction.

41b Spengel's suggested lacuna of one line is well defended by Goud 1995.

42 *optavere*: 'gnomic' aorist in Greek, here for the first time adapted to the Latin perfect (Kr.). The line is clearly imitated by Ovid, *M.* 3.353–5.

45 *dum ... dum*, 'while ..., so long ...' (explained by Quintilian, 9.3.16; notice that Quint., quoting from memory, has *innupta* instead of *intacta* – just as he gives V. *Ecl.* 1.2 as *agrestem tenui* instead of *silvestrem tenui*). Cf. the Greek *ἕως ... τέως* (Callim. *H.* 4.39 *τόφρα μὲν ... τόφρα δὲ*), and (in Latin) V. *Ecl.* 8.41 *ut vidi, ut perii* (from Theocr. 2.82 *ὥς ἴδον, ὡς ἐμάνην*). See F.'s long n.

castum florem, a condensed expression for *florem castitatis* (Kr.); cf. 68.14 *dona beata* (see n.).

See App. Crit.: R^2 makes an attempt at correction that plainly suggests itself; it is no more likely to depend on *X* than the same reading in *O* and *G* is likely to depend on *T*.

49 *vidua*, of the vine (not 'married' to a supporting tree): cf. *marita*, of a house-door, 67.6 n.; Hor. *Od.* 2.15.4 *platanus caelebs*, and cf. 4.5.30 *vitem viduas ducit ad arbores*. Training vines on trees planted in rows for the purpose was not unknown in Greece, but much more common in Italy (Cato *Agr.* 32.2 *arbores facito ut bene maritae sint*), and certainly not known in Sappho's Lesbos.

51 *T*'s reading (*perflectens*) is preferred by Della Corte 1976, who claims that *deflectens* describes the wrong method of propagation.

53 As Kr. points out, the poet's desire for symmetry (here, correspondence to l. 42) has affected the thought, making it a little strained and artificial. B. deplores *iuvenci*, and would read *coloni*; but cf. V. *Geo.* 2.354–7, where the soil of the vineyard must be kept clear of weeds by surface harrowing between the rows – as is done, with the aid of mules, in tobacco-growing areas of South Carolina.

R^2 originates a correction which happens to agree with *O* but is metrically called for in any case.

54 *si forte*, 'when once ...,' or 'it has only to be united ... and ...'

maritā is to be preferred to *marită*; (i) the rhythm is stronger, (ii) C. avoids short *a* at the end of a line. It might be argued that if *marito* = 'as a husband,' we then have the required emphasis on the husband – and 'any husband,' even a vegetable husband-figure, needs a masculine termination. However, Courtney 1985 makes a strong case for reading *maritā*.

56 Goud 1995: n. 9 demonstrates that Weber was right to read *innupta* here.

58 The true comparative force lies in *minus invisa* (the father has a daughter off his hands); it is – claims Kr. – transferred to *magis cara* (not really a comparative, but a parallel phrase, is sought – the poem is full of these). The bride, in fact, simply by becoming *cara* to her husband, becomes less *invisa* to her parent. But the previous line shows some emphasis on *par* and *maturo*; the girl has made a good marriage (*par*), at the *right* time, and so is both relieving her parents *more* than if it were otherwise and also *more* likely to make a happy marriage than if she chose the wrong person or left it too late. If, therefore, we ask 'dearer than

what?' the answer is 'dearer than she would have been without *par conubium maturo tempore*.' On the metrical peculiarity of the line (pyrrhic word after trithemimeral caesura, in a hexameter beginning with a trochaic word), see Kr.

G^2, who misses the R^2 correction, is already hurrying; see below, 64.319 n.

59 It is tempting to read *At* for *Et*, because of *T*'s *tua* (suggesting the archetypal reading *ETTV*). See, however, Fraenkel 1955, who points to the formula καὶ σύ.

Goud 1995 argues, on the ground of symmetry with lines 11–19, that an additional line (58c) has been lost in addition to the refrain. This prompts him to call for the retention of *nec*, as well as *V*'s *tua*, in line 59, assuming a prior prohibition in the lost line.

60 *pugnare*: sc. *cum eo* (or *ei*, with poetic dative as in 64).

For *nē* + imperative (archaic), cf. 61.193, 67.18.

61 *ipse* is added by R^2 (followed by m^2) from *X*; *G* does not omit the word, so no action is called for on the part of G^2.

63 The reading *patris est* is suggested by the reading in *T*, and avoids the difficult quantity in *patri*.

See the Introduction, p. 24; *X* ventures an emendation of the unmetrical reading in *A* (which is reproduced in *O*), adding a word to make the line metrical, the result being *data pars data* – a good example of early critical tinkering with the text, applied to *X*.

64 *duobus* of course refers to her parents; but 'to fight against two' is a proverb (πρὸς δύο μάχεσθαι): Plato *Phaedo* 89c, *Legg.* 11.919b.

65 *iura*, figurative (in the case of the mother).

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63

Structure:

(11	+ 15	+ 12)	+ (11	+ 24	+ 17)	+ 3
narr.	orat.	narr.	narr.	orat.	11 narr. enclosing 6 orat: 4 + 6 + 7	prayer

The above diagram shows how I interpret the movement of the poem. For other analyses see Q. (who offers alternatives), Guillemin 1949 ('a tragedy in three acts'), Schäfer 1966, Oksala 1969 ('two acts'), and Courtney 1985. It seems to me that Guillemin has correctly pointed out the importance of the break at line 38: with her, I would separate Day 1, which ends there, from Day 2 (in my view = *all* that follows, to l. 90) in terms of the action. (I cannot follow Courtney in regarding ll. 27–49 as a single continuous narrative.) On the above analysis, there are two movements and a coda; each movement encloses a speech between two narratives, with the following difference: in the second movement, the third section (ll. 74–90) does indeed contain eleven lines of narrative, to balance ll. 39–49, but splits those 11 lines to insert between them a brief speech by Cybele. (That is, the tripartite and symmetrical structure of *each* movement is reproduced in miniature in the third section of the *second* movement. The effect of this, as it seems to me, is to accelerate the poem's tempo towards the end – a not undesirable development in a poem that ends with *incitatos* and *rapidos*.)

The themes may perhaps be described as follows:
Day 1: Access of religious frenzy, resulting in enslavement to the goddess by self-mutilation;
Day 2: Remorse, and desire to flee (with a backward glance at lost happiness) followed by re-enslavement.

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Granarolo, J. 1982. *Catulle, ce vivant*. Paris (esp. 161–5).
Townend, G.B. 1983. 'The Unstated Climax of C. 64,' *G&R* 30: 21–30. *[p. 23: 'There is enough similarity of structure in the two poems (poems 68 and 64) to make it inconceivable that C. did not intend the reader to make his own inference about the bearing of his two stories <in poem 64> upon one another. In many respects the elegy 68 is a more helpful guide to the interpretation of 64 than any of the extant epyllia, among which that of C. stands out as unique in complexity and ... subtlety.' Is the Peleus-Thetis story the main theme, or only a 'frame to the more interesting story of Ariadne'? Contradictions in the wedding story are shown by Bramble 1970 ...' There can be no doubt that C. has undercut his ostensible purpose at every point'. C.'s allusive technique relies on the reader's previous knowledge of the story: 'every reader is aware that, as the Fates sing their prophecy, the scene is being set for the irruption of Eris, leading inexorably to the Judgment of Paris, the Rape of Helen, and the Trojan War ... The story goes back at least as far as the *Cypria*, including ... the Apple of Discord. Eris <in the traditional story> makes her appearance precisely at the point where C. breaks off his account to moralize.' Thus there is an 'unstated climax' in poem 64. (See also Forehand 1974.)]
Thomas, R.F. 1983. 'Callimachus, the *Victoria Berenices*, and Roman poetry,' *CQ* 33: 92–113, esp. 112–13. *[The coverlet story is unique as an *ecphrasis*, inasmuch as the 'figures involved ... come to life and speak, acting ... like characters in a narrative poem.' Callimachus is a likely source for this 'experiment' in 'ecphrastic epyllion.']
Weber, C. 1983. 'Two Chronological Contradictions in C. 64,' *TAPA* 113: 263–71.
Skinner, M.B. 1984. 'Rhamnusia Virgo,' *Classical Antiquity* 3: 134–41. *[There is a discordant note in the Song; it is intended to shock: 'The ostensible nostalgia for a happier age is qualified by the grim ironies of the concluding mythic scene.' The reader was expected to know the plot of the *Cypria*, especially the account of Peleus' wedding (cf. Townend 1883).]
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65

Structure: 4 + (10) + 4 + 6 (unitary, single-sentence; because of the long parenthesis on the death of C.'s brother, the main clause does not begin until line 15).

A kind of dedication, in the form of a letter, written to Hortensius Hortalus, accompanying a translation from Callimachus (poem 66) which had evidently been requested (65.17 *tua dicta*). Influenced, it may be, by the

translation just completed, this poem too is written in a somewhat 'Alexandrian' manner; notice especially the typically Hellenistic simile at the end. Its structure is (considering its modest length) remarkably intricate, encapsulating a second theme within the first; we find this kind of structure, more elaborately developed and on a much larger scale, in poems 64 and 68. The poet begins by saying that he has been kept from literary creation by a lasting sorrow over the recent (line 5, *nuper*) death of his brother. Next, he gives utterance to his grief in a direct address to the brother he has lost. After ten lines (probably no more) of emotional outburst, occasioned by this thought, he returns to his primary theme by saying that he has managed to complete, and is sending to Hortalus, a translation which will show that the latter's request has not been forgotten; and the notion of 'forgetting' prompts him to add the delicately worked simile with which the poem closes. Clearly the composition has what Eduard Fraenkel called 'double orientation,' consisting as it does of an *epicedion*, addressed to one person, within a dedication to another. For this reason, and also because of the literary decoration with which it is here associated, the lament for the brother (despite the depth of feeling it conveys) makes less of an impact than the starker language of poem 101.

The address to the lost brother is so similar to that in poem 68^a, written apparently in Verona (68.27), that it is not unlikely that this poem (with poem 66) was also composed in Verona before C. went to Bithynia; a pair of early poems, then. On the identification of (Hortensius) Hortalus, see the intr. n. to poem 95.

1 *etsi me ... 15 sed tamen*: cf. *Ciris* 1 *etsi me ... 9 non tamen*. S. Mariotti (*Humanitas [Coimbra]* 3 [1950–1]: 371–3) contends that this is deliberate repetition.

See App. Crit. For the reading *defectum* cf. Ov. *M.* 9.154 *vires defecto reddat amori*, Val. Flacc. 7.116 *solo maeret defecta cubili*, as well as German. *Aratea* 65 *defecta labore*, and Lucilius 639 M *doloribus confectum corpus*. The R^2 variant can scarcely have been original: it offers no metrical or other advantage that might have appealed to Coluccio. Either *A* or *X* had something like *con defectum*; if so, then *con-* should perhaps be regarded as a suggested emendation. Against *defectum*, Kr. urges that it is used more of physical than mental affliction (contrast Cicero's *dolore conficior*, quoted by F.); less plausibly, E. suggests that the *other* sense of *defectum*, 'abandoned (by),' makes the word 'an awkward one and less likely therefore to be used <here>.'

2 *doctae virgines*, the Muses; *doctae*, 'proficient' as artists, not 'learned'; the word is transferred (B.) from poets to their patrons, the Muses.

3 *fetus*, 'offspring,' but used of any product. (Associated with *virgines*, the word has of course practically ceased to be recognizable as a metaphor.)

4 *mens animi*, 'the thought of the mind,' is almost an Epicurean technical term (see n. on 64.408); Lucretius uses it four times. The *animus* is, as to its matter, a concentration (in the human breast) of soul atoms, individually identical with those of the *anima* or life substance, which are more widely dispersed over the body; *animus* is distinguished from mere *anima* by a capacity for thought, emotion, etc., while *mens* appears to be thought of as *animus* in its functioning aspect.

5 Parthenius' insertion of *in* deserves serious consideration. If *Lethaeo gurgite* is instrumental ablative, *mei* is awkwardly separated from *fratris* by a noun phrase depending on *manans* and *alluit* (on which it depends) in the next line; *in gurgite* would of course merely say *where* the action occurs. The final *i* in *Lethaei* (Mss) may also reflect *ī = in*.

On Petrarch's adherence here and elsewhere to the *X* version of the text against that of *O*, see the Introduction, p. 27.

6 *pedem*, 'poetic' singular; in 64.104, *labello* is no more metrically obligatory than *pedem* here, but C. elects it; cf. 61.9–10, 68.70.

7 On the Trojan shore, the 'Rhoetean' grave was that of Ajax, the 'Sigean' that of Achilles (cf. 64.363). At V. *Aen.* 6.505, a cenotaph is set up for Deiphobus at Rhoeteum; the ritual there (triple *conclamatio*, cf. *ter voce vocavi*) is the same as that of poem 101 (*frater ... frater ... frater*), where see nn.

R^2's emendation is original. It is picked up by m^2, not by *m*; this to me implies that it belongs to the later stratum of R^2 corrections; nor is this surprising, for the obvious source of its invention lies in the references to Troy in 68.88–9, where the Mss invariably testify to *Troia*, and where the context is again related to the death of C.'s brother. Note again *m*'s preference for spelling with the letter *y* (*Troya*). In *m*'s *retheo* the coincidence with *O* is fortuitous, and probably due to simple carelessness; m^2 returns to the reading of *R*.

9 The Humanistic supplement *alloquar, audiero numquam ... loquentem* appears in some fifteenth-century Mss (the earliest of which, ca. 1430, is item 58 in the Table: see Zicàri 1978: 85 n. 14), though the line is missing in *OGR*. Some editors have accepted it as genuine, filling the gap with *tua* (or *te*) *facta* (or *fata*, or *verba*); *facta* might be suggested by 9.7. The repetition *alloquar ... loquentem* is however clumsy. At the same time, to suggest, as Fr. does, that the variation of tense in *alloquar, audiero* is beyond the capacity of Humanists, is to underestimate them. On the supplement see E., *Commentary*^{2}: 354–5 (Excursus). For the marginal variant *verba*, replacing *fata* in the supplement, see Zicàri 1978: 84–5 (= 1958: 83). On the attribution of the supplement to Tommaso Seneca see Mynors x–xi (footnotes).

10 *vita ... amabilior*: cf. 64.215, 68.106.

12 *maesta tua ... morte*, taken together (*maesta* participially, 'saddened'; B. compares 64.379), though F. takes *t.m.* with *canam*, as 'ablative of external cause.' The process of corruption from *morte canam* to *morte tegam* (*V*) would imply that at some stage *canam* was shortened to *cam*, and *mortetecam* became *-tegam*. For interchange of *c* and *g*, cf. Clausen 1976: 42 on poem 1, referring to 36.14: 'GOLGOS was corrupted to COLCOS in late antiquity'; thus E.'s argument against *canam*, that *c* and *g* are not confused in the tradition of Catullus, appears to be invalid. Because of the proximity of *morte*, it would hardly be possible to accept *tegam* and take it as referring to the coming simile of the nightingale, which sings in the shade (*Odyssey* 19.520).

14 The myth has two forms. In Homer (*Od.* 19.518–23), Aëdon, daughter of Pandareos (king of Crete) married Zethus, who jointly ruled Thebes with his brother Amphion; having no children, and being therefore jealous of Amphion's wife Niobe, she attempted to kill Niobe's eldest son, but by mistake murdered her own son *Itylus* instead. In the later version, Philomela, daughter of Pandion (king of Athens) had a sister Procne, who married Tereus; Tereus later committed rape upon Philomela, and the sisters combined to kill *Itys*, son of Procne and Tereus, and to serve him as a meal to his father. Then before Tereus could take revenge, occurred the metamorphosis into birds: Procne to a swallow, Philomela to a nightingale, Tereus to a hoopoe. C. uses the later legend, but the earlier form of the name (Itylus); the word *Daulias*, connected with Tereus (king of Daulis in Phocis), points to the later myth. In fact, as E. points out, the name of Daulis is derived from δαυλός (a dialect word for δασύς, 'thick,' of foliage), and so can be naturally connected with the nightingale, which sings from deep leafy cover.

*R*²'s correction is very close to the truth; but *m*'s carelessness in transcribing causes him to retain the reading of *R* (*Baiula*), whereas *al. Baulias* (*m*²) is perhaps the result of an attempt to copy *R*²'s *al. Daulas* (*R*'s capital D's and B's are very similar in outline). Notice *Baiulas* (*G*², from *m*); *G*² is uncertain about this word, and adds to it what he takes to be *m*'s original reading.

16 *carmina*, 'verses' (not implying *several* poems). At Prop. 4.7.83, *carmina* refers to a two-line inscription in elegiacs; in the words spoken by Cydippe at Ov. *Ep.* 20.235, the phrase *mea carmina* denotes a single versified epistle.

Battiadae = Callimachus (a name he gave himself both as a patronymic and also because Battus was the hero-founder of his city, Cyrene).

*R*²'s attempted correction is not followed by *m*, who in this part of the book is often careless in omission; *m* fails to notice the very small *b* (see App. Crit.).

17 *nequiquam*: not implying that the winds betrayed their trust, but as a (characteristically Catullan) parallel expression to *credita ventis*, 'in vain, entrusted to the winds.' Cf. 64.164, where also *nequiquam* is virtually superfluous; similarly, perhaps, *irrita* 64.59. Cf. also 30.9–10.

19–24 The concluding simile (based on the notion of 'forgetting'; see intr. n.) gives Hellenistic grace and charm to an otherwise slightly awkward letter of excuse.

20–1 *O* has a fit of carelessness, but corrects himself (twice).

21 *miserae + oblitae*: cf. perhaps 64.57 *desertam in sola miseram se cernat harena.*

23 *atque*, 'and suddenly –' (cf. V. *Ecl.* 7.7).

decursu, spondaic, 'a sudden check' (E.), throwing the quick movement of the preceding dactyls into relief, as the apple comes to rest.

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66

Structure: 14 + 24 + 40 + (10) + 6.
For an analysis of the structure see Kidd 1970: 45. Kidd's analysis is recalled and summarized in Courtney 1985: 92–3.

This poem is a translation from Callimachus (cf. poem 116 for a reference to others); from its position, we may say that it is almost certainly the work which poem 65 was designed to accompany. The fact that it is a translation implies, inter alia, that it is of only very limited value for the criticism of Catullus as a poet; even the language (together with the poem's structure and rhythms: see F. for examples) is often carefully adapted to that of Callimachus. Until not so many decades ago, only a few short scraps of the Greek original survived; but groups of complete lines, about 30 in all, were published from papyrus discoveries, first by G. Vitelli (in 1929) and subsequently (with substantial additions) by E. Lobel (in 1952). The result of these discoveries was to show that the translation was as close as could possibly be expected from a poet of strong original genius (see Herescu 1957). Whether Catullus added lines 79–88 out of whole cloth is debated; see Nicastri 1969/70 for a penetrating discussion which exposes weaknesses in Pfeiffer's account. It is obvious that any work on this topic dating from before 1929 can be ignored.

Why did Catullus choose to translate this particular poem? The key may lie in lines 21–22 ('et tu non orbum luxti deserta cubile / sed *fratris cari flebile discidium*'). It has long seemed to me that these two lines, which may or may not have had their equivalents in Callimachus' poem (but it is more likely than not that they had), could be applied to C.'s great sorrows at the time of poem 65 (ll. 5–8) and of poem 68[a], if that is contemporary (as seems probable; see above). Kidd 1970: 40–2 has independently come to the conclusion that these two losses – separation from Lesbia and (especially) the brother's death – may constitute the relevance for C. of Callimachus' poem. In this connection it should be observed that at 65.12 Catullus says, addressing his brother, 'semper maesta tua carmina morte canam.' In the poem that immediately follows this declaration, lines 21–2 alone seem to fulfil it, albeit indirectly.

Of the Callimachean original, F. (intr. n. to poem 66) well remarks: 'The piece is gallant court-poetry, characteristically Alexandrian in its parade of allusion, drawn from astronomy, history, and mythology, in its compressed and selective handling of incident, in its playful and arch sentimentality, and in its interest in the psychology of love.' It could perhaps be added that whereas in the first three of these four characteristics of the genre Callimachus shows more elaboration, more artifice, than Catullus, in the last of them, namely psychology, Catullus seems far to surpass Callimachus in terms of vividness and force (see Luppino 1958); not surprisingly, since for him (as in poem 63, for example; see the introductory note to that poem) psychology often occupies the very centre of the stage, relegating myth, as such, to the wings.

Historical note (see the genealogical stemma in F., intr. n., p. 329): Ptolemy I (a Macedonian; one of the leading *Diadochoi*) took the title of king of Egypt in 305 BC, and reigned until his death in 283. He and his third wife Berenice (also Macedonian born) were deified as *θεοὶ σωτῆρες*; hence the name *Soter*, by which the first Ptolemy is generally known. His successor, Ptolemy II, was married twice, each time to a person named Arsinoe; of these the second was the stepmother of the first. Arsinoe I was a daughter of Lysimachus, king of Macedon, by his first wife; Arsinoe II, Ptolemy's sister, initially went to Macedon as the second wife of Lysimachus; but after his death in 281 she returned to Egypt. Having become the most influential person in the land, she fabricated an accusation against the reigning queen, Arsinoe I, and so brought about the latter's disgrace and exile. Next, she took advantage of the Egyptian tradition of the marriage and joint rule of brothers and sisters to persuade Ptolemy to make her his queen. By this time she was at least forty years old, and there were no children of the marriage. She took the name

of Arsinoe Philadelphus; the joint rulers were deified as *θεοὶ φιλάδελφοι*, whence this Ptolemy came to be known as *Philadelphus*. Arsinoe II was further deified under the name of Aphrodite Zephyritis (lines 54–8, where see nn.).

Ptolemy III, later known as Euergetes, was a son of Ptolemy Philadelphus by Arsinoe I, but was adopted by Arsinoe II, and so always referred to himself as a 'son' of the *θεοὶ φιλάδελφοι*. In 247 his father adopted him as joint ruler, and his reign was calculated from that date, not from his father's death in 245. He had a sister named Berenice ('Berenice C' in Fordyce), who in 251 was married to Antiochus II, king of Syria. The 'Berenice' of our poem, however, is another person; to place her we must turn for a moment from Egypt to Cyrene, where Ptolemy I had installed as governor a certain Magas, son of his queen Berenice by her former husband and hence half-brother to Ptolemy II. Magas, however, made Cyrene practically independent of Egypt; his rule there, first as a satrap of Egypt and later as king, lasted from 308 to 258. In his old age he had a daughter named Berenice (Berenice II, or 'B' in Fordyce); he betrothed her to the son of Ptolemy II, as a natural and easy way of reuniting Cyrene with Egypt after his death. But his plans for this marriage were frustrated by his widow Apama, a Seleucid princess, who sought a husband for her daughter not in Egypt but in Macedon (hoping no doubt for a son-in-law who would after all keep Cyrene independent). The prince who turned up was known as Demetrius 'the Fair' (*ὁ καλός*). Apama herself succumbed to his charms and, having duly married him to her daughter (who was still very young), she took him as a lover. Berenice then reacted with unexpected firmness: she broke in on her husband and her mother and had Demetrius killed on the spot (the *bonum facinus* of line 27). This was regarded as a heroic exploit on the part of a girl defending her outraged virtue, and it opened the way for her marriage with Ptolemy (III), which took place shortly after he was given the title of king. Ptolemy and Berenice were half-cousins: they had one grandmother in common, Berenice I ('A' in Fordyce), who was the mother of Magas by one husband (a Macedonian named Philip) and of Ptolemy by another. Since they had a blood relationship, and since the former king and queen had been brother and sister, it was easy to call them also 'brother and sister,' and the Canopic decree in fact calls Berenice the *ἀδελφή* of Ptolemy. Hence the word *fratris* (line 22); it can of course mean 'cousin', but in view of these facts it may just as well be translated 'brother.' Hyginus confuses the two Berenices: see 45–64 n.

The marriage of Ptolemy III's true sister Berenice ('Berenice C' in Fordyce) to Antiochus of Syria (see above) had been made possible by the exile of Antiochus' first wife Laodice, who was given in consolation a part of Asia

Minor to rule over, in partnership with her two sons. But when Antiochus died in 246 she was not satisfied with this. In order to establish the succession of her own eldest son, she sent agents to Antioch with orders to murder Berenice and her infant son. The murder of a daughter and a grandson of Ptolemy II was regarded in Egypt as an act of intolerable provocation. Leaving his bride, the newly wedded Ptolemy at once set out on a punitive expedition to Syria. The young bride, Berenice II, dedicated – so ran the legend – a lock or tress of her hair in the temple of Aphrodite Zephyritis (= Arsinoe II: see above), so making a vow to ensure her husband's safe return. Presently, however, it was reported that the lock of hair had disappeared from the temple; whereupon the court astronomer Conon promptly and tactfully discovered it in the sky, and gave the name Βερενίκης Πλόκαμος to a group of seven stars, located between Leo and Boötes. And Callimachus, as court poet, sanctified the discovery with a poem, the *Coma Berenices*. (A statement in the *Suda* that the reign of Ptolemy III dated from 271 for a time caused scholarship to attempt to date the setting of the *Coma* too early; but papyri have established the fact that a joint reign began in 266 and ended in 258. Since there was a gap of eleven years after this before Ptolemy III was associated with his father as joint ruler, it is clear that the first joint ruler was not this Ptolemy but an elder brother who died in youth.)*

1 The first line of Callimachus' poem (Fr. 110.1 Pf. Πάντα τὸν ἐν γραμμαῖσιν ἰδὼν ὄρον ἥ τε φέρονται) is not complete in sense (it is quite likely that the first word in the second line was ἀστέρες), and it is more complicated than the first line in the version by Catullus. The general meaning is that Conon had plotted the movements of all the celestial bodies on a series of star charts. Barrett 1982 defines γραμμαῖσι as 'lines used in diagrammatic representations of the constellations, in which stars of major magnitude are joined by straight lines,' citing the scholium on Aratus 190; he therefore seeks to defend the Ms reading *despexit*, in the sense 'looked down at' (on the charts, instead of looking up at the sky); but it is hard to believe that C.'s readers would easily take the point.

2 *obitus*, 'setting,' is first found as a term of astronomy in Cicero's *Aratea*, which C. knew and used (see n. on 64.125). Notice the corruption to *abitus* (a more familiar word) and then to *habitus*.

3 Conon had a special interest in eclipses (Sen. *Nat.* 7.3.3).

* This historical note began as an abridged and to some extent updated version of a much longer note put together by L., originally on the basis of data given in E. Beavan's *History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*. For a fuller account see Marinone 1984: 13–27.

4 *cedant*, 'move on' (through fixed phases). In the context of line 63, *cedentem* translates *ἀνίοντα* (see n.). On these technical terms, see Traglia 1955 and Marinone 1980.

5 None of the three variant readings attested by R^2 makes sense; none, therefore, is the result of attempted emendation.
Latmia: the cave where the moon (*Trivia* = Diana) visited her lover Endymion was on Mount Latmus (in Caria).
relegans, 'banishing' (F.). The myth explains the moon's occultations.
R^2's variant is interesting. The reading of Ms *A*, perhaps *sublam^{n}ta*, has been corrected by *X*, who adds a superscript *i*, thus: *sublám^{i}^{n}ta* (perhaps trying at the same time to erase the *n*, but not completely succeeding; hence *GR sublimia* and also the variant in R^2). See also p. 40

6 *gyro* = 'orbit.' Notice *guioclero (V)*; *guio* = *guro (gyro)*, while *clero* is surely not, as Fröhlich suggested, a corruption of *circo* (a gloss on *gyro*), but more simply (E.) a duplication of *devo-* in *devocet* (*cl* and *d* are endlessly confused).
aerio (Mss): the spelling should be kept. Aristotle (see Kr.) locates in the orbit of the moon the boundary between *ἀήρ* and *αἰθήρ*; thus *aetherio* would be no more appropriate.

7–10 The scholium on Aratus which gives us Callimachus' text is quoted in a distorted version by older editors (E., Fr., Kr.), who wrongly supposed therefore that it was made up of parts of three lines. C.'s translation is in fact quite close, though longer than the Greek. It is just possible that Vossius' <*in*>, brought in to account for the *n* in *V*'s *numine*, is unnecessary: cf. 59 *in numine V*. If so, *fulgentem clare* will be heralded by *lumine* two lines before (but the syntax becomes more congested). B.'s *in limine* is recommended by F. (who however turns down *limine* at l. 59, because the Greek there seems to read *φάεσιν*, 'lights').

9 See App. Crit. Haupt's *cunctis* is defended by Courtney 1985: 92, on the strength of verbal echoes, within a balanced structure, of lines 9–10 in 33–4, taking account of Callimachus' *πᾶσιν ἔθηκε θεοῖς* See however Marinone 1984: 118. (He regards Haupt's emendation as a *soluzione semplicistica*.) Lee, in his edition, accepts and prints *cunctis*.

9–10 *multis ... dearum ... pollicita est* translates *πᾶσιν ἔθηκε θεοῖς*. This Greek phrase cannot imply a 'pantheon' (Kr.), since there is no trace of a pantheon at Alexandria before 205 BC (Pfeiffer). C. uses the feminine; from 54–8 it is clear that the deified Arsinoe, known as Aphrodite Zephyritis, was a likely target of the lock's homage, though C. does not limit the dedication to her alone.

11 *novo auctus hymenaeo*: use of a Greek word permits the Latin poet to exercise Greek metrical freedom (lengthening, or strong caesura, in the fifth foot, as well as hiatus) in its vicinity: cf. V. *Ecl.* 6.53, *Geo.* 4.137, *Aen.* 11.69; see 62.4 n. Hiatus in the fifth foot is also allowed before a Greek word, e.g., at V. *Geo.* 1.2.81, *Aen.* 3.74.

12 *iverat*: the first vowel in *ierat* would be short, even if Mss of Terence (and Plautus, *Amph.* 401) give *īerat* and so on.
Assyrios, vaguely, for *Syrios* (cf. F. on 68.144); see the Historical Note. Kr. points to a similar example of geographical vagueness at 64.324 (*Emathia* = Thessaly, instead of Macedonia).

13 *rixa*: cf. Prop. 2.15.4. The phrase *n. rixa* probably translates *ἐννυχία ἀεθλοσύνη* in Callimachus (echoed in *AP* 5.293.18, Agath.; see Marinone 1984: 127).

15 The substitution of *anne* for *atque* (*V*) is called for by the sense. Of the two parts of a single question, linked by *V*'s *atque*, one would require an affirmative, the other – the second – a negative answer. But with *anne* the question becomes an alternative: do brides dislike the idea of marriage (*Venus*), or are the tears they shed (dismaying their parents, l. 16) only feigned, not real? For they do shed them (cf. 61.80–2), and in fact they *are* feigned (l. 18).

17 *thalami*: if the reading *parentum* is kept, as it should be, *thalami* will refer to the bride's parental home: cf. 61.76–106, which contain the notion of 'reluctant' weeping (see previous n.) and are certainly supposed to be uttered at the house the bride is leaving. Nisbet 1978: 105 claims that 'after *novis nuptis* the *thalamus* can refer only to marriage' (meaning, presumably, the bride's new home); but cf. once more 61.76–106, with its refrain *prodeas, nova nupta*.

18 The hyperbaton in this line is an extreme instance of a poetic mannerism both Greek and Latin; see F.'s long note. Other examples of hyperbaton in C. include 44.9, 57.8, 64.101; see also 1.9 n.
iuerint (= *iuverint*): as with *ierint* (= *iverint*), when the intervocalic *u/v* is omitted the preceding vowel (in this case, *u*) is shortened by the influence of the vowel that now immediately follows; cf. Prop. 2.23.22 (Fr. gives several well-attested instances of this form, taken from Cicero's letters).

19–20 'I came to understand this fact (that brides' tears are feigned, l. 18, and Venus not disliked by them, l. 15) through the deep distress that Berenice showed when her new husband went off to war.'

21 *fratris*: see Historical Note. Cf. (Fr.) Cicero, *Phil.* 2.99 *uxori et sorori tuae*, of Antony's wife, who was also his cousin; and Ov. *Ep.* 8.27–8:

quid quod avus nobis idem Pelopeius Atreus,
et si non esses vir mihi, frater eras.

But F. may well be right in suggesting that 'the reference is to the formal honorific style which described the Egyptian king's consort as his sister.'
Note R^2's attempted correction, disguised as a variant.

23 See App. Crit. B.'s *ut*, which he defends on the rather pedantic grounds that the anguish was not felt *only* at the moment of departure, is adopted by Kr. because, as he puts it, 'die Erinnerung an den schweren Abschied ist so lebendig, daß nur Ausrufe den Eindruck wiedergeben können.' *V*'s *cum* need not be disturbed; it goes well with the preceding lines.

24 The phrase *toto pectore* must surely be taken with the words *tibi ... sollicitae*, which enclose it. F., believing that it might just as easily be taken with *mens excidit*, cites 68.25 (but notice *de* there). Translate 'to you in your all-pervading anxiety.'
The R^2m^2 variant (= *O*) may point to an emendatory suggestion in *X*. McKie: 281 n. implies or states (i) that *A*, like *O*, wrote *tunc*; (ii) that *X* first wrote *nunc*, in error, but added a correcting variant, *al. tunc*, which has made its way into R^2. Cf. 44.21 (*tunc R, nunc G*, corr. G^2; therefore *tunc A*); here McKie gives a different account, apparently involving *tum*, which I find some difficulty in accepting.

25 <*te*> is the only possible supplement; it has in its favour (i) palaeography ('double haplography'), (ii) the need of an object for *cognoram*, (iii) the frequently occurring sequence *at certe* (10.14, 65.11).

26 Here *magnanimam* plainly translates *μεγάθυμον*, as Pfeiffer suggests; cf. n. on 64.85. It is possible that in this line the intended reference is not to the *bonum facinus* but to an earlier episode (Hyg. *Astr.* 2.24), when as a young girl she turned the battle for her father; thus (*pace* F.) *two* instances of her courage are given. See Marinone 1984: 144–5 and 23 n. 29.

28 See App. Crit. Pietro da Noceto (b. 1469) preceded Robortellus as a teacher of Greek and Latin at Lucca (Marinone 1984: 147).
alis (archaic) = *alius*; cf. 29.15 *alid* (and Lucretius similarly, in a number of passages). Translate 'which no one else, *even* one stronger than you were then, would dare to do'; this appears to support 26 *a parva virgine magnanimam*, but see 26 n. Emendation to *fortius* is unnecessary, and would flatten the expression. For this kind of idiom see Fr. on 4.18 *impotentia* (= 'wild at *other* times').

29 That is, you were brave enough to perform the *bonum facinus* (27), but broke down and wept when your husband went to fight.

30 For Avantius' suggestion, *tersti*, which has a good deal of merit, cf. perhaps 99.8 *abstersti*.

31 *quis deus*: the regular form (cf. 61.46 n.). Translate 'What god <was> so potent as to change you <in this way>?' The use by C. of the *quis-tantus* idiom, the validity of which F. supports here by examples taken from the *Aeneid*, is not brought out by his translation 'who was the great god who changed you?'
Cf. Prop. 1.12.9–10, where La Penna 1955 sees the influence of the Callimachean couplet underlying C. here.

33 *cunctis divis*: see lines 9–10 n.

34 *Iliad* 23.146–7 seem to show that the bull's sacrifice was part of what was vowed, rather than an accompaniment of the vow itself.

35 R^2's correction is fairly obvious; m^1 picks it up. *redd-* is due to carelessness; the coincidence with *O* is, once more, accidental.
For the idiom *reditum ferre* cf. 63.47, 63, 79; for the form *tetuli* cf. also 63.52.

36 *Asiam*: probably in a wide sense, including not merely Asia Minor but Syria. (Since the word *Asia* does not occur in the works or fragments of Callimachus, we clearly cannot know what he meant by it.) The inscription (*OGIS* 54), referred to by F. and quoted by E., mentions 'Asia,' and also Cilicia and Pamphylia; the *eastern* victories of Ptolemy's campaign were historically the most significant, though of course he did not literally 'add them to the boundaries of Egypt' itself (l. 36). Notice the tense of *addiderat*, suggesting rapid and final conquest.

37 *m*'s preferred spelling (diphthongs *cae-*, *coe-*) is twice imitated by G^2.

38 *novo munere* = 'new function' (i.e., as a constellation); the *pristina vota* had to do with the Lock's dedication in a temple, not with its catasterism, which came later.

39 Cf. the famous adaptation in V. *Aen.* 6.460 *invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.* The repetition of *invita* stresses the pain (and cruelty) of separation, which dominates the *emotional* content of C.'s poem, especially in the following section. See the intr. n., referring to l. 22, and observe there the strong word *discidium*; cf. also 51–2.

40 The Greek is close: *σήν τε κάρην ὤμοσα σόν τε βίον*. Cf. V. *Aen.* 4.492–3 *testor . . . te . . . tuumque . . . caput.*

41 *quod* refers to *caput*. Read the words in the order *quod si quis inaniter adiurarit, digna ferat* ('let him reap a just reward').

43 The story of the canal dug by Xerxes is cited as an outstanding demonstration of the power of iron tools, but the rhetoric with which C. presents it is highly exaggerated: *maximum in oris* is not true, even if (i) *progenies Thiae* means the north wind (cf. next n.), and (ii) *oris* refers only to the northern districts of Greece; see F. on 45–6 (and to his n. on 43 add V. *Aen.* 7.563–4 *locus multis memoratus in oris*). Again, *eversus* (of Mount Athos itself) is a great overstatement (repeated as admittedly hyperbolic by Ovid, *M.* 11.554–5). Cf. V. *Aen.* 1.43 *disiecitque rates evertitque aequora ventis* (of winds furrowing the sea), Val. Flacc. 7.75 *everso campo* (of ploughing). The canal merely cut through the narrow isthmus joining the peninsula of Athos to the mainland. In a court poem, of course, gross exaggeration is allowed in the – direct or indirect – service of compliment.

44 The papyrus is interpreted by Pfeiffer as reading *ἀμνά]μω[ν Θείης ἀργὸς ὑ]περφέ[ρ]ετ[αι*, where clearly *ὑπερφέρεται* = C.'s *supervehitur*. Bentley, who followed Vossius in reading *Thiae*, took this name to indicate the Sun (whose mother was *Θεία*, according to Hesiod and Pindar). Cf. V. *Aen.* 7.217–18 *quae maxima quondam extremo veniens Sol aspiciebat Olympo*, where *quae maxima* may suggest a reminiscence of C.; if this is so, Virgil interpreted C. as Vossius was later to do. Pfeiffer, however, doubted that the Sun could be represented as 'carried over' a mountain north of Greece and far from Egypt. He pointed to the gloss *Θείας ἀμνάμων* (= 'grandson' or 'descendant') in the *Suda*, quoted from Callimachus, *Hecale*, with reference to the north wind (Boreas); Boreas was the son of Aurora and the grandson of Thia and Hyperion. Accordingly, he reconstructed the line as it is given above. For *clarus*, '<sky->clearing,' as epithet of Boreas, cf. V. *Geo.* 1.460 *claro . . . Aquilone* (cf. *Iliad* 19.358 *αἰθρηγενέος Βορέαο*). For identification of a person by metronymic, cf. 64.324 *Opis nato*, where Latin *Ops* = Greek *Rhea*. Against Pfeiffer's interpretation stand (i) V. *Aen.* 7.217 (quoted above as appearing to support Vossius and Bentley), (ii) the rather difficult notion of a wind 'carried over' a mountain; see however lines 53–4, which refer to a wind (Zephyrus) as a 'winged horse.'

45–64 The Greek runs:

Βουπόρος (= *ὁ ὀβελίσκος*, schol. *P. Oxy* 2258) *Ἀρσινόης· μητρὸς σέο, καὶ διὰ μέ[σσου*

Μηδείων ὁλοαὶ νῆες ἔβησαν Ἄθω.

Callimachus here extravagantly calls Mount Athos 'Arsinoe's obelisk' or 'spit' (*βουπόρος*) – cf. 'Cleopatra's needle' in London – possibly with reference to Arsinoe's Macedonian connections; C., however, omits this fantasy. Kidd 1970: 42, after Lenchantin, prefers to ignore the scholiast and to emend *βουπόρος* to *βούπορος*, translating 'great passage' ('Bosporus'). On *μητρὸς σέο*, it may be added that the scholiast remarks: '"mother" is said *κατὰ τιμήν*, since she was the daughter of Apama and Magas,' correctly, which dismisses – and perhaps explains? – Hyginus' error (*Astr.* 2.24) about her parentage. See G.L. Huxley, *JHS* 100 (1980): 189–90 on *βουπόρος*.

45 *peperere* is both poetically and palaeographically the best of the emendations hitherto proposed for *V*'s *propere*.

R^2's *al. cumque* (= *O*) is essentially a metrical 'variant' (really a correction); it is not adopted by G^2, who is already in haste (see 64.319 n.) and will presently (67 n.) cease to add variants and corrections, except for a very few isolated instances. It is not necessary to suppose that *X* introduced for the first time the reading *al. cumque*, though McKie: 204–6 believes that he did. Cf. p. 40.

48 Politianus, who proposed *Chalybum*, spelt it thus (with his own hand) in the margin of Bibl.Corsin. Inc. 50. F. 37. His later adoption of the Greek spelling (*Misc.* 1.68; cf. A. Guarinus, fol. 87^r, and see Zicàri 1978: 37 n. 14) may have been due to a desire to avoid hiatus; but cf. the nn. on 67.44 and 99.8. (All the Mss here offer readings that end in *-um*). For hiatus after *m*, and also elision, at the diaeresis of the pentameter, cf. 67.44, and possibly 97.2; and see M. Zicàri, *Phoenix* 18 (1964): 193–205 (= *Scritti*, 1978: 203–19). It may be that C. would in any case have avoided using a wholly Greek proper-name form, ending in *-on*, almost immediately after the intensely Roman *Iuppiter*. Initially I proposed to read *Chálybum* in the present edition; but in the end I have with much hesitation decided on *Chalybon*, on purely subjective grounds of euphony. Zicàri (art. cit., 1964, n. 19) points to 'the crudity of the morphological Grecism, extremely rare

outside of book-titles, and in C.'s own period supported only by Varro, *Men.* 101 Büch.: *Arcadon.*'

To the reading in *R* (*celitum*), R^2 made two corrections: (i) *celorum* (cf. *O*'s *celerum*), (ii) *celtum*, which is an attempted correction, essentially metrical in nature, based on *celitum* = *caelitum*. The most likely reading in *X* seems to be *celitum, s. s. al. celerum* (did *X*, or *A*, emend to *celitum* for the meaning's sake?); R^2 will thus have noticed *celerum* in *X* but changed it to *celorum* (= *caelorum*) for the sake of metre, adding the further correction *celtum* (at a relatively late stage, if we may judge from the sequence R^2m^2).

50 The emendation *stringere* is supported by *-s* at the end of *ferris* in *V*.

51 *abiunctae*, 'cut off' (genitive sing., agreeing with the genitive concealed in *mea*; this is proved by the Greek, which has *ν*]*εότμητόν με*). Cf. line 22 *fratris ... discidium*, and see 39 n.

52–3 The reference is to Zephyr, half-brother of Memnon as a son of Aurora; the Greek has *Μέμνονος Αἰθίοπος ... θῆλυς ἀήτης*.

53 Bentley's suggestion *nictantibus* ('flashing' or 'winking') has been revived by Martyn 1974; he considers that it translates *κυκλώσας* in Callimachus, *Aetia* fr. 110.51–3. Bentley's parallels, which he quotes, are Lucr. 6.836 *nictare insistereque alis* (*nixari* Lachmann, rightly) and V. *Aen.* 4.252 *nitens ... alis*. B. notes: *'pennis nutantibus sive trepidantibus:* Apul. *Met.* 6.15 *libratis pinnarum nutantium motibus*, Cicero *Arat.* 88 *tremebundis pinnis*, Ovid *M.* 1.506 *penna trepidante.*' Palaeographically, the change is not particularly likely; more important, the word in fact means 'winking' and does not seem fully transferable to the supposed meaning; further, the verb *nitens* quoted by Martyn from *Aen.* 4.252 (see above) is surely less than relevant, an objection that applies also to *nixari* in Lucr. 6.836 as emended by Lachmann.

54 *arsinoes*: the R^2 variant (= *O*) may well have originated in *X*.

Locridos: Bentley's conjecture is supported by *P. Oxy.* 2258 (see F.; also notice that the schol. in the papyrus seems to contain the word *Λοκρίς*). But the other papyrus, *PSI* 1092, reads *Λοκρικός*, and when it was published in 1929 Statius' *Locricos* was for a time preferred; Kr.'s ed.^{2} reveals hurried substitution of *-cos* in the plates. *V*'s *elocridicos* seems to show traces of an alternative reading, though its explanation remains obscure; but in any case it ends in *-os*, which must be taken to support *Locridos*, since C. would surely have written *Locricus*, not *-cos*, in the nominative case. See the arguments for *Λοκρικός* in Callimachus given by Hansen and Tortzen 1973: 46. On Zephyr as *Λοκρός* (Eustathius, p. 223 Müller), and the explanation thereby furnished for the phrase 'Arsinoe the Locrian' (because of her temple at Zephyrium), see Forsyth 1972. Marinone 1989 argues strongly against Bentley's reading.

ales: *V* has *alis*, which might seem to support Statius' emendation *alisequus* (on the model of *pedisequus*); this was defended by Housman 1929 before the papyrus unmistakably revealed the word *ἵππο*[s]. Thus Zephyrus, a wind, is certainly Arsinoe's 'winged horse'; and Zephyrus flies in the service of Aphrodite Zephyritis. S. West, *CQ* 35 (1985): 63 n. 13 would restore *ἱππότ'*, 'rider.'

55 *m*'s *is quia* is careless and unmetrical; it is corrected by m^2, yet G^2 feels obliged to restore *m*'s mistaken original reading as a variant – unreflectively because in haste? Cf. 64.319 n.

56 *advolat* (*GR* = *X*) is clearly a mistake derived from *X*'s other mistake *advolat* (for *avolat*) just above; *O* has the right reading in line 55, and also in 56 (where *X* added a variant). *X* must surely have thereafter introduced *collocat*, as a variant, from *A*, to mend the metre; he could hardly have guessed *independently* at the very word which we find in *O* (McKie: 205 and 207).

58 Since in the Greek (... *Καινωπίτου ναιέτις α*[*ἰγιαλοῦ*) the first word is missing, the unmetrical *gracia*/*gratia* has been variously emended. B., followed by F., insists on *Graiia* (= *Graia*); but in this form it would surely have to be scanned *Graĭĭa*, which again does not fit. The Greek cannot be filled out by *Γραῖα* (Vitelli 1929) or *Φθία* (Pfeiffer 1932), because the final *a* in adjectives of this kind is long. Consequently, Pfeiffer afterwards (in his edition of Callimachus) suggested that *ἧκε* (see 57 n.) may have stood there (and not in 57). In any case the juxtaposition of *Graia* ('Greek' from the Egyptian point of view; in fact, Arsinoe was Macedonian) with *Canopeis* gives an attractive antithesis; *grata*, in comparison, seems flat, as even its defenders (e.g., Mariotti 1972: 59) admit. *Canopeis* is the true Latin form; *Canopitis*, as neuter abl. plural, would point to a non-existent nominative, and offers little if any palaeographical advantage (though Mariotti defends it). C. had no need to adhere letter by letter to the Greek form of a name: cf. 44 *Thiae* = *Θείας*, and perhaps also 48 n. (on *Chalybum*). The sequence may be this: *canopeis*[*?*] *V*; erroneously *canopicis* (*c* for *e*) *A*; hence *canopicis GR*(*X*), *conopicis* (another mistake) *O*. The regular Latin form (which appears in my text) is, as already stated, *Canopeis*; and it is not far from the presumed *V* reading.

59 This line, in *V*, is quite corrupt. Any restoration should seek to preserve *vario*, which both yields good sense and is to some extent called for, as an adjective, to balance *lumine*. The argument for Fr.'s *hic liquidi* was well explained by G.P. Goold, *Phoenix* 12 (1958): 93–116 (in a review of Mynors' *OCT*); its weakness (which is also that of Lafaye's *hic dii*, deriving *ven ibi* from a gloss *vel divi*) is that the line seems overburdened with its two adjectives. The reading *lumĭne* derives support from the Greek, restored as *φάεσ*]*ιν ἐν πολέεσσιν*. F.'s translation 'shifting lights,' for *vario lumine*, seems unhappy.

60 Ariadne's garland = the Corona Borealis; *corona* goes with *ex A. t.* On the legend, see Ovid, *Fasti* 3.459ff., *M.* 8.178.

61 Clearly, the true reading (*nos*) was in *X*, and probably in *A*. *O*, who is erratic throughout this passage (see l. 58), is to be discounted as a witness to the archetype here.

62 C.'s conceit is his own elaboration (cf. Callim.'s simple Βερενίκειος καλὸς ἐγὼ πλόκαμος), and – as Marinone 1984: 218 remarks – it lingers over the parallel with Ariadne.

63 *uvidulam* is preferable to *umidulam*, as meaning 'drenched' (with 'pathetic' diminutive) by sea-spray; *umid-* is merely 'slightly damp'; and the Greek has ὑδασι] λουόμενον. Stars were pictured as rising from, and setting in, the ocean: cf. B. on 67–8. Pfeiffer, defending ὕδασι against δακρύσι, for which, as he says, there is not enough room in the papyrus, quotes Nonnus (of a star's rising): ὕδασι λουόμενος. Cf. perhaps Matthew Arnold, *Sohrab and Rustum*, sub fin.: '[waters] ... from whose floor the new-bathed stars / Emerge ...' The *Coma* is imagined as first rising from Ocean to its destined place in the sky. For *cedere* = 'rise towards a height,' cf. Cicero, *Arat.* 475, where the Greek text of Aratus (694) has ἀνελίσσεται, and see Traglia 1955: 436.

*R*²'s *virid-* is an instance of a fairly common phenomenon, namely an *unsuccessful* attempt on his part (followed as usual by *m*, and hence by G^2) to correct a nonsensical word in *R*.

uvidulam should surely be credited to B. Guarinus, whose son (in 1521) reads *-um* in the text but annotates thus: *uvidulam] sic legendum, non uvidulum, pater existimat, cum ubique de caesarie non de crine loquatur.*

65 For the postponed *namque* see 23.7 n.

66 Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, was a huntress and a follower of Artemis. She had an amorous entanglement with Zeus, in punishment for which Hera changed her into a bear, with the not entirely fortuitous result that she was shot – and killed – by the goddess. Zeus, however, metamorphosed her into the celestial 'Great Bear' (Ov. *M.* 2.409ff., *Fasti* 2.155ff.; Apollod. 3.8.2). (L.)

iuxta (*V*) is unlikely to have been altered in quantity to *iuxtă* by C.; but if we accept the correction *iuncta* we must also accept *Callisto* as dative (= Καλλίστῳ), and not only are there no parallels to this form but Serv. *ad Aen.* 7.324 says of *Allecto* that 'we use only three cases in this declension, namely genitive *Allectus*, nominative and accusative *Allecto*.' It is true, on the other hand, that the 'rule' just quoted is twice broken by Hyginus (*Fab.* 14 and 224: genitives in *-o*), and Fr. quotes dative *Erato* from *CIL* IX 747; this type of Greek name seems to have 'embarrassed' Roman writers, as Fr. remarks. In laying down this 'rule' about *names*, Servius may have forgotten an isolated instance; this seems more likely than violation by C. of the regular vowel-quantity in an everyday *preposition*.

67 B.'s desire to remove the comma after *occasum* hardly takes proper account of *Odyssey* 5.272 ὄψε δύοντα Βοώτην (cf. Germ. *Arat.* 139 *tardus in occasum sequitur sua plaustra Bootes*), though he mentions it. The phrase *vix sero* is a Graecism, μόλις ὄψε (B.). Heliacal rising and setting are referred to. Notice how the rhythm of the first part of l. 68 suggests slowness.

G^2, seeing that *m*'s *boethem* (due to carelessness) is without any meaning, corrects on the basis of *G*, so that his version (*boothem*) is a compromise between *G* and *m*. It is not necessary to suppose that he ever saw *R* (here or elsewhere).

After this point, G^2 abandons variants, and has very few corrections indeed: only those at 67.46 (and possibly l. 44 also); 68.86; 101.1; and lastly 103.3, which, though given in the form of a correction, essentially reproduces the m^2 variant *al. numi*. McKie's observation (p. 124) that the variants in G^2 'stop after poem 66' is perhaps not sufficiently exact; they had in any case been 'thinning out' before (see l. 45 n.).

69–70 *me nocte* ... As F. explains, she is in the sky, the floor of heaven, by nights, and at dawn returns to 'Ocean.' (Tethys was Ocean's wife.)

70 *Tethyi*: the papyrus has ιτη, possibly preceded by ιη (as suggested by Lobel); hence πολιῇ (-ηι) Τηθύι may have been written by Callimachus in the same relative position in the line as is occupied by C.'s *canae Tethyi*, an exact translation.

71 *pace*, and 74 *quin*, are both corrections (original) by R^2; but *quin* (picked up by m^2, and so probably belonging to the later stratum of R^2's work) is, it could fairly be said, less obvious than *pace*, which is found already in *m*.

Rhamnusia virgo = Nemesis. Cf. 50.18–21.

72 *non ullo ... timore*. The Greek has οὔτ]ις ἐρύξει / βοῦς ἔπος. The last two words, βοῦς ἔπος, given by the scholiast probably from the opening of the pentameter, must have had something to do with the proverb βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώττης, indicating total (prudent) silence, though the point here is that the truth will not be concealed under any threats whatever.

74 See App. Crit. *vere* might perhaps be kept (there are eight instances of this adverb in the text of *V*); but Watt, repeating the arguments of Nisbet 1978: 105, rejects both *vere* and *veri*, though for Nisbet's *imi*, accepted by Goold, he substitutes (in my opinion, rightly) *nostri* (*nr̄i*) as palaeographically preferable. He gives a parallel for the corruption, and justifies *nostri* = *mei* by other instances from Catullus himself.

75 Marinone 1984 comments on the pathetic effect of the epanalepsis (with chiasmus) *me afore ... afore me*, intensified by *semper*, the effect of which is emphasized by its position at the end of the line.

77 Against the conjecture *Hymenis* see B. Rehm, *RhM* 90 (1941): 346–51.

77–8 'In company with which (i.e., *vertice*, 'her head'), while she was a girl, in time past, I drank many simple [unmixed] oils (*vilia* = λιτά), not [yet] enjoying any unguents [such as are used by married women].' Two alternative punctuations are possible: with, or without, a comma after *fuit*. The Greek, which runs thus

... κορυφῆς ...
ἧς ἄπο, παρ[θ]ενίη μὲν ὅτ' ἦν ἔτι, πολλὰ πέπωκα
λιτά, γυναικείων δ' οὐκ ἀπέλαυσα μύρων

on the whole suggests keeping the comma in C. (notice the rhythmical parallel between the two hexameters in Greek and Latin: - ◡ ◡ | - ◡̆ ◡ | - ◡̆ ◡̆ | - ◡ ◡ | - ◡ ◡ | - ◡̆, where *παρθενίη ... ἔτι* and *dum ... fuit* occupy the same positions in the line). On the same grounds, I now find, Clausen 1970: 87 defends the comma. Unless we accept Morel's *nuptae* for *una* (an unlikely corruption and perhaps, with *unguenta*, an unlikely phrase; but see the elaborate article, Marinone 1982, which ends by recommending it), we must suppose (what comparison with Callimachus suggests) that *unguenta* by itself is meant by C. to indicate perfumed unguents, suited to married women, as opposed to the *vilia* of girlhood (see Callim. *H.* 5.15–16, 25, quoted by F.); the alternative is to suspect, with Pfeiffer, that *omnibus* conceals an adjective expressing the content of *γυναικείων* and meaning 'suited to the married state.' For a modern argument against the reading *vilia* see Kidd 1970: 44–5; for it, Nicastri 1969/70: 25. The rhythm of the line, imitated from Callimachus (see above), with its heavy pause after *fuit*, may suggest that *expers* should be taken closely with *ego*, rather than with *virgo*. Were it not that Callimachus distinguishes between the *λιτά*, used when Berenice was a girl, and the 'womanly perfumes' of the pentameter, we should be tempted to translate *omnibus expers unguentis* by 'who *am now* deprived of all unguents [whatsoever],' and if we regard C. as a free translator we may still do so. Much depends on whether the Callimachean *μέν ... δέ* must be taken to have been imitated; I am inclined to think that C. considered it unimportant, and dropped it.

77–83 Berenice was famous for her enthusiastic encouragement (*σπουδή* is Athenaeus' word) of the manufacture of perfumes in Alexandria; see F. on 77f. This gives additional 'courtly' value to these lines, so far as they existed in Callimachus (on which question, see the next n.).

79–88 The lines are wholly absent from the text of Callimachus as we have it. Either C. used a different text from ours, or he imported ten original lines into what was otherwise at least a fairly close translation. There are two main reasons for supposing Callimachus to have written them: (i) as the rest of the poem is a translation, and its theme is very far removed from C.'s usual topics, it would be puzzling if he were to have originated these ten lines, and only these (for an attempt to deal with this difficulty, see Horváth 1962: 351–6); (ii) the passage seems to continue the 'promotion' of Berenice's perfume industry; cf. ll. 80–3, which urge wives to use libations of ointment on every occasion when they sleep with their husbands (and see the foregoing n.). Nicastri 1969/70, after an exhaustive inquiry (in which *inter alia* he dismisses Pfeiffer's idea that Callimachus published two different versions of his poem), shows the very high probability that the lines were in the Greek text seen by C. and were removed before our papyrus was copied in the sixth to seventh centuries; he tentatively, but not implausibly, suggests that a prudish transcriber objected to l. 81 but

found he must remove all ten lines to avoid an obvious break. Putnam 1960, like Horváth (and also L. Ferrero, *Introduzione* 23–4 and n. 30, together with F. Della Corte and others), believes the lines to be a 'moralizing' addition by C. The argument for C.'s originality rests largely on psychological grounds; I found it interesting but unpersuasive. Putnam's great service is to show the increase in the emotional intensity of C.'s language, compared with that of Callimachus.

79 'You, whom marriage has joined' (note the tense): i.e., already-married women, not brides. If the meaning were 'on your wedding night,' as F. suggests, what would be the point of the reference to adulterous wives in 84–6?
quam (see App. Crit.): a desperate, and unsuccessful, attempt by R^2 (reproduced by m^2) to remedy *quem*, a word that makes no sense here; writing *quam* as he does, R^2 must be thinking of *post* (*R*'s reading) in l. 80.

80 *non*, for *ne* (cf. Ov. *Ep.* 16.164 *non ... puta*, *AA.* 3.129, *Ex Ponto* 1.2.106 *non adimat*), is not quite on all fours with *non siris* (*V*'s text) at line 91 below, where see n.; the words *non prius* are closely linked, a fact that provides a further argument in favour of B. Guarinus' emendation.
unanimis, simply 'loving'; cf. 9.4 n.

82 *onyx* = a jar made of onyx; cf. Prop. 2.13.30, 3.10.22, Hor. *Od.* 4.12.17. For the nature of 'onyx,' see F.; 'yellow' onyx resembled alabaster.

83 See the App. Crit. *R*'s unique reading *qu[a]eritis*, whatever its source, is of the utmost importance for establishing the dependence of nearly all the *deteriores* on *R*, not on *G* which, like *O*, has *colitis* (Introduction, p. 33). Presumably it comes (by a slip) from the following *qu[a]e*, unless *qu[a]e* was accidentally omitted in *X* and then written above *col-*. Since it fails to scan, some late Mss, which derive from *R*, replace it with *petitis* (*quaerere* = *petere*, more or less). Alternatively, the source of the reading in *R* may be as follows: colitisque [?] *V*, colitisq; *A*, colitis que *X* (seeking to mend the metrical fault arising from taking *que* as a connective instead of a relative); *X*'s correction was then accepted by *G* but misunderstood by *R*, who – with typical lack of thought and of feeling for metre – supposed that the correction was intended by *X* to prescribe a change of verb; *m* then followed *R*, but preferred his own diphthongal spelling. If this account should be correct, it would seem probable also that *X*'s exemplar wrote the letter *l* in a way that allowed *X* to read it as *r*; if so, that exemplar was not a very old Ms. (See the Introduction, pp. 25–6, for the date of *A*.)

86 *indignis*, the true *correction* (disguised as a variant by R^2; adopted into the text by *m*) is metrically sound and also adequate in sense. But R^2 later (followed by m^2) found it necessary to add, as a second variant (ultimately, from *A*), the absurd and unmetrical *indignatis* that we see in *O*. If the genesis of *indignatis* were to reside in an attempt by *X* to cure by a variant the weakness of *indigetis* (the presumably sole reading inherited from *A*, on this theory), we should be hard pressed to explain its presence in *O*; it must in this case be supposed that

A himself added the variant *al. indignatis* (see above, p. 40), and that *X* simply copied both text and variant together, and finally that *GR* took only the reading in the text, neglecting the variant.

87 *magis*, 'rather,' in adversative sense; see 73.4 n.

91 *sanguinis* (*V*) can hardly be right (see however Marinone 1982: 20 n. 76, and 1989: 390); blood-sacrifices are not appropriate to Berenice's lock: *unguen* = *unguentum* (l. 78), but the word is unfamiliar, and its form would suggest *sanguen* to the copyist.

ne or *non*? B. conjectured that an original reading *ne siris* (*siris* Lachmann) was corrupted to *uestris*, leaving a syllable to be supplied, and that *non* was inserted to fill this up (since *sed* seemed to demand a preceding negative). This is more usual Latin than *non* + subj.: cf. however the instances of the latter quoted by F., and also l. 80, where *non* precedes an imperative (but see n. there). For a sound defence of *ne siris* see Courtney 1982: 49–50.

92 The choice between *affice* and *effice* is linked to the reading and interpretation of lines 93–4.

93 *proximus*: the (very fragmentary) Greek line can be reconstructed as beginning γείτονες ἔστωσαν. Hydrochoos (= Aquarius) and Oarion (= Orion) were the subject, according to the scholiast; they must have occupied part of another, perhaps the following, line. If so, C. has apparently squeezed into his final line what Callimachus took a whole couplet to express; hence, perhaps, C.'s obscurity. It does seem that *largis a. m.* balances *expertem non siris esse*. If with *V* we read *effice*, and also *cur iterent*, in the sense 'keep repeating,' and if, putting a comma at the end of 93, we treat *coma regia fiam* as quoting what the stars say as a result of the *larga munera*, then we achieve good sense (see Kidd 1970 on punctuation and meaning). And (we must further ask) why should Orion be next to Hydrochoos, normally 120 degrees off? Are we to explain this as meaning (i) that the stars will keep saying 'I want to become a royal tress, even if the constellations have to crowd together so that O. is next to H.,' or (ii) that they keep saying 'I want, etc.,' even if this (universal) demand on their part involves congestion among the stars? In either case, 'become a royal tress,' to make sense of the whole, would mean 'become part of the Coma Berenices' – so that it would not (surely) be true to say that O. is close to H., but rather that both of these constellations (together with many others) finally cease to exist in so far as the desire of their stars to desert them for the Coma is fulfilled. This intricate conceit would, one might think, need more than Callimachus' two lines to clarify, and C.'s single line leaves it uncharacteristically obscure. Alternatively, reading *affice*, we may accept Lachmann's palaeographically dubious emendation *corruerint*, with a stop at the end of line 92; the sense could then be paraphrased, 'would that the heavens should fall into confusion, so that O. shone next to H. – gladly should I face this, so long as I might become *once again* a royal tress' (note that the italicized words are not implied by *fiam*, as Kidd points out; and this might tempt us to accept Markland's emendation *iterum* for *utinam*). B., however, has argued against Lachmann's reading, maintaining that the expression *corruerint* indicates the total collapse of the stellar universe and is therefore too violent for the context. But it may be that for C. the operative part of the verb consists of the prefix *con-* (= *cum*); in a few passages, e.g., Lucr. 6.824 and perhaps Curt. Ruf. 3.3.18, the root idea of 'rushing [together]' seems to replace the acquired meaning 'collapse'; cf., possibly, *V*'s reading (*corruerit*) at 68.52 (but see n. on the text there). B. further claims that it would do the Coma no good to have her wish granted – presumably because she is already a *celestial* 'Coma'; but this is to deny C. the right to a certain measure of elliptical expression, due to the translator's need to compress his original here, and perhaps it is also to forget the loyalty shown by the Coma in ll. 39–40. As it is, the changes in the lines are very abrupt; the effect is staccato, and the sense hard to follow. In general, what is meant is surely that the Coma would like to abandon its place in the sky and be once again a tress on its mistress' head, and cares not a whit if this were to leave a gap in the heavens and cause major dislocations among the stars – the whole, of course, by way of extravagant compliment to Berenice. (For the case against *corruerint*, see Kidd 1970: 46; also Gutzwiller 1992.)

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67

Structure: 8 + 6 + (2 + 1 + 1) + (10 + 2 + 18).
(Notice the generally increasing length of the Door's utterance – *italicized* above – under the interlocutor's encouragement.)
A dramatic duologue (Q.'s description) between an interlocutor (the poet?) and a house door, recounting a piece of local gossip, of a scandalous sort, concerning a woman whose identity and history would be known to the inhabitants of Verona and Brixia – and perhaps other towns in the surrounding territory – in C.'s generation, but hardly to those of Rome at that time, and certainly to nobody since. The name of the person alluded to in the last four lines (by hints that would sufficiently identify him to other citizens of Verona) has been carefully disguised; a lawsuit has already been involved, and it is quite on the cards that another may threaten.

Even without 'the labors of generations of scholars' (Badian 1980: 81), it is not particularly hard to reconstruct from purely internal evidence the bare outlines of the story, so far as they are relevant to an understanding of the poem. The door is that of a house in Verona (l. 34). It now belongs to Caecilius (l. 9), whose name is mentioned by C. merely for the purpose of identification, though there is also an implication of respect and friendship on the Door's part, and of friendship on the poet's part, in l. 9. (There is no reason at all why the Caecilius of this poem should not be identified with C.'s fellow-poet Caecilius, who in poem 35 is called, or perhaps recalled, to Verona by C. from the embrace of his lady love at Novum Comum; see Hallett 1980, n. 3.) Caecilius acquired the house (whether by purchase or inheritance does not matter) from the son of Balbus (l. 3; the name of the son, whether or not it was also Balbus, is again irrelevant). Old Balbus was well served by the Door, as the traditional guardian of female purity (ll. 1–4). But there were ugly rumours after Balbus died and his son brought to the house a bride from the not-far-distant town of Brixia: 'they say she came here a virgin; but really she had a former husband [in Brixia] who was impotent, and in fact it was her father-in-law who deflowered her, whether through an incestuous passion for the young bride or because the older man was called in to perform the sexual act of which the husband was

incapable by nature.' Besides this (the Door adds) she had other lovers at Brixia ('How do I know this, you may ask, when I am fixed in this doorway and can't go out to hear the talk of the forum? Because I heard the woman gossiping with her maids when she thought I couldn't overhear'). Names of the Brixian lovers emerged during this whispering; and the woman also mentioned another man, whose name the Door will not give explicitly, 'ne tollat ... supercilia' (l. 46), and who presumably lives in Verona and is the particular cause of the Door's feeling that she herself, as a servant who must keep *fides* to Balbus as her late employer, is blamed by all and sundry (ll. 10–14) for admitting the son's wife's adulterers and thus bringing shame on the house.

Doors involved in dialogue are not unknown in Latin literature; another example is Propertius, 1.16. The chief attraction of this poem lies in the skill with which C., treating the Door 'as if it were a living being' (Lenchantin, intr. n.), endows it with all the characteristics of a female servant who, bursting with gossip but determined (at first) to be both loyal and discreet, has a stream of secrets gradually extracted from her by persistent questioning. The structure (see above) reflects the accelerating tempo of her willingness to communicate what she can barely restrain; the thematic development of the poem lies in her change of attitude, and it holds the reader's attention because of the suspense produced by this, together with the humorous detachment by means of which the interlocutor gains his perhaps not altogether laudable ends.

1 The mood of teasing irony in which the interlocutor addresses the Door is established at once; *iucunda* (stressed by repetition with the parallel nouns *viro* and *parenti*, emphasized by the caesura) is used in a general, conventional sense, not as especially applicable to the *vir* of the poem or to any particular *parens*. The adjective *iucundus* is employed by Catullus, normally of human beings, in contexts suggesting a relationship of warm friendship or affection (cf. the n. on 9.9); its repeated use in this line indicates at the outset of the poem that the Door is to be regarded as a 'human' character, an idea developed throughout (see intr. n.). Here it is *iucunda* to husband and father as safeguarding the chastity of females.

2 Greetings and compliments continue, still in general terms (Kr.).
auctet (= *augeat*) is an archaic form suitable to the language of benedictions; for the archaic verb, and for the phrase *bona ope*, cf. 34.23–4 *bona sospites ope*.
ope: the pentameter ends in a short open syllable; later poets avoid this.

3 Notice that the first appearance of the word *ianua* in the poem is deferred to this line, which of course generates suspense – and indeed surprise, since the reader will naturally assume that a person, rather than a (personified) thing, is to be addressed. Cf. the effect of *Falerni* at the end of the first line of poem 27, and see n. there.
benigne, 'generously' (contrast *maligne* in l. 5).
Balbo: for this name and others, see intr. n.

4 *olim*, 'formerly,' need not suggest a distant past (a connotation it acquired only in the 'Silver Age'). *olim cum* is virtually equivalent to 'at that time when,' of a moment *other than the present*. Cf. Plaut. *Mil.* 1–2 *curate ut splendor meo sit clupeo clarior / quam solis radii esse olim quum sudumst solent*.
ipse senex: it might be better to regard *ipse* ('the master'; cf. 3.6–7 *suam ipsam*) as the noun, *senex* as the adjective here. Cf. 61.179 *senibus viris*, and also 9.4 *anum matrem*, 68.46 *carta anus*. Probably at 2.9 *ipsa* should be taken as = 'your mistress.'

5 *rursus* = *per contra*, not 'once again'; cf. 22.11.
nato, Fröhlich's emendation (for *voto*), is still energetically disputed. For the spelling *nato* (rather than *gnato*) see Badian 1980: 83 n. 5.
See App. Crit.: notice *O*'s disregard of metre.

6 *porrecto* suggests that the Door 'became married' only a short while after the old man's death.
Badian's ingenious defence of his suggested reading *pacta*, based on his interpretation of the situation described here, may be deemed to have a kind of forerunner in Baehrens' *pacta era rite*. Against this, however, stands *ipse* (line 4), which at this point must surely imply 'alone.'
marita: Kr. compares Livy 27.31.5 *maritas domos*, and points to similar expressions at 68.6 *lecto caelibe* and Ov. *F.* 1.36 *vidua domus*.

7 *agedum* ('come, now!') is colloquial. Cybele uses it (to a lion) at 63.78.
nobis = *mihi*; cf. line 18 *nos ... nobis*.

8 *veterem* is almost certainly to be taken with *fidem* (notice the metrical division of the line) rather than with *dominum*.

9 The Door's naming of Caecilius, together with the following phrase including *nunc*, suggests that Caecilius, the present owner of the house, is neither the *senex* nor his son (see intr. n.).
ita ... placeam, 'so may I ...,' to emphasize the Door's assertion.

11 *quisquam ... quicquam*: cf. 73.1. This kind of emphasis is slightly archaic and colloquial; similarly *pote* (= *potest*), for which see 17.24 n.

12 No wholly convincing restoration of the line has been offered, but the general sense is clear: 'everyone blames everything on me, the Door' (see lines 13–14). Among more recent attempts at restoration, Lee's suggested version of 11–12,

... quicquam
vere, etsi populi vana loquela facit,

deserves mention; might it be improved by the insertion of *id* after *etsi* or after *populi*?

For *populi* sing. with *qui* pl., cf. Cicero, *Acad.* 2.32.103 *Academia ... a quibus*, and see J.S. Reid *ad loc.* for parallels (the idiom is, as Reid says, 'remarkably frequent' in Livy; and he cites Madvig on *De fin.* 5.16).

R^2 attempts a correction (not disguised as a variant), but can hardly be said to follow it through. Either *m*, who is careless throughout the poem (cf. ll. 22 *substulit*, 25 *suieque*, 26 *quod meo* for *quod iners*, 42 *cum aliis* for *R*'s *cum conciliis*), garbles R^2's 'correction' *isti* by changing it to *istis* (note that m^2 reverts to *isti*), or else R^2 at first allowed *R*'s unmetrical *istius* to stand, having nothing better to suggest (and *m* simply misread *istius*) but later R^2 tried to mend the metre with *isti*, and was accurately followed by m^2. The second explanation seems better, since *m* and m^2 do not very often give differing versions of a single R^2 reading.

16–17 After *non satis est*, we have to understand something like *oportet* before *facere*.

17 *qui* (ablative), 'How?' Cf. Plaut. *Men.* 786 *qui cavere possum?*, *Most.* 641 *qui scire possum?*

laborat, 'tries hard.' *scire laboro* should be taken as either archaic (Lucil. 349–50 M *labora discere*) or colloquial (Hor. *Ep.* 1.3.2 *scire laboro*).

20 *prior*, 'first, formerly' (probably not to be taken with *vir* in the sense 'her former husband,' even though in fact he seems to have been the person in question: see intr. n.). For *prior* = *prius*, see K.F. Smith's note on Tib. 1.4.32.

21 *sicula* = *mentula*. For *hasta* in the same sense, cf. *Priap.* 43.1 and 4.

For *beta*, used symbolically for flaccidity or languor, Kr. refers to the emperor Augustus' personal substitution of a verb *betizare* for the commonly used *lachanizare* (Suet. *Aug.* 87.2), and quotes Automedon, *AP* 11.29.3–4, where λάχανον is mentioned similarly.

23 *V*'s *illius* would have to be scanned with the second syllable long, unlike all other genitives in *-ius* in C. (see below). Further, if we take *pater-illius* and *gnati-cubile* together, the expression becomes awkward. B.'s *illusi* ('deceived' or 'tricked') is palaeographically easy to accept. The principal arguments against *illius* are these: (i) C. scans *illĭus* at 3.8, 10.31, 11.22, 61.219, 64.348, 66.85, and 68.44; also *ullĭus* 4.3, *unĭus* 5.3, *totĭus* 17.10; (ii) the burden on *illius*, before a strong pause in the line, does not seem to fit C.'s verse technique. B.'s emendation calls for less displacement than Scaliger's, and the *ille* in the latter seems awkward (we have *illam* in l. 20) and of dubious relevance (the father should be introduced as a fresh *persona* here).

24 For *miseram conscelerasse domum* (implying the pollution of a household by sexual misconduct) cf. 64.404 n. (*divos scelerare penates*).

25 *mens*, 'disposition,' as often (see 65.4 n.).

caeco, of a passion that blinds the judgment. Cf. Hor. *Od.* 1.18.14 *caecus amor sui*.

26 *natus* = *gnatus*; the *n*-form is used here for metrical reasons (64.298 n.).

27 *unde unde*, 'from some source or other,' cf. Hor. *S.* 1.3.88 (but see B.'s objections). The omission of the second *unde* is the simplest way to explain the unmetrical reading in *V*.

foret virtually = *esset*. Cf. 4.5, 63.46, 66.61, 68.40, 68.116, 99.13.

nervosius illud: cf. Petron. 129.8 *recipies ... nervos tuos si triduo sine fratre dormieris* (Fr.).

29 *Egregium*: ironical affectation of surprise and admiration; cf. V. *Aen.* 4.93 *egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis*. Notice the addition in parataxis of *mira pietate* to *egregium*, which is characteristic of C.: cf. 71.4 n.

narras: colloquial; cf. Ter. *Andr.* 466 *bonum ingenium narras adulescentis*, Cicero *Ad Fam.* 9.16.7 *quem tu mihi ... narras?* Later, as Kr. says, the idiom became obsolete.

30 *minxerit*: again a euphemism. Cf. Hor. *S.* 2.7.51–2 *sollicitum ne / ditior aut formae melioris meiat eodem*.

gnati ... gremium, properly 'that ... which *belonged* to his son.'

32 *Cycneae*: the restoration of *V*'s *chinea* is probable, though not certain, but during much of Brescia's history this prominent hill (*specula*), the modern *Castello*, has apparently been known as *colle Cigneo*, *Cigno*, or *Cicneo*. The story of Cycnus and Phaethon is certainly domiciled in the Po valley (Ov. *M.* 2.367–80), but appears to have no particular link with Brescia: see Richardson 1967: 430–1, who suggests retaining *Chynea* (*chinea*, Mss), and refers in support of this to a name concealed in the Virgilian *crux* at *Aeneid* 10.186.

supposita: the *a* is (rather awkwardly) lengthened by position. Cf. 17.24 *pote stolidum*, 63.53 *gelida stabula*, 68.186 *nulla spes*, Tib. 1.5.28 *pro segete spicas*. Petreius' *supposita in specula* probably represents an attempted correction by a local antiquary, as B. suggests for J.C. Zanchi (see No. 113 in the Table of Mss). For *supponere* in this sense, cf. Petron. 116.1 *haud procul suppositum arci sublimi oppidum*, where *impositum* is the Ms reading but *sup-* (Büch.'s conjecture) is – independently, it seems – urged by Fr.; see Fr.'s palaeographical explanation.

33 The debate between the Humanistic emendation *praecurrit* on the one hand, and *V*'s *percurrit* on the other, has a topographical dimension, since the Mella, though close to Brescia, does not flow through the ancient city (see Tozzi 1973). The reading *Mello*, for *Mella*, has probably been assimilated to the gender of *flumine* (Fr., p. 434). Tozzi, reading *percurrit* (*praecurrit* first appears in *Trinc.* and not, as he claims, in *Ald.*^{1} and *Ald.*^{2}), concludes that by *Mella* C. meant the Garza (a tributary). He supposes, after Lenchantin, that in antiquity the name Mella was (sometimes) given to both rivers, since they eventually meet in one bed (p. 492). In view of the distance (over a mile) of the Mella proper from the outmost limits of the ancient city, he may well be right, and demonstrably right

if only there were other evidence for the sharing of the name. This solution, in an earlier version, is one of two commended by Zicàri 1978: 134–36, the other being the substitution of *praecurrit* for *percurrit*; Zicàri himself, however, offers a third way out, leaving *percurrit* and changing *quam* to *qua*. See Carratello 1988: 333 n. 65, whose defence of Zicàri's emendation has now persuaded me.

flavus is a conventional epithet of rivers, not to be taken too seriously; cf. V. *Aen.* 9.816 (Kr.).

34 See Giangrande 1970 for his attempt to substitute *matronae* (= the erring woman, whose lovers are mentioned in the latter part of the poem) for *Veronae*. In fact, Billanovich 1988: 35–6 shows, from an echo in a much later text, that the true reading is after all *Veronae*. Though he seems unaware of Giangrande's article, this does not affect the outcome. Since there are no good grounds for replacing *meae* with *tuae*, the Door must be supposed, if we accept *V*'s reading of the line, to be situated in Verona (see the intr. n.). The reading *tuae*, championed by Scaliger, has however been defended by some modern scholars (Riese, for example, and also Rambelli 1957: 65–88).

On what is meant by *mater*, in terms of the personal relations between heroes or founders, transferred in myth to their cities, see Wiseman 1987: 324–36.

36 *malum ... adulterium*: cf. 61.97–8 *mala ... adulteria*.

38 For *abesse* with simple ablative of separation, cf. 63.60.

39 *auscultare*, colloquial (Ital. *ascoltare*).

41–2 Overhearing by the house door of a whispered (*furtiva voce*) conversation in which the woman confesses her sins to her maids (hardly in the entrance hall!) is, though implausible, a way out of the question asked by C. in 37–40; whereas the interlocutor can pick up the stories circulating in the streets (3 *dicunt*, 5 *ferunt*, etc.), how can the *door* pick up gossip, fixed to the house as 'she' is? (C., however, does not brood over the intrinsic probabilities of the situation.)

44 *speraret* (or *speret*) = 'suppose.' The argument for the emendation *speraret* does not depend solely on the avoidance of hiatus, as Richardson 1967: 431 supposes; the sequence of the tenses of verbs from 41 *audivi* to 45 *addebat* has some weight also. On hiatus in C.'s poems written in elegiac couplets, with a defence of the hiatus that would result in this line from adoption of the reading *speret*, see M. Zicàri, 'Some Metrical and Prosodical Features of Catullus' Poetry,' *Phoenix* 18 (1964): 193–205.

45–8 This elaborate periphrasis is no doubt intended to identify (for readers already acquainted with the local scandals) the person whom the Door, like C., is unwilling to name. For a P. Cornelius Balbus (married to a Caecilia) and a C. Cornelius *Longus* at Verona in the early imperial period, see Wiseman 1987: 342.

46 Although it is almost invariably R^2m^2(not m)G^2 that yield a reading otherwise found in *O*, which suggests that in these instances R^2 took the reading from an

alteration found by him in *X*, we need not be troubled by the sequence R^2mG^2 = *O* here; the correction can easily be supposed to have suggested itself, and the agreement with *O* is probably fortuitous.

47–8 The situation appears to be this. The person attacked, being disappointed of a legacy which was contingent upon his having natural heirs, caused his wife to simulate pregnancy, and at the same time secretly adopted a child, which he subsequently gave out to be his own. The deceit was suspected, and a lengthy lawsuit was the result.

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68 (a and b)

One poem or two? After a century of heated debate, modern scholarship is predominantly inclined towards separating 'poem 68' into two poems: see for example Wiseman 1974b and Courtney 1985; *contra*, Sarkissian 1983. Fordyce, who succinctly outlines some but not all of the objections to uniting them, wisely observes: 'If they had stood apart in our text, they would have been accepted as referring to two quite different situations and there would have been no temptation to connect them.'

Poem 68[a] is presented as a letter to a friend. Its language and style, accordingly, are correspondingly prosaic and 'everyday'; contrast again 68[b], where they are those of an art poem, in line with Hellenistic canons of taste (elaborate similes, use of myth, the display of geographical and other learning, and so forth). This is one reason for separating the two poems in terms of composition; other, perhaps more cogent, reasons will be given below. Yet because they are adjacent to each other it is tempting to seek for *some* relationship between them. One view of such a relationship was expressed by Vretska 1966: 327–8, following (substantially) Della Corte 1951 and Wohlberg 1955. He maintains that the two poems were deliberately juxtaposed. This juxtaposition, however, may have led to the interpolation of lines 91–100. Catullus (one can imagine, though certainty is impossible), responding to the request for a poem, may first have composed his poem of refusal, based on his situation at the moment. Then, however, he remembered an earlier composition which he happened to have ready to hand (for touching-up?) in a *capsula* (line 36), and added it after inserting the interpolation as a connection of thought. (So 68[b] was sent off as a gift, *faute de mieux*.)

This not altogether implausible account can be reconciled with the way the text is set out here: 68[b] appears with a capital letter at its head (and an implied interval, though in *CE* this was concealed by its beginning at the top of a page); contrast the lack of a capital at line 149, where (as most scholars agree) a new poem does *not* begin. See below on the general question of unity versus division.

For establishing *unity* in composition, it is of no importance that 68[a] and 68[b] are found together in the Mss, without any break between them, and under a heading ('Ad Mallium') which on the Ms evidence can apply only to ll. 1–40; the same situation applies in other parts of the collection, especially towards the end. Wiseman 1974b: 89 cites poems 101–16, which are run together under a heading, *fletus de morte fratris*, that applies only to the first of them. Some evidence even suggests that the heading goes back no further than R^2, and thus does not possess manuscript authority; and that it was taken from the form of the name as it is first encountered in *R* (see line 11). In poem 61 the bridegroom's name, which is Manlius (l. 215) Torquatus (l. 209), appears in l. 16 as *Mallius*; at line 215 we find the reading *Maulius* in *O* (cf. the variant *al. mauli* in R^2, here at 68.11). (Clearly *Malli*, or *Mali*, could represent *Manli* at 68.11 and 30.) See however McKie, esp. 62, 86, 89.

In 68[a] the name in ll. 11 and 30 begins in *V* with a consonant; in l. 11, at least, it must do so because of the open vowel just before it. It is no remedy to drag in the 'Allius' of ll. 41, 50, 66, and 150, by reading *mi Alli* (or *mi, Alli*) at l. 11; the elision of the *i* at this position, in this metre, will simply not do (and certainly not as a result of conjectural emendation); there are only two or three instances of such an elision before a vowel in the very much looser satiric hexameters of Horace and Persius, and none at all in those of more formal poets. In 68[b], on the other hand, the opposite is true; at line 41 the name must begin with a vowel, for two reasons: (i) to make possible the elision of *m(e)*, and (ii) to give *iuverit* an object, which it has to have. Moreover, *V*'s reading *quam fallius* (*QVAMFALLIVS* at some stage of the transmission) must come from *QVAMEALLIVS*. The other names given in 68[b] are: 50 *alli* or *ali*; 66 *allius* in *O*, with *vel manllius* in the margin, but *manlius* in *X*, who clearly has here made a critical choice, as he sometimes does, taking *(vel) manlius* from *A*, the common parent of *O* and *X*, where evidently the variant appeared as such; *O* does not invent variants for himself, but simply copies what he sees – or thinks he sees. We must therefore come to terms with the fact that 68[a] and 68[b] are addressed to different people, and that the faint similarity between their names (one of which began with a consonant, the other with a vowel) is simply accidental.

There are other reasons for separating the poems. They cannot have been addressed (in the first instance) to the same person at the same time, because the circumstances of the people concerned are not the same: in 68[a], lines 1–6, the addressee is living a forlorn bachelor life, whereas in 68[b] (l. 155) he receives a message of goodwill in association with his lady love (*tua vita*). Further, the virtual repetition of 68[a] lines 20–24 at 68[b] lines 92–6 is very much harder to accept in two poems (or parts of a poem) written at the same time and to the same person. It may be added that the verse-technique of

68ª differs from that of 68ᵇ in at least one important respect, namely the frequency of elisions. In 68ᵇ, if I calculate correctly, an average of one elision occurs every 1.6 lines (cf. the elegiac epigrams, poems 69–116, in which the corresponding figure is 1.9); but in 68ᵇ there is only one for every 2.4 lines (2.6, in lines 41–148), or less if we consider lines 89–100 as a later addition (cf. here the long poems 67, 64, 66, which have one elision every 2.5, 3.1, and 3.1 lines respectively). If 68ª and 68ᵇ are parts of a single composition, this difference has to be explained.

(a) Lines 1–40

Structure: 10 + 20 + 10.

A letter to Manlius, containing a negative reply (*recusatio*) to Manlius' request to C. for two kinds of solace, erotic and literary, in a time of personal distress.

A complete and self-sufficient poem, possibly (though by no means certainly) referring to 68ᵇ, but in no way structurally determined by it. See especially Vretska 1966, who (though his analysis is somewhat too schematic) has properly located (pp. 319–20) the pivot on which the poem revolves in the second-person address to the lost brother (ll. 21–4). This will remind us of poem 65 (see intr. n. there); in both instances it gives a certain circularity of structure, or at least an 'enclosing' type of structure, to a short elegiac poem. It does not follow that the relationship, in date of composition, of 68ᵇ to 68ª should be presumed to resemble that of 66 to 65; we have seen that the brother's recent death seems to give a suitable context for both 65 and 66; whereas, as between 68ª and 68ᵇ, the word-for-word repetitions (20, 22–4; 92, 94–6), whatever they may indicate (see below), are hard to reconcile with the notion of virtually simultaneous composition.

1 *quod*, 'as for the fact that ...,' a common formula of epistolary style; cf. 27 *quod scribis*. Kr. compares Cicero, *Ad Att.* 3.7.1 *quod me rogas ... , voluntas tua mihi valde grata est.*

acerbo must of course be taken to qualify in sense both *fortuna* and *casu*.

2 *conscriptum*, 'bedewed' or 'smudged,' rather than 'penned'; Cf. 25.11 *conscribillent*, 37.10 *scribam*.

hoc (implying 'which I have in front of me') does as much as anything to prove that lines 1–40 are a genuine letter-in-verse. The loose periodic style (fourteen lines before a major pause) is another epistolary touch.

epistolium, as a Latin word, occurs only here and twice in Apuleius (*Apol.* 6 and 79). In Greek, however, ἐπιστόλιον is regularly used.

3 For the figure of shipwreck, applied to love, cf. Philodemus *AP* 10.21.6 σέο πορφυρέῳ κλυζόμενον πελάγει. Other applications of the figure can be found, e.g., in Cicero's description of Catiline's followers (*Catil.* 2.24 *illam naufragorum eiectam ac debilitatam manum*).

4 *mortis limine*: cf. the Lucretian (2.960, 6.1157) *leti limen*; neither expression, however, need be supposed to refer to the gates of the underworld, as Kr. suggests.

5 *sancta Venus:* a cult title; cf. 36.3, where F. has a helpful note.

6 *lecto caelibe*: cf. 67.6 (of the *ianua*) *es ... facta marita*. It is not necessary to suppose that Manlius is suffering from bereavement, or a tiff: his trouble is unrequited love.

7 *veterum*: the implication is that Manlius has asked C. for a *new* poem.

9 *quoniam*, 'inasmuch as.' *m* (reading *quero* for *quoniam*) is singularly careless here, as he is elsewhere in this passage; cf. ll. 22, 34, 38, 39, 42, 53, 59, 63, 70. (Readings in *CE*, App. Crit.) Here m^2 corrects by reverting to *R*'s reading, giving the correction as a variant.

me tibi dicis amicum does not suggest close friendship.

10 Notice the careful disjunction, by means of *et ... et*, between the *munera Musarum* and the *<munera> Veneris*. The two complaints made by Manlius in 5–8 (he finds it hard to sleep alone, and older books give no solace in his wakefulness) are taken up in reverse order.

Elision at the diaeresis of the pentameter is not avoided by C. except (under Greek, especially Callimachean, influence) in poems 65 and 66; Kr. and F. both point to lines 56, 82, 90 below.

Musarum: for the expression 'gifts of the Muses' Kr. and F. cite Archilochus, fr. 1 D (= 1 West) Μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον, Theognis 250 ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα, and for 'gifts of Aphrodite' Hesiod *Sc.* 47 τερπόμενος δώροισι πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης, while F. points also to Anacreon, who in fr. 96 D (= 2 West) has both: Μουσέων τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης συμμίσγων.

hinc = *a me* ('colloquial,' Kr.); cf. 63.74 n., 116.6 n., and the use of *hunc nostrum* at 109.2 and perhaps of *istinc* at 76.11.

11 The natural explanation of R^2's *al. mauli* seems to be that it was the variant reading of *X*, ignored by *GR* because it was unhelpful (not yielding a name), and that this in turn represents a faulty transcription by *X* of something like *mali* in *A*.

12 *odisse* = 'have a distaste for'; cf. Prop. 1.1.5 and 3.8.27.

14 *dona beata*, 'gifts to be expected from *one who is* happy' (transferred epithet).

15–26 Bearing in mind the distinction referred to in 10 n., these ten lines seem to have nothing to do with literature; certainly they need not be taken as referring to poetry, even to love poetry (see 17, n. on *lusi*).

15 *vestis ... pura* = the *toga virilis*, or youth's badge of maturity, exchanged for the *toga praetexta* of childhood. The idea behind 15–18 is expressed also by Propertius 3.15.3–4:

ut mihi praetexti pudor est ablatus [*Heinsius*; velatus *codd.*] amictus
et data libertas noscere amoris iter.

17 *lusi*, 'I played the lover.' (Not 'I composed love poetry'; C. is still talking about *munera Veneris* rather than those of the Muses. See 33 n.).
est dea nescia nostri: the usual form of the expression implies that the lover 'has knowledge of' the god or goddess of love, not the other way about; the *Ciris* (242) plainly imitates C.'s unusual way of putting it.

18 'bitter-sweet'; cf. Sappho L.-P. 47 (γλυκύπικρος, of Eros), and Meleager, *AP* 12.81.2 τοῦ πικροῦ γευσάμενοι μέλιτος.
The word *curis*, as used to describe a lover's state of mind, may comprehend both extremes – of bitterness and sweetness – and it is to make this clear that C. amplifies it with *dulcem ... miscet amaritiem*. There is no such tautology as B. supposes.

19–21 Notice the repetition of *frater(na)* in three successive lines; cf. 91–3, and also poem 101, where *frater* is thrice repeated at four-line intervals and at the same place in the line. This is probably intended to suggest the rite of *conclamatio*: cf. V. *Aen.* 6.506 *ter voce vocavi*, Ov. *Fasti* 3.563–4 *terque 'vale' dixit, cineres ter ad ora relatos / pressit*. See further 101.2 n.

19 *studium*, 'pursuit' (again with no literary overtones, but simply of love or flirtation).
Notice the sense of abruptness given by the monosyllable at the end of the line, followed by the heavy pause at the end of the first foot in l. 20.

20–1 *m*'s correcting tendency is well exemplified in these lines.

21–4 The repetitions of *tu* etc. reinforce the effect of those mentioned in 19–21 n.

23 Kr. compares Eur. Alc. 347 σὺ γάρ μου τέρψιν ἐξεῖλες βίου.

25 *interitu*, abl. of cause; cf. line 87 below (*raptu*), and also 14.2 and 65.12.
tota de mente fugavi, 'completely banished from my mind'; for other examples of this Latin poetic idiom see F.

26 *haec studia* = 19 *hoc studium*. As Kr. says, the pl. is used here for the sake of *concinnitas* with *delicias*.

27 Wiseman 1974b: 96–100 has made an eloquent plea for regarding the words 'Veronae turpe <est>, Catulle [= *V*], esse' as a direct quotation from Manlius' letter to C. This would avoid the difficulty involved in assuming that C. means one *esse* to do duty for two (= Veronae esse turpe Catullo esse). On the other hand, that C. should introduce a direct question in this way, at least in the second person – even if not, as here, using the vocative – would be easier to accept if there were at least one really valid parallel instance in the works of a poet. Of Wiseman's five citations in n. 52 from Cicero's letters, one (*Ad Att.* 12.25.2) is limited to one word, as is 12.34.3; 8.15.2 and 12.1.2 are proverbial and non-personal in expression; and at *Ad Fam.* 5.2.3, which is perhaps the closest, *ita* is inserted to introduce the citation. See also line 28 n. for a further objection to Wiseman's view.

28 *quod* here surely = 'inasmuch as,' not 'the fact that,' following *quod* = 'as for the fact that' in line 27. Wiseman's translation 'As for ... the fact that' disguises this. Notice also that *non turpe* in line 30 must directly contradict *turpe* in line 27.
hic would mean 'in Rome' (not Verona), if we were to adopt the view that a direct quotation is involved, and assume (as Q. does) that the quotation continues to line 29. On Wiseman's view (see line 27 n.) it refers to Verona; this, I think, is right. F., who would expect an indirect quotation to follow *quod scribis*, deals fairly with the difficulties inherent in his own assumption but still thinks direct quotation 'unparalleled and improbable.'
quisquis either = *quisque*, 'everyone' (on the analogy of the neuter *quidquid* = *quidque*), or (more probably with such a phrase as *de meliore nota*) we are to understand *est*, as F. suggests. Here he is supported by Wiseman.
de meliore nota, 'out of the top drawer' (the metaphor in Latin has to do with choice wines, as in *nota Falerni*, Hor. *S.* 1.10.24). The same metaphorical use is found in a letter from Curius (Cicero, *Ad Fam.* 7.29.1) and in Petron. 116.5; F. also cites Sen. *De benef.* 3.9.1.

29 If we regard *Veronae ... esse* as a quotation (see 27 n.), it may be possible to read *tepefactat* with R^2, rather than *tepefactet* with Bergk; but the choice between emendations is of little moment, and even in that case the subjunctive seems on the whole preferable; the reason is not so much given as a fact, as imputed by C. to the mind of Manlius. R^2's attempted (and almost successful) correction is of course partly, though not wholly, metrical in character.
For the shortening of the second syllable in *tepe-* see F.'s n. on 64.360 *tepefaciet*. The word *tepefactare* is elsewhere unknown, but F. points to two instances of the analogous *frigefactare* in Plautus (*Poen.* 760, *Rud.* 1326).

30 *non est turpe, magis miserum est*: cf. Cicero, *De Har. Resp.* 49 *miserum magis fuit quam turpe*.
magis, 'but rather'; cf. Lucr. 2.1086 *non ... unica, sed numero magis innumerali*, V. *Ecl.* 1.11 *non equidem invideo, miror magis*.

30, 32, 34 Kr. points out that in these pentameters there is punctuation in the second half of the line, contrary to C.'s unvarying practice elsewhere in his longer elegiac poems (and indeed in the epigrams, except at 110.4); he correctly attributes this to the relatively loose style of a versified letter.

31 *ignosces* ('polite' future), 'please forgive.' Hor. *S.* 1.9.72; with *igitur*, at Prop. 1.11.19.

32 *cum nequeo*: temporal (cf. perhaps line 8), but (as Kr. suggests) here close enough to the causal sense to approximate the archaic *cum*-causal.

33 *nam*: elliptical, as F. notes. In this transition we merely imply the second request, and explain why the second request also cannot be met.

scriptorum: probably from *scripta*, not from *scriptores*. Notice that *nam* is used, transitionally, as passing to a new subject: 'now, as for <the other topic> . . .' In ll. 15–30, C. has very carefully explained why he cannot accede to Manlius' request for *munera Veneris* (10); now he turns to the request for poetry (*munera Musarum*), and let us remember that it was *new* (original) poetry that M. had in mind (7 n.). Four lines are now devoted to C.'s reason for being unable to do as M. wishes, in this respect also. He has no great *copia scriptorum* with him at Verona. It seems artificial to suppose that C. needs a whole library to cope with a friend's request for lines to take a vexed mind 'out of itself'; after all, the friend presumably knew C. was at Verona, away from Rome and from his books. Nor should we imagine that M. expected C. to sit down there and then and compose a long, learned work for which histories and encyclopaedias were indispensable. The very phrases used in 39–40 (*petenti copia posta est: ultro ego deferrem, copia siqua foret*) seem to suggest furnishing something that is ready to hand. Accordingly, what C. says is most likely this: 'I have only a small *capsa* here, with just a few rolls <of work, *scripta*, brought with me> (for revision?).' Cf. Horace, *S.* 1.4.22–3 (*capsis . . . scripta*) and *Ep.* 2.1.268.

34 *hoc*, 'probably ablative' (Kr. and F.).

capsula, diminutive of *capsa*, which = *scrinium* (14.18), 'a cylindrical box in which *volumina* stood on end' (F.).

36 *sequitur*, either 'accompanies me whenever I come here' or else loosely (in 'conversational' epistolary style) for *secuta est*.

37 *quod cum ita sit*: prosaic. Cf. Juvenal 5.59.

mente maligna, 'out of a grudging disposition.' Cf. 10.18 *non mihi tam fuit maligne . . .*

id facere, colloquial (cf. 85.1 *id faciam*, and see n.).

39 *non* probably negates the whole clause; C. has to refuse *both* requests. His reasons for doing so are clearly given in two phases, 15–32 and 33–6, where see nn.

copia posta est (= *posita est*), 'has been put at your disposal'; a fresh coinage, on the analogy of *copia facta est*. For the whole expression cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 39.1 *sed utriusque rei copiam faciam* (to which Kenneth Quinn kindly drew my attention).

40 *ultro deferre* ('to volunteer') is a set phrase; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.12.22 *si quid petet, ultro defer.*

(b) Lines 41–160

Structure: variously described as 'cyclic,' 'mesodic,' 'omphalos' or 'Chinese box' arrangement of themes (e.g., abcdedcba; see for example the plan set out in Kr.[5]: 219).

The groups of lines are balanced, with mathematical symmetry (or an approach to it) around the central section in lines 87–104:

Lines	87–90	91–100	101–4
Theme	Troy	Brother's death	Troy

For the question whether the apex passage, 91–100, originally formed part of the poem, see above: Copley 1957 and others have pointed out that the reader can pass from 90 to 100 without interruption of the sense. Lines 41–50 are usually regarded as an introduction, containing the name Allius at its beginning and end; lines 149–60 are for the most part similarly seen as a kind of conclusion or *envoi*, again addressed by name to Allius and roughly balancing the introduction in length. For an important discussion of this 'conversational scheme,' together with that of 68[a], see Courtney 1985, who gives parallels.

41 *deae*, the Muses (Il. 2.485 *ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε*). The fact that the Muses are formally addressed at this point serves powerfully to show that a separate composition (in some sense at least) begins here, and that it has more of the character of a work of art than lines 1–40; see intr. n.

42 Notice the emphatic, almost excited, repetition of *iuverit*.

m at first mis-writes *iuverit* as *iuveret*; then m^2 'corrects' him with *viveret*, apparently without consulting *R*'s already correct reading.

43 To read *nec*, with *V*, would intolerably break up the logical progression from 41 to 45.

m^2's senseless variant (*al. r*, i.e., *aeras*) can only be explained as the result of *R*'s imperfectly drawn *t* (fol. 30[v]), which indeed does distinctly resemble an *r*. This tends to show how slavishly m^2 (in contrast to *m*) seeks to recapture all that he sees in *R*.

44 *caeca*, 'blinding' as well as 'dark'; 64.207 n.

45 The opposite of the usual claim of a poet to be the mouthpiece of the Muses (Callim. *H.* 3.186, Theocr. 22.116). B. has seen the point: the theme of this poem is so personal and private to C. that the Muses cannot be expected to know it and to prompt the poet; they have to be told about it first.

46 *anus*, adjective; cf. 9.4 *anumque matrem*, and especially 78[b].4 *fama . . . anus*; also 67.4 n., where *ipse senex* = 'the old master.'

47 Both *G* and *R* leave a space, indicating a lacuna of one line; *O* leaves no space. Humanistic supplements began to be added in *η*-class mss (Zicàri 1958: 83 = 1978: 84).

48 *magis ... atque magis*; but cf. 38.3 and 64.274 *magis magis*.

49 *sublimis*, 'aloft.' The adj. (not particularly appropriate in this context) is conventional; Hes. *Op.* 777 *ἀερσιπότητος ἀράχνης*. See however the App. Crit. for Nisbet's suggested emendation *subtilis aranea* (which may perhaps receive support from Prop. 3.6.33 *putris et in vacuo texetur aranea lecto*, though he does not cite or mention this passage).

Allusion to a neglected inscription is used, in a somewhat different context, by Propertius (2.6. 35–36; cf. 3.6.33).

Post v. 49 See App. Crit. The earliest of the δ-class Mss, No. 58 in the Table, retains the line.

51 *duplex*, probably in the sense of 'wily.' See Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Od.* 1.6.7, where 'the word is a pejorative translation of Hom. *Od.* 1.1 *πολύτροπον*.' The strongest Latin parallel is Ov. *Am.* 1.12.27 *vos* (writing tablets) *rebus duplices pro nomine sensi*. There is no reference to the bitter–sweet antinomy of l. 18, which as Kr. remarks is already too distant (considerations of unity apart).

Amathusia, 'the goddess of Amathus' (36.14 n.) = Aphrodite, or Venus.

52 *V*'s *corruerit* would mean 'has ruined': *corruere* as a transitive verb is very rare; the few transitive instances listed in *OLD* 4 are archaic, though Lucr. has one. If Lachmann's emendation at 66.93 (see n. there) should be right, C. would there use it intransitively; he does not employ it elsewhere. It was however pointed out by W.S. Watt, *LCM* 9: 1984, that C.'s imitator Martial never uses *ruere* transitively but seven times intransitively. But *torruerit* has support from 100.7 *cum vesana meas torreret flamma medullas*, as well as perhaps from the sense of *arderem* in line 53. The repetition of the metaphor hardly seems disastrous; C. is fond of heightening and expanding an image. For *torrere* of mental anguish, cf. Lucr. 3.1019, Hor. *Od.* 3.9.13.

in quo ... genere: 'in what category'; a discreet allusion to the fact (made explicit in 143–6) that C.'s love for 'Lesbia' was adulterous. F.'s 'in what matter' is hardly adequate.

torruerit: cf. 100.7, and note *arderem* in l. 53.

53 *Trinacria rupes*, 'the Sicilian rock': a typically 'Alexandrian' periphrasis for Mount Etna. As a figure for amorous passion it appears also in Hor. *Epod.* 17.30–3, Ov. *Rem.* 491, *Ep. Sapph.* 12.

54 Again, a geographical reference of a somewhat learned kind. The Pass of Thermopylae ('hot gates,' i.e., the pass which had hot springs, Hdt. 7.176 *θερμὰ λουτρά*) was in Malis, and adjoined Mount Oeta.

55 *neque* postponed, as often in C., e.g., below at line 116.

56 *imbre*, 'shower' (of tears); frequent in Ovid (B., E., F. cite *Tr.* 1.3.18).

57–66 See intr. n. The choice is between regarding 57–62 as referring to what precedes or to what follows; if the latter, then *hic* (63) must be changed to *ac*, which is both unwarranted and palaeographically unconvincing. See the thoughtful article by Offermann 1975; he points out from other passages that it is sometimes C.'s way to move from theme to theme by a sort of association of ideas, which produces a certain artistic tension when set against conscious articulation of the progress of the thought. It seems more poetical to let the image of tears (*tristi imbre*) grow into that of a mountain stream as it enters the plain, than to insist (after F. Skutsch) that the two similes at 119–34 must for the sake of symmetry be balanced by two similes here; and the necessary *ac* at 63 represents a weakening of the forceful effect obtained by *hic*.

If we punctuate as I have done, it can be supposed that C. may have in mind *Il.* 9.14–15 *ἵστατο δάκρυ χέων ὥς τε κρήνη μελάνυδρος, ἥ τε κατ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης δνοφερὸν χέει ὕδωρ*.

60 Nisbet's objections to *densi* are worth considering; see *PCPS* 24 (1978): 114 n. 49, and *MD* 26 (1991): 84–5.

61 The reading of *A* may perhaps have been double: possibly *viatorum*, *X* taking the *i* to be a correction; *X* is hardly an emendator of sufficient acumen to make this correction for himself. If *O*'s *-rum* is pure error (which might otherwise seem possible), it is hard to account for the adoption of the unhelpful variant *-rum* from *X* by R^2.

lasso sudore: 'poetic' transferred epithet.

62 *hiulcat* may be a coinage of C.'s (Venantius Fort. 6.10.6 *per hiulcatos agros*; cf. however V. *Geo.* 2.353 *hiulca ... arva*).

65 Castor and Pollux are the sailor's protecting deities: cf. 4.27, where notice the repetition of *gemelle*, curiously parallel to that of *iam* here.

prece Pollucis implorata = Polluce precibus implorato (Kr.). Cf. V. *Aen.* 11.4 *vota deum*.

66 See the Introduction to *CE*, p. 22; as I there suggest, both *allius* and *manl<l>ius* probably go back to the source of *OGR*, i.e. to *A*.

67 *is ... isque ... isque*: A.'s services to C. are now listed in detail. (Repetition of *is* for deliberate emphasis, Kr.)

limite, 'pathway.'

68 *dominam* goes closely with *domum*, as at 61.31. If Fröhlich's conjecture *dominae* is read, Lesbia is then introduced before her 'dramatic epiphany' in line 70 (Kinsey 1967: 43), which spoils the effect.

69 *ad quam*: *ad* = *apud*, or French *chez* (of the *domina*).

communes = mutuos (despite the objections of Kinsey 1967); cf. Lucr. 4.1195–6 *communia gaudia*, followed by *mutua gaudia* 1206.

exerceremus: the plural prepares the reader for the scene where Lesbia enters the room, without making any premature statement.

70 *molli ... pede*: cf. Prop. 2.12.24 *ut soleant molliter ire pedes.*
candida, 'dazzling,' 'shining.'

71 *trito*, 'well-worn'; cf. *εὔξεστος*.

72 *arguta*, 'squeaky,' of any high-pitched sound. For the adjective, and its associations in respect to hearing and other senses, see F. (to his *De oratore* reference, add Aul. Gell. 1.5.2). There is a considerable literature of love poetry celebrating the sound of the beloved's shoe or slipper, and it appears to be of world-wide extension.

73ff. Like Propertius after him (e.g., Prop. 1.3), C. is moved by the vision of his mistress to an extended mythological simile.

74 Protesilaus' marriage to Laodamia lasted one day, after which he went to Troy and – first of the Greeks to leap ashore – perished there. There is no trace in the legend of a neglected sacrifice in connection with Protesilaus' house; Homer (*Iliad* 2.701) merely says that it was half-finished (*ἡμιτελής*) when he went to war. It has recently been suggested that the *hostia* (76) is Iphigeneia, and that this reference serves only to 'date' the marriage just before the Trojan War: see Thomas 1978. But 77–8 tell against this interpretation, as Van Sickle 1980: 91 points out.

76 *hostia*: see 74 n.
caelestis ... eros = the gods.

77–8 For the interjected personal wish cf. 63.91–3 (and also cf. the poet's greeting to the heroes at 64.22–4).

77 *Rhamnusia virgo* = Nemesis; cf. 66.71 n. (also 50.20). If *A* had *ranusia*, both *O* and *X* will have deviated from it in characteristic ways.

78 For *R*'s *quod*, *m* has *quam*, influenced doubtless by *tam* in 77; m^2 adds *al. quod*, thus once again (cf. 9 n.) showing the correction as a variant.
invitis eris, 'against the will of the gods.' Cf. 76.12 *dis invitis*.

79 *pium cruorem* = the blood shed in sacrifice by *pii mortales* (transferred epithet).

81 *coniugis ... novi*: cf. *nova nupta* 61.91, etc. (also 64.402 n.).
novit is obviously wrong and unmetrical; the R^2 variant appears to be an attempt to gain a more plausible sense, but it is of course still unmetrical.

82 *una atque altera*, here = one, followed by another (as in Cicero, *Cluent.* 38 and 72). Elsewhere sometimes = 'one or two' (refs. in F.).

85 *quod* = *abruptum coniugium*.
non longo tempore abesse, si = 'was not to be long delayed, if ...'
V's *abisse* is perhaps influenced by *isset* 86.

86 *miles*, 'as a soldier.'

87 *raptu*, abl. of cause (cf. above, 25 n.).

89 *Troia ... /Troia*: with the epanalepsis, Kr. and F. compare 64.61–2 *prospicit, eheu, / prospicit*. Cf. 99 below, and see the intr. n. on the Troy passages, as well as line 92 n.

Kr. points out how the spondaic line ending expresses a tragic thought which could have been avoided by inversion of the two words; V. *Aen.* 10.91 begins *Europamque Asiamque*.

90 *acerba*, 'bitter' because unripe, premature.
cinis in transferred sense (feminine, as at 101.4 and in Calvus 15, 16 M and Lucr. 4.926; cf. 101.4 n.).

91 See App. Crit. Heinsius' *quaene etiam* has been successfully overturned by Courtney 1982: 50. Rather than obelize *V*'s *que vetet id*, I have hesitantly come to accept Watt's arguments (see 'Sources') for accepting Marcilius' *quae nunc et.*

92 Cf. 20; notice also that 94 = 22, and compare 95–6 with 23–4.
See App. Crit.: *O* is not the source of the correction in G^2R^2, which is easy and obvious.

93 Cf. Lucr. 3.1033 *lumine adempto animam moribundo corpore fudit*, V. *Aen.* 6.363 *per caeli iucundum lumen at auras.*

97 *nota sepulcra*: cf. the use of *noti* at 79.4.

98 *cognatos* = *cognatorum* (another 'transferred' epithet); see Prop. (quoted below) and also Stat. *S.* 2.4.22 *cognata funera.*
The dread of being buried in distant foreign soil was grounded in the belief that the welfare of the soul after death depended on the performance of the appropriate cult acts by one's kin; Kr. cites Prop. 3.7.9–10 (*et mater non iusta piae dare debita terrae / nec pote cognatos inter humare rogos*) and Ov. *Tr.* 31–46. See Kr.'s n. on l. 97 for other passages.
compositum, 'laid out (for burial),' or (F.) 'laid to rest' (*OLD* 4 c).

100 *extremo* = at the furthest edge of the world, as in 11.2 *extremos Indos*. Ovid speaks thus of his place of exile (*Tr.* 3.3.13 *lassus in extremis iaceo populisque locisque*).

101 For the resumptive *tum*, taking up the thread of 86–8, and for the suggestion that 89–100 are a later insertion, see the intr. n.

102 *penetralis* (connected with *Penates*, see Cicero *ND* 2.68) *focos*: the central hearths of their houses. Editors from B. onwards cite Cicero, *Har. Resp.* 57 *deorum ... abditos ac penetralis focos* and V. *Aen.* 5.660 *rapiuntque focis penetralibus ignem.*

103–4 Notice the displaced order of words: *libera* ('unchecked') in 103 goes with *otia* in 104.

105 *tum* refers back to 85 and recurs to the story of Laodamia. (See intr. n.)

106 Cf. 64.215 *iucundior ... vita.*

107 *coniugium* (abstract for concrete), 'husband.' Notice that this single word has strayed into the next couplet (a sign of undeveloped elegiac technique).
amoris: take with *aestus* (Fr.) rather than with *barathrum.*

108 *barathrum*: deep drainage holes, leading to underground channels (mod. Greek *katavothra*) are a feature of northwest Arcadia; some of them were

attributed to Heracles. Pheneus was a city to the southwest of Mount Cyllene in Arcadia.

110 *emulsa*, 'drained out.'

111 For the metaphor in *montis ... medullis*, cf. V. *Aen.* 3.575 *viscera montis*.

112 *audit*, 'is said to,' in imitation of the Greek use of ἀκούειν (cf. Hor. *S.* 2.7.101). By analogy with *cluere* (Kr., F.), used here (and here only) with infin.
falsiparens Amphitrioniades, 'he who was falsely said to be Amphitryon's son' (= Heracles, who was really begotten by Zeus). The compound adjective seems to be derived from Callimachus (ψευδοπάτωρ, *H.* 6.98, but in a different sense). As Kr. and F. point out, the line is wholly Greek in effect.

113 The references to the legends of Heracles continue with the slaying of the Stymphalian birds.
certa = 'flying straight,' 'unerring' (of an arrow at Hor. *Od.* 1.12.23).
Stymphalia monstra: the crane-like birds of Lake Stymphalus are called *monstra* by C. because they ate men (as B. points out). Since the lake was close to Pheneus (above, 108 n.), C. fancies that the subterranean channels that drained the floods near the town (attributed by legend to Heracles, though not as one of his labours) were constructed by H. at the same time as he happened to be in the area in order to deal with the birds. Only E. notes that a Stymphalian bird appears on denarii of the *gens Valeria*.

114 *eri*: Eurystheus, who enjoined upon Heracles the labours the completion of which conferred immortality on the hero, gave Heracles his orders but was *deterior* all the same, as Heracles himself remarks in *Od.* 11.621 (*μάλα γὰρ πολὺ χείρονι φωτὶ δεδμήμην, ὅ δέ μοι χαλεποὺς ἐπετέλλετ' ἀέθλους*).

115 *pluribus ut ...*; i.e., the number of the gods who entered heaven was to be increased by one when Heracles achieved deification (and hence, immortality). His second reward, the hand of Hebe, is mentioned in the next line.

115–16 *Od.* 11.602 *αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃς καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον Ἥβην*.

117 C. returns again to address Laodamia.
altus amor: cf. Theocr. 3.42 *βαθὺν ἔρωτα*.

118 *tamen indomitam*, 'even untamed as you were,' a common metaphor for the unwedded maiden (*παρθένος ἀδμής*, *Odyssey* 6.109). For the idiom, see 64.103 (alternative punctuation). F. here refers to Munro on Lucr. 3.553 and Housman on Lucan 1.333.

119 Cf. V. *Aen.* 4.599 *confectum aetate parentem*. Virgil has many clear echoes of poem 68; cf. 108 with *Aen.* 3.421–2 *imo barathri ter gurgite vastos / sorbet in abruptum fluctus*.

See App. Crit.: here we have another instance of a variant in *X* (reproduced in R^2m^2, though with substitution, perhaps by R^2, of *neque* for *nec*) which covers a mere slip (*causa* for *tam*) made by *X* himself. *X*'s variant gives, as usual, the text of *A*.

119–28 Two figures for the depth of Laodamia's love. They might seem a little superfluous; but, as Kr. points out, they balance, in the poem's structure, the two similes for C.'s own passion in lines 53ff. The first (a grandparent's delight in the late appearance of a grandson to be his direct heir) seems linked to Pindar, *Ol.* 10.86–90 *ἀλλ' ὥτε παῖς ἐξ ἀλόχου πατρὶ ποθεινὸς ἵκοντι νεότατος τὸ πάλιν ἤδη, μάλα δέ οἱ θερμαίνει φιλότατι νόον· ἐπεὶ πλοῦτος ὁ λαχὼν ποιμένα ἐπακτὸν ἀλλότριον, θνάσκοντι στυγερώτατος* and more remotely to *Il.* 9.481–2 *Καί μ' ἐφίλησ' ὡς εἴ τε πατὴρ ὃν παῖδα φιλήσῃ μοῦνον τηλύγετον πολλοῖσιν ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσι*. The second is the familiar image of two doves (see 125–8 n.).

119–24 The expression *carum caput* may have been borrowed from C. by Virgil (*Aen.* 4.354) and Horace (*Od.* 1.24.1–2). For the brief picture of the grandfather's pleasure in the fact that his daughter has at last presented him with an heir to the family fortune (which by the *Lex Voconia* could not be bequeathed to a female if the testator was included in the census, i.e., was financially of some substance), cf. the lines on the bereaved mother at 39.4–5.

122 *testatas*, for *testibus confirmatas*, of a will ('signed and sealed').

123–4 The distant relative is seen as a *captator* (legacy-hunter), a type for which the Roman satirists had a special distaste: for the metaphor in *volturium* cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 101 *sunt alii qui te volturium vocant*.

123 *impia* = contrary to family *pietas*.
derisi, 'made a laughing-stock' (F.), looks forward to the result.

125–8 Another metaphor for the depth of Laodamia's love. Editors compare (from poetry) Prop. 2.15.27–8 *exemplo iunctae tibi sint in amore columbae, / masculus et totum femina coniugium* and (from prose) Pliny, *NH* 10.104 *<columbae> coniugii fidem non violant communemque servant domum*.

126 *compar*, 'mate.'
improbius, 'more shamelessly.'

128 *multivola*, 'promiscuous' (cf. 140 *omnivolus*, of Jupiter).

129 *furores*, 'passion' (plural because several instances have been given). Although *furores* (cf. 64.54 and 94) might be applied to the amorous passion of doves in the second simile, it can hardly suit the grandfather's affection in the first; however, Kr. is probably right in suggesting that it applies loosely to both.

130 *conciliare* (*OLD* 1 b) means 'to bring a woman to a man as a wife (or mistress).'

131 *cui* postponed. As Kr. points out, such displacements occur in colloquial language when more emphatic words or phrases claim priority, and poets use them freely; he cites 51.5, 62.13–14, 64.8, 66 and 216.
aut paulo: the restriction surprises us, but is common in Latin: Cicero, *ND* 2.118 *nihil ... aut admodum paululum*; Hor. *Ep.* 1.15.33–4 *nil aut paulum*

abstulerat; F. explains *paulo* (instead of *paulum*) with *concedere digna* by the fact that *c.d.* stands in place of *minor*.

132 *lux mea*, cf. 160. For this intimate expression of affection cf. Cicero, *Ad Fam.* 14.2.2 *mea lux, meum desiderium* (to his wife).

133–4 For the picture, cf. poem 45, with its refrain.

134 *candidus*, of Amor: Prop. 2.3.24 (B.).

For an exhaustive discussion of the phrase *crocina candidus in tunica*, see Mantero 1979.

135 F. has a good n. on the emotional significance of the poet's references to himself in the third person; he cites Propertius (2.8.17) and Ovid (*Tr.* 3.10.1, *Pont.* 1.7.69) as well as C.

136 *verecundae*: 'discreet' (i.e., not shameless). The future tense of *feremus* should be noted; it may be that C. suggests that he will tolerate her *furta* so long as she is discreet, and does not overdo them. Recent attempts to defend Büchner's 1950 reading *verecunde* (adverb) have hardly succeeded; *verecunde ferre* seems an unlikely combination, and the sense suffers. Against *verecunde* see, e.g., Bickel 1950, Holleman 1970, Bauer 1975; for *verecunde*, see Reynen 1974 and Bright 1976.

137 On *stultorum* it may be remarked that in poem 17 and at 83.2 it is the protesting cuckold who is called 'stupid'; B. proposed *tutorum* here, claiming that the *s* may be a duplication of the final letter of *simus*, but the change is hardly justified.

138 *caelicolum*: for the form cf. 64.355 *Troiugenum*. Notice that here, unusually, the sentence begins with the pentameter (Kr.).

138–9 C. here bends the myth to serve his purpose; Juno is not traditionally so tolerant (Fr.).

140 *V*'s *facta* need not be changed: cf. Prop. 1.18.25–6 *omnia consuevi timidus perferre superbae / iussa, neque arguto facta dolore queri*. The Humanist who suggested *furta* may possibly have had in mind Prop. 2.30.28 *dulcia furta Iovis*.

141 *componier*: the archaic passive infinitive elsewhere exists in C. only in poem 61. Perhaps for this reason, and because *componere* is the reading of *V*, the end of this line frequently appears in the late Ms tradition in the form *componere fas est*. But the change from *fas* to *(a)equum* would be hard to explain. Gordon Williams 1968: 712 implicitly denies the presence of a lacuna by printing *nec ... est* as a parenthesis; but the imperative *tolle* (142) does suggest a lacuna.

143 *nec tamen*, 'and in any case ... not.' As Kr. and F. agree, the *nec* here cannot be shown to respond to the *nec* in 141, which 'was perhaps answered by a lost *nec* or *et*' (E.).

144 The perfume is a concrete presentation of the garnishing, for a bride, of her bridegroom's house.

Assyrio = (vaguely) 'Eastern.' Cf. 6.8 *Syrio fragrans olivo*. C. is by no means alone in apparently confusing the two adjectives; Horace has *malobathro Syrio* (*Od.* 2.7.8) and *Assyria nardus* (*Od.* 2.11.16). For a careful account of the history of the words in question see the nn. by Nisbet and Hubbard on these two Horatian passages.

145 See the App. Crit. As suggested there (the suggestion is mine, not Landor's), abbreviations for *mira* and *media* may have been confused. Though the notion behind *mira* may seem 'romantic' to modern eyes, it is quite unlike C. to cut across his meaning by introducing it. A doubtful alternative to *media* (not noticed by editors) might be *pura*, on the basis of V. *Ecl.* 9.44 *pura sub nocte*.

munuscula: both here and at 64.103 the diminutive virtually stands for *munera*. Metrical convenience, and possibly the liquid sound that C. likes to attach to feminine utterance (cf., e.g., 45.13–16), may have prompted him to use it.

148 The reading *dies* is possible; see however F. For the 'attraction' of the relative, cf. 153 (where *plurima* goes with *munera* 154) and 64.208–9.

candidiore: cf. 107.6 n.

149 *quod potui*: contrast 32 *nequeo*. The epilogue (149–60) must be attached to the poem in praise of Allius (68[b]), not to the letter to Manlius (68[a]).

See the App. Crit. *O* is not really at home with his compendia; cf. 64.153. For the palaeographical distinction between the compendia for *h(a)ec* and *hoc*, see 64.175 n.

150 *multis ... officiis*: cf. 42 *quantis ... officiis* (echoed here, along with Allius' name).

151 *vestrum*: 'your family's'. Cf. 64.160, where *vestras* and *potuisti* are juxtaposed. Kr., however, takes it as = *tuum*.

robigine: cf. 49–50 (only a slight change of metaphor). There is also, in *nomen* and the idea of oblivion, an echo of line 43.

153 Themis, goddess of justice (= Dike, the last of the goddesses to leave the earth); associated with Nemesis (their shrines, at Rhamnus in Attica, lay beside each other and were virtually one).

piis (treated here as a noun): *pietas* is a human quality especially linked with Themis. Cf. 64.386 *nondum spreta pietate* (and 403–4 *impia ... impia*), 406 *iustificam ... mentem avertere deorum* (i.e., when *pietas* was abandoned by men).

155 *tua vita*: cf. 132, 160, *lux mea*; also 45.13, 109.1.

See App. Crit. (R^1 makes an obvious correction, but in so doing he introduces a fresh error, which is in turn corrected by R^2).

156 *domus ... domina*: cf. 68 *domum ... dominam*. The parallelism implies that *domina* here denotes 'the lady of the house,' not 'my mistress' (= *era*). This would tell against the restoration *in qua nos lusimus*, adopted by Lee and others.

lusimus: for this meaning of the word, cf. line 17 n.

157–8 The text is corrupt, but it appears that a further person is gratefully recorded as having procured for C. an introduction – perhaps to Lesbia, perhaps to Allius – even before the house was made available for the assignation.

157 This line is described by Mynors as a *locus conclamatus*. In order to keep some kind of sense in the last sentence of such a long poem as this, in *CE* I adopted, very hesitantly, Lipsius' emendation. In support of his reading, *terram dedit auspex*, cf. Varro *LL* 7.6 *templum ... dicitur ... ab auspiciis in terra ...* (8) *in terris dictum templum locus augurii causa quibusdam conceptis verbis finitus*. For the role of *auspices* in matters of love, cf. 45.19, 26. Perhaps this particular *auspex* is poetically seen as fulfilling the office of an *augur* and delimiting – *augurii causa*, in a manner of speaking – a *templum terrestre* (the house). But I now regard this explanation as too controversial, and have abandoned it.

The spelling of Scaliger's reading is taken from his 1577 edition. Cf. *OLD* s.v. *trado* for the form *transd-*. Lee adopts *te tradidit* as from Scaliger. See further Wiseman 1974a, who would read *vobis me tradidit*, supposing a name (now lost) to end the line.

159 As parallels to the expression *mihi me carior*, F. cites two passages from Ovid (*Tr.* 5.14.2, *Pont.* 2.8.27) and one from Cicero's letters (*Ad Att.* 3.22.3).

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69

Structure: 4 + 4 + 2 (statement; explanation; conclusion to be drawn).
The theme is 'personal hygiene'; cf. poems 71, 97. Yet it is delicately written, using no vulgar terms: a fitting opening poem for a series of some fifty elegiac epigrams characterized by exquisite artistry, particularly in the manipulation of sounds, no matter what the subject may happen to be. The language is very slightly colloquial (*femina, neque mirum*); there is one *hapax eiremenon* (*perluciduli*). A 'cyclic' effect is obtained by the use of repetition (*quare, admirari*) to link the concluding couplet with the opening. Like many of the epigrams, this repays reading aloud because so much of its effect depends on sound-arrangement: in the second couplet, for example, the 'feminine' *i*'s (cf. poem 45 nn.) together with the liquid *l*'s (cf. poem 25) contrast with the harsh *r*'s in l. 6 and the disapproving *m*'s in l. 7.

On the question who 'Rufus' is, see intr. n. to poem 77. Noonan 1979 ingeniously sees the poem as a kind of allegory, with Bestia as a proper name; but this view hardly takes adequate account of the prima facie relation of poem 69 to poem 71 (echoes, both in theme – odour – and in language: *caper* = *hircus*).

3 *non si*, 'not even if' (cf. 48.5 n., 70.2 – where F. has a useful n. – and 88.8). *rarae*, 'choice,' 'exquisite' (probably not referring to the fineness of the textile). *labefactes*: literally, 'undermine' a building, to impair its stability; hence 'seduce.'

4 *perluciduli*, 'transparent' (*hapax eiremenon*). Notice the melodious repetition of (chiefly liquid) consonants in the line. (At 31.13, if *lucidae lacus undae* is right, it deserves the same praise).