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

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To my wife
ELEANOR

CONTENTS

Preface ix

INTRODUCTION 3
General: The Poet's Life, Works, and Literary Environment 3
Life and Chronology 3
The Arrangement of the Poems 6
The New Poets and the Alexandrians: Parallels and Influences 11
The History of the Text 22
Chronology of the Text 23
Excursus. Variant Readings in the Hand of R²: Suggested Origins 38
The Progress of Catullan Studies from the *Editio Princeps*
to the Present Day 43

BIBLIOGRAPHY 61
General 61
On the History of the Text 65

CHANGES FROM THE TEXT OF THE CRITICAL EDITION OF 1978 69

TABLE OF MANUSCRIPTS 72
Supplementary List (Short Fragments or Extracts) 89
'Ghost' Manuscripts 91

STEMMA CODICUM 93

SOURCES OF EMENDATIONS CITED IN THE *APPARATUS* 94

SIGLA 97

CATULLI VERONENSIS LIBER 99

COMMENTARY 195

INDEXES 557
Metres 559
First Lines 560
Names in the Text of Catullus 563
Renaissance and Modern Scholars and Writers 569

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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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

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
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

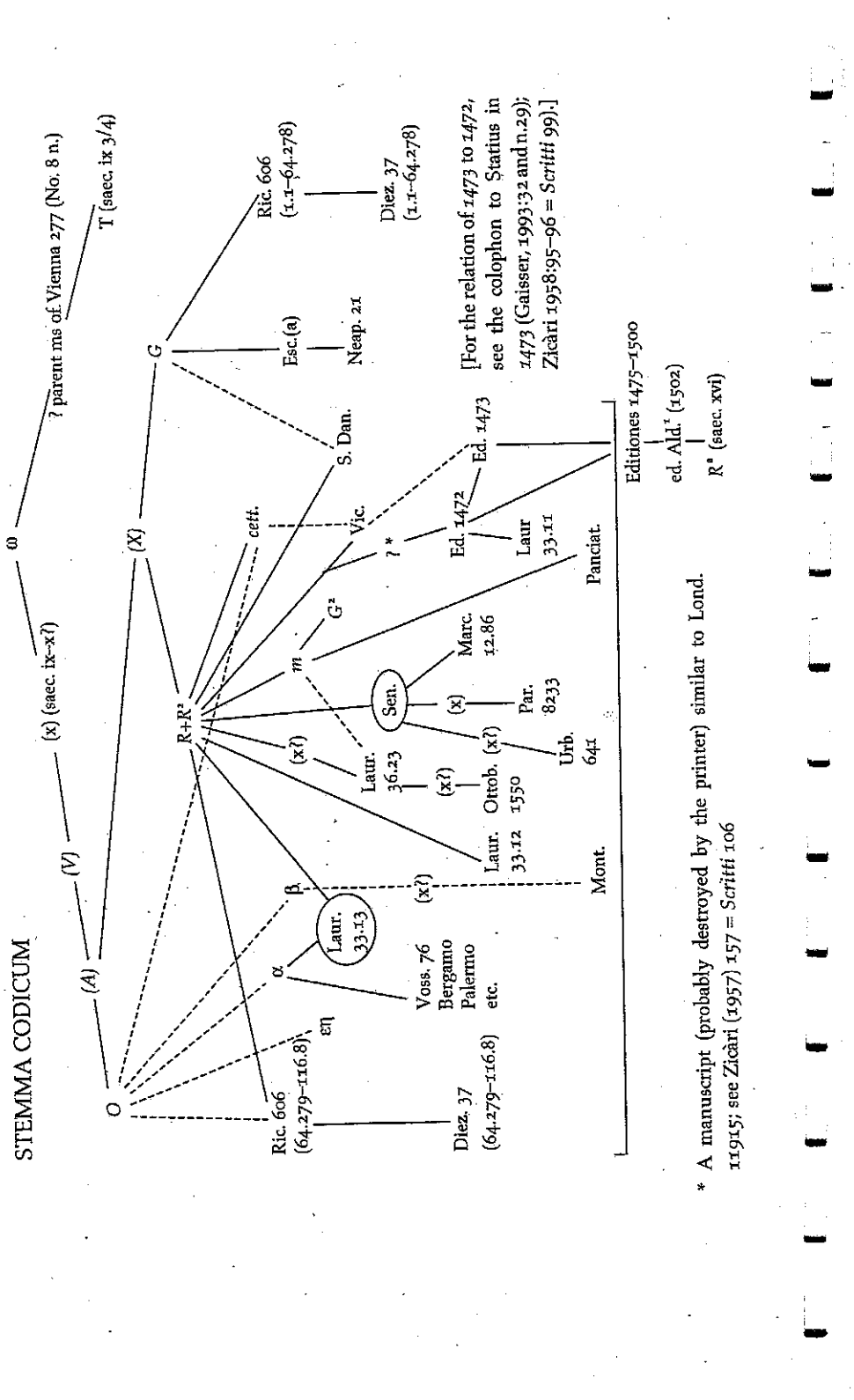
also Ferguson 1934: 66–7, give the alleged contents in the order Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius. See now Butrica 1984: 287–8.

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

SOURCES (OTHER THAN EDITIONS) OF MODERN (POST-1600) EMENDATIONS CITED IN THE *APPARATUS CRITICUS*

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– *Philologus* 16 (1860): 618–19: 31.13, 61.46–7, 221
– *RhM* 15 (1860): 507–8: 78b (*post* 80.8)
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G.P. Goold, *Phoenix* 23 (1969): 186–203: 3.16
A.S. Gratwick, *CP* 87 (1992): 234–40: 45.8
J. Gulielmius, in: *Lampas*, ed. J. Gruter, vol. 3 (Frankfurt, 1604), part 2: 446: 23.21
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M. Haupt, *Quaestiones Catullianae* (Leipzig, 1837): 19–23 (= *Opusc.* 1.15–18): 29.23, 61.46; 71–3 (= *Opusc.* 1.52–4): 64.28; 79–82 (= *Opusc.* 1.58–60): 66.9
– *Observationes criticae* (Leipzig, 1841): 24–32 (= *Opusc.* 1.97–105): 11.11; 69–70 (= *Opusc.* 1.142): 64.287
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P.H. Peerlkamp, ed. *P. Vergilii Maronis Aeneidos Lib. II* (Leiden, 1843): 110: 64.23b
L.R.S. Peiper, *Q. Valerius Catullus: Beiträge zur Kritike seines Gedichtes* (Breslau, 1875): 25–32: 22. 13; 61.53; 66.11
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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

Editiones:

1472 ed. Veneta
1473 ed. Parmensis
ed. Rom. (Romae ca. 1475 impressa)
Calph(urnius): ed. Vicentina 1481
Av(antius): Emendationes in Catullum, Venetiis 1495
(*Av.*², Venetiis 1500)
Pall(adius): ed. Veneta 1496
Ald(ina): ed. Veneta 1502 } (utramque curavit Avantius)
*Ald.*²: ed. Veneta 1515 }
Trinc.: ed. Veneta apud Trincavellium ca. 1535

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*

2

Passer, deliciae meae puellae,
quicum ludere, quem in sinu tenere,
cui primum digitum dare appetenti
et acris solet incitare morsus,
cum desiderio meo nitenti
carum nescioquid lubet iocari,
ut solaciolum sui doloris,
credo, ut tum gravis acquiescat ardor;
tecum ludere sicut ipsa possem
et tristis animi levare curas!

2[b]

* * *

tam gratum est mihi quam ferunt puellae
pernici aureolum fuisse malum,
quod zonam soluit diu ligatam.

3

Lugete, o Veneres Cupidinesque
et quantum est hominum venustiorum:
passer mortuus est meae puellae,
passer, deliciae meae puellae,
quem plus illa oculis suis amabat.
nam mellitus erat suamque norat
ipsam tam bene quam puella matrem,

2 1 *Grammatici Latini VI: 260 (Caesius Bassus), 293 (Atilius Fortunatianus), 614 ("Censorinus de metris")*
2[b] 3 *Priscianus, Institutiones grammaticae 1.22; cf. Carmina Epigraphica (ed. F. Buecheler) 1504.49*

2 3 qui *V*, al. cui O^1 appetenti *γ*: at petenti *V*, al. patenti G^1R^2, al. parenti *G? (manus recentior)* 4 ea *V, corr. R²* 6 karum *V, corr. m* libet *V*, al. iubet O^1 7 ut *B. Guarinus*: et *V* 8 tum ... acquiescat *B. Guarinus*: cum ... acquiescet *V* 9 tecum *V*, al. secum O^1 ludere *GR*, luderem *O, corr.* O^1, al. luderem G^1
2[b] 3 negatam *V*: ligatam *Priscianus R²*, erat negatam *R² in margine*
3 3 motuus *G, corr. G²*

nec sese a gremio illius movebat,
sed circumsiliens modo huc modo illuc
ad solam dominam usque pipiabat;
qui nunc it per iter tenebricosum
illuc, unde negant redire quemquam.
at vobis male sit, malae tenebrae
Orci, quae omnia bella devoratis:
tam bellum mihi passerem abstulistis
(o factum male! o miselle passer!);
vestra nunc opera meae puellae
flendo turgiduli rubent ocelli.

4

Phaselus ille, quem videtis, hospites,
ait fuisse navium celerrimus,
neque ullius natantis impetum trabis
nequisse praeterire, sive palmulis
opus foret volare sive linteo.
et hoc negat minacis Hadriatici
negare litus insulasve Cycladas
Rhodumque nobilem horridamque Thracia
Propontida trucemve Ponticum sinum,
ubi iste post phaselus antea fuit

3 12 [*Seneca*] *Ludus de morte Claudii 11.6; cf. Carmina Epigraphica 1504.11* 16 *cf. Carmina Epigraphica 1512.4* 18 *Petrarca, Epp. Var. 32.43*
4 *Cf.* [*Vergili*] *Catalepton 10* 1 *Grammatici Latini VI: 134 (Marius Victorinus), 393 (Terentianus), 612 ("Censorinus de metris"); Scholia Bernensia ad Vergili Georgicon 4.289; Scholia ad Lucanum 5.518; Augustin., De Musica 5.5, 11, 16*

9 circumsiliens] c. silens *V*, al. siliens O^1, *corr.* R^2 illuc movebat *GR*, al. vacat hoc verbum G^1R^2 10 pipiabat *γ*, pipilabat *ζ*: piplabat *V* 11 tenebricosum *Parth.*: tenebrosum *V* 12 illud *V*, al. illuc O^1 14 orci quae *β* (al. quae *iam* G^1): orcique *V* bella *super scripto* id est pulcra *OG* 15 passarem *R, corr.* R^2 16 o (1°) *η*: bonum *V* o miselle *1473*, quod, miselle *Goold*: bonus ille *V* (bellus ille R^3) 17 vestra *cod. antiquior ap. Av.*; tua *V* 18 turgidoli *R, corr.* R^2
4 1 phasellus *V, corr. m* 2 ait *Calph.*: aiunt *V* celerrimus *Parth.*: celerimum *O*, -rr- *GR* 3 ullius *Calph.*: illius *V* trabis *Av.* (trabis impetum *iam Calph.*): tardis *V* 4 nequisse *θ*: neque esse *V* 4–5 sive ... sive (*γ?*) *ηθ*: sine ... sine *V* 6 negant *η* minacis *ζ*: mina ei *V* 7 insulasve cieladas *G* (cicl- G^2), insula vegeladis *O* 8 Thracia *J.A.K. Thomson* (traciam *iam a.*): tractam *V* 9 siniam *O* 10 ubuste *O* phasellus *V, corr. m*

comata silva; nam Cytorio in iugo
loquente saepe sibilum edidit coma.
Amastri Pontica et Cytore buxifer,
tibi haec fuisse et esse cognitissima
ait phaselus: ultima ex origine
tuo stetisse dicit in cacumine,
tuo imbuisse palmulas in aequore,
et inde tot per impotentia freta
erum tulisse, laeva sive dextera
vocaret aura, sive utrumque Iuppiter
simul secundus incidisset in pedem;
neque ulla vota litoralibus deis
sibi esse facta, cum veniret a mari
novissime hunc ad usque limpidum lacum.
sed haec prius fuere: nunc recondita
senet quiete seque dedicat tibi,
gemelle Castor et gemelle Castoris.

5

Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,
rumoresque senum severiorum
omnes unius aestimemus assis!
soles occidere et redire possunt;
nobis, cum semel occidit brevis lux,
nox est perpetua una dormienda.
da mi basia mille, deinde centum,
dein mille altera, dein secunda centum,
deinde usque altera mille, deinde centum;
dein, cum milia multa fecerimus,
conturbabimus, illa ne sciamus,

25–7 *Priscianus, Institutiones grammaticae 9.49 (= Grammatici Latini II: 484); Grammatici Latini I: 252 (Charisius), 344 (Diomedes)*

11 cytorio η, citherio (γ): citeorio *V* 13 cytore $\zeta\eta$ (cithore *iam* γ): citheri *V* 14 cognitissima γ: cognot- *V* 15 phasellus *V, corr. m* 17 tuas *GR* 18 in potentia *R, corr.* R^1 20 vocaret aura (γ): vocare cura *V* 21 -de- *in rasura* R^2 22 literalibus *R, corr. m* 23 a mari γ (-ei *Lachmann*): amaret *V* 24 novissimo $\zeta\eta$ 25 hec α: hoc *V* recomdita *O* 27 castor $\gamma\eta$: castrum *V*, al. castorum G^1R^2

5 3 estinemus *O*, extimemus *GR* 4 ocidere *O* 5 nobiscum *V* 8 dein mille *Calph.*: deinde mille *V*, deinde mi R^2 dein *Puccius*: deinde *V*, da R^2 10 dein η: deinde *V* millia *GR* 11 conturbabimus θ: -avimus *V* nesciamus *V*

aut ne quis malus invidere possit
cum tantum sciat esse basiorum.

6

Flavi, delicias tuas Catullo,
ni sint illepidae atque inelegantes,
velles dicere nec tacere posses.
verum nescioquid febriculosi
scorti diligis: hoc pudet fateri.
nam te non viduas iacere noctes
nequiquam tacitum cubile clamat
sertis ac Syrio fragrans olivo,
pulvinusque peraeque et hic et ille
attritus, tremulique quassa lecti
argutatio inambulatioque.
nam nil stupra valet, nihil, tacere.
cur? non tam latera effututa pandas,
ni tu quid facias ineptiarum.
quare, quidquid habes boni malique,
dic nobis. volo te ac tuos amores
ad caelum lepido vocare versu.

7

Quaeris quot mihi basiationes
tuae, Lesbia, sint satis superque.
quam magnus numerus Libyssae harenae
lasarpiciferis iacet Cyrenis
oraclum Iovis inter aestuosi

5 13 *cf. Priapea 52.12*

13 tantum β^2: tantus *V* sciet *Buecheler*

6 2 ni θ: ne *V* 5 hic ($\bar{\text{h}}$) *O* 7 nequid quam *O* 8 ac syrio *Av.*, et syrio *Ald.*: asirio *OG*, a sirio *R*, a syrio *m* (assirio β) fragrans $\zeta\theta$: flagrans *V* 9 et hec et illo *V*, hic *supra scr.* G^2 (al. *praescr.* G^2), al. hic R^2, al. ille R^2*bis* 12 nil stupra valet *Haupt*, ni stupra valet *Scaliger*, nil ista valet *Lachmann, alii alia*: inista prevalet *O*, ni ista prevalet *GR* 13 cum *Camps* ecfututa *Lachmann* (exf- *iam 1472*): et futura *V* pandas $\zeta\eta$: panda *V* 14 ni *A. Guarinus* (nei *Marcilius*): nec *V* 15 babes bonique *O* 17 versum *V, corr.* R^2

7 1 quot α: quod *V* 4 lasarpici feris *GR* (al. fretis R^2), l. fecis *O* iaces *O* tyrenis *OR*, tyarenis *G* (a *del.* G^2), al. cyrenis R^2 5 oraclum γ: oradum *V*

et Batti veteris sacrum sepulcrum,
aut quam sidera multa, cum tacet nox,
furtivos hominum vident amores;
tam te basia multa basiare
vesano satis et super Catullo est,
quae nec pernumerare curiosi
possint nec mala fascinare lingua.

8

Miser Catulle, desinas ineptire,
et quod vides perisse perditum ducas.
fulsere quondam candidi tibi soles,
cum ventitabas quo puella ducebat
amata nobis quantum amabitur nulla.
ibi illa multa cum iocosa fiebant,
quae tu volebas nec puella nolebat,
fulsere vere candidi tibi soles.
nunc iam illa non vult; tu quoque inpote<ns noli>,
nec quae fugit sectare, nec miser vive,
sed obstinata mente perfer, obdura.
vale, puella. iam Catullus obdurat,
nec te requiret nec rogabit invitam.
at tu dolebis, cum rogaberis nulla.
scelesta, vae te! quae tibi manet vita?
quis nunc te adibit? cui videberis bella?
quem nunc amabis? cuius esse diceris?
quem basiabis? cui labella mordebis?
at tu, Catulle, destinatus obdura.

9

Verani, omnibus e meis amicis
antistans mihi milibus trecentis,

6 batti *ed. Rom.* (bati *iam* $\eta\theta$): beati *V*, al. beári G^1R^2 9 basiei *V*, al. basia G^1R^2 10 catulo *O* 11 euriosi *V*, *corr.* R^2

8 3 candida *G*, *corr.* G^2 4 quod *V*, *corr.* R^2 5 amabiliter *m* 6 cum *V*, tum R^2 8 candid=i G^2 9 inpotens ϵ: inpote *O*, impote *GR* noli *om. V*: *add. Av.* 10 necque *OR* (*corr.* R^2), nec que *G* 15 ve *Ottob. 1982*, *Neap. F. 29*: ne *V* teq3 *O*, teq̄ *GR*, te q̄ R^2 16 adhibit *O* 18 cui] cum *O*

9 1 ver(r)ani ζ, veranni *V* e *om. O*: o *Baehrens* 2 antistans *Av.*, antestans *Pall.*, antistes $\zeta\eta$: antistas *V*

venistine domum ad tuos penates
fratresque unanimos anumque matrem?
venisti. o mihi nuntii beati!
visam te incolumem audiamque Hiberum
narrantem loca, facta, nationes,
ut mos est tuus, applicansque collum
iucundum os oculosque saviabor.
o quantum est hominum beatiorum,
quid me laetius est beatiusve?

10

Varus me meus ad suos amores
visum duxerat e foro otiosum,
scortillum, ut mihi tum repente visum est,
non sane illepidum neque invenustum.
huc ut venimus, incidere nobis
sermones varii: in quibus, quid esset
iam Bithynia; quo modo se haberet;
ecquonam mihi profuisset aere.
respondi, id quod erat, nihil neque ipsis
nec praetoribus esse nec cohorti,
cur quisquam caput unctius referret,
praesertim quibus esset irrumator
praetor, nec faceret pili cohortem.
"at certe tamen," inquiunt "quod illic
natum dicitur esse, comparasti
ad lecticam homines." ego, ut puellae
unum me facerem beatiorem,
"non" inquam "mihi tam fuit maligne,
ut, provincia quod mala incidisset,
non possem octo homines parare rectos."
at mi nullus erat nec hic neque illic,

4 unanimos η (-es ζ): uno animo *V* anumque *Faernus*: sanamque *O*, suamque *GR*, al. sanam G^1R^2 8 tuis *R*, *corr.* R^2 9 suaviabor ζ (suabiabor *iam* β): suabior *V* 11 lecius *G*

10 1 var(r)us γ: varius *V* mens *V*, *corr.* R^2G^2 (meus *supra scr. iam* G^1) 2 ociosum *G*, occ- *OR*, oc- R^2 3 tum *G*, tunc *OR* (*corr.* R^2) 4 inlepidum *G*, *corr.* G^2 7 iarbithinia *O* se η: posse *V* 8 ecquonam *Statius*: et quoniam *V*, al. quonam G^2R^2 aere (ζ): here *V* 9 neque nec in ipsis *V*, *corr.* (al. *praescr.*) G^2R^2 10 nec (1°) *om. R* (al. nec R^2): nunc *Westphal* 11 referet *R* 13 nec *O*, non *GR* (al. nec G^2R^2) facerent γ 16 lecticam α: leticam *OR*, letittam *G*, leticiam G^1 hominis *V*

fractum qui veteris pedem grabati
in collo sibi collocare posset.
hic illa, ut decuit cinaediorem,
"quaeso" inquit mihi, "mi Catulle, paulum
istos commoda; nam volo ad Serapim
deferri." "mane," inquii puellae,
"istud quod modo dixeram me habere,
fugit me ratio: meus sodalis –
Cinna est Gaius – is sibi paravit.
verum, utrum illius an mei, quid ad me?
utor tam bene quam mihi pararim.
sed tu insulsa male et molesta vivis,
per quam non licet esse neglegentem."

11

Furi et Aureli, comites Catulli,
sive in extremos penetrabit Indos,
litus ut longe resonante Eoa
tunditur unda,

sive in Hyrcanos Arabasve molles,
seu Sagas sagittiferosve Parthos,
sive quae septemgeminus colorat
aequora Nilus,

sive trans altas gradietur Alpes,
Caesaris visens monimenta magni,
Gallicum Rhenum horribile aequor ulti-
mosque Britannos,

22 fractum qui (*γ*): fractumque *V* 24 decuit *θ*: docuit *V* sined- *O* 26 commoda *G*, comodam *O*, comoda *R* (*corr. R²*): commodum enim *Hand*, dà; modo *Doering*, da modo; *Munro* sarapim *GR*, *corr. R²* 27 deserti *V*, al. deferri *R²* inquii *Scaliger* (inquio *iam Ald.*): inquid *O*, inquit *GR* 28 differam *R*, *corr. R¹* 29 mens *GR*, *corr. R²* 30 cinna est Caius *1473*: cuma est gravis *V* 31 ad *γ*: a *V* 32 paratis *Statius* 33 tu insulsa *η*: tulsa *O*, tu insula *GR* mane *G*, malle *G¹*, *corr. G²* nivis *O*

11 2 penetrabit *1473*: -avit *V* Iindos *R*, *corr. R²* 3 ubi *R²* resonans *Statius* coa *O* 5 hircanos *O* arabaesque *G*, arabesque *R* 6 seu *θ*: sive *V* sagas *α* (sacas *1472*): sagax *V* sagitiferos ve *O* 7 siveq3 *O*, sive qua *η* 8 epra *O* 9 sui *O* gratietur *R*, *corr. R¹* 11 horribile aequor *Haupt*, horribiles vitro *McKie*: horribilesque *V* (que *del. R²*) 11/12 ulti/mosque *R²*: / ultimosque *V* (vitimosque *O*)

omnia haec, quaecumque feret voluntas
caelitum, temptare simul parati,
pauca nuntiate meae puellae
non bona dicta.

cum suis vivat valeatque moechis,
quos simul complexa tenet trecentos,
nullum amans vere, sed identidem omnium
ilia rumpens;

nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem,
qui illius culpa cecidit velut prati
ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam
tactus aratro est.

12

Marrucine Asini, manu sinistra
non belle uteris: in ioco atque vino
tollis lintea neglegentiorum.
hoc salsum esse putas? fugit te, inepte;
quamvis sordida res et invenusta est.
non credis mihi? crede Pollioni
fratri, qui tua furta vel talento
mutari velit: est enim leporum
differtus puer ac facetiarum.
quare aut hendecasyllabos trecentos
exspecta, aut mihi linteum remitte,
quod me non movet aestimatione,
verum est mnemosynum mei sodalis.

12 9 *Pastrengicus, De originibus rerum* fol. 18ᵛ

13 feret *η*: fere *V* 15 nunciare *O* 22 qui *ζη*: cui *V* 23, 24 *eodem versu V; adoneum suo loco posuit G²,-erasa c. 12 tituli parte*

12 1 marrucine *Parth.*: matr- *V*, al. matrutine *G¹* 2 ioco *GR*, loco *O*, al. loco *G¹R²* 3 linthea *O* neglegenciorum *O* 4 salsum *G*, falsum al. salsum *O*, falsum *Rm*, al. salsum *R²m²* 7 frater *O* 8 voluit *O* 9 differtus *Pastrengicus*: dissertus *O*, disertus *GR* pater *Calph.* (*et "vetus codex," adn. Marc. 12.128*) (*an* diserte pater *legendum?*) faceciarum *O* 10 endeca sillabos *V* (endecas- *m¹*) 11 lintheum *O* remicte *R* 12 monet *O* estimatione (*γ*): ext- *V* 13 est mnemosinum (*η*): nemo est sinum *O*, est nemo sinum *GR*

nam sudaria Saetaba ex Hiberis
miserunt mihi muneri Fabullus
et Veranius; haec amem necesse est
ut Veraniolum meum et Fabullum.

13

Cenabis bene, mi Fabulle, apud me
paucis, si tibi di favent, diebus,
si tecum attuleris bonam atque magnam
cenam, non sine candida puella
et vino et sale et omnibus cachinnis.
haec si, inquam, attuleris, venuste noster,
cenabis bene – nam tui Catulli
plenus sacculus est aranearum.
sed contra accipies meros amores
seu quid suavius elegantiusve est:
nam unguentum dabo quod meae puellae
donarunt Veneres Cupidinesque,
quod tu cum olfacies, deos rogabis
totum ut te faciant, Fabulle, nasum.

14

Ni te plus oculis meis amarem,
iucundissime Calve, munere isto
odissem te odio Vatiniano:
nam quid feci ego quidve sum locutus,
cur me tot male perderes poetis?
isti di mala multa dent clienti,
qui tantum tibi misit impiorum.
quod si, ut suspicor, hoc novum ac repertum

17 Plinius, Naturalis historia 1 praefatio 1

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14 settaba *O*, sethaba *GR* ex hiberis (ῑ̂), -eis *Lachmann*: exhibere *V* 15 misserunt *G*, *corr. G²* numeri *V*, al. muneri *G¹R²* 16 haec] al. hoc *R²* amem δ: ameni *OG*, almeni *R* (-l- *exp. R²*) 17 ut (θ): et *V*

13 6 inquam δ: unquam *V* (um- *R*) 7 bn *R*, bn̄ *R²* 8 saculus *V* 9 set *R*, sed *R²* meos *O* 10 quid γδ: qui *V*, al. quod *R²* elegancius ve *O* 13 olfaties *R*, *corr. R²*

14 1 ni (δ) (nei *Lachmann*): ne *V* 3 vaciniano *GR* 4 loqutus *R*, *corr. R²* 5 male *1472* (mali *iam β*): malis *V* 6 dent ζη: dant *V* 8 si ut] sive *G*, *corr. G¹*

munus dat tibi Sulla litterator,
non est mi male, sed bene ac beate,
quod non dispereunt tui labores.
di magni, horribilem et sacrum libellum!
quem tu scilicet ad tuum Catullum
misti continuo, ut die periret
Saturnalibus optimo dierum!
non non hoc tibi, salse, sic abibit.
nam, si luxerit, ad librariorum
curram scrinia; Caesios, Aquinos,
Suffenum, omnia colligam venena,
ac te his suppliciis remunerabor.
vos hinc interea valete abite
illuc, unde malum pedem attulistis,
saecli incommoda, pessimi poetae.

14ᵇ

Si qui forte mearum ineptiarum
lectores eritis manusque vestras
non horrebitis admovere nobis,

* * *

15

Commendo tibi me ac meos amores,
Aureli. veniam peto pudenter,
ut, si quicquam animo tuo cupisti,
quod castum expeteres et integellum,
conserves puerum mihi pudice,

14 9 Martianus Capella 3.229 15 Macrobius, Saturnalia 2.1.8

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9 sulla δ (Sylla *Martianus Capella*): si illa *V* 10 mi η: michi *V* 14 misti η: misisti *V* 15 opimo *GR*, al. optimo *R²*, oppinio *O* 16 hoc γδ: hec *V* salse *G*, false *OR*, al. salse *R²* sic γδ: fit *OG*, sit *R* adhibit *O*, adbibit *GR*, *corr. R²* 17 luserit *G*, al. -x- *G²* 18 curram δ: curam *O*, cur tam *GR* scrinea *R* 19 suffenum η (suphenum *iam 1472*): suffenam *V* 20 ac *a*: hac *V* tibi hiis supplitus *O* 23 secli η: seculi *V* incomoda *OR*, *corr. R²*

14ᵇ *(a c. 14 seiunxerunt B. Guarinus et Av.)* 3 ammovere *O*

15 1 tibe *G*, *corr. G²* 2 pudenter *Maehly*: -em *V* (pudentem peto *G*, *transp. G²*)

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*

72

Dicebas quondam solum te nosse Catullum,
Lesbia, nec prae me velle tenere Iovem.
dilexi tum te non tantum ut vulgus amicam,
sed pater ut gnatos diligit et generos.
nunc te cognovi; quare, etsi impensius uror,
multo mi tamen es vilior et levior.
qui potis est, inquis? quod amantem iniuria talis
cogit amare magis, sed bene velle minus.

73

Desine de quoquam quicquam bene velle mereri
aut aliquem fieri posse putare pium.
omnia sunt ingrata, nihil fecisse benigne <est>;
immo etiam taedet, <taedet> obestque magis;
ut mihi, quem nemo gravius nec acerbius urget
quam modo qui me unum atque unicum amicum habuit.

74

Gellius audierat patruum obiurgare solere,
si quis delicias diceret aut faceret.
hoc ne ipsi accideret, patrui perdepsuit ipsam
uxorem et patruum reddidit Harpocraten.
quod voluit fecit: nam, quamvis irrumet ipsum
nunc patruum, verbum non faciet patruus.

72 8 *Donatus ad Terenti Andriam 718*

72 2 pre me *R*, per me *G*, prime *O* 6 mi tamen es *A. Guarinus*: ita me nec *V* 7 quod *Ric. 606 ζη*, quia *Statius*: quam *V*

73. 1 quicquam *ζ*: quisquam *V* 3 est *add. Friedrich* 4 *ita Avantius; initio versus* prodest *suppl. Puccius*, iuverit *Baehrens*, iam iuvat *Munro; alii alia* imo *G* obestque *OG*, obstetque *R*, stetque R^2 magis *Av.*: magisque magis *V* 5 quem *Esc.(b)*: ꝙ *O*, que *GR* 6 habet *GR*, habuit R^2 *in margine*

74 1 gelius *O*(*corr.* O^2), lelius *GR*, al. Gellius R^2 solere *B. Guarinus*: flere *V* 2 delitias *R* 3 hec (h̄) *O* perdepsuit *"vir eruditus" apud Statium*: perdespuit *V* 4 reddit *O* harpocratem *O*, -them *GR*

75

Huc est mens deducta tua, mea Lesbia, culpa
atque ita se officio perdidit ipsa suo,
ut iam nec bene velle queat tibi, si optima fias,
nec desistere amare, omnia si facias.

76

Si qua recordanti benefacta priora voluptas
est homini, cum se cogitat esse pium,
nec sanctam violasse fidem, nec foedere in ullo
divum ad fallendos numine abusum homines,
multa parata manent in longa aetate, Catulle,
ex hoc ingrato gaudia amore tibi.
nam quaecumque homines bene cuiquam aut dicere possunt
aut facere, haec a te dictaque factaque sunt.
omnia quae ingratae perierunt credita menti.
quare cur tete iam amplius excrucies?
quin tu animo offirmas atque istinc te ipse reducis
et dis invitis desinis esse miser?
difficile est longum subito deponere amorem,
difficile est, verum hoc qua lubet efficias;
una salus haec est, hoc est tibi pervincendum,
hoc facias, sive id non pote sive pote.
o di, si vestrum est misereri, aut si quibus umquam
extremam iam ipsa in morte tulistis opem,
me miserum aspicite et, si vitam puriter egi,
eripite hanc pestem perniciemque mihi,

76 13 *Hieremias de Montagnone, Compendium moralium notabilium 4.5.11*

75 3 queat *Lachmann* (queam *iam θ*): -que tot *V* optuma *O*

76 1 sique *O* 3 violase *O* in ullo *θ*: nullo *V* 5 manent *ζη*: manentum *O*, manenti *GR* catulli *G* (*corr.* G^2) 6 exhaec (h̄= haec) *O* amore] avicere *O* 8 sint *O* 9 omniaque *V* ingrate *V* (-tae G^{3+}) 10 cur te te iam *Baehrens*, iam te cur *ζη*: cur te iam *V* 11 quin *θ*: qui *V* tui *V*, *corr.* R^2 - animum *Stat.* affirmas *R* istinc te ipse *Ellis* (isthinc te usque *iam G. Buchananus*), istinc teque *Heinsius*: instincteque *O*, istinctoque *GR* 12 dis (*γ*), deis *ε*: des *V* 13 amicu *R*, *corr.* R^1 14 qua libet *ζ*: quam libet *V* officias *O* 15, 16 hoc] hec *V*(h̄ *O*), *corr.* R^2 faties *R* (facies *m*) 17 dii *V* miseri *O* 18 extremam *α*: extremo *V*, extrema R^2 ipsa in *Ald.*: ipsam *V* 20 pernitiemque *R*

quae mihi subrepens imos ut torpor in artus
expulit ex omni pectore laetitias.
non iam illud quaero, contra ut me diligat illa,
aut, quod non potis est, esse pudica velit:
ipse valere opto et taetrum hunc deponere morbum.
o di, reddite mi hoc pro pietate mea.

77

Rufe mihi frustra ac nequiquam credite amice
(frustra? immo magno cum pretio atque malo),
sicine subrepsti mi atque intestina perurens
ei misero eripuisti omnia nostra bona?
eripuisti, eheu nostrae crudele venenum
vitae, eheu nostrae pestis amicitiae.

78

Gallus habet fratres, quorum est lepidissima coniunx
alterius, lepidus filius alterius.
Gallus homo est bellus: nam dulces iungit amores,
cum puero ut bello bella puella cubet.
Gallus homo est stultus, nec se videt esse maritum,
qui patruus patrui monstret adulterium.

78b

* * * * * * *

sed nunc id doleo, quod purae pura puellae
savia comminxit spurca saliva tua.

21 quae *Calph.*: seu *V* torpor β^2: corpore *V* 22 leticias *OG*, delitias *R*, *corr.* R^1 24 me ζ, me ut β, me ut me *V* 26 dei *OG*, dii *R* michi *V*, *corr.* R^2 hec *OR*, *corr.* proprietate *V*, *corr. m*

77 1 ruffe *V*, rufe *m* amico *GR* 2 imo *GR* precio *G* 3 surrepsti *Calph.*: subrepsti *O* subrecti *GR* mi $\zeta\eta$: mei *V* in testina *G* 4 ei *Lachmann*, sic ζ: si *V*, al mi R^2 5 Heripuisti *G* 5, 6 heu *OR*, he heu *G*, *corr.* R^2: eheu *Baehrens* 5 crudelle *G*, *corr.* 6 nostro *GR* pestis *B. Guarinus*: pectus *V* amicicie *OG*

78 4 puela *O* cubit *O*

78b *A praecedentibus seiunxit Statius; post 77.6 collocavit Scaliger, post 80.8 Bergk, post* 91.10 *Corradinus de Allio* 2 sania *V*, *corr.* R^2 conminxit *Scaliger*: connuxit *O* coniunxit *GR*

verum id non impune feres: nam te omnia saecla
noscent et, qui sis, fama loquetur anus.

79

Lesbius est pulcer; quid ni? quem Lesbia malit
quam te cum tota gente, Catulle, tua.
sed tamen hic pulcer vendat cum gente Catullum
si tria notorum savia reppererit.

80

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?
nescioquid 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.

81

Nemone in tanto potuit populo esse, Iuventi,
bellus homo, quem tu diligere inciperes,
praeterquam iste tuus moribunda ab sede Pisauri
hospes inaurata pallidior statua,
qui tibi nunc cordi est, quem tu praeponere nobis
audes, et nescis quod facinus facias?

3 verum non id *G*, id verum non *R* seda *O* 4 noscent *Om*, nosscent *GR* quis scis *GR* fama loquetur anus *Calph.*: famuloque tanus (canus *G*) *V*, al. -e- (*i.e.* tenus) R^2

79 1 pulcher *GR* -ni quem $\delta\epsilon$ (-ni quod η): inquam *V* mallit *GR* 3 pulcher *GR* 4 natorum *GR* sania *O* repererit *GR*

80 2 ruberna *O* 3 exis et $\zeta\eta$, exisset *V* 6 tñta *O*, tanta *GR*, al. tenta R^2 8 ilia et emulso *B. Guarinus et Pall.*: ille te mulso *V*

81 1 viventi *V* 3 pisanum *O* 5 qui *Calph.*: quid *V* nuc *G* 6 quod $\zeta\eta$: quid *V*, *fortasse recte*

Versus domini Benevenuti de Campexanis de Vicencia
de resurrectione Catulli poete Veronensis.

Ad patriam venio longis a finibus exul;
causa mei reditus compatriota fuit,
scilicet a calamis tribuit cui Francia nomen
quique notat turbe praetereuntis iter.
quo licet ingenio vestrum celebrate Catullum,
cuius sub modio clausa papirus erat.

Et titulum et versus textui subscripsit G; titulum omisit, versus libro praefixit R

COMMENTARY

1

Structure: 2 + 5 (question and answer) + 3 lines, articulated by *namque*, *quare*.

The poet dedicates his *libellus* to his friend Cornelius Nepos (l. 3 n.). As Zicàri 1965 pointed out, the tone of C.'s dedication, unlike Meleager's Μοῦσα φίλα, τίνι τάνδε φέρεις πάγκαρπον ἀοιδάν; (*AP* 4.1.1) and Martial's *cuius vis fieri, libelle, munus* (3.2.1), is easy and relaxed, not bookish: C. himself occupies the scene from the very start, and hence his book is a concrete thing, an object in his hand. The poem's programmatic quality is obvious; less obvious is the fact that here C. *demonstrates* the qualities, or some of them, which he most admired in Greek, and vindicates for Latin, poetry. For example, he claims – by exercising it – the freedom to write poetry in conversational idiom; notice the introductory question-and-answer, and the repeated use of diminutives, such as *libellus* (which is not merely a metrically convenient substitute for *liber*; see Mart. 10.1.1–2); and again, *esse aliquid;* (l. 3 n.); parenthetical *Iuppiter*, as an exclamation (cf. 66.30); the idiom *quidquid hoc libelli; habe tibi*, a legal formula (precise but humdrum); and *lepidum*, 'nice' (to look at, as in Plaut. *Pseud.* 27–8 *lepidis litteris, lepidis tabellis lepida conscriptis manu*). The implication is that 'the lyric can be about ordinary life and in the language of the people; and poetry of this kind deserves serious criticism' (Copley 1951; see also Gordon Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* [1968]: chapter 2). Furthermore, C. claims for himself a high degree of metrical freedom; take lines 2–4, where the 'basis' of the line (in this metre consisting of the first two syllables) is varied each time: trochee, followed by spondee, followed by iambus. A few Latin writers (including Varro before C.; Martial after him) adhere rigorously to the

spondaic basis in hendecasyllables; C. by his practice here draws attention to the principle of free variation, and almost flaunts it by applying it in successive lines at the very outset.

For a change of tone in the last two lines of the poem, see ll. 9–10 nn. It may be that C. at first conceived of his poem as ending with the word *libelli*, which echoes so neatly the *libellum* of l. 1, and which again draws attention to brevity. If so, these eight lines would furnish a good example of the 'cyclic' structure so often used in C.'s short poems; and Bardon (1943: 15) has complained that the final wish in ll. 9–10 spoils the clear effect of the repetition of the leading idea of ll. 1–2. Yet Bardon himself has drawn attention (ibid., 18) to the frequent occurrence in C. of a structure wherein the last two lines of a ten-line poem are in some way sharply distinguished from the rest; this '8 + 2' structure, with some variations, he finds in a great many of the 'polymetric' poems. For an example see M. Zicàri's discussion of poem 2, cited in the Bibliography to that poem; the slight change in tone or direction, adumbrated in the final two lines, more or less, of a short poem, is characteristic of C. Seen in this light, the slightly disconcerting asymmetry and redirection, implicit in the ending of poem 1, will prove acceptable and necessary after all. It is doubtful whether such asymmetry can be taken as a sign of early composition (and on the obvious implication, for dating, of *iam tum*, see l. 3 n.); on the other hand, the nature of the claim made for the book is scarcely such as could have envisaged the collected works as we have them. (For a discussion of the chronology of the *liber Catulli*, see the Introduction, pp. 3–10.) The poet's obvious delight in the outward aspect of his new book suggests a first publication; and the tone of the initial 'movement' of the poem is, as Zicàri remarks, 'juvenile' rather than mature.

1 *cui*: on the question whether C. wrote *quoi* (he probably did) see Fordyce. *V* had *qui* for *cui* at 2.3 (corrected by *O*'s variant), and also at 24.5 and 67.47. At 17.14 *cuiiocum* (cf. *V*) may preserve an original *quoi*; if so, we have here an early error in C.'s text. *Quoi* is possibly also the cause of *V*'s *qua* at 71.1. If at 64.254 *V*'s *qui* points to *quoi* standing for *cui*, then O. Skutsch receives additional support (though he does not use it) for his emendation *cui Thyades* in that line.
dono: the first two lines pretend to depict C. as having just received the first copy of a small volume (*libellus*) of his own poems. It is the physical appearance of the book that is stressed in line 2, and therefore probably also in line 1. We may reasonably conclude that *dono* conveys 'to whom am I in fact presenting . . . ?', which suits the notion of a little scene in which C. himself is the chief actor, even though parallels can be found for taking the indicative *dono* as equivalent to *donem*. (Kr. cites Plaut. *Most.* 368 *quid ego ago?* and Cicero, *Ad Att.* 16.7.4 *nunc quid respondemus?*).

lepidum novum: cf. Plaut. *Epid.* 222 *vestita, aurata, ornata ut lepide, ut concinne, ut nove!*

2 *arida*: on the feminine form see App. Crit. Petrarch's friend Guglielmo da Pastrengo (Pastrengicus), who died in 1362 (before *GR* and perhaps *O* were written), supports Servius on *Aeneid* 12.587 in spelling *arida*. It is true that for his citation of lines 1–2 Pastrengicus (*De Or. Rerum* 88b) refers not to C. but to Isidore, our manuscripts of whom give *arido*; but he also quotes lines 5–7, and some marginalia, from C. directly, and these further quotations make it clear that he saw a Catullus Ms, probably *V*. Therefore, he either found *arida* in his Isidore Ms, or corrected from Servius (unlikely) or, as Haupt suggested, from the text of C.; see E. (note in the App. Crit. of his text-edition) and also B.L. Ullman, 'The Transmission of the Text of Catullus,' *Studi in onore di Luigi Castiglioni* (Florence, 1980): 1041–2. A third possibility (not entertained by Ullman) is this: arida *V*, aridā *A*, arido *OGR*. If Martial 8.72.2 has *aridi* in the masculine, this is hardly decisive for the gender which, as Servius remarks, is (regularly) masculine in Virgil though (oddly) feminine in Catullus. Friedrich noted that the cacophonic sequence *arido modo* was to be avoided; he comments on the strenuous effort made by Cicero, *Pro Milone* 61, to avoid even the less harsh sequence of sounds *populo modo*. For the fem. *arida* see Scaliger, *Castigationes* 4, in reply to A. Statius (cited by Gaisser 1993: 174 and n. 127); Scaliger rightly says that the explicit testimony of Servius about C.'s irregular usage should outweigh the unannotated readings of medieval Mss, which are all that the 'other sources' amount to.

3 *Corneli*: this is Cornelius Nepos the historian, as we know from Ausonius (see App. Crit.). Like C. himself, and many other men of letters in the Rome of the day, Nepos hailed from Cisalpine Gaul; the elder Pliny, in his *Naturalis Historia*, calls him *conterraneus meus* (in the Preface) as well as *Padi accola* (3.127). His *Chronica* (apparently a prose work) seems to have taken the form of a comparative chronology of Greek and Roman history; Aulus Gellius (17.21.3) says that in Book 1 Nepos dated the poetic contest between Homer and Hesiod 160 years before Rome was founded, and also says that Nepos declared Archilochus to have lived at the same time as the early Roman king Tullus Hostilius. If, then, the chronology was 'universal' in the sense that it sought to place Greek and Roman events and personalities from long ago on a single time-scale, the point of *omne aevum* becomes clear, while the adjective *laboriosis* (l. 7) begins to seem highly appropriate. We do not know when the *Chronica* was published; *iam tum* of course suggests that it was more than a few years before this poem was written.

On Nepos and Catullus, and their literary circle, see Wiseman 1979: 154–66.

4 *esse aliquid*: cf. Cicero, *Ad Fam.* 6.18.4 *si est talis <orator>, ego quoque aliquid sum*; also *Ad Att.* 4.2.2 *si umquam in dicendo fuimus aliquid, TD* 5.104 *eos aliquid putare esse.*

nugas, 'nonsense' – a depreciatory word (Plautus so uses it, and cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.42), and not primarily a description of a recognized poetic genre; C. calls his short poems *nugae* and *ineptiae* in order to stress their playful and witty nature. Martial's literary application of the word probably recalls C. The collection – if indeed it was a collection – of *nugae*, praised some time ago (*iam tum* ... line 5) by Cornelius Nepos, need not be supposed to include, for example, the grim atmosphere of poem 11, or even the serious introspection of poem 8.

5 There is no thought of numerical opposition between *unus* and *tribus*, which would be pointless; there is however some such contrast between *omne* and *tribus*. This in turn rules out a factitious opposition between *unus* and *omne*; so we must take (as the rhythm of the line also suggests) *unus-Italorum* together in the sense 'first of Italians to ...' (as opposed to Greeks, e.g., Apollodorus, who had written summaries of world history). Both Horace (*Od.* 3.30) and Propertius (3.1.3) claim to be the first to introduce Greek literary genres into Italy.

The initial *i* in the noun *Italia* is lengthened, against its natural value (so that the word may appear in hexameters) by Callimachus in Greek, and (after C.) in Latin by Virgil (*Aen.* 6.61; see E. Norden ad loc.).

6 *explicare*, 'unroll'; it is interesting that it is of a *chronicle* (by Atticus) that Cicero (*Brut.* 15) writes *ut explicatis ordinibus temporum uno in conspectu omnia viderem*; see note on 3 above.

cartis here = 'rolls'; these consisted of *cartae* (sheets of papyrus) glued together in a *volumen*.

7 *laboriosis*, 'involving weary work.' This 'non-personal' use (cf. Ter. *Heaut.* 807, Cicero *De legg.* 3.19) is quite regular, contrary to what is said of Calvus' use of the word by Gellius, 9.12.10 (F.).

8 *Est* is implied after *libelli*; but cf. V. *Aen.* 1.78 *quodcumque hoc regni*. The phrase is slightly disparaging, as is *qualecumque*. For the punctuation see the final para. of the n. on l. 9.

See App. Crit.: *al. mei is* of course not intended as a variant but as an explanatory note: *'my* book, that is.' In R^2 these words have been erased by a later hand, and what was then left of them has been almost, but not quite, obliterated by a library stamp; but on close inspection traces can be seen. Even had they vanished completely, *m* comes to our rescue (as he often does in matters connected with the text of *R*) by picking up the words, and so proving that they had been inserted by R^2; for although *m* is careless, he never invents.

9–10 Notice the change of tone: shy modesty is replaced by modest confidence.

9 The metrical defect in the line as transmitted caused the Humanists either to restore *o* (later adopted by most editors) or or to substitute *quidem* for *quod*. Presumably the second of these remedies prompted Bergk's rewriting of the line (*qualecumque quidem est, patroni ut ergo*), which however is unconvincing,

for several reasons. That *virgo* does not occur elsewhere in poems 1–60 is immaterial; these poems have no place for it except in the context of an address to the Muse. Secondly, the word *virgo* does occur twenty-two times in the more formal poems, 61 to 68, and *virgineus* twice; again, it fails to occur in the short elegiac epigrams 69–116. This only means that it belongs to the 'high' or 'elevated' style, and would therefore be appropriate to apostrophizing a god or goddess in a dedication. Thirdly, the word *ergo* absolutely cannot mean, and nowhere comes close to meaning, 'by the agency of'<a person>, as it would have to do on Bergk's interpretation. On the contrary, in every instance quoted in *TLL* it means 'for the sake of' or 'in consequence of' a thing or an aim (except at *Aeneid* 6.670 where, since Anchises is dead and the meaning 'on his account' is in question, we are close to *genitivus rei*). In other words, the alignment of *ergo* is objective, not subjective. See further Clausen 1976: 38–43 (n. 2: 'The evidence against Bergk is clear and damning'). Again, that 'patron' should be applied to the recipient of a dedication such as this hardly fits either the literary atmosphere of the time – however unsurprising it might be in a later generation – or C.'s utterly independent character. Bergk's whole idea contradicts C.'s modest confidence in his work for its own merits – merits acknowledged, after all, by Nepos himself, as is clear not only from lines 2–6 here but also from Nepos' *Life of Atticus*, written in the later 30s BC, i.e., during the time of Gallus and the young Virgil; in that Life, an obscure C. Iulius Calidus is singled out as the 'most elegant' Roman poet since <those two giants, it is implied> Lucretius and Catullus. Again, the Muse is in fact needed, in order to provide a divine addressee for the optative *maneat*. F. Cairns (1969) has pointed out that 'a writer asking or wishing that immortality or long life be granted to his work traditionally makes his request or wish to a divinity.' C. has conquered his doubts before publishing, but still ventures only a modest aspiration to fame (*plus uno saeculo*, l. 10); yet this claim itself, being so severely limited, seems hardly designed to flatter the ego of a *patronus*, if it was through his support alone that the work was to survive. Finally, for the apostrophe, cf. 36.11 (Venus), and also Horace *Odes* 1.4.14 and 1.26.6. For the Muse as the poet's patron cf. also *Priapea* 2, where perhaps *quidquid id est* recalls C. The apostrophe is structurally in place: it gives the poem force, as an example of an epigrammatic device which we shall see C. employing in several poems that follow, namely the surprise ending or change of direction in the last two lines. On the question of metre, 'the elision of *i* before *u* is extremely rare, the two vowels being of a "timbre très fermé" ... Such an elision is totally absent from C.'s dactylic poems, for example' (Monbrun 1976: 31–8). It is rare enough in C.'s non-dactylic poems; in 11.22 it is at the end of a line; in 14.8 and 29.22, it follows *si*, *nisi*.

The punctuation adopted here meets the difficulty, raised by Zicàri, that in Catullus and Martial there is never a heavy pause after the fourth syllable of a

phalaecian hendecasyllabic line; and it divides the clauses with equal balance, instead of overloading the former clause. There is a distinction between *quicquid*, which has 'quantitative,' and *qualecumque*, which has 'qualitative,' implications (see Pasoli 1977–8: 55). The punctuation encounters another difficulty, however: relative *quod* is postponed, in a rare hyperbaton. For hyperbaton of a similar sort, see perhaps Propertius 3.21.16; for other hyperbata in C., see 44.9, 64.101, 66.18 with F.'s n., 64.8 and 66.41 (both involving a relative pronoun, as here); cf. also 51.5, 57.8, 62.13 and 14, 64.66 and 216, 67.21, 110.3. For the order cf. 76.9 (*omnia quae*) and 'a much more drastic example' of postponed connecting relative, 68.131 (Wiseman 1979: 172 n. 40, who adds: 'though there is no precise parallel for its positioning inside a subordinate clause, the word-order is perfectly intelligible, and much less contorted than that of (e.g.) 44.9 or 66.18').

patrona virgo = the poet's Muse. The notion of *clientela*, with the consequent duty of *fides* (cf. 34.1 *in fide*), explains why C. can describe a good poet as *pius* (16.5) and a bad one as *impius* (14.7).

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2

Structure: 8 + 2 (one sentence only, of ten lines; a slight pause before l. 9). This, the best known perhaps of all C.'s lyrics, presents great difficulties of interpretation, partly because of a corrupt text. Debate reaches back to the early Humanists; the most penetrating account is still that of Zicàri 1963. He effectively defends B. Guarinus' emendations; see App. Crit.

Catullus is deeply in love (almost certainly, with Lesbia); and he chooses the trivial-seeming medium of an address to his beloved's pet bird to declare the depth of his passion (*dolor, ardor, tristes curae*). He is clearly not philandering, and by the same token he does not say that he longs to be in the bird's place; the *curae* are the real subject of the poem, and he finds it impossible to forget them in distraction as she does.

Notice above all the poem's *élan*. The continuity of the utterance can be illustrated by one fact: not until we come to l. 9, with *tecum*, do we discover that *passer* is vocative. The address to the bird is carried down to the end of l. 8 before the poet draws breath, as it were, and even to the end of l. 10 (and of the poem) before he finishes the opening sentence (cf. poems 11, 25, 48, 49). In contrast to poem 1, careful development appears to be replaced by a torrent of words, a rush of feeling, and a progression not circular this time but essentially linear, though with discreet repetition of certain concepts. Here we have a clear 8 + 2 line structure (see intr. n. on poem 1), and once more the final couplet leads us in a direction not wholly foreseen (see below). In the order of exposition, as well as in the thought, poem 2 is an extremely sophisticated piece; its imbalance, though apparently 'natural,' is in fact contrived, and applied with great skill. In language there is a mixture of the colloquial (for which poem 1 paves the way) with occasional touches of strangeness or allusiveness. Engelbrecht 1909 protested, with apparently indignant surprise: 'This is not a lovesick poet's groan'; but he wrote when a still somewhat romantic view of C. prevailed (Fr.'s commentary, to which he often refers, had just been published). Much more to our taste is the

assessment, two generations later, by Zicàri: 'The fascination of the little poem consists in an air of morbidity, just barely mannered enough to please a reader of refined tastes, or, if we wish, a *docta puella*, who would also know how to appreciate properly the clever variations on, and amplifications of a familiar *motif*. If the perfection of a poem consists in the degree to which the poet has succeeded in saying what he meant to say, then this poem is perfect – but a *lusus*.' In other words, poem 2 is an *intellectual* poem even while it remains a profound expression of love.

Both Brink 1956 and Zicàri have drawn attention to the carefully formal arrangement ('law of increasing *cola*') by which each of the subordinate relative clauses is a little longer than the preceding one; Brink notices also the way in which the last two lines summarize the opening eight, since *tecum ludere sicut ipsa possem* (l. 9) takes up *ludere* in the opening statement (l. 2), and the words *et tristis animi levare curas* (l. 10) echo *gravis ardor* (l. 8). The charge that the structure of lines 2–8 is 'slack' has to face these and other indications of careful artistry; even its anacoluthon proceeds within traditional literary rules. Zicàri shows how the whole eight-line sentence is carefully organized into two halves, of contrasting structure. He adds: 'The reality of a poem consists in its language; and here the language is not that of passion. For three verses the poet lingers over describing to himself the play between the little creature and the lady; then he thinks over the scene again and interprets it, and from word to word tries out on himself the credibility of his own interpretation. *Credo ... nescio quid ... tum*; these are the moments of an evaluation made by the reason. The tenderness and the warmth irradiated by *desiderium* and *solaciolum* are contained within a structure rich in intellectualized elements; and the vocabulary here is the conventional vocabulary of epigrammatic art.'

I have suggested that the last two lines redirect the thought of the poem and thereby contain a surprise. There are in fact two sentiments, each with a considerable literary history, that might be expected by C.'s readers. One of these, 'Would that I were' <some jewel, say, on my mistress' breast> is found in early *skolia* and in Hellenistic poetry. Another (referred to in Bishop 1966) is found at Meleager, *AP* 7.195.1, where *ἀπάτημα πόθων* is C.'s *solaciolum doloris*. But C. says neither 'could I but be in your place!' nor yet 'could I but be freed altogether from love'; what he says is, 'could I but play with you as she does, and relieve my passion <for the moment>'. There is thus a double surprise, inasmuch as C. alters the customary sentiment in each of the traditional *topoi* he half-recalls.

An obscene interpretation of the word 'sparrow' in this poem and that which follows, and hence of both poems, has commonly been ascribed to Politianus (*Misc.* 1.6), but was originally aired by Pontanus (*Am.* 1.5.1–31);

see Gaisser 1993: 242–3, who appositely remarks, 'There could hardly be a better example of the Renaissance tendency to read Catullus through Martial ... placed in Martial's frame [Mart. 11.6], C.'s picture loses its affective and sentimental elements.' The recent revival of this interpretation can be traced in the bibliography below, under the names of Genovese 1974, Giangrande 1975, Hooper 1985, and – on the other side – Jocelyn 1980 and Adams 1982. My own view agrees with that of Wiseman 1985: 138–9; see especially his observation (139, n. 36): 'One of the arguments cited <in favour of the obscene interpretation>, Festus 410 L on *struthion*, is in fact an *e silentio* argument against.' On the passages of Martial usually quoted by defenders of the interpretation, I should like to observe briefly: (i) at 13.6 itself, M. speaks of the conditions of a festival as spurring to *literary* activity (*versu, ... poetae*), and it seems a priori probable that here, as in 4.14, the phrase *Passer Catulli* does in fact mean a book; in any case, *Catulli* is not quite the same as *Catullianus*; (ii) in 7.14 the *passer*, and Stella's *columba*, are characterized as *nugae*, in contrast with Aulus' genuine human loss. But the coarser interpretation, revived at the Renaissance, especially in Naples by Pontanus and Panormita (and later upheld by Politianus) had a long run, in vernacular literature (where again the sparrow happened to be proverbial for salacity) as well as in Latin. In Pietro Aretino (20.20) *passero* = *membrum virile*; so also *ucello*, in Italian literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and also of the modern period.

1 *passer*: picked up by *tecum* in l. 9 (after a succession of subordinate clauses in a single sentence without stops; see introductory n.). F. has a long n. on the identification of the bird's species, in which the candidacy of *Passer domesticus* – which, as F. admits, is what Pliny meant by *passer* – is briskly dismissed with a reference to D'Arcy Thompson's *Glossary of Greek Birds*. See however Kipps 1953 for a true and charming account of a house sparrow which sang in captivity and was deeply affectionate.

2 On the apparently strange variant *al. patenti* (*X*) I wrote in *CE* as follows: 'The original reading *at petenti* was so hard to interpret that (before *appetenti* was thought of) something plainly had to be done to change it for the better, and *at patenti* looks on the whole like an attempt (unsuccessful ... and indeed feeble) in this direction.'

For *appetere* = 'peck at' Kr. cites Livy 7.26.5 (of a bird) *os oculosque hostis rostro et unguibus appetit*.

3 It is usually supposed that *desiderium meum* = 'the object of my longing' (see *OLD* s.v. *desiderium* 2). But Nisbet 1978: 92 overturns this view, with a reference to Anacreon *PMG* 444 (of Ἔρως παρθένιος) *πόθῳ στίλβων*, and translates 'shining with longing for me' (abl.). See also Baker 1958. I cannot

easily follow M.J. Edwards, *AC* 60 (1991: 262 n. 15) in his contention that *meo* 'must agree with *nitenti* rather than *desiderio*.'

6 See App. Crit. This is (*pace* Kr.) not the only place where *V* apparently had the spelling *libet*, rather than *lubet*. See 62.36, 76.14. In six places however *V* seems to have had *lub-* (*lubet* at 17.17, 24.9, 38.7, 61.126 and 204, *lubeat* 32.6). Notice *O*'s variant here; this may quite possibly be a misinterpretation of *lubet* with superscript *i* (*lubet*) in *A*, the *i* being there intended as a correction of the *u*, not – as *O* may have supposed – of the *l*.

iocari, with partly erotic overtones. Cf. 21.5 *iocaris una*; also 8.6 *multa ... iocosa fiebant*, where see n. and reference to Ov. *AA* 3.796.

7–8 Notice that *credo* and *nescio quid* modify *solaciolum* and *carum* respectively, in the direction of uncertainty and vagueness: 'I suppose ...' (C. does not claim to know the girl's inner thoughts). Regarded in this light, *credo* is by no means ironical. It must also be linked, as we have seen, to *solaciolum*; thus B. was wrong in choosing to read *credo, tum gravis acquiescit ardor*. *Solaciolum* as a vocative is also doubtful; it occurs five lines after the initial vocatives *Passer* and *deliciae*. Contrast poem 11, where the addition of the *seu ... seu* clauses forms part of a continuation – amplifying *comites* – and the vocative is clearly recalled at l. 14 (*parati*).

7 *doloris*, 8 *ardor*: figurative expressions with erotic significance. Cf. 50.17 *meum dolorem*; 45.16 *ignis ... ardet*, 62.23 *iuveni ardenti*, 68.53 *cum tantum arderem* etc. In 62.27 *flamma* and 29 *ardor*, the literal meaning (Hesperus' light) has erotic overtones. For *acquiescere* in the sense intended here, cf. Cicero, *De off.* 1.19 *agitatio mentis, quae numquam acquiescit*, Plin. *Ep.* 4.21.4 *dolor meus ... acquiescet*. Notice the combination *gravis acq. ardor*; E. quotes Celsus 3.4.14 *febris gravior* and 2.8. 23 *febris quievit*.

9 O^1 wrote *secum* (for *tecum*) in the margin, and also glossed *ipsa* with *passer*; clearly he took the meaning to be 'could I but play with *her* as the bird does.' Marginal *secum* can also be seen in the British Library Ms Burney 133 (No. 48 in my Table of Manuscripts). G^1's variant *al. luderem* must have been taken from *X*, who saw it in *A*; cf. *O*. It does not appear in R^2, who presumably rejected it as both unmetrical and ungrammatical.

Kr. observes that the line has no caesura, each foot consisting of a word; he does not explain this, but compares 42.2. In both poems, it seems to me, the effect striven for is one of heavy emphasis. Notice how *tecum ludere* picks up *quicum ludere* (l. 2).

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2[b]

There can be no link with poem 2: (i) the structure of poem 2 is complete and self-contained, on the pattern 8 + 2 lines, with the energetic resolution (and statement) in the last two lines; (ii) the syntactical change in the tense and mood of the verbs (*possem ... gratum est*) cannot be properly explained away, despite the efforts of editors to do so; Mart. 2.63.3 (*luxuria est si tanti vives amares*) is not a genuine parallel (see Zicàri on poem 2); (iii) some

sudden event – such as the dropping of the apple in the story, here alluded to, of Atalanta and Hippomenes – is envisaged in poem 2[b], whereas in poem 2 C. is reflecting on a wholly static situation (see Kr.); (iv) it is probable that a short poem, of which poem 2[b] is a fragment, was inserted between the two *passer* poems, just as poem 6 appears in the collection between the two kiss poems 5 and 7.

1 *ferunt* (cf. 64.2 *dicuntur*), 'the tale is told': here a sign that C. is passing from first-person reference (*gratum mihi*) to the world of myth.

Atalanta (*pernix* = ποδώκης; Hesiod, *Eoeae* fr. 21 Rz = 73 Merkelbach-West) had many suitors, whom she dismissed by inviting them to run a race with her. To one of them, Hippomenes (or Milanion), Aphrodite had given three golden apples from the garden of the Hesperides; these he threw down as she ran, and she could not resist picking them up, so that he won the race (and her). The scholiast on Theocr. 3.42, who tells us this, also interprets the story as indicating that A. herself desired to be defeated – a characteristically Hellenistic psychological innovation. See Philetas fr. 18 Powell, Ov. *M.* 10.560–80.

2 *aureolum*: probably, as Kr. suggests, the adj. refers to colour only. See 61.160 *aureolos pedes*; V. *Ecl.* 3.71, 8.52 (*aurea mala*).

3 *zonam solvere* = ζώνην λύειν (*Od.* 11.245, if the line is genuine); cf. 61.53, 67.28. *soluit*: trisyllable (the *u* was originally vocalic, as at 61.53 and elsewhere; but poets as early as Ennius found the consonantal alternative useful.

For the leap into simile at the conclusion of a short personal statement, cf. 65.19–24, where the poet's imagination appears to be absorbed, as here, in the simile for its own sake.

R^2's marginal remark *erat negatam* is of a kind unparalleled in his Catullus at least. There is more than one way to interpret it. McKie (198–9) insists that it must have been written immediately after the erasure of the word *negatam* and the substitution for it of *ligatam* were performed. I should have thought that, if this were so, R^2's natural mode of expressing the change would have been to write simply *al. negatam*. To me, the use of the imperfect tense ('it used to be *negatam*') has a distancing effect; Coluccio appears to imply something like this: 'the original reading – as I remember (and I should like to record the fact) – was *negatam*, though I previously emended it unhesitatingly to *ligatam*; but now I am not so sure.' (No doubt the basis of Coluccio's obvious initial confidence and therefore unusually violent course in actually erasing the word was his finding or remembering the line as it is given by Priscian.)

Eisenhut, H. 1965. 'Zu C.s c. 2a und der Trennung der Gedichte in den Handschriften,' *Philologus* 109: 301–5.

Baldwin, B. 1982. 'Catullan Interpretations: Some Pointers,' *Corolla Londiniensis* 2: 9–13.

Dettmer, H. 1984. 'C. 2B from a Structural Perspective,' *CW* 78: 107–10.

(See also bibliography on poem 2.)

3

Structure: 5 + 5 + 2 + 4 + 2.

On the death of the *passer*. This poem must of course be read as a companion piece to poem 2, whether or not the three lines we designate as poem 2[b] form part of an intervening poem, now lost (and the vast majority of scholars believe that they do).

We saw in poem 2 how the poet surprises us in the ending, at least if we have had the traditional literary genres in mind and have formed our expectations accordingly. The same thing occurs, somewhat more obviously, in poem 3. (Here, however, the structural formula is not 8 + 2 but rather 16 + 2). The note of lamentation for the bird, which is struck at the outset, is to all appearance preserved up to the exclamations in line 16, after which the thought moves in a quite unexpected direction (see 11–12 n.). It is typical of C.'s wit to produce a *fulmen in clausula* of this kind – not, as we might expect, in the short poems usually styled 'epigrams' for metrical reasons (poems 69–116), but rather in the monostichic poems of the 'polymetric' section of the *liber* (poems 1–60); these in many respects cleave strongly to the epigrammatic formulae of Rhianus or Meleager, notwithstanding the difference in metre. (Latin elegiac epigrams hardly acquired this characteristic before the time of Martial; in C. himself, the elegiac epigrams, poems 69–116, are generally marked by unity of theme and treatment from start to finish.)

As we re-read the poem (which, because of the surprise, we are surely meant to do), it becomes clear that certain expressions had all along pointed to a witty conclusion. *Homines venustiores*, for example, has little to do with love: at 35.17 *venuste* indicates intellectual brilliance, at 36.17 *invenustum omnibus cachinnis*. In lines 11 and 12, both the sounds (*it per iter*) and the language, with the off-hand colloquialism of *tenebricosum* and *negant* continued in *male sit*, and in the use in poetry of *bellus*), render the tone by degrees more and more quasi-comical and almost flippant, so that the threatening shades of Orcus, and of solemnity, are kept at arm's length. But the purpose which this creation of an unlamenting tone actually serves becomes clear only in retrospect, at a second reading, and after the last two lines have made their mark.

Despite the change of direction, there are certain indications of circular structure at the end, where *meae puellae* (l. 17) echoes lines 3–4 and *oculi* reminds us of *oculis* (l. 5); so too the *flendo* of l. 18 reminds us of the opening word *lugete*. By such means the poem's artistic unity is finally asserted.

1 The plurals have seemed to editors to require explanation. But the Latin habit of mind, which gave to so many abstract nouns (e.g., *fides, Fides*) a divine embodiment, implies that the regular and the personified use of such nouns lie close together and could not always be sharply distinguished. Thus some editors think it necessary to print *Veneres* at 86.6, whereas others do not. Similar doubt attends the Graces (*gratiae, Gratiae*). Consequently it seems quite natural to use plurals even when personification is implied.

For the meaning of *venustiorum* cf. intr. n., para. 2. As Kr. points out, Venus is the patroness of all that can be called *venustus* (he quotes Plaut. *Stich.* 27 *amoenitates omnium venerum et venustatum*); hence, of *homines venustiores* any sense of the adj.

2 'All who feel for loveliness.'

quantum est + gen. is colloquial; cf. e.g., Plaut. *Capt.* 836 *quantum est hominum sacrilegissume.* Cf. also *optumorum optume, Rud.* 706 *quantum est hominum sacrilegissume.* Cf. also 9.10 n. The idiom was metrically useful at the end of a hendecasyllabic line: see 10.24, 12.3, (13.10), 23.18, 27.2, 45.26.

5 *oculis:* a Hellenistic figure (Callim. *H.* 3.211 *ἴσον φαέεσσι φιλῆσαι*, Mosch. [illegible] *τὸν τίεσκον ἴσον φαέεσσιν ἐμοῖσιν*); cf. 14.1, 82.2, 104.2, Plaut. *Mil.* 984, *Ad.* 903.

6 *mellitus*: a slang expression (48.1, 99.1; some eds. would read *mellitus puer* 21.11). Cf. Cicero, *Ad Att.* 1.18.1, and later examples. Before C. the expression *meum mel* (in a similar sense) occurs in Plautus (*Poen.* 367; *melilla* at *Cas.* 155).

7 *ipsam*, 'his mistress'; cf. *ipsa* 2.9 and *ipse* = 'the master, the owner' [illegible] Plaut. *Aul.* 356 *ipsus, Cas.* 790 *ipsa.* We should take *ipsam* with *suam*; the enjambement will then be similar to that in lines 13–14. To take *ipsam* with *matrem* will not do: *matrem* gains nothing, and *suam* can hardly stand alone. At 32.1 I read *ipsimilla* ('my little mistress'); see App. Crit. and n. there, and cf. Petron. 63.3, 69.3, 75.11, 76.1).

puella here = *any* girl.

8 The second syllable of *illius* is always short in C.; B. expelled *illius* from 67.23 and I have followed him (see n. there).

9 Agreement of $R^2(m^2)$ with *O* points, as it often does, to a correcting variant (*siliens*) in *X*, reproducing a similar variant in *A* (note the unusual occurrence of a variant in *O* here). The superfluous *movebat* has slipped in, as a repetition of the end of line 8, because of the similarity of *illius* and *illuc*. The observation *al. vacat hoc verbum* must have come from *X*, who probably was the first to

make the blunder of introducing the word (*O* does not have it). Notice how *m* omits the word, following R^2's observation; but m^2 restores it, simply because it occurs in the text of his exemplar *R*, even though it has already been condemned (by R^2).

10 *pipiare* usually of infants' cries, or of the shrill chirping of very young birds (*OLD* s.vv. *pipio, pipito*); *titiare*, it has been claimed (see Birt, as quoted by Fr.), was appropriate to the natural song of birds, especially sparrows (Suet. fr. 161 Reifferscheid, *passerum est titiare*; see also A. Riese, *Anth. Lat.*, 762). The substitution, if such it was, is of course metrically necessary. On *pipiare* and other forms, see Ellis, *ed. maior*^{2} (1878): 350–1.

11–12 A parody of epic style; but *tenebricosum* is a colloquial, even somewhat vulgar form, which lightens the tone and firmly identifies it as mock-heroic. The humorous pseudo-solemnity of the whole passage is greatly deflated in the last two lines of the poem, where the *passer* is (or, if we read *vestra*, the shades of Orcus are) reproached for the trivial crime of reddening Lesbia's eyes. For the general idea, editors quote Greek parallels from *AP* 7 (199.3, 203.4, 211.3, 213.6).

11 *illuc*, not *illud*.

(i) The bird *is now* going *by way of* the road (less probably, 'the journey') <*to* the place> *from* which, they say, no one returns. It makes little sense to say that one returns *from* the road, when the journey is not yet over. The bourne from which no traveller returns is of course a firm literary convention, and it is no road or journey but a *place* – the realm of Acheron – as the long list of allusions in Friedrich's edition will confirm. Hence *illuc*, not *illud*.

(ii) Metrically, *illuc* is a spondee, *illud* a trochee. In a very important and influential article (1969: 38–43), Otto Skutsch showed that, in the group of poems 2–26 to which this belongs (though not in the dedication poem 1, which would naturally have been composed and added later), out of 263 hendecasyllabic lines there is not even one with a trochaic 'basis,' i.e., a trochaic first foot; whereas 260 (and I hope presently to show that the number should be 261) out of the 263 have a spondaic basis. Hence again *illuc* is to be preferred to *illud*.

12 for the sentiment: cf. Philetas fr. 6 (Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*) *ἄτραπον ἣν Λίθαο / ἤνυσα, τὴν οὔπω τις ἐναντίον ἦλθεν ὀδίτης* and Theocr. 17.118–20 *τὰ δειλία τῆνα ... ἀέρι πᾳ κέκρυπται, ὅθεν πάλιν οὐκέτι νόστος.*

13 *at* to indicate a transition involving a strong contrast: cf. 36.18 n.

13–14 *male sit ...* To the Hellenistic parallels for ideas in this poem (see 11–12 nn.) we can now add a set of papyrus fragments from Euphorion's *Thrax* (frs. 413–15 *SH*) containing a series of curses called down on an unnamed enemy for the death of some victim, published in *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (ed. Lloyd-Jones and Parsons) 1983. Their tone (as was pointed out by Professor C. Brown, who kindly drew the papyrus to my attention) seems to be mock-heroic,

and the editors suggested that the victim is an animal; Lloyd-Jones (*SIFC* 77 1984: 72) further suggests that it may be a pet bird; and he compares it with our poem.

male ... malae: cf. κακὸς κακῶς (e.g., Ar. *Eq.* 2) and similar expressions (Plaut. *Aul.* 43 *mala malam aetatem exigas*). Cf. also 61.19, 78.4.

14 At 2.9 (where see n.) G^1 alone preserves (from *X*) a faulty variant reading here G^1 alone preserves a *sound* variant reading, from the same source. It seems possible that R^2, who saw *X*, was blind to the merits of the variant because he failed to recognize *orci* as the genitive singular of *Orcus*.) *tenebrae Orci* (Lucr. 1.115) is a solemn expression; here (as at Plaut. *Pseud.* 795) the effect is mock-solemn.

bella, 'pretty' – another slightly colloquial word, which further lightens the tone.

15 The effect of *mihi* is to transfer the girl's feeling for the bird to the poet.

15–17 I find difficulties (later to be specified) in accepting the text as it is given in most editions, and have attempted to deal with these by

(i) removing the period at the end of l. 15;

(ii) placing l. 16 in a parenthesis, with a semicolon at the end of the line;

(iii) reading *vestra* (referring to the shades of Orcus) in place of *tua*.

There is some indication of Ms authority for the change from *tua* to *vestra*. Avantius, in his *Emendationes in Catullum*, published in 1495, attributes four readings, differing from the universally received vulgate of his time, to an *antiquior codex* in which he found them. These are:

(a) at 2.9, for *sicut ipsa possem*, read *sicut ipse possem*;

(b) at 2^b.3, for *habet diu ligatam*, read *habet diu negatam*;

(c) (here), for *tua nunc opera*, read *vestra nunc opera*;

(d) at 3.18, for *timent* [not *tument*] *ocelli*, read *rubent ocelli*.

Two of these readings (b and d) prove, as McKie (5–6) has noted, that Avantius' *antiquior codex* was genuine: they reproduce what we now know to be the original reading of *R*. So there need be no doubt that the two remaining readings, including *vestra* here, really did appear in the codex that Avantius consulted.

Additional probability is added to the reading *vestra* by the metrical fact just noted, that *tua*, an iambus, is metrically at odds with the spondaic basis used not only in the rest of this poem (since we have decided that *illuc* is the better reading in l. 12), but, with only two exceptions (both explicable) in the entire 263 hendecasyllables of the group of poems 2–26. *Vestra*, on the other hand, being a spondee, conforms to the (nearly 100 per cent) rule of the group.

McKie, who of course did not contemplate the parenthesis and repunctuation I now suggest, envisaged the possibility that the reading *vestra* might be 'attractive to some,' as he puts it; but he adds (p. 6 n. 1): 'They must rely heavily, however, on Housman's "Vester=Tuus," *CQ* 3 (1909), 244–248.' But if

we do as I have urged, putting the preceding line in a parenthesis and altering the punctuation, there will be no need to rely on Housman. Parentheses in Catullus, often of an exclamatory sort, can be found at 1.7 (Iuppiter!), 29.21 (malum!), 61.152–3 (refrain, and apostrophe to Hymen, in mid-sentence), 64.135 (immemor a!), and 68.89 (nefas!), among other instances. At 68.141, Gordon Williams (1968: 712) suggested putting *atqui ... aequuum est* between brackets and thus removing the need to indicate a lacuna after the line.

Now to translate – with slight omissions – the text I offer: 'Shades of Orcus, you have taken my pretty bird away (A shameful deed! Poor little bird!); it is your fault that ...' Some early scribe (it may be suggested), not understanding the implied parenthesis, altered *vestra* to *tua* because he thought it referred to *passer*.

Goold 1969, who would altogether eliminate hiatus in Catullus, has constructed a plausible case for reading *quod, miselle passer*. He finds (p. 196) that *o factum male* cannot be balanced against *o miselle passer* because the first *o* is exclamatory but the second merely indicates the vocative, its real function being to 'explain' the pronoun 'you' (implied in *tua*). 'Transpose the rhetorical situation into English, and the clumsiness of the repetition becomes self-evident: "O calamity, o sparrow, you have made her weep."' This begs the question whether the next line has to be attached to the end of line 16; Goold does not accept the possibility that both *o*'s are exclamatory, but merely remarks that 'vocative *o* after exclamatory *o* is intolerable'; therefore he emends the second *o* to *quod*, on the grounds that *o miselle passer* 'contravenes the stylistic practice of Catullus' (p. 199) by placing vocative *o* before a noun and adjective; but in order to establish this 'stylistic practice' he must alter the manuscript reading accepted by scholarship at both 1.9 (where he chooses Bergk's unacceptable rewriting of the line: see n.), and 31.12. But (i) hiatus with pathetic effect does seem to occur in Catullus (66.11; 68.158; 76.10 if we accept the *V* reading) and also in Propertius (2.15.1 *o me felicem! o nox*, etc.), and would be particularly effective here before the exclamatory repeated *o* (as for parenthetical exclamation in Catullus, there are in all about a dozen instances of this, some of which I have cited above), and (ii) the *wit* of the poem (and Catullus' love poems rarely lack witty touches) depends partly on the final two lines with their surprise ending: at this point in the poem, Catullus is about to show the reader, in a couplet which surely ought to be self-contained, that the poem is not after all a lament for the bird but a reproach, addressed to some person or persons, for reddening the girl's eyes with tears. To introduce this notion too early, in mid-line (as Goold would do), tends to blunt the point when it comes.

Two final arguments. First, the word *opera* should surely be linked to activity rather than to passivity. Qualified by *tua*, it would refer to the prima facie victim, the bird; by *vestra*, to the subject (plural) of the phrases *omnia bella devoratis* and *bellum passerem abstulistis*. Notice the sequence of active verbs: (i) in a

general statement, in the present tense, *omnia bella devoratis*; (ii) in a particular application, in the perfect tense, *mihi passerem abstulistis*; then (iii), in a climax passing in time (and ascending in degree) from the wrong experienced by C. to that now experienced by the *puella*: *vestra nunc* ... ('and *now* it is your fault, again, that ...'). With the reading *tua* there is no real climax, and – what is extremely unlike C. – the word *nunc* becomes little more than a metrical space-filler. Secondly, the apostrophe *at vobis* (l. 13) is marked by a strongly adversative *at*. This should herald a change of direction that dominates the final (climactic) section of the poem. (Examples of *single* apostrophes that do this will be given in a moment.) Instead, if we transfer our attention at l. 16 to *miselle passer*, we get *two* apostrophes, each of three lines – one apostrophe following upon another – which seems to me much weaker. And I doubt if there are any examples in Catullus' shorter poems of a double apostrophe in any way comparable to this. Single apostrophes that turn the movement of a poem and provide a strong ending may be found at poem 27 (*at vos*), 35 (*ignosco tibi*), 36 (*nunc o* ...), 37 (*tu praeter omnes*), 46 (*o dulces*), and 76 (*o di*). In poem 36 there is a strong mid-poem apostrophe to a goddess, returning however at the end, with adversative *at vos*, to the *Annales Volusi* with which we started.

Line 16 finds an echo in a ten-line inscription in memory of the dog Myia (*CE* 1512 Bücheler: see F., who gives the text).

Skutsch, O. 1969. 'Metrical Variations and Some Textual Problems in C.,' *BICS* 16: 38–40. [Read *illuc.*]

Goold, G.P. 1969. 'C. 3.16,' *Phoenix* 23: 186–203.

Walters, K.R. 1976. 'Catullan Echoes in the Second Century AD, *CEL* 1512,' *CW* 69: 353–9.

Moussy, C. 1977. 'Veneres Cupidinesque (C. 3.1),' *Mélanges offerts à L. Séder Senghor*. Dakar: 305–14.

Dahlén, E. 1977. 'Der tote Sperling der Lesbia: einige Randbemerkungen zu C.s Gedicht 3,' *Eranos* 75: 15–21.

Cassadio, V. 1986–7. 'C. III.1 ss.,' *Museum Criticum* 21/22: 337–8.

Mezzabotta, M.R. 1990. 'Johannes Burman, Catullus 3.11–14 and Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.33,' *LCM* 15: 190–1.

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4

Structure: 12 + 12 + 3.

The *phaselus* was a handy vessel, of varying size, used to convey goods or passengers, or both, in the Mediterranean sea and on the Nile. At sea, for example, it could serve as a tender to ships which by reason of their

deep draught had to stand off the shore; sometimes it was towed astern by larger ships in order to do their inshore ferrying upon arrival in port, and thus could be said to make long voyages *in statu pupillari*, as it were. Again because of its shallow draught, it was particularly useful for transport around the fields' during the Nile floods (V. *Geo.* 4.287–94). An Egyptian setting for the poem should perhaps not be ruled out. It has been subjected to an extensive analysis by Peter Glasgow. In an article, not yet published but which he and I hope to publish in consultation, it will be suggested that the poem may be in essence a version, slightly adapted, of a lost *Phaselus Berenices* (Βερενίκης φάσηλος) by Callimachus, on a vessel owned by the royal heroine of poem 66 (as well as of Callimachus' *Coma* and *Victoria Berenices*). In this interpretation the lake, originally, is Lake Mareotis; Catullus' *Iuppiter secundus* is Ζεὺς Οὔριος; the place names derive from ancient trade routes; and the Dioscuri (line 27) are mentioned in connection with their worship at the λιμὴν λιμναῖος. To see a possible translation here may seem to have some slight advantage over the often-expressed view that the poem has something to do with Catullus' return from abroad, at least for the following reason. The view just mentioned raises a question, which editors have not answered. Poems 46, 31, and 10, commonly believed to be linked with poem 4 in a 'return from Bithynia' cycle, leave no doubt about the identity of both speaker and place. Why should Catullus here – and only here – if he is the speaker or is represented by the intermediary, and if the setting is Sirmio, leave out all the names that could attach the poem to its occasion? In Glasgow's words, 'the modern recognition of the hazards involved in the identification of a poet's *persona* with himself causes us to view this traditional hypothesis with suspicion and explore other paths of interpretation ... It has never been seriously considered whether this poem might be, as others of Catullus certainly are, a translation of a Greek original.' Certainly it is so placed in the collection as to attract the greatest possible attention: not only very early, but also between the two pairs, of sparrow poems and kiss poems, which have always been pre-eminently linked with the poet's fame. It would be hardly surprising if Catullus chose here to exhibit his Callimachean affiliation by example, since in the opening poem he had undoubtedly done so by precept. This interpretation, if it could be incontrovertibly established, would explain much that is Greek, and specifically Hellenistic and Callimachean, about poem 4; these characteristics have been noted by several critics. Mette, for example, was in 1962 the first to show systematically that the poem owes much (directly or indirectly, we should now have to add) to four different, or slightly different, categories of Hellenistic epigram: namely, dedicatory epigrams, whether in the first person (self-dedicatory) or third person, and

also sepulchral epigrams, which may similarly be expressed either in the first or third person. Certainly these two kinds of epigram, the dedicatory and the sepulchral, on whose fusion the effect of the poem depends, are represented to an outstanding degree in the epigrams of Callimachus himself. Without prejudice to the question whether poem 4 is a translation, and considering it simply as a creation of C.'s art, we may say this:

The poem is an extremely sophisticated composition, inserted between the two pairs of Lesbia poems (just as 2^b divides one pair, and 6 the other) and having nothing to do with her. It brilliantly exploits the pure iambic line – difficult in Latin – to express a feeling of speed in movement, suitable to the ship. Linguistically, it explores the creation of an impression of remoteness and mystery in a short poem – written in a quite unheroic metre – by the use of epic words and phrases, usually with Greek overtones. In addition to this, the poem – like others of C.'s 'polymetrics' – contains a surprise towards the end. In ll. 1–24, it seems to derive from the fusion of two kinds of funerary epigram. In one of these, the deceased person speaks to the passer-by (*ξένος παροδίτης*), giving – according to a formula, and in a certain order – his or her name, accomplishments (*ἀρεταί*), origin (home, parents, antecedents or ancestors. In the other, the poet or his persona is made to speak about the dead in the third person; in this category are included several epigrams on 'dead' ships, for example *AP* 9.34 and 36. Within the last three lines, however, and not clearly until the middle of these, it suddenly emerges that the poem is not, after all, composed in the vein of a funerary epigram of this sort but rather in that of the dedicatory poem, 'devoting' some object to a god. Such were, in the first person, Callimachus' *Ep.* 5, on a nautilus shell, and in the third person, *AP* 6.69 and 70. The reader, who was familiar (at least in C.'s circle) with the kinds and conventions of Hellenistic poetry, has after 24 lines made up his mind what he is dealing with, namely a funerary epigram of a certain type; thus the sudden change of direction takes him unawares, when the poem becomes a dedication instead.

Apart from the Hellenism of the language (as *impotentia*, for example, reflects the meaning attached in Greek to *ἀκρατής*), a remote and legendary atmosphere is sustained by the use of an intensely artificial diction. A ship becomes a 'floating plank,' foliage is 'hair,' and oars are 'little palms.' Here we have a strenuous effort to capture the vision of the *phaselus* as a living thing, one to which strangely anthropomorphic language may be applied in acknowledgment of the rapprochement between animate and inanimate beings that pervades the early world of Greek myth. With this mythopoeic end in view, the language maintains its elevation in other respects also: not only is a forest *comata*, a sail *linteum*, but the sea is *aequor* (an epic substitution), or *freta*; a following wind is *Iuppiter secundus*, and Pollux's

'Castor's twin.' Throughout the poem, Catullus – or perhaps Callimachus – gently insists that the ship is to be regarded as a quasi-human organism, with a personality, a life history, and its own record of achievement; and secondly, that its 'life' is to be seen in an ambience of legend. It is the poet's choice of vocabulary that (helped by the rapidity of his metre) seizes the reader's attention and engages his, or her, sympathy for an object that lies altogether remote from any personal feeling.

There is a celebrated full-length parody of this poem (so close that it can be used for checking C.'s text, e.g., at l. 2, where it restores *celerrimus*) in the *Appendix Vergiliana*, *Catalepton* 10 (*Sabinus ille, quem videtis hospites;* Sabinus had been a *mulio*).

Metre: Pure iambic trimeter (cf. poem 29).

1 *hospites:* the address to the casual visitor (*ξεῖνε*) belongs to the genre of sepulchral, rather than dedicatory, inscriptions (Kr. and F.).

2 *ait . . . celerrimus*, a conspicuous Grecism. Cf. 1.16 *stetisse dicit.*

navium c.: for the fact that the adj. in the superlative fails to follow, as we should expect, the gender of the partitive gen., editors cite Cicero, *ND* (wrongly '*TD*' in F.) 2.130 *Indus, qui est omnium fluminum maximus.*

3–4 *neque . . . nequisse*, 6–7 *negat . . . negare*: effective use of the double negative has of course the effect of reducing the boastfulness of a claim; cf. Lucil. 33 M *si me nescire hoc nescis*, Plaut. *Amph.* 345 *faciam ut verum dicas dicere.*

3 *trabis* = anything made of timber (which widens the yacht's boast: she could 'overhaul anything afloat').

impetus in this limited sense is an epic word (Enn. *Ann.* 376 and 506 Skutsch, V. *Aen.* 5.219).

4 For *palmulis* ('only here,' F., but see V. *Aen.* 5.163 [Fletcher 1991: 92]) cf. 64.7 *palmis.*

6 *minacis*: on account of its violent and unpredictable northeast and southeast gales (metaphor in Hor. *Od.* 1.33.15, 3.3.5 and 9.22–3).

-ve can stand in a mixed series with *-que* because of *negat negare*, which is double negative in syntax, positive in meaning; see 3–4 n.

See App. Crit. The ship's course would naturally follow the south side (*not* 'Thrace') of the Propontis; but it was the cold winds *from* the direction of Thrace that made it rough (*horrida*). The nominative form of the name of the wind in question is *Thracias*. (See however the objections raised to the word by van Dam 1990, n. 6, which do not seem to me conclusive.) For *Thracias* as the name of a wind, cf. 26.3, where *Apheliotes = subsolanus*. As D. A. Kidd notes ('Some Problems in C. LXVI,' *Antichthon* 4 [1970]: 38–49), 'Pliny *NH* xviii 278 includes Orion among the *horrida sidera* which are responsible for stormy weather'; what should be observed here is the application of the adjective *horridus* to

rough, choppy *waves*, not to rough country. Cf. 64.270 *horrificans*. As editors have commented (see van Dam 1990: 446 and n. 5), the voyager by water will not *see* Thrace as *horrida*.

9 *Propontida*: C. lengthens a final short open vowel at l. 18 and at 29.4 (both in 'pure' iambics). In his n., F. suggests that C. 'may have had precedent for his use in Greek iambographers.'

10ff. Since Bithynia was pre-eminent as a source of ship timber, no necessary conclusion follows from these lines as to the starting point of a particular voyage.

10 *iste post phaselus*: conferring quasi-adjectival force on the adverb *post* may be intended to be seen as another Grecism (cf. 2 above); but it should be noticed (Kr.) that Ennius (in prose, translating Euhemerus) does the same thing (*Vahl.* 113 V² *ceterosque tunc homines*); for examples from Terence, Cicero, Virgil and Horace, see F.

12 *saepe sib-*: for alliteration based on *s* in the description of wind-noises, cf. 84.5–7, 10–12 (and see notes there).

13 Apostrophe, often used by C. (see ll. 26–7, 64.69, 253, 299), is characteristic of Hellenistic poetry; see A. Gellius 13.27.3 on Virgil's somewhat 'neoteric' use of this device.

Boxwood was proverbially abundant on Cytorus, a mountain just to the south of the famous shipbuilding city of Amastris; to take boxwood to Cytorus was to take coals to Newcastle, or owls to Athens (Kr.); see Eust. 88.3 on *Il.* 1.206. Cytorus was also the name of a seaport; but the adj. *buxifer* more naturally applies to the mountain. Cf. also l. 14, where *tibi* suggests that only one seaport, with its interior, is intended. Boxwood, however, seems to have had nothing in particular to do with shipbuilding; and *buxifer* may well be a purely 'learned' epithet, either translating something in Callimachus, or at any rate suggesting Callimachus; cf. 7.4 *lasarpiciferis* (linked to Cyrene and Battus), and see introductory n. Kr. and F. observe that C. uses such compound adjs. chiefly in his longer poems, and among the short poems only where the tone is elevated (as here and at 11.6–7) or else where a solemn note is parodied (36.7, 58ᵇ.3 and 5). Eust. 362.1 on *Il.* 2.853 *πυξοφόρος ἡ Κύτωρος περιάδεται.*

17 *imbuisse*: cf. 64.11. Perhaps tr. 'initiated' or 'baptized.'

18 *impotentia*, a personification: 'uncontrolled, wild.' Used (by poets) of amorous passion, as at 8.9 and 35.12; of the wind, by Hor. *Od.* 3.30.3.

19 The first *sive* is suppressed, as at Hor. *Od.* 1.3. 16 (also *S.* 2.5.10–11 and 8.16).

20 *vocare*, 'invite.' Ov. *Ep.* 13.9 *qui tua vela vocarat ... ventus* (other refs. in F. and Kr.).

utrumque = pedibus aequis (Ov. *P.* 4.5.3), 'running before a stern-wind.'

23 *sibi = a se* ('Dative of agent, not of advantage ... The yacht speaks throughout *in propria persona*, as one who manages her own affairs,' L.). C. adds these datives only to perfect participle passive forms.

novissime (*V*'s reading; see App. Crit.) should be retained. The adverb, in the sense 'after all else' (*OLD* 2), is perfectly good Latin of the Republican period (Varro *RR* 1.31.4); it will not scan in hexameters and so lacks the poetic *cachet*. But the word, so taken, does not suit the notion that the poem refers to no more than a single (westbound) voyage, since in that event the ship would abstain from vows only at the last stage, that of river navigation, which would be the *safest* part of the voyage. It is reasonable to take *esse facta* as pluperfect in intention; as Munro puts it, the *oratio recta* would be *neque ulla vota dis litoralibus mihi facta erant tum, cum novissime veni ad hunc lacum*, and the implication: 'I reached the last stage without ever having had to make such vows.' This fits the interpretation by which the ship has made *many* voyages to and fro, through many (*tot*, 18) stormy seas, and has now come to sheltered waters in its old age. For a general interpretation, see the introductory n.

limpidum: As F. points out, the word occurs only here in verse, and 'appears elsewhere only in the most prosaic and technical contexts,' e.g., of a clean water supply in Vitruvius. This serves (among other considerations) to render unlikely the emendation *limpidae* at 31.13 (see n. there).

prius here = 'long ago'; *fuere* implies 'past and gone,' as in V. *Aen.* 2.325 *fuimus Troes*.

5–6 *recondita senet quiete*: a poetic compression, expanded by Kr. as = *senectutem per quietem loco recondito degit*.

6 *senet* is archaic in style, and solemn in intonation, but (as Kr. notes) the metre demands it here.

7 Castor and Pollux were the protecting deities of seafarers; cf. 68.65. F., who gives references, also shows that Castor was regarded as the senior in rank or prestige, so that the name of Pollux was sometimes suppressed (the pair being sometimes referred to as *Castores*). Besides this passage, cf. Stat. *S.* 4.6.15–16, where Pollux is simply *alter Castor*, and Cicero, *Verr.* 2.1.129, where *aedes Castoris* = their joint temple in Rome.

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5

Structure: 6 + 5 + 2 (see below, p. 218–19).
To Lesbia: let us enjoy our brief life and the love that our elders disapprove of and the malicious would destroy.
Critics in the past assumed that this was a spontaneous outburst of emotion, of which poem 7 was a more 'literary' reworking. For a time, critical discussion in the journals bore chiefly on the pragmatic question whether finger-counting or abacus-counting was in C.'s mind. More recently, however, interest has shifted to the poem's structure and to a more thoroughgoing evaluation of C.'s artistry.

To a considerable extent, this poem makes its effect by the manipulation of sounds – especially vowel sounds. These are carefully arranged in such a way as to reinforce the structural organization. It is often claimed that there are two distinct parts: lines 1–6 and 7–13. Certainly, after two self-contained statements of three lines each (marked by the repetition *unius ... una*) we come to an obvious break. At this point the utterance of C.'s passion seems to turn into a game of numbers, the poem's 'second theme.' Does the development of this theme continue to the end of the poem, as some would have it? To me, the *aut* of l. 12 implies a restatement: 'Or rather ...'; the preceding five lines will be taken as a climactic unit, with a fairly heavy pause after *ne sciamus*, and in l. 12 we should see, I think, a re-entry

of the shadow of the *senes severiores*: 'ne quis malus ...' The implication is that l. 12 recapitulates the first theme, whereas the final line resumes the second theme: 'tantum ... basiorum.' If this is so, we have in the two concluding lines a sort of capping-piece which, detached by its *aut*, stands a little apart from the rest of the structure. Lines 1–3 employ the language of the account book: *assis facere* (cf. 42.13) and *aestimare* (both expressions are first found in C.) are much more precise than *pili facere* (10.13, 17.17) and still more so than *parvi putare* (23.25) and the like (notice also *aestimatio*, meaning an exactly assessed value, at 12.12). But in 4–6 there is no business language at all. With l. 7, however, we return to accountancy; clearly some method of computation is envisaged as the thousands succeed to hundreds; but in the climax immediately after the technical expression *facio* (in the sense of 'assess,' 'calculate,' or 'make up the number') comes the explosive *conturbabimus*: we shall go bankrupt. C. uses the very vocabulary of the *senes*, to whom the poem bids defiance, in order to confound their malignant calculation. What other end could the use of such language serve in a love poem, or at least in this one?

The final summing-up in 12–13 reminds us of poem 45, in which the third section recapitulates the whole, lines 21–2 referring to 1–8 and 23–4 to 10–16. But there is a further link between these two poems: the use of sounds. In both of them open *a*'s are an index of triumph: see 5.1 and 2; 45.20 and 22 (and the refrain as well). In both, *o* sounds announce a male speaker or speakers: Septimius in 45, here the *senes*, whose grumbling is also voiced in the displeasing *s* and *r* sounds of l. 2. An obvious point is the effect of *occidit brevis lux*, with a decreasing number of syllables in each successive word and the chopped-off monosyllable at the end of the line – a very rare thing in hendecasyllables (it is repeated, significantly, at 7.7) – followed at once (to drive it home) by *nox est*. Notice also the phrase *perpetua una dormienda*, with its repetition of the vowel sounds *u* and *a*, together with the use of extended, 'lingering' words (*perpetua, dormienda*), the (somehow) powerfully soporific elision of *-a* before *una*, and the abrupt challenge of the ensuing *da mi*, announced in faint tones in the antecedent *-mienda* and echoed later in the minor key of *dein mille*. Such are the mechanics of a poem once thought of as a delightful impromptu.

1 *vivamus*, 'let us *really* live.' This extended sense was established before C.: Varro, *Men.* 87 Büch. (other parallels in F.).
atque, 'that is to say.'
2 *rumores*, not 'gossip' here but rather 'grumbling' or 'muttering' (Kr.: 'malicious comments').
severus of course = 'strict,' not (in our sense) 'severe'; cf. perhaps *saevus* in

poem 103, where see nn. Lucretius uses *noctis signa severa*, thinking above all of the *fixity* of the stars' courses (5.1190). The comp. implies '*unduly* strict', but as Kr. points out, metrical considerations also apply; cf. 3.2, 9.10.

3 *assis*: cf. 42.13.

5 The comma inserted in my text after *nobis* seems necessary if *nobis* is to be taken as referring (in idea) both to *lux occidit* and to *nox est dormienda*. (Some editors punctuate *nobis cum* ...)
nobis (in a general sense) = human beings. As Q. remarks, the frequentative 'aorist' perfect tense of *occidit* confirms this.

6 *una* (not, of course, *una* = 'together') combines with *perpetua* to qualify *nox*. Notice the clever use of sound ('wavering' alternations of *u* and *a*) to suggest endless sleep, in contrast with the brutal cutting-off indicated by monosyllables (*lux*, at the end of the line, followed at once by *nox*).

7 On the history of the word *basium* (first used by C.; possibly an importation from his native province), see F.; later it became part of the colloquial language (hence *bacio*, *baiser*, etc.). See also poem 7, intr. n.

8 Both *deinde mi*, in the first part of the line, and *da*, in the second, result from attempts by R^2 to restore the metre by original conjecture. As in the great majority of such cases, the R^2 corrections are picked up by *m* (not merely by m^2), which shows that they belong to R^2's first diorthosis (see 2^b.3 n.). In a letter of Coluccio's (Novati, III. 36), to which a date between 1392 and 1394 is assigned by the editor, this line is quoted, as McKie (190) notes, in the form given to it in the R^2 corrections: *deinde mi altera da* ... This does not, however, give more than a *terminus ante quem* for the corrections. We simply do not know how soon Coluccio began to correct his codex *R*, or even whether he had the copy made as soon as he received *X* or waited for some years to find a suitable scribe; the large clear lettering of *R* appears to meet the needs of a Coluccio whose eyesight was beginning to fail, towards the end of his life (which hardly suggests the year 1375, thirty-one years before Coluccio's death to which McKie would implicitly assign it). (On p. 197 and n. 1, McKie refers to the year 1392 – quoting Novati, II. 386 – as the time at which complaints of failing eyesight first occur.) It is possible that *R* itself is to be dated as late as ca. 1392–3, and probable (at least) that Poggio or another copied *m* from *R* in the years 1397–8. Thus, if Coluccio returned to *R* to make a second diorthosis shortly after the scribe of *m* took his copy – therefore, when the readings of *R* were 'in the air,' so to speak, in Coluccio's circle – there could be as little as five years between what I formerly called 'early' and 'late' corrections in R^2.

10 *fecerimus*, fut. perf. indic.: note the archaic quantity of the *i*: in later poets it is always short; in Cicero, however, it is as a rule long. *facio* here = 'count, add up.'

conturbabimus, 'go bankrupt' (always intransitive, in this sense).

illa, 'how much.' ('What *that* sum is – a kind of demonstrative *ille*.) Cf. line 13 *tantum*.

Some editors punctuate *conturbabimus, illa, ne* ...; but see n. on *conturbabimus* (above).

invidere, 'cast the evil eye on.' In number magic, to be able to count your adversary's possessions gave you the power to put a spell on them.

cum ... *sciat*, 'inasmuch as he knows.'

tantum ... *basiorum*, 'the sum of ...'

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6

Structure: 5 + 9 + 3 (see below).

Intercalated between two of the most ardent poems arising out of C.'s own passion for Lesbia, this occasional piece removes us temporarily from all deeper and more personal feeling. Who Flavius was is unimportant: Catullus is – *lepido versu* – rallying a friend, in the hope of finding out the name of his present *innamorata*. That the poem is an early composition may be guessed, not from its position in the collection or the fact that Lesbia fails to appear in it directly or indirectly, but from the touch of rhetorical terminology which, in line 11, it appears to contain: *argutatio* and *inambulatio* both belong to the propaedeutic of the orator's craft (see l. 11 n.), and (as I have suggested in discussing poem 1) the prosaic and logical manner of exposition, articulated by *nam* (line 6) and *quare* (line 15), may well do so too. It may most reasonably be supposed that Flavius was occupied in pursuing the *trocinium fori*, which Catullus himself, as seems inherently probable, came to Rome in the first instance to undertake, though from various hints he drops we may be pretty sure that he is distinctly half-hearted about it.

The poem exhibits a certain circularity of structure, as Bardon (1943: 15) has noted: in lines 1–3 (according to Bardon; I prefer the division 1–5) the theme is 'let's talk of your love-affair'; in 4–11 (or 6–14, on my interpretation) the evidence for the affair itself is presented; finally (11–17 by Bardon's reckoning, or perhaps 15–17) we return to the theme 'let's talk of your love.'

In the concluding line and a half, as so often (in other, similar, poems it may be a pair of lines, or slightly more or less), we find an unexpected twist: the friend, having been urged to share a confidence, finds that what Catullus intends is to celebrate and publish the entire affair – *te ac tuos amores* – no doubt to his (imagined) consternation. When in l. 16 Catullus says *dic nobis*, we should look carefully at poem 67, with its *dic agedum nobis* in l. 7 and *nobis dicere ne dubita*: in that poem the house door, as a participant in an imagined dialogue, is implicitly being asked to yield to a trusted friend (and sympathizer) a heavily guarded secret. The same thing surely occurs here.

1 *delicias*, 'sweetheart' (= *amores* 16, though a little stronger); cf. 45.24.

2–3 Notice the sequence of verb tenses (*sint ... posses*), for which cf. 23.22–3; the primary tense represents a closer degree of possibility, the secondary tense by comparison that which is somewhat unreal.

5 *febriculosi*, 'sickly.' Association with ill health (cf. 81.3–4) or with hunger (cf. 21.1 and 10–11; also 47.2, where see n.) is for C. a conventional weapon of abuse. Plaut. *Cist.* 406 implies that *febriculosa* was used of common (low-grade) prostitutes: see Morgan 1977.

6 *viduas*, 'without a mate'; cf. 68.6 *lecto caelibe*. Notice that in both places the epithet is transferred. Kr. cites Ov. *Ep.* 18.69 *tot viduas exegi frigida noctes*; Petron. 133.1 *contentus fuit vidua pudicaque nocte*.

7 *tacitum*, equivalent to a *si* clause (*si taceat cubile, nequiquam tacet*): 'it's no use the couch keeping silence, for it shouts aloud.' Cf. 80.7.

9 *peraeque et hic et ille / attritus*: the pillow is equally depressed (or compressed, not 'worn') on both sides of the bed. Cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.14.32 *pressus prior est, interiorque torus*.

The variant *al. hic* in R^2 (m^2) is taken from X, as is clearly shown by the presence of *hic* in G^1. Where X lies behind an R^2 variant, that variant is picked up by m^2, not by m. To this rule there are virtually no exceptions. It does not, of course, follow, either in logic or in fact, that where a correction by R^2 (sometimes expressed as a variant) is original, and not taken from X, it *must* be reproduced in m, not m^2; even in his later diorthosis, R^2 had some original ideas. Still, most of R^2's truly original changes are due to his earlier diorthosis, and identifiable as such by their appearance in m/m^2; an example of this will be found in l. 17.

10 *quassa*: this adj., really appropriate to the bed (Ov. *Am.* 3.14.26 *sponda tremat*), is transferred to the abstract nouns in l. 11.

11 *inambulatio*, 'walking about,' as a courtroom orator's activity (recommended in *Rhet. Her.* 3.27; *contra*, Cic. *Brut.* 158). *argutatio* is not found elsewhere, but it may be suspected that it, too, is (unless C. invented it in order to use it here) a

kind of technical term of rhetorical education: *argutus* is applied to clever speech (cf. *argutator*, Gell. 17.5. 13), to expressive looks and gestures, and to very shrill sounds (hence it is usual to tr. *argutatio* 'creaking'). Nonius (245.30 M = 69 L) says *argutari = loquacius proloqui*. Is it possible that C. is making play in this line with the notion that the couch is acting as counsel for the prosecution, so to speak – mustering 'circumstantial evidence' (Q.) against Flavius? For another pair of rhetorical technical terms cf. 24.9 n.

13 *tam* with *effututa*; for displaced *tam*, cf. 60.3.
latus is, as Kr. says, regarded as the seat of strength: *Priap.* 26.11 *defecit latus*. See *OLD*, s.v. *latus* 2a.

14 unemphatic *tu* is colloquial (J.B. Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangssprache*, p. 100). Cf. e.g., 13.13, 23.22.

15 *quidquid habes*: cf. Hor. *Od.* 1.27.17–18 *quidquid habes, age / depone tutis auribus*.

16 *volo*, with 'iambic shortening.' Cf. 17.8, etc. Q. quotes R.G. Austin on V. *Aen.* 2.735; see also F. on 10.27.
amores = l. 1 *deliciae*. For *amores* in 'concrete' sense, i.e., signifying a person, see 10.1, 15.1, 21.4, 38.6 (and n.), 40.7, 45.1.

17 *ad caelum vocare*, 'pay the highest honours to'; cf. Cicero, *Ad Att.* 6.2.9 *nos in caelum decretis suis sustulerunt*.

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Skinner, M.B. 1983. 'Semiotics and Poetics in C. 6,' *LCM* 8: 141–2.
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7

Structure: 2 + (4 + 2) + 4 (see below).

A deferred sequel to poem 5: 'You take me up on the "multitude of kisses" and ask how many I really want'; but the difference in psychological standpoint between this poem and its companion-piece, poem 5, is very great. That had been, for all its sophistication, a record of straightforward courtship, of amorous pursuit; this, on the other hand, is a poem of happy satiety, of love achieved. Echoes of poem 5 in poem 7 only serve to make this contrast more evident.

The touch of pedantry in *quaeris* ('your question is'; today, surely, it has a slightly scholastic flavour) sets the tone of quiet, complacent intellectual inquiry which prevails in the first part of the poem. To such a tone the geographical and historical references are wholly appropriate: they would have been out of place in poem 5, which exists throughout in the sphere of action. This ruminative note agrees with the introduction of several long words, coined apparently by the poet to suit the needs of the occasion: *basiationes* (developed out of *basia*, itself a word to which C. seems to have been the first to give literary status; see F. on 5.7); *lasarpiciferis*, another fresh coinage, languid in sound as well as learned and exact in reference; and finally *pernumerare*. In l. 7 the strongly disjunctive *aut* is used, just as we found it to be used in poem 5, in order to introduce a new direction to the poem's imaginative movement. Thus we are presented not with an unbalanced structure but with a carefully counterpoised 2 + (4 + 2) + 4 lines, where the parts of the poem that lie outside the parenthesis might be perceived as a self-sufficient statement, as if C. had first written:

Q. Quaeris, quot mihi basiationes / tuae, Lesbia, sint satis superque.
A. Tam te basia multa basiare / vesano satis et super Catullo est / quae (= ut ea) nec pernumerare curiosi / possent, nec mala fascinare lingua.

and thereafter, inside this framework of question and answer, had inserted two traditional images of numberlessness, those of the sands and the stars, and had arranged these in such a way that their lengths respectively balance, in reverse order, the length of the question and of the answer.

In *nox*, placed (as monosyllables so rarely are) at the end of a hendecasyllabic line, we must see an echo of poem 5 (see intr. n. on p. 219); and there is a graceful echo of that preceding poem in the final two lines, where the *senes severiores* reappear as merely *curiosi*, and the epithet *malus* is gently transferred from man to tongue. Thus the harsh terms used in poem 5 are to some extent softened. Yet in spite of this milder mood C. is very conscious of his obligation to poem 5 and strives to acknowledge the debt in his language, as we have partly seen. In this respect poem 7 stands to poem 5 as poem 3 to poem 2; though the dependence is manifested not by the unchanged repetition of an entire line, as at 3.4, but by a recall with changes, suitable to the altered atmosphere of the second poem. Throughout most of poem 7, the aspect presented by the phrases repeated from poem 5 is, in comparison, less youthful in spirit, less passionate – until we come to the word *vesano* in l. 10, and to the last two lines which it heralds. Here, in the sudden reference back to the dominant thought of poem 5, lies the

significant change of direction, at a penultimate stage of the poem, which we have been forced to recognize in each of the other lyrics so far discussed: Catullus is not, after all, beyond the possibility of anxiety at the hands of the *curiosi*.

1 *basiationes*: Q. has called attention to C.'s love of 'learned' polysyllables ending in *-atio* (cf. 48.6 *osculationis*); they are, of course, particularly suited to hendecasyllabic verse.

2 *tuae*, 'of you' (= *tui*). The personal possessive pronoun (possessive adj.) is often substituted for an obj. gen., as here: cf. 87.4 *in amore tuo*.

3 *Libyssa*, 'Libyan'; a Greek form (cf. 60.1 n.).

4 *lasarpiciferis*: the adjective in *-fer*, attached by C. to the proper noun here, is probably as literary and conventional as *buxifer*, similarly attached at 4.13 (where see n.). The identification of the plant known as lasarpicium, or silphium (*σίλφιον*) is still uncertain. What is known is that it became the peculiar product, and principal source of wealth, of Cyrene: it appeared on the coinage of that city, and of no other. It was used in cookery, and in fattening sheep, etc. Medically, it appears to have been regarded as a panacea; the fact that *inter alia* it was prized as an aphrodisiac is of no significance for understanding this poem. It may have been over-cropped; by C.'s time it was regarded as an article of luxury, in Rome at least, and within a very few generations it had died out, being replaced, as F. says, by 'an inferior quality ... from the East.' Strabo (2.5.37) applies the adj. *σιλφιοφόρος* to Cyrene.
Cyrenis: the short *y* is found, in Latin, only here and at *Catalepton* 9.61. Greek practice varies (see F.); C. may, especially in this context, have adopted from Callimachus the liberty to vary the quantity of the *y*.

The provenance of R^2's *al. fretis* is obscure; but if *A* had *fretis*, easily read as *fetis* (altered to *fecis* by *O*; for example, see 42.14 and 18, 66.29, 68.87, and 84.11), then it would be easy to suppose *feris* to have been the reading in the text of *X*, through a not uncharacteristic error, with *al. fetis* as an emending variant. It is to be remembered that the strange and (to say the least) very rare word *lasarpiciferis* appears as two words in our extant Mss, a fact which intensified the difficulty of restoring it and in itself contained a temptation to emend the second 'word' – a temptation to which *X* may be supposed to have succumbed in this instance.

5 *aestuosi*: transferred epithet. The oracle of Zeus Ammon (= *Iuppiter*) lay in the burning desert of the region which, of all the territory belonging to Cyrene, was furthest from the moderating influence of the sea. To transfer the adj. to Zeus himself may have been Callimachus' idea.

6 *Batti*: Battus was the legendary founder of Cyrene; Callimachus (*H.* 4.175) himself claimed descent from him (as 'Battiades'; see 116.2 n.).

It is interesting that Callimachus seems to have been the first poet to use the figure of the stars of the sky as an image of uncountability (in prose, it is found in Plato, *Euthyd.* 294b, combined with the other image in this passage, that of desert sand). Kr., in a note on 5.7, suggests that the 'many kisses' motif also may go back to Callimachus, though Catullus exaggerates the number in a way that is highly characteristic of him.

Battus' tomb was in the *agora* of Cyrene: see Pindar, *Pyth.* 5.125 (93).

8 *furtivos*: cf. 68.145 *furtiva ... munuscula*, in a similar context.

9 We should take *te* as one obj., and *basia* as the other (internal) obj., of *basiare*. As Kr. and F. point out, this has only one Latin parallel, Cato *De Agr.* 134.2, but a Greek one at Mosch. 3.68–69.

11–12 The last two lines introduce a new idea, and contain the point of the poem. The echo of poem 5 is clear; cf. *mala* with 5.12 *malus*. For *mala lingua* cf. V. *Ecl.* 7.28.

11 *pernumerare*, 'count to the end,' 'count up.'
curiosi = *malevoli* (Plaut. *Stich.* 208 *curiosus nemost quin sit malevolus*).

Moorhouse, A.C. 1963. 'Two Adjectives in C., 7,' *AJP* 84: 417–18.
Segal, C. 1974. 'More Alexandrianism in C. VII?,' *Mn* 27: 139–43.
Bertram, S. 1978. 'Oral Imagery in C. 7,' *CQ* 28: 477–8.
Arkins, B. 1979. 'C. 7,' *AC* 48: 630–5.
Johnston, P.A. 1993. 'Love and *laserpicium* in C. 7,' *CP* 88: 328–9.

8

Structure: 2 + 9 + 7 + 1, with many repetitions; see Q., p. 115, for a good analysis. See also Schmiel 1990/91.

Modern criticism has usually regarded this moving poem as a serious 'dramatic monologue' (Rebert 1920) on the theme of 'the lover's conflict' (Connor 1974). It has however been categorized by some critics as a humorous portrayal <by Catullus> of himself in the character of a lover longing to touch her (i.e., Lesbia's) heart by the vain threat of leaving her. These words were written in 1909 by Morris, and at least until very recently they have still found a following. Their validity has been hotly contested by Ilse Schnelle, J.P. Elder and others, but they were endorsed in 1934 by the authority of R.L. Wheeler. The two points made originally by Morris (humorous tone, and the attempt to win back Lesbia's love) have since become entirely separate critical propositions: Swanson (1963) entitled an article 'The Humor of Catullus 8' without mentioning the plea to Lesbia, and two years later T.E. Kinsey (1965: 539) adopted the view that 'Catullus seeks to win back Lesbia's love' without mentioning the humour. Schuster (RE

2372) describes Morris' view as a *zweifellos in die Irre gehende Auffassung*, without giving reasons for his opinion.

In fact there are some fairly weighty reasons against accepting either of Morris' two contentions. Line 5 is repeated, almost unchanged, in poem 37, and in a context where there can be no question of humour:

> Salax taberna ...
> puella nam mi (me, *codd.*), quae meo sinu fugit,
> amata tantum quantum amabitur nulla,
> pro qua mihi sunt magna bella pugnata,
> consedit istic.

If these lines, with so clear and so resonant an echo of poem 8, are intended to be taken as amusing, at least Lesbia did not share this opinion; she thought of them as *truces iambi* (36.5; see intr. n. to poem 36). If this description was not meant by Lesbia to refer to poem 37, the only possible other candidate, in the appropriate metre, would be poem 8 itself, which defenders of Morris' view put out of court by declaring it to be humorous. Moreover, there is no firm evidence, either (a) that when C. referred to *iambi* he could mean hendecasyllables or any other non-iambic metre (see the intr. n. to poem 36), or (b) that we do not possess, for 'practical purposes,' all the published work of Catullus. It would be strange indeed if such a line as this (l. 5) should make its appearance both in the seriously meant invective of poem 37 and in a humorous context in our present poem.

For the relation of this poem to the seventy-sixth (a more leisurely, elegiac meditation on approximately the same topic) see Dyson 1973, and cf. poem 76 intr. n.

1 *desinas*: for the 'jussive' subjunctive, see S.A. Handford, *The Latin Subjunctive* (London, 1947): 42. Cf. 32.7, 61.91, 76.14 and 16. If this type of subjunctive is comparatively rare in prose, this is simply because only verse dictates its substitution for the imperative, as here, on grounds of metrical necessity.

Self-address (cf. poems 46, 51, 52, 76, 79) is not merely a rhetorical device, but always (in C., at least) has emotional overtones; see F. on 68.135. Here, as Q. points out (and the same is true of poem 76, and perhaps poem 51), it points to C.'s 'awareness of a conflict within himself.'

2 Plaut. *Trin.* 1026 is not metrically parallel, *pace* Fordyce and Quinn; the line is not a hendecasyllable except by chance (really it is part of a trochaic tetrameter); Lindsay reads *periisse* (the form cited in F.'s n. is *perisse*, with no discussion).

3 *soles* = *dies*; appropriately, after *candidi* ('*sunny* days'). Cf. 5.4 n.

4 C., like many another man in love, was 'enslaved' to his mistress; but with this line for evidence the absurd inference has been drawn that he stood on a lower social plane than she did.

5 Repeated (with a slight variation) at 37.12. See intr. n.
m's reading (*amabiliter*) well illustrates his carelessness. When such a reading recurs in one of the *deteriores* (see, in this instance, the Table of Manuscripts, No. 29 n.), it clearly proclaims the dependence of that Ms, at least in part, on *m*.
It is curious how *m* repeats his own error at 37.12.

6 *iocosa*, of 'lovers' play' (Kr.). Cf. Ov. *AA* 3.796 *nec taceant mediis improba verba iocis* – which suggests that there is nothing 'verbal' about the *ioci* themselves.
cum (with comma at the end of 7) gives a tighter, more integrated, syntax than *tum*. Otherwise the three lines (7–9), each of them virtually self-contained, have a jerky effect. See E. Fraenkel, *JRS* 51 (1961) 51 n. 20, who defends *tum*.
tum is not the reading of *R* (as Mynors and Q.), but of R^2.

9 *non vult*: in an erotic sense. Cf. Alcaeus, *AP* 12.29 οὐ θέλει, ἀλλὰ θελήσει.
impotens, 'uncontrolled' (= καίπερ ἀκρατὴς ὤν); i.e., with Avantius' reading, 'violently reject her.' Some eds. fill the lacuna with *ne sis*; but *quoque* seems to make this unlikely.
<*noli*> balances l. 7 *nolebat*, and should therefore be preferred to Scaliger's <*ne sis*>.

10 Before *quae* we must supply *eam*, not *ea*. For *quae fugit sectare*, cf. Theocr. 11.75 τί τὸν φεύγοντα διώκεις;
vivere practically = *esse*; cf. 10.33, Plaut. *Men.* 908.
The correction in R^2 (*m*) is metrical in character, and as such – given Colucci's interests – fairly obvious; it has of course no connection with G.

13 *rogabit*, in an erotic sense. Cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.8.43 (*casta est quam nemo rogavit*), 2.7.25.

14 *nulla* (colloquial) = *non*, 'not at all'; cf. Ov. *Ep.* 10.11–12 *nullus erat!* ('he was not there at all'); also *M.* 11.579 *viro, qui nullus erat*, and 684 *nulla est Alcyone*, *nulla est*.

15 *vae te* (accusative) appears less strong than *vae tibi* (B. says the dative implies *execratio*, the acc. merely *miseratio*). Since only dat. or acc. case can follow *vae*, the reading of *V* at 64.196, *vae misera*, is highly suspect; see the text and notes there.
tibi manet differs from *te manet* in implying the notion of fate: Cicero, *Phil.* 2.11 <*P. Clodius*>, *cuius tibi fatum manet*.

17 *diceris*: 'who will call you his own now, as I did?' rather than Kr.'s 'with whom will you be linked now by gossip?'

19 *destinatus*: probably substituted, *metri gratia*, for *obstinatus*.

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Rebert, H.F. 1920. '*Obdura* – A Dramatic Monologue,' *CJ* 26: 287–92.

Swanson, R.A. 1963. 'The Humor of C. 8,' *CJ* 58: 193–6.
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Schmiel, R. 1990/91. 'The Structure of C. 8: A History of Interpretation,' *CJ* 86: 158–66.
Decreus, F. 1992. 'Le poème 8 de C. et le conflit de ses codes,' *Euphrosyne* 20: 47–72.
Thom, S. 1992. 'Catullus: Arida ... pumice expolitum?,' *Akroterion* 37: 15–22.

9

Structure: 5 + 4 + 2.

A cheerful little poem of friendship, welcoming Veranius back from Spain, where he had gone in company with Fabullus (to whom poem 13 is addressed). But the artistry involved in the working-out of this simple and straightforward theme is a good deal more subtle than appears at first sight. Very likely, as its tone suggests, this is a quite early poem: Syme 1956 tentatively dated it to 60–59 BC, when C. would have been about 21 or 22. If Lachmann's view that C. was born in 77 were correct, the poet would be scarcely 15 at the time of the events in the poem, and Asinius Pollio (born in 76) is *puer* (16, or thereabouts) in poem 12, which is also datable

to Veranius' return from Spain (12.14–16). If so, then in poem 12 (a) C. addresses an older man as *inepte*, and (b) he calls *puer* one of his own age or possibly slightly older. While (b) is not impossible, (a) seems unlikely.

As in some other early poems, a certain liveliness is added by the use of unpoetical language (l. 2 *antistans*, 'set off against'; l. 10 *o quantum est hominum beatiorum*, cf. Plaut. *Capt.* 835–6 *o mihi quantum est hominum optumorum optume*). The order of the composition is straightforward, but there is a great deal of carefully introduced variety within it: first (as we shall see presently) by the use of three different time-levels (perfect, pres., fut.), and secondly by rapid movement of the focus from C. to his friend and back again, thus: *Your* return (my best of friends) to *your* family, gives *me* joy. *You*, safe home, I shall see, and hear your tales: what joy for *me!* (Observe the sequence *meis* 1, *mihi* 2, *tuos* 3; *mihi* 5, *te* 6; *tuus* 8, *me* 11.) Perhaps most important of all is the articulation of the little poem by means of *o*, repeated from l. 5 to l. 10. Thus the second-person first section poses a question (l. 3 *venisti?*) in the perfect tense, and answers it with a repeated *venisti* (l. 5), followed by an exclamation in the implied present tense, preceded by *o*. In the second part (ll. 6–9) we pass to the future, anticipating further delights; but in l. 10 we again recur to the present tense preceded by *o*, in order (once again) to voice the poet's own feelings. C.'s careful attention to balance and variety (avoiding, however, rigid symmetry), and the resulting liveliness, are not sufficiently often recognized as having to do with the ease that comes from art. For poetic addresses of welcome, especially to a friend returning from abroad, see Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Od.* 2.7 (intr. n. on p. 107).

1–2 B.'s substitution of *o* for *e* is still sometimes taken seriously by scholars (it is at least mentioned by F., for example); but its corollary, the subjoining of the remark 'who are three thousand in number,' is absurd. It might be claimed that *milibus trecentis* should be taken as an abl. of measure, 'by 300 miles' (cf. Ar. *Nub.* 430 ἑκατὸν σταδίοισιν ἄριστον). But this would leave *antistare ex* = 'stand out from among'; B. says this is not Latin, and he is probably right. Again, *milibus trecentis* cannot be a mere – rather pointless – addition to *amicis* ('who happen to be 300,000 in number'); it must surely be a dative of the indirect object after *antistans* (cf. *praesto*, etc.), while *mihi* clearly means 'in my eyes' (dative of the person affected). A literal rendering might be: 'who <alone> of all my friends <are such as to> surpass 300,000 <friends>.' For a similar use of *antistare*, cf. Claudius Quadrigarius (ca. 80 BC) *qui omnibus virtute antistabat* (B.). Cf. also Cicero, *Ad Att.* 2.5.1 *Cato ille noster, qui mihi unus est pro centum milibus.*

4 *sanam* is plainly imported into *X* as a variant. *A* must have had something like *uno animo sanumque*; to *X*, it must have been obvious (assuming this division of the words, which he did not question) that *sanam* was unmetrical; and so, either deliberately or instinctively, he substituted the metrically acceptable *suam* for it in his text, relegating the old text to the status of a variant. *anum* (adj.): cf. 68.46, 78[b].4; for *senex* as adj., cf. 67.4 *ipse senex* ('the old master').

5 The question is answered by repeating the verb; cf. 77.4–5. For exclamatory *o* with nom. as well as acc., cf. Prop. 2.15.1 *o me felicem! o nox mihi candida!*

nuntii beati: nominative (see F.). C. does not employ the *-ii* genitive of nouns (as opposed to adjectives) in *-ium* or *-ius*. Twice, as Fr. points out, C. somewhat awkwardly substitutes a dative in *-io* for what could more easily have been a genitive in *-ii*, if he had used that form (113.4, where see n., and 97.2). Even in Lucr., *-ii* is rare (5.1006 only; see n. on 113.4); and it seems altogether lacking in Cicero. 'The *-ii* form, originally, it seems, a device suggested by Lucilius for avoiding ambiguities, e.g., *iudici* (dat. of *iudex* or gen. of *iudicium*?), was promoted by Varro. Ignored by Horace and used once by Virgil (*Aen.* 3.702, unless *fluvii* is adj.), it occurs five times in Prop. (three of these are proper names) and thereafter becomes normal' (L.).

6–9 The *hysteron proteron*, by which the story precedes the greeting, is characteristic of C. (cf. 31.8, 50.13), and also of Virgil in particular among the other Latin poets. Kr.: 'The story comes before the greeting as being of greater weight.' See further the n. on 50.13.

6 *Hiberum* is probably from *Hiberus*, as Kr. claims (F. agrees: '*Hiber* does not occur in the oblique cases').

8 *tuus*: as often happens with original R^2 corrections, *tuus* is superior both in sense and also metrically.

applicans ... collum ('your neck'): drawing towards one the neck of the person to be greeted. Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Od.* 1.36.6 for the sentiment.

9 *iucundum*, 'pleasant, delightful': a word often applied by C. to his close friends, such as Calvus.

10 *o quantum est ...*; cf. 3.2 n. The syntax is loose: as F. says, 'the whole *quantum* clause takes the place, as it were, of a partitive genitive <and is> equivalent to *omnium hominum beatiorum*, "of all the happy men there are, who is happier than I?"'

Syme, R. 1956. 'Piso and Veranius in C.,' *C&M* 17: 129–34.

10

Structure: (4 + 4) + 15 + 11. See E. Fraenkel, *Horace* 114ff., for an analysis. A genre-piece, purporting to recount a conversation that resulted from a chance encounter in the Forum. The atmosphere and tone are those of Roman satire – editors refer to Horace, *S.* 1.9 – rather than Greek epigram,

with its pointedness and 'literary' language; so far as Hellenistic genres are to be thought of as having any possible influence on the poem, the closest resemblance to its tone might be found, as Kr. suggests, in the mime. Besides the suggestion (by the use of colloquial language, interrupted lines, and other means) of a lively dialogue, there is, as Q. points out, an element of 'wry, detached self-observation.' The date attributed to the event (by implication) is shortly after C. returned from Bithynia, i.e., in the late spring, or the summer, of 56 BC. 'Varus' is probably the Varus who is mentioned in the first line of poem 22; but whether he is Alfenus Varus, the eminent jurist who was to become *consul suffectus* in 39 BC (see nn. on poem 30), or Quintilius Varus, the friend of Virgil and of Horace (*Od.* 1.24, on his death, is addressed to Virgil), cannot be determined on the evidence furnished by this poem; both of them came from Cremona, and either of them might have been included in the circle of C.'s friends, of Transpadane origins, who moved in the legal and literary society of the capital.

1 Note the position of *me*, between *Varus* and *meus* (Kr.: 'an enclitic word . . . cf. 64.228 *quod tibi si.*').

For *meus*, see the note on 9.8; R^{2i}'s correction is probably independent. G^1, however, shows that the same word, *meus*, was written above *mens* in *X*. If R^2 had taken it as a variant from *X*, as McKie suggests, he would have prefixed *a*.

No one capable of scanning hendecasyllables could accept *mens*.

2 *visum*: *visere* is often used of visiting the sick, especially with *ad*: F. quotes Ter. *Hec.* 188–9, Lucr. 6.1239, Ov. *Am.* 2.2.21, and later passages. Mention of Serapis (l. 26) confirms the probability that V.'s friend is sick, or pretending to be.

3 *scortillum*: a *hapax eiremenon*.

Here *m* reads *tunc*, thus following (uncorrected) *R*, and m^2 – unusually – either fails to notice R^{2i}'s correction or does not think the change from *tunc* to *tum* worth making. The former alternative is much the more likely: (i) *m* very rarely, if ever, shows even this limited degree of independence; (ii) the way in which the correction was made (*tūnc*, the expunging dot under the *c* being extremely faint) leaves the shapes of the four original letters intact. (Even Ullman's eye missed the correction.)

repente, 'at first glance.'

4 *non sane*: as Kr. remarks, *sane* is apt to follow negations.

illepidum . . . invenustum: cf. 36.17.

5 *incidit sermo* (or *mentio*) of a topic 'coming up' in conversation: cf. Plin. *Ep.* 4.22.5 (*sermo*), Livy 1.57.6 (*mentio*).

6 *quid esset*, 'how it was with,' or (F.) 'what was the news of.'

7 *se haberet*: applied to a Roman province in Cicero, *Ad Fam.* 4.5.6.

8 The emending variant is probably to be attributed to *X*; possibly to *A*.

9 *id quod erat*, parenthetical: 'what in fact was true.'

ipsis must mean 'the inhabitants'; Kr.'s objection that the Roman administrators could not have cared whether the populace made money or not is beside the mark: the main point is that Bithynia turned out to be a miserably poor province. If *ipsis* modifies *praetoribus*, then (as F. says) *nec* at the beginning of l. 10 must be emended to *nunc*; but *nunc* is meaningless (Kr.). The plural in *praetoribus* is best explained as referring to successive praetors (Kr. and F.), rather than as a generalizing plural (Q.), though Q.'s explanation is not unreasonable.

m seeks to follow *R*, but carelessly omits *nec*. The first step by m^2 was to reinstate *nec*; the second, to follow R^{2i}'s new reading (= G^1), imported from *X*. This seems simpler than the explanation offered by McKie (136–8).

10 *cohorti*, the governor's retinue (F. has a long n. on the history of the term); 'staff' would suggest too much in the way of official position and duties, though 'aides-de-camp' would partly correspond.

11 *unctius*: to anoint the head with rich unguents was a sign of prosperity and of the kind of luxury appropriate to days of ease; cf. 29.22 *uncta . . . patrimonia*.

12 *irrumator*: see 16.1 n.

13 *praetor* = C. Memmius; for his name, and what C. says of him, see 28.9.

faceret, 'assess, value.' Cf. 42.13 *non assis facis?*

14 *quod* of course refers here to the men, not the litter itself, though the eight-bearer litter was particularly associated with Bithynia (Cicero, *Verr.* 2.5.27; for other places where the *lectica octophorus* was used in C.'s time, see F.'s n.).

16 The employment of *ad* is similar to its use in indicating the duties of officials (e.g., *ad epistulas*).

17 *unum*, 'exceptionally' (added to a colloquial 'absolute' comparative, for which cf. l. 24 *cinaediorem*; F. considers this to be an extension of its use with the superlative).

facerem, 'represent <myself as>'; at 97.9 *facit*, which Kr. and F. compare with this, surely means something different, namely 'judge.'

18 *mihi fuit maligne*, 'I was hard up' (*maligne* = 'stingily,' opp. to *benigne*, 'generously').

20 *rectos*, 'tall, upright' (cf. 86.2).

21 *hic* = in Rome, *illic* = in Bithynia.

22 *grabati*: a light bed or cot (Gk. *κράβ<β>ατος*, *κραβάτιον*, Mod. Gk. *κρεβ<β>άτι*).

24 *nic*, 'at this point'; Kr. compares 64.269, quoting also V. *Aen.* 9.246 and Hor. *S.* 1.9.7 (in both of which places, speeches follow) and citing 44.13.

25 *cinaediorem*: on this use of the comparative, see l. 17 n.; on the word, cf. 16.2, 57.1 n.

25 Some editors punctuate *inquit, 'mihi, mi Catulle, . . .'*

26 Scan *commodă*. For the shortened final syllable, which 'may represent colloquial pronunciation' (F.), cf. *mane* in the next line (and cf. F. on both). See also O. Skutsch, *BICS* 23 (1976): 19–20. It is hard to find a satisfactory alternative to the licence of the shortened final *a* in *commoda* (imperative); see (besides E., the commentaries of Ellis and Benoist, and also V. Coulon in *RhM* 99 (1956): 248–9. One is tempted by Nisbet's suggested restoration: following E., he takes *commoda* as n. pl., and alters *quaeso* to *quaero* and *istos* to *istaec*. See *PCPS* 22 (1978): 93–4 and *MD* 26 (1991): 82–3.

R²'s spelling of the name Serapis is probably independent (Coluccio is strong in this field) and not related to the history of the reading we find in *O.*

ad, 'to the temple of' (cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.2.25 *ad Isin*). The cult of Serapis, imported from Egypt shortly before 100 BC, was linked with that of Aesculapius; in both cures were sought by incubation and in dreams. In C.'s day it was growing in popularity, especially with the *demi-monde* (see Kr.), and counter-measures were taken on three occasions (F.).

27 *mane*, 'hold hard,' 'not so fast.'

28 The syntax is as confused as C. himself is on being 'taken up.'

istud, as F. puts it, 'serves to point the reference – "as for my statement, to which you refer"'; and F. is surely right in saying that 'the *quod*-clause is best taken as adverbial like the *quod scribis* of Cicero's letters (cf. 68.27).'

29 *fugit me ratio*, 'I was mistaken.'

R²'s independent correction (*meus*) is partially metrical in character (cf. l. 1).

30 On confusion of the syntax as an index of C.'s state of mind see 28 n. Here we also have inversion (of *Gaius Cinna*) and the repetition of the subject involved in the use of *is*. Besides being marks of C.'s own embarrassment, these are largely colloquial touches, and so they reflect the style and atmosphere of the poem as a whole.

Cinna: a neoteric poet, friend (poem 95) and fellow-countryman of C. (see the Introduction).

32 *quam = quam si* (Kr. and F. give parallels from the *Digest* and inscriptions as well as from Cicero.)

33 *male* here intensifies a disparaging adjective; at 14.5, a verb. Cf. 16.13 n.

vivis: *vivere* is often virtually equivalent to *esse*, especially where the tone is colloquial. Cf. 8.10 n.

Sedgwick, W.B. 1947. 'C. X: A Rambling Commentary,' *G&R* 16: 108–14.
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Nielsen, R.M. 1987. 'C. and *Sal* (poem 10),' *AC* 56: 148–61.

11

Structure: 4 stanzas (a single sentence) + 2 stanzas.

In this profoundly moving poem two themes are fused, but not on equal terms; the reader, having been lulled into believing that the genial opening note will dominate the poem, suddenly sees it displaced by a much grimmer conclusion. C. begins by addressing his friends Furius and Aurelius – for friends they surely are, despite the rough and even abusive language to which he subjects them in poems 15, 16, 21, 23, 24, and 26; consider their devotion to him, expressed here in ll. 1–4, and the very fact that C. entrusted to them his final message to Lesbia. C. utters the following proposal: 'The three of us have often talked of going abroad on service together; you have said that you would accompany me even to the ends of the earth. Very well, then; if you are ready for such formidable assignments, here is one you can carry out much nearer home: take a message, not a very pleasant one, to my ex-mistress, to say that I abhor her conduct and have finished with her for good; she is not to look for my love again.' Plainly the structure (see above) is somewhat top-heavy, with four stanzas addressed to the bearers of the message and only two to the message itself. When Horace, imitating the first twelve lines, condenses them into four (*Od.* 2.6.1–4 *Septimi, Gades aditure mecum*), he underlines this imbalance. The key stanza is the fourth, where the bombast of the first twelve lines changes to a tone of bleak simplicity, with an effect of anti-climax before the harsh and brutal entry of the second theme – C.'s final renunciation of Lesbia. Of course, it is a fiction that the message is transmitted to Lesbia by way of Furius and Aurelius; but C. can no longer address her directly, and must do so in a poem ostensibly addressed to another person, or persons. This could hardly be done gracefully without giving those addressed a substantial place in the poem; hence – as well as for the sake of anti-climax – the four preliminary stanzas.

The poem must have been composed not earlier than the autumn of 55 BC (from the references to Julius Caesar's campaigns in ll. 10–12) and certainly not later than the battle of Carrhae in 53 BC (l. 6); those who believe C. to have died in 54 will think the latter date too late, but see the Introduction, p. 4.

Metre: Sapphic. C.'s Sapphics, as exhibited in this poem, are not far off the final formalization of the metre by Horace. As to quantity, the only variation is that in ll. 6 and 15 the fourth syllable is short, the line starting with two trochees instead of a trochee and a spondee. The main difference concerns the caesura. (In Horace the weak caesura is only occasionally found in the 21 Sapphic odes of Books 1–3. Only 3 Sapphic odes occur in Book 4, but they contain twice as many examples of weak caesura as do the 21 of

1–3; and the same is true of the *Carmen Saeculare*.) Out of the eighteen long lines in *his* poem, C. has strong caesura only nine times and weak caesura (after the sixth syllable) five times, three of them in one stanza (13–15). Of the other four, lines 7 and 23 seem to follow the principle that a caesura can be reckoned as occurring between the two parts of a compound word, as in the iambics of 4.4 (where some editors would print *praeter ire*) and several times in the hexameters of Lucretius. This brings the numbers of strong and weak caesura up to ten and six. Unless this principle is extended to *sagittiferos*, which seems difficult, line 6 has no caesura at all, and the disputed line 11 appears to have its caesura overridden by an elision. C. does not leave open vowels between lines; on the contrary he elides at the end of a line if the next line begins with a vowel (see ll. 19 and 22). What happens at the end of l. 11 is another story (L).

1 On the identification of 'Furius' (quite a common name in Roman annals: see H.P. Syndikus, *Catull: eine Interpretation I*, 1984, on poem 15) with the lampoonist Furius Bibaculus (who also may or may not have been the same as the Furius mentioned by Horace at *S.* 1.10.36 and 2.5.41: see the inconclusive remarks of Niall Rudd, *The Satires of Horace*, 1966: 289–90) much has been written, from Muretus – who first suggested it – to the present. Messalla (Suetonius, *De Grammaticis* 4) classed Bibaculus with Valerius Cato and Ticidas as a poet of 'neoteric' sympathies; yet we do not find these sympathies reflected in any of C.'s fairly numerous references to him, as we might expect them to be. (See Syndikus, loc. cit., n. 3.) What C. and Bibaculus certainly had in common (Tac. *Ann.* 4.34) was *contumeliae Caesarum* (since C. attacked Caesar only, Bibaculus must have made Augustus – possibly as 'Octavian' – at least in part his target; Cremutius Cordus, in Tacitus, says both Caesar and Augustus forgave these lampoons).

comites <futuri>, 'ready and willing to accompany' (cf. Hor. *Od.* 2.6.1 *Septimi Gades aditure mecum*).

Indos, the people for the country; cf. V. *Ecl.* 1.64 *sitientes ibimus Afros*.

3 *ut* = *ubi*, 'where' (a very rare use; this and 17.10 are, as F. remarks, the only certain examples in Latin, except as a Grecism in two passages he cites).

The double epithets (*longe-resonante* and *Eoa*) are in C.'s manner (e.g., *lepidum novum libellum*), and A. Statius' change to *resonans* is unnecessary. For *longe resonante* cf. V. *Geo.* 1.358.

R^2 can hardly be said to be at home with the Sapphic metre; cf. his failure to mend the colometric error at 23–4 (at 11–12, *X* has done it for him). Hence he claims the right to replace the unfamiliar *ut*, in the sense of 'where,' with *qui*, which of course is unmetrical.

4 C. wrote *tunditur unda* deliberately, to suggest by the repetition of the *und* sound the repeated pounding of waves on a shore. Horace's *aestuat unda* (*Od.* 2.6.4) echoes C. only faintly, with characteristic Augustan restraint in the deploying of 'sound effects.'

5 *Hyrcanos*: strictly speaking, they populated the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, but here they are vaguely linked with several oriental nations.

6 *Sagas*: Latin spelling uses *g*; Greek has a kappa. The *Sacae* (or *Sagae*) were often vaguely associated with the *Scythae*, and located in the northeast border region of the Persian realm. Here, they are thought of as mounted archers (*ἱπποτοξόται* is how Arrian 3.8.3 described them), and hence as Mesopotamians, or at any rate plainsmen, like the Parthians.

sagittiferosque Parthos: cf. V. *Geo.* 3.31, 4.313–14; Hor. *Od.* 2.13.17–18.

7 *m*'s *q̄* is mere carelessness, not linked with *O*.

8 It is hard to say whether *colorat aequora* refers (a) to the annual 'alluvial deposit' (F.) left by the Nile on the low-lying fields (*aequora* in its literal sense of flat places) or (b) to the 'dyeing' of the sea by the silt brought down at the time of flooding. If the word *septemgeminus* is more than a conventional epithet, perhaps we are to think of the actual mouths of the river, and hence of (b). But as none of the other geographical indications in this stanza has to do with the sea, or a sea – ll. 11–12 are another matter – whereas all refer to people or (by implication) a country, (a) may be right after all.

10 *monimenta*, 'reminders,' almost 'trophies.' *monimenta* 'tell a story,' and (especially in Virgil) 'carry personal associations' (F., who quotes several passages). Cf. esp. Prop. 4.6.17 *Actia Iuleae pelagus monimenta carinae*.

magni: surely no indication of friendship, or of political partisanship, towards Caesar is implied, even if the word is not used ironically as it was in certain derisive anti-Pompeian verses and demonstrations in the theatre. (After Waterloo, the man in the London street could easily have referred to 'the great Duke <of Wellington>' without thereby confessing to Tory sympathies in politics – or even before; in 1814, when Wellington entered Paris, 'Young John Cam Hobhouse, friend of Byron and the Radicals, who was travelling on the Continent, had what he called "an insatiable desire" to see "our great man"' [E. Longford, *Wellington: The Years of the Sword*, 1971 reprint (London): 425].)

11 See App. Crit. McKie's (1984) suggestion was partly anticipated by Palmer, who proposed *horribilesque vitro in / usque Britannos*. Mention should be made of T.P. Wilkinson's (1977) suggestion *horribiles quoque, ulti-*, though this had been anticipated (as to *horribiles quoque*) by E. Maunde Thompson (*AJP* 21 [1900]: 78–9), as McKie remarks.

12 *feret*, roughly speaking, = *sit*; the association of *ferre* with *voluntas* is conventional (*si fert ita forte voluntas*).

14 *caelites*, 'heaven-dwellers,' = *dei* (in epic and archaic language). Cf. 61.49 and 190.
temptare: cf. V. *Geo.* 1.207 *fauces temptantur Abydi*, Hor. *Od.* 3.4.30–1 *Bosphorum temptabo*.

15 *meae puellae*: a conscious, and sad, echo of the way in which C. had formerly referred to Lesbia.

16 *non bona*, 'bitter, unkind.' Cf. V. *Aen.* 12.75–6 *dicta ... haud placitura refer*

17 *vive vale* was a valedictory formula, sometimes dismissive (as at Plaut. *Tru* 996, Hor. *Ep.* 1.6.67), sometimes not (Hor. *S.* 2.5.110, where the ghost of Tiresias addresses Ulysses in the underworld).

18 *trecentos*: cf. 9.2, 12.10 (see n.); also Hor. *S.* 1.5.12.

20 *ilia* (symbolizing male sexual potency): cf. 63.5, 80.8.

21 *respectet*, 'look in the direction of' (here probably, despite F., with a notion of retrospect). C. seems to imply that Lesbia had sought to be reconciled with him. Cicero, *Planc.* 45 *ne par ab eis munus respectent*. Kr. says 'mehr.'

22 *ultimi*, 'at the furthest edge of.' V. *Aen.* 9.435–6 are surely written in reminiscence of lines 22–4 here.

Reitzenstein, R. 1922. 'Philologische Kleinigkeiten: Zu Horaz und C.,' *Hermes* 57: 363–5.

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Todd, F.A. 1941. 'C. XI,' *CR* 55: 70–3.

Pennisi, G. 1961. 'C. e il carme dei 'Non bona dicta',' *Helikon* 1: 127–38.

Kinsey, T.E. 1965. 'C. 11,' *Latomus* 24: 537–44.

Putnam, M.C.J. 1974. 'C. 11: The Ironies of Integrity,' *Ramus* 3: 70–86.

Bright, D.F. 1976. 'Non Bona Dicta: C.'s Poetry of Separation,' *QUCC* 21: 105–19.

Wilkinson, L.P. 1977. 'C. 11.11–12,' *PCPS* 23: 133–4.

Evrard-Gillis, J. 1977–8. 'C. 11: Quatre voies d' accès,' *Humanités chrétiennes* 21: 418–27.

Mulroy, D. 1977–8. 'An Interpretation of C. 11,' *CW* 71: 237–47.

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– 1981. 'C. 11: The End of a Friendship,' *SOsl* 56: 63–9.

Scott, R. C. 1983. 'On C. 11,' *CP* 78: 39–42.

Mayer, R. 1983. 'C.'s divorce,' *CQ* 33: 297–8.

McKie, D. 1984. 'The Horrible and Ultimate Britons: C. 11.11,' *PCPS* 30: 74–8. [Read *horribiles vitro ulti-*.]

Bellandi, F. 1985. 'Meae puellae. Struttura e destinatario del c. 11 di C.,' *Quaderni del Dipart. di lingue e lettere neolatine, Ist. universario Bergamo* 1: 17–33.

Blodgett, E.D., and Nielsen, R.M. 1986. 'Mask and Figure in C., Carmen 11,' *RBPh* 54: 22–31.

Sweet, D.R. 1987. 'C. 11: A Study in Perspective,' *Latomus* 46: 510–26.

Putnam, M.C.J. 1989. 'C. 11 and Virgil, *Aen.* 6.76–7,' *Vergilius* 35: 28–30.

Biondi, G.G. 1989. 'C. 11 e Orazio, carm. 2, 6: due lezioni di poesia,' *Mnemosynum: Studi in onore di A. Ghiselli*: 19–31.

Heath, J.R. 1989. 'C. 11: Along for the Ride,' *SLLRH* 5. Brussels: 98–116.

Benediktson, D.T. 1990. 'Horribilesque ultimosque Britannos,' *Glotta* 68: 120–3. [Recommends keeping the hiatus, in view of the new Gallus fragment, l. 22: *Fata mihi, Caesar, tum erunt* ...]

Forsyth, P.Y. 1991. 'The Thematic Unity of C. 11,' *CW* 84: 457–64.

Celentano, M.S. 1991. 'Il fiore reciso dall' aratro: ambiguità di una similitudine (C. 11.22–4),' *QUCC* 37: 83–100.

Fredricksmeyer, E.A. 1993. 'Method and Interpretation: Catullus 11,' *Helios* 20: 89–105. [The appendix contains a useful survey of previous articles.]

Fernandez Corte, J.C. 1993. 'Un ejercicio de imitacion de C. por Horacio: C. 11 y *Odas* II. 6,' *Latomus* 52: 596–611.

12

Structure: (5 + 4) + (4 + 4). Notice the articulation by means of *quare* 10, *cum* 14. See Q. for a different analysis.

A good-natured squib against a napkin thief (cf. poems 25, 33); not obscene, or in any way sexual, like many of the truly defamatory lampoons, but concerned merely with a lack of good manners or good taste in social behaviour (notice the vocabulary employed: *non belle, inepte, sordida, invenusta*; the question of morals, even the morals of stealing, does not arise).

In fact, three different themes are combined here:

(a) the light-hearted attack on a guest for his poor idea of a joke;

(b) a compliment – by contrast – to the offender's brother, who has the grace to be embarrassed by such witless conduct;

(c) acknowledgment of a present sent to C. by Fabullus and Veranius, who are in Spain; notice that C. says they 'sent' (not 'brought') the gift, so that it is unlikely that they have recently returned; moreover, the use of the word *mnemosyne* suggests this (as L. put it, 'you don't need a memento of someone you see every day'). For the date of their absence in Spain (together; this is not made clear in poem 9, evidently because they returned separately and Veranius arrived before Fabullus), see poem 28 n. The uncertainty of the reading in line 9 (see App. Crit.) makes it undesirable to point to the word *puer* together with Asinius Pollio's date of birth (76 BC) as presumptive evidence for an approximate dating of the poem.

Marrucinus is best taken as a proper name (despite Kr. and others); it was a common custom of new families, like the Asinii who had come to Rome

since the Social War, to add a cognomen to mark a branch of a family within a *gens*, in the hope of establishing the family more widely in the society of the *urbs*.

1 *sinistra*: cf. 47.1 and perhaps 25.5 (where see nn.); the left hand was commonly associated with the act of stealing – it is said, because its movements are less prominent, and more easily escape notice, than those of the right; but observe 33.3 *dextra*. Cf. Plaut. *Pers.* 226 *furtifica laeva*, Ov. *M.* 13.111 *nataeque ad furta sinistrae*.

2 *belle*: cf. 4–5 *salsum*, etc.; see intr. n. Most editors (e.g., B., E., Fr., Kr., Lenchantin, Cazzaniga, Eisenhut, but not Mynors or Bardon²) punctuate *uteris in ioco atque vino:* Fr. alone debates the placing of the colon, arguing that punctuation at the end of the line is necessary out of regard for Pollio, to avoid a misunderstanding, since to punctuate after *uteris* would involve telling Pollio *tout court* 'You are a thief.' Q. for his part has only a pair of commas, before and after *in ioco atque vino*, noting: 'Take equally with 2 *uteris* and 3 *tollis*.' I confess that neither persuades me.
in ioco atque vino: cf. 50.6 *per iocum atque vinum*. Kr. quotes Thuc. 6.28.1 μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ οἴνου.

3 *lintea*: see 11 n.
neglegentiorum: '<fellow-diners>, when they are off their guard.' Cf. 25.5 *oscitantes*.

4 The variant goes back to *A* (McKie: 146); but R^2's correction may well be independent, so obviously does the sense demand it.

5 *quamvis:* in this literal sense ('as much as you like') somewhat archaic and colloquial by C.'s time: Plaut. *Pseud.* 1175, *Men.* 318, Lucil. 392 M, Varro *RR* 2.5. 1, Cicero *TD* 3.73.

6 The question is here almost equivalent to a conditional clause (Kr.).

7 *talento*: a Greek denomination is used, in the absence of a Latin word suitable for expressing the idea of a very large sum of money.

8 *mutari*: here not in a monetary sense = *redimi* (Vossius was the first to express surprise that Pollio should have to pay for his brother's thefts), but = *infectum reddere*. B. cites Ter. *Andr.* 40 *haud muto factum*, Hor. *AP* 168 *commisisse cavet quod mox mutare laboret*, and rightly notes that *talento* is not abl. of price but of instrument.

9 Neither *differtus* nor *disertus* will do in close relationship with the genitive *facetiarum*. *Differtus*, as a participle, would require (unlike *plenus*, to which some editors see an analogy) an instrumental ablative. As for *disertus*, the supposed (Greek) genitive of the 'sphere in which' cannot be attested elsewhere in C. To read *pater <leporum ac facetiarum>*, as I suggest, will produce an example of a familiar idiom. See Juv. 14.45 (ed. Clausen): *pater est* ΡΦΣ, *puer est*

A Paris. 7647 *et* 17903, for the exchange, due to abbreviation. The adv. *diserte* is translated by F. 'explicitly,' 'in so many words' (he cites Cicero and Livy). If we take it with *pater* we should perhaps render it 'he is, quite clearly, . . .' or 'he is the very essence of . . .' A. Guarinus has a note indicating his own preference for *pater* (which he renders as *auctor* and *inventor*): 'pater . . . licet alii puer legant, quod non placet' (although the word *puer* appears in the text, as was remarked by Della Corte 1951: 84).

For the unusual pl. *lepores* cf. Cicero, *Orat.* 96 *omnes sententiarum lepores*; but (as Kr. suggests) it may here be influenced by *facetiarum*, a word used regularly in the plural.

It may interest some readers that Pontanus wrote to Panormita a poem (*Am.* 1.27) in C.'s manner, beginning: 'Antoni, decus elegantiarum / atque idem pater omnium leporum / unus te rogat ex tuis amicis / cras ad se venias ferasque tecum / quantumcumque potes facetiarum . . .' Furthermore, Janus Dousa the Elder, in a letter to Victor Giselinus dated 8 May 1571, wrote 'te disertissimo leporum ac facetiarum patre' (C. Heesakkers, *Praecidanea Dousana* [Amsterdam, 1976]: 109).

10 *aut . . . aut*: cf. 69.9, 103.1 and 3 (with imperatives).

trecentos: in Greek as well as in Latin, multiples of 300 are a traditional way of expressing (roundly or vaguely) large numbers: cf. 9.2 *milibus trecentis*, 11.18 *trecentos*. We say 'hundreds' or 'thousands.'

11 *linteum* = 'napkin' here, 'sail' at 4.5; the cloth standing for the article made of it.

12 *movet*: cf. Petron. 30.10 *non tam iactura me movet . . .*
aestimatione, in a more or less concrete sense, 'value.'

13 *mnemosynum*: Greek (only here in Latin). Tr. 'souvenir.'
sodalis: two friends are mentioned, but of course the use of the singular (for metrical reasons) causes no confusion; the *nam* clause explains everything.

14 *Saetaba*: cf. 25.7. For the fame of the flax, and hence the linen, of Saetabis in Spain, see Plin. *NH* 19.9, Sil. Ital. 3.374–5 (cited by E.).
Hiberis: the correction to *-is* (see App. Crit.) 'is confirmed by Martial, who twice ends a line with the words <*ex hiberis*> (4.55.8, 10.65.3)' (F.).

16 R^2's 'variant' is a false correction of his own; *m*'s failure to follow it may be due to dislike of it, or more probably to haste and carelessness.

17 *ut*: *V*'s *et* has almost certainly crept in from the preceding line.
Veraniolum: affectionate diminutive; used for metrical reasons, and not implying that he is (as E. believed) preferred to Fabullus, whose name is already in a diminutive form.

Jones, F. 1984. 'A Note on C. 12.1–3,' *CQ* 34: 486–7.
Clausen, W. 1988. 'Catulliana,' *BICS* Suppl. 51, *Vir Bonus Discendi Peritus* [Festschrift for Otto Skutsch]. London: 13–14.

13

Structure: 8 + 6.

As in poem 11, two themes are united in a single composition: the paradoxical dinner invitation to Fabullus (paradoxical because the invited guest must bring the dinner and find the company), and the praise of Lesbia for her gift of ointment to Catullus – the only thing that he, the host, expects to be able to furnish. The occasion of the feast has given rise to much speculation; had Fabullus invited himself? From Cicero, *De or.* 2.246, it would appear to have been perfectly acceptable conduct to invite oneself to dinner at the house of a familiar friend, using the formula *cenabo apud te*. C.'s joking reply certainly appears to temporize – perhaps until Lesbia can be induced to part with the ointment she has promised (*paucis diebus* may conceivably be intended to allow for this delay). As Q. says, the opening lines 'read more like a procrastination than an invitation.' F. allows himself to imagine that it was written 'to welcome Fabullus home from Spain, as poem 9 was written to welcome Veranius, and that Catullus makes play with his own impecuniosity in contrast to the fortune which he supposes Fabullus has brought back with him,' but adds: 'it is as good a guess that it was written to please Lesbia.' As an example of the genre (a poet's invitation or mock-invitation) editors cite Philodemus, *AP* 11.44 (to Piso), Horace *Od.* 1.20, 3.29, 4.12 (the last a parody and inversion of C.'s poem: Virgil is to bring the ointment, while Horace will supply the feast), and Martial 11.52.1 (where the dinner is a poor one, but the host will make up for this by refraining from reading his own verses). As often, C. treats a traditional *topos* with marked originality. See Horace, *Ep.* 1.5, for a more serious invitation.

1 *cenabis* implies an invitation; *cenabo*, a self-invitation (Cicero, *De or.* 2.246); see intr. n.
mi Fabulle: this form of address suggests close friendship (cf. Cicero's *mi Attice*).

4 *non sine*: cf. 64.290, 66.34, for this emphatic, as well as metrically convenient, way of saying 'and also.'
candida, 'bright, dazzling' (not solely of fair skin).

5 *omnibus*, 'every kind of.' See Cicero, *Orat.* 96, quoted above (12.9 n.).
cachinnis, used of distinctly audible, even loud, laughter (as at 31.14, after *ridete*).

8 In the latter part of the second century BC, Afranius (fr. 410 R) formed this image in almost the words used by C. here: *tanne arcula tua plena est aranearum?* Cf. also Plaut. *Aul.* 83–4 *hic apud nos nihil est aliud quaesti furibus, / ita inanis sunt oppletae atque araneis.*

9 *contra*, 'in return'; cf. 76.23, Ter. *Eun.* 355, V. *Aen.* 7.267.
amores: in C. this word may be used either, like 'my love,' in a personal sense (see refs. at 6.16 n. and also poem 40, intr. n.) or in an impersonal sense, as here (observe *seu quid* in l. 10) and possibly at 38.6 (but see n. there); for the transference of the impersonal sense to a *thing*, cf. Mart. 14.206 *collo necte, puer, meros amores, / ceston de Veneris sinu calentem* (imitated from C.). For *meros* cf. 17.21 n.

10 The meaning is this: 'If you can't think of a more laudatory way of referring to a perfume than by calling it *meros amores*, that will fit as well.'
seu quid = *aut si quid* at 22.13, 82.2.

11–12 Cf. Servius *ad Aen.* 3.279: *<Phaon> ... cum esset navicularius ... Venerem mutatam in anuis formam gratis travexit; quapropter ab ea donatus unguenti alabastro, cum se ... ungueret, feminas in sui amorem trahebat.* (I owe this reference to Professor R.S. Kilpatrick).

11 *dabo*, 'will provide (as host)'; it is only with the pointed *tu* of 13 that we turn back to Fabullus. (Kr., wrongly I think, describes *tu* as 'without emphasis' and colloquial, comparing 6.14.)
nam: elision in the first accented syllable of a hendecasyllabic, or decasyllabic, line occurs elsewhere in C. only at 55.4–5 (Kr.).
olfacies, a kind of continuous future: 'when you are smelling it.'

14 *totum*: probably to be taken with *te*, rather than with *nasum*; cf. Cicero, *Pro Cluentio* 72 *totus ex fraude et mendacio factus*. But either way the meaning is the same.

Wilhelm, F. 1906. 'Zu augusteischen Dichtern,' *RhM* 61: 92–3.
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Arkins, B. 1979. 'Poem 13 of C.,' *SOsl* 54: 71–80.
Gamberale, L. 1979. 'Venuste Noster. Caratterizzazione e ironia in C. 13,' *Traglia* 1: 127–48.
Witke, C. 1980. 'C. 13: A Reexamination,' *CP* 75: 325–31.
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Nielsen, R.M., and Blodgett, E.D. 1991. 'C.'s *Cena*: "I'll Tell You of More, and Lie, So You Will Come,"' *RBPh* 69: 87–100.

14

Structure: 5 + 6 + 4 + 5 + 3 (see Q. for a brief analysis of the structure).
Here again, as in poems 11 and 13, two themes are intertwined: a compliment to C.'s friend Calvus, and a literary attack on the poetaster Suffenus (cf. poem 22) and others of his kind. The poem is C.'s response to Calvus' joke (as it must have been; see l. 16 *salse*) in sending to C., as a present for the Saturnalia, a collection of extremely bad verses by various hands. One possible difficulty in interpreting the gift as a joke on Calvus' part is that C. appears to be more incensed than he would be if he knew Calvus not to be in earnest in commending the book. But really, as L. remarked, 'the only appropriate response to such a gift would be to fall in with the spirit of the jest by allowing oneself to be drawn, and reacting as one was expected to react; Calvus had clearly intended to draw Catullus' fire, and it would be a shame to disappoint him.' F.'s suggestion that Calvus 'perhaps made the selection of poems himself' encounters the difficulty that C. seems to take it as certain that the book (before it was passed on to him) had indeed been given to Calvus by a grateful client, since he speculates (*ut suspicor*) on the *identity* of the client (ll. 8–9). A similarly teasing atmosphere prevails in other poems addressed to Calvus (poems 50, 53), where the tone and style also are relaxed, easy and natural, as here.

1 See App. Crit. (The corruption of *ni* to *ne* is usually supposed to be due to the fact that the form *nei* survived to C.'s time).
ni (= *nisi*) is archaic; cf. 6.2, 14; 45.3.
oculis meis: cf. 3.5, 82.2, 104.2.

1–2 imitated by Maecenas (to Horace, fr. 3 M, *FLP*) *ni te visceribus meis, Horati, plus iam diligo.*

2 *iucundissime*: see 9.9 n.

3 Does *Vatiniano* mean (i) 'the dislike felt – by everyone, perhaps – for V.,' or (ii) 'V.'s dislike for you'? There are supporting passages for each view: (i) 53.2, where *Vatiniana crimina* clearly = 'the charges against V.'; (ii) Livy 2.58.5 *odisse plebem plus quam paterno odio*, 'disliked them more than his father had done.' Our choice may partly depend on the chronology of Calvus' successive prosecutions of Vatinius; on this question, and on V. himself, see the introductory n. to poem 53.

5 *male* is intensive, with *perderes*; see 10.33 n. It adds no fresh meaning (beyond the field of reference of the verb). Cf. Hor. *S.* 2.1.6 *peream male, si ...*

6–7 *clienti ... qui misit*: C. depicts himself as suspecting that the only reason why Calvus should have sent him a book of atrociously bad verses was that

a client, defended successfully by Calvus, had given it to him in token of gratitude, and Calvus in his turn – as a joke – sent this unwanted present on to Catullus.

7 *tantum ... impiorum*, 'all this wickedly bad stuff,' in a literary sense, but perhaps with a slight allusion to the ideal of *pietas*, a word well suited to describing the relationship between *cliens* and *patronus* (l. 6 *clienti*); it was a treacherous kind of gift.

8 *repertum*: perhaps (as L. suggested) 'original,' rather than the translations offered by F. ('ingeniously designed, recherché').

9 Was Sulla really a *litterator* (elementary school teacher), or does C. simply attach to him, in somewhat malicious fun, this not greatly complimentary designation? It is impossible to say, since he is otherwise quite unknown.

10 *non est mi male*: for the idiom, cf. 23.15 *tibi sit bene ac beate*.

10–11 'At least you should console yourself by reflecting that this unsatisfactory client gave you *something* for your pains; being the kind of man he is, he might not even have done that!'

12 *di magni*: cf. 53.5; also (not flippantly) at 109.3.

13 *scilicet*, 'no doubt the reason why you sent it was ...'

14 Much depends on the punctuation here: should a comma be placed before, or after, the word *continuo*? If after (as in my text), then *continuo* is read as an adverb and implies 'you got rid of it at once.' If before, then *continuo die* are linked as adj. and noun, 'on the very next day' (see the two Ovidian quotations in F.). But why should C. put off reading it for a day? (It is doubtful whether *continuo die* can ever mean 'on the very same day.') The difficulty of the former interpretation lies in the awkward apposition *die Saturnalibus* (Plaut. *Poen.* 497 *die bono, Aphrodisiis*, is much less harsh); or the alternative, which is to take as a self-contained phrase, *die optimo dierum* – if, indeed, this is a permissible expression – with *Saturnalibus* inserted.
misti, syncopated form for *misisti*. Cf. 66.21 *luxti*, 30 *tristi*, 77.3 *subrepsti*, 91.9 *duxti*, 99.8 *abstersti*, 110.3 *promisti*.

15 If *oppinio* (= *O*) or *opinio* stood in *X*, *optimo* (see App. Crit.) strongly assumes the character of a metrical improvement, perhaps first appearing as a variant in *X*.

The *Saturnalia* (17 December) gradually became an extended holiday, marked by goodwill and the giving of presents.

16 For repeated *non*, cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 303 *non non sic futurumst.*
salse, 'you witty fellow!' (false *OR*; but, as F. remarks, Calvus has not broken his word).
tibi abibit: tr. 'you won't get away with *this*' – 'I won't let you off' (not 'it will not come off like that for you' as F. has it).

See App. Crit. Clearly *X* had *false al. salse*, or *false* with superscript *s* (cf. G). R^{2}'s *abibit* (followed by *m*) improves both metre and sense.

17 *si* = (of course) 'when,' not 'if'; *luxerit* is fut. perf. indic.

18 *Caesios, Aquinos*. These 'generalizing plurals,' as E. and F. call them, here meaning 'persons like C. and A.,' are paralleled at 45.22 (*Syrias Britanniasque*). Both men are unknown, unless at Cicero, *TD* 5.63 the poet's name *Aquinio* should read *Aquino* and its owner be identified with C.'s victim here. The name Aquinus is rare; for an example from Spain, see T.P. Wiseman, *Roman Studies* (1987): 340.

19 *Suffenum*: *pace* F. ('The change to the singular in *Suffenum* is a mere matter of metrical convenience ...; there is no need to suppose ... that S. is being given special prominence'), I have always supposed (and now find Fr. to have suggested) that there is a point in this change: S. is uniquely bad; there are no others like him. Cf. poem 22. It has been suggested (by Munro) that *Suffenum* is gen. pl. with *venena*; but then ll. 18–19 become unbalanced, and surely *omnia* is better employed in summing up all three offenders and their works (especially with *his* and *suppliciis* to follow).

20 *his suppliciis*: not so much 'with these punishments' as rather, in effect, 'with these *as* punishments.'

21 *interea* is here adversative, not temporal; for this meaning cf. 36.18. Translate 'as for you, ...'

valete abite: these words constitute a single expression ('be off with you, good luck to you'), though strictly speaking *hinc* can properly refer only to *abite*. For the zeugma, cf. Ter. *Ad.* 917 *tu illas abi et traduce.*

22 *malum pedem*: 'bring one's foot' is an elaborate way of saying simply 'come'; cf. Ter. *Andr.* 808 *si id scissem, numquam huc tetulissem pedem.* The adjective *malum*, brings in the notion of 'unlucky, ill-omened' (cf. Ov. *Tr.* 2.16 *saxa malum refero rursus ad ista pedem*, Apul. *Met.* 6.26 *pessimo pede*). But there is also a suggestion of incompetence in the art of versification (playing on the literary meaning of *pes*, 'metrical foot'); Verrall 1913 finds in this line a parody of the faulty rhythm presumably encountered in the verses of the collection, though F. somewhat unfairly dismisses this as 'more ingenious than plausible.' Certainly, however, Ovid (*Tr.* 1.1.15–16) plays on the double meaning of *pes*: *vade, liber, verbisque meis loca grata saluta: / contingam certe quo licet illa pede.*

23 *saecli incommoda*, 'pests of our time.'

Verrall, A.W. 1913. 'A Metrical Jest of C.: The Hendecasyllable,' *Collected Studies*. London: 249–67.

Bower, E.W. 1961. 'Some Technical Terms in Roman Education,' *Hermes* 89: 462–77.

14b

A fragment of an introductory poem. Whether the poem, which was probably intended to be short, was ever completed, is impossible to say. Originally it may have been intended to stand at the head of a collection of light verse (*ineptiae*; cf. l. 4 *nugae*) made by C. himself, from which position it could have been displaced by the present poem 1 when C. decided to dedicate his new and enlarged collection to Cornelius Nepos in gratitude for the latter's approval of the earlier one. The tone of 'apologetic modesty' (F.) resembles that of poem 1, though it is even more pronounced; and it is difficult to see how this 'address to my readers' could have ended with the note of modest confidence on which poem 1 concludes. It is quite possible that, as Kr. suggests, C. intended it to follow poem 1; but why it should have moved from that position to its present place is hard to explain. Since it is immediately followed by a group of poems mostly devoted to sexual themes (particularly the Furius-Aurelius-Juventius cycle, though not all of those are here), attention must be paid to Wiseman's (1969: 7–10) theory that it was written to open a fresh sub-group on a different kind of topic (poems 15–26); but this theory is developed in the service of the view that C. arranged the collection as we have it, and *inter alia* it encounters the difficulty that 16.12 (see nn.) seems to refer to poem 48 rather than to poems 5 and 7. See 16.4 n.

See App. Crit. A. Guarinus has the following note at 14.23: 'tres vero sequentes versus ... pater meus tamquam transpositos suo loco restituit.'

3 *horrebitis* may mean only 'shrink,' 'be reluctant,' with little if any sense of horror or repugnance; see the passages cited in the Introduction, pp. 8–9. It should be noted that Pliny's expression (*Ep.* 1.2.5) *ab editione non abhorrere* is simply and justly translated by Professor Rudd 'not averse to publishing' (*Author and Audience in Latin Literature*, ed. T. Woodman and J. Powell [Cambridge, 1992: 26]).

Forsyth, P.Y. 1989. 'C. 14B,' *CW* 83: 81–5.

15

Structure: 13 + 6 ('a polite request – a threat,' Q.).

Addressed to Aurelius, whom C. suspects of predatory sexual tendencies that may be directed at corrupting the innocent youth, Juventius: 'to lay traps for him will be treated as infringement of *my* charge over him, and you will be punished in the way traditionally reserved for adulterers.' The

Tuplin, C.J. 1981. 'C. 68,' *CQ* 31: 113–39.
Most, G.W. 1981. 'On the Arrangement of C.'s Carmina Maiora,' *Philologus* 125: 109–25, esp. 116ff.
Bright, D.F. 1982. 'Allius and Allia,' *RhM* 125: 138–40.
Papanghelis, T.D. 1982. 'A Note on C. 68.156–57,' *QUCC* 11: 139–49.
Sarkissian, J. 1983. *Catullus 68: An Interpretation*. Leiden.
Woodman, A.J. 1983. 'A Reading of C. 68A,' *PCPS* 29: 100–6.
Fredricksmeyer, E.A. 1983. 'C. 51 and 68.51–6: An Observation,' *CP* 78: 42–5.
Shipton, K.M.W. 1983. 'A House in the City: C. 68.68,' *Latomus* 42: 869–76.
Brenk, F.E. 1983. 'Lesbia's arguta solea: 68.72 and Greek λιγύς,' *Glotta* 61: 234–6.
Németh, B. 1984. 'Communes exerceremus amores, C. 68.69,' *ACD* 20: 43–7.
Hubbard, T.K. 1984. 'C. 68. The Text as Self-Demystification,' *Arethusa* 17: 29–49.
Cavallini, E. 1984/85. 'C. 68.70ss.,' *MCr* 19/20: 191.
Capponi, F. 1984/85. 'Note filologiche' [68.157], *QCTC* 2–3: 17–34.
Courtney, E. 1985. 'Three Poems of C.: (3). C. 68 and Its Compositional Scheme,' *BICS* 32: 92–100.
Shipton, K.M.W. 1985a. 'C. 68 and the Myth of Agamemnon,' *Latomus* 44: 55–71.
– 1985b. 'A Successful *kômos* in C.,' *Latomus* 44: 503–20.
Schilling, R. 1985. 'La paronomasie domum-dominus dans l'élégie 68 de C.,' *AFLNice* 50: 284–91.
Poliakoff, M. 1985. 'Clumsy and Clever Spiders on Hermann's Bridge (C. 68.49–50; *Culex* 1–3),' *Glotta* 53: 248–50.
Shipton, K.M.W. 1986. 'The *iuvenca* Image in C. 68,' *CQ* 36: 268–70.
Lain, N.F. 1986. 'C. 68.145,' *HSCP* 90: 155–8.
Allen, A. 1986. 'Sacrificial Negligence in C.,' *Latomus* 45: 861–3.
Shipton, K.M.W. 1987. 'No Alternative to Ceremonial Negligence (C. 68.37ff.),' *SO* 62: 51–68.
Forsyth, P.Y. 1987. 'Muneraque et Musarum hinc petis et Veneris: C. 68A.10,' *CW* 80: 177–80.
Brenk, F.G. 1987. 'Arguta solea on the Threshold: The Literary Precedents of C. 68.68–72,' *QUCC* 26: 121–7.
Heath, M. 1988. 'Catullus 68^b,' *LCM* 13: 117–19.
Milanese, G. 1988. 'Non possum reticere (C. 68A. 41),' *Aevum antiquum* 1: 261–4.
Powell, J.G.F. 1990. 'Two Notes on C.,' *CQ* 40: 199–206. [On poem 76 and on 68.27–30.]
Allen, A. 1991. 'Domus data ablataque: C. 68.157,' *QUCC* 37: 101–6.
Edwards, M.J. 1991. 'The Theology of C. 68^b,' *Antike und Abendland* 37: 68–81.
Lefèvre, E. 1991. 'Was hatte C. in der Kapsel ... <68A> ...? Zu Aufbau und Aussage der Allius-Elegie,' *RhM* 134: 311–26.
Simpson, C.J. 1992. 'A Note on C. 68A.34f.,' *LCM* 17: 12.

Arkins, B. 1992. 'Two Notes on C.: I. 68.145 [Read *mira*]; II. Crucial Constants in C.: Callimachus, the Muses, Friends and Enemies,' *LCM* 17: 15–18.
Feeney, D.C. 1992. 'Shall I Compare Thee ...? C. 68B and the Limits of Analogy,' *Author and Audience in Latin Literature*, ed. Tony Woodman and J. Powell. Cambridge: 33–44.
Fear, T. 1992. 'Veronae Turpe, Catulle, Esse,' *ICS* 17: 245–63.
Kershaw, A. 1993. '*A!* at C. 68.85,' *Papers of the Leeds International Latin seminar* 7.27–9.
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Simpson, C.J. 1994. 'Unnecessary Homosexuality. The Correspondent's Request in C. 68a,' *Latomus* 53: 564–5.
Clauss, J.J. 1995. 'A Delicate Foot on the Well-Worn Threshold: Paradoxical Imagery in C. 68^b,' *AJP* 116: 237–55.

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).

6 *valle*, 'hollow.' Cf. Ar. *Eccl.* 12 *μηρῶν μυχούς*, Auson. Epigr. 87.5 *valle femorum*.
caper: cf. 71.1 (and 37.5) *hircus*. On the supposed distinction in meaning between *caper* and *hircus*, see n. on 37.5. Cf. Ov. *AA* 3.193 *ne trux caper iret in alas*.
7 *omnes* (sc. *feminae*, or *puellae*).
8 *quicum* as a feminine form (cf. 66.77) is archaic.
bella puella cubet: also at 78.4.
9 *crudelem ... pestem*: the phrase is used at 64.76 to describe the Minotaur. As often happens in C.'s short poems, overstatement (which here begins with *mala bestia*) works up to a climax of rhetorical extravagance.
10 *admirari*: the repetition (from line 1) produces a cyclic effect.
fugiunt: the indicative in indirect question (for *fugiant*) is colloquial; cf. 61.78 (Kr. gives other references).

Dane, N. 1968. 'Rufus redolens,' *CJ* 64: 130.
Noonan, J.D. 1979. '*Mala bestia* in C. 69.7–8,' *CW* 73: 155–64.
Cairns, F. 1992. 'C. 69.9–10 and Ancient "Etymologies,"' *RFIC* 119: 442–45.

70

Structure: balanced (2 + 2).
As poem 69 is echoed in poem 71, so does poem 70 find thematic and linguistic echoes in poem 72; because 72.1–2 mention Lesbia, we know poem 70 also has to do with her. For the mode of expression there are Greek precedents: Callimachus, *Ep.* 25 Pf. = *AP* 5.6; Meleager, *AP* 5.8 (cf. 5.24 and 12.70); see Laurens 1965. Ultimately the manner is Callimachean, though the mere repetition of *dicit* should not be given undue weight. Skiadas 1975 draws attention to a contrast: C. is 'involved,' whereas Callimachus is not (cf. poem 72, which, as F. notes, is 'clearly personal').

The poem records a period of disillusionment in C.'s affair with Lesbia; she ranks him still above all possible rivals, or says she does, but he for his part begins to realize how little such 'oaths' are worth. Here again (see poem 69) the succession of vowel sounds and consonantal sounds produces much of the poem's charm: notice the sudden change from (mostly) sweet to harsh consonants in l. 4. Many of the epigrams contain, or hint at, a proverb (ll. 3–4 here; cf. poems 93, 94, 100, 113, 115).

1 *nulli* = *nemini*. (Later writers, such as Livy and Tacitus, revert to *nulli*, perhaps under the influence of poetry.)
mulier: a very general term ('woman' or 'wife'), in colloquial use (hence Italian *moglie*); here employed to contrive a repetition within the perfectly general statement contained in line 3.

nubere: Editors suggest, on the whole rightly, that *nubere* can be used of a tie other than marriage; but passages like Plaut. *Cist.* 43 (of a *meretrix* who *cottidie viro nubit, nupsitque hodie, nubet mox noctu*), where the meaning is extended *ad hoc*, do not really support this claim (as Kr. points out, in the *Cistellaria* context, just before these words occur, the talk had been of legitimate marriage).
2 *non si*: cf. 69.3 n.
Iuppiter etc.: proverbial; cf. Plaut. *Cas.* 323; also Ov. *M.* 7.801, which may echo C. here. See 72.2.
petat, of a suit: cf. V. *Aen.* 12.42 *conubia nostra petentem*.
4 The proverbs speak of 'writing on water' (*εἰς ὕδωρ γράφειν*, Soph. fr. 742 N²; cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 276c), or else of 'letting the wind (or water: *ventus et unda* at both Prop. 2.28.8 and Ov. *Am.* 2.16.45–6) carry one's words away'; but 'writing on the wind' is unparalleled. C. has simply conflated the two expressions (cf. 30.10) in a poetic ellipse.

Laurens, P. 1965. 'À propos d'une image catullienne (c. 70.4),' *Latomus* 24: 545–50.
de Venuto, D. 1966. 'Il carme 70 di C. e *Anth. Pal.* 5.8 di Meleagro,' *RCCM* 8: 215–19.
Skiadas, A.D. 1975. 'Periuria Amantium: Zur Geschichte und Interpretation eines Motivs der augusteischen Liebesdichtung,' *Monumentum Chilonense: Studien zur augusteischen Zeit. Festschrift für E. Burck*. Amsterdam: 400–18, esp. 407–9.
Miller, P.A. 1988. 'C. 70: A Poem and its Hypothesis,' *Helios* 15: 127–32.

71

Structure: 4 + 2 (*nam*).
On 'personal hygiene' (poem 69 n.). It is surprising, in view of C.'s usual practice, to find no name given. (Palladius' *iure bono*, which E. calls 'tame,' is needed to balance *merito*.) Possibly it continues, under *aemulus*, the attack on Rufus of poem 69; if so, is it addressed to C. himself?

1 'If anyone deserves to be physically handicapped in his social life, it's that rival of yours.'
iure bono: a loose poetic equivalent for the prosaic formula *optimo iure*.
sacer, 'accursed' (cf. 14.12).
obstitit, 'has got in the way' (of his success with girls).
On *qui* or *qua* for *cui* see 1.1 n. *R²*'s *al. quo* is an attempted correction, ignored by *m*, who shows signs of haste towards the end of the book (for example, he omits the word *aliquem* at 73.2).
2 *tarda*, in active sense, 'hindering.' Horace borrows the phrase *tarda podagra* (*S.* 1.9.32).

podagra: the second syllable, (unusually) treated as long here, is short in line 6. Here *m* agrees with *O*; but *m*'s correction of *R* is easy and obvious – and independent.

3 *exercet amorem*: not simply = *amore fruitur*, as at 68.69 (which would apply to one's *own* love), but here 'meddles in *your* love.'
vester can mean *tuus*, even in the proximity of *te* or *tuus*; cf. 39.20–1. But C. may, as Kr. suggests, be thinking (together) of the person addressed and his *puella*.

4 *mirifice*, a work much used by Cicero (111 instances are quoted in *TLL*), never seems merely to intensify another adverb, but always to be self-contained in its meaning ('wonderfully *well*,' etc.); the parallel with *θαυμασίως ὡς*, drawn by Nisbet 1978: 109, does not seem to be supported by usage. For this reason – and because the placing of two adjs. or advs. in tandem is a feature of C.'s style – in *CE* I thought it right to enclose *apte* between commas: 'has acquired both troubles to a remarkable degree – and appropriately, too!' At Lucr. 4.462 *mirande multa* and Quint. 3.5.14 *mirabiliter multa*, the adverb is used to intensify, not a second adverb, but an adjective. The nearest parallel, in a sense, is Gellius 16.6.9 *nimium quantum audacter*, though, besides being late, it has nothing to do with *mirifice*. After much hesitation, and in view of the passages cited from Lucr. and Quint., I have now deleted the commas. See n. on 53.2.

6 *odore*: cf. 69.9 *nasorum ... pestem*.
perit: for this (less than literal) meaning, cf. 14.14.

Castiglioni, L. 1940/1. 'Decisa Forficibus,' *Rendic. Ist. Lomb.* 74: 389–418.
Kaster, R.A. 1977. 'A Note on C., c. 71.4,' *Philologus* 121: 308–31.

72

Structure: balanced (4 + 4); see Davis 1971 (three sets of structural patterns, based on contrasts).
Related to poem 70 (q.v.); but also to poems 75 and 85, in which the thought expressed here, especially in ll. 5–8, is progressively condensed. The great change from poem 70 lies in the use of tenses: poem 70 is entirely in the present (*dicit*), but a main factor in the working of poem 72 is the steady progress in time from past state (*dicebas*) to completed action (*dilexi; cognovi*) to present situation (*es*). As Davis points out, there are two further contrasts: Lesbia's feelings (1–2 only) against C.'s; and romantic love (for which C. finds a new kind of expression, l. 6) in opposition to sexual desire. It is of course C.'s discovery of Lesbia's infidelity (only a future possibility in poem 70) that finds expression in *te cognovi*; nevertheless, he still burns with passion. For the device of 'advancing anaphora,' by which *te* steadily advances towards the beginning of the line, producing an effect of excitement

and climax, see poem 83 n. Notice how in the last two lines, where there is no further reference to *te* or *me*, the expression becomes general; cf. poem 70 for this (in some other epigrams, e.g., poems 73, 107, 110, 111, the general statement comes first). The opposition between *quondam ... nosse* in l. 1 and *nunc ... cognovi* in l. 4, with its deliberate repetition of the same, or a cognate, verb in a quite different sense, is sharply pointed.

1 *dicebas*: cf. 70.1 and 3 *dicit*.
nosse ... tenere: both words have generally amorous overtones, but neither refers to a specific sexual act. With *nosse* we should supply *velle* from l. 2.

2 Cf. 64.28 *tenuit*.
Iovem: cf. 70.2 n.

3 *dilexi*: the choice of a word indicating (as is evident from what follows) a supra-sensual kind of affection is deliberate: see line 4. At 6.5, the word has an earthier connotation, being applied to a *scortum*.

4 *generos*: note the 'extension' of family implied by this.

5 *cognovi*: a true perfect tense, 'I have come to understand you,' almost (in the context) 'I have found you out.' The central importance of the changes of tense in the poem is well brought out by Davis.

6 *vilior* and *levior* have here much the same meaning: Lesbia has lost C.'s respect (Tac. *H.* 4.80 *paulatim levior viliorque haberi*).

7 For the device of a short question suggesting dialogue, see 6.13 n. (also 85.1 *fortasse requiris*, 'perhaps you are asking me').
qui, instrumental (ablative) – 'how?' – as in phrases like *qui fit, qui possum*.
potis est = *potest* <*fieri*> (cf. 76.24 for *potis est*, 42.16 and 76.16 for *potest*).
iniuria, 'wrong,' the opposite of *ius*; not 'injury,' which in English tends to suggest physical violence (or, by a metaphor, 'injured' feelings). In C. it begins to have the connotation of unfaithfulness, especially on the part of a mistress, which it retains in the Augustan elegists; F. quotes Prop. 2.24.39, 4.8.27, and Ov. *M.* 9.150.

8 *bene velle* = 'the feelings of ordinary friendship,' according to F., who cites Plaut. *Pseud.* 233 *iam diu ego huic bene et hic mihi volumus et amicitia est antiqua*. Kr., too, interprets *bene velle* as originating in the sphere of friendship; but in addition to the passage already quoted he cites two further Plautine passages, from which Q. properly deduces the meaning 'be fond of': *Truc.* 441 *egone illam ut non amem? egone illi ut non bene velim?*; *Trin.* 437–8 *quid agit filius? / bene volt tibi*.

Harmon, D.P. 1970. 'C. 72.3–4,' *CJ* 65: 321–2.
Davis, J.T. 1971. 'Poetic Counterpoint: C. 72,' *AJP* 92: 196–201.
Kubiak, D.P. 1986. 'Time and Traditional Diction in C. 72,' *SLLRH* 4. Brussels: 259–64.

73

Structure: 4 + 2 (*ut* ...) (a general statement, followed by a particular application).
Ingratitude and hostility on the part of one who had regarded C. as an intimate friend. The person referred to here may well be the Caelius of poem 100; cf. l. 6 *amicum* with 100.6 *unica amicitia*. Rufus of poem 77 is another candidate (not Alfenus of poem 30, despite Kr.; something more than simple neglect is in point here). Of all poems in this category (complaints about breach of friendship), the present one is – as L. remarked – the most emotionally charged. In the last line, the multiple elisions are pathetic; any slight awkwardness is deliberate, as though the poet wished, thereby, to show his distress (reflected also in the repeated *m*-sounds).

For the restoration of the imperfect l. 4, see the n. below. Some editors prefer to read <*prodest*>, *immo* ... But with this text the first, and more emphatic, contrast of *prodest* would be with *taedet*, not, as the editors wish, with *obest*. For the repetition *taedet, taedet*, see l. 4 n.

1 *desine*: notice the use of the imperative to express 'a general rule' (Kr., who compares 28.13 *pete nobiles amicos*, and also the formula *i nunc*).
quoquam quicquam: repetition for emphasis.

2 *aliquem*, 'somebody or other,' not merely (as Kr.) = *quemquam* ('any single person'): see F. on 76.7, especially his tr. of Cic. *Red. Sen.* 30 *difficile est non aliquem, nefas quemquam praeterire*, 'it is difficult not to leave out someone or other; it is wrong to leave out any single person.'
pium, 'loyal' in friendship.

3 *omnia sunt ingrata*, 'every kindness one does is wasted.' Kr. well compares Plaut. *Asin.* 136 *ingrata ... omnia intellego quae dedi et quod bene feci*; other references will be found in F., whose alternative explanation (in which *omnia* = 'the world'; cf. 89.3 n.) is perhaps too general for the context.
fecisse benigne, a more elaborate way of saying *bene fecisse*; cf. 76.1 *benefacta* (Cic. *Ad Fam.* 13.67.1 has *plurimis ... benigne fecisti*).
Est (*ē*, omitted after the final *e* of *benigne*) must be restored if Avantius' reading is adopted in l. 4; it is needed to balance *sunt*.

4 For the repetition *taedet, taedet* cf. 64.26–7 *ipse, ipse*, and 107.4–5. The enjambement, if we accept *prodest* (or any of the other words supplied at the beginning of the line), is somewhat heavy for C. in epigrams of this length and type, and should be avoided if possible. A scribe who was capable of omitting one word might easily omit another (see l. 3); this is merely an observation, for of course as an argument it has no weight. The opposition *obesse-prodesse* is obviously familiar: see *TLL* 9.2.265.35–72. Here, however, the first – and the more emphatic – contrast implied in <*prodest*> would be with *taedet*, rather than with *obest*.

Notice R^{2v}'s attempt at metrical correction, an attempt based on the archetypal (*A*) reading *magisque magis*.

magis = *potius* ('instead,' 'rather'), as at 68.30. F. cites also V. *Ecl.* 1.11, Prop. 2.3.53, to illustrate the acquisition by *magis* of the 'adversative' sense which (as he rightly says) it bears in later Latin.

5 *gravius* = *acerbius*: cf. Caes. *B.C.* 1.5.4 *gravissime acerbissimeque* (*decernitur*).
urget: cf. Tib. 2.1.79 *quos hic graviter deus urget*.

6 R^2 at first leaves *R*'s *habet* in place, but later – in the margin – offers a metrical correction, which is accepted (as a variant, *because* it is marginal in R^2) by m^2. If *habuit* had been there for *m* to see, it is very unlikely that he would have missed it.

See the ingenious, if not wholly convincing, explanation for the large number of elisions in this line (parody of a metrical fault by the offender, who had written the same line with *te* for C.'s *me*), offered by Postgate 1932.

unum atque unicum: as Kr. says, the fact that Aulus Gellius (18.4.2) and Apuleius (*M.* 4.31) treat this pleonasm as a formula suggests that they regarded it as archaic.

Postgate, P.E. 1932. *PCPS* 151–2: 6.
Oldfather, W.A. 1943. 'The Most Extreme Case of Elision in the Latin Language?,' *CJ* 38 (1943): 478–9.

74

Structure: 4 + 2 (*nam*, postponed).
The first of a cycle of abusive poems on Gellius (poems 80, 88, 89, 90, 91, 116). From poem 116, probably the earliest of them, with its mention of *tela ista* and its reference to the possibility of appeasing Gellius with literary offerings, it seems that G. was himself an epigrammatist, and at least to that extent C.'s literary rival; he was also his rival in the matter of a *magnus amor*, probably Lesbia (see poem 91). Probably he was L. Gellius Publicola, son of the consul of 72 BC, and consul himself in 36 (if so, his uncle may have been the Gellius mentioned adversely by Cicero, *Pro Sestio* 110). For his alleged incest with his stepmother, see Val. Max. 5.9.1. When he was a member of Clodia's circle, in 56 BC, he seems to have been doubly linked with the prosecution of Caelius, as (i) married to the sister of the prosecutor, and (ii) possibly the stepson of Polla, against whom Caelius was charged with fraud (R.G. Austin on *Pro Caelio* 23).

The point of the poem, namely that '*fellatio* precludes conversation' (Gaisser 1993: 72), was first made by Parthenius (line 5 n., *nam qui*

irrumatur et fellat tacere cogitur); cf. Politianus, *Miscellanea* I.83 *coepit irrumare patruum, eoque pacto tacere coegit, quoniam loqui fellator non potest*. Both passages are quoted in Gaisser 1993: 311 n. 21.

1 *R*'s *lelius* appears in *m*. The variant *al. Gellius* was surely taken by R^2 from the margins of *X*. It looks therefore as if *X* had, in his text, the erroneous *lelius* of *GR*. Notice that *O* has *tellius* at 89.1. For the spelling of the name cf. also 80.1, 88.1 and 5, 90.1, and 116.6. It is not, however, likely that *O* has here corrected *Gelius* to *Gellius* on the basis of any or all of these passages; consistency in spelling is not *O*'s *forte*, as will be evident from the App. Crit.
Gellius: see intr. n.
patruum: the Romans thought of the *patruus* as a 'Dutch uncle,' apt on occasion to scold the young; see Cicero, *Cael.* 25 (quoted by Kr.).

2 *delicias*, 'naughtiness' (cf. 50.3 *delicatos*). As Kr. points out, Cicero (*Cael.* 27) calls one section of the speech *against* Caelius 'deliciarum obiurgatio.'

3 *perdepsuit* = *futuit*; see *depsit* at Cic. *Ad Fam.* 9.22.4 (discussing the use of improper language). Giselinus, in the 1569 Plantin edition, attributes the correction to 'Cauchus et alii.' Scaliger claimed it for himself. See Gaisser 1993: 414–15.

4 Harpocrates (har-pe-chrod) was the god Horus (Hor), son of Isis and Serapis; in works of art he was depicted as an infant, hence with finger in mouth; but this came to be interpreted as a gesture, counselling silence. Cf. 102.4 n. (On the spelling *-en*, see A.E. Housman, 'Greek Nouns in Latin Poetry,' *J.Phil.* 31 (1910): 236–66.)

5 *fecit* = *effecit* (cf. 98.6).
irrumat: 16.1 n.

6 *nunc* should really be included in the main clause, but the meaning is clear.

Kitchell, K.F. 1986. 'Et patruum reddidit Harpocratem; A Re-interpretation of C., c. 74,' *SLLRH* 4. Brussels: 100–10.

75

Structure: balanced (unitary: *huc ... ut ...*).
See n. on poem 72 for poem 75 as an intermediate stage in compression of thought between poem 72 and poem 85. The tenses (see on poem 72) are now reduced to two: perfect and present. The opposition between *fieri* and *facere*, which forms the principal contrast in poem 85, is already made explicit here, though less concisely and in a more laboured way. Notice, in this poem, the fact that the first halves of ll. 1 and 3 show some measure of rhythmical correspondence, whereas ll. 2 and 4 do not correspond (in

rhythm) at all. This gives a certain variety; the somewhat unusual elision of the *e* in *amare* (at the diaeresis) both helps this variety and adds a touch of pathos.

1 *huc ... deducta ...* (3) *ut*, 'led to the point where ...'
The rhythm of this line, and the character of *mea Lesbia* as a kind of set phrase (5.1; 87.2; cf. *mea puella*), seem to require the punctuation I have given. To isolate *Lesbia* in a parenthesis in the fifth foot seems to me awkward both in sound and in sense.
culpa: To some extent at least, this word is probably intended to bear the developed sense of 'sexual misconduct' (cf. 68.138–39), for which Q. cites V. *Aen.* 4.19 and 172.

2 *officio*, 'devotion' (e.g., to friends; cf. 68.12) – here shown as the result of *pietas* in adhering to the *foedus amicitiae* (109.6 n.).
ipsa suo: C.'s devotion turns out to have been misplaced, hence misguided and self-destructive.

3 *bene velle*: cf. 72.8 n. For the contrast, Kr. quotes Theogn. 1091–4, Lygd. [=Tib]. 3.6.55–6.

4 desiflore *m*. Another example of *m*'s carelessness (71.1 n.); m^2 writes *al. desistere*, thus restoring *R*'s reading, and here (as often) disguising the restoration as a variant.
omnia si facias: that is, if you should prove to be *capable de tout*. Theocr. (23.11) has *πάντα ποιεῖν* in the same sense; cf. Bion 2.25 and also (as Kr. suggests) *πανοῦργος*.

76

Structure: either two-part – (8 + 8) + (6 + 4) (see Q.) – or, as I prefer, three-part – e.g., (6 + 3 + 3) + 4 [bridge passage] + (6 + 4), or 8 + 8 + 10, as in Stoessl 1977, who has a useful discussion of the structure.
Despite the apostrophe and appeal to the gods in ll. 17–26, this poem is really a soliloquy, or interior dialogue (of the poet with himself). The moment it depicts is surely earlier than that of poem 11: there, C. faces, with firmness and detachment, the fact that his love for Lesbia is dead, whereas here he is still gripped by a passion he knows to have outlived its time. The emotional crisis is precisely that of poem 8 (q.v.), but (as is usual in the epigrams) the treatment is more reflective, less 'direct' and 'passionate' than in the polymetric poems 1–60; cf. for instance poem 86 with poem 43 for a relatively trivial example of this difference in treatment. Some critics call poem 76 an elegy; but in spite of its comparative length it lacks the wide sweep and (especially) the kind of interior development we associate with

the true love elegy, and I should prefer to describe it as an extended epigram. Like poems 72, 75, and 85, it is inspired by C.'s conflict of emotions over Lesbia and the feeling that his love for her has been one-sided (cf. poem 87, where see n. on the past tenses) – though this latter idea cannot be made explicit in the brief compass of poem 85. As in poem 8, C. detaches himself – as a rational being – from his infatuation, but with a struggle. If there is any going beyond the mood of poem 8, it is that, as F. says, 'here it is not the happiness that C. remembers ... he has passed beyond recrimination and is obsessed by his own undeserved suffering ... his despair is final, and there is no thought of reconciliation.' (In the still later stages of the relationship, as reflected in poems 11 and 58, C. turns – having formally repudiated Lesbia – to something like pure repulsion and bitterness unmixed with any nostalgic feeling whatever.) Notice here the stress on *fides* – loyalty, a personal attachment, whether to a *patronus* on the part of a *cliens*, or to the gods (cf. 34.1; and the poet is a kind of *cliens*, bound by *fides* as *pius poeta* to his patroness the Muse: 16.5 n.; a bad poet is *impius*, 14.7), or to a trusted friend or beloved person. C.'s claim to be *pius*, to observe *fides*, is neither self-satisfied nor illusory; it is more like a formula of invocation, asserting the sine qua non of a rational and constant practice of *fides*, without which one simply could not appeal to the gods to show and to exercise their kind of *fides* in return. See, for this, Ariadne's words at 64.191, *caelestum fidem comprecer*; such *fides* is 'the feeling of responsibility the gods have for those in their care' (Henry 1951: 53).

1 *benefacta*: cf. 73.3 *fecisse benigne* (*benefacta*, in a sense 'active' in meaning = 'benefits conferred,' whereas *beneficia* include – and usually mean – benefits received; cf. the title of Seneca's treatise *De beneficiis*).

2 *pietas* denotes, as E. rightly says, the performance of human obligations that have a divine sanction (such as discharging promises or oaths, as well as vows); F.'s definition, 'conformity to divine will,' is unsatisfactory.

3 *in ullo*: see App. Crit. (For a clear instance of *in* omitted by the copyist, see 87.3, where the preceding *m* makes the source of the corruption obvious.) *Pace* Quinn, *V*'s dubious *nec numquam* at 48.4 should not be cited in support of a double negative here, since, as F. remarks, the two negatives are not separated.

5 Fr.'s *manent tum* – *manentum* is *O*'s reading – has something to commend it (it is adopted by Lenchantin). In support of Fr., Levens argued that '*tum* answers to *si*, as often; cf. 15.17, 64.231.' (In both of these passages, however, *tum* is a connecting particle that points the way to a future or virtual future; I do not find them relevant here.) L. went on to maintain that with *tum* 'the rhythm is much more Catullan; he uses elision to charge his lines more heavily <with emotion>.' This is true, and so common in C. as to need no particular illustration. For elided *tum*, cf. 100.6 (with Palmer's reading; see text and App. Crit. there); similarly, *iam* is elided both in this poem at lines 10, 18, 23, and elsewhere (e.g., at 8.9).

parata, 'won,' or 'earned' (in the past, according to B., who observed that *in longa aetate* should, if it refers to the future, be expressed by *in* + acc.); but C. is surely thinking of a long *future* extent of life. The order of the words in the line suggests taking *in longa aetate* with *manent*.

6 For *O*'s confusion of the compendia for *hec* (h̄) and *hoc* (h̄), cf. 64.175 n. and 68.149 n.; also lines 15 and 16 below.

ingrato: cf. 73.3 for the meaning. At 1.9, however, it means 'ungrateful.'

7 *cuiquam*, 'to any single person,' F. (he aptly quotes Publilius *ap.* Sen. *Dial.* 9.11.8 *cuivis potest accidere quod cuiquam potest* and Cicero, *Red. Sen.* 30 *difficile est non aliquem, nefas quemquam praeterire*). Sometimes *quisquam* is used after *si* (which occurs in l. 1. here); cf. 96.1, 98.1, 102.1.

9 *quae*: see App. Crit. (If we read *-que*, the transition to the next section of the poem will bisect the couplet 9–10, and the connection itself with the preceding section loses its force.)

perierunt credita: suggesting a bad debt, to be written off as a loss. Cf. Seneca, *De benef.* 1.1.1 *sequitur enim ut male collocata <beneficia> male debeantur, de quibus non redditis sero querimur; ista enim perierunt cum darentur.*

10 There are several instances of hiatus in C., but this apparent example occurs just before the diaeresis of the pentameter. In emending, we should retain *iam amplius* – in that order – since these words 'are regularly placed together, in verse as in prose' (F., who gives examples from Cicero and Virgil). As we have seen, this poem contains several elided monosyllables (above, l. 5 n.).

11 With *animo, offirmas* is intransitive (F. quotes Plaut. *Stich.* 68 and Ter. *Eun.* 217 for instances of this). Notice the rewriting by Ovid (*M.* 9.745), who in three words (*quin animum firmas*) deliberately eliminates two of C.'s elisions. On the prevalence, or at least frequency, of elision in this poem (and a suggested reason for it), cf. the notes on lines 5 and 10 above. Notice also that Ovid goes on to say *teque ipsa recolligis*, which supports E.'s *te ipse* here. F. also quotes Ov. *Tr.* 5.7.65 *meque ipse* (the vulgate reading, i.e., that of the *dett.*; but Merkel and Owen, unnoticed by F., read *sic meque* with the Codex Gothanus) *reduco a contemplatu semoveoque mali*. The emphatic 'both – and' of *teque reduc et ... desinis* would be pointless. *istinc* = from that situation of yours' (cf. 116.6 *hinc*).

O's reading is here slightly better than the reading of *X*; probably *A* had *istincteque* and *X* turned *e* into *o* by a slip.

For George Buchanan's emendation see his *De Prosodia* (*Opera Omnia*, 1715, vol. 2, part 5).

12 *dis invitis*: that is, 'when Heaven itself opposes <the love that makes you *miser*>' (cf. Prop. 1.1.7–8 *et mihi iam toto furor hic non desinit anno / cum tamen adversos cogor habere deos*).

13 Kr. quotes Menander fr. 726 (Koch; = fr. 544 Körte) ἔργον ἐστὶ ... μακρὰν συνήθειαν βραχεῖ λῦσαι χρόνῳ. See the references in Posch (on poem 93) 1979: 329 to various studies of this fragment.
longum subito, 'an emphatic collocation' (Q.).

14 *efficias*, 'you must do (this)'; jussive subjunctive, as at 8.1 *desinas*.

15 *pervincendum*: the heavy (spondaic, one-word) ending suggests difficulty. As Kr. points out, such endings are much more common in the hexameters of poem 64 (30 in 408 lines) than in C.'s elegiac couplets (12 in 373 ll., of which 8 are in the long poems 66, 68); noting this, F. describes the use of the device in poem 64 as a 'Hellenistic mannerism.' See his long n. on 64.3.

15, 16 Notice how the closely similar compendia for *hec* and *hoc* (cf. l. 6 n.) have led our Mss into error (corrected by R^2, *suo Marte*).

16 *m* corrects *R*'s *faties* to *facies*; *facias* (*G* = *X*) is evidently unknown to him.
pote ... non pote: 'polar expression' (Kr., F.: see the parallels, Plaut. *Trin.* 360 and Sen. *Medea* 567, quoted by F.). For the form *pote* = (*fieri*) *potest*, cf. 1.23 and see 45.5 n.

17 *si* with the indicative = *si quidem* (Greek εἴπερ); used in prayer formulae ('*since* you ...,' stressing the *fact* of the deity's quality or action; not '*if* you ...'), it has almost the same function as *tu* (cf. 34.13–20) or *vos* in the traditional invocation. (The use of *si* with the indicative in poem 96 similarly appears to express confidence rather than, as certain critics have suggested, scepticism; see n. there.) One might tr. 'if, as is the case, ...'

17ff. For the appeal to the gods, cf. 109.3ff.

18 R^2's correction *extrema* has been defended (Virgil, in two passages, has *extrema iam in morte*), but so has *extremam*, on the supposition that C. wishes to avoid a string of ablatives. Palaeographically, there is little to choose between them.

19 *puriter*: this form of the adverb, instead of *pure*, is archaic, as F. points out here; see, however, his note on 39.14, where 'solemn' connotations are less obviously in place. C.'s use of the word here implies that his hands are clean in relation to Lesbia: the central idea seems to be that of integrity in conduct (to be classified, no doubt, as a species of *pietas*). Total sexual abstinence outside C.'s affair with Lesbia is not claimed; what *is* claimed is that while C. was in love with Lesbia he was wholly faithful to her.

20 *pestis ac pernicies* (a kind of set phrase, e.g., in Cicero – *Rab. Perd.* 2 [quoted by F.], *In Cat.* 1.33, *De off.* 2.51 – cf., for instance, Lucil. 77 M) = *morbus*, l. 25. C. can now see what is left of his love as a morbid affliction, needing a cure.

22 *ex omni pectore*, 'completely from my ...' (F.; for parallels, see his n. on 68.25).
R^1's instant self-correction is followed by *m*. There appear to be no instances where such R^1 corrections are noticed only by m^2.

23–4 For a complete contrast in tone, cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.14.1–2 *non ego ne pecces, cum sis formosa, recuso, / sed ne sit misero scire necesse mihi.*

23 See App. Crit. (*me ut me* is *V*'s unmetrical reading, so that the two possible restorations *me ut* or *ut me* have equal standing). I now prefer *ut me*, for the reasons that were given by L., as follows: (i) *me*, since it is not emphatic, should not be outside the subordinate clause; (ii) juxtaposition of the words *contra me* would too strongly suggest that *contra* must be taken as a preposition; (iii) palaeographical probability: the copyist, having omitted *ut*, writes it after *me* and then adds another *me*, forgetting to delete the former.

24 *potis*: here neuter. For the history of *potis/pote*, see Kr. on 72.7 and F. on 45.5. The form *potis* was dying out in C.'s time.

25 *ipse*, contrasted with *illa* (1.23); a contrast emphasized by the asyndeton, as Kr. observes.

26 R^2's correction *mi* for *mihi* is, of course, metrical in nature. For the confusion of compendia (*hec* and *hoc*) see above, line 6 n.

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77

Structure: 4 + 2 (question and answer).
On the theme of false friends, cf. poems 38 and 73. As to the identity of 'Rufus,' see Noonan on poem 69 (with reservations expressed in my n.) and