PART FIVE

RECEPTION

HELLENISTIC EPIGRAM IN THE ROMAN WORLD FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO THE END OF THE REPUBLICAN AGE

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1. *Roman inscriptional epigram*

The reception of Greek epigram in the Roman milieu must be viewed in the larger historical context in which Hellenistic poetic genres progressively took root there. Relevant factors include the means of transmission and actual knowledge in Rome of Greek epigram as a distinct genre; the selection and re-elaboration of pertinent features by social and cultural élites; and literary and epigraphic production in Latin and its social importance (in particular, the continuous mutual influence between inscriptional and literary epigram, in Greek and Latin).

What first attracted Roman society to inscribed epigram was its eulogistic potential. This it adapted to its own ends. Poetic *elogia* in Latin are well attested at least from approximately 230 B.C. (*CIL* I^2 9, an epitaph for Lucius Cornelius Scipio, Barbatus' son). The *Scipionum elogia* represent "the first Hellenistic epigrams at Rome":[1] commissioned and produced by the same cultural élites that introduced literary practices in Rome, such epigraphic poetry "played a notable role in establishing literary customs and forms."[2] There is no reason to consider these poems as representative of a "native" poetic genre, distinct from Hellenistic epigram.[3] The Greek genre supplies poetic forms, conventions, motifs, and a prestigious frame in which it is also possible to reshape ancient Roman topics of eulogy. The first two *elogia* follow:

CIL I^2 9
Honc oino ploirume cosentiont R[omane
duonoro optumo fuise viro,

CIL I^2 7
Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus,
Gnaivod patre prognatus, fortis vir
sapiensque,

[1] Van Sickle (1988). See also Morelli (2000: 11–35; 49–55).
[2] Cugusi (2004: 167).
[3] Galletier (1922: 191–5). Now again Massaro (2002: 19–23) and Suerbaum (2002: 335).

Luciom Scipione. Filios Barbati	*quoius forma virtutei parisuma fuit,*
consol censor aidilis hec fuit a[pud vos.	*consol censor aidilis quei fuit apud vos.*
Hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe,	*Taurasia Cisauna Samnio cepit,*
dedet Tempestatebus aide mereto[d.	*subigit omne Loucanam opsidesque abdoucit.*
This man Lucius Scipio, as most	Lucius Cornelius Scipio Long-beard,
agree, was the very best of all men	Gnaeus' begotten son, a valiant gentleman
at Rome. A son of Long-beard, he	and wise, whose fine form alone matched
was aedile, consul and censor among	his bravery, was aedile, consul and censor
you. He it was who captured Corsica,	among you; he took Taurasia and Cisauna,
Aleria too, a city. To the Goddesses of	in fact Samnium; he overcame all the
Weather he gave deservedly a temple.	Lucanian land and brought hostages therefrom.
(trans. Warmington)	(trans. Warmington)

The poems' couplets are skilfully disposed, imitating the distichs of Greek epigram, though in Saturnian meter.[4] *CIL* I^2 9 opens with a two-line sentence about the fame and prestige of the deceased (i.e., indirectly, his *virtutes*); the name of the honorand does not occur until the opening of the third line (*Luciom Scipione*). Such enjambment of the deceased's name at the beginning of the second distich, known in both epigraphic and literary Greek epigrams, creates expectation and poetic suspense.[5] The *elogium* goes on to introduce a patronymic (*filios Barbati*) and a *cursus* of the deceased which fill out the second couplet, followed by a strong syntactical pause. The last two lines describe the *res gestae* of the deceased. Barbatus' *elogium* (*CIL* I^2 7), written probably 30 to 40 years later than *CIL* I^2 9,[6] is a skilful re-elaboration of the same pattern. The name of the deceased, a patronymic clause and an appositive phrase (*fortis vir sapiensque*) celebrating Barbatus' *virtutes* fill the first couplet; two relative clauses (3, *quoius*…; 4, *quei*…) take up the following two lines, picking up the contents of the first couplet

[4] Van Sickle (1987: 48–9), with further bibliography: *contra* Goldberg (1995: 63, n. 7); Massaro (2002: 21–2).

[5] *GVI* 1697; *AP* 7.54, 7.730. Morelli (2000: 25–6).

[6] Morelli (2000: 14–6), with bibliography; Massaro (2002: 18–9, n. 4). *Contra* Kruschwitz (2002: 35).

and mirroring *CIL* I² 9.1–4 by a chiastic re-arrangement of its themes (see chart below). Line 3 elaborates the *virtutes* mentioned at the end of 2; and 4 illustrates the *cursus* of the deceased, which in the *elogium* of Barbatus' son Lucius immediately (and logically) followed the name and patronymic of the deceased.

CIL I² 9	*CIL* I² 7
1–2: *virtutes* (B)	1–2: name and patronymic (A) 2: *virtutes* (B)
3–4: name, patronymic, *cursus* (A)	3: *virtutes* (B) 4: *cursus* (A)

The inversion of the logical sequence—name, *cursus*, *virtutes*—in *CIL* I² 9 is rejected in Barbatus' *elogium* to achieve an even more artful structure. The *aemulatio* continues in the last two lines' account of the *res gestae* of the deceased. In *CIL* I² 9 the structure of line 5 (*hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe*) is bipartite, linked by a conjunction which pairs the name of the conquered island (*Corsica*) with its main town (*Aleriaque*) in the second half of the line; the verb *cepit* falls in the first half. In *CIL* I² 7, by contrast, line 5 builds to cumulative effect through an asyndetic tricolon (*Taurasia Cisauna Samnio*), with the name of the conquered land (*Samnio*) probably following and embracing the towns enumerated in the first half of the line;[7] the verb *cepit* is placed in the second hemistich. Verse 6 of *CIL* I² 9 is composed of a single narrative sentence (*dedet Tempestatebus aide mereto*[*d*]); *CIL* I² 7.6 is bipartite and bound in the middle by the enclitic *-que*; the verbs *subigit* and *abdoucit* frame the accusatives *Loucanam* and *opsides*; their historical present elegantly varies the perfect *cepit* of the previous line and contrasts with the perfect tense mantained throughout *CIL* I² 9 (see in particular the last line: *dedet*).[8] The artistry of this *variatio* is exquisite, to say nothing of other important stylistic and topical features.[9] What are both of these *elogia* if not Graeco-Roman epigrams?

At the same time, it is clear that both poems reproduce the contents and style of a *laudatio funebris*, the typical speech delivered at an

[7] It is still uncertain whether Taurasia and Cisauna were actually Samnite towns: Kruschwitz (2002: 44), with bibliography.

[8] Courtney (1995: 225) correctly compares the final line in Tuditanus' inscription, *CIL* I² 652, also in Saturnian verse.

[9] Fuller analysis in Morelli (2000: 23–35), with bibliography; add the illuminating remarks of Fraenkel (1960: 340, n. 1).

aristocratic Roman funeral.[10] Themes are organized in different units illustrating in detail the political career, innate qualities and deeds of the deceased; and the style is plain and sober, yielding slightly to bombast only in the *virtutes*-section. In the case of Barbatus' *elogium*, probably written some 80 years later than the date of his death, a copy of the *laudatio* from the family archive was likely used.[11] But an *elogium* is not simply a versified summary of a *laudatio*. Rather, it adapts motifs of the *laudatio*, orders them with different syntax, and reinterprets them in light of Greek epigrammatic convention. At line 4 of both *elogia*, *apud vos* even seems to reproduce the actual circumstances under which the speech was performed, hinting at a Roman funeral gathering; yet it also reflects the typical epigrammatic address to a passerby. This in turn is adapted to new circumstances consistent with its monumental setting, as it targets Roman visitors to the Scipiones' tomb: the *elogia* thus transform both the audience of an aristocratic funeral and the anonymous, inattentive ὁδοιπόρος or reader of Greek epigram into timeless Roman readers and admirers (giving new life in Rome to the old public spirit of Greek epigram and evoking the presence of the civic community in many Hellenistic epitaphs).[12] The synthesis of Roman and Greek cultural features is total: epigrammatic art and concision serve here to immortalize the *laudatio*.

The poetic text is only part of a complex strategy involving the monument as a whole, its appearance and placement. Cicero's statements about the Scipiones' family tomb (*Fin.* 2.116; *Tusc.* 1.13) leave little doubt about the fame and prestige it enjoyed still in his time: it was a sort of *paradeigma* of aristocratic preeminence (if not arrogance) in archaic Rome. The monument was placed near the Porta Capena among other noble family tombs (cp. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.13, *an tu egressus porta Capena cum Calatini Scipionum Serviliorum Metellorum sepulcra vides, miseros putas illos?*), along one of the busiest roads to the city: a spectacular display of aristocratic power for the passerby. The *Scipionum elogia* were inside and thus not visible from the road; nevertheless they were certainly famous, as were *elogia* from other nobles' tombs in the same area.[13] The poetic forms and eulogistic motifs selected from Greek

[10] Kierdorf (1980); Flower (1996: 128–58); Suerbaum (2002: 518–23), with further bibliography.

[11] Suerbaum (2002: 339) correctly also stresses the influence of *annales pontificum*.

[12] Morelli (2000: 30).

[13] The *elogium* of Calatinus (*apud* Cic. *Cato* 61; *Fin.* 2.116) emulates *CIL* I² 9. The

epigram for such aristocratic poetry still remained prominent in many later Latin epigraphic poems.

The second and first centuries B.C. witnessed a flowering of votive and funerary epigram, involving first and foremost the new, rising social ranks: not just (or mostly) *equites*, but freedmen, craftsmen, and frequently persons with Greek names and origins. Hellenistic inscriptional poetry exercised a direct influence, but the language and meters of the Latin stage (above all tragedy) played a notable role too in the formative process of Roman epigraphic poetry. At the same time, the ancient tradition of aristocratic inscribed epigram remains relevant to the evolution of Latin epigram. As the first impetus to inscriptional poetry had derived from the *elogia* and from bombastic triumphal votive inscriptions accompanying public offerings in urban temples, the emerging social classes at Rome came to regard the commissioning of an epigraphic poem as a sort of status symbol. Thus funerary poetry is marked by public-spiritedness and eulogistic features; it emphasizes the ongoing esteem and prestige (*laus*) the deceased enjoyed in the community; its rhetoric of praise is grounded on parallelisms, antithesis and comparative effects (*CIL* I^2 9.1–2: *honc oino plorume… / duonoro optumo; CIL* I^2 7.3 *forma virtutei parisuma*). While such features are present in some Greek funerary epigrams, they owe the prominence they enjoyed in Rome to the old tradition of the aristocratic *elogium*. Of course, some topics and poetic habits became fashionable due to the prestige of Ennius' literary epigrams; but the influence of the aristocratic model is also evident in some features of the epigraphic layout:[14] there is a clear distinction between prose sections (including onomastic and biographical data) and the eulogistic poem; and the verse inscription is carefully disposed, for instance, through the frequent indentation of the pentameter.

Many such traits of aristocratic *elogium* are present, for instance, in the first century B.C. poem found at Triaectum on the Liris (southern Latium), *CIL* I^2 1570 (= *CLE* 56). But far from honoring someone of the nobility, it is dedicated to a freedwoman, Publia Horaea, who married the son of her master Nicia(s), himself a freedman. The poem is focused on praise throughout, with no room for grief or regret. The deceased describes her deeds and virtues in the first person. But significantly, here

consensus about the deceased's qualities concerns not just the Roman community, but also all foreign peoples: this is the meaning of *gentes* (1), *pace* Courtney (1995: 220); see Kruschwitz (2002: 222).

[14] Del Hoyo (2002) has recently analyzed Hispanic inscriptions.

the aristocratic ideology of *honos* is replaced by the *decorum* and *ornatus* of the emerging new classes. Between the second and first centuries B.C., lower social ranks combined ancient ideological and rhetorical devices in a new world of social values: here, individuals enjoyed a sense of dignity and social prestige not in the larger community of the *cives*, but in a smaller milieu where they felt pride in reaching a decent social status (particularly evident in epigrams for freedmen).

As soon as verse epitaph came to symbolize status for such social ranks it was abandoned, as it stands to reason, by the same aristocratic élites who introduced it to Rome: the last *elogium* in the tomb of the *Scipiones* (*CIL* I^2 15) is dated to approximately 135 B.C. Suspicion of Hellenizing cultural fashions was probably strong from the beginning (the "Roman" aspect of the first *elogia* is probably the fruit of a cultural compromise); it also played a role in the decline of the aristocratic verse *elogium*. In any case, the fashion for funerary verse inscription among the upper classes and in the "centers of power" gained a foothold again only in late antiquity.[15]

2. *Literary epigram from Ennius to Lutatius Catulus*

The groups that introduced inscriptional poetry into Rome were also responsible for the first literary epigrams. Our starting point is Ennius, who experimented with this among many other Hellenizing genres. Fragments of his funerary poems for Scipio Africanus are transmitted by Cicero and Seneca minor.

Enn. *Var.* 19–20 V.^{2} (= fr. 43 Courtney = Cic. *Leg.* 2.57 and Sen. *Epist.* 108.33) :

> *Hic est ille situs, cui nemo civis neque hostis*
> *Quivit pro factis reddere opis pretium.*
>
> Here lies the man, whom no one, countryman or enemy, was able to pay back adequately for his deeds.

Enn. *Var.* 21–2 V.^{2} (= fr. 44.1–2 Courtney = Cic. *Tusc.* 5.49: see also Mamert. *Pan. Lat.* 11(12).16.3):

> *A sole exoriente supra Maeotis paludes*
> *Nemo est qui factis aequiperare queat.*

[15] Cugusi (2004: 167–9).

> From the rising of the sun above the marshes of Maeotis comes no one whose deeds could balance his. (trans. Warmington)

Enn. *Var.* 23–4 V.^{2} (= fr. 44.3–4 Courtney = Cic. *Rep.* fr. 6 p. 137 Zieg. = Sen. *Epist.* 108.34; see also Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1.18.11):

> *Si fas endo plagas caelestum ascendere cuiquam est,*
> *Mi soli caeli maxima porta patet.*
>
> If it is right for anyone to go up into the regions of heaven's dwellers, for me alone heaven's great gate lies open. (trans. Warmington)

There are many problems in restoring and interpreting these texts.[16] The epigrammatic nature of at least *Var.* 19–20 V.^{2} can hardly be questioned: its first sentence, *hic est ille situs*, followed by a relative clause, is modelled on clichés of Roman funerary epigram, and it probably exerted considerable influence on later inscriptional poetry.[17] In *Var.* 23–4 V.^{2} and possibly in *Var.* 21–2 V.^{2} Scipio speaks in the first person; many scholars wish to combine both distichs into just one epigram (see also below):[18] though probable, this is not certain.

The poems exhibit marked Hellenizing: a new, Greek meter is introduced and the language owes much to Homeric and tragic solemnity.[19] In 19 V.^{2} *hostis* means *stricto sensu* "enemy," not "stranger, foreign person," as in the parallel *elogium* for Sulla in the Campus Martius, which very probably imitates Ennius' for Scipio.[20] Greek epigram from its beginnings played with similar ideas: the deceased was "appreciated by citizens and foreigners" (e.g., *CEG* 112.1); even enemies, by their defeat, testify to the deceased's value (Aeschylus 2 *FGE* pp. 131–2 = *vita Aeschyli* p. 332 Page). There are also traditional motifs that Roman *elogium* associated with the deceased's excellence among his fellow citizens. Ennius re-elaborates, modifies and adapts for Scipio such ancient *topoi*, even by inversion. Thus the clause *cui nemo civis neque hostis quivit pro*

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[16] Courtney (1993: 39–42); Bosworth (1999: 5); Morelli (2000: 36–40); Suerbaum (2002: 132), with further bibliography.

[17] Courtney (1993: 40); Morelli (2000: 37). Perhaps already *CIL* I^2 11.4 alludes to Ennius' distich.

[18] See already Scaliger (1573: 193), and Skutsch (1985: 148); Perutelli (1990: 275); Courtney (1993: 40–1), with further bibliography. Vahlen (1903: 216–7) takes a more cautious approach.

[19] Morelli (2000: 40–1).

[20] Setaioli (1977: 700); Courtney (1993: 40); Suerbaum (2002: 338). At any rate, in Sulla's epitaph (paraphrasis in Plut. *Sull.* 38.4) φίλοι and ἐχθροί are personal friends and rivals (citizens and strangers) of the deceased.

factis reddere opis pretium means one thing for the countryman (*civis*)—i.e., that he was unable "to render for Scipio's pains a recompense fitting his services"—but another for the foeman (*hostis*).[21] In archaic literary Latin both *pretium* and *ops* are *voces mediae* which may also have negative connotations.[22] For the *hostis*, then, what is meant is that none was able to "make Scipio pay the penalty" of his war exploits, hinting perhaps at Rome's foe *par excellence* in this period, Hannibal. But what does it mean that no citizen could "adequately reward" Scipio? Ennius is probably critiquing Scipio's ungrateful fatherland.[23] The epigram was actually inscribed (or at least alleged to be) on Scipio's tomb at Liternum. As Livy states (38.53.8), Scipio ordered that he should be buried there *ne funus sibi in ingrata patria fieret*. A breach between individual and his nation had occurred; the *consensus* of the Roman people, or even of all the world, was no longer the guarantee of the deceased's *virtus* and excellence. Scipio's personality stands out as haughty and ostentatious toward citizens and enemies alike (and contrary to eulogistic tradition both Roman and Greek).[24]

In Skutsch's opinion, Enn. *Var.* 21–4 V.^{2} was modelled on Alcaeus of Messene 1 GP (= *AP* 9.518).[25] If this is correct, Ennius transforms the bombastic (perhaps ironic?) eulogy of the still living Philip into a funerary epigram that deifies the dead Scipio; Philip's challenge to Zeus in Alcaeus becomes Scipio's ascent to heaven; and Alcaeus' address to the god, almost blasphemous to the Roman sensibilities, is replaced by the more religious formula *si fas endo plagas caelestum ascendere cuiquam est*. Ennius' epigram may also conceal a jab at its model, in stressing that *mi soli caeli maxima porta patet*: Scipio alone (and not Philip or other Hellenistic sovereigns) has the right to rise to Olympus. The comparison is now between Scipio and other historical personalities, in particular Hellenistic kings and perhaps the archetypal figure of Alexander the Great, confirmed by the emphasis on the Eastern side of the Mediter-

[21] So Warmington (1935–40: 1.401).

[22] Setaioli (1977: 700–1 and 705). Examples are collected in *TLL: ops*, 9.2.806.34–45 (Kuhlmann) and *pretium* 10.2.1210.39–49 (Michael Hillen). Add Naev. *trag.* 8 R.^{3} *pretium pro factis ferat* (the idiom *pro factis pretium* recurs, e.g., in Plaut. *Capt.* 940).

[23] A hint at a eulogistic motif is also possible: Setaioli (1977: 701–2).

[24] The motif of the ungrateful country (likewise for a deceased buried in a foreign land) may be found in a Diodorus' epigram for Aeschylus, 13.3–4 GP (= *AP* 7.40.3–4). There are probably other allusions in Ennius' work to Scipio's falling into disgrace; see Morelli (2000: 38).

[25] Skutsch (1985: 148).

ranean (*a sole exoriente supra Maeotis paludes*).[26] While Ennius states Scipio's superiority in a very Roman way—by comparison of *facta* (*nemo est qui factis aequiperare queat*: see the almost contemporary formula in Publius Scipio's *elogium*, *CIL* I^2 10.5, *facile facteis superases gloria maiorum*)—apotheosis *post mortem* is alien to the traditional, conservative Roman aristocratic mentality. There was, of course, the *exemplum* of the heroized Hercules and, above all, Romulus-Quirinus; but in the first decades of the second century B.C. reshaping such models to outstanding contemporary individuals appeared strange and dangerous. Ennius goes far beyond the traditional Pythagoreanism of Roman social and cultural élites in exploiting Hellenistic court epigram and, more broadly, poetry and culture:[27] his Euhemerism, too, breaks the mold.[28]

Two further distichs are ascribed to Ennius by Cic. *Tusc.* 1.34 and 117: an epigram on his own portrait (*Var.* 15–6 V.^{2} = fr. 45 Courtney) and a self-epitaph (*Var.* 17–8 V.^{2} = fr. 46 Courtney).[29] Although Cicero's source seems to be a work of Varro, it is clear that neither distich was written by that author. Nor are they by Ennius (especially 15–6 V.^{2}). Rather they were produced some time after the beginnings of Latin philology, which was at first particularly devoted to *pater Ennius* and earlier epic poetry. Later interest in stage genres[30] subsequently produced alleged funerary epigrams by Naevius, Plautus and Pacuvius on themselves (Gell. 1.24.1–4; probably, at least for Plautus, from Varro's *De poetis*).[31] The epigram for Pacuvius is contemporary with his death and may be authentic;[32] the remaining two are erudite products, perhaps even

[26] Skutsch (1985: 148) suggests a lacuna immediately before 22 V.^{2}, because not all cardinal points of the *oikoumene* are mentioned at 21 V.^{2}; see also Courtney (1993: 41–2). But Ennius could be stressing comparison precisely with the Hellenistic world. Geographical limits only for East and North (once again Maeotis, i.e., the Sea of Azov) are present also in a passage which clearly imitates Ennius' poem, Verg. *Aen.* 6.798ff.; see Bosworth (1999: 1–5).

[27] Bettini (1979: 85–7); Skutsch (1985); Courtney (1993: 41); Morelli (2000: 39–40).

[28] Winiarczyk (2002: 123–42).

[29] Suerbaum (1968: 208–14; 333–6); Lausberg (1982: 275–7); Skutsch (1985: 146–7); Courtney (1993: 42–3); Morelli (2000: 41–7).

[30] Suerbaum (1968: 214, n. 631); Morelli (2000: 46–7). On the evolution of early Latin philology, see now Goldberg (2005: 17–9 and bibliograghy 29–30).

[31] *FPL* pp. 28 and 32 Morel; 39–40 and 43–4 Büchner; 72–4 Blänsdorf; Courtney (1993: 47–50).

[32] Morelli (2000: 47–8 and 84–5). Dahlmann (1963: 100) and Ekkehard Stärk *apud* Suerbaum (2002: 157, with further bibliography) think differently. On relationships with *CLE* 53 and 848, see Massaro (1992: 12–8) and (1998).

by the same author, from the period between the Gracchi and Sulla.[33] In the Greek and Roman milieu, epigrammatic eulogies of poets and writers parallel biographical literature, and their production or at least their transmission is connected with the erudite genre of *Vitae poetarum*.[34] In Roman epigrams, typical themes include the grief and pain felt by Muses and other divine beings over the poet's death (the epigrams for Naevius and Plautus),[35] and the poet's undying fame (Enn. *Var.* 17–8 V.^{2}).[36] Sometimes we recognize the influence of the older aristocratic *elogium*, with some epicizing emphasis.[37] There is also an erudite tendency to refer to features of the poet's work or its importance to the development of Roman literature (especially in Naevius' and Plautus' epigrams). In general, we see how Romans became sensitive to the importance of their literary traditions: they reveal *in nuce* that same tendency toward heroizing the main figures of literary past as one sees in Hellenistic poetry.[38]

Another important, though often neglected, figure in the history of Roman literary epigram is Lucilius, of whose work we possess but a few scraps in elegiacs, mostly from book 22 of his *Satirae*.

The most significant (579–80 Marx) is a distich transmitted by Don. *Ter. Phorm.* 287:

> *Servus neque infidus domino neque inutilis quaquam*
> *Lucili columella hic situs Metrophanes.*
>
> Here lies a slave who was both faithful and in all ways useful to his master, a little pillar of Lucilius' house, by name Metrophanes. (trans. Warmington)

Metrophanes' poetic epitaph was the first for a slave in Rome. Martial (11.90.4) quotes its second line as an instance of old-fashioned taste, and

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[33] Courtney (1993: 50).

[34] Gabathuler (1937); Dahlmann (1963: 70–100); Bing (1993a).

[35] In Hellenistic epigram we find honors for the dead poet more frequently than the Muses' and other gods' grief. Compare with Naevius' epigram two poems by Alcaeus of Messene: 11 GP (= *AP* 7.1), grief of the gods *vs.* unworthiness of men; and 14 GP (= *AP* 7.412), gods cry and men stop sympotic activities because of Pilades' descent to Hades. See also Suerbaum (1968: 304–5); Morelli (2000: 43–6).

[36] See especially Enn. *Var.* 18 V.^{2} *volito vivos per ora virum*. See Lennartz (1999); Morelli (2000: 43).

[37] See especially Enn. *Var.* 15–6 V.^{2} The word order is sophisticated, but the eulogy is quite sober with its indication of the name and deeds of the deceased; the address to *cives* is remarkable. Fine analysis in Skutsch (1968: 25–6); Bettini (1979: 83–4); Lausberg (1982: 275–6).

[38] Rossi (2001: 81–106).

this is in keeping with the fact that the couplet was not just appreciated by archaizing scholars of the late first century A.D., but also reused in *CLE*.[39] At the same time, it exhibits a degree of Roman-Hellenistic refinement: *neque inutilis quaquam* is an artful translation of the most frequent epithet in *CEG*, that used for "good slaves" in the Greek milieu, χρηστός.[40] Its style, moreover, employs sophisticated word order, and combines formulae typical of the Roman funerary tradition (*hic situs*) with faint echoes of a grander literary tradition, yet in the manner of the *sermo humilis*. The diminutive *columella* tones down the hyperbolic epic-tragic phrasing (see Enn. *Ann.* 343 Sk. *regni*… *columnam*). In all, we find a sense of decorum mixed with a certain irony, and a new taste for slang.[41] Similarly, the other elegiac fragments from book 22 (581–4 Marx) are strongly influenced by Plautine style.[42] It cannot be determined whether all fragments belong to epigrams or to longer elegies.

Roman cultural élites also experimented with new epigrammatic types under the influence of contemporary Greek culture, in particular with erotic epigram. Gellius transmits amatory poems by Valerius Aedituus, Porcius Licinus and Lutatius Catulus in a famous chapter of his *Noctes Atticae* (19.9); from Cic. *Nat. deor.* 1.79 we also know another epigram of Catulus (2 Morel = 2 Courtney).[43] Aedituus, Licinus and Catulus are mentioned in the same order and in a similar context by Apul. *Apol.* 9.6, who does not depend on Gellius. On this and other evidence, it has been suggested for more than a century that all three poets belonged to a circle under the patronage of Lutatius Catulus,[44] or at least that their epigrams were part of a Latin anthology which circulated among erudite readers of the second century A.D.[45] Although there is not enough evidence for either suggestion,[46] the poems' impressive consistency in

[39] Massaro (1992: 10); Morelli (2000: 114), with further literature.

[40] Rossi (2001: 319–22).

[41] See Donatus' commentary (if it is not baseless): "ancient people defined older slaves as *columellae*."

[42] Morelli (2000: 121–7).

[43] After Courtney (1993: 70–8), general studies of so-called pre-neoteric epigrams may be found in Bernardi Perini (1997); Maltby (1997); Biondi (1998a: 431–7); Nosarti (1999: 151–74); Morelli (2000: 131–237); Vardi (2000); and Suerbaum (2002: 290–1; 452–3).

[44] Buettner (1892: 110).

[45] Usener (1865: 151).

[46] On the *status quaestionis*, see Granarolo (1971: 32–6) and (1973: 312–4) and Courtney (1993: 71); thereafter, the inconclusive surveys of Morelli (2000: 131–45) and Vardi (2000), with further literature.

subject matter and style suggests that a particular fashion for amatory epigram took hold at Rome at the end of the second or the beginning of the first century B.C.

The best known of the three poets was Lutatius Catulus.[47] A member of the Sullan aristocracy, consul with Marius in 102 B.C., victor over the Cimbri, he committed suicide in 87 B.C., as Marius' party temporarily prevailed. His literary interests were expansive: like other aristocrats of this period (Scaurus, Rutilius Rufus, Sulla), he wrote an autobiography (*Liber de consulatu et de rebus gestis suis*) dedicated to Furius Antias (Cic. *Brut.* 132); and he knew and protected Greek epigrammists such as Antipater of Sidon (Cic. *De or.* 3.194) and Archias (Cic. *Arch.* 6). As we read in Pliny the Younger (*Epist.* 5.3), people like Sulla or Quintus Scaevola composed erotic epigrams. When did such a literary fashion begin in the Roman aristocracy? Did it originate in the *Garland* of Meleager, as many scholars think?[48]

In my opinion, evidence argues against such a suggestion, at least in case of Lutatius Catulus. If, as is probable, Meleager's *Garland* was not published before 80 B.C.,[49] Catulus' use of it is simply impossible. If the *Garland* was assembled circa 96 B.C. (and it is reasonable to assume that its arrival in Rome would have required a few years more), it is hard to believe that a poem like Catulus 2 was written for Roscius when he was approximately thirty, whereas Cicero speaks in this context of poems exalting beautiful young *adulescentuli* or *pueri*. In both cases, we must keep in mind that Catulus was in contact, well before the end of the second century B.C., with important epigrammists such as Antipater and Archias. Meleager states that Antipater was a noteworthy erotic poet (122.15–6 GP = *AP* 7.428.15–6). Although only one (homo)erotic poem of his has survived to our day (65 GP = *AP* 12.97),[50] it is enough to acknowledge Antipater's possible contribution to new Roman epigrammatic tastes.[51] It is, all the same, impossible to establish whether all pre-neoteric epigrams precede Meleager's *Garland*. As a whole they have to be envisaged as important evidence for a Graeco-Roman literary movement that preceded and accompanied the *Garland*, and was in its turn fostered by the great success of Meleager's anthology. Anti-

[47] Bardon (1952: 115–21).
[48] Laurens (1989: 159–77); Cameron (1993: 51–6).
[49] See Argentieri in this volume.
[50] The epitaph for the hetaera Lais (23 GP = *AP* 7.218) is also remarkable.
[51] Morelli (2000: 146–52).

pater was surely just one of the intermediaries for the spread of such a taste to Rome. Similarly, the poetry of Laevius is largely influenced by Hellenistic epigram.[52]

Such influence is evident in Catulus 2 Courtney, the poem on Roscius. Noteworthy features are the playful conceit and artful "Phoenician" style, with its jokes about the *puer*'s name, and a hyperbolic comparison between the boy's and a god's (Dawn's) beauty.[53] Similar tendencies appear in contemporary Hellenistic epigrammatists, such as Antipater, Polystratus or Phanias, or the many anonymous poems of the *Garland*, without any evidence of strong specific influence by Meleager or his anthology.[54] The superiority of the beloved to the gods is a topos Hellenistic erotic epigram inherited from royal encomium; at Rome it is colored by the humorous Plautine tradition of *synkrisis* (comparison) and, with reference to epigram in particular, by the example of Scipio's "deification" in Enn. *Var.* 21–4 V.^{2} (= 44 Courtney).[55] By simulating a lover's frenzy, then, in exalting his darling's qualities, Catulus' epigram exhibits a radical change in cultural mood from bombastic political eulogy to erotic (and ironic) refinement.

In contemporary Greek literature (including Meleager), this period witnesses a kind of revival of early Hellenistic epigram (Callimachus, Posidippus, Asclepiades).[56] Catulus 1 Morel (= 1 Courtney), for example,

> *Aufugit mi animus. Credo, ut solet, ad Theotimum*
> *devenit. Sic est, perfugium illud habet.*
> *Quid si non interdixem, ne illunc fugitivum*
> *mitteret ad se intro, sed magis eiceret?*
> *Ibimus quaesitum. Verum, ne ipsi teneamur,*
> *formido. Quid ago? Da, Venus, consilium.*
>
> My soul has left me; it has fled, I think, to Theotimus; he is its refuge. But what if I should beg that he refuse to admit the truant, but cast it out? I'll go to him; but what if I am caught? What shall I do? Lend me, Venus, your aid. (trans. after Rolfe)

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[52] Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004: 463).

[53] On Catulus 2 Morel, see also Granarolo (1971: 49–50); Dahlmann (1981); Perutelli (1990); Weber (1996).

[54] *Contra* Laurens (1989: 174–5), who compares some of Meleager's poems such as 100 GP (= *AP* 12.59).

[55] On relationships between Catulus' and Ennius' epigrams, Perutelli (1990: 275–6); Biondi (1998a: 432–3); Morelli (2000: 161–2).

[56] See Argentieri in this volume.

is an artful translation of Callimachus 4 GP (= *AP* 12.73 = 41 Pf.):

> ἥμισύ μευ ψυχῆς ἔτι τὸ πνέον, ἥμισυ δ' οὐκ οἶδ'
> εἴτ' Ἔρος εἴτ' Ἀίδης ἥρπασε, πλὴν ἀφανές.
> ἦ ῥά τιν' ἐς παίδων πάλιν ᾤχετο; καὶ μὲν ἀπεῖπον
> πολλάκι ʿτὴν δρῆστιν μὴ †ὑπέχεσθε†, νέοι'
> †ὀυκισυνιφησον† ἐκεῖσε γὰρ ἡ λιθόλευστος
> κείνη καὶ δύσερως οἶδ' ὅτι που στρέφεται.
>
> It is but the half of my soul that still breathes, and for the other half I know not if it be Love or Death that hath seized on it, only it is gone. Is it off again to one of the lads? And yet I told them often, "Receive not, ye young men, the runaway." Seek for it at **, for I know it is somewhere there that the gallows-bird, the love-lorn, is loitering. (trans. Paton)

Compared with Callimachus and his contemporaries, we find the speaker more deeply involved in his erotic affair: as evidenced by the syntax of Catulus 1, which is more broken and uneven than in its model, love is passion, pain, and subjection to Eros or sometimes even to the beloved. Callimachus' poem is reinterpreted in the mood of a Latin μωρολογία (lover's comic monologue), strongly influenced by the colloquial language and style of the *adulescentes amatores* in the comedies of both Plautus and Terence.[57] In its approach to love affairs, pre-neoteric epigram, like contemporary Hellenistic poetry, also refers to important models of archaic Greek erotic poetry, primarily Sappho: hints at Sapphic poems are already evident in Lutatius Catulus,[58] while Valerius Aedituus (1 Morel = 1 Courtney) adapts the famous ode Sappho 31 V. well before Catullus 51.[59] Sympotic themes, as in the "comastic" Valerius Aedituus 2 Morel (= 2 Courtney) and bucolic topics, as in Porcius Licinus 6 Morel (= 7 Courtney) are also present.[60]

3. *Did Catullus write epigrams?*

To summarize, aristocratic (and even politically conservative) Roman élites introduced a highly stylized epigram as a kind of *mode de salon*.

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[57] On Catulus' reuse of Latin comic language, see Pascucci (1979); Tandoi (1981: 156–9); Perutelli (1990: 257–75); Maltby (1997); Biondi (1998a: 434–5); Morelli (2000: 164–77).

[58] Stark (1957: 330); Morelli (2000: 175–7).

[59] On the restoration of line 3, Courtney (1993: 70–1); Bernardi Perini (1997: 15–7); Nosarti (1999: 151–9); Morelli (2000: 186–9 and 340–1); Murgia (2002: 67).

[60] On Valerius Aedituus 2 Morel, see also Jocelyn (1994); on Porcius Licinus 6 Morel, Hubaux (1930: 23–6); Suerbaum (2002: 290–1), with further bibliography.

They imposed on it the ideology of a refined, exclusive society, taking as a prestigious model the literary culture of the aristocratic archaic Greek world while recasting it in the light of the Hellenistic epigram. No wonder then that such a literature became fashionable also for emerging figures or social classes: Cicero wrote at least one erotic epigram *à la Méléagre*, on kisses denied (cp. the later Catullus 99);[61] and even at Pompeii the impressive cycle of Tiburtinus' epigrams on the outer wall of the Odeon shows the appeal that this new aristocratic taste exerted on provincial élites too.[62]

The polymetric *nugae* and elegiac epigrams by Catullus and the *poetae novi* seem partly to continue, partly to break with such a Roman tradition.[63] Historical assessments have offered sometimes contradictory results. David O. Ross, for instance, states that Catullus' short poems in elegiacs follow a native Roman tradition (of which pre-neoteric epigram is an important part) with its own style and literary language,[64] and hence quite different from Hellenistic epigrams. On the other hand, Pierre Laurens argues that Catulus', Aedituus' and Porcius' poems are simply Hellenistic epigrams written in Latin; Catullus, by contrast, transformed generic expectations so radically that his short poems in elegiacs are scarcely epigrams, but rather short elegies, their composition and arrangement closer to sympotic Theognidean poetry; by comparison, the polymetric *nugae* are more akin to Greek epigram.[65] The following points respond to both these judgments.

1) Catullus augments pre-neoteric (and Meleagrian) classicism: the Greco-Roman epigram of Meleager's age was already affected by a strong tendency to re-evaluate the Callimachean model, and to approximate (through Callimachus) archaic Greek poetry.[66] Certainly we should not minimize the importance of Catullus' innovation, but must avoid the danger of placing it in a historical vacuum.

2) Catullus transformed the refined epigrammatic fashion of exclusive aristocratic groups into a consistent ideology of *venustas*—literary and

[61] There is no reason to doubt the attribution to Cicero of Ep. 3 Soubiran; see Morelli (2000: 180–1).

[62] Ross (1969: 147–9); Tandoi (1981) and (1982–3); Courtney (1993: 79–81); Morelli (2000: 237–57), with further bibliography.

[63] Recent general introduction to Catullan problems in Kolson Hurley (2004). See also Wiseman (1985) and Quinn (1999).

[64] Wheeler (1934: 61–86); Ross (1969: 137–69, esp. 145–6). Dominicy (2002) analyzes the rhetorical structure of *c.* 75, which he parallels with Valerius Aedituus 1 Morel.

[65] Laurens (1989: 177–8; 183–213).

[66] Granarolo (1978).

worldly refinement combined with bonds of love and affection set in a small social group—that clashes with the coarseness of the *invenusti*. Epigrams and *nugae* are a flexible literary instrument to express such ideals and to sketch the associated *démi-monde*.[67] To achieve this effect, Catullus displays in his short poems an impressive variety of literary forms and stylistic registers. Every poem is fashioned according to its own particular formula and shows a wide range of poetic features, with recourse to the most dissimilar generic traditions and linguistic registers.

3) In such a context, Theognidean poetry can be merely one ingredient of Catullus' elegiacs, not the key to understanding them. Limiting things to erotic topics, from a purely thematic and formal point of view, *c.* 70 is a Latin epigram in the style of Callimachus 11 GP (= *AP* 5.6 = 25 Pf.) or Meleager 69 GP (= *AP* 5.8), although the dramatic involvement of the *ego* is absent from its models. A mannerly poem such as *c.* 86 is inconceivable if we leave the *Garland* out of consideration. *Carmina* 83 and 92 work out, in Callimachean epigrammatic manner, the deductive reasoning of the *ego* about the behavior of his mistress,[68] and both include a rhetorically elaborated final point (83.6 *uritur et loquitur*; 92.2 and 4 *dispeream nisi amat*… *dispeream nisi amo*). From a purely generic point of view, what should we consider a small elegy like *c.* 99? Generic composition in Catullan erotic elegiacs is not limited to the contrast between Hellenistic epigram and Theognidean elegy.

4) The *topoi* and style of archaic Greek erotic lyric play an essential role not only in Catullus' *nugae*, but also in the epigrams. Anacr. 83 Page provides an important background for the famous *c.* 85 (*odi et amo*) even more than Theogn. 1091–4. Sappho 1 V., along with Theogn. 1323–6, inspired Catullus' prayer in *c.* 76. Although pre-neoteric poetry adapted Sapphic themes to epigram (cp. Valerius Aedituus 1), Catullus went further in his classicism, by, for instance, translating Sappho 31 V. into the same lyric meter (*c.* 51), which paved the way for Horace's more consistent literary experiment.

5) Nevertheless, Laurens is correct in drawing attention to the influence of archaic Greek "short elegy." Many of Catullus' poems in elegiacs are similar in shape, topic, and mood to Theognidean pieces. Moreover, Zicàri remarks that the Catullan distich in *cc.* 69–116 is,

[67] After Citroni (1995: 57–205), see now Nappa (2001: *passim*, esp. 9–34).
[68] Stoessl (1957: 291–4); Syndikus (1984–90: 3.49–52); Thomson (1997: 510–2).

in some metrical features, more similar to Theognis' than to Hellenistic epigrammatic elegiacs.[69] Above all, some important leitmotifs in the epigrammatic part of Catullus' *liber* have their background in Theognidean elegy. We may highlight the importance of the themes connected to *fides*, the loyalty between partners that in Catullus leads to a *foedus* (pact). Sometimes they are also shaped in a programmatic and paraenetic way (see *c.* 109). Nothing similar is to be found in the *nugae* (*cc.* 1–60): the generic difference between elegiacs and polymetrics is clearly marked. In Catullus' short elegiac poems distance between epigrams and erotic elegy is effaced: even in the Greek milieu there is evidence for poetry books containing both epigrams and elegies.[70] No wonder then that among Catullus' epigrams we find an elegy like *c.* 76, or that the subject matter and style of *c.* 68 and *cc.* 69–116 are so similar.[71] This will have important effects on the history of Roman elegy: the only poems we know of Cornelius Gallus, the founding father of Roman elegy, are epigrams![72]

6) Catullus conceived of epigram as an open form. From a generic point of view, epigram was for him a literary frame in which he could combine features of very different poetic genres. And if we consider the rhetorical structure of many poems, we realize that it is not as "closed" as in Hellenistic epigram. Yet even in such cases, differences from Theognidean elegiac sketches are apparent: the epigrammatic taste for unity and symmetry is always present in Catullus (cp., e.g., the difference between Theogn. 1363–4 and *c.* 87). But more, Catullus' poems are open to thematic connections with other poems of the *liber*: for example, *c.* 87 grows richer in its meanings read together with *cc.* 75 and 85. As a whole, Catullus' *carmina* outline a consistent set of exemplary moments in the life of a poetic *ego* and afford a rare opportunity to observe the network of cross-references that marked out an ancient epigrammatic *libellus*.[73] In this, the anthology of Meleager represents

[69] Zicàri (1964), but see also the remarks in Morelli (2000: 307–13). On Catullan use of hiatus, see now Biondi (2003); on elision Dominicy (2002: 181–2). Ross (1969: 115–37) overemphasizes Roman features of Catullan elegiacs.

[70] Morelli (2000: 327).

[71] Day (1938); Luck (1969: 59–69); Wiseman (1974: 77–103) and (1985); Pasoli (1980); Sarkissian (1983); Syndikus (1984–90: 2.296); Biondi (1998b: 473–6).

[72] On the authenticity and literary background of Gallus' papyrus from Qasr Ibrîm see, after Anderson, Parsons and Nisbet (1979), Capasso (2003).

[73] I think that Catullus' *Liber* was assembled by him or by an editor out of his milieu, shortly after his death: recent discussion and bibliography in Scherf (1996) and Morelli (2005). The *Liber* was perhaps articulated in three books (1–60; 61–64; 65–116): on

another major influence. In its erotic part, the *Garland* is organized into a sequence of thematic cores which can be read as a sort of exemplary erotic biography (falling in love, the madness and pain of love, subjection to the beloved, infidelities, separation and so on).[74]

7) In addition to erotic topics, we find in the *Liber* other traditional epigrammatic motifs:[75] funerary themes (*cc.* 96 and 101; see also 65 and 68; not coincidentally, such topics are absent in the polymetric section)[76] and literary manifestos and polemics (95 and 116; see 1, 16, 22, 35, 36, 50 in the *nugae*). Above all, we find abundant invective, in both the elegiacs and lyrics. The influence of Hellenistic epigram is evident, for instance, in the frequent mixture of *ad hominem* attacks and literary questions (16, 22, 36, 95, 105, 116),[77] but Catullus' themes and language are often very different and extreme. His aggressive ἰαμβικὴ ἰδέα gives an epigrammatic form to the archaic "Ionic" violence of Archilochus' and Hipponax' poetry,[78] a further example of Catullus' classicism, which, once again, consists not of bookish or frigid imitation, but of the topical presentation of literary models. At the same time, however, contemporary Roman culture is fond of satiric verse attacks. Indeed, while the similarity between Catullus' satiric poems and Calvus' epigrammatic onslaughts on Caesar and Pompeius (17–8 Morel = 17–8 Courtney) is impressive, Calvus' scraps are only part of a quite large corpus of contemporary poetic fragments (both anonymous or by a recognized author) and *testimonia*. Short satiric poems were a Roman tradition (*fescennina iocatio*, *occentatio*, *carmina triumphalia*),[79] largely reused by literary epigram and political propaganda: in cultivated poetry as in folkloric verse or versified slogans, sexual, scatological, and obscene language and topics are often prominent (Calvus 17–8 Morel; *vers. pop. in Caes.* 1–2 and 7 Morel = *vers. triump.* 1–2 and *vers. pop.* 3 Courtney).

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the third one, see now Skinner (2003). On thematic and word connections in Catullus' work, see now Claes (1996) and (2002).

[74] See Gutzwiller in this volume.

[75] On the poetics of the various topics in Catullus and Greek epigram, see recently Hutchinson (2003).

[76] The elegiac fragments of Calvus (15–6 Morel = 15–6 Courtney) are interesting: they possibly derive from a poem in memory of Calvus' wife Quintilia. On Calvus, Bardon (1952: 1.341–4); Granarolo (1973: 343–8); Perutelli (1988); Courtney (1993: 201–11), with further bibliography.

[77] See now Davies (2000); Schievenin (2000). More in general Gamberale (1982).

[78] Newman (1990: 43–74). On Catullus' obscene language see Richlin (1981) and Fitzgerald (1995: 59–86), with further bibliography.

[79] Fraenkel (1955) and (1961). On relationships with Roman folklore, see now Di Benedetto (2001).

8) We return to the role of the Roman poetic tradition in Catullus. The range of linguistic registers in Catullus' short poems is greater than in Meleager's or Callimachus' epigrams. He follows pre-neoteric epigram in recuperating many linguistic features of the ancient *palliata*. Catullus' language meets and, at the same time, goes beyond the quasi-Callimachean demands of realism. The violence of his αἰσχρολογία suits the coarseness of his targets, but even in outlining such disgusting figures as Aemilius (*c.* 97) or Victius (*c.* 98), Catullus does not lose control of the epigrammatic shape. One example, *c.* 80, suffices:

Quid dicam, Gelli, quare rosea ista labella
Hiberna fiant candidiora nive,
mane domo cum exis et cum te octava quiete
e molli longo suscitat hora die?
Nescio quid certe est. An vere fama susurrat
grandia te medii tenta vorare viri?
Sic certe est: clamant Victoris rupta miselli
ilia et emulso labra notata sero.

What am I to say, Gellius, to explain why those rosy lips grow whiter than winter snow when you leave the house in the morning and when the eighth hour wakes you from your soft slumber in the long day? Something is certainly going on. Or is the rumour true which whispers that you swallow the massive stretchings at a man's middle? That must be how it is. Poor Victor's shattered groin shouts it and your lips stained with the white liquid that you have milked. (trans. Godwin)

The attack on Gellius is crude, but the structure of the poem carefully worked out. It parodies a famous Callimachean scenario wherein the *ego* gradually detects the falling in love of a companion (13 GP = *AP* 12.134 = 43 Pf.) or even of his own soul (4 GP, the poem imitated by Catulus). The rhetoric of Catullus' poem is similar (1, *quid dicam?*; 5, *nescio quid certe est. An vera*; 7, *sic certe est*, see Catulus 1.1–2 Courtney, *credo… sic est*), but it anticipates a very different final point. Another humorous reworking of the same *topos* is to be found in the *nugae* (*c.* 6). In *c.* 80.1–2 and 8 the snow-white lips of Gellius hint at another well-known erotic topic: the *pallor amantis*. The obscene *sero* properly signifies "whey," yet its slang meaning "sperm" contrasts with the high register of the first lines (2, *hiberna… candidiora nive*).[80] Such clashes in linguistic register form part and parcel of Catullus' dramatic, or expressionistic style, by which he surpasses the playfulness of both Plautus and

[80] Curran (1966); Syndikus (1984–90: 3.40–3); Thomson (1997: 507–8); Godwin (1999: 196).

pre-neoteric epigram.[81] The innovative language fits the new Catullan mood, which is dominated by a fascinating collision between ideals and hard reality, refinement and roughness, loyalty and infidelity.

9) What then of the polymetric *nugae*? Many of them develop purely epigrammatic themes (*cc.* 2–3, Lesbia's sparrow; 13, the invitation to dinner; 26, Catullus' *villula*; 41 and 43, the high claims of a hetaera), but the variety of poetic forms, as well as the relatively large average size of the poems, raises questions.[82] Hellenistic epigram entered Rome as part of a larger set of light poetic genres of uncertain status. Names and titles such as *ludicra*, *nugae*, and *paegnia* often recur in Catullus' age; *epigrammata*, *hendecasyllabi*, and *poematia* are some terms still used by Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 4.14.9) to define the varieties of lyric and epigram produced in his time.[83] Literary fashion in high society also involved short poems in lyric meters on topics found in contemporary epigram (Laevius fr. 28 Morel = 28 Courtney is the *incipit* of a love letter, in the style of Tiburtinus' *CIL* 4.4971 and Catullus *c.* 32). Occasional poems in lyric meter were surely frequent: amateur aristocratic circles appreciated Antipater's metrical versatility and cleverness in improvisation (Cic. *De or.* 3.194). Catullus' *nugae* must be seen in this historical context wherein Calvus and other *neoteroi* also produced similar poems in lyric meter, with a noteworthy preference for the Phalaecian. With Catullus, a salon fashion becomes high literary art that revisits Greek poetic tradition *in toto*, both lyric and epigrammatic.

10) It makes no sense to ask whether each and every one of Catullus' short poems is an epigram. To be sure, *cc.* 69–116 can be defined, as a whole, as an epigrammatic collection, even though some fit Hellenistic epigrammatic canons less well than the others. Contemporary Roman use of the word *epigramma* is also noteworthy. For instance, Varro (*Ling. Lat.* 7.28) calls a scoptic poem in elegiacs by one Papinius, not different from many of Catullus' aggressive poems, an *epigrammation*. Generic borders between epigram and elegy or light lyric poetry were vague. This sheds light on the Roman approach to epigram and the cultural background for collections like the *Catalepton*, where poems of various sizes and meters alternate,[84] and Martial's polymetrics and *epigrammata longa*. Is this purely a Roman peculiarity? Or did the Meleagrian "canon"

[81] Newman (1990: esp. 277–317); Biondi (1998b: 464–8).
[82] Carilli (1975); Fuhrer (1994).
[83] Citroni (2003b).
[84] Holzberg (2004).

cover, in the Greek milieu, a wider range of epigrammatic forms? It would be a mistake to suppose that there were original Greek models for each and every one of Catullus' generic experiments: we must not neglect the specificity of his Roman culture or personal genius. On the other hand, as we have seen, it is clear that Romans selected from Hellenistic poetry those features found more suitable for their own culture; vice versa, Greek poets in Rome complied with the literary taste of their patrons, as the example of Antipater demonstrates.

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