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COMMENTARY  
ON CATULLUS

ROBINSON ELLIS



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# A Commentary on Catullus

ROBINSON ELLIS



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A

COMMENTARY ON CATULLUS

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AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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## PREFACE.

IT will not be denied that the present work is called for. In 1859 I designed a commentary on Catullus, and only interrupted it to reconstitute the text as a preliminary. But the earlier design, for which from the first I had accumulated a considerable store of materials, had never been abandoned, and after the publication of the text in 1867 became the principal object to which my studies were directed.

As compared with Virgil and Horace, or even with Tibullus and Propertius, Catullus may almost be said to have been during the last century a neglected book. While each of those poets has been edited by scholars of first-rate ability, nothing has been done for Catullus since the publication of Doering's edition in 1788. How imperfect that edition is is known to every one. Doering's chief merit was his brevity. He carefully avoided all discussion where discussion was more than usually interesting, and when the student was asking for information on the numerous points where the poems touch on the personal or public history of the time, was contented to illustrate his author by quotations from Lotichius.

This neglect was certainly not justified by the history of the poems in the preceding centuries. From Parthenius and Palladius at the end of the fifteenth century, to Vulpius and Conradinus de Allio in the former half of the eighteenth, Catullus was edited and reedited by a series of scholars including some of the greatest names in philology. The sixteenth century alone produced no less than four commentaries of primary importance, those of Alexander Guarinus in 1521, of

Muretus in 1554, of Achilles Statius in 1566, of Scaliger in 1577. Of these the three former were published at Venice, with which city Catullus may in modern times claim an almost special connexion. Guarinus' edition has become so rare as to be almost unknown; but it is for all that a most valuable book. No doubt modern taste is offended by the plainness, not to say grossness of his explanations; which indeed perpetually suggest that he was illustrating the corruptions of Catullus' time by observations drawn from his own. But in fulness, in general correctness, in the absence of irrelevant matter, in the accident of its authorship<sup>1</sup>, lastly in its very rarity, the book has a permanent interest literary no less than philological. The commentary of Muretus is slighter, and less minute in the explanation of particular words; but Muretus possessed what Guarinus did not, a considerable knowledge of Greek; in spite of which his work is, if weighed by his reputation, disappointing. He did very little for the elucidation of passages where the MSS fail us, or where the allusion is really recondite. Far more important is the commentary of the Portuguese *Estaço* (Statius), still perhaps the best extant. In the accumulation of really illustrative passages, drawn from the stores of a most extensive reading, he anticipates the learning of a later period; his notes too contain frequent references to inscriptions, a branch of classical archaeology then in its infancy and only now beginning to take its proper place in philological investigation. The value of *Estaço's* labours may be estimated by the use which subsequent editors have made of them; even Scaliger seems sometimes to be merely repeating him, perhaps unconsciously. Scaliger's own *Castigationes* are rather a series of notes on disputed or corrupt passages than a commentary: he disdained to linger over what he thought easy or trivial, and contented himself with the discussion of difficulties. Sometimes his critical sagacity has cleared up what had been dark to all before him, as notably in LXI. 189; often his wide knowledge of the whole range of

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Guarinus was the grandson of Guarinus of Verona, one of the most prominent scholars of the Renaissance, and the son of Baptista Guarinus, whose MS of Catullus, as well as his corrections and interpretations, are several times quoted in his son's commentary. According to the *Biographie Universelle* Alexander was himself the father of the well-known author of the *Pastor Fido*.

classical antiquity has traced allusions which had escaped even Statius. But his archaeological learning was out of proportion to his critical delicacy; and his castigations, valuable as they are, are at times defaced by outbursts of childish self-conceit or reckless infelicities of correction. Partly perhaps this is attributable to the exaggerated estimate which he formed of Cujas' MS, which since Mr. Arthur Palmer's<sup>1</sup> discovery can no longer be thought a lost treasure. Only as compared with other late MSS of the fifteenth century can the famous Cujacianus be considered a MS of first-rate importance for the criticism of Catullus: its readings where they differ from the MSS of the fourteenth century differ for the worse; a signal instance is in VIII. 15 *Scelestā rere*, an obvious correction of the genuine reading *ne te*, and as obviously wrong. Even Scaliger's so-called restitution of LXXXVII to its supposed proper place before LXXV, based as it was on the Cujacianus which had *Nunc* in LXXV. 1 for *Huc* of most MSS, plausible though it undoubtedly seems, and accepted though it is by Lachmann, can hardly be considered more than an ingenious guess in the enlarged knowledge which we now possess not only of the MSS of Catullus, but of the omissions and lacunae of MSS generally. Scaliger's edition was supplemented before the close of the century by the *Præcidanea* of the elder Dusa, and the *Coniectanea* of the younger.

The Commentaries of Passerat (1608) and Voss (1684) have experienced a singularly different fortune. Passerat's work is little known: Voss is quoted more than any other editor. For this there are many reasons. Passerat's *Prælectiones* were not a set commentary on the whole of Catullus; most of the shorter poems are omitted altogether, on others he has left only a few scanty notes: even the longer poems are treated unequally; the Attis and the Coma Beronices have each barely a column; the Epistle to Mallius is omitted; only LXI, LXII, LXIV, LXV are treated at length. The work was published after his death, and we may conjecture that he never finished it. But where his notes are full they are valuable, especially on the two

<sup>1</sup> I agree with Mr. Palmer in thinking it beyond doubt that the MS of Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and the Priapia, now in possession of Mr. Henry Allen of Dublin, is identical with Scaliger's Cujacianus. See our combined article in *Hermathena*, iii.



Epithalamia, which require more illustration. He is particularly great in accumulating passages which illustrate the meaning of special words; but he rarely throws much new light on corrupt or hitherto unexplained passages. This was the merit of Voss. His notes abound with recondite learning. Of all Commentaries on Catullus his is the most erudite. Hence his diatribes have a substantial value independent of their goodness as explaining the difficulties of Catullus' text; hence too they were and are quoted and read by learned men. Not that Voss is an ideal expounder; his learning is often wrong-headed, as for instance on LXIV. 178, where he has a long note on the Thracian Idomene, or again on LXVIII. 51, *duplex Amathunsia*: sometimes he does defiance to metre, as in LXIII. 85, where he rejects *Ferus ipse sese adhortans* for the impossible *Ferus ipse ardore talis*. But Voss, besides his abstruse learning, was a great collector of manuscripts, and supplemented his knowledge in one department of philology by his experience in another. To him therefore we are indebted for some of the happiest emendations; e. g. XXIV. 4 *Midae dedisses*, LXIV. 55 *quae uisit uisere credit*, the first since confirmed by the Canonici MS, the second a wonderful example of happy divination. To the beginning of the same century belong the Asterisms of Marcilius (1604), a scholar, whose figure has become familiar to Englishmen in Mr. Pattison's graphic life of Casaubon. The work, like the man, was not contemptible; but it is slight, and can hardly be said to bring into the field much that is new.

The seemingly exhaustive commentary of Vulpius (1710) added really very little to our knowledge. It is true he rarely omits anything of consequence in the notes of his predecessors, and that he is always decorous and sober in his interpretations. Anything like ingenious fancy or recondite learning is foreign to his dull, pedantic, over-clerical temperament; even his antiquarianism has failed to clear up any of those points which are peculiarly the province of the antiquarian. His notes are made up of piles of citations, generally of the most commonplace kind, and in unnecessary profusion. The defects of Vulpius seem to have prompted the edition of Conradinus de Allio (Venice, 1738), a book now become scarce. Conr. de Allio had a supreme contempt for almost all his predecessors, and a most unbounded

confidence in his own discernment. In coarseness he almost equals Alexander Guarinus, in gross prurience of suggestion actually surpasses him. He is over-fond of quotations from Italian poetry, and he is never tired of giving advice to the undoubtedly insufficient lexicographers of his time. Yet he has the merit of seeing that Catullus is his own best expositor; instead of heaping quotations from Cicero on quotations from Virgil, he compares Catullus with himself. This naturally led him to the attempt, so common in modern times, of reconstructing the personal history of the poet, a task in which, as might be expected, he has failed. Still it was something to be as much in advance of the mode of his contemporaries as he was; whence, in spite of numerous absurdities, his commentary is still interesting. In one passage (XXXIX. 17) modern criticism has universally adopted his suggestion.

The specimen of an intended edition of Catullus which Santen published in 1788, a monograph of 64 pages on c. LXVIII, is sufficiently copious to make us regret that he did not leave more. Probably the publication of Doering's edition prevented the completion of his design. Of Doering something has been said already: his commentary is so meagre as to make us marvel how it can so long have retained exclusive possession of the field. In the *Peleus and Thetis* he availed himself of an excellent monograph by Mitscherlich (1786); Valckenaer's disappointing edition of the *Coma Beronices* did not appear till 1799.

Little was done for Catullus at the beginning of the present century. In 1803 Ugo Foscolo published an edition of the *Coma Beronices*, with a lengthy commentary; Hand discussed some of the disputed passages in his *Observationes Criticae* (1809); and Sillig gave a collation of the Dresden MS in 1823. With Lachmann's edition of the text in 1829 began a new era. Haupt, in his *Quaestiones Catullianae* 1837, *Observationes Criticae* 1841, emended, sometimes with success, the corrupt tradition of the archetype, as displayed with lucid clearness by Lachmann. The simplicity of Lachmann's apparatus criticus and the admirable style of Haupt's two disquisitions awoke once more the long dormant interest of philologists. The programmes and disquisitions of every kind, all based on

Lachmann's text, which now began to multiply, show how many scholars tried their skill on the corrupt passages of Catullus, and how very few achieved anything.

In 1855 appeared the admirable translation of Theodor Heyse<sup>1</sup>; in 1857 Jungclaussen's *Zur Chronologie der Gedichte des Q. Valerius Catullus*; in 1862 the *Quaestiones Catullianae* of L. Schwabe. The latter work contains the results of the most minute investigation which has yet been bestowed on the life and chronology of Catullus. Schwabe attempts to fix the period of every important event in the poet's history with a conscientious care worthy of all praise. If in many cases the reasoning is flimsy and the result inconclusive,—if the attempt to determine with precision the time of all or nearly all the poems seems at starting a mistake,—it is not the less true that the controversy which so bold a design could not fail to arouse has already made probable much that had been mere conjecture, and grouped round the central figure of the poet a variety of interesting associations. The parallel but little known treatise of Bruner is a useful contribution to the same subject: Westphal's *Catull's Gedichte* where it differs from Schwabe tends to extravagance, if not to romance: Couat's *Étude sur Catulle* discusses the life and times of the poet, and his relation to the Alexandrian school, as well as to his contemporaries, with excellent judgment and in a most readable style.

It remains to speak of my own work. When in 1859 I first formed the idea of writing a commentary on Catullus, Mr. Thomas Clayton, of Trinity College in this University, was preparing a school edition of the poems. Soon after abandoning his design he made over his notes, extending to LXIV. 110, to me. But the scope of his work was to suit the requirements of a boy; mine aimed at satisfying the larger wants of mature students. Hence I have been able to make very little use of his notes, which indeed never professed to be more than elementary. Wherever they are quoted I have added their author's name. With Mr. Munro I have been in more or less close connexion since 1863; all that he has written on Catullus will, I hope,

<sup>1</sup> I take this opportunity of mentioning my own similar work—Catullus translated in the *Metres of the Original*; Murray, 1871.

be found in the present volume or in the forthcoming re-issue of the text. Prof. Jowett has contributed an ingenious view of LXVIII. 29; Prof. Edwin Palmer a note on LXVI. 50; Mr. Tozer and Mr. Bywater various valuable suggestions; Mr. Nettleship and Mr. Raper their views of XXXVI. 9, 10; the Rev. S. W. Wayte, the Rev. H. G. Woods, and the Rev. J. W. Nutt have at various times examined at my request works which happened to be out of my reach. To Prof. H. J. S. Smith my book should have owed a more complete obligation, for to his revision the sheets were to have been subjected; but an unfortunate mistake, partly occasioned by my enforced residence in London, partly by the immense multiplicity of his occupations, has robbed the public and myself of criticisms which must have been valuable.

As my labours on Catullus began so far back as 1859, it may be surmised that the materials accumulated in the interim are considerable. It has been in fact no small part of my task to *select* from the large number of references which I had collected in the course of seventeen years' reading. My Commentary, I may say honestly, owes to myself much the larger portion of what is new; not indeed concerning the life of the poet or the history of his time, for which I am of course mainly indebted to Schwabe and Mommsen; but of parallel citations or illustrations. I have drawn these, where possible, from the predecessors or contemporaries, rather than from the followers of Catullus; from the less hackneyed writers, such as Plautus, Lucilius, Varro, rather than from such as have become insipid by familiarity; from Greek preferably to Latin. In writing my notes it has been my constant aim to realize, so far as I could, the peculiar feeling of an epoch so remarkable morally and socially as that of Catullus; and I believe I may say that the reader of this Commentary will at least not be shocked by the intrusion of views or sentiments incongruous with that extraordinary era.

OXFORD, *August* 1876.



# PROLEGOMENA.

## CATULLUS AS POET.

It is not often that so great a poet as Catullus has risked extinction, and been preserved almost by miracle. All our MSS are derived from a single imperfect copy discovered, we do not know where, at the beginning of the xivth century: no complete poem, with the exception of LXII which is included in the Thuanæan Anthology of the Paris Library, and the quatrain to Priapus cited by Terentianus Maurus 2755-2758 Lachm., has come down to us in any other collection. Yet only the loss of Alcaeus and Sappho in Greek literature could compare with the loss of the lyrics of Catullus; and we may estimate the barbarism which followed the decline of the Roman empire by nothing more signally than the absence of even one copy of the two Greek poets, and the almost casual preservation of the Veronese in a single mutilated MS, the parent of all our extant MSS. During the long period which elapsed between Isidorus of Hispalis in the seventh century and the re-discovery of the poems at the beginning of the fourteenth, only one writer is known to have read Catullus, Rather, bishop of Verona circ. 930-970: though LXII may have been copied into the Thuanæan Anthology from a complete MS of the poems, and traces of possible imitation, as well as glossarial extracts, are not absent, as I have shown in my former volume, *Prolegomena* pp. viii, ix. These may be, and in the existing ardour for mediæval study, are perhaps likely to be supplemented by new discoveries: still it remains true that Catullus was for a long time an almost unknown book: a singular fate if we think of the popularity which greeted him almost from the first amongst his countrymen. He himself tells us that his early attempts had been countenanced by Cornelius Nepos; Cicero, who nowhere mentions him by name, seems to have borrowed two of his expressions (*ad Q. Fr. ii. 15. 4, Att. xvi. 6. 2*); the parallelisms between him and Lucretius cannot be shown to spring from his imitation of the latter, and may with equal probability be ascribed to Lucretius' knowledge of Catullus: he is classed with Lucretius by Corn. Nepos as representing the literary epoch which preceded the rise of Virgil (*Att. xii*); J.

Caesar considered his attacks (either XXIX or LVII) upon himself to have branded him for ever ; and his general popularity is attested not only by the undisguised imitations of the greatest poets who followed him, Virgil, Horace, Tibullus<sup>1</sup>, Propertius, Status, above all Martial, or the various parodies of him found in the Catalecta<sup>2</sup>, Priapia, or elsewhere, but even more in the sneer of Horace that he and his friend Calvus were sung to the exclusion of every other poet by the fashionable singer of the day (S. i. 10. 19). Horace's sneer no doubt expresses the position of the Augustan poets to Catullus ; they belonged to an epoch which, greatly as it was influenced by the era which preceded it, was in the main antagonistic to its chief representatives, and this for literary no less than political reasons. On the one hand the son and successor of J. Caesar could not forget that Catullus had aimed his bitterest shafts at his predecessor and adoptive father ; on the other the Augustan poets, aiming as they did at the suppression of the older and ruder literature of Rome, either consciously ignored the great poets of the immediately preceding era, as in the well-known assertion of Horace that he was the first who had shown the iambs of Paros to Latium, or silently disparaged them as having their own aim, but not attaining it adequately. But Horace whose satires drove Lucilius out of the field, did not supplant the lyrics of Catullus by his odes and epodes ; the allusions scattered through the writings of the post-Augustan and subsequent periods, though they cannot be called numerous, are enough to show that Catullus remained a familiar book to the Romans, that he was read and read through<sup>3</sup>. Thus references to the poems on the Sparrow are found in Seneca, Juvenal, and Martial<sup>4</sup> ; the elder Pliny quotes some words from the dedicatory hendecasyllables to Cornelius Nepos in the first sentence of his Natural History, and takes pride in calling the poet his countryman (*conterraneum*) ; the elder Seneca corrects our MSS of LIII. 5, which he cites as *in hendecasyllabis*, Controu. vii. 7 ; Quintilian, who only once cites Tibullus, once Propertius, has seven references to Catullus<sup>5</sup> ; the younger Pliny was a diligent student (iv. 14. 5, 27. 4), as

<sup>1</sup> Tib. iii. 6. 27, 28 ; 39-42 ; 50 ; quoted by Haupt Ind. Lect. 1855 p. 6 ; add 4. 85-96 which is a direct imitation of Cat. LXIV. 153-156, LXVIII. 159, XXX. 10. The real author of this book is supposed to have been Lygdamus.

<sup>2</sup> Cat. iii. 5, 6 *Vt ille uersus usquequaque pertinet, Gener socerque, perdidistis omnia. viii Sabinus ille, quem uidetis, hospites, a parody of the Pbasellus ille. xiii. 11 Quare illud satis est si te permittis amari*, cf. Catull. LXVIII. 147. Priap. 52. 12, 61. 13, 64. 1, 69. 4. The imitations in the *Ciris* are numerous and direct.

<sup>3</sup> ' Sic scribit Catullus, sic Marsus, sic Pedo, sic Gaetulicus, sic quicumque perlegitur.' Mart. Praef. lib. i.

<sup>4</sup> Sen. Apoc. ii, Iuuen. vi. 8, Mart. i. 8. 3, 110. 1, iv. 14. 13, vii. 13. 4, xi. 6. 16, xiv. 77.

<sup>5</sup> i. 5. 8, and 20 ; vi. 3. 18 ; ix. 3. 16, ix. 4. 141 ; x. 4. 4 ; xi. 1. 38.

well as an accurate critic, at least of the hendecasyllabics (i. 16. 5); A. Gellius discusses at length two passages of Catullus (VII. 16, VI. 20) and indirectly proves how much he was read by the variety of readings found in the MSS then in circulation; Hyginus P. A. ii. 24 explains, perhaps wrongly, the word *magnanimam* in the Coma Beronices; and extracts from Catullus are found in Macrobius<sup>1</sup>, Ausonius, Apuleius, and the Grammarians. Whether commentaries were written upon him, as upon Cinna's Zmyrna, we do not know; Haupt<sup>2</sup> argued from a passage of Charisius i. p. 97 Keil that Asinius Polio wrote on the diction of Catullus; but the interpretation is doubtful.

It is rather remarkable that the two poets who respectively represent the highest point of Roman imagination in the Ciceronian and Augustan ages, Catullus and Virgil, were both natives of Cisalpine Gaul, and both born within a few miles of each other. *Mantua Vergilio gaudet, Verona Catullo* says Ovid Am. iii. 15. 7; Martial xiv. 195 declares that great Verona owed as deep a debt to her Catullus as little Mantua to her Virgil; and this contrast or parallel must have been as common in antiquity as it is with every modern traveller. Cisalpine Gaul was in fact at this time one of the chief literary centres of Italy; it produced besides Catullus, the epigrammatist Furius Bibaculus, and the annalist or biographer Corn. Nepos: Suetonius mentions Octavius Teucer, Sescennius Iacchus and Oppius Chares as teaching grammar there with distinction (Gramm. 3). The profession of a grammarian implied, according to the definition of Nepos (Gramm. 4), primarily, if not invariably, the interpretation of poetry, nor can we doubt that Catullus, who began to write early, was, as a boy, trained to read and study the great works of Greek as well as Latin literature. The increased demand for Greek teachers was in fact one of the signs of the time; Lutatius Daphnis, Theophanes of Lesbos, Alexander Polyhistor, the elder and younger Tyrannio, Lenaeus, Asclepiades of Myrlea, Parthenius, Hyginus, Theopompus, most of them attached to the household of some great noble, settled in Rome, and partly as librarians or teachers, partly as authors, soon exercised a strong influence over the new generation. (Merkel ad Ibin p. 357). This was the era of Scytobrachion<sup>3</sup> and Dionysius Thrax, the author of the earliest extant grammatical compendium; as well as of Valerius Cato *summi*

<sup>1</sup> Saturn. ii. 1. 8, vi. i. 41 and 42; perhaps S. ii. 7. 6 refers to Cat. LI. 13. Apul. Apolog. vi, x, xi. Possibly the words *atractis pedibus* in a Pompeian inscription, 1261 Zangemeister, are from Cat. XV. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Index Lectionum for 1855, pp. 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> Suet. Gramm. 11 'Cato Grammaticus, Latina Siren, Qui solus facit et legit poetas.'



*grammatici, optimi poetae* (Sueton. Gramm. 11) the poet-grammarian, the maker and reader of the poets of his time<sup>1</sup>.

The century 654-754 v.c., the golden age of Roman literature, was distinguished from the period which preceded it not so much by the mere imitation of Greek models as by the minute care with which the rules and niceties of Greek diction grammar and metre were studied and applied. The process was in all probability much slower than we are apt to suppose. Between the comedies of Terence and the poems of Lucretius and Catullus nothing is left us in anything but a fragmentary state except the Aratea of Cicero. We pass at one bound from this prosiest translation of a prosaic original to the delightful grace of the Catullian hendecasyllable and the sublime exaltation of the Lucretian hexameter. But in the interval much had been written and many experiments tried. Laevius, perhaps a contemporary of the later years of Lucilius, adopted in his *Erotopaegnia* the lyrical metres of the Greeks with more precision and greater variety than had yet been attempted; Cn. Matius, besides introducing the mimiambus, seemingly scazons, translated the Iliad in hexameters of some skill; and the same metre underwent new modifications in the Annales of L. Accius, the Bellum Histricum of Hostius, and the Annales of A. Furius of Antium.

All these seem to belong to the age immediately preceding the birth of Catullus: M. Varro and M. Furius Bibaculus of Cremona were born some time before him and survived his death into the Augustan age. The literary developments of the time are exhibited in each of these writers, though M. Varro alone has left enough to form an idea of his powers and influence. In his Menippean satires Varro introduced every kind of Greek rhythm, with no great success and very imperfect manipulation; still with a sense of metre much in advance of the older generation. M. Furius Bibaculus born 651 | 103 is mentioned by Quintilian as a writer of defamatory iambi, by Tacitus as attacking the Caesars, by Suetonius as a composer of hendecasyllables: in each capacity he must have been the rival, perhaps the model of his compatriot Catullus. But no one shows the change of styles, the decline of the old school and the rise of the new, more signally than the Transalpine poet, P. Varro Atacinus. Jerome on Ol. 174. 3 tells us he began studying Greek assiduously when thirty-five years old in 707 | 47; and it seems a natural inference that up to that time he had followed Roman models exclusively,

<sup>1</sup> Suidas s. v. Διονύσιος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς and Διονύσιος Μετληνηαῖος. In a similar manner Antiochus of Ascalon was attached as a sort of literary companion to Lucullus, Philodemus to L. Calpurnius Piso, Staseas to M. Piso, Philagrus to Metellus Nepos, Diodotus, Lyson, and Apollonius to Cicero, Strato, Posidonius, and Empylus to M. Brutus (Teuffel Rom. Lit. i. p. 227, Eng. Transl.).

probably in his *Bellum Sequanicum*, as opposed to his paraphrase of Apollonius' *Argonautica*, his *Chorographia*, *Ephemeris*, and elegies (Merkel ad Ibin p. 360 sqq., Teuffel Rom. Lit. § 208).

Miserable as is the accident of literature which has preserved to us next to nothing of these poets, and more than 600 lines of Cicero's *Aratea*, we cannot fail to trace in the few fragments still surviving of their works the growing perception of the predominant importance of form in art. The anapaests and hexameters of Accius are an advance upon those of Ennius, the rhythms of the *Erotopaegnia* and the hexameters of Matus are even more distinctly an advance upon Accius. The few specimens of Furius quoted by Macrobius would not discredit Virgil; those of Varro Atacinus, whatever their date, imply a mastery of the hexameter which must have been the growth of long and careful study; so far are they beyond Lucretius in finish, Catullus in variety. To what extent this common feeling of art was produced by recognized colleges or associations of poets we cannot tell; Valerius Maximus speaks of a *collegium poetarum* as far back as the time of Accius (ii. 7. 11); the last century of the republic was emphatically a century of *sodalicia*; and the poems of Catullus are quite sufficient to prove the close connexion of all the leading representatives of his school. But the general tendency of an era is independent of anything like actual contact or personal intercourse between its chief exponents: the wide diffusion of Greek books and teachers, the increased facilities of communication between Rome and every part of Italy, as well as every part of the empire, the rapidity with which new works were transcribed and circulated, all contributed to the same result, the development of a feeling for literary perfection unknown before. If we may trust Cicero, Italy was never more alive to Greek influences or more ready to greet them than in the years which immediately preceded the social war, the period of the Greek poet Archias' arrival, in the consulship of Marius and Q. Lutatius Catulus 652 | 102 (Arch. iii. 5).

Catullus was born when this tendency had already set in, was moulded by it, and was himself the highest exemplar of its aims and achievements in its pre-Augustan, perhaps its highest period. Jungclaussen has rightly called attention to the finish of all the finest of his poems; and we may feel sure that he never wrote hurriedly, and was constantly improving himself. Whether any part of our extant collection was included in the juvenile *nugae* which already attracted the favourable notice of Cornelius Nepos, is uncertain; but the finest of the hendecasyllables, such as those on Lesbia's sparrow, *Vivamus mea Lesbia atque amemus*, *Quaeris quot mihi basiationes*, *Acmē Septimios suos amores*, *Iam uer egelidos refert tepores*, exhibit the metre in a perfection which

must have been the growth of time: and we may fairly conclude that this, as it seems to have been his favorite rhythm, was also that which occupied him earliest. How perfect the hendecasyllables of Catullus are we can judge by comparing them not only with less finished specimens either of his own or of his contemporaries, but with the more severe hendecasyllables of Petronius, Statius, and Martial. Unlike these Catullus allows himself a trochee or iambus in the first foot; is freer in his elisions and occasionally negligent in his caesura. Yet who will venture to say that the total effect of any hendecasyllabic poem by Statius or Martial is comparable with the effect produced by the finest hendecasyllables of Catullus? There is an *abandon* in these, a sense of freedom working by rule but not dominated by it, such as Martial and Statius never, Petronius only rarely, attains to. The younger Pliny living in the later and more artificial period of Roman literature seems to have felt the superior charm of Catullus when he says, speaking of his contemporary Pompeius Saturninus, *He writes verses like Catullus or Calvus. What a fund of wit, sweetness, bitterness, love! True he introduces side by side with verses of a tender and light character some of a harsher quality, but he does so consciously: here again following Calvus and Catullus* (Epist. i. 16. 5). It is the insertion of these *duriusculi* that distinguishes the hendecasyllables of Catullus and his contemporaries from those of the empire; and it is from this point of view that Sentius Augurinus calls them both *ueteres* (Plin. Epist. iv. 27. 4). Of the other lyrical metres used by Catullus three alone seem to have been elaborated by him to the same perfection, I mean his pure iambics, scazons, and glyconics: but here we cannot so well compare him with his successors; for Horace never uses the pure iambic except in combination with the hexameter (Epod. 16): the glyconics of Seneca are not divided by the regular recurrence of a pherecratean into strophes: the scazon alone is used frequently by later writers, in the Catalecta and Priapia, by Persius Petronius and Martial; under rules somewhat stricter, and of course with a much more recondite diction, yet hardly with more felicity, and throughout demonstrably based on the earlier, greater, less artificial and more artistic poet in whose hands the metre had first become a success. Two other metres used by Catullus, the Sapphic and the Choriambic metre of XXX *Alfene immemor atque unanims false sodalibus*, were afterwards perfected by Horace: in Catullus they can hardly be thought more than an experiment; but the experiment is throughout closely modelled on Greek precedents, e. g. in the admission of a trochee into the second foot of the sapphic and the frequent hypermeter *ulti-mosque Britannos, identidem omnium Ilia rumpens, uelut prati Vltimi*; as well as the lax caesuras admitted in either metre, *Ille mi par esse, Gallicum Rhenum horribilem*,

*Vltimi flos praeter* in the Sapphics, *tute iubebas animam, di meminerunt, meminit Fides* in the Choriambics. Whether in the *Attis* Catullus followed any famous writer of Galliambics we do not know; we retain only a few fragmentary lines by Varro and Maecenas in this measure; the splendour of Catullus' poem produced no imitators, or no rivals; it remains unique as a wonderful expression of abnormal feeling in a quasi-abnormal metre. Quasi-abnormal however only: for no poem of Catullus follows stricter laws, or succeeds in conveying the idea of a wild freedom under a more carefully masked regularity.

In his Epyllion, the Nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, Catullus has not reached the same metrical perfection. Short as the poem is, the recurrence, line after line, of one monotonous cadence, gives an air of sameness which might almost be called inartistic. *Prognatae uertice pinus, Neptuni nasse per undas, Argiuae robora pubis, abiegnis aequora palmis*, — such is the predominant type from first to last, only occasionally relieved by the spondaic endings which he and other poets of his school for a time made popular, sometimes by verses of a freer more luxuriant rhythm, like *Indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores, Spinosas Erycina serens in pectore curas, Tecti frustraretur inobseruabilis error, Huc huc aduentate meas audite querellas*. Whether Catullus had, like Lucretius, studied Cicero's Aratea is uncertain: but the coincidence in both poems of the same recurring rhythm is at least remarkable, though we may feel sure that Catullus would have held Cicero a very sorry versifier. It seems more probable that both Cicero and Catullus in their determination to avoid the irregularities of the older poets, with whom accent and ictus had been allowed to agree or conflict in the last three feet of the hexameter indifferently, had recourse to the expedient of making the accent *as a rule* agree with the ictus in those feet; and that they succeeded in thus giving their verses greater uniformity, but did not avoid the monotonous effect which was its natural consequence. Catullus has followed the same principle in the two iambic poems *Phasellus ille*, and *Quis hoc potest uidere*, which as Munro has shown owe much of their effectiveness to this coincidence of ictus with accent, and are not long enough to be monotonous. It would be interesting to compare Catullus with his contemporaries Calvus and Cinna in this respect; but their epics *Io* and *Zmyrna* have perished, except a few short fragments: these however, so far as they go, seem freer in rhythm than the hexameters of the *Peleus* and *Thetis*; and even Cicero in the twenty-nine verses translated from the *Iliad* in the *De Diuinatione* (ii. 30) written ten years after the death of Catullus throws off much of his former sameness and attains to something like variety. Lucretius stands by himself, and is in no respect an adherent of the new

school. I am inclined to believe that Catullus wrote his Epyllion before his only other extant hexameter poem, *Vesper adest, iuuenes, consurgite : Vesper Olympo*, in which the rhythm is more broken up, and a nearer approach made to Theocritus and the Alexandrian writers.

The simplicity and almost rudeness of most of Catullus' elegiacs, is in strong contrast with the perfection of his lyrics. When indeed he is merely translating, as in the *Coma Beronices*, we cannot expect him to move with complete grace : and we can see from Callimachus' extant elegy the *Δουτρά Παλλάδος* how far removed from the Latin version the original of the *Coma* must have been. Callimachus was indeed the consummation of Greek elegy ; elaborate and even symmetrical in his art, but charming in his ingenuity, and with a delicate, if not tender, vein of sentiment. We shall look in vain for this perfection in Catullus, except perhaps in the lines to Hortalus (LXV), those written at his brother's tomb (CI), and the fine self-apostrophe in which he determines to renounce Lesbia (LXXVI). The first of the two longer elegies (LXVII) is disgusting in subject and obscure in its allusions ; the long epistle to Allius, though constructed on technical rules of the greatest intricacy, and obviously written with unusual care, fails to please, either before we are conscious of its mechanism or after it has been detected ; the studious art with which after the forty lines which form the Prooemium, Catullus has worked out his subject, the laudation of Allius, in a series of tableaux which beginning with Allius pass on to Catullus' love for Lesbia, to Laodamia, to Troy, to the death of his brother, the central panel of the picture, then in reverse order from Troy to Laodamia, to Lesbia, to Catullus, so back again to Allius, reminds us of a Chinese ball, constructed by the clumsy hands of an European ; the device is Greek, and might have been beautiful, the workmanship is Roman and ends a failure. It has always seemed to me that Horace had in view this elegy, with its twice repeated lament for the death of Catullus' brother (20-24, 92-96), when he wrote the words *Fratrem maerentis, raptō de fratre dolentis Insolabiliter* : just as in the well-known *Nil praeter Caluum et doctus cantare Catullum*, the choice of the word *doctus* was perhaps determined by its constant application to Catullus.

If we examine the metrical peculiarities of these elegies, we shall find their defects to lie mainly in the too exclusive imitation of Greek models. Greek elegy, whether written by Tyrtaeus, Theognis, Mimnermus, Hermesianax, or Callimachus allowed the thought to run on uninterruptedly and with every variety of pause ; it did not break off the sentence at the end of the pentameter, and often began a new sentence in the middle or end of a line. Again it admitted words of any length, from a monosyllable to a heptasyllable, at the end of the pentameter, with a preference

perhaps for trisyllabic or quadrisyllabic words. In these respects the Catullian elegy is completely Greek; in the short elegy to Hortalus the pentameter ends four times with a disyllable, four times with a trisyllable, three times with a quadrisyllable, once with a pentasyllable (*amabilior*). In the Coma quadrisyllables are the rule, disyllables are preferred after these, but are much less frequent: in the epistle to Allius, of 80 pentameters, 1 ends in a heptasyllable, 2 in a pentasyllable, 13 in a quadrisyllable, 26 in a trisyllable, 38 in a disyllable. The poem *Si qua recordanti* shows a similar preference for the disyllable; of 13 pentameters 8 terminate thus, *pium tibi miser pote opem mihi uelit mea*; 3 end in a quadrisyllable, 1 in a trisyllable, 1 in a monosyllable (*sunt*): the finished verses *Surripui tibi dum ludis* (XCIX), have 5 quadrisyllables, 3 disyllables. Catullus has not allowed himself equal licence in the pauses of his periods: though he often introduces long sentences running on through six eight or ten verses, the close of each distich as a rule coincides with the end of a clause; instances of a clause continued from the pentameter to the following hexameter though not unexampled are rare: thus LXVIII has only the following 28, 29 *quisquis de meliore nota Frigida deserto tepefacit membra cubili*, 34, 35 *illa domus, Illa mihi sedes*, 64, 65 *aura secunda uenit Iam prece Pollucis, iam Castoris implorata*, 68, 69 *isque dedit dominam, Ad quam communes exerceamus amores*, 74, 75 *Laodamia domum Inceptam frustra*, 106, 107 *uita dulcius atque anima Coniugium*, 126, 127 *quae multo dicitur improbius Oscula mordenti semper decerpere rostro*; and of these all except three have a quasi-pause at the end of the pentameter. In the epigrams Catullus is stricter: each distich generally contains a single thought, and the sentence closes with the pentameter: yet here also the pentameter ends with words of any length indifferently. These epigrams, widely as they differ from those of Martial, will not be denied to be in their way as effective: they will bear comparison with the best epigrams of the Greek Anthology, and seem to me to prove that the subsequent development of the Elegiac measure in the hands of Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, and Martial triumphed over the more Greek type not so much from any inherent superiority, nor even from the tendency of Roman genius to work better in trammels, but rather from the accidental circumstance that no poet of transcendent genius rose after Catullus to mould the elegiac in Catullus' way; unless indeed the elegies of Gallus stood to Catullus in the relation of Ovid to Propertius, as seems possible from Quintilian's remark x. 1. 93 *Ouidius utroque* (Tibullus and Propertius) *lasciuior, sicut durior Gallus*. Roman elegy, it is true, became in the Amores of Ovid an almost new and certainly most exquisite vehicle of poetry; but it seems rash to pronounce that this was its *necessary* development; had

Virgil for instance chosen this field instead of the hexameter, it might have assumed a form as purely his own as the Virgilian epos; and yet as far more Greek in type than Ovid made it as Virgil is more completely an imitative artist than Ovid. What the Catullian elegy might have become in skilful hands we may perhaps conjecture from such poems as the *Copa* or the lines *Si mihi susceptum fuerit decurrere munus*, Catal. vi. The latter especially, even if not the work of Virgil, as Niebuhr seems to have thought it, is very graceful and completely Greek in form <sup>1</sup>.

I pass to the *diction* of Catullus, a most integral part of his greatness as a poet. Niebuhr says truly of this that it is as natural an expression as our common mode of expressing our thoughts is with us. It seems indeed, if we confine ourselves to the lyrics, to be an exact illustration of Wordsworth's paradox, that the language of poetry does not essentially differ from the language of prose. There is an utter absence in it of anything strained, far-fetched, or artificial: the thought clothes itself without effort in the required words, and is passionate, jocose, or homely, as it were spontaneously. Hence these lyrics stand alone in Latin poetry as equaling the great lyric poets of Greece; not indeed the later school, Pindar and his contemporaries, but the founders of lyric art, Sappho, Alcaeus, Anacreon, and, if we may include him among these, Archilochus. In nothing does Catullus stand in such marked contrast with the succeeding generation as in this inimitable spontaneity: it was a quality which neither Virgil nor Horace could attain to; Lucretius alone has it in some measure, but only in his inspired moments, that is, in much the smaller part of his poem. Though it would be impossible to reduce to rules what is one of the highest qualities of genius, there are certain peculiarities in the language of Catullus which may be briefly classified.

(1) He is fond of taking an expression of every-day life and slightly changing it, e. g. *si placet Dionae* LVI. 6, a variation on *si dis placet*, LVI. 3 *quicquid amas Catullum* on *si me amas*, XXI. 7 *insidias mihi instruentem* on the common *insidias struentem*, XIV. 22 *pedem attulistis* for *pedem tulistis*.

(2) Most of the poems preserve some expression which might be used in prose—*Vt conuenerat esse delicatos*, *Quantum qui pote plurimum*, *quibus non est Cordi Catullum laedere*, at *quibus cordi est* which is raised into

<sup>1</sup> From xiv. 77 *Si tibi talis erit qualem dilecta Catullo Lesbia plorabāt, hic habitare potest*, Martial seems to have considered it a peculiarity of the Catullian pentameter to allow the third half-foot to be a short syllable. This occurs once in a doubtful passage, C. 6 *Perfecta exigitur una amicitia*, where, as in Martial's *plorabat*, the syllable is lengthened, no doubt on Greek analogies; in the same foot *m* is unelided three times, *Chalybum omne, linguam esse, culum olfacerem*, if the MSS reading is right. Propertius, like Catullus, allows the third half-foot of the pentameter to be a short syllable in ii. 8. 8, iv. 5. 64.

poetry by the substitution of *Catullum* for *me*, XXXVIII. 4 *quod minimum facillimumque est*, XXXV. 11 *si mihi uera nuntiantur*, XXXI. 6 *uidere te in tuto*, XXVIII. 11 *sed quantum uideo pari fuistis Casu*, XV. 12 *ubi erit foris paratum*, VII. 2 *sint satis superque* : similarly *ni petulum aliunde cat* LXI. 146, *hodie atque heri* LXI. 130, and the recurring *boni malique* VI. 15, *bonis malisque* XV. 10, *bona cum bona alite* LXI. 19. Sometimes a whole line only differs from prose by being metrical, e. g. XLIV. 11 *Orationem in Antium petitorem*, XXXIX. 8 *Neque elegantem, ut arbitror, neque urbanum*, XXXVII. 13 *Pro qua mihi sunt magna bella pugnata*, XXXII. 6 *Neu tibi lubeat foras abire*, XXVI. 4 *Verum ad milia quindecim et ducentos*, XXIV. 7 '*Qui? non est homo bellus?*' *inquies. Est*, XIII. 3 *Si tecum attuleris bonam atque magnam Cenam*, LV. 15 *Dic nobis ubi sis futurus*.

(3) Catullus passes rapidly from speaking in one person to speaking in another. One of the best examples of this is VIII, in the first eleven lines of which the poet addresses himself and speaks of Lesbia in the third person : in 12-18 he makes a sudden turn to Lesbia, and speaks of himself in the third person, *Vale puella : iam Catullus obdurat* : in 19 he returns to his self-address. Similarly in XLVI after congratulating himself in the vocative on the return of spring which allows him to leave Bithynia, he makes a sudden apostrophe to his companions (9-12). So XXVIII in the compass of fifteen lines changes the vocative five times : *Pisonis comites—O Memmi—pari fuistis Casu—pete nobiles amicos—At uobis* : from Veranius and Fabullus to Memmius, then to Veranius and Fabullus again, then to an unnamed individual representing the world at large—finally, to Piso and Memmius together. The same rapid change forms part of the effectiveness of XXIX : the alternating third and second person, *Quis hoc potest uidere—Cinaede Romule, haec uidebis et feres?*—*Et ille nunc superbus—Cinaede Romule—Eone nomine, imperator unice—Parum expatruuit—Quid hunc malum fouetis?* expresses from the point of language the same lively indignation which the coincidence of accent and ictus conveys metrically. No reader of Catullus can fail to notice his tendency to speak of himself; yet this is not felt to be egotistical; doubtless because the direct *I* is so constantly replaced by *tuus Catullus* XIII. 7, XIV. 13, XXXVIII. 1, or *Catullus* alone XLIV. 3, XLIX. 4, LVI. 3, LVIII. 2, LXVIII. 27, 134, LXXII. 1, LXXIX. 3, LXXXII. 1 : sometimes by the vocative *Catulle* VIII. 1, 19, XLVI. 4, LI. 13, LII. 1, 4, LXXVI. 5, LXXIX. 2.

(4) Another feature of Catullus' style is his fondness for diminutives : hardly any of the poems, if we except the shorter epigrams, is without them; in some they abound to excess : XXV. 2 has three, *medullula imula oricilla* : XVII five, *poniculi aculeis bimuli tremula tenellulo*, the last a double diminutive; *uillula pupula sacculus flosculus lectulus pupulus*



*hortulus uersiculus amicus latusculum sarcinulae puellula sauioium brachioium solacioium corolla papillae ocellus gemellus labellum lucellum salillum scortillum lapillus codicilli homullus* besides the proper names *Veraniolus Septumillus* : the adjectives *aureolus turgidulus molliculus bimulus imulus uetulus albulus turpiculus lacteolus frigidulus lassulus eruditulus perlucidulus uuidulus pallidulus integellus mollicellus misellus tantillus febriculosus tenellulus* ; he seems even to parade the idea, as in LVI. 3 *Cato Catullum*, 5 *pupulum puellae*, and the sound LXXVIII. 4 *Cum puero ut bello bella puella cubet*.

(5) Equally noticeable is the recurrence of the same phrase or even of whole lines ; thus *plus oculis amabat* III. 5, *plus oculis amarem* XIV. 1, *si quid carius est oculis* LXXVII. 2, 4, *ambobus carior est oculis* CIV. 2 : again *Non harum modo sed quot aut fuerunt Aut sunt aut aliis erunt in annis* XXI. 2, 3 occurs with a slight variation in XXIV. 2, 3, XLIX. 2, 3 : so *milia multa* V. 10, XVI. 12, LXI. 203, *milibus trecentis* IX. 2, *milia trecenta* XLVIII. 3 ; *amata nobis quantum amabitur nulla* VIII. 5, cf. XXXVII. 12 : *pessimus poeta* XLIX. 5, *pessimi poetae* genitive XXXVI. 6, *pessimi poetae* plural XIV. 23 ; *misellae* *Ignes interiorem edunt medullam* XXXV. 15, *Ignis mollibus ardet in medullis* XLV. 16, *imis exarsit tota medullis* LXIV. 93, *Cum uesana meas torreret flamma medullas* C. 7.

The Latin of Catullus will bear comparison with that of Lucretius in its purity : Lucilius, whom Catullus sometimes copies, had spoilt his satires by a barbaric admixture of Greek ; M. Varro was repeating Lucilius' error in his own time : with these two warnings before him Catullus wisely introduced Greek sparingly, and preferably such words as had become or were becoming naturalized, *phasellus mnemosynum grabatum cinaedus hendecasyllabi platea pathicus Apheliotus zona pedicare thalamus hymenaei nothus papyrus thiasus chorus leaena typanum cymbalum palaestra stadium gymnasium ephesus strophium mitra thyrsus calathiscus carpatina* ; less common are *raphanus palimpsestus catagraphus amaracus parthenice onyx epistolium*.

In Greek proper names he preserves the original inflexion where the word is less common, *Propontida Cycladas Amathunta Thyadas Amphitriten Attin Athon Booten Callisto Phasidos Idomeneos* (genitive) *Penios* (nominative) *Hydrochoi* ; sometimes without this reason *Cybeles Minoa*, perhaps because he is following a Greek original, but *Cretam Idae Idam Helenae* even *Ariadna* ; *Cnidum Rhodum Dyrrachium Idalium Erechthi* and even *Pheneum* ; *Arabes* accusative *Sarapim Arpocratem*. It seems remarkable that he should write *Cybelles* yet *Dindymenae* ; the principle seems to be that the cast of the *Attis* being Greek, the Greek form of the name of the goddess is preserved throughout *Cybelles Cybèles Cybelles Cybelles Cybèles Cybèle Cybelle Cybelle*, whereas *Dindymenae* is an adject-

tive *Dindymenae dominae* (13) and as such follows the inflexion of Latin adjectives. Sometimes metrical reasons seem to determine the form, e. g. *Ancoha* accus. XXXVI. 13 perhaps *Pasitheü* LXIII. 43.

Catullus does not affect archaisms: the chief instances are *uni* genitive XVII. 17, *deposiuit sospites* both in the Hymn to Diana; *citarier* LXI. 42, *nitier* LXI. 68, *compararier* thrice LXI. 65, 70, 75; *componier* LXVIII. 141, *penite* for *penitus* LXI. 171: *ni* seems used for *ne* LXI. 146: *tetulit tetuli* LXIII. 47, 52, *tetulisset* LXVI. 35; *recepso* XLIV. 19. To what extent the spelling was archaic, our MSS are too modern to let us judge: nor are their indications consistent. The voc. *Furi* occurs five times, twice in the same poem XXIII. 1, 24, yet it is only once written, as it probably was always written by Catullus *Furei* XXIII. 1: our MSS have also *bonei coniuges* vocative LXI. 225, the genitives *Romulei* XXVIII. 15, *Africei* LXI. 199, *Dindymei* LXIII. 91, *Pelei* LXIV. 278, *Iylei* LXV. 14: the dative *mei* LXXII. 6, LXXVII. 3; the nominative plural *pueri* LXII. 42. The nominative in *os* is preserved XXIII. 1 *seruos*, XLV. 1 *Septimios*, LIII. 3 *Meos Caluos*, LXI. 54 *nouos maritus*, LXVI. 54 *equos*: but in a disproportionately large number of cases *uus uum* has driven out *uos uom*. So again *beatus* of the MSS in XXIII. 27 seems to represent *beatu's*: in LXVI. 27 *adeptus* is a corruption of *adepta's*, in XXXIV. 23 *solitas es* of *L* seems to point to a dittography *solita's solita es*: but in XXXIV. 15 *notho es*, LXVI. 34 *pollicita es*, LXXXVII. 12 *amata mea es*, where Lachmann would write *notho's pollicita's mea's* the MSS give no indication of this spelling. There can be no doubt that Catullus sometimes treated *es est* after a participle as metrically a distinct syllable, e. g. I. 5 *ausus es*, LXI. 194 *remoratus es* and this, the growing tendency of poetry, would naturally drive out the contracted form: even the first volume of Mommsen's Latin Inscriptions, all of them belonging to the Republican period, only rarely preserve *'s'st*: it is very seldom found even in the oldest MSS: hence I have not ventured to follow L. Müller in introducing it uniformly into the text of Catullus against the MSS, though it may have been written so. That it was so written, at any rate uniformly, by the Augustan poets, is hardly an inference justified by the MSS of Virgil, and is in my judgment improbable on metrical grounds.

As might be expected in a poet who deals so largely with the habits and emotions of every-day life, Catullus often uses *popular*<sup>1</sup> words. *Basium basiare basiatio* he has made classical: *plexenum*, says Quintilian i. 5. 8, *circa Padum inuenit*: similar words are *carpatinae sicula pupulus caprimulgus salapatium scortillum stupor*, 'a dullard,' *lutum*, 'a filthy creature,' *lupanar* = *lupa*, *uenena*, 'poisonous wretches,' *sacer*, 'accursed,'

<sup>1</sup> See Couat Étude sur Catulle, p. 290.

*sacer libellus, hircus, lotium=urina, contubernalis* XXXVII. 1, with which compare Petronius' *uesticontubernium*, and Caelius' *praeclarae contubernales* ap. Quintil. iv. 2. 123; the verbs *supperare cacare* (with its participle *cacatus*) *conscribillare expatrare confutuere in gremium mingere* (= *stupro polluere*): to this class also belong the contracted imperative *inger*, and probably the obscure *multus homo*.

Sometimes, particularly in the Attis, Catullus uses the licence of a great poet to coin new words: most of these are adjectives *ederiger siluicultrix nemoriuagus properipes pinnipes plumipes fluentisonus clarisonus buxifer coniger lasarpicifer inobseruabilis falsiparens* (*ψευδοπαρω*); the substantives *herifuga* and *unigena*, are I believe not found elsewhere. Here however he was far outstript in audacity by at least one of his contemporaries, Laevius: see Gell. N. A. xix. 7.

The Roman poets who followed Catullus habitually call him *doctus*: see Tib. iii. 6. 41, Ouid. Am. iii. 9. 62, Mart. vii. 99. 7, viii. 73. 8, xiv. 100. 1, 152. 1: Propertius applies the same epithet to the friend of the poet, Licinius Calvus. To us, familiar with the far more learned poets of the Augustan and post-Augustan era, the term seems surprising; but this is not the point of view from which the great poets of the Ciceronian age were or ought to be estimated. To their contemporaries Catullus Calvus Cinna represented a completely new poetical creed, the foremost article of which was to ignore Ennius and the early versifiers, and to write in rigid subordination to the strictest canons of Greek criticism as expounded by the grammarians and teachers of the race. In this connexion the word *doctus* now acquired a special meaning; it implied not only that poetry was written on new rules, but that these rules were in distinct opposition to the old. Hence Lucretius, though Statius calls him *doctus*, would hardly have been included in the *docti* by the exquisites of his own time; and on the other hand the Lydia of Valerius Cato ranked with the really excellent Zmyrna of Cinna as the favorite study of the *learned* and the despair of the *unlearned* (Suet. Gram. 11, 18). Everything shows that the rules of this school were very strict. Probably from a very early period they gave up eliding final short *s*, which when Cicero wrote his Orator had become *subrustic* (xlvi. 161) and was avoided by the new poets (*poetae noui*); it is only found once in Catullus, and that in an epigram (CXVI. 8), never in the lyrics, Epyllion, or elegies. Cicero's remark that this elision of final *s* was considered an elegance (*politiŭs*) by the old poets, on the one hand accounts for its retention in the Aratea and Lucretius, on the other shows how decidedly Catullus and his followers were in antagonism to literary tradition: and thus helps to explain the attribution to them of an epithet which might be used indifferently from a hostile or friendly point of view. Two other well-known passages of Cicero

(Tusc. Disp. iii. 19. 45 *O poetam egregium, quamquam ab his cantoribus Euphorionis contemnitur*, Att. vii. 2. 1 *Ita belle nobis flauit ab Epiro lenissimus Onchesmites. Hunc σπονδαίλογρα si cui uoles τῶν νεωτέρων pro tuo uendita*) criticize the prevailing tendency of the new school (νεώτεροι) to follow late Greek, particularly Alexandrian, models, and their taste for hexameters in which the fifth foot was a spondee.

Of late years it has become the fashion to talk of Catullus Calvus Cinna and the other *docti* as 'singers of Euphorion,' and thus to depreciate the revolution which they effected in Roman literature, and exalt the greatness of the only contemporary whom they did not greatly influence, Lucretius. But the Tusculan Disputations did not appear till 710 | 44, probably nine or ten years after the death of Catullus: Catullus therefore can hardly be included in Cicero's expression *his cantoribus Euphorionis*. He seems indeed to refer to some actual translation or adaptation then recently made, possibly, as Merkel thinks, to the elegies of Cornelius Gallus, who is known to have either translated or imitated Euphorion<sup>1</sup>, or to Cinna's Zmyrna which rivalled in obscurity (Suet. Gramm. 18, Philargyr. on Ecl. ix. 35) the works of the Chalcidian (De Diuin. ii. 64. 132). Nor is it impossible that Cicero refers, as Casaubon and Salmasius thought, to musical recitations of the actual Greek poems of Euphorion; a fashion which might easily form part of the affectations of the time. In any case the expression can have very little meaning in reference to Catullus and, so far as it represents a literary fashion, applies rather to the period after his death and before the rise of Virgil.

It remains to consider how far Catullus is rightly described as an imitator of the Alexandrian poets. The title is a vague one, including as it does, writers of such widely different powers and achievement as Theocritus on the one hand and Lycophron on the other: the first one of the greatest poets not only of Greek but of all literature, the other a grammatical pedant of the true Indian type. It is sometimes said that the Alexandrians were the great masters of form in poetry: as if form were not the natural gift of the Greek race from the first; as if Sappho and Alcaeus, Archilochus and Simonides, Sophocles and Euripides were not as absolute in this as in every other quality of the highest art. Compare the stilted hymns of Callimachus with Pindar or the surviving hymns of the tragic writers: can any one doubt which shows the higher conception of form? The hymns of the Alexandrian remind us of the elaborate

<sup>1</sup> Donatus Vit. Vergil. *Transtulit Euphorionem in latinum et libris quattuor amores suos de Cytheride scripsit*. Probus in Ecl. x. 50 *Euphorion elegiarum scriptor Chalcidensis fuit, cuius in scribendo colorem secutus uidetur Cornelius Gallus*. Similarly Diomedes Art. Gram. iii. p. 484 Keil, mentions Euphorion with Callimachus as the Roman model of *elegy*.

artifices of the later Greek ritual, its altars lighted up by ingenious mechanism, its doors opening to the sound of imitation-trumpets: the earlier poets preserve a freedom and ideality even where most artificial. It would be much truer to say that the Alexandrian writers aimed not at form, but at precision of form; they were not content to be graceful, they insisted on an absolute and defined symmetry. Often this symmetry is attained with little effort, and leaves a pleasing impression: sometimes it becomes palpable and strained. Nothing can be more beautiful than the *Idylls* of Theocritus; yet easy and natural as they seem, they follow the most careful and even arithmetical principles of symmetry: few representations of passion are finer than Apollonius' description of Medea, yet every line is constructed with a restless care only equalled by Virgil. Perhaps a better illustration may be found in two hymns of Callimachus, the Hymn to Apollo and the *Λουτρὰ Παλλάδος*: both are obviously framed with the idea of expressing by the pauses or divisions into which the verses fall the momenta of a religious ceremonial: but the first, though solemn and impressive, is too formal to be pleasing: the latter is sufficiently graceful in its movement to make us see why Callimachus was held the perfection of Greek elegy. In this confined sense, the rigorous assertion of a symmetry which would bear a minute analysis, the Alexandrian poets may be considered the supreme masters of form; and they exercised a supreme influence on their Roman pupils mainly for this reason. The early poets, Ennius and his followers, had shown how badly it was possible to imitate: they had copied great models, but with a rudeness proportioned to the colossal scale of those models. It was not to be expected that the first writers of Roman tragedy should equal Aeschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides, or the first writers of Roman hexameters, Homer. Hence these works, though very popular, must soon have become shocking to cultivated ears; and it became necessary to imitate in a new way. It was natural to turn to the latest development of Greek literature, where the models were on a smaller scale, and the rules of construction more precise. Hence in the last century of the Republic literature busied itself with the criticism, the grammar, the poetry, and the science of Alexandria. And the result was, if we look at it as a whole, a success: whatever the short-comings of Roman poetry, in this its happiest period, it attained to a very rare perfection of form.

Metrically this Alexandrian love of precision shows itself mainly in two ways: first, in the tendency of these writers to eliminate the loose and undefined metres of the earlier lyric poetry, secondly, in the clear-cutting and defined manipulation of such rhythms as their artistic sense taught them to retain. Theocritus in his *Idylls* employs, besides the hexameter and elegiac couplet, two metres only, the Sapphic fourteen-syllable

(XXIX) and the Choriambic sixteen-syllable (XXVIII): in his epigrams he combines various metres, but all of them precise and with no resolution of long into short syllables. Callimachus in his Epigrams uses the Anacreontic dimeter iambic (38, 39), the Phalaecian hendecasyllable, and the Archilochius maior, a favorite metre with the school generally (Heph. 15): elsewhere the scazon, the choriambic sixteen-syllable (Heph. 9), the Euripidean<sup>1</sup> fourteen-syllable, an iambic dimeter followed by three trochees (Heph. 15), the pherecratean<sup>2</sup> (ib.), all well-articulated and defined metres<sup>3</sup>. A similar aim was steadily pursued in the treatment of the hexameter. Theocritus gave this rhythm new vitality; the Bucolic caesura, in which the fourth foot was a dactyl and ended a word, so that the fifth and sixth feet were separable from the rest of the line, gave a character of its own to pastoral poetry: the spondee in the fifth foot, preceded by a dactyl, which is only found occasionally in the earlier writers, now became in the poems of Euphorion, Callimachus, Theocritus, and Apollonius a regular and recurring artifice, often continued in two, sometimes in three<sup>4</sup> lines, consecutively: strophe and antistrophe found a representative in sectional divisions sometimes marked by a refrain, sometimes by a change of speaker, sometimes by a transitional pause, but always observing a nicely-adjusted proportion. Apollonius, rather later, stamped epic poetry with a new character; mainly by the elaborate crescendo and diminuendo, the variation in pause and caesura, the rareness of elision in his hexameters. It seems probable that the master and the pupil, Callimachus and Apollonius, rivals and even antagonists as they were, had at least one literary point in common: Antimachus represented to both the fault they were to avoid, and the virtue they were to pursue: prolixity and indeterminateness on the one hand, brevity and a defined scope on the other.

The other characteristics of the Alexandrian literati were closely connected with this love of symmetry. They delighted in short works: *μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν* was a Callimachean dictum (Athen. 72), echoed by Catullus in his laudation of Cinna *Parua mei mihi sunt cordi monumenta sodalis* (Merkel ad Ibin p. 366): hence they wrote short descriptive poems like the Idylls and Epyllia of Theocritus Bion and Moschus, Elegies, not

<sup>1</sup> Ἐνεστ' Ἀπόλλων τῷ χαρῶν τῆς λύρης ἀκούω.  
καὶ τῶν Ἐρώτων ἡσθόμην ἔστι κάφροδίτη.

<sup>2</sup> Ἡ παῖς ἡ κατάκλειστος  
τῆν οἱ φασὶ τεκόντες  
εὐναίους ὀαρισμοῦς  
ἔχθειν ἴσον ὀλέθρῳ.

<sup>3</sup> This is probably the reason why Callimachus is so often quoted by Hephaestion.

<sup>4</sup> As in Euphorion fr. 27 Meineke, Theocr. xiii. 42-44; two consecutive spondaic endings occur in Callim. H. Dian. 96-7, 170-1, 251-2, and constantly in Apollonius; Catullus has three consecutive *σπονδειαζόντες* LXIV. 78-80.

of immeasurable length like the Lyde of Antimachus, but of moderate compass, Hymns, Epigrams, and occasional poems of every kind. When they attempted epic poetry, they aimed at condensation; Apollonius gives the whole voyage of the Argonauts in four books. Their didactic poems had the same merit: Aratus describes the heavenly bodies in the compass of 732 hexameters, the prognostics of the weather in 422. They affected unusual subjects and unusual diction: *σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια*, says Callimachus in an epigram (29. 4) which expresses his disgust for the hackneyed in poetry and the common in love: and how true he was to his profession is attested by the large number of rare words quoted from him. This peculiarity of the school reaches its climax in Lycophron's *Alexandra*: which in the darkness of its language and the recondite character of its allusions is unsurpassed in antiquity. Alexandrinism was indeed the triumph of erudite poetry, and paraded its learning in every possible form; it selected by choice the least-known myths, the most uncommon words, the least familiar genders and inflexions, the most untried combinations of metre. The *Ἰβίς* and *Ἄστια* of Callimachus, the former imitated by Ovid in his difficult *Ibis*, the latter quite a text-book of recondite allusion, as we can see from Propertius (ii. 34) and Martial (x. 4. 12), collected the obscurer Greek fables and presented them in a shape which called out all the resources of grammatical and exegetical ingenuity (Clem. Alex. Strom. v. p. 571). Similar were the *Mopsopia* and *Chiliades* of Euphorion<sup>1</sup>, which, like his other works, must have been extensively read at Rome in the last years of Cicero.

If now we turn to the sentiment of this poetry, we shall find it no less marked and individual. It pursued the receding; it flew violently past the common and ordinary. At this late epoch of Greek literature, when the founts of tragedy had run dry and the heroic myths were no longer available for grand exhibitions of passion, poetry turned for relief as to the more obscure legends, so to the less obvious veins of emotion. Love, which always played a great part in Greek poetry, but had hitherto been exhibited with more or less simplicity in the early lyrics and in the drama, now became an object of minute study, especially in its less robust and sensual but more emotional and imaginative phases. The *Simaetha* of Theocritus, and Apollonius' exquisite study of the feminine passion in

<sup>1</sup> Helladius ap. Photium Bibl. p. 532, ed. Bekk. quoted by Meineke An. Al. p. 136, speaks of Euphorion's *affectations* in language (*κακοζήλεια*), and instances *ναναγός = ναῦν ἄγων*, *κηπουρός* for the dragon that guarded the apples of the Hesperides. Similar was his use of *ἐνοσίχθων* and *γλανκῶπις* for a plough and an olive, (fr. 140 Meineke), *ἄτρευσ* as an adj. = *ἀτρεστός*, *χείρ ἰπποδάμεια = χείρ ἡνιόχου* (fr. 95). Euphorion seems also to have introduced *etymologies* in his poetry, e. g. he derived *Achilles* from *χιλῖδς = χιλοῦ ἄπαστος* (fr. 56). I believe Catullus *alludes* to an etymology in XI. 9, LXIV. 46.

Medea's love for Jason, must both have been drawn from close observation: so actual and minute is each. Even more characteristic of the period is the predominance of the paiderastic sentiment. Popular as this had always been in Greek lyric poetry from Alcaeus onwards, it received a new development in the hands of the Alexandrian poets. None of Theocritus' Idylls breathes so tender an idealism as that which he has consecrated to Ageanax, as the *Ἀίτης*, as the *Παιδικά*: none of his dialogues is happier in its combination of rustic simplicity with a thoroughly Greek love of enjoyment than the elegiacs in which Daphnis describes all nature as rejoicing in the presence of the beautiful Milon; no legend has ever been told more perfectly than the Hylas. The elegiac poet Phanocles treated this subject exclusively in his *Ἔρωτες* or *Καλοί*. The epigrams of Callimachus are full of the names of his favorites; Apollonius has nothing more finished than his description of Eros and Ganymede; Aratus' passion for Philinus is associated by Theocritus with his own for Ageanax; six epigrams of Rhianus on this topic are preserved in the Anthology; and it probably figured in the poems, as it certainly did in the life, of the *Chalcidian* Euphorion<sup>1</sup>. The same feeling takes another shape in the apotheosis of the young and divinely beautiful Adonis, as exhibited in the *Adoniazusae* of Theocritus and the dirge of Bion: the former especially interesting as showing the connexion of the cultus with women. Widely as these writers differed in genius, they must together have done much to idealize a passion which was hardly considered reputable by the Romans even in the last days of the Republic; and we may feel pretty sure that those who accepted their grace and imaginativeness did not altogether escape their immorality.

The characteristics of the Alexandrian school then may be thus summarized; precision in form and metre, refinement in diction, a learning often degenerating into pedantry and obscurity, a resolute avoidance of everything common-place in subject, sentiment, or allusion. That Catullus was much influenced by these writers we know from his allusions to Callimachus, as well as from his translation, the *Coma Beronices*. He seems indeed, if we may so interpret his words CXVI. 1-4, to have translated other poems by the same author: and the long and laboured elegy to Allius may well be an imitation of the same model. The expression of Pliny H. N. xxviii. 19 *Hinc Theocriti apud Graecos, Catulli apud nos proximeque Vergili incantamentorum amatoriam imitatio* seems to refer to some poem now lost in which Catullus translated or paraphrased the *Simaetha* of Theocritus. There are traces, particularly in the Peleus and Thetis, of a close study of Alexandrian grammar both in

<sup>1</sup> See Meineke *Analecta Alexandrina* pp. 7-8. According to Hesychius *χαλκιδίξειν* was synonymous with *παιδραστειν*.



syntax and declension, see my note on LXIV. 240, LXVIII. 90 : the comparative rarity of elisions in this Epyllion is doubtless Alexandrian ; and Catullus' general preference for short poems seems attributable to the same influence. The charge of *mollities*, which by his own confession was brought against Catullus, was also brought against Callimachus and the Alexandrians<sup>1</sup> (Merkel on Ibis p. 356) generally, and was perhaps included in Cicero's sneer at the singers of Euphorion. It seems probable too that the hendecasyllable, the metre in which Catullus obtained his greatest success, was perfected by the same writers, as it is found in the epigrams of Theocritus, and in the epigrams and fragments<sup>2</sup> of Callimachus. Callimachus used also the scazon in his book of *χωλίαμβοι*, though he does not seem to recognize the law subsequently found in Babrius, which confines the last foot to paroxytone words ; a rule which the nature of the Latin accent makes almost invariable to Catullus.

Yet how little that is truly Catullian can be ascribed to Alexandria, or indeed to any mere imitation ! For that Catullus did not confine himself to this school is shown not only by his translation of Sappho's ode *Φάνεταί μοι κῆνος ἕσος θεοῖσι*, and his adoption of her metres and subjects elsewhere, especially in his two Epithalamia ; but no less by his imitations of other poets, Homer, Pindar, Anacreon, and even more distinctly than these, of Archilochus. He was evidently a wide reader, and his translations prove that he was not a careless one ; though the fragments preserved of the original of the *Coma* do not correspond very closely with the extant version. But even if he could not have been what he was without assiduous study of the Greeks, it would be ridiculous to suppose that they did more than supply him with an outline ; his genius is essentially Roman no less in its simple and unaffected speech than in its Republican spirit of freedom. What is more he is the only Roman in whom nature and art blend so happily that we lose sight of either in the perfection of the whole result : unlike Lucretius he never ceases to be a poet, even where he speaks in the language of prose : unlike Horace or Virgil he is always an artist, yet with little of the consciousness of art. If indeed we compare Catullus with Horace, his only lyrical rival, we shall not be inclined to deny him the advantage in the comparison. Horace in his happiest efforts always leaves an impression of labour ; nothing is so charming in Catullus as his perfect spontaneity. Horace seems to write with a fixed plan : in Catullus ideas succeed each other as we can fancy them rising in the poet's mind. When Horace is copying Alcaeus or Pindar, the theft is palpable, sometimes from the very care which he

<sup>1</sup> Ouid Trist. ii. 367, i. 2. 79, A. A. iii. 329, Rem. 381, 759.

<sup>2</sup> Callim. fr. 73 Blomfield.

takes to make the idea his own: Catullus even when he translates most literally transfuses his own nature into the words and remains as Italian as before.

In what then, we may ask, is Catullus a follower of the Alexandrian poets? Not in their pedantry, for he is without a trace of it: nor in their obscurity, for he is rarely obscure: nor in their scrupulous choice of the least obvious expression, for all he says is simple and straightforward; nor in their Orientalism, for, as Mommsen has said, though his poems sometimes lead us to the valleys of the Nile, he is incomparably more at home by his native Padus; nor in their cosmopolitan Hellenism which has ceased to think of individual autonomy and cares only to influence the world, for he can never forget that he is an Italian, a Veronese, above all a Roman citizen; nor in their flattery of the great, for he is never happier than when he is scoffing at worthless nobles or reviling Caesar: nor even in the tone of their love poetry, for, with some unimportant exceptions, he expresses not a Theocritean sentimentalism, which feeds on the thought of a beloved object and half contents itself with the shadow, when the reality is away; but rather a full feeling of the enjoyment of life, the sensuous even coarse delights of a love present and palpable, the melancholy which attends the thought of death as ending these, and the various episodes of a lover's life, its quarrels, reproaches, reconciliation, or despair. So far as these love-poems are Greek at all, they are like the early Greek lyrics, not the later compositions of Alexandria: and we are left to the conclusion that Catullus is, except in the elegies, and to some extent in the *Peleus* and *Thetis*, less indebted to Alexandrian models than is generally supposed: amongst his personal friends *Cinna*, in the succeeding generation *Virgil* and *Propertius*, show far clearer proofs of direct and conscious imitation.

#### THE METRES USED BY CATULLUS.

Some of the chief peculiarities of Catullus' hexameters and elegiacs are mentioned above p. xix. See L. Müller Preface to his edition of Catullus pp. lxiv-lxviii, Munro in Public School Grammar § 259 sqq. Besides these he uses:

1. The Phalaecian hendecasyllable. Forty-two poems, including XIV<sup>b</sup>, are in this metre. The date of Phalaecus is uncertain, but the metre must have been known to Sappho<sup>1</sup> (Terentianus Maurus 2547) and Anacreon (*Atil. Fortun.* 2676 P., Anacreon fr. 39 Bergk). In the scolia or drinking-songs quoted by Athenaeus 694, which include the famous

<sup>1</sup> 'Tradunt Sapphicon esse nominandum Namque et iugiter usa saepe Sappho Dispersosque dedit subinde plures Inter carmina disparis figurae.' Atilius Fortunatianus says Sappho used the hendecasyllable in the fifth book of her poems p. 243 Gaisford.

Ἐν μύρτου κλαδί τὸ ξίφος φορήσω Ὡσπερ Ἄρμῶδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων, ascribed to Callistratus, the two first verses of each strophe are hendecasyllables: the two verses quoted by Hephaestion 10 p. 57 Gaisford seem to be by Cratinus; Gaisford quotes from the Tragedians the following Philoct. 136, 682, 1140, 1145, Hec. 465 Kirchhoff, Orest. 833, Rhes. 361, Heracl. 758. Of Phalaecus himself one eight-line epigram in this metre (Anth. P. xiii. 6) is preserved in the Greek Anthology; and it was used in conjunction with other metres by Callimachus and Theocritus.

The Phalaecian is not found in Roman literature till the last century of the Republic. Two hendecasyllables ap. Macrob. S. i. 18. 16 have been referred to the Erotopaegnica of Laevius; it is found in several fragments of M. Varro, and in two poems of Furius Bibaculus ap. Suet. Gram. 11. Catullus and Calvus made it fashionable; hence it occurs in the fragments of Cinna and Cornificius, in the Catalecta and Priapia, in fragments of Maecenas, in Petronius Martial and Statius. Meineke (Anal. Alex. p. 378) attributes the use of hendecasyllables in long poems like Statius' *Via Domitiana* and *Genethliacon Lucani* to Greek models, perhaps to the *Δέσχαι* of Heraclides Ponticus, a poem in three books written μέτρῳ Σαπφικῷ ἦτοι Φαλακείῳ, in the reign of Claudius or Nero.

The scheme of the metre as written by Catullus is as follows—

$\begin{array}{cccccccc} \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & - \\ \cup & - & & & & & & \end{array}$

The first foot is ordinarily a spondee, sometimes a trochee or iambus. In LV a spondee in the second foot is allowed to alternate, more or less regularly, with the usual dactyl. In the same poem the first foot is once resolved, *Cāmērium*.

2. Pure iambic trimeter IV XXIX.

$\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$

No other foot is admitted in these.

3. Iambic trimeter, only once, LII.

4. Choliambus or Scazon, VIII XXII XXXI XXXVII XXXIX XLIV LIX LX.

Ascribed to Hipponax, of whom many fragments remain. See Bergk *Poetae Lyr. Graec.* pp. 751-785. In him the fifth foot is not invariably an iambus as in Catullus, but often a spondee, as in the Menippean satires of Varro. Besides Hipponax, the choliambus was used by Ananius Diphilus Herodas (in his *Μιμίαμβοι*) Cercidas Aeschryon (Bergk 785-804) as well as by Callimachus, and by Theocritus in his Epigrams. Among the Romans Cn. Matius in his *Mimiambi*, Laevius, and M. Varro are known to have employed this metre; Catullus, Calvus (Fam. vii. 24. 1), and Cinna popularized it: hence it became a favorite metre with the Roman poets: specimens are found in the Catalecta and Priapia, in

Petronius, the Prologue of Persius' satires, and Martial. It seems to have gone out of fashion in the second century of the Empire. (L. Müller Catullus p. lxx.)

Catullus is very dainty in his management of the scazon, as Cn. Matus seems to have been before him. A comparison of his scazons with Varro's shows why Catullus and his school were held pre-eminently *docti*: they rejected, no doubt unanimously, any of the varieties allowed by Hipponax and retained by Varro; hence the metre preserved the form fixed by them in all subsequent writers. Catullus has three resolutions of a long syllable, all *in arsi*, XXII. 19 *in aliqua*, XXXVII. 5 *Confuturare*, LIX. 3 *ipso rapere*. The scheme is as follows, as drawn from the actual poems:

∪ ∟   ∪ ∟   ∪ ∟   ∪ ∟   ∪ ∟   ∪ ∟  
 — —   ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∟  
 — ∪ ∪   — ∪ ∪

but it is perhaps a mere accident that the tribrach in the 4th foot so much affected by Martial, and that in the 3rd, do not occur: the anapaest in the 4th foot which is found in Martial would probably have been rejected by Catullus.

5. Iambic tetrameter catalectic, XXV.

∪ ∟   ∪ ∟   ∪ ∟   ∪ ∟ || ∪ ∟   ∪ ∟   ∪ ∟   ∪ ∟  
 — ∟   — ∟   — ∟   — ∟ || — ∟

The iambus is preserved pure throughout in 1, 2, 6, 8, 11, 12: a spondee is admitted in the first and fifth feet only, i. e. in the first foot of each half of the verse; seven times in the former, twice in the latter. It is very doubtful whether Catullus admitted any resolved syllable: hence Haupt's conjecture *mulièrarios* in 5 is open to objection.

6. Glyconei, XXXIV LXI.

XXXIV has three glyconics followed by a pherecratean.

	∟ ∪   ∟ ∪ ∪   ∟ ∪ —
Glyconei	∟ — ∪ —
Pherecrateus	∟ ∪   ∟ ∪ ∪   ∟ — ∪ —   — ∪

The Glyconics never admit a dactyl in the last foot: the concluding syllable of which is always long either by nature or position (— ∪ — not — ∪ ∪).

LXI is composed of two systems (a) of 3 glyconics, (b) of 1 glyconic and 1 pherecratean; (a) is separated from (b) by the occasional interruption of the synapheia, in 116 136 146 151 156 161 166 171 176 181 216, as shown by the fact that the third glyconic is allowed to end

sometimes in an unelided vowel, sometimes in a short consonant, before an initial vowel in the next verse.

In both poems the glyconic is sometimes hypermetrical XXXV. 11 *reconditorum*, 22 *Romulique*, LXI. 115 *uentre*, 135 *marite*, 140 *marito*, 227 *ualentem*; a natural consequence of the synapheia. In LXI. 25 the second foot of the pherecratean is a spondee.

Scheme of LXI:

Four Glyconei	┌ ◡	┌ ◡ ◡	┌ ◡ —
	┌ —		
One Pherecrateus	┌ ◡	┌ ◡ ◡	┌ ◡ ◡
	┌ —	┌ —	

7. Glyconeus + Pherecrateus. It is called Priapeus by Hephaestion 10 who quotes three lines in this metre by Anacreon (Bergk Poet. Lyr. Graec. fr. 17). Catullus uses it in two poems, XVII and fr. I, cf. fr. III. It occurs also in the poem *Hunc ego o iuuenes locum uillulamque palustrem* Priap. 85 ed. L. Müller.

Scheme of the Priapeus:

┌ ◡	┌ ◡ ◡	┌ ◡ —		┌ ◡	┌ ◡ ◡	┌ ◡ ◡
┌ —				┌ —		

In fr. III, *ligurrire* an iambus instead of a trochee or spondee is found in the fourth foot. A syllable may be elided at the end of the first half of the verse, as in *cauaque in, maximeque est, repente excitare, tenaci in*.

8. Sapphic hendecasyllable XI LI.

Catullus follows Sappho in (a) admitting trochees in the second foot, (b) eliding the last syllable before the beginning of the following verse *omnium Iliā, prati Vltimi*, (c) breaking up a word at the end of the third verse so as to extend into the Adonic *ulti-mosque Britannos*, (d) allowing the second foot to end a word *Vltimi flos, Gallicum Rhenum horribilem, Ille mi par esse*, (e) admitting monosyllables at the end of the verse *simul te, identidem te*—when Horace does this a monosyllable always precedes, except in iv. 6. 17 *heu nefas heu*, or where a word is elided before *et*, (f) making the caesura after the fifth or sixth syllable indifferently.

9. Sapphic sixteen-syllable, or Asclepiadeus maior. The whole of Sappho's third book was written in this metre, apparently in distichs: see Introduction to XXX in vol. I. It was also used by Alcaeus.

┌ —	┌ ◡ ◡ ◡	┌ ◡ ◡ ◡	┌ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
-----	---------	---------	-----------

Catullus follows Sappho in neglecting the law afterwards observed by Horace of making the two first choriambi end with the last syllable of a word, vv. 5, 6, 9, 10, 11: in 11 *meminerunt, meminuit Fides* this is almost incredibly harsh, and was very early corrected into *meminere at meminuit Fides*.

10. Galliambic. According to Hephaestion 12 the basis of the metre is ionic a minore, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ μεγεθῶν τὸ μὲν ἐπισημότατον ἐστὶ τὸ τετράμετρον καταληκτικόν, οἷον ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ Φρυνίχου τοῦ τραγικοῦ τουτί,

τό γε μὴν ξείνια δούσαις λόγος, ὥσπερ λέγεται,  
ὀλέσαι κάποτε μὲν ὀξεί χαλκῶ κεφαλάν.

καὶ παρὰ Φρυνίχῳ τῷ κωμικῷ<sup>1</sup>

ἂ δ' ἀνάγκα ἴσθ' ἱερεῦσιν καθαρεύειν φράσομεν

τοῦτο μέντοι καὶ Γαλλιαμβικὸν καὶ Μητρωακὸν καὶ ἀνακλώμενον καλεῖται ὕστερον δὲ ἀνακλώμενον ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους εἰς τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν γράψαι τοῦτ' αὖ τῷ μέτρῳ. ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ τοὺς τρίτους παιῶνας ἔχοντα (υ υ - υ) καὶ τὸν παλιμβάκχιον (- - υ) καὶ τὰς τροχαικὰς ἀδιαφόρως παραλαμβάνουσι πρὸς τὰ καθαρὰ, ὡς καὶ τὰ πολυθρύλλητα ταῦτα παραδείγματα δηλοῖ

Γαλλαὶ μητρὸς ὀρείης φαλόθυρσοι δρομάδες,  
αἷς ἔντεα παταγείται καὶ χάλκεα κρόταλα.

On this hypothesis the original outline of the metre was four ionic i minore, the last catalectic. But it is clear from the second of the last two galliambi quoted by Hephaestion that this outline was completely obscured; for this verse looks at first sight like an alternation of ionic i maiore with ionic i a minore: an ionic i maiore basis is stated as a theory by Terentianus Maurus 2888 compared with 2868, and is perhaps traceable in Varro's Eumenides. On Hephaestion's hypothesis we must suppose that the ionic i a minore are resolved in the Galliambics of Catullus by *anaclassis*<sup>1</sup> as follows:

In the first half υ υ - υ υ - = υ υ υ υ υ υ -

In the second υ υ - υ υ - = υ υ υ υ υ υ υ

with such farther modifications as the substitution of υ υ for -, or - for υ υ produces. Hence the scheme of the verse as written by Catullus is as follows:

υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ - | υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ

Super álta uéctus Áttís | celerí rate mária  
Iam íam dolét quod égí | iam íamque poénitet  
Ego múlier égo aduléscéns | égo ephébus égo puer  
Vbi cápita Maénadés uí | iaciúnt ederígerae  
Viridém citús adit Ídám | properánte péde chorus.

<sup>1</sup> The idea seems to be that the ionic i a minore are broken up into each other in such a manner that the second as it were bends back into the first: for so I understand the schol. on Hephaest. 12 ἀνακλώμενον καλεῖται τὸ μέτρον διὰ τὴν ποιὰν τοῦ μέτρον συμπάθειαν ἢ γὰρ τελευταία τῶν προτέρων ποδῶν ἀνακλᾶται τῇ ἀρχῇ τῶν δευτέρων διὰ τὸ ἐν ὀρχήσει ἀνακλασμὸν μελῶν γίνεσθαι.

The original *ionicus a minore* remains in 54

Ĕt ěarum ōmnia ādirēm furibunda latibula,

perhaps in 18

Hilarate aere citatis erroribus animum

though *erae* is at least equally probable.

#### THE ORDER OF THE POEMS.

The poems of Catullus fall at once into three main divisions, the shorter lyrical poems I–LX, the long poems LXI–LXVIII, the Epigrams: or if we again divide the longer poems into Elegiac and non-Elegiac into four, I–LX, LXI–LXIV, LXV–LXVIII, LXIX–CXVI. As this arrangement is obviously metrical, it is *a priori* improbable that the poems as a whole follow a chronological order. That they do not is indeed clear: IV *Phasellus ille* was written some little time after the return of Catullus to Sirmio from Bithynia; XXXI *Paene insularum Sirmio* at the moment of return; XLVI just before he left Bithynia; LXV LXVIII shortly after the news of his brother's death in the Troad, an event which preceded and probably determined the Bithynian journey; CI *Multas per gentes et multa per aequora uectus* on reaching Rhoeteum where his brother was buried, probably the first thing he did on landing in the Troad before proceeding to Bithynia. Again in XI XXXVII Lesbia is already the paramour of many *moechi*; LI, a translation from Sappho, describes the raptures of the poet's love for her in its first beginning; LVIII speaks of her as reduced to the last infamy, *Nunc in quadruuīs et angiportis Glubit magnanimos Remi nepotes*. Yet in LXVIII. 135 the same Lesbia, though not faithful to Catullus, is described as observing some decorum and transgressing rarely; and all the poems which follow LXVIII whether expostulatory, renunciatory, reconciliatory, or expressive of the mingled love and hatred which her conduct caused, must have preceded LVIII, probably also XI and XXXVII. Again XI mentions Caesar's invasion of Britain B.C. 55–54, in XXVIII Veranius and Fabullus are either still with Piso or have only just left him, Catullus is still with Memmius in Bithynia, or has only a short time parted from him, events which cannot be later than 56–55, and may be much earlier: CVIII in which Cominius is attacked probably belongs to 65 B.C., CXIII certainly to the beginning of 55 *facto (Pompeio) consule nunc iterum*.

Hence it is certain that no consistent chronological sequence of events can be proved for the poems as a *whole*. It is equally certain that no such sequence can be made out for any one of the three or four divisions into which, as we saw, they fall.

In I-LX this is already proved.

In LXI-LXIV the principle of arrangement is obviously metrical, the lyrical poems precede the short epos. There is nothing to mark the period of composition, unless indeed the resemblances of the Peleus and Thetis to Lucretius' poem may be thought to show that one of the two poets had read the work of the other<sup>1</sup>.

In LXV-LXVIII an order is traceable. Omitting LXVII which is without note of time, the three remaining poems seem to have been written as follows<sup>2</sup>: LXVIII. 1-40, at Verona when Catullus was at the height of his grief for the death of his brother; LXV, with the accompanying translation from Callimachus LXVI, when the first transports of sorrow were subsiding. On the other hand LXVIII. 41-160 was composed when the reviving love for Lesbia led the poet to new thoughts, and perhaps suggested a return to Rome, if indeed it was not written there.

In LXIX-CXVI, if XCVIII refers to the informer Vettius it probably belongs to the years 62-59 B.C.: CVIII if it refers to one of the brothers Cominii would seem to fall in 66-65 B.C.: CXIII belongs to the beginning of 55.

We may therefore assume that if chronology at all affected the arrangement of the poems, it can only have done so in the most general sense: a conclusion confirmed by farther examination of the sections.

Two principles are traceable in the first and fourth of these—the lyrics and the epigrams: (1) that of grouping together poems on the same subject (Vorlaender); (2) of interrupting such groups by poems on a *different* subject (Westphal).

(1) The following groups are observable:—

(a) Furius and Aurelius XI XV XVI XXI XXIII XXIV XXVI.

(b) Veranius and Fabullus IX XII XIII: they recur later in XXVIII XLVII.

(c) Egnatius XXXVII XXXIX.

(d) Ammiana XLI XLII XLIII.

(e) Vatinius LII LIII.

(f) Gellius LXXXVIII-XCI, and separately LXXIV LXXX CXVI.

(g) Mentula CXIV CXV, and separately XCIV CV.

(h) Aufilena CX CXI, and and separately CI.

The same principle may be traced in the Lesbia series:

(a) Lesbia's sparrow II III.

(b) Basiationes V VII.

(c) Lesbia's literary character compared with that of Caecilius' mistress XXXV XXXVI.

<sup>1</sup> See Munro on Lucret. iii. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Bährens, *Analecta Catulliana* pp. 10, 11.



(d) Lesbia's protestations of love LXX *Non si se Iuppiter ipse petat, LXXII nec prae me uelle tenere Iouem.*

(e) Lesbia's return and promise of perpetual reconciliation CVII CIX. And elsewhere, e. g. :

LXIX *Crudelem nasorum pestem, LXXI Illam affligit odore.*

It is however constantly obscured, and can scarcely be traced in many parts of the two divisions, e. g. XXX-XXXIV, XLIV-L, or again in XCII-CVI. Even when traceable it is modified by the continual interposition of a single poem, sometimes two poems, on a different subject. Westphal has conclusively shown this, and it will be apparent from the appended table :

	I	Qui dono.
II		Passer deliciae.
III		Lugete O Veneres.
	IV	Phasellus ille.
V		Viuamus, mea Lesbia.
	VI	Flauī, delicias.
VII		Quaeris quot mihi.
VIII		Miser Catulle.
	IX	Verani, omnibus.
	X	Varus me meus.
XI		Furi et Aureli.
	XII	Marrucine Asini.
	XIII	Cenabis bene.

Up to XIII there is thus a tolerably regular alternation of the Lesbia poems II III V VII VIII XI with poems on a different subject. It seems probable that XIV and the fragment XIV<sup>b</sup> *Si qui forte mearum ineptiarum* stood together as another alternating couplet : then in XV a return is made to one of the subjects of XI, Aurelius :

	XV	Commendo tibi me.
	XVI	Pedicabo ego uos.
	XVII	O colonia.
	XXI	Aureli, pater.
	XXII	Suffenus iste.
XXIII		Furei, cui neque seruos.
XXIV		O qui flosculus es.
	XXV	Cinaede Thalle.
XXVI		Furi, uillula nostra.

This forms as it were a second cycle, the central point of which is Juuentius.

A third cycle in which amatory poems alternate with poems of a

different character seems to be formed by XXXVII-XLIII, but the principle is less systematic.

XXXVII	Salax taberna.
XXXVIII	Malest Cornifici.
XXXIX	Egnatius, quod.
XL	Quaenam te mala mens.
XLI	Ameana, puella.
XLII	Adeste hendecasyllabi.
XLIII	Salve nec minimo.

A similar alternation is more perceptible in LXIX-LXXII :

LXIX	Noli admirari.	} }
LXX	Nulli se dicit mulier mea.	
LXXI	Si quoi, Virro, bono.	
LXXII	Dicebas quondam.	

and perhaps in CVII-CXVI :

CVII	Si quoi quid cupido.
CVIII	Si Comini.
CIX	Iucundum, mea uita.
CX	Auflena, bonae. }
CXI	Auflena, uiro. }
CXII	Multus homo es Naso.
CXIII	Consule Pompeio.
CXIV	Firmanus saltu. }
CXV	Mentula habet. }
CXVI	Saepe tibi.

It is not to be denied that a system so often interrupted, obscured, or imperceptible, — a system too which is combined with a completely different principle of arrangement, I mean the great general division of the poems into sections determined by the metrical or at least poetical *form*, I-LX, LXI-LXIV, LXV-LXVIII, LXIX-CXVI, is too accommodating to be much of a guide. Our MSS too are imperfect, and supply us with only faint indications of the actual number of verses or poems lost. Yet it seems worth while not to let any clue, however faint, escape us, especially where we have an additional reason for such care in the important bearings which any recognizable plan of arrangement has on the question of chronology. For if, as seems established, poems on the same subject are grouped together, it would seem to follow that the actual place of any poem in the collective series is little if any indication of the time to which it belongs, the principle on which they are grouped together being necessarily in conflict with anything like a sequence of time, at least as regards other groups or other poems ; thus the series addressed to Furius and Aurelius XV XVI XXI XXIII XXIV XXVI, all

of which are linked by a common subject, Juventius, and were all written perhaps much about the same time, cannot be thought to belong to an early period of the poet's life from their mere position in the collective series: nor can we conclude that XXXVII XXXIX on Egnatius preceded XLI XLIII on Ammiana, or that either of these groups was subsequent to XI because they follow it in the MSS. Nay, the very poems included in the same group cannot be *assumed* to follow each other in the order of time; nor where such groups exist in combination with poems on the same subject separated from them by wide intervals, as in the case of Gellius, LXXIV LXXX LXXXVIII—XCI CXVI would it be safe to conclude that they follow in chronological order, though this may have been so, and it is probable in this case at least that the last in the MSS was also the last written. Little weight therefore can be laid on arguments drawn from the position of any given poem; e. g. we are not justified in concluding that in the actual order of events IX preceded XII, nor that XI, in which Furius and Aurelius are instructed to carry a message to Lesbia and which cannot have been written earlier than 55, preceded XV and the subsequent poems in which the same Furius and Aurelius are addressed, in a series probably spread over a considerable time.

Subject to these limitations—which are indeed almost destructive—we may admit the *possibility* of an attempt to keep the order of time. The poems to Lesbia are scattered over the whole collection; and, with two exceptions, are not inconsistent with such an assumption<sup>1</sup>. The Sparrow-poems (II, III) and the *Viuamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus*, and *Quæris, quot mihi basiationes* (V VII) were no doubt placed first because they were written first; VIII *Miser Catulle, desinas ineptire*, may have followed a first, or at least an early, quarrel: in XIII. 11, 12 Lesbia is still on good terms with Catullus: XXXVI. 4, 5 implies a quarrel, but a wish to return; in XXXVII. 11–14 Lesbia is already *amica omnium*, but still dear: in XLIII. 6–8 she is contrasted with Ammiana, in language which implies that Catullus could still think of her with pleasure: in LVIII she has reached the last stage of infamy. Only XI and LI can be said to be definitely inconsistent with the order of time; but we must not underrate the importance of the exceptions, or frame hypotheses to explain them away. They are sufficiently serious to throw doubt upon the whole theory; we cannot feel sure of more than this; the poems to Lesbia which stand first in our MSS must on internal grounds belong to a very early period of the amour; the poem (LVIII) which in our MSS stands last but two in the lyrical series which precedes

<sup>1</sup> I speak here of the lyrics and epigrams alone, excluding LXVIII.

the longer poems, *must* refer to the very latest period of Lesbia's career. The same may be said of the epigrams which refer to Lesbia: LXX LXXII *may* have been prior to the others, CVII CIX later: that the intermediate poems follow the order of time is not inconceivable, but it is quite as little demonstrable. It would be so if we were certain of the order in which the poems succeed each other: as it is, no one since Scaliger's ingenious combination of the two fragments LXXXVII and LXXXV can feel anything like certainty as to the real order of the poems in the archetype.

## ACTUAL DATES IN CATULLUS.

IV. Dedication of the Phasellus after the return from Bithynia.

X. 6, 7 Quid esset Iam Bithynia, quomodo se haberet.

After Catullus had returned to Rome from Bithynia. If Memmius was governor of Bithynia after his praetorship in 58 B. C., Catullus was probably in Bithynia in 57, and returned in 56, to which year X will therefore belong. But see on the journey to Bithynia *infra* p. xlviii.

XI. 9 Siue trans altas gradietur Alpes  
Caesaris uisens monimenta magni,  
Gallicum Rhenum horribilem insulam ulti-  
Mosque Britannos.

(55-54 Caesar's invasion of Britain.)

XXIX. 12 Fuisti in ultima Occidentis insula.

(After 55.)

XXXI. 5, 6 Vix mi ipse credens Thuniam atque Bithunos  
Liquisse campos et uidere te in tuto.

Written immediately after the return from Bithynia, perhaps in 56.

XXXV. 3 Veronam ueniat, Noui relinquens  
Comi moenia.

(After 59.)

XLV. 22 Mauult quam Syrias Britanniasque.

(Probably in 55.)

XLVI. 1 Iam uer egelidos refert tepores.

4, 5 Linquntur Phrygii, Catulle, campi,  
Nicaeaeque ager uber aestuosae.

In the spring of the year following Catullus' stay in Bithynia, perhaps 56.

LII. 2 Sella in curuli Struma Nonius sedet,  
Per consulatum perierat Vatinius.

If *Per consulatum* refers to Vatinius' actual consulship, the poem cannot

be earlier than 47. It is more likely that it refers to a period when Vatinius could already count on the consulship, perhaps his praetorship in 55, or the meeting of the triumvirs at Luca in 56.

LIII. 2 Cum mirifice Vatiniana  
Meos crimina Caluos explicasset.

(Probably, but not certainly, in 54.)

LXV. 5 Namque mei nuper Lethaeo in gurgite fratris  
Pallidulum manans alluit unda pedem,  
Troia Rhoeteo quem subter litore tellus  
Ereptum nostris obterit ex oculis.

Just after Catullus had learnt that his brother had perished in the Troad. To the same period belong LXVIII. 20-26, 91-100.

LV. 6 In Magni simul ambulatione.

(Cannot be earlier than 55—*perhaps* as late as 52.)

XCVIII, if the informer Vettius is meant, probably belongs to 62-59 B.C.

CI on arriving at his brother's grave at Rhoeteum, perhaps in 57.

CVIII probably to 66-65 B.C.

CXIII was written in the second consulship of Pompeius 55 B.C.

#### BIRTH AND DEATH OF CATULLUS.

Jerome, according to Schöne's edition of the Eusebian Chronicle, has these entries relating to Catullus: Ol. 173. 2=87 B.C. *Gaius Catullus scribtor lyricus Veronae nascitur*: Ol. 180. 3=58 B.C. *Catullus xxx aetatis anno Romae moritur*. If the former of these two dates is right, the latter must be wrong, as Catullus would have died in 57 B.C. But it is certain from the poems that Catullus died neither in 58 nor 57; for in CXIII he speaks of the second consulship of Pompeius in 55; in XI XXIX of Caesar's invasion of Britain 55-54; in LIII of the oration of Calvus against Vatinius, probably in 54. If indeed the words of LII *Per consulatum perierat Vatinius* referred to the actual consulship of Vatinius for a short time at the end of 47, as Gibbon<sup>1</sup>, Clinton, Lachmann, Haupt,

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works* i. pp. 357-363 ed. 1796. The first eighteen chapters of Nepos' life of Atticus were written and published before Atticus' death on the last day of March *Cn. Domitio C. Sosio consulibus*. (Att. 19.) In the twelfth of these chapters Nepos speaks of Catullus as dead, and as belonging to a literary era preceding that of L. Julius Calpidius. Hence Gibbon considers the medium point between the consulship of Vatinius and the consulship of Domitius and Sosius as the probable date of the death of Catullus, 714 | 40. His other arguments are identical with those of the present century. This discussion was written before Gibbon had reached the age of twenty, but it seems to deserve mention from the complacency with which the author dwells upon it in his autobiography, and the resentment with which he records Matthew Gesner's not discourteous, but somewhat slighting, reply.

and others believed, Catullus survived the battle of Pharsalia : and if he was 30 years of age at his death, must have been born in 77-76. Lachmann accordingly supposed that Jerome confounded Cn. Octavius consul in 76 with Cn. Octavius consul in 87 ; and maintained that Catullus was born in 76, and died in 46. That this chronology is wrong, and that the explanation, though accepted by Haupt and Prof. Sellar, is not worth more than other ingenious hypotheses in reference to the Eusebian Chronicle, is probable from the following considerations:—

Catullus certainly died *young*, even in comparison with others who did not attain middle age. Thus Lucretius died at the age of 44 (Jerome), Cornelius Gallus at 43 (Jerome) ; but neither is said to have died young. Even Calvus, whose life was certainly not more than 36 years, though stated by Quintilian to have died prematurely (x. 1. 115), and by Cicero combined with C. Curio as *adulescens* at the time of his death (Brut. lxxxii. 280) is not definitely marked out as *youthful*. Ovid says, Am. iii. 9. 61,

Obuius huic uenias hedera *iuuenalia* cinctus  
Tempora cum Caluo, docte Catulle, tuo.

whence it seems probable that Jerome's statement that he died at the age of thirty is substantially true. Now if he died aged 30 in 47-46, and was therefore born in 77-76, the chronology of his life, if not absolutely inconsistent, is at least less in harmony with that of the other literary men of the last century of the Republic as tabulated by Jerome (Jungclaussen). This will be seen from the accompanying table.

LITERARY DATES FROM JEROME'S CHRONICLE. (SCHÖNE.)

	B. C.
Ol. 169. 2 Birth of Furius Bibaculus at Cremona . . . . .	103
Ol. 171. 3 Birth of Lucretius. Suicide 44 years later . . . . .	94-50
	(Donatus [99]-55)
Ol. 173. 2 Birth of Catullus at Verona . . . . .	87
——— Sallust at Amiternum . . . . .	87
Ol. 174. 3 Birth of Varro Atacinus . . . . .	82
Ol. 177. 4 Birth of Virgil at Andes : Pomp. et Crass. coss. I . . . . .	69
	(must be 70)
——— M. Cato Stoicus Philosophus agnoscitur . . . . .	69
Ol. 178. 4 Birth of Horace at Venusia . . . . .	65
Ol. 180. 2 Birth of Messala Corvinus and Livy . . . . .	59
Ol. 180. 3 Death of Catullus at Rome, aged 30 . . . . .	58
——— Virgil educating at Cremona . . . . .	58
Ol. 181. 4 Virgil takes the toga virilis, goes to Milan, thento Rome	53

Ol. 184. 3	Death of Cicero . . . . .	42
—————	Birth of Ovid . . . . .	42
Ol. 184. 4	Death of Cornificius . . . . .	41
Ol. 185. 1	Floruit of Cornelius Nepos . . . . .	40
Ol. 186. 1	Death of Sallust . . . . .	36
Ol. 188. 2	Death of Varro, nearly 90 . . . . .	27
—————	Suicide of Cornelius Gallus of Forum Julii aged 43 . . . . .	27
Ol. 189. 2	Death of Quintilius of Cremona, friend of Virgil . . . . .	23
Ol. 190. 3	Death of Virgil, Sentio Saturnino Lucretio Cinna coss. . . . .	18
Ol. 190. 4	Floruit of Varius and Tucca . . . . .	17
Ol. 191. 1	Aemilius Macer of Verona dies . . . . .	16
Ol. 192. 4	Death of Horace, aged 57 . . . . .	9
	A.D.	
Ol. 195. 4	Death of Asinius Polio, aged 80 . . . . .	4
Ol. 199. 1	Death of Livy . . . . .	17
—————	Death of Ovid . . . . .	17

Now if Catullus was born in 87, he was seven years younger than Lucretius, according to Jerome; twelve, according to Donatus, who places Lucretius' death in 55. This would agree with the words of Cornelius Nepos Att. 12 *Calidum quem post Lucreti Catullique mortem multo elegantissimum poetam nostram tulisse aetatem vere uideor posse contendere*, which places the era of the two poets together. But if Catullus was born in 77, he would have been seventeen years younger at the very least than Lucretius: and if we take Donatus' account, Lucretius would have been twenty-two when Catullus first saw the light. Again as Virgil was born in 70, Catullus, born in 87, would then have been seventeen years old; a disparity quite in accordance with the fact that they represent two literary eras: whereas if Catullus only preceded Virgil's birth seven years, the *floruit* of the former would almost synchronize with the publication of the Eclogues which determined the reputation of the latter. Again, Asinius Polio died according to the statement of Jerome Ol. 195. 4, A.D. 4, at the age of 80, hence was born B.C. 76. Now supposing Catullus to have been born in 77, he would have been almost exactly coeval with Polio; whereas he speaks of Polio as a boy (*puer*), at a time when he himself was already well known as a writer of hendecasyllables, and when his friends Veranius and Fabullus had already been some time in Spain (XII. 7-9). But if Catullus was born in 87, or even three years later, in 84, Polio would have been in 64, when Catullus was in his twenty-third or twentieth year, only twelve years old—and even if the poem was written some time later, would still be in the strictest sense of the term, a boy.

Catullus then cannot have lived from 77-47 B.C. It remains to accept

Jerome's statement, with the modification necessitated by the internal data of the poems. Either then he was born in 87 B.C. and died in 54, Jerome's statement as to his living thirty years being inexact (so Mommsen): or if he was thirty at the time of his death, seemingly in 54, was born in 84, Jerome having perhaps confused Cinna's first consulship with his fourth, as Munro thinks (*Journal of Philology*, vol. ii. p. 5). As to LII. 3 see there.

## BIRTHPLACE.

*Verona*—Ouid. *Am.* iii. 15. 7 *Mantua Vergilio gaudet, Verona Catullo.* Plin. xxxvi. 48 *Catulli Veroniensis*, hence Catullus was Pliny's *conterraneus* Praef. 1. Mart. i. 61. 1 *Verona docti syllabas amat uatis*, x. 103. 5 *Nec sua plus debet tenui Verona Catullo*, xiv. 195 *Tantum magna suo debet Verona Catullo Quantum parua suo Mantua Vergilio.* Auson. Praef. ad Pacatum 1, 2 *Cui dono lepidum nouum libellum? Veronensis ait poeta quondam.* Macrob. S. ii. 1. 8 *Veronensis poeta.* Catullus speaks of Verona XXXV. 3, LXVII. 34 *Brixia Veronae mater amata meae*, where the door seems to express Catullus' own relation to Verona, LXVIII. 27, C. 2. When there he probably lived at his father's house.

## RESIDENCES.

1. Rome. In LXVIII. 34–6 *Romae uiuimus, illa domus, Illa mihi sedes, illic mea carpitur aetas, Huc una ex multis capsula me sequitur.* Rome was his ordinary home, and there he kept all his books: hence he was no doubt an eye-witness of many of the events alluded to in his poems. LV shows that he was familiar with all the haunts frequented by loose women.

2. A villa on the confines of the Tiburtine and Sabine territory XLIV. 1–4: it seems not to have been worth much, and in XXVI is spoken of as mortgaged for 15,200 sesterces.

3. A villa at Sirmio, a projection in the centre of the southern coast of Benacus (Garda), XXXI. Sirmio is at no great distance from Verona, where the poet's father was probably living at the time when he entertained J. Caesar, as he did often, and continued to do even after Catullus' attacks on Mamurra (Suet. Jul. 73).

## HIS BROTHER.

Catullus mentions none of his relatives except a brother, who seems to have been the only other child, and to have died without leaving heirs LXVIII. 22. This death probably took place in the Troad, where he was certainly buried LXVIII. 97–100. The event completely overpowered Catullus for the time LXVIII. 19–26, and drove him from



Rome with only a few books *ib.* 36 to Verona : to his retirement there we owe LXVIII. 1-40, the *Coma Beronices* translated from Callimachus, the poem accompanying it sent to Hortalus (LXV) and later the conclusion of LXVIII, vv. 41-160, an elaborate encomion addressed to Allius. Catullus has expressed his deep grief for this brother in three distinct poems, (a) LXVIII. 19-26, 91-100 where five verses are repeated twice 20-24, 92-96; (b) LXV. 5-14; (c) CI written on visiting the tomb at Rhoeteum.

#### HIS CIRCUMSTANCES.

He often alludes jestingly to his poverty. XIII. 9 *tui Catulli Plenus sacculus est aranearum*. In XLIV he complains that his villa is not too wealthy, in XXVI it is mortgaged; his Bithynian journey brought him in nothing X. 9-14, and even the eight slaves which in a weak moment he ventures to say he bought there, turn out to be his friend Helvius Cinna's (X. 20 sqq.), cf. XXVIII. 6-9. Similarly he expostulates with Aufilena for taking money from him improperly (CX), with Amiana and Silo for the sums they claim, in each case 10,000 sesterces; both Amiana (XLI XLII XLIII) and Aufilena (CXI) seem to have provoked his bitter attack by their demands upon his purse; and the joke which is put in the mouth of Lesbius that he may *sell*, if he pleases, Catullus and all his gens, no doubt alludes to his general impecuniosity.

#### JOURNEY TO BITHYNIA.

After his brother's death, perhaps determined by it, Catullus joined the cohorts of Memmius, pro-praetor of Bithynia, X, XXVIII. 6-9. Among his companions on this journey was G. Helvius Cinna, X. 30, the poet and author of *Zmyrna* (XCV). The time of this event is very doubtful. If Memmius was propraetor of Bithynia in the year after his praetorship, he must have left Rome early in 57 B.C.: and supposing him to have remained not more than a year, returned in 56.

This is the ordinarily accepted date; see Schwabe *Quaest.* pp. 158 sqq. But it is open to objections. For from XXVIII XLVII it would seem that Veranius and Fabullus were with Piso as members of his staff at about the same time that Catullus was with Memmius in Bithynia. Now if they were with Piso in Spain, as seems a natural inference from the fact that in XII. 15 they are mentioned as travelling together in Spain (for otherwise they must have accompanied each other on two separate journeys), the only Piso with whom they can well have been is Gn. Piso, one of the leaders in the first conspiracy of Catiline, who was sent out to Hispania Citerior as *quaestor pro praetore* 689 | 65, and was killed there in the following year. (See introduc-

tion to IX.) It follows that Memmius was in Bithynia in 65. This is not inconsistent with history: for (1) though Memmius must have been in Rome in 66 when as tribune of the plebs he opposed the triumph of L. Lucullus, just then recalled from the conduct of the Mithridatic war, and may have been there in 63, when after a delay of three years (Cic. Acad. Pr. ii. 1. 3) Lucullus at last obtained his triumph (Plut. Cato 29), nothing proves that he was there during the whole of the interval, and if not he may have gone with praetorian power to Bithynia; (2) Bithynia was bequeathed to the Romans by the will of its last king Nicomedes III in 680 | 74, and then became a Roman province (Liu. Epit. 93). M. Aurelius Cotta (Dion C. xxxvi. 23), L. Lucullus, M.' Acilius Glabrio (Dion C. xxxvi. 26), are mentioned as administering it between the years 74-67 (Zumpt *Studia Romana* p. 48). In 66 by the provisions of the Manilian law Cn. Pompeius succeeded Glabrio; but the prosecution of the war with Mithridates seems to have called him away from Bithynia till the end of 65, when by the addition of the western portion of the Pontic kingdom, i. e. the coast-line from Heraclea in Paphlagonia to the Halys, a new province was formed called *Bithynia et Pontus* or *Bithynia Pontus* (Strab. 541, Liu. Epit. 102, Mommsen and Marquardt *Röm. Alterth.* iv. pp. 192, 3<sup>1</sup>). This new province is stated by Appian to have been administered by a praetor yearly sent by the senate (B. Mith. 121); and it is to this enlarged, reorganized, and in 57 pacificated, province that Memmius is generally thought to have been despatched, as C. Papirius Carbo certainly was (Zumpt *Studia Romana* p. 49), *pro praetore*. It is not to be denied that nothing in the poems of Catullus which refer to Bithynia indicates that war was then raging on the frontiers: on the contrary they seem to imply peace, especially IV, which traces the long and in 65 dangerous voyage from Amastris through the Propontis and Hellespont down the coast of Asia Minor to the Cyclades; and the mere fact that Catullus had his yacht built at Amastris, and seems himself to have been there, perhaps points to the town being at the time included in the province of Bithynia<sup>2</sup>. Yet, on the other hand, there would have been at the beginning of 65 a sufficient reason for the appointment of a subordinate governor with praetorian power, as on my view Memmius was: for Pompeius was then occupied with the reduction

<sup>1</sup> If Sallust speaks correctly in the fragment quoted below, the province was already called *Bithynia et Pontus* in 67 when the Gabinian law was enacted.

<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps fanciful to trace in the unusual construction of vv. 13, 14 where *Tibi* refers to *two* vocatives, an allusion to the grammatically singular, though actually double province *Bithynia et Pontus*. Priscian xviii. 41 Keil quotes from Sallust's Histories the remarkable sentence *legiones Valerianae comperto lege Gabinia Bithyniam et Pontum consuli datam esse*.

of the Eastern tribes of Iberia and Albania, and only returned to Amisus for reorganizing the new province of Bithynia and Pontus towards the end of the year. Memmius may have been sent out by the senate, possibly on the recommendation of Pompeius, with whom he seems to have been on terms of intimacy (Suet. Gramm. 14), as *quaestor pro praetore*, as Gn. Piso was sent to Hispania Citerior at this very time, and as Cato went to Cyprus in 58, with a subordinate quaestor of his own (Vell. Pat. ii. 45). Or again he may have been appointed directly by Pompeius, as Marius left his quaestor Sulla *pro praetore* (Jug. 103), as Trebonius, proconsul of Asia 43, was succeeded on his death by his quaestor with the title *proquaestor pro praetore* (Fam. xii. 15, Waddington Fastes n. 38, 40), Crassus in Syria by his quaestor Cassius on his death in 53 (Mommsen and Marquardt iv. 1. p. 390). It is true that Memmius is called *praetor*; but this term was certainly extended to *propraetors* (Fam. xiii. 55), to proconsuls *ex praetura* (Ad Q. fr. i. 1. 7), and even as a general term to provincial governors irrespective of their actual title, e. g. Cicero speaking of himself, an actual consul and afterwards proconsul of Cilicia says Att. v. 21. 11 *Homines dicere — quod praetori dare consuessent, se a me quodammodo dare*, and again of Bibulus proconsul of Syria Fam. ii. 17. 2 *Quod ego officio quaestorio te adductum reticere de praetore tuo (Bibulo) non moleste ferebam* (Marquardt iv. 1. p. 381 note). As *quaestor pro praetore* Memmius would have had the fasces of a *propraetor*; it is no great extension of his privileges to suppose that he had a praetorian *cohors*: or, reversely, if Memmius had a *cohors* about him, the regular title of which was *cohors praetoria*, it would be an easy step to transfer the title of praetor to him, whatever his strict title might have been (Marquardt u. s.). That Memmius was in Bithynia under circumstances which made spoliation impossible (Cat. X. 19) is in complete accordance with Pompeius' strictness on this matter, as expressly stated by Cicero de lege Manil. v. 13 where the ordinary arrival of Roman governors in their provinces is compared with the sacking of a city by a hostile force, and contrasted with the temperance and mildness of Pompeius.

Before reaching Bithynia Catullus probably visited his brother's tomb at Rhoeum, and wrote *CI Mullas per gentes et multa per aequora uectus Aduenio has miseris, frater, ad inferias*. Bithynia was a bad province (X. 19) and did not enrich Catullus, which he ascribes mainly to Memmius X. 9-13, XXVIII. 6-9. Hence he was glad to leave it in the spring for a visit to the cities of Asia Minor XLVI. 1, 4-6. This return journey he made in a *phasellus*, constructed from a tree on Cyturus, the height overhanging the Pontic town Amastris; whence (IV. 18) he passed through the Propontis and Hellespont down the

coast of Asia Minor to Rhodes, thence across the Aegean to the Cyclades, where he probably visited Delos, then, probably over the Isthmus of Corinth into the Adriatic and so to the mouth of the Po, and finally to Sirmio (IV, XXXI). Shortly afterwards he was at Rome (X. 2, 26) where the scene with Varus' mistress described in X occurred.

#### HIS RELATIONS WITH CAESAR.

He expresses his indifference to Caesar's good opinion XCIII. Attacks him as the patron of Mamurra XXIX *Quis hoc potest uidere, quis potest pati*, and LVII *Pulcre conuenit improbis cinaedis*. To one of these poems or perhaps both Suetonius alludes Jul. 73 *Valerium Catullum, a quo sibi uersiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulauerat, satisfacientem eadem die adhibuit cenae, hospitioque patris eius sicut consuerat uti perseuerauit*; perhaps Cicero Att. xiii. 52. 1<sup>1</sup>. The only other poem in which Caesar is personally addressed is the fragment LIV, in which his friends Otho Libo Fufficius are ridiculed and he himself threatened with a renewed attack in vv. 6, 7 *Irascere iterum meis iambris Inmerentibus, unice imperator*. But it is probable that the Mentula satirized in XCIV CV CXIV CXV, as an adulterer, a poetaster, and a man of enormous reputed wealth, is Caesar's friend and favorite Mamurra.

#### WITH POMPEIUS.

Pompeius is not attacked in any of the poems directly; but he is mentioned with Caesar as combining to ruin everything merely to enrich Mamurra XXIX. 13 *Ista uestra diffutula mentula*, 21 *Quid hunc malum fouetis?* 24 *Gener socerque, perdidistis omnia*. CXIII alludes to his first two consulships, and probably to his wife Mucia; LV. 6 speaks of the Porticus Pompeia as *Magni ambulatio*.

#### WITH LITERARY MEN OF THE TIME.

1. Cornelius Nepos, I. cf. Auson. Praef. ad Pacatum 1-3. Catullus dedicated his poems to him, as the first man of literary eminence who had acknowledged his genius in a work of his own, I. 3-7, no doubt the *Chronica* mentioned by Ausonius Epist. 16. The date of this work is uncertain, but it was published when Catullus was quite young I. 5, and long before his reputation was established, hence between 70-60 B. C., probably before 65.

2. Cicero, XLIX, an Eucharisticon for some service unknown.

3. G. Licinius Calvus, poet and orator (born 28 May 672 | 82, on the same day as M. Caelius Rufus, Plin. vii. 165, died prematurely certainly before 708 | 46, when Cicero wrote his *Brutus*, cf. Brut. lxxxi. 279, Quintil. x. 1. 115) is constantly mentioned as the poet-friend of Catullus,

<sup>1</sup> But see Munro, Cambridge Journal of Philology, vol. ii. p. 14.

Hor. S. i. 10. 19, Prop. ii. 25. 4, 34. 87, Ouid Am. iii. 9. 62 *cum Caluo, docte Catulle, tuo*, Trist. ii. 431, Plin. Epist. i. 16. 5, iv. 27. 4 (Teuffel § 200).

Catullus addressed to him XIV, a remonstrance for Calvus' sending him as a Saturnalian present a quantity of bad poetry; L, which describes a wit-combat between the two poets; XCVI a hexastich condoling with him on the loss of his Quintilia. He speaks of his labours as a pleader XIV. 6, 11, and eulogizes his attack on Vatinius LIII, from v. 5 of which we learn that Calvus was of small stature, *salaputium disertum*.

4. G. Helvius Cinna, author of *Zmyrna*, a poem which he elaborated for nine years XCV. 1, 2, to which Catullus promises immortality (5, 6). Cinna was with Catullus, as a member of the cohorts of Memmius in Bithynia X. 30; thence he took with him as a present to a friend in a skiff built at Prusias (Cios) a copy of Aratus, written on malva-bark (Isid. Origg. vi. 12)<sup>1</sup>: from X. 29, 30 he seems to have been richer than Catullus.

5. Cornificius (died 713 | 41), if the friend addressed in XXXVIII is the poet. In LXVIII. 157 Anser (*aufert* MSS) may be the poet alluded to disparagingly in contrast with Varus and Cinna by Virgil E. ix. 36, cf. Prop. ii. 34. 84, and in conjunction with Cinna, Cornificius, and Valerius Cato<sup>2</sup>, as a writer of light amatory verse, by Ouid Trist. ii. 435, 6. Valerius Cato has been identified with the Cato of LVI, but see my Introduction to that poem. Memmius was himself the author of light verses, and is mentioned with Ticidea by Ouid Trist. ii. 433, 4, after Catullus and Calvus. Donatus in his life of Virgil says Anser and Cornificius were the only poets who did not court Virgil, the former as a partisan of Antonius, the latter from his cross-grained temper (*ob peruersam naturam*). This would quite agree with the friendship of these two poets for

<sup>1</sup> Haec tibi Arateis multum uigilata lucernis  
Carmina, quis ignes nouimus aërios,  
Luis in aridulo maluae descripta libello  
Prusiaca uexi munera nauicula.

<sup>2</sup> Sic sua lasciuo cantata est saepe Catullo  
Femina, cui falsum Lesbia nomen erat.  
Nec contentus ea, multos uulgavit amores,  
In quibus ipse suum fassus adulterium est.  
Par fuit exigui similisque licentia Calvi,  
Detexit uariis qui sua furta modis.  
Quid referam Ticideae, quid Memmi carmen, apud quos  
Rebus abest omnis nominibusque pudor?  
Cinna quoque his comes est, Cinnaque procacior Anser,  
Et leue Cornifici, parque Catonis opus;  
Et quorum libris modo dissimulata Perillae  
Nomine, nunc legitur dicta, Metelle, tuo.

Catullus: from Hor. S. i. 10. 19 it is clear that Calvus and Catullus were not popular in the court of Augustus, and the friends of either might naturally be slow to recognize the representatives of the new literature. Virgil, it is true, praises Cinna; but Cinna perhaps changed sides: unless indeed we may accept Virgil's eulogy as a not disinterested compliment to the most famous Roman poet then living.

6. Caecilius, otherwise unknown, but mentioned as the author of an uncompleted poem on the *Dindymi domina* XXXV. 13-18.

7. Hortensius, perhaps the orator of that name. Catullus satirizes him as a poetaster XCV. 3; he may be the Hortensius of Ouid Trist. ii. 441, Gell. xix. 9. It is doubtful whether the Hortalus to whom Catullus sent his *Coma Beronices* LXV. 2, 16 is this Hortensius. See Introduction to LXV.

8. Asinius Polio, who is called *puer* XII. 9.

9. Volusius, mentioned as the writer of *Annales* in XXXVI, and with Hortensius XCV. 7. He is perhaps the Tanusius of Seneca Ep. 93. 9. See Introduction to XXXVI.

10. Suffenus XIV. 19, XXII, Aquinus XIV. 18, probably the Aquinius of Cic. Tusc. Disp. v. 22. 63, Caesius XIV. 18, three bad poets.

Besides these Catullus mentions the *litterator* Sulla, probably Cornelius Epicadus, freedman of the dictator Sulla, XIV. 9: Sestius the orator XLIV. 10. Whether the Rufus of LXIX LXXVII is Caelius Rufus the orator and lover of Clodia quadrantaria (Pro Cael. viii, xxx) is doubtful: the Caelius of C, and probably of LVIII, was a Veronese, and cannot have been the orator. The bearded Egnatius of XXXVII XXXIX is identified by Bährens with a philosophical poet who wrote *De Rerum Natura* (Macrob. S. vi. 5. 2, vi. 5. 12).

#### NAME.

Jerome on Ol. 173. 2 calls him *Gaius* (*Gallus* is noted by Schöne as a variant) *Valerius Catullus*: Apuleius Apolog. 10 *C. Catullus*. But some MSS of Plin. H. N. xxxvii. 81 *Filius strumae Noni eius quem Catullus poeta in sella curuli uisum indigne tulit* read *Q. Catullus*, and Quintus is also found as his praenomen in four of the best MSS of Catullus' poems, the Datanus and its cognate Riccardianus, the Cujacianus probably identical with Mr. Allen's codex, and the Colbertinus. Moreover in LXVII. 12 *Verum istius populi ianua qui te facit* the MS reading seems to point to Scaliger's conjecture *Quinte*.

The authority of the passage in Pliny is not great, as the insertion of the *Q.* mars the run of the sentence, is not found in some of the best MSS, and may be attributable to a palaeographical confusion with *quem*, which immediately precedes it, or to a historical error which transferred to Catullus the praenomen of Q. Catulus. The case is very different with

the MSS of Catullus. Munro (Journal of Philology ii. p. 3) thinks the *Q.* was introduced into these from Pliny, a very popular author at the time they were written. But these MSS are singularly distinct from each other, and one of them, the Datanus, is uniformly independent of nearly all other MSS, and bears throughout marks of the highest antiquity. See Prolegomena to Vol. I. pp. iii and xvii. Nay the very title in question, as there written, belongs to an early and unsophisticated period, *Q. Catuli Veronensis liber incipit ad Cornelium I.* For if the scribe of the Datanus was sufficiently educated to take the praenomen from Pliny, it is not likely that he would have made the mistake of writing *Catuli* for *Catulli*: the knowledge implied by the added *Q.* is inconsistent with the ignorance implied by the retained *Catuli*. It is in every way more consistent with the facts of the Datanus as well as with general probabilities that this MS represents throughout, as Fröhner shows in the Philologus xiv. 578, a substantially incorrupt tradition; and if so, the *Q. Catuli* is as old, to say the least, as the *Catulli* of the Sangermanensis and Canonici. Besides, if the *Q.* was taken from Pliny, we might expect to find in some one of the MSS of Catullus, a G or C taken from Jerome, of which there is no trace. From another point of view, it does not seem that Jerome's testimony is unimpeachable. He is certainly wrong as to the date of Catullus' death: he may have blundered about his name, as he has in some other names. Thus on Ol. 184. 3 he calls Falcidius, the author of the law *de legatis*, Caius; his real name was Publius (Dion C. xviii. 33), and Jerome has confused him with the C. Falcidius of Cic. de leg. Manil. xix. 58. Similarly the comic poet Atta, whom Diomedes iii. p. 488 P. calls G. Quinticius appears in Jerome on Ol. 175. 4 as T. Quinticius<sup>1</sup> Atta: a discrepancy very similar to the divergence in Catullus' praenomen. Sometimes again the MSS of the Chronicle vary, e. g. on Ol. 213. 4 where for Q. Asconius Pedianus of most MSS the Bern MS has C. Pasconius. It is true, as Munro has remarked, that in the notice of Catullus' birth as given in the Chronicle, the praenomen is written at length, *Gaius*, whence no doubt the variant *Gallus*: but this in no way proves that Jerome did not make a mistake in the first instance as to Gaius being the name at all<sup>2</sup>. As to Apuleius, in one sentence he has

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Phillipps' MS of the Chronicle alone has T. Quinticius (Schöne, vol. i. Praef. p. xiv).

<sup>2</sup> It is rather singular that in the life of Terence ascribed to Suetonius, which probably formed the basis of Jerome's statement about this poet's life, C. Memmius has this his right praenomen only in A, a Paris MS of the XIth century; all the others (XVth century) collated in Reyfferscheid's edition have Q. Memmius, no doubt because they are derived from a common archetype, not that from which A was drawn. Yet if we had not A, the praenomen Caius would be a mere conjecture. Is it not possible that the wrong name may have got into Jerome's Chronicle by a similar accident?

congregated a whole series of mistakes as to names ; for T. Albucius he has written A. Albucius, for C. Norbanus Cn. Norbanus, for L. Fufius C. Furius, for M. Aquilius M. Aquilius (Apolog. 66, ed. Krüger).

I cannot therefore hold, on these two authorities, the praenomen Gaius to be established ; the *Q.* of Plin. xxxvii. 81 is at least *possibly* right : nothing proves the *Q.* of the Datanus to be taken from Pliny ; it is found in three other MSS of Catullus ; *Quinte* for *Qui te* is undeniably the most natural and plausible emendation in LXVII. 12. Last, but not least, Quintus is accepted by Scaliger, Lachmann, Haupt, and Mommsen.

## LESBIA.

Ovid Trist. ii. 427 *Sic sua lasciuo cantata est saepe Catullo Femina cui falsum Lesbia nomen erat* expressly states that Lesbia was an assumed name and Apuleius Apol. 10 *Eadem opera accusent C. Catullum quod Lesbiam pro Clodia nominarit, et Tigidam similiter quod quae Metella erat Perillam scripserit, et Propertium qui Cynthiam dicat Hostiam dissimulet, et Tibullum quod ei sit Plania in animo, Delia in uersu*, gives her real name as Clodia. Hence Victorius, Muretus, and Achilles Statius maintained that Catullus' mistress was the famous Clodia of Cicero's oration *pro Caelio*, the sister of P. Clodius Pulcher and wife of Q. Metellus Celer, consul 694 | 60. This view was revived by Haupt, who promised, but never wrote, a treatise to prove it ; and since him by a variety of writers whose arguments have been reviewed and supplemented at considerable length by Schwabe Quaestt. Catull. p. 56 sqq. On the other hand it is rejected by Paldamus Hertzberg Leutsch and Riese. The facts of Lesbia's life as stated by Catullus are :

(1) She was, at the time when Catullus first knew her, a married woman, LXVIII. 145, 6 *Sed furtiua dedit mira munuscula nocte, Ipsius ex ipso dempta uiri gremio*, words too definite to be explained of any other connexion : cf. LXVIII. 67 *Is clausum lato patefecit limite campum*.

(2) Her first meeting with Catullus was secret (*furtiua munuscula* LXVIII. 145) in the house of Allius (LXVIII. 68-72).

(3) She was unfaithful to Catullus, at first within bounds (*Rara uerecundae furta feremus herae* LXVIII. 136), afterwards with an increasing number of paramours, *Cum suis uiuat ualeatque moechis Quos simul complexa tenet trecentos* XI. 17, 18, *Hanc boni beatique Omnes amatis, ei quidem quod indignum est, Omnes pusilli et semitarii moechi* XXXVII. 14-16, finally with the rabble of Rome LVIII.

(4) Amongst these paramours were Egnatius XXXVII. 17, Gellius XCI. 9, 10, Quintius LXXXII. 3, 4 compared with CIV. 2, perhaps Rufus LXXVII. 7, 8, if these verses belong to that poem, finally a person who from his connexion with her is named Lesbius LXXIX.



(5) The poems of Catullus made her famous in the lifetime of the poet, XLIII. 7, LVIII. 1: the same inference may be drawn from XVI. 12, which seems to refer to V, VII.

(6) She was not only beautiful (II. 5, XLIII. 7, LXVIII. 70, 133, LXXXVI. 5, 6) but witty and accomplished, XXXVI. 17.

(7) She was already unfaithful to Catullus at the time LXVIII<sup>b</sup> (41-160) was written, not long after the death of his brother. This must have been before his journey to Bithynia, which seems to fall either in 57 B. C. or 65-64 B. C. On the former hypothesis, allowing three or four years for the rise and progress of the amour, its commencement may be placed in the years 62-60 (Jungclaussen Schwabe Westphal Bährens); on the former view in 69-67. Whether we assume as the birth-year of Catullus Jerome's date 87 B. C. or suppose him to have been born three years later in 84, his age would well suit either of the two hypotheses above mentioned; on the former he would have been from 25 to 21 years old; on the latter from 16 to 20.

(8) Lesbia, though still called *mea puella*, was virtually estranged from Catullus when he wrote XI, which from the allusions to Caesar's conquest of Britain was probably composed in 54 B. C.

With this outline compare the facts of Clodia's life as stated by Cicero in his oration *pro Caelio* and elsewhere.

(1) Clodia was married to Q. Metellus Celer at least as early as 69 | 63<sup>1</sup> (Fam. v. 2. 6, quoted by Schwabe Quaest. p. 60). He died in 69 | 59, as was suspected poisoned by his wife, Pro Cael. xxiv. 59. 60, whence Caelius ap. Quintil. viii. 6. 53 called Clodia *quadrantaria Clytaemnestra*.

(2-4), (7-8). Q. Metellus Celer, who was one of the praetors in 63 the year of Cicero's consulship, was sent in the latter part of that year into Cisalpine Gaul with proconsular power, and the army which had been decreed to Cicero. During his absence Cicero visited his wife Clodia, to prevent, if possible, the steps which Celer's brother, Q. Metellus Nepos, was taking against him: in spite of which Nepos interfered as tribune to prevent Cicero's addressing the people on the events of his consulship on the last day of the year. (Fam. v. 2. 6.) Celer seems to have been absent from Rome some time<sup>2</sup>, though he was in Rome at the end of 61,

<sup>1</sup> Fam. v. 2. 6 *Egi cum Claudia uxore tua et cum uestra sorore Mucia—ut eum ab illa iniuria deterrerent* (Metellus Nepos, who was actively opposing Cicero as tribunus plebis). *Atqui ille, quod te audisse certo scio pridie Kal. Ianuarias, qua iniuria nemo umquam in minimo magistratu improbissimus cuius adfectus est, ea me consulem adfecit cum rem publicam conseruassem, atque abeuntem magistratu contionis habendae potestate priuauit.* Hence the interview between Cicero and Clodia must have been at the end of 63.

<sup>2</sup> To give time for the incident mentioned by Plin. II. N. ii. 170 *Idem Nepos de septentrionali circuitu tradit Q. Metello Celeri, L. Afranii in Consulatu collegae, sed tum*

and was then consul elect (Att. i. 17. 9): during his absence in 62 his wife must have been in frequent correspondence with Cicero, if the story mentioned by Plutarch Cic. 29 is true—that Clodia wished to marry the orator and attempted to negotiate the matter by means of a certain Tullus, whose constant visits to Clodia's house aroused the jealous suspicions of Terentia, and obliged Cicero in self-defence to turn against Clodius at the time of his trial early in 61. Hence Clodia must have already (63–61) been suspected of infidelity to her husband, for which indeed she had many precedents in her family, as her sister Clodia, the wife of L. Lucullus, and Mucia, the half-sister of the two Metelli and wife of Pompeius, were both notorious as adulteresses<sup>1</sup> long before they were divorced by their husbands after returning to Rome from the East, the former in 66, the latter in 61. (Plut. Lucull. 38, Pomp. 42)<sup>2</sup>. Thus in 60 when Q. Metellus Celer was consul Cicero says Clodia was at war with him (Att. ii. 1. 5); and the scandalous story of her incestuous connexion with her brother Publius so often alluded to by Cicero and others was then matter of public notoriety (Att. ii. 1. 5, Plut. Cic. 29). It is in allusion to this that Cicero calls her Ἡρα βοῶπις (Att. ii. 9. 1, 12. 2, 14. 1, 22. 5, 23. 3, Schwabe Quaest. p. 60). In 645 | 59 M. Caelius Rufus who had just returned from Africa and was beginning his career as an orator by a successful accusation of C. Antonius (Cael. xxxi. 74) took a house on the Palatine and became one of the paramours of the now widowed Clodia (Cael. viii. 18): the intimacy had ceased when Caelius was accused by L. Sempronius Atratinus in 56 of taking money from Clodia to secure the death of the Alexandrian envoy Dio, and attempting to poison Clodia herself. But at the time when this trial took place, Cicero, who defended Caelius in the still extant oration *pro Caelio*<sup>3</sup>, describes Clodia as

*Galliae proconsuli, Indos a rege Suevorum dono datos qui ex India commercii causa nauigantes tempestatibus essent in Germaniam abrepti.* The same story in Mel. iii. 5. It seems incredible that this should refer, as A. W. Zumpt thinks (*Studia Romana*, p. 64), to a supposed subsequent command in Gallia Narbonensis; for Dion C. expressly states that Metellus did not leave Rome at the end of his consular year, and the gifts mentioned by Pliny and Mela must surely have been sent to the proconsul in Gaul.

<sup>1</sup> The mother of Metellus Nepos was also accused of adultery, Plut. Cic. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Sest. xvii. 39, Pis. xii. 28, Cael. xiii. 32, xv. 36, xxxii. 78 *mulier cum suo coniuge et fratre*, ad Q. Fr. ii. 3. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cael. xiii. 32 *Quam omnes semper amicam omnium potius quam cuiusquam inimicam putauerunt.*

xv. 36 *Habes hortos ad Tiberim ac diligenter eo loco parasti quo omnis iuuentus natandi causa uenit: hinc licet condiciones quotidie legas.*

xvi. 38 *Nihil iam in istam mulierem dico, sed si esset aliqua dissimilis istius quae se omnibus peruulgaret, quae haberet palam decretum semper aliquem cuius in hortos domum Baias iure suo libidines omnium commearent, quae etiam aleret adulescentes et parsim oniam patrum suis sumptibus sustentaret, si uidua libere, proterua petulanter*

a shameless and perfectly abandoned woman, admitting lovers indiscriminately to her house, supporting them with her wealth, surrounding herself with all the externals of a prostitute, and proclaiming her infamy not only by her presence at Baiae and other places notoriously scandalous but by her attendants, conversation, dress, walk, and even by the licentiousness of her look, and the unblushing freedom with which she kissed and embraced men. From her notorious profligacy she was commonly known as *Quadrantaria*, a nick-name alluded to by Caelius and Cicero<sup>1</sup>; that she was besides very powerful is evident not only from the whole tenor of the *pro Caelio*<sup>2</sup> but from the repeated references to her in Cicero's letters. It is not known how long she lived after this.

(6) The Bobbian Scholia on Pro Sest. liv, p. 304 Orelli, mention Clodia's skill in dancing *Clodiam generis patricii feminam sororem huius, cum qua et ipse infamis erat, ueteres literae tradunt studiosam fuisse saltandi profusius et immoderatus quam matronam deceret*, cf. Att. ii. 1. 5 *licet etiam alterum (pedem) tollas*, perhaps an allusion to this, though the passage is obscure. Cicero alludes to her glowing eyes (*flagrantes oculos* Har. Respons. xviii. 38, *flagrantia oculorum* Cael. xx. 49) and calls her *βοῶπις*; terms not complimentary in themselves, but consistent with a commanding self-asserting beauty.

diues effuse, libidinoso meretricio more uiueret, adulterum ego putarem, si quis hanc paulo liberius salutasset ?

xx. 49 Si qua non nupta mulier domum suam patefecerit omnium cupiditati palamque sese in meretricia uita collocarit, uirorum alienissimorum conuiuuiis uti instituerit : si hoc in urbe, si in hortis, si in Baiarum illa celebritate faciat, si denique ita sese gerat non inessu solum, sed ornato atque comitatu, non flagrantia oculorum, non libertate sermonis, sed etiam complexu osculatione aquis nauigatione conuiuuiis, ut non solum meretrix, sed etiam proterua meretrix procaxque uideatur.

xxii. 5 Crimen profertur ex inimica ex infami ex crudeli ex facinorosa ex libidinosa domo. xxiii. 57 in eiusmodi domo in qua mater familias meretricio more uiuat, in qua nihil agatur quod foras profunderum sit.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Cic. 29 Κλωδίαν δὲ Μέγελλος ὁ Κέλερ εἶχεν ἣν Κουαδρανταρίαν ἐκάλουν ὅτι τῶν ἐραστῶν τις αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς βαλάντιον ὡς ἀργύριον εἰσέπεμψε τὸ δὲ λεπτότατον τοῦ χαλκοῦ νόμισματος κουαδραντήν ἐκάλουν. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα τῶν ἀδελφῶν κακῶς ἤκουσεν ὁ Κλώδιος. Quintil. viii. 6. 53 Haec allegoria quae est obscurior aenigma dicitur, uitiis meo quidem iudicio; quo tamen et poetae utuntur et oratores nonnunquam, ut Caelius quadrantariam Clytaemnestram et in triclinio Coam in cubiculo nolam. Cael. xxvi. 62 Nisi forte mulier potens *quadrantaria illa permutatione* familiaris facta erat balneatori. Cf. xxix. 69 Omnia quae cum turpitudine aliqua dicerentur, in istam *quadrare* uiderentur. The meaning of the word is explained by Plutarch, though the story he mentions was perhaps invented; Clodia admitted her lovers for the least possible gratuity, a *quadrans*, the sum paid for a public bath, Hor. S. i. 3. 137, Juuen. vi. 447, Sen. Epist. 86. 9. Cf. *diobolare prostibulum* in Plautus.

<sup>2</sup> Cael. xxxii. 78 In hac ciuitate ne patiamini illum absolutum muliebri gratia, M. Caelium libidini muliebri condonatum, ne eadem mulier cum suo coniuge et fratre (her brother Publius) et turpissimum latronem eripuisse et honestissimum adulescentem oppressisse uideatur.

Schwabe is perhaps right in supposing the words of Cicero Cael. xxvii. 64 *uelut haec tota fabella ueteris et plurimarum fabularum poetriaae quam est sine argumento, quam nullum inuenire exitum potest*, to be a veiled allusion to Clodia's literary tastes.

There is thus a general agreement between the facts of Clodia's life as stated by Cicero and of Lesbia's as stated by Catullus. Both were married, unfaithful to their husbands, and at last infamous for their profligacy; both were impetuous in their feelings, unskilful in concealing the strength of their passion, and when once they had thrown aside decorum found with profligate company and in scandalous resorts.

Besides this general agreement, there are also particular points which tend to identify them.

1. Clodia had amongst her lovers M. Caelius Rufus: Catullus in LXXVII upbraids a certain Rufus<sup>1</sup> with betraying his friendship, depriving him of all he had (*omnia nostra bona*, cf. LXVIII. 158 *A quo sunt primo omnia nata bona*, which means Lesbia), and if the verses *Sed nunc id doleo quod purae pura puellae—carta loquetur anus*, belong to the same poem, of criminal intimacy with Lesbia.

2. Lesbia is repeatedly associated by Catullus with Venus and Cupid III. 1, XIII. 11, 12, XXXVI. 3, 4, 11-17, LXVIII. 135, LXXXVI. 6. Clodia, according to Cael. xxi, possessed a statue of Venus which she decked with the spoils of her lovers, 52 *Tunc (ausa es) Venerem illam tuam spoliare ornamentis spoliatricem ceterorum? ib. tua hospitalis illa Venus*.

3. Catullus often mentions Jupiter and Juno in connexion with Lesbia LXX. 2 *Non si se Iuppiter ipse petat*, LXXII. 2 *Nec prae me uelle tenere Iouem*: cf. LXVIII. 137-140, where the infidelities of Lesbia to Catullus are compared with those of Jupiter to Juno. It is obvious that Cicero's joke on Clodia as Ἡρα βωδῆπις would have much more point if it alluded to something habitual in her conversation or associations.

4. Catullus amongst other attacks on Lesbia accuses her (LXXIX) of preferring to himself a man whom he calls Lesbius; this Lesbius was vain of his personal beauty (*pulcer*) and a man scouted for disgusting vices.

Lesbius est pulcer. Quidni? quem Lesbia malit  
 Quam te cum tota gente, Catulle, tua.  
 Sed tamen hic pulcer uendat cum gente Catullum,  
 Si tria natorum (al. notorum) sauia reppererit.

If Lesbia is Clodia, Lesbius will be Clodius. Then the whole epigram

<sup>1</sup> LXIX, also to Rufus, says nothing about Lesbia: LVIII is probably addressed to the same Caelius who is mentioned in C as a Veronese and faithful to Catullus at the height of his passion: hence cannot be Caelius Rufus, as Riese has shown.

stands out with a lucid clearness of reference, which gives every word a meaning. The allusion is to the incestuous intercourse of P. Clodius Pulcer with his sister<sup>1</sup>, which was not only one of the scandals of the day, but the subject of libellous epigrams, as Cicero informs us ad Q. Fr. ii. 3. 2. *Tota gente* in 2 will be an allusion to the gens Clodia, in its double sense (Q. Fr. ii. 13. 2, Sest. xxxviii. 81): in 3 *uendit* would well apply to Clodius, who put up to sale the effects of Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, and of whom Cicero says Har. Resp. xxvii. 58 *reges qui erant, uendidit: qui non erant, appellauit*: 4 whatever its particular meaning (see ad loc.) would sufficiently agree with the description of P. Clodius left us by Cicero in his letters and orations. See especially the fragments of the speech in Clodium et Curionem, pp. 947-950 vol. iv Orelli.

5. Clodia was *nobilis*, as well as *nota*. Lesbia was certainly *nota*, perhaps *nobilis*: Catullus says he fought great battles to obtain her, was in despair of doing so (LXVIII. 53), and only succeeded by help of his friend Allius (possibly himself a man of rank 151), who threw open to him a field otherwise closed, and provided a house where Lesbia could meet him secretly. All this might well apply to a woman whose position made an amour with her dangerous, and if Catullus calls Lesbia *candida diua* (70), and determines to content himself with being the most favoured of her lovers (148), it seems at least possible that some superiority of rank made the former expression no mere hyperbole. No great weight as invalidating this theory can be given to the character of Lesbia as drawn in the earlier poems, especially those on the sparrow<sup>2</sup>. In these, it is true, she is shown in a playful mood little in accordance with all we know of Clodia; such as we may believe the Delia of Tibullus, or Ovid's Corinna to have been. But in the first of these very poems there is an undertone of passion hardly in accordance with the general softness of the music; the *grauis acquiescit ardor* belongs not to the light emotions of a Delia, but to the as yet undeveloped intensity of a nature potentially un-

<sup>1</sup> The particular charge to which LXXIX. 4 would most naturally allude (LXXX) is not expressly brought against Pub. Clodius (Schwabe p. 90 sqq.): Cicero ascribes it to Sex. Clodius, one of Publius' worst supporters, and this in connexion with Clodia (de Domo x. 25, xviii. 47, xxxi. 83, de Harusp. Responsis vi. 11, Cael. xxxii. 78): hence Lipsius considered the epigram *Lesbius est pulcer* to allude to Sextus Clodius, and so Bährens, who considers him to be ironically included as a *gentilis* of the Claudii. But this spoils the epigram; both *pulcer* and *uendat* thus lose their meaning. Schwabe seems right in suggesting that the descriptions of Pub. Clodius in Cicero's orations might include this, see especially Sest. vii. 16 *Omni inaudita libidine infamis*. I think Cicero intends to allude to it in Q. Fr. ii. 3. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See the arguments of Riese in Fleckeisen and Masius' *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie* for 1872, pp. 747-756.

governable, though still restrained ; on the other hand the description of Clodia left us by Cicero, belongs to her later period and cannot be taken as an indication of what she had been ; even if we believe all he tells us, which assuredly we need not. If again it is argued that the tone of some of the love-poems is suited to an ordinary passion for a *libertina* married or living in a quasi-connubial connexion with a *uir* (Riese), not to an amour with a woman of high rank, e. g. LXXXIII. 1 *Lesbia mi praesente uiro* compared with Am. i. 4 *Vir tuus est epulas nobis aditurus easdem*, Tib. i. 2. 21, 41. i. 6. 8, 15, 33, and even more VIII, especially 14 sqq. *At tu dolebis cum rogaberis nulla. Scelestas ne te. Quae tibi manet uita ? Quis nunc te adibit ? cui uideberis bella ? Quem nunc amabis ? cuius esse diceris ? Quem basiabis ? cui labella mordebis ?* words which seem to contain threats of destitution and actual poverty little suited to the wealthy supporter of a troop of lovers, the fashionable and admired Clodia ; we may reply that if these poems belong, as seems clear, to an early period of the connexion, there would be a reason for writing in terms which would veil its real character ; if Lesbia was already known as *Lesbia Catulli*, which may perhaps be inferred from the words *cuius esse diceris ?* that is all which the public at large as yet knew, though the secret would doubtless soon be known to the intimate friends of the poet, and eventually to all or at least to most of those to whom his works were familiar. Or again, we might compare VIII with XXXVII *Salax taberna*, LVIII *Caeli*, *Lesbia nostra*, *Lesbia illa*, not to conclude as Riese has concluded, that Catullus' mistress went through the life of an ordinary meretrix, beginning perhaps as the *concubina* of a single man, and ending as a *prostibulum*, but to show that the vicious tendencies which in XXXVII betray themselves in the low haunts where Lesbia is found sitting with her paramours, and which in LVIII have reached the last degradation of the streets, had already so far revealed themselves before the quarrel which preceded VIII as to justify what is perhaps only the language of amatory reproach in its most earnest and indignant form. At any rate the wording of VIII is sufficiently general not to be *inconsistent* with the hypothesis that it is addressed to a woman of rank ; no single word hints that Lesbia was inferior in position to her lover. And if this is so, it seems only fair to judge this poem by the light of the others on the same subject. These, as we have seen, taken as a whole, exhibit a character closely resembling that of Clodia as drawn by Cicero, and with one particular agreement of the strongest kind—the allusion in the Epigram *Lesbius est pulcher*. How strong this is we can judge by comparing it with Riese's explanation. According to him the Clodia mentioned by Apuleius as the real Lesbia of Catullus was a *libertina* of the Claudia gens ; she had contracted an amour with some Claudius, *perhaps*

the well-known Publius Claudius<sup>1</sup> Pulcer. This would account for the double *Lesbius* and *Lesbia*, and if *Lesbius* is P. Clodius, for the allusions to him; but the real point, that which gives the epigram its sting, explains its form and makes each line significant—the allusion to the incestuous intercourse of the brother Clodius and the sister Clodia—is lost, and with it the Roman definiteness of purpose which characterizes all the best epigrams of Catullus. Nor is it possible to give much weight to another remark of Riese's, that the identification of *Lesbia* with Clodia, the wife of Metellus Celer, raises a literary difficulty which we should be glad to avoid,—the consecration in poetry of an adulterous passion. It may be true that the Romans shrunk from the exhibition of such passions in an undisguised and declared form, and it is certain that no great work has preserved the actual names connected with such an amour. Yet who could venture to define with exactness the relations of Delia to Tibullus, or of Corinna to Ovid? Granting, what is not clear, that they were not formally married to the men who stand to them in the relation of *uir*, sometimes *coniunx*, is it certain that their connexion with an extraneous lover would not have been considered adulterous? In the case of Ovid at least such an inference would be very unsafe. In an elegy not less remarkable for the finish of its language than the insolence of its profligacy (*Am.* iii. 4), Ovid advises Corinna's husband (*uir* 1, 44, *maritus* 27) not to keep his wife (*uxor* 45) under lock and key, with the view of securing her chastity (*casta* 3); even if her body remains untouched, her mind will play the adulteress (*adultera mens est* 5), and when the door is barred against all comers, there will still be an adulterer within (*Omnibus oclusis intus adulter erit* 8). Penelope was pure because Ulysses left her free: Corinna is in danger because her husband is jealous (29). Those who live at Rome must comply with the fashion of the town and put up with their wives' infidelities (*Rusticus est nimium, quem laedii adultera coniunx* 37): let him make the best of his bargain and pay his court to the numerous friends his wife will find him (45). Ovid indeed tells us himself that one reason of his banishment was that he taught adultery (*doctor adulterii* *Trist.* ii. 212), a charge hardly justified by his *Ars* alone (*Trist.* ii. 240–256) and doubtless assignable to the confusion of that work with his *Amores*. And whatever the

<sup>1</sup> Riese considers the form of the name Clodia (not Claudia) to indicate that it did not belong to a person of high rank; but Dion C. expressly states that Clodius was the habitual, Claudius the less common, name of the famous Publius, xxxvii. τὸ Πούπλιος τις Κλώδιος ὃν Κλαύδιον τινες ἐκάλεσαν, and Publius' sister is spelt Clodia in the MSS of the *pro Caelio*, xxv. 61, and four times in xiii in contradistinction to *Quinta Claudia*, *Vestalis Claudia* xiv; so *Clodium et Clodium* of the brother and sister, Q. Fr. ii. 3. 2; on the other hand in *Fam.* v. 2. 6 the MSS give *Claudia*, and so Cicero perhaps wrote, as he is there addressing her husband.

nature of the connexion of Tibullus and Delia, it is certainly reprobated in the *Tristia* as teaching married women (*nuptae*) to sin, *Trist.* ii. 447-464. Yet Augustus had taken public morals under his especial supervision, and if literature dealt with sentimental exhibitions of vicious or at least not legalized love, it was under the direct protest of government. This could not be said of the age of Catullus, an age of lawless and unchecked licence in every way; when a man as correct in life as Cicero could bandy indecent jokes with Clodius in the Senate, and draw highly coloured pictures of the worst vices of his time in one speech after another. If then Catullus idealized an adulterous passion, the utmost that could be expected from him would be to show some reserve in concealing the name of his mistress; and this he has done. If we think of the freedom which he has shown in other cases, e. g. Ammiana, Aufilena, Juventius, we shall see that there must have been a motive for his silence in this; delicacy and the natural tenderness of a lover for his mistress would no doubt do something; literary consistency would retain the disguised name when it had once become known; but it seems no improbable guess that the name was in the first instance disguised because the amour was dangerous, as we know from the poet's own words; and if it was dangerous, it is more than probable that the object of it was a woman of high rank.

Lastly, the identification of Lesbia with Clodia would be in accordance with the rule laid down by Acron on *Hor. S. i. 2. 64 Eodem numero syllabarum commutationem nominum facit*, where he gives as instances *Licymnia Malchinus Villius* for *Terentia Maecenas Annius*.



ERRATA.

Page 119, line 7, *for* "hollowing" *read* "holloing."

Page 133, line 6, *for* "from morn onwards" *read* "from noon onwards."

# A COMMENTARY ON CATULLUS.

## I.

IN this poem Catullus dedicates his work to Cornelius Nepos (Auson. Praef. ad Pacatum, 1-3), a countryman of his own (*Padi accola*, Plin. H. N. iii. 127, cf. Plin. Epist. iv. 28, *Municipum tuorum, Cornelii Nepotis et T. Catii*), and a man of some eminence in literature. Cornelius Nepos had fostered the young poet at the outset of his career, probably had praised his poems in a work of his own (vv. 3-8), seemingly the *Chronica* mentioned by Ausonius, Epist. xvi. *Apologos Titiani et Nepotis Chronica, quasi alios apologos, nam et ipsa instar sunt fabularum . . . misi* (Teuffel, History of Roman Literature, 185. 3). Perhaps, as Teuffel suggests, 185. 2, Catullus had been recommended to his compatriot on his first arrival in Rome.

It is uncertain whether the poem is intended as a dedication of all that Catullus wrote, or only of his shorter and lighter lyrics. The latter view has been maintained by Bruner (*Acta Societatis Fennicae*, vii. 601-656). (1) Catullus calls his work *libellus*, a word hardly applicable to so many poems in such various metres, and actually used of short single pieces, as by Statius of each of his *silvae*, Praef. to Bk. I. (2) This would be more likely to hold good at a time when papyrus was still the ordinary material for writing-purposes, and parchment, which seems to have come into general use only towards the close of the first century A. D., was rare. Ritschl has estimated the smallest number of lines in each column or *page* (Plin. xiii. 80) of a papyrus roll at about 25, the largest at about 50<sup>1</sup>. The number of lines in our MSS. of Catullus is somewhat under 2300; estimating 30 lines for each page, the *liber* or *libellus* would have contained 76 or 77 pages in all<sup>2</sup>; yet of the Herculanean papyri only

<sup>1</sup> The papyrus of Philodemus *περὶ ἀργῆς* as exhibited in Gompertz' transcript contains as a rule 40 lines in each column, sometimes 38 or 42, rarely less or more.

<sup>2</sup> There are 809 lines in the shorter poems,

811 " in the Epithalamia, Attis, and Peleus and Thetis,

326 " in the Elegies,

330 " in the Epigrams.

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But this takes no account of the intervals between each poem, or of lost verses or poems. In the first section the intervals alone would add 60 lines at least, in the second 4, in the third 4, in the last 48. This would raise each section respectively to 869, 815, 330, 378; and in a moderate computation of the lines lost, the first section must have contained at least 900 lines, the second about 830, the third about 360, the last about 400.

two have as many as 70 pages, and these are prose-treatises, for which, according to Isidorus, a larger size of roll was used than for poems or letters (Origg. vi. 12. 1). (3) The poems as we have them, fall naturally into three sections; the shorter lyrical poems I–LX, the longer poems LXI–LXVIII, the Epigrams; or, if we again divide the longer poems into Elegiac and non-Elegiac or Lyrico-Epic, into four. Each one of these would have made a *libellus* as large as one of the five *libelli* which originally formed Ovid's *Amores*, larger than any of Statius' *Siluae*, or than any except the first three of the eight *libri* ascribed to Virgil by Servius (Prolegom. *Aeneid*), the *Ciris*, *Aetna*, *Culex*, *Priapia*, *Catalecta*, *Epigrammata*, *Copa*, or *Dirae*. (4) c. I. is not the only poem in which Catullus commends his works to the favourable judgment of posterity. The fragment xiv<sup>b</sup>, *Si qui forte mearum ineptiarum Lectores eritis manusque uestras Non horrebitis admouere nobis* may belong, as Bruner suggests, to a lost epilogue: they may also have been part of another prologue; as Ovid ends the third book of the *Tristia* with the same words of apology with which he begins the fourth; iii. 14. 51, 2, *Qualemcunque igitur uenia dignare libellum, Sortis et excusa conditione meae*; iv. 1. 1, *Si qua meis fuerint, ut erunt, uitiosa libellis, Excusata suo tempore lector habe*. On either hypothesis it is improbable that the *libellus* extended to the longer poems, which could not have been called *nugae* or *ineptiae*. (5) The poem to Ortalus, c. LXV, may have been intended as a sort of dedication; and at least would form a very appropriate commencement to the volume of Elegies. It was a common practice of the time to dedicate different parts of the same work to different persons: Varro dedicated three books of his *De Lingua Latina* to Septimius, books v–xxv to Cicero (Teuffel, 155. 2). (6) This view is not at variance with the language of ancient authors when they speak of Catullus. Thus Seneca (Controu. vii. 19) and Charisius, 97 K, quote two of the hendecasyllabic poems with the words *Catullus in hendecasyllabis*, perhaps = 'his volume of hendecasyllables'; Quintilian, ix. 3. 16, cites LXII. 45 as *in Epithalamio*; Terentianus Maurus 2899, quoting the first line of the *Attis*, says, *Seruare quae Catullum probat ipse tibi liber Super alta—maria, where liber seems to mean the work itself, i.e. the *Attis*, not the total collection of Catullus' poems; and Martial's line, iv. 14. 14, *Magno mittere passerem Maroni*, if not xi. 6. 16, *Donabo tibi passerem Catulli*, are perhaps rightly explained by Bruner of a separate issue of the *Passer* poems either alone or with other lyrics. (7) Ausonius twice quotes the first line of Catullus' dedication, Praef. ad Pacatum, 1–3, *Cui dono lepidum nouum libellum? Veronensis ait poeta quondam, Inuentoque dedit statim Nepoti*, and Eid. xi. (iv. ed. Vinetus) *Latebat inter nugas meas libellus ignobilis . . . Hunc ego cum uelut gallinaceus Euechionis situ cartei pulueris eruissem, excussum relegi, atque ut auidus faenerator improbum numum malui occupare quam condere. Dein cogitans mecum, non illud Catullianum Cui dono lepidum nouum libellum sed ἀποστέρον et uerius Cui dono illepidum rudem libellum non diu quaesui . . . Igitur iste nugator libellus, iam diu secreta quidem sed uolgi lectione laceratus, perueniet tandem in manus tuas. . . . Ac ne me nescias gloriosum, caeptos inter prandendum uersiculos ante cenae tempus absolui*. Then follows the poem on the number three in 91 hexameters, i. e. the *libellus* itself. What the *libellus* was in the former passage is not clear, but if, as seems probable, it was the poem *Quod uitae sectabor iter?* which follows it in*

the *antiquus Lugdunensis codex* (Vinetus, ad loc.), this *libellus* also was a composition of 50 lines. It seems unlikely that Ausonius should challenge comparison between his own *libelli* and Catullus' *libellus*, if the latter instead of containing less than 100 verses contained more than 2000.

On these grounds I consider it improbable that the poem to Cornelius was written by Catullus as a dedicatory preface to his whole works, although this is the received opinion and has the sanction of Bentley (Pref. to Horace). It may have been meant as a preface to the shorter poems collectively, or, as these would have made a large *liber*, to some of them. It may be objected that the last three lines, especially the solemn prayer *quod, o patrona Virgo, Plus uno maneat perenne saeclo*, are less suitable to a few short lyrics than as a proem to the greater works of Catullus, the Epithalamia, Attis, and Nuptials of Peleus. But we must remember that it is the Lesbia-poems and the iambs upon Mamurra that gave Catullus his chief reputation; and if he looks for immortality from these alone, he only does what Horace did after him, when at the end of the second book of his Odes he prophesies the world-wide renown his winged songs will bring him, and again in the last ode of bk. iii. declares that he will survive the waste of time, as the first who naturalized Aeolian lyrics in Italy. So too Ovid predicts his immortality as the poet of the Amores at the end of the first of our three books, and again in the last elegy of the third.

**1 sqq.** The poet imagines a copy of his work just brought in fresh from the bookseller's, and considers to whom he shall dedicate it. So Martial iii. 2. 1, *Cuius vis fieri, libelle, munus? . . . Faustini fugis in sinum: sapisti.* Cf. Meleager's *Μούσα φίλα, τίμη τάνδε φέρεις πάγκαρπον αἰδάν;*

**1. Qui.** Munro (Camb. Journal of Philol. iv. 247) would preserve here, ll. 3, XXIV. 5, Lucr. iv. 44, the MS. reading *Qui*, an old form of the dative. So Verg. E. iv. 62, *qui non risere parentes, Nec deus hunc*, but cf. Quintil. ix. 3. 8. *dono*, 'am I to give?' So Eun. iii. 1. 44, *Sed heus tu purgon' ego me de istac Thaidi?* Iuven. iii. 296, *in qua te quaero pro-seucha?* iv. 130, *Quidnam igitur censes? conciditur?* and the frequent *quid ago?* Aen. iv. 535, x. 675. **lepidum nouum libellum**, not *nouom*. Observe the triple *-um*, an assonance quite in the manner of Catullus; XLVI. 11, *Diuersae uariae uiae*; XLVIII. 1, *Mellitosis oculos tuos*.

**2. arido p.** Mart. viii. 72. 1-3, *Nondum murice cultus asperoque Morsu pumicis aridi politus.* Pumice was proverbially dry. Cf. Aul. ii. 4. 18, where see Wagner. **Expolitum**, see on XXII. 8.

**3. Corneli, tibi.** Direct answer to a direct question, as in C. 5. *Cui faueam potius? Caeli, tibi.* Leutsch, Philologus, xxvi. 91, thinks the Cornelius alluded to may be the bookseller mentioned by Fronto, p. 20, Naber. Similarly Quintilian addresses his publisher Tryphon in the Preface of his work; but this is with a special object, viz. *ut in manus hominum quam emendatissimi ueniant (libri)*.

**4. Meas and Qualecunque** in v. 9 show that Catullus did not avoid either iambs or trochees in the first foot of his best hendecasyllabic poems; see my Excursus in vol. i. against Mommsen. **aliquid**, 'something worth.' Att. iv. 2. 2, *si unquam in dicendo fuimus aliquid*.

**nugas**, particularly applied to short poems of an epigrammatic character. Mart. ix. 1. 5, *Ille ego sum nulli nugarum laude secundus*; ii. 86. 9, 10, *Turpe est difficiles habere nugas et stultus labor est ineptiarum*; vii. 26. 7, 8, *Quanto mearum scis amore nugarum Flagret*.

5. **Iam tum**, a considerable time before this dedication was written; how long there is nothing to determine. **unus Italorum**, 'as no other Italian had done.' Both Varro, in his *Annalium libri tres* (Teuffel, 154. 4), and Atticus, in his *Annalis* (Brut. iii. 13, iv. 15, v. 19; Att. xii. 23. 2), seem to have written historical compendiums (Teuffel, 159. 1). Either Corn. Nepos' *Chronica* was published before these, or they were resumé's of Roman, not universal history. **Italorum**. There were several epitomes of history in Greek, e.g. by Apollodorus.

6. **omne ævum**, 'all time,' i. e. the history of all time. Cicero speaks very similarly of Atticus' *Annalis*, Brut. iii. 13, *libri quo iste omnem rerum memoriam breuiter et . . . perdiligenter complexus est*; Orat. xxxiv. 120, *conseruatis notatisque temporibus . . . annorum septingentorum memoriam uno libro colligauit*. **explicare**, 'to set forth in order,' *ut explicatis ordinibus temporum uno in conspectu omnia uiderem*, as Cicero says of Atticus' *Annalis*, Brut. iv. 15. **cartis** seems here = 'books:' so in Trist. iii. 1. 1, 4, *liber* and *carta* seem used indifferently.

7. **laboriosis**. Gellius notices this passive use of the word as peculiar. N. A. ix. 12, *C. Caluus in poematis laboriosus dicit non ut uolgo dicitur qui laborat sed in quo laboratur*. *Durum, inquit, rus fugis et laboriosum*. The more common expression would have been *operosus*. B. G. viii. Praef. 4.

8. **quicquid hoc libelli**, as in Aen. i. 78, *quodcumque hoc regni*; ix. 287, *huius quodcumque pericli*.

9. **Qualecunqve**, like *quicquid libelli*, self-depreciatory; 'this slight book such as it is.' **patrona uirgo**, 'the Muse:' *quia scriptores ac poetae sub clientela sunt Musarum*, Suet. Gramm. 6. So in the satire ascribed to Sulpicia, *Musa . . . precibus descende clientis et audi*. Catullus can hardly mean Minerva, whose staid and laborious character, as Hand remarks, would be ill-suited to such *lepidae nugae* as these poems. Cf. Timocreon, i. 4, Bergk, *Μοῦσα τοῦδε τοῦ μέλους κλέος ἀν' Ἑλλάδας τίθει*.

10. **Plus uno saeculo**, a modest *in multa saecula*. So Callim. Dian. 33, *οὐχ ἕνα πύργον*, Iup. 89, *τὰ δ' οὐχ ἐνί*; Hom. H. Merc. 284, *οὐχ ἕνα μούνον φῶτα*; Aesch. Sept. 104 *πάταγος οὐχ ἐνὸς δορός* (O. Schneider). **maneat**. Callim. fr. 121 Blomf. *ποὺλὸν μίνωσιν ἔτος*. Cinna ap. Sueton. Gramm. 11. *Saecula permaneat nostri Dicylnna Catonis*.

## II.

THIS and III are concerned with a pet sparrow of Catullus' mistress Lesbia. They seem to have been very popular, if we may judge from the numerous allusions to them, Iuuen. vi. 8; Mart. i. 8, 3; 110. 1; iv. 14. 13; vii. 14. 3; xi. 6. 16; xiv. 77. Sen. Apocol. ii.

There seems to be no ground for De Quincey's doubt as to the identity of *passer* with our sparrow (Selections, vol. 8, p. 82, quoted by

Mr. Clayton). In the time of Realinus<sup>1</sup> it was the fashion with Italian ladies of rank to keep pet sparrows; and Mr. Browning informs me they are favorites with the Italians of the present day.

Muretus, and before him Politian, detected a *double entendre* in these poems: in which he was, I think, anticipated by the ancients, at least such is a natural interpretation of Martial xi. 6. 15, 16; cf. Pers. ii. 2. 10.

1. **meae puellae**, Lesbia, and so always.

3. **primum digitum**, 'the tip of the finger,' as *prima lingua*, 'the front of the tongue,' Plin. H. N. xi. 172; *digitulis primoribus*, Bacch. iv. 4. 24. **atpetenti**, a word peculiarly applied to seizing a person's hand for the purpose of kissing it, Plin. H. N. xi. 250, *Dextera oculis auersa adpetitur, in fide porrigitur*. This sense is here combined with that of pecking, *rostris adp.* Liu. vii. 26.

4. **morsus**, de Sen. xv. 51. *auium minorum morsus*: LXVIII. 127.

5-8. 'When my bright love is in the humour for some charming frolic, either I ween as a little solace of her pain, or when the fever of her passion is asleep,' i. e. she toys with the sparrow either to relieve her thoughts from the pain of love or for light-heartedness when she is not thinking of love at all. *Et . . . et*, 'either'—'or,' as in Suet. Aug. 78, *saepe indigens somni et dum per uicos deportaretur et deposita lectica inter aliquas moras condormiebat*.

5. **desiderio**, Fam. xiv. 2. 2. *Hem mea lux, meum desiderium . . . te nunc mea Terentia sic uexari!* **nitenti**, LXI. 186, *ore floridulo nitens*, of bright features; here the bright look of the eyes is probably included.

6. **Karum**, 'precious,' as proceeding from a loved object. **iocari**, of toying or trifling, not as usual of *verbal* jesting: so Horace, C. i. 10. 7, *iocosus furto*. Val. Max. ii. 10. 8, *populus ut mimae nudarentur postulare erubuit*. . . *populus priscum morem iocorum in scenam reuocauit*. Stat. S. iv. 9. 1, *Est sane iocus iste quod libellum Misisti mihi, Gryphe, pro libello*.

7. **solaciolum** in apposition with the clause *libet nescio quid iocari*. There is, however, some harshness in this, and Lachmann may have been right in making *solaciolum* a second nominative to *libet*, cf. XXXVIII. 7. **doloris**, 'the pain of love:' Prop. i. 13. 9, *Haec erit illarum contempti poena doloris*, and so often in Ovid's *Amores* and *Ars*.

8. **Credo** is no doubt genuine: cf. LXXXIV. 5. It seems to qualify the boastfulness implied by *solac. sui doloris*, in which Catullus of course alludes to Lesbia's passion for himself: for its position, half-way between two alternative clauses, cf. Epid. ii. 2. 74. *Nam ille quidem aut iam hic aderit, credo hercle, aut iam adest* (Holtze, *Syntaxis*, ii. p. 227). **grauis acquiescit ardor**, all words of physical suffering here transferred to an emotion. **Gravis**, so *febris grauior*, Cels. iii. 4; *morbis grauior*, ib. **acquiescit**, Cels. ii. 8, *febris quieuit*, whence metaphorically, Plin. Epist. iv. 21. 92, *magno tamen fomento dolor meus adquiescet*. The preposition seems to give the idea of an end reached and relief ensuing. Orat. lix. 199, *cum aures extremum semper expectent in eoque acquiescant*.

<sup>1</sup> In the sixteenth century Bernardinus Realinus (Comm. in Nupt. PeL et Thetid, p. 55, combated Politian's view, on the strength of Mart. i. 7. 3; i. 109. 1; Iuuen. vi. 8: he might have added one stronger than any of these, Mart. vii. 14. 3. 4.

**Ardor**, 'the fever of love,' Lucr. iv. 1086, 1098. In Lucr. iii. 251, *Siue uoluptas est, siue est contrarius ardor*, the idea of *pain* lies in *contrarius* (Munro).

9. **possem**, not so much a wish, as a hypothesis regarded as barely possible, 'let me only have the hope of playing.' So perhaps Aen. xi. 161; Aen. vi. 31, *sineret dolor*. Tib. i. 6. 37, *At mihi seruandam credas, non saeua recuso Verbera*; i. 10. 11, *Tunc mihi uita foret; uolgi nec tristia nossem Arma, nec audissem corde micante tubam*.

10. **curas**, 'the sorrows of love,' as in LXIV. 72, LXVIII. 18; Aen. iv. 1. Martial imitates this verse, xii. 34. 8, 9, *Si uitare uoles acerba quaedam Et tristis animi cauere morsus*.

11. 'To play with Lesbia's sparrow is a pleasure as dear to me as the golden apples of Hippomenes were to Atalanta; she gave up her virginity for them, and I would sacrifice everything for this.' A hyperbolic conceit, conveying to Lesbia a flattering idea of the value she might be expected to set upon her own favours, as well as of her lover's deference, in attributing so much happiness to a petty act of familiarity. Others explain, 'As dear as was the apple to Atalanta which first made her feel love for Hippomenes, so dear to me is the privilege of playing with Lesbia's sparrow, as an earnest of her feeling love for me.' On this view Catullus would follow Theocritus, who seems to identify Atalanta's first sight of the apple with her first feeling of love for Hippomenes, Theocr. iii. 40. Ἴππομένης ἕκα δὴ τὰν παρθένου ἤθελε γάμαι Μᾶλ' ἐν χερσὶν ἔχων δρόμου ἄνυσεν ἃ δ' Ἀταλάντα ὧς ἴδεν, ὧς ἐμάνη, ὧς ἐς βαθὺν ἄλατ' ἔρωτα. Ovid goes beyond this and represents Atalanta as lingering to pick up the apples dropped by Hippomenes, because she was enamoured and wished to be conquered, M. x. 635 sqq., 659-661; but it may be doubted whether Catullus means this.

11. **Tam gratum**. Antigonus of Carystus, ap. Athen. 82, 'Ὠραίων πολὺ φίλτερος ἢ λασιμύλων Πορφυρέων, Ἐφύρη τὰ τ' ἀέξεται ἡμεμοέση. **gratum est**, 'it would be as welcome,' may be like *salius est, melius est, longum est, inscitia est* (Poen. iv. 2. 99); *stultum est* in Varro ap. Augustin. de Dialectica vi., *si quis dicat homines piscibus similes natando fieri et inde piscinae nomen esse natum, stultum est repugnare*; Mart. ii. 63. 3, *luxuria est, si tanti diues amares*, 'it would be luxury, if you were a rich man and made love so expensively:' or, as in *non saeua recuso Verbera*, Tib. i. 6. 37, the indic. expresses with more positiveness the result of the barely possible protasis *tecum ludere possem*. But we should rather have expected *possim*, as in the instances collected by Holtze, Synt. ii. pp. 101, 108, 9. Hence it seems probable that some verse like *Tecum ludere sic ut ipsa ludil* has fallen out, as Alex. Guarinus states that a very old MS. marked a great lacuna here.

12. **Pernici**. Atalanta, who had baffled many suitors (hence *zonam diu ligalam*) by refusing to marry any one who did not conquer her in running, was at last won by Hippomenes, who dropped a golden apple in her path,—Apollod. iii. 9. 2; Theocr. iii. 40; Ovid. M. x. 560. Hesiod, fr. xxvi, Markscheffel, calls her *ποδοκῆς δι' Ἀταλάντην*. **aureolum**, a favorite word, LXI. 160. In Verg. E. iii. 71, viii. 52, *aurea mala* refers to the bright colour of the apples: here the apples are of actual gold, taken, according to the Schol. on Theoc. iii. 40, from the garden of the Hesperides, according to the Schol. on Theoc. ii. 120,

from the brows of Dionysos, and given to Hippomenes by Aphrodite. Ovid, *Met.* x. 644 sqq., makes Venus take three apples of gold from a tree in her consecrated precinct at Tamasus in Cyprus, and give them to Hippomenes, with directions how to use them.

13. See on LXI. 53. **soluit** = *effecit ut solueretur*.

### III.

ON the death of the same sparrow. Similar poems on pet animals are found *Anth. P.* vii. 189, 190, 197, 204: cf. Ovid, *Am.* ii. 6; *Stat. S.* ii. 4, both on the death of a parrot: *Martial*, i. 7, says that Stella had written a poem on a pet dove which was superior to Catullus' *passer*; he himself wrote such epigrams, see i. 110, on a dog Issa, and contrasts the prevailing fondness for pet animals of all kinds with his own for a slave, vii. 87.

The famous words *Veneres Cupidinesque*, cf. XXXVI. 3, *Sanctae Veneri Cupidinique*; LXXXVI. 6, *Omnibus una omnes surripuit Veneres* have a special meaning if Lesbia was Clodia. Cicero, *Cael.* xxi, says Clodia possessed a statue of Venus which she decked with the spoils of her lovers: it seems probable that she considered herself under the particular protection of that deity.

1. **Veneres Cupidinesque**. Cicero, *De N. D.* iii. 23, mentions four Venuses, three Cupids, and Catullus would thus be speaking with strict accuracy, cf. XIII. 12; *Mart.* ix. 12. 9, xi. 13. 6. But in XXXVI. 3, Lesbia makes a vow, *Sanctae Veneri Cupidinique*, cf. *Asin.* iv. 1. 59, and probably Catullus, in calling on the *Veneres Cupidinesque* to mourn for the death of her sparrow, merely pluralizes this, without any special reference to the various forms of the goddess or her son. 'Mourn, goddess of love, and you her attendant Cupid, wherever ye may be,' i.e. not only with Lesbia, your constant worshipper, but wherever there is any one to feel the loss of what is beautiful. On the other hand, as the *Ἐρωτες* are often mentioned with Venus, e.g. *Apoll. R.* iii. 937, *Callim. fr.* 116 *Blomf.*, *Theocr.* vii. 117; cf. *Hor. C.* i. 19. 1, iv. 1. 5; *Ovid F.* iv. 1, the first outline of the expression may have been *Venus Cupidinesque*; the change to *Veneres* would make the expression symmetrical, and at the same time suggest the meaning of graces (LXXXVI. 6), thus combining in one *Κύπρις* and the *Χάριτες*: cf. *Anth. P.* vii. 25. 3, *Χαρίτων καὶ Ἐρώτων*.

2. **quantum est hominum**. *Pseud.* i. 3. 117, *quantum terra degit hominum*. *Fronto*, *De Nepote Amisso*, p. 234 *Naber*, *uiro suo omnium quantum est hominum optimo adquiescit*. **uenustiorum** in reference to *Veneres*. *Quintil.* vi. 3. 18, distinguishing various kinds of wit, says, *uenustum esse quod cum gratia quadam et uenere dicatur apparet*.

5. **plus oculis**, so XIV. 1, CIV. 2, 4. *Adelph. iv.* 5. 67, *di me, pater, Omnes oderint, ni magis te quam oculos nunc amo meos*; *Plautus* has *oculitus amare* (*Non.* 147), *oculissimus* *Curc.* i. 2. 28, cf. *oculissimum carissimum* *Fest.* p. 179, *Müller*. *Mosch.* iv. 9, τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ τίεσκον ἴσον φαέεσσιν ἐμοῖσιν, *Callim. H. Dian.* 211, Ἀντίκλειαν ἴσον φαέεσσι φίλησαι.

6. **mellitus**, XLVIII. 1, XCIX. 1, both of the young *Juuentius*, and so Cicero, *Att.* i. 18. 1, calls his young son *mellitus Cicero*, 'darling.'



**suamque**, here a virtual substantive, 'his lady': so Cic. Scaur. ii. 9, *cum audisset Arinam cum illa sua* (his mistress *amatorie*) *metus et fugae simulatione Romam se contulisse*; Tib. i. 4. 75, *Pareat ille suae*, (his lady, i.e. wife, v. 74) *uos me celebrate magistrum*; ii. 5. 103, *ferus ille suae plorabit*. Catullus speaks of the sparrow in terms which might suit a lover, *in sinu tenere, plus illa oculis suis amabat, nec sese a gremio illius mouebat, ad solam dominam*. So *tua* = your love, Prop. i. 9. 22.

7. **Ipsam** with **matrem**, 'her very mother.' Generally *Ipsam* is supposed to mean 'mistress' as *ipse* and *ipsa* often = master and mistress. Cas. iv. 2. 20, *Ego eo quo me ipsa misit*. Andr. ii. 2. 23, *ipsus tristis*. Virg. Ecl. iii. 3, *Ipsa Neaeram Dum fouet*. So *ipsima*, and see Bücheler on Petron. S. 63. But would Catullus have combined *suam Ipsam* = *suam Eram*? and even if he did, would he have allowed *Ipsam* to stand so barely by itself at the beginning of the line?

8. So Meleager of a pet hare, Anth. P. vii. 207. 3, ἐν κόλποις στέργουσα διέτρεφεν ἅ γλυκερόχρους Φανίον.

9. So metaphorically Cic. Att. xiii. 25. 3, *O Academiam uolaticam et sui similem, modo huc, modo illuc!*

11. **iter tenebricosum**, the path of darkness that leads to Hades. So Simmias of a partridge, Anth. P. vii. 203. 4, Ὠχεο γὰρ πυράταν εἰς Ἀχέρωντος ὁδόν. *Tenebricosum*, a word used several times by Cicero, but otherwise rare.

12. Theocr. xvii. 120, Ἄιδι πάντα κέκρυπται, ὄθεν πάλιν οὐκέτι νόστος; xii. 19, ἀνέξοδον εἰς Ἀχέρωντα. Philetas fr. 4 Schneidewin, Ἄτραπον εἰς αἰδῶ Ἦνυσα τὴν οὐπω τις ἐναντίον ἦλθεν ὀδίτης.

13. **At**, of imprecation, as in XXVIII. 14; Aen. ii. 535. **Male sit, malaë**, 'my curse upon you, ye accursed shadows.' Cf. *κακὸς κακῶς, κάκιστα*.

14. Bion, i. 54, Λάμβανε Περσεφόνα τὸν ἐμὸν πόσιν' ἐσσι γὰρ αὐτὰ Πολλὸν ἐμῷ κρέσσων, τὸ δὲ πᾶν καλὸν ἐς σὲ καταρρεῖ.

15. **Tam bellum**, as XXII. 17, *Tam gaudet in se, tamque se ipse miratur*; so *talis*, XVII. 21, *tanto* LV. 14, *tantis* LXV. 4. Similarly *ταῖος τοιοῦτος*, especially in Callimachus, H. Dian. 146, Del. 27, 140.

16. For the double **vae**, cf. Mart. iv. 28. 7, *Vae glabraria, uae tibi misella*: and so Anth. P. xiii. 23. 5, φεῦ τὸν τεκόντα, φεῦ δὲ καὶ σὲ Βότρυος φίλος παῖ. *factum male*, Att. xv. 1. 1, *O factum male de Alexione! incredibile est quanta me molestia affecerit*: Alexio had just died.

17. **Tua opera**, 'it is your doing that.' So *mea opera*, Capt. iii. 5. 21; Hecyr. ii. 1. 31.

18. **turgiduli ocelli**, like *pallidulum pedem*, LXV. 6, *frigidulos singultus*, LXIV. 131. The diminutive seems to increase the notion of tenderness or pity. See also XXIX. 8.

#### IV.

'In these verses Catullus represents himself as pointing out and praising to some guests, who were with him at his villa in Sirmio, the phasellus, now laid up at the Benacus, or Lago di Garda, which had carried him from Bithynia to Italy.' H. A. J. Munro in the Cambridge Journal of Philology, iv. p. 232, where a detailed analysis of the poem is given. The journey is retrospective; it is traced backwards from the Adriatic to

Amastris, the Paphlagonian town in which the yacht was built (6-13). That it started from Amastris with Catullus on board is, I think, indicated by v. 18, *Et inde tot per impotentia freta Herum tulisse*. Munro indeed thinks it unlikely that Catullus, whom he conceives to have been at this time at Nicaea, would make a long and difficult hill-journey from that town to Amastris, and concludes that he ordered the yacht to be brought round by sea to Cios or Myrlea: and he accordingly translates *Et inde* 'and next,' the *ultima ex origine* of 15, *Et inde* of 18, and *cum nouissime* of 23, 24, thus answering to each other as *primum—deinde—nouissime*, Cic. Fam. x. 42. 2, Sen. de Ira. iii. 5. 2; and as *primum—post haec—nouissime*, *prius—tum—nouissime*, *maxime—tum—nouissime*, in Quintilian. I prefer to follow the ordinary, certainly the natural, view, which makes *inde* local. Starting from Amastris the yacht coasted along the Euxine and the Propontis into the Hellespont; thence it descended the east coast of Asia Minor to Rhodes, 'which would seem to be specially designated not only on account of its celebrity, but also because it was the farthest point in the voyage homewards.' Munro, p. 236. Thence it struck across the Aegean to the Cyclades, the midway point between Rhodes and the Isthmus of Corinth, 'over which Catullus no doubt had his yacht transported,' *ib.* The last part of the journey is only indicated by the words *minacis Adriatici litus*: Munro is no doubt right in believing that he sailed through the Corinthian Gulf into the Adriatic, crossed this, and then ran along the Italian shore to the mouth of the Po. He also thinks that Catullus did not accompany his yacht up the Po into the Mincio, and so to the Lago di Garda, a tedious journey generally against a powerful stream (p. 238); but proceeded by land to Sirmio. On this point Catullus says nothing; but, if *Nouissimo* in v. 24 is right, the poet might perhaps more plausibly be supposed to indicate that he had been with his yacht from first to last, from the starting-point at Amastris to the final resting-place at Sirmio. At any rate it seems unsafe to lay much stress upon the fact that Ovid, in an elegy (*Trist.* I. 10) describing a similar yacht-journey from Cenchreae to Tomoe—an elegy, it is true, which bears points of resemblance to Catullus' *Phasellus*—tells us that his yacht and he parted company at Samothrace.

'Threiciam tetigit fessa carina Samon.

Saltus ab hac terra brevis est Tempyra petenti:

*Hac dominum tenus est illa secuta suum.*

Nam mihi Bistonios placuit pede carpere campos,

Hellespontiacas illa relegit aquas.'

Munro argues from the words italicized that Ovid interpreted Catullus' *Herum tulisse* to mean that during the *first* part of its voyage the *Phasellus* had *not* been carrying its master: an inference, I think, scarcely justified by the other resemblances in Ovid's poem, resemblances which have more of reminiscence than of direct imitation: for even the introduction of Castor and Pollux (46-50), though first suggested by Catullus' last three lines, is applied to a different purpose: in Catullus the yacht dedicates its *single* future to the two gods, in Ovid they are invoked to preserve the *two* ships (*duplici uiuae*), that in which the poet proceeds to Tempyra, and the yacht which is to convey his effects to Tomoe, respectively. That there is nothing improbable in Catullus' sailing all the way from

Amastris is shown by such passages as Prop. iii. 22. 11, *Tuque tuo Colchum propellas remige Phasin Peliacaeque trabis totum iter ipse legas*: to trace the legendary course of the Argo, if only for a part of its voyage, would be almost a sufficient motive for this in itself unnecessary journey.

In the Catalecta is a pure iambic poem of twenty-five lines, viii in Ribbeck's Appendix Vergiliana, in which the *Phasellus* is parodied. Though no great weight can be laid upon this ingenious and certainly early composition (see Ribbeck, Proleg. p. 10), it is in favour of the ordinary interpretation of *Et inde*.

1. **Phasellus** (so the MSS. and Munro), a long narrow craft, so called from its resemblance to a kidney-bean *φάσηλος*: see Rich's engraving. Nonius, 534, defines it as *navigium campanum*, and quotes from Varro's Desultorius a passage which shows that it corresponded nearly to our pleasure-yachts: like them it was sometimes small, sometimes of considerable size (*cohors una grandi faselo uecta*, Sallust, Hist. iii.); cf. Att. i. 13. 1, xiv. 16. 1. Munro, p. 233, thinks Catullus' phasellus was of a burden somewhere between twenty and fifty tons.

2. **Ait fuisse celerrimus**, a not very common attraction. Hor. Epist. i. 7. 22 *Vir bonus et sapiens dignis ait esse paratus*, C. iii. 27. 73. According to Ritter, on Epist. i. 7. 22, Catullus was the first who ventured on this construction. The Greek complexion of the words is traceable also in the gender of the superlative: cf. Madvig, L. G. 310, obs. 1.

3. **natantis impetum**, Ennian. *Labitur uincta carina; uolat super impetus undas*, Ann. 379, Vahlen. **trabis**, as we say 'timber,' Enn. Ann. 598. Verg. Aen. iv. 566: so *δῶρον* and *ξύλον*.

4, 5. Apollon. R. iii. 345, *ἴσον δ' ἐξ ἀνέμοιο θέει καὶ ὄτ' ἀνέρες αὐτοὶ Νολεμέως χεیرهσσω ἐπισπέρχωσιν ἐρετμοῖς*. So Ovid of his ship, Trist. i. 10. 3, *Siue opus est uelis, minimam bene currit ad auram, Siue opus est remo, remige carpit iter*.

5. **uolare**, after *natantis*, like *sibulum* after *loquente* in 12, is censured by Muretus as a confusion of metaphors: a fault of which Catullus is elsewhere guilty, e. g. LXIV. 97. But here *natantis trabis* convey a single impression to the mind, that of a ship; and ships, as well as the oars that move them, are called wings from Homer onwards, Od. vii. 36, xi. 125.

6. **negat negare**, as *neque nequisse*. Each of the two negatives retains its force. **minacis**, rough as are the swelling Adriatic seas, Taming of the Shrew, i. 2. Hor. C. i. 33. 15, *fretis acrior Hadriae*; iii. 3. 5, *Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae*; iii. 9. 22, *improbo Iracundior Hadria*.

8. **nobilem**, 'famous.' Hor. C. i. 7. 1, *claram Rhodon*, and so Mart. iv. 55, 6, quoted there by Ritter. **horridam** refers to the wild and bleak character of Thrace. Homer, Il. xiv. 227, speaks of *Θρηκῶν ἄρα υφ'όεντα*, and makes Thrace the home of the winds, Il. xxiii. 229. **Thraciam**, according to Munro, is here an adj. agreeing with *Propontida*. Lachmann, on Lucr. v. 30, denies that *Thracia* for *Thracia* or *Thrace* is found in any poet except Luc. ii. 162, perhaps on the analogy of Virgil's *Samothracia*, Aen. vii. 208. Few, however, will believe that in Met. vi. 435, *Gratata est scilicet illis Thracia, disque ipsi grates egere*, Ovid wrote

*Thrace*; and in Cic. Rep. ii. 4 the palimpsest reads *Thraciam*, though Servius on Aen. xii. 335 expressly states that Cicero wrote *Thraca*, not *Thracia*. Munro considers the different stages of the journey to be marked by *ue* in 7, *insulasue Cycladas* in 8, *trucemue Ponticum sinum* in 9; hence connects *horridamque Thraciam Propontida*, which, as he observes, is symmetrical with *trucemue Ponticum sinum*. But though the Cyclades might represent a new stage in the journey, I see no special reason why the Euxine should; if Catullus had any such division in his mind, the third would begin where the Aegean ends, i. e. at *Thraciam* or *Propontida*. The objection that the yacht would have hugged the Asiatic coast and quite avoided Thrace, is answered by explaining *Thraciam* of the Chersonesus Thracica, the shore north of the Hellespont. Ovid combines *Thracen et laeua Propontidos*, F. v. 257.

9. The unelided diambus *Propontida* is better unconnected with the preceding line, as *Ducenties* in XXIX. 14, is rhythmically in close connexion with the following word *comesset*. The Propontis and the Pontus are united here as in Aesch. Pers. 877.

10. *post* . . . *antea*, as in Callim. Ep. v. 1, Blomf., παλαιότερον . . . νῦν.

11. From 16 we may perhaps infer that the yacht was made of a single tree: if so, *silua* will be 'a forester;' and so perhaps Verg. G. ii. 26, *Siluarumque aliae*. Munro, who translates 'a leafy wood,' seems to think of the *phasellus* as made of several trees.

12. Cornelius Severus, ap. Schol. Pers. i. 95, *Pinea frondosi coma murmurat Apennini*. Verg. E. viii. 22, *Maenalis argutumque uicinus pinosque loquentes semper habet*. *Loquente* and *sibilum* are, as Muretus observed, not strictly consistent: and the inconsistency is heightened by the use of *coma* for 'leaves.' 'The yacht gave a rustling with the voice of her tresses,' is a combination which would probably have been avoided by Virgil: it is on faults of this kind that the indifference of Horace for Catullus, Calvus, and their school (S. i. 10. 19) was probably grounded.

13. The sudden apostrophe to Amastris and Cytorus, like the emphatic *Tibi* at the beginning of 14, is more like Greek than Latin. It occurs several times in Callimachus and generally in the Alexandrian poets. Callim. H. Del. 27, Δῆλε φίλη, τοῖός σε βοηθός ἀμφιβέβηκε; 106 Ἦρη, σοὶ δ' ἔτι τῆμος ἀνηλεές ἦτορ ἔκειτο. H. Dian. 204, Οὐπι ἀνασσοῦ εὐῶπι φαισφόρε, καὶ σε δὲ κείνης Κρηταέες καλέουσιν ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ νύμφης. **Amastris** . . . **Cytore buxifer**. Strabo, 544, Μετὰ δὴ τὸν Παρθένιον ποταμὸν ἔστιν Ἀμαστρίς ὁμώνυμος τῆς συνακτικῆς πόλις· ἰδρταὶ δ' ἐπὶ Χερρόνησου λιμένας ἔχουσα τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ ἐκατέρωθεν· ἦν δ' ἡ Ἀμαστρίς γυνὴ μὲν Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἡρακλείας τυράννου, θυγατὴρ δὲ Ὀξυάβρου, τοῦ Δαρείου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον· ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν ἐκ τεττάρων κατοικίων συνώκησε τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ τε Σηγάμου, καὶ Κυτῶρου καὶ Κρώμνης (ὧν καὶ Ὅμηρος μέμνηται ἐν τῷ Πασφλαγονικῷ διακόσμῳ) τετάρτης δὲ τῆς Τίου· ἀλλ' αὕτη μὲν ταχὺ ἀπέστη τῆς κοινωρίας, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι συνέμειναν· ὧν ἡ Σηγάμος ἀκρόπολις τῆς Ἀμάστρεως λέγεται. Τὰ δὲ Κύτωρον ἐμπόριον ἦν ποτὲ Σινωπέων ὀνόμασται δ' ἀπὸ Κυτῶρου, τοῦ Φρίξου παιδός, ὡς Ἐφορός φησι. Πλείστη δὲ καὶ ἀρίστη πύσσα φύεται κατὰ τὴν Ἀμαστριανὴν, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὸ Κύτωρον. Sesamos is mentioned, Pl. ii. 853, οἳ ῥα Κυτῶρον ἔχον καὶ Σήσαμον ἀμφενέμεντο. Plin. H. N. xvi. 71, *Buxus Pyrenaeis ac Cytoriis montibus plurima*. Verg. G. ii. 437. **Pontica**. Horace, C. i. 14. 11, seems to consider a *Pontica pinus* the best material for ships.

14. **Tibi** with two vocatives, as in Rosc. Com. viii. 22, *Nam tibi M. Perpenna, C. Piso, certe tanti non fuissent, ut soctrum fraudaretis. cognitissima*, a very rare superlative, perhaps ἀπ. λειγ. Ovid has *cognitor*, Thist. iv. 6. 28.

15. Klotz connects **ultima ex origine** with the preceding words, observing that it is the tree or trees of which the ship was built, not the ship itself, that stood on Cyturus *ultima ex origine*. This is to judge poetry by the standard of prose. His other argument, that *Tuo* as emphatic marks the beginning of the sentence, is inconclusive; it may be, and is, emphatic in virtue of its position at the beginning of the verse, but the sentence need not for that reason begin there; two emphases, a primary and a secondary, are possible together. *Ultima ex origine*, 'from her earliest birthtime' (Munro), a sense which seems to me short of what the words convey, viz. 'from the farthest point to which she can trace her origin,' i. e. not *descending* from the moment of birth, but *ascending* by gradations of memory from the present to the first germ of tree-existence. In Corn. Nepos, Att. i. *Pomponius Atticus ab origine ultima stirpis Romanae generatus*, the words seem to mean rather 'from the earliest stock' than 'the earliest birthtime.'

18. **impotentia**, 'with no command over themselves,' 'violent,' 'raging.' XXXV. 12, *impotentē amore*.

19-21. 'As the breeze summoned her left or right, or a favouring gale fell on both her sheets at once.' The yacht bore her master in safety through all weathers, as well when the wind blew only on one side, requiring the sail to be shifted accordingly, as when it fell from behind evenly on both extremities of the sail, and was therefore strictly speaking *secundus*.

19. The first *sive* is omitted as in Hor. C. i. 3. 16; cf. Enn. Ann. 457, Vahlen, *tibi uita Seu mors in mundo est*.

20. **Vocaret** as applied to a *shifting* wind is objected to by Lachmann on Lucret. iii. 628, as well as by Munro. It is true that in Aen. iii. 356, *Iamque diēs alterque diēs processit et aurae Vela uocant lumidoque inflatur carbasus Austro*; ib. 69, *placataque uenti Dant maria et lenis crepitans uocat Auster in altum*; Stat. S. iii. 2. 50, *Audimur, uocat ipse ratem (Zephyrus) nauasque morantes Increpat*, it is a particular wind which rises suddenly and summons the sailors or the ship to begin their journey. But it is in the suddenness of the rising, not in the fixed character of the wind, that the force of *uocare* lies. And from this point of view if a wind springs up on the right of a ship's course, and is succeeded by one on the left as suddenly, each is properly said to hail or summon the ship. At any rate Lachmann's *Vagaret* is an archaism out of keeping with the language of the poem.

**Iuppiter**. Varro, L. L. v. 65, *Idem hi dei, Caelum et Terra, Iuppiter et Iuno, quod ut ait Ennius, Istic est is Iuppiter, quem dico, quem Graeci uocant, Aerem, qui uentus est et nubes, imber postea, Atque ex imbre frigus, uentus post fit, aer denuo*. Cf. Verg. G. ii. 419; Hor. C. iii. 10. 8. It seems possible that Catullus may allude in the words *Iuppiter secundus* to the Ζεύς Οὐρανός who had a temple at Chalcedon, and who was invoked by travellers sailing along the Bithynian coast. Cf. an inscription found there by Wheler, Journey into Greece, p. 209, ed. 1682, in Böckh, 3797. Οὐρανὸν ἐκ πρύμνης τις ὀδηγητῆρα καλεῖται Ζῆνα, κατὰ πρό- τόνων ἰστίων ἐκπετάσας, Εἴτ' ἐπὶ Κρανείας δίνας δρόμος, ἐνθα Ποσειδῶν Καμ-

πύλον ειλίσσει κῦμα παρὰ ψαμάθοις, Εἴτε κατ' Αἰγαίην πόντου πλάκα νόστον ἐρευνᾶ, Νείσθω τῷδε βαλῶν ψμιστὰ παρὰ ξοίνωφ. ὦδὲ τὸν εὐάντητον αἰεὶ θεὸν Ἀντιπάρου παῖς Στῆσα φίλων ἀγαθῆς σύμβολον εὐπλοΐης<sup>1</sup>.

**21. incidisset.** Apoll. R. i. 566, ἐν δὲ λιγύς πέσειν οὖρος. **pedem,** πόδα; the *sheets* or ropes at each lower corner of the square sail habitually used in ancient ships. When a ship was sailing before the wind these would both be braced to the same length (*aequi*, Ovid. F. iii. 565), and this is what Catullus expresses by the gale falling on them both at once. The sail would thus be at right angles to the length of the vessel.

**22. litoralibus.** Catullus seems to have in view those gods who, as specially connected with the sea, had temples or images on the shore. Such were Phorcus, Panopea, Portunus, Glaucus, Melicerta (Aen. v. 240, G. i. 437), Proteus, Triton, Leucothea, Palaemon (Stat. S. iii. 2). Euripides, I. T. 271 sqq., seems to indicate not only Palaemon and Nereus, but the Dioscuri (εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀκταῖς θάσσετον Διοσκώρω, 272; cf. Servius on Aen. iii. 12), as shore-gods; to whom may be added Pan, (τὸν ἄκτιον Theocr. v. 14) and Priapus, αἰγιαλίτης, Anth. P. vi. 33. 1.

**23. sibi,** by the Phasellus, which from the beginning of the journey to the end had escaped all danger.

**24. Nouissimo,** 'the remotest.' Ovid. Trist. iii. 13. 27, *Dum me terrarum pars pene nouissima Pontus Euxinus falso nomine dictus habet*, v. 2. 31. The MSS. give *Nouissime*, which Munro keeps, 'and not a vow had been offered for her to the guardian gods of the shore, when last of all she came from the sea as far as this limpid lake,' p. 236, and explains of the third and last stage of the journey, at which the pinnace, now leaving the sea and entering the Padus, looks back on its sea-journey and remembers with pride that its sailing qualities were such as to keep off all danger till it was quite clear of the sea. This seems to give an unnaturally pluperf. sense to *esse facta*, while it forces *sibi* and leaves *usque* with little meaning: whereas after a *marei nouissimo*, this word well expresses the length of the journey and the uniform good fortune of the Phasellus throughout it. If, however, *nouissime* is retained, I should prefer to explain the three stages as (1) the time the tree was growing on Cytorus, (2) when it was voyaging through a succession of dangerous waters, (3) last of all, its final rest at Sirmio. *Et inde* would thus retain its natural sense 'and thence,' without ceasing to mark a distinct stage in the series, now localized throughout, cf. Sen. de Ira, ii. 5. 5, *Videbis istud et circa Trasimenum et circa Cannas et nouissime circa Carthaginem tuam.* **limpidum.** I can attest the exactness of this epithet; the transparent and exquisite blue of the Lago di Garda must have struck every one who has visited Sirmio on a bright day.

**25. recondita,** a favorite word, XXXIV. 11. **fuere,** perfect of the emphasized past. Turnebus compares Tib. iii. 5. 32, *Sive erimus, seu nos fata fuisse uolent.*

**26. Senet,** an archaic word found in the fragments of Pacuvius, 275,

<sup>1</sup> So Böckh. Wheler omits εἴτ' before ἐπὶ in 3, has εἴτα κατ' Αἰγαίαν and ἐρευνῶν in 5. Possibly the true reading is οὐ τ' ἐπὶ Κρανέας δεινὰς: εἴτα and ἐρευνῶν may be right, 'after this, let him trace his journey back along the Aegean;' in 8, φίλων seems better than φίλων.

304, Ribbeck; Attius, 612. Propertius has *haud ulla carina Consenuit*, iii. 7, 35; and our seamen talk of ships as so many years old.

27. **Gemelle** . . . **gemelle** expresses allusively the fact mentioned by Servius on G. iii. 89, *ambo licenter et Castores et Polluces uocantur*, i. e. Castor and Pollux were so inseparably associated as Twin-Brethren that each was called a double Castor or a double Pollux, as Stat. calls Pollux *alter Castor*, S. iv. 6. 15. Hence the temple of the two brothers was called the temple of Castor, Dion C. xxxvii. 8. The Phasellus is dedicated to them as the protectors of travellers by sea: LXVIII. 63 sqq., Eur. Hel. 1664 sqq., Hor. C. iv. 8. 31: partly perhaps also from their connexion with the line of sea traversed by Catullus, Appian. B. Mithr. 101.

## V.

ONE of the earliest poems to Lesbia, perhaps the first: Iungclaussen assigns it to the years 62–60 B. C., Schwabe to 61–60. Martial alludes to this vi. 34. 7, 8; xii. 59. 3.

1. **Viuiamus atque amemus** might = *dum uiuimus, amemus*: but the emphatic position of *Viuiamus* makes it more probable that *uiuere* here = 'to enjoy life,' as in a fragment of Varro's Deuicti, ap. Non. 156, *properate uiuere pueras, quas sinit aetatula ludere esse amare et Veneris tenere bigas*. Mart. i. 16. 11, 12, *Non est, crede mihi, sapientis dicere Viuam. Sera nimis uita est crastina, uiue hodie*. Petron. S. 44, *Illud erat uiuere*. C. I. Hisp. 391, VIVITE · VICTVRI · MONEO · MORS · OMNIBVS · IN · STAT: so ζῆθι, Anth. P. x. 43. 2.

2. **Rumores**, 'scandal.' Liu. xxii. 39, *aduersus famam rumoresque hominum si satis firmus steteris. seueriorum*, 'ensorious.'

3. The antithesis **omnes unius** emphasizes the otherwise commonplace *assis aestimare*; cf. XLII. 13.

4–6. Mosch. iii. 106 sqq. Αἰαὶ ταὶ μαλάχαι μὲν ἐπὶν κατὰ κᾶπον θλωνται ἠδὲ τὰ χλωρὰ σέλινω τό τ' εὐθαλὲς οὐδλον ἄνηθον Ὑστερον αὖ ζῶοντι καὶ εἰς ἔτος ἄλλο φύοντι. Ἄμμες δ' οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ κυρτεροί, οἱ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες, Ὅποτε πρᾶτα θάνωμες, ἀνάκοι ἐν χθονὶ κοῖλα Εὐδομες εὖ μάλα μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νήγρετον ὕπνον. Horace C. iv. 7. 13 speaks of the changes of the moon in the same connexion: cf. *celerēs lunae* there with Catullus' *soles*.

5. **breuis lux**, 'our short day of life:' *lux* is primarily opposed to *nox*, as in *Altera lux, crastina lux*, but would of course suggest the other sense of life, Ter. Hec. v. 4. 12; Lucr. iv. 35; Verg. G. iv. 472.

6. The rhythm of the line, and the continued *a* sound, well represents the eternity of the sleep that knows no breaking. **dormienda**. Callim. Ep. xvii. 3, 4, ἡ δ' ἀποβρίξει Ἐνθάδε τὸν πάσαις ὕπνον ὀφειλόμενον. Anth. P. xii. 50. 7, 8 μετὰ τοῖ χρόνον οὐκέτι πουλὺν, Σχέτλιε, τὴν μακρὰν νύκτ' ἀπαυσόμεθα.

7. Ovid uses *dare oscula* of being kissed. Heroid. xiii. 120, *Multa tamen rapies oscula, multa dabis*, and VII. 1 sqq., XLVIII. 2, XCIX. 1, might give a colour to this interpretation. But Martial, xii. 59. 1–3, *Tantum dat tibi Roma basiorum Post annos modo quindecim reuerso Quantum Lesbia non dedit Catullo* (cf. vi. 34. 7, a less distinct passage),

clearly took *da mi basia* as = *basia me* (cf. viii. 18, *Quem basiabis?*), and this is the ordinary meaning of *dare oscula*, Tib. i. 1. 62, 8. 37; Prop. i. 16. 42; iv. 12. 77.

**8. mille altera** 'a second set of a thousand.' Tusc. Disp. v. 41, quoted by Key, L. G. 1148, *Ad Brutum nostrum hos libros alteros quinque militemus*; Verg. E. iii. 71, *Aurea mala decem nisi: cras altera mittam*.

**9. usque altera**, 'go on to give a second thousand after that:' in reference to the first *altera*.

**10. milia multa**, LXI. 203, LXVI. 78. Ovid has the same expression Am. i. 8. 58, *amatoris milia multa leges*. **fecerimus**, 'made up the number.' Iuven. xiv. 326, *fac tertia quadringenta*.

**11. Conturbabimus**, 'we will throw the account into confusion:' in full *c. rationem*, which is found in the Digest, and seems =  $\psi\eta\phi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\phi\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , Att. vi. 4. 3. Cicero uses *conturbare* alone of 'becoming bankrupt,' Planc. xxviii. 68, Att. iv. 7. 2; cf. Iuven. vii. 129, where Mayor has collected instances from Petronius, Martial, and Quintilian.

**12, 13.** It was thought dangerous to count things too accurately, the evil eye having less power so long as the number was unascertained. Theodore Martin quotes a French proverb, *Brebis comptées le loup les mange*, and Muretus says the Italian rustics in his time had superstitious scruples about counting the fruit on their young trees.

**13.** Bücheler would read *sciet* here as in Priap. lii. 12, *Quare qui sapiet malum cauebit, Cum tantum sciet esse menularum*. But there the two futures *sapiet, cauebit* are naturally followed by a third: here the subj. predominates; *conturbabimus*, but *ne sciamus, ne quis inuidere possit, cum sciat*.

## VI.

OF the Flavius here mentioned nothing is known: nor is the poem interesting except as suggesting to Ovid some expressions in the 14th Elegy of the third book of his Amores; see on 9-11.

The precept which Catullus here and in LV enforces, that love should be undisguised, is, as Scaliger noticed, Platonic. Symp. 182, λέγεται κάλλιον τὸ φανερώς ἐρᾶν τοῦ λάθρα, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν γενναϊοτάτων καὶ ἀρίστων κἀν αἰσχίους ἄλλων ᾧσι.

**1. delicias** might be explained like XXXII. 2 of Flavius' mistress, 'your darling,' a sense common in Plautus, and found in Cicero, e. g. Diuin. i. 36. 79, *amores ac deliciae tuae Roscius*. But then it may be doubted whether Catullus would have continued the plural *nei sint illepidae atque inel.*; at least in the other places where he uses *deliciae* of a loved object, II. 1, III. 4, XXXII. 2, it is simply in apposition with another substantive. Hence it seems better to explain it as = *amores*, as we might say 'your pleasures;' cf. Cael. xix. 44, *amores et hae deliciae quae uocantur*.

**2. Nei sint**, 'if they were not as gross and unrefined as they certainly are.' So Munro explains on Lucr. v. 276, *Qui nisi retribuât recreetque Omnia iam resoluta forent*, the only instance in Lucr. of this combination of pres. and imperf. He adds G. iv. 116, Tib. i. 4. 63, 8. 22, in all which cases the conditional clause has a negative, and the certainty of the affirmative is implied.



4. **febriculosi**, 'inclining to the feverish,' 'unhealthy.' Lucr. iv. 1155 sqq., *Multimodis igitur prauas turpisque uidemus Esse in deliciis summoque in honore uigere . . . Ischnon eromention tum fit, cum uiuere non quit Prae macie; rhadine uerost iam mortua tussi.*

6. **uiduas**, 'alone.'

7. **Nequicquam tacitum**, 'in spite of its natural silence': it would fain be silent, but the garlands upon it betray the secret. Martial expresses the exactly opposite idea, xiv. 39, *Dulcis conscia lectuli lucerna, Quicquid uis faciat licet, tacebo*: perhaps suggested by Philodemus, Anth. P. v. 4. 1, τὸν σιγῶντα συνίστορα τῶν ἀλαλήτων Λύχρον. **clamat**. Cic. Catil. i. 8. 21, *Cum latent, clamant*.

8. **Syrio**. Bion. i. 77, *ῥάινε δὲ νιν Συρίοισιν ἀλείφασι, ῥάινε μύροισι*. Theocr. xv. 114, *Συρίω δὲ μύρω χρύσει' ἀλάβαστρα*. Pliny mentions *styrax*, xii. 124; *galbanum*, 126; *malobathrum*, 129; *cinnamum comacum*, 132; Philodemus, Anth. P. xi. 34. 2, contrasts *σμύρνα Συρίη* as precious with the cheaper *crocinum*. 'If ointments and perfumes in the Greek and Latin poets are called sometimes Syrian, sometimes Assyrian, either expression is right, since such perfumes were derived from Syria, especially from Palestine (cf. Opp. Cyneg. i. 340), and Assyria indifferently.' Nöldeke Hermes, v. p. 466. **oliuo**, acc. = Forcell. s. v. = *oleo*: cf. Pliny of the Syrian *malobathrum*, xii. 129, *ex quo premitur oleum ad unguenta*. Forc. compares Prop. iii. 17. 31, *Leuis odorato ceruix manabit oliuo*. But both there and in Catullus *oliuo* seems to have its proper sense of *olive oil*, which was mixed with the Syrian shrubs, as Virgil speaks of spoiling (*corruptitur*) olive-oil by the admixture of casia, G. ii. 466.

9. **et hic et ille**, on either side of the sleeping-couch. So Ovid, Am. iii. 14. 32, *Cur pressus prior est interiorque torus*.

10. **tremulique**. Ovid, Am. iii. 14. 26. **quassa** nearly = *facta qualiendo*, cf. *incutere tremorem*, Lucr. vi. 593, of the wind which acts like a shivering-fit. The Datanus has *cassa*, 'ineffectual,' perhaps rightly.

11. **argutatio** seems ἄρ. λεγ. **inambulatio**, orig. of walking up and down, e. g. in one's house, Att. vi. 2. 5, or on the rostra as an oratorical artifice, Brut. xliii. 153: hence of restless motion.

12. The disyllabic *nil* intensifies the emphasis of the first *nil*. 'Nothing, no, I say nothing whatever can keep your misdemeanours quiet.' So xvii. 21, *nil uidet, nihil audit*. Verg. E. viii. 104, *nil ille deos, nil carmina curat*.

13. **Cur?** as in Ennius' Epitaph on himself, 3, 4, *Nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu Faxit. Cur? uolito uiuus per ora uirum?* So XXIV. 7, *Qui? non est homo bellus inquires? est*. **latera**. Hor. Epist. i. 7. 25; Iuuen. vi. 37. **ecfututa**, exhausted with debauchery, Priap. xxvi. 7. **pandas** refers to the loose and unstrung appearance of the body of a man *dissoluti deliciis* (Sen. de Ira. ii. 25. 1). *διὰ τί οἱ ἀφροδισιάζοντες ἐκλύονται καὶ ἀσθενέστεροι γίνονται ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ*; Arist. Prob. iv. 21.

14. 'If it were not certain that you were enacting some folly.' *Tu* is not pleonastic, but brings the accusation home to Flavius, nearly = *tu idem*. Somewhat similar is the emphasized use of *tu* in the second clause, Hor. C. i. 9. 16, and of *ille* in Adelp. iii. 2. 8. **ineptiarum**, 'of amours,' cf. *ineptire*, VIII. 1.

15. **boni malique**, pleasant or unpleasant, agreeable or disagreeable.

**habes**, 'have to speak of,' like ἔχεις. Cic. Att. xii. 12. 2, *Quare siue habes quid, siue nihil habes, scribe tamen aliquid.*

**16. Dic nobis.** Catullus makes the same request to Camerius, LV. 25, *Dic nobis ubi sis futurus, ede Audacter, committe, crede lucei.* **tuos amores**, your mistress, like *suos amores*, X. 1, XLV. 1, LXIV. 27, *meos amores*, XV. 1, XL. 7.

**17. Ad caelum uocare**, 'to raise you to the height of honour.' Cic. fr. Hortens. 37, *eloquentiam quam tu in caelum, Hortensi, credo ut ipse cum ea simul ascenderes, sustulisses.* Att. vi. 9. 9, *Salaminii nos in caelum decretis suis sustulerunt.* Petron. S. 37, *Nunc in caelum abiit et Trimalchionis topanta (the factotum) est.* This seems preferable to the other sense of raising to the height of happiness. Att. ii. 9. 1, *Si uero quae de me pacta sunt, ea non seruantur, in caelo sum.* Petron. S. 132, *Hoc de te merui ut me in caelo positum ad inferos traheres?* which seems to be the meaning of Theocr. v. 144, ἐς οὐρανὸν ὕμιν ἀλεῦμαι.

## VII.

A LOVE-POEM of the same kind as V, and probably belonging to the same period. The difference lies in the fact that in V the *basia* are given by Lesbia, in VII to her: a subjective and objective statement of the same circumstance, which has not been observed: though a similar tendency may be traced in other poems, e.g. XIII, XIV, in which Catullus makes and receives a present.

**1. basiationes Tuae**, 'kissings of you,' not 'from you.' Cf. 9. Servius on Aen. i. 260, *Sciendum osculum religionis esse, sauium uoluptatis: quamuis quidam osculum filii dari, uxori basium, scorto sauium dicant.*

**2. satis superque**, 'enough and more than enough to content me.' A common expression. Lael. xiii. 45, *satis superque esse sibi suarum cuique rerum.* Sallust Jug. 75. Hor. Epod. i. 39.

**3—8.** Sand and stars are among the commonest illustrations of great number. Hom. Il. ix. 385, ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε; ii. 800, φύλλοισιν εἰκότες ἢ ψάμαθοισιν. Pind. Ol. ii. fin. ψάμμος ἀριθμὸν περιπέφηνεν. P. ix. 84, ὅπόσαι ψάμαθοι κλονέονται ἐν θαλάσσῃ. Callim. H. Dian. 253, ἐπὶ δὲ στρατὸν ἰππημολγῶν Ἥγαγε Κιμμερίων ψαμάθῳ ἕσον. H. Del. 175, ἢ ἰσάριθμοι Τείρεσων, ἦνίκα πλείστα κατ' ἡέρα βουκολέονται. Plato combines both, Euthyd. 294, and so Catullus again, LXI. 199, 200.

**3. numerus harenae**, like *numerus uini* (Phil. ii. 27. 66), *frumenti olei fici*, &c., in which cases, however, the genitives are natural products, and *numerus* expresses the stock to which in each case they amount. (Mayor on Phil. ii. 27. 66.) *Harena*, however, is not only a noun of multitude (A. Gell. xix. 8. 12, *cum harena singulari in numero dicta multitudinem tamen et copiam significet minimarum ex quibus constat partium*), but could not properly be used in the plural, as expressly laid down by J. Caesar in his *de Analogia* (A. Gell. xix. 8. 3), cf. Hor. C. i. 28. 1, *numeroque carentis harenae*. Catullus seems rather to have gone beyond the ordinary licence in this use, cf. LXI. 203, *Multa milia Iudei*, and note. Cicero, N. D. ii. 47. 121, uses even *pluma* and *squama* as nouns of multitude: Plautus, *membri*, Asin. iv. 1. 41. **Libyssae.** Callim. H. Apoll. 85.

4. **Lasarpiciferis.** Pliny, H. N. xix. 38, *Laserpicium quod Graeci silphion uocant, in Cyrenaica prouincia repertum, cuius sucum laser uocant magnificentum in usu medicamentisque.* Pliny goes on to say that it had in his time long ceased to grow in Cyrene: yet in the consulship of C. Valerius Flaccus and M. Herennius, B.C. 93, thirty pounds weight of laserpicium had been shipped from Cyrene to Rome, and at the beginning of the civil war Caesar is said to have brought out of the aerarium 1500 pounds of it, *ib.* 40. In *lasarpiciferis* Catullus seems to translate *σίλφιοφόρος*. Strabo, 133, speaks of *ἡ διάμμος καὶ σίλφιοφόρος καὶ ξηρά*, words which show that Catullus is strictly right in describing the laserpicium as growing in sandy tracts. The plant was so much connected with Cyrene as to be found on its coins; see *Dict. Geog. s. v. Cyrene*: cf. a passage from an inedited lexicon quoted by Osann on Apuleius de Orthographia, p. 69, *οἱ Κυρηναῖοι τὸ σίλφιον μέγα τι καὶ ἐξαιρετὸν ἔχοντες ἐδίδοσαν Βάττω καὶ οὐκ ἐξήν ἄλλω κεκῆσθαι. Ἐχάρων δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ ἐνὸς μέρη τοῦ νομίσματος τὸν Ἄμμωνα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου τὸ σίλφιον ὡς μέγα*: cf. Leutsch's *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ii. p. 326. A vase, circ. 458 B.C., is still extant in which Arcesilaus, one of the kings of Cyrene, is figured presiding over the weighing of silphium. In front of him are scales; one attendant adjusts the balance, another carries on his shoulder a bag of silphium, another watches the weighing, a fourth raises a bag of the same drug, exhibiting it to the king. See *Academy*, iv. p. 426. Silphium, which has generally been identified with *asafetida*, is now believed to be the *Thaspia Silphion* of Viviani, which Della Cella found to be the only umbelliferous plant from Zardes to Grennah in Barca, and to correspond with the figure of the *σίλφιον* on the Cyrenean and Barcaean coins. (*G. Birdwood in Acad. v. part 2. p. 62.*) **Cyrenis**, as often in Callimachus, H. Apoll. 72, 93, *Epig.* xxi. 5, *Blomf.* More generally the first syllable is long. Catullus here speaks of the district.

5. Between the Oasis called Ammonium from the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and the tomb of Battus in Cyrene. Catullus seems here inexact, as the sandy district on which the silphium grew was not close to the city itself, but bordered on the Cyrenean territory, according to Strabo 837, *ὁμορεῖ τῇ Κυρηναίᾳ ἢ τὸ σίλφιον φέρουσα καὶ τὸν ὄπὸν τὸν Κυρηναῖον, ὃν ἐκφέρει το σίλφιον ὀπισθεν.* **Oraclum.** Strabo 50 speaks of the oracle as famous in his own time. **aestuosi** 'sultry,' as on the verge of the Libyan desert.

6. **Batti**, the founder of Cyrene, *Herod.* iv. 150-155. *Βάττου σίλφιον* was a proverb. **ueteris**, 'the mythical.' Mr. Clayton quotes *Am. ii. 4. 33, ueteres Heroïdas aequas.* **sacrum.** Battus was worshipped after his death as a hero. **sepulcrum.** The tomb stood by itself at the point where the paved road, (*σκυρωτὰ ὁδὸς*) which Battus made leading to the temple of Apollo, joined the agora. *Pind. P. v. 125, σκυρωτὰν ὁδὸν, ἔνθα πρυμνοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ δίχα κείται θανόν Μάκαρ μὲν ἀνδρῶν μέτα | \*Ἐναίεν, ἦρωσ δ' ἔπειτα λαοσεβῆς.*

7. **cum tacet nox**, a rare rhythm, like *occidit breuis lux*, V. 5.

8. **uident**, cf. Plato's *Epigram*, *Ἀστέρης εἰσαθρεῖς ἀστήρ ἐμός; εἶθε γενόμην Οὐρανός, ὡς πολλοῖς ὄμμασιν εἰς σέ βλέπω.* So *Macrobius*, i. 19. 12, identifies Argus Panoptes with the many-eyed heaven, and the Aryan Indra, the sky, is the thousand-eyed (*sahasrāksha*).

9. **Te**, objective accusative: the frantic lover (*Vesano Catullo*) the sub-

ject, cf. XLVIII. 2. **Basiare** will then be constructed, with two accusatives like φιλῆσαι in Mosch. iii. 69, 70, φιλείει δὲ πολλὸν πλεόν ἢ τὸ φίλημα τὸ πρῶτον τὸν Ἄδωνιν ἀποθνήσκοντα φίλησεν.

10. **Vesano**, C. 7. Hor. C. i. 13. 11, *Sive puer furens.*

11. **curiosi**, 'prying,' 'inquisitive,' a not very common sense in the writers of the golden age. Flacc. xxix. 70, *Primum patere me esse curiosum.* Att. iv. 11. 2, οὐδὲν γλυκύτερον ἢ πάντ' εἶδέναι. *Quare ut homini curioso ita perscribe ad me.* Petron. S. 127, *Sume ergo amplexum si placet neque est quod curiosum aliquem extimescas.*

12. **mala lingua.** Verg. E. vii. 28, *ne uati noceat mala lingua futuro.* **fascinare.** A. Gell. xvi. 12, *Item fascinum appellat (Cloatius Verus), quasi bascanum, et fascinare esse quasi bascinare.* This connexion of *fascinare* with βασκαίνειν (accepted by Corssen ii. p. 257) would seem to show that the notion of witchcraft was originally that of the evil tongue (*mala lingua*) rather than the evil eye. Cf. βάσειω, φάσκειω.

## VIII.

THIS poem must have been written after a quarrel. It is in the form of a soliloquy, like LXXVI, which is on the same subject. Self-address is much affected by Catullus, cf. XLVI. 4, *Linguantur Phrygii, Catulle, campi*; LI. 13, *Otium, Catulle, tibi molestum est*; LII. 1, 4, *Quid est, Catulle? quid moraris emori?* LXXIX. 2, *Quam te cum tota gente, Catulle, tua*; and the soliloquizing reflexions of Attis, LXIII. 58-72. It is perhaps the same egoistic tendency which leads him to speak of himself so often in the third person, and by name: VI. 1, *Catullo Velles dicere*; VII. 10, *Vesano satis et super Catullo est*; VIII. 12, *iam Catullus obdurat*; XI. 1, *Comites Catulli*; XIII. 7, *nam tui Catulli Plenus Sacculus est araneorum*; XIV. 13, *Quem tu scilicet ad tuum Catullum Misti*; XXXVIII. 1, *Malest Cornifici tuo Catullo*; XLIV. *Nam te esse Tiburtem autumant quibus non est Cordi Catullum laedere*; XLIX. 4, *Gratias tibi maximas Catullus Agit*; LVI. 3, *Ride quicquid amas, Cato, Catullum*; LVIII. 2, *Illa Lesbia quam Catullus unam*; LXVIII. 27, *Quare quod scribis Veronae turpe Catullo Esse*; ib. 134 *Quae tamen etsi uno non est contenta Catullo*; LXXII. 1, *Dicebas quondam solum te nosse Catullum*; LXXIX. 3, *Sed tamen hic pulcrer uendat cum gente Catullum*; LXXXII. 1, *Quinti, si tibi uis oculos debere Catullum.*

1. **desinas . . ducas.** Hortatory, rather than strictly imperative. 'You are to cease.' So in LXXVI. 14, *Difficile est, uerum hoc qua lubet efficias*; 16, *Hoc facias, siue id non pote, siue pote*, when, as here, Catullus is addressing himself. He seems to be laying down a rule by which his conduct is to be guided. The instances quoted by Dräger (Hist. Synt. i. 285) and Holtze (Synt. ii. p. 145) show that this imperative use of the subjunctive is particularly used in general rules, and when the person is indefinite; but it is also not unfrequent in special injunctions addressed to definite persons, e. g. Most. v. 2. 8, *cenes*; And. iii. 4. 19, *Quiescas*; Eun. ii. 3. 97, *Si certumst facere, facias.* Att. x. 15. 4, *litteras des*, and more frequently in later authors, e. g. Liu. vi. 12, *Tu T. Quinti equitem . . teneas, tum terrorem . . . infer*, xxii. 53, *afficias*, xxvi. 50, *sis . . . scias.*

2. **perisse, perditum.** Asin. iii. 3. 47, *Ille qui illos perdit saluos est, ego qui non perdo, pereo.* Ad. i. 2. 54, *Profundat perdat pereat.* Liu. Praef., *libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia.* Passerat compares Trin. iv. 3. 19, *Quin tu quod periit perisse ducis?*

3. **candidi soles.** Aesch. Pers. 301, *λευκὸν ἡμαρ*, 'a cloudless day,' as again literally in Ag. 668. Sophocles used *λευκὴν ἡμέραν = ἀγαθὴν* in his Athamas, fr. 5, Nauck. Horace expresses the opposite, S. i. 9. 72, *Huncine solem Tam nigrum surrexe mihi.*

4. **uentitabas.** 'Ex frequenti profectioe ad amicam felicitatem suam arguit poeta.'—Alex. Guarinus. **ducebat**, 'led the way,' not implying any deceit in Lesbia, but the entire submission of Catullus to her will.

5. Repeated XXXVII. 12, with *tantum* for *nobis*. **nobis**, change from 2nd to 1st person, as LXIII. 61, 62; Merc. iv. 3. 1–5; Aen. iv. 540, 1. Compare the rhetorical alternation of 2nd and 3rd person in Cicero, Phil. ii. 17, 41, 56.

6. **Ibi tum**, in And. i. 1. 79, 104; i. 3. 18; Caecin. x. 27, means 'thereupon;' in And. iv. 1. 10 it seems to be an emphatic 'then,' *τότε δὴ*, a sense in which it is probably used here. **illa** recalls the memory of the scene. **iocosa**, II. 6: so *ludere*, LXVIII. 17.

7. Stat. compares Am. iii. 7. 5, *cupiens pariter cupiente puella.*

9. **Nunc iam**, 'now at last,' generally implying a number of preliminaries. And. i. 1. 144, *sat est. Curabo. eamus nunciam intro.* Fam. xii. 4. 12, *Nunc iam sum expeditus.* **impotens**, 'headstrong as you are,' a violent lover, unaccustomed to control your feelings or submit to any check in your passion. Similarly Terence, Heaut. ii. 3. 130, *Ego te autem noui quam esse soleas impotens. Inuersa uerba, euersas cervicis tuas, Gemitus, screatus, tussis, risus abstine.* And. v. 3. 8, *Adeo impotenti esse animo, ut praeter ciuium Morem atque legem et sui uoluntatem patris Tamen hanc habere studeat cum summo probro.*

10. Sappho, i. 21. Bergk, *καὶ γὰρ αἱ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει.* Theocr. xi. 75, *τί τὸν φεύγοντα διώκει;* Callim. Epig. xxxii. 5 Blomf., *χορμὸς ἔρωσ τοιάσδε τὰ μὲν φεύγοντα διώκει Οἶδε, τὰ δ' ἐν μέσσοφ κείμενα παρπέταται,* and Horace's imitation, S. i. 2. 105–108.

11. **Perfer**, 'be patient,' Am. iii. 11. 7, *Perfer et obdura.* Hor. S. ii. 5. 39, *Persta atque obdura.* This intransitive use of *perferre* is rare except in the imperative. The form of these words is like Theogn. 1031, 2, *Μηδὲ σὺ γ' ἀπρήκτισσιν ἐπ' ἔργμασιν ἄλγος ἀέξων, Ὀχθεῖ, μὴδ' ἄχθον, μηδὲ φίλους ἀνία.*

13. **rogabit**, 'solicit,' Am. i. 8. 43, *casta est quam nemo rogauit.*

14. **cum rogaberis nulla.** This use of *nullus*, 'not at all,' as in *nullus dixeris, nullus moneas, nullus uenit* (Att. xi. 24. 4, Asin. ii. 4. 2; Rud. i. 2. 55) is defended by Haupt (Obs. Crit. p. 4) as belonging to common life, and therefore harmonizing with the simple style of Catullus. Cf. Cir. 176, *Nulla colum nouit, carum non respicit aurum*, and the similar, though not identical, *Vique tibi excidimus, nullam puto Phyllida nosti*, Heroid. ii. 105. But Holtze (Synt. 1. p. 409) quotes no instance of *nullus* in this sense with passive verbs; and though Statius' long-accepted emendation in 15, *nocte* (cf. Hor. Epod. xv. 13), is not confirmed by any reliable MS, it is at least natural and not far removed from the MSS reading *ne te*, whilst all other conjectures are weak or improbable.

15. It is hard to determine whether **Scelesta** is (1) vile, mainly in

reference to Lesbia's desertion of Catullus, see LXXVI, and Eun. i. 1. 26, and degrading profligacy, cf. Sen. de Ben. vi. 32, *Iuliam ultra impudicitiae maledictum impudicam*; or (2) 'unfortunate,' as often in Plautus. Ramsay, on Most. i. 3. 14, proves this meaning from Most. iii. 1. 36, *nae ego sum miser, Scelestus, natus dis inimicis omnibus*; Capt. iii. 5. 104; Asin. v. 2. 6, *At scelestus ego praeter alios meum uirum fui rata Siccum frugi continentem amantem uxoris maxume*, Rud. iii. 5. 22; Men. iii. 1. 2; Cas. iii. 5. 34; Cist. iv. 2. 17, *infelicem et scelestam*. The general drift of the passage is in favour of the second view; possibly *scelestus* united both, as both are to some extent combined in our 'miserable,' 'a wretch.' **tibi manet**, 'is reserved for you.' Phil. ii. 5. 11, *Cuius quidem tibi fatum, sicut C. Curioni, manet*.

17. **cuius esse diceris?** She would no longer be called *Lesbia Catulli*. Am. iii. 12. 5, *Quae modo dicta mea est, quam coepi solus amare, Cum multis uereor ne sit habenda mihi*. Prop. ii. 8. 6, *Nec mea dicitur, quae modo dicta mea est*.

18. **mordebis**. Hor. C. i. 13. 12; Tib. i. 6. 14; Am. iii. 14. 34.

19. **destinatus**, here, 'fixed to a purpose,' 'resolved:' Livy xlii. 48 has *consilia destinata ad bellum*: cf. *obstinatus* 11, *praestinare*, to fix the price to be paid for anything beforehand. Corssen supposes a participial stem *-stano* connected with *stare* (ii. 416). There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the line, as Turnebus xx. 21 did, though *destinatus* in this sense is rare.

## IX.

VERANTUS is mentioned again XII. 15, as the companion of Fabullus in Spain: in XXVIII. 1, *Pisonis comites cohors inanis*, XLVII. 1, *Porci et Socraton duae sinistrae Pisonis*, they are again combined as members of the praetorian staff of Piso. It is a natural inference that they were in Spain with Piso; for, if they were not, they must have accompanied each other twice, and probably in two different parts of the world. Such indeed is the hypothesis of Schwabe (*Quaest.* pp. 244-246). He thinks IX, XII, XIII, refer to a journey in Spain distinct from the subsequent journey which the two friends made with Piso; and he identifies this Piso with L. Calpurnius Piso, Proconsul of Macedonia from the end of 696 | 58 till some time after the beginning of 699 | 55.

This is not impossible, and there are many points of agreement between XXVIII, XLVII, and the description Cicero gives of Piso's government of Macedonia. (See Introduction to XXVIII.) But these are equally explicable on the hypothesis of a single journey; and this was the view of the older commentators.

The only Piso known to have held a provincial government in Spain within the time to which the poems of Catullus belong is Cn. Piso, a member of the first Catilinarian conspiracy, who was sent into Hispania Citerior as Quaestor pro Praetore 689 | 65. Sallust Cat. 18 calls him *adulescens nobilis summae audaciae, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rempublicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant*, and says that he was sent out through the influence of M. Crassus, as an

enemy of Pompeius, but that the senate was glad to give him a provincial command, *quippe foedum hominem a re publica procul esse uolebat*. Cn. Piso was killed whilst travelling in his province by some Spanish horsemen who accompanied his army, whether urged by friendship to Pompeius, or to revenge the cruelties and oppressions of his government, Sallust leaves uncertain. Cicero, in the fragment of his *Oratio in Toga Candida*, delivered when canvassing for the Consulship, 690 | 64, calls him contemptuously a Spanish stiletto (*illo conati erant Hispaniensi pugiunculo neruos incidere ciuium Romanorum*, Ascon. p. 94 Orelli); if Ascenius may be trusted he was then dead.

It must have been then in 65-64 that Veranius and Fabullus were in Spain, if they were there with Gn. Piso. This is not inconsistent with the fact which seems to follow from XXVIII, XLVII, that they were with Piso when Catullus was with Memmius in Bithynia. Nor is it inconsistent with the age of Catullus, who in 65-64 would have been twenty-two or twenty-three years old, an age well suited to the youthful warmth of vv. 8-12.

2. **Antistans**, 'surpassing,' i. e. valued above; a word used by Cicero, *Rep.* iii. 18. 28, and Lucretius, v. 22. **milibus trecentis**, i. e. any number of other friends. *Att.* ii. 5. 1, *Cato ille nosler qui mihi unus est pro centum milibus*, xvi. 11. 1, *Εἰς ἐμοὶ μύριοι*. *Anth. P.* vii. 128. 3, *Εἰς ἐμοὶ ἄνθρωπος τρισμύριοι*. *Plin. Epist.* iv. 27. 4, *Vnus Plinius est mihi priores*. So in XLVIII. 3, *Vsque ad milia basiem trecenta*, where *basiorum* is supplied as *amicorum* here. Horace similarly uses *tercentum milibus* as an expression of indefinite number, *S.* ii. 3. 116.

4. **unanimos**, 'loving,' XXX. 1; LXVI. 80; *Aen.* vii. 335, *unanimos armare in proelia fratres*. **anum matrem**, as in *Gell.* iii. 15. 4: *anus* conveys a homely, not a disparaging, idea. *Tib.* i. 6. 57, *tua mater Me mouet atque iras aurea uincit anus*, *ib.* 63, *dulcis anus*.

5. **nuntii**, plural, not genitive sing. as held by Ramshorn Gramm. p. 339, *Public School Grammar*, § 136. See *Hand*, *Tursellinus*, iv. 352, 3.

6. **Visam**, LXIII. 48. **incolumem**, after all the perils of your journey, *Iuuen.* xii. 15, 16.

7. **Narrantem**. One MS. has *narantem*, perhaps rightly, according to the spelling of Varro, *Wilmans de M. Ter. Varronis libris grammaticis*, p. 179. **loca**, 'the sites,' i. e. the country considered topographically. **facta**, 'the exploits or feats;' the *pugnas*, rather than the *mores*, of *Cic. Q. Fr.* ii. 16. 4. **nationes**, 'the tribes' of which the Hiberian race was composed. So Cicero, writing to his brother Quintus, then with Caesar in Britain, ii. 16. 4, *Quos tu situs rerum et locorum, quos mores, quas gentes, quas pugnas, quem uero ipsum imperatorem habes*.

8. **applicans**, not, I think, 'bringing my neck close to yours,' like *app. oscula*, *Ovid, F.* iv. 851; but like *in osculum applicare*, *Petron. S.* 24 = 'to draw a person near to kiss him,' *Eleg. de Morte Drusi*, 34, *Collaque et os oculosque illius ore premam*. *Fronto*, p. 50, N. *ille fructus in tuo collo atque osculo situs est*. *Alciphron.* i. 28. 1, *ἦεν ἀραμένη τὰ πρὸς τὴν τέχνην σὺ δὲ ἐξαινίης ἐπιστάς ἐπειρῶ τὴν δέρην ἀνακλάσας κύσαι*. *Aristaen.* i. 16. *ἐβακχευθεῖσα τῷ ἔρωτι ἀνέκλασε πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τὸν αὐχένα καὶ κατεφίλησε*. *Lucian Dial.*

Meretr. iii. 2, τοῦ ὠτός ἄκρον ἐφαψάμενος ἀνακλάσας τὸν αὐχένα τῆς Θαιδος ἐφίλησεν. In all these passages it is the person kissed whose neck is grasped. Servius on Aen. i. 620, says *applicare* was the more ancient, *adplicare* the more modern spelling: our MSS. may thus represent here what Catullus wrote.

9. **sauiator**, so Q. Cicero to Tiro Fam. xvi. 27. 2, *Ego uos a d. iiii. Cal. uidebo tuosque osculos etiam si te ueniens in medio foro uidero dis-sauiator*. Turnebus thinks Catullus was here imitating Homer, Od. xvi. 15, Κῦσσε δέ μιν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ἄμφω φάει καλά.

10. **O quantum est h. beatiorum** has been explained as an appeal to happy men to declare whether they know any one happier than Catullus; cf. Eun. v. 8. 1, *O populares, equis me hodie uiuit fortunatior?* Supra III. 2. But the repetition *beatiorum beatius* is cumulative, the first containing the second, 'O, among all men that are happy, what is happier than I,' just as in Capt. iv. 2. 56, *Quantumst hominum optume optumorum*. Phorm. v. 6. 13, *O omnium quantum est qui uiuent hominum homo ornatissime*, and Heaut. iv. 8. 1, *Multo omnium nunc me fortunatissimum Factum puto esse*. Inf. CVII. 7, *Quis me uno uiuit felicior?*

## X.

THIS poem must have been written after the return of Catullus from Bithynia, which he visited as one of the *cohors* or staff of the Praetor Memmius (X. 10-12, XXVIII. 9, 10).

G. Memmius Gemellus was tribune of the plebs, 688 | 66, and had made himself prominent by using his influence to prevent the triumph of L. Lucullus, who had just returned from the Mithridatic war (Plut. Lucullus, 37). Lucullus obtained his triumph in 691 | 63, mainly through the exertions of Cato (Plut. Cato 29, Cic. Acad. Pr. ii. 1. 3). Memmius was probably then at Rome, and must have been there in 694 | 60, when he seduced the wife of M. Lucullus (Att. i. 18. 3). In 696 | 58 he was praetor (Ad Q. Fr. i. 2. 16), and Iungclaussen, Schwabe, Bruner, and Westphal agree in concluding that he was propraetor of Bithynia in the following year. As he probably remained a year in Bithynia, the date of the present poem would on this hypothesis fall in the year 698 | 56.

A different view is perhaps also tenable. We saw (on Introd. to IX) that when XXVIII was written, Veranius and Fabullus were with Piso, and that if they were with Piso in Spain, it was probably in 65-64 B. C. Now in XXVIII Catullus speaks of his stay with Memmius as either past or still continuing (v. 8). It must therefore, on the hypothesis that Veranius and Fabullus made only one journey together, have been either during the same years or a little before that Catullus and Memmius were in Bithynia. Could Memmius have been in Bithynia during those years? He was in Rome in 66 (Plut. Lucullus, 37); but I am not aware that there is anything to prove that he was there during the two following years. If not, he may have been sent to Bithynia, not indeed as actual praetor, but with praetorian power (*pro praetore*), possibly to relieve Pompeius, who, having succeeded M. Acilius Glabrio in the government of Bithynia, according to the provisions of the Manilian law, in 688 | 66, was in 65



occupied with the subjugation of the Iberians and Albanians, and might well leave the administration of the province in the hands of another. At any rate the mere absence of historical notification proves nothing: for except from Catullus himself we should not know that Memmius had been in Bithynia at all. See Prolegomena.

Supposing then that Catullus went with Memmius into Bithynia early in 65 and remained there till 64, we may explain all the five poems without resorting to the hypothesis of a journey twice undertaken by Veranius and Fabullus together. XXVIII, XLVII, will then be prior in date to IX, XII, XIII. Catullus probably wrote XXVIII first, cf. 4 *Quid rerum geritis?* which looks like a first greeting: XLVII was sent later, when news had reached the poet that his friends were vilipended by Piso. Then comes XII, written after the return of Catullus to Italy, where he seems to have been when the Saetaban napkins sent by Veranius and Fabullus reached him; next is IX, written on Veranius' return to his home; XIII was probably composed later, as it contains an allusion to Lesbia, 11.

The last king of Bithynia, Nicomedes III, died in 74 B.C., leaving his dominions by his will to the Romans (Appian Civ. i. 111). The kingdom was then reduced into the form of a province (Liu. Epit. 93), hence Cicero Leg. Manil. ii. 5, a speech delivered B.C. 66, says *Bithyniae quae nunc uestra prouincia est*, and in the second speech on the agrarian law of Rullus, 63 B.C., speaks of *agros Bithyniae regios quibus nunc publicani fruuntur*, xix. 50; cf. xv. 40, *quoniam hereditatem* (the kingdom left by Nicomedes' will) *iam creuimus, regnum Bithyniae, quod certe publicum est populi Romani factum*.

Catullus says Bithynia was a bad province for making money. This was probably attributable to the exhaustion of its resources by the Mithridatic war (Mommsen, iv. p. 50), partly also to the long continuance of piratical depredations (ib. p. 41). But it is remarkable that M. Aurelius Cotta and C. Papirius Carbo, successively governors of Bithynia, both amassed large sums, and were both tried and condemned for spoliation (Dion C. xxxvi. 23). Memmius was a careless, but perhaps not an unscrupulous, man.

Varus is probably the person to whom XXII is written. Schwabe, following a suggestion of Muretus, identifies him with Quintilius Varus, whose death is commemorated by Horace, C. i. 24, and who is probably the critic of A. P. 438 sqq. If the statement of Hieronymus in the Eusebian chronicle Ol. 189.2, B.C. 23, *Quintilius Cremonensis Vergilii et Horatii amicus moritur*, is correct, there would at least be nothing in the age of Quintilius to make this theory impossible.

2. *Visere ad* is commonly 'to visit some one who is ill.' Hec. i. 2. 114, ii. 1. 40, iii. 2. 5, 7; Lucret. vi. 1236; Am. ii. 2. 21. This is probably the sense here; the visit to Serapis' temple would be to implore a cure. **otiosum**, 'with nothing to do,' as in Ad. ii. 4. 15.

3. **Scortillum** seems to be ἀπ. λεγ. **repente**, 'on the instant,' like *extemplo*, Stat. Ach. ii. 89.

4. **sane**, concessively, 'I grant,' XLIII. 4. **non illepidum neque inuenustum** recur XXXVI. 17 of Lesbia's vow. Varus' mistress seemed a lady of some wit and liveliness. The opposite is *insulsa ac molesta* 33.

5. **incidere.** Liu. i. 57, *Potantibus his apud Sex. Tarquinium incidit de uxoris mentio.* So ἐμπιπτειν, Soph. O. T. 115, Protag. 314 C. More usually *incidere in* is said of the person who chances on some topic, e. g. Lael. i. 2.

6. **quid esset iam Bithynia**, not 'what sort of place Bithynia had become,' as *Scis Lebedus quid sit*, Hor. Epist. i. 11. 7, but either (1) 'What of Bithynia, what news of Bithynia?' a conversational expression, as Att. xiv. 5. 3, *Sed uelim scire quid aduentus Octauii, numqui concursus ad eum, numquae νεωτερισμοῦ suspicio*; iv. 11. 2, *perscribe ad me quid primus dies, quid secundus, quid censores, quid Appius, quid illa populi Appuleia.* Cf. τὶ τὰ πράγμαθ' ὑμῶν ἐστὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίου; Lysist. 994, or (2) 'what had become of Bithynia,' probably in reference to its recent reduction into the form of a province.

7. **se haberet**, 'what was its condition.' Fam. iii. 1. 1, *Si ipsa respublica tibi narrare posset, quomodo sese haberet.*

8. **Ecquonam**, the reading of Statius, is so constantly written *Et quonam*, that it may well be right here; cf. XXVIII. 6. But *Et quonam* is equally defensible, and avoids an asyndeton not much in Catullus' style. **quonam = quanto.** **profuisset aere**, ablative of value or measure, 'by what amount of money it had stood me in profit.' On the gains made in the provinces by praetors, quaestors, and their subordinates, cf. the words of C. Gracchus in Gell. xv. 12, *Ita uersatus sum in prouincia, ut nemo possit uere dicere, assem aut eo plus in muneribus me accepisse, aut mea opera quemquam sumptum fecisse. . . . Itaque, Quirites, cum Romam profectus sum, zonas quas plenas argenti extuli, eas ex prouincia inanes retuli.*

9-13. 'I replied, as was in fact the case, that neither natives, praetors, nor staff, had any reason to make a man expect to return with his locks in better trim; the more so, that they had a praetor who was a profligate, as well as that he cared for his staff not an atom.' The Bithynians were too poor to relieve the necessities of a praetor and a staff themselves poor; and if the cohorts attempted to wring money out of the Bithynians, they were not seconded by Memmius, a man too much engrossed in his own pleasures to care for the interests of his followers.

9. **id quod erat**, 'as was the fact.' B. G. iv. 32, *Caesar, id quod erat suspicatus, aliquid noui a barbaris initum consilii.* Liu. xxxix. 13, *Mulier haud dubie, id quod erat, Aebutium indicem arcani rata esse.* **nihil esse Cur**, as in the adage quoted by Cic. Fam. vii. 3. 4, *uelus est, ubi non sis qui fueris, non esse cur uelis uiuere.* Cluent. lii. 147, *Quid est, Q. Naso, cur tu in isto loco sedeas?* **ipsis**, 'the natives,' as in Liu. vi. 30, *Eodem anno Setiam, ipsis querentibus penuriam hominum, noui coloni adscripti.* Yet there is something illogical in this combination of the Bithynians with Memmius and his staff, as *quisquam* can refer to the two last only: and it is conceivable, especially in a poem where the language is of a less formal kind than usual, that *ipsis* refers to and is explained by *praetoribus*: the second *nec* being added to give more prominence to the opposition of *praetoribus* and *cohorti*. Somewhat similar is the well-known ὦ οὔτε χλαῖναι καὶ ῥήγεια πόλλ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ, οὔτ' αὐτῶ μαλακῶς οὔτε ξείνοισιν ἐπέδωκεν Od. iii. 349, 350: and cf. Varro R. R. iii. 2. 16, *Spero non tibi decoquet non ornithon: quotus quisque enim est annus quo non uideas epulum aut triumphum aut colligia non epulari.* Cf. the repetition of *ut*, e. g. in Varro R. R. i. 1. 2, *et non solum ut ipse quoad uiuam quid fieri oporteat ut te moueam, sed etiam post mortem.*

The harshness of the second *Nec* before *praetoribus* would be somewhat relieved by its position at the beginning of the verse: *quibus* in 12 will then refer to *cohorti*, cf. *populi . . . Qui . . . omnes clamant* LXVII. 14.

**10. praetoribus.** Either a *general* plural with a *particular* reference: so *regum*, Hor. C. iv. 12. 8, of Tereus, *duces* iii. 16. 15, of Sextus Pompeius, *ducibus nostris* of Caesar Luc. x. 691, *soceri* of Latinus Aen. x. 79, *generi* of Turnus xii. 658, *uagamur egentes cum coniugibus et liberis* of Cicero and his wife, Att. viii. 2. 31 (Dräger, Hist. Syntax p. 8), or indefinitely, the praetor for the time. Catullus goes on to speak in 13 of the single praetor to whose services he was attached, cf. XXVIII. 8; and there is no reason for supposing that he was acquainted with any other. **cohorti**, regularly for the staff in attendance on a provincial governor. Hor. Epist. i. 3. 6.

**11. unctius**, to have the hair well oiled, as for a banquet or a holiday, was an expression of prosperity or good fortune: and so Plautus allusively, Pseud. i. 2. 84, *Numqui quispiamst tuorum tua opera hodie conseruorum Nitidiusculum caput?* Verr. ii. 22. 54, *ita palaestritas defendebat ut ab illis unctior abiret.* **referret**, 'carry home,' as in the words of C. Gracchus quoted above.

**12. irrumator**, XXVIII. 10: not more literally perhaps than XVI. 1. 14, and Lucilius' *Praetor noster adhuc quam spurcusi ore quod omnis Extra castra ut sterco foras eiecit ad unum.* Non. 394.

**13. Praetor**, G. Memmius Gemellus. **non faceret**, i. e. *praesertim quibus praetor esset irrumator (et) non faceret pili cohortem.* The asyndeton is conversational, or perhaps comic, as in a line of Caecilius, Titthe ap. Non. 483, Ribb. 220, *Praesertim quae non peperit, lacte non habet.* There is, however, much to recommend *non faceret*, the nominative being supplied from *quibus*, as in Rud. ii. 1. 2, *praesertim quibus nec quaestus est nec artem didicere ullam.* Sallust, Jug. 101, *peditibus quos Volux filius eius adduxerat neque in priore pugna in itinere morali adfuerant.* Holtze, i. p. 389. The Bithynians might naturally be indifferent to the members of the praetorian staff, if the praetor himself was a person whom they despised. **pili**, XVII. 17.

**14. inquit**, 'somebody said.' **illic**. Voss quotes Verr. v. 11. 27, *nam ut mos fuit Bithynorum regibus lectica octophoro ferebatur*: a passage which, though it does not prove that the lectica was a Bithynian invention, is sufficient to show that it was specially connected with that country. In the speech of C. Gracchus (A. Gell. x. 3), where the travelling lectica is first mentioned, the young legatus who occupies it is on his way back *ex Asia*, i. e. Asia Minor.

**15. Natum.** Haupt, Hermes vii. 180, seems to interpret this as meaning that the lectica was a Bithynian invention; and he quotes Valla on Juv. i. 121; vi. 351, as asserting this on the authority of Probus. Even if it were not, the connexion of the *octophoros* with Bithynia might justify Varus' mistress in the inaccuracy. But it seems unnecessary to press Catullus' words so far: as (1) he does not say the *lectica* was Bithynian, but *ad lecticam hominis*, (2) **natum d. esse** need mean no more than that palanquin-bearers were a *natural product* of the country, as we might say, grew there, from the abundant supply of tall strong men for the purpose. Plin. Paneg. xxix, *diuersas gentes ita commercio miscuit ut quod genitum esset*

*unquam id apud omnes natum esse uideretur.* This view is rather confirmed by the position of *esse*, which almost makes *natum* an adjective.

**16. Ad lecticam hominis** = lepticarios, like *seruos ad manum, cyathos. hominis*, like our 'men' for 'servants.' Pro Quint. xix. 6, *hominem P. Quintii deprehendis in publico.* (Muretus).

**17. Vnum beatiorem**, 'a particularly lucky fellow:.' *unus* in this sense is common with superlatives, less frequent with comparatives; Hor. Epod. xii. 4, *namque sagacius unus odoror. . . . Quam canis acer ubi lateat sus.* Cf. XXXVII. 17; LVIII. 3. **facerem**, 'might make out,' 'represent.' Adelph. iv. 1. 19, *facio te apud illum deum. Virtutes narro.* Sen. Epist. 44. 1, *tu mihi te pusillum facis et dicis malignius tecum egisse naturam prius, deinde fortunam.*

**18. tam fuit maligne**, 'I was not so desperately poor.' Liu. viii. 22, *ager maligne plebi diuisus:* cf. *melius mihi fuit*, Mart. iii. 2. 1. Hence *maligne praeberere* (Iust. v. 2), 'to stint,' opposed to *benigne praeberere*, Hec. v. 2. 2.

**19. mala**, 'unremunerative.' Bithynia, like Cappadocia, Hor. Epist. i. 6. 39, wanted money, but had plenty of slaves. **incidisset**, 'had, as I said, fallen to my lot.' *incidisset* here for the more ordinary *obligisset*.

**20. octo**, for the *octophoros* or *octaphoros*, which was now a fashionable conveyance, Ad Qu. Fr. ii. 10. **rectos**, 'straight and tall,' LXXXVI. 2, *seruilia rectora* Suet. Iul. 47. Catullus' words might recall Plautus' *homines octo ualidi*, Amph. i. 1. 7; *octo uiros, ualentes uirgatores*, Asin. iii. 2. 18, the eight officials employed at Rome to lash malefactors; and in so doing would add to the depreciatory effect of the reply.

**21-23.** 'But the fact was, that neither here (at Rome) nor in Bithynia had I a single man to shoulder my well-worn pallet with its battered feet.' A parenthetical remark by the poet (Heyse, Hertzberg, and G. A. Simcox in Academy, ii. p. 169), rather than a continuation of Catullus' speech; though this latter view is adopted in my metrical translation.

**21. At**, 'but you must know,' as in Hor. S. i. 5. 60, *at illi foeda cicatrix Setosam laeui frontem turpauerat oris.* **neque hic neque illic**, 'neither at Rome nor in Bithynia,' Att. ix. 7. 2, *Ero in Formiano ne aut ad urbem anávrηος mea animaduertatur aut si nec hic nec illic* (neither at Formiae nor at Rome) *eum uidero, deuitatum se a me pulet.* Ovid, Pont. i. 7. 58, *Hic illic uestro sub lare semper eram*, 'in your house or your brother's.' That *neque hic neque illic*, 'neither here nor there,' is a conversational 'nowhere,' cf. Most. iii. 1. 76, *faenus illic, faenus hic*, 'everywhere' *hos illos*, 'all sorts,' Mart. ix. 29. 10, is less probable.

**22. grabati**, a small low couch of the commonest description, such as was used by poor people. Rich. s. v. Lucilius, ap. Non. 181; vi. 9, ed. L. Müller, *Tres a Deucalione grabati restibu lenti*; Cic. de Diuin. ii. 62. 129, *non modo lectos, uerum etiam grabatos*; Moretum 5, *Membra leuat uili sensim demissa grabato.* Petron. S. 97; Mart. vi. 39. 4. According to Suetonius de Regibus, p. 319 ed. Reyfferscheid, *Numa Pompilius prior adinuenit grabatos mensas sellas candelabra.*

**23. collo . . . collocare**, Plautine. Asin. iii. 3. 67, *hic istam colloca crumina in collo plane.* The technical word for adjusting a lectica by a pole to the shoulders was *succollare*. **collocare posset**, not much

more than *collocaret*; by *posset* Catullus seems to mean, 'might serve on occasion,' 'might if required.'

**24. cinaediorem,** 'a delicate creature.' Plin. Epist. ix. 17. 2, *si quid molle a cinaedo, petulans a scurra, stultum a morione profertur*. Athen. xiii. 565 *κιναιδούς καλοῦσι τοὺς ἢ μύρον προσβάλλοντας ἢ μικρῶ μαλακωτέραν ἡμφιεσμένους ἐσθῆτα*. She wished to ride to Serapis' temple like a delicate creature as she was. Others explain, of the *impudence* of cinaedi, as in LVII. 1. This suits *decuri*, but to Catullus the main idea of *cinaedus* seems to be *mollitia*, XXV.

**26. Istos,** unless *commoda* is imperative, must depend on a verb understood, *da* or something similar: see on XXXVIII. 6. **commodā,** if imperative of *commodare*, is the single instance of a trisyllabic imperative of the first conjugation shortening its final syllable: Plautus seems to shorten it similarly in Cist. iv. 2. 76, see Lambinus there, and cf. *amā*, Curc. i. 1. 38, *rogā* Curc. v. 3. 30, Poen. v. 2. 48, Men. v. 9. 47, Pseud. i. 1. 112, Most. iii. 1. 150, Hec. iv. 1. 43 (Wagner, Aulul. p. xxvi); *putā* seems to be beyond question in Priap. xxxvii. 6, if not Pers. iv. 9 (Corssen II. p. 461), though it has ceased to retain its imperatival force. But these are disyllables, and though in the verse immediately following the MSS. give *mane me*; the alteration *mane* is so simple as to make this argument of little value. Not improbably the words are corrupt, but no plausible emendation has been proposed. Hand's *commodum enim* 'just in time,' Stich. ii. 2. 41, Eun. ii. 3. 53, is perhaps the least objectionable. **ad Sarapim,** 'to the temple of Serapis,' as Am. ii. 2. 25, *Nec tu limigeram fieri quid possit ad Isin Quaesieris*. Iuven. xiv. 260. The accus. in *m* is found also in Cic. de N. D. iii. 19. 47; Varro ap. Non. 480; Macrobi. i. 7. 14; a genitive *Serapi* in an inscript. professedly of 649 | 105, CIL. 1, no. 577, but believed by Mommsen to be restored under the Empire; perhaps also in Varro ap. Non. 480, *medicina Serapi*. Serapis was resorted to for cures, which were believed to be prescribed in dreams. Cic. de Diuin. ii. 59. 123. Varro, Eum. fr. xxvi, xxviii, xxix, Riese. Cf. Artemidor. Oneirocr. ii. 44 (quoted by Röper de Varronis Eumenidibus ii. p. 23) *συνρογὰς καὶ θεραπείας ἀπὸ Σαράπιδος δοθεΐσας*. Hence Serapis was sometimes identified with Aesculapius, *quod medeatur aegris corporibus*, Tac. Hist. iv. 84. Wherever the temple alluded to was, it was probably outside the pomerium: at least this was the restriction after the cult had been publicly recognized, Dion C. liii. 2; liv. 6; as well as at Alexandria, Macrobi. i. 7. 15.

**27. Deferri.** Later Domitian forbade women of bad character to use the lectica, Suet. Domit. 8. '**Mane,**' **inqui**, hiatus of the long final of a dactylic foot, as in LVII. 7. The MSS. have *mane me*, which Lachm. retains. (1) It may be as Bergk suggests, a corruption of *mi anime*, 'my dear'; Bacch. i. 1. 48. (2) The short *ē* of *mane*, to say nothing of the Plautine *tenē, tacē, docē, uidē, iubē* (Wagner Aulul. p. xxvii), is not without support in Augustan and later poets; Ovid has *ualē* before *dicere* once, Trist. i. 8. 21; Phaedrus *uidē* iii. 6. 3; Persius *uidēsīs* i. 108; Martial *saluē* xi. 108. 4. (Ramsay, Prosody p. 47.) Like these *mane* is a disyllable, and a word in common use. Catullus has *cauē* twice L. 18, 19, but this is probably from a verb of the 3rd conj. *cauēre*. (3) The sense would be, ironically, 'You may as well wait till I come,' i. e. there's plenty of time for that. Philodemus Anth. P. v. 308. 1, 'Ἡ κομψή, μείνων με' τί σοι καλὸν

οὔνομα ; πῶς σε ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ; ὁ θέλεις δώσωμεν. Οὐδὲ λαλεῖς ; suggests that Catullus may here be addressing the *scortillum* in language familiar to her class : ' Wait till I come up with you ; stay for me to join you ; not so fast.'

**28.** *Istud*, accus. as in Epid. iii. 4. 12, *sed istum quem quaeris Periphaniem Platenium. Ego sum si quid uis.* Curc. iii. 1. 49. Pseud. i. 5. 114, *Tibicinam illam tuus quam gnatus deperit, Ea circumducam leptide lenonem.* *quod* is explained by *me habere*, ' as for what I happened to say just now, I mean that I had the men.' *dixeram*, as in Capt. i. 2. 91, *Ad fratrem quo ire dixeram mox iuero* : cf. Caesar's use of *dixeramus*, ' I said above,' referring to a former part of his commentaries, B. G. ii. 1.

**29.** *Fugit me ratio*, ' I made a mistake about it.' Amphit. i. 1. 227, ed. Fleckeisen, Mer. *Amphitruonis te esse aiebas Sosiam.* So. *Peccaueram. Nam illut' Amphitruonis socium' me esse uolui dicere.* Mer. *Scibam equidem nullum esse nobis nisi me seruum Sosiam. Fugit ratio te.* Cic. ad Herenn. ii. 16. 24, cited by Scaliger, *Qui se propter uinum aut amorem aut iracundiam fugisse rationem dicet, is animi uitio uidebitur nescisse, non imprudentia.* Lambinus on Amphit. i. 1. 277, explains it either as taken from accounts ' the reckoning escaped me, I was out in my calculation,' the opposite of *rationem tenere* ; or, more probably, like *fugit me memoria* ' my senses forsook me, I forgot what I was saying.' In Cic. de Rep. ii. 34. 59, *aliqua ratio medendi quae neque Solonem . . . fugerat neque post aliquanto nostrum senatum*, the words have a different sense, but point to the first explanation.

**30.** G. Heluius Cinna is meant, the author of *Zmyrna*. See on XCV. **Cinna Gaius**, like Cornelius Publius, Trebellius Lucius in Lucilius, Cascellius Aulus in Horace. See L. Müller on Lucil. xi. 13.

**31.** *illius an mei* (nom. plur.), Ovid, A. A. iii. 334, *Sive aliquid Galli, sive Tibulle tuum. quid ad me ?* ' What does it matter to me ?' Att. xii. 17, *Appelles procuratores, si tibi uideatur. Quamquam quid ad me ? Veruntamen.* So *quid ad te ?* in an Inscript. in Mommsen's I. L. R. N. 1910.

**32.** *quam pararim* = *quam si pararim*. Pseud. ii. 2. 46 *magis erit solum quam ipsi dederis*, though the Ambrosianus has *quam si*. But cf. the omission of *si* after *uelut, tamquam, &c.*, and the Greek idiom, Theoc. xi. 81, *ῥᾶον δὲ διὰ γ' ἢ χρυσὸν ἔδωκεν*. So in English, Romant of the Rose, p. 147 Bell, *The which alle oute the more is deere, For the solace that I have lorn, Thanne I hadde it never afor.*

**33.** *insulsa, ἀπειρόκαλος*, ' tasteless,' in especial reference to her taking in earnest what was said lightly. *male*, ' very,' as in Hor. S. i. 3. 45, *pullum male paruus Si cui filius est.* *molesta*, ' disagreeable,' something like LXVIII. 136. Afranius ap. Non. 306, *multa atque molesta es. uiuis*, an expression of common life. Mil. Glor. iv. 8. 10, *Si non mecum aetatem egisset hodie stulta uiueret* ; Men. i. 3. 19, *una uiuis meis morigera moribus* ; Trin. ii. 2. 109, *lepidus uiuis*. Bacch. iv. 3. 3, *inamabilis illepidus uiuo*. Att. iii. 5, *Ego uiuo miserrimus et maximo dolore conficior*. ' You're as downright ill-bred and disagreeable a woman as lives.'

**34.** *negligentem*, here of unguarded expressions : XII. 3 in reference to thefts. Munro compares Att. i. 17. 6. *Quo in genere mihi negligenti esse non licet*. Martial similarly, addressing a friend who had taken him too

literally at his word, i. 28. 7, *μισῶ μνάμονα συμπόταν, Procille*. The converse in De Orat. ii. 67. 272, *Non amo nimium diligentes*.

It is doubtful when the worship of Serapis was introduced at Rome. Marquardt, on the authority of Val. Max. i. 3. 3, *L. Aemilius Paulus consul, cum senatus Isidis et Serapis fana diruenda censuisset, eaque nemo opificum attingere auderet, posita praetexta securim arripuit, templique eius foribus inflxit*, which he explains of the consulships 182 and 168 B.C. of L. Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Perseus, supposes it to have been widely known in Rome soon after the end of the second Punic war. But this passage has with equal probability been explained of L. Aemilius Paulus, consul B.C. 50 (Reichel *de Isidis apud Romanos cultu*, p. 27, Jan on Macrob. i. 7. 16), and this agrees better with the statements of Macrobius, i. 7. 16 *nullum itaque Aegypti oppidum intra muros suos aut Saturni aut Sarapis fanum recepit. Horum alterum uix aegreque a uobis admissum audio*; and Servius on Aen. viii. 698, *sub Augusto necdum Romani Aegyptiaca sacra susceperunt*, as well as the resentment of Varro at what would seem to have been still new in his time (Serv. on Aen. viii. 698, *Varro dedignatur Alexandrinos deos Romae coli*). Besides Serapis was not known in Alexandria till the Ptolemies (Tac. Hist. iv. 83, 84), and was brought there from Sinope in Pontus, as a new deity. Yet if we may trust an inscription in Mommsen's CIL. I. no. 577, a temple of Serapis was erected at Puteoli in the consulship of P. Rutilius and Cn. Mallius 649 | 105, and it is improbable that the cult should have been recognised in a Roman colony if it was not well known at Rome. It seems probable that individuals were allowed to erect shrines or chapels to Serapis at Rome long before anything like a public or state recognition was attempted; and that it was this latter attempt which Varro resented, and which called forth the various prohibitory enactments mentioned by Dion Cassius and other writers. Thus an attempt was made to introduce Serapis, Isis, Harpocrates, and Anubis into the Capitol 695 | 59, which was violently stopped by the consuls Gabinius and Piso. Tertullian. Apol. 6, *Sarapidem et Isidem et Harpocratem cum suo Cynocephalo Capitolio prohibitos inferri, id est curia deorum pulsos, Piso et Gabinius consules euersis etiam aris abdicauerunt*. Ad Nation. i. 10, *Ceterum Scrapem et Isidem et Harpocratem et Anubem prohibitos Capitolio Varro commemorat eorumque [aras] a senatu detectas nonnisi per uim popularium restructas. Sed tamen et Gabinius consul Calendis Ianuariis cum uix hostias probaret prae popularium coetu, quia nihil de Serape et Iside constituisset, potiore habuit senatus censuram quam impetum uulgi et aras institui prohibuit*. Arnob. Adu. Nat. ii. 73, *Quid uos? Aegyptiaca numina, quibus Serapis et Isis est nomen, non post Pisonem et Gabinium consules in numerum uestrorum retulistis deorum?* (Röper de Varron. Eumenidibus, ii. p. 19.) Again in 702 | 52 a decree of the senate enacted the demolition of private chapels of Serapis and Isis. Dion C. xl. 47 (Marquardt, iv. p. 86 note), *δοκεῖ δὲ ἔμοιγε καὶ ἐκείνο τὸ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ἐπ' ἐξῆδ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τε τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἴσιν ψηφισθὲν τέρας οὐδένας ἦγον γενέσθαι. τοὺς γὰρ ναοὺς αὐτῶν, οὓς ἰδία τινας ἐπεποίητο καθελὼν τῇ βουλῇ ἔδοξε· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐνόμισαν, καὶ ὅτε γε καὶ ἐξενίκησεν ὥστε καὶ δημοσίᾳ αὐτοὺς σέβεσθαι, ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου σφᾶς ἰδρύσαντο*. Again in 706 | 48, *ἄλλα τε συνέβη καὶ μέλισσαι ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ παρὰ τὸν Ἡρακλεῖα ἰδρύθησαν καὶ ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἱερὰ Ἴσιδι τότε γιγνόμενα, ἔδοξε*

γνώμη τῶν μάντεων πάντα ἀδθις τί τε ἐκείνης καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σαράπιδος τεμενίσματα κατασκάψαι, Dion C. xlii. 26 quoted by Ian. u. s. It was not till the year 711 | 43 that the triumvirs νεὼν τῶν τε Σαράπιδι καὶ τῇ Ἴσιδι ἐψηφίσαντο, Dion C. xlvii. 15, which may be regarded as the date of the formal introduction of the cult (Marquardt, u. s.).

## XI.

THIS is one of Catullus' latest poems, as from vv. 10-12 it must have been written after Caesar's invasion of Britain, B.C. 55, probably, indeed, after the second invasion in 54, as Catullus would hardly have spoken of Britain as one of the monuments of Caesar's triumphs till a real success had been gained, and this was not till 54, when the Thames was crossed, the Trinobantes submitted, and Cassivellaunus engaged to pay tribute and furnish hostages.

The exact meaning of the poem is doubtful, partly owing to the dubious relations of Catullus to his two friends, Furius and Aurelius. They are mentioned together again in XVI, as remonstrating with the poet on the looseness of his verses, and separately in XV, XXI, XXIII, XXVI, to which we may add XXIV, which certainly alludes to Furius. Catullus seems to have taken offence at their intimacy with Juventius, but XV, XXI, which refer to Aurelius are only half serious; on the other hand XXIII, XXIV, which taunt Furius on his poverty, express a real anger, in strange contrast with XXVI, where, if *nostra* is right in v. 1, Furius is treated confidentially and as a friend.

Näke, arguing from the hostile or at least contemptuous tone of these poems, concluded that the disproportionately long preface of XI. 1-14, was meant to express the grandiloquence of Furius' and Aurelius' protestations of friendship and Catullus' conviction of their insincerity. The contemptuous message which they are to convey to Lesbia is a proof of the contempt in which they were held themselves. This view has been accepted by Haupt and Schwabe, and certainly gives a point to *Pauca nuntiate*.—'You profess your readiness to follow me to the world's end; I ask for nothing so extravagant: be good enough, my kind friends, to content yourselves and me by conveying a simple message to Lesbia. Catullus wishes her and her paramours good-bye.'

But this opposition may be intended and yet not imply anything like the contempt or hostility which Näke's view supposes. At least we cannot feel sure that XI was written after the quarrel with Furius and Aurelius; nor ought we to exaggerate the quarrel itself. It is Catullus' manner to attack his greatest friends in the most direct manner: and of the four poems against Furius and Aurelius only one, XXIII, is pronouncedly hostile. And would Horace have imitated these very lines as he has done, C. ii. 6. 1 sqq., if he had believed them to be contemptuous or ironical?

On the whole, therefore, I follow most of the commentators in considering the exordium not as jocose, but serious, and expressing a real feeling of friendship: but still as intended to convey by its antithesis to the brevity of the message conveyed, a slight suspicion of



insincerity. From this point of view it was probably written before XXIII, XXIV, perhaps before XV; in XVI there is nothing to imply a real quarrel.

1. **comites**, i. e. *futuri*, 'ready to share my travels.' For this expression of devoted friendship, cf. Theoc. xxix. 37, *κῆπὶ τὰ χρύσεια μᾶλ' ἔνεκεν σέθεν Βαῖνῃ, καὶ φύλακον νεκῶν πέδα Κέρβερον*. Terence, Phorm. iii. 3. 18, *Quoquo hinc asportabitur terrarum, certumst persequi Aut perire*. Hor. C. ii. 6. 1, sqq., expresses in four lines what Catullus says in three stanzas. Cf. Prop. i. 6. 1.

3. **ut**, here certainly 'where,' as perhaps in XVII. 10. **longe with resonante**, 'echoing afar.'

4. **unda**. Virgil describes India similarly, G. ii. 122, as *Oceano propior, Extremi sinus orbis*.

5. **Arabes**, not *Arabas*, as Petron. S. 102, *imitemur Arabes*.

6. **Sacas**, the Scythians on the Persian border, whence the Persians called all Scythians Sacae. Dict. Geog. ii. p. 939.

7. **septemgeminus**, 'seven-fold.' Verg. Aen. vi. 800, where see Conington. **colorat**. So Herodotus, ii. 12, *τὴν Αἴγυπτον . . . μελάγγαιόν τε καὶ καταρρήγνυμένην ὥστε εὐοῦσαν ἰλύν τε καὶ πρόχρυσιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίης κατενηνεγμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ*. The Nile itself was originally called Melas, according to Plut. de Flu. xvi.

8. **Aequora**, the plains, not the sea. Verg. G. iv. 292, *Et uiridem Aegyptum nigra secundat harena*. Propertius speaks similarly of the Pactolus dyeing the plough-lands of Lydia (*arata*), i. 6. 32.

9. **altas Alpes**. According to Servius on Aen. x. 13, and the Schol. on Lucan. i. 183, *Alpes* is Celtic for *high mountains*. Catullus may thus be using an epithet which translates the word, cf. *regali gaza*, LXIV. 46.

**gradietur**, 'make his way on foot.'

10. **monimenta**, 'the records of Caesar's triumphs.' Prop. iv. 6. 17, *Actia Iuleae pelagus monimenta carinae*. Symmachus, Laudes in Gratianum, p. 35 Mai, addressing the newly-bridged Rhine, says, *caue aequalem te arbitrare Tiberino quod ambo principum monumenta gestetis; ille redimitus est, tu subactus*.

11. **Rhenum**. Caesar was the first Roman who crossed the Rhine into Germany, Suet. Iul. 25, Dion C. xxxix. 50. Appian de rebus Gallicis, i. 5, *ἐπέρασε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ῥήνον πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίδα νῆσον ἠπέριον τε μείζονα οὖσαν μεγίστης καὶ τοῖς τῆδε ἀνθρώποις ἀγνωστον ἔτι*. **insulam**, Britain, as defined by *Britannos*. So Caesar, B. G. iv. 20, *in Britanniam proficisci contendit*, followed by *si modo insulam adisset*, ib. 26, *insulam capere non potuerant*. In **horribilem** the reference seems to be to the barbarous and semi-savage character of the natives, as shewn in their cruelty to strangers (Hor. C. iii. 4. 33), human sacrifices (Tac. Ann. xiv. 30), and barbaric tattooing (Caesar, B. G. v. 14). **ultimosque**. Verg. E. i. 66; Hor. C. i. 35. 29. Infr. XXIX. 4.

13. **Omnia haec**, if *quaecunque* is right, gathers up all the dangers implied in the previous twelve vv. Catullus perhaps hints in *quaecunque feret uoluntas Caelitum* that the unkindness of the gods had already done its worst in the degradation of Lesbia, and that no imaginary danger from savage or barbarous tribes could henceforward have much to frighten him.

Cf. LXXVI. 12. But *omnia haec* would more naturally mean 'all these lands,' and with this *temptare* would well agree, as in Hor. C. iii. 4. 30, *Insanientem nauita Bosporum Tentabo et urentes arenas Litoris Assyrii uiator*. We might then read *quocumque*, cf. Hor. C. i. 7. 25, *Quo nos cunq̄ue feret melior fortuna parente*; Manil. v. 495, *qua fert cunq̄ue uoluntas*.

16. **Non bona dicta**, 'of no happy greeting,' *κακὸν ἔπος ἀγγελέοντα*, Il. xvii. 701 (Vulp.), seems in its form to convey the further notion of *male dicta*, words not of compliment, but reproach. Cael. xiii. 30, *Maledicta iurgii petulantis, adulter, impudicus*; vii. 15, *maledictis pudicitiae*.

17. **suis** adds to the bitterness, 'her dear.' **uiuat ualeatque**, a formula of renunciation, not necessarily ironical. Ter. And. v. 3. 17, *An ut pro huius peccatis ego supplicium sufferam? Immo habeat, ualeat, uiuat cum illa*. Ad. iv. 4. 14, *ualeas, habeas illam quae placet*.

18. **trecentos**, of any indefinitely large number. Hor. S. i. 5. 12, *trecentos inseris. Ohe Iam satis est!*

20. **ilia rumpens**, rupturing. So *rumpere latus*, Priap. LXXXII. 45, Mart. xii. 97. 4.

21. **respectet**, not = *expectet* (Vulp.), as in Lucr. v. 975, vi. 1234, but 'care for,' with the notion of looking back to it with fondness. Sest. v. 13, *haec ila praetereamus, ut tamen intuentes et respectantes relinquamus*.

23. **Vltimi**, 'the edge of the meadow.' **praetereunte**. The rhythm seems to show that the preposition was not considered an inseparable part of the verb with which it is compounded; an inference supported by such cases as *quanto molimine circum Spectemus*, Hor. Epist. ii. 2. 93. The preposition was metrically separable from the verb, as it is metrically separable from its case. See LXXVI. 18. The simile is perhaps suggested by Sappho, fr. 94, Bergk, *ὄϊαν τὰν ὑάκινθον ἐν οὖρεσι ποίμενες ἄνδρες Πόσσι καταστείβοισι, χίμαι δέ τε πόρφυρον ἄθος*.

## XII.

CATULLUS here reproaches Asinius Polio, an elder brother of the friend of Horace and Virgil, for stealing a napkin which he valued as one of a set which his friends Veranius and Fabullus had sent him from Spain. Asinius, it would seem, was in the habit of committing such thefts, and prided himself on his dexterity in doing so. The offence was probably a common one: Catullus has another poem on the same subject, XXV. Compare Mart. viii. 59, xii. 29.

The Asinii came from Teate, the chief town of the Marrucini, a territory on the river Aternus, between the Vestini on the North, and the Frentani on the South (Dict. Geog.). Livy (Epit. 73) mentions a Herius Asinius as *Praetor Marrucinorum*, and as slain in the Marsic war, B.C. 90. Cicero (Cluent. lxix. 197) commends them, *Adsunt Frentani homines nobilissimi, Marrucini item pari dignitate*; and it is probably in reference to the high character which they bore that Catullus introduces the name in 1, as if to remind Asinius how little his pilfering habits accorded with the reputation of his countrymen.

For the date of the poem see on IX.

1. **sinistra.** The left hand is often alluded to as the hand for thieving. Plaut. Pers. ii. 2. 44. *illa furtifica laeua*; Ovid, Met. xiii. 111, *nataeque ad furta sinistrae*; Plin. xxxiii. 13, *quisquis primus instituit* (to wear gold rings) *cunctanter id fecit, laeuis manibus latentibusque induit*. Mr. Clayton observes that the movements of the left hand would be more easily concealed at meals than those of the right, as the Romans usually reclined on the left side. Similarly Martial, xii. 29. 3, speaks of merely watching the right hand, whereas the left was to be actually held.

2. **Non belle**, 'you've an ugly way of using.' Pomp. Inscript. 1951, *Sarra non belle facis | Solum me relinquis | Debilis* (Wordsworth, p. 24). It was an ungentlemanly trick. **in ioco atque uino**, 'while the wine and jest are going round.' Thuc. vi. 28, *μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ οἴνου*. Senec. Epig. 5. 15, *Sed tu perque iocum dicis uinumque*.

3. **lintea.** Napkins were taken to entertainments by the guests (Mart. xii. 29. 11, 21), and could thus be stolen with little fear of detection.

4. **salsum.** Mart. ii. 4. 6, *Lusum creditis hoc iocumque? non est fugit te*, 'you don't understand.' Att. xii. 42. 2, *Illud alterum quam sit difficile, te non fugit*.

5. **Quamuis** = *quantumuis*, 'as mean and vulgar a practice as can be.'

6. **Non credis mihi?** Mart. Lib. Spect. 24. 5, *Non credis? specta. Polioni*. According to Lachmann on Lucr. i. 313, words which contain a double *l* preceded by a long vowel drop one *l* before the letter *i*, except where *i* is a mere case sign. Thus he writes *mille, milli, milleni, uilla, uillaticus, uillis, stilla, stillis, Polla*; but *miliens, milia, uilicus, silicidum, Polio, Paulina, paulisper*. But Ritschl on the Vita Terentii ascribed to Suetonius (Reyfferscheid, p. 512) shows that the double *l* is found in Inscriptions; and in the CIL. 1 *Pollio* occurs six times, *Polio* only once. If the Polio here mentioned is G. Asinius Polio the friend and patron of Horace and Virgil, he was born in 678 | 76 (Jerome in Euseb. Chron.), and in 65-60 B.C. would have been from 11 to 16 years old, hence *puer*.

7. **uel**, 'quite,' 'as much as.' Truc. ii. 4. 22, Ph. *Da sauium. Di. Immo uel decem*.

8. **Mutari**, 'would be glad to have your pilferings bartered at not less than a talent,' would give that sum in exchange for them and think he had bought you off cheaply. Truc. ii. 6. 62, *uiginti minis Venire illaec posse credo dona quae ei dono dedi*. Hor. S. i. 4. 29, *mutat merces*, of buying and selling.

9. **Disertus**, 'with a fine gift for pleasantry and witty words.' **Leporum facetiarum** are not genitives of quality, but depend upon *Disertus*, which retains its strict sense of 'fluent,' 'overflowing with words.' In Eun. v. 6. 10, *callidum et disertum credidi hominem*, it seems to mean 'shrewd,' and if this sense could be established as a general one, Catullus might mean this here, 'he is a discerning child in matters of wit and fun,' cf. Plin. Epist. vi. 17. 1, Mart. xi. 19. 1. This suits the passage very well, as the younger brother is thus appealed to as a good judge in a matter of taste; and it is because such thefts are offences against good breeding that the elder Asinius has been blamed in 5. But W. Wagner, on Eun. v. 6. 10, denies this meaning elsewhere; hence it seems

better to explain *disertus l. et fac.* of the words *furta uel talento Mutari uelit*, perhaps the actual expression used by the young Polio.

10. **Aut hendecasyllabos Exspecta aut l. remitte** = *nisi h. exspectas, l. remitte*. Plin. Epist. v. 10. 2, *Aut rumpe iam moras aut caue ne eosdem istos libellos quos tibi hendecasyllabi nostri blanditiis elicere non possunt, conuicio scazonles extorqueant*. See also LXIX. 9, 10, CIII. 1, 3. Similarly Catullus invokes *hendecasyllabi quot estis*, XLII. 1, to help him in a contemplated attack on Ammiana, who had purloined his tablets. The number of hendecasyllables is perhaps borrowed from Plautus, Pers. iii. 3. 6, *Procax rapax trahax : trecentis uersibus Tuas impuritas traloqui nemo potest*.

12. **mouet**, 'rouses my concern,' as in Petron. S. 30, *Non tam iactura me mouet quam negligentia nequissimi serui. uestimenta mea cubitoria perdidit, quae mihi natali meo cliens quidam donauerat. aestimatione*, its actual value. Dig. xlv. 1. 54, *offerre aestimationem operae*.

13. **mnemosinum**, a souvenir or memento. The genuine Latin would be *monimentum*, as in Aen. v. 538. Meleager, Anth. P. v. 136. 4, has *μνημόσυνον κείνας ἀμφιτίθει στέφανον*. **mei sodalis**, X. 29. Does he mean Veranius, or Fabullus? Perhaps he did not know; it was a present from one or other.

14. **sudaria**, XXV. 7. Probably i. q. *lintea*, napkins. Martial xi. 39. 3, uses it of shaving-napkins. **Saetaba**, from Saetabis, in Pliny's time Saetabis Augustanorum (Plin. iii. 25), a Roman municipium in the territory of the Contestani in Hispania Tarraconensis. It was famous for its flax. Plin. xix. 9; Sil. iii. 374; Grat. Cyn. 41. **ex Hibere**, 'from the Ebro country,' is the MS. reading, which I have retained on the analogy of the Greek Ἰβηρ Ἰβηρος; but it has very little actual evidence to support it, for in the Liber de Accentibus ascribed to Priscian, p. 523, Keil, the MSS. give *mulier*, and the last letters of *Hibereis* (Lachm.) may easily have fallen out at the end of a line. But if *ex Hibere* is genuine, Catullus must use the river as a designation of the territory in which Saetabis was included. The territory thus designated may be either Celtiberia, which abutted at the S. E. on Saetabis and the Sucro (Strab. 163, *μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κελτίβηρας πρὸς νότον εἰσὼν οἱ τὸ ὄρος οἰκοῦντες τὴν Ὀροσπέδα καὶ τὴν περὶ Σούκρωνα χώραν Σιδητανοὶ μέχρι Καρχηδόνας*), or more generally Hispania Citerior, ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰβηρος, the two terms being used synonymously and each extending at this time beyond its original boundary the Ebro, as far south as the Baetis and Nova Carthago, thus including Saetabis (Artemidorus ap. Steph. B. Ἰβηρια).

15. **Miserunt muneri**. Val. Max. iv. 8. Extern. *Hiero trecenta milia modium tritici urbi nostrae muneri misit*.

16. **haec . . . Et Veraniolum**, 'I must needs love *them* and their donors with them,' i. e. both equally, if the gifts, then the givers, not one without the other. So Catal. xiv. 5, *te Raptum et Romanam flebimus historiam*, 'we shall lament in losing you that we lose Roman history:' and this I think is the explanation of the difficult words in Phorm. ii. 3. 21, *ideas te atque illum, ut narras*, 'when you see him you see yourself,' i. e. you're facsimiles of each other. The use of *et ac atque* with *similis*, &c., is of the same kind. But *Vt* is an easy and not improbable emendation.

17. **Veraniolum**, the greater favorite of the two: so XLVII. 3, and

IX. For the sentiment of 16, 17, which is of course a common one, cf. Symmachus Epist. ix. 107, *Paruum quidem munusculum est si aestimetur pretio sui; religiosum si amore pendatur.*

### XIII.

THE poet invites his friend Fabullus to dine with him, warning him however that he must bring his own repast, and not expect much from so poor a host as himself. All he can promise of his own is a very choice unguent supplied by Lesbia. So far the poem presents no difficulty; but a doubt is raised by the words *uenuste noster* in v. 6, as to the exact tone which Catullus means to assume to his friend. Huschke, *Analecta Literaria*, p. 311, supposes that Fabullus had invited the poet to a dinner at which he gave him nothing to eat, and contented himself with providing unguents, like the Fabullus of Mart. iii. 12.

*Vnguentum fateor bonum dedisti  
Comuiuis here, sed nihil scidisti.  
Res salsa est bene olere et esurire.  
Qui non cenat et ungitur, Fabulle,  
Hic uere mihi mortuus uidetur.*

In retaliation Catullus wrote this poem, which, as Huschke says, is only half serious, cf. the vague *paucis diebus*, the half-ironical *si tibi di fauent*, the conditions of the dinner, 3-5. This view certainly explains *uenuste noster*, as Catullus would thus seem to allude to the practical joke which Fabullus had played him, and would appeal to his character for humour as an excuse for inviting him to a similar entertainment in return. Yet if vv. 1-7 are half-ironical, the end of the poem is meant seriously, and the invitation was, I think, *bona fide*, as indeed such ἐπαροι were common in antiquity, see Hor. C. iii. 19. 5-8, iv. 12. 14-6. It seems more probable that Fabullus had expressed a wish to dine with the poet, and that Catullus here sends him the only invitation his circumstances allowed, intimating at the same time that he is quite aware the offer is a shabby one, and that his friend must take it for what it is worth. The general scope of the poem might be paraphrased thus: You shall dine with me Fabullus, before many days are over, on one condition, which a man of your fine discernment will easily assent to: you must bring besides your witty self and a fair female friend, the dinner and the wine. Then I will treat you to something exquisite in return; an unguent of Lesbia's, choice enough to be a present from the Graces themselves and fragrant enough to make you wish yourself all nose to enjoy it.

1. **Cenabis apud me**, as in Mart. xi. 52. 1, *Cenabis belle, Iuli Cerealis, apud me*. The future is often used in invitations; but here, as in Hor. C. iv. 12. 14-16, *Ducere Liberum Si gestis, iuuenum nobilium cliens, Nardo uina merebere*, it introduces the apodosis of a sentence which begins with *Si*.

2. **Paucis diebus**, 'within a few days,' so often in Caesar, B. G. iii. 23: so *hoc biennio*, Somn. Scip. 2, 'within two years from this time.' See

Dräger *Histor. Synt.* p. 492, who shows that this abl. is common in reference to the future, more rare of the past. **si tibi di fauent**, 'with heaven's kind favour,' a slight variation on the more usual *si di uolent* *Poen.* iv. 2. 88, *si dis placet* *Capt.* ii. 3. 94, and probably with a tinge of irony, implying that the entertainment was somewhat problematical.

**3. bonam atque magnam.** Terentian. *Eun.* i. 2. 43, *bonam magnamque partem ad te attulit.*

**4. non sine**, emphatic meiosis, as in *Hor. C.* iii. 4. 20, *Non sine dis animosus infans.* **candida**, 'fair,' XXXV. 8, LXVIII. 70, *Hor. Epod.* xi. 27, *ardor aut puellae candidae.*

**5. sale**, 'wit,' XVI. 7, *Eun.* iii. 1. 10. **omnibus cachinnis**, 'every kind of laughter,' 'everything that can rouse our free laughter,' *quicquid est domi cachinnorum*, XXXI. 14. So *Hor. S.* i. 2. 9, *omnia obsonia.* **cachinnis.** *Lucr.* v. 1397, *Tum ioca, tum sermo, tum dulces esse cachinni*, 1403, *risus dulcesque cachinni.* *Aristoph. Nub.* 1073, ὄψων πόντων καχασμῶν.

**6. inquam**, resumptive, 'I repeat.' *Catal.* xi. 55, *Non nostrum est tantas non inquam attingere laudes.* **uenuste.** See *Introd.* But 11 suggests as a possibility that the word may mean 'my favoured friend,' in reference to his good fortune in coming in for a share of the unguent of the *Veneres Cupidinesque*, see on III. 1, 2. There seems to be no reason why *uenustus* should not mean 'under the favour of Venus,' as *inuenustus* means 'under the displeasure of Venus,' ἀναφρόδως, *And.* i. 5. 10; cf. *Hec.* v. 4. 8, *Poen.* i. 2. 44. **noster**, like *si tibi di fauent*, is slightly ironical. *Pis.* viii. 17, *O noster misericos quid facis?*

**7. sacculus**, 'a purse.' *Iuuen.* xi. 26, xiv. 38, hence *saccularii*, a nickname given to the equites who had supported Cinna against Sulla, from their rapacity. *Ascon. in Orat. in Tog. Cand.* p. 90, *Orelli.* **araneorum.** *Od.* xvi. 35, of Odysseus' couch, χήρει ἐνευαίων κάκ' ἀράχια κείται ἔχουσα. *Cratin. ap. Meineke Com. Fragm.* ii. 129, ἀραχίων μεστήν ἔχει τὴν γαστέρα. *Aul.* i. 2. 156, *Nam hic apud nos nihil est aliud quaesti furibus.* *Ita inaniis sunt oppletae atque araneis.* *Afran.* 412 *Ribb. tannae arcucla Tua plena est araneorum?*

**8. contra**, 'in return.' *Eun.* ii. 3. 64, *quod donum huic dono contra comparet.* **meros amores**, the pure spirit or quintessence of love. *Mart.* xiv. 206. 1, *Collo nocte puer meros amores Ceston de Veneris sinu calentem;* so *Plautus* calls a highly-furbished house *clarorem merum*, *Most.* iii. 1. 108. The *unguentum* is of course meant: cf. *Prop.* ii. 29. 15. *Meos amores*, the reading of some good MSS, 'my fond delight,' 'a thing I love dearly,' i. e. the same unguent, hardly agrees so well with *seu quid suauius elegantiusue est*, which implies a strong, if not exaggerated, expression of admiration. *Hand's* view that *meos amores* refers to a favorite slave of the poet's, which, with anything choicer, viz. the unguent of *Lesbia*, *Fabullus* is to have in return for what he brings, is far-fetched, and against the ordinary usage of *seu quid*. See on 9.

**10. seu quid**, i. e. *uel si quid suauius est meris amoribus*. This is the proper use of *seu* or *sive quid*, cf. LXXXII. 2. 4, and note. There the eyes are the highest expression of dearness, as here *meri amores* of delightfulness.

**11. unguentum.** See *Xenophon's Symposium* ii. 3. *Callias* the host asks *Socrates*, after the tables have been cleared and the musicians and

dancers introduced, *τί οὖν; εἰ καὶ μύρον τις ἡμῖν ἐνέγκαι, ἵνα καὶ εὐωδία ἐστιώμεθα*; as making the entertainment perfect.

12. See on III. 1. Martial, xi. 13. 6, applies the words to the consummate actor Paris, ix. 11. 9, to Domitian's *delicatus* Earinus. Voss thinks Catullus had in his mind Od. xviii. 192, *Κάλλει μὲν οἱ πρῶτα προσώπατα καλὰ κάθηρεν Ἀμβροσίῳ, οἶω περ εὐστέφανος Κυθήρεια Χρίεται, εὖτ' ἂν ἦ Χαρίτων χορὸν ἱμερόεντα*, perhaps also the interpretation which seems to have been early put upon the passage, that the ointment was itself called *κάλλος*. Hesych. *κάλλος τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης μύρον*, with the quotation from Od. xviii. 192, and again s. v. *Βρεθινιά· οἱ δὲ φύκος παρεμφερές κάλλει Ἀφροδίτης*.

13. As Plautus, Aul. i. 38, speaks of a gibbeted body making one long letter I, and as Caligula wished that the Romans might become one single neck for greater convenience of strangling. Ben Jonson has imitated Catullus here. Cynthia's Revels, v. 2. *Taste, smell; I assure you, sir, pure benjamin, the only spirited scent that ever waked a Neapolitan nostril. You would wish yourself all nose for the love on't.* **Totum** with *te*, as in Plin. H. N. ii. 14, a passage which Mr. Bywater has indicated to me, *Quisquis est deus—totus est sensus, totus uisus, totus auditus, totus animae, totus animi, totus sui*. To make *totum nassum* = 'a totality of nose,' like *ἅλαι φλογές*, 'all flame,' Anth. P. v. 111, is an attraction more Greek than Latin.

#### XIV.

G. LICINIUS CALVUS, the orator and poet, had sent Catullus, as a present on the Saturnalia, a collection of bad verses, written, as Catullus declares, by all the worst poets of the time. In return Catullus sent him this poem, which expresses with humorous exaggeration the dreadful effects of his gift, and threatens him with a retaliation in kind. He takes the opportunity of complimenting Calvus on his skill as an advocate, to which he jocosely ascribes the peculiar character of the present; the grammarian Sulla had been defended by Calvus and must have rewarded his services by this mass of bad poetry, the only fee perhaps he was rich enough to pay.

When did Calvus' present reach Catullus? This depends on the interpretation of vv. 14, 15, especially of *continuo die*. If these words mean the next day, the present must have been sent either the night before the Saturnalia, Dec. 17, or at least before day-break of that day. Then *si luxerit* might mean that Catullus, having already ascertained the character of the gift, resolved to lose no time in retaliating, and proposed to send a similar present of his own to reach Calvus before the day was over. It is no objection to this view that Catullus must then have written this poem very hurriedly; the return gift of bad poetry could hardly be meant seriously; the poem itself, or at least the first form of it, need not have taken much time to compose, if Catullus sent it to Calvus as a bona fide present before the Saturnalia ended. From Mart. x. 17, Stat. S. iv. 9, it is clear that poets used to send their books to friends at the Saturnalia, as on birth-days and other festivals (Anth. P. ix. 239, Stat. S. ii. 3. 62): Catullus would be acting like Statius who (S. iv. 9) having sent a book to his friend Griphus on the Saturnalia had received a book from him in

return, and disgusted at the paltriness of the gift, then wrote him a hendecasyllabic poem of fifty-five lines, over which the two friends laughed heartily while the festival was still going on (Praef. lib. iv). If, on the other hand, *continuo* means 'thereupon,' the gift must have reached Catullus on the morning of the Saturnalia, and *si luxerit* will refer to the day after (Dec. 18). The poem itself, however, might still have been written and sent to Calvus on the 17th; although, if not written or sent then, it might yet have come in time to be a Saturnalian gift; for Cicero speaks of the second and third days of the festival (Att. xiii. 52. 1, v. 20. 5, and cf. Liu. xxx. 36, *Saturnalibus primis*), and we need not infer from Catullus' words *die Saturnalibus optimo dierum* more than that a particular day, no doubt xiv. ante kal. Ian. was called *par excellence* the Saturnalia.

If we may suppose Lucian to represent an actual tradition of the Saturnalia, the receiver of a book at that time was bound to read it, and herein, as Mr. Clayton observes, would lie the point of Calvus' joke and Catullus' threatened revenge. In the *Cronosolon* Saturn lays down laws for the observance of the Saturnalia; amongst others what gifts poor men are to send, and how rich men are to receive them,—xvi. Ἀντιπεμπέτω δὲ ὁ πένης τῷ πλουσίῳ, ὁ μὲν πεπαιδευμένος βιβλίον τῶν παλαιῶν, εἴ τι εὐφημον καὶ συμποτικόν, ἢ αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα ὁποῖον ἂν δύνηται· καὶ τοῦτο λαμβανέτω ὁ πλούσιος πᾶν φαιδρῶ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ λαβὼν ἀναγινωσκέτω εὐθύς, ἣν δὲ ἀποθῆται ἢ ἀπορήψῃ, ἴστω τῇ τῆς ἀρπῆς ἀπειλῇ ἔνοχος ὢν, κἂν πέμψῃ ὅσα ἐχρῆν.

1. Imitated by Maecenas in the lines quoted in the life of Horace attributed to Suetonius (Reyfferscheid, p. 45), *Ni te uisceribus meis Horati Plus iam diligo, tu tuum solem Ninnio uideas strigiosiore.*

2. **Iocundissime**, 'my merry friend,' cf. *iocunde* also of Calvus L. 16. **munere isto**. Dobree *Adversar.* p. 621, compares the use of the datives in Aristoph. Eq. 97, *τί ποθ' ἡμᾶς ἐργάσει τῷ σῶ πότῳ*; Dem. Meid. 549, *νομίζω αὐτόχειρά μου γεγενῆσθαι τοῦτοις τοῖς ἔργοις*, and in each case would translate 'with;'  
**munere isto**, being thus very nearly *cum m. isto*. Cic. Lael. xv, *miror illa superbia et importunitate si quenquam amicū habere potuit*. See Zumpt, *Lat. Gr.* 472. The abl. *hoc munere* occurs in Eun. ii. 2. 38, *hisce hoc munere arbitrantur Suam Thaidem esse*, where W. Wagner translates, 'on account of this gift,' the usual and perhaps more probable explanation here. Cf. the use of *dolere* with an abl. **isto** is slightly contemptuous; it is not till later, especially in Martial, that it has the sense merely of 'this.'

3. **odio Vatiniano**, 'a hatred that might suit Vatinius,' i. e. either such as Vatinus deserves, or such as Vatinus might feel against you. Vulp. and Hertzberg, *Transl.* p. 110, prefer the latter, cf. Liu. ii. 58 of App. Claudius, *odisse plebem plus quam paterno odio*, 'with a hatred beyond his father's:' to me the former seems preferable, partly as not altering the subject of the sentence (*odissem*), partly as forming a more exact balance to *Nei te plus oculis meis amarem*; lastly, as agreeing better with the historical fact of Vatinus' unpopularity. Macrobi. ii. 6. 1, *lapidatus a populo*; Cic. in Vatin. i. 1, *odio tui ab omnibus paene uincor*; xvi. 39, *si te uicini, si affines, si tribules ita oderunt ut repulsam tuam triumphum suum duxerint . . . si es odium publicum populi, senatus, uniuersorum hominum rusticorum*. Seneca de Constant. Sap. xvii, says Vatinus had more



enemies than diseases, alluding to his scrofulous neck and swollen feet. Meyer, *Fragm. Oratorum*, p. 480, finds in the words *odio Vatiniāno* an allusion to the violence with which Calvus attacked Vatinius in three successive speeches.

4. Hor. *Ēpist.* i. 20. 6, *Quid miser egi? Quid uolui?*

5. **male perderes**, 'do me to death;' like *κακῶς ὀλέσαι*, *male mul-tare*, &c.

6. **Dii . . . dent**, a common formula of execration. Phorm. v. 8. 83, *malum quod isti di deaque omnes dunt*. Most. iii. 1. 122. Infr. XXVIII. 14. 15. Prop. ii. 18. 27, *Illi sub terris fiant mala multa puellae. clienti*, here = *consultori*, as in Hor. *Ēpist.* ii. 1. 104, *clienti promere iura*. Calvus had a great reputation as an advocate: amongst those defended by him were P. Sestius, C. Porcius Cato, Messius. See Meyer, *Fragm. Orator. Roman.* pp. 478, 9.

7. **tantum impiorum**, 'such a mass of scoundrelism:' *impiorum* (masc.), 'miscreants,' in a general sense, perhaps with an allusion to the distinction between *pīi poetae, uates* (XVI. 5; Aen. vi. 662; Am. iii. 9. 66; ib. 17, 18, *sacri uates et diuom cura*) and *impīi*, poets religiously following a divine inspiration, and poetasters who profaned their sacred mission. Hertzberg on Prop. iii. 1. 1, shows that poets are in this sense spoken of as *priests* (Prop. iii. 1. 3; cf. Hor. C. iii. 1. 3) who perform sacred rites (Prop. iii. 1. 1; ii. 10. 23; iv. 6. 1; Trist. iv. 10. 19; Pont. ii. 10. 17) and pour in libation the water of song. Prop. iv. 6. 4.

8. **repertum** discovered for the occasion, 'recherché:' so *quaesitus*, 'studied,' 'elaborate.'

9. **Sulla**, perhaps Cornelius Epicadus (Suet. Gramm. 12), the freedman of the dictator Sulla and his son Faustus (Muretus). He would take the name of his patron as Saevius Nicanor (Suet. Gramm. 5); Scribonius Aphrodisius (19); C. Julius Hyginus and his freedman, himself a teacher of grammar; Julius Modestus (20). Meyer, *Fragm. Orat. Rom.* p. 480, follows Vulp. in concluding from this verse that Sulla was actually defended by Calvus; but the words of Catullus need not imply so much. **litterator**, like its less disparaging synonym *litteratus*, was the earlier word for *grammaticus*, which had supplanted it in the time of Suetonius, (Gramm. 4). That *litterator* was used contemptuously is proved (1) by the words there quoted from Messala Corvinus, *non esse sibi rem cum Furio Bibaculo nec cum Ticida quidem aut litteratore Catone*, (2) by the distinction of *litterator* as *grammatista* and *mediocriter doctus*, from *litteratus* as *grammaticus* and *absolute doctus*, (3) by the words quoted *ibid.* from Orbilius, *apud maiores cum familia alicuius uenalis produceretur, non temere quem litteratum in titulo, sed litteratorem inscribi solitum esse, quasi non perfunctum litteris sed imbutum*. They were the school-masters of Rome, gave lessons in grammar and lectured on celebrated authors<sup>1</sup>. Teuffel, *Hist. Rom. Literature*, 146, gives a list of the most eminent *litterati*. They were very badly paid, Suet. Gramm. 9, (*Orbilius*) *docuit maiore fama quam emolumento*; 18, *L. Crassitius in pergula docuit*; 11, (*Valerius Cato*) *uixit ad extremam senectam sed in summa pauperie et paene inopia abditus modico gurgustio*: hence Catullus' not unjustifiable suspicion.

<sup>1</sup> *Literatura* was the Roman word for grammar (Quintil. ii. 1. 4; Sen. *Ēpist.* 88. 20), but soon fell out of use.

10, 11. 'I am not discontented, rather I am well-contented and happy, that your efforts are not quite lost,' i. e. in securing so valuable a fee.

10. Truc. iv. 2. 31, *inuidere alii bene esse, tibi male esse, miserias*. Most. i. 1. 49, *michi bene est et tibi male est*, 'I enjoy myself and you mope.' Ad. i. 1. 9; Martial x. 13. 10, of a rich man, *Vis dicam male sit cur tibi, Cotta? bene est*. Your fortune is your misfortune, you are unhappy because you have all the appliances of happiness. **bene ac beate**, as in the Ciceronian *bene et beate uiuere*, Parad. i. fin.

11. 'Ironice loquitur quasi dicat o dignum praemium,' Alex. Guarinus. **dispereunt**. Varro, R. R. ii. 11. 1, *Minora cum sunt tecta quam postulat fundus, solent dispereire*.

12. **Dii magni**. LIII. 5. Am. ii. 19. 18. **Sacrum**, 'accursed,' 'vile.' Ramsay on Most. iv. 3. 44 shows that in this sense *sacer* is not used of *things* before Catullus. Cf. LXXI. 1, and Virgil's *auri sacra fames* (Aen. iii. 57). In the remains of old laws as well as in Plautus it is uniformly used of *persons*.

14. **Misti** for *misisti*, as *tristi* for *triuisti* LXVI. 30. **continuo** has been taken as = 'forthwith,' like Martial ix. 48. 4-7, *Spem muneribus fouimus usque datis, Inter quae rari Laurentem ponderis aprum Misimus: Aetola de Calydone putes. At tu continuo populunisque patresque uocasti*. If adjective, it would seem to mean 'on the next day,' as in Ovid's *continua die*, F. v. 734, *continua nocte*, F. vi. 720.

15. **Saturnalibus, optimo dierum**, like *die bono Aphrodisiis*, Poen. ii. 49. Mommsen, CIL. I. p. 408, shows that even during the Empire the Saturnalia proper was a single day, quoting Festus, s. v. Quinquatrus, *errant tam hercule quam qui triduo Saturnalia et totidem Compitalia. Nam omnibus his singulis diebus fiunt sacra*, and the hemerologia (calendars) which uniformly confine the festival to one day. This day was, before Caesar's alteration of the Calendar in 46 v. c., xiv K. Ian., afterwards xvi Kal. Ian. **optimo**. People greeted each other with the words *Bona Saturnalia*, Epictet. Diatrib. xxix. 31, quoted by Scaliger, τοῖς γὰρ παιδίοις ὅταν προσελθόντα κροτῆ καὶ λέγη, Σήμερον Σατορνάλια ἀγαθὰ λέγομεν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθὰ ταῦτα; Οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπικροτοῦμεν. Cf. Mart. xiv. 70. 1; sometimes with *Io Saturnalia*, Dion C. xxxvii. 4, Mart. xi. 2. 5, Petron. S. 58, Pomp. Inscript. 2005 a. It was the great holiday of the Roman year. Plut. Q. R. xxxiv, *μεγίστης αὐτοῖς ἑορτῆς τῶν Κρονίων καθεστῶσης καὶ συνουσίας τε πλείστας καὶ ἀπολαύσεις ἔχει δοκούσης*. See Mayor on Juv. vii. 97 and Martial *passim*.

16. **Non non**, as we might say, 'Never, never.' Phorm. ii. 1. 73, *non non sic futurum est, non potest*. **sic abibit**, 'pass off so easily.' And. ii. 1. 4, *Mirabar hoc si sic abiret*. Att. xiv. 1. 1, *non posse istaec sic abire*. Fin. v. 3. 7, *etsi hoc fortasse non poterit sic abire*. Cicero uses *abire* of an attack of illness passing off, Att. xiv. 10. 2.

17. **Si luxerit**, 'come dawn,' not implying any doubt, though originally perhaps the expression was connected with some superstitious fear of speaking too confidently. So Aen. v. 64, *Si nona diem mortalibus alium Aurora extulerit*. Hor. Epist. i. 7. 10, *Quod si bruma nives Albanis illinet agris*. See Holtze, Synt. ii. p. 370. **librarium** is generally explained of booksellers, in which sense it is found Sen. Benef. vii. 7, Gell. v. 4. 1. But in Cicero *librarius* is a transcriber or copyist. Phil. ii. 4. 8, *Qui possis? sunt enim librarii manu*. Ad

Q. Fr. ii. 16. 1, *cum a me litteras librarii manu acceperis*. Att. viii. 13. 1, *lippitudinis meae signum tibi sit librarii manus* (Mayor on Phil. ii. 4. 8). Legg. iii. 20. 48, *leges a librariis peti*, the transcribers. Att. xii. 40. 1, *Misi librum ad Muscam, ut tuis librariis daret. Volo enim eum diuulgari quod quo facilius fiat imperabis tuis*. Nepos Att. 13, *in ea (familia Attici) erant pueri litteratissimi anagnostae optimi et plurimi librarii, ut ne pedisecus quidem quisquam esset, qui non utrumque horum pulcre facere posset*, both read and copy. Such men would of course be likely to have on hand several copies of the books they transcribed, and in this sense would unite the functions of copyist and bookseller: and this may be the meaning of Suetonius' remark, Reliq. p. 134, Reyfferscheid, *librarios (constat) ante bibliopolas dictos, librum enim Graeci βιβλιον uocant*.

18. **scrinia**, cylindrical boxes for holding books, often made of beech. Plin. H. N. xvi. 229. From Hor. S. i. 1. 120, *ne me Crispini scrinia lippi Compilasse putes*; Ovid, Pont. i. 1. 23, 24, *Antoni scripta leguntur, Doctus et in promptu scrinia Brutus habet*; Mart. i. 2. 4, *Scrima da magnis, me manus una capit*, it might seem that each author had a separate *scrinium* assigned him by the *librarii*: so if Catullus asked to be supplied with copies of Caesius' or Suffenus' poems, the *librarius* would go to the *scrinium Caesii* or *Suffeni*. In the case of voluminous authors this would be an arrangement of convenience: smaller works would be grouped together in one *scrinium* according to the fancy of the seller, poems and prose separately, poems of the same kind together, &c. **Caesios, Aquinos**, 'the whole tribe of Caesii and Aquini.' Martial affects this use of the plural, v. 28. 3, *Pietate fratres Curtios licet uincas, Quiete Neruas, comitate Rusones, Probitate Macros, aequitate Mauricos, Oratione Regulos, iocis Paulos*; ix. 47. 1, *Democritos Zenonas inexplicitosque Platonas*. Plaut. Bacch. iv. 4. 10, *Non mihi isti placent Parmenones Syri*. Of Caesius nothing is known. Cicero, Tusc. Disp. v. 22. 63, *Adhuc neminem cognoui poetam, et mihi fuit cum Aquinio amicitia, qui sibi non optimus uideretur*, mentions as a specimen of bad poets an Aquinius, probably the Aquinius of Catullus. *Aquinius, Aquinus*, are two forms of the same name: *Aquinus* occurs in Mart. i. 93. 1, where it cannot be used slightly; but Catullus may notwithstanding have used the shorter form contemptuously, as he has used the plural: or perhaps Aquinius liked to distinguish himself from the mass of Aquini by the longer termination, and Catullus merges him again in the shorter name.

19. **Suffenum**, accusative. **omnia** gathers up and concentrates the three accusatives, *Caesios, Aquinos, Suffenum*. **uenena**, 'the whole crop of poisons,' i. e. of vile poets, whose works produce the effect of poison on the reader. Infr. XLIV. 11, 12.

20. 'And requite your present with this penal offering.' Catullus probably uses **suppliciis** as a strict plural, as Caesar, B. G. vii. 5, implying that for each bad poet Calvus had sent him he would send him a bad poet in return, each forming severally a distinct punishment. *Je te rends supplice pour supplice*, Devalay. **remunerabor**. Fam. ix. 8. 1, *Vt possem te remunerari quam simillimo munere*. Cicero also uses *remunerare*. Fronto, p. 41. N. *quid? si lacessitus fuero, non eum simili dicto remunerabo?* Here the word is obviously chosen in reference to the *munus* in 9.

21. **ualete** is not to be isolated from *abite* (Rossbach and Lachm.): the two words form one compound expression on which *hinc* depends,

as in χαίρε καὶ ἄπιθι, Alciph. i. 27. 2; Ad. v. 7. 19, *tu illas abi et traduce*. Aul. ii. 3. 3, *Vascula intus pura profera et elue*; quoted by Mr. Richards in the Cambridge Journal of Philology, v. 135. Cf. Anth. P. vii. 664. 1; by I'heocritus, Ἀρχιλοχον καὶ στάθι καὶ εἴτιδε τὸν πάλαι ποιητάν. **Abite**. Lucian, Catapl. 12, *eis τὸν τῶν ἀσεβῶν χάρον ἄπιθι*. Callim. H. Apol. 113, *ὁ δὲ μῶμος ἴω ὁ φθῆρος ἔνθα νέοιτο*. The common expression *abi in malam rem*, and the proverbial *ἔνθεν ἦλθεν, ἔνθ' ἔβη* is here slightly varied.

22. **malum pedem**, 'Alludit quia uersus pedibus constant. Sed mali sunt poetae ideo malum dixit pedem.' Alex. Guarinus. Ovid plays similarly upon the word, Trist. i. 1. 16, *Contingam certe quo licet illa pede*. **attulistis** for **tulistis** (And. iv. 5. 13) is rare, as Scaliger saw. Plautus, Amph. iii. 4. 6, *eius iussu nunc huc me affero*, and Virgil, Aen. iii. 345, use *se afferre* of coming up to a particular place, and this notion is perhaps conveyed here, the age in which bad poets appear being regarded as the point to which they come: 'have brought your miserable feet to plague us.' But such expressions as *afferre consulatum in familiam* Phil. ix. 2. 4, seem to show that *ferre, afferre*, were sometimes indistinguishable, like *leuare, alleuare, in discrimen ducere* or *adducere*. Here in any case, as Marcellus observes, *attulistis* is likely to be right as suggesting the double allusion in *pedem* better than the simple verb.

#### XIV.<sup>b</sup>

IN this fragment Catullus seems to deprecate the unfavourable criticism of his readers. It is difficult to determine whether it belongs, as Bruner thinks, to an epilogue, originally perhaps intended to form the finale of the lyrical poems, or to a prologue which ought to have stood at the commencement of these poems, but gave place to the prefatory verses, *Cui dono lepidum nouum libellum?* which now forms c. I. in our MSS.

That it was a poem of excuse is I think likely from the form of the three verses which remain. Similarly Ovid, Trist. iii. 14. 25-30, *Hoc quoque nescio quid nostris appone libellis, Diuerso missum quod tibi ab orbe uenit. Quod quicunque leget, si quis leget, aestimet ante, Compositum quo sit tempore, quoque loco*. These lines form a sort of *epilogue* to bk. iii.; but the very first lines of bk. iv. repeat the same petition to the reader, in the form of a *prologue*, *Si qua meis fuerint, ut erunt, uitiosa libellis, Excusata suo tempore, lector, habe*. Plancus, ap. Cic. Fam. x. 8. 1, *Si cui forte uideor diutius et hominum expectationem et spem rei publicae de mea uoluntate tenuisse suspensam, huic prius excusandum me esse arbitror quam de insequenti officio quidquam ulli pollicendum*. Frontin. Praef. Strateg., *Si qui erunt quibus uolumina haec cordi sint, meminerint* (perhaps by an interpolator, Teuffel, Hist. Lit. ii. 322. 5).

1. **ineptiarum**, trifles in verse, light subjects treated lightly. Pliny, Epist. iv. 4, describes such a work of his own. *His iocamur ludimus amamus dolemus querimur irascimur describimus aliquid modo pressius modo elatius atque ipsa uarietate temptamus efficere ut alia aliis quaedam fortasse omnibus placeant. . . . Sed quid ego plura? nam longa praefatione uel*

*excusare uel commendare ineptias ineptissimum est.* C. Melissus of Spoletum, a slave and afterwards a freedman of Maecenas, then appointed by Augustus to superintend the libraries in the Porticus Octauia, wrote 150 books of *Ineptiæ* or, as they were afterwards called, *Ioci*. (Suet. Gramm. 21).

2. **manus**, as if by way of solicitation.

## XV.

In this poem Catullus recommends the young Juuentius to the protection of his friend Aurelius, warning him not to betray the confidence thus placed in him by any undue familiarity. From XXI it would seem that this warning was slighted; and in XXIV Juuentius is upbraided for favouring Aurelius' friend Furius.

There are three other poems referring to Juuentius, XLVIII, LXXXI, XCIX. Of the series XLVIII, XCIX, XXIV were perhaps written before the rest; but all seem to belong to the last years of the poet's life. It is not improbable that XL also refers to Juuentius: see Introduction there.

It was customary to recommend youths or children of tender years to the protection of friends or relations; so Cicero commends his son and daughter to his brother Quintus (Q. Fr. i. 3. 10), and the father of the handsome Caelius Rufus recommended and introduced his son to Cicero (Cael. xvii. 39, *puerum commendauit et tradidit*): to whom also the ardent C. Curio, at the time contemplating exile, *lacrimans commendabat* his friend M. Antonius (Phil. ii. 18. 45). Curio was perhaps serious; but it may be doubted whether Catullus is not speaking ironically.

1. **me ac meos amores**, a combination, like B. G. viii. 50, *se et honorem suum sequentis anni commendaret*. Phorm. i. 4. 40, *Vobis commendo Phanium et uilam meam*. **meos amores** always in Catullus of Juuentius, except in XXXVIII. 6, perhaps XL. 7.

2. **pudentem**, 'modest,' here, of the favour asked, more usually of the person asking. Fam. ii. 6. 1, *Graue est homini pudenti petere aliquid magnum ab eo de quo se bene meritum putet*.

3. **Vt**, definitive. 'I mean, that if you ever set your heart on desiring anything, to long to keep it chaste and innocent.' A pleonasm; it is not the thing itself, but the preservation of its chastity, which is the object of desire (*cupisti quod expeteres*). **animo tuo**, i. e. earnestly.

4. **Quod expeteres**, i. e. *ut id exp.* Epexegetic. **integellum**, XXXIV. 2, *pueri integri*.

5. **pudice**, as in Hor. S. i. 6. 82, *pudicum, Qui primus uirtutis honos, seruaui*. In both passages it is the opposite of *inpudicitia* in its strict sense of passive unchastity.

6. **Non dico . . . Verum**. Cf. the Ciceronian *Non dico . . . sed*. Phil. ii. § 9, 19, 66; Mil. § 34, 35 (Mayor on Phil. ii. 4. 9). **a populo** depends on *pudice* as in Curc. i. 1. 51, *Tam a me pudicæ quasi soror mea sit*.

7. **platea**, *πλατεία*, not in Plautus seemingly; Terence has it several

times, Eun. ii. 3. 53; Ad. iv. 2. 35; Phorm. i. 4. 37. **modo huc modo illuc** with *praetereunt*.

8. **In re . . . occupati**, a rare construction, found twice in Cornelius Nepos, Alc. 8, Hann. 7. See Lupus, *Satzbau des Corn. Nepos*, § 39.

9. **a te**, the direction of the danger: Capt. iii. 4. 75, *Si quid metuis a me*; ii. 1. 13, *Quid a nobis metuit?* And. i. 1. 79, *metui a Chryside*.

10. **Infesto**, here active; passively Cael. iv. 10, *illud tempus aetatis quod aliorum libidine infestum est*, of the young Caelius. **bonis malisque** is explained by nearly all the commentators 'handsome or plain.' But though from Bacch. v. 2. 42, *haud mala est mulier*. Ni. *Pol uero ista mala et tu nihili?* *malus* seems to have been used for *turpis* or *deformis* (contrast however Merc. ii. 3. 79, *non malam forma mala*); it is doubtful whether *bonus* ever is i. q. *formosus*, for in *bona forma*, Ter. And. ii. 5. 17<sup>1</sup>, Prop. ii. 18. 32, *bona crura*, Am. iii. 2. 27, quoted by Vulp., Hor. S. i. 2. 102, the notion of 'handsome' seems to come from the substantive, and is not inherent in the word itself. Nor would Aurelius have been likely to pursue handsome or plain indifferently: what Catullus implies is that he was sufficiently profligate to make him dangerous, whether the character of the person he was pursuing was virtuous or vicious. In fact *bonis malisque* nearly = *ingenuis* (whom it was illegal to corrupt, and who were therefore more likely to be virtuous) *meritoriusque* (Phil. ii. 41. 105).

12. **Quantum uis** with *moueto*, not with *paratum* (Ovid, F. i. 437). **ubi erit foris paratum**, impersonal in the same sense as Horace's *praesto est*, S. i. 2. 117.

13. Shakespere Sonnets, xix to Time:

*But I forbid thee one most heinous crime;  
O carve not with thine hours my love's fair brow,  
Nor draw no lines there with thine antique pen;  
Him in thy course untainted do allow,  
For beauty's pattern to succeeding men.*

14. **Quod si** introduces the conclusion, as in Mart. viii. 64. 16, *Quod si ludis adhuc: mala mens*, 'infatuation,' as in XL. 1. It is the opposite of *mens bona*, Prop. iii. 24. 190. **uecors**, XL. 4, *uecordem rixam*.

16. 'To attack *me* with a deadly snare,' viz. by plotting to win the affection of Juventius, and so plotting to injure me. **nostrum caput**, like *hoc caput* (Epid. i. 1. 86; Pseud. ii. 4. 33; Stich. v. 5. 10) for *me*, *suum caput* for *se ipsum* (Epid. iii. 2. 33) is an emphatic 'me,' with the farther notion of something virtually affecting my life and fortunes: here the treachery which Catullus apprehends from Aurelius in the trust which he has committed to him, XXI. 7, *insidias mihi instrumentem*. See Ramsay's *Mostellaria*, pp. 128, 146. **insidiis**, in reference to chastity, as in Curc. i. 1. 25, *Num tu pudicae quopiam insidias locas?*

18, 19. You shall suffer the penalty of the detected adulterer; have your feet tied and then be tortured by *ῥαφανιδωσος*, or a worse form of the same punishment. The idea is perhaps suggested by Eun. v. 4. 31-36, quoted by Vulp., *eam iste uitiauit miser. Ille ubi id rescivit factum frater uiolentissimus*, Pa. *Quid nam fecit?* Py. *Conligauit primum eum miseris*

<sup>1</sup> This however was a received interpretation of *bonus*; Gloss. Harl. 6514, *Bonus pulcher est. Terentius forma fortasse bona*.

*modis. Pa. Conligauit? Py. Atque quidem orante, ut ne id faceret Thaide. Pa. Quid ais? Py. Nunc minatur porro sese id quod moechis solet. Quod ego nunquam uidi fieri neque uelim.*

18. *attractis pedibus* occurs in a Pompeian Inscription, 1261. The preposition seems to express the act of drawing the feet of the patient towards the slave employed to bind the criminal for punishment. Rem. Am. 397, *attrahe lora Fortius*, draw the reins more vigorously towards you to tighten them. *porta*, i. e. *ano*. Priap. lii. 5. Catullus can hardly mean that Aurelius would be punished before the eyes of the public (Alex. Guarinus): though Cicero seems to allude to both senses. Plut. Cic. vii, Ἦν δὲ τῷ Βέρρῳ ἀντίπαις υἱὸς οὐκ ἐλευθέρως δοκῶν προϊστασθαι τῆς ὥρας. Λοιδορηθεὶς ὧν ὁ Κικέρων διὰ μαλακίαν ἰπὸ τοῦ Βέρρου, τοῖς υἱοῖς εἶπεν ἐν τῷ θυρῶν δεῖ λοιδορεῖσθαι.

19. *percurrent*, 'shall make free way through.' *raphanique*, Aristoph. Nub. 1080, μοιχὸς γὰρ ἦν τύχης ἀλοῦς τὰδ' ἀντερεῖς πρὸς αὐτόν ΔΙ. τί δ' ἦν ραφανιδωθῆ πιθόμενός σοι τέφρα τε τιλθῆ; ἔξει τίνα γνώμην λέγειν, τὸ μὴ εὐρύπρωκτος εἶναι; Lucian de Morte Peregrini viii, μοιχείων ἀλοῦς διέφυγε ραφανίδι τὴν πυγὴν βεβυσμένος. Anth. P. ix. 520, cited by Voss, Ἀλκαίου τάφος οὗτος, ὃν ἔκτανεν ἡ πλατύφυλλος Τιμωρὸς μοιχῶν γῆς θνηγῆρ ράφανος. Hor. S. i. 2. 133, *Ne numi pereant aut ruga*. The Schol. on Plut. 168 says *ραφανιδωσις* was only inflicted on poor men; rich men paid a compensation. Miller, *Mélanges Grecques*, p. 357, Δῆμος δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς οἱ Πιλακίδαί· κἀκεῖ ραφανίδες μεγάλαί γίνονται· ταῦται δὲ χρῶνται κατὰ τῶν ληφθέντων μοιχῶν ἐφυβρίζοντες, εἰ δὲ μὴ παρείεν στελαίῳ τῷ ἐκ τῆς δικέλλης. The proverb there explained Πιλακίδαί καὶ στέλαιον shows that the punishment was in actual use. *mugilis*, Iuuen. x. 317, *quosdam moechos et mugilis intrat*; cf. Schol. there *Mugilis piscis grandis capite postremus exilis qui in podicem moechorum deprehensorum solebat immitti*.

## XVI.

AURELIUS and Furius had remonstrated with Catullus on the effeminate tone of his poetry, and had drawn the inference that the poet himself was personally open to the same charge. If we press the language of Catullus' indignant reply, we might be led to think that the charge against him was of actual bodily effeminacy (*impudicitia, mollitia*), a very common accusation at the time, cf. XXIX, LVII and XXV, CXII; this almost seems required by the words *male marem*, and the peculiar form in which he asserts his virility (vv. 1, 2, 14).

It is more probable that we have here as in other poems of Catullus an instance of the same exaggeration of language which is still distinctly traceable in the extant fragments of Lucilius, and which belongs partly to the coarse and realistic character of the Italian people as a whole, partly reflects the grossness of Roman comedy, not so much the comedy of Plautus, as of other writers like Caecilius, Turpilius, Novius, and the writers of Atellanæ. The fragments of these writers are much more Aristophanic than most of the comedies of Plautus; and it is to the old Comedy, not the New, that Catullus, like Lucilius before him, in this mood most nearly approximates. Already in X. 12, we have seen him speaking in the same way of Memmius, probably in imitation of Lucilius,

and we shall find him repeating the same charge XXVIII. 10. In XXI. 8, 12, he threatens Aurelius exactly as he threatens Furius and Aurelius in XVI: in each case the threat is only half serious, but in each case it seems chosen in reference to something said or done by the persons threatened. We need not suppose that the accusation itself was more serious than the reply. The *mollitia* of many of Catullus' erotic poems would no doubt seem a graver offence to a Roman than to a Greek, and if Furius and Aurelius really believed the poet to be *mollis* on the strength of his lyrics to Lesbia<sup>1</sup>, their belief would be quite in harmony with the old national point of view. Even Seneca, living in an age when every kind of effeminacy was the rule, speaks of Maecenas, the type of luxury in its more virtuous mood, as less of a man than the two eunuchs who accompanied him (*spadones duo, magis tamen uiri quam ipse* Epist. 114. 6); and we may well believe that something like a determination to confuse words with acts, softness of language with effeminacy in conduct, effeminacy in gait and dress with unnatural effeminacy of body, for a long time formed part of the traditional Roman antagonism to foreigners.

The defence which Catullus makes here, that his life is pure, though his verse is not, has often been made. Ovid, Trist. ii. 353, sqq. *Crede mihi, mores distant a carmine nostro. Vita uerecunda est, Musa iocosa mihi. Magnaque pars operum mendax et ficta meorum Plus sibi permisit compositor suo.* Mart. i. 35. 3-5, *sed hi libelli Tanquam coniugibus suis mariti Non possunt sine mentula placere*; 10, 11, *Lex haec carminibus data est iocosis Ne possint nisi pruriant iuuare*; xi. 15. 3, 4 *Hic totus uolo rideat libellus*; 13, *Mores non habet hic meos libellus.* Plin. Epist. iv. 14. 4, *Si nonnulla tibi paulo petulantiora uidebuntur, erit eruditionis tuae cogitare summos illos et grauissimos uiros qui talia scripserunt non modo lasciuia rerum sed ne uerbis quidem nudis abstinuisset: quae nos refugimus, non quia seueriores (unde enim?) sed quia timidiores sumus. Scimus aliqui huius opusculi illam esse uerissimam legem quam Catullus expressit. Nam castum esse decet . . . parum pudici.* Ibid. v. 3, written when blamed for the looseness of his volume, *Facio nonnumquam uersiculos seueros parum, facio: etiam comoedias audio et specto mimos et lyricos lego et Sotadicos intellego . . . An ego uereor ne me non satis deceat quod decuit M. Tullium, C. Caluam, Asinium Polionem, M. Messallam, Q. Hortensium, M. Brutum, L. Sullam, Q. Catulum, Q. Scaeuolam, Seruium Sulpicium, Varronem, Torquatum, immo Torquatos, C. Memmium, Lentulum, Gaetulicum, Annaeum, Senecam, Lucanum, et proxime Verginium Rufum?*

Seneca states the counter view. Epist. ii. 4. 3, *Non potest esse alius ingenio, alius animo color*; 4, *Quid ergo? non oratio eius (Maecenatis) aequae soluta est quam ipse discinctus?*

1, 2 of course retort the charge of *mollitia*.

4. **parum pudicum**, XXIX. 2. 5.

5. **pium**, XIV. 7, 'the godly poet.'

6. But Aristophanes, Ran. 1057, says, ἀποκρίπτειν χρὴ τὸ παρηγὸν τὸν γε

<sup>1</sup> Bruner and Westphal consider v. 12 to be an allusion to XLVIII. 3, and explain *pueris* in v. 10 of Iuuentius. But XLVIII is too slight in itself to be thus alluded to; whereas V and VII would recur at once to the memory of every reader of Catullus in connexion with the words *milia multa basiorum*.



ποιητήν, Καὶ μὴ παράγειν μηδὲ διδάσκειν τοῖς μὲν γὰρ παιδαρίοισιν Ἔστι διδάσκαλος ὅστις φράζει, τοῖς ἡβῶσιν δὲ ποιηταί.

7. **tum denique**—**si**, 'then only, if.' Cic. Fam. v. 12. 5, *qui tum denique sibi auelli iubet spiculum, posteaquam ei percontanti dictum est clipeum esse saluum.*

8. **Si sint . . . et possunt**, so the best MSS. of Catullus; *si sunt . . . et possunt*, the MSS. of Plin. Epist. iv. 14. 4. If *sint* is right Catullus passes from the condition stated hypothetically to the condition as realized (*possunt*). Such combinations of indic. and subjunc. with the same conjunction are undeniable in verse; Madvig on Fin. ii. 19. 61, hardly proves that all the prose instances of such combination are solecisms, requiring alteration. But the indic. is the more regular construction after *tum denique*, as in Capt. i. 2. 39, *tum denique intellegimus cum amissimus*. De Legg. ii. 4. 10, *non tum denique incipit lex esse cum scripta est sed tum cum orta est*. Tusc. Disp. iii. 31. 77, *tum denique non appellatur recens cum uetustate exaruit* (see Hand's Tursellinus, ii. p. 276).

9. **quod pruriat** expresses the difficulty of finding an itching or susceptible point. According to Hesych. ψωρός was a name for παιδεραστής.

10. **non dico . . . sed = pilosis, non modo pueris.** **pueris**, as easily roused. The dative is used *in re ueneria*, as shown by the Pompeian Inscriptt. **his**. See on XLV. 14. It recalls the *pilosi* as familiar objects. So De Orat. ii. 60. 246, *huic lusco familiari meo C. Sextio*. Pers. v. 86, *Stoicus hic*. **pilosis**, 'covered with hair,' a sign of roughness, as to remove the hair by depilatories was a mark of effeminacy. Mart. ii. 36. 5, *Nunc sunt crura pilis, et sunt tibi pectora setis Horrida: sed mens est, Pannice, uolsa tibi*. ix. 28. 1, sqq. *Cum depilatos, Chreste, coleos portes, Nec uiuat ullus in tuo pilus crure, Purgentque saeuae cana labra uolsellae; Curios, Camillos, Quintios, Numas, Ancos, Et quidquid unquam legimus pilosorum Loqueris*. Iuuen. ii. 11, *Hispida membra quidem et durae per brachia setae Promittunt atrocem animum*. Quint. v. 9. 14.

11. **duros**, perhaps 'shaggy,' as in Arnob. v. 25, *in speciem leuigari nondum duri atque striculi pusionis*, which Orelli explains to mean 'still without hair and with nothing of the porcupine about him,' comparing Juvenal ii. 11, Sidon. i. 2. But it seems possible that both Arnobius and Catullus express in *durus* the natural *accompaniment* of the increasing growth of hair upon the body, viz. its diminished tenderness or suppleness, and increased rigidity. In this sense 'rigid' or 'torpid,' cf. Anth. L. 698, Riese, *ames cum mille puellas, Solus io solus, dure* (torpid one), *iacere potes?*

12. **milia multa basiorum**, v. 10.

13. **male marem = mollem**. Ovid has *male uir* A. A. i. 524, Quintilian v. 9. 14, *parum uir*, in the same sense (Vulp.).

## XVII.

A FELLOW-TOWNSMAN of Catullus had irritated the poet by the coldness with which he treated his young wife. In these verses Catullus expresses a humorous wish that he may suffer the punishment of the *sexagenarii depontati* (cf. Festus s. v.) and be precipitated for his senility from the

summit of a rotten bridge into the deepest part of a quagmire, near a place which is designated as Colonia.

It is uncertain what place is meant by Colonia. Cluverius, *Italia Antiqua* p. 117, thought it was Mantua, and supposed that the bridge alluded to in the poem connected that town with the territory of Verona. But Mantua was not a Roman colony, though otherwise the description of Catullus would agree with the marshy situation of this town on an island near the confluence of the Mincio and the Po. Scaliger thought it was Comum, which in 59 B.C. was augmented by a body of 5000 new colonists under Julius Caesar, and assumed the title of Novum Comum. But, as Schwabe observes *Quaestt.* p. 345, neither the description of the lake 4, 10, 11, 25, nor the mention of bridges suit the lake of Como (*Lari maxime* Virg. *G.* ii. 159). It had occurred to me that Cremona may be meant: it was a colony, and is described in words very like those of Catullus in one of the *Catalecta*, viii. 14 Ribbeck, *Cremona frigida et lulosa Gallia. . . ultima ex origine Tua stetit dicit in uoragine, Tua in palude deposuisse sarcinas*. The prevailing view is perhaps that of Muretus, which identifies it with the modern Cologne, a small town a few miles east of Verona. This was held before Muretus by Alex. Guarinus, who describes the town as it appeared in his own time, the beginning of the 16th century: '*Mihi autem Colonia nomen proprium cuiusdam oppiduli non longe ab agro Veronensi distantis uidetur, quod hodie corrupto tamen uocabulo uulgo Cologne appellatur. Et praesertim quia Verona illuc iter habentibus paludes latissimae occurrunt, quae in loco quodam coarctantur ubi ponte ligneo satis longo transitus patet, qui nunc pons Zerbanus uocatur*,' cf. Persico *Descrizione di Verona* ii. 266. This view is accepted by Schwabe, but must remain doubtful until some evidence is brought of the town existing in Catullus' time.

Westphal, p. 174, thinks the young wife of this poem is the Aufilena of C, CX, CXI. But Aufilena is described in C as beloved by Quintius, who; with Caelius, is called *flos Veronensium iuuenum*: and we may perhaps infer that she lived in Verona; whereas the hero of XVII, though a municeps of Catullus and therefore a native of Verona, would seem to have lived at the Colonia: at least there would be little point in placing the scene there if it were not the habitual residence of the husband and wife. It is true C may refer to Aufilena before her marriage; she may have left Verona with her husband and settled elsewhere. But this, though possible, is mere guess-work; and at any rate when CX, CXI (both subsequent to Aufilena's marriage) were written, it is more probable than not that she was at Verona, where she would be likely to encounter Catullus.

The metre is Priapean, and is found again in the fragment addressed to Priapus (II). It consists of a Glyconic verse followed by a Phercratean: it occurs in a popular distich in Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, No. 42, p. 1312, *δέξαι τὰν ἀγαθὰν τυχάν, δέξαι τὰν ὑγιειαν*. The last foot of the Glyconic is always a cretic, never a dactyl, as Voss observed.

1. *Iudere*, of celebrating games, probably as part of the worship of some god, cf. 6. Sacred rites are specially mentioned in connexion with the *pons sublicius*, from which small figures of men, made of rushes, and called Argei, were annually thrown into the Tiber by the Pontifices and

Vestal Virgins on the Ides of May. Varro, L. L. v. 83, vii. 44; Ouid. F. v. 621; Festus *Argei* and *Sexagenarii*; Plut. Q. R. 32. **longo**, instead of the *ponticulus*.

2. **paratum habes**, like *cognitum perspectum expertum statutum habere* in Cicero. **inepta**, 'crazy,' 'unsteady:' Forc. gives no other example.

3. **acsuleis**, i. e. *axuleis* from *axula*, diminutive of *axis*, is explained by Hand as = *assulis*, 'laths' or 'planks;' *axis* and *assis*, like *fraxinus frassinus*, *toxicum tossicum*, *coxim cossim*, seem to have been two forms of the same word. Paulus D. s. u. *Axis*. *Tabula sectilis axis uocatur*. Hand quotes Caesar B. C. ii. 9 and Luc. iii. 455, in support of *axis* thus used. But in both places the meaning is uncertain; and here, if *axuleis* is the right word, it may mean 'wooden cylinders,' forming part of the under frame-work of the bridge. *Assuleis*, the ordinary reading, is found in the sense of 'thin wooden planks' in Suet. Gramm. 2. **rediuuiis**, taken from old buildings and used again. Verr. i. 56. 147, *utrum existimatis minus operis esse unam columnam efficere ab integro nouam nullo lapide rediuuiu an quattuor illas reponere?* 148, *Rediuuiua sibi habeto. Quasi quidquam rediuuii ex opere illo tolleretur, ac non totum opus ex rediuuiis constitueretur*.

4. **supinus**, 'on its back,' the supporters at each end giving way, and the centre being thus unable to maintain itself against pressure, and falling in. **caua**, 'engulfing.' Döring compares Met. vi. 369, *tota caua submergere membra palude*. See on LXIV. 259.

5. **Sic fiat . . . da**, as in Hor. C. i. 3. 1, *Sic te diua regat . . . Reddas*; Virg. Ecl. ix. 30-32, *Sic fugiant . . . Incipe*. In all these passages *sic* anticipates the condition mentioned afterwards, *da, reddas, incipe*. Martial similarly Ep. vii. 93. 8, *Perpetuo liceat sic tibi ponte frui*, alluding to the famous bridge over the Nar, built by Augustus at Narnia.

6. **Salisubsali**, a word not known to exist elsewhere; the line which Alex. Guarinus quotes from Pacuvius' *Armorum Iudicium*, *Pro imperio Salisubsulus si nostro excubet*, though its want of metre gives it a look of genuineness, or at least of being copied by some one who thought it so, is not discoverable in any ancient author and seems rightly rejected by Ribbeck. According to Guarinus it was an ancient name of Mars, to whom alone *Salios dicauit antiquitas*, Macrob. S. iii. 12. 1; and who might therefore be called preeminently 'the leaping god;' cf. *Mercurius Negotiator*, *Nundinator*, *Jupiter Redux*, etc.: though Virgil, Aen. viii. 285 and Macrobius, iii. 12 assign *Salii* to Hercules; and one Collegium of *Salii*, the *Agonales* or *Collini*, was assigned to Quirinus specially. Hand reads *Salisubsulis*, and explains of the troop of men-dancers who chanted the *axamenta* in procession, in contradistinction to their leader, *praesul* or *praesultor*. Whether the god or his priests are meant, their existence in this Cisalpine Colonia has many parallels; Inscriptions mention *Salii* at Tibur, Alba, Lavinium, Verona (Marquardt, Handb. iv. p. 369). They were selected from young men, hence *uel*, as their motions would be more vigorous. **suscipiantur**, technical of entering upon the performance of sacred rites. Vatin. vi. 14 *Cum incondita ac nefaria sacra susceperis, cum inferorum animas elicere soleas*.

7. **Munus da**, perhaps in allusion to the other sense of giving a

public show, as in Sest. lviii. 124, *erat munus Scipionis dignum et eo ipso et illo Q. Metello, cui dabatur* (Stattius). **maximi risus**, gen. of quality, 'most mirth-moving.' Mr. Clayton.

8. **municipem meum**, 'a native of my municipal town,' Verona; so Cicero of Marius, *Cum Populo Gratias egit* viii. 19, *municeps noster* of M. Pontidius of Arpinum, Brut. lxx. 246.

9. **per caputque pedesque**, *κατωκάρα*, Aristoph. Pax, 153, 'head over heels.'

10. **Verum**, 'only,' corrects and defines the wish which is expressed generally in 8. Haut. iii. 3. 37, *Dicam, uerum ut aliud ex alio incidit*. **ut** is generally taken as = *ubi*, 'where,' like XI. 3: perhaps rightly, though this sense is very rare. The only other explanation would be to take it in close connexion with the superlatives *Liuidissima maximeque profunda*, 'according as the abyss is blackest and most deep,' like *ὡς* with superlatives, e. g. Theogn. 477. Bergk, *ἦξω δ' ὡς οἶνος χαριέστατος ἀνδρὶ πέσῃσθαι*. *Vi* in this sense is more often followed by *quisque*, or *quis*, sometimes by *forte*, as in Aen. v. 329.

11. **Liuidissima**, 'blackest.' Aen. vi. 320, *uada liuida*.

12. **Insulsissimus est homo**, 'the creature is a mere idiot,' from his dulness in regard to his young wife. So Eun. v. 8. 49. *Fatius est, insulsus, tardus: stertit noctesque et dies. Neque istum metuas ne amet mulier; facile pellas, ubi uelis.* **pueri**. Aesch. P. V. 987, *οὐ γὰρ σὺ παῖς τε καὶ τοῦδ' ἀνοώστερος; instar*, the amount of sense, CXV. 1.

13. **Bimuli tremula**, double diminutive, as in 3 *ponticuli acsuleis*, 15 *puella tenellulo*. **Bimuli**, 'two years old.' Suet. Calig. 8. **Tremula**, 'rocking or dandling.' Vulp. quotes Plato, Legg. 790, *ἦρκα γὰρ ἂν ποῦ βουλευθῶσι κατακομίζειν τὰ δυσσπνούντα τῶν παιδίων αἱ μητέρες, οὐχ ἡσυχίαν αὐτοῖς προσφέρουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸνναντίον κίνησιν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αἰεὶ σείουσιν*.

14. **uiridissimo flore**, 'freshest bloom.' Strictly it is the plant, not the flower, which is green: but *flos* had lost some part of its precision, from its constant use = 'youthful bloom.' Cic. Phil. ii. 2. 3.

15. **Et = et quidem**, as in Mil. xxiii. 61, *Magna uis est conscientiae et magna in utramque partem*; Catil. ii. 8. 17, *de uno hoste loquimur, et de eo hoste qui iam fatetur se esse hostem* (Hand); Pomp. Inscriptt. 1819, *Suauis uinaria silit rogo uos et ualde silit*. In all these instances the *et* connects two clauses in which the same word is twice repeated, *puella Et puella, magna uis et magna, hoste et eo hoste, silit et ualde silit*. **delicatio**, 'tenderer.' Mart. v. 37. 3, of a girl five years old, *Concha Lucrini delicatior stagni*. **haedo**. Theocr. xi. 20, 21, *ἀπαλωτέρα ἀρνός, Μόσχω γαυροτέρα, Φιρωτέρα ὄμφακος ὠμᾶς*.

16. **nigerrimis**, grapes which are fully ripened and ready to be plucked, therefore requiring greater care to preserve them. Ben Jonson seems to imitate Catullus here, The Fox, i. fin. *all her looks are sweet Like the first grapes or cherries and are watch'd As near as they are*.

17. **Ludere**, LXVIII. 17. **pili facit**, X. 13. **uni**, archaic for *unius*. So *ullus, nullus, totus, alius, neuter, uter, alter*. (Neue Formenlehre, ii. 183 sqq.) According to Priscian 677, Cicero wrote, Pro Tullio 36 *unae rei*; Ad Herenn. iv. 48. 61 *totae rei*: cf. Rosc. Com. xvi. 48 *nulli consili*, perhaps Mur. xii. 26 *nullo usui*; N. D. ii. 26. 66 *altero fratri*. Corn. Nepos has, Eum. 1 *alterae alae*; Tim. 3 *totae insulae*; Caesar, B. G. v. 27 *alterae legioni*; vi. 13 *nullo consilio*; B. C.

ii. 7 *nullo usui*. In the comic writers these forms are of course common.

18. *se subleuat*, sens. obscen. = *ἐπαίρει ἐντὸν*, Lysist. 937. *ex sua parte*, sc. *lecti*, with perhaps an allusion to the other sense, 'for his part,' LXXXVII. 4. *alnus*. The marshy character of the country near the Po is favourable to the growth of alders (G. ii. 110, 451; Plin. xvi. 77), hence its connexion with the myth of the Heliades who were there changed into alders, Ecl. vi. 63. The simile is taken from Il. iv. 482 sqq. *ὁ δ' ἐν κονίῃσι χαμαὶ πέσεν, αἴγειρος ὡς, Ἡ ῥά τ' ἐν εἰαμενῇ ἔλεος μεγάλοι πεφύκει Δείη, ἀτὰρ τέ οἱ ὄζοι ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῃ πεφύασι. Τὴν μὲν θ' ἄρματοπηγὸς ἀνὴρ αἰθωνί σιδήρω Ἐξέταμ' ὄφρα ἵτυν κάμψῃ περικαλλεῖ δίσφρω. Ἡ μὲν τ' ἀζομένη κείται ποταμοῖο παρ' ἄλγθας.*

19. *Liguri* with *securi*. The Ligurians from the abundance of timber in their country were skilful in felling trees; Strabo 202 *ἔχουσι δ' ἄλγην ἐνταῦθα παμπόλλην ναυπηγήσιμον καὶ μεγαλόδενδρον*. Hence a Ligurian axe may be i. q. the axe of a sturdy wood-cutter. It is perhaps better to suppose that Catullus meant simply to express the country of the alder, and joined the epithet with the axe, in the same way as XXXI. 13, *Lydiae lacus undae = Lydii lacus undae*; Lucretius' *Alexandri Phrygiæ sub pectore gliscens*, i. 474, where see Munro: and still closer Horace, C. i. 31. 9, *Premant Calena falce quibus dedit Fortuna uilem*; iii. 6. 38, *Proles Sabellis docta ligonibus Versare glebas*. *supernata*, 'hamstrung,' the reading of Festus is no doubt right: the word is obviously chosen in reference to the supineness of the husband. *Separata*, the wording of some MSS, is explained by Alex. Guarinus, 'diuisa a radicibus,' 'severed,' a meaning which, if found at all, is rare, but which deference to his father Baptista led him to retain, in spite of his convictions in favour of *supernata*. Filial piety was perhaps a better motive than the personal hostility which could induce as excellent a scholar as Marullus to taunt Politian, by whom *supernata* was introduced from Festus, with a supposed false quantity: the spondee in the first foot of the Pherecratean is found in this very poem, 20 *quam si*; if Marullus believed the first syllable of *supernata* to be short, which is incredible, he ought to have known that Catullus allows an iambus here as well as a spondee and trochee. See fragm. III.

20. 'Just as alive to everything, as if she had no existence anywhere.' *nulla*, De Sen. xxii. 79,  *nolite arbitrari me cum a uobis discessero nusquam aut nullum fore*.

21. *Talis . . . nil uidet*, double predicate. 'Such a creature is this booby friend of mine, who sees and hears nothing.' *meus*, contemptuously. Phaedr. v. 7. 32, *homo meus*. *stupor*. Mart. xiv. 210. 1. Cf. *odrum*, 'a bore,' *scelus*, 'a knave,' *pestis propudium* etc. Passerat's *merus stupor*, 'essence of dulness,' though not supported by MSS. is clever, cf. XIII. 9. The word, which is properly applied to paralysis of the senses, *stuporis in corpore* Tusc. Disp. iii. 6. 12, *sensus stupore* Phil. ii. 45. 115, *oculos stupor urget* G. iii. 523, is doubtless chosen in reference to the dull perceptions of the man, *nil uidet nihil audit*, with which cf. Antiphanes ap. Mein. Com. Fragm. iii. p. 112, *κάθηται . . . ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲν αὐτ' ἀκούων οὐθ' ὁρῶν*.

22. Asin. ii. 4. 59, *Sil, non sil, non aedepol scio*; Capt. iii. 4. 28, *Quin suum ipse interdum ignorat nomen neque scit qui siet*. *id quoque*

**nescit.** Lucr. iv. 469, *Denique nil sciri si quis putat, id quoque nescit An sciri possit, quoniam nil scire fateatur*, and the passage of Cicero's Acad. pr. ii. 23. 73 quoted by Munro.

**24. Si pote**, 'in the hope that he may possibly wake up his lethargic fatuity.' The subject to *pote* is the man himself, as is shown by *derelinquere* and *mula*. With *excitare uelernum* as nearly = *excitare se a uelerno*. cf. *erumpere gaudium*, 'let joy have a vent,' Eun. iii. 5. 2; *concitare libidinem*, 'feel their passions roused,' Petron. S. 126; and so Lucr. vi. 645, *pauida complebant pectora cura*, 'they felt their breasts filled with care,' Tac. Ann. vi. 36, *sustulerant animum*, 'had felt their spirits rise.' Such expressions are common in Greek, so *ἀνανῶ βίον*, Soph. El. 819; *χάρη δὲ πύμπλημ' εὐθὺς ὄμμα δακρύων*, 906.

**25. supinum**, an early instance of the derived meaning, 'listless,' 'sluggish.' Quintil. xi. 3. 3 *supini securique graui*, 'clogging,' as in Tac. Ann. i. 63, *cetera limosa, tenacia graui caeno*. **derelinquere**, 'leave behind him.' Gargilius Martialis de Persicis x. (Mai Auct. Class. i. 401), *hodieque nonnulli iumentorum solias in itinere derelictas prae medio truncis ramisue suspendunt*. **caeno**. Lethargies (*uelerni*) were cured by strong smells or sprinkling with cold water, Cels. iii. 20. Hence, as Voss remarks, the propriety of the punishment which the lethargic husband is to undergo; he is to fall into the blackest and deepest part of the foul marsh-waters.

**26. soleam**, according to Rich s. u., not a piece of iron nailed on to the hoof, as usual now, but a sock of leather or some similar material (cf. the *solea sparteu* used for cattle), the underneath part of which was strengthened by a plate of iron, or sometimes silver (Suet. Ner. 30) and even gold (Plin. xxxiii. 140). It is this iron plate which is here supposed to become detached from the rest of the sock and left in the mud.

## XXI.

ON the same subject as XV, to which it is the sequel. Aurelius seems to have disregarded the poet's warnings and roused suspicion by his familiarities with Iuuentius. He is again threatened half jocosely (cf. XV. 17-19), and at the same time is taunted with poverty, in which he is sarcastically described as giving lessons to his *protégé*.

Martial has epigrams on the same subject, i. 92, xi. 94, both obviously suggested by this poem.

**1. pater esuritionum** has been explained as a sort of *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* for *cenae pater*, which in Horace S. ii. 8. 7 is interpreted by Acron *συμποσιάρχης*, and seems to be a comic expression for the host, 'master of the banquet—of starvation.' It seems better to follow Vulp. in considering *pater esuritionum* to be a comic expression of the same kind as Plaut. Stich. i. 3. 1 sqq. *Famem ego fuisse suspicor matrem mihi: Nam postquam natus sum, satur nunquam fui*, where the parasite Gelasimus describes himself as the son of Famine, who bore him in her womb ten months, and with whom he in turn was in labour ten years, her child and mother

alternately. That this passage was actually in Catullus' mind seems probable from Gelasimus proceeding to dwell upon his *poverty*, and the lessons which it taught him in order to procure a dinner, i. 3. 20 sqq., cf. 10, 11 of this poem, *esurire Mellitus puer et sitire discet*. But though the outline of the expression seems derived from Plautus, Catullus has altered it by substituting the plural *esuritionum* for the single *Famis*; Aurelius is the father not of *Famine*, but of *Starvations*, or rather of famished starvelings: for that *esuritionum* is used for the concrete *esuritorum* seems to follow from a comparison of XXIV. 1-3, XLIX. 1-3: cf. λιμοι Poseidippus ap. Mein. Fragm. Com. Graec. iv. p. 521, Κνυμο-πρίστας πάντας ἢ λιμούς καλῶν. Ben Jonson imitates Catullus: Alchemist, i. 1, *Like the father of hunger you did walk Piteously costive*.

2, 3 recur XXIV. 2, 3 of Iuuentius, XLIX. 2, 3 of Cicero.

2. **harum**, 'those of our own day.' De Off. iii. 16, 66; Varro R. R. i. 13. 6, *Si potius ad antiquorum diligentiam quam ad horum luxuriam dirigas aedificationem.* quot . . . fuerunt . . . sunt . . . erunt. Plautine. Bacch. v. 1. 1, sqq. *Quiquomque ubi ubique sunt qui fuerunt quique futuri sunt posthac Stulli stolidi fatui fungi bardi blenni buccones.* Pers. v. 2. 1, *Qui sunt qui erunt quique fuerunt quique futuri sunt posthac.* Cic. Fam. xi. 21. 1, *homini nequissimo omnium qui sunt qui fuerunt qui futuri sunt.* Cum Populo Grat. egit vii. 16, *Cn. Pompeius uir omnium qui sunt fuerunt erunt uirtute sapientia gloria princeps.* Lucr. v. 1135, *Nec magis id nunc est neque erit mox quam fuit ante.* It is found in Greek also, Xenoph. Symp. ii. 10, of Xanthippe, γυναικι τῶν οὐσῶν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῶν γεγενημένων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων χαλεπωτάτη, quoted by the younger Dousa. Plat. Tim. 38 A, οὐδὲ γενέσθαι ποτὲ οὐδὲ γεγοῦναι νῦν οὐδ' εἰσαυθὺς ἔσσεσθαι; 38 C, γεγονῶς τε καὶ ὦν καὶ ἐσόμενος.

5. **simul es**, 'you are in his company,' L. 13. οὐδαμοῦ ἀπῆει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, of a lover, Xenoph. Symp. iv. 24.

6. **Haeres**, the conj. of Voss for the reading of all good MSS. *Haerens* is very probable, as *omnia* seems to gather up the three former expressions, cf. XIV. 19; and the asyndeton would be in character. Eun. ii. 3. 82, *Cibum una capias adsis tangas ludas propter dormias.* ad **latus**. De Amic. i. 1, *a senis latere nunquam discederem.* Mart. v. 61. 1, 2, *Crispulus iste quis est, uxori semper adhaeret Qui Mariane tuae?* iii. 91. 3, *Huic comes haerebat.* Plin. H. N. x. 51. Xen. Symp. iv. 27, τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τὸν ὤμον γυμνὸν πρὸς γυμνῷ τῷ Κριτοβούλου ὤμῳ ἔχοντα. Xenophon of a similar lover. **omnia experiris**, 'leave nothing untried.' Andr. ii. 1. 11, *omnia experiri certumst prius quam pereō.* Att. i. 3. 3, *Quod ad me saepe scripsisti de nostro amico placando, feci et expertus sum omnia*, a passage quoted by Stat.

7. **Frustra**. Hor. C. iii. 7. 21, 13. 6; Mart. x. 35. 19. Cf. Lucretius' *Nequiquam. insidias mihi instruentem*. See on XV. 16. Ribbeck's *struentem* is the more ordinary, but for that reason less probable, expression. See on XIV. 22.

8. **Tangam** is generally explained sens. obscen. Hor. S. i. 2. 54. It seems at least as natural to take it like *ferire* in the sense of 'outwitting.' Nonius, 408, quotes amongst other instances a line from the *Aleones* of Pomponius, *at ego rusticalim tangam, urbanatim nescio*. Cf. Plaut. Pseud. i. 1. 120, *Si neminem alium potero, tuum tangam patrem*. **prior**. 'I will anticipate and outwit you by a trick as dirty as your own.'

The masc. brings into prominence the counter-plotting of the two rivals, Aurelius and Catullus (see LXVII. 20).

9. **satur**, Mart. i. 93. 14. Catullus dwells similarly on the poverty of Furius as an aggravation of the same offence in XXIV.

10. **Nunc**, 'as it is,' LXXXIII. 3, 4. Petron. S. 98, *merito excaudesceres, si posses perditum ostendere. Nunc inter turbam puer fugit nec quo abierit suspicari possum*, Mart. ix. 54. 7. **ipsum id**, the mere fact that you will be teaching I. how to starve, irrespective of any love proposals.

11. **discet**, from this *magister esuriendi*, not *cenandi*. Fam. ix. 16. 7. (Vulp.) Menander described the stoics as giving lessons in the philosophy of hunger, *πεινῆν διδάσκει καὶ μαθητὰς λαμβάνει*. Mein. Com. Fragm. v. p. 29.

12. **Quare desine**. So Horace in a similar conclusion, S. i. 2. 77, *quare, ne paeniteat te, Desine matronas seclariet*. Mart. i. 41. 14.

13. **Ne finem facias, sed i.** = *ne ita finem facias ut prius irrumatus sis*, a use of *sed* more common in later Latin. Mart. i. 107. 3, *Otia da nobis, sed qualia fecerat olim Maecenas Flacco Vergilioque suo*; xii. 36. 8, *Pisones Senecasque Memmiosque Et Crispos mihi redde, sed priores*; viii. 49. 1, *Formosam sane, sed caecus diligit Asper*; ii. 48. 3, *paucos, sed ut eligam, libellos*; Stat. S. ii. 6. 8, 11, *famulum—Sed famulum gemis, Vrse, pium*. The punishment here threatened, like that with which Aurelius is before (XV. 18) menaced for the same offence, would remind a Roman of the penalties of adultery, one of which was the right of violating the *pudicitia* of the offender. Val. Max. vi. 1. 13.

## XXII.

Of the Suffenus here ridiculed nothing is known. In XIV. 19 he is classed with Caesius and Aquinus as one of the bad poets of the day. It seems possible that, as in the case of Aquinius, the real name is slightly altered. A M. Nonius Sufenas was tribunus plebis in 57–56 B.C., and seems to have been brought to trial with two of his colleagues, C. Cato and Procilius (Att. iv. 15) in 54; but there is nothing to identify him with Catullus' poetaster.

Hand reads *Fuffenus*, and though the MSS. both in XIV and XXII agree in reading *Suffenus*, they cannot be considered to decide the question. There is the same doubt about *Sufficius*, *Fufficius*, LIV. 5; and between *Fuffanus*, *Furfanus*, or *Sufanus*, Att. vii. 15. 2.

The Varus of 1 is probably the person introduced in X.

1. **probe nosti**, so *probe scire* Fam. ii. 12. 2; *probe commemorasse* De Orat. i. 53. 227; *probe intellegere* Ter. Eun. iv. 6. 30. Plautus has *adprobe nosse* Trin. iv. 2. 115. It may be translated 'perfectly,' or 'perfectly well.' See Ramsay, *Mostellaria*, p. 231.

2. **Venustus et dicax et urbanus**, 'a man of taste and wit and breeding.' Mr. Clayton, who quotes as before him Alex. Guarinus, Quintil. vi. 3. 17. *nam et urbanitas dicitur, qua quidem significari uideo sermonem praefertentem in uerbis et sono et usu proprium quendam gustum urbis et sumptam ex conuersatione doctorum tacitam cruditionem, denique cui*



*contraria sit rusticitas. uenustum esse quod cum gratia quadam et uenere dicatur, apparet. . . Dicacitas sine dubio a dicendo, quod est omni generi commune, ducta est, proprie tamen significat sermonem cum risu aliquos lacessentem.*

3. **longe plurimos**, an unparallelled number.

4. **milia aut decem aut plura**, 'ten thousand if not more.' **decem**, for an indefinitely large number, as in Hor. Epist. i. 18. 25, *Saepe decem uitii instructor: so decies centena*, S. i. 3. 15.

5. **Perscripta**, 'written out.' Tac. Ann. i. 11, *Quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus*, of the *Breviarium totius imperii* drawn up by Augustus. **ut fit**, 'as is usual.' And. i. 1. 53; Hec. i. 2. 83. **in palimpsesto**, abl. after *relata*; as Cicero, quoted by Hand, seems to use both *in codice* and *in codicem referre* Rosc. Com. i-iii, where the accus. occurs four times, the abl. once, § 5 *non habere se hoc nomen in codice accepti et expensi relatum confitetur*. Similarly De N. D. i. 12. 29, *in deorum numero referre*, but i. 13. 34, *refert in deos*. *Palimpsestus*, *παλίμψηστος*, was parchment from which the previous writing had been erased to be used again for the same purpose. Fam. vii. 18. 2, *nam quod in palimpsesto, laudo equidem parsimoniam, sed miror quid in illa cartula fuerit quod delere malueris quam haec scribere, nisi forte tuas formulas. Non enim puto te meas epistulas delere ut reponas tuas*.

6. **regiae**. Heron Autom. 269, quoted by Voss, *δέι χάρηη λαβόντα λεπτότατον τῶν βασιλικῶν λεγομένων*. Pliny, H. N. xiii. 74, *hieratica appellabatur antiquitus religiosius tantum uoluminibus dicata, quae adulatione Augusti nomen accepit, sicut secunda Liuiæ a coniuge eius*, shows that the best kind was in his time called Augusta, a name which perhaps supplanted the earlier *regia*, as the *laurus regia* became *laurus Augusta* Plin. xv. 129. So Suetonius, Reliqq. p. 131 Reyfferscheid (*Carlarum*) *prima et praecipua Augustea regia maioris formae in honorem Octauiani Augusti appellata*. Thus the *hieratica* and *regia* would be identical, as Rich supposes, although both Pliny and Suetonius agree that the *hieratica* descended to the third rank. **noui libri**, from its parallelism with *noui umbilici*, may be one part of the book, as *umbilici* is another. If so, *liber* may be, as Stat. and Voss think, the outer parchment wrapper in which the papyrus-roll was enclosed for ornament and protection. But this seems to be *membrana* in 7; nor is any instance of *liber* in this sense quoted. It seems better to explain it of the separate volumes or rolls of papyrus, each of which was made up of leaves or as we should say sheets, new and unused before. Sueton. Reliqq. Reyfferscheid p. 134, *codex multorum librorum est, liber unius uoluminis, uolumen liber est, a uolendo dictus.*

7. **umbilici**, according to Rich, the ends of the cylinder or stick round which the volume was rolled, probably from their resemblance, when forming the centre of the sheets thus rolled round this stick, to a navel. But from Stat. S. iv. 9. 8, *binis decoratus umbilicis*; Mart. i. 66. 11, *umbilicis cultus atque membrana*; iii. 2. 9, *pictis luxurieris umbilicis*, it seems certain that they were more conspicuous than the flat circular pieces figured in Rich could be. Tibullus iii. 1. 13 and Ovid Trist. i. 1. 8, speak of painted *cornua* at each end of the roll (*frons*); these seem to have been horn-like projections; the *umbilici* may have been either identical with these or more in the shape of a tapering boss. **lora**, straps or strings for tying up the roll or its parchment case; less probably for attaching the *σῆλιβοι*,

or small strips of parchment containing the title of the work. Att. iv. 4. Rich gives an illustration of such strings and the label attached to them, s. u. Index. **membrana**, the parchment wrapper or envelope of the roll, often coloured to give a finer appearance. Tib. iii. 1. 9, *Lutea sed niueum inuoluat membrana libellum*; Mart. i. 66. 20; iii. 2. 10; cf. *purpura toga*, x. 93. 4.

8. **Derecta plumbo**, 'ruled with lead.' Lines were drawn in ancient MSS. with a small circular plate of lead *κυκλοτερής μόλιβος* (Anth. P. vi. 62. 1), *γυρὸς μόλιβος* (Anth. P. vi. 64. 1), *τροχόεις μόλιβδος* (Anth. P. vi. 65. 1, 68. 2), *τροχαλὸς μόλιβδος* (Anth. P. vi. 66. 3), sometimes *κυκλομόλιβδος* (Anth. P. vi. 63. 1). To keep the lines straight they used a ruler or *κανών*, which is mentioned in all the above-quoted epigrams as a regular accompaniment of the pencil, *κανόνα γραμμῆς ὑπεύρου ταμίην* (Anth. P. vi. 64. 4), *ἡγεμόνα γραμμῆς ἀπλανέος κανόνα* (65. 4), *κανόνα τροχαλοῦ κυβερνητήρα μόλιβδου* (66. 3), *μόλιβδον κανόνα Σύνδρομον ἠμοχῆα* (67. 2). Thus *derecta plumbo* is a condensed expression for *plumbo notata lineis ductis ad regulam*. **pumice**, the inequalities of surface produced by the fibres of the papyrus were removed by pumice stone. Tib. iii. 1. 10, *Pumicet et canas tondeat ante comas*; Trist. i. 1. 11, *Nec fragili geminae poliantur pumice frontes Hirsutius passis ut uideare comis*; Mart. viii. 72. 1, *Nondum murice cultus aridoque Morsu pumicis aridi politus*. Anth. P. vi. 295. 5, *λεάντειράν τε κίσσηριν*. The best pumice came from Melos Nisyros and the Aeolian islands (Plin. xxxvi. 154).

9. **cum legas tu**, 'each time one reads;' for this use of *cum* with pres. subj. to signify a repeated action, see Munro on Lucr. ii. 41, where a number of instances are given.

10. **unus caprimulgus**, 'an absolute bumpkin.' Att. ix. 10. 2, *me una haec res torquet, quod non omnibus in rebus labentem uel potius ruentem Pompeium tamquam unus manipularis secutus sim*; De Orat. i. 29. 132, *minime est facile praecipere, non mihi modo qui sicut unus paterfamilias his de rebus loquor, sed etiam ipsi illi Roscio*. In these cases *unus* is nearly i. q. *quiuis* or *quilibet unus*, any specimen you like to single out; an emphasized *any*; the laudatory or disparaging notion is determined by the general meaning of the sentence; 'any mere,' 'any average,' 'any absolute.' **fossor**, 'a clown.' Pers. v. 122, *nec cum sis cetera fossor Tres tantum ad numeros satyrum mouere Bathylli*. Lucian xiv. 7, *τί δ' ἂν τις αὐτῷ χρῆσαιτο ῥηπῶντι καὶ οὕτω κακοδαμόνως διακειμένῳ; πλὴν εἰ μὴ σκαπανέα γε καὶ ὑδροφόρον αὐτὸν ἀποδεικτέον*. Strab. 157, *οἱ δ' οὕτως ἀγροίκως ἐδέξαντο τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τὴν τοιαύτην ὥστε οὐ μόνον τὸν ποιητὴν σκαπανέως ἢ θειριστοῦ δίκην ἐκ πάσης τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιστήμης ἐξέβαλον*.

11. **Rursus**, as in LXV. 5, *Quamque ferunt rursus uoto seruasse maligno*, changed and lent itself to a bad vow. **tantum abhorret ac mutat**, 'so unlike himself, so altered is he.' **mutat**, intransitive, so not only in Plautus, Rud. iii. 6. 27; *demutare*, Mil. Glor. iv. 3. 39; Ps. i. 5. 142, 153; Stich. v. 4. 43 (see Lorenz on Mil. Glor. iv. 3. 39), and the older writers, but Varro, L. L. v. 101, *G in C mutauit*; idem ap. Gell. xviii. 12. 8, *in priore uerbo graues prosodiae quae fuerunt, manent; reliquae mutant*; R. R. ii. 2, Lucr. i. 786; Liu. ix. 12 *adeo animi mutauerant*, xxxix. 51. So *augere sedare*, both quoted by Gellius xviii. 12; *retinere* Varro R. R. ii. 2. 9, *minuere* Caesar B. G. iii. 12.

12. **Scurra**, 'a professed wit,' nearly = *urbanus*, as in Phaedr. v. 5. 8,

*scurra notus urbano sale*, where it is opposed to *rusticus*. Hor. Epist. i. 15. 29, *urbano coepit haberi*, *Scurra uagus, non qui certum praesepe teneret*. Ritter there cites Trin. i. 2. 165, *Urbani adsidui ciues quos scurras uocant*; and Quintil. vi. 3. 105, *Urbano homo erit—qui in sermonibus circulis conuiuuiis item in contionibus omni denique loco ridicule commodeque dicet*. Seneca de Const. Sap. 17, *scurram et uenustum ac dicacem*.

13. **Aut si quid hac re tritius**, cf. XXIII. 13, Mart. xiv. 83. 2, *Pulice uel siquid pulice sordidius*. **tritius**, either 'finer,' 'more polished' (Heyse), in which sense however Forc. quotes no instance of the word used metaphorically, or 'more practised in joking'; as Cicero speaks of the *tritae aures* of a practised critic, Fam. ix. 16. 4. As there the critic is trained to distinguish a genuine verse of Plautus from a spurious one, rejecting and accepting alternately, so the *scurra* by long practice would know whether a joke was likely to please or not, and would be a sort of test of good or bad conversation.

14. **infaceto inf.** 'outdulls the dulness of the country,' XXXVI. 19. 20. Hor. Epist. ii. 1. 157. *Infacetus*, without humour; *infectus* generally means 'foolish,' 'absurd.' Holden on De Off. iii. 14. 58.

15. **idem**, 'for all that,' 'yet all the time.' CIII. 4.

16. **beatus**. Hor. Epist. ii. 2. 106, *Ridentur mala qui componunt carmina: uerum Gaudent scribentes et se uenerantur et ultro Si taceas laudant quicquid scripsere beati*.

17. **gaudet in se**, Prop. ii. 4. 18. This abl. with *in* is frequently used of the object or person in whom a feeling whether of fondness or aversion is centred. Cf. *uri ardere deperire aestuare in aliqua*, and such adjectival expressions as *lenis saeuus in hoste* (Ovid Trist. v. 2. 36, Am. i. 7. 34), *in Melie pallidus*, Am. iii. 6. 25, etc. Dräger Historische Syntax pp. 606, 7. Translate 'wrapt in self-conceit.'

18–21. Eurip. fr. 1029, Nauck, "Ἀπαντές ἐσμεν εἰς τὸ νοουθετεῖν σοφοί, Αὐτοὶ δ' ἀμαρτάνοντες οὐ γινώσκομεν. Sosicrates Com. ap. Mein. 4, p. 592, quoted by Nauck, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ τὸ κακὸν ἐσμεν ἐφ' ἑτέρων ἰδεῖν, Αὐτοὶ δ' ὄταν ποιῶμεν οὐ γινώσκομεν. Longinus de Subl. 4 said of the historian Timaeus, ἀλλοτρίων μὲν ἐλεγτικώτατος ἀμαρτημάτων, ἀνεταιίσθητος δὲ ἰδίων.

18. **idem** is not an objective accus. like the accus. with *angi* (Fin. i. 19. 62), 'to be pained at something,' nor like the accus. with *cogi*, *adduci* (Dräger, p. 347), 'to be forced to do anything,' but a strictly cognate accus. = *eundem errorem erramus*, like *idem peccare* Hor. A. P. 354. **neque est quisquam**. Sen. de Clem. 1, *Ex clementia omnes idem sperant, nec est quisquam cui tam ualde innocentia sua placeat ut non stare in conspectu clementiam paratam humanis erroribus gaudeat*.

19. **in aliqua**, a tribrach in the second foot, as Martial has the same word in the fourth foot of a scazon vii. 26. 3, *Hoc quaecumque, cuius aliqua pars ipse est*. Cf. XXXVII. 5, *Confuturare*; XLIV. 20, *Non mihi*; LIX. 3, *Vidistis ipso rapere*, all in scazons. But Catullus has no line as harsh as Martial's *Illic et oculis et animis sumus, Caesar*, vii. 7. 7, in which two trisyllabic feet follow each other. **Suffenum**, a Suffenus, as Q. Fratr. i. 2. 15, *Cato adulescens nullius consilii, sed tamen ciuis Romanus et Cato*, 'and a Cato'; Mart. i. 34. 7, *A Chione saltem uel ab Alide disce pudorem*, a Chione or an Alis, typical *lupae*; viii. 56. 6, *Vergiliumque tibi uel tua rura dabunt*; ib. 24, *Vergilius non ero, Marsus ero*. Vell. Paterc. ii. 18, *odio in Romanos Hannibal*.

21. *manticae quod in tergo est*, 'that part of the wallet behind us,' which contains our own vices, as the part in front contains our neighbours'. The *mantica* was a double wallet consisting of two bags joined together and slung over the shoulder, so that one bag hung in front, the other behind. Rich. s. u. The allusion is to the well-known fable of Aesop, which is given at length in Babrius 66 Bergk and Phaedrus iv. 10, who both call the wallets *perae* (πήραι). Cf. Hor. S. ii. 3. 299, *Respicere ignoto discet pendentia tergo*; in Pers. iv. 24, *Sed praecedenti spectatur mantica tergo*, by a slight variation, each man is represented as carrying one wallet on his back, which is perceptible to his neighbour, not to himself. Cf. Sen. de Ira ii. 28, *aliena uitia in oculis habemus, a tergo nostra sunt* (Vulp.).

## XXIII.

THIS and XXIV are both directed against Furius, doubtless the friend of Aurelius, with whom he is associated in XI and XVI. Like his friend, Furius seems to have offended the poet by associating too freely with the young Iuuentius (XXIV), and it was this probably which occasioned the present attack. The attack is unusually fierce, even from Catullus, and we may doubt whether the object of its unsparing sarcasm ever forgave the injury. Hence it was either written after XI, which would place the date in 54 B.C., or if, as Schwabe thinks, XI was written subsequently, XXIII was not allowed to reach the knowledge of Furius. Even to one familiar with Catullus' habit of assaulting his most intimate friends most violently, and who had himself experienced something of this scurrility in XVI, the personalities of XXIII must have seemed to go beyond the licence naturally conceded to poets; they could not be treated as merely jocose. The case of Caesar is different; for Caesar was a public character, and Catullus only repeats in XXIX, LVII the common scandals of the day. Although therefore the alternation of love and hate, the *odi et amo* of LXXXV is a fact in the character of Catullus, and a fact which makes it certain that the Furius of XI is the Furius of XXIII, XXIV, it is difficult to believe that the fierce abuse of XXIII can have been so completely forgotten by Catullus or ignored by Furius as to make the friendly tone of XI a *subsequent* possibility. If this is a right inference, XXIII, XXIV must be among the latest poems of Catullus. The language shows traces of the Greek comic poets. Victorius pointed this out on 16, which recalls a passage of Antiphanes, Mein. Com. Fragm. iii. p. 133, describing a life of cheapness, vegetable diet, and the good health produced by such a regimen:

Τὸ δειπνόν ἐστὶ μᾶζα κεχαρακωμένη  
 ἀχύροις, πρὸς εὐτέλειαν ἐξωπλισμένη,  
 καὶ βολβὸς εἰς τις καὶ παροψίδες τιναί,  
 σόγχος τις ἢ μύκης τις ἢ τοιαῦθ' ἅ δὴ  
 δίδωσιν ἡμῖν ὁ τόπος ἄθλι' ἀθλίους.  
 τοιοῦτος ὁ βίος, ἀπύρετος, φλίγμ' οὐκ ἔχων.

Martial imitates this poem xi. 32 :

*Nec toga nec focus est nec tritus cimice lectus  
Nec tibi de bibula sarta palude teges,  
Nec puer aut senior, nulla est ancilla neque infans,  
Nec sera nec clavis nec canis atque calix.  
Tu tamen affectas, Nestor, dici atque uideri  
Pauper, et in populo quaeris habere locum.  
Mentiris uanoque tibi blandiris honore,  
Non est paupertas, Nestor, habere nihil.*

Cf. XI. 56.

For an equally humorous, but quite different, enumeration of the advantages of poverty as compared with wealth, see Xenophon Symp. iv.

1. **Furei.** This is the only instance of the old termination *-ei* in a vocative singular which our MSS. present; they give also the vocative plural *bonei coniuges* LXI. (225), the genitives *Romulei* XXVIII. 15, *Africei* LXI (299), *Dindymei* LXIII. 91, *Stylei* LXV. 14; the datives *Herculei* LV. 13, *mei* LXXVII. 3 (Lachmann on Lucr. iv. 602). **seruos.** To have no slaves was a mark of extreme poverty, as conversely to have many was a sign of wealth. Menand. ap. Mein. Fragm. Com. iv. 234, εἰδαί τι βούλει, πάντα σοι γενήσεται Ἄγρος οἰκία θερίποντες ἀργυρώματα, Lucilius vi, *Cui neque iumentumst nec seruos nec comes ullus.* Iuuen. iii. 141, *Quot pascit seruos? quot possidet agri Iugera? quam multa magnaue parapside cenat?* Sen. de Constantia 3, *Cum pauperem negatis esse sapientem, non negatis solere illi et seruum et lectum et cibum deesse.* **arca,** 'money-chest.' Titinius ap. Fest. p. 302 (178 Ribbeck), *Quid habes nisi unam arcam sine clauis? eo condis sucerdas;* Cic. Paradox. vi. 44, *animus hominis diues, non arca appellari solet;* Iuuen. i. 90, *posita sed luditur arca.*

2. **cimex,** no mattress to house bugs. Aristoph. Plut. 540, ἀντὶ δὲ κλίνης στιβάδα σχοίνων κόρων μεστήν. Mart. xi. 32. 1, 56. 5. **araneus.** Lucr. iii. 383: no house with walls for spiders to hang cobwebs upon. In Aristophanes' Plutus 537-539 lice, gnats, and fleas, which will not let the poor man sleep, are described as part of the possessions he gets from Πενία. Possibly Catullus may simply be carrying this idea a step farther: Furius was so poor that he had not even the usual accompaniments of poverty; the very bugs and spiders would not house with him, for fear of starvation. **ignis.** Martial says *fire-place (focus)* xi. 32. 1, i. 92. 5. So Alexis ap. Mein. Fragm. Com. iii. 465, οὐκ ἔχων δὲ τυγχάνω οὐ βόλβον, οὐ πῦρ, οὐ κύμνον, οὐκ ἄλας.

3. **Verum est,** but who *have* what makes and keeps you poor. **et pater et nouerca,** Virg. Ecl. iii. 33: the poverty of a man's relations is almost a common-place of satirical poetry. Crates fr. 6 Bergk, καὶ μὴν Μάκλον εἰσεῖδον . . . τῶν ἐρίων ξαίνοντα γυναικὰ τε συγξαίνουσιν τὸν λιμὸν φεύγοντας ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊότητι. Alexis ap. Mein. Com. Fragm. iii. 456, Ἔστιν ἀνήρ μοι πτωχός, καγὼ Γραῦς, καὶ θυγάτηρ, καὶ παῖς υἱός, Χῆδ' ἢ χρηστή, πένθ' οἱ πάντες. Martial describes such a family xii. 32.

4. **uel silicem,** as hardly coarser than the food they eat: e. g. mouldy bread, *solidae iam mucida frusta farinae Quae genuinum agitent non admittentia morsum,* Iuuen. v. 68, where Mayor quotes Sen. Epist. 18. 7, *panis*

*durus ac sordidus*, the black bread (*panis ater* Eun. v. 4. 17. *panis niger* Mart. xi. 56. 8) of Terence and Martial: cf. *panis lapidosus* Sen. de B. ii. 7. 1, *siccus* Epist. 83. 6. **comesse**, Flac. xxxvi. 91, de N. D. ii. 25, 64. So *comesset*, XXIX. 14, Sest. li. 110, *comesses* Mart. v. 39. 10: in the earlier writers these forms are of frequent occurrence. — See Neue Forment. ii. p. 469.

5. **Est pulchre tibi**, 'you're a fortunate fellow.' De N. D. i. 41. 114, *Propone ante oculos deum nihil aliud in omni aeternitate nisi mihi pulchre est et ego beatus sum cogitantem.* Hor. S. ii. 8. 18.

6. **lignea**, 'scraggy' or 'wizened;' Lucr. iv. 1161, *neruosa et lignea dorcas.* The opposite is *corpus solidum ac suci plenum*, Eun. ii. 3. 27.

7. **Nec mirum**, LVII. 3, LXII. 14, LXIX. 7. Varro R. R. iii. 17. 3, *Non mirum: uno tempore enim memini hunc Caesari sex milia murænarum nutua dedisse in pondus.*

8. **pulchre concoquitis**, 'you have excellent digestions because you have so little to eat.' Sen. Epist. 86. 11, *expectabat ut in balneo concoqueret;* De Benef. iv. 39, *Surgam quamvis non concoxerim.* **nihil timetis**, 'you have nothing to fear because you have nothing to lose.'

9. **Non incendia, non graues ruinas**, 'you have no city house to be burnt or fall with a heavy crash.' Propertius' imitation ii. 27. 9, 10, *Praeterea domibus flammis domibus ruinas Neu subeant labris pocula nigra tuis* seems to show that both *incendia* and *ruinas* are meant of a house catching fire or falling with a crash. Sen. de Vit. Beat. 26. 2, *uos domus formosa, tamquam nec ardere nec ruere possit [obstupefacit]*, De Benef. iv. 6. 2, *ingens tibi domicilium sine ullo incendii aut ruinae metu struxit*, both passages quoted by Mayor on Iuuen. iii. 6, 197.

10. **facta impia**, a general expression of which *dolos ueneni* is a particular illustration. *Impius* in Catullus expresses the violation of some natural law or feeling. XXX. 3, *facta impia*, the ingratitude of a friend; LXIV. 404, *mater impia*, an incestuous mother; LXVII. 25, *impia mens*, of a father who violated his son's marriage bed; LXVIII. 123, *impia gentilis gaudia*, unnatural joy at the prospect of a kinsman's death; XC. 4, *Persarum impia religio*. So here *facta impia* seems to mean outrages committed by some relative or friend to get money which would only fall to them by the death of the possessor. Ovid F. ii. 623, *Procul impius esto Frater et in partus mater iniqua suos.* Poisoning being the most ready means for effecting such an object, it is added in *dolos ueneni*. Cf. Lucr. iii. 73, *Et consanguineum mensas odere lumentque.*

11. **casus alios**, as theft, slaves running away or dying. Hor. Epist. ii. 1. 121, *Detrimenta fugas seruorum incendia ridet.* S. l. 1. 76, *noctesque diesque Formidare malos fures incendia seruos Ne te compilent fugientes.* Mart. vi. 33. 3, *Furta fugae mortes seruorum incendia luctus.* **periculorum**. Döring quotes from Fam. vi. 4. 3, *Ad omnes casus subitorum periculorum magis obiecti sumus.*

12. **Atqui**, 'Nay, what is more.' This is one of the cases where 'additur per atqui confirmatio rei ex altera parte. Et potest oratio ita ad grauiora et ad ea quae magis in re probanda ualeant ascendere.' Hand. Tursell. i. p. 517. Döring explains *atqui* in reference to *incendia*; 'and yet, though you are not afraid of fire, you might be; for your bodies are so thoroughly dried by spare diet and exposure to the sun, as to be inflammable.' This is flat. Statius' *Uiqui*, 'inasmuch as,' is prosaic, and

after *bene nam ualetis omnes, Pulchre concoquitis*, a mere tautology. **sicciora**. Like ξηρός, *siccus* is applied to bodies free from phlegm and other unwholesome humours. Varro ap. Non. *Persae propter exercitationes puerilis modicas eam sunt consecuti corporis siccitatem ut neque spuarent neque emungerentur sufflatoue corpore essent*. Mart. xii. 32. 7, *frigore et fame siccus*. **cornu**. Plin. xxxi. 102, *Cornea uidemus corpora piscatorum*. Petron. S. 43, *Corneolus fuit, aetatem bene ferebat*. De N. D. ii. 57. 144, *duros et quasi corneolos introitus*.

**13. Aut siquid magis aridum**, viz. *cornu*. See on XXII. 13. **aridum**. So Aquilius, or, as Varro thought, Plautus, in the play Boeotia, quoted by Gellius, iii. 3. 5, *Maior pars populi [iam] aridi replant fame*.

**14. Sole**, exposure to the sun. **esuritio**. Tusc. Disp. v. 34. 99, *Adde siccitatem quae consequitur hanc continentiam in uictu, adde integritatem ualetudinis; confer sudantis, ruclantis, refertos epulis tamquam opimos boues* (Vulp.).

**15. Quare non**, ironical. LXXXIX. 4, *quare is desinat esse macer? bene ac beate*. XIV. 10.

**16.** Victorius compares Antiphanes ap. Meinek. Fragm. Com. iii. 133, *τοιούτος ὁ βίος ἀπύρετος, φλέγμα οὐκ ἔχων*. Petron. S. 44, *nec sudauit unquam nec expuit, puto eum nescio quid asiadis habuisse*. **salua**. Priap. xxxii. 1. 7, *Vuis aridior puella passis—Quae suco caret ut putre atque pumex Nemo uiderit hanc ut exspuentem*.

**17. Mucus** is supposed by Voss and Scheller on Cels. iv. 18, to be the thicker, **pituita** the more liquid, discharge from the nose. But Anke in Philologus for 1873, pp. 394–396, shows that in Celsus, where *mucus* occurs three times, iv. 18 (25), v. 28. 3, viii. 9. 1 fin., it cannot mean anything coagulated or solid (*snol*), and the same thing seems indicated by Plautus' use of *muccidus*, Mil. G. iii. 1. 52, Epid. iii. 4. 58, = 'with a running at the nose.' Hence it seems safer to explain *Mucus* as the special word (*snivel*), *pituita* the general, here defined by *nasi*, 'tiresome running in the nose.' Thus Celsus speaks of the gum secreted by the eyes as *pituita oculorum*, and speaks of its thickness (*crassa*), as well as its whiteness and softness, or on the other hand its dryness (*arida*), yet this same discharge runs (*cursus pituitae*). Again in ii. 23 he speaks of a thicker or thinner phlegm (*pituita*); in iv. 5 he describes the *pituita nasi*. *Destillatumor de capite interdum in nares . . . Si in nares destillat, tenuis per has pituita profluit*, and speaks of its thickness or tenuity. Both *mucus* and *pituita* thus seem to express a secretion of variable consistency; but *mucus* is more strictly confined to the nose, *pituita* is mucus in the most general sense of the term, whether as discharged from the nose or eyes, or as phlegm.

**18. munditiem**, 'cleanliness,' a rather rare meaning. Cf. XCVII. 3. *munditiem mundioerem*, Plautine.

**19. purior salilo**. The Romans made it a point of honour to keep the salt-cellar, which was generally of silver and transmitted as an heirloom from sire to son, clean and bright. Hor. C. ii. 16. 14, *paternum Splendet in mensa tenui salinum*. Pers. iii. 25, *rure paterno Est tibi far modicum, purum et sine labe salinum*. Catullus perhaps introduces the word here in reference to the proverbial ἀλίαν τρυπᾶν, Apollon. Tyan. Ep. 7; *salinum terebrare*, Pers. v. 138, 'to scrape and scrape till you

drill a hole in your salt-cellar' (Conington on Pers. v. 138), as a suggestion of poverty. Cf. Callim. Epig. 1. Blomf. Τὴν ἀλίην Εὐδημος ἀφ' ἧς ἄλα λιτόν ἐπέσθων χειμῶνας μεγάλους ἐξέφυγεν δανέων. **salillo.** Trin. ii. 4. 91, where however the reading is not quite certain.

**20. decies**, here of a small number proportionally; in Mart. xii. 54. 1, *Aegrotas uno deciens aut saepius anno*, of a large. Possibly at a time when July and August were still Quintilis and Sextilis, the reminiscence of the old Roman year of 10 months was sufficiently familiar to make *decies in anno* = once a month, a specialization by which the coarseness of the joke becomes more humorous. We might then compare Aristoph. Acharn. 857, 'Ἐργῶν τε καὶ πεινῶν ἀεὶ Πλεῖν ἢ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας τοῦ μηνός ἐκάστου. **cacas**, χέζεις. Mart. i. 92. 11 *Non culum, neque enim est culus, qui non cacat olim.* Novius ap. Non. 507 (9 Ribbeck). **in anno.** With numeral adverbs or a distributive numeral, the ablative of the time within which anything happens regularly takes *in*. Dräger, p. 489, cites Bacch. v. 2. 9, *ter in anno*; Rosc. Am. xlvi. 132, *ter in anno*; Liu. xxxix. 13, *tres in anno*; Tusc. Disp. v. 35. 100, *bis in die*; Fin. v. 30. 92, *semel in uita risisse*; Fam. xv. 16. 1, *ternas in hora*; Hor. S. i. 4. 9, *in hora saepe ducentos*. But the prep. is often omitted, as Mart. xii. 54. 1; x. 70. 1.

**21. id**, sc. 'quod cacas' (Alex. Guarinus). On this view cf. Acharn. 1168, ὁ δὲ λίθον (*lapillis*) λαβεῖν βουλόμενος ἐν σκότῳ λάβοι τῇ χειρὶ πέλεθον ἀρτίως κεχασμένον. Otherwise *id* is euphem. for *mentula*, like τὸ δεινά, Acharn. 1149; cf. Mart. ix. 41. 10. The fact mentioned by Lucian xiv. 6, ἢν ἀποδύσης κύαμον ἔτι χλωρὸν ἔοντα, ὄψεται τοῖσιν ἀνδρηγίοισι μορῖοισι ἐμφερέα τὴν φυήν, is perhaps in favour of this view. **durius.** Mart. iii. 89. 2 has *durum cacare*. **faba.** Pliny mentions as a peculiarity of beans that *aqua marina aliaue salsa non percoquitur*, xviii. 119; and the writers on agriculture recommend that beans should be steeped in order to boil more easily. (Conington on G. i. 196). **lapillis.** Gulielmus ingeniously conjectures *lupillis*. Lupines and beans are constantly mentioned together. Stich. v. 4. 8, *nucibus fabulis ficulis Oleae trublio lupillo comminuto crustulo*. Plin. xviii. 57, xvii. 55, a quotation, *Cato: Stercus unde facias stramenta lupinum paleas fabalia ac frondis iligneae querneae*. Cf. Alexis ap. Mein. Com. Fragm. iii. 456, κύαμος, θέρμος.

**22. si teras . . . non posses.** See on VI. 3. Tibullus iv. 1. 197, *Nostri si paruula cura Sit tibi quanta libet, si sit modo, non mihi regna Lydia, non magni potior sit fama Gylippi, Posse Meleteas nec mallet uincere cartas.*

**24. tam beata**, 'of so wealthy a fortune,' cf. *satis beatus*, 27.

**25. Noli . . . nec.** Poen. v. 3. 10, *Mirari noli neque me contemplanter.* Att. ix. 7. 5. So after *nequire*, Eun. iii. 4. 9; *negare*, Poen. iii. 5. 32 (Holtze Synt. ii. 325).

**26. sestertia Centum**, 100 sestertia = 100,000 sestertii, somewhat under £840. In Sall. Cat. 31 *centum sestertia* is the sum offered with freedom to any slave who gave information of the conspiracy; it constituted the qualification for voting in the first class, and subjected its possessor to the penalties of the Voconian law, which forbade the owner of this sum to make any woman his heir (see Sauppe on lex Voconia in Orelli's Cic. viii. 297, 8): hence it seems to represent the income of a



man risen to respectability, no longer poor (Mommsen iv. p. 580, Eng. Trans.), but yet not rich; whence Martial contrasts the possessor of it with real wealth (iii. 63. 3). Such a man was called *Centenarius*, the name of one of Laberius' mimes; at a later period the same sum subjected a *libertus* to the penalties of the lex Papia, and obliged him, if he had fewer than three children, to leave a proportionate share of his property to his patron (Justin. Inst. iii. 7. 2); cf. Phaedr. iv. 5, 12, Suet. Vesp. 19.

27. *satis beatus*. Hor. C. ii. 18. 14, *satis beatus unicus Sabinis*. Furius was sufficiently prosperous in the possession of his poverty and his relations, as Plautus says Truc. iv. 3. 34, *puer quidem beatust, matres duas habet, auias duas*. I have followed Bergk in writing *beatus*, of which there is no other example in Catullus, as perhaps justified by the comic character of the poem. In LXVI. 27 *adeptus* of MSS. represents *adepta's*, in XXXIV. 23 *solitas es* of *L* is conceivably a relic of the older orthography *solita's* surviving side by side with the new; but in XXXIV. 15 *notho es*, LXVI. 34 *pollicita es*, LXXXVII. 2 *Lesbia amata mea es*, where Lachm. would write *notho's*, *pollicita's*, *mea's* (Lucr. p. 66), the MSS. give no indication of this spelling. If these are doubtful, the case of *-us* before *est*, *es* is of course much more; Lachm. himself denies *uisust* in an epigram of Q. Catulus ap. Cic. de N. D. xxviii. 79; *sanust* in a fragm. of Varro ap. Non. 392 and 264; *a fortiori* in Catullus. See Ribbeck, Prolegomena to Virgil, p. 154.

## XXIV.

A PROTEST addressed to Iuuentius on the subject of his intimacy with Furius. That Furius is meant is I think the natural inference from the repetition of the words, 5, 8, *neque seruos est neque arca*; 10, *Nec seruum tamen ille habet neque arcam*, compared with XXIII. 1. Whether this is the Pisaurian mentioned in LXXXI, as Victorius, xxi. 11, thought, is doubtful: both are described as poor, perhaps as *belli homines*: for Victorius is wrong in arguing from the two poems, that Iuuentius, like the *ἐρόμενοι* in Ar. Eq. 734, attached himself by preference to his inferiors and not to the *καλοὶ κἀγαθοί*.

Which of the two poems was written first? It seems probable that the anger to which Catullus gives expression in XXIII was occasioned by jealousy of Furius. We might suppose then that XXIII was written in an explosion of rage, and was read or recited to Iuuentius at the time; then XXIV. 5, 8, 10 will be a sarcastic allusion to the earlier poem. On the other hand, it is hardly probable that Furius would have been called *homo bellus* after the vehement attack in XXIII: whilst the first line of XXIII, *Furei, qui neque seruos est neque arca*, might as easily be an allusion to XXIV. 5, 8, 10 as *uice uersa*.

This is the first poem in which Iuuentius is named. The gens Iuuentia came originally from Tusculum, and in the time of Cicero was distinguished. Planc. viii. 19, *Tu* (M. Iuuentius Laterensis, the prosecutor of Cn. Plancius, who was defended by Cicero) *es e municipio antiquissimo Tusculano, ex quo sunt plurimae familiae consulares in quibus est etiam Iuuentia*. In c. xxiv. 58 of the same speech Cicero mentions the asser-

tion of L. Cassius that a Iuuentius was the first plebeian aedile, though he throws some doubt upon it himself.

From 1 *flosculus* it may be gathered that Iuuentius was at this time quite young; it seems to belong to the same period as XLVIII. See above, Introduction to XV.

1. *flosculus*, 'tender flower.'

2, 3. See on XXI. 2, 3.

4. *diuitias Midas*. The wealth of Midas was proverbial. Tyrtaeus 12. 6 Bergk *πλουτοῖν δὲ Μίδεω καὶ Κινύρεω μάλιον*, a line to which Plato alludes Legg. 660, cf. Rep. 408 *οὐδὲ θεραπεύειον αὐτοὺς οὐδ' εἰ Μίδου πλουσιώτεροι εἴεν*. Aristoph. Plut. 286 *ὄντως γὰρ ἔστι πλουσίους ἅπανιν ἡμῖν εἶναι*; K. *νὴ τοὺς θεούς, Μίδας μὲν οὖν, ἦν ὅτ' ὄνου λάβητε*. Ouid M. xi. 100-145; Mart. vi. 86. 4; Aristaen. i. 10.

5. *Isti*, contemptuous, as in LXXXI. 3. *qui*, archaic for *cui*. See on I. 1.

6. *sineres amari*, not *amares*. Vulp. compares Heroid. xv. 96, *Non ut ames oro, uerum ut amare sinas*. For the construction *Mallam delisses quam sineres* see Holtze ii. 167.

7. *Qui*? 'how so?' Pseud. i. 2. 22, *Qui nunc? doletne?* **homo bellus**, 'a well-bred man,' 'a fine gentleman.' Varro in his *Satura* called *Nescis quid uesper serus trahat*, ap. Gell. xiii. 11. 1, *Ipsum deinde conuiuium constat ex rebus quattuor et tum denique omnibus suis numeris absolutum est si belli homunculi conlecti sunt, si electus locus, si tempus lectum, si apparatus non neglectus*. Att. i. 1. 4, *Durius accipere hoc mihi uisus est quam uellem et quam homines belli solent*. Fam. vii. 16. 2, *Mehercules extra iocum homo bellus est*. Fin. ii. 31. 102, *hominis quamuis et belli et urbani*. Iuuentius as a *puer bellus* seems to have prided himself on his friends being *belli homines*, LXXXI. 2; just as Stratophanes complains that the *bella puella* Phronesium favours a lover who is rough and uncouth, not a *bellus homo*, Truc. v. 30-40. Xenophon Symp. viii. 11 speaks of the *καλὸς καγαθὸς ἔραστὴς*.

8. Whereas *πατρῷ' ἔχειν δεῖ τὸν καλῶς εὐδαίμονα* Menand. ap. Mein. Com. Fragm. iv. 250.

9. *Hoc*, 'what I say,' viz. that he is a needy man. **quamlibet** = *quantumlibet*, though common with adjectives is rare with verbs. Phaedr. i. 25. 6, *quamlibet lambe olio*. **abice**, 'make little of,' 'extenuate,' the opposite of *augere* in Orat. xxxvi. 127, *Augendis rebus et contra abiciendis nihil est quod non perficere possit oratio*; De Orat. iii. 26. 104, *non solum ad augendum aliquid et tollendum altius dicendo sed etiam ad extenuandum atque abiciendum*. **eleua**, 'slight.' Pers. i. 6.

## XXV.

SCHWABE, Quaestt. p. 149, identifies the Thallus of this poem with Iuuentius. He finds in the name an allusion partly to the youth of the *flosculus Iuuentiorum*, partly to the cognomen of the gens Talna.

This is very doubtful. (1) Thallus is a real name; a C. Iulius Thallus is mentioned as *superpositus numulariorum* Orelli Inscript. 4266, and the

name is found in two Spanish Inscriptt. 3333, 3905, as well as in Apuleius de Magia, xliii, xlv, where see Hildebrand.

(2) Even if Thallus is a fictitious name, the circumstances of the poem are not such as to make the identification with Iuuentius probable. Iuuentius indeed, like Asinius in XII, may have carried off Catullus' *pallium* and other effects; but would Catullus have threatened him with the servile punishment mentioned in 10, 11?

It seems more probable that Thallus is a real name, as indeed the description of him is realistic throughout. He was probably one of those professional dancers who attended at entertainments (Lucil. S. i. ap. Non. 5, *stulte sallatum te inter uenisse cinaedos*), especially in houses of bad repute, and who combined with their professions as dancers the trade of a *prostibulum*, which was its natural accompaniment. See Petron. S. 23, 24.

Bücheler (Index Scholarum Greifswald 1868, pp. 15-17) thinks that this poem, which is imitated in the Priapia lxiv. 1, lxxxii. 30, is alluded to by Cicero in a letter to his brother Quintus, ii. 15. 4, *tu quemadmodum me censes oportere esse et in re publica et in nostris inimicitiiis ita et esse et fore auricula infuma scito molliorem*. Quintus, he thinks, had inserted it in the letter which he wrote to his brother from Gaul in the June of 700 | 54, and Marcus, who had been pleased with the expression, repeated it in his reply written shortly after. Bücheler concludes that Catullus' poems were published before the summer of 54 B.C. Munro, Journal of Philology, 1869, p. 5, denies both the premise and the conclusion. The expression *auricula molliorem* was, he thinks, proverbial; Cicero, who often alludes to older poets, Latin and Greek, never mentions Catullus, and speaks of Calvus only as an orator. And even if here Cicero does allude to Catullus' poem, this proves nothing as to the date of the collective poems; for from I. 1, the dedication to Corn. Nepos, and such poems as LIV, which alludes to XXIX, it is plain that Catullus must have given publicity to many of his occasional pieces at the time they were written.

The metre is Iambic Tetrameter Catalectic, a metre frequently used by Aristophanes. In the best specimens, e. g. Plutus, 253 sqq. Aristophanes generally, but not always, observes the rule which Catullus has followed throughout, of making the fourth foot terminate a word. Catullus has also preferred pure iambic in every foot, even the first and fifth: Aristophanes admits spondees and even trisyllabic feet. The careful rhythm somewhat obscures the multiplicity of diminutives, which detracts from the generally artistic character of the poem.

1. **capillo**, of a rabbit's *fur*. Gell. N. A. xii. 1. 15, *si ouium lacte haedi aut caprarum agni alantur constat ferme in his lanam duriolem, in illis capillum teneriolem*. So  $\theta\rho\acute{\iota}\xi$  is used of wool, Anth. P. v. 205. 5,  $\rho\omicron\phi\phi\rho\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\upsilon$   $\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\eta}$   $\tau\rho\iota\chi\acute{\iota}$ .

2. **anseris medullula** seems to mean, as Voss suggests, the inner feathers of the goose, which are the softest. Plin. H. N. x. 53; cf Mart. xiv. 161. 1, 2, *Lassus Amyclaea poteris requiescere pluma Interior cycni quam tibi lana dedit*. Alex. Guarinus quotes *lanæ medulla* from Pliny as used similarly. In the case of geese the *whiteness* of the down would be an extra reason for the use of the word, *cumque albis ossa medullis*, Ouid. M. xiv. 208. It can scarcely be the pith or soft substance inside

the feather, taken as a fit expression of softness, as being the centre from which the feather springs; cf. *medulla caulis, uitis*, etc. The passage is imitated Priap. lxiv. 1, *Quidam mollior anseris medulla. oricilla*, 'ear-lobe,' for *auricilla* as *oricula* for *auricula* in the Balliol MS. of Cicero ad Q. Fr. ii. 15. 4. Bücheler quotes a second passage, Amm. Marcellinus xix. 12. 5, *ima quod aiunt auricula mollior, suspicax et minutus*, probably taken from Cicero.

3. **situque araneoso**, 'mouldy cobwebs,' perhaps epexegetic of *pene l. senis*, as Voss suggested. Cf. Priap. lxxxii. 30 (ascribed to Tibullus) *Araneosus obsidet forem situs*, lxxvii. 19 *At uos, ne peream situ senili*. Yet Pliny H. N. xi. 52, calls the *specus* or den of the spider *uillosior*.

5. This line is too corrupt to make any interpretation certain. See my Excursus on it in vol. I. The general use of **oscitantes** perhaps indicates the outline of the sense. 'And yet at the same time, Thallus, more greedy than a sweeping tornado, when some chance shows you your victims off their guard.' Following Bergk's conjecture *cum diua multiens aues*, I suggested *cum diua muta gauias*, 'when the silent goddess (either the goddess of thieves, Lauerna or Larunda, or perhaps Angerona, ἡ θεὸς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ κερῶν) shows you the gulls (the simpletons that indicate your presence, as sea-gulls indicate a storm) agape, and ready to be fooled and pilfered.'

6. **pallium**, probably the outer dress worn over the tunic, which would be changed for a different dining-robe during the repast, and might then be stolen. Petron. S. 21; Mart. x. 87. 12; unless we suppose the theft to have been committed during a bath. **mihi meum**, a designed juxtaposition to emphasize the fact that Catullus was re-demanding his own property. **inuolasti**, 'have pilfered,' as in Petron. S. 58, *nisi si me iudicas anulos buxeos curare quos amicae tuae inuolasti*; ib. 43, and so De Orat. iii. 31. 122, *nostra est ista possessio in quam homines inuolauerunt*; cf. 123, *a quibus expilati sumus*. If so the derivation of the word is rather from *uolare*, 'to pounce upon,' than *uola*, 'to take into the palm of the hand,' as explained by Servius on G. ii. 88; Aen. iii. 233; Nonius s. u. *Inuolare*.

7. **Sud. Saetabum**, XII. 14. **catagraphos** is variously explained as (1) figured towels or napkins, like the *inscripta lintea* of Juvenal viii. 168; (2) tablets of stained or coloured parchment, the materials for which might all be found in Bithynia—box-wood, parchment, minium and ochre for dyeing—(Voss, who, however, reads *catagraphon-que Thynon*); (3) signet-rings, such as are mentioned in the verses by Maecenas ap. Isid. Origg. xix. 32 De Anulis, *Thynnus purus est primum in Bithynia fabricatus, quam olim Thynniam uocabant. Flaccus. Lucentes mea uita nec smaragdos, Berillos mihi, Flacce, nec nitentes, Nec per candida margarita quae. Nec quos Thynnica lima perpoliuit Anellos, neque iaspis lapillos*; (Salmasius, who, however, reads *chirographos* or *cerographos*); (4) embossed knives, Varro Gerontodidascalus fr. vi. Riese, Non. 195, *Noctu cultro coquinari se traiecit nondum enim inibi inuecti erant cultelli empaestati e Bithynia*; (5) Statius' view that *catagraphos* is adj. 'embroidered figures of Bithynians,' which would of course imply cloths or tapestries on which they were embroidered; cf. G. iii. 25, *Purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni*. The neuter plural *catagrapha* Plin. H. N. xxxv. 56, is used of figures painted obliquely, or *foreshortenings*, the invention of Cimón of

Cleonae: the adj. *κατάγραφος* in Athen. 387 and Lucian Alex. 12, seems to mean variegated or painted.

8. **Inepte**, 'vain fool,' refers to *palam soles habere*. **palam habere**, 'to display,' Hor. S. i. 2. 84, *nec siquid honesti est Iactat habelque palam, quaerit quo turpia celet*. **soles**, Verr. i. 22. 60, *solet haec quae rapuit et furatus est nonnunquam dicere se emissee*. **auita**, as if they were bequests from your ancestors of which you might be proud; not stolen goods which you ought to conceal. Hor. S. i. 6. 78, *uestem seruosque sequentes In magno ut populo siquis uidisset, auita Ex re praebere sumptus mihi crederet illos*.

9. **reglutina**. The thief's hand is regarded as having an adhesive property, as if covered with glue, XXXIII. 3. Lucilius xxviii, ap. Non. 396, *Omnia uiscatis manibus leget, omnia sumet*, where L. Müller cites Rutil. Numatianus i. 609, *Harpyias quarum discerpitur unguibus orbis, Quae pede glutineo quod teligere trahunt*.

10. **laneum**, 'soft as wool.' Mart. v. 37. 2, *Agna Galaesi mollior Phalantini*. **latusculum**, 'delicate side,' a word also used by Lucretius iv. 312. **mollicellas** seems to be *ἀπ. λεγ.*

11. **Inurere flagella** = *inurere notas flagellorum*; the word suggests the branding which was the punishment of the detected thief: hence *turpiter*. Aristoph. Vesp. 1246 *στιζόμενος βακτηρία*. **conscribillent**, 'scrawl.' Pseud. i. 5. 131, 2, *Quasi quom in libro scribuntur calamo litterae, Stilis me totum usque ulmeis conscribito*. There is no reason to doubt the word which is found in a fragm. of Varro ap. Non. 82. For the change of quantity cf. Lachm. in Lucr. i. 346, *glömere*, but *glömus* Hor. Epist. i. 13. 14, *glömerare glömeramen, offa öfella, mamma mänilla, mütö moetinus but müloniatlus, pümili but pümilones pümilio, rüta but erüta rüttrum rütellum*, etc.

12. **insolenter**, 'in a way you are not accustomed to.' De Inuent. i. 28. 43, *deinde natura eius euenire uolgo soleat an insolenter et raro*. **aestues**, 'chafe' or 'fume,' less with mental agitation, Hor. Epist. i. 1. 99, than with the bodily wincing and uneasy motions occasioned by the cudgelling. But cf. Verr. ii. 30. 74, *aestuabat dubitatione, uersabat se in utramque partem non solum mente, uerum etiam corpore*, where agitation of mind expresses itself in restless motions of the body. **minuta**, for MSS. *inimica*, is due to the Italian scholars of the 15th century; it is perhaps the finest emendation which has been made in Catullus. The smallness of the boat is of course in antithesis to the vastness of the sea. Prop. i. 11. 9, 10, *Atque utinam mage te remis confisa minutis, Paruula Lucrina cymba moretur aqua*. Cicero has *minula nauigia*, Att. xvi. 1. 3. **magno** is explained by the elder Dousa as 'stormy,' as we might say 'big.' Sall. Jug. 78, *ubi mare magnum esse et saeuire uentis coepit*. Lucr. ii. 1, *Suaue mari magno turbantibus aequora uentis*. The younger Dousa adds Ennius Sota 3 Vahlen, *Alius in mari uull magno tenere tonsam*; Aen. v. 628, *dum per mare magnum Italiam sequimur fugientem et uoluimur undis*, where Servius says *magnum procellosum*; Aen. iii. 196, *uenti uoluunt mare, magnaue surgunt Aequora*. This is not impossible, though in most of the passages *magno* is generally explained differently: yet the antithesis of *minuta magno* loses much of its force if *magno* simply repeats the idea of storms conveyed by *depressa* as well as *uesaniente uento*.

13. **Deprensa**, 'overtaken by a storm,' as in Aen. v. 52, *Argolicoue mari deprensus et urbe Mycenae*. Lucr. vi. 429, *deprensa tumultu Naugia*.

## XXVI.

IT is doubtful whether Catullus here alludes to the embarrassments of Furius or his' own. One MS. has *uostra* in 1, and this would be strictly correct in allusion to the needy family of Furius, as described in XXIII. On the other hand, the pun which constitutes the point of the poem would seem more natural if Catullus is speaking of himself; he talks jokingly of his necessities in other poems, XIII. 7, XXVIII. 7-10, X, or implies that he is not too well off, XLI. 2, CIII, CX; such jokes too were part of the fashion of the time. Cicero, in a letter written to his brother Quintus early in 700 | 54, says of Caesar, *iocum illius de sua egestate ne sis aspernatus. Ad quem ego rescripsi nihil esse quod posthac arcae nostrae fiducia conturbaret, lusique in eo genere et familiariter et cum dignitate*, ad Q. Fr. ii. 12. 5.

2. **opposita**, in the double sense of facing towards, and being mortgaged. In this last sense the full phrase was *opponere pignori*, to stake as a counter-pledge. Curc. ii. 3. 77, *pono pallium, Ille suum anulum opposiuit*. Phorm. viii. 3. 56, *ager opposiuit pignori, Ob decem minas*. Pseud. i. 1. 85, *CA. Actum hodie de mest. Set potes nunc mutuum Drachumam mihi unam dare, quam cras reddam tibi? PS. Vix hercle opino, etsi me opponam pignori*.

3. **Apheliotae**, 'the East wind.' Plin. H. N. ii. 122. *Fauonio contrarius est quem subsolanum appellauimus; 119, sunt ergo bini in quattuor caeli partibus ab oriente aequinoctiali subsolanus, ab oriente brumali uolturnus. Illum apeliotem hunc Graeci Eurum uocant*. In the circular chart of the winds given in Reyfferscheid's Suetonii Reliquiae, it is placed between Vulturnus the more N., and Eurus the more S. Lachm. writes here *Apeliotae*; but the MSS. give *Apheliotae*, which, as Klotz observes, may be right, as the word was probably introduced into Latin by the Greek seamen on the Adriatic, not by men to whom the Attic form was familiar. Lobeck on Aj. 803 shows that ἀπηνλιώτης is the correct Attic form.

4. Cicero, Cael. vii. 16, seems to show that 30,000 sesterces was thought high, 10,000 low, as the rent of a house in a good part of Rome. The 15,200 for which Catullus' villa was mortgaged is not in itself a very considerable sum; and we may estimate his embarrassments accordingly. They were probably occasioned by his profligate life; cf. Tib. ii. 4. 54, *Quin etiam sedes iubeat si uendere auitas, Ite sub imperium sub titulumque Lares*. Ouid. Rem. Am. 301-302, *Illud et illud habet, neque ea contenti rapina Sub titulum nostros misit auara lores*, where the house is put up for sale to pay for the extravagances of a mistress.

5. **pestilentem** perhaps alludes to the *healthiness* which the buyer of a house would naturally look for, and might think himself aggrieved by not finding. Cic. de Off. iii. 13. 54, shows that it was a question of casuistry whether the seller of a house *quae pestilentes sint et habeantur salubres* was bound to state its unhealthiness; as nothing could be more absurd than to expect the auctioneer to state *domum pestilentem uenire*.

## XXVII.

As the younger Dousa observes, these lines are little more than an expansion of some verses of Diphilus, Meinek. Com. Frag. iv. 402 Ἐγχεον σὺ δὴ πιεῖν. Εὐζωρότερόν γε νῆ Δί, ὃ παί, δός· τὸ γὰρ ὕδαρες ἅπαν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τῆ ψυχῆ κακόν: cf. Antiphanes, Mein. Com. Fragm. iii. 77 ὁ δέω' Ἰάπυξ, κέρασον εὐζωρότερον.

They have been imitated by Martial ix. 93, xi. 36, and commented upon by Gellius vi. (vii.) 20.

1. **uetuli Falerni**, as in Mart. xi. 26. 3; i. 18. 1; Macrob. S. vii. 12. 9, *Cur ita mel et uinum diuersis aetatibus habentur optima, mel quod recentissimum, uinum quod uelustissimum?* Vnde est et illud prouerbium quo utuntur gulones: *mulsum quod probe temperes miscendum esse nouo Hymettio et uetulo Falerno*. Pliny, H. N. xxiii. 34, says Falernian was most wholesome when neither too new nor too old; its *media aetas* began with its 15th year. The diminutival termination in *uetulus* has quite lost its force: Varro has *catuli et uetuli*, R. R. ii. 9. 3.

2. **Inger**, for *ingere*, like *biber* for *bibere*, Charis. 124 Keil, *coger* or *conger* for *congere*, Mart. viii. 44. 9. Such abbreviations seem natural to drinkers: Meineke Analect. Alexand. p. 131 mentions πῖν for πίνειν, πῶ for πῶδι. *Ingerere* was specially used of pouring in liquids, generally in a considerable quantity. Pseud. i. 2. 24, **calices**, Eubulus ap. Mein. Com. Fragm. iii. 268 πίνειν τε πολλὰς κύλικας εὐζωρεστέρας. **amariores**, of harsher and stronger flavour, either as *older*, or as no longer mixed with water. Mart. ix. 93. 1, 2, *Addere quid cessas, puer, immortale Falernum? Quadrantem duplica de seniore cado*; xi. 36. 5, 6, *immortale Falernum Funde, senem poscunt talia uota cadum*, is in favour of the former view; cf. Sen. Ep. 63. 5, quoted by Alex. Guarinus, *in uino nimis ueteri ipsa nos amaritudo delectat*; Dioscor. v. 16, βαλίου οἴνου καὶ αὐστηροῦ. But Catullus was probably thinking of the Homeric ζωρότερον δὲ κέραει Il. ix. 203, with the comic equivalents εὐζωρον or εὐζωρότερον κέρασον (see the Index to Meineke's Fragm. Com. s. v. εὐζωρος), and if so *amariores* will probably be i. q. *meraciores*, since, in spite of the different explanations given in antiquity of ζωρότερον (Plut. Symp. Prob. v. 4), the common and most accepted view seems to have made it = ἄκρατον, as we may infer from Aristot. Poet. 25, 16; cf. Theoc. xiv. 18 Ἦδη δὲ προϊόντος ἔδοξ' ἐπιχεῖσθαι ἄκρατον Ὀτῖνος ἢθ' ἐλ' ἕκαστος, and Tib. iii. 6. 62, *Tu puer i liquidum fortius adde merum*.

3. 'According to the enactment of the law passed under the presidency of Postumia.' Postumia is obviously the symposiarch or mistress of the revels, as Plautus Pers v. 1. 18 speaks of a *dictatrix* to arrange the details of the feast. Cicero speaks of such *magisteria* De Sen. xiv. 46. It is difficult to see how there can be any allusion to the lex Postumia of King Numa, which, according to Plin. H. N. xiv. 88, forbade wine to be sprinkled on the funeral-pyre or to make a libation of wine from an unpruned vine. **lex**, as Horace speaks of the *leges insanæ* by which the guests at banquets were often bound, S. ii. 6. 68.

4. **Ebriosa**, 'full of liquor.' Anth. P. ix. 130 Παλλάδος εἰμὶ φυτόν.

Βρομίου τί με θλίβετε κλώνες; Ἄρατε τοὺς βότρυας: παρθένος οὐ μεθύω, like you vine-branches. **acina**, which is generally interpreted 'grape-stone,' seems more correctly explained by Prof. Key, of the *berry* of the grape. Plin. H. N. xv. 96, *alia acinis* (grapes) *caro*, *alia moris*, *alia unedonibus*. The fem. *acina* is not found elsewhere, and is not certain here, as the MSS. give *acino*, *acini*, *acine*, and the discussion in Gell. vi (vii), 20, leaves the reading doubtful.

5. **quo lubet abite**, as in Mil. Glor. iv. 1. 27, *Quin tu illam iube abs te abire quo lubet*. The MSS. have *quod iubet*, as in Mart. ii. 55. 2, *quod iubet, colere*. **abite**, XIV. 21. Petron. S. 52, *Aquam foras, uinum intro exclamauit*. **lymphæ**, Tib. iii. 6. 58.

6. **Vini perniciis**, as Martial speaks of *murdering* Falernian (*iugulare Falernum*) by mixing it with inferior wine, i. 18. 5. (Alex. Guarinus.) **seueros**, 'the austere,' nearly = 'the sober.' Hor. Epist. i. 19. 10, *forum putealque Libonis Mandabo siccis, adimam cantare seueris*.

7. **Migrate**, 'find a new home.' Iuven. vii. 6. 7, *Cum desertis Aganippes Vallibus esuriens migraret in atria Clio*. **hic merus est Thyonianus**, 'this is the unmixed liquor of the wine-god.' *Hic* seems to imply that he is holding a cup in his hand. The masc. *Thyonianus* is on the analogy of *Tmolius*, *Phanaeus*, Georg. ii. 93, 98; cf. Lucilius' *Χίος τε δυνάστης*, sc. *οἶνος*. **Thyonianus**, with which cf. *Formianum Fundanum Nomentanum*, presupposes a form *Thyonius* = *Thyonus*, as *Μελάνθιος* = *Μελανθεύς*, Od. xx. 255; cf. *Agrianius* a name of Bacchus mentioned by Plutarch Q. R. 112. Bacchus is called Thyoneus from Thyone, a name of Semele according to the Homeric Hymn xxxiv. 21, Schol. Apoll. R. I. 636, of his nurse, according to a line of Panyasis, quoted by the scholiast on Pind. Pyth. iii. 77, *καί ρ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ κόλποιο τροφῆν ἔθρε ποσσὶ Θυώνης*. Ausonius, Idyl. xiii. (quoted by Stat. and Turnebus), *ne aut Thyoninum mireris aut Virbium, illum de Dionysio, hunc de Hippolyto reformatum*, makes Thyonianus a proper name = Bacchus, which it can hardly be.

## XXVIII.

THIS poem and XLVII both refer to the same event, the association of the two friends Veranius and Fabullus as members of the cohorts or staff of Piso. I have stated my belief above (Introd. to XII) that the Piso whom they attended was Cn. Piso, who was sent out to Spain as quaestor pro praetore 689 | 65, and that their sojourn there with him was contemporaneous with the journey of Catullus to Bithynia. The allusions in XXVIII, XLVII are at least compatible with this view, and it is more probable that Veranius and Fabullus made one journey, not two, together.

In modern times however, since Martyni-Laguna, it has been held, and recently by Schwabe and Westphal, that the Piso of XXVIII, XLVII is L. Piso Caesoninus, the hero of Cicero's oration in *Pisonem*. Piso was consul with A. Gabinius in 696 | 58, and the next year went into Macedonia as proconsul. He remained there somewhat more than two years (Pis. xl. 97 *trinis aestiuis*, xxxv. 86 *per triennium*) plundering



the provincials and abusing to the full extent the privilege of a Roman governor to enrich himself (Pis. xxxv). Cicero's oration represents him besides as (1) maltreating his officers, *Quid? legatorum tuorum optimus abs te quisque uiolatus? tribuni militares non recepti?* xxxvi. 88; (2) a gross sensualist, *nihil scitote esse luxuriosius nihil libidinosius nihil posterius nihil nequius* xxvii. 66, *audis in praeseptibus, audis in stupris, audis in cibo et uino* xviii. 42, cf. De Prouinc. Cons. iii; (3) as not devoid of culture, an Epicurean (Pis. xxviii, xxix, Sest. x) and fond of having literary Greeks about him; Pis. xxvii. 67, *Graeci stipati, quini in lectulis saepe plures, ipse solus iacebat in suo Graecorum foetore atque uino*. These points agree very well with the description of Catullus (1) *cohors inanis, Ecquidnam in tabulis patet lucelli?* XLVII. 3, *Vos Veraniolo meo et Fabullo praeposuit?* (2) *nihilo minore uerpa Farli estis*, XLVII. 4, *Verpus Priapus*; (3) Socration (XLVII. 1) may have been one of the Greek underlings described by Cicero. Besides this general agreement, Schwabe has noticed two special points in which Cicero's words illustrate Catullus; (4) XXVIII. 5, *frigoraque et famem tulistis* is not only particularly applicable to a cold country like Macedonia, but closely resembles Cicero's description of the distress of Piso's army there, *exercitus nostri interitus ferro fame frigore pestilentia* Pis. xvii. 40, *Milites incuria fame morbo uastitate consumpti* De Prouinc. Cons. iii. 5; (5) XXVIII. 5 *Vappa*, as Vulpius long ago observed, seems to have been used by Catullus in designed allusion to the agnomen of one branch of the Pisos, *Frugi*. Now this is one of the taunts brought against L. Piso more than once by Cicero, Sest. ix. 21, *Quod erat eo nomine ut ingenerata familiae frugalitas uideretur*, Pis. fr. 2. Font. xvii. 39.

It is not to be denied that the description of L. Piso given by Cicero corresponds with the outline sketched by Catullus, especially in XLVII, which, compared with XXVIII, is the more particular of the two poems; cf. XLVII. 4 with Cicero's *admissarius iste* Pis. xxviii. 69, XLVIII. 5-7 with Cicero's *denial* Pis. xxvii. 67, *Luxuriam autem nolite in isto hanc cogitare . . . nihil apud hunc lautum, nihil elegans, nihil exquisitum—laudabo inimicum—quin ne magno opere quidem quidquam praeter libidines sumptuosum*, and on the other hand with an epigram ascribed to the Epicurean Philodemus, and probably addressed to L. Piso, Anth. P. xi. 44. But the two points singled out by Schwabe, (4) and (5), have very little force, for the words *frigoraque et famem*, XXVIII. 5, apply to the cold and barren sierras of Spain no less accurately than to Macedonia, and the allusion in *Vappa* XXVIII. 4, if any is meant, would be directed with as much force against Cn. Piso as L. Piso Caesoninus, who, in spite of the assertion of Asconius in Pison. p. 3, Orelli, *hunc Pisonem ex ea familia esse quae Frugi appellata sit*, does not appear with this agnomen on any coin or inscription (Drumann, Geschichte Roms, ii. p. 62). Besides, L. Piso was *proconsul* of Macedonia; whereas Catullus seems rather to imply that Veranius and Fabullus were in attendance on a *propraetor*, with whom he contrasts his own praetor Memmius, XXVIII. 7. 8.

1. *inanis*, 'empty-handed,' opposed to *cum onere*, Amph. i. 1. 174; here it is explained by the next line, *Aptis sarcinulis et expeditis*.

2. *Aptis*, 'easily adjusted,' 'handy.' Heroid. iv. 24, *Sarcinaque haec*

*animo non sedet apta meo.* **sarcinulis**, 'baggage.' Plin. Epist. iv. 1. 2, *Iam sarcinulas alligamus festinaturo quantum itineris ratio permiserit.* Petron. S. 99, *Itaque, quod bene eueniat, expedito sarcinulas et sequimini me.* **expeditis**, here of light luggage, which is easily got in hand; more often of the person who travels *expeditus*, without incumbrances, in which sense it seems to be used in Sen. Epist. 17. 3, *Paupertas expedita est, secura est.*

4. **Quid rerum geritis?** a common form of greeting. Aul. i. 2. 39, *Rogitant me ut ualeam, quid agam, quid rerum geram.* It is frequent in Plautus (W. Wagner on Aul. i. 1. 15).

5. **Vappa** originally wine which has lost its flavour and become insipid. Plin. H. N. xiv. 125, *Est natura uitiumque musto quibusdam in locis iterum sponte feruere, qua calamitate deperit sapor, uappaeque accipit nomen probrosam etiam hominum cum degenerauit animus.* In this latter sense of 'a good-for-nothing man,' cf. Hor. S. i. 1. 103, *Non ego auarum Cum ueto te fieri, uappam iubeo ac nebulonem.* **frigoraque et famem.** Liu. xxvii. 44, *maiozem partem militum fame ac frigore quae miserriima mortis genera sunt amisisset.*

6-8. 'Do your accounts show any profits on the wrong side? as mine do, when in attending my praetor I enter my expenses as receipts.' **Expensum** is *παρ' ἐνόμου* for *acceptum*, paid out by you, instead of paid in to you. 'Are the only entries you have made of moneys received by you entries of moneys paid away by you?' Cf. the joke in Plautus' Truc. i. 1. 54, *Accepta dico, expensa ne qui censat.*

6. **patet**, 'stands entered.' Q. Rosc. ii. 5, *Non habere se hoc nomen in codice accepti et expensi relatum confitetur, sed in aduersariis patere contendit.* **lucelli**, similarly applied by Cicero to the gains made by Q. Apronius, the subordinate of Verres in Sicily. Verr. iii. 30. 71, *Imperat Agyriensibus ut decumas ipsi publice accipiant, Apronio lucrum dent . . . Apronio, delictis praetoris, lucelli aliquid iussi sunt dare. Putatote Apronio datum, si Apronianum lucellum ac non praetoria praeda uobis uidebitur.* Ib. 44. 106, *docuerunt uos quid lucelli fecerit homo non malus, familiaris praetoris, Apronius.*

7. **mihī**, sc. *patet in tabulis.*

8. **Praetorem**, G. Memmius Gemellus. **refero** is generally explained as a historic present, 'entered.' In the uncertainty which hangs over the chronology of Catullus' life, it is safer to suppose the poem written at the close of his connexion with Memmius, and whilst it was still scarcely a thing of the past. **datum** is explained by Voss as = *expensum*; it seems to be the opposite of *acceptum*. 'I enter as gain, not what I received, but what I paid away,' cf. De Amic. xvi. 58, *Ad calculos reuocare amicitiam, ut par sit ratio acceptorum et datorum*; Sen. de Ira, iii. 31, *Falsas rationes conficis, data magno aestimas, accepta paruo.* A different interpretation is suggested by the use of *datum referre* with a dat. = 'to enter as advanced on the account of a person,' in Flacc. xix. 44, *Dicunt se Flacco . . . drachmarum xv milia dedisse . . . Cum illam pecuniam nominatim Flacco datam referant.* The object of *refero* will then be the following clause, *O Memmi . . . irrumasti*, i. e. as explained by Scaliger, 'I set down as advanced to the account of gain this entry. Completely fooled by Memmius; money promised and never forthcoming.' But the form in which the sentence is couched, *O Memmi* (see on 9), is rather

against this. **refero lucello**, as Cicero says, *operi publico referunt*, Flacc. xix. 44.

9, 10. See on X. 11, 12, and Introd. to XVI. Catullus means that Memmius has abused his patience grossly and with the greatest unconcern (*lentus*). So Lucilius, l. xiv. ap. Macrobi. vi. 4. 2, *Si mihi non praetor siet additus atque agilet me. Nam male sic ille ut dico me extenderat unus*.

9. **O Memmi** introduces a protest, as in Verr. iii. 68. 159, *O Timarchide, Metelli est filius in prouincia non puer, adulescens pudens ac bonus, dignus illo loco ac nomine*.

10. **trabe**, τῆ αἰδοίῳ, so probably Sulpic. 36 of Domitian, *Non trabe sed tergo prolapsus*. **lentus**, 'unconcernedly,' 'coolly.' Statius compares a line of Afranius' *Emancipatus*, 87 Ribbeck, *Quam lente tractat me atque inludit*: and so Laberius, 29 Ribbeck, *Nunc tu lentus, nunc tu susque deque fers*; i. e. ἀδιαφορεῖς as explained by Gell. xvi. 9. 4; Mart. ii. 46. 7, *Tu spectas hiemem succincti lentus amici*. Cf. Schwabe, *Quaest. Catull.* p. 171.

11-15. 'But for all I can see, you, my friends, have been as badly off as I was. Piso is as worthless as Memmius. This is what comes of courting the great. My curse upon them all!'

11. **pari Casu**, 'the same predicament.'

12. **uerpa**, a rather rare word = ψωλή, as *uerpus* = ψωλός. It occurs three times in the Pompeian Inscriptt., cf. Mart. xi. 46. 2, Priap. xxxiv. 5. Piso is called *uerpus Priapus XLVII. 4*.

13. **Pete**. Ironic apostrophe to the world at large, here represented by non-individualized imperative singular. So *Desine, LXXIII. 1*: Generally *I* is prefixed, as in Prop. iii. 18. 17, *I nunc tolle animos*; Iuven. x. 310, *I nunc et iuuenis specie lactare tui*; xii. 57, *I nunc et uentis animam committe*. **nobiles**. Cicero often alludes to the high rank of the Pisos. Pis. i. *commendatione fumosarum imaginum*; Sest. viii. *nobilitate ipsa, blanda conciliatricula, commendatus*; Tac. H. iv. 11, *nomen insigne*; Ann. iii. 17, *nobilitatem domus*. The family was plebeian, but had been distinguished since the Second Punic War: they traced their origin to Calpus, a son of Numa, Paul. Diac. s. u. *Calpurni*, Plut. Numa xxi, whence Horace addresses the Pisos as *Pompilius sanguis*, A. P. 292. The Memmii were also plebeian, and the C. Memmius of the Jugurthine war, trib. pleb. 643 | 111 is called by Sallust *infestus potentiae nobilitatis* Jug. 27; cf. *odio potentiae nobilitatis* Jug. 30: in the last century of the republic they seem to have been ranked among the *nobiles*, and so Virgil speaks of *Mnestheus genus a quo sanguine Memmi*, v. 117; cf. Tac. Ann. xiv. 47, *noua generis claritudine*, of Memmius Regulus, the husband of Lollia Paulina.

14. **At** introduces an imprecation, as in Hor. S. ii. 2. 40, *At uos, Praesentes Austri, coquite horum obsomia*, cf. XXVII. 5. **mala multa di deaeque**. See on XIV. 6. *Di deaeque*, as in Sen. Epist. 95. 21, *di illas deaeque male perdant*; 96. 4, *Neque Di neque Deae faciant ut te fortuna in deliciis habeat*. Petron. S. 79, cf. 101, *iurat per deos deasque*.

15. **opprobria**, scandals to the Roman name. Tac. Ann. iii. 66. Cicero calls L. Piso *familiae non dicam Calpurniae sed Caluentiae, neque huius urbis sed Placentini municipii, neque paterni generis sed braccatae cognationis, dedecus* Pis. xxiii. 53. **Romulei Remique** perhaps ex-

presses nobles and commons alike; cf. LVIII. 5 *magnanimis Remi nepotes*, and note; Iuven. x. 73, *Sed quid Turba Remi?* an interpretation not disproved by the fact that *regna Remi* Prop. ii. 1. 23, *Remuli alumni* Sulpic. 19, *domus alta Remi* Mart. xii. 3. 6, are used without any disparaging connotation. It is possible, but less likely, that the two words simply express the whole Roman name, and are conjoined here merely to give greater emphasis to Piso's and Memmius' infamy, as *di deaque* give greater emphasis to the imprecation. But it seems nearly certain that Catullus would not have called Cicero *disertissimus Remi nepotum*, nor spoken of Lesbia's low paramours as *Romuli nepotes*.

## XXIX.

No poem of Catullus is more famous than this. Like LVII *Pulchre conuenit improbis cinaedis*, it is an attack on Mamurra, and through him on his patrons Caesar and Pompeius. Caesar himself considered the poem, perhaps with LVII, to have set an imperishable brand upon him (Suet. Iul. 73), and Catullus' words, LIV. 6, 7, *Irascere iterum meis iambis Inmerentibus, unice imperator*, show that it had made him really angry. It may be doubted whether he ever quite forgave an attack at once so unsparing and so polished, in spite of the story recorded by Suetonius of his inviting the poet to dinner as a token of reconciliation (Iul. 73). The incisive character of the metre stamps these iambs on the memory; and Caesar's literary feeling would assure him that the indignation of Republican Rome had here found a voice which would be heard everywhere and leave an echo (Mommsen, iv. p. 320, Eng. Transl.).

The date is determined by 4, 20: it must be later than the first invasion of Britain 699 | 55. Haupt and Mommsen agree in concluding, from *socer generque* 24, that it was written while Julia, the wife of Pompeius, was still living, i. e. before the second expedition in the summer of 700 | 54; and Munro, though doubting the legitimacy of this argument, fixes the period of composition to the winter of 55-54, when Caesar was in Cisalpine Gaul, and might have been entertained by Catullus' father at Verona, and effected his reconciliation with the poet (Cambridge Journal of Philology, ii. 12).

Mamurra is probably again alluded to in XLI. 4, XLIII. 5, as the bankrupt of Formiae, where he was born (Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 48), and which is called *urbs Mamurrarum* by Horace S. i. 5. 37; he is generally identified with the Mentula of the Epigrams, XCIV, CV, CXIV, CXV. Pliny, xxxvi. 48, tells us he was an eques and *praefectus fabrum* to C. Caesar in Gaul, and that he was the first Roman who coated the walls of his house with marble, and used Carystian marble in the construction of his columns. It was this wealth which made him obnoxious: Cicero speaks of *Labieni diuitiae et Mamurrae* as one of the scandals of the Triumvirate (Att. vii. 7. 6); from Catullus we see that he got his riches not only from Caesar, but Pompeius (*uostra*, 13; *Quid hunc malum fouetis?* 21; *Eone nomine . . . Socer generque, perdidistis omnia:* 24); that he was successful with women (6-8); and that he had literary tastes which brought him into close personal connexion with Caesar (LVII. 7). On

the peculiar charge alleged against him in LVII. 1, 2, as against Caesar ib. and XXIX. 2, 9-10, see Munro's discussion, pp. 16-20.

1-10. 'Who but a man lost to all decency can help feeling indignant to see Mamurra enjoying the treasures of Gaul and Britain, and playing the wanton with the wives of Rome? What name can be too strong for the mighty patron who winks at this? He is a catamite Romulus, a glutton, a gambler.'

11-20. 'Was it only to enrich this rake, Caesar, that you penetrated to Britain, and the farthest west? If ever generosity was misplaced, it was there. Mamurra has squandered everything, his patrimony, the spoils of Pontus and Iberia, the wealth of Gaul and Britain: all alike fear him.'

21-24. 'Pompeius, and you his father-in-law, Caesar, what possessed you both to fondle a rogue whose only ability is in wasting money? O shame to Rome! Just to gorge this rogue, all is lost.'

1. **patis**, Caesar B. G. i. 43, *quis pati posset?* Att. x. 8. 3, *Pati poterunt oculi me cum Gabinio sententiam dicere?* Tragicus ap. Cic. pro Scauro, ii. 3, *Victor insolens se uictum non potuit pati.*

2. **impudicus**=*cinaedus*. See on XXI. 12; Catal. v. 9, *Quid impudice et improbande Caesari*, where the meaning is fixed by the rest of the poem. Catullus probably alludes to the stories connected with Nicomedes king of Bithynia. Suet. Iul. 49, *Pudicitiae eius famam nihil quidem praeter Nicomedis contubernium laesil graui tamen et perenni opprobrio et ad omnium conuicia exposito. Omitto Calui Licinii notissimos uersus Bithynia quicquid et pedicator Caesaris unquam habuit. Praetereo achones Dolabellae et Curionis patris in quibus eum Dolabella pellicem reginae, spondam interiorem regiae lecticae, ac Curio stabulum Nicomedis et Bithynicum fornicem dicunt. . . Gallico denique triumpho milites eius inter caetera carmina qualia currum persequentes ioculariter canunt, etiam uulgatissimum illud pronuntiauerunt Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Caesarem. Ecce Caesar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias. Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Caesarem.*

The charge, as stated by G. Memmius, was that Caesar *ad cyathum et unum Nicomedi stetit cum reliquis exoletis pleno conuiuio, accubantibus nonnullis urbicis negotiatoribus quorum refert nomina.* Suet. Iul. 49. **uorax**. Suet. Iul. 53, says Caesar was indifferent about his food; and as Munro shows, *Journal of Philology* iii. p. 22, nothing as to his gluttony is proved by his practice of taking emetics, Deiot. viii. 21, Att. xiii. 52. 1. **aleo**, an old word for *aleator*. Gambling was illegal at Rome and considered disreputable, Catil. ii. 10. 23. It was perhaps in gambling that Caesar incurred some part of his enormous debts; the celebrated *πᾶς ἀνεῤῥίφθω κύβος, iacta est ualea*, was probably in character; yet it is remarkable that Suetonius, who mentions Augustus, Caligula, Claudius, Domitian, as fond of play, is silent when speaking of Caesar. The three charges here brought against Caesar are similarly combined by Aeschines in Timarch. 42 *ἐπραξε ταῦτα (i. e. ἡταίρει) δουλεύων ταῖς αἰσχίσταις ἡδοναῖς, ὀψοφαγίαις καὶ πολυτελείαις δειπνῶν καὶ ἀλητρίσι καὶ ἐταίροις καὶ κύβοις.*

3. **Māmurram** here, but *Māmurrarum* Hor. S. i. 5. 37, and so Mart. ix. 60. 1, x. 4. 11. (Cf. the similar variation of quantity in *Lūccres*,

*Mamūrius, Cātillus, Porsēna* (Lachm. Lucret. p. 36). **Comata Gallia**, all that part of Transalpine Gaul not included in the Provincia or Gallia Bracata. Plin. H. N. iv. 105. It was separated by the Cevennes from Provincia. See Mommsen, *Hist. Rom.* iv. 215, English Translation.

4. **uncti**, 'all that was fat,' i. e. rich: somewhat similarly *uncta patrimonium* 22. Pliny's omission of *unctei*, or any corresponding word in his quotation xxxvi. 48, makes it possible that Catullus wrote *ante*, as Lachmann and Munro prefer. **ultima**, XI. 12. For the long *a* before two consonants, see IV. 9, 18.

5. **Cinaede Romule**. It would doubtless give an extra point to this expression if it was written after the title of *pater patriae* had been conferred on Caesar, B. C. 45. Liu. i. 16, *Deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanae uniuersi saluere Romulum iubent*; v. 49, *Inter iocos militares quos inconditos iaciunt Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque alter urbis haud uanis laudibus appellabatur (Camillus)*. This at least seems to be partly the meaning of *Romule Arpinas*, the taunting name given to Cicero in the *Declamatio* against him ascribed to Sallust (iv. 7), and quoted by Quintil. ix. 3, 89. It is not improbable that Caesar himself liked to be compared with Romulus; and that it was in accordance with his known wish that the title of *parens patriae*, and the distinction of having his statue placed in front of the temple of Quirinus were conferred upon him in the last year of his life. It is not however necessary to suppose that this is the allusion in Catullus. Caesar might be called Romulus partly as a would-be king, partly in irony, to hint that he was a very poor imitation of the great founder of Rome. So Sulla was called *scaeuus iste Romulus* in a fragm. of Sallust's *Histories*, i. 4, 45, i. e. as explained by Kritz, a Romulus in the wrong way, not the new founder of Rome, as he considered himself by his legislative measures to have become, but the destroyer of its liberties. Caesar's aims at sovereignty were very early discernible (Suet. Iul. 9). Even in his first consulship, after the enforced retirement of Bibulus, *unus omnia in republica et ad arbitrium administrauit* (ib. 20).

6. **superbus et superfluens** are epexegetic of each other, 'running high in the wantonness of wealth.' *Superbus* of the pride of a man risen to wealth. Hor. Epod. iv. 5, *Licet superbus ambules pecunia*: and for *superfluens* cf. Sen. de Benef. i. 11, *Pecunia non superfluens, sed ad sanum modum habendi parata*. The elder Dousa explained *superfluens* in reference to the word following, 'brimming over with wantonness,' Shakspeare's *superfluous and lust-dieted man*.

7. **Perambulabit**, 'stroll along,' as in Most. iii. 2. 122; Hor. C. iv. 5, 17; Epod. xvii. 41. The word very aptly describes the sedate and self-assured strutting of the dove. **cubilia**, peculiarly used of the marriage-bed, and therefore strictly correct in reference to the adulterer Mamurra. Mart. ix. 7, 7, *Qui nec cubili fuerat ante te quondam Pudor esse per te coepit et lupanari*.

8. **albulus columbus**, 'a dainty white dove.' Alexis ap. Mein. Com. Fragm. iii. p. 481 *Λευκὸς Ἀφροδίτης εἶμι γὰρ περιστέρως*. Pherecrates, ib. ii. p. 322 *Ἄλλ' ὃ περιστέριον ὄμοιον κλεισθέει Πέτου, κόμισον δέ μ' ἐς Κύθηρα καὶ Κύπρον*. Doves were sacred to Venus, Athen. 394, Apollon. R. iii. 550, where the schol. quotes Apollodorus, *ἡ περιστέρα ἱερὰ Ἀφροδίτης διὰ τὸ λάγνον*, cf. infr. LXVIII. (125)-(128), and kept in the precincts of her

temples. A large dove stands on each of the wings of the temple of Venus at Paphos, and another within the balustraded enclosure in front of the temple, as figured in Donaldson's *Architectura Numismatica* No. xxxi. Catullus, in comparing Mamurra with a white dove, alludes less perhaps to the salacity of the bird than to its dainty appearance, hence adds *aut Adoneus*: Pers. iii. 16 *teneroque palumbo Et similis regum pueris*, Mart. xiii. 66. 1 *teneras columbas*, Prop. ii. 13. 53 *niueum Adonim*. *Adoneus*, a rare form of *Adonis* found also Menaechm. i. 2. 35, and in Ausonius, Ep. xxx. 6. Heussner quotes δ' Ἀδώνιος from Bekker Anecd. 346. Like the dove, Adonis was specially connected with Venus, hence the story mentioned by Diogenianus Praef. p. 180 of Leutsch's *Paroemiographi Graeci*, τῷ Ἀδώνιδι ἐν Κύπρῳ τιμηθέντι ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης μετὰ τὴν τελευταίην οἱ Κύπριοι ζώσας ἐνίσταν περιστεράς, αἱ δ' ἀποπτᾶσαι καὶ διαφυγοῦσαι αὐτῆς ἀδοκίμως εἰς ἄλλην ἐμπεσοῦσαι πυρὰν διεφθάρησαν. Munro objects to reading *Adoneus* here, on the ground that the ancient conception of him is a beautiful but chaste youth, not an effeminate pursuer of women; but cf. such passages as Luc. Dial. Meretr. 7 *καθεύδεις μετὰ τοῦ Ἀδωνίδος Χαίρεος*, where Musarion calls her lover *smooth* (λείος), Aristaen. i. 8 *ἔστιν αὐτὸς περιπόθητος Ἀδωνίς τὰς ἐταίρας*. The most general conception of Adonis in antiquity seems to have been that which Theocritus expresses in the *Adoniasusae*; he is the favorite of Venus and therefore the favorite of women.

9. *haec uidebis et feres*, 'will you see this and yet endure?' a slightly different sense from *uidere* in 1, which expresses in itself seeing and enduring. Sen. de Vit. Beat. 21, *Quare opes contemnendas dicit et habet?*

11. *Eo nomine*, 'on this account,' so *alio nomine, meo nomine* in Cicero. *imperator uicē*, repeated LIV. 7. Liu. vi. 6 *Proinde quam opinionem de unico imperatore, eam spem de bello haberent*. Cicero, with equal irony, addresses Piso as *praecclare imperator* Pis. xxxvii. 91.

12. *ultima Occidentis insula*, Britain, as Hor. C. i. 35. 29, *ultimos Orbis Britannos*.

13. *uostra*, of you and your son-in-law, Pompeius, the *socer generique* of 24. Pis. xxvii. 65, *Da te populo, committe ludis. Sibilum metuis? ubi sunt uestrae scolae?* i. e. the philosophical discussions held by you and your friends; ib. xi. 24, *Septasia mehercule ut dici audiebam te ut primum aspexit Campanum consulem repudiavit . . . Gabinium denique si uidissent uestri illi unguentarii, citius agnouissent*, yours and your colleague's; ib. xii. 26, *An uero reliquo tempore consulem te quisquam duxit, quisquam tibi paruit, quisquam in curiam uenienti assurrexit, quisquam consulenti respondendum putauit? numerandum est ille annus denique in republica cum obmutasset senatus, iudicia conticuissent, maererent boni, uis latrocinii uestri tota urbe uoligaret, neque cuius unus ex ciuitate sed ipsa ciuitas tuo et Gabinii sceleri furorique cessisset? Vester* never in Catullus = *tuus*. See on LXIV. 160, LXVIII. (151), XCIX. 6. *diffututa*, but *defututa* XLI. 1. *Diffututa* perhaps expresses the multiplicity of Mamurra's amours, *omnium cubilia*. The two forms may have coexisted, like *deslere difflere* in Apuleius. See Koziol, *Styl des Apuleius* p. 315. *mentula*, i. e. 'debauchee,' viz. Mamurra.

14. *comesset*, a very common metaphor for squandering. Sest. li. 110, *bona solus comesset*; Mart. v. 70. 5, *O quanta est gula centies comesse* (quoted by Vulp.). So *deuorare* in 22, Pis. xxxvii. 90; *abligurire* Enn. Sat. 29, Vahlen.

15. **Quid est alit**, 'what is perverted generosity if it is not this?' 'What is this but—?' Halm on Phil. ii. 4. 7, who quotes Phil i. 9. 22, *Quid est aliud hortari adulescentes, ut turbulentī . . . ciues uelint esse?* v. 2. 5, *Quid est aliud librarium Bruti laudare, non Brutum?* **alit** = **aliui**, as in Lucr. i. 1114, v. 1305. Catullus has *alis* for *alius* LXVI. 28. **sinistra**, 'perverted,' as in Plin. Epist. vii. 28. 3 *sinistra diligentia*, of censorious busy-bodies. Sallust expressed the meaning Cat. 52, *Bona aliena largiri, liberalitas uocatur*. **liberalitas**. Cic. Fam. vii. 17, speaks of Caesar's *incredibilis liberalitas* and calls him *liberalissimus*: cf. Phil. ii. 45. 116, *muneribus monumentis congiariis epulis multitudinem imperitam delenerat; suos praemiis, aduersarios clementiae specie deuinxerat*; ib. 20, 50, *Ad Caesarem cucurristi . . . ibi te cum illius largitionibus et tuis rapinis expleuisses*, etc.

16. **expatrauit**, 'wasted in debauchery' = *effutuisti* Suet. Iul. 51. **helluatus**, 'wasted on gluttony.' Sest. lii. 111, *Quid tu meo periculo surges ac uorago patrimonii helluabare?* De Prou. Cons. vi. 14.

17. **Paterna bona**, Novius 6 Ribbeck. Lucian (Dial. Meretric. vii. 1) makes the poor lover promise large presents to his mistress, *ἐὰν ὁ πατήρ—καὶ κύριος γένομαι τῶν πατρῶων*. **lancinata**, as in Senec. Epist. 32. 2, *diducimus illam (uitam) in particulas ac lancinamus*, 'we fritter away our life.' The original idea seems to be cutting a piece of meat into platefuls (*lances*). Symm. i. 64, *Quod auri, quod argenti direptione hostium lancinatum*.

18. **praeda Pontica**, according to Voss and Mommsen, Hist. Rom. iv. p. 321, Eng. Transl., the spoil of Mitylene, of which Caesar had a share as one of the officers serving under M. Thermus, praetor of Pontus and Bithynia, 674-5 | 80-79. But this occasion was hardly memorable enough to be alluded to as one of the richest of Caesar's military successes. It seems better with Haupt and Munro to refer it to the spoil taken by Pompeius in the Mithridatic war; in the triumph for this war, 693 | 61, Pompeius brought into the treasury in money, as well as in gold and silver vessels, 20,000 talents: the conquered peoples, as enumerated by Plutarch Pomp. 45, amounted to fourteen, Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Palestine, Judaea, Arabia.

18-19. With this charge, which is really aimed at Caesar, cf. the words of Sallust, Hist. fr. i. 1, *Cimbricam praedam uenuum aut dono datam*, spoken of Sulla.

19. **Hibera** cannot refer to the Spanish war carried on between Caesar and the legati of Pompeius, L. Afranius and M. Petreius, 705 | 49, or that between Caesar and Pompeius' sons, 709 | 45, both of which are far removed from the Tagus. It remains to explain it of the Lusitanian war, 693 | 61, conducted by Caesar as propraetor. Plutarch says of this war, Caes. xii. *ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίας αὐτὸς τε πλούσιος γεγονὼς καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὠφελῆκώς ἀπὸ τῶν στρατειῶν καὶ προσαγορευόμενος αὐτοκράτωρ ἑπ' αὐτῶν*. (Haupt. Quaest. Catull. p. 18; cf. Mommsen Hist. Rom. iv. p. 321, Munro Journal of Philol. ii. p. 16). **scit**, 'is witness,' Aen. xi. 259, *Scit triste Minervae Sidus et Euboicae cautes ultorque Caphareus*. **aurifer**. Ouid. Am. i. 15. 34. *Cedat et auriferi ripa beata Tagi*. Did Catullus know what Cicero had heard about Britain, when he wrote, Fam. vii. 7. 1, *Iu*



*Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti?* This would give rather more point to the contrasted *aurifer Tagus*.

20. 'It is not Gaul only nor the British isles that fear him,' i. e. they are the latest, not the only, sufferers by Mamurra's rapacity. This is my conjecture for the MSS. reading *Hunc Galliae timet et Britanniae*; cf. Heroid. vii. 81, *Omnia mentiris, nec enim tua fallere lingua Incipit a nobis primaque plectorego*. Munro's conjecture, *Et huicne Gallia et metet Britannia?* 'And is this the man for whom Gaul and Britain shall reap?' (cf. Merc. Prol. 71, Epid. ii. 2. 80, and very closely Sen. Epist. 114. 26, *adspice quot locis ueratur terra, quot milia colonorum arent, fodiant: unum uideri putas uentrem, cui et in Sicilia et in Africa seritur?*) though near to the MSS. and approved by W. Wagner, has always seemed to me unlike Catullus, not only in the position of *ne*, but in the place of *metet*, and the only half-obscured assonance *Gallia Britannia*. **Britanniaë**, plural, as in Plin. xvii. 42. 43, Tac. A. xiii. 32; see note XLV. 22.

21. **malum** was explained by most of the older commentators and lately by Munro as an interjection, 'Why, the mischief, do you pamper him, both of you?' a Plautine and Terentian use, e. g. Phorm. v. 8. 55, Eun. iv. 7. 10, Heaut. iv. 3. 38, ii. 3. 78; and not uncommon in Cicero, Phil. x. 9. 18, *Quae malum est ista ratio?* Rosc. Com. xviii. 56, *qua malum stultitia fuit Roscius?* De Off. ii. 15. 53, *Quae te malum inquit ratio in istam spem induxit ut eos tibi fideles putares fore quos pecunia corrupisses?* where Cicero is speaking of *largitio*, as Catullus here of Caesar's *sinistra liberalitas*. To me this seems beneath the dignity and the indignation of the poem. **fouetis** includes Pompeius, like *uestra* in 13. **quid hic potest Nisi**, 'Is not his whole ability in—?' a comic formula.

22. **uncta** and **deuorare** are in relation to each other, the *patrimonia* being regarded as so many dainty morsels successively swallowed. Phil. ii. 27. 67, *non modo unius patrimonium quamuis amplum, ut illud fuit, sed urbes et regna celeriter tanta nequitia deuorare potuisset*; a passage which shows that **patrimonia** is strictly plural.

23. **urbis meae**, i. e. Romae. Catullus is ashamed that his name of Roman is disgraced by his country's submission to men like Mamurra and his patrons. This is my conjecture for the MSS. reading *urbis opulentissime*. Lachmann's *o piissimei*, though ironically effective as applied to the father and son-in-law who were ready to support each other in the worst schemes to secure their domination, is not likely (1) as isolating *urbis* and making it depend on *omnia*, (2) as a word of very doubtful Latinity. Cicero, Phil. xiii. 19. 43, says, *tu porro ne pius quidem, sed piissimos quaeris; et quod uerbum omnino nullum in lingua Latina est, id propter tuam diuinam pietatem nouum inducis*. It is true the grammarian Pompeius, Comm. Donat. Keil v. p. 154, asserts that Caper, the master of Augustus, collected instances from Cicero's letters where he had himself used *piissimus*; and A. Gellius (x. 21) accuses Cicero of fastidiousness in avoiding words which were in common use, like *nouissimus*, *nouissime*. But *piissimus* is not found in the extant letters of Cicero, and the passage in Phil. ii. is almost decisive against the employment of the word by Catullus, always careful in his choice of words and more inclined to archaic forms than modernisms.

24. **socer generque**, J. Caesar, and Pompeius who had married Caesar's daughter Julia, 695 | 59. The connexion is often alluded to,

Catal. iii. 6 *Gener socerque perdidistis omnia*; Aen. vi. 830 *Aggeribus socer Alpinis et ab arce Monaeci Descendens, gener aduersis iusfructus Eois*; Lucan i. 114 *Quod si tibi fata dedissent Maiores in luce moras, tu sola furentem Inde uirum poteras, atque hinc retinere parentem*; Mart. ix. 70. 3 *Cum gener atque socer paribus concurreret armis. perdidistis omnia*, 'have ruined everything.' 'We can see from the letters to Atticus that this was a favourite phrase of the "boni" during the three-headed tyranny; thus, ii. 21. 1, *iracundiam atque intemperantiam illorum sumus experti, qui Catoni irati omnia perdidierunt*; i. 1. 65 *uel perire maluerint quam perdere omnia*; xiv. 1. 1 *quid quaeris? perisse omnia aiebat*; 14. 3 *nonne memmisti clamare te omnia perire, si ille funere elatus esset*.' Munro. Cf. Liu. Praef. *desiderium pereundi perdendique omnia*; Corn. Nep. Eum. 8 *sua intemperantia nimiaque licentia ut omnia perdant*. These passages are enough to show that *perdidistis omnia* cannot be connected with *urbis* in the sense of 'wasted everything Rome possessed.'

## XXX.

LIPSIUS, Var. Lectt. iii. 5, maintained that this poem is allegorical. In the person of Catullus, Cicero, just then exiled, upbraids his friend Pompeius, under the name of Alfenus, for not coming to his rescue: a theory as ingenious as some of the allegorical interpretations of Shakspeare's sonnets, and as probable.

But is the passion of which the poem speaks for Alfenus, or for some one else whom Alfenus had urged Catullus to love, and who betrayed the poet's affection? The latter view is suggested by 5 *me miserum deseris in malis*, and 8 *Inducens in amorem, quasi tula omnia mi forent*, which might well refer to Catullus' amour with Lesbia, dangerous at the outset, see LXVIII. 52, and miserable in its termination. That Catullus was ill-treated by his friends in this very matter is clear from LXXVII, XCI, though there is no hint in the present poem of such a breach of confidence as is there mentioned. Alfenus had certainly not betrayed the poet by making love to his mistress. But if he had concealed the dangers in which an amour with such a woman might well result and refused to do anything when Catullus found himself in them, e. g. in removing the suspicions of Lesbia's husband or others concerned to prevent a scandal, the language of the poem would find an adequate explanation.

On the other hand, it is not to be denied that the ordinary view, according to which Alfenus is himself the object of the friendship here described, is, on the whole, more consistent with the general scope of the poem. Cf. *dure* with Hor. C. iv. 1. 40; the emphatic *animam tradere*, and especially the tone of vv. 9, 10 which recall the passionate complaint of Ariadne, LXIV. 141. The plaintive character of the remonstrance is Theognidean.

Voss thought it certain that Alfenus is the Alfenus Varus who, according to the scholia on Hor. S. i. 3. 130, was originally a barber or shoemaker at Cremona, came to Rome, studied law under the celebrated jurist Servius Sulpicius, and finally became consul. Schwabe observes that the only Alfenus Varus, who is known to have been consul is L. or P. Alfenius Varus consul 755 { 2; a date which is inconsistent with Voss's

suggestion; but a P. Alfenus is mentioned as consul suffectus for 715 | 39, and this may be the Alfenus in question. If so he must have been sufficiently eminent during the latter years of Catullus' life to make his friendship a possibility (cf. Teuffel, *Hist. Rom. Lit.* 205. 3) in spite of the story of his low origin; in any case Muretus may be right in thinking that LXXIII is written on the perfidy of the Alfenus addressed in the present poem.

The metre, which is choriambic, and is called by Hephaestion ἀκατάληκτον Σαπφικὸν ἑκκαίδεκασύλλαβον, is frequently found in Greek poetry. The whole of Sappho's third book and many odes of Alcaeus were composed in it; it was used by Phrynichus in his *Pleuroniae* (fr. 6 Nauck), by Theocritus, *Eid.* 28, and Callimachus, fr. 114; and it was a favorite metre for σκόλια, e. g. the distich assigned to Praxilla in Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1239, and those quoted by Athen. xv. 695, Bergk *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* p. 1293. One of these may have suggested the form of the poem:

δοῖς ἄνδρα φίλον μὴ προδίδωσιν, μεγάλην ἔχει  
τιμὴν ἐν τε βροτοῖς ἐν τε θεοῖσιν κατ' ἐμὸν νόον.

It is expressly stated by Hephaestion that the third book of Sappho was written in distichs, and this is also true of the σκόλια: I therefore follow Lachmann in supposing Catullus to have written this poem κατὰ δύο. The unintelligible *Nec* in 4 makes it probable that something is lost before it; I have indicated a lacuna of two verses.

1. **immemor**, 'false to your word,' as in LXIV. 58. **unanymis**, IX. 4.

2. **Iam nil miseret**, 'Do you cease to pity?' *Iam non dubitas*, 'Do you cease to have any scruples?' In each case *iām* expresses the point from which a new line of conduct begins, and an old one ends. **dulcis**, 'loved,' XLV. 11. **amiculi**, ὑποκοριστικῶς, *Verr.* v. 34. 79.

3. **prodere**, particularly used of treachery to a friend, like προδιδόναι. *Theogn.* 529 Οὐδένα πω προῦδωκα φίλον καὶ πιστὸν ἑταῖρον: cf. 813. That something is lost after 3 is probable partly from the unintelligible *Nec*, partly from *Quae*, which seems to refer to several considerations, perhaps the sense of shame, as well as the vengeance of the celestials.

4. Almost a translation of *Od.* xiv. 83, 4, as Muretus observed, Οὐ μὲν σχέτλια ἔργα θεοὶ μάκαρες φιλέουσι, Ἄλλὰ δίκην τίουσι καὶ αἴσιμα ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων.

5. **Quae**, if no verses are lost, must mean, 'your perfidy and heaven's vengeance;' a very harsh alternative. **negligis**, 'make no account of,' *Theocr.* xi. 29 τίν δ' οὐ μέλει, οὐ μὰ Δι' οὐδέν. **in malis** is a medical phrase. *Cels.* iii. 15 *in malis aeger est*. But cf. *Eun.* ii. 3. 17 *me in his deseruisti malis*.

6. **dice**, a solemn appeal. *Hor. C.* i. 8. 1.; *Aen.* vi. 343 *Dic age*; *Mart.* i. 20. 1 *Dic mihi, quis furor est?* sometimes *rogo*, as in *Mart.* x. 41. 3 *Dic, rogo, quid factum est?* **cuive habeant fidem?** *Andr.* ii. 5. 14 *Nullane in re esse homini quoiquam fidem?*

7. **Certe**, 'at any rate, whatever your conduct now, you led me on at first,' LXIV. 149. **animam tradere**, 'to make over my life,' i. e. to place myself wholly in another's disposal. *Rosc. Amer.* l. 146 *si tibi omnia praeter animam tradidit*. **inique**, 'cruel one,' i. q. the *Crudelis* of *Aen.* iv. 311.

8. **Inducens**, 'leading on,' as it were into a country which he knew to be safe. The word is a military one, and is very common in *Livy*, xlv.

40 *Maiore periculo quam emolumento exercitum per inuios saltus in Macedonia inductum.* **tuta omnia**, 'as if there were no dangers,' such as are to be apprehended in a strange country. Virgil perhaps borrows the expression Aen. iv. 298 *Omnia tuta timens*.

9. **retrahis te**, 'withdraw.' Hor. Epist. i. 18. 58 *Ac ne te retrahas et inexcusabilis abstes*. Seneca illustrates the idea, Epist. 16. 9 *Retrahe te a uanis, et cum uoles scire quod petes utrum naturalem habeat an caecam cupiditatem, considera num possit alicubi consistere; si longe progresso semper aliquid longius restat, scito id naturale non esse.* **dicta factaque**, Most. iii. 3. 20, *dicto aut facto fallere*. Sen. de Clementia 3 *etiam inter illos quorum omnia dicta factaque ad utilitatem suam spectant*; Petron. S. 1. *omnia dicta factaque quasi papauere et sesamo sparsa*; Tac. A. ii. 28 *cuncta eius dicta factaque*; Suet. Vesp. 19 *imitans facta ac dicta uiui*. The combination is of course a common one, like the Greek *ἔργον τε ἔπος τε* Od. ii. 304, *λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ*. Catullus has *dictaque factaque sunt* as participles, LXXVI. 8.

10. **Ventos**, LXIV. 59, 142; LXV. 17. **irrita ferre**, 'bear away into nullity:' Theoc. xxix. 35 *ταῦτα φέρειν ἀνέμοισιν ἐπιτρέπεις*. **nebulae**, they are dispersed in vapour.

11. **at**, 'yet be sure,' solemnly. Aen. i. 542 *Si genus humanum et mortalia temeritis arma At sperate deos fandi atque nefandi*; vi. 405, *si te nulla mouet . . . At ramum huic . . . Agnoscas*. **meminerunt, meminit**. The rhythm of this line would doubtless be improved by reading with Muretus and my MS. *c* (not a very good one) *meminere et meminit*; as a rule the second choriambus in this metre ends with the last syllable of a word, even in the *σκόλια*, and Horace only once violates it, C. i. 18. 16 *prodiga perlucidior*; yet, as Catullus repeats the licence in 12 *postmodo facti*, and with the first choriambus in 7 and 8, I have thought it safer to leave the reading of all good MSS. unchanged. It is noticeable that the second choriambus similarly ends after the first syllable of a word in the two Greek verses quoted in the introduction.

12. **postmodo**. Hor. C. i. 28. 31; Tib. ii. 5. 102; Prop. ii. 10. 18. **facti faciet** confirms the similar juxtaposition *meminerunt, meminit*; in each case the repetition of the word conveys extra solemnity.

## XXXI.

CATULLUS tells us in 5 that he had just returned from Bithynia when he wrote these lines. This, on the ordinary hypothesis that Memmius was propraetor of Bithynia in 57 B. C., the year which followed his praetorship at Rome, and held his province for not more than a year, would fix the date of the poem at 56 B. C.: if, as I have suggested, Catullus was with Memmius in 65-64 B. C., in this latter year. C. IV, the dedication of the *Phasellus*, was no doubt written at the same time.

Sirmio, now Sermione, is at the present day planted with olives; but at the northern extremity the remains of a villa are still to be seen, which have been identified with the house of Catullus. Orti, however, under whose superintendence they were excavated some years ago, has shown

that they belong to a much later period, probably the reign of Constantine.

The lacus Benacus (*Garda*) was *in Veronensi agro* Plin. H. N. ix. 75: but Cluverius Ital. Antiq. p. 259, Maffei Verona Illustrata iii. 27, and Schwabe Quaest. Catull. p. 29, rightly combat the view of Bähr and others that Catullus was born in Sirmio, of which there is no evidence in this poem or elsewhere: for this is more than can be fairly inferred from the mention of the *lar* in 9, in spite of such passages as Liu. i. 29, quoted by Conr. de Allio, *Larem ac Penates tecta que in quibus natus quisque educatusque fuisset*.

**1. Paene insularum insularumque.** This description is still true. Sirmio is connected with the mainland by a narrow strip of land which is at times submerged, and then gives the peninsula the appearance of an island. See Cluverius Ital. Antiq. p. 259. **Sirmio**, a projection from the South shore of Garda, which it divides into two nearly equal halves, the easternmost of which terminates at *Peschiera*, the western at *Desenzano*.

**2. Ocelle**, of anything particularly precious or beautiful, as we might say 'jewel.' Att. xvi. 6. 2 *Cur ocellos Italiae uillulas meas non uideo?* So ἄμμα, Eur. Phoen. 802, quoted by Mr. Johnson in Bristed's Catullus, Ἀπρέμιδος χιονοτρόφον ἄμμα Κιθαιρών. **stagnis**, according to Voss, not only lakes but mediterranean seas, as opposed to the great circumambient Ocean, *mari uasto*. He quotes a fragment of Varro's Chorographia, ap. Priscian. p. 100 *Ergo inter solis stationem et sidera septem Exporrecta iacet tellus; huic extima fluctu Oceani, interior Neptuno cingitur ora*, and Colum. x. 200, where *pater Oceanus* is opposed to *regnator aquarum*, Neptune. It seems more natural to explain *stagnis* of lakes or inland sheets of water, *mari* of any sea, mediterranean or other. **liquentibus** defines *stagnis*, which in itself might be applied to any piece of water not river or sea, as sheets of flowing, and therefore more or less clear, water. The two ideas seem to pass into each other, 'liquid' and 'clear;' Catullus has *liquidas undas* LXIV. 2, 'flowing waves;' Virgil, *liquentia flumina, campi liquentes*, 'clear flowing rivers,' 'plains of clear flowing water:' it seems to me certain that neither *liquens* nor *liquidus* ever mean simply 'clear,' but always convey the idea of fluidity in some form.

**3. uterque Neptunus**, either Neptune, i. e. the water-god in either capacity, as ruler of lakes or sea, the sense of *uterque* being in fact determined by *stagnis* and *mari*. According to Servius on G. i. 13, Neptunus was the god of water generally, presiding over rivers and springs as well as the sea. So Mart. vii. 40. 2 *Pectore non humili passus utrumque deum*, where *utrumque* is under both aspects, mild or stern. Lib. Spectac. xiii. 5, *Experita est numen moriens utriusque Dianae*, of a sow killed by a spear while giving birth to a pig, and thus the victim of Diana, (1) as goddess of childbirth, and (2) as huntress and slayer of wild beasts. Anth. P. ix. 268. 2, ἀμφοτέρην Ἀρτεμιν, similarly. Aristoph. Plut. 396, quoted in Tozer's Geog. of Greece, p. 101. XP. Νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ. ΒΑ, τὸν θαλάττιον λέγει; XP. Εἰ δ' ἴστιν ἕτερός τις Ποσειδῶν, τὸν ἕτερον. This is the view of Turnebus Advers. xxiv. 44; others make *uterque Neptunus*, 'either sea,' the *mare superum* or *inferum*; as Lucan ii. 399 speaks of

the Apennines dividing the *geminæ undæ* of the lower and upper sea; but this is inconsistent with *liquentibus stagnis, Marique vasto*.

5. **Thuniam atque Bithunos.** Domitius Callistratus, a writer seemingly contemporary with Catullus, and Arrian, agree in making the river Psilion the boundary between the Thynian and Bithynian territory. Steph. B. Ψίλιον ποταμὸς μεταξύ Θυνίας καὶ Βιθυνίας, where Domitius is quoted. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 793, cited by Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iii. 594 λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἀπὸ Βοσπόρου γῆν ἕως ἐπὶ Ῥήβαντα Βιθυνοὶ ποτε κίτευσαν. τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπέκεινα ἐπὶ Πόντον ὄρεινὴν οἱ Θυνοὶ ἔσχον ἄχρι ποταμοῦ Κάλητος, ὡς εἶναι ὁμόρους τοὺς τε Θυνοὺς καὶ τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς, οὕτω καλομένους ἀπὸ τιῶν ἀδελφῶν Θυνοῦ καὶ Βιθυνοῦ, καθά φησιν Ἀρρίανος, δε καὶ γνήσιον παῖδα Φινέως ἱστορεῖ Παφλαγῶνα, ἐξ οὗ χώρα Παφλαγονία. Καὶ γῆν λέγει Ῥηβαντίαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ψιλλίῳ ποταμῷ . . . Λέγει δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀρρίανος καὶ ὅτι ἄλλοι Ὀδρύσου παῖδας φησι τὸν Θυνὸν καὶ τὸν Βιθυνὸν, ὧν ἡ χώρα ὁμώνυμος.

6. **campos, XLVI.** 4, 5. From these two passages we may perhaps infer that, for at least part of his sojourn in Bithynia, Catullus was stationed in the level district west of the Sangarius, the only part of this generally mountainous region to which the word *campi* could properly be applied. **in tuto**, ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ, Merc. iii. 2. 48; Fam. xii. 2, 3; Varro, R. R. ii. 9. 15: the expression belongs to the same class as *in promptu in dubio in mundo in medio*, Holtze Synt. i. p. 82.

7. **solutis curis**, 'than putting off the burden of care.' The ordinary prose use, *solvere curis animum* is here varied by the more poetical *solvere curas animi*, as in Aen. i. 562 *Solvite corde metum*. Martial, x. 30. 3 *inquietas fessis exuul curas*, gives the idea more definitely: cares are stripped off like so many encumbering trappings. Part of the felicity of this well-known line lies in its suggesting, by the form of the expression, that the cares now past are *as past* an actual pleasure; cf. Soph. *Fragm.* 344 Nauck, πόνου μεταλλαχθέντος οἱ πόνοι γλυκεῖς.

8. **peregrino Labore**, 'toil abroad,' including the actual toil of travelling.

9. **lare**. The first thing a Roman would do on returning from a lengthened absence would be to salute the household God, as the *paterfamilias* is enjoined to do on entering a new farm. Cato, R. R. ii. 1, Colum. i. 8. 20. **nostrum**, by its position is emphasized, 'our own.'

10. **acquiescimus**, Cic. de Orat. ii. 71. 290 *deuersorio libenter acquieturum*.

11. 'This, this is the one compensation for all that load of toil;' i. e. thus to find oneself at home is payment in full for all the fatigues of the journey. Catullus does not, I think, mean any allusion to the unremunerative character of his employment with Memmius; which is alien to the tone of perfect happiness throughout the poem.

12. **uenusta**, rarely of places. Phaedr. iv. 5. 34 *uenustis hortulis = delicatis hortulis*, 26. The epithet, hardly as much as our 'lovely,' falls short, at least to a modern eye, of the actual beauty of Sirmio, with its high cliffs descending into the transparently blue water, and the exquisite colour of the surrounding land and sky. **hero gaude**, 'rejoice in thy master' = 'welcome thy master with rejoicing;' Catullus has already expressed in *Salve* his own joy at returning; in *hero gaude* he expresses the joy of his house and household to see their master again. *Hero* is abl., the invariable construction with *gaudere* in Catullus; cf. LV. 20, LXVIII.

103, 125, XCV. 10, XCVI. 6. It is very doubtful whether *hero gaude* can mean, as Statius suggested, 'take thy master's welcome,' *hero* thus being dat. as in *salve aeternum mihi* Aen. xi. 97; *uale mihi* Prop. iii. 21. 16: cf. *ἄν πᾶσι χαίρω* O. T. 596, although Horace's use of *gaudere* as a form of greeting, Epist. i. 8. 1, might seem to give a colour to that interpretation.

13. *uosque*, 'ye also,' as in Prop. iii. 21. 16 *Qualiscunque mihi tuque puella uale*. In both passages, the *que*, out of its proper place, repeats the verb of the former line, *gaude*, *Gaudete uosque*; *ualeatis amici*, *Qualiscunque tuque uale*.

**Lydiae** is explained as referring to the Tuscan settlement in the plains of the Po, mentioned by Liu. v. 33 *Tuscorum ante Romanum imperium late terra marique opes patuere. Mari supero inferoque quibus Italia insulae modo cingitur quantum potuerint nomina sunt argumento: quod alterum Tuscum communi uocabulo gentis, alterum Hadriaticum mare ab Hadria Tuscorum colonia uocauere Italicæ gentes. Graeci eadem Graecum atque Hadriaticum uocant. Hi in utrumque mare uergentes incoluere urbibus duodenis terras; prius cis Apenninum ad Inferum mare, postea trans Apenninum totidem quot capita originis erant coloniis missis; quæ trans Padum omnia loca, excepto Venetorum angulo, qui sinum circumcolunt maris, usque ad Alpes tenuere.* Tac. A. iv. 55 *Tyrrhenum Lydumque Atye rege genitos ob multitudinem diuisisse gentem, Lydum patriis in terris resedissee, Tyrrheno datum nouas ut conderet sedes et ducum e nominibus indita uocabula illis per Asiam, his in Italia.* Appian. Pun. 66 *Λυδοῦς αὐτοῦς καλοῦσι, ὅτι οἶμαι Τυρρῆνοι Λυδῶν ἄποικοι.* The original source of this statement is Herod. i. 94. Pliny mentions Bononia, formerly called Felsina, *cum princeps Etruriae esset* (H. N. iii. 115), Atria (iii. 120), and Mantua (iii. 130), as of Tuscan origin (cf. Virg. Aen. x. 199-203, with the comments of Servius and the Veronese Scholia), and speaks of a trench, of which they were the first constructors, connecting the river Sagis with the marshes of Atria (iii. 120). All these places are in the vicinity of Lake Benacus, which indeed at its Northern extremity abuts on the Raetian Alps, according to some ethnologists the cradle of the Etruscan race. Hence there would be no greater violence in Catullus calling the Benacus *Lydian*, than in Cicero's speaking of a *Lydius haruspex* of Tyrrhenian race, Carm. de Consul. Suo 34 in De Diuin. i. 12. 19; Virgil's *Lydius Tiberis* Aen. ii. 782, cf. Stat. S. i. 2. 190; Horace's *Lydorum quicquid Etruscis incoluit fines* S. i. 6. 1; Statius' *Lydia ripa* S. iv. 4. 6, of the Etruscan side of the Tiber. **undæ** attracts the adj. *Lydiae* into its own gender, the natural construction would be *Lydiū lacus undæ*. See on XVII. 19, and cf. Aesch. Eum. 292 *χάρως ἐν τόποις Διβυστικῶις*: Prop. i. 20. 9 *Gigantea litoris ora*.

14. 'Laugh out all hearty laughter at my home,' as in III. 1, 2 *Lugele . . . quantum est hominum*. Each of the three verses, 12-14, begins with an imperative, and each has a distinct vocative; hence the interpretation of Statius, 'laugh out, ye waves, with all of ringing laughter that is at home,' is less probable. **cachinni** is used of the plashing of waves, LXIV. 273; but here **domi** defines the word in its literal sense: cf. XIII. 5.

## XXXII.

IF *Ipsithilla* (*Ipsitilla*) is rightly elicited from the various spellings of the MSS. of this poem, it is doubtful whether the name is an actual one, or coined, on the analogy of actual names from a word indicative of the woman's profession. Bücheler on Petron. S. 63, comparing *Ipsa* = *domina*, *ipsimus ipsima* = *dominus domina*, *Issa issulus*, names of endearment in Inscriptt., *Issa* name of a pet-dog in Mart. i. 109, considers *Ipsitilla* a diminutive of *Ipsa*, expressive of fondness, 'my darling mistress.' Names in *illa* are common in Inscriptt. and several occur in Martial, *Maronilla* i. 10. 1, *Vetustilla* iii. 93. 1, *Chrestilla* viii. 43. 1, *Telesilla* xi. 47. 2, *Atticilla* xii. 79. 4. This seems a more probable view than that which makes it the diminutive of an actual name, e. g. *Hypsaea* Hor. S. i. 2. 91, or as Scaliger thought *Hypsitheia*.

1. **Amabo**, 'pray' or 'please,' a constantly recurring form of entreaty in Plautus and Terence. Lindemann on Mil. G. iii. 3. 26, quoted by Holtze Synt. ii. 160, explains it as originally used with some clause such as 'if you do what I wish,' which was afterwards dropped, and *amabo* used simply as = *obsecro*, *oro* etc. The correlative *si me amas* is also not unfrequent. Merc. iii. 1. 42 *Amabo te, an maritust?* Eun. i. 2. 50 *Hoc agite amabo.* Att. ii. 2. 1 *Cura, amabo te, Ciceronem nostrum;* xvi. 2. 2 *Sed amabo te, mi Attice, (uidesne quam blande?)* which shows it was used *coaxingly*. Mart. viii. 76. 1 *Dic uerum mihi, Marce, dic amabo.*

2. **lepores**, 'charmer.' Plautus similarly, Cas. i. 1. 47 *Mea uila, mea mellilla, mea festiuitas;* ii. 3. 18 *Respice o mi lepos.*

3. **Iube**. . . **ueniam**, a less frequent construction than the infin. Eun. iv. 4. 24, Ouid. Am. i. 11. 19 *perlectis rescribat multa iubeto.* **meridiatum**, supine of *meridio* or *meridior*, μεσημβρίειν or μεσημβριάειν, 'to take a siesta or noon-day nap.' Suet. Calig. 38 *Gloriatuque est expergefactae Caesoniae quantum egisset dum ea meridiaret.* In what sense Catullus here uses the word is explained by LXI. 111, Am. i. 5. **ueniam**, Prop. iii. 25. 15 *Aut dixit 'uenies, hodie cessabimus una.'*

4. **illud adiuuato**, cognate accus. 'help me so far.' Eun. i. 2. 70 *Id amabo adiuues me quo id fiat facilius.* The *illud* refers to what follows; to connect it, as Lachmann, with *iusseris*, emphasizes an unemphatic word and spoils the rhythm of the line.

5. **tabellam**. The house-door (*ianua*) contained two leaves or valves (*fores*), which, as made of wooden boards or planks (*σάβιδες*), might naturally be called *tabulae*. So Voss, and Rich Companion p. 638. One *tabula* is mentioned here as Horace mentions one *foris* S. i. 2. 67. When no admittance could be given to any but the favoured lover, it was usual to write on the door notice that the lady was engaged, Asin. iv. 1. 15, or send a message that somebody else was within, "Ἐνδον ἔρεπος Lucian Dial. Meretr. 12.

9. **Si quid aget**, euphemistic, like *fac si facis* Mart. i. 46. 1. **statim iubeto**, give instant orders to that effect: we are not to understand *ueniam* after *iubeto*, but the general meaning is to be elicited from *si quid aget*,



The future imperative *iubeto* like *adiuualo* seems intended to emphasize the message, 'be sure you order.'

10. **pransus**, and so *paratus*. Varro called one of his Menippean Satires *Pransus paratus*, cf. a fragm. of his *Flaxtabula*, ap. Non. 458 *Quare, O Marce, pransum ac paratum esse hominem oportet.* **iaceo**; the Romans seem often to have slept after their *prandium*, cf. Most. iii. 2. 4-9, Pseud. ii. 2. 69 *ubi prandero, dabo operam somno*: hence it is clear that the *prandium* was not an English breakfast, but a continental *déjeuner*.

11. Eur. Cycl. 328 *πέπλον Κρούω Διὸς βρονταῖσιν εἰς ἔριν κτυπῶν.* Mart. xi. 16. 5. **pallium**, the outer garment, *tunica* the inner: Conr. de Allio aptly quotes the proverb *tunica pallio propior*.

### XXXIII.

NOTHING is more constantly mentioned in antiquity than the thefts practised in baths. Aristotle discusses the subject in his Problems, xxix. 14, and a *rubrica* in the Digest xlvi. 17, *de furibus balneariis*, mentions the penalties of this kind of robbery. Plautus assigns a reason for its frequency, Rud. ii. 3. 51:

*Qui it lauatum in*

*Balneas ibi cum sedulo sua uestimenta seruat,*

*Tamen surripiuntur; quippe qui, quem illorum seruet, falsust.*

*Fur facile quem obseruet, uidet: custos, qui fur sit, nescit.*

Epictetus Encheir. 9 *ἐὰν λουσόμενος ἀπίης πρόβαλε σεαυτῷ τὰ γυγόμενα ἐν βαλανεῖῳ, τοὺς ἀπορραίνοντας, τοὺς ἐκκρουομένους, τοὺς λοιδοροῦντας, τοὺς βαλάνεντας* (Vulp.), and Seneca Epist. 56. 1-3 describing the incidents of a bath, *Adice nunc scordalum, et furem deprehensum, et illum cui uox sua in balneo placet*, both mention the thief as a phenomenon sure to recur. Cf. Hesych. *λωποδύται κλέπται, ἀποδύοντες, ἐν λουτροῖς κλέπτοντες.* Petron. S. 30 *Seruus nobis despoliatus procubuit ad pedes ac rogare coepit ut se poenae eriperemus; nec magnum esse peccatum suum, propter quod periclitaretur; subducta enim sibi uestimenta dispensatoris in balneo, quae uix fuissent decem sestertiorum.* A special class of slaves, *capsarii*, took charge of the clothes of the bathers, Dig. i. 15. 3, and were often themselves guilty of purloining them: *Aduersus capsarios quoque qui mercede seruanda in balneis uestimenta suscipiunt, index est constitutus, ut siquid in seruandis uestimentis fraudulenter admiserint, ipse cognoscat.* Cf. A. A. iii. 639. Marcellius quotes Acron's remark on Hor. Ep. i. 16. 60 *fures lauatores dicuntur*, which Acron connects with *Lauerna*.

1. **optime**, 'most skilful,' as we might say 'prince.' So *ἀριστος* is used in *malam partem* Thuc. iii. 38; Virgil has *Boni calamos inflare* Ecl. v. 1, *pedibus, lingua melior* Aen. ix. 556, xi. 338, Plautus *probus parasitus, praestigiator* (Pers. i. 3. 43, Poen. v. 3. 6), *proba lena* (Truc. ii. 1. 14).

3. **dextra**, the hand less distinctly associated with thieving: possibly Catullus implies that Vibennius took no trouble to conceal his thefts. **inquinatiore**, as we talk of *dirty* hands: see however on XXV. 9.

4. **uoraciore**, Mart. ii. 51. 5, 6. The MSS. have a strange variant,

*uolantiore*, which may be a real adj. = 'more thievish'; cf. *inuolare* and note on XXV. 6. This would give a more exact balance to the two lines, the epithet in each case being transferred from its proper noun to that which it only suits metaphorically; strictly we should expect *dextra uolantiore*, *culo inquinatiore*, as Carrion and Hand each independently suggested in proposing to write *Nam dextra pater est uoraciore*, *Culo filius inquinatiore*.

5. **Cur non Itis?** = *ile actutum*. Poen. v. 4. 55 *Cur non agimus?* Eun. iii. 2. 12 *Quid stamus?* *Cur non imus hinc?* **exilium** depends on *in* referred backwards from *in oras*, as Pers. i. 131 *Nec qui abaco numeros et secto in puluere melas Scil' risisse uaffer*; Hor. C. iii. 25. 2. **malas in oras**, 'shores of perdition'; cf. *i in malam crucem*, *malum cruciatum*, *malam rem*. Very similarly, Phorm. v. 7. 85 *Non hoc publicitus scelus hinc deportarier In solas terras?* The MSS. read *horas*, a spelling frequently found in good MSS.

6. **quandoquidem**, a distinct quadrisyllable as in XL. 7. **rapinae**, Mart. viii. 64. 15.

7. **populo**, 'to everybody,' so *proferre in populum* Petron. S. 17. **posas**, Pers. iv. 39-41, Iuuen. ix. 15.

8. **uenditare**, frequentative, 'make trade of.'

### XXXIV.

THAT this poem was not composed for any performance of *ludi saeculares*, as Scaliger and Voss thought, is clear, (1) from the absence of any such title in the MSS, where it is called *Carmen Dianae*, (2) from the fact that Censorinus, who gives the supposed dates of the secular games (*De Die Natali xvii*), mentions none between the fourth celebration, variously dated in 605, 608, or 628 A.V.C., and those solemnized by Augustus in 737 | 17, for which Horace wrote his *Carmen Saeculare*, (3) from the express statement of Suetonius Claud. 21 that they had been long dropped when Augustus restored them, (4) from the hymn being addressed to Diana, not to Dis and Proserpina, the deities specially worshipped in the celebration of the Republican *ludi*, (5) from the poem itself, which contains no hint of such a purpose.

It was however, I think, written for a public occasion, as otherwise there is little force in 22-24. Catullus may have been commissioned to write it as Liuius Andronicus (Liu. xxvii. 37), P. Licinius Tegula (xxxii. 12), and at a later time Horace were (Schwabe Quaest. p. 356), perhaps when the Sibylline books were consulted (Marcilius Asterism. in loc.) or on the Ides of August, a day sacred to Diana (Bentley, Preface to Horace), or on the last day of March, which was consecrated to her as the goddess Luna of the Aventine (Ouid. F. iii. 883, Preller Röm. Mythol. p. 289).

The poem may be compared with Horace's Ode to Apollo and Diana (i. 21), the occasion of which is equally unknown. Both poems were sung by a mixed chorus of boys and girls. Strophes 2, 4 were perhaps sung by girls; 3 and 5 by boys; 1 and 6 by both together.

The metre, three Glyconics followed by a Pherecratean, is found in Anacreon fr. 4, 6, 8, 14; cf. Aristoph. Eq. 969-992. The actual hymn

of Anacreon to Artemis fr. 1 Bergk seems to have consisted of two systems of 3 and 5 verses respectively; the first, two Glyconics and a Pherecratean; the second, four Glyconics and a Pherecratean.

1. **in fide**, i. e. Diana is pledged to guard us: 'clients of Diana are we.' Rosc. Am. xxxiii. 93 *quaere in cuius fide sint et clientela*, xxxvii. 106 *cum multos ueteres a maioribus Roscii patronos hospitesque haberent, omnes eos colere atque obseruare destiterunt ac se in Chrysogoni fidem et clientelam contulerunt*, Planc. xli. 97 *cum omnia illa municipia quae sunt a Vibone Brundisium in fide mea essent*, Fam. xiii. 65 *ea societas uniuersa in mea fide est*.

2. **integri**, 'chaste,' XV. 4, as becomes the singers of a hymn to the goddess of chastity, Aen. xi. 583. *integri*, as 3, 4 prove, does not extend to *puellae*; cf. Horace's *Virgines lectas puerosque castos* C. S. 6.

5-8. This strophe shows that Catullus is not confining himself to the purely Roman conception of Diana, which otherwise he might seem to have done. Horace is more definitely Greek; he speaks of Diana in connexion not only with Algidus, but Erymanthus and Cragus, i. 21. 7-9.

5. **Latonia**, child of Latona by Jupiter. Od. vi. 106, H. Hom. xxvii. 19, 21, Hes. Theog. 918. **maximi Magna**. Sallust. de R. P. ii. 4 *maximum ex magno fieri*, Ouid. Pont. iv. 2. 1 *uates magnorum maxime regum*.

7. According to the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo 16, Artemis was not born with Apollo in Delos, but in Ortygia, and Theognis 5-10, as well as Callimachus Del. fin. seem to speak of Delos as the birthplace of Apollo only. But Pindar in a *προσόδιον* to Delos, fr. 64, 65 Bergk cited by Strabo 485 *μιθύεται ἐνταῦθα ἡ Δητὼ τὰς ὠδῖνας ἀποθέσθαι τοῦ τε Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος*, and Arrian ap. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 525 *Δῆλος ἡ πάλαι πλωτῆ ὄσα ἔστη ὅτε ἡ Δητὼ ἐπέβη αὐτῆς διδύμους ἔχουσα πιάδας*, (cf. Ennius ap. Varr. L. L. vii. 16,) show that the other version which represented Leto as giving birth to twins in Delos was equally accredited, though perhaps of later origin. Catullus may have visited Delos during his Bithynian journey, perhaps in returning from it.

8. **Deposiuit**, an archaic form. The word seems to translate Callimachus' *φίλων ἀπεθήκατο κόλπων* H. Dian. 25. Phaedrus uses it of a dog dropping her young i. 19. 4, of a woman giving birth to a child i. 18. 5. **oliuam**. The legend was that Leto lightened the pangs of parturition by grasping either a palm tree (Hom. H. Apoll. 117, Theogn. 5-10, Callim. Del. 209) or an olive (Hyg. 53, 140, Tac. Ann. iii. 61) or a bay. Euripides Hec. 451-461, Ion 919-920 mentions the palm and bay, I. T. 1099-1102 the palm, bay, and olive, together. Aelian V. H. v. 4 following a *λόγος Δήλιος* asserts that an olive and palm sprang up to assist Leto in her travail; and so Ouid. M. vi. 335, xiii. 635. Catullus leaves it doubtful what part he assigns to the tree. Callimachus H. Dian. 24, 25 makes the birth of Artemis *ἀμογητί*, and this would quite accord with the use of *deposiuit*; but, as noticed above, Callimachus does not seem to have connected the birth of Artemis with Delos, consequently with the attendant tree, at all.

9. **Montium domina**, a Greek more than Roman attribute. Od. vi. 102 *οἷη δ' Ἀρτεμις εἶσι κατ' οὐρεὺς ἰοχέαιρα ἢ κατὰ Τηθύγετον περιμήκετον ἢ Ἐρύ-*

μανθον, Hom. H. xxvii. 4 κατ' ὄρη σκίοντα καὶ ἄκριας ἡνυμοίσσας Ἄγρη  
τερπομένη. Callim. Dian. 18 Δὸς δέ μοι οὔρεα πάντα, 20 Οὔρεων οἰκῆσω.

**10. Siluarumque,** λαχεῖ δ' ἐπι δάσκιος ὕλη Hom. H. xxvii. 7. The Roman Diana was particularly associated with woods, Aen. iii. 679; Servius on G. iii. 332 *omnis quercus Ioui est consecrata, et omnis lucus Dianae*: hence her name Nemorensis at Aricia, and her connexion with Virbius, the demon-god of the forest. Virgil calls her *nemorum cultrix* Aen. xi. 557, Horace *siluarum potens* C. S. 1.

**11. Saltuumque reconditorum,** 'retired pasture grounds,' here combined with rivers as in Virg. G. iii. 143. Nemesianus Cyn. 48, describing the huntsman's haunts, *Nos saltus uiridesque plagas camposque patentes Scrutamur*, 53 *nos flumineas errare per umbras Malumus*; again 86 he invokes the huntress-goddess Diana as *quae saltus placidos siluasque pererras, Laloniae, Phoebe, magnum decus*, and summons to attend her the Naiads, Dryads, and Nymphs *unde amnibus umor*.

**12. Amniumque sonantum.** Hor. C. i. 21. 5. The epithet expresses the loud roar of a full and rushing stream ποταμοὶ κελάδοντες Theocr. xvii. 92, Apoll. R. i. 501, ποταμοὶ κελαδεννὰ βίοντες Apoll. R. iii. 532.

**13.** Diana was identified with Iuno Lucina as the goddess of childbirth. Varro L. L. v. 69 *Quae (Diana) ideo quoque uidetur ab Latinis Iuno Lucina dicta uel quod et ea terra, ut Physici dicunt, et lucet; uel quod ab luce eius qua quis conceptus est usque ad eam qua partus quis in lucem luna (codd. una) uiuat, donec mensibus actis produxit in lucem, ficta a iuuando et luce Iuno Lucina: a quo parientes eam inuocant, luna enim nascentium dux quod mensis huius.* Cic. N. D. ii. 67 *Luna a lucendo nominata sil, eadem est enim Lucina. Itaque ut apud Graecos Dianam eamque Luciferam, sic apud nos Iunonem Lucinam in pariendo inuocant, quae eadem Diana omniuaga dicitur. Adhibetur autem ad partus, quod ii maturescunt. . . nouem lunae cursibus.* Plut. Q. R. 77 Λούκινα Ἥραν καλοῦσιν οἷον φαεινὴν ἢ φωτίζουσαν καὶ νομίζουσαν ἐν ταῖς λοχείαις καὶ ᾧδισι βοηθεῖν ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν σελήνην διὰ κἀνεον πόλυν ἄστρων διὰ τ' ᾠκυτόκοιο σελάνας, a quotation from the Artemis of the lyric poet Timotheus fr. 2 Bergk. The moon's moisture, according to Macrob. S. ix. 16. 26-28, was supposed to distend the pores and passages of the body, and thus accelerate parturition. The identification of Diana with Lucina has its counterpart in Greek mythology: Artemis is also goddess of childbirth, Theoc. xxvii. 29, 30, Plut. p. 658. In this capacity, as relieving the pangs of maternity, she is *μογοστόκος* Λοχεία or Ὀκυλόχεια: Callimachus connects this with her own easy birth from Leto, H. Dian. 21-25.

**15. potens,** probably in reference to magic rites with which as Hecate she was invoked at the *triuia*, or places where three roads meet. Aen. iv. 609, Tib. i. 5. 16. Ouid. Her. xii. 167 *Ipsi me cantus herbaeque artesque relinquunt. Nil dea, nil Hecates sacra potentis agunt.* Aen. vi. 247 *Voce uocans Hecaten coeloque Ereboque potentem.* So Hecate, from her power in the under-world, is called *δασπλήτης* Theoc. ii. 14. **Triuia,** *τριωδίτις* Chariclides Comic. in Mein. Com. Fragm. iv. p. 556, Varro L. L. vii. 16 *Titanis Triuia Diana est, ab eo dicta Triuia, quod in triuio ponitur. sic in oppidis Graecis, uel quod luna dicitur esse. quae in caelo tribus uis mouetur in altitudinem et latitudinem et longitudinem.* Macrob. S. i. 9. 6 *Dianae ut Triuiae uiarum omnium tribuunt potestatem.* **notho.** 'counterfeit,'

i. e. borrowed from the sun. Lucr. v. 575 *Lunaque siue notho fertur loca lumine lustrans Siue suam proprio iactat de corpore lucem*; Philo i. 628 uses νόθον φέγγος of the moon's light in opposition to γνήσιον the genuine light of the sun (Liddell and Scott s. u.). Plut. Q. R. 76 προσέχειν ἐθέλει τῷ κρείττονι καὶ δευτερεύειν, ἀεὶ παπταίνουσι πρὸς αὐτὰς ἡελίοιο, κατὰ τὸν Παρμενίδην. Muretus quotes Festus s. u. *Mulus*. *Mulus uehiculo lunae adhibetur, quod ut mulus non suo genere sed equis ortus, sic ea solis non suo fulgore luceat.*

**17-20.** 'Thou, goddess, as thy monthly progress metes out thy circuit year by year, fillest the farmer's grange with goodly fruits abundantly.' For the moon makes the months, and the months make up the year.

**17. dea.** The moon seems to have been sometimes called *Iana* by country people (Varro R. R. i. 37. 3), perhaps merely another form of Diana as explained by Macrob. i. 9. 8. **menstruo.** Varro R. R. i. 5. 4 quoted by Vulp. contrasts the monthly circuit of the moon with the yearly circuit of the sun, *quae ad solis circuitum annum sint referenda et quae ad Lunae menstruum cursum*. Catullus regards the year as determined by the moon only.

**18. Metiens.** Both μήνη, moon, and μῆν, mensis, month, are from the root *ma*, to measure. **iter annum**, not = *iter anni* nor even *iter anni reuertentis*, though *annuus* is sometimes 'of a year's duration' simply as in Fam. vii. 14. 2 *pacem annuam*, Ouid. M. xiv. 308 *Annua nos illic tenuit mora*, sometimes with the farther notion of a returning cycle as in Fast. ii. 851 *capit annua consul Iura*, ib. i. 38, and perhaps Aen. v. 46; but 'thy yearly circuit,' i. e. the circuit which the moon makes every year.

**19. bonis frugibus**, a thoroughly Roman combination, as shown by *bonae frugi*.

**20. exples**, 'fillest to the brim.'

**21-24.** It was customary to allude to the different names of the god invoked. Aesch. Ag. 160 Ζεὺς ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὖ- | τῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ, where Klausen quotes Plat. Crat. 400 δεύτερος δ' ἀδ' τρόπος ὀρθότητος, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς νόμος ἐστίν ἡμῖν εὐχεσθαι οἵτινές τε καὶ ὀπόθεν χαίρουσιν ὀνομαζόμενοι. Callimachus assigns to Artemis πολυωνυμῆ Dian. 7, where Spanheim cites Aristoph. Thesmoph. 320 πολυώνυμε, Θηροφύνη παῖ, Λατοῦς χρυσώπιδος ἕρνος. So Horace C. S. 16.

**22. Sancta**, 'hallowed,' participial: unless indeed Catullus here takes one of Diana's titles (cf. Orelli Inscript. 1444 *Dianae Sanctae*), and gives it a general meaning. **nomine**, e. g. *Genitalis* (Hor. C. S. 16 *Siue tu Lucina probas uocari Seu Genitalis*) *Lucifera Segetia* (Spanheim l. c.), *Triformis Triplex Montana Siluestris Nemorensis Patrona*.

**23. Antique**, Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 66, 'in the old way,' in close connexion with *solida es*. Scaliger proposed to read *Ancique* (a reading actually found in my MS. h), interpreting *Romuli Ancique gentem* as = *populum Romanum*. Ancus is called *bonus* by Ennius (Ann. 150 Vahlen) and is mentioned with Numa and Tullus as a type of the early Roman kings by Horace C. iv. 7. 15, Ep. i. 6. 27, by Virgil Aen. vi. 816, as traditionally ingratiating himself with the people. Niebuhr supposed that Ancus in transporting to Rome the Latins whom he had conquered in his wars, and giving them settlements on the Aventine, laid the foundation of the plebs: on this view *Romuli Ancique gentem* would = *populum plebemque* (Lectures on Rom. Hist. i. p. 81, Eng. Transl.) This 'brilliant discovery,' not of Scaliger, but the Italians of

the 15th century, is, I think, improbable, (1) as pedantic on Niebuhr's explanation, weak on Scaliger's; the simple *Romulique* is more impressive, and better suited to the character of the hymn. (2) *Antique* has a special force in reference to the *mores antiqui* (Ennius ap. Cic. de Rep. v. 1. 1) of which Diana as goddess of chastity and childbirth was in a particular sense the conservatress. **bona ope**, LXVII. 2.

**24. Sospites**, an old word peculiar to prayers. Liu. i. 16 *pacem precibus exposcunt uti uolens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem*. It occurs in the fragments of Ennius and Pacuvius.

## XXXV.

CATULLUS here invites his friend Caecilius to leave Comum and visit him at Verona, where he will hear something he will be interested to know. These 'thoughts of a friend of Caecilius and Catullus' are supposed by Schwabe to mean a poem or poems by Catullus himself; a view quite in accordance with the poetical attempts ascribed to Caecilius in 13, 18; though *cogitationes* is too indefinite to make it more than probable.

The poem is interesting, as showing, what we know from the Attis, from Lucretius, and from Varro's Eumenides, the growing interest which the peculiar worship of the Great Mother was exciting; and also as exhibiting the diffusion of common literary ideas which marks the epoch, and the increasing cultivation of women.

The date is fixed as not earlier than 695 | 59, in which year Caesar, in accordance with a clause of the Vatinius law, took out 5000 new colonists to Comum, which was thenceforward called Nouum Comum, Νεόκομον Strabo, 2 13; cf. Appian, B. C. ii. 26 Πόλιν δὲ Νεόκομον ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλπεῶν ᾠκίει, ὡν ὅσοι κατ' ἔτος ἤρχον ἐγγίγνοντο Ῥωμαίων πολῖται· τὸδε γὰρ ἰσχύει τὸ Λάτιον.

**1. Poetae.** The first line takes the form of an epistolary address, as in Hor. Epist. i. 8. 1. This is carried out in other details; cf. *Amici sui meique* with Cicero's *Quintus tuus meusque* (Q. Fr. ii. 6. 1). **tenero.** Ovid applies the word to those who, like himself, had written on love Rem. Am. 757 *teneros ne tange poetas*. *Summoueo dotes impius ipse meas*, where he mentions Callimachus Philetas Sappho Anacreon Tibullus Propertius: A. A. iii. 329-340 Propertius is called in a similar enumeration *tener* 333; in A. A. ii. 273 *teneri uersus* are verses speaking of love; Am. ii. 1. 8, *teneri modi*, elegiac verses, the metre specially devoted to love. Catullus is himself called by Martial vii. 14. 3, xii. 44. 5, *tener Catullus*; and Ovid by Sidonius Apollinaris xxiii. 18 *Naso tener*. Hence Vulp. seems right in supposing that Caecilius had written on amatory subjects, perhaps in the very poem spoken of in 13, where he might describe the love of Cybele for the beautiful youth Attis, as Ovid has done F. iv. 223. If this limitation of *tener* was later than Catullus, we may perhaps translate it 'tender-hearted,' still in reference to Caecilius as a poet, but in a somewhat wider sense.

**2. Velim dicas**, a common construction in Cicero's letters: *uelim iuuēs*, and *scribas ad me uelim*, both in one short letter, Att. xii. 52. 1.

**3. ueniat . . . relinquens**, a rare use of the pres. part. Holtze Synt.

ii. 233, quotes Phorm. v. 1. 31, *offendi adueniens*, which Sanctius (Minerva p. 131) seems rightly to explain 'I found on (i. e. after) my arrival,' where a Greek would have used an aor. part., as here *relinquens* seems = *λιπών*. Virgil similarly, Aen. iii. 300 *Progredior portu classes et litora linquens*.

4. **Comum**, at the S. E. extremity of the western branch of the lacus Larii, was included in the territory of the Insubrian Gauls till 558 | 196, when it was taken by the Roman general Marcellus (Liv. xxxiii. 36); its subsequent history is summarized by Strabo 213 *αὕτη δ' ἦν μὲν κατοικία μετρία, Πομπήιος δὲ Στράβων ὁ Μάγνου πατὴρ κακωθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων Ῥαιτῶν συνώκισεν* εἶτα Γάϊος Σκιπίων τρισχιλίου προσέθηκεν' εἶτα ὁ θεὸς Καῖσαρ πεντακχιλίου ἐπισυνώκισεν ὃν οἱ πεντακσίοιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπῆρξαν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι· τοῦτοις δὲ καὶ ποδιεῖαν ἔδωκε καὶ ἐνέγραψεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς συνοίκους· οὐ μέντοι ᾤκησαν αὐτόθι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦνομά γε τῷ κτίσματι ἐκείνοι κατέλιπον'. *Νεοκωμίται γὰρ ἐκλήθησαν ἅπαντες, τοῦτο δὲ μεθερμηνευθὲν Νοβουρκώμου λέγεται*. **Larium litus**, i. q. *Larii litus*: so *Trasimena litora* Ouid. F. vi. 765; *Metaurum flumen* Hor. C. iv. 4. 38; *Sterlinium acumen* Epist. i. 12. 20; *Baiæ aquae* Prop. i. 11. 30.

5. **cogitationes**, if Schwabe's conj. is right, are Catullus' own poems, either as 'ideas,' in which sense it seems to be used Phaedr. Prol. iv. 7 *Sua cuique cum sit animi cogitatio Colorque proprius* (of the ideas and style of rival authors), or as the products of his mature thought. Cicero uses the verb, Quintilian the noun, of the mental study which precedes speaking or writing (Brut. lxxxviii. 301, Quint. x. 6), and Horace applies the verb to the definite aim which a good poet always keeps in view, A. P. 144. If we may suppose these *studies* to be the Attis, or some of the more elaborate poems of Catullus, we should have a new reason for his inviting Caecilius, himself the author of a poem on the Magna Mater. But Cicero, in a passage curiously like this (Att. iv. 2. 5 *Tu modo ad nos ueni, quod uereor ne tardius interuentu Varronis tui nostrique facias. Quoniam acta quae sint habes, de reliqua nostra cogitatione cognosce*), rather confirms the common interpretation, according to which Catullus wishes to communicate to Caecilius the views of some common friend, whose name is not mentioned, perhaps from a motive of secrecy, which may also have determined the choice of so vague a word as *cogitationes*. Possibly something political is meant, as often in Cicero's letters, e. g. Att. x. 6. 1.

6. If **Amici sui meique** is Catullus himself, cf. the use of *noster* = *ego*, Bentley on Hor. S. ii. 6. 48.

7. **si sapiet uorabit**. The fut. *sapiet* is determined by *uorabit*. *Si sapiet* is common: Eun. iv. 453; Mart. ii. 41. 1, 23. **uorabit**, 'will hurry over.' 'Metaphora ab his sumpta quae deglutiuntur et non dentibus conteruntur,' Alex. Guarinus. Mr. Clayton quotes Shakspeare, Henry IV. Part ii. 1. 1 *He seem'd in running to devour the way*.

8. **milies**, Att. ii. 19. 3.

11. **si mihi uera nuntiantur**. Stat. compares Fam. x. 33. 1 *Nam et robur et suboles militum interit, si quidem quae nuntiantur ulla ex parte uera sunt*.

12. **deperit**, 'loves to desperation:' *deperire*, with an accus. of the person loved, is frequent in Plautus and Terence. So *perire*, *demori*, *ardere*. Holtze i. 244. **impotente**, 'violent,' 'ungovernable.' Plin.

Epist. ii. 1 *Scis quam sit amor iniquus interdum, impotens saepe, μικραίτος semper.*

13. **Nam quo tempore**, imitated by Mart. xi. 18. 26. For the emphatic inversion of the relative and antecedent *quo tempore . . . ex eo*, 'from the first moment she read,' see Holtze Synt. i. p. 385. **incohatam**, a poem on Cybele which Caecilius had begun, but left in an unfinished state. Arch. xi. 28 *Quas res nos gessimus . . . attigit his uersibus et incohatit, quibus auditis hunc ad proficiendum hortatus sum.* The use of the word in religious and solemn occasions (Virg. G. iii. 42, Aen. vi. 252) suggests that a formal *prelude* may be meant: and so my Metrical Translation 'his high-preluding Queen of Dindymus.'

14. **Dindymi dominam**, see Introduction to LXIII. **misellae**, 'love-sick,' XLV. 21.

15. **interiorem medullam**, a particularizing singular; in XLV. 16, LXIV. 93, LXVI. 23, Catullus prefers the plural. The elision *interiorem edunt* is unusually harsh; but cf. XL. 8 *uoluisti amare.*

16. **Sapphica Musa**. Sappho was called the tenth Muse. Anth. P. vii. 14. 1 *Σαπφῶ τοι κεύθει, χθῶν Αἰολί, τὰν μετὰ Μούσαις Ἀθανάταις θνατῶν Μούσαν αἰδομένην*; ix. 506, ascribed to Plato, *Ἐννέα τὰς Μούσας φασὶν τιεεῖ ὡς ὀλιγόρωσ.* Ἡνίδε καὶ Σαπφῶ Λεσβόθεν ἡ δέκατη. An epigram in the Greek Anthology ix. 26, after mentioning the nine Greek poetesses, calls them the nine earthly Muses, *Ἐννέα μὲν Μούσας μέγας οὐρανός, ἐννία δ' αὐτὰς Γαῖα τέκεν*: this suggests a slightly different interpretation, the nine poetesses formed a cycle, in which each represented a Muse; the Muse of Sappho, Erinna, etc., *Μούσα Σαπφική*, etc. **puella**, vocative, not ablative, as the similarly interrupted order of the words *Noui relinquens Comi moenia, manusque collo Ambas iniciens* seems to indicate.

16. **doctior**, not as Parthenius and Conr. de Allio thought, in choosing a poet as her lover, whereas Sappho loved a man engaged in trade, Phaon; but 'a poetess beyond Sappho herself,' whether as merely trained to understand poetry, or to write poems of her own, like Sempronia (Catil. 25) and Cynthia (Prop. ii. 3. 21). This is the regular and recurring meaning of *doctus* in the Roman poets. Thus Propertius calls Cynthia *docta puella* (i. 7. 11, cf. i. 2. 27, ii. 11. 6, ii. 13. 11), as able to write and understand poetry; the Muses are *doctae sorores* Tib. iii. 4. 45; infr. LXV. 2. Horace speaks of *doctae frontes*, 'the brows of poets,' C. i. 1. 29; Theocritus is *Trinacriae doctus iuuenis* Catal. xi. 20. Statius speaks of *docti furor arduus Lucreti* S. ii. 7. 76; *docto oestro*, 'poetic frenzy,' ib. 3, *docti amnes*, the springs of which poets drank, ib. 12, and i. 2. 259. Martial calls Naples *docta*, from its connexion with poets, v. 78. 14, and praises the poetess Sulpicia, *Hac condiscipula uel hac magistra esses doctior et pudica Sappho* x. 35. 15, 16.

## XXXVI.

LESBIA, perhaps parodying the vow of Pandarus to burn his useless bow if he returned to see with his own eyes his wife and country (Il. v. 212-216), had made a vow that if Catullus was reconciled to her, and in pledge of his sincerity ceased to attack her in scurrilous verses, she would burn the choicest specimens of Volusius' poetry. Catullus here



implores Venus to fulfil this vow, so amusing and so worthy of her votaress, and takes occasion to heap contempt upon Volusius.

The *truces iambi* were no doubt occasioned by some infidelity of Lesbia's; they may be VIII *Miser Catulle* or XXXVII *Salax taberna*; but no hendecasyllabic poem except LVIII, which obviously refers to Lesbia's last stage, could be described by the words, even if we concede, what is doubtful, that Catullus includes in the term *iambi* hendecasyllabic poems (see on XL. 2). Mommsen's view, *Hist. Rom.* iv. p. 583, Eng. Transl. that Lesbia had tried to induce Catullus to cease his satirical attacks upon Caesar and Pompeius and devote himself to her society, is hardly disproved by chronological considerations, for we cannot really fix the time when Catullus either attacked Caesar or attached himself to Lesbia: but it seems improbable that the object of the fierce iambs should be left undetermined, as we must then assume; and the connexion of 4, 5 is simpler on the ordinary hypothesis of a quarrel, an attack, and a reconciliation; cf. *Hor. C.* i. 16. 2, 3.

The Annals of Volusius are mentioned again XCV. 7-10: from which passage we may infer that they were a lengthy work in verse, and that the author was a native of the country near the mouth of the Po. Muretus suggested that this Volusius was the person mentioned by Seneca *Epist.* 93. 9 *Non tam multis uixit (Metronax philosophus) annis quam potuit. Paucorum uersuum liber est et quidem laudandus atque utilis. Annales Tanusii scis quam ponderosi sint et quid uocentur. Hoc est uita quorundam longa quod Tanusii sequitur annales.* The allusion in *quid uocentur* and *quod Tanusii sequitur annales* is probably to the words of Catullus I, 20 *cacata carta*. Haupt (*Quaest. Catull.* pp. 98-100) shows that Tanusius Geminus, who is mentioned by Sueton. *Iul.* 9 as the author of a *Historia*, cf. *Plut. Caesar* 22, was, like the other writers quoted in that biography, probably a contemporary of Catullus. He may have written *Annales* in verse before he wrote his *Historia*; the name is just sufficiently disguised to be intelligible; it is not difficult to imagine reasons which might induce Catullus to alter it, whether, as Schwabe suggests, he wished to spare a countryman of his own, or perhaps despised him too much to allow him the chance of immortality.

1-10. 'Annals of Volusius, discharge a vow of Lesbia's. She promised Venus, that if I returned to her and gave up writing ribald verses, she would burn the choicest passages of that vile scribbler's poetry. She can only have meant his Annals.'

11-20. 'Venus, acknowledge my love's witty vow, and reconcile us to each other. Meanwhile, we burn Volusius' Annals.'

1. **Annales**, a metrical chronicle, probably suggested by the *Annales* of Ennius, in Catullus' time still the most popular poem in the Latin language: A. Furius had also written *Annales* in hexameters, *Macrob.* vi. 1. 31 sqq. **cacata**, in conjunction with *carta* would seem = *concacata*, *κατακεχεσμένη*. Volusius' Annals were so vile that the paper on which they were written was consigned to the privy. Cf. *conmictilis* in Pomponius 138 Ribbeck. This seems less violent than to make *cacata* = *non minus uilis quam si ipsius stercus esses*, 'foul enough to be the droppings of his own dung:' an exaggeration which would have little humour. If

Martial took the idea of xii. 61. 9, 10 from this passage, he has used it quite differently.

2. **soluite**, by being burnt: he perhaps intended to convey to Lesbia the assurance that they were actually burnt when the poem reached her.

3. This vow to Venus would be more in character if Lesbia is Clodia, who possessed a statue of Venus, which she decked with the spoils of her lovers (Cael. xxi. 52), and probably considered herself under the special protection of the goddess. **sanctae**, perhaps merely 'divine,' as *sancte puer* LXIV. 95, and as Lucretius addressing Venus says, *Diua tuo corpore sancto* i. 38. But LXVIII. 5, 6, in connexion with this verse, suggests that Catullus may here allude to Venus as the goddess of faithful, as opposed to shifting or promiscuous love. He himself tells us, LXVIII. 48, that Lesbia marked his day with a whiter stone; and she may have considered her connexion with him of a purer kind than most of her amours. So Tib. iv. 13. 23.

4. **restitutus**, of reconciliation. CVII. 4 *Quod te restituis, Lesbia, mi cupido* (Schwabe). Vows for the return of lovers were of course common. So Mart. ix. 41.

5. **truces**, Quintil. xi. 1. **uibrare** aptly expresses the sharpness and speed of the iambus which made it so useful a weapon for launching (*ἰάπτειν*) upon an enemy. Quintilian x. 1. 60, of Archilochus, *Summa ni hoc uis elocutionis, cum ualidae tum breues uibrantesque sententiae*. Cic. Orat. lxx. 234 *Cuius (Demosthenis) non tam uibrarent fulmina illa, nisi numeris conforta ferrentur*. Brut. xcv. 326 *Oratio incitata et uibrans*. Proclur Chrestom. 7, quoted in Reyfferscheid's Sueton. Reliq. p. 19 'Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἰαμβὸν τάπτεσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ λοιδορίας τὸ παλαιῶν καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἰαμβίξειν κατὰ τινα γλώσσαν λοιδορεῖν ἔλεγον. Quintil. x. 1. 96 speaks of the *acerbity* of the iambus in Catullus Bibaculus Horace.

6. **Electissima**, 'choicest.' Ironical. **peissimi poetae**, XIV. 23, XLIX. 5. Volusius is meant. My friend Mr. Raper, with Muretus, explains the words *generally* 'the worst poet,' which no doubt increases the point of 9, 10, as particularizing what was left undetermined by Lesbia, but seems to me against the natural suggestion of the line.

7. **tardipedi deo**, 'the halting god of fire,' in allusion to the halting rhythm of Volusius' verse. There is another reason for personifying fire here; Vulcan is the husband of Venus. So Horace C. i. 16. 2, 3 *Quem criminosis cunq̄ue uoles modum Pones iambis, sine flamma Sine mari libet Hadriano*, Tib. i. 9. 49 *Illa uelim rapida Vulcanus carmina flamma Torreat*, Iuuen. vii. 25 *quae Conponis dona Veneris Telesine marito*. **daturam** with *se* omitted after *Vouit*, as in a vow quoted by Macrob. Sat. iii. 9. 8 *Si ita feceritis uoueo uobis templa ludosque facturum*, Pomponius 51 Ribbeck *Mars tibi uoueo facturum, si unquam redierit, Bidenti uerre*.

8. **Infelicibus lignis** adds to the solemnity of the vow. The verses are to be not only burnt, but, like something monstrous, with logs from an *arbor infelix*. Macrob. S. iii. 20 *Ait Veranius de uerbis pontificalibus: Felices arbores putantur esse quercus aesculus ilex suberis fagus corylus sorbus, ficus alba, pirus malus uitis prunus cornus lotus. Tarquitiuus autem Priscus in Ostentario arborario sic ait: Arbores quae infirum deorum auertentiumque in tutela sunt, eas infelices nominant; alternum sanguinem filicem ficum atram quaeque bacam nigram nigrosque fructus ferunt, itemque*

*acrifolium, pirum siluaticam, pruscum rubum sentesque quibus portenta prodigiisque mala comburi iubere oportet.* So Turnebus *Advers.* xviii. 11, who compares Theocr. xxiv. 86. That the words are technical seems proved by Cicero's *infelicissimis lignis semustulatum* of Clodius' corpse, *Mil.* xiii. 32.

9. **pessima puella**, playful, 'the naughty creature;' 'quella ribaldella,' Alex. Guarinus. So LV. 10. **hoc**, emphatic, 'this,' viz. the *Annales Volusi*. Mr. Raper prefers *haec* as agreeing better with *pessima*, 'this was what my love saw herself devoting as vilest to the gods.' Other views are (1) to make *Iocose lepide* the emphatic words of the sentence, as Hertzberg Heyse and Mr. Nettleship, who translates 'And this the wretch knew (or perhaps as a strict perfect=*οἶδε*, knows) to be a merry dainty vow,' (2) to suppose the two lines a slightly emphasized repetition of *Vouit* in 3 'And this was the vow the shameful maid saw herself offering (perhaps=had the assurance to offer) with a charming humour to the Gods.'

10. **Iocose lepide**, asyndeton in words of the same meaning, as in XLVI. 11 *Diuersae uariae*, where see note. 'Wittily and charmingly' = 'with a charming wit.' **diuis**, generally, though Venus is meant.

11. **creata ponto**. Hes. Theog. 195, τὴν δ' Ἀφροδίτην Κυκλήσκουσι θεοὶ τε καὶ ἀνέρες, οὐνεκ' ἐν ἀφρώ ἑρέφθη; the foam formed round the genitals of Uranos, which his son Kronos had cut off and thrown into the sea, and from this the goddess sprang.

12-15. This long enumeration of places connected with the worship of Venus was probably suggested by Sappho or Alcman. Menander ap. Walzii *Rhet.* ix. 135 (quoted in Bergk's *Poet. Lyr. Graeci* on Alcman fr. 23) Μέτρον μέντοι τῶν κλητικῶν ὕμνων ἐν μὲν ποιήσει ἐπιμηκέστερον ἄμα μὲν γὰρ ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων ἕξεστιν τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπικαλεῖν ὡς παρὰ Σαπφῶ καὶ τῷ Ἀλκμᾶνι πολλαχθὺ εὐρίσκομεν. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἄρτεμιν ἐκ μυριῶν ὀρέων, μυριῶν δὲ πόλεων, ἔτι δὲ ποταμῶν ἀνακαλεῖ τὴν δὲ Ἀφροδίτην Κύπρου Κνίδου Συρίας πολλαχθὺ ἀνακαλεῖ. The list begins with Idalium, because Cyprus was the first land to which Venus swam after birth, Callim. *Del.* 22, and hence her name Κύπρις, Σαλαμῖνος εὐκτιμένης μεδέουσα Καὶ πάσης Κύπρου *Hom.* H. x. 4.

**Idalium**, a grove in Cyprus consecrated to Aphrodite, with a town of the same name. Hence Catullus calls it *frondosum* LXIV. 96, Virgil *Aen.* i. 692 speaks of *altos Idaliae lucos*, cf. 681, Theoc. xv. 100. Steph. B. s. u. **Vriosque apertos** seems to describe 'the round knolls of *Oria*, a central point between *Taranto* and *Brindisi*, where there are few risings high enough to prevent the eye from commanding a view as far as the sea in each direction.' Swinburn's *Travels* i. p. 211. This is Strabo's πόλις Οὐρία μεταξύ Τάραντος καὶ Βρεντεσίου 283: and the same name is found in the *sinus Urias* of Mela ii. 4. That the district was in some way associated with Venus may perhaps be inferred from the *Portus Veneris* which Dionysius *Antiqq.* i. 51 states to have been close to the *Templum* or *Arx Minervae* on the Iapygian promontory, where, traditionally, Aeneas made his first landing in Italy. The name *Vrios*, which appears in the double form *Θῦριοι* and *Υῤιοι*, is perhaps a dialectical variety of *εὐρέες*; *apertos* would then be a definition, see on XI. 9. Of the conjectures perhaps the most plausible is *Erios*, the Herian or Heraean mountains in the N. of Sicily, which Diodorus iv. 84 mentions immediately after his description of Eryx, one of the most famous seats of the worship of Venus. Catullus

would then follow the example of Sappho (fr. 6 ἢ σε Κύπρος ἢ Πάφος ἢ Πάνορμος) and Theocritus (xv. 100 Δέσποιν' ἄ Γολγῶς τε καὶ Ἰδάλιον ἐφίλησας Αἰπεινάν τ' Ἔρυκα) in combining Cyprus with Sicily, in connexion with the worship of Venus. *Syros* (Voss) could hardly have been corrupted into *Utrios* or *Urios*; Bergk's *Chytros*, one of the fifteen Cyprian towns mentioned by Plin. xvi. 130, cf. Steph. B. *Χύτροι Κύπρου πόλις*, if written *Chutros* would be near the MSS. reading; its name *Κυθέρεια* seems to connect it with Venus; and Meineke may be right in concluding from Steph. B. that it was near Golgi. **Ancona.** Ancona or Ancon (cf. Cremona or Cremon in Strabo) a city of Picenum on the Adriatic. It was situated on a promontory which forms a remarkable curve or elbow so as to protect and almost enclose its port, from which circumstance it derived its Greek name of ἀγκών, 'the elbow,' Dict. Geog. Mel. ii. 4 *Exin illa in angusto illorum duorum promuntiorum ex diverso coeuntium inflexi cubiti imagine sedens, et ideo a Graeis dicta Ancon, inter Gallicas Italicasque gentes quasi terminus interest. Haec enim praegressos Picensi litora excipiunt.* It was founded by Syracusan exiles (Strab. 241 πόλις δ' Ἀγκῶν μὲν Ἑλληνίς, Συρακοσίων κτίσμα τῶν φυγόντων τοῦ Διονυσίου τυραννίδα), hence Juvenal's *Ante domum Veneris quam Dorica sustinet Ancon* iv. 40. Venus was the tutelary deity of the place, and her head appears on its coins. **Cnidum**, a city on the S. W. coast of Caria, built partly on the mainland, partly on the peninsula whose western point was called the Triopian promontory. Pausanias mentions three temples of Aphrodite at Cnidos, i. 1. 3; Praxiteles' celebrated statue of the goddess here drew visitors from every part of the world, Luc. *Ἐρωτες* 11; Plin. xxxv. 20. It was said to have been modelled on the sculptor's mistress Cratina, and to have inspired an actual passion in a youth; so Poseidippus quoted by Clem. Alex. Protr. p. 16 sqq. Sylb. **harundinosam.** Auson. Epist. vii. 50. The reeds of Cnidos were the best for making paper (Plin. xvi. 157). As the material of which pipes (*fistulae*), and flutes (*tibiae*) were made, they suggest another reason for being mentioned in the service of Venus, *etiam deliciis gratae* (Plin. xvi. 156, cf. Strab. 378).

14. **Colis.** The pause after the disyllabic first foot is Greek. It recurs frequently in the Odes of Horace. **Amathunta**, Strab. 683 εἶτ (after Citium) Ἀμαθοῦς πόλις. Tac. Ann. iii. 62 *Exin Cyprii tribus delubris, quorum uelustissimum Paphiae Veneri auctor Aerias, post filium eius Amathus Veneri Amathusiae, et Ioui Salaminio Teucer . . . posuissent.* Paus. ix. 4. 1. 2 Ἔστι δὲ Ἀμαθοῦς ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλις Ἀδωνίδος ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον. Steph. B. s. u. Verg. Aen. x. 51, Ouid. M. x. 220, 531. There was a famous statue of Venus as a Hermaphrodite here, see on LXVIII. 61. **Golgos.** Paus. viii. 5. 2 Ἰλίου δὲ ἀλούσης ὁ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν οἰκαδὲ ἐπιγενόμενος χειμῶν Ἀγαπήνορα καὶ τὸ Ἀρκάδων ναυτικὸν κατήνεγκεν ἐς Κύπρον, καὶ Πάφου τε Ἀγαπήνωρ ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης κατασκευάσατο ἐν Παλαιπάφῳ τὸ ἱερόν· τῶς δὲ ἡ θεὸς παρὰ Κυπρίων τιμὰς εἶχεν ἐν Γολγοῖς καλούμενῳ χωρίῳ. Steph. B. Γολγοῖ πόλις Κύπρου, ἀπὸ Γόλγου τοῦ ἡγησαμένου τῆς Σικωνίων ἀποικίας· λέγεται καὶ Γόλγων οὐδετέρως· ἀπ' οὗ Γολγία ἢ Ἀφροδίτη. Theoc. xv. 100 Δέσποιν' ἄ Γολγῶς τε καὶ Ἰδάλιον ἐφίλησας. Lycophron Al. 588 γαῖαν ἕζονται θεὰς Γόλγων ἀνάσσης. Pliny speaks of it as still existing in his time v. 130.

15. **Durrachium.** Strab. 316 Ἐπίδαμνος Κερκυραίων κτίσμα (Thuc. i. 24),

ἡ νῦν Δυρράχιον ὁμωνύμως τῇ Χερρόνήσῳ λεγομένη, ἐφ' ἣ ἕδρυσται. It was in the territory of the Taulantii, Thuc. i. 24, Euphorion ap. Steph. Byz. s. u. The name seems to express the high and craggy ridge on which the town was built (Cramer Ancient Greece i. p. 50). Plautus still knew it as Epidamnus, and describes it as a famous haunt of vicious characters: Men. ii. 1. 34 *Voluptarii atque potatores maxumi. Tum syco-phanta et palpatores plurimi In urbe hac habitant: tum meretrices mulieres Nusquam perhibentur blandiores gentium. tabernam.* The inn or hostel, as the common receiver of passengers from Greece to Italy, or *vice versa*. Such a name well describes a place in the highway of trade. So Strabo 283 calls Egnatia κοινὴ καταγωγὴ πλείοντί τε καὶ πεζεύοντι εἰς Βάριον (Voss), and 577 Αραμεα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινὸν ὑποδοχείου.

16. 'Acknowledge the receipt of the vow and pay it back.' Lesbia's vow is here regarded as a debt incurred by Venus, which she is to discharge by fulfilling the condition on which it was made, the reconciliation of Catullus and Lesbia. The language is taken from accounts. Another interpretation is suggested by Dig. xlv. 4. 7, where one of the formulae of *acceptilatio*, a fictitious payment by which two parties to a verbal contract agreed to cancel their agreement, is '*Accepta facis decem ? ille* (the creditor who consents to be released) *respondit: facio.*' Venus will then be asked to acknowledge the receipt and payment (i. e. the payment and receipt) of Lesbia's vow, i. e. to cancel it as virtually discharged.

17. *Si*, 'as truly as it is a witty and charming one,' Aen. vi. 121 sqq. non with *illepidum* X. 4. *neque inuenustum* (ἀκύθηρον), as becomes a vow to Venus. Xen. Symp. viii. 15 σαφῶς ἀποτελεῖται ἡ εὐχή, ἐν ἣ αἰτούμεθα τὴν θεὸν ἐπαφρόδιτα καὶ ἔπη καὶ ἔργα διδόναι.

18. *interea* seems to invert the order of events, to make the burning precede the reconciliation. But in effect the words *acceptum face reddi-tumque uotum* express Catullus' determination to be reconciled; *interea* marks the antithesis between the acknowledgment of the vow on the part of the goddess, and the fulfilment of it on the part of Catullus and Lesbia. The order of ideas then is as follows: 'Paper on which Volusius' Annals are written, burn, and so fulfil a vow of Lesbia's. She promised, if I were reconciled to her and in token of sincerity consented to write no more against her, to burn the choicest of this wretched scribbler's compositions. So now, Venus, accept the witty vow; and reconcile us to each other. Meanwhile, on our parts, we burn Volusius' Annals.'

19. *Pleni ruris*, 'full of rusticity.' Sillig quotes Hesych. ἀγρου πλήως ἀγροικίας πλήρης. *inficetiarum*, XXII. 14.

20. The poem ends with the same line with which it began, just as the poet begins and ends with declaring his determination to burn Volusius' Annals: *Votum soluite, uenite in ignem.*

### XXXVII.

THIS is the first of a series of poems in which Catullus ridicules the *personal* peculiarities of rivals or others who had incurred his hostility: XXXIX describes Egnatius' eternal smile and unsavoury teeth; XLI XLIII and probably XLII the affected gait and airs of a woman called Amiana; XL, though not directed against anything in the personal

appearance of Ravidus, attacks him as a rival. The present poem is also prompted by jealousy; it is aimed at Lesbia's lovers *en masse*, and the scene is laid, not very inappropriately, in a brothel. That this is so is clear from the whole language of the poem; 1 *Salax taberna*, 3 *Solis licere quicquid est puellarum Confutuere*, 6 *continenter quod sedetis insulsi Centum an ducenti*, 14 *Consedit istic* which we may compare with the *hic fuit* of the Pompeian Inscriptions, as *Hanc Omnes amat* 15, recalls the *Multi te amant* of the same inscriptions, and the *amica omnium* of Cicero. It is not necessary to suppose that Lesbia had already descended to the last stage described in LVIII; but the poem must be much later than LXVIII. 136 *Rara uerecundae furta feremus herae*.

It is an ingenious theory of Bruner's that the *taberna* of 1, 10 is Clodia's house, which from Cicero's oration *pro Caelio* (vii, viii, xx) we know to have been not only a resort of bad characters (Cael. xx. 48 *si quae non nupta mulier domum suam patefecerit omnium cupiditati, palamque sese in meretricia uita collocari*), but on the Palatine, and therefore sufficiently near the temple of Castor and Pollux on the south side of the Forum to be described as in 2. *Pila* he explains of the projecting columns, or perhaps of the door-posts, of Clodia's house. But from 14 it is clear that Lesbia's presence in the *taberna* was an occasional, perhaps a single act: there could be no point in the words *Consedit istic* if Catullus were speaking of her habitual residence.

1. *taberna* seems rightly explained by Westphal of a wine- or eating-shop used for immoral purposes, like the *ganear* of Liu. xxvi. 2. Adelp. iii. 3. 5, Suet. Calig. 2. in which Clodius (Pro Sext. ix. 20) and Gabinius (Pison. vi. 13) were fond of spending their time. Cf. the *famosa taberna* of Copa 3, and Prop. iv. 8. 19, 63 where two such *tabernae* are mentioned as the resorts of the meretrices, Phyllis and Teia. Similarly *καπηλείον*, as shown by Athen. xiii. 567 Σὺ δὲ, ὡ Σοφιστί, ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις συναναψύρη οὐ μετὰ ἐταίρων ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἐταίρων, μαστροπενοῦσας περὶ σαυτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγας ἔχων. *contubernales*, 'brothers in the service,' with an allusion to the military sense of *contubernium*. Caelius ap. Quintil. iv. 2. 123 *praeclaras contubernales ab omnibus spondis transuersas incubare*.

2. *A pilleatis*, i. e. where stands the pillar ninth in order from the temple of Castor and Pollux, here called *fratres pilleati*, from the round caps in the shape of a half egg with which they were usually represented, and which, sometimes surmounted by a star, is often found on coins. Paul. Diac. *Pillea Castori et Polluci dederunt antiqui quia Lacones fuerunt, quibus pilleatis pugnare mos est*. The *aedes Castoris* (Liu. ii. 42) was on the south side of the Forum near the fountain of Juturna, and therefore in the most crowded quarter of Rome. Verr. Act. ii. 1. 49, 129 *In aede Castoris, celeberrimo clarissimoque monumento, quod templum in oculis quotidianoque aspectu populi Romani est positum, quo saepenumero senatus conuocatur, quo maximarum rerum frequentissimae quotidie aduocationes fiunt*. Ouid. F. i. 705-8 *At quae uenturas praecedet sexta Calendas, Hac sunt Ledaeis templa dicata Deis. Fratibus illa Deis fratres de gente Deorum Circa Iuturnae composuere lacus*. Seneca de Constant. Sap. 13 mentions it as a neighbourhood frequented by slave-dealers (*nequam mancipia ementes uendentesque, quorum tabernae pessimorum seruorum turba refertae sunt*); but though good-for-nothing slaves were sold in the *pilleus*, this can hardly be the allusion in *pilleatis fratibus*. *pila*, the pillar or

column in front of the *taberna*, used to indicate the occupation of the possessor, in Hor. S. i. 4. 71 *Nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos*, a book-seller, here, as in Mart. vii. 61. 5 *Nulla catenatis pila est praecincta lagonis*, probably a *caupo*.

4. **quicquid est puellarum.** Mart. ix. 27. 7 *quicquid unquam legimus pilosorum.*

5. **Confutuere**, i. q. *constuprare*, a much commoner word. et = 'et tamen,' as in XCVII. 10. See Hand Tursellinus ii. 496. **hircos** = *salaces*, as in Merc. ii. 2. 1, 4. Others explain the word as meaning offensive to women. Cf. Most. i. 4. 39, and Merc. iii. 3. 13 *Ieiunitatis plenus, anima foetida, Senex hircuosus, tu auscultare mulierem?* Plin. xxxvii. 60 *foeditissimum animalium.* But Catullus, after upbraiding the *taberna* and its frequenters for lewdness, would scarcely *contrast* them with an animal which is a type of this very quality.

6. **An . . . quod . . . non putatis?** The form of the sentence is Plautine Mil. ii. 6. 19, 20 *An quia latrocinamini, arbitramini Quidvis licere facere uobis, uerbero.* **continenter**, 'in an unbroken line : ' elsewhere of time.

7. **Centum an ducenti**, 'one hundred, or it may be, two.' This elliptical use of *an* is found, according to Hand Turs. i. p. 300, in Cicero's letters, but not in the orations. Fam. vii. 9. 3 *Cn. Octavius, an Cornelius quidam est ; is me crebro ad cenam inuitat, contemptuously ;* xiii. 29. 4 *neque possum negare adfuisse, sed non plus duobus an tribus mensibus.* Plin. Epist. vi. 13. 5 *Acilius tantum Rufus et cum eo septem an octo, septem immo in priore sententia perseuerarunt.* It is particularly used where there is a doubt as to the exact number.

8. **sessores and sedetis** perhaps allude to the custom of courtesans sitting in front of their *cellae*. Poen. i. 2. 54 *Prosedas pistorum amicas, relliquias alicarias. . . . Quae tibi dant stabulum statumque, sellam et sessibulum merum?* Aeschin. in Timarch. 40 quoted by Vulp. οὗτος γὰρ πρώτου μὲν πάντων ἐπειδὴ ἀπηλλάγη ἐκ παίδων, ἐκάθητο ἐν Πειραιεὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐδουδίου ἰατροῦ, προφάσει μὲν τῆς τέχνης μαθητής, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ πωλεῖν ἐαυτὸν προσηρημένος. The meaning will then be, 'I will treat you like so many unchaste women, seated as you are like a number of prostitutes one after another, in empty self-complacency (*insulsi*).'

9-10. 'And yet you may think so, if you will ; for I will scrawl the whole of your tavern-front with scorpions' to show what you may expect for meddling with Lesbia.

10. **Frontem**, to be seen by the passer-by. Possibly, as Stat. suggests, there is an allusion to branding the foreheads of slaves convicted of thieving, running away, etc. Petron. 103, 105, Quintil. vii. 4. 14, Sen. de Benef. iv. 37. The *taberna* thus branded would be a witness against itself : that *figures* were sometimes tattooed on the forehead seems clear from Lucian 'Αλιεύς 46 where sham philosophers are to be branded with a fox or ape : on the other hand *tabernae* were often painted with familiar subjects, e. g. the battle of the weasels and the mice (Phaedr. iv. 6. 2). **scorpionibus**, rude figures of scorpions, such as that figured among the signs of the Zodiac, Fiorelli Giornale degli Scavi di Pompeii 1862, p. 80, sprawling on the ground and with the tail erect, as described by Lucilius ap. Non. 385 *Hic ut muscipulae tentae atque ut scorpiu cauda Sublata* and Demosth. 786 ἠρότες τὸ κέντρον in attitude to strike. It seems pro-

bable from a line of the comic poet Plato (Meinek. Fragm. Com. ii. 673), from Athen. vi. 246 compared with xiv. 614, and Apul. Met. ix. 17 where a jealous and vindictive husband is nicknamed Scorpio, that this animal was specially associated with the punishment of *adultery*. This would of course have a significance here in reference to these *moechi Lesbiae*. But short of this, the scorpion would seem to have been a natural symbol of sudden and unexpected danger. Cf. the σκόλιον quoted Athen. 695 Ὑπό παντί λίθῳ σκορπίος, ὃ τ' αἰρ', ὑποδύεται. Φράζει μὴ σε βάλῃ τῷ δ' ἀφανεῖ πᾶς ἔπεται δόλος. Leutsch, Paroem. Graec. ii. p. 209, explains *scorpionibus* of angry verses which Catullus here threatens to scribble over the *taberna*; but this would have been stated more explicitly. **scribam**. Writing on walls was a very common practice in antiquity, as numerous inscriptions show; the walls of Pompeii are covered with such inscriptions, many very obscene. De Orat. ii. 59. 240, Merc. ii. 3. 73, Strab. 674 οἱ δὲ κατετοιχογραφήσαν αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα. Ἔργα νέων, βουλαὶ δὲ μέσων, πορδαὶ δὲ γερόντων. It was common to write on walls the names of lovers. Lucian Dial. Meretr. iv. ἐγὼ δ' ἐμνημήην ὅτι κατὰ τοίχου τιως ἔλεγε καταγέγραφθαι τοῦνομα ἐν κεραμικῷ· ἐπέμψα οὖν Ἄκιδα κατασκευομένην, ἣ δ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εὔρε, τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ἐπιγεγραμμένον ἐσιόντων ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ πρὸς τῷ Διτύλῳ. Μέλιττα φιλεῖ Ἐρμότιμον, καὶ μικρὸν αὐθις ὑποκάτω Ὁ ναύκληρος Ἐρμότιμος φιλεῖ Μέλιτταν. Similar practices are not unknown in modern times. 'A member of the Saraceni family at Vicenza, finding that a beautiful widow did not favour him, scribbled filthy pictures over the door. The affair was brought before the Council of Ten at Venice.' Trollope's Paul the Pope p. 153.

11. **meo sinu fugit**. The omission of the preposition is not common. Caesar B. C. iii. 29 *Olacilius sibi timens oppido fugit*. Att. iv. 6. 3 *incipiendo refugit*. The expression is the opposite of *in nostro sinu est*, Am. ii. 12. 2.

12. Repeated from VIII. 5, which no doubt preceded it.

13. Lesbia was *περιμάχητος* and therefore *ἐπιφθονος*, precious in proportion to the trouble taken in winning her (Xen. Symp. iii. 9). So Elissus is described Anth. P. xii. 22. 1 as *μέγας πόλεμος*, a *grande certamen* Hor. C. iii. 20. 7. Propertius speaks in the same way of Cynthia iii. 8. 33 *Aul tecum aut pro te mihi cum riuatibus arma Semper erunt*, Ovid of Corinna ii. 12.

14. **consedit**, as a meretrix. **boni beatique**, 'the well-born and the wealthy,' 'men of rank and fortune.' Cicero constantly uses the word *boni* of the aristocratical party who ranged themselves under Pompeius. Att. viii. 1. 3 *Eundum*; *ut quemcumque fors tulerit casum, subeam potius cum eis qui dicuntur esse boni, quam uidear a bonis dissentire. Etsi propediem uideo bonorum, id est, lautorum et locupletium, urbem referant fore*, a passage in which the various acceptations of the word are reviewed. He combines *bonis et beatis* Sest. xlv. 98 where *beatis*=the *bene de domesticis rebus constituti* of the same passage.

15. **et quidem, quod indignum est**, 'and what is more, to her shame.' Very common in Cicero's letters. Att. xii. 47. 1 *nihil nocuerit, si aliquid cum Balbo eris locutus*; *et quidem, ut res est, emere nos uelle*. Senec. de Providentia 6 *crusta est et quidem tenuis*.

16. **pusilli**, 'petty,' 'insignificant.' Iuven. x. 121. **semitarii**, of the bye streets. Mart. vii. 60. 3, 4 *Iussisti tenues Germanice cresceri*



*uicos Et modo quae fuerat semita, facta uia est.* Phaedr. Prol. iii. 38 *pro semita feci uiam.* Petron. S. 9 *Quasi per caliginem uidi Gitona in crepidine semitae stantem et in eundem locum me conieci.* This seems better than to explain it as simply 'of the streets;' though Cicero contrasts the *angustissimae semitae* of Rome with the *optimae uiae* of Capua, Rull. ii. 96: either view agrees with LVIII. 4, 5. Turnebus' interp. 'in agrorum semitis sub dio scortilla subigentes' is certainly wrong. It is obvious that the *boni beatique* are here opposed to profligates of humbler pretensions and a lower grade, the *demi-monde* of Rome.

**17. une de capillatis,** 'paragon of long-haired men.' Parad. ii. 16 *C. Marium uidimus qui mihi secundis rebus unus ex fortunatis hominibus, aduersis unus ex summis uiris uidebatur.* The Iberi wore their hair and beard thick and long; hence *τραγοπώγωνες* Cratinus ap. Mein. Com. Fragm. ii. p. 78; so the Celtiberian Martial contrasts himself with the curled dandies of Rome, x. 65. 6, 7 *Tu flexa nitidus coma uagaris, Hispanis ego contumax capillis.* **une**, a very rare vocative. Caper, *doctissimus antiquitatis persecutor*, quoted by Priscian tom. i. p. 188 Keil, quotes a line of Plautus' *Friularia* in support of it: no other instance is adduced by Neue Formenlehre ii. p. 103 except Varro L. L. viii. 63, who mentions it as one of the six cases of *unus*. Similarly *sole* was used by Ticiada in his *Epithalamium* (Prisc. 189). Both *une* and *sole* may be regarded as tentative innovations of the scriptores Euphorionis: and neither prevailed. **capillatis.** De Leg. Agrar. ii. 22. 59 *Volitat ante oculos istorum Iubae regis filius, adulescens non minus bene numatus quam bene capillatus,* 'with a fine head of hair.'

**18. Cuniculosae** is significant (1) as *cuniculus* is perhaps a Celtiberian word, (2) from the thick *capilli* of the rabbit XXV. 1, (3) the rabbit was an insigne of Spain on coins and medals. Varro R. R. iii. 12. 4 describes three kinds; the first, Italian with short fore feet, white belly, long ears, upper part of the body black, growing to great size in Gaul and Macedonia, smaller in Spain and Italy; the second Alpine, entirely white; lastly the Spanish, like the Italian, but not so high. This was the *cuniculus* proper. Plin. H. N. viii. 217 *Leporum generis sunt et quos Hispania cuniculus appellat, fecunditatis innumerae.* Strabo 144 gives an account of these *γεωρύχοι λαγιδείς οὗς ἔνιοι λεβηρίδας προσαγορεύουσι.* **Celtiberiae**, perhaps with the notion of uncivilized savagery which long attached to them. Strab. 151 *οἱ Κελτίβηρες οἱ πάντων νομισθέντες πορὲ θηριώδεστεροι.*

**19. Egnati.** Behrens *Analecta Catulliana* p. 45 identifies this Egnatius with the philosophical writer of a poem *De Rerum Natura* quoted twice by Macrobius S. vi. 5. 2 and 12. The long hair and beard, ridiculed by Catullus, might suit a philosopher. **opaca**, 'bushy.' The fashion at Rome at this time seems to have been against full beards. Cicero Cael. xiv. 33 contrasts the full beards of the old Romans with the small and nicely trimmed beards which Clodia's lovers affected *non hac barbula qua ista delectatur, sed illa horrida quam in statutis antiquis et imaginibus uidemus*: the young profligates described in Catullus ii. 10. 2 as *bene barbati* must have worn a beard of some length carefully trimmed. **quem bonum facit**, 'whose gentility consists in.'

**20. dens.** Clean white teeth were thought necessary to a pleasing appearance. Theophrastus makes them a characteristic of the *Ἄρεσκος*.

Tusc. Disp. v. 16. 46 *Haec quae sunt minima tamen bona dicantur necesse est, candiduli dentes, uenusti oculi.* **Hibera**, his native urine; i. e. according to the fashion of his country. **urina.** See XXXIX.

## XXXVIII.

A SHORT expostulation with Cornificius, probably the poet of that name, for withholding sympathy which Catullus had expected, apparently in return for some communication on the subject of his passion, perhaps for Lesbia; the words *sic meos amores* can hardly refer to Catullus' brother (Vulp.) or to Cornificius himself (Bruner). The poem, which is probably imperfect, was obviously written at a time not less of bodily than mental depression; Heyse Teuffel and Schwabe agree in tracing in it the anticipation of approaching death. This would give a meaning to the last line; the *lacrimae Simonideae* may well refer, as Bruner supposes, to the *θρήνοι* of Simonides, poems commemorating the dead, and filled with reflexions on the uncertain lot of mortality, often, it would seem, in connexion with the untimely deaths of the young.

Catullus, in complaining that his friend has done little to console him in his suffering state, follows the example of Lucilius, who remonstrates with a friend for not visiting him when ill, Gell. xviii. 8.

Bergk, in a programme on Cornificius (Index Lectionum Marburg 1843), makes it probable that Cornificius was the poet of that name. (1) Ouid. Trist. ii. 428-438 mentions Cornificius with Catullus Culyus Ticia Memmius Cinna Anser and Valerius Cato as a writer of light erotic verse, (2) Macrobius vi. 4. 12 quotes from Cornificius a hendecasyllabic verse *Deducta mihi uoce garrienti*, vi. 5, 13 a fragment from his hexameter poem *Glaucus*, which show that he followed the same school of poetry as Catullus, (3) Catullus asks his friend for a poem, (4) the chronology of Cornificius' life would agree with this view, as he died in 713 | 41 according to Jerome in the Eusebian chronicle: *Cornificius poeta a militibus desertus interiit, quos saepe fugientes galeatos lepores adpellarat. Huius soror Cornificia, cuius insignia extant epigrammata.*

1. **male est**, of sickness. Att. iv. 6. 2 *meliuscule Lentulo esse.* Fam. xvi. 5. 1 *Quom meliuscule tibi esset.*

2. **mehercule et laboriose.** I retain the ordinary reading, against the conjectures of Froehlich *m. et est lab.* and Lachmann *m. ei et lab.* from a conviction that the instances of hiatus in a short syllable in the extant poems of Catullus are not so clearly wrong as to justify any departure from the MSS. There are four cases of dactylic hiatus in our MSS. of Catullus:—this one; LV. 4 *Te in circo, te in omnibus libellis*; LVI. 8 *Uno in lectulo erudituli ambo*; CXIV. 6 *Saltum laudemus dum modo ipse egeat.* Of these Lachmann alters the first as above, and in the last reads *domo.* On Lucret. vi. 743 he lays down a rule to the effect that such hiatus only takes place in a cretic like *lectulo*, which from its position in the verse does not admit of elision, e. g. LVI. 8, or in monosyllables which form the second foot of a dactyl, LV. 4. This rule will be found to hold good in most cases. But such instances as Hor. C. iii. 14. 11 *male ominatis*,

the reading of the best MSS, and Virg. Ecl. ii. 53 *Addam cerea pruna : honos erit huic quoque pomo*, though the pause here makes a difference, are perhaps enough to justify the retention of even a short syllable in *hiatu* here and at CXIV. 6. **laboriose**, according to Cicero Phil. xi. 4, a word peculiarly applied to bodily suffering. *Dolores Trebonius pertulit magnos* (he was put to the torture); *multi ex morbi gravitate maiores, quos tamen non miseros, sed laboriosos solemus dicere*.

5. **allocutione**, specially used of words of comfort. Varro L. L. vi. 57 *Hinc adlocutum mulieres ire aiunt quom eunt ad aliquem locum consolandi causa*. Sen. ad Marc. de Consol. 1 *Teneas licet et amplexeris dolorem tuum quem tibi in filii locum superstitem fecisti. Quis enim erit finis? omnia in superuacuum temptata sunt; fatigatae allocutiones amicorum*. Id. ad Helv. Matrem 1 *Quid quod nouis uerbis nec ex uolgari et cotidiana sumptis allocutione opus erat homini ad consolandos suos ex ipso rogo caput adleuanti*.

6. 'I am angry with you. Is it thus you treat my tale of love?' Catullus, it would seem, had taken Cornificius into his confidence about his passion, probably for Lesbia, as that which had given him most suffering. **Meos amores**, where it is not 'my beloved' as in XV. 1, XXI. 4, XL. 7, all spoken, I think, of Juventius, can only mean 'my passion and all that concerns it, my tale of passion' as in VI. 16 *Volo te ac tuos amores Ad caelum lepido uocare uersu*. The omission of the verb belongs to the rapid and summary language of emotion, and gives a tinge of everyday feeling. Att. i. 2 *Abs te tam diu nihil litterarum?* Fin. ii. 6. 17 *Finem, inquit, interrogandi, si uidetur*, 'a truce to questions, if you please.'

7. Lachmann on II. 7 seems to take *libet* here by itself, making *paulum quid allocutionis* the nom. to it, and this construction, though rare and belonging to the older Latin, is found in Suet. Caes. 20 *quae cuique libuissent*; Cic. pro Quint. xxx. 94 *Sin et poterit Naeuus id quod libet et ei libebit id quod non licet, quid agendum est?* It is perhaps more natural to take *paulum quid libet* as one expression, and supply *da* or an equivalent, 'Just one little word of consolation.' As the next line shows, he expected a poem of sympathy.

8. **Maestius**, not 'though sadder' (Theod. Martin and Cranstoun) but 'something more moving, with more of sympathy;' the tone of a poem meant to console a man suffering partly from love, partly from ill-health, would naturally be not too cheerful, and if it drew tears would be more successful than if it drew laughter. Heysse makes *Maestius* the predicate of the sentence, 'is more moving,' but this is impossible.

8. **Simonideis**. Referring to the *θρήνοι* and elegies of Simonides of Ceos. Aristid. i. 127 *ποιος πάντα Σιμωνίδης θρηνήσει; τίς Πίνδαρος*; The fragments of Simonides are sufficient to show the *λεπτότης περι τὸ συμπάθες* which traditionally won him the victory over Aeschylus in composing the elegy over those who fell at Marathon. Quint. x. 1. 64 *Praecipua tamen eius in commouenda miseratione uirtus, ut quidam in hac cum parte omnibus eius operis auctoribus praeferauit*.

## XXXIX.

ON Egnatius and his eternal smile. Martial has epigrams on the same subject, ii. 41 on a woman with bad teeth whom he advises to avoid anything that can make her open her mouth, iii. 20 on Canius who was always smiling. Cf. Truc. ii. 1. 14 *Bonis esse oportet dentibus lenam probam, adridere Quisquis ueniat.*

**2. Renidet,** 'beams with smiles.' The word is used of a *false* smile, Tac. Ann. iv. 60 *Tiberius toruus aut falsum renidens uultu*; Stat. Theb. xii. 688 *factum ac triste renidens*. **usque quaque**, wherever he goes: the word fluctuates between the meanings 'everywhere' and 'continually,' with an increasing tendency to the latter; Most. iii. 2. 79 *cum usque quaque umbra est*, 'everywhere'; Bacch. iv. 4. 83 *usque quaque loquitur*, 'is continually talking'; Att. iv. 9. 1 *Multa mecum de republica, sane sibi displicens, ut loquebatur (sic est enim in hoc homine dicendum) Syriam spernens, Hispaniam iactans: hic quoque ut loquebatur; et opinor usque quaque de hoc cum dicemus, sit hoc quasi καὶ τῷδε Φωκυλίδου, i. e. a recurring formula, which you must always supply. Mart. xi. 98. 3 Et hinc et illinc usque quaque quacumque.*

**3. Subsellium**, here the bench where the *defendant* sat, as in a letter of Caelius, Fam. viii. 8. 1 *at ego inuocatus ad subsellia rei occurro*; cf. Ad Q. Fr. ii. 4. 1: often of the *plaintiff*, Rosc. Amer. vi. 17, or of the judges, Vatin. xiv. 34.

**5. Lugetur**, 'mourning is going on,' technical, like *fletur* And. i. 1. 102. **orba**, 'bereaved,' in reference to *unicum*: see Mayor on Iuuen. iii. 129. **unicum**. Asin. i. 1. 1 *Sicut tuum uis unicum natum tuae Superesse uitae sospitem et superstitem.*

**7. morbum**, 'complaint.' Cato ap. Gell. i. 15. 9 has *morbus loquendi*, Varro Eumen. fr. xx Riese (Non. 392) *morbo stimulatus eodem* of a miser; Seneca, perhaps with Catullus in view, de Clem. ii. 6 *Scias morbum esse, non hilaritatem, semper adridere ridentibus et ad omnium oscitationem ipsum quoque os diducere*. So νόσος, νόσημα, Soph. Antig. 1052. Philodemus περὶ κακιῶν Col. xvi εἰς μωρίαν ἐνίστε τὸ νόσημα περίστησιν ἢ μανίαν. **habet**, 'has upon him,' with *morbum*, as *habere febrem* Fam. vii. 26. 1: so too νόσον ἔχειν = φαῦλον ἦθος ἔχειν in Euripides Antiope fr. 227 Nauck.

**9. monendum te est mihi**, 'I must give you a warning,' a gerundial construction found in seven passages of Lucretius, Munro on i. 111. It occurs, but not very often, in Cicero, De Sen. ii. 6 *Viam quam nobis quoque ingrediendum est*, De N. D. iii. 1. 1 *Suo cuique iudicio utendum*, Pro Scauro ii. 13, *Obliviscendum uobis putatis matrum in liberos, uirorum in uxores scelera*: several times in Varro R. R. ii. 9. 10, 12 *dandum hordeaceos panes*.

**10-14.** 'If there were any special reason for your showing your teeth, or no special reason for your not showing them; if you were a man of Rome that likes to look neat, a cleanly Sabine, a Tiburtine whose teeth are bleached by the pure atmosphere he lives in, an Umbrian whose poverty excuses his homeliness or justifies an economical tooth-wash, a Tuscan whose gormandizing combines with his care for personal

appearance to make him particular about his teeth, a man of Lanuvium whose fine set of teeth makes his displaying them natural,—if again you were a countryman of my own, whose personal peculiarities I might overlook, or if in a word you were anybody whose teeth are not offensive, I should still prefer to see you rid of your eternal grin.’

**10. urbanus**, not merely ‘a man that lives in towns,’ which would form no sufficient contrast to the other adjectives *Sabinus*, *Tiburs*, etc., but ‘a man of the Town’ (De Pet. Consul. viii. 29), i. e. a citizen of Rome, cf. *urbanae tribus*, *u. praetores*, with whatever culture or good-breeding is implied by living in the Capital. **Sabinus aut Tiburs.**

Catullus combines the two names probably because he had an estate on the borders of each, XLIV. 1–3. **Tiburs.** The air of Tibur was supposed to have the property of bleaching. Prop. iv. 7. 81, 2 *Pomosis Anio qua spumifer incubat aruis Et nunquam Herculeo numine pallet ebur.* Mart. iv. 62 *Tibur in Herculeum migravit nigra Lycoris Omnia dum fieri candida credit ibi*, vii. 13 *Dum Tiburtinis albescere solibus audit Antiqui dentis fusca Lycoris ebur Venit in Herculeos colles. Quid Tiburis alti Aura ualet? paruo tempore nigra redit*, viii. 28. **11** *Lilia tu uincis nec adhuc delapsa ligustra Et Tiburtino monte quod albet ebur*, Sil. Ital. xii. 229 *Quale micat semperque nouum est, quod Tiburis aura Pascit ebur.*

**11. parcus Vmber**, ‘a thrifty Umbrian,’ whose homeliness thinks it a virtue not to be too nice in person (*Rusticitas . . . se commendat tonsa cute dentibus atris* Hor. Epist. i. 18. 5–8), or whose poverty excuses his resorting to cheap personal appliances. Umbrian poverty is often alluded to. Mart. xii. 82 *Brumae diebus feriisque Saturni Mittebat Umber aliculam mihi pauper, Nunc misit alicam: factus est enim diues*, Sil. Ital. viii. 449 sqq. *Sed non ruricolae firmarunt robore castra Deteriore cauis uenientes montibus Vmbri . . . His populi fortes Amerinus et armis Vel rastris laudande Camers, his Sarsina diues Lactis et haud parci Martem coluisse Tudertes*, which almost looks as if *parcus* were an habitual epithet of the race. Their poverty induced them to hire themselves out in large bodies to the Sabines. Suet. Vesp. 1. This penuriousness was probably associated with the idea of homeliness and rusticity. Ovid speaks of the blowsed face and straddling gait of an Umbrian wife, A. A. iii. 303, and both formed part of their antique character. Plin. H. N. iii. 112, Prop. iv. 1. 121, Hor. Epist. i. 18. 5–8. The sense of ‘spare’ which has been assigned to *parcus* is not established, and is disproved by the recorded (Pers. iii. 74) and monumental (Müller Etrusker i. 275) stoutness of the Umbrian race. *Porcus*, the conjecture of Scaliger, and actually found in one MS, is too coarse to be likely; *pastus* would suit the idea of an Umbrian *boar* (Stat. S. iv. 6. 10) and might suggest the idea of *tusks*. The Vatican gloss in Mai Class. Auct. vii. 574 *Aut pinguis ubera aut obesus et prossus*, though expressly quoted as a line of Catullus, must represent a different recension from ours; so far as it goes, it confirms the first impression the line conveys, that the epithet preceding *Vmber* expressed some *bodily* quality like *obesus ater dentatus*. **obesus**

**Etruscus.** ‘Instead of the slender and symmetrical proportions of the Greeks and Italians the sculptures of the Etruscans exhibit only short sturdy figures with large heads and thick arms.’ Mommsen Hist. Rom. i. 9. Their fatness was connected with their luxurious living. Aen. xi. 737–740. Diod. Sic. v. 40 *Παρατίθενται γὰρ εἰς τῆς ἡμέρας τραπέζας πολυ-*

τελείς καὶ τὰλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τροφὴν οἰκεῖα. They introduced the luxurious and quiet colonnade. Cf. Athen. xii. 517, 518.

12. **ater**, 'dark,' of complexion. XCII. 2. **dentatus**, 'with a fine set of teeth,' as in Mart. i. 72. 3 *Sic dentata sibi uidetur Aegle Emptis ossibus Indicoque cornu*; in Pseud. iv. 4. 3 *dentatum uirum Macedonensem* it seems to mean *offensively* prominent teeth. The dark colour of the Lanuvine's skin would bring his teeth into greater prominence, as Shakspeare talks of 'an Ethiop's tooth,' Winter's Tale iv. 3.

13. **Transpadanus**. The broad plain between the northern bank of the Po and the Alps was not divided into two regions till the time of Augustus. Of these two the tenth or easternmost, Venetia, 'included the land of the Carni with the addition of Istria and a part of Gallia Cisalpina, previously occupied by the Cenomani (consequently Verona), extending as far west as the Addua. The eleventh comprised the remainder of Gallia Transpadana, or the whole tract between the Alps and the Padus from the sources of the latter river to its confluence with the Addua.' E. H. Bunbury, in Dict. Geog. ii. 92. Even, therefore, if Catullus alludes to Verona alone in *meos* (LXVII. 34), he speaks for the time at which he wrote with strict correctness, though subsequently Verona belonged to the Veneta regio, not the Transpadana. **attingam**, 'not to leave untouched,' a medical word, *tanquam uulnera attingo* Liu. xxviii. 27. Catullus seems to imply that he was aware his own countrymen had their failings.

14. **puriter**, LXXVI. 19, a word of Cato's, R. R. 76. 1, 112. 2, used also by Ennius Pomponius and Novius. Catullus affects these archaic adverbs, *miseriter* LXIII. 49, *properiter* fr. IV. **lauit** not *lauat*, as Horace S. i. 5. 24 has *ora manusque lauimus*. But generally the usage not only of the Augustan poets, but of Lucretius, confines *lauare* to actual washing, *lauere* to laving or wetting, often metaphorically. See Neue Formenlehre ii. p. 322. **dentes**. If we may judge from the number of *dentifricia* mentioned in Pliny's Natural History, the Romans must have paid particular attention to their teeth. Most of these consist of the ashes of various animal substances; e. g. bones, especially the pastern-bones (*tali*) of farm animals, dogs' teeth, stags' horns, oyster-shells, egg-shells, murex, all burnt and reduced to powder (xxviii. 178, 179, 182, xxix. 46, xxx. 22, xxxii. 65, xxxii. 82). Mouse ashes mixed with honey or fennel-root were employed to make the breath pleasant (xxx. 27). Pounded pumice was also used as a tooth-powder (xxxvi. 156).

16. Menandri Gnom. Monostich. 88 (Meineke Fragm. Com. Graec. iv. 342) Γέλως ἄκαιρος ἐν βροτοῖς δεινὸν κακόν, 108 (Mein. p. 343) Γελᾶ δ' ὁ μῶρος κᾶν τι μὴ γέλοιον ἦ.

17. **Celtiber**. Diod. Sicul. v. 33. 5 Ἴδιον δέ τι καὶ παράδοξον νόμιμον παρ' αὐτοῖς (τοῖς Κελτίβηραι) ἔστιν. Ἐπιμελείς γὰρ ὄντες καὶ καθάριοι ταῖς διαίταις, ἐν ἔργον ἐπιτηδεύουσι βίναυσον καὶ πολλῆς ἀκαθαροσίας κεκοινωνηκός· παρ' ἕκαστα γὰρ τὸ σῶμα λούουσιν ὄρω, καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας παρατρίβοντες, ταύτην ἡγοῦνται θεραπεῖαν εἶναι τοῦ σώματος. **Celtiberia in terra**. The addition of *terra* is not

meaningless: it suggests that Celtiberia was a peculiar out-of-the-way part of the world, perhaps that it was barren and deficient in natural resources. Strabo 163 οὐτε γὰρ ἡ τῆς χώρας φύσις πόλεων ἐπιδεκτικὴ πολλῶν ἐστι διὰ τὴν λυπρότητα ἢ διὰ τὸν ἔκτοπισμὸν καὶ τὸ ἀήμερον, οὐθ' οἱ βίοι καὶ πρῆξεις αὐτῶν ἕξω τῶν κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπαγερούουσι τοιούτων

οὐδέν, *ib.* 164 ἢ δ' ἄλλη (ἰμοιρεῖ) τὸ πλεόν διὰ τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ μὴ πρὸς διαγωγὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀνάγκην καὶ ὄρμην θηριώδη μετὰ ζῆους φαυλοῦ ζῆν' εἰ μὴ τις οἴεται πρὸς διαγωγὴν ζῆν τοὺς οὖρον λοουμένους ἐν δεξαμεναῖς παλαιουμένῳ καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας σμηχομένους καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν, καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς Καντάβρους φασι καὶ τοὺς ὀμόρους αὐτοῖς.

**18. mixit.** 'The Greenland females occasionally wash their hair and faces with their own urine, the odour of which is agreeable to both sexes, and they are well accustomed to it as this liquor is kept in tubs in the porches of their huts for use in dressing the deer and seal skins.' Sir J. Richardson *Polar Regions* p. 304, a passage indicated to me by Prof. Rolleston. This reading (*mixit*) of the Bodleian MS. (*O*) is perhaps the spelling of Catullus. It is so spelt in two inscriptions quoted by O. Iahn *Persius* i. 114. The *n* was only faintly heard in pronunciation before *s*, and the *gs* became *x*. Compare the forms *attigeret cesor Clemes Maluginesis mesor Oruculeius Pisaurese Quichlis Secudo* in Mommsen *C. I. L.* i. p. 608. **mane**, i. e. he uses on getting up in the morning the water he passed over-night. This would give it time to take a deeper colour. Besides, urine was believed to have salutary effects if used in the morning, *Plin.* xxviii. 69 *Osthanes contra mala medicamenta omnia auxiliari promisit matutinis suam cuique instillatam in pedem.*

**19. russam**, the colour οὔρου πεπαλαιωμένου. *Russus*, according to Charisius (55 P.) the correct form, not *russus* any more than *albeus* or *prasineus*, is a rare word. Lucretius applies it to the awnings spread over theatres, *iv.* 75 *lutea russaque uela Et ferrugina*, *Martial* xiv. 176 to a mask made to imitate a Batavian face, either from the red colour of Batavian hair, or from the red brick-like colour of the complexion as imitated by the mask-maker. According to A. Gellius ii. 26. 6 *Rusus color et ruber nihil a uocabulo rufi diiunguntur neque proprietates eius omnes declarant*, it was an indefinite colour: from Prudentius, who uses it twice of blood (*Peristeph.* x. 908, xi. 130), we may perhaps infer it to have been a coarse not very bright red.

**20. uester**, 'that Celtiberian tooth of yours.' So *Hibera urina* XXXVII. 20. **expolitior**, a rare comparative; the superlative *uillus expolitissimas* occurs in a passage from a speech of P. Scipio Africanus against Claudius Asellus (*Gell.* ii. 20. 6), applied to houses in complete repair. So *expolitio* is technically used by Cicero (*Q. Fr.* iii. 6 *urbanam expolitionem*) and Vitruvius vii. Praef. 18 of the processes necessary to finish a house completely, including paving, plastering, painting the walls (*ruderatio, albarium, picturae*). This idea may be in Catullus' mind, so 21 *bibisse* a well-known word of colour. *Plin.* H. N. viii. 193 *Lanarum nigrae nullum colorem bibunt. Solin.* xxii. 12, speaking of the British woad-tattooing, *plurimum fuci artus bibant.*

**21. loti**, the common word for urine, as is shown by its frequent occurrence in Cato R. R. cxvi. 1, *ib.* 6, cxxii, and the proverbial *Non ualet lotium suum* (*Petron.* 57), 'he is not worth his salt.' Cf. the answer of Vespasian when reproved by Titus for putting a tax on urine (*Sueton.* *Vesp.* 23) *Pecuniam ex prima pensione admouit ad nares, sciscitans num odore offenderetur; et illo negante 'Atqui' inquit 'e lotio est.'*

## XL.

RAVIDUS is only mentioned here; nor is the name a common one. He had enraged Catullus by making love, as Conr. de Allio and Schwabe (Quaest. p. 82) think, to Lesbia, as seems to me more probable, by familiarities with Juventius (so Vorlaender, p. 19). At any rate the words *meos amores* are applied to Juventius in the other poems, see XV. 1, XXI. 4. With XV indeed the poem before us has much in common; cf. *qualubet* 6 with XV. 11, *mala mens* with XV. 14 *Quod si te mala mens furorque uecors*, where *uecors* again is like *uecordem parat excitare rixam* here. As in XXXVI Catullus speaks of *truces iambi* which had brought Lesbia to her senses, in LIV. 6 of *iambi* which had roused the anger of Caesar (cf. Fragm. I), so here he threatens Ravidus with the terrible punishment of an immortality in iambics. Schwabe considers that *iambi* may include hendecasyllabic poems, and this would be in accordance with Hephaestion 10. 62 ed. Westphal when talking of antispastic verses he says τῶν δὲ τριμέτρων τὸ μὲν καταληκτικόν, τὸ μόνην τὴν πρώτην ἀντισπαστικὴν ἔχον τὰς δὲ ἕξῃς ἄλλας ἰαμβικὰς, Φαλαίκειον καλεῖται. If so the iambics with which Ravidus is threatened are the hendecasyllables in which the threat is conveyed, and this is perhaps more probable than that Catullus either wrote or thought of writing a regular iambic attack like the famous verses on Caesar (XXIX), the verses expostulating with Lesbia (VIII), those against Suffenus (XXII), the *Salax Taberna* (XXXVII), Egnatius (XXXIX), Sestius (XLIV), Rufa (LIX) or the unknown object of LX. On the other hand, as Westphal has shown, Catullus seems here to be imitating an iambic poem of Archilochus, and the ἰαμβοὶ which Cato wrote in imitation of the same poet (Plut. Cato 7) can scarcely have been hendecasyllables.

1. Archil. fr. 92 Bergk Πάτερ Λυκάμβρα, ποῖον ἐφράσω τόδε; Τίς σὰς παρήειρε φρενάς; \*As τὸ πρὶν ἠρήρεισθαι, νῦν δὲ δὴ πολὺς Ἀστοῖσι φαίνεαι γέλωσ., a passage also imitated by Laberius ap. Non. 490. *mala mens*, 'infatuation,' as in XV. 14, Tib. ii. 5. 104. *Rauide*, perhaps pronounced *Raudé*, but an hypermeter is not impossible, as in the Glyconic poems XXXIV. 11, 22, LXI. 115, 135, 140, 184. Conr. de Allio fancifully supposed the name fictitious, to describe the reddish-brown eyes of Catullus' rival. It is the colour thought best by Columella for cocks R. R. viii. 2. 9.

2. *Agit praecipitem*, of blind folly. Harusp. Resp. xxiv. 51 *demens et iam pridem ad poenam exiliumque praiceps*. Verr. i. 2. 6 *Agunt eum praecipitem poenae civium Romanorum*. *iambos*. Plut. Cato 7 ὄργῃ καὶ νεότητι τρέφας ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἰάμβους πολλὰ τὸν Σκιπίωνα καθύβρισε, τῷ πικρῷ προσχωρησάμενος τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου.

3. Archil. fr. 93 Bergk τίς ἄρα δαίμων καὶ τεοῦ χολούμενος; Expressions like *Qui illi dii irati* Att. iv. 7. 1, *deos satis scio fuisse iratos* And. iv. 1. 40, and the ironical *satini illi sunt di propitii* Phorm. iv. 3. 31, are common: Catullus here gives them a new and less ordinary turn. *non bene*, 'unwisely.' *aduocatus*, Fronto p. 47 Naber *deorum unumquemque mihi uotis aduoco*.

4. *Vecordem*, XV. 14. *Vecors* is as much stronger than *excors* as *uesanus* than *insanus*. Both words are used by Catullus of the loss of



reason produced by love VII. 10, C. 7, and the same notion lies in *rixam*, 'a love-quarrel,' Hor. C. iii. 14. 25, Colum. viii. 2. 14 *nec pugnacem nec rixosae libidinis marem* of a cock. **parat**, 'means,' 'is on the way.' Rem. Am. 99.

**5. peruenias in ora uulgi.** The plural *ora* gives a poetical cast to the common *in ore uulgi uersari* (Verr. i. 46. 121), *in ore omnium esse* Phil. x. 7. 16, *in ore est omni populo* Adelp. i. 2. 13. Ouid. Trist. iii. 14. 23, 24 combines the two, *Nunc incorrectum populi peruenit in ora, In populi quicquam si tamen ore meum est.*

**6. Quid uis?** 'What would you have?' 'What are you aiming at?' Heut. i. 1. 9 *quid uis tibi? quid quaeris?* De Orat. ii. 67. 269 *Quid tibi uis, insane?* Prop. i. 5. 3 *Quid tibi uis, insane? meos sentire furores? Infelix properas ultima nosse mala.* Hor. Epod. xii. 1, S. ii. 6. 29. **qua lubet**, 'no matter how,' LXXVI. 14. **notus esse**, 'to secure notoriety.' Mart. x. 3. 11 *Cur ego laborem notus esse tam praeue?*

**8. Cum longa poena**, 'to your own far-reaching discomfiture,' so *magno cum pretio atque malo* LXXVII. 2, *cum summo probro* And. v. 3. 10. It is perhaps fanciful to suppose a pun on *penna*, keeping up the idea of Ravidus as a long-tailed cock (*procerissimae caudae* Colum. viii. 2. 10).

## XLI.

THIS poem and XLIII are both attacks on the same person, a woman, called, if we can trust the MSS, Ameana or Amiana. She was the mistress of a man whom Catullus called *decoctor Formianus*. This bankrupt of Formiae has been generally identified with Mamurra the favorite of Caesar attacked in c. XXIX; rightly, I think, as both Caesar and Mamurra are again assailed in c. LVII, and the latter is there expressly connected with Formiae. This also agrees very well with the facts of Mamurra's life. From Pliny H. N. xxxvi. 48 we know that Mamurra had been Caesar's superintendent of engineers in Gaul (*praefectum fabrum G. Caesaris in Gallia*), and it was here that he received from his chief the grants which roused Catullus to the attack upon him in XXIX (cf. 3. *Mamurram habere quod Comata Gallia Habebat uncti*). Now in XLIII. 6 *Ten prouincia narrat esse bellam?* Catullus says Amiana had been talked of as a beauty in the province, and there can be little doubt that the province here spoken of is the province *par excellence*, the Roman province in the south of Gaul. This view becomes more probable if we refer XLII to the same woman, cf. 9 *Catuli ore Gallicani*.

When and where the poet made this acquaintance we cannot tell: perhaps, as Westphal suggests, in Cisalpine Gaul, which part of his province Caesar, to obtain fresh levies or for other reasons, generally visited in the winters of his nine years' campaign beyond the Alps (B. G. v. 1). It was during one of these visits that, according to a plausible conjecture of Schwabe's (Quaestt. Catull. p. 235-237), Caesar invited Catullus to dinner as a sign of forgiveness for the insult he had received in the verses upon Mamurra; and it must have been also during these visits that he was himself at times the guest of the poet's

father at Verona, if we may so interpret the words of Suetonius (Jul. 73). It is easy to suppose that Caesar may have brought his favorite Mamurra with him, and Mamurra might naturally be accompanied by his mistress. If, as Westphal thinks, the liaison took place at Verona, and the poems referring to it were written there, Amiana was herself, it would seem, either a Veronese or a native of the country thereabouts, for the poet appeals to her relations to take care of her, and this would have comparatively little force if Amiana had no relations in the place where the appeal was made.

1. **Ameana**, (*A me an a*) I have retained as the reading of the best MSS. If genuine, it may possibly be a rustic or provincial form of *Amiana*, like *uea uella specæ senum*, for *uia uilla spica sinum* (Varro R. R. I. 2. 14. ib. 48. 2), which were still so pronounced by country people in Varro's time. Even Livy still wrote *sibe quæse* (Quintil. i. 7. 24). Catullus if he retained the rustic or archaic *Ameana* for the more modern form, may have wished to heighten in this way the contrast between the refined Roman Lesbia and her would-be Gaulish rival. It is equally possible that (1) *Ameana* is a form of late Latin, or (2) that it represents the corrupted form of another name, perhaps *Anneiana*, cf. the *Anneianum oppidum* near Ateste (Cluver. Ital. Antiq. p. 155).

2. **Tota** perhaps refers to the legal formula for *manus iniectio*, in which *sestertium x milia* was the specified sum. See Excursus. **milia decem**, the sum which Catullus actually paid to the leno Silo. CII. 1. **poscicit**. Hor. S. ii. 7. 89 *Quinque talenta Poscicit te mulier*.

3. **turpiculo**, rather coarse, as is shown by XLIII. 1 *Salve nec minimo puella naso*. It was a gross feature in the face. *Turpiculus* both in Varro and Cicero has this idea of immodesty, Varro L. L. vii. 97, *Puerulis turpicula res* (i. e. *fascinus*) *in collo quaedam suspensa, ne quid obsit, bonæ scaeuæ causa scaeuola appellata*.

4. **Decoctoris**. According to Cicero (Phil. ii. 18. 44) *Illud audaciæ tuæ quod sedisti in quatuordecim ordinibus cum esset lege Roscia decoctoribus certus locus, quamuis quis fortunæ uitio non suo decoxisset*, the lex Roscia B.C. 67, which gave the equites fourteen rows of seats in the theatre next to those of the senators, contained a special enactment assigning a particular place to bankrupts, and therefore excluding those who though otherwise members of the equestrian order and entitled to sit in their seats had ceased to possess the equestrian income of 400,000 sesterces. This was a public slur on *decoctores* as a class, and hence there is something like a special force in the introduction of the word here. The substantive does not seem to occur in any extant author before Catullus: *decoquere* in its primary sense of boiling down with the waste attending that process is found in Varro R. R. i. 2. 26 *iubet ranam liuidam conicere in aquam usque quo ad tertiam partem decoxeris*. Livy uses it of melting down money in order to test its value by seeing how much passes away in dross, XXXII. 2 (*Carthaginiensium argentum*) *quia probum non esse quaestores renuntiauerant experientibusque pars quarta decocta erat, pecunia Romæ mutua sumpta intertrimentum argenti expleuerunt*, where *decocta* means that the coin when tested by being again melted was found to be only  $\frac{3}{4}$  silver,  $\frac{1}{4}$  passing away as dross. From one of these applications, perhaps the latter, as *coquo* and its compounds are technical

words in reference to metal, *decoquere* passes into the purely technical sense of bankrupt. The original expression may have been *aes suum decoquere*, the corresponding was *aes alienum conflare*. **Formiani.** As Horace calls Formiae the city of the Mamurrae, and Cicero talks of the wealth of Mamurra (Att. vii. 7. 6) Catullus could hardly have chosen a more insulting name for his rival than 'the bankrupt of Formiae.' Mamurra would no doubt be known to many as the millionaire of Formiae.

5. **Propinqui.** In cases of madness the property and person of the insane were made over to his or her relations. See Excursus. Varro R. R. i. 2. 8, says of a farmer who persisted in cultivating ground which was either unhealthy or too poor to remunerate his labour, *mente est captus atque ad adgnatos et gentiles est deducendus*. Hor. S. ii. 3. 217 *interdicto huic omne adimat ius Praetor et ad sanos abeat tutela propinquos*.

5-8. It would be well if Amiana's relations looked after her. She is not quite in her sound senses; at any rate she might be recommended to examine her looking-glass a little oftener.

6. **medicos.** Hor. Epist. i. 1. 101 *Insanire putas sollennia me neque rides Nec medici credis nec curatoris egere*.

7. **nec rogare.** Similarly Thais writing to Thessala says of an insolent rival *ἔδοκει δέ μοι πάνν κακῶς πράττειν ὡς μήδε κάτοπρον κεκῆσθαι. εἰ γάρ εἶδεν ἑαυτὴν σανδαράχης χρώμα ἔχουσαν οὐκ ἂν ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀμορφίαν ἐβλασφήμει* Alciph. i. 33. 4. Anth. Pal. xi. 266 *Ψευδὲς ἔσοπρον ἔχει Δημοσθενίς· εἰ γάρ ἀληθὲς ἔβλεπεν οὐκ ἂν ὄλωσ ἦθελεν αὐτὸ βλέπειν*. So Plaut. Most. i. 3. 93 *Mulier quae se suamque aetatem spernit, speculo ei usus est*. Mart. ii. 41. *Si speculo mihi que credis*.

8. **Aes imagosum.** Copper was often used for mirrors. Aesch. fr. 384 *κάτοπρον εἶδους χαλκός ἐστ', οἶνος δὲ νοῦ*. Anth. P. vi. 211. 4 *τὸ χαλκεόν τ' ἔσοπρον*. Several such mirrors, some of them very rude and with inscriptions in early Latin as well as figures of early workmanship, are preserved. See Mommsen in C. I. L. 54-60. According to Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 130, the best mirrors of a past age (*apud maiores*) were made of a mixture of copper and tin; silver ones were introduced by Pasiteles in the time of Pompeius and supplanted the others (but see Plaut. Most. i. 3. 111). Seneca, Nat. Quaest. i. 17, traces the stages in the history of mirrors from the *orbis nondum argentei nitoris fragilis uilisque materia* to the *specula totis paria corporibus auro argentoque caelata gemmis deinde adornata* of his own time. **imagosum** seems to refer to some kind of mirror in which the face would be multiplied a great many times. This might be done if the metal surface were cut into many faces. Pliny describes cups which by a particular configuration gave back a whole tribe of reflexions (xxxiii. 129). Or a number of mirrors might be arranged in reference to each other so as to multiply the reflexion a great many times like those described by Lucretius iv. 302.

#### EXCURSUS ON XLI.

THERE seems to be a legal allusion running through the whole of this poem. In 2 the sum Amiana demands of Catullus is the actual sum mentioned in the Twelve Tables under the formula for *manus iniectio*. Gaius iv. 21 *Per manus iniectioem aque de his rebus agebatur, de quibus ut*

*ita ageretur, lege aliqua cautum est; uelut iudicati lege xii tabularum. Quae actio talis erat. Qui agebat sic dicebat: Quod tu mihi iudicatus siue damnatus es sestertium x milia, quae dolo malo non soluisti, ob eam rem ego tibi sestertium x milium iudicati manus inicio; et simul aliquam partem corporis eius prendebat.* In 5 the relations of Amiana are called upon to take charge of her as of unsound mind; this also is part of the xii tables. Cic. de Inuentione ii. 50. 148 *Si furiosus escit, agnatum gentiliūque in eo pecuniaque eius potestas esto.* Ad Herenn. i. 13. 23 *Lex est: si furiosus escit, adgnatum gentiliūque in eo pecuniaque eius potestas esto.* Ulpian. Lib. Sing. Regularum 12. 2 *lex duodecim tabularum furiosum itemque prodigum, cui bonis interdictum est, in curatione iubet esse agnatorum.* Madmen and spendthrifts are combined also by Justinian i. 23. 3 *Furiosi quoque et prodigi licet maiores uiginti quinque annis sint lamen in curatione sunt adgnatorum ex lege duodecim tabularum; sed uolent Romae praefectus urbi uel praetor et in prouinciis praesides ex inquisitione eis curatores dare.* Amiana herself is called insane; her lover, the bankrupt of Formiae, as a *prodigus* would be liable to the same legal penalties: it is only going a step farther to suppose that Catullus himself had been attacked under a legal provision of the same kind. The *lex Plaetoria*, which seems to be alluded to in the Pseudulus of Plautus i. 3. 69 *Perii; annorum lex me perdit quinauiceniaria*, forbade persons under twenty-five years of age to form contracts or have contracts formed with them by placing them till that time in the hands of curators. Prisc. viii. 387 K., 792 P. *Similiter protulerunt tam in actiua quam in passiuā significatione tutor uador uenor uelificor . . . uociferor ueneror . . . confiteor ueor aggredior stipulor. In quo illud quoque est obseruandum quod actiua significatione quomodo passiuā ablatiua coniungitur stipulor a te pro interrogo te et interrogor a te, quomodo dicimus quaero a te pro interrogo te quamuis sit actiuum. . . . Suetonius autem passiuē protulit in iv praetorum<sup>1</sup> Laetoria quae uetat minorem annis uiginti quinque stipulari ἐπιερωτάσθαι. . . . Plautus in Cistellaria:*

*Me respondere postulas: iniurium est.*

*Stipulari semper me ultro oportet a uiris:*

*Eum quaestum facio, nil uiris promittere,  
actiue dixit. Idem in Pseudulo—*

*Minae uiginti saluae et sanae sunt tibi*

*Hodie quis abs te est instipulatus Pseudulus.*

*Idem in Rudente passiuē dicit—*

*Ni dolo malo instipulatus sis siue etiam dum siem*

*Quinque et uiginti annos natus.*

Cicero De Officiis iii. 15. 61 *circumscriptio adolescentium lege Plaetoria*, De Nat. iii. 30. 74. Hist. August. Antonin. x *De curatoribus uero cum ante non nisi ex lege Plaetoria uel propter lasciuiam uel propter dementiam darentur, ita statuit ut omnes adulti curatores acciperent redditis causis.* Lex Iulia Municipalis 112 (Mommsen C. I. L. p. 122) *queiue lege Plaetoria ob eamue rem quod aduersus eam legem fecerit condemnatus est erit*, the only authoritative evidence for *Plaetoria* against the more general reading *Laetoria*. Now suppose Catullus had either formed a stipulation with Amiana, or been the responding party to a

<sup>1</sup> So Keil: but from xviii. 275 Keil it is clear that it ought to be *praetorum*.

stipulation formed by her, to pay her 10,000 sesterces, had afterwards refused to pay, had then been summoned by her, and to escape the penalties had shielded himself under an *exceptio* of the *lex Plaetoria*, i. e. as overreached by a designing woman; we have a case before us which might very well occasion the poem as we have it with all its technical allusions. For Amiana would no doubt be sarcastic on her niggard lover as a youth not able to protect himself and still wanting a curator; Catullus as surely would retort, 'You say I want a curator; I think it is your bankrupt admirer and yourself that want one; he as a prodigal, you as a person of unsound mind, which you must be to go the length of thinking your charms worth so extravagant a sum.'

## XLII.

IT is difficult to believe with Conr. de Allio and Schwabe that this poem is an attack on Lesbia: Catullus no doubt speaks coarsely of her XI. 17-20, LVIII. 4, 5, but he nowhere speaks *to* her abusively as in 11, 12, still less in language of such untempered grossness as 13, 14: nor would he have been likely to describe his incomparable mistress (XLIII. 7) as strutting affectedly, or grinning like a Gaulish puppy.

The position of the poem between XLI and XLIII seems to indicate its object, the *decoctoris amica Formiani*: cf. *mimice ac moleste Ridentem catuli ore Gallicani* 8, 9 with *Nec sane nimis eleganter lingua* XLIII. 4, *lutum lupanar* 13 with XLI. 1: and, generally, all the three poems describe a greedy affected unblushing woman. This is also the view of Victorius.

The occasion of these hendecasyllables would seem to be conveyed by the refrain 11, 12. Catullus had sent his tablets to the woman, probably with some proposal of an amorous kind; cf. Suet. Gramm. 14 *cum codicillos Memmi ad Pompeii uxorem de stupro pertulisset*, and she had refused to return them. They may have contained a promise of money. The mere fact that the tablets were used by Catullus for writing his poems in proves nothing as to their use for other purposes.

Catullus, if I am right, has borrowed the idea of this poem from hunting. The hendecasyllables are called upon to pursue the thief (6-9); they form a circle round her and, like so many clamorous hounds, call upon her to drop what she has stolen (11, 12); finding that nothing comes of it, they, after a pause, raise their voices again in a still louder chorus (18-20); this also fails and they are finally reduced to a lower and more submissive tone (21-24).

Ovid has imitated Catullus when speaking of men who make love in order to steal, he says A. A. iii. 447

*Forsitan ex horum numero cultissimus ille  
Fur sit, et uratur uestis amore tuae.  
'Redde meum,' clamant spoliatae saepe puellae,  
'Redde meum' toto uoce boante foro.*

1. **hendecasyllabi** here (as in XII and XXXIII) selected as the proper rhythm for abusing a thief. **quot estis Omnes . . . quotquot estis omnes** gives the idea of numbers pouring in and reinforcing each other for the attack. Similarly the refrain 11, 12, consisting as it does of the

same words arranged in two ways, gives the effect of a chorus taking up the same strain one after the other, so that different parts of it are heard at the same time.

3. **turpis**, 'shameful,' as *moecha*, for her infidelities. Hor. S. ii. 7-59 *turpiclausus in arca* of the chest in which an adulterer is concealed.

4. **uestra**, of which you are the proper owners, as Catullus ordinarily used the tablets for writing the rough draft of his hendecasyllables in **reddituram**, *se* omitted as in Pseud. i. 5. 152 *neque sim facturus quod facturum senseram*. The construction is found, rarely in Cicero, Rosc. Am. xxii. 61 *confitere huc ea spe uenisse* Mur. iii. 7, more often in Livy (Zumpt 605), especially with the fut. infin. active, in which case *esse* is generally omitted (Madv. 401).

5. From Charis. 97 Keil it seems that Asinius laid down the rule that *pugillares* must always be used masc. and always in the plural: but that *pugillar* was used by the mime-writer Laberius, *pugillaria* by Catullus more than once in his hendecasyllables. If Asinius is Asinius Polio who is often quoted as an authority on points of grammar (Suet. Gramm. 11, Gell. x. 26, Quintil. i. 5. 55, viii. 1. 3, xii. 1. 22, and who detected *pataunitas* in Livy (Quintil. i. 5. 55, viii. 1. 3), it seems possible that his objection to *pugillaria* was of the same kind: it was a provincial expression. Catullus then possibly uses it here as in keeping with the talk and manners of Amiana, the beauty of the Gaulish Province (XLIII. 6). The word is derived from *pugillus*, either small enough to be held in the closed hand, or a set of tablets, the leaves of which were arranged or sewn together one after the other like the fingers of the hand (*in seriem sulae* Charis. 97). **si pati potestis**, 'if you can submit to that' = 'submit to that, if you can,' possibly with an allusion to the vulgarity of the word. Fronto de bello Parthico p. 121 Naber *Cur, tu, Marce . . . non inuenias tibi met tempora non modo ad orationes et poemata et historias et praecepta sapientium legenda, sed etiam syllogismos, si perpeti potes, resoluendos?*

6. **Persequamur et reflagitemus**. Cato ap. Gell. xvii. 6 *Eam pecuniam uiro mutuam dat, postea ubi irata facta est, seruum receptitium sectari atque flagitare uirum iubet*. **reflagitemus** seems to be ἀρ. λεγ. 'let us press her to return them.' *Flagitare*, of clamorous importunity, as in Men. Prol. 48, Pseud. i. 5. 143 *Clamore magno et multo flagitabere*.

8. **Turpe**, strictly an adverb, as in Att. vii. 18. 1 *quoad scirem us utrum turpe pace nobis an misere bello esset utendum*. So *hilare* De Orat. ii. 71. 290, iii. 8. 30, Fin. v. 30. 92. Nonius mentions *fidele perspicace hilare memore fultile*. **incedere**, ὀσβεῖν, of a conceited strut: such a woman was called in Greek ὀσβασ. *Meretrices* were distinguished from virtuous women by their walk (*incessu*) as well as their dress. Cael. xx. 49. **mimice ac moleste** looks like a parody of Plautus' *modice et modeste* Pers. iii. 1. 18. **mimice**, with a laugh that might suit a farce. Mimes as defined by Diomedes iii. p. 488 *sermonis cuiuslibet motus sine reuerentia uel factorum turpium cum lasciuia imitatio* were according to Plutarch (Symp. vii. 8. 4) of two kinds, ὑποθέσεις or farces with a regular subject for performance on the stage, and παίγνια or shorter *jeux d'esprit*, whether in modulated prose like those of Sophron, or verse, for performance in private, or at least without the formality of a stage. They were essentially mimetic and accompanied by gesticulations grimaces simulated tones, etc.

In Cicero's time they had supplanted the *Atellanae* (Fam. ix. 16. 7) as the regular sequel of a tragedy. Their characteristic was coarseness of every kind (Ouid. Trist. ii. 497, Iuuen. vi. 44, viii. 197, Iulius Capitolinus Antonin. 29, Lamprid. Helagabalus 25, Val. Max. ii. 6. 7, cf. Placidus s. u. *Carisa*, Festus s. u. *strutheum*). Laughter being the special object of mimes, the names connected with them generally express this: *γελωτοποιός ὑβριγέως κάγχος cachinno διάσιπος* (O. Iahn Persius Proleg. p. xcii. ed. 1). **moleste**, 'offensively,' 'tastelessly.' X. 33.

9. **catuli ore**, the open mouth, (*στόμα ἀνεῤῥωγός* Arist. H. A. ii. 33) and grin of a puppy. **Gallicani**, 'of Gaulish breed,' probably from the Provincia, which, as part of the Roman territory, would entitle a dog bred there to be called strictly *Gallicanus*: so Cicero speaks of an estate held by a Roman in Narbonese Gaul as *fundus Gallicanus* Quint. xxv. 80, cf. *re Gallicana* iv. 15. Catullus obviously alludes to the Celtic dogs described in Arrian's *Κυνηγετικός*. These were of two kinds, one shaggy and ugly with a villainous look and a whining bark (iii. 1 τὴν ἰδέαν ἀναρῶν καὶ θηριώδες 5 πονηραὶ ἰδεῖν) used for tracking; the other called *uertragi* from a Celtic root meaning 'swift,' fine creatures to look at, and used for running (Arr. iii. 6).

10. **Circumsistite**. Asin. iii. 3. 28 *Circumsistamus*; *alter hinc, hinc alter appellemus*. The idea seems to be that of hounds forming a circle round a beast. Ouid. M. iv. 722 *apri quem turba canum circumsona terret*.

11. **putida**, 'disgusting,' ἀηδής. **codicillos**, tablets made of pieces of wood (*caudices*) cut into thin plates, and then coated with wax for writing on with a stylus. They were used for any purpose of the moment: Q. Cicero sends to his brother Marcus *codicilli* demanding an immediate reply (Q. Fr. ii. 11. 1): Acidinus informs Servius at Athens of the death of M. Marcellus by *codicilli* (Fam. iv. 12. 2); Cicero sends his *codicilli* to Balbus to obtain instant information as to the contents of a law (Fam. vi. 18. 1). Probably in the time of Catullus it was usual to carry such tablets or memorandum-books about the person, whether for sending sudden messages, letters, amatory proposals (Hor. Epod. xii. 2, Ouid. A. A. iii. 621, 630, Petron. S. 129), etc., or for writing down anything the moment suggested, as Catullus writes his hendecasyllables here, and as Ovid and his critics enter each on their separate *codicilli* the three verses from his poems which he wishes to preserve, they to erase (Sen. Cont. ii. 10. fin.) Catullus does not tell us how his tablets came into Amiana's possession: perhaps she had wished to look at some of his verses: more probably he had sent them with a love-proposal.

13. **lutum**, 'piece of filth,' Plautus similarly of a leno Pers. iii. 3. 2 *lutum lenonium, Conmicium caenum, sterquilinium publicum*, ib. 10, Rud. i. 2. 8, Pomp. Inscriptt. 1516 *Laudata a multis, sed lutus intus erat*. Shakspeare Timon of Athens iv. 1. 5 *to general filths Convert o' the instant green virginity*. **lupanar**. Apul. de Magia 74 *libidinum ganearumque locus (lutus conj. Krüger) lustrum lupanar*.

14. **perditius**, 'more degraded, abominable,' a rare, if not unique, comparative. **potest**, most MSS, *potes GO* perhaps rightly, as more direct.

15. **Sed**, recalling himself and reflecting, 'And yet,' as in Mart. i. 14. 6 *Sed tamen esse tuus dicitur: ergo potest*. **non est satis**. Hor. S. ii. 3. 69.

16. **potest** seems here to be 'is possible,' as in the comic writers, and occasionally in Cicero Att. xii. 40. 2 *Qui potest?* Font. xvi. 36 *Aut quoniam id quidem non potest, orandus erit nobis amicus meus M. Paelorius.* See on LXXII. 7. But the antithetical form of the words *si nil aliud . . . ruborem exprimamus* makes it possible that the subject of *potest* is to be supplied from the sentence and that *nil aliud* depends on *exprimere*: 'if it, (i. e. our shouting and hollowing) can extort nothing else, let us wring a blush.' **ruborem.** 'Hee blussheth like a black dogge, hee hath a brazen face.' John Withal's Little Dictionary for Children, s. u. *Faciem perfricuit*, a passage indicated to me by Prof. H. Morley.

17. **Ferreo ore**, also in Pis. xxvi. 63 *os tuum ferreum senatus conuicio uerberari maluisti.* Acharn. 590 ἀναισχυντος ὡν σιδηροῦς τ' ἀήρ. So *durum os duritia oris* of unblushing effrontery. **exprimamus**, 'let us wring out.' Mart. vii. 37. 3 uses it of a man wringing the moisture from his nose.

18. **Conclamate**, 'give tongue together.' Arrian describing the Celtic hounds says iii. 5 πρὸς τὸ θηρίον επικράζουσι. **uocē.** Hor. Epod. vi. 9, Virg. G. iii. 45.

21. **nil proficimus**, 'we make no way.' **nihil mouetur** is perhaps still technical, from the language of the chase, οὐδὲν ὑποκινεῖ, 'she gives no sign of stirring.' Xen. Cyn. iii. 6, v. 12, 15, vi. 11.

22. **ratio modusque**, as Horace combines *ratione modoque* S. ii. 3. 266, 271, Epist. ii. 1. 19. **Ratio**, 'method,' Grat. Cyn. 6, 311, 317 ed. Haupt. **uobis**, the reading of only one or two MSS, seems to agree better with *potestis*; yet *nobis* might be justified by the alternation of 1st and 2nd person which seems to characterize the poem, 6 *reflagitemus*, 7 *quaeritis*, 17 *exprimamus*, 18 *Conclamate*.

23. **Si quid proficere amplius potestis**, 'in the hope of perhaps making some farther way.' De Orat. ii. 69. 283 *Vide, Scaure, mortuus rapitur; si potes esse possessor.*

24. **Pudica et proba.** A recantation (*subturpicula παλωδια* Att. iv. 5. 1) like the *palinodia* of Stesichorus (fr. 26-29 Bergk), admitting Helen's chastity, and Horace's equally unreal recantation to Canidia Epod. xvii, the latter part of which indeed is imitated from Catullus, especially 40, 41 *tu pudica, tu proba, Perambulabis astra sidus aureum.* Afranius ap. Non. 256 *nam proba et pudica quod sum, consulo et parco mihi.*

## XLIII.

ADDRESSED to the same woman, Amiana. Catullus had heard her compared with Lesbia and makes this reply.

1. **nec minimo.** Horace's *nasuta* S. i. 2. 93. Lucian combines a long nose (ῥίς μακρὰ) with a scraggy neck and blue lips in describing a plain woman, Dial. Meretr. i. 2.

2. **bello pede**, i. e. small. Am. iii. 3. 7 *Pes erat exiguus, pedis est aptissima forma.* Hor. S. i. 2. 93 *Depugis, nasuta, breui latere ac pede longo est.* **nigris ocellis.** The blackness of the pupil was a mark of beauty, Alciphron fr. v. 4 ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ νῆ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ὄλης σελήνης εὐκκλότεροι· καὶ τὸ



μέλαν αἱ κόραι μελάνταται. Varro Papiapapae fr. i. Riese (Non. 455) *Oculis suppaetulis nigelli pupuli Quantam hilaritatem significantes animuli*. Among the feminine characteristics mentioned by the Latin translator of Loxus (p. 107 in Valentine Rose's *Anecdota*) are *pupillae subnigrae uel euidenter nigrae*.

3. **longis digitis**. Propertius speaks of Cynthia's *longae manus* ii. 2. 5; and long tapering fingers are mentioned as a sign of softness by Rose's *Physiognomon* p. 157. **ore sicco**. Plautus Mil. Gl. iii. 1. 52 combines a dropping mouth with a running nose as marks of the *inuuentus*.

4. **sane**. X. 4. **elegante**, refined. Cicero has *ures elegantes* of ears trained to distinguish wit, *Fam. ix. 19. 2*. **lingua** refers not so much to what she was in the habit of saying, as to some unfeminine movement, perhaps an immodest protrusion of the tongue, *De Orat. ii. 66. 266*, *Asin. iv. 1. 49 ne sic tussiat Vi quoiquam linguam in tussiendo proferat*, *Pers. S. i. 60 linguae, quantum siliat canis Apula, tantum*.

6. **provincia**, the Roman province in Gaul, as in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*. **narrat**, 'says.' *And. ii. 3. 30*.

7. *Alciph. ii. 1. 2 Λαμία σὺ μετὰ τοῦδε καθεύδεις; σὺ διὰ νεκτὸς ὄλης αὐτὸν καταλείεις; σοὶ νῦν οὗτος ἐπέσταλκε, σοὶ Γνάθαιναν τὴν ἑταίραν συγκρίνει;*

8. **saeclum**, 'generation,' as in *Mart. v. 10. 8 Et sua riserunt secula Maeciden*. **insapiens, infacetum**, MSS. See on XXII. 14.

## XLIV.

THERE are two interpretations of this poem according as *legi* or *legit* is read in vv. 12, 21.

All the commentators before the appearance of Lachmann's *Lucretius*, and Lachmann himself in the first edition of his *Catullus* keep *legit* in 21, and alter *legi* the reading of the MSS. to *legit* in 12. Catullus, according to this view, had been tempted by the prospect of an unusually good dinner with Sestius, and went through the infliction, either at dinner or before, of hearing Sestius read a speech of his own composition. This was followed by a violent cold and cough, to get rid of which the poet retired to his own farm-house in the Sabino-Tiburtine territory. In this poem he expresses his repentance, and promises never to have anything more to do with Sestius' compositions on penalty of an exactly similar punishment falling on Sestius,—for he will not say himself.

Against this view it may be said (1) it is at variance with the actual words of the poem v. 18 *Si nefaria scripta Sesti recepsso* which imply that Catullus had actually taken Sestius' speech in his own hands, and could not mean that he had merely listened to a recitation of it, (2) *dum uolo* 10 followed by *legit* 12 is so weak in meaning, if indeed it be permissible as Latin, that even if it were found in the MSS. it would have raised a scruple as being unlike the manner of Catullus.

Accordingly, Lachmann in his *Lucretius* p. 290, and Bergk in *Rosbach's Catullus* p. x, retain *legi* in v. 12 and alter *legit* in v. 21 to *legi*. They have been followed by Schwabe who explains the poem thus: Catullus, anxious to secure the good graces of Sestius with the view of being asked to dine, consented to read one of his speeches; the badness

of the style acted upon him like a cold wind, and threw him into a severe influenza. To recover he withdrew to his farm and wrote this poem, vowing never to allow anything of Sestius' to come into his hands again. On this view Catullus is not understood to have been actually invited to dine with Sestius; he only went through what he believed to be a necessary preliminary. I think this falls short of the natural meaning of the poem, especially 8, 9 *Non inmerenti quam mihi meus uenter Dum sumptuosas appelo, dedit, cenas.* It is more probable that Catullus both read the speech and was present at the dinner; and it would add to the point to refer to the former what was probably caused by the latter. A letter of Cicero's is so illustrative of Catullus' poem both in subject and style that I give it here entire (Fam. vii. 26): *Cum decimum iam diem grauius ex intestinis laborarem, neque iis, qui mea opera uti uolebant, me probarem non ualere, quia febrim non haberem, fugi in Tusculanum, cum quidem biduum ita ieiunus fuisset, ut ne aquam quidem gustarem. Itaque confectus languore et fame, magis tuum officium desiderauit, quam abs te requiri putauit meum. Ego autem cum omnes morbos reformido, tum in quo Epicurum tuum Stoici male accipiunt, quia dicat δυσουρικά και δυσεντερικά πάθη sibi molesta esse, quorum alterum morbum edacitatis esse putant, alterum etiam turpioris intemperantiae. Sane δυσεντερίαν pertimucram. Sed uisa est mihi uel loci mutatio, uel animi etiam relaxatio, uel ipsa fortasse iam senescentis morbi remissio profuisse. Attamen ne mirere unde hoc acciderit, quomodo commiserim: lex sumptuaria, quae uidetur λίσθητα attulisse, ea mihi fraudi fuit. Nam dum uolunt isti lauti terra nata, quae lege excepta sunt, in honorem adducere: fungos heluellas herbas omnes ita condiunt, ut nihil possit esse suauius. In eas cum incidissem in cena augurali apud Lentulum, tanta me διάρροια arripuit, ut hodie primum uideatur coepisse consistere. Ita ego, qui me ostreis et muraenis facile abstinebam, a beta et a malua deceptus sum. Posthac igitur erimus cautiore. Tu tamen cum audisses ab Anicio (uidit enim me nauseantem), non modo mittendi causam iustam habuisti, sed etiam uisendi. Ego hic cogito commorari, quoad me reficiam. Nam et uires et corpus amisi. Sed si morbum depulero, facile, ut spero, illa reuocabo.* The sumptuary law of which Cicero speaks seems to have been the lex Aemilia proposed by M. Aemilius Lepidus, consul 676 | 78<sup>1</sup>, unless indeed we suppose that the lex Antia of Antius Restio, the date of which is uncertain, falls at this time. If so Antius may be the person whom Sestius had attacked in the speech mentioned by Catullus, with which indeed the words *Sumptuosas cenas* would well agree. Macrobi. 16, *Dein* (post Aemiliam) *paucis interiectis annis alia lex peruenit ad populum ferente Antio Restione; quam legem quamuis esset optima obstinatio tamen luxuriae et uiliorum firma concordia nullo abrogante inritam fecit. Illud tamen memorabile de Restione latore ipsius legis fertur, eum quoad uixit postea non recenasse ne testis feret contemptae legis quam ipse bono publico pertulisset.* Cf. Gell. ii. 24. 13. Allusions to a sumptuary law would not be unlikely from Catullus; his friend the orator Calvus moaned over the extravagant custom, then coming in, of employing silver in the construction of cooking vessels. Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 140.

<sup>1</sup> According to Pliny viii. 223 and Aurelius Victor (De Viris Illust. 72) this law was proposed by M. Aemilius Scaurus, consul 639 | 115, as it treated specially of the kinds of food to be eaten (Gell. ii. 24. 12, Macrobi. Sat. iii. 17. 13).

1. **Sabine**, an imperfect attraction, as the verb is omitted: in Hor. S. ii. 6. 20, Pers. iii. 28, 29, Tib. i. 7. 53, the vocative is really the subject of the sentence. **Tiburs**, the later form of *Tiburtis*, as *Ardeas* of *Ardeatis* Prisc. i. 129 Keil.

2. 'The pretended site is still pointed out in the valley by *Monte Catillo*. It is evident however that it was more distant from the town, and lay at a point where the boundary between the Sabine and the Tiburtine territory was uncertain.' Dyer in Dict. Geog. ii. p. 1204. **Tiburtem**. The *Campus Tiburs* or *Tiburtis* (in De Orat. ii. 65. 263 the substantive is omitted), was a particularly desirable residence partly for its fertility, partly for its salubrity. Strabo 238 calls it *πέδιον εὐκαρπύτατον*; it was famous for its orchards (Hor. C. i. 7. 14, Prop. iv. 7. 81, Colum. x. 138, Stat. S. i. 3. 81), grapes (Plin. xiv. 38), figs (ib. xv. 70), and roses (Mart. ix. 60. 1): the soil which both Horace (C. i. 18. 2) and Statius (S. i. 3. 15) call *mite*, is thus described by Varro R. R. i. 9. 6 *In mediocri terra, ut in Tiburti, quo propius accedit ut non sit macra quam ut sil ieuuna, eo ad omnes res commodior quam si inclinavit ad illud deterius*; from Mart. iv. 64. 32 every part of it must in his time have been under cultivation. The air cooled by the waters of the Anio which there forms a water-fall as well as by the elevation and well-wooded character of the ground was proverbially salubrious (Mart. iv. 57. 10, iv. 60. 6, v. 71. 6): hence it was much frequented and filled with villas. Sallust bought a fine house at Tibur (Declam. in Sallust. vii. 19): Horace, his friend Quintilius Varus (C. i. 18. 2), Cynthia the mistress of Propertius (iii. 16. 2, iv. 7. 85), Vopiscus, the rich friend of Statius, who has described his villa, S. i. 3. 15, lived there; Pliny Epist. v. 6. 45 classes Tibur with Tusculum and Praeneste as one of the most desirable residences; Catullus in contrasting it with the Sabine territory implies, what Horace states more unequivocally, that a Sabine farm was not thought much of (C. ii. 18. 14): possibly, as Dyer suggests, the Tiburtine territory was also preferred as the more aristocratic and fashionable situation. **autumant**, 'give out,' generally of a rather questionable assertion. Men. Prol. 8, Capt. iv. 2. 111, 117 *si uera autumas, v. 2. 2 falsum autumas*. The word was one of those discussed by Nigidius Figulus, Gell. xv. 3. 4.

3. **Cordi esse**, in its earliest use found in addresses to the gods. *Iuppiter si tibi magis cordi est* Cato ap. Macrob. S. iii. 5. 10, *Dis pietas mea Et Musa cordi est* Hor. C. i. 17. 13, *Satis scio quibuscumque dis cordi fuit subigi nos . . . iis non fuisse cordi tam superbe ab Romanis foederis expiationem spretam* Liu. ix. 1, *Vos dii immortales precor quaeoque, si uobis non fuit cordi* Liu. ix. 8, is explained by Priscian ii. 224 Keil as a dat. like *lucro, damno esse*. But Statius' use of the abl. *corde* instead Theb. vi. 829 *Sed corde labores Ante alios erat uncta pale*, with which cf. Most. i. 4. 10 *Si tibi corde est facere*, seems to show that it is more probably a locative 'at heart,' ἐν θυμῷ: an explanation which equally well agrees with the Plautine *cordi carus est* Men. ii. 1. 21, Epid. i. 2. 30.

4. 'Am ready to stake anything to prove you are Sabine,' probably as poorer and fetching less in the market. Cato ap. Fest. s. u. *Repastinari. Ego iam a principio in parsimonia atque in duritia atque industria omnem adulescentiam meam abstinui agro colendo saxis Sabinis silicibus repastinandis atque conserendis*. The Sabine slopes suited the olive (Col. v. 8. 5), a sign of thinness of soil (Virg. G. ii. 179-181); even the

most fertile parts, as the *Rosea rura Velini*, called by Vopiscus Caesar *Sumen Italiae*, were rich as pasture-ground rather than productive of crops (Plin. xvii. 32). **pignore contendunt.** Phaedr. iv. 20. 5 *A me contendet fictum quouis pignore.* Gell. v. 4. 2 *Contra librarius in quoduis pignus uocabat si in una uspiam litera delictum esset.*

6. **Fui libenter in tua suburbana**, like 11 *Orationem in Antium petiorem* is a line of pure prose, such as may be found in Cicero's letters. **Fui libenter**, almost technical of being in a country house. Cato R. R. 4 *Ruri si recte habitaueris, libentius et saepius uenies*, Att. ix. 3. 1 *Tusculanum ubi ceteroquin sum libenter*, xvi. 14. 2 *ero libentius (in Tusculano)*. The perf., as in XXIX. 12, is used in its strict sense 'I have been.' **suburbana.** Tibur is twenty Roman miles from Rome, and like Praeneste and Tusculum can be seen from it. Strab. 238. Catullus' villa would be much like the Sabine farm on the Salarian road twenty-four miles from Rome, which Varro describes as a half-way house between Rome and Reate (R. R. iii. 2. 14).

7. **malam**, 'tiresome,' like *malus morbus*, of fevers, *quae quotidie eodem tempore reuertantur, quaeue pares semper accessiones habeant, neque tertio quocumque die leuentur* Cels. ii. 4. **expui.** Cels. iv. 11. 1 *sanguinem expuere.* The other reading *expuli*, 'I threw off,' might be supported by Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 137 *Expulit helleboro morbum bilemque meraco.* There is the same variation in Mart. i. 19. 2.

8. **uenter.** Mart. xi. 86. 5, 6.

9. **Dum appeto**, for coveting. Fam. vii. 26. 2 quoted in Introd., Mart. iii. 13. 1, vii. 13. 1. **dedit**, inserted out of its place in the sentence which contains the protasis. See on LXIV. 240, Lucr. vi. 158 *Ventus enim cum confecit, franguntur, in artum.* Ouid. M. x. 696 *An Stygia sones dubitauit mergeret unda.* Bergk on Theogn. 461 shows that this hyperbaton was common in the Alexandrian poets: he quotes Theoc. xxix. 3, Epig. xix. 1, Callim fr. 445.

10. **Sestianus.** Catullus probably alludes to P. Sestius, whom Cicero defended in the oration *Pro Sestio* on a charge of *uis* 698 | 56. Cicero speaks of him as an honourable and brave man, but he was arrogant (Plut. Cic. 26), intemperate in language (Att. iv. 3. 3), and cross-grained (*moroso homine* Q. Fr. ii. 4. 1, *peruersitatem* ib.). He is mentioned with Atticus and L. Calpurnius Piso as one of Cicero's chief advisers in his exile (Q. Fr. i. 4. 2 where Cicero calls him *officiosissimus*), and as taking a prominent part in his recall (Att. iii. 20).

11. **Orationem in Antium petiorem**, probably the actual title of the speech, 'a speech against Antius as *petitor*.' The sense of *petitor* is doubtful. It is generally explained as 'prosecutor' in a private suit, perhaps denying Antius' right to bring an action on some ground of informality. It is at least as probable that it means (Stat. and Conr. de Allio) 'a candidate for office: ' so *puerum bullatum petitoris* in a fragment of Scipio Africanus Minor ap. Macrob. iii. 14. 7, and so four times in Q. Cicero's *de petitione consulatus*. The speech would then be like that of Cicero against C. Antonius and L. Catilina his competitors in the consulship, which was mainly directed against the bribery they had employed in securing their election (Ascon. in Orelli's Cic. iv. 940, 942, 944), or like that of P. Clodius against T. Annius Milo when canvassing for the consulship against Q. Metellus Scipio and P. Hypsaesus (Orelli iv. 950),

in which the main charges were that Milo had used illegal means of all kinds and was deeply in debt. Such speeches must have been common when so many offices were open to competition; Cicero it is true used *petere petitio competitor candidatus*, avoiding *petitor* in this sense; but this would prove nothing as to Sestius' or Catullus' use of the word.

12. *ueneni* seems to refer to the virulence, *pestilentiae* to the unwholesome style of the speech. Hor. S. i. 7. 1 *Regis Rupili pus atque uenenum*, Mart. vii. 72. 13 *Atro carmina quae madent ueneno*. But XIV. 19 *uenena* is applied to poets simply as bad, and the two ideas perhaps cross each other. Sestius was notorious as a bad writer, Fam. vii. 32. 1 *Atis ut ego discesserim omnia omnium dicta, in his etiam Sestiana, in me conferri* (are imputed to me). *Quid? tu id pateris? non defendis? non resistis? Equidem sperabam ita notata me reliquisse genera dictorum meorum, ut cognosci sua sponte possent. Sed quando tanta faex est in Vrbe, ut nihil tam sit ἀκούηρον quod non alicui uenustum esse uideatur; pugna, si me amas, nisi acuta ἀμφιβολία* (double entendre), *nisi elegans ἰπερβολή* (exaggeration), *nisi παράγραμμα bellum* (nice pun), *nisi ridiculum παρὰ προσδοκίαν* (amusing turn that was not expected), *nisi cetera, quae sunt a me in secundo libro de Oratore per Antonii personam disputata de ridiculis, ἔντεχνα* et arguta apparebunt, ut sacramento contentanda mea non esse. Att. vii. 17. 2 *Scire iam te oportet, L. Caesar quae responsa referat a Pompeio, quas ab eodem ad Caesarem ferat literas. Scriptae enim et datae ita sunt, ut proponerentur in publico; in quo accusavi mecum ipse Pompeium, qui, cum scriptor luculentus esset, tantas res atque eas, quae in omnium manus uenturae essent, Sestio nostro scribendas dederit. Itaque nihil unquam legi scriptum Σησιτωδέστερον*. This shows Sestius' style to have been wanting in freedom and clearness. *legi, not legit*, is the natural sequence, after *dum uolo*. In 8, 9 *mihī uenter dedit dum appeto* is virtually *a uentre tuli*. See Holtze Synt. ii. p. 128.

13. *grauido*, the MSS, as Victorius iv. 8 remarked, and so Lucilius ap. Non. 283, *gravidine* the palimpsest of Fronto p. 85, 7 Naber, *gravidinosos* Tusc. Disp. iv. 12. 27 according to Orelli's three best MSS, the Balliol 136 and Non. 32, 115. Celsus iv. 5 shows that *grauido* was our 'cold.' *Nares claudūt, uocem obtundit, tussim siccam mouet: sub eadem salsa est salīua, sonant aures, uenae mouentur in capite, turbida urina est. frigida*, 'shivering,' ascribing to the cold the symptoms felt by the patient, as we say 'a sick headache.' So *frigidae febres* Plin. xxvi. 115. *frequens*, 'wearing,' 'hacking,' technical of coughing. Cels. iv. 5.

14. *Quassauit*, 'shook me convulsively till at last I fled into thy bosom.' Virg. G. iii. 496 *quatit aegros Tussis anhela sues*. Macrobi. S. vii. 15. 9 *tussim nimis asperam et alias quassationes. usque dum*, in the sense of 'until,' is more generally used with an idea of purpose, and with the fut. or subj., as often in Cato R. R. (Holtze ii. p. 129).

15. *recurauī*, a rare word used also by Apuleius: so *ἀνακομίζειν. urtica*, nettles were a common prescription for cough. Cels. iv. 4 classes it with *malua* (mallows) as a *cibus mollis*. Plin. xxii. 35 *utilissimam cibus coctam conditamue arteriae, tussi . . . cum tisana pectus purgare*. Horace (Ep. i. 12. 8) Persius (vi. 70) Pliny (xxi. 93) all mention nettles as a cheap and common food; Celsus ii. 20 classes them among food *boni sūci*; but Catullus can hardly mean that he merely put himself on spare diet: they are here the specific cure of a specific complaint (*tussis*).

16. *refectus*, 'restored to health,' as Horace by *his* farm, Ep. i. 18. 104.

17. *ulta*, the subject is changed from *fundus* to *uilla*.

18-21. 'And henceforward, if ever I give admission to Sestius' vile compositions I gladly submit to let their freezing air bring the same cold and cough—I will not say to myself, but to their master Sestius—for inviting me to dinner only when I have read some detestable book by him.'

18. *nec deprecor quin*, in reference to the sin (*peccatum*) of which he had been guilty and of which he might naturally wish to beg off the consequent punishment. Fronto p. 84 Naber *nec deprecor quin me oderis*. Plautus and the comic writers are full of similar uses, *nunquam me quisquam exorabit* (Men. iii. 2. 52), *haud causificor quin* (Aul. iv. 10. 25), *nulla causa est, causam non dico quin*, on which see Holtze ii. 177-179.

19. *recepso*, like *occepso capso accepso*, etc. The meaning is not so much 'take up again' as 'give admission to' with the idea of countenancing implied in such admission. Rosc. Com. viii. 23 *laborem quaestus recepit, quaestum laboris reiecit*, Plin. vii. 101 *Si poetica recipiatur fabulositas*.

19. Α παρά προσδοκίαν poor enough to be an imitation of Sestius' style. Catullus may have remembered Most. i. 3. 95, 6 *Ob istuc uerbum ne nequiquam, Scapha, tam lepide dixeris Dabo aliquid hodie peculi—tibi, Philematium mea*, where the lover suddenly turns from Scapha the utterer of the remark on Philematium's beauty to Philematium herself. Mart. ii. 46. 9, 10 *Quantum erat, infelix, pannis fraudare duobus—Quid metuis? non te, Naende, sed lineas*. Cf. infr. CXIV. 6.

20. *ferat frigus* inverts the usual construction in which *frigus* is accusative. Quintil. vi. 1. 37 *Nam et imperitia et rusticitas et rigor et deformitas afferunt interim frigus*, 'produce a frigid effect.' *Frigus* = 'frigidity of style,' is not common, though the adj. is frequently found in Cicero, Brut. lxxvii. 236, De Orat. ii. 64. 260.

21. *Qui uocat*, 'for so inviting me.' Holtze i. 380-382. *tunc cum*, 'only when,' De Orat. ii. 64. 260 *Haec aut frigida sunt aut tum salsa cum aliud est expectatum*.

## XLV.

THE date of the poem is approximately fixed by 22 at 699 | 55, the year in which Caesar made his first campaign into Britain and Crassus set out for Syria (Schwabe Quaestt. p. 316). This is perhaps confirmed by the introduction in 6, 7 of the 'green-eyed lion,' an animal which had become almost familiar to the Romans in this year, in the memorable games (Pis. xxvii. 65) instituted by Pompeius, in honour of his dedication of a temple to Venus Victrix (Plin. viii. 20). On this occasion 600 lions were brought into the circus (ib. 53).

1. *Acmen Septimios*, a juxtaposition which suggests the notion of reciprocity running through the poem, 20 *amant amantur*, 21 *Unam*, 23 *Vno*, perhaps the correspondence of the two names as fortunate; Acme the prime, Septimius from *septem* the prime number (Macrob. in Somn.

Scip. i. 6, Cicero de Rep. vi. 18. 18, Gell. iii. 10. 7). *Septimios* is clearly indicated by the reading of most MSS. *Septimos*, and is actually found in *O*. In 21 the MSS. have the form in *-ius*. I follow them implicitly, not from a conviction that Catullus himself made this variation, but because such variations are found in the best MSS. elsewhere, and we cannot determine the extent to which uniformity in such cases gave way to other considerations, e. g. of sound; in 1 *Septimios* is perhaps preferred as an assonance to *suos* (see on 12, and XXVII. 4); in 21 *Septimius* or *Septumius* from its proximity to *misellus*.

2. **Tenens**, iambus in the first foot as in 10 *At Acme*, 24 *Facit*, 25 *Quis ullos*: similarly in 6, 7, 19, 20 *Solus*, *Caesio*, *Nunc ab*, *Mutuis* he admits a trochee in the first foot. Mommsen holds that these are the marks of the *duriusculi uersus* which the younger Pliny Epist. i. 16. 5 considered Catullus to have introduced designedly to vary the effect: to Pliny's ear they no doubt sounded harsh; but it seems doubtful whether this was true in the same sense of Catullus; at any rate they appear uniformly in the more highly finished poems, and not, I think, as a harshness meant to bring the smoother rhythm into greater relief, but as belonging to the freer and more Greek, therefore more ideal character of the metre, just as Catullus follows Sappho in the construction of his Sapphic poems, not only in the trochee of the second foot, but in the greater liberty which he allows himself in distributing the feet to the words, e. g. XI. 19, 22, LI. 3, 7.

3. **perdite**, 'to desperation,' Ter. Phorm. i. 2. 32. Afranius used *perditim* in the same sense. **amare porro**, 'to go on loving.' Cato Dierum Dictarum de Cons. suo fr. 29 Jordan *Me sollicitum atque exercitum habitum esse atque porro fore*.

4. **Omnes annos**, 'all years that be, to the end of time.' Pseud. i. 5. 125 *non unum in diem Verum hercle in omnis quantumst*.

5. **Quantum (pote) qui pote plurimum perire**, 'as fondly as the fondest lover can.' Fronto in a letter to M. Aurelius p. 18 Naber *Illud queri possim cur me nondum ames tantum quantum plurimum potest; namque in dies plus amando efficis, ne quod ante diem amaueris, plurimum fuerit. pote* gives a touch of homeliness. **perire**. XXXV. 12.

6. Simonides Amorg. fr. 14 Bergk οὐκ ἂν τις οὐτῶ δασκίους ἐν οὐρεσιν Ἄνῆρ λέοντ' ἔδεισεν οὐδὲ πάρδαλι Μοῦνος στενυγρῆ συμπεσῶν ἐν ἀτραπῶ. **Solus**, 'with none to help me.' Virg. G. iii. 249. **India**. India is more especially the home of the tiger (Plin. viii. 66) and elephant, ib. 24, but lions are also found there Strab. 703, unless indeed Catullus includes under *India* the country which is often confused with it, Aethiopia, probably on account of the similarity of its products, animals, and coloured population; see Strabo's comparison 690, 695 (xv. 13, 22, 24). Pliny mentions Aethiopian lions vi. 195. *Indiaque* 'or India' Ouid. Pont. i. 2. 121 *Non tibi Thermodon, crudusque rogabitur Atreus, Quique suis homines pabula fecit equis. tosta*, 'sun-burnt.' Plin. vi. 70 *A Gange uersa ad meridiem plaga tinguntur sole populi, iam quidem infecti, nondum tamen Aethiopum modo exusti, quantum ad Indum accedunt tantum colore praeferunt sidus*.

7. **Caesio**, 'green-eyed,' with the notion of fierceness which the greenish eyes of the feline tribe conveys. So Theod. Martin 'The green-eyed lion's hungry glare.' Plin. viii. 54 *Leonum omnis uis constat in oculis*.

8, 9. 'When he had said this, Love sneezed his good-will on the right, as he had sneezed his good-will on the left before,' i. e. signified his

now complete approbation, as Tennyson, Edwin Morris, *Shall not love to me, As in the Latin song I learnt at school, Sneeze out a full God bless you right and left?* And so seemingly Lord Lyttelton Notes and Queries for 1874, p. 429. **Ante** implies that up to this time the love had been only partially happy.

**8. sinistra ut ante** does not imply that hitherto Love had been unfavourable (Voss, who however reads *sinister ante*), for it does not follow that sneezing on the left was a bad omen because sneezing on the right was a good one, although it may have been so, as sneezing before noon was considered by the Greeks a deterring sign (Aristot. Probl. 33); the notion is rather that of incomplete, as opposed to complete, approval; a progression from left to right analogous to the shifting of the ring from the left hand to the right which Pliny mentions as a cure for sneezing (xxviii. 57); perhaps an equalizing of what had till then preponderated on one side; Acme and Septimius having till now loved, but not ἴσῳ ζυγῶ; henceforward the balance is equal on both sides, the condition of perfect love, *Mutuis animis amant amantur*. Whether Catullus intended to contrast the Roman superstition which made the left side the lucky one with the Greek which made the right (De Diuin. ii. 39. 82 *Haud ignoro quae bona sint sinistra nos dicere, etiam si dextra sint*) possibly in allusion to the Roman lover and his Greek *ἑταῖρα* is doubtful.

**9. Dextram.** Aristophanes Eq. 639 alludes to the same custom. **sternuit.** Sneezing was considered an omen even in Homer's time. Od. xvii. 541 Ὡς φάτο, Τηλέμαχος δὲ μέγ' ἔπαρεν· ἀμφὶ δὲ δῶμα Σμερδαλέον κονάβησε· γέλασσε δὲ Πηνελόπεια, Αἴψα δ' ἄρ' Εὐμαιον ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· Ἐρχεό μοι, τὸν ξείνον ἐναντίον ὡδε καλέσσον· οὐχ ὀράας ὁ μοι νῖος ἐπέπαρτε πάντων ἔπεισιν; Theocr. xviii. 16 Ὀλβιε γάμβρ', ἀγαθὸς τις ἐπέπαρτεν ἐρχομένῳ τοι Ἐς Σπάρταν, ὅποι ἄλλοι ἀριστέες, ὡς ἀνύσαιο, vii. 96 Σιμιχίδα μὲν Ἐρωτες ἐπέπαρτον, with which compare Prop. ii. 3. 23 *Num tibi nascenti primis, mea uita, diebus Aridus argutum sternuit omen Amor?* Aristotle H. A. i. 11 ἀναπνεῖ καὶ ἐκπνεῖ ταύτη (τῇ ῥίνι) καὶ ὁ πταρόν διὰ ταύτης γίγνεται, πνεύματος ἀθρόου ἔξοδος, σημείον οἰωνοστικόν καὶ ἱερὸν μόνον τῶν πνευμάτων. In Probl. 33 he treats the subject at length. Sneezing was a god, it was connected with the head, the most sound part of the body, was a sign of good health, and was a discharge of the only sacred wind in the body, ὥστε ὡς σημείον ὑγείας τοῦ ἀρρώστου καὶ ἱερωτάτου τόπου προσκυνούσιν ὡς ἱερὸν καὶ φήμην ἀγαθὴν ποιοῦνται. Cf. Aristoph. Aues 720, Herod. vi. 107, Xen. Anab. iii. 2. 9, Hesych. s. u. ξυμβόλους. The difficulty in Catullus' poem is in the suggestion which the circumstantiality of the words *sinistra ut ante, Dextram sternuit approbationem* and the apparent allusion to some actual sign in *Nunc ab auspicio bono profecti*, convey that something external happened which might be described as Love's sneezing; but this is contravened by the repetition of the same words after the protestation of each of the lovers.

**10. reflectens,** lifting herself as she reclines *in gremio* and turning her head slightly round to reach Septimius.

**11. pueri,** as often in Horace, C. i. 5. 1, 13. 11, 27. 20. **ebrios,** 'swimming.' Anacr. 19 Bergk μεθύων ἔρωτι. Rose's Physiognomon p. 123 *Quanto magis umidi fuerint, et si plerunque palpebras iungunt, ueneri et amori gralios et obnoxios profitentur.* Lucian Ἐρωτες 3 διηγούμενου σου τὸν πολὺν κατάλογον ὧν ἀρχήθεν ἠράσθης ἰλαραὶ τῶν ὀμμάτων αἱ βολαὶ τακερῶς ἀνυγραινόντο. **ocellos.** Plin. xi. 146 says when we kiss the eyes we



seem to reach the soul itself. Tibullus iv. 5. 7, 8 *Mutuus adsit amor, per te dulcissima furta Perque tuos oculos per Geniumque rogo*, seems to connect the eyes with the *reciprocity* of love.

12. **Illo**, 'that fair mouth.' Catullus affects *ille* in reference to love, VIII. 6 *illa multa tum iocosa*, C. 3 *illud Fraternalium uere dulce sodalicium*. In these cases the object is recalled to the memory as familiar. **purpureo**. Simon. fr. 72 Bergk *πορφύρεον Ἀπὸ στόματος ἰεῖσα φωνὰν παρθένου*. **ore**. The repetition of the full vowel *o* in *Illo purpureo ore* is no doubt intentional, see on XXVII. 4: its effect is heightened by the triple *a* of *saxiata*.

13-16. 'I swear,' thus spoke she, 'dear life, my own Septimius, as truly as I pray we may be the servants of the one lord who rules us now, so truly is the fire far stronger and fiercer which is burning with a consuming flame in my bones,' i. e. my love for you is much stronger than yours for me. So Heyse, rightly: the other sense, 'I swear my love is far stronger than it was before,' is weak, especially in conjunction with so solemn an adjuration and with *Mutuis animis* immediately following. To make **seruiamus** refer to Acme alone, 'let me be the slave,' is alien to the simplicity of the poem, and not supported by VIII. 5 *nobis* compared with 3 *tibi*, XLVI. 4 *Linguantur Catulle* compared with 6 *uolemus*, both of which are spoken in soliloquy.

13. **Sic**, of oaths, Heaut. iii. 1. 54, Hor. C. i. 3. 1. Its separation by *inquit* from *mea uita* gives solemnity, as in 2. **mea uita** of Lesbia CIV. 1, CIX. 1; of Allius' mistress LXVIII. 155. It was a common expression as shown by its use in Plautus (Stich. iv. 2. 6) and Cicero's letters (Fam. xiv. 2. 3, xiv. 4. 1).

14. **Huic**, 'of the present,' cf. XXI. 2, XXIV. 2, where however there is an expressed antithesis to the past and future. Prop. i. 7. 15 *Te quoque si certo puer hic concusserit arcu*, where *puer hic* is Love implied in the previous verses, suggests a slightly different interpretation, this master whom our words and actions imply. **uni**, not *uno*, is the reading of all the best MSS: *uno*, which Scaliger mentions as a 'uetus scriptura,' is found in my Brit. Mus. MS. *h*, and in Mr. Allen's codex, probably the Cujacianus itself. Catullus uses *uni* in XVII. 17 for *unius*; but here the archaism is no improvement. **usque seruiamus**, 'let us go on in our servitude.' III. 10, XLVIII. 3.

15. **multo mihi maior**, triple alliteration in answer to Septimius' *pote plurimum perire*.

16. **mollibus**, 'melting,' not a mere epithet: the marrow is represented as liquefying under the heat of passion. *Medullitus amare* is found in Plautus Most. i. 3. 86.

19. **auspicio** perhaps alludes to the old Roman custom of taking the auspices on marriage, which in Cicero's time still survived as a tradition in the *nuptiarum auspices* De Diuin. i. 16. 28. **profecti**, 'taking as a starting-point.' De Orat. ii. 14. 58 *Denique etiam a philosophia profectus princeps Xenophon, Socraticus ille . . . scripsit historiam*. Fin. ii. 14.

20. **Mutuis animis**, an expression of Q. Metellus Celer's, which Cicero takes up in a letter Fam. v. 2. 3 *Quod ita scribis pro mutuo inter uos animo, quid tu existimes esse in amicitia mutuum, nescio; equidem hoc arbitror, cum par uoluntas accipitur et redditur*. **amant, amantur**, Theocr. xii. 15 ἡ ῥὰ τὸτ' ἔσσαν Χρῦσειοι πάλαι ἄνδρες, ὅτ' ἀντεφίλησ' ὁ φιληθεῖς.

21. **misellus**, 'love-sick,' as we say 'poor' of a man desperately in love, ὁ δειλός Theoc. vii. 96. In Lucr. iv. 1076 *miseris* is opposed to *sanis* as desperate to rational lovers, there Munro compares 1159, 1179 and Greek δυσέρως.

22. **Syrias Britanniasque**, 'than any Syria or Britain,' at this time the places to which, from the appointment of Crassus to the government of Syria, and Caesar's mission to Britain, young men who aspired to make a fortune would naturally turn their thoughts; both countries were rich; though this can hardly have been more than a surmise about Britain as yet, and Cicero writing to Trebatius in 700 | 54 says in *Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti* Fam. vii. 7. 1. Strabo 749 sqq. mentions the fertility of Commagene (σφόδρα εὐδαίμων) Laodicea (πολύουρος πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐκαρπία), the country watered by the Orontes (χώρας παμπόλλης εὐδαίμονος δι' ἧς ὁ Ὀρόντης ρεῖ), the district about Damascus (διαφερόντως ἐπανουμένη), and the plain lying between Libanus and Antilibanus, properly known as Coele-Syria (διάρρείται ποταμοῖς ἄρδουσι χώραν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πᾶμφορον). At the present day the Arabs give the name of *seune* (fruitful) to part of Syria. Pliny speaks of the soil of Britain as worked in a peculiar manner which brought in rich returns (*illam Gallias Britanniasque locupletantem* xvii. 43). The plural *Syrias, Britannias* would be strictly correct: *Syrias* as including Coele-Syria; *Britannias* as in Plin. xvii. 42, 43; but Catullus seems to mean no more than Propertius ii. 16. 20 *Dic alias iterum nauiget Illyrias*, 'new Illyrias,' i. e. provinces as lucrative as Illyria: *Syrias Britanniasque* will thus be 'any Syria or Britain,' 'all the Syrias and Britains in the world.' For the sentiment cf. Archil. fr. 25 Bergk Οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει, Οὐδ' εἰλέ πῶ με ζῆλος, οὐδ' ἀγίαίμαι Θεῶν ἔργα, μεγάλης δ' οὐκ ἐρέω τυραννίδος. Ἀπόπροθεν γὰρ ἔστιν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμῶν, Prop. ii. 14. 23 *Haec mihi deuictis potior uictoria Parthis*; and the idea of victory is probably included in Catullus' words.

23. **in Septimio**. Dräger Hist. Synt. p. 607 shows that this use of *in* is particularly frequent in reference to love; he quotes eight instances from Ovid. Cf. Hertzberg on Prop. i. 13. 7. *fidelis* is applied by Cicero, Q. Fr. i. 3, 3 *fidelissimam coniugem*, to his wife, by Propertius iii. 25. 3 *Quinque tibi potui seruire fideliter annos* to his connexion with Cynthia, to which he had bound himself like a slave to his master. Catullus is fond of representing love as a bond or treaty to be observed on both sides. See on CIX. 6.

24. **Facit delicias**, LXXIV. 2: 'centres her pleasure and her love in Septimius only.'

26. **auspiciatorem**, a rare comparative. *Auspicare* is an old word used by Naevius Caecilius and Plautus (Non. 468). For similar participial adjectives see Dräger's list pp. 24, 25.

## XLVI.

CATULLUS must have written this poem just before parting company with Memmius and the rest of his staff in Bithynia, i. e. if Iungclaussen and Schwabe are right (see on X) in the spring of 698 | 56: on my view, in 64. It expresses the natural gladness of an eager temperament escaping from official duties neither remunerative (X, XXVIII) or, as regards Memmius, congenial.

The cities of Asia Minor were at this time the most interesting in the world. We may estimate the curiosity of Catullus by Horace's words Ep. i. 11. 1-3

*Quid tibi uisa Chios, Bullati, notaque Lesbos ?  
Quid concinna Samos ? quid Croesi regia, Sardis ?  
Smyrna quid et Colophon ? maiora minoraque fama ?*

And by Ovid's

Trist. i. 2. 78 *Oppida non Asiae, non mihi uisa prius.*

Pont. ii. 10. 21 *Te duce magnificas Asiae perspeximus urbes.*

Not many years before Catullus, Cato had put off his return to Rome, *βουληθείς πλανηθῆναι καθ' ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἀσίας* (Plut. Cato 12), a journey which his friend Curio told him was likely to make him pleasanter and more civilized (ib. 14).

1. *egelidos*, 'from which the chill has passed away:' Colum. x. 282, so Celsus *aqua egelida* IV. 5, *aqua neque ea ipsa frigida sed potius egelida danda est* ib. 18. The other sense 'very cold' is found Virg. Aen. viii. 610.

2. *aequinoctialis*. Both equinoxes, the vernal towards the end of March, and the autumnal towards the end of September, are attended by gales, as also the summer and winter solstices. (Plin. xviii. 221) Cic. Att. x. 17. 3 *Nunc quidem aequinoctium nos moratur quod ualde perturbatum erat.* Gell. ii. 22, Apul. de Mundo 11. The vernal equinox might strike Catullus more vividly in the country of Attis-worship; it was on the 25th of March that, at least later, the mournful part of the ceremonies ended, and the joyous (*Hilaria*) began (Macrob. i. 21. 10).

3. *aureis*, the best MSS. perhaps rightly: in LXIV. 164 *auris*.

4. *Catulle*, favorite self-address, carried still further in *uolemus*, as if mind and body were two separate identities. Such soliloquies always indicate intense feeling, see on VIII; here the joy of the soul at a change to new scenes; this as proceeding mainly from bodily elasticity naturally introduces the bodily and personal vocative *Catulle*. *campi* would well describe the table-lands of Phrygia proper (Vitruvius ii. 1. 5 *Phryges qui campestribus locis sunt habitantes, ἰππόβοτος* Dionys. Perieg. 813) stretching S. E. of Bithynia, and from LXIII it is probable that this country was visited by Catullus; but he perhaps means little more than the *Bithuni campi* of XXXI. 5, i. e. the level tract W. of the Sangarius, which included the lake Ascania with its city Nicaea. *Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῆς Βιθυνίας. . . Νίκαια ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς Βιθυνίας ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσκανίᾳ λίμνῃ (περικεῖται δὲ κύκλῳ πεδίον μέγα καὶ σφόδρα εὐδαμον (ager uber) οὐ πᾶν δὲ ὑγιεινὸν τοῦ θέρους), κτίσμα Ἀντιγόνου μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ Φιλίππου ὃς αὐτὴν Ἀντιγονίαν προσέειπεν, εἶτα Λυσιμάχου, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς μετωνόμασε Νίκαιαν. ἦν δὲ αὐτῇ θυγάτηρ Ἀντιπάτρου.* *uber*, its fertility was known as early as Homer, *Ἀσκανίης ἐριβόλακος* II. xiii. 793. Sir Charles Fellows thus describes the vicinity of Nicaea (Asia Minor p. 109) 'We passed through underwood and shrubs all evergreens, and to the eye of an Englishman the richest that could be. There were the common and dwarf daphnes, the blossom of the latter scenting the air; many varieties also of the laurestinus, and among them the strawberry-tree, whose luxuriant foliage and beautifully clean and oriental stem distinguished it above its rivals. It grows so large and plentifully as to be the principal firewood, burning rapidly with a great blaze. Amidst this perfect garden—for beneath our feet were

violet, hyacinth, and anemone in great variety—the most perfect view opened before us, not grand but of perfectly lovely beauty. In the extreme distance was the snowy range of Olympus, and before it a series of fine mountains, with their feet bathed in the most placid of lakes, the ancient Ascania, which is about ten miles long and four in breadth. At the southern end of the lake, beautifully situated, stood the ruined towers of the many times famous Nicaea. Beneath us, sloping from our feet to the edge of the lake, was a highly cultivated and rich valley. We were still twelve miles distant from the town of Nicaea, and every turn we made in the descent only raised the beauties of the scene.’ *aestuosaë*, ‘sultry.’

6. *claras*. Cicero to his brother Quintus at the time proconsul of Asia writes in *oculis clarissimæ provinciae* (Q. Fr. i. 2. 9). Its fame was derived mainly from its splendid and luxurious cities, which Josephus reckons at 500 (B. Jud. ii. 16. 4). *Asiae maximam oram bello superatam (Graecia) cinxit urbibus non ut munitam coloniis illam gentem sed ut obsessam teneret* (Pro Flacco xxvii. 64).

7. *praetrepidans*, ‘in a flutter of expectation,’ eager in advance at the thought of the approaching pleasure; so *praegestire praemetuere praetimere*.

8. *laeti*, with *studio*. *uigescunt*, ‘feel brisk,’ a Lucretian word: *uirescunt*, ‘feel a new spring,’ is a natural conjecture. Hor. Epod. xiii. 4.

9. *cootus*, Suet. Aug. 85 *nonnulla in coetu familiarium recitauit*: Catullus probably alludes to social gatherings in which the members of the *cohors* met each other.

10. It is not easy to say whether *Longe* is ‘from a distance’ or ‘to a distance.’ In the former case *Longe a domo profectos* would be ‘starting from their distant home,’ *longe* being expanded by *a domo*; for *longe* in this sense with a verb of motion, cf. Ter. Eun. iii. 3. 43 *accurrit ad me, quam longe quidem*. It is perhaps more natural to take *longe* of the distance to which Memmius and his *cohors* had travelled on leaving their home: cf. Eun. iv. 2. 5 *longe iam abieram*. The two journeys would thus be better contrasted: the distant foreign land to which they had come, the distant home to which they were returning.

11. *Diuersae*, as separated by long distances from each other, *uarias* as passing through a variety of countries. For the asyndeton see on XXXVI. 10. *reportant* need not imply conveyances: *se reportant* = ‘return,’ B. Hisp. 40: *uictrix redit illa pedemque ex hoste reportat* of Camilla, Aen. xi. 764.

## XLVII.

THE date of this poem is open to the same doubts as the preceding; if the Piso mentioned in it and XXVIII is L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, proconsul of Macedonia from the end of 696 | 58 till some time after the beginning of 699 | 55 (Ascon. in Pisonian. p. 1 Orelli) it must fall within that period. If on the other hand I am right in identifying Piso with Cn. Piso, *quaestor pro praetore* in Spain 689 | 65, it was probably written in this year.

The arguments in support of either view are mentioned on XXVIII.

This poem is rather in favour of the former hypothesis; the Greek Socratio, the sumptuous entertainments, the extortion practised by Piso's two creatures, might each be illustrated by Cicero's oration *in Pisonem*, as well as by an epigram Anth. P. xi. 44 ascribed to Philodemus and probably addressed to this Piso; the attraction of Piso to the society of philosophical Greeks, his attachment to the school of Epicurus, and his fondness for entertainments, all mentioned by Cicero, are shown in a friendly point of view by Philodemus' inviting him to a plain dinner ἐξ ἐνάτης on the *eikás*, a day kept as a festival by Epicureans and on which the conversation would no doubt be philosophical.

That Porcius is, as Statius suggested, the person mentioned by Cicero in conjunction with Munius as employed by M. Fonteius B.C. 76-73 to lay an impost on wines in Gaul, Font. ix. (v.) 19, is a view not impossible in itself, but not sufficiently proved to be available as an argument either way.

1. *duae* suggests (1) their *distinctness*, (2) their *confederacy* for knavish purposes. *sinistrae*. Diebeshände (Heyse), instruments of thieving, not *manus* only nor *dextellae* (Att. xiv. 20. 5), but *left* hands, for pilfering and extortion. See on XII. 1. Schwabe compares Verr. Act. Sec. ii. 10. 27 *Comites illi tui delecti manus erant tuae; praefecti scribae accensi medici haruspices praecones manus erant tuae. Vt quisque te maxime cognatione affinitate necessitudine aliqua attingebat ita maxime manus tua putabatur: cohors tota tua illa quae plus mali dedit Siciliae quam si centum cohortes fugitiuorum fuissent, tua manus sine controuersia fuit. Quidquid ab horum quopiam captum est, id non modo tibi datum sed tua manu numeratum iudicari necesse est.* Possibly, like Verres, Piso had conferred upon his subordinates the *ius anuli aurei*; *sinistrae* might thus convey a farther sarcastic allusion.

2. *scabies* and *fames* are correlative: want of food produces a leprous or scrofulous state of body Cato R. R. v. 7 *Scabiem pecori et iumentis caueto; id ex fame et si impluit fieri solet*; such diseases are infectious Iuen. ii. 79 *grex totus in aruis Vnius scabie cadit et porrigime porci*; hence *scabies famesque mundi* seems = 'itching starvelings to infect a universe', i. e. with an itch for lucre (*scabiem et contagia lucri* Hor. Ep. i. 12. 14) enough to infect everybody they came near. This makes *scabies famesque* a ὑστερον πρότερον; but the order seems designed to suggest that Porcius and Socratio are in a slightly different sense the *scabies famesque mundi*, as having a diseased craving for gain which might beggar the universe by the spoliation which they practised to gratify it. Others make *mundi* a subjective genitive: Porcius and Socratio standing as *types* of ravenous rapacity, the world's concentrated beggardom. Cf. Plin. H. N. Praef. 25 *Apion grammaticus hic quem Tib. Caesar cymbalum mundi uocabat, cum propriae famae tympanum potius uideri posset, immortalitate donari a se scripsit ad quos aliqua componebat*, where *cymbalum mundi* seems similarly to admit of an objective and subjective explanation equally, 'the world's rattle' either as sounding the praises of mankind, or as employed by mankind to sound its praises.

4. *Verpus*, Ψωλός, ἀπεψωλημένος Aristoph. Acharn. 161, Eq. 964. See on XXVIII. 12. *Priapus*, a figure which must have often met the eyes of Catullus in the neighbourhood of Lampsacus, fr. II. Suidas s. u. τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Πριαποῦ . . . ἀνθρωποειδὲς ποιούσῳ ἐν τῇ δεξιά σκῆπτρον

κατέχον, ὥσανεὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ φανείσαν τὴν ξηρὰν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ εὐωνύμῳ κρατῶν τὸ αἰδοῖον αὐτοῦ ἐντεταμέου διότι τὰ κεκρυμμένα ἐν τῇ γῆ σπέρματα φανερά καθίστησι. There was another representation of him in which εἶχε τὸ αἰδοῖον ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν πυγὴν (Suid. *ibid.*) like Phanes (Suid. s. u. Φάνης, cf. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* 491).

5-7. 'Are you to squander money on splendid feasts from morn onwards? Are my companions to hunt about the streets for a chance invitation?'

5. **lauta**, like men of fashion. Sen. Ep. 95. 26 *Quidquid apud lautos solet diem ducere.* **sumptuose**, 'extravagantly,' Varro R. R. iii. 17. 6.

6. **De die**, in full day, before the afternoon has set in. The Romans dined as a rule after the business of the day was over, according to Martial iv. 8. 6 from the ninth to the tenth hour i. e. about 3 P.M. It was a sign of luxury to begin earlier. Ter. Ad. v. 9. 7 *obsonare cum fide, Scortum adducere, apparare de die conuiuium*, Liu. xxiii. 8 *Coeperunt epulari de die et conuiuium non ex more Punico aut militari disciplina esse, sed ut in ciuitate atque etiam domo diti ac luxuriosa omnibus uoluptatis illecebris instructum.*

7. **Quaerunt**. Pomponius Maioli fr. 3 Ribb. (Non. 476) *cenam quaerunt: Si eum nemo uocat, reuertit maestus ad maenam miser.* **uocationes**, very rare in this sense. Forc. quotes Justin xxxvii. 4 *Non in conuiuiis sed in Campo, non in uocationibus sed in exercitationibus*; but here the better MSS, as Dr. Rühl informs me, give *auocationibus* or *aduocationibus*. Both Plautus Capt. i. 1. 1 and Cornelius Nepos Cim. 4 use *inuocatus* in the sense of 'uninvited.'

## XLVIII.

I AGREE with Bruner and Westphal in thinking that this is one of the earlier poems of the series addressed to Juventius: perhaps the first. See on XV. The date cannot be determined; but it probably falls within the later years of the poet's life.

1. **Mellitos**. III. 6. The triple *-os* is archaic and gives a touch of simplicity.

2. **Si quis sinat**, slightly altered from the more common *sine me*. Cas. i. 1. 46 *quom mihi illa dicit Mi animule, Mi Olympio, Mea uita, mea mellilla, mea festiuitas, Sine tuos ocellos deosculer uoluptas mea, Sine amabo te amari meus festus dies, Meus pullus passer, mea columba, mi lepus. usque basiare.* XLV. 14, V. 9.

3. **milia trecenta**, of any great number as in IX. 2.

4. **uideor** with *mihi* = 'I think,' is more usual than *uideor* alone; but the pronoun is sometimes omitted as in Att. iv. 12 *Macroni uix uideor praesto*, 'I scarcely think I can attend to Macro,' Most. iii. 2. 132 *Non uideor uidisse postes pulchriores.* **saturnus**. VII. 2. 10.

5. **densior**. Fin. v. 30. 91 *seges spicis uberibus et crebris.* **aridis aristis**. Vulp. compares Augustin. de Ciuit. Dei iv. 8 *quamdiu seges ab initiis herbis usque ad aridas aristas perueniunt.*

## XLIX.

SCHWABE (Quaest. p. 126) thinks this poem was written as an acknowledgment of Cicero's services in defending M. Caelius Rufus, the paramour and afterwards enemy of Clodia, against the charge of *uis* brought against him by L. Sempronius Atratinus at her instigation. The speech *Pro Caelio* was delivered early in 56 B.C., and the poem may belong to the same period.

Westphal p. 241 also connects the poem with Clodia, but refers it to an earlier date. Clodia's husband, Q. Metellus Celer, one of the praetors for 691 | 63 was sent towards the close of that year into Cisalpine Gaul with proconsular power (Fam. v. 2. 3). His wife Clodia remained at Rome and during his absence was visited by Cicero, not without arousing the jealousy of Cicero's wife, Terentia (Fam. v. 2. 6, Plut. Cic. 29). Catullus may have been introduced by Cicero to Clodia at the same time; this poem is the expression of the gratitude which he would naturally feel to the man who had introduced him to Lesbia and doubtless retired in his favour.

The poem itself gives no hint of either view. It merely brings into prominent contrast the poet Catullus and the orator Cicero; whatever point it has lies in this antithesis, and this only. It is probable indeed from the emphasis laid on Cicero's powers as a pleader (*Disertissime* 1, *optimus omnium patronus* 7) that Catullus' gratitude was evoked by some oratorical effort in behalf of a friend; but it seems unlikely that the *Pro Caelio*, which has preserved in their coarsest form the scandals attaching to Clodia, should have been the occasion of a panegyric from Clodia's most devoted lover: if indeed Lesbia was Clodia, a fact which, like the identification of Catullus' friend Caelius with M. Caelius Rufus, the hero of Cicero's oration, can hardly be considered certain. Westphal's hypothesis is even more gratuitous. If we are to construct hypotheses where nothing can be demonstrated, it is hardly more fanciful to suppose that this *gratiarum actio* of the poet's synchronized with the two speeches delivered by Cicero shortly after his return from exile, *Cum senatui gratias egit* and *Cum populo gratias egit*; cf. the words of this last VII. 16 *Cn. Pompeius uir omnium qui sunt fuerunt erunt uirtute sapientia gloria princeps* with Catullus' *Disertissime Romuli nepotum, Quot sunt quotque fuere, Marce Tulli, Quotque post aliis erunt in annis*.

Catullus has shown his dexterity in the *form* of this eulogy. The words *Romuli nepotum*, without being contemptuous, might suggest that Cicero was not a man of the highest rank; the accumulation of superlatives alternately balancing and in effect destroying each other looks like an allusion to this well-known characteristic of Cicero's style; 6, 7 might be represented as neutralizing 4, 5; for, if Cicero is the greatest of advocates in the same proportion as Catullus is the worst of poets, he will descend in the scale of eloquence as Catullus rises in the scale of poetry. Yet the effect of the whole is sincere admiration; it must have been welcome to Cicero as the homage of the greatest poet of the time. Cf. *Sest. lviii. 123 neque poetae, quorum ego semper ingenia dilexi, tempori meo defuerunt*.

1. **Disertissime.** The word is perhaps chosen as the most colourless, standing as it does sometimes in opposition to a mere natural gift of speech (De Orat. i. xx. 91 *neminem scriptorem artis* (writer of a treatise on oratory) *ne mediocriter quidem disertum fuisse dicebat . . . eloquentissimos autem homines qui ista nec didicissent nec omnino scire curassent, innumerabiles quosdam nominabat*) or again to the highest perfection of eloquence, as in the dictum of the orator M. Antonius *disertos se uidisse multos, eloquentem omnino neminem* (Orator v. 18; cf. De Orator. i. 21. 94 and 95 *non despero fore aliquem aliquando qui . . . existat talis orator qualem quaerimus, qui iure non solum disertus, sed etiam eloquens dici possit*); sometimes as the antithesis of a jejune and cold style: so Caesar, after reading the Cato of Brutus, thought himself *disertum* Att. xiii. 46. 2, cf. Tac. Dial. de Orat. 21, Ad Att. xv. 1<sup>b</sup>. 2 *Est oratio (Bruti) scripta elegantissime sententiis; uerbis ut nihil possit ultra. Ego tamen, si illam causam habuissem, scripsissem ardentius*. Cicero uses it as practically = *eloquentissimus*. Phil. ii. 43. 111 *Exspecto eloquentiam tuam. Disertissimum cognoui auum tuum; at te etiam apertiore in dicendo*. Cf. Sest. lvii. 122 *disertissimus poeta*, and calls himself one of the *diserti* to Paetus Fam. ix. 19. 2. **Romuli nepotum**, like *Remi nepotes* LVIII. 5 and *unde Haec tetigit, Gradiue, tuos urtica nepotes* Iuuen. ii. 127 is slightly ironical.

2, 3. XXI. 2, 3, XXIV. 2, 3.

2. **Marce Tulli**, the name by which Cicero seems to have been most familiarly known. Sest. lviii. 123 *Nominatum sum appellatus in Bruto. Tullius qui libertatem ciuibus stabiliuerat. Milies reuocatum est*: and by which he would be addressed officially, e. g. when asked his opinion in the senate *Dic M. Tulli* Att. vii. 7. 7. Hence Pliny in his apostrophe to Cicero as the most famous of Romans addresses him by this title vii. 116 *Sed quo te, M. Tulli, piaculo taceam?*

5. **pessimus omnium poeta**, a humility so exaggerated as hardly to escape the suspicion of persiflage. Catullus uses the words *pessimus poeta* of Volusius, *pessimi poetae* of Caesius Aquinus Suffenus XIV. 23.

6. **Tanto pessimus. . . Quanto tu optimus**. Vell. Patern. ii. 11 *Quantum bello optimus, tantum pace pessimus*. Martial imitates Catullus i. 7. 4, 5 *Tanto Stella meus tuo Catullo Quanto passere maior est columba*. Plin. Ep. iv. 1. 4.

7. **omnium**, which, like *pessimus omnium*, is of course constructed with *optimus*, by its position suggests one of the titles actually given to Cicero, Fam. vi. 7. 4 (a letter of A. Caecina) *Vbi hoc omnium patronus facis quid me ueterem tuum nunc omnium clientem sentire oportet?* At first *licebat quem nolebam non defendere* Fam. vii. 1. 4, but as his reputation rose he was forced *nonnumquam homines non optime de me meritos rogatu eorum qui bene meriti sunt defendere* (ib.), amongst them Vatinius and Gabinius. He was besides *patronus* of many towns e. g. Capua Pis. xi. 25, Sest. iv. 9, Tac. Dial. 36. Cicero himself seems to imply in the Brutus xcvi. 33 *nec enim decet te ornatum uberrimis artibus numerari in uulgo patronorum* that he did not associate with the profession of a *patronus* the highest oratorical distinction: Catullus' words would doubtless have fallen far short of his own estimate of his powers.



## L.

CATULLUS and G. Licinius Calvus, the orator and poet, to whom XIV and XCVI are addressed (cf. LIII), had met each other it would seem in Calvus' house, if we may so infer from the fact that no third person is mentioned, and that the whole poem places prominently in view the reciprocity of the two partly in their rivalry as poets, partly in their friendship as men. They had agreed to test their respective powers in a sort of wit-combat; and Catullus having lent his tablets for the purpose, each in turn wrote verses in them, probably of an epigrammatic kind and in different kinds of metre. The contest excited Catullus so much that he could not eat or sleep, and after a restless night in which he was constantly thinking of his friend composed the following poem, expressing his anguish and imploring Calvus to relieve him. He does not explicitly say how, but it is a natural supposition that Catullus' wish to be once more with Calvus, expressed in 13, is identical with the prayer which Calvus is implored to attend to in 18, 19; and that the poem may be practically considered a return-invitation (cf. Schwabe p. 263). The description of Catullus' restlessness might strike Calvus with special force, from the excitability of his own temperament. Plin. H. N. xxxiv. 166.

Cicero seems to have known this poem. Att. ix. 20. 1 *Cum me aegritudo non solum somno priuaret, uerum ne uigilare quidem sine summo dolore pateretur, tecum ut quasi loquerer, in quo uno acquiesco, hoc nescio quid nullo argumento proposito scribere institui.*

1. **Hesterno die.** Cic. Catil. iii. 2. 5, rather more formal than *heri*. In Catil. ii. 3. 6 most MSS. have *hesterna die*. The masculine was the preferable form, as is shown by the independent *hesterno* Vatin. i. 3. **die otiosi** like *Tuo imbuisse* IV. 17, *foro otiosum* X. 2, *sua occupati* XV. 8, *noui umbilici* XXII. 7. The quadrisyllable relieves the harshness of the elided iambus, for which see Lachm. on Lucr. iii. 954.

2. **lusimus**, 'indulged our fancy,' here of humorous improvisations in verse, as in LXI. 225 *Lusimus satis* and a fragment of Varro's Tithonus, v. Riese (Non. 342) *Risi multum, lusi modice iambis*.

3. **delicatos** is constructed by Muretus with *uersiculos* 'wanton verses,' as in Pis. xxix. 70 *delicatissimis uersibus* of Philodemus' verses on Piso's debaucheries, De Off. i. 40. 144 *turpe in re seuera conuiuio digna aut delicatum aliquem inferre sermonem*; but this is against the rhythm: hence it would seem better to explain it of the two poets who had agreed to play the idler for the day. Paulus Diac. s. u. *Delicata dicebant diis consecrata, quae nunc dedicata*. *Vnde adhuc manet delicatus, quasi lusui dicatus*, a passage from which it appears that *delicatus* was the original spelling of *dedicatus*; if so the words were perhaps confounded, and the Bolognese MS. may retain Catullus' own hand in *dedicatos*, its reading a m. pr.

4. **uersiculos**. Horace calls his Epodes *uersiculi* Epod. xi. 2, as well as the poems he began to write in Greek S. i. 10. 32, and the lines imitating an erotic epigram of Callimachus S. i. 2. 109.

5. **numero**. Orator lvii. 191 *dactylicus numerus*, 192 *Qui paecana praeferunt non uident mollissimum a sese numerum eundemque amplissimum*

*praeteriri*; ib. *heroum numerum*, where Cicero is speaking of the varieties of rhythm, dactyl, trochee, paeon, etc. Catullus uses *numero* here in a sense slightly beyond this, 'metre,' hendecasyllable, iambic, etc.

6. **Reddens mutua**, 'exchanging replies.' Each took up the other, perhaps repeating some word of his friend's and making play with it, or introducing a similar or opposite word. Cf. Eun. iii. 1. 49 *Vbi nominabit Phaedriam, tu Pamphilam Continuo; si quando illa dicet 'Phaedriam Comissatum intromitamus' tu 'Pamphilam Cantatum prouocemus;'* *si laudabit haec Illius formam tu eius contra. Denique Par pro pari referto, quod eam mordeat.* **per iocum atque uinum**, 'over our jokes and wine.' XII. 2 *in ioco atque uino*.

7. **Atque**, of transition 'And so.' **abii**, 'came away,' perhaps with the double notion of leaving the house and retiring under a particular state of feeling.

9, 10. Catullus can neither eat nor sleep for thinking of his friend. So Achilles, thinking of Patroclus, Il. xxiv. 127 Τέκνον ἔμόν, τέο μέχρῃς ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀχέων Σὴν ἔδεια κραδίην, μεμνημένος οὐδέ τι σίτου Οὔτ' εὐνῆς;

10. **tegeret**. Soph. El. 780 ὥστ' οὔτε νυκτὸς ὕπνον, οὔτ' ἐξ ἡμέρας Ἐμὲ στεγάζειν ἠδύν. Virg. G. iv. 414 *incepto tegeret cum lumina somno*.

11, 12. Il. xxiv. 3-6 αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς Κλαίει φίλου ἐτάρου μεμνημένος, οὐδέ μιν ἕπνος Ἦρει πανδαμάτωρ ἄλλ' ἐστρέφετ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, Πατρόκλου ποθέων ἀδροτήτά τε καὶ μένος ἦν, ib. 9 Τοῦ μμνησκόμενος θαλερόν κατὰ δάκρυον εἶβεν Ἄλλοτ' ἐπὶ πλευρῆς κατακείμενος, ἄλλοτε δ' αὐτε Ὑπτιος, ἄλλοτε δὲ πρηγῆς.

11. **indomitus furore**, 'in rampant frenzy.' *Indomitus*, which was perhaps suggested by the Homeric ἕπνος πανδαμάτωρ, well expresses the physical restlessness of the animal system produced by unusual excitement of brain. De Harusp. Resp. xxiv. 52 *indomitos atque effrenatos furores*.

12. **Versarer**, 'tossed uneasily.' Verr. ii. 30. 74 *Itaque aestuabat dubitatione: uersabat se in utramque partem, non solum mente, uerum etiam corpore*, Prop. i. 14. 21. **cupiens uidere lucem**. Another Homeric idea. Il. ix. 237 Ἐκωρ δὲ μέγα σθένει βλεμείων Μαινεται ἐκπάγλως . . . κρατερῇ δὲ ἐλύσσα δέδουκεν Ἀρᾶται δὲ τάχιστα φανήμεναι Ἠὼ δῖαν.

13. **loquerer simulque ut essem**, a ὕστερον πρότερον. **simul essem**. Fam. ix. 1. 2 *Sive in Tusculano sive in Cumano ad te placebit, sive quod minime uelim Romae, dummodo simul simus*, Att. v. 9. 5 *propter uiciniam totos dies simul eramus inuicem*, Hor. Ep. i. 10. 50 *Excepto quod non simul esses, cetera laetus*, Juven. v. 18 *Vna simus, ait*.

14. The labouring rhythm expresses the bodily struggle of the poet: cf. LV. 13-24 where the spondaic rhythm corresponds with the labour of Catullus in finding Camerius, and gives way to dactylic when swiftness has to be expressed. **labore**, 'worry,' of the ineffectual struggle of the limbs in conflict with the mind's excitement. Cf. Lucret. iv. 1121 of lovers *absument uires pereuntque labore*.

15. **Semimortua**, in a numbed and lethargic state, Hygin. P. A. ii. 4 of drunkards *Semimortua membra iactantes*, Philodemus in Anth. P. xi. 30. 4 Ἡμισθάνες θνήσκει τοῦτο τὸ τερμέριον. Cf. Ovid's *praemortua membra* Am. iii. 7. 65.

16. **iocunde**, as in XIV. 1 *iocundissime Calue* in reference to the companionable qualities of Calvus. Hor. S. i. 3. 93 *minus hoc iocundus amicus Sit mihi?* 3. 44 *Nil ego contulerim iocundo sanus amico*.

18. **Cauē**, as in LXI. 145, Cic. Arat. 296, Hor. S. ii. 3. 38 *dexter stetit et caue faxis Te quicquam indignum*, Ouid. Trist. i. 1. 25 *Tu caue defendas*. Servius on Aen. iv. 409 says that *cauo cauis* existed as well as *caueo caues*, and that hence Catullus used *cauēre*. In the comic writers it is hard to say whether the *e* was short or slurred over as we know from Cicero it was in ordinary pronunciation (De Diuin. ii. 40. 84). But the existence of *cautum*, i. e. *cauitum*, seems to prove that Servius is right in his assertion of an original *cauo cauis*, and it is probable that the ordinary *caue* of Plautus and the other comic writers was the imperative of this, and was pronounced rapidly with the following word as a monosyllable. In this case a determined disyllabic pronunciation such as we find in Catullus might be one of the differences which he Calvus and others of the same school were introducing to distinguish themselves from the earlier poetry. The combination *caue sis* is very common, Amphit. ii. 2. 215, Pers. iii. 1. 61, v. 2. 35, Cistell. fr. Mai p. 486 *caue sis cum amore tu unquam bellum sumpseris* and even in Trag. Naev. Lycurg. fr. xiii Ribbeck (Non. 259), but always = *caue si uis*, not as here.

19. **Oramus** LV. 1. **cauo—cauo—cauto** gives a mock solemnity. So Cato R. R. 38 *Ignem caueto ne intermittas quin semper siet, neue noctu neue ullo tempore intermittatur caueto*. Such repetitions are also found in magic formulae. **despuas**, show you reject my entreaties by spitting on the ground. Spitting was connected with magic: O. Iahn Pers. ii. 31 quotes Varro R. R. i. 2. 27 *Ego tui memini, medere meis pedibus Terra pestem teneto. Salus hic maneto in meis pedibus. Hoc ter nouies cantare iubet, terram tangere, despue, ieiunum cantare*, where it is a cure for pains in the feet; Tib. i. 2. 54 *Ter cane, ter dictis despue carminibus*, ib. 96 *Despuit in molles et sibi quisque sinus*, Ciris 371 *Ter in gremium mecum, inquit, despue uirgo*, *Despue ter, uirgo*, Petron. 131 *Hoc peracto carmine ter me iussit expuere terque lapillos conicere in sinum quos ipsa praecantatos purpura inuoluerat*, Plin. xxviii. 35 *ueniam a deis spei alicuius audacioris petimus in sinum spuendo*; and was supposed to prevent the bad effects of magic, fascination (Theocr. vi. 39, xx. 11), the evil eye, etc., besides being used to counteract excessive praise and the jealousy of the gods consequent thereupon. Schol. Theocr. vi. 39 *Ὅς μὴ βασκανθῶ δέ, τρὶς εἰς ἐμὸν ἔπτυσσα κόλπον* ποίησιν γὰρ μεχρὶ τοῦ νῦν μάλιστα τοῦτο αἱ γυναῖκες τὸ νεμεσητῶν ἐκτρέφόμεναι, Καλλιμάχος. Δαίμων τῇ κόλποισιν ἐπιπτύουσι γυναῖκες. If we follow the suggestion of this scholion Catullus might mean 'Don't be rash enough to reject my petition as too flattering, lest Nemesis, whom you think to propitiate by rejecting *my* wish, turn round upon *you* for over-cruel indifference,' a view perhaps confirmed by the use of *reposcat* for the simpler *poscat* and the prominence of a *te* at the end of 20. But as spitting was also used simply as a sign of contempt and rejection (Lucian *περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῶ συνόντων* p. 489 *ἦν δὲ μειδιάσω καὶ ῥυθμίσω τὸ πρόσωπον εἰς τὸ ἦδιστον, κατεφρόνησε καὶ εὐθύς διέπτυσσε*, Soph. Antig. 653 *πτύσας ὡσεὶ τε δυσμενῆ, 1232 πτύσας προσώφω κοῦδεν ἀντειπῶν*) and contempt as implying too lofty an opinion of oneself is particularly liable to raise the anger of Nemesis, it seems simpler to explain 'Don't be rash enough to spurn my petition, and so bring down upon yourself the anger of Nemesis for your cruel contempt.' **ocelle**, 'dear heart,' '*liebes Hertze*,' Heyse. Asinar. iii. 3. 74.

20. **reposcat**, Aen. ii. 139. Most MSS. have *reponat*, 'should make

a repayment of punishment on your side.' Fam. i. 9. 19 *ne tibi ego idem reponam cum ueneris*. Sen. de Ira ii. 28. 5 *Cogitemus aliis non facere iniuriam, sed reponere*.

21. Catullus may have had in mind some lines of Antimachus ap. Strab. 588 "Ἔστι δέ τις Νέμεσις μεγάλη Θεός, ἣ τὰδε πάντα Πρὸς μακάρων ἔλαχεν, βωμὸν δέ οἱ εἴσατο πρῶτος" Ἀδρηστος ποταμοῖο παρὰ ῥόον Αἰσῆποιο "Ἐνθα τετιμηταί τε καὶ Ἀδρήστεια καλεῖται. But the sentiment is almost a common-place of lovers. Alciph. i. 37. 4 τὴν Νέμεσιν δεῖν αὐτὸν ὄραν εἰ οὕτως ἐμὲ περιόψεται ἐρώσαν, Lucian. Dial. Meretric. xii. 2 οὐ μέγα, ὦ Λυσία, τοῦτο ποιεῖς, γύναιον ἄθλιον λυπῶν μεμηρὸς ἐπὶ σοί; ἔστι τις θεὸς ἣ Ἀδράστεια καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὄρα.

## LI.

THIS poem of Sappho's and Callimachus' elegy on the Lock of Beronice (LXVI) are the only surviving specimens of Catullus' power as a translator. If he translated any other Greek originals, his versions have not come down to us; see on LXV. 16, CXVI. 2. The general features of LI and LXVI are the same: each is faithful without being strictly exact; there are omissions, insertions, and inversions. Thus in the first strophe of Sappho's Ode there is nothing to correspond to *Ille si fas est superare diuos, to identidem, to spectat*; on the other hand Catullus omits *πλασιὸν ἀδὺ φωνείσας* altogether. In the second strophe τὸ μοι μὲν Καρδῖαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόασεν is rather poorly rendered by *misero quod omnis Eripit sensus mihi*; in the third αὔτικα is not translated, the order of the last two lines is inverted, the strong Ὀππάτεσσι δ' οὐδὲν ὄρημ' is paraphrased by *gemina teguntur Lumina nocte*; nothing in the Greek corresponds to *sonitu suopte*. Catullus has besides given to his version something of the look of an original poem by introducing the name of Lesbia.

It is difficult to pronounce whether the last four lines *Otium—urbes* belong to LI or to a different poem of which they are the one surviving fragment. The latter view was maintained by Statius, and more recently by Spengel Bergk Schwabe and L. Müller. Others hold them to be spurious.

(1.) There is no ground for denying their genuineness. They are found in all the MSS; the rhythm is like that of Catullus' other sapphics, especially in the admission of a trochee in the second foot, cf. XI. 6, 15; they are probably alluded to by Macrobius. S. ii. 7. 6.

(2.) It is possible to trace a connexion between 1-12 and 13-16. The change from a passionate address to Lesbia to a moralizing soliloquy addressed to himself is not alien either to Catullus, see VIII. 12-19, LXIII. 50-61, or other poets, e. g. Tib. i. 4. 81-84 where the poet after giving rules for success in love suddenly breaks into a complaint of his own anguish; Virg. Ecl. ii. 68 sqq. As Westphal observes, there may be a contrast between two emotions, the pleasure of an absorbing love and the Roman spirit of activity in conflict with it. The connexion might be as follows: 'Catullus, you are giving way to love dreams; beware, or the indolence which fosters such fancies will destroy you as it has destroyed cities and kings.'

(3). Such a connexion is however *violent*: there is a disproportion between the three strophes of love-symptoms and the single strophe of virtuous soliloquy; a disproportion hardly removed by the emphatic repetition of the word *Otium*. And why should Catullus omit the *fourth* strophe of Sappho's Ode? It cannot be said that the picture is perfect without it; the sweat tremor paleness and death-like sensations are an integral part of the description, and are accordingly mentioned in the prose paraphrasts of the ode, Longinus de Sublim. 10, Plut. Erot. 18, Plut. Demetrius 38. If, as might be argued, he meant not so much to translate Sappho, as to write a paraphrase bearing on his own love, and *therefore* did not think himself bound to add the fourth strophe—the three Latin strophes have a certain roundness and completeness in themselves—he would still take care in substituting a strophe of his own to make it harmonize with the rest. Or if, after translating three strophes, accident prevented him from completing his version of a poem which certainly extended to five strophes, perhaps to seven or eight, there seems to be no reason why he should not have allowed his work to remain a fragment. It seems therefore a probable conclusion that the four verses *Otium—urbes* have become disjoined from those preceding them; and that they formed originally the end of another sapphic poem. The lines themselves represent some of Sappho's strongest characteristics; the self-address (Sapph. fr. 59 Bergk), the repetition of the same word three times as in the famous ode (i. 2 1-23).

2. An addition of Catullus'. *si fas est*, a trace of Roman *religio*. Catullus would avoid saying anything impious (Westphal). Tusc. Disp. v. 13. 38 *Humanus animus decerptus ex mente diuina cum alio nullo nisi cum ipso deo, si hoc fas est dictu, comparari potest*. Ouid. Pont. iv. 8. 55 *Di quoque carminibus, si fas est credere, fiunt, Tantaque maiestas ore canentis eget*. *diuos*, 'the holy gods.' Catullus like Varro and Ateius makes *diuos* a more solemn word than *deos*, not to the extent of distinguishing, as they did, *diuos perpetuos, deos qui propter sui consecrationem timentur* (Servius on Aen. v. 45) but as the more ancient and formal word. Varro ap. Serv. ad Aen. xii. 139 *Ita respondeant cur dicant deos cum omnes antiqui dixerint diuos*. Hence *diuos diua* in the forms of prayer preserved by Liu. vii. 26, xxv. 12. Catullus has *diuos* LXIV. 404, XC. 5; *deos* in the playful passage XIII. 13.

3. *sedens aduersus*. Lucian Ἔρωτες 53 οὐ γὰρ ἀπόχρη τὸ θεωρεῖν ἐρώμενον, οὐδ' ἀπαντικρὺ καθήμενον καὶ λαλοῦντος ἀκούειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἡδονῆς κλίμακα συμπηξάμενος ἔρωσ πρώτων ἔχει βαθμὸν ὄψεως ἵνα ἴδῃ (*spectat*), κὰν θεάσθαι ποθεῖ προσάγων ἐφάπασθαι· δι' ἄκρων γούιν δακτύλων κὰν μόνον θίγη, τὰ τῆς ἀπολαύσεως εἰς ἅπαν διαθεῖ τὸ σῶμα. *identidem*, of Lesbia XI. 19.

6. *Eripit sensus*, 'ravisheth from me all my wit.' Chaucer, Romaunt of the Rose, p. 176 Bell: so *sensibus ereptis* LXVI. 25. *simul te aspexi*. Vatin. ii. 4 *simul ac te aspexi, prius quam loqui coepisti*.

8. This verse is lost: the Greek is φώνας οὐδὲν ἔτ' εἶκει, cf. Plut. Erot. 18 ἢ καλῆ Σαπφῶ λέγει τῆς ἐρωμένης ἐπιφανείσης τῆν τε φωνὴν ἰσχεσθαι καὶ φλέγεσθαι τὸ σῶμα. Plut. Demetr. 38 τὰ τῆς Σαπφούς ἐκεῖνα πάντα, φωνῆς ἐπίσχεσις κ.τ.λ.

9-12 may be compared with Lucr. iii. 152 sqq.—a description of *fear*: especially with 154-156 *Sudoresque ita palloremque existere toto Cor-*

*pore et infringi linguam uocemque aboriri Caligare oculos, sonere auris, succidere artus.*

9. **tenuis**, 'subtle,' Sappho's *λέπτων πῦρ*: the notion is of a flame rapidly permeating and diffusing itself through the body.

10. **demanat**, flows downward from the eyes which first receive it: so Gell. xvii. 11. 1 *potum dixit defluere ad pulmonem eoque satis umectato demanare per eum quia sit rimosior*. Wakefield on Lucr. iii. 154 would read *dīmanat*, as agreeing better with the diffusive character of the fluid element fire, cf. Lucr. ii. 382. This though probable is not necessary and is not supported by MSS. **suopte**. Paul. Diac. p. 311 M. *Suopte suo ipsius, ut meopte meo ipsius, tuopte tuo ipsius*. The form is a very old one; Naevius has *suopte cibo* ap. Macrobr. S. iii. 18. 6, Plautus *meapte meopte tuopte suumple mepte*, Terence *nostrapte*, Cicero *suopte and suapte*. Corsen seems right in explaining *-pte* in these forms as *pe-te*; *pe* in *ipsip-pe = ipsi neque alii* Paul. Diac. p. 105 M., *ip(e)se eapse eampse eopse sepse sapsa reapse sirempse* for *eape-se* etc. emphasizes the word to which it is attached = 'just;'; *-te* intensifies this as in *tu-te*. Catullus seems to contrast the special sound of ringing within the ear itself to ordinary sounds from without.

11. **Tintinant**, a less common form of *tintinnare*, which like *tintinnire* was used by Naevius and Afranius (Festus p. 364 M.). Ringing in the ears is often mentioned in connexion with love. Meleager in Anth. P. v. 212. 1 *Αἰεὶ μοι δύνει μὲν ἐν οὐασιν ἦχος ἔρωτος*; but more generally as a sign to a lover that his *absent* love is thinking of him, Plin. H. N. xxviii. 24, Stat. S. iv. 4. 25, 26, Fronto p. 28 Naber, Anth. Lat. 452 Riese, 974 Meyer, Lucian Dial. Meretr. ix. 2. **gemina** transfers the doubleness of the two eyes to the darkness which has settled equally on both. 'Night closes evenly on both my eyes.'

12. **Lumina**. Archil. 103 Bergk *Τοῖος γὰρ φιλόητος ἔρωσ ὑπὸ καρδίην ἐλυσθείς Πολλὴν κατ' ἀγλὸν ὀμμάτων ἔχευεν Κλέφας ἐκ στηθίων ἀπαλὰς φρένας*.

13-16. For the sentiment cf. Truc. i. 2. 34-40, as well as the well-known passage of Ovid's Rem. Am. 135-144.

13. **molestum est**, 'disorders you.' Fam. vii. 26. 1 *στραγγουρικὰ καὶ δυσεντερικὰ πάθη σibi molesta esse*. Hor. Epist. i. 1. 108 *nisi cum pituita molesta est*. Cicero somewhat similarly Cael. xix. 43 *amores et hae deliciae quae uocantur, quae firmiore animo praeditis diutius molestae non solent esse*.

14. 'Idleness makes the veins throb with wantonness beyond measure.' Both **exultas** and **gestis** (*στηρηῖας*) are physical words. Lucr. iii. 141 *Hic exultat enim pauor ac metus*. Cic. de N. D. i. 27. 77 *Cur non gestiret taurus equae contractatione, ecus uaccae?* Both are combined by Cicero Tusc. Disp. v. 6. 16.

15. **reges**. Westphal thinks this refers specially to Priam whose kingdom was destroyed by the luxury of his son Paris and his paramour Helen. This would be appropriate in a poem to Lesbia, the wife of another; but the reference is doubtless more general. Val. Maximus ix. 1 gives several instances of kings ruined by luxury, Hannibal at Capua, Xerxes Antiochus Ptolemaeus Physcon; the only city he mentions is Volsinii in Etruria, *quae postquam luxuria prolapsa est, in profundum iniuriarum et turpitudinis decidit, ut seruorum se insolentissimae dominationi subiceret*: Sybaris is a better known example.

16. **Perdidit urbes**, a common-place of Euripides. Archelaus fr. 241

Nauck ὁ δ' ἦδὺς αἰὼν ἡ κακὴ τ' ἀνανδρία οὐτ' οἶκον οὐτε γαῖαν ὀρθώσειεν ἄν.  
Erechtheus fr. 366.

## LII.

THE old interpretation of this poem, accepted by Clinton, supposed it to be written during or after the consulship of Vatinius 707 | 47, which was held only for a short time at the end of the year, Dion C. xlii. 55; whence Macrob. S. ii. 3. 15 says *In consulatu Vatini quem paucis diebus gessit, notabilis Ciceronis urbanitas circumferebatur. Magnum ostentum, inquit, anno Vatini factum est, quod illo consule nec bruma nec uer nec aestas nec auctumnus fuit. Querenti deinde Vatino quod grauatus esset domum ad se infirmatum uenire, respondit: Volui in consulatu tuo uenire, sed nox me comprehendit.* This would oblige us to put off the year of Catullus' death till that year; whereas the absence of any certain allusions in the extant poems to the stirring events between 54-47 makes it probable that he died in 54. Moreover if Catullus alludes to the actual year of Vatinius' consulship, it would be difficult to explain 2 *Sella in curuli Struma Nonius sedet*, for in this year there was no appointment of praetors, curule aediles or quaestors (Mommsen Hist. of Rome iv. p. 2. p. 480 Eng. Transl.).

Mommsen (Hist. of Rome iv. p. 2. p. 320 note) has suggested a different interpretation. Catullus in 3 speaks not of Vatinius' actual consulship, but of the certainty with which he looked forward to being made consul. This he might do as early as 698 | 56 when Caesar and Pompeius met at Luca and drew out lists of intended consuls (*paginulas futurorum consulum* Att. iv. 8<sup>b</sup>. 2). Iungclaussen and Schwabe both accept this interpretation; the latter illustrates Catullus' words by two passages of Cicero's speech In Vatinium ii. 6 *At tamen hoc, Vatini, memento . . . me . . . magnificentissime post hominum memoriam consulem factum, omniaque ea me pudenter uiuendo consecutum esse quae tu inpudenter uaticinando sperare te saepe dixisti.* v. 11 *Quaesturam petisti* (in the year 690 | 64) *cum P. Sestio, cum hic nihil loqueretur nisi quod agebat, tu de altero consulatu gerendo te diceres cogitare*; to which may be added xvi. 38 *palam dictitas* (in 56 B.C.) *te dis hominibusque inuitis amore in te incredibili quodam C. Caesaris omnia quae uelis consecuturum.* Schwabe however prefers as a more probable occasion of Catullus' outburst, the beginning of 699 | 55, when public feeling was outraged by the election of Vatinius as praetor against Cato. This election is frequently alluded to as a memorable scandal; Liv. Epit. 105 *Cum C. Catonis tribuni plebis intercessionibus comitia tollerentur, senatus uestem mutauit. M. Cato in petitione praeturae praelato Vatino repulsam tulit.* Val. Maximus vii. 5, Ext. 6 calls it *comitiorum maximum crimen*: Seneca introduces it as a stock-subject of declamation Epist. 118. 4 *Scio apud te (Fortuna) Catones repelli, Vatinius fieri,* 120. 19. De Constantia Sapientis i. 3 *Indigne ferebas, sicut es iniquitatis impatiens, quod Catonem aetas sua parum intellexisset, quod supra Pompeios et Caesares surgentem infra Vatinius posuisset et tibi indignum uidebatur quod illi dissuasuro legem toga in foro esset erepta,* ib. ii. 3. Plutarch (Cato 42) says it was done by shameful bribery, and that after it Cato addressed the assembly foretelling all the future evils of the triumvirate. Cf. Couat, Etude p. 260.

Who the Nonius of 22 was is not known. From Plin. H. N. xxxvii.

87 it appears that he was the father of a senator of the same name proscribed by Antonius on account of an opal of extraordinary value, which Antonius coveted: and great grand-father of Servilius Nonianus who had filled the consulship in the lifetime of Pliny; probably in 788 | 35 A.D. Catullus' words do not tell us much; they seem however to imply that Nonius was a plebeian who had risen for the first time to a curule office, probably the aedileship, see note on 2; and that he had a personal deformity of the same kind as Vatinius, seemingly a tumour on the neck, *Struma*<sup>1</sup>.

Lehmann Teuffel and Schwabe think the person alluded to may be Nonius Asprenas who attended Caesar in the African war and was left by him in charge of the camp just before the battle of Thapsus 708 | 46 (B. Af. 80); in the following year he conveyed a body of horsemen from Italy to Caesar in Spain (B. Hisp. 10). This Nonius is called *proconsul*; hence had presumably held a curule office, and perhaps had been elected curule aedile at the same time that Vatinius was elected praetor (Schwabe Quaest. Catull. pp. 38-44).

A better-known Nonius of this period was M. Nonius Sufenas who had been tribune of the plebs in 57-56 B.C. and with his colleagues Procilius and C. Cato prevented the consular comitia in 56, in consequence of which an interrex was appointed and Crassus and Pompeius declared consuls for the following year (Dion C. xxxix. 27, Appian B.C. ii. 17). Sufenas and his two colleagues were brought to trial in 54 for their behaviour in this matter; on the 5th July Sufenas and Cato were acquitted, Procilius condemned, a proof says Cicero (Att. iv. 15. 4) of the indifference to public morality in the judicial tribunals of the time: *Ex quo intellectum est τρισπειοναγίτας ambitum comitia interregnum maiestatem totam denique rem publicam flocci non facere*. If this Sufenas is the M. Nonius mentioned in conjunction with M. Bibulus Q. Minucius Thermus P. Silius Nerva respectively governors of Syria Asia Bithynia in a letter to Atticus (vi. 1. 13) written from Cilicia 704 | 50, cf. viii. 15. 3 *cum imperio sunt ut Sufenas*, he would seem to have held a curule office in the interval between his tribuneship in 56 and the latter date. His support of Pompeius and Caesar would make him obnoxious to Catullus, though nothing that Cicero says of him implies anything like the unpopularity of Vatinius. But if his election coincided with that of Vatinius, the two might well be combined as specimens of the odious success which uncompromising devotion to the cause of the triumvirs was pretty certain to secure.

1. *Quid est?* 'How now?' 'What mean you?' rousing himself from his indifference, as in Tib. iv. 16. 38 Lachm. *quid moraris emori?* A stronger *Quin moreris?* 'it is time you died downright and instantly.' Hor. C. iii. 27. 58 *Quid mori cessas?* Heroid. ix. 146 *Impia quid dubitas, Deianira, mori?* *emori*, 'to die with desperation.' Sall. Cat. 20 *Nonne*

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. of Marius Victorinus 174 G. quote the line with *Serofa* for *Struma*. But *serofa* was the cognomen of the Tremellii, Varro R. R. ii. 4. 1-2, Macrob. S. 1. 6. 30. The variation however is not without importance, as indicating that the word whatever it was, was not a name, but a personal allusion. Yet it is not easy to see why Catullus should have ascribed to Nonius the well-known deformity of Vatinius; such a side-stroke, to use an expression of Vatinius' own (In Vatin. v. 13) must have seemed as flat at the time as it seems unintelligible now.



*emori per uirtutem praestat, quam uitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere ?*

**2. Sella in curuli . . . sedet.** The right of using the curule chair belonged to the consuls praetors curule aediles and censors ; as well as to the Flamen Dialis the dictator and *magister equitum* (Dict. Ant. s. v.). As to attain a curule office was the first step towards founding the nobility of a plebeian family, *sella in curuli sedet* is sometimes applied to *noui homines* in opposition to *nobiles*. The aedileship, as the first curule office to which a man could aspire, is perhaps meant here, cf. A. Gell. vii. 9. 6 *Gn. Flavius, Anni filius, aedilis, id arrisit: sellam curulem iussit sibi afferrī, eam in limine apposuit, ne quis illorum exire posset, utique hi omnes inuiti uiderent sese in sella curuli sedentem.* **Struma.** Cels. v. 28. 7 *Struma est tumor in quo subter concreta quaedam ex pure et sanguine quasi glandulae oriuntur . . . Nascuntur maxime in ceruice, sed etiam in alis et inguinibus.*

**3. Per consulatum.** We may imagine Vatinius saying '*Ita fiam consul ut quae affirmo uera sunt ?*' Schwabe. **periorat.** Cic. in Vat. i. 3 speaks of Vatinius' *inconstantiam cum leuitate tum etiam periurio implicatam.*

### LIII.

THIS epigram is a tribute to the oratorical genius of Catullus' friend C. Licinius Calvus. Of the twenty-one orations by him extant at the time when the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* was written, those against Vatinius were still studied alone, the second of the number particularly (*Dial.* 21). They are quoted by Seneca *Epist.* 94. 25, Quintilian vi. 1. 13, ix. 2. 25, 3. 56, as well as by the grammarians (Charis. 224 Keil, Diomed. ii. p. 443) and writers on rhetoric (Aquila Romanus p. 183 ed. Ruhnck., Julius Severianus *Syntom. Rhet.* p. 342). The fragments have been collected by Meyer, *Orator. Roman. Fragm.* pp. 474-478. The exact historical sequence of the orations is uncertain. Meyer thought Calvus attacked Vatinius three times, in 58, 56, 54 B.C. This inference rests on a passage of the Bobbian Scholia on Cicero's *In Vatinium* p. 323 *Haec (rei in tribunal sui quaesitoris escensio, subselliorum dissipatio, urnarum deiectio) facta sunt, quum reus esset de ui P. Vatinius accusante C. Licinio. Nam quum praetor C. Memmius (696 | 58) quaesitorem sortito facere uellet, et Vatinius postularet ut ipse accusator suus mutuas reiectiones de quaesitoribus faceret, conspirati quidam pro ipso Vatimio inmissi tribunal conscenderunt, et sortes quae intra urnam continebantur dispergere adgressi sunt, atque ita effectum est gratiose per P. Clodium, ut omnia secundum uoluntatem suam Vatinius obtineret.* It seems probable that Vatinius was at least threatened as early as 58 by Calvus. When Cicero delivered his oration *In Vatinium* in 56, the prosecution was certainly hanging over his head (*In Vat.* iv. 14 and the Bobbian Schol. p. 316), though Calvus seems to have delayed it, and to have incurred suspicion in consequence (*Ad Q. Fr.* i. 2. 4). In 55 Vatinius was praetor and could not be brought to trial; it was not till 54 that the prosecution at last took place in August (*Ad Q. Fr.* ii. 15. 3), chiefly, it would seem, on a charge of bribery, Schol. Bob. in Plancianam p. 262 *Iam de sodaliciis*

*causam dixerat P. Vatinius eodem defendente M. Cicerone*, Asconius in Scaurianam p. 18 *Hanc quoque orationem eisdem consulibus dixit quibus pro Vatino, L. Domitio Ahenobarbo et Appio Claudio Pulchro coss.*; though other charges were probably included, cf. the sentence quoted from Calvus' oration by Quintilian ix. 3. 56 *Non ergo magis pecuniarum repetundarum quam maiestatis, neque maiestatis magis quam Plautiae legis, neque Plautiae legis magis quam ambitus, neque ambitus magis quam omnium legum.*

1. **corona**, 'a circle of bystanders,' especially to hear a pleader. Quintil. xii. 10. 73 *Nulli non agentium parata vulgi corona est.* Sen. de Ira ii. 7 *Iudex damnaturus quae fecit eligitur et corona pro mala causa bona patroni uoce corrupta.* Epist. 114. 12 *Mirari quidem non debes corrupta excipi non tantum a corona sordidiore, sed ab hac quoque turba cultiore; togis enim inter se isti, non iudiciis distant.* Hence, as the *corona* was apt to consist of a low class of people, **nescio quem**, 'a fellow.'

2. **mirifice**, 'to perfection:.' a slightly different use from the Ciceronian and ordinary one, which makes it nearly i. q. *ualde*, e. g. *mirifice dolere, diligere*, etc.

3. **crimina**, like *explicasset*, implies a series of charges.

4. **manusque tollens**, Philodemus Περὶ Κακιῶν col. xxiii. ἐπιφρονεῖν τὰς χεῖρας ἀναρεῖνας ὡς ταχὺ συνήκας. Hor. S. ii. 5. 96 *Donec 'Oho' iam Ad caelum manibus sublatis dixerit.*

5. **Dii magni XIV. 12. salaputium disertum**, 'A mighty tit of an orator:.' as explained by Seneca Controv. vii. 19, p. 211 ed. Bursian *Idem postea cum uideret a clientibus Catonis, rei sui, Polionem Asinium circumuentum in forica; inponi se supra cippum iussit, erat enim paruolus statura, propter quod et Catullus in hendecasyllabis uocat illum salaputtium disertum.* This is perhaps the meaning of Ouid. Trist. ii. 431 *Par fuit exigui similisque licentia Calui, Detexit uariis qui sua furta modis.* **salaputium**, the reading of Sen. Cont. vii. 19, is not known to occur elsewhere: its meaning is guessed from that passage, but the etymology is quite doubtful. Possibly the last part of it contains the root *pu-* which as *pu-s* is found in *pusillus posilla pusus pusa pusio*, as *pu-t* in *putus* (a boy) Verg. Cat. ix. 2, as well as in *pumilo, pumilio* a dwarf<sup>1</sup> (Corssen Aussprache i. p. 362, who however makes no mention of the word). More probably it is connected, as Conr. de Allio suggested, with *prae-putium πόσθιον*. Both *πόσθιον* and *ποσθαλίσκος* are used = 'little boy'; *πόσθιον* is a coaxing name for a boy-baby (L. and S.); hence Walter Savage Landor may be right in his translation 'little cocky.' The first part of the compound is perhaps, but not certainly, connected with *sal-ire sal-av.*, etc. Possibly *pupulus* LVI. 5, certainly *pipinna* Mart. xi. 72. 1, are similar words, partly of endearment, partly of coarseness.

<sup>1</sup> *Quouis puero pusillioem* Apul. Met. v. 9.

## LIV.

MUNRO (Journal of Philology v. 303) writes this poem thus :

*Othonis caput (oppido est pusillum)  
Et, trirustice, semilauta crura,  
Subtile et leue peditum Libonis,  
Si non omnia, displicere uellem  
Tibi et Fuficio seni recocto:  
Irascere iterum meis iambis  
Inmerentibus, unice imperator.*

'It is not known who Otho or Libo or Fuficius was, but it is plain that the poet means to say that Otho and Libo were favourites of Caesar and Fuficius, standing in the same relation to the former, as he had scurrilously described Mamurra as doing in the 29th poem. I could wish, he says, that Otho's head, (right puny it is) and, you thorough clown, those half-washed legs of his, and Libo's offensive habits, if not everything else about them should disgust you.' Then pretending to recal his former quarrel with Caesar, he breaks off abruptly with the words 'you will be enraged a second time with my innocent iambics, O general without peer.'

In 1 the parenthesis, he considers, adds force to the expression; such parentheses are a marked feature of most Latin styles. He compares Sen. Hipp. 35 *At Spartanos (genus est audax Auidumque ferae) nodo cautus Propiore liga.*

In 2 *trirustice* is like Plautus' *trifur trifurcifer triparcus triuenefica*; the vocative he retains as more spirited.

In 4 *Si non omnia*, which was already explained in this sense by Vulp. and illustrated by Sest. iii. 7 *ut ille . . . si non omnem, at aliquam partem maeroris sui deponeret* Munro compares with Lucr. iii. 406 *Si non omnimodis at magna parte animai Priuatus*, ii. 1017 *Si non omnia sunt, at multo maxima pars est Consimilis*: Lucilius i. 33 ed. L. Müller *Si non amplius, at lustrum hoc protolleret unum.*

In spite of the pronounced judgment of this great critic, I adhere to the opinion which I share with most edd., that the lines are fragmentary. For,

(1) The MSS. show traces of confusion in placing after 1 the two verses L. 16, 17, which are found also in their proper place.

(2) The MSS. point in 2 to a proper name. *Et eri, Et heri, et beri*, are forms which a name not understood, and therefore corrupted, naturally assumes. A name too is required by the parallelism of the three lines: each contains a person and a personal characteristic.

(3) Even if we allow the first five lines to be consecutive, the aposiopesis before *Irascere iterum* is immeasurably harsh, not to say unintelligible. It may safely be asserted that nothing like it is found in any complete poem of Catullus.

(4) Nothing is gained by interpreting the poem as a complete whole. Everything shows that the MS. of Catullus from which all extant MSS. spring was imperfect. Why should we deny here what is allowed in XIV<sup>b</sup>, LI. 8, LXI. 79 sqq., 108 sqq., LXII. 32 sqq., LXVIII. 47 sqq., XCV. 4? And in this part of the MSS. there are other traces of

confusion; thus the verses *Non custos si fingar ille Cretum—Essem te mihi, amice, quaeritando* are inserted in the MSS. after LVIII. 5, whereas they obviously belong to LV, and the Bodleian MS. (O), perhaps the oldest extant, has a space of five lines before LXI.

Assuming then that the poem is a mere fragment, I hold it hazardous to define its precise meaning. It obviously alludes to some of Caesar's friends, probably of the humbler kind; for Caesar, to use the words of Caelius Rufus in a letter to Cicero (Fam. viii. 4. 2) *Solet infirmorum hominum amicitiam sibi qualibet impensa adiungere*; and the personal peculiarities satirized by Catullus in 2, 3 would be suitable to such men, and less dangerous to attack than in a higher rank. Schwabe thinks the *Sufficio* of 5 may be Fuficius Fango, who is mentioned by Dion C. xlviii. 22, 23 as appointed by Caesar to govern Africa, maintaining an unsuccessful struggle with T. Sextius, and finally committing suicide. He is described as having risen to the senate from the ranks, and for this reason unpopular with the provincials: he would thus be a fit subject for attack; but if he was occupied with active military service in 714 | 40 he could hardly be called *senex* at the time Catullus wrote this poem. (Schwabe Quaest. p. 225.)

1. **oppido**, an old word beginning to be antiquated and obsolete in Quintilian's time (viii. 3. 25). Nonius explains it as = *ualde*, Paulus Diac. as *ualde multum*. According to Corssen ii. p. 870 its original meaning was 'on the ground,' 'on the spot': he compares the Homeric *ἐμπεδον*: and so Curtius. 'On the spot,' might easily pass into 'downright,' as *funditus*, 'from the bottom,' passes into 'utterly.' **pusillum**. Aristotle Problems 30. 3, associates a small head with prudence (*φρόνησις*); the Physiognomon edited by Rose on the contrary says p. 114 *Caput breue sine sensu sapientia est. Caput breue prope rotundum impudentiae argumentum est: referitur ad rapaces aues*. According to the same author p. 161 Polemon made a narrow slanting head one characteristic of his ideal *μωροσπονηρός*.

2. **rustice**, a change from the third person to the second 'you, clownish Herius, have legs only half-washed,' like Persius i. 73 *Vnde Remus, sulcoque terens dentalia, Quinti*, where Conington quotes Virg. Aen. vii. 684 *Quos diues Anagnia pascit, Quos Amasene pater*. **semilauta**, ἡμίλουτα, a double offence, not only bare but dirty. **crura**, to expose the legs was a sign of rusticity. Philetaerus ap. Athenaeum i. 21 *Ἀμφὶ στέρνοισι φάρος οὐ καθήσεις, τάλαν; μήδ' ἀγροίκως ἄνω γόνατος ἀμφέξει*; on which Eustathius on Homer p. 1164 quoted by Meineke iii. 300 says *δοκεῖ γὰρ ὁ σκοπτόμενος ψιλὰ ἐνδύσεως προφαινέειν τὰ σκέλη*: and so Theophrastus makes it a sign of the *ἄγροικος* *to sit ἀναβεβλημένος ἄνω τοῦ γόνατος*.

3. **peditum** seems to be ἄπ. λεγ. Scaliger is no doubt right in explaining the line of a diseased incapacity for containing the wind, cf. Mart. iv. 87. 4, vii. 18. 9, 10, x. 14. 10, Plato Rep. iii. 405 *φύσας τε καὶ κατάρρους νοσήμασιν ὀνόματα τίθεσθαι*.

6. I have inserted this verse here as agreeing with the last two. *Irascere iterum—unicè imperator*. Porphyrius on Hor. C. i. 16. 24 *Iambi autem uersus aptissimi habentur ad maledicendum. Denique et Catullus, cum maledicta minaretur sic ait. At non effugies meos iambos*. At any rate this seems more probable than Hauthal's view, that the line belongs to XL,

a poem complete in itself: Westphal's hypothesis that it is part of a lost poem between XIV, XV is gratuitous, and not justified by the three lines still remaining of XIV<sup>b</sup>.

Ø (4). Scaliger seems right in supposing *si non* to be the relic of an adjuration, *peream si non*, or something similar. Hor. S. i. 9. 48 *Dispercam ni Summoses omnes*, ii. 1. 6 *Peream male si non optimum erat*. Mart. ii. 6. 2 *Si non mentiris, Classice, dispeream*. **omnia displicere uellem**, an indifference to Caesar's good opinion like XCIII. **uellem**, 'I could wish,' as often. Hor. S. i. 3. 41, ii. 2. 40.

10 (5). **Sufficio**, the reading of MSS. was retained in my first ed. and might be supported by some MSS. of Verr. ii. 12. 31, Vitruv. de Architect. vii. Praef. 14, Plin. H. N. xxxiv. 25. But it is doubtful whether this name occurs in Inscript., hence I now adopt the generally received *Fuficio*. Vitruvius vii Praef. 14 mentions a Fuficius as one of the earliest Roman writers on architecture, *In ea re ab Graecis uolumina plura edita, ab nostris oppido quam pauca*. *Fuficius enim mirum de his rebus ni primus instituit edere uolumen, item Terentius Varro de nouem disciplinis unum de architectura, Publius Septimius duo*. **recocto**, 'rejuvenescent,' 'in his second youth,' i. e. an old man who affects the manners and morals of young men. The idea is a common one in Greek from the Iliad (i. 446) onwards; Demos in the *Equites* of Aristophanes appears at the end of the play 1321, 1336 rejuvenescent from a magic cauldron in which Agoracritus has boiled him as Medea boiled Aeson and the nurses of Bacchus; in the *Γῆρας* Aristophanes introduced a number of such young old men; Alciphron ii. 2 describes Epicurus as a *πάλιν μειρακιενόμενος πρεσβύτης*, cf. Merc. ii. 2. 19-28, Petronius ap. Diomed. p. 518 K. *anus recocta uino Trementibus labellis*, Anth. P. xi. 256, quoted by Vulp. where, as here, there seems to be a notion of disparagement; cf. Syr. Sent. 661 Ribbeck *Nil turpius quam utuere incipiens senex*, where Ribbeck compares Sen. Epist. 23. 10; hence *recocto* can scarcely mean merely 'brisk,' 'hale.' The *ἀπεφθός γέρον* of glossaries is obscure; it perhaps means 'a double-refined old man,' i. e. an old man in whom the qualities of old age appear in sublimated form, like gold purified by boiling: *seni recocto* would then be nearly i. q. *ueteratori*.

## LV.

THIS poem cannot have been written earlier than 699 | 55, to which year most accounts assign the dedication of Pompeius' theatre, with the adjoining piazza (*Magni ambulatione* 6); but it may be later, as Varro and Tiro Tullius, Cicero's freedman, stated that this theatre was dedicated in the *third* consulship of Pompeius (Gell. x. 1) which would remove the date to 702 | 52. Catullus is generally thought to have died two years before this; but as Jerome's Chronicle is certainly erroneous in assigning his death to 697 | 57, we are left to internal arguments, and where nothing is certain, possibilities seem worthy of mention.

Catullus describes here the laborious search he had made to find his friend Camerius, a person only known to us from this poem, but described distinctly enough as a man about town. The interest of the poem lies chiefly in the topographical notices which it contains of the fashionable

localities of Rome. Plautus may have suggested the idea, *Amph.* iv. 1. 1 sqq.

*Naucratem quem conuenire uolui in nauis non erat.  
Neque domi neque in urbe inuenio quemquam qui illum uiderit:  
Nam omnis plateas perreptauis, gymnasia et myropolia,  
Aput emporium atque in macello, in palaestra atque in foro,  
In medicinis, in lonstrinis, apud omnis aedis sacras.  
Sum defessus quaeritando, nusquam inuenio Naucratem.*

A passage repeated with slight variations *Epid.* ii. 2. 13 sqq., cf. *Ter. Ad.* iv. 6. 1-5: both doubtless in imitation of a Greek original.

This is the only poem in which the second foot of the Phalaeciac is a spondee. And even here it alternates with the regular dactyl. The effect is certainly unpleasing; but it has given by contrast an increased rapidity to the lines *Non si Pegaseo ferar uolatu—Quos iunctos, Cameri, mihi dicares*, in which Catullus has sought to express the idea of swiftness.

1. **si forte non molestum est**, a common expression, *Afranius* 95 *Ribbeck Mane, Serui, quaeso nisi molestum est*, *Ter. Ad.* v. 3. 20 *Ausculla paucis nisi molestum est*. *Cic. Cluent.* lx. 168 *Tu autem, nisi molestum est, paulisper exsurge*. The MSS. have *molestus es*, and *Roszb.* writes *molestu's* as *beatu's* XXIII. 27. 'If you are not out of humour, in a bad temper,' as perhaps in a fragment of *Caelius'* speech *De Vi* (*Quintil.* xi. 1. 51) *ne cui uestrum . . . meus aut uultus molestior aut uox immoderatio aliqua aut denique quod minimum est iactantior gestus fuisse uideatur*. *Gloss. Ball.* *Molestus iracundus amarus*.

2. **tenebrae**, 'den,' but in a somewhat less definitely local sense than *Juvenal's* *tenebras unum conducis in annum* iii. 225. *Varro ap. Non.* 120 (*Prom. Lib.* xiii *Riese*) *In tenebris ac suili uiuunt, nisi non forum hara atque homines ibi nunc plerique sues sunt existimandi*. *Sest.* ix. 20 *hominem emersum subito ex diuturnis tenebris lustrorum ac stuprorum, uino ganeis lenociniis adulteriisque confectum . . . qui ne lucem* (y. 26) *quidem insolitam adspicere posset*.

3. **campo minore**. *Becker* (*Römisch. Alterth.* i. p. 599) mentions two hypotheses as to this smaller campus: (1) that it is the ἄλλο πεδίον of *Strabo* 236 τούτων δὲ τὰ πλείστα ὁ Μάρτιος ἔχει κάμπος, πρὸς τῇ φύσει προσλαβὼν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς προνοίας κόσμον. καὶ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πεδίου θαυμαστὸν ἔμα καὶ τὰς ἀρματοδρομίας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππασίαν ἀκόλυτον παρέχον τῷ τοσοῦτῳ πλήθει τῶν σφαιρὰ καὶ κρίκῃ καὶ παλαιστρα γυμναζομένων. καὶ τὰ περιεκείμενα ἔργα καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ποῶσον δε' ἔτους καὶ τῶν λόφων στεφάναι τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέχρι τοῦ ρείθρου σκηνογραφικὴν ὄψιν ἐπιδεικνύμεναι δυσπαλάλακτον παρέχουσι τὴν θέαν. πλησίον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ πεδίου τούτου καὶ ἄλλο πεδίον καὶ στοαὶ κύκλοι πανπληθεῖς καὶ ἀλση καὶ θέατρα τρία καὶ ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ ναοὶ πολυτελεῖς καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀλλήλοις, ὡς πάρεργον ἂν δόξειεν ἀποφαίνειν τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. This ἄλλο πεδίον is supposed to be that part of the Campus Martius where the ground forms an angle with the Tiber, where the Ecuria took place (*Quid.* F. iii. 520) and the youth of Rome bathed (*Cael.* xv. 36.) *Becker* objects to this that it does not agree either with the order of the places mentioned by *Catullus*, who, on this view, ought to have mentioned the *ambulatio Pompeii* next, whereas both the Circus and the Capitol precede; nor with *Strabo* himself, who implies that this ἄλλο πεδίον was not used for purposes

of exercise. (2) It may be, as Scaliger held, the Campus Martialis on the Caelian, where the Equiria took place if the Campus Martius was flooded, Ouid. F. iii. 522, Paul Diac. p. 131 M. This would agree with its juxtaposition to the Circus Maximus, with its *tabernae librariae*. Propertius seems to allude to two Campi ii. 23. 5, 6 *Et quaerit totiens 'Quaenam nunc porticus illam Integit?' et 'Campo quo mouet illa pedes?'*

4. **Circo**, a favourite haunt of *meretrices*, Ouid. A. A. i. 135. sqq. *Nec te nobilium fugiat certamen eorum: Multa capax populi commoda Circus habet. Nil opus est digilis per quos arcana loquaris; Nec tibi per nutus accipienda nota est. Proximus a domina nullo prohibente sedeto: Iunge tuum lateri quam potes usque latus.* Am. iii. 2, Trist. ii. 283, 4. Iuuen. iii. 65, as well as of the people generally, Sen. de Ira ii. 8. 1 *Circum in quo maximam sui partem populus ostendit.* **libellis** is generally interpreted 'book-shops,' as in Mart. v. 20. 8, Priap. ii. 2, with which Scaliger and Voss compare ἐν ἰχθύδιον ἐν λαχάνοισ; so τὰ βιβλία an Attic name for the book-mart in Pollux ix. 5, *spectacula* Suet. Cal. 31. Cicero Phil. ii. 9. 21 speaks of book-shops in the forum, and Asconius on Mil. p. 34 describes the body of Clodius as burnt in the curia *codicibus librariorum* (Hertzberg, cf. Becker i. p. 599 note). Yet this use of the word seems doubtful for the age of Catullus; hence *libellis* possibly = 'placards,' either (1) announcing the sale of Camerius' effects, as insolvent (Pro Quint. vi. 25, Sen. de Ben. iv. 12), or (2) giving notice of him as a lost article. Such a *libellus* might be issued either by the master of the article lost (Prop. iii. 23. 21-24) or by the finder, who in this way intimated his discovery, and called upon the owner to claim it. In this sense *in omnibus libellis* would be a sort of παρ' ὑπόνοιαν joke; 'I have looked for you everywhere, in the smaller Campus, the Circus, every place where I was likely to hear of missing articles;' or (3) containing announcements of the horses or men exhibiting in the Circus. Cf. Ouid. A. A. i. 163-168, Iuuen. xi. 201, *libelli gladiatorum* Phil. ii. 38. 17. Camerius might appear among the names in the *libelli*, either as driving a chariot or less probably fighting as a gladiator. This would not be without precedent; in the shows exhibited somewhat later by Caesar, Furius Lepidus and Q. Calpurnus, the first a man of praetorian rank, the second a senator, fought in the arena; and young men of high rank drove *bigae* and *quadrigae* or rode as *desultores* in the Circus (Suet. Caes. 39, cf. Dio li. 22, liii. 1). Under the empire this became an acknowledged scandal (Iuuen. viii. 199 sqq.), encouraged by the senate and sometimes enforced by the emperors; it was of course well paid, hence a natural resource of bankrupt profligates. Tac. Hist. ii. 62 *Cautum seuerē (by Vitellius) ne equites Romani ludo et arena polluerentur; priores id principes pecunia ac saepius ui perpulerant; ac pleraque municipia et coloniae aemulabantur corruptissimum quemque adulescentium pretio illicere.* See Mayor on Iuuen. viii. 199.

5. **templo**, as Plautus Amph. iv. 1. 5 *apud omnis aedis sacras* mentions the temples with the gymnasia meat-markets fora medicine- and hair-cutting-shops as places where the missing Naucrates was likely to be found. **summi Iouis**, i. e. Capitolini, as Martial ix. 1. 5 calls him *summi patris*. The great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with its two side cellae of Minerva and Juno, built by Tarquinius Superbus (Tac. Hist. iii. 72, Liu. i. 55), was burnt in 671 | 83 L. *Scipione, C. Norbano consulibus* Tac. Hist. iii. 72. Sulla undertook to restore it, and some columns taken by him

from the temple of Zeus Olympios at Athens were used for the new building (Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 45), but the work was really carried out and completed by Q. Lutatius Catulus. (Verr. iv. 31. 69, ib. 38. 82.) It was dedicated by him in 685 | 69 (Liu. Perioch. 98), and his name was inscribed upon the pediment, and remained there in spite of the attempt made by J. Caesar, when praetor in 692 | 62, to have it erased (Suet. Caes. 15, Dion C. xxxvii. 44), down to the time of Vitellius, when the temple was again burnt (Tac. Hist. iii. 72, Plut. Poplic. 15). Hence Cicero Verr. iv. 31. 69 speaks of the restored temple as Catulus' *clarissimum pulcherrimumque monumentum* and declares that the eternal memory of his name was consecrated with it. **templo summi Iouis sacratio** virtually = 'temple consecrated to supreme Jupiter,' though the genitive depends rather on *templo* than *sacratio*; cf. LXI. 122. *Sacratio* is not otiose, calling attention as it does to the still new consecration of the building, and thus suggesting a further reason why idlers might be found there. Temples however were acknowledged resorts of *meretrices*. Ouid. Trist. ii. 287-294 mentions them with the theatres circus and porticoes in this connexion. *Quis locus est templis augustior? haec quoque uitet In culpam si qua est ingeniosa suam. Cum steterit Iouis aede, Iouis succurret in aede, Quam multas matres fecerit ille deus. Proxima adoranti Iunonia templa, subibit, Paelicibus multis hanc doluisse deam. Pallade conspecta natum de crimine uirgo Sustulerit quare, quare, Erichthonium a passage which seems to refer to the Capitoline temple with its three cellae of Jupiter Juno and Minerva. Seneca ap. Augustin. de Ciuit. Dei vi. 10 shows how religious pretexts drew women there *Sunt quae Iunoni ac Mineruae capillos disponant longe a templo non tantum a simulacro stantes, digitos moueant orantium modo. . . Sedent quaedam in Capitolio quae se a Ioue amari putant nec Iunonis quidem si credere poetis uelis iracundissimae respectu terrentur.* Tertullian Apologet. 15 *Si adiciam in templis adulteria componi, inter aras lenocinia tractari, in ipsis plerumque aediluerum et sacerdotum tabernaculis sub isdem uittis et apicibus et purpuris ture flagrante libidinem expungi* where Rigault quotes Suet. Tib. 44. See Döllinger Gentile and Jew ii. pp. 184, 197 Eng. Transl.*

**6. Magni.** A name given to Pompeius by Sulla on his return from the war in Africa, 674 | 80, Plut. Pomp. 13, Reg. et Imp. Apophthegm. *Pompeius.* Cicero uses the name Att. ii. 13. 2, written 695 | 59 *Quanto in odio noster amicus Magnus! cuius cognomen una cum Crassi Diuitis cognomine consensescit* (Mayor on Phil. ii. 26. 64): in another letter of the same year he says *ludis Apollinaribus* (July 5) *Diphilus tragoedus in nostrum Pompeium petulanter inuectus est. Nostra miseria tu es Magnus; milies coactus est dicere.* The name must therefore have been familiarly known at this time. **ambulatione**, the Porticus Pompeii, adjoining the theatre which Pompeius built in his second<sup>1</sup> consulship 699 | 55 (Plut. Pomp. 52, Vell. P. ii. 48, Asconius in Pisonian. pp. 1, 15). Cicero speaks of it De Fato iv. 8 written apparently 710 | 44 *Quid enim loci natura afferre*

<sup>1</sup> Gellius states (N. A. x. 1) that Pompeius dedicated the temple of Victory which surmounted his theatre in his *third* consulship, and that in consequence of the doubt whether *consul tertio* or *tertium* was better grammar, he inscribed upon his theatre at the advice of Cicero TERT. This story is given on the authority of Varro and Tiro Tullius, Cicero's freedman; Asconius in Pison. p. 1, seems to show that the earlier date was questioned in his time. See the note in Becker, Röm. Alterth. i. p. 676.



*potest ut in porticu Pompeii potius quam in Campo ambulemus?* Propertius describes it in his time as planted with planes and hung with tapestry ii. 32. 11 *Scilicet umbrosis sordet Pompeia columnis Porticus aulaeis nobiliss Attalicis Et creber platanis pariter surgentibus ordo.* It was much frequented by courtesans, Prop. iv. 8. 75, Ouid. A. A. i. 67.

7. **Femellas** seems to be *ἀν. λεγ.* 'light women.' **prendi**, 'accosted,' as in And. ii. 1. 16, Phorm. iv. 3. 15. So Ouid. A. A. ii. 527 *Excuties omnes ubicumque puellas.*

8. 'But found they faced me sedately notwithstanding.' **tamen**, 'after all,' in spite of my earnestness and decided suspicion. **serenas**, with no trace of a cloud on their faces.

9. **Auellent** expresses as an indignant protest in the third person what would more naturally take the form of a direct question in the second: so XLVII. 6, 7. **ipse**, 'with my own lips,' a sign of determination. So perhaps CVI. 1 *uidet ipse*, 'sees with his own eyes.' **flagitabam**. XLII. 6.

10. **Camerium**. This resolution in the first foot of a Phalaeiac occurs here only. **pessimae puellae**, 'shameful wenches,' reproachfully, as in XXXVI. 9.

11. **nudum reducta**, proleptic, 'with her bosom drawn back bare,' i. e. with the robe drawn back from her bosom so as to leave it bare. The action, done so openly, implies a *meretrix* of the less refined class, such as Propertius describes iv. 8. 29-34 as using all their blandishments to distract him from thinking of Cynthia, *Cantabant surdo, nudabant pectora caeco* ib. 47.

12. 'Look, this is where he is hiding, in the rosebuds of the bosom.' Not, I think, 'of my bosom;' she only points to her own breast as a lively and natural way of showing Catullus what his friend is about. **papilla** means (1) the nipple of the breast, (2) a rosebud, *Peruigilium Veneris* 14, 21; hence a special propriety in *roseis*. Plato describes Love as sleeping in roses, fr. 32 Bergk *αὐτὸς δ' ἐν καλύκεσσι ῥόδων πεπεδημένος ὕπνῳ Ἐὐδεν μειδύων*, cf. Anth. P. v. 210. 4. The passage has been imitated by Ben Jonson *Masques At Court* 1608 *Look all these ladies' eyes, And see if there he not concealed lies, Or in their bosoms twixt their swelling breasts, The wag affects to make himself such nests.*

13. 'But indeed it is a task for Hercules to bear with you any longer.' **ferre**, as in Heaut. i. 2. 28 *nam quem ferret, si parentem non ferret suum?* Anth. Lat. 701 *Riese Accusare et amare tempore uno Ipsi uix fuit Herculi ferendum.* The only other meaning it could have 'to carry you off' as a prize, as *Hercules aurea mala tulit* (Mart. ix. 101. 4, quoted by Voss) is strained and does not suit *tam* so well. **Herculei labos**, both archaic forms. Nonius 487 *Vapor et uapos et timor et timos et labor et labos ita sunt ut color et colos*; he quotes Lucretius for *odos* (VI. 952), Naeuius for *timos pauos*, Accius for *uapos*, Varro for *labos* (Manius xxii Riese). Varro has besides *colos* (Prometh. iii Riese). Lachmann on Lucr. vi. 1260 adds *honus lepos arbos*, and observes that except *arbos* they all have the first syllable short. Quintilian i. 4. 13 where *clamos* is also mentioned, regards the form as an archaism like *Valesii Fusii*, but *clamos* is not known to exist in any author certainly, and Mr. Nettleship has shown that it has a very doubtful right to be ascribed to Ennius (Camb. Journal of Philology, 1870 p. 98). With *Herculei labos* cf. Varro's *Herculis athla* Bimarcus ix,

Eum. xii Riese. Catullus perhaps thought of the first lines of Plautus' Persa (i. 1. 1-5) *Qui amans egens ingressus est princeps amoris in vias Superavit aerumnis suis aerumnas omnis Herculi. Nam cum leone cum excetra cum ceruo cum apro Aetolico, Cum auibus Stymphalicis, cum Antaeo deluctari mauelīm Quam cum amore: ita fio miser quaerundo argento mutuo.*

14. 'With such determined pride you withhold your company.' **Tanto**, as *tantum* XXII. 11, and *ita* in the lines of the Persa just quoted. **In** as in Bacch. iv. 9. 91 *in stultitia si deliqui*. In such cases *in* is not pleonastic, but expresses a *course* of conduct.

15-24. To search for you would task the strongest and swiftest personages of mythology. 15-18 are imitated by Propertius ii. 30. 3-6 *Non si Pegaseo uecteris in aere dorso Nec tibi si Persei mouerit ala pedes. Vel si te sectae raptant talaribus aurae Nil tibi Mercurii proderit alta uia*. Victorius compares Alexis (Mein. Com. Fragm. iii. 476) Ἐμοὶ παρασιτεῖν κρείττον ἦν τῷ Πηγάσῳ ἢ τοῖς Βορέαδαις ἢ εἰ τι θάττων ἔτι τρέχει ἢ Δημέα Λάχητος Ἐπεοβουτάδῃ. Πέτεται γάρ, οὐκ οἶον βαδίξει τὰς ὁδοὺς.

15. **custos Cretum**. Talos, a giant or gigantic moveable statue of brass, fabricated by Hephaistos for Minos to guard Crete. Talos made a circuit of Crete three times a year (Plato Minos 15) or three times a day (Apollod. i. 9. 26) warning off intruders, and killing them if they resisted, according to Simonides and Sophocles in his Daedalus by leaping into fire, and then crushing them in a red-hot embrace. Schol. Plato p. 926. 31, Apollod. i. 9. 26 Ἐπευθεὺν ἀναχθέντες κωλύονται Κρήτη προσίσχεν ὑπὸ Τάλω. τοῦτον οἱ μὲν τοῦ χαλκοῦ γένους εἶναι λέγουσιν· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου Μίνωϊ δοθῆναι. ὃς ἦν χαλκοῦ ἀνὴρ· οἱ δὲ Ταῦρον αὐτὸν λέγουσιν. εἶχε δὲ φλέβα μίαν ἀπὸ αὐχένου κατατείνουσαν ἄχρι σφυρῶν· κατὰ δὲ τὸ δέρμα τῆς φλεβὸς ἦλος διήρειστο χαλκοῦς. οὗτος ὁ Τάλως τρὶς ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τὴν νῆσον περιτροχάζων ἐτήρει· διὸ καὶ τότε τὴν Ἄργω προσπλέουσαν θεωρῶν τοῖς λίθοις ἔβαλλεν. The scene is described by Apollonius Argon. iv. 1636 sqq. **inguar**, should be wrought into the legendary statue which guarded Crete. So Tib. iv. 1. 206 *mutata figura Seu me finget ecum rigidos percurrere campos*.

16. **Pegaseo**. Ov. Pont. iv. 7. 52 *Ante citos quantum Pegasus ibat equos*.

17. **Ladas**. Paus. iii. 21. 1 Προελθόντι δὲ αὐτόθεν σταδίους εἴκοσι τοῦ Εὐρώτα τὸ ρέυμα ἐγγυτάτω τῆς ὁδοῦ γίγνεται, καὶ Λάδα μνημῆ ἐστὶν ὠκύτητι ὑπερβαλλομένου ποδῶν τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐστεφανοῦτο δολίχῳ κρατῶν, δοκεῖν δέ μοι κάμων αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐκομίζετο, καὶ συμβάσης ἐναυθα οἱ τελευτῆς ὁ τάφος ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὴν λεωφόρον. Τὸν δὲ ὁμώνυμον τοῦτῳ νίκην καὶ αὐτὸν Ὀλυμπίασι πλὴν οὐ δολίχου σταδίου δὲ ἀνελόμενον Ἄχαιον ἐξ Αἰγίου φησὶν εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας Ἡλείων γράμματα. In ii. 19. 7 Pausanias mentions a statue of him, τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς Λάδας, ποδῶν ὠκύτητι ὑπερβαλλόμενος τοὺς ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, and a Ladas' stadium on the road to the Arcadian Orchomenus viii. 12. 3. The other Ladas mentioned by Pausanias iii. 21. 1, x. 23. 14 as a native of Aegium in Achaia and victor in the stadium Ol. 125. 2 was less famous; but the two names were probably confounded. According to Hesychius *λάδας* was the name of a young stag.

18. **Rhesi**. The Thracian king whose snow-white horses were captured by Ulysses and Diomed on the night of his arrival at Troy as the ally of Priam. **niueae**, Il. x. 437 Τοῦ δὴ καλλίστους ἵππους ἴδον ἠδὲ μεγίστους. Λευκότεροι χιόνος, θείειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοιοί. Eur. Rhes. 301 ὄρῳ δὲ

ῥήσον ὥστε δαίμονα Ἐστῶτ' ἐν ἰππέοισι Θρηκίους ὄχοις. Χρυσῆ δὲ πλάστιγξ αὐχένα ζυγηφόρον Πάλων ἔκλθε χιόνος ἐξανγεστέρων. The order of these four vv. 15-18, altered by Muretus and some modern editors, seems to me unexceptionable: *ferar* must of course be supplied in 17, 18. The recurrence of *si* in the two first lines (15, 16) makes its omission less harsh in the two following (17, 18); on the other hand there is something strange and painful to the ear if the first *si* is separated from the second, to say nothing of the changes thus required in 18, *bigis* (Muret.) *biga* (Rossb.), the latter certainly wrong, unless the objection brought by Caesar against *quadriga* (Gell. xix. 8) may be held not to apply to *biga*, which is found in Statius S. iii. 4. 46.

19. **plumipedas**, 'feather-footed,' B. Jonson, such as ὁ περρόπους Ἐρμῆς Philodemus in Anthol. P. xvi. 234. 4. For the form cf. *tremipedas* in Varro's Sexagesis xxi Riese. **uolatilesque**, e. g. Daedalus, Zetes and Calais, who *Impubes Calaisque puer Zetesque fuerunt. Mox pariter ritu pennae coepere uolucrum Cingere utrumque latus, pariter flauescere malae* Ov. Met. vi. 716. Theognis joins them with the Harpies 715, ὁ Ἀκύτερος δ' εἴησθα πόδας ταχέων Ἀρπυιών Καὶ παίδων Βορέω, τῶν ἄφαρ εἴρι πόδες.

20, 21. 'And with them ask for the fleetness of the winds, that you might yoke them together and make them over to my service.'

21. **iunctos** seems to combine the meanings of 'yoked' and 'all together,' the winds are to be harnessed in a team. **dicares**, as Phorm. i. 1. 12 *hanc operam tibi dico*, Caesar B. G. vi. 13 *sese in seruitutem dicant nobilibus*.

23. **langoribus**, 'one faintness after another.' Heaut. iv. 6. 2, 3 *Vel me haec deambulatio Quam non laboriosa ad langorem dedit*. The spondaic rhythm, following seven dactylic lines, suits the idea of labour and exhaustion. **peresus essem**, 'I should be devoured,' not 'I should have been devoured.' See on LXIV. 317. Here the combination of *peresus* with *defessus* takes from the harshness of the construction.

25-32. 'Tell me where I shall have a chance of finding you. If you are in love, speak it out; the whole enjoyment of love lies in frank acknowledgment. Or if you are determined to keep your lips shut, I will bear it, provided only you listen to my own confessions.'

25. **Dic nobis ubi sis futurus**. Att. xiv. 7. 1 *Brutum nostrum audio uisum sub Lanuuo. Vbi tandem est futurus?* **ede**, 'give out,' Iuuen. iii. 74, 296. Here, as there, *ede* seems to *begin* a clause; to make *ubi sis futurus* depend upon it, takes from the abruptness and so from the force of the line.

26. **Audacter** stands doubtfully between *ede* and *committe*, and might be constructed with either. **committe** is also ambiguous (1) 'risk it,' absolutely, somewhat like Ouid. Met. ix. 630, (2) 'entrust it' with *lucē*. Heaut. v. 2. 13 *Ei commisi et credidi*, Att. xv. 11. 1 *Auctor non sum ut te urbi committas*, Pis. xxvii. 65 *Da te populo, committe ludis*. **lucē**, 'to-day-light,' i. e. to publicity Lucr. iv. 1188.

27. If **Nunc** is right, the meaning would seem to be 'are you still in the keeping of light women?' as I know you are always likely to be (7). *Hunc te*, the reading of the excellent British Museum MS. a, would however agree better with what follows. 'Is this the kind of man you prove, you the

devoted slave of fair women?' i. e. can a man so devoted to love be so resolutely reserved? *Num te*, the reading of most editions, though not unlike LX. 1 *Num te laena montibus Libystinis*, seems to put the question too doubtfully. *lacteolae*, γαλακτόχρωτες, a rare word, used also by Ausonius Epist. vii. 46 of the flesh of a muscle. Martial iii. 58. 22 uses *lacteus* in describing the smooth healthy look of country slaves. It seems to combine the whiteness (*candor* Tib. iii. 4. 29, Prop. ii. 3. 9, 10, Stat. S. ii. 1. 41) which the Romans considered essential to beauty, with a further idea of glossiness, perhaps also of fresh fair colour. That the notion of *whiteness* is the dominant one is however clear from Prop. ii. 3. 11, 12 *Vi Maeotica nix minio si certet Hiberno, Vique rosae puro lacte natant folia*, Lucretius' *candens lacteus umor*, Varro's *candidum lacte, candidi lactis*.

28. *tenes* after *tenent* in 27 is a carelessness worthy of Lucretius.

29. A sentiment strongly in opposition to the common one, *Qui sapit in tacito gaudeat ille sinu* (Tib. iv. 13. 8): but cf. VI and Prop. i. 9. 33. φανερός ἐρᾶν is a sentiment approved by Plato Symp. 182. **Fructus amoris**, as in Prop. iii. 20. 30, and Lucr. iv. 1073 *Nec Veneris fructu caret is qui uitat amorem*.

30. *gaudet*, as one of the *pabula amoris* Lucr. iv. 1063.

31. *palatum* is more generally used in expressions of gluttony, or of things that affect the taste; with its use here cf. Hor. S. ii. 3. 274, Pers. i. 35, Ouid. Am. ii. 6. 47. **obseres palatum** is a variation upon κλεινὸν στόμα (Phoen. 865), but more defined; not shutting the mouth only, but placing the tongue against the palate and so closing it up to prevent any articulate utterance. This again is rather like Lucretius.

32. The MSS. are strongly against the common reading *uestri sim*, most of them having **nostri**, all **sis**. The only sense which *uestri sim* admits of 'you may keep as quiet as you will, provided only you take me into the confidence of yourself and your mistress' (*uestri*), i. e. in effect 'tell me and then, if you please, tell no one else,' is not only an arrogant dictation which Camerius might well resent, but weak, if not ridiculous, for it is not Camerius whose mouth we should expect to be closed after such a confession, but Catullus himself; just as Propertius, admitted to the fullest confidence of Gallus and his mistress, promises his friend that he may count *thenceforward* on his secrecy, (i. 10. 1-14.) Whereas if we keep the MSS. reading all is plain. 'I have been looking for you all over Rome, have asked every woman I met where you were, have exhausted myself in my attempts. Do say where I shall find you: if you are in the custody of a light woman, to confess it will add to your pleasures; but you need not confess it; all I care for is to be able to find you and tell you my own secrets.'

## LVI.

It is doubtful who the Cato addressed here is. The general character of M. Porcius Cato makes it unlikely that he admitted Catullus to his society; while there is no positive proof that the two men knew each other. The only other Cato of any celebrity at the time was the grammarian and poet,

Valerius Cato; and since Statius and Scaliger (Praef. ad Diras) he has been generally accepted as the poet's friend. Suetonius (Gramm. 11) tells us he came from Gaul, and having lost his property in the confiscations of Sulla *docuit multos et nobiles; uisusque est peridoneus praeceptor maxime ad poeticam tendentibus; ut quidem apparere uel his uersiculis potest Cato Grammaticus, Latina Siren, Qui solus legit ac facit poetas*. Besides grammatical treatises he wrote poems, the principal of which were *Lydia* and *Diana*, the former praised by Ticiada, the latter by Cinna. He lived to extreme old age and died in great poverty, as is shown by two epigrams of Furius Bibaculus, with whom he is classed by Messala Corvinus as a *literator* (Suet. Gramm. 4). Ovid mentions him with the other licentious writers of the time, Trist. ii. 433 *Quid referam Ticiadae, quid Menmi carmen, apud quos Rebus abest omnis nominibusque pudor? Cinna quoque his comes est Cinnaque procacior Anser Et leue Cornifici parque Catonis opus*. All these men, like the others there enumerated by Ovid, Catullus Calvus Hortensius Servius,<sup>1</sup> formed, as Schwabe remarks (Quaestt. p. 309), a kind of literary guild for the improvement of Latin poetry. They were the new school, οἱ νεώτεροι Att. vii. 2. 1, the *cantores Euphorionis* Tusc. Disp. iii. 19. 45, the *docti*, the followers and rivals of Callimachus and the Alexandrian poets. In addressing Cato, Catullus would thus be addressing a countryman, a literary associate, and a man not likely to be offended by mere indelicacy.

In spite of this, I am inclined to think that Catullus may have meant this poem for M. Porcius Cato, the statesman and philosopher. The portrait of him given by Plutarch shows him to have had a humorous and even coarse side, Plut. 5 τὸ ἦθος αὐτοῦ καταμιγνύμενον ἡδονῇ τινα καὶ μειδιᾶμα τῷ σεμνῷ παρέιχεν οὐκ ἀπάνθρωπον; cf. the story of his forcing his friend Munatius to sleep near him, in order more literally to fulfil the latter's promise of keeping a watch upon him day and night (ib. 9); his remark to the populace on Cicero's banter ὁ ἄνδρες ὡς γελοίου ὑπατον ἔχομεν (21); his reception of Ptolemy ἐτύγχανε μὲν ὡν τότε περὶ κοιλίας κάθαρσιν, ἦκειν δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, εἰ βούλοιστο, κελύστας πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν, οὔτε ἀπαντήσας οὔτε ὑπεξαναστᾶς (35); his distribution of parsley chaplets vegetables and jars of wine to the successful performers in the theatre on the election of Favonius as aedile, with his remark παίζοντα δεῖ τῇ παιδιᾷ χρῆσθαι (46); lastly the stories, no doubt exaggerated, but probably based on something real, of his fondness for wine, ib. 6, and 44 αἰρεθεῖς στρατηγὸς οὐδὲν ἔδοξε προστιθέναι τῇ ἀρχῇ τοσοῦτον εἰς σεμνότητα καὶ μέγεθος ἄρχων καλῶς, ὅσον ἀφαιρεῖν καὶ κατασχέειν ἀνυπόδητος καὶ ἀχίτων πολλὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προερχόμενος . . . "Ἐνοιὶ δὲ φασι μετ' ἄριστον οἶνον πεπωκότα χρηματίζειν. Plin. Epist. iii. 12 *Erunt officia antelucana in quae incidere inprune ne Catoni quidem licuit, quem tamen C. Caesar ita reprehendit ut laudet. Describit enim eos quibus obuius fuerat, cum caput ebrii relexissent, erubuisse: deinde adicit putares non ab illis Catonem, sed illos a Catone deprehensos*. Some of these stories no doubt supplied Caesar with materials for his *Anticato*, a work which even Cicero warmly approved (Att. xiii. 50. 1). They are sufficient to make the connexion of his name with a coarse poem at least not impossible. In the poem itself there is nothing which obliges us to suppose that Catullus was more than acquainted with Cato. The

<sup>1</sup> Servius is the MS. reading. Can it be Servius Claudius, mentioned by Cicero Fam. ix. 16. 4, as *litteratissimus*, an expert critic of Plautus, and by Suet. Gramm. 2?

familiar tone might very well be assumed. It would probably more than half offend the receiver; but Catullus, whose sympathies with a man like Cato would not extend much beyond their common hatred of Caesar, may have written it, if not with that intention, at least with no wish to avoid it. It will not, I think, be denied that the point of the epigram, such as it is, is increased if we read it in this light. The juxtaposition of *Cato Catullum* has little force in reference to Valerius Cato; the moment we think of the grim Stoic, whose name was already proverbial, (Plut. Cat. 12. οὐ πάντες ὑμῖν ἀφίξονται Κάτωνες, 19 πολλοὺς ἤδη περὶ τῶν ἀπίστων καὶ παραδόξων ὥσπερ ἐν παροιμίᾳ τινὶ λέγειν ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ Κάτωνος λέγοντος πιθανόν ἐστι . . . Plin. Epist. iii. 21 *Tunc me uel rigidi legant Catones*), the antithesis to the loose and reckless poet makes itself felt humorously. In fact the three last lines look like a parody: not so much perhaps of Cato's general style (which would seem to have been verbose) as of particular expressions. *Deprendi* corresponds to the ἐξελέγχειν which recurs so often in Plutarch's biography (Cat. 16, 45, 46, 49, 59, 64) and was perhaps often in the mouth of so determined a reformer of abuses. With *Dignam auribus* cf. ἄρξομαι λέγειν ὅταν μὴ μέλλω λέγειν ἄξια σιωπῆς (Plut. 4): *si placet Dionae* recalls Cato's ἔλεγε μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν ἀκούσης τῆς Ἀφροδίτης: *Ridiculam* and *cachinno* are not only specially applicable to a Stoic (Pers. i. 121) but quite agree with Cato's behaviour on ludicrous occasions (Plut. Cato 13 τοῖς μὲν οὖν φίλοις τοῦ Κάτωνος γέλωσ ἐπέπεσε τοσοῦτος, ὥστε ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτοὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο διὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἅμα βαδίζοντες, ὁ δὲ Κάτων τότε μὲν ἰσχυρῶς διατραπεῖς. ὦ τῆς κακοδαίμονος, ἔφη, πόλεως, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐφθέγγετο, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον εἰώθει γελᾶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ διηγούμενος καὶ μνημονεύων). Lastly there is a peculiar propriety in these verses as addressed to Cato; for, as Westphal observes, the first lines are an imitation of Archilochus, and Plutarch expressly tells us that Cato, disappointed of marrying Lepida, and prevented by his friends from bringing a law-suit against Scipio her husband, ὀργῇ καὶ νεότητι τρέψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἰάμβους πολλὰ τὸν Σκηπίωνα καθύβρισε τῷ πικρῷ προσχρησάμενος τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου, τὸ δὲ ἀκόλαστον ἀφείσκει καὶ παιδαριῶδες (7).

The incident itself, if my view of it is right, is a piece of childish precocity, such as might have pleased Sterne, and which has its counterpart in the mock marriage of two children, one a girl of seven, in Petron. S. 25. I cannot agree with Schwabe in explaining the poem simply of *stuprum cum masculo* Quaestt. p. 144, a view which lays too much stress on the last line, or with Westphal who interprets *rupulum puellae* to mean one of Lesbia's paramours, the *pusilli moechi* of XXXVII. 16. If *puellae* is genitive, *rupulum* may be Clodius, the *pusio* of Cael. xv. 36.

1. Probably imitated, as Westphal thinks, from Archilochus (fr. 79 Bergk) Ἐρασμονίδη Χαρίλαε, χρῆμά τοι γελοῖον Ἐρέω, πολὺ φίλταθ' ἐταίρων, τέρψεται δ' ἀκούων.

2. 'As worthy of your attentive ears and your loud laugh.' Caecina in a letter to Cicero Fam. vi. 7. 3 *tot malis tum uinctum tum fractum studium scribendi quid dignum auribus aut probabile potest afferre?* of a composition worth hearing. Brut. ii. 6 *uoce erudita et Romanis Graecisque auribus digna.* *cachinno*, as became a Stoic. Pers. i. 12 *sapientum digna cachinno*, Prudent. c. Symm. ii. 403. *tuo* with the second noun refers to *auribus* as well. Hor. S. ii. 2, 42.

3. **quicquid amas**, 'as you've any love for Catullus.' Variation of the ordinary *si me amas* Att. i. 20. 7, ii. 1. 12.

4. **nimis**, 'ever so amusing.' A word of ordinary life and the Comedians.

5. **Deprendi**, possibly at some nocturnal festival. Aelian. V. H. vii. 19 "Ἕκουσα δὲ κυνοκεφάλους καὶ παρθενοῖς ἐπιμανῆαι καὶ μέντοι καὶ βιάσασθαι, ὑπέρ τὰ μεϊράκια τὰ τοῦ Μενάνδρου τὰ ἐν ταῖς παννυχίσιον ἀκόλαστα. *Deprehendere* of persons taken in adultery or the like, Fam. viii. 7. 2 *Seruius Ocella nemini persuassisset se moechum esse, nisi triduo bis deprehensus esset* (a letter of Caelius'). Hor. S. i. 2. 134, Val. Max. vi. 1. 13 *Sempronius Musca C. Gallium deprehensum in adulterio flagellis cecidit*.

**pupulum**, which Varro uses of the eye-ball Papiapapae i. 3. Riese, Arnobius of a doll, seems here to be i. q. *pupum*, a word of endearment used by the common people = *pusionem* or *puerulum*. Suet. Calig. 13 *laetissimo obuiorum agmine incessit super fausta omnia sidus et pullum et pupum et alumnum appellantium*, cf. Varro Tithonus iii Riese, 'a tiny doll of a boy.' **puellae** seems to be dative of motion towards, as in Aen. iv. 451, vi. 178, 126, xi. 193 (Dräger p. 394). The only other hypothesis possible is that it is genitive after *pupulum*; then *puellae* will probably be Lesbia.

6. **Trusantem**, though apparently ἄπ. λεγ., is probably genuine, cf. *mola trusatilis*. Phaedrus ii. 7. 8 uses *trusitare* in the sense of 'jostling,' ὄστιζεσθαι, which Aristophanes constructs with a dative Acharn. 844, Lys. 330; but nothing proves such a construction to be possible with the Latin word. It is doubtless used sens. obscen. **si placet Dionae**, a variation upon *si dis placet*, expresses humorously the monstrosity of the act: see Ad. iii. 4. 30, Eun. v. 3. 10, Pis. xvi. 38, Liu. vi. 40 *perpetuos, si dis placet, tribunos*: 'Dione's pardon on the deed,' or 'out upon the deed, Dione.' I do not agree with Prof. Key's view that *si* here = *sic*, 'so heaven ordains:' the meaning literally seems to be 'if the gods approve such an outrage,' implying that they scarcely can. **Dionae**, the mother of Venus, Il. v. 370. Possibly Catullus alludes to this passage jocosely. Diomed had just wounded Venus in the hand, and Venus appeals to her mother against him. Catullus takes upon himself the part of Dione, the assertion of innocence against violence.

7. **Protelo**, properly applied to a team of oxen drawing in even successive pulls. (Munro on Lucr. ii. 531.) There is of course a double entendre (*pro telo*). **rigida like tenta** LXXX. 6. So Mart. ix. 47. 6. **cecidi** Lucilius ap. Non. 21 *uetulam atque uirosam Vxorrem caedam potius quam castrem egomet me*. So παράσσειω Lucian \*Ἐπορες 53. The word is probably chosen as suiting *pupulum* in the sense of flogging *ferula scuticaque cecidit* Suet. Gramm. 9.

## LVII.

THIS poem is one of the series aimed at Mamurra; a series which includes besides XLI XLIII, the five epigrams on Mentula XCIV CV CXIV CXV CXVI, for we can scarcely doubt that the Mentula of those is identical with Mamurra, the *diffutula mentula* of XXIX. 13. If Jungclaussen is right in suggesting that the pseudonym was adopted by the poet after his reconciliation with Caesar (Suet. Caes. 73) to avoid giving offence, those five poems were probably written later than either XXIX

or this. Which of these two was written first, it is not easy to decide. We can scarcely argue from the words of Suetonius (Caes. 73) *uersiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulaerat* that LVII gave Caesar more offence than XXIX; for the iambs are far more incisive than the hendecasyllables, and would be remembered when these were forgotten.

The idea of the poem is reproduced by Martial viii. 35 :

*Cum sitis similes paresque uita  
Vxor pessima, pessimus maritus,  
Miror non bene conuenire nobis.*

1. The same line ends the poem, as in XVI XXXVI. Mart. vii. 26. **conuenit**, 'An admirable agreement!' Mart. viii. 35. 3. **improbis**, 'shameless,' LXVIII. 126, Iuuen. iv. 106 *improbior satiram scribente cinaedo*, ix. 63 *Improbus es, cum poscis, ait*. Hence very often it passes into 'lewd' as in Prop. iv. 4. 44 *Improba uirgineo lecta ministra foco*.

2. The **que**, joined as it is with **pathico**, and thus standing between **Mamurrae** and **Caesarique**, distributes the vice equally to both.

3. **Maculae**, 'marks of infamy.' Declam. in Salust. vi. 16 *Nonne tibi uiderer aeternas inurere maculas, quas reliqua uita tua eluere non posset?* Catullus perhaps means a secondary reference to the marks sometimes found on the bodies of twins. Suet. Aug. 80 *Corpore traditur maculoso, dispersis per pectus atque aluum genetiuis notis*. **utrisque** expresses their community with each other, as separate from other men. *Utrique* would separate the two personalities from each other.

4. **Vrbana**, 'of city dye,' i. e. Roman.

5. **Impressae**, stamped (1) as natural marks, Varro Papiapapae iv Riese *laculla in mento impressa amoris digitulo*, (2) as *stigmata* Petron. S. 105, brands which cannot be washed out. **resident**, as we might say 'are settled in the bone.' Truc. Prol. 7 *in uobis resident mores pristini. eluentur*. Cf. Plaut. Poen. i. 1. 70 *Inest amoris macula huic homini in pectore Sine damno magno quae elui neutiquam potest*. Caelius writing to Cicero (Fam. viii. 14. 4) *Persuasum est ei censuram lomentum* (wash for the skin) *aut nitrum esse. Errare mihi uidetur: nam sordes eluere uult, uenas sibi omnes et uiscera aperit*.

6, 7, I have punctuated, as the correspondence of pause indicates, in the middle: similarly 8, 9. These four lines explain what the *maculae* are.

6. **Morbosi**, 'disordered,' in the special application to unnatural lust nearly i. q. *pathici*. Priap. xlvi. 1. 2 *O non candidior puella Mauro, Sed morbosior omnibus cinaedis*. Iuuen. ii. 17, ix. 49. See Bentley on Hor. C. i. 37. 9, 10. **gemelli**, 'true twins.' Verr. iii. 66. 155 *Volo mi frater fraterculo tuo credas: consorti quidem in lucris atque furtis gemino et simillimo nequitia improbitate audacia*.

7. Haupt is no doubt right in pointing out the connexion of **erudituli** with **lectulo**. The *lectulus* was as much a sofa for reading or lounging upon (Ouid. Trist. i. 11. 38), as a bed for sleeping in (Att. xiv. 13. 5). In LI Catullus composes his poem to Licinius on the very *lectulus* where he has been tossing about all night in the attempt to sleep: and so Pliny Ep. v. 5. 5 *Visus est sibi per nocturnam quietem iacere in lectulo suo compositus in habitu studentis, habere ante se scrinium; but*



ordinarily no doubt they were kept separate, and perhaps Catullus means no more than that Mamurra and Caesar were inseparables in their every day life, and shared each other's studies. This does not make it necessary to remove the stop after *lectulo*, for *lectulo* connotes more than the idea of *erudituli*, and forms so to speak only a step to it: is therefore separable and admits a pause in the metre. **erudituli**, 'with a taste for learning,' apparently another ἀπ. λεγ. Mamurra must have tried poetry if he is the Mentula of CV. Caesar, besides his Commentaries, *reliquit et de Anabologia libros duos et Anticatones totidem ac praeterea poema quod inscribitur Iter. Quorum librorum primos in transitu Alpium cum ex citeriore Gallia conuentibus peractis ad exercitum rediret; sequentes sub tempus Mundensis proelii fecit; nouissimum dum ab Vrbe in Hispaniam ulteriorem quarto et uicesimo die peruenit. Epistolae quoque eius ad Senatum extant . . . . . Extant et ad Ciceronem item ad familiares domesticis de rebus, in quibus si qua occultius perferenda erant per notas scripsit, id est, sic structo litterarum ordine, ut nullum uerbum effici posset . . . . . Feruntur et a puero et ab adulescentulo quaedam scripta, ut Laudes Herculis, tragoedia Oedipus, item Dicta Collectanea, quos omnes libellos ueluit Augustus publicari.* Catullus probably alludes mainly to his fondness for grammatical questions; A. Gellius who calls him *grauis auctor linguae Latinae* (iv. 16. 8) and *sermonis praeter alios suae aetatis castissimi* (XIX. 8. 3) gives some of his views; he made the dative sing. of the 4th decl. end in *u*, not *ui*; the genitive singular of the 5th in *e*, not in *ei* (iv. 16. 8, ix. 14. 25); denied that *harena* could be used in the plural, *quadrigae* in the singular (xix. 8); points which he probably discussed at length in the two books *De Analogia* addressed to Cicero (Gell. xix. 8. 3). In a letter to Atticus (xiii. 52) Cicero, who had just entertained him at dinner, says *σπουδαίον οὐδὲν in sermone; φιλόλογα multa.*

**8. quam . . magis.** So Lucilius i. 32 *Inritata canes quam homo quam (sc. literam r) planius dicit*, where L. Müller compares this line and Tib. iv. 7. 8 *Ne legat id nemo quam meus ante uelim.* **uorax**, in close connexion with **adulter**; each had a boundless appetite for adulteries; Cicero says of Piso *uerbum ipsum (uoluptatem) deuorarat* (Sest. x. 23). Mamurra's adulteries are described in XXIX: of Caesar Suetonius says *plurimas et illustres feminas corrupisse; in quibus Postumiam Seruii Sulpicii, Lolliam Auli Gabinii, Tertullam M. Crassi, etiam Cn. Pompeii Muciam . . . . . Sed ante alias dilexit M. Bruti matrem Seruiliam. Ne provincialibus quidem matrimonii abstinuisset uel hoc disticho apparet, iactato aequae militibus per Gallicum triumphum: Urbani seruate uxores, moechum caluum adducimus. Aurum in Gallia effutuisti, at hic sumpsisti mutuum. Dilexit et reginas inter quas Eunoen Mauram, Bogudis uxorem . . . sed maxime Cleopatram* (Caes. 50, 51, 52).

**9.** 'Rival partners in the company of the fair.' **sociei** seems to be ambiguous taken singly; *sociei puellularum* would naturally mean 'associates of light women:' preceded by **Riuales** it bears the further notion of 'partners in,' the *puellulae* forming a *societas*, in which Mamurra and Caesar had not only equal shares, but each the shares of the other; what was *proprium* to one was shared by him with the other, and the *totum* thus belonged to both and neither. For *socius* followed by a similar genitive cf. Rosc. Amer. xl. 117 *At uero T. Roscius non unum rei pecuniariae socium fefellit . . . uerum nouem homines honestissimos, eiusdem muneris*

*legationis officii mandatorumque socios induxit.* Propertius ii. 34. 15-18 *Te socium uitae, te corporis esse licebit, Te dominum admitto rebus, amice, meis. Lecto te solum, lecto te deprecor uno. Riualem possum non ego ferre Iouem,* connects the ideas of partnership and rivalry in much the same way. This seems to me better than Scaliger's 'friendly rivals in the love of women,' i. e. rivals but not enemies; or Haupt's 'rivals and lovers of women at once,' 'qui et socii sint amatoresque puellarum et riuales eandem tanquam pathici.'

## LVIII.

CATULLUS must have written this at a very late stage of his passion for Lesbia. Jungclaussen (pp. 16, 19) refers it to the year 698 | 56, in which Catullus is supposed to have returned from Bithynia. During his absence Clodia had become notorious, as we see from Cicero's speech *Pro Caelio*, probably delivered at the beginning of 56. Catullus had returned with changed feelings, and cooled by separation. This affected his poetry, which became less impassioned, and increasingly more satirical. Schwabe is more definite; he thinks that it was written about the same time as the *Pro Caelio*, which he fixes at the March or April of 56 (Quaest. p. 127). Both agree in considering the tone of the poem to be calm, and both think it was written before XI *Furi et Aureli*.

I hold each of these views to be untenable. It is true that a certain air of calmness is thrown over the poem; but it is rather in the form than in the feeling. Much of it lies in mere shortness, and in the epigrammatic antithesis of the two clauses of which it is made up. Even this is only true when we look at the whole; for the repetition of *Lesbia* in the first three lines is, in itself, passionate, it is only in connexion with the abrupt sequel that it becomes not so much calm as intense. Without expressing despair, the poem has reached the point at which hope has become impossible. There is no conflict of feelings as in VIII LXXXVI LXXXV. Even XI seems written in a much more hopeful mood, and shows a wish to return. XI cannot have been written before 699 | 55; and LVIII is, I think, later, indeed the last poem referring to Lesbia. If Catullus died in 54, the date may be referred to the end of 55, or the beginning of 54.

The Caelius may be the person mentioned in C, as Catullus there says he had found him a faithful friend *Cum uesana meas torreret flamma medullas*, which can only refer to Lesbia. It has more generally been referred to Caelius Rufus, himself one of Clodia's lovers, and perhaps the author of the name by which she seems to have been familiarly known, *quadrantaria* (Quintil. viii. 6. 53; cf. *Pro Cael.* xxvi. 62). It is perhaps a confirmation of this view that the fullest commentary on 5 is to be found in Cicero's oration *Pro Cael.* xvi. 38 *Nihil iam in istam mulierem dico; sed si esset aliqua dissimilis istius, quae se omnibus peruulgaret, quae haberet palam decretum semper aliquem cuius in hortos domum Baias iure suo libidines commearent, quae etiam aleret adulescentes et parsimoniam patrum suis sumptibus sustentaret, si uidua libere, proterua petulanter, diues effuse, libidinosa meretricio more uiueret,* and xx. 49 *Si quae non nupta mulier domum suam patefecerit omnium cupiditati, palamque sese in meretricia uita collocarit. uirorum alienissimorum conuiu*

*uti instituerit; si hoc in urbe, si in hortis, si in Baiarum illa celebritate faciat: si denique ita sese gerat non incessu solum sed ornatu atque comitatu, non flagrantia oculorum, non libertate sermonis, sed etiam complexu osculatione aquis navigatione conuiuuiis ut non solum meretrix sed etiam proterua meretrix procaxque uideatur: cum hac si qui adulescens forte fuerit, utrum hic tibi, L. Herenni, adulter an amator, expugnare pudicitiam an explere libidinem uoluisse uideatur?*

1. **Lesbia, Lesbia illa, Illa Lesbia.** So Caelius in a letter to Cicero (Fam. viii. 8. 1) *Scito C. Sempronium Rufum, Rufum mel ac delicias tuas, calumniam maximo plausu tulisse.* Att. ii. 24. 2 *Vettius ille, ille noster index; i. 16. 5 Nosti Caluum ex Nanneianis illum, illum laudatorem meum.*

2. **Catullus**, to bring out the connexion of the two names as they recur in the poems ever since together. **unam**, as in X. 17, XXXVII. 17, and more closely XLV. 21, 23.

3. A different form of *Amata nobis quantum amabitur nulla*, VIII. 5, XXXVII. 12.

4. **quadruuiis**, where four roads met, where of course the largest concourse of people might be looked for, and where loungers stood about, Horace's *frequentia compita* S. ii. 3. 25. Cf. *τριδιτεις*, 'a street-walker.' **angiportis**, 'alleys,' or small streets, sometimes terminating in a *cul-de-sac* (Adel. iv. 2. 39), sometimes not (Eun. v. 2. 6, 7). Small or back streets are apt to be disreputable. Hor. C. i. 25. 9, 10 *Imuicem moechos anus arrogantes Flebis in solo leuis angiportu*, a passage which is like this in implying that only the lower class of lovers was likely to be found there. Haupt quotes from an MS. of the 8th cent. (Bibl. Nationale Paris. 7651) *Angiportus uiae angustae inter minores uicos quae exitum ad muros aut nullum aut angustum habent* (Hermes for 1868, p. 303). Such women were called *σποδησιλαύραι* or *λεωφόροι*.

5. **Glubit**, sens. obscen. like *λέπει*. Athenaeus says *τῶ λέπεσθαι χρώνται ἐπὶ ἀσελγούς καὶ φορτικῆς δι' ἀφροδισίων ἡδονῆς* (xiv. 663). The Balliol Glossary has *Glumit excoriat*. **magnanimos** or as Catullus perhaps wrote *magnanimis* is obviously ironical. **Remi nepotes**, see on XLIX. 1. Voss quotes Sen. Consol. ad Marciam 9 *Egregium uersum et dignum audiui, qui non e populo Remi* (not sprung from the streets), *Cuius potest accidere, quod cuiquam potest.*

## LIX.

It is an ingenious suggestion of Vulpius that these lines are a pasquinade, and were posted up in the place where they were composed to catch the eye of passers by. *Vidistis* in 3 seems to make an appeal to the general public of the town; and the coarseness of the attack is quite in accordance with the general character of pasquinades (see Story's *Roba di Roma*) as well as with actual inscriptions of antiquity, such as are preserved on the walls of Pompeii. See on XXXVII. 10. If this is so, the place where it was written was not, I think, Bononia; for *Bonomiensis* in 1 could have little meaning except as a description of a person who was *not* a Bolognese (cf. Schwabe Quaestt. p. 88); we may suppose Rufa to have come from Bononia to her

husband Menenius' home, wherever that may have been, perhaps Verona. If we adopt the other hypothesis, that the poem is a mere squib, circulated at first among the poet's friends and afterwards incorporated in the rest of his poems, it seems more probable that the persons attacked lived at Bononia. Rufa and her husband Menenius may have fallen under Catullus' displeasure during some visit which he made there; he would compose on the spot and would add *Bonomiensis* as being himself a stranger to the place.

We have no means of deciding who Rufa, Menenius, or the person called Rufulus are. Schwabe (Quaest. p. 88) identifies Rufulus with M. Caelius Rufus the friend of Catullus and a lover of Clodia's. The poem, he, like Vulp., considers to be aimed more at Rufus than Rufa; Rufa may be a fictitious name suggested by Rufus, the more so as the addition of *Bonomiensis* would leave no doubt as to the person meant.

In my opinion there is no real evidence to show that M. Caelius Rufus has anything to do with the poem. A Rufus is coarsely lampooned in LXIX *Noli admirari quare tibi femina nulla*, and there also Schwabe identifies him with Caelius Rufus. It is true Catullus seems to have taken a pleasure in attacks upon his friends; the Furius of XXIII is the Furius of XI; and the Aurelius of XXI and XVI is the Aurelius of XV. But we have no right to infer from this that whenever a Rufus is alluded to, it is the same person; still less when the name appears in a disguised form, or when the circumstances of the poem supply a better reason for its adoption. Such is surely the case here; Rufa explains Rufulus, not *uice uersa*. Rufulus is not only the diminutive of Rufus, but the well-known name of one class of military tribunes. Pseud. Asconius ad Verr. Act. i. p. 142 (Orelli) *Tribunorum militarium duo genera, primum eorum qui Rufuli dicuntur; hi in exercitu creari solent; alii sunt comitiati qui Romae comitiis designantur*. Catullus seems to have availed himself of some circumstance which presented the two meanings in one person. This does not oblige us to suppose the person's name was actually Rufus; it may have been; but the diminutive might apply equally well to the admirer, or perhaps the kinsman, of Rufa, as in LXXIX the brother of Lesbia is called Lesbium. We might paraphrase 'Rufa has found a Rufus to be kind to' or 'Rufa is too familiar with her namesake the tribune.'

1. **Rufa Rufulum**, like *pupulum puellae* LVII. 5.

2. **sepulcretis**, 'grave-yards.' Forc. quotes no other instance. Like *busticetum*, it seems to have been a word of contempt, and probably denotes the burying-places of the poorer class, such as that described by Horace S. i. 8. 8-10 *miseræ plebi commune sepulcrum*.

3. **ipso**, to denote her eagerness. **rapere de rogo**, such thieves were called *bustirapi* Pseud. i. 3. 127. **cenam**, not the *silicernium* or funeral-feast, which it was the old fashion to eat at the tomb (Varro Melegri xi Riese (Non. 485) *Funus exequiati stantes ad sepulcrum antiquo more silicernium confecimus, id est πεπιθεμνον, quo pransi discedentes dicimus alius alii uale*), but, as the next two lines show, part of the food placed upon the pyre for the manes of the deceased and burnt with the corpse. Aen. vi. 225, xi. 198, 9.

4. **deuolutum**, from the round flat shape of the loaves they would

easily roll down. Stat. quotes Sidonius Apollinaris who uses it of the corpse itself rolling down. **prosequens**, playing on the meaning of *prosequi exsequias, defunctum*.

5. The *ustor* or undertaker's man, who lays out the corpse upon the pyre and burns it, observes Rufa in pursuit of the fallen loaf and cuffs her as punishment for her intended theft. *Ustores* are generally spoken of contemptuously (Lucan viii. 738 *Robora non desint misero, nec sordidus ustor*, Pro Mil. xxxiii. 90, Mart. iii. 93. 26), hence **semiraso** as in Apuleius ix. 12 *frontem literati et capillum semirasi et pedes anulati*, a description of slaves in a *pistrinum*, who, perhaps as runaways (*fugitivi* Cas. ii. 6. 45), had been branded (*literati* Cas. ii. 6. 49), had half their hair shaved and wore fetters on their feet. On this view *semiraso* nearly = *furaci* or *fugituo*: nothing could be a better mark upon a man than such a disparity as the two halves of the face would then present; we may suppose one side to be close-cropt; Cicero, describing a man who shaved off all his hair, says (Rosc. Com. vii. 20) *Nonne ipsum caput et supercilia illa penitus abrasa olere malitiam et clamitare calliditatem uidentur? . . . Qui idcirco capite et superciliis semper est rasis, ne ullum pilum uiri boni habere dicatur*, and compares him to the knavish *leno* Ballio in the *Pseudulus* of Plautus. So *seminudus*, 'half-naked,' *semiatratus*, 'in half-mourning,' *semirosus semirutus* and Catullus' own *semimortuus* L. 15. The more usual force however of *semi* in such compounds is 'only half,' so *semilaulus* LIV. 2, *semidoctus semifactus semifultus semiputatus*; on this view *semirasus* would mean 'only half-shaved, imperfectly shaved,' a mark of carelessness and unneatness which agrees not only with the dirtiness ascribed to *ustores* by Lucan, but with the general tendency of the Romans to associate cleanliness with careful shaving, squalor and rusticity with the reverse, cf. Gell. iii. 4. 1, Mart. vi. 64. 4 *patris ad speculum tonsi* = 'a father of ordinary neatness,' Varro Gerontodidasc. i Riese (Non. 214).

## LX.

It is obvious that these five lines are in no connexion with LIX, although as great a critic as Scaliger considered them to be so, and for that reason invented a verb *fallare* = *fallere*, supposing that the deceit of which Rufa was guilty in LIX, is part of the contemptuous treatment alluded to in LX. 4. Yet if the lines are a fragment, the fragment is complete in itself, and there is no reason for supposing that it was ever more. The beginning is closely imitated from some verses in the *Medea* 1342, 3, repeated again with a slight alteration 1358, 9: and as from some other imitations in LXIV, e. g. 176 sqq. = *Med.* 502 sqq., it is clear that Catullus was familiar with this play, the fragment may be a mere reminiscence of Euripides, or perhaps an imaginary study from him. At any rate there is nothing to connect it with *Lesbia* or any one else.

1-3. *Med.* 1342, 3 *Λέαιναν, οὐ γυναῖκα, τῆς Τυρσηνίδος Σκύλλης ἔχουσαν ἀγριωτέραν φύσιν*. The same comparison occurs LXIV. 154-7. So Aesch. *Eum.* 193 *λέοντος ἄντρον αἰματορόφου Οἰκέιν τοιαύτας εἰκός*. Bacch. 988 *τίς ἄρα νιν ἔτεκεν*; *Οὐ γὰρ ἐξ αἵματος γυναικῶν ἔφν, Δεαίνας δέ γέ τινος ἢ Γοργόνων Λιβυσσῶν γένος*.

1. *leaena*. According to Philargyrius on Virg. *E.* ii. 63, *leaena* was a

word not used by the ancients (*ueteres*) but which had become classical. Plautus said *leo femina*, Varro *lea*. This is perhaps its first occurrence in a writer of authority; Cicero's *De Gloria*, from which it is also quoted, seems not to have been written till 44 B.C. Catullus' employment of the word is perhaps tentative; it is almost a translation. **Libystinis**, a rare form, found also in Macrobian Sat. i. 17. 24 *Apollo Libystinus*.

2. Homer Od. xii. 85 sqq. describes Scylla as a monster with a voice like a new-born whelp, with twelve feet, and six long necks, each with a head containing three rows of teeth; from the waist downwards plunged in the depths of a cave, above which the heads rise. This is quite different from the Scylla of Lucretius v. 892 *rabidis canibus succinctam semimarinum Corpore*, of Catullus here, of Tibullus iii. 4. 89 *Scyllau uirginem canibus succincta figuram*, of Propertius iv. 4. 40 *Candidaque in saeuos inguina uersa canes*, of Virgil Ecl. vi. 77 *Candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstribus*, of Ovid Met. xiii. 732, which represent Scylla as a maiden down to the waist, and a combination of wolf-dog and dolphin below. In Aen. iii. 424 sqq. Virgil, while seeming to follow Homer's description, really combines it with the other legend; see Conington there. Heyne, in an Excursus on Ecl. vi, shows that in works of art the later is the prevailing representation, varied in different ways; sometimes the figure ends in two dolphins' tails: sometimes these are combined with the forequarters of dogs; sometimes these latter grow out of the belly and terminate in one dolphin's tail. Catullus is quite definite in his conception; Scylla's *body* terminates in barking dogs: she barks with the extremities of the groin. The line looks like an etymology, for *σκύλλος* was a form of *σκύλαξ*. (Heyne.)

3. **tetra**, 'inhuman,' like *μυσαρά και παιδολέτωρ* Med. 1393, *της μυσαράς και παιδοφόνου τήσδε λειώνης* ib. 1406. Catullus may have been thinking of both passages.

5. **Contemptam**, like *despicatam habere* Eun. ii. 3. 93, *curatos habere* Cato R. R. 5, Hec. iv. 2. 6 *habueris praepositam*. The combined verb and participle are not simply=the verb alone, they give the idea of permanence or settled determination. (Holtze Syntaxis ii. p. 235.)

## LXI LXII.

With LXI begins a new division of Catullus' poems. The eight poems LXI-LXVIII are obviously distinct from the lyrics on the one hand (I-LX) and the Epigrams (LXIX-CXVI) on the other. They may have been placed together merely as longer than the rest; but they possess also a unity of subject. Except LXV, which is a mere prelude to the *Coma Beronices*, all of them deal with marriage directly or indirectly: LXI LXII are Epithalamia; LXIV describes the mythical wedding of the mortal Peleus with the goddess Thetis, and still keeping in view the same ground idea, interweaves the story of Ariadne, her desertion by Theseus and final union with Bacchus; LXVI, a translation from Callimachus, neither very interesting in itself nor very felicitous as a version, was perhaps selected as exhibiting the peculiar modifications of European custom as regards marriage introduced by Egypt and sanctioned by the court of the Ptolemies; LXVII exhibits the cognate topics, incest and adultery, from a comic but still Roman point of view; LXVIII

describes the intensity of the sexual passion in women, partly in the conjugal fondness of Laodamia, partly in the adulterous love of Lesbia; lastly LXIII, perhaps the greatest of Catullus' poems, in the frenzied emasculation and consequent despair of Attis, sets before us in colours of unsurpassed vividness the overwhelming force of the anti-nuptial sentiment, as realized and consecrated by antiquity. The eight poems are thus connected by the common subject marriage into a distinct whole; but this whole admits of a new subdivision (1) the epic and lyrico-epic poems, in which the male sentiment either predominates or is exhibited side by side with the female (LXI-LXIV), (2) the elegiac, which are more concerned with the feminine emotion (LXVI-LXVIII).

Catullus in writing Epithalamia either set or followed the fashion of his time: Priscian quotes an Epithalamium by Calvus, and another by Ticia; the former seems to have been in hexameters and was perhaps like LXII, the latter in Glyconics, closely resembling LXI. Sappho had written a book of Epithalamia in various metres, and the extant fragments show that these were known to Catullus.

The two poems differ widely in scope and treatment. The first (LXI) describes the ceremonies of a Roman wedding, and is in the main Italian in its imagery and allusions; the frame-work alone is Greek. The second (LXII) is almost a Greek study; the scene indeed seems to be laid in Greece, for it is not likely that Catullus would have introduced Olympus and Oeta with the same laxity afterwards made fashionable by Virgil and the poets of the Augustan era. Yet here also the allusions of the concluding strophe are Roman; though it is difficult to believe that the poem was like LXI written for the same occasion, the marriage of Junia and Mallius.

Few poems of antiquity are so familiar to modern readers as the first of these Epithalamia; and nothing which Catullus wrote is at once so genial, so artistic, and so completely Roman. The refrain *O Hymen Hymenae* and the exordium (1-30) are, it is true, Greek, and if we had Sappho's Epithalamia entire we should probably find that Catullus drew from these many of the ideas which give such a charm to his work: the metre too is Greek. But speaking generally, the scene, the technicalities, and the allusions are Roman: the language too is carefully modelled on the familiar phrases of Roman life. Thus the old custom of carrying off the bride, which the Romans associated with the rape of the Sabine women by the warriors of Romulus (3)—the selection of a lucky day for the marriage ceremony (11)—the allusions to the *manus* by which the wife passed into her husband's power (50)—to the law by which none but a free-born Roman citizen could act as a legionary (72)—the Fescennines with their boyish coarseness (119 sqq.)—the old marriage cry *Talasio*—the lifting of the bride over the threshold of her husband's house (160 sqq.)—the presence of the *praetextatus* when she is led to the marriage-chamber—the *uniuirae* who lay her on the marriage couch—are all specially Roman customs. Roman also are the combinations *domum dominam* (31), *bona cum bona alite* (19), *bona fama* (62), *dedis a gremio suae Matris* (58), *dare nuces* (124), and the recurring formula *noua nupta*. Farther a peculiarly Italian tone is given to the whole poem by the repeated allusions to the presence of boys at the ceremony; an interesting characteristic which seems to represent a really ancient tradition.

I have used for this poem the special commentaries of Robortello (1548), and Pleitner (1858), as well as the exhaustive work of Rossbach, *Die Römische Ehe* (1853). Passerat's copious commentary (1608) contains most of the passages from Latin authors bearing on the subject of Roman marriage.

1-45. Invocation to Hymenaeus, calling on him to attend at the marriage of Mallius and Iunia (1-35); followed by a summons to the virgins appointed to sing the hymeneal (36-45).

1. **Heliconiei.** Hymenaeus is a dweller on Helicon, as the son of one of the Muses. Hesiod Theog. 1 Μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων, Αἴθ' Ἑλικῶνος ἔχουσω ὄρος μέγα τε ζῆθέον τε, Varro R. R. iii. 16. 7 *His diis Helicon aetque Olympo attribuerunt homines.*

2. **Cultor,** not common in the sense of 'dweller,' but Catullus uses *cultrix* similarly LXIV. 300. **Vraniae genus,** 'seed of Urania.' According to the Scholiast on Eur. Rhes. 895 *Calliope* bore to Apollo four sons Linus Hymenaeus Ialemos Orpheus, and this tradition is contained in a mutilated fragment of Pindar there quoted, and repeated by the Scholiast on Pindar P. iv. 313; according to Alciphron i. 13. 3 Hymenaeus was son of Apollo and *Terpsichore*, and so Proclus ap. Photium 524 Ὑμέναιον ἐν γάμοις ἄδεσθαί φασι κατὰ πόθον καὶ ζήτησιν Ὑμεναίου τοῦ Τερψιχόρας ὄν φασι γήμαντα ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι. Catullus makes him a descendant, perhaps a son, of *Urania*. Either *Calliope* ἢ δὴ προφερεσιάζη ἐστὶν ἀπασιών (Hes. Theog. 79) or *Terpsichore* the Muse of *paidia* (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. iii. 1) might more naturally have been chosen as the mother of the musical god of marriage; *Urania* is the gravest of the Muses, and from her connexion with astronomy (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. iii. 1) and natural phenomena was introduced, much about the same time as Catullus was writing, by Cicero in the second book of his poem *De Suo Consulatu* (De Div. i. 11. 17). But the functions of the Muses were not always accurately defined, and as Linus is called the son of *Urania* (Paus. ix. 29. 3, Hes. fr. 214 Markscheffel, Hygin. Fab. 161) or *Calliope* (Apollod. i. 3. 2) indifferently, it is a natural supposition that Hymenaeus was similarly ascribed to each of the three *Calliope Terpsichore* or *Urania*. It is not impossible that *Urania* is selected as a name of good omen with which to begin a hymeneal; pure love was under the protection of *Cypris Urania* as impure of *Pandemos*, Plat. Symp. 180, Xen. Symp. viii. 9, and so Theocritus says of a married pair that from year to year they prospered increasingly beginning from *Urania* Anth. P. vi. 340. 5.

3. **rapis** alludes to the custom of capturing the bride, other traces of which were the parting the bride's hair with a spear, Ov. Fast. ii. 560, Plut. Quaestt. Rom. 87, and the avoidance of *feriae* as wedding-days; because *feriis vim cuiquam fieri piaculare est; ideo tunc vitantur nuptiae, in quibus vis fieri uirgini uidetur* (Macrob. S. i. 15. 21). Festus *Rapi simulabatur uirgo ex gremio matris, aut si ea non esset, ex proxima necessitudine, cum ad uirum traditur, quod uidelicet ea res feliciter Romulo cessit.* M'Lennan traces this form of marriage by capture, not only among the Dorians (Herod. vi. 65, Plut. Lyc. 15), Italians, and ancient inhabitants of India, but more especially among the Khonds of Orissa, the Kalmucks, the Junguzes and Kemchadales of Siberia, the Nogay Tartars, the Circassians, the Toorkomans, the Mongols, the Welsh, the



Irish up to the last century, as well as in various tribes of Africa and America. He connects it with the earliest state of society, which prohibited endogamy or marriage within the tribe, and forced a man who was in want of a wife to have recourse to a foreign tribe. The relation of separate tribes was originally one of hostility; and so long as it was, wives could only be got by theft or force; hence the association of the ideas of seizure and marriage.

4. Sappho introduced Ὑμήναον or Ὑμέναιον as an ἐφόμιον or refrain interposed between each successive line, such poems being called μεσομίνα (Hephaest. 129). Aristophanes in the song at the end of the Pax gives the form Ὑμήν Ὑμέναι' ὦ, sometimes singly, sometimes repeated twice: in the Aves it is more like Catullus, Ὑμήν ὦ Ὑμέναι' ὦ (1736, 1742, 1754), where the Scholiast says ἦδετο τούτο ἐν γάμοις. Euripides in the chorus sung by Cassandra in frantic imagination of marriage introduces two forms, Ὑμήν ὦ Ὑμέναι' ἀναξ 311, 314; Ὑμήν ὦ Ὑμέναι' Ὑμήν 331; in the Phaethon the simple Ὑμήν Ὑμήν occurs fr. 781. 15 Nauck. Theocritus xviii. 58 has Ὑμήν ὦ Ὑμέναιε, and this was evidently the common form of the cry, and is certainly used by Catullus in LXII. In LXI. 50, 60 the MSS. are confused; but I see no reason for supposing that Catullus wrote there or anywhere *O Hymen Hymenaeae*. In Plaut. Cas. iv. 3 the reading is doubtful.

6. **Cinge.** Catullus here transfers to Hymen the chaplet which the bride was bound to wear. Paulus p. 63 M. *Corollam noua nupta de floribus uerbenis herbisque a se lectis sub amiculo ferebat* (Rossbach). **tempora** specially assigned to amaracinum by Antiphanes ap. Athen. xv. 689.

7. **Suaue olentis.** Lucretius ranks the smell of amaracus oil with that of myrrh and spikenard ii. 847. In iv. 1179 the despairing lover anoints the door-posts of his mistress' house with *amaracinum*: it was probably pleasing to women, as Chaeremon describes them lying upon it fr. 14. 16 Nauck. **amaraci**, the Sicilian name for the Syrian and Egyptian *sampsuchum* Plin. xxi. 61, with whom the Scholiast on Nicander Ther. 576 seems to agree. And so Dioscorides iii. 41 Sprengel Σάμψυχον κράτιστον τὸ Κυζικηνῶν καὶ Κύπριον· δευτερεύει δὲ τούτου Αἰγύπτιον· καλεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ Κυζικηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελία ἀμάρακον· πόα δὲ ἐστὶ πολύκλωνος ἔρπουσα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς φύλλα δασέα καὶ περιφερῆ ἔχουσα, ὅμοια τῆς λεπτοφύλλου καλαμίνθης, σφόδρα εὐώδης καὶ θερμαντικῆ, πλεκομένη καὶ εἰς στεφάνους; Isidorus Origg. xvii. 9. 14 *Sampsuchus est quem Latini amaracum uocant. Cuius nominis usum Vergilius etiam ad Venerem referens ait Vbi mollis amaracus illum Floribus aspirans amplectitur umbra* (Aen. i. 693); and Diocles the physician, as quoted by Athenaeus xv. 681, cf. Plin. xxi. 61, Gloss. Ball. *sampsucus latine amaracus*. Similarly Theophrastus classes amaracus with habrotonum thyme parsley origanum (Hist. Pl. i. 12); with the two former of these, with sisymbrium and helenium (Hist. Pl. vi. 7); with plants used for aromatic purposes, casia cinnamon balsam myrrh anise (Hist. Pl. ix. 7); lastly, with fruticose plants used for chaplets (Hist. Pl. vi. 1). For the latter purpose it was well fitted by its fragrance (τὸ σπέρμα εὖσομον, ὁσμὴ δὲ μαλακώτερα ib. vi. 7); and this would agree with Nicander's classification of σάμψυχον amongst στεφανωματικά (Athen. xv. 683). Sibthorp Sprengel and Billerbeck (Flora Classica p. 156) identify σάμψυχον with marjoram, *maiorana origanum*; and Daubeny (Roman Husbandry p. 272) accepts this view, which certainly agrees with the fact that Statius

sprinkles his bridegroom with savory (S. i. 2. 21). On the other hand Meleager (Anth. P. iv. 1. 11, 41), Columella (x. 171, 296), and perhaps Nicander (Ther. 575, 617) make *sampsuchum* and *amaracus* distinct plants. Columella indeed seems to imply that *amaracus* had a conspicuous flower; for he combines it with narcissus and pomegranate blossom (*balauustum*), and this after a simile in which he compares the bright children of the gardens with the moon Sirius Mars Hesperus and the rain-bow (x. 288-297). Both Catullus and Virgil also speak of the *flowers* of *amaracus* (Aen. i. 694), and Virgil, like Columella, implies that it was a plant of some height (*umbra*). If, then, *amaracus* was marjoram, it must have been an exotic, indeed an oriental, variety hardly comparable with the plant as known in the colder parts of Europe: see Wheeler's description of an origanum he found at Smyrna, Journey p. 250, ed. 1682.

8. **Flammeum**, the marriage veil, of a reddish-yellow colour like flame. Plin. xxi. 46 *Lutei uideo honorem antiquissimum, in nuptialibus flammis totum feminis concessum*. It was of large dimensions sufficient to cover the whole person from head to foot (Rich, Companion p. 290, Roszbach Röm. Ehe p. 280), and was worn over the head, veiling the side-face (hence *uelarunt flamma uultus* Luc. ii. 361, Mart. xii. 42. 3), but leaving part of the features open, as shown in the figure given by Rich. The *flammeum* was also worn by the Flaminica (Paulus p. 89 M.) and, if it is identical with the *flammeus* of Nonius 541, by *matronae*; Roszbach connects it in each case with the sacrifice which was offered, by the Flaminica at the altar of Jupiter Dialis, by the matron at the household hearth, by the bride at the hearth of her new husband (p. 285).

9. **gerens**, 'wearing.' *Coronam ex auro et gemmis fulgentem gerit* Varro Eumenides xlii Riese ap. Non. 540.

10. **Luteum**. Yellow was a feminine colour (Plin. xxi. 46), and seems to have been peculiarly associated with marriage. In the Aldobrandini marriage-picture the head-dress of the bride-groom, the shoes of the bride, the mattress and counterpane of the bed, the footstool, the towel are all yellow (Böttiger Aldob. Hochz. p. 195). **soceum**, the loose untied shoe, which at Rome was properly confined to women or comic actors: Catullus probably assigns it to Hymenaeus in his feminine character, and as representing the bride; but he might well be thinking of many Greek passages, e. g. Iph. A. 1041 where the Muses wear golden sandals at the wedding of Peleus, Orest. 1468 of Helen's golden sandals.

11. **hilari die**; some days were *atri* and were therefore to be avoided. Macrob. i. 16. 21 *Dies postridianos ad omnia maiores nostri cauendos putarunt, etiam atos uelut infausta appellatione damnarunt*; for which reason all Kalends Nones and Ides were bad days for marrying upon, as the day after was a black day, and unfit for the new wife to enter upon the *dominium* or perform the sacred rites which belonged to her in her new position (S. i. 15. 22).

13. **tinnula**. Pomponius, in a fragm. preserved by Macrobius S. vi. 4. 13 *Vocem deducas oportet ut uideantur mulieris Verba.—Iube modo adferatur munus, ego uocem dabo Tenuem et tinnulam* made a *tinnula uox* = 'the shrill voice of a woman.' But as Hymenaeus is also called upon to beat the ground with his feet and shake the pine torch, I think Catullus includes in *tinnula* the shrill, at times almost metallic, voice of boys, who certainly sang the Fescennines, and who are actually called upon

117 to sing *in modum* the nuptial cry *Io Hymen Hymenaeae io*. So in the marriage-procession in Hes. Scut. Herc. 278, 9 *τοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ λεγυρῶν συριγγῶν ἔεσαν αὐδὴν Ἐξ ἀπαλῶν στομάτων*. This view seems more likely than that Catullus supposes Hymenaeus playing on a pipe, as Claudian describes him Epithal. 98 *non uilem mihi fistula commodat usum Responsura choris*, which would be *tinnula* as it is in Calpurnius Ecl. iv. 74.

14. *Pelle humum*. Hes. Theog. 70 of the Muses *περὶ δ' ἴαχε γαῖα μέλαρα Ὑμνεύσας, ἐρατὸς δὲ ποδῶν ἄπο δούπος ὄρωρει*. Iph. A. 1041 *χρυσεοσάνδαλον ἔχνος Ἐν γὰ κρούουσαι*.

15. *Pineam*. From Pliny H. N. xvi. 75 *Spina nuptiarum facibus auspicatissima, quoniam inde fecerint pastores qui rapuerunt Sabinas, ut auctor est Masurius*, and Festus p. 245 M. *Patrimi et matrimi pueri praetextati tres nubentem deducunt, unus qui facem praefert ex spina alba, quia noctu nubebant, duo qui tenent nubentem*, cf. Paulus p. 244 M. and Varro ap. Non. 112; it would seem that the torch carried by a boy before the bride was made of *spina* or *spinus alba*, perhaps white thorn. Varro ap. Charisium 141 Keil, also states that *spinus alba* was used for making torches *purgationis causa*, and Ovid Fast. vi. 129, 165 introduces it as efficacious in averting evil powers. Hence Parthenius Alex. Guarinus and Robortello read *spineam* here. But as there are many passages where marriage-torches are spoken of as made of pine, e. g. Aen. vii. 396, Ovid. Fast. ii. 558, Sen. Med. 111, cf. Anth. P. vii. 407. 5; as Catullus gives to Hymenaeus the *general* characteristics of the marriage procession, whereas Festus speaks of the *spina* as used for one particular torch of the five that were carried in front of the bride by a *puer patrimus et matrimus*; lastly as, according to Paulus D. p. 87 M. the marriage torch was in honour of Ceres, the *dea taedifera* (Heroid. ii. 42), I retain, with Scaliger and most editors, the MS. reading *pineam*.

16. The simple straight-forwardness of this line, and the juxtaposition of the names of the bride and bridegroom, mark the transition to the actual business of this poem.

17. 'Sicut Venus cum bono augurio uenit ad iudicium Paridis, quia uictoriam reportauit, ita etiam Iulia proficiscitur ad uirum suum.' Alex. Guarinus, rightly, I think, as this interpretation includes the comparison of Iunia with Venus as simply beautiful. Statius also introduces the judgment of Paris in his Epithalamium, but only to bring in Helen as a reward less lovely than the bride, S. i. 2. 43.

18. *Venit*. Il. xxiv. 29 Ὅς νεέκεσσε θεὰς ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἴκοντο. Eur. Iph. A. 1300 *ἔνθα ποτὲ Παλλὰς ξέμολε καὶ δολιόφρων Κύπρις Ἥρα θ' Ἐρμῆς θ' ὁ Διὸς ἄγγελος . . . Κρίσιν ἐπὶ στυγρὰν ἐρίν τε καλλοῦσας*, Androm. 275 *Ἰδαίαν ἐς νάπαν Ἥλαθ' ὁ Μαίας τε καὶ Διὸς τόκος*, 284 *ταὶ δ' ἐπεὶ ὑλόκομον νάπος ἦλυθον*.

*Phrygium*. Trojan, perhaps with a notion of Paris' special connexion with Ida, Πάρην ὅς Ἰδαίος Ἰδαίως ἐλέγερ' Ἐλέγερ' ἐν Φρυγῶν πόλει. Iph. A. 1289, 90.

19. *Judicem*, 'arbiter of beauty.' Troad. 924 *Ἐκρινε τρισσὸν ζεῦγος ὅδε τρισσῶν θεῶν*, Hel. 26, Hec. 644. According to the Schol. on Il. xx. 3 the scene of the judgment of Paris was Callicolone. **bona cum bona**, like *Bona te Venus Iuuirit . . . quoniam bonum Non abscondis amorem*; 'gracious' expresses both ideas.

20. *alite* (σὺν οἰωνοῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν Hes. Fr. 149 Markscheffel) in reference to taking the auspices, which was an essential part of a Roman marriage

(Cic. de Diuin. i. 16, Valer. Max. ii. 1. 1, Iuuen. x. 336, Tac. Ann. xi. 27), though in the time of Catullus it had become a mere form (De Diuin. i. 16. 28 *nuptiarum auspices, qui re ommissa nomen tantum tenent*), and was probably so in this case. When the relations and friends of the bride had met in her father's house, the ceremony opened with taking the auspices, which originally meant ascertaining the good-will of the auspicial gods of marriage, Ceres Tellus Mars Picumnus Pilumnus and Iuno Pronuba (Servius on Aen. iv. 58, 166, Nonius 528) through the signs which they were supposed to send by birds, or from something unusual in the sky. Pliny mentions the aegithus, a species of hawk, of small size and lame in one foot, as *prosperrimi augurii nuptialibus negotiis*, apparently from its fertility as a breeder (H. N. x. 21; Arist. H. A. ix. 89); in later times the rite degenerated into the mere presence of an auspex to witness the payment of the dowry and give a formal sanction to the marriage.

21-25. So Nausicaa is compared to a young palm Od. vi. 163, Helen to a cypress Theocr. xviii. 30. Catullus delights in these descriptions from plants; in 34 the bride is like ivy clasping a tree, in 57 she is *florida puellula*, in 89 like a hyacinth, in 187 like white parthenice or yellow poppy. So in the second Epithalamium she is like a flower in a garden-croft LXII. 39-44, or a vine in a bare field 49-53. Compare also LXIV. 89, 90.

21. *Floridis*, 'blossoming.' I have before me whilst writing a spray of myrtle, with two white flowers growing immediately behind each pair of leaves. The beauty of the plant lies much in the contrast of the white buds or blossoms which grow all the way up the sprays with the green and glossy (*enitens*) leaves.

22. Plin. H. N. xv. 119 *Arbor ipsa in Europae citeriore caelo quod a Cerauniis montibus incipit primum Circeis in Elpenoris tumulo uisa traditur, Graecumque ei nomen remanet quo peregrinam esse apparet. Fuit ubi nunc Roma est iam cum conderetur, quippe ita traditur, myrtae uerbena Romanos Sabinosque, cum propter raptas uirgines dimicare uoluissent, depositis armis purgatos in eo loco qui nunc signa Veneris Cluacinae habet: cluere enim antiqui purgare dicebant. Et in ea quoque arbore suffimenti genus habetur, ideo tum electa, quoniam coniunctioni et huic arbori Venus praest.* Cf. 122 *Cato tria genera myrti prodidit, nigram candidam coniugulam fortasse a coniugiis . . . coniugalem existimo nunc nostratem dici.* The association of the myrtle with Venus (Ecl. vii. 62, Geor. i. 28, Ouid. F. iv. 139-144, Plut. Numa 19) may have led Catullus to introduce it in his marriage poem. *Asia* was explained by Lambinus of the Asian meadow by the Cayster (Il. ii. 461, G. i. 383, Aen. vii. 701) in compliance with the rule laid down by Servius on Aen. vii. 701 *cum Asiam de provincia dicimus a breuis est.* Myrtles are fond of water (Theophr. Hist. Pl. ii. 8, Eur. El. 777 *Κυρέϊ δὲ κήποις ἐν καταρρύτοις βεβώς, Δρέπων τερείνης μυρσίνης κάρη πλόκου*, Ion 117-120), and Catullus speaks of them as growing on the banks of the Eurotas LXIV. 89. The marshy region of the Cayster would thus be not alien to the habits of the plant, though no passage is quoted which proves it to have grown there with special luxuriance. Voss seems to have felt the difficulty when following Eustath. on Dionys. Perieg. 634, *οἱ δὲ φασιν ὅτι Ἀσία πόλις Ἀυδίας παρὰ Τρωάφω τῷ ὄρει ἐν ἡ τρί-χρδος κιθάρᾳ εἰρέθη, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡ χωρὰ καλεῖται ἢ ἀπὸ Ἀσίου τινος Ἀυδοῦ ἐξ*

οὐδ' ὁ Ἀσίας λειμών, cf. Schol. Apoll. R. ii. 779 Ἀσίδος ἡπείρου τῆς Λυδίας λέγει Ἀσία γὰρ τὸ πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ Λυδία καὶ ἡ κιθάρα Ἀσία λέγεται ἐπεὶ ἐν Λυδία πρῶτον εὐρέθη, he explained *myrtus Asia* 'a *Lydian* myrtle : ' and this would agree with the statements of modern travellers, e. g. of Sir C. Fellows (*Asia Minor* p. 18), and with Catullus' fondness for learned allusions (*doctus*). Yet the quantitative rule laid down by Servius, though no doubt based on the ordinary usage of the Roman, at least the Augustan and post-Augustan, poets, can scarcely be held to apply with certainty to Catullus; the Alexandrian poets regularly use ἄσις long, Mosch. ii. 9, Apoll. R. i. 444, ii. 779, Nicand. Ther. 216, Alex. 1, fr. 74. 11 Schneider, and so Ovid *Āsida*, *Āside terra* M. v. 648, ix. 447; while there would be a special propriety in describing the myrtle as a denizen of Asia Minor. Theophrastus de Caus. Plant. vi. 18. 20 mentions Cisthos, which Nicander (Ther. 804) joins with Pedasa in Caria, as a place where the myrtle grew in shafts of unusual length; and Sir C. Fellows speaks of it as growing very luxuriantly in Mysia, *Asia Minor* p. 26, comp. p. 42 'The underwood was of myrtle, growing sometimes twenty feet high, the beautiful daphne laurel and the arbutus,' as well as in Pamphylia, where 'the myrtles were prodigious bushes; I measured several which covered a circle forty feet in diameter, the stem being as thick as my body' p. 196. Hence Muretus may be right in maintaining against Lambinus and the Roman scholars of the 16th century that *Asia* is Asiatic, not Asian; though the latter view has been almost universally adopted, and is considered by Voss to be beyond question. **ramulis**, instrum. abl. Theophr. de Caus. Plant. v. 13. 4 τὰ γὰρ ἀσθενῆ καὶ λεπτὰ τοῦτ' οὐ πύσχει, καθάπερ τὰ τῶν μυρρίνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάχιστ' ἐπικαίεται. λεπτὰ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ κλωνία καὶ ἀπαλὰ τῇ φύσει. Virg. Ecl. vii. 6 *dum teneras defendo a frigore myrtos*.

23. **Quos**, perhaps literal: each spray is tended by a Hamadryad, and all of them together are their plaything. The Hamadryads are described in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 264 sqq. Τῆσι δ' ἄμ' ἢ ἐλάται ἢ ἐ δρυὲς ὑψικάρηνοι Γειωμένησιν ἔφυσαν ἐπὶ χθονὶ βωτιανείρη, Καλαὶ τηληθάουσαι, ἐν οὐρεσιν ὑψηλοῖσιν. Ἄλλ' ὅτε κεν δὴ μοῖρα παρεστῆκη θανάτοιο, Ἀζάνεται μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ χθονὶ δένδρεα καλά, Φλοῖός δ' ἀμφιπεριφθινύθει, πίπτουσι δ' ἄπ' ὄζοι, τῶν δέ θ' ὁμοῦ ψυχὴ λείπει φάος ἡελίοιο. Comp. Pind. F. 142 Bergk, Apoll. Rhod. ii. 479-483, Callim. Del. 83-85.

24. **Ludicrum**, ἄθρυμα Hom. H. Cer. 16, where Persephone stretches her hands to take the narcissus as a καλὸν ἄθρυμα. Alciph. iii. 22. **sibi** with *Ludicrum*. **rosido**. Theophrast. Hist. Pl. ii. 8. δεῖσθαι δέ φησιν Ἀνδροπίων καὶ κόπρου δριμυτάτης καὶ πλείστης ὑδρείας ἐλαίαν καὶ μύρρινον καὶ ρόϊαν.

25. There is no reason to doubt that the reading of almost all MSS, *umore*, is right. Catullus contracts the dactyl in a pherecratean verse, as he contracts it in palaeacian verses (hendecasyllables), several times in LV (Luc. Müller de Re Metrica p. 166).

26. **aditum ferens**, like *aditum ferat* 43, *reditum in nemora ferat* LXIII. 79, *reditum ad uada tetulit* LXIII. 47, *ad Idae tetuli nemora pedem* LXIII. 52 describes the act of approaching as a *process*, here with the idea of state and solemnity; in the Attis of labour and pain.

27. **Perge linquere**, either 'leave in due course,' 'duly leave,' as in Cic. Arat. 326 *Post hunc ore fero Capricornus uadere pergit*, proceeds to advance, i. e. advances in his order, Hor. C. ii. 18. 16 *Nouaeque*

*pergunt interire lunae*, or, better, 'be leaving,' throwing more circumstance into the act, a favorite formula with Statius Theb. i. 688 *ne perge queri*, ix. 660 *Nec tu peritura mouere Auxilia et maestos in uanum perge labores*, x. 708 *ne perge meos orbare penates*. **Thespieae**. Strab.

409 Θεσπίαν δὲ λέγει τὰς νῦν Θεσπίας· ἔστι δὲ πόλις πρὸς τῷ Ἐλικῶνι, νοτιωτέρα αὐτοῦ ἐπικειμένη δὲ τῷ Κρ.σαίῳ κόλπῳ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ὁ Ἐλικῶν . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ Θεσπιῶν ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Ἄσκη κατὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἐλικῶνα μέρος, ἢ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου πατρίσ. An epigram by Philicides of Megara ap. Steph. Byz. in *Θέσπεια* describes it as lying ὑπὸ κροτάφοις Ἐλικῶνος, and so Pausanias ix. 26 ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Ἐλικῶνα ᾤκισται.

23. **Rupis**, Helicon, as *Parnasia rupes* Ecl. vi. 29 (Passerat). The description of Pausanias ix. 29. 3 ἐν Ἐλικῶνι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄλσος ἰόντι τῶν Μουσῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ἡ Ἀγανίππη πηγὴ· θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι τὴν Ἀγανίππην τοῦ Τερμησοῦ λέγουσι· βεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ὁ Τερμησὸς περὶ τὸν Ἐλικῶνα. Τὴν δὲ εὐθείαν ἐρχομένην πρὸς τὸ ἄλσος, ἐστὶν εἰκὼν Εὐφήμης ἐπειγασμένη λίθῳ· τροφὸν δὲ εἶναι τὴν Εὐφήμην λέγουσι τῶν μουσῶν· ταύτης τε οὖν εἰκὼν καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν Δίνος ἐστὶν ἐν πέτρᾳ μικρᾷ σπηλαίου τρόπου εἰργασμένη· τούτῳ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον πρὸ τῆς θυσίας τῶν Μουσῶν ἐσαΐζουσι, does not correspond with that of Catullus, who perhaps had never visited the spot. At any rate his 'Aonian caverns' must be *below* Aganippe. **Aonios** so Virg. Ecl. x. 12 *Aonie Aganippe*.

Already in the Theogony the Muses are called Ἐλικωνιάδες, and dance round its violet-hued fount, perhaps that afterwards known as Aganippe (Hes. Theog. 1-4). **specus**. Caves and grottoes are often mentioned in connexion with the Muses, e. g. the Libethrian grotto Strabo 410, 471, Paus. ix. 34 which was also part of Helicon, and so Columella speaks of *Antra Castaliis semper rorantia guttis* x. 267.

29. **Nympha** is not used for *lympa*, but Aganippe, daughter of a river, (see on 28) and herself a water-nymph, pours down the water of the spring which bears her name. Cf. Anth. P. ix. 328. 1 *Νύμφαι Νηΐδες καλλιῤῥοον αἱ τὸδε νᾶμα χεῖτε κατ' οὐρείου πρῶνός ἀπειρέσιον*. According to Varro, quoted by Servius on Ecl. vii. 21, the Muses were sometimes identified with the Nymphs, as residing in springs; thus fountains were sometimes consecrated to the *Camenae*, and so Virgil Ecl. vii. 21 asks the *Nymphae Libethrides* to grant him a song.

30. **Frigerans** seems not to be found in any other writer of authority.

31. **Domum** and **dominam** are in relation to each other as often, LXVIII. 68, Trin. iv. 3. 1. Cic. Phil. xiii. 9. 19 *minaretur dominis, notaret domos*, De Fin. i. 18. 58, Petron. 76 *dominus in domo factus sum*.

33-35. A common simile applied in an uncommon way. Generally the ivy is the *person* who clasps, as in Hec. 398, Med. 1213, Hor. C. i. 36. 20, Epod. xv. 5, here it is love which clasps the soul.

33. **reunciens**, 'binding fast;' like *religare* the original idea seems to be binding back so as to prevent escape. Ennius has *somno leni placidoque reunctus* Ann. 5 Vahlen.

34. **tenax**, 'clinging.' Hor. Epod. xv. 5. **huc et huc** with **errans**; the disorder of the words corresponds to the straggling irregularity of the ivy.

36. **integrae**, 'unstained,' XXXIV. 2.

37. **Par dies** looks like an expression of common life, as we might say 'your own time.' **in modum**, 'in measure,' like *in numerum* Lucr. ii. 631, Virg. Ecl. vi. 27, G. iv. 175. There seems to be no authority

for Pleitner's 'in modum solennem, cum citatur ad munus.' In Theocritus the virgins who chant the Epithalamium of Helen and Menelaus "Αειδον δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι ἐς ἐν μέλων ἐγκροτέουσαι Ποσσὶ περιπλέκτους (xviii. 7, 8).

41. **audiens**, when he hears the cry *O Hymenaeae Hymen* which summons him to his duty of presiding at the marriage. Callim. H. Apoll. 21 ὄππότε ἢ παιῶν ἢ παιῶν ἀκούση.

42. **citarier**, like *nitier* 68, *compararier* 65, 70, 75, gives an antique cast to the expression.

44. **Bonae Veneris**, 195. As Venus was goddess of the sexual relations, and these might be virtuous or vicious, Ouid. Fasti iv. 133, 4 *Rite deam Latiae colitis matresque nurusque; Et vos quis uitae longaue uestis abest*, she is *bona Venus* as goddess of married and honorable love. Fasti iv. 153-156 *Cum primum cupido Venus est deducta marito Hoc bibit: ex illo tempore nupta fuit. Supplicibus uerbis illam placate: sub illa Et forma et mores et bona fama manet*, for *illa* is not Fortuna Virilis (Paley) but Venus, as is shown by the following lines. So Theocritus distinguishes Κύπρις Οὐρανία from Κύπρις Πάνδημος. Anth. P. vi. 340 'Α Κύπρις οὐ πάνδαμος Ἰλάσκει τὰν θεῶν εἰπὼν Οὐρανίαν, ἀγρᾶς ἄνθεμα Χρυσογόνας, Οἴκη ἐν Ἀμφικλέους, φῶ καὶ τέκνα καὶ βίον ἔσχε Ξυνόν. αἰεὶ δέ σφιν λώων εἰς ἔτος ἦν Ἐκ σέθεν ἀρχομένοις, ὦ πόρνια.

45. **Coniugator**, 'uniter,' does not seem to be found elsewhere. Cicero uses the verb, De Off. i. 17. 58 *Estque ea iucundissima amicitia quam similitudo morum coniugauit.* **amoris boni**, as distinct from *meretricii amores*.

46-75. A hymn in praise of Hymenaeus, sung by the virgins (36-9).

46. Haupt, whose reading I have adopted, makes **anxiis** a predicate, 'Where is the God that lovers should be more earnest to seek?' It seems more natural to take **magis** with **petendus**, 'What God is more to be sought by heart-sick lovers?' So *Quem colent homines magis?* 48. **anxiis** refers to the deferred hope of fruition, when *Veneris dulcedinis in cor Stillauit gutta et successit frigida cura* Lucr. iv. 1059. Comp. Tib. i. 3. 16 *Quaerebam tardas anxius usque moras.* Stat. S. i. 2. 81 *Quantos iuuenis premat anxius ignes.*

47. **Est**. A very effective rhythm, produced by the gradual ascent from the monosyllabic *Est* to the quadrisyllable **amantibus**. It is used again in 127 *Iam seruire Talassio.*

51. **tremulus**, 'decrepit,' Eun. ii. 3. 45 *Incuruos tremulus labiis demissis gemens.*

52. **Inuocat** with **suis**, as in Ouid. A. A. iii. 376 *Inuocat iratos et sibi quisque deos.* The old father implores the god of marriage on his children, i. e. for help in his children's behalf, anxious to see them wed before he dies.

53. **Zonula**, also in a fragment of Serenus ap. Non. 539 *aut zonulam aut acum aut ricam* was perhaps the word used by girls for the more common *zona*. As two girdles were worn, one round the hips, the other beneath the breasts, Rich (s. u. *zona*) distinguishes the former as *zona*, the latter as *cingulum*. But the breast-band is *strophium* or *mamillare* (Mart. xiv. 66); whilst the fact that *cingulum* is also a man's belt, and that *cinguli* was a word for slender-waisted men (Paulus D. s. u.) shows this to be the general term, in fact the Roman equivalent for ζώνη. And this agrees with the passages where *cingulum* is used of the woman's girdle.

Paulus D. p. 63 M. *Cinxiae Iunonis nomen sanctum habebatur in nuptiis, quod initio coniugii solutio erat cinguli, quo noua nupta erat cincta.* ib. *Cingulo noua nupta praecingebatur, quod uir in lecto solvebat, factum ex lana ovis, ut, sicut illa in glomos sublata coniuncta inter se sit, sic uir suus secum cinctus uinctusque esset.* *Hunc Herculeo nodo uinctum uir soluit omnis gratia, ut sic ipse felix sit in suscipiendis liberis, ut fuit Hercules, qui septuaginta liberos reliquit.* As here used *cingulum* is evidently i. q. *zona* as described by Mart. xiv. 151 *Longa satis nunc sum; dulci sed pondere uenter Si tumeat, fiam tunc tibi zona breuis,* i. e. the lower girdle round the hips. Virgins let the folds of their robe fall free of this girdle at marriage, because then they unclasp it; hence *zonam soluere* = to surrender one's virginity: and so Alcestis 175 ὦ Λέκτρον, ἔβα παρθένει' ἔλυσ' ἐγὼ Κορεύματ' ἐκ τοῦδ' ἀνδρός, in contradiction to the more common usage according to which the lover λύει ζώνην or μίτην Od. xi. 245, Theocr. xxvii. 55, Mosch. ii. 164.

54. **timens**, 'fearing,' whilst desiring. So Tib. i. 8. 36 *Dum timet et teneros conserit usque sinus,* and Statius S. i. 2. 31 *Tu tamen attomitus, quamuis data copia tantae Sortis, adhuc optas, permissaque numine dextro Vota paves.* Mr. Clayton compares Troilus and Cressida iii. 2 *I am giddy; expectation whirls me round. The imaginary relish is so sweet That it enchants my sense: what will it be When that the watery palate tastes indeed Love's thrice-reputed nectar? death, I fear me, swooning destruction, or some joy too fine, Too subtile-potent, tuned too sharp in sweetness, For the capacity of my ruder powers: I fear it much.* **nouos maritus**, like *noua nupta*. Varro ap. Non. 47, Gerontodidascalus ii. Riese *Nouos maritus tacitulus taxim uxoris solvebat cingillum.* **Captat aure**, Aen. iii. 514 *auribus aera captat.*

56. **fero**, 'rude,' partly from the *ardor uiolentus* of love (Lucr. iv. 1116, cf. 1079-1083), partly with the idea of the bridegroom ravishing the bride as an enemy. **in manus**, a poetical variation upon the legal formula *in manum*. By marriage *cum conuentione in manum* the wife passed out of her father's family into that of her husband, the agnati of the latter becoming now her own. The husband thus acquired the right of a father over his wife, and full power over her property; she was no longer *sui iuris*, but *alieni*. (Rossb. Röm. Ehe pp. 53-56.)

57. **ipse**, 'with thy own hand,' perhaps implying that in the rape which on the wedding-day was symbolized by the bride's being torn by force from her mother's bosom, the central idea of marriage, and therefore the prime function of the marriage-god lay. He was present through all the ceremony; but in this act he interfered personally. So above *Qui rapis teneram ad uirum Virginem.*

58. Festus p. 289 M. *Rapi simulatur uirgo ex gremio matris; aut, si ea non est, ex proxima necessitudine cum ad uirum traditur, quod uidelicet ea res feliciter Romulo cessit.* Rossbach thinks this immediately preceded or was the first act of the *domum deductio*: the bride was removed from her mother's arms by the pronuba, as seems likely from Stat. S. i. 2. 11-15, Claudian Epithal. 124-128 (Rossb. pp. 308, 329).

61-75. The gradation in these three strophes from (1) the relation of husband and wife to (2) that of parent and child, and (3) that of citizen and country is the natural one, and corresponds to the different stages of married life, (1) of passion purely sexual, (2) of family feeling, (3) of responsibility as arising from the possession of children as members of



the community. The transition from the purely personal to the more general relation, as from the more to the less selfish feeling, is appropriate to the solemnity of a Roman Hymeneal, and shows that the MS. order is the right one. Cf. Cic. de Off. i. 17. 54 *Nam cum hoc sit natura commune animantium ut habeant libidinem procreandi, prima societas in ipso coniugio est, proxima in liberis, deinde una domus, communia omnia. Id autem est principium urbis et quasi seminarium rei publicae.*

61-65. So Claudian Epithal. 31 sqq. *Hunc Musa genitum legit Cytherea ducemque Praefecit thalamis: nullum iunxisse cubile Hoc sine nec primas fas est attollere taedas.*

62. Phorm. iv. 5. 12 *Id si non fama adprobat.*

63. **Commodi capere**, a common expression. Eun. iii. 5. 25 *Quid ex ea re tandem ut caperes commodi?* v. 5. 1 *Ex meo propinquo rure hoc capio commodi, 'find a gain.'*

67. **Liberos dare**, 'bear children,' the express and formal object of marriage, as is shown by the recurring phrases *liberum quaerundum, quaerendorum* (Gell. iv. 3. 2, Suet. Jul. 52, Quintil. Declam. 247), *liberorum, liberum quaesendum* (Ennius in Cresphonte and Andromeda ap. Festum p. 258 M.), *creandorum* (Val. Max. vii. 7. 4) *gratia uxorem ducere*. Pleitner quotes Gaius i. 64 *Ergo si quis nefarias atque incestas nuptias contraxerit, neque uxorem habere uideatur, neque liberos. Hi enim qui ex eo coitu nascuntur, matrem quidem habere uidentur, patrem uero non utique; nec ob id in potestate eius sunt, sed quales sunt ii quos mater uulgo concepit. Nam nec hi patrem habere intelleguntur, cum his etiam incertus sit: unde solent spurii filii appellari.*

68. **Stirpe nitier**, 'rest on a new stock of children,' as Prop. iv. 11. 69 *Et serie fulcite genus*. Plin. Epist. iv. 21. 3 *cui nunc unus ex tribus liberis superest domumque pluribus adminiculis paulo ante fundatam desolatus fulcit ac sustinet*. The ordinary reading *iungier* must mean 'be continued,' i. e. form a continuous link in the family by means of a new stock of children, as in Plin. iv. 9. 10 *labore quem difficilius est repelere quam iungere*. Scaliger thought Catullus alludes here to the fact that children of an informal marriage were *peregrinae condicionis*, and could not take an inheritance as the *sui heredes* of their father. A *suus heres* continues the right of his father, and in this way forms a new *stirps* by which the father is continued (*parens iungitur*). Rossbach retains *uincier*, 'give way to,' as Statius urges a son to overtake his sire, S. iv. 4. 74 *Surge agedum iuuenemque puer deprendente parentem*.

71. **Quae . . careat . . Non queat**, 'if any house should be without, it could not; ' a change from the direct assertion of the two previous strophes, suited to the more remote contingency; they speak of wedded happiness and coming children; this of children old enough to serve in the defence of the state. **sacris**, probably to recal the *sacra priuata* or family rites which the Romans were bound by law to maintain unbroken (De Legg. ii. 9. 22).

72. **praesides** in the same sense as *praesidium*, 'guardians,' 'defenders.' Liu. vi. 16 *Iuppiter optime maxime, Iunoque regina ac Minerua ceterique di deaque, qui Capitolium arcemque incolitis, sicine uestrum militem ac praesidem simitis uexari ab inimicis?* Catullus alludes to the fact that the Roman legions consisted originally of none but freeborn Roman citizens. (Passerat.) But the statement, which is expressed *generally*, 'a land where

marriages are irregular cannot provide soldiers to protect its borders,' contains of course a general truth, as where the family, or more strictly, the paternal relation is weak, e. g. in tribes where promiscuous intercourse takes place, there cannot be the same subordination or therefore the same united action; each warrior thinks of himself, and is more ready to wander off in quest of a livelihood than to remain in one place or present himself at any moment for the defence of a scarcely settled territory.

**76-120.** The Virgins' song to Hymenaeus ended, the poet places us at the street-door of the bride's house, where the crowd is waiting for the bride to appear. As she delays a long time, the emotions she may be supposed to pass through are successively described. (1) Love and shame must be in conflict; shame is the stronger, she is weeping to think she must leave her mother. (2) So fair a woman should not weep; she should think of her beauty and come forth. (3) She must and ought to appear, and not keep our procession waiting. (4) Let her think what a kind husband expects her and come. (5) And how joyful he is in the anticipation of her love. She must come. The central idea is the wish to see the bride, *Prodeas noua nupta*; which is therefore repeated twice in the central stanza 92 and 96. This section of the poem is very Greek throughout: probably a good deal was modelled on Sappho, Callimachus was also, perhaps, imitated in parts.

**76-78.** Callim. H. Apoll. 5-8 οἶχ ὀράης; ἐπένευσεν ὁ Δῆλιος ἠδὲ τι φούνηξ Ἐξαπίτης, ὁ δὲ κύκνος ἐν ἡέρι καλὸν αἰεῖει. Αὐτοὶ νῦν κατοχῆς ἀνακλίσεθε πυλάων· Αὐταὶ δὲ κληῖδες· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς οὐκέτι μακρὰν.

**77.** *adest* the reading of all the MSS. follows naturally upon *pandite* as giving the reason. 'Open the door; the bride is here, ready to come forth; and our procession, bride, is ready with its torches to escort you.' The sudden change *pandite*, *adest*, *uiden* accords with the eager expectation of the crowd: much as *Flet* in 81 is followed by *flere desim* in 82. *uiden* is perhaps general, as in Tib. ii. 1. 15 *Cernite* is followed by *uiden* 25; yet in 94 *uiden* must be addressed to the bride. **faces.** Torches were naturally introduced in a ceremony which originally took place at night. Servius ad Ecl. viii. 29 *Varro in aetiis ait sponsas faces praecive, quod antea non nisi per noctem nubentes ducebantur a sponsis*: and the Scholiast on Lucan ii. 356 quotes from Varro *Veniēti nouae nuptae funal praeluceat*. Plutarch (Quaest. Rom. 2) states that the number of torches lighted at a marriage was always five, a specially γαμήλιος ἀριθμός, as made up of the male number 3 and the female 2; something of which feeling we retain in the proverbial 'there's luck in odd numbers.' (Rossb. Röm. Ehe p. 339).

**78. comas.** Cf. Aesch. Ag. 306 φλογὸς μέγαν πώγωνα, also in Eurip. fr. 833 Nauck; Shakspeare's 'red and bearded fires;' and more nearly πυρὸς ἀμφήκης βόστρυχος of lightning Prom. 1044.

**79.** The lacuna must have contained something like this, 'The bride delays; it is time she should get the better of her shame. Yet she listens to the voice of shame more than to us, and weeps because she must go.' **Tardet** possibly from *tardere*, cf. *lentet* from *lentere* in Lucilius ap. Priscian. 880. P. 397 K. **ingenuus**, 'the shame of one gently born.' Statius quotes Philetas (fr. 16 Bergk) ἀγαθὴ δ' ἐπὶ ἡθεσιν αἰδώς.

**81. Flet.** Plutarch Quaest. Rom. 105 ὁ Βάρρων εἶρηκεν ὅτι λυπούμεναι μὲν αἱ παρθέναι γαμοῦνται, χαίρουσαι δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες.

82. Titinius ap. Non. 227 *Accede ad sponsum audacter, uirgo nulla est tali Setiae.*

83. **non periculum est**, often in Cicero. Tusc. Disp. v. 40. 118 *Quae qui recordetur haud sane periculum est ne non mortem aut optandam aut certe non timendam pulet.* De Orat. i. 48. 209 *Nullum est periculum ne quid tu eloquere nisi prudenter.*

84-87. Sappho fr. 106 Bergk οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἑτέρα πάϊς, ὃ γάμβρε, τοιαῦτα. Eur. Hec. 635 Ἐλένας ἐπὶ λέκτρα, τὰν καλλίσταν ὁ χρυσοφαῆς Ἄλιος ἀυγάξει. **diem Viderit uenientem** is an inversion of Callim. H. Dian. 249 τοῦ δ' οὔτι θεώτερον ὄψεται Ἥως.

87. **uario**, 'many-hued,' a sense into which it easily passes from the earlier one of 'streaked' which is found in Cato R. R. xxxiii, lxxiii.

88. **Diuitis**, who might plant it for ornament, not for food or medicinal purposes. Il. xi. 68 ἀνδρὸς μάκαρος κατ' ἄρουραν. **hortulo**, 'pleasure-garden,' the κηπίον καὶ ἐγκαλλώπισμα πλούτου of Thuc. ii. 62.

89. **Stare**, not merely 'stand,' but 'rise tall or straight.' **flos hyacinthinus**, an exact translation of Homer's ὑάκινθιον ἄθος Od. vi. 231, to which the locks of Odysseus are compared. Daubeny, who examines the question what the flower was at some length (Roman Husbandry pp. 236-238) concludes 'that the term ὑάκινθος was in general applied to some plant of the lily tribe; but that the poets confounded with this the larkspur, which has upon it the markings alluded to (AI AI); and that the name Hyacinth was given in the first instance to the plant which most distinctly exhibited them.' The figured ὑάκινθος in the Vienna MS. of Dioscorides agrees very well with the straight upstanding flower Catullus seems to have had in view. Virgil says more correctly *florem hyacinthi* Aen. xi. 69.

90. Catullus may have had in view Cas. iv. 3. 6 *Nam quid illaec nunc Tam diu intus remoratur, quasi ob industriam?*

91. **Prodeas** seems to put *prodi* into the bride's mind, and to remove the command into a second stage; *prodi*, 'come forth;' *prodeas*, 'we would have you come forth,' 'think that we tell you to come forth.' Such imperatival subjunctives when addressed to definite persons are rare (Madvig Lat. Gram. § 385). **noua nupta** was a formula, Varro fr. Agatho ap. Non. 167, Plin. H. N. viii. 194, xviii. 10, xxviii. 142, xxxv. 78.

93. **Si iam uidetur**, 'if at last you are pleased to do so,' a gentle rebuke for delaying. *Si uidetur*, an urgent 'if you please,' is common Pro Quinctio v. 19 *Nunc hoc uelim cures, si tibi uidetur, quod dixisti.* Fam. vii. 23. 4 *Tu et ad omnia rescribes et quando te expectem feceris me, si tibi uidetur, certiore.*

94. Perhaps an allusion to the *nupta uerba* which marriage made lawful. Festus p. 170 M. *Nupta uerba dicebantur ab antiquis quae uirginem dicere non licebat, ut Plautus in Dyscolo, Virgo sum nondum didici nupta uerba dicere.*

95. **Aureas**. Pind. fr. 57 B. Bergk αἰθομένα δὲ δᾶς ἰπὸ ξανθαῖσι πεύκαις.

97. **leuis**, 'truant,' 'fickle,' Prop. ii. 24. 18. **in mala Deditus adultera**, as Lucr. iii. 647 *Et semel in pugnae studio quod dedita mens est, iv. 815 quibus est in rebus deditus ipse.*

98. The rhythm is unique, and unusually harsh.

99. **Probra**, 'scandals,' *probrum castis inferre* Cael. xviii. 42, in the

special sense of adultery, with which it was very early identified. Gell. x. 23. 4 *Verba M. Catonis adscribi ex oratione quae inscribitur de dote . . . si uinum bibi, si cum alieno uiro probri quid fecit, condemnatur.* Cic. Phil. ii. 38 *Probri insinulasti pudicissimam feminam.* The MSS. give *proca*, which Rossbach prints in his text. There was an old word *procare* or *procarī*, 'to demand,' whence *procus*, 'a suitor,' *procax*, 'forward,' in special reference to licentious advances, as Cicero pro Cael. xx. 49 says *ut non solum meretrix, sed etiam procax uideatur*, and so Apuleius uses *procatio* of adulterous solicitations. *Proca* may be the noun corresponding to *procare*; if so it would seem to mean 'wantonnesses.' If however I am right in referring to this a passage in the Balliol Glossary '*progom uituperationem*,' the word would seem to have meant 'blame;' *proca turpia* would then be 'foul reproach.' As the metre does not admit a pyrrich we might suppose the word to have been pronounced *porca*. See Excursus in vol. i.

100. **tuis teneris**, like Lucretius' *meo diti de pectore* i. 413, *tuo corpore sancto* i. 38, seems to be an imitation of Ennius' antique manner (Munro on Lucr. i. 413). Here it adds something of simplicity quite in harmony with the feeling of the passage.

102. Perhaps suggested by Sapph. fr. 104 Bergk *τίω σ', ὦ φίλε γάμβρε, κάλωσ' εἰκάσθω*; \**Ορπακι βραδίνω σε κάλιστ' εἰκάσθω.* **adsitas**, planted near or by it. Varro R. R. i. 16. 6 *uitis adsita ad holus*, Ouid. Her. v. 47 *adpositis uilibus ulmus*.

107. The *lectus genialis* was similarly apostrophized by Ticiada in his Epithalamium, *Felix lectule talibus Sole amoribus*.

108. Probably refers to the ivory feet of the bed. The comic poet Plato speaks of such couches as *ελεφαντόποδες* fr. incert. 8. Cf. Varro's *eburnei, eborati lecti* (Non. 378, 229). **pede lecti**, so Lucilius ap. Macrob. S. vi. 4. 18, Sen. de Ben. ii. 34. 2.

110. **uaga**, 'fleeting.' Chaucer Romaunt of the Rose p. 25 Bell *The tyme that passeth night and day, And restlesly travayleth ay, And steleth from us so pryvely, That to us semeth sikerly That it in one point dwelleth evere, And certes it ne resteth nevere.*

111. **medio die**, at the mid-day siesta, XXXII. 3. Ouid. Am. i. 5. 1 *Aestus erat mediâque dies exegerat horam. Apposui medio membra leuanda toro. Pars adaperata fuit, pars altera clausa fenestras: Quale fere siluâe lumen habere solent . . . Illa uerecundis lux est praebenda puellis, Qua timidus latebras speret habere pudor etc.* The Romans regarded noon as the end of their working day Plut. Q. R. 84.

114-158. The bride at last appears, the boys who carry the torches before her lift them in the air, and taking up the cry *Io Hymen Hymenaeae* io move on in procession, together with the rest of the crowd assembled, to the bridegroom's house. This *domum deductio* or solemn procession of the bride to her husband's house was in actual life the occasion of loud and open merriment; verses called Fescennine, containing coarse allusions to marriage and its obligations, were sung, and walnuts scattered amongst the crowd. Catullus represents this thoroughly Italian characteristic by the five strophes 124-148 *Da nuces pueris, iners—Io Hymen Hymenaeae*: all of which are more or less coarse, and may all therefore be supposed to belong to the *Fescennina locutio* (120). It is true that the two strophes 124-133 *Da nuces pueris, iners Concubine—*

*Concubine, nuces da*, which might be sung *alternis* (Hor. Epist. ii. 1. 145), which contain the specially Italian allusion to *nuces* the *comites Fescenninorum* and the specially Roman cry *Talasio*, and from which the Greek *epiphonema Io Hymen Hymenae io* is excluded (Rossbach Röm. Ehe p. 345) stand in a sense by themselves, and might be supposed, as they have been by Peiper, to represent the Fescennines alone. The rhythm too of the twice repeated verse *Concubine, nuces da* (see on 128) is unusually harsh and seems to correspond with the rugged rhythm of the old Fescennines. But (1) noise and coarseness seem to have been the distinctive feature of the *domum deductio*, as a whole; nothing proves that either the throwing of *nuces*, or the flute-playing or the jokes habitual on this occasion were confined to the *beginning* of the procession: (2) the allusion in 124-133 is carried on in 134-143; the four strophes therefore can hardly be separated from each other: (3) the boys who are called upon in 116 to chant in measure *Io Hymen Hymenae io, Io Hymen Hymenae* may be presumed to sing from this verse onwards (of course excepting 119-123) to the end of the *domum deductio*, when the bride steps over the threshold of her new home (159) and a new scene begins: (4) Varro and Festus state that the licence of coarse speech was the special prerogative of boys on these occasions. Varro Agatho fr. 1 (Non. 357), *pueri obscenis uerbis nouae nuptulae aures returant*. Festus p. 245 M. *Praetextum sermonem quidam putant dici quod praetextatis nefas sit obsceno uerbo uti. Ali quod nubentibus depositis praetextis a multitudine puerorum obscena clamentur*. Therefore 124-133 the most characteristic specimen of the *praetextatus sermo* which the poem presents cannot be excluded from the song of the boys or marked off by themselves without a grave violation of artistic propriety. If we suppose the boys to sing *Diceris male te a tuis—Scimus haec tibi quae licent—Nupta, tu quoque quae tuus*, we may be sure that they also sing *Da nuces pueris, iners* and *Sordebant tibi uillicae*. Whether the crowd chime in, as Rossbach thinks and as the words *Nostra uerba* 93 might lead us to suppose, there is not much to determine. The only strophe where such a view seems more than possible is *Scimus haec tibi quae licent* 139-143.

115. **uideo**. This is the first time an express personality is introduced. It occurs again 189 *ita me iuuent Caetites*, 210 *uolo*, perhaps 225 *lusimus*. It seems most natural to suppose the poet himself to be the speaker in every case, as Statius in his Epithalamium of Stella and Violantilla addresses the bridegroom in his own person.

119. **procax**, 'saucy.'

120. **Fascennina**. Paul. D. p. 85 M. *Fascennini uersus qui canebantur in nuptiis ex urbe Fescennina dicuntur allati, siue ideo dicti quia fascinum putabantur arcere*; and so Servius on Aen. vii. 695. Fescennia or Fescennium was an old Etruscan town near Falerii (Aen. vii. 695, Plin. iii. 52, Dionys. i. 21), not in Campania as Servius wrongly states: Dionysius says it existed in his time i. 21, but its only historical importance is in its being supposed to have given its name to the Fescennines, in the time of Catullus confined, it would seem, to the meaning of licentious verses sung at weddings, Liu. vii. 2 *non, sicut ante, Fescennino uersu similem inpositum temere ac rudem alternis iaciebant*. Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 139 *Fescennina per hunc inuenta licentia morem Versibus alternis oppro-*

*bria rustica fudit.* Luc. ii. 368 *Non soliti lusere sales, nec more Sabino Exceptit tristis conuicia festa maritus.* Sen. Med. 113 *Festa dicax fundat conuicia Fescenninus, Soluat turba iocos.* Sen. Controvers. vii. 21 (p. 223 Bursian) *Inter nuptiales fescenninos in cruce generi nostri iocabantur.* Plin. xv. 86 *Iuglandes nuptialium fescenninorum comites* (Teuffel Hist. of Rom. Lit. § 5). **locutio** I prefer to *iocatio* in accordance with the definition ad Heren. iii. 13. 23 *Iocatio est oratio quae ex aliqua re risum pudentem et liberalem potest comparare.* It may be doubted whether the *Fescennina licentia* could come under this.

121. Walnuts (Plin. H. N. xv. 86) were scattered amongst the crowd while the Fescennines were sung. From Virg. Ecl. viii. 30 *Spargite marile nuces*, and the words of Servius there *dicitur ideo a nouo marito nuces spargi debere quod proiectae in terram tripudium solistimum faciant* it is clear that they were thrown by the bridegroom. This would not prove that they were thrown by no one else. Catullus makes the singers of the Fescennines call upon the *concupinus* or favorite slave of the bridegroom to do so. This is artistically an improvement in two ways, (1) the position of the *concupinus* becomes more effective poetically. He is taunted by those whose youth reminds him of his own prime, now past, while it irritates him by the inversion of the natural position which he ought to occupy towards them. They are younger, therefore should be his inferiors; yet it is just because they are younger that he is inferior to them. (2) The turn from the *concupinus* to the husband varies by contrast the position of the latter, and so enhances the dignity of marriage.

122. The meaning of **Desertum** will slightly vary according as **domini amorem** is taken to mean 'his master's love for him' or 'his love for his master.' In the latter case *Desertum* would be 'is left forlorn,' viz. by his master moving off to a new affection. But this is harsh; *domini* is more naturally taken as subjective genitive, *desertum* will then be 'is forsaken,' a change from the more ordinary *desertum domino* like *Templo summi Iouis sacro* LV. 5 (Doering). Another way would be to take *desertum* as 'outstript,' 'that his master's love for himself is left behind (outstript) by a new passion (for his wife):' so A. A. ii. 725 *Sed neque tu dominam uelis maioribus usus Desere, nec cursus anteat illa tuos:* but this is too artificial.

123. **concupinus**, a favorite slave, i. q. *delicatus*. Quint. i. 2. 8 *Nec mirum; nos docuimus, ex nobis audiunt, nostras amicas, nostros concubinos uident.* Plin. H. N. viii. 180 *Concupino procaci.* Martial vi. 22. 1, 2 uses the word of a slave who shared his mistress' bed *Quid nubis, Proculina, concupino Et moechum modo, nunc facis maritum?* and Rich Companion s. u. explains it here of the bridegroom who till now had lived in concubinage with a female slave; 122-123 will then mean 'he who has lived in concubinage when he hears that the love once permitted him as master for his female slave is a thing of the past, now that the only legitimate union marriage is come,' and so Rossbach and before them Scaliger. But the strophe 129-134 has then little, if any, force; and the sudden turn to the bridegroom in 134 becomes comparatively tame.

124. **nucis pueris**, as in 121, looks like a regular combination, and may perhaps have been a common-place in Fescennines. Marquardt shows from an Inscription (Henzen 7128) that nuts were thrown amongst boys on birth-days as well as at weddings. *Nuces* were used in all

kinds of games and are thus synonymous with playthings Pers. i. 10, Hor. S. ii. 3. 171, Sueton. Aug. 83 *modo talis aut ocellatis nucibusque ludebat cum pueris minutis*. Servius on Ecl. viii. 30 *Meritorii pueri i. e. cataniti quibus licenter utebantur antiqui recedentes a turpi seruitio nuces spargebant i. e. ludum pueritiae, ut significarent se puerilia cuncta iam spernere*, or whoever was the author of the note, seems to have had Catullus in view. **iners**, in reference to the soft and unlaborious life which he led as a *delicatus*: De N. D. i. 36. 102 *Quasi pueri delicati nihil cessatione melius existumat*.

125. 'You have done with playthings now. Your master discards them for a manlier duty, and so must you.' Such would seem to be the connexion of thought; but there is some difficulty in the sudden change from the *concubinus* to his master.

126. *Iubet*, the reading of a MS. in the British Museum, may be right, as *Talassio* is nominative as well as dative.

127. Ter. And. i. 2. 17, 18 *Dum tempus ad eam rem tulit, siui animum ut expleret suom: Nunc hic dies aliam uitam adfert, alios mores postulat*. **Talassio**, Liu. i. 9 *Vnam longe ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem a globo Talasii cuiusdam raptam ferunt, multisque sciscitantibus cuienam eam ferrent, identidem ne quis eam uiolaret Talasio ferri clamitatum; inde nuptialem hanc uocem factam*: and so Plutarch Q. R. 31 *Διὰ τί ὁ πολυθρόλυτος ἄδειται Ταλάσιος ἐν τοῖς γάμοις; πότερον ἀπὸ τῆς ταλασίας; καὶ γὰρ τὸν τάλαρον τόλασον ὀνομάζουσι καὶ τὴν νύμφην εἰσάγοντες, νάκος ὑποστρωννύουσι· αὐτὴ δ' εἰσφέρει μὲν ἠλακάτην καὶ τὴν ἀτρακτον, ἐρίω δὲ τὴν θύραν περιστέφει τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἱστορικῶν ἀληθές, ὅτι νεανίας ἦν τις λαμπρὸς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς καὶ τᾶλλα χρηστός, ὄνομα Ταλάσιος . . . ὅθεν εὐτυχοῦς γάμου γενομένου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰθίσθησαν ἐπιφωνεῖν τὸν Ταλάσιον ὡσπερ Ἑλληνας τὸν Ὑμέναιον*; A shorter form *Talassus* is found in the vocative Mart. xii. 42. 4, and in Festus p. 359 M., another *Talassio, onis* in Festus s. u., Mart. i. 35. 6, 7, iii. 93. 25, xii. 95. 5. In the Catalecta iv. 9, v. 16 where the cry is given as it was commonly uttered, it is doubtful whether *Talassio* is dative or vocative. Livy and Plutarch seem to think it dative; Festus and Martial vocative. Rossbach connects Talassius with the other agricultural gods associated with Italian marriage ceremonies, perhaps with Consus. Livy's account proves that tradition connected the name with the primeval custom of ravishing the bride.

128. **Concubine, nuces da.** The harsh rhythm, made up of three words, the first of which has twice the number of syllables in the second, and this twice as many as the third, is perhaps a relic of the original Fescennines, which themselves were probably in Saturnian metre. (Rossb. Röm. Ehe p. 342.)

129. **Sordebant**, 'were of no account,' Virg. Ecl. ii. 44 *sordent tibi munera nostra*. **uillicae**, wives of *uillici* (Cato 143, Colum. xii. 1, Iuven. xi. 69, Mart. i. 55. 11, ix. 60. 3, x. 48. 7), whom the favorite slave would show his contempt for, not, I think, when they attempted to kiss and pet him (Muretus), nor to assert his superiority over all his master's establishment, in which the superintendents of the *uillae* would hold a high position and their wives rank correspondingly (Pleitner), but as too homely in their appearance and occupations to please his gentility or give him any concern as rivals in his master's favour. In Martial's time it was the custom to take young *delicati* who belonged to the town

establishment into the country (iii. 58. 29-32 *Exercet hilares facilis hortus urbanos, Et paedagogo non iubente lascivi Parere gaudent uillico capillati, Et delicatus opere fruitor eunuchus*); there they would come under the jurisdiction of the *uillica*; and if disinclined to work, as too dainty or indolent, would thus be placed in a situation such as Catullus may have had in view. This would be equally possible if the master had no town house at all; but so distinct a word as *uillicae* is more likely to have been introduced with the express intention of contrasting town-bred effeminacy with the healthy manners of the country.

130. *hodie atque heri*, 'only yesterday,' like *χθὲς καὶ πρῶην*.

131. 'Now the curler shaves your face,' you are no more young. Mart. xi. 78. 3 *Flammae texuntur sponsae, iam uirgo paratur. Tondebit pueros iam noua nupta tuos*. The word *tondet* perhaps includes not only the shaving of the first hair on the cheeks and chin (Anth. P. xii. 191. 1 *Ὀὐκ ἔχθεις παῖς ἦσθα καὶ οὐκ ὄναρ οὗτος ὁ πῶγων* "Ἠλυθε; πῶς ἀνέβη τοῦτο τὸ δαμόνον, καὶ τριχὶ πᾶντ' ἐκάλυψε τὰ πρὶν καλά; cf. Anth. P. xii. 30. 1, 31. 3, 35. 3, 174. 4. 195. 8, 26. 4, 27. 3); but the removal of the long locks habitually worn by *delicati*, Anth. P. xii. 233. 3. 4, 192. 1. Horace mentions both together in this reference C. iv. 10. 2, 3. The *cinerarius* or *ciniffo* curled the hair of women, sometimes of men (Asin. iii. 3. 37) with irons heated in ashes. Varro L. L. v. 129 *Calamistrum quod his calefactis in cinere capillus ornatur. Qui ea ministrabat a cinere cinerarius est appellatus*. Here he plays the part of a barber generally. Charisius 101 K. and Servius on Aen. iv. 698 explain *cinerarius* as a slave who prepared or applied a yellow powder (perhaps a soap, Plin. xxviii. 191) to dye the hair, quoting Cato's Origines (vii. fr. 9 Iordan) *Mulieres nostrae capillum cinere unctabant ut rutilus esset*, cf. Val. Max. ii. 1, and grammatically this is more probable than Varro's explanation, as *cinerarius* naturally means the powder man, not the man who merely uses ashes for the ulterior object of heating an iron. But Varro's authority on a point of contemporary fashion is not to be gainsaid; possibly the older sense passed into the later. *Cinerarius* was the title of one of the plays of Afranius.

134. *Diceris*, future. *te abstinere*, a construction very common in connexion with love. Turpilius Paedium (ap. Non. 40 Ribbeck 163) *Vt ille hac sese abstineret, ego supersederem nuptiis*. Declam. in Salust. iii. 9 *Facilius se mulieres a uiris abstinuerunt quam tu uir a uiris*. Hec. i. 2. 64 *Sese illa abstinere ut potuerit*.

135. *Vnguentate* and *glabris* are in relation to each other: the meaning seems to be 'when they see you essenced and perfumed for your wedding, they will say, So spruce a bridegroom will surely slip again into his early habits, his former pleasures will not quite lose their attractiveness for such a dandy.' *glabris*, slaves who acquired an artificial smoothness by the use of depilatories, perhaps an Etruscan introduction. Athen. xii. 518 *πολύ γε μέντοι χείρουσι συνόντες τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τοῖς μενρακίοις καὶ γὰρ γίνονται παρ' αὐτοῖς πανὸ καλοὶ τὰς ὄψεις ἅτε τρυφερῶς διατρώμενοι καὶ λευαίνενοι τὰ σώματα*. Phaedr. iv. 5. 22 *eunuchos glabros*. In *marite*, *marito* 140, *marite* 184, as also *ualentem* 227, the last syllable is hypermetrical and is elided before the first vowel of the following line. So XI. 19, 22. All these instances except the last seem to give the idea of exuberance; in XI. 22 the elision of *prati* suggests the excision of the flower on the edge of the meadow.



139. Pro Cael. xx. 48 *Quando denique fuit ut quod licet, non liceret?* where Cicero speaks of *meretricii amores*. Catullus probably means by *quae licent* any connexion, however disreputable, which was not punishable by law: he excludes *adulterium incestum* and *stuprum* with *ingenui*. Plut. Q. R. 65 *Διὰ τί τῆ νύμφῃ πρῶτον οὐκ ἐντυγχάνει μετὰ φωτὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἀλλὰ διὰ σκότους; ἢ διαβολή τις ἐστὶν ἀφροδισίων παρανομῶν τὸ γινόμενον, ὡς καὶ τοῖς νομίμοις αἰσχύνῃς τινας προσουούσῃς;*

140. *cognita* is chosen as a sexual word. Ouid. Her. vi. 133 *Turpiter illa uirum cognouit adultera uirgo*.

141. *non eadem*, 'not as before,' 'not equally.' Tusc. Disp. ii. 22. 52 *Opinio est quaedam effeminata ac leuis nec in dolore magis quam eadem in uoluptate*.

144. Vulp. quotes Mart. xii. 96. 5-8 *Plus tibi quam domino pueros praestare probabo. Hi faciunt, ut sis femina sola uiro. Hi dant quod non uis uxor dare. 'Do tamen' inquis 'Ne uagus a thalamis coniugis erret amor'* sqq. where Martial seems to have Catullus in view. This is not necessary: Catullus more naturally refers to the obligations by which, in a state of society when marriage had to be enforced by penalties and rewards, the wife was in an especial degree bound to avoid everything which could be a pretext for unfaithfulness.

146. *ni* is used very similarly in Lucr. iii. 286, and so *niue* Lucr. ii. 734 answers to *ne* in 731: in Cato R. R. 143 *ne—neue—neue—neue* is followed by *ni—neue*, if Schneider's text represents the MSS. That *ni* (*nei*) is only another form of *ne* is expressly stated by Donatus on Eun. ii. 3. 36, Servius on Aen. iii. 686, Priscian 61. K, and is proved by MSS. and Inscriptt. Ritschl (Rhein. Mus. for 1853 pp. 479-486) rejecting the hypothesis that *ni ne* are both abridged forms of *nei*, shows that the S. C. de Baccanalibus, belonging to the sixth cent. A.V.C., has *ne* twenty times for *nei* once; *ni* does not occur. The seventh cent. Inscriptt. show *ne* only rarely, *ni* and *nei*, especially the latter, very often; in the Lex Iulia, at the beginning of the eighth, *ne* occurs forty or fifty times for *nei* eight times, *ni* three; and Ritschl concludes that *ni* or *nei* was the predominant form in the seventh cent., *ne* in the sixth and eighth. The MSS. of Plautus still retain *ni* in Epid. iii. 2. 3, Most. ii. 1. 66, iv. 2. 21, Pseud. ii. 2. 59.

149-158. In these two strophes Catullus expresses in his own way the ceremony usual when the bride reached the door of her new home. The husband asked 'What is your name?' she replied, 'Where you are Caius, I am Caia;' words probably of great antiquity, and implying her admission as mistress to the household in which her husband was master, *ὅπου σὺ κύριος καὶ οἰκοδεσπότης, καὶ ἐγὼ κυρία καὶ οἰκοδέσπονα* Plut. Q. R. 30.

149. *potens*, 'rich,' W. Wagner on Ter. Eun. ii. 3. 62. So Phaedr. i. 24. 1 *Inops potentem dum uult imitari perit*; Stat. S. i. 2. 158 *Exullat uisu tectisque potentis alumnae*, ii. 7. 56 *Priami potentis aurum*.

150. *uiri tui* suggest the first part of the formula *ubi tu Caius*, the following lines the latter *ibi ego Caia*.

151. *seruiat* reminds the bride of her new importance as mistress of all her husband's slaves: some allusion to this very prominent feature of Roman life may have been part of the old tradition, which connected the name Caia with Gaia Caecilia, otherwise Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius

Priscus, *quam summam asseuerant lanificam fuisse* (Paulus D. s. u. Gaia Caecilia). In the early legends the Roman matron is surrounded by her maids spinning, and it was part of her duties to deal out to the female slaves of her household the amount of wool (*pensum*) which each had to make up by the end of the day. A distaff and spindle accompanied the bride, and the distaff and spindle of Tanaquil were still preserved in the temple of Sancus in the time of Varro (Plin. H. N. viii. 194).

152 153 interrupt the sentence; the continuation of which in two successive strophes perhaps conveys the idea of the continuity of married life. Theocritus similarly interrupts a sentence by an interjected refrain, ii. 103-105.

154. *tremulum* is explained by *mouens*, 'shaking into a tremor.'

155. *anilitas* is not found elsewhere in good authors. *tempus*, a singular rejected by Charisius but found in its strict sense of one of the two temples in Virgil Silius Stadius and others, is used more loosely by Auct. ad Heren. iv. 55 *dubitanti Graccho percudit tempus*, and so here. The hair of the eye-brows when white with age is particularly conspicuous, hence *canities* and *tempora* are often combined, cf. *πολιοκρόταφον γῆρας* Bacchyl. fr. 3. 2, and so Lucian Dial. Meretr. xi. 3.

156. 'Nods universal assent on all.' A good description of the effect produced by the perpetual jerking of a very old woman's head. Prof. Key (Language p. 60) following the Datanus reads *annuit=abnuvit*, as *amnegauerit=abnegauerit* in Orelli Insc. 1175, and translates 'Until palsied Age deny to thee, as to all others in like case, every kind of pleasure:' a rather violent interpretation. *Annuit* after *usque dum*, 'still on to the time when,' as in Asin. ii. 2. 62. (Holtze Synt. ii. p. 129.)

159 sqq. With the halt at the husband's door begins a new division of the poem, describing what takes place within the house up to the moment when the bride having been placed on the lectus genialis, the bridegroom is summoned to join her. Catullus makes no mention of the ceremony which immediately preceded the lifting of the bride over her husband's threshold, the anointing of the door-posts with the fat of pigs (Plin. xxviii. 135), in earlier times of wolves (ib. 142, Seru. on Aen. iv. 458), and wreathing them with wool (Plut. Q. R. 31, Seru. u. s.) As this rite was believed to be the origin of the word *uxor* (Donat. ad Hecyr. i. 2. 60 *uxor dicitur uel ab ungendis postibus et figenda lana, id est quod cum puellae nubarent maritorum postes ungebant ibique lanam figebant, uel quod lotos maritos ipsae ungebant*, Seruius on Aen. iv. 458 *uxores dictae sunt quasi unxeres*, Isidor. Orig. ix. 8), it is noticeable that Catullus passes it over. Perhaps it was too commonplace or too much associated with commonplace obscenity.

159. The bride was lifted over the threshold of her husband's house by those who formed her immediate escort (*οἱ προπέμποντες* Plut. Q. R. 29), including, it would seem from Lucan ii. 358, 9 *Turritaque premens frontem matrona corona Tralata uultu contingere limina plauca*, one or more married women. Plutarch gives three reasons; *πότερον ὅτι τὰς πρώτας γυναῖκας ἀρπάσαντες οὕτως εἰσηγεῖαν, αὐταὶ δὲ οὐκ εἰσῆλθον; ἢ βούλονται δοκεῖν εἰσιέναι βιαζόμενας, οὐχ ἑκούσας, ὅπου μέλλονσι διαλύειν τὴν παρθενίαν; ἢ σύμβολόν ἐστι τοῦ μηδὲ ἐξίεναι δι' αὐτῆς, μηδὲ καταλιπεῖν τὴν οἰκίαν εἰ μὴ βιασθεῖη, καθάπερ καὶ εἰσῆλθε βιασθεῖσα; Varro connected it with the sanctity of the threshold,*

*ne a sacrilegio incoherent si depositurae uirginitatem calcent rem Vestae* (Seru. on Ecl. viii. 29), Isidorus with the symbolical union or separation of the married pair signified in the meeting or parting of the two valves of the door (Orig. ix. 7). Another reason seems to have been the wish to avoid the bad omen of a possible stumble (Ouid. Met. x. 452), to which Catullus perhaps alludes in *omine cum bono*. Rossbach is no doubt right in tracing the rite to times when the bride was ravished and only entered her husband's dwelling by force: it corresponds to the formal abduction from her mother's bosom before the procession started. **Transfer limen pedes**, like Plautus' *Sensim super attolle limen pedes, noua nupta* Cas. iv. 4. 1.

**160. aureolos**, from the colour of the shoes, cf. II. 12.

**161.** It might seem from Ovid's *Custos in fore nullus erat* (Fast. ii. 738) that *foris* sometimes = 'door-way'; **rasilem** would then refer to the polished floor of the door-way, in crossing which there would be a greater chance of stumbling. On the more usual interpretation *rasilem* refers to the polished material, wood or perhaps metal of some kind (*fibula rasilis auro* Stat. Theb. vii. 658) of which the door, as part of the house of a rich man, was composed: but the use of the singular is strange on an occasion when both valves would naturally be open.

**164-173.** On entering the atrium, the bride sees the nuptial supper, and her husband reclining at it on a couch to which no other guest is admitted. How he pores over the thought of her; he must love her as deeply as she loves him; but the flame is deeper and more silent.

**164. unus** either (1) with **accubans**, 'reclining with no second near him,' or (2) with the whole sentence, 'See how thy husband is the one single guest who, while reclining on his couch as a banqueter, is not attending to the banquet but wholly absorbed in thee.' This, though grammatically exact, lays too much on *unus*, and while extending its influence to the whole, takes from its peculiar force as individually connected with *accubans*; therefore (1) is preferable; *unus* however is not = *solus* (Voss), but in opposition to *two*, *unus sine altero*, and thus suggests that the husband is waiting to be joined by this second, viz. the bride.

**165. Tyrio**, a proof of his wealth, Mart. xii. 17. 8.

**166. immineat.** Ouid. Met. i. 146 *Imminet exitio uir coniugis, illa mariti* and so Sen. Hipp. 855 *stetusque nostros spernit ac morti imminet*. Cul. 90 *huc imminet: omnis Dirigit huc sensus*: in all these the sense is mainly, if not wholly, mental, 'is intent upon'; Arnobius adu. Gent. iii. 26 quoted by Stat. *nisi uirginalia uincla iam feruentes dissoluerent atque imminentes mariti* applies the word to the fixed and menacing glances of violent desire: and so Muretus and Stat. here. But though Catullus may include an absorbed look, the notion of violence is alien to the passage, and is not required by the usage of the word. It seems more probable that *immineat* expresses bending or poring in thought over the absent person whom, if present, the bridegroom would be actually bending or poring over, as seen in the well-known picture, cf. Iuuen. ii. 119, 120 *Ingens Cena sedet gremio iacuit noua nupta mariti*, and see on 171. The *cena nuptialis* is here in the bridegroom's house, as in Plaut. Curc. v. 3. 50, Cic. ad Q. Fratr. ii. 3. 7, Suet. Cal. 25. Elsewhere it is celebrated in the bride's house before the *domum deductio*. (Rossb. Röm. Ehe pp. 325, 6).

170. **uritur**, as colours are said *uri*, and as a brand *inuritur*.

171. **penite** seems to be ἀπ. λεγ. but was probably Plautine, cf. *pectore penitissimo* Cist. i. 1. 65. The inwardness of the bridegroom's love is inconsistent with any strong or violent expression in his features. Ovid. Heroid. 4. 19, 20 *Venit amor grauius quo serius. Vrimur intus, Vrimur et caecum pectora uolnus habent.*

173. After this verse a strophe seems to be lost, as the transition is otherwise unusually abrupt. It perhaps described the bride's approach to the marriage-chamber.

174. **brachiolum** in this sense seems ἀπ. λεγ.

175. Of the three boys who escorted the bride, (see on 15) one carried a torch, the others supported her on each side; how then does Catullus speak of only one? It would seem either (1) that one of them withdrew on entering the husband's house, or at any rate that one only was permitted to lead the bride to the marriage chamber, or (2) as Varro, quoted by Servius on Aen. iv. 167 *Aqua et igni mariti uxores accipiebant. Vnde hodieque et faces praeuolent et aqua petita de puro fonte per puerum felicissimum aut puellam interest nuptiis*, speaks of a single boy being employed to bring in fresh spring-water, with which the bride's feet were then washed, and there is nothing to prove that this was one of the three who had escorted her in the procession, the *praetextatus* addressed by Catullus may be this one. As *felicissimus* he would no doubt be *patrimus et matrimus*, the son of parents still living, but this would not necessarily identify him with any of the other three. **Praetextate** is in relation both to **puellulae** and **uiri**; the *praetexta* is the dress of boyhood and girlhood, the symbol of innocence still under control (Q. Cic. de Pet. Cons. iii. 10 *prope in parentum gremiis praetextatos liberos*, Suet. Gramm. 16); the bride is escorted by a *praetextatus* up to the door of the marriage-chamber but not beyond, because she is still a virgin but a virgin who from that moment passes into a wife; henceforth she has to do with men, not with *inuestes* but *uesticipes* (cf. Rossb. pp. 336, 7). **puellulae** shows that Aurunculeia was very young, perhaps little over the age of puberty, which began with the twelfth year. (Rossb. p. 274.)

176. Most of the MSS. have **adeant**, 'let them, i. e. the bride with her train of pronubae approach the couch of the husband.' Cf. Claudian Rapt. Pros. ii. 562 *Ducitur in thalamum uirgo: stat pronuba iuxta Stelantes nox picta sinus, tangensque cubile Omnia perpetuo genitalia foedere sancit.* But *adeat* the reading of *G* and *O* is simpler and more effective, as it places in juxtaposition, and thus in contrast, the three personalities girl boy husband, and these only: *adeant* introduces a fourth, the pronubae, and thus takes from the unity of the picture. **uiri** suggests by contrast the virginal couch hitherto occupied by the bride.

179. Addressed to the pronubae, matrons who had lived through their married life with one husband, and thus auspicated the marriage happily. Festus s. u. *Pronubae*, Seruius on Aen. iv. 166, Isid. Orig. ix. 8. **bonae feminae** as in the verse of Ennius quoted by Donatus in reference to marriage rites by Donatus on Hec. i. 2. 60 *Exin Tarquinium bona femina lauit et unxit.* Such women were called *uniuirae* or *unicubae*.

180. **Cognitae**, XCI. 3. **bene**. The MSS. have either *berue* or *breue*, (see on 140). If *breue* is retained, it can only mean that the women

acting as pronubae had married old men and had enjoyed the pleasures of married life for a shorter time than other women; were therefore selected as specially chaste. Possibly Paulus' gloss *Proculos sunt qui credant ideo dictos quia patribus senibus quasi procul progressis aetate nati sunt*, refers to the children of such marriages.

**181. Collocate**, 'lay out,' in the lectus genialis. Eun. iii. iv. 45 *deinde eam in lecto conlocarunt*, where Donatus observes that the word was technical of the occasion (Passerat).

**184-228.** This is the last division of the poem; it falls into three sections 184-198, the summons to the bridegroom to join the bride, ending with some words of encouragement to him; 199-223 the Epithalamium proper, a song to the newly-wedded pair sung by virgins outside the marriage-chamber; 224-228 a few words calling upon the virgins to leave the lovers to themselves, with a final benediction.

**184.** Pleitner thinks the words **Iam licet uenias, marite**, as also *Bona te Venus Iuuerit* are parts of a regular form observed in Roman marriages.

**185.** Nearly all the MSS. give *est tibi*. Bentley to avoid the hiatus before the first vowel of *uxor* changed this to **tibi est**, and so Dawes Lachmann and Haupt. Haupt observes (Quaest. Catull. 24-27) that this and 216 *omnibus Et* are the only cases where Catullus, who seems to have followed Anacreon, allows the continuity of the glyconic rhythm to be interrupted by a final syllable either short or *in hiatus*, the ten apparent exceptions are not really such, as they all precede *Io (O) Hymen Hymenae io*. With regard to 216 the explanation suggested by Haupt and adopted by Lachmann seems sufficient; *omnibus* is the last word of the third line of the strophe, as are also all the other ten, and as Catullus appears to have divided each strophe into two systems of 3 and 2 lines respectively, the pause before the beginning of the second system might justify there, if anywhere, a hiatus or a short syllable. This does not account for *est tibi*, and I have admitted *tibi est* as more than probable, the more so that it is the actual reading of one, and that an unusually independent MS, and is pointed to by *ubi est*, the reading of *A* and *L*. Yet the hiatus of *tibi* before *Ore* is less harsh than before any other vowel, as the full sound of the *o* blends with it more readily; just as, according to Gellius, N. A. vii. 20, Virgil actually altered *Vesueo Nola iugo to Vesueo Ora iugo* as *melius suauisque*: and as Catullus himself writes *illo purpureo ore* from mere delight in the accumulation of *o* sounds.

**186. floridulo**, 'like a fair flower.' The bride's complexion was probably *μελίχλωρος*, a sort of olive, now looking pale, now yellow or like honey: hence the comparison to two flowers, and, if parthenice be the fever-few, to a flower in which both colours are combined.

**187. Parthenice** is usually identified with *parthenium* or *perdicium*, a sort of chamomile or fever-few. Plin. xxi. 176 *Parthenium alii leucanthes alii amaracum uocant, Celsus apud nos perdicium et muralem. Nasctur in hortorum sepius, flore albo, odore mali, sapore amaro*. Dioscorides iii. 145 (155) describes the flower more exactly *λευκά κύκλω, τὸ δὲ μέσον μήλωου*, cf. Nicand. Ther. 863. Catullus would then be speaking much in the same way as any modern poet who should compare a bride to a daisy:

though he might have in his eye some species of parthenium, in which the white petals were so much the larger part of the flower, as to conceal or obscure the yellow centre. But from Plin. xxii. 41 and the Scholiast on Nicander Ther. 537 it appears that *parthenium* was also a name for helxine or convolvulus, and this, from the beauty of the shape and the more perfect uniformity of its colour, as well as from its harmonizing better with the *luteum papauer* to which the bride is also compared, may be the flower.

**188. papauer.** Alex. Guarinus Robortello and Passerat think the poppy alluded to is the *erraticum flore rufo* of Plin. H. N. xix. 169, the *ροιός* of Theophr. Hist. Pl. ix. 14. Perhaps *glauceum luteum*, which has a fine but not particularly elegant flower, is meant. Glaucea are mentioned with poppies by Columella x. 104. See Daubeny Roman Husbandry p. 278.

**189. ita me iuuent Caelites.** See on 115. The exclamation *ita me iuuent Caelites* can scarcely come from any but an actual eye-witness: we may suppose the poet present in the bridegroom's house, as before he stands waiting for the appearance of the bride.

**190. nihilo minus,** not 'none the less that she is so fair,' which is too nearly like prose, but 'not less at all than she,' as Cic. de Off. i. 21. 72 *Capessentibus rem publicam nihilo minus quam philosophis.*

**191.** Vulp. quotes Il. iv. 127 Οὐδὲ σέθεν, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ μάκαρες λελάθοντο Ἄθνατοι.

**193. remorare,** used by Plautus of the *bride's* delay Cas. iv. 3. 7.

**195. Iam uenis** is a more natural sequence of thought than *Iam uenis?* (Pleitner) 'you have not delayed long; I see you are coming,' than 'you have not delayed long; what? are you already on the way?' We should have expected either two questions, or, what we have, two affirmations. **Bona te Venus Iuuerit,** 'may the grace of Venus help you for making no secret of a gracious love.' **Bona,** as in *Sis bonus of felixque tuis* Ecl. v. 65, *Saepe cupido Huic malus esse solet, Cui bonus ante fuit* Prop. ii. 18. 21, cf. *bona uenia*, etc., but with an allusion to the *bona Venus, bonus amor* of 44, 5, a gracious or worthy as opposed to an ungracious or illicit love.

**196. palam.** We must suppose the door of the thalamus open; it is shut in 224.

**197. cupis capis.** The similarity of sound adds to the effect of promptness produced by the mere juxtaposition of the two verbs, with which cf. Ovid's *Mars uidet hanc uisamque cupit potiturque cupita* Fast. iii. 21; *caeduntque caduntque* Sil. xii. 385. *cupis, cupis* the reading of the Oxford MS. (*O*) is not impossible: cf. Enn. Phoenix i. Vahlen *Stultust qui cupita cupienter cupit*, and the Lucretian juxtaposition *quae ueniunt, ueniant* iv. 723.

**199.** Pind. Ol. 2. fin. Ψάμμος ἀριθμὸν περιπέφενγεν Ἐκείνος ὅσα χάσματ' ἄλλοις ἔθηκεν τίς ἂν φράσαι δύνατο; Callim. H. Dian. 253 Ψαμάθῳ ἴσον. **Africei.** VII. 3. Anth. P. xii. 145. 3, 4 Ἴσον ἐπὶ ψαφαρὴν ἀντλεῖν ἄλα, κάπθ' Λιβύσσης Ψάμμον ἀριθμητὴν ἀρτιάσαι ψεκάδα.

**200. Siderum,** VII. 7.

**201. Subducat prius qui uolt** is unusual: *uelit* is not only the natural sequence, but is actually found in the parallel instance G. ii. 105.

Ovid, with whom it is a recurring formula, generally uses either a fut. in the protasis, followed by a subj. in the apodosis *citius numerabis . . . quam statuatur summa* (Pont. ii. 7. 25-29), *citius erit . . . habebit . . . uinct . . . quam ueniant* (ib. ii. 4. 25-29), or two subjunctives as Trist. v. 2. 28 *quae si comprehendere coner, Icaria numerum dicere coner aquae*. A passage nearer Catullus than these is Trist. v. 6. 43, 4 *His qui contentus non est in litus arenas, In segetem spicas, in mare fundat aquas*, but here *fundat* is imperative, not like *subducat* a strict subjunctive, and the indic. *est* precedes not, as *uolt*, follows the subjunctive.

203. **multa milia**, which in XVI. 12 is joined with *basiorum*, is here followed by **ludei** as a collective noun like *frumenti* Hor. S. i. 1. 45, *scripti* Ouid. Pont. iv. 16. 24, *membri* Asin. iv. 1. 41; Lucretius has *numerus corporis* i. 436. **ludei** like *lusus* Prop. i. 10. 9.

204. **Ludite ut lubet**. Phorm. ii. 2. 33 *postilla iam ut lubet ludas licet*: the words seem to belong to everyday life, slightly deflected. Cf. *παίγειν* Xen. Symp. ix. 2.

207. **indidem**, i. e. *indidem unde oritur* Cist. i. 1. 64, 'from the same stock.'

208. The subject to **ingenerari** is **Nomen**; less probably *ingenerari* is impersonal, 'that engendering should be made from the same stock continually.' The idea is expressed in its physical relation by Lucr. iv. 1220-1222.

209-218. The bride on her marriage-day, probably when she first reached the *lectus genialis*, prayed for the good-will of her husband's *genius* (Arnob. ii. 67); we may perhaps be supposed to hear in this strophe and the two following the form such prayers would usually take, *uolo* being an actual reminiscence of the beginning of the prayer (cf. Rossb. Röm. Ehe p. 369).

209. **uolo**, with a bare subjunctive, is here used not in its most common sense 'I should like' (see the instances from Plautus and Terence in Holtze Synt. ii. 166), but as an optative formula. Pers. ii. 4. 23 *Amicus sum, eueniant uolo tibi quae optas*. **paruulus**, 'a baby.' Virgil Aen. iv. 328-9 seems to imitate Catullus. The passage is extraordinarily modern.

210. Alex. Guarinus observes that **matris** may be the nurse, as in Menaechm. Prol. 19-21 *mater sua Non internosse posset, quae mammas dabat, Neque adeo mater ipsa quae illos pepererat*. But this is scarcely consistent with *patrem* in 212, or with the repetition in inverse order of *patri, matris* in the next strophe, or the double *matre matre* in 220, 222; the two words are throughout in relation, and the same relation, to each other. Besides, the fondness for connecting the ideas of mother and child which has so long marked the Italians, and so greatly influenced their art and religion, can hardly have been strange to the Romans, however few traces of it survive in their literature.

212. **Dulce** is more subjective than objective: it is the father's pleasure at the preference which his child shows him by stretching out his hands, rather than the softness of the smile itself. So Lucr. iv. 1253 *partu possent ditescere dulci*. **rideat ad patrem**, 'send a smile towards his father,' as if expecting a smile in return, Virg. E. iv. 61-3.

213. **semihiante** like *semihomini* the reading of all Ribbeck's MSS. in Aen. viii. 194, *semihorae* Pro Rabir. ii. 6, *semihulco* Gell. xix. 11. 4, *semihiantibus* Apul. Flor. ii. 15 against *semiulco* of Macrob. S. ii. 2. 17, *semianti*

Apul. Met. v. 18. **labello** Apul. Flor. ii. 15 *Canticum ore tereti, semihiantibus in conatu labellis eliquare* (Marcilius).

214-221. Hesiod makes it a sign of happiness in a state when *τίκτουσιν γυναικες εοικότα τέκνα γουεδσω* E. 235: cf. Theocr. xvii. 44, 63, Hor. C. iv. 5. 23.

214. **similis patri**. The passages quoted by Holtze (Synt. i. 336) show that the genitive was used by Plautus and Terence habitually of similar appearance: and so *Mulier ferebat filium similem sui* Inscriptt. Pomp. 1877. Cicero also prefers the genitive in this sense (Madvig on Fin. v. 5. 12). Lucretius iv. 1211, 12 combines genitive and dative with little if any difference, see Munro. In the Augustan writers the dative with *similis* almost wholly supplanted the genitive (Madvig u. s.); Cicero would thus represent the more ancient, Catullus the newer, and, as Ritschl suggests Opusc. ii. p. 581, the more exalted and poetical style.

215. **inscieis**, according to its ordinary usage, would mean 'without their knowing it,' 'unconsciously.' Catullus seems to use it here as = 'without their knowing him,' nearly i. q. *alienis*. The MSS. have *insciens*, and so Pleitner, 'without his knowing it,' as in And. iv. 4. 43, Haut. iv. 1. 19, v. 2. 17: the picture is thus very well defined; the boy described in this strophe as the babe in the former, the *adulescens* in the following, when he passes in the street is easily recognized by every one who meets him, but is himself perfectly unconscious of the fact; an innocence which forms an integral part of their perception.

216. **Noscitur**. Caelius in Antonium (Quintil. iv. 2. 124) *Quarum cum omnium uocem tactumque noscicaret, proximae cuiusque collum amplexu petebat*. Liu. xxii. 6 *facie quoque noscicans consulem*.

217. Mart. vi. 27. 3, 4 *Est tibi quae patria signatur imagine uultus Testis maternae nata pudicitiae*. **suae** is emphatic, 'a mother truly his own,' perhaps with some notion of the son repeating the mother's features, as the daughter the father's, Lucr. iv. 1226.

218-222 passes to the child as *adulescens*: 'May he show himself as good as was Telemachus, as clearly the noble son of his mother as Telemachus was of Penelope.' As before the physical, so here the moral, likeness is dwelt upon. Catullus can hardly mean 'let the fame of his mother's chastity make him well-known simply as her child' (Alex. Guarinus) though this suits well with *unica*.

219. **appobret**, 'establish.' Suet. Aug. 46 *iis qui e plebe sibi filios filiasque approbant*. **unica**, 'singular,' 'unmatched,' quite an old usage, e.g. *sagaci corde atque ingenio unico* Afran. Brundisinae fr. 1 Ribbeck cf. XXIX. 11.

222. **Telemacho manet Penelopeo**. Ouid. Trist. v. 14. 35, 6 *Adspicis ut longo maneat laudabilis aeuo Nomen inextinctum Penelopea fides?* Catullus is true to the Homeric idea of Telemachus: he is more the child of Penelope than of Odysseus, as was natural in the long absence of his father. Cf. Od. i. 215-220 where Telemachus speaks doubtfully of his father, and is answered by Athene (222, 3) *Οὐ μὲν τοι γενεήν γε θεοὶ νόνημον ὀπίσσω Θῆκαν, ἐπεὶ σέ γε τοῖον ἐγέναιτο Πηνελόπεια*. The strong word **Penelopeo** sums up the three strophes 209-222 in a name which expresses their central idea, the wife's chastity. The best MSS. have *Penelopeo*, and the form in *o* may have been used by Catullus, as he seems to have written *Beronice* in LXVI. The Etym. M. mentions Menolaus and Menoptolemus as variations on the usual forms with *e*, s. u. *Θῶ*.



**223.** If we suppose the poet to be speaking in the poem throughout, his personality reappears here. So Alex. Guarinus and Doering, the latter of whom supposes him to act the part of a preceptor. It is perhaps more probable that one of the chorus, probably the leader (Conr. de Allio), addresses the rest of the company (so Pleitner). *Lusimus* will then be a strict plural, referring to the song just ended, the Epithalamium proper 199–222. *ostia*, with a singular meaning, hardly belongs to the age of Catullus. Varro uses it as a strict plural R. R. i. 51. 1.

**224.** *Lusimus*, here of singing a festive song, see on L. 2. **At**, resumptive. *honei . . . bene*, see on 195.

**225.** *bene uiui e*, 'good-luck to you,' an expression of good-will at leaving them, as Sappho fr. 103 *χαίρουσα νύμφα, χαίρω δ' ὁ γαμβρός*, ib. 105 *χαίρε νύμφα Χαίρε, τίμει γάμβρε, πάλλα*. Theocr. xviii. 49 *Χαίροις, ὦ νύμφα, χαίροις εὐπένθερε γαμβρέ*. Tib. iii. 5. 31 *Vivite felices*.

**226.** *Munere* for 'married duty,' is very harsh, even if the MS. reading *assidue* be changed to *assiduo*. Catullus says above of Hymen 42 *Se citarier ad suum munus*, but the absence of a pronoun, or at least an epithet, makes *munere* hardly comparable with that. Cf. however Petron. S. 87 where *munus* seems i. q. *devoir*. Possibly Virgil alludes to this meaning in *quo munere* G. iv. 520 'by which display of marital duty.'

## LXII.

THERE is no reason to suppose that this Hymeneal was written for the same occasion as the preceding, the marriage of Mallius and Iunia. Neither the allusions nor the language are specially Roman, with the exception perhaps of 58; whilst the *form* of the poem, an amoebean song equally distributed between a number of youths and maidens, is obviously taken from Greek models, Theocritus, perhaps Sappho. Theocritus indeed has supplied Catullus with one of the most marked features of the poem, the iteration in 59–64 of the same word, as in the Epithalamium of Helen 49–54: but this occurs also in a fragment of Sappho's Epithalamia 93: and he seems to have had both poets before him. If indeed we follow the natural suggestion of 1, 7 in which Olympus and Oeta are mentioned successively, the scene is Greek, and the whole poem purely ideal.

The situation seems to be as follows: A banquet has been given in the bridegroom's house, in anticipation of the arrival of the bride. A hymeneal is to be sung by a company of youths and maidens alternately, as soon as she appears. The youths recline at one table, the maidens at another. The evening-star is suddenly seen by the youths rising over the ridge of Olympus, and is the signal for rising from table. One of them addresses the others to that effect in 1–4, and all sing the refrain *Hymen—Hymenaeae* (5). The sudden rising of the youths and their joint song cause the maidens to rise similarly; one of them addresses the rest to that effect, and then they sing in chorus the same refrain as the youths *Hymen—Hymenaeae* (10). A pause ensues, during which the bride may be supposed to be approaching or perhaps entering the house, and in which the youths (apparently in two hemichoria) speak (a) of the visible labour of the maidens in recalling their forthcoming song, (b) the necessity

of careful attention on their own part if they are to secure victory (11-19). Then begins the amoebean song proper, 20-58, consisting of 3 strophes sung by the maidens, 3 antistrophes by the youths; these are general, speaking first of the evening-star, his cruelty or kindness, his unwelcomeness or welcomeness; secondly, of women, their virginal and their married state; the maidens in each case representing the dark side of marriage, the youths the brighter (Pleitner). In 59 the bride is for the first time individually addressed, not by the maidens either with or without the youths, but by the youths alone, as is clear (1) from the omission of the refrain *Hymen—Hymenaeae* after 58, which shows that the youths go on to *Et tu ne pugna* without any interruption; (2) from the agreement of the address in tone with the sentiments of the youths throughout, as well as in the peculiar repetition of words which characterizes this and the previous isolated speech of the youths (11-19) before the amoebean song begins.

1. **Vesper**, the name of Venus when an evening star. Plin. H. N. ii. 36 *Infra solem ambit ingens sidus appellatum Veneris, alterno meatu uagum ipsisque cognominibus aemulum solis ac lunae. Praeueniens quippe et ante matutinum exoriens luciferi nomen accipit ut sol alter diemque maturans, contra ab occasu refulgens nuncupatur Vesper, ut prorogans lucem uicemque lunae reddens.* Varro L. L. vi. 6 says its evening name was *Vesperugo*, its morning *iubar*. **Olympo**. Mr. Tozer, in a letter to me, says, 'There is no part of the plain of Thessaly from which Olympus and Oeta can be seen in the same view: because the line of Othrys intervenes. They can be seen together from three positions, viz. the ridge of Othrys, the summit of Pelion, and the Northern heights of Euboea: but I doubt whether Catullus knew this, and if he did, whether he could choose such a position for the scene of his poem. Anyhow, it seems to me impossible that from any point of view these two mountains should appear in the west.' Catullus speaks as a poet; ignoring or ignorant of the geographical difficulty. It would be enough for him that the two names Oeta and Olympus were both Thessalian, possibly both connected by poetry or tradition with the appearance of the evening star. If *Olympo* here = *caelo* Catullus was guilty of the artistic defect of combining an actual mountain in 7 with a nominal mountain in 1. This seems to outweigh the fact stated by Varro L. L. vii. 20 that the Greeks often use Olympus for the sky, Soph. Aj. 1389, Apoll. R. iii. 1357 where the Schol. observes *Ὀλυμπον εἶπεν ὁμοίως τοῖς νεωτέροις τὸν οὐρανόν*, and that the Romans from Ennius onwards (Ann. 158 Vahlen) imitate them in this use. Virgil's imitation E. vi. 86 *inuilo processit Vesper Olympo* leaves the question doubtful; but there also Servius seems to interpret *Olympo* of the mountain. *Olympo*, 'from Olympus,' see Dräger Synt. p. 457. The simple abl. follows *tolliit* as it follows *surgere* Non. 397.

2. **Expectata . . . uix tandem**. Anth. P. v. 223. 5 *νύκτα μόγισ ποθέοντι φανείσαν.*

4. **dicetur** before *Hymenaeus*, as *auctus hymenaeo* LXVI. 11, *despexit hymenaeos* LXIV. 20. In C. 6 *exigitur unica amicitia* the reading is doubtful.

6. Mr. Mowat's conjecture *consurgere contra*, though less lively than the usually accepted **consurgite contra**, is not only palaeographically

ingenious but agrees very well with **Nimirum** in 7, which is then, as it should be, more decidedly ironical. 'Virgins, do you see the youths rise to their feet opposite? No doubt the star that brings night is showing his fires over Oeta.' From the same assumed disparagement of marriage and its preliminaries, the virgins perhaps use *Noctifer* (Calp. v. 120 *Et iam sole fugato Frigidus aestivas impellit Noctifer horas*), not *Hesperus* or *Vesper* (Pleitner).

7. **Oetaeos**. As the youths had looked towards Olympus, so the virgins look towards Oeta, as the rising-place of the evening-star. Servius on Ecl. viii. 30 (*Oeta mons Thessaliæ, in quo Hercules exustus est uolens, et post in caelum receptus est. De hoc monte stellæ uidentur occidere, sicut de Ida nasci . . . . In eodem monte Hesperus colitur, qui Hymenæum speciosum puerum amasse dicitur*) connects Oeta with an actual worship of Hesperus, apparently also with Hymenæus. It seems probable that the connexion arose from some natural, perhaps atmospherical, circumstance about Oeta like those mentioned by Lucr. v. 663, Mel. i. 94, 95, about the Phrygian Ida. Servius represents the two ideas, that of Oeta as the setting-point, that of Ida as the rising-point of constellations, as correlative; and if they were, the origin of the idea was probably nautical, and the starting-ground of both observations the Aegean. But in the Roman poets Oeta is recurringly the place where constellations *rise*; the evening-star here, Virg. Ecl. viii. 30, Cul. 203, Stat. S. v. 4. 8, the sun Sen. H. F. 133, H. O. 861-2, the morning Cir. 350.

8. **Sic certe est**, 'Be sure it is so.' LXXX. 7.

9. **canent quod uisere par est**, 'they will sing something we may well give an eye to,' 'something worth looking at.' *Visere* of looking at a sound κρύπον δέδορκα Aesch. Theb. 103, cf. χείρ ὄρᾱ τὸ δράσιμον Theb. 550. Conversely Pratinas fr. i. 17 Bergk ἄκουε τὰν ἐμᾶν Δάριον χορείαν. If Bentley had remembered this verse of Catullus he would not have referred *mirabile uisu Caelatunque nouem Musis opus* Hor. Epist. ii. 2. 91 to a temple, instead of a poem. **par est**. Attius Armorum Iudicium 152 Ribb. *Huius me diuidia cogit plus quam est par loqui*. Hor. Ep. i. 15. 25.

12. **secum** with **requaerunt**, 'are inwardly recalling their studied song.' Doering quotes Plin. Paneg. 3 *gratiorem existimari qui delubris eorum puram castamque mentem quam qui meditatam carmen intulerit. Requaerunt* as *iniacta* LXIV. 153.

13. **meditantur**, 'their study is not in vain,' a general present, including the previous study of, and the present labour in recalling, their song. **memorable quod sit**, 'worth speaking of,' ἀξιωμαμένεον; not simply 'fit for utterance,' as in Curc. i. 1. 8.

14. This line is found in the Thuanæan Anthology only; it occurs in none of the other MSS. As all of these are traceable to one very imperfect original, no weight can be laid upon their omission. The line is a good one in itself; is not unlike Catullus in language or rhythm; and divides the strophe into two equal parts. **laborant**, of course allusively, of mental *travail* (Hor. C. iii. 22. 2); the change to *laborent* (Voss) is unnecessary and weak: see on XLIV. 21.

15. **diuisimus** is supported by Virgil's *animum nunc huc celerem, nunc diuidit illuc* Aen. iv. 285. Cf. Trach. 272 τὸτ' ἄλλοσ' αὐτὸν ὄμμα θάάρα δέ νοῦν Ἐχώρα. One MS. gives *dimisimus*, and *dimisimus* is conjectured

independently by Pleitner, who compares Ouid. Met. iii. 381 *aciem partes dimisit in omnes*, ib. viii. 188. But the meaning is obviously 'we have let our minds diverge one way, our ears another,' i. e. while professing to think over our song have really been listening to something else; not 'we have let both our minds and ears drift in another direction than the task before us,' which would weaken the force of the second *alio*, though on other grounds this interpretation of *alio*—*alio* is possible, cf. And. i. 2. 18, and is maintained by Turnebus Aduers. xxix. 21.

16. **amat uictoria curam** looks like a proverb. Soph. fr. 364 Nauck Οὔτοι ποθ' ἄψει τῶν ἄκρων ἄνευ πόνου.

17. **saltem**, your thoughts if not your voices. **committite**, 'match with theirs,' often of gladiators matched in pairs, cf. Juuen. i. 162, vi. 436. The Thuanæan MS. has *conuertite*, either 'bid your thoughts turn round, recall them from where they have been straying,' as in De Nat. Deor. i. 27. 77 *animos imperitorum ad deorum cultum a uitæ prauitate conuerterent*, or simply 'turn your thoughts, if that is all you can do (*sallem*), in that direction,' viz. towards attaining victory.

20. **fertur**. Germanicus Prognost. 41 Breyssig has *Cythereius ignis Fertur* of Venus. **crudelior**. Theocr. viii. 91.

21. **auellere**, another allusion to the rape of the bride, see on LXI. 58. **possis**, 'can endure.' Passerat compares Aen. ix. 482 *poluisit linquere solam Crudelis* ?

22. **retinentem**, 'as she clings to it,' viz. to her mother's embrace.

23. **ardenti**, the *fero iuueni* of LXI. 56.

24. **urbe**. The horrors of a town under sack are stock illustrations of cruelty. Sallust. de Re Publica ii. 3 *tamquam urbe capta libidine ac licentia sua pro legibus utuntur*. Aen. ii. 746 *Aut quid in euersa uidi crudelius urbe* ? Prop. iv. 8. 55 *Fulminat illa oculis et quantum femina saeuil. Spectaclum capta nec minus urbe fuit*. They are all perhaps traceable to Homer Il. ix. 592 sqq. Κῆδ' ὄσ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλει τῶν ἄστυ ἀλώη. "Ἀνδρας μὲν κτεινουσι, πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθνεῖ, Τέκνα δέ τ' ἄλλοι ἄγουσι, βαθυζώνους τε γυναίκας (Vulp.).

26. **iocundior**. Apoll. Rhod. i. 775-780 Ἀστέρι . . . "Ὀν ῥά τε νηγατέησιν ἐεργόμεναι καλύβησιν Νύμφαι θήσαντο δόμων ὑπὲρ ἀντέλλοντα, Καί σφισι κνανέοιο δι' ἥερος ὄμματα θέλγει Καλὸν ἐρευσθόμενος, γάννται δέ τε ἠθέοιο Παρθένους ἰμείρουσα μετ' ἀλλοδαποῖσιν ἐόντος Ἀνδρασιν, ᾧ καί μιν μνηστῆν κομέουσι τοκῆς.

27. 'Spondet puellae pater, despondet adulescentis,' Donatus on Andr. i. 1. 75, a remark which he repeats on Ad. iv. 7. 16. Catullus may be speaking technically, though the words are often used without such distinction; e. g. Varro L. L. vi. 70, 71 seems to show that both *spondere* and *despondere* were used of the bride's father, *qui sponderat filiam despondisse dicebatur, quod de sponte eius id est de uoluntate exierat*.

28. **Quae** Thuan. *Quod* (quo most MSS.), 'whatever,' gives rather more liveliness, but does not accord quite so well with *iuuare*. **pepigerere . . . pepigerunt** is very unusual, but we need not with Muretus suspect the verse. Similarly Martial Ep. i. 103. 4 *Riserunt faciles et tribuere dei*. Lucilius ap. Gell. N. A. xvi. 9 *Susque omnia deque fuerunt Susque haec deque fuere, inquam*. These passages, like Orat. xvii. 157, prove that the ancient theory of *-re* representing a dual had little corresponding to it in the actual feeling of the language (Quintil. i. 5. 44, Serv. on Aen. ii. 1). **parentes**. Gellius N. A. iv. 1 quotes from

Servius Sulpicius the form of sponsalia usual in Latium (*ea parte Italiae quae Latium appellatur*) up to the Lex Iulia B.C. 90 *Qui uxorem ducturus erat, ab eo unde ducenda erat stipulabatur eam in matrimonium daturum; [ductum] iri qui ducturus erat itidem spondebat. Is contractus stipulationum sponsionumque dicebatur Sponsalia. Tum quae promissa erat sponsa appellabatur, qui sponderat ducturum, sponsus.* From this passage it would seem that the father of the bride first (*ante*) entered into a contract with the suitor to give him his daughter in marriage; then that the suitor engaged to marry her.' On this view *parentes*, like *uiri*, is a general plural, 'the husband,' 'the father,' like *patres natosque* Aen. ii. 579, *soceros, pactas* x. 79, (Dräger Synt. p. 8). It is perhaps more natural to explain *parentes* of the fathers on either side, the *pater adolescentis* and the *pater puellae* (see on 27): *ante* will still refer to *pepigerunt* alone.

29. *iunxere*, like *iungere laedas, foedera*, etc.: in LXXVIII. 3 *iungit amores* is used of the person who brings lovers together. If *Quod* be kept in 28, *iunxere* = 'closed by union.' *prius*. Plin. H. N. ii. 38 *Huius natura cuncta generantur in terris. Namque in alterutro exortu genitali rore conspergens non terrae modo conceptus implet, uerum animantium quoque omnium stimulat. se tuus extulit ardor*, a beautiful collocation. Virgil imitates this Aen. viii. 591 *Lucifer . . . Extulit os sacrum caelo*.

30. *optatus*, 'more desirable,' often in Cicero.

32. The only line of this strophe which seems to have survived. The general purport of it must have been a renewed attack on Hesperus as the foe of virginity, the thief who takes the maiden from her companions. As the youths allude to the double character of Hesperus as a morning and evening star, it is not unlikely that this also formed part of the virgins' song.

32. *aequalis*. Thuan. here, and all the MSS. in 11, no doubt rightly. In both places *aequalis* = ἴλικες, Thesmoph. 1030, Pind. P. 3. 19.

33. 'Who is more the lover's friend than Hesper? At his approach the watch must be set, for he ushers in night, the kind concealer of love's stolen delights. It is true the virgins pretend to hate him; but they only do this to conceal their real fondness.' *uigilat custodia semper*, perhaps with a reference to watch-dogs, which are often mentioned in this connexion Ouid. Trist. ii. 459, Tib. i. 6. 32, cf. Varro L. L. vii. 32 *Canes . . . quod ea uoce indicant noctu quae latent, latratus appellatus*. But Tib. i. 6. 10 and iv. 6. 11 *Nec possit cupidus uigilans deprendere custos*, an imitation of Catullus, Ouid. Am. i. 6. 7, point to a less special interpretation, viz. the person (Ouid. Am. iii. 4. 1) or persons employed by the master of the house to keep a look out. *uigilat*, 'is awake.'

34. *Nocte latent fures*. According to the ridiculous etymology of Catullus' contemporary Varro *fur* was derived from *furuus*, because *fures per noctem quae atra sit facilius furentur* (Gell. i. 18. 4), cf. Non. 50, who quotes Hom. Il. iii. 11 κλέπτῃ δέ τε νυκτὸς ἀμείνω. Both the Greeks and Romans associate the ideas of theft and stolen, especially adulterous, love. So *φώρας ἐνὰ* Theocr. xxvii. 68, κλέπτειν γάμον xxii. 151, Tib. i. 5. 7, i. 9. 55, Prop. ii. 32. 17, iii. 8. 39, Ouid. Trist. ii. 461, Am. iii. 4. 25. So Shakspeare Antony and Cleopatra ii. 6 *Here they might take two thieves kissing*. *idem*, 'whom, when often thou returnest the same star, Hesper, still, though thy name be changed, thou surprisest the same thieves of love still.' *idem*, according to the mistaken idea, that the

evening-star was at the same time and on the same day the morning-star, a natural confusion caused by the fact that Venus is seen at different times both at sunset and dawn. Plat. *Epinomis* 987 quoted by Passerat ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἑωσφόρος ἑσπερός τε ὦν αὐτὸς Ἀφροδίτης εἶναι σχεδὸν ἔχει λόγον. Cramer *Anec. Ox.* 413. 16 ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἑωσφόρος καὶ ἑσπερος· καίτοι γε τὸ παλαιὸν ἄλλος ἐδόκει εἶναι ὁ ἑωσφόρος καὶ ἄλλος ὁ ἑσπερος· πρῶτος δὲ Ἰβυκος ὁ Ῥηγίνος συνήγαγε τὰς προσηγορίας. **saepe**, 'time after time,' as

in *magno in populo cum saepe coorta est Seditio* Aen. i. 148. **reuertens**, a common idea: Callim. fr. 52 Αὐτοὶ μὲν φιλέουσ' αὐτοὶ δέ τε πεφρίκασιν, Ἐσπέριον φιλέουσιν, ἀτὰρ στυγέουσιν Ἐῶον. Meleager in Anth. P. xii. 114 Ἡοὺς ἄγγελε χαίρε, φάεσφορε, καὶ ταχὺς ἔλθοις Ἐσπερος, ἦν ἀπάγεις λάθριος αὐθις ἄγων. Cinna fr. Smyrna quoted by Seruius on Geor. i. 288 *Te matutinus flentem conspexit Eous Et flentem paulo uidit post Hesperus idem*. Ciris 351 *Quem pauidae alternis fugitant optantque puellae, Hesperium uitant, optant ardescere solem*<sup>1</sup>. Manil. i. 177 *Nec matutinis fulgeret Lucifer horis Hesperus immerso dederat qui lumen Olympo*. Carmen de Maecenate 129-132 *Quaesiuere chori iuuenem sic Hesperon illum, Quem nexum medio soluit in igne Venus. Quem nunc infuscis placida sub nocte nitentem Luciferum contra currere cernis equis*. Sen. Ag. 819-821 *Retulit pedem nomen alternis Stella quae mutat, sequae mirata est Hesperum dici*. Hipp. 749-752 *Qualis est primas referens tenebras Nuntius noctis, modo lotus undis Hesperus, pulsus iterum tenebris Lucifer idem*. Lucan ap. Lutatium ad Stat. Theb. ix. 434 *Luciferum ter iusserat Hesperon esse*. Stat. Theb. vi. 238-241 *Rosida iam nouies caelo dimiserat astra Lucifer et totidem Lunae praeuenerat ignes Mutato nocturnus equo, nec conscia fallit Sidera et alterno deprenditur unis in ortu*. Tennyson In Memoriam cxx *Sweet Hesper-Phosphor, double name For what is one, the first, the last, Thou, like my present and my past, Thy place is changed; thou art the same*.

**35. eosdem** after *idem* as in Iuu. vii. 153 *eadem cantabit uersibus isdem*. *Eous*, the conjecture of Schrader, is clever but weak.

**37. Quid tum** refers to and is explained by **si carpunt**, 'what, if they do rail?' like Ecl. x. 38 *Quid tum si fuscus Amyntas?* **requirunt**, 'look for longingly,' both here and in VIII. 13 of an absent object, and so De Sen. x. 33 *cum absit ne requiras*.

**39-58.** One of the most frequently imitated passages in Catullus. It has been paraphrased by Ariosto (i. 42), and closely translated by Ben Jonson (The Barriers). More lately Browning has transfused it, The Ring and the Book iii. 233-240.

**30. septis**, 'inclosed,' as Ovid says of guarding women *Cingenda est altis sepibus ista seges* A. A. iii. 562. **secretus** with **nascitur**, 'grows sequestered.'

**40.** Stat. quotes Columella x. 27 *Talis humus uel parietibus uel sepibus hirtis Claudatur, ne sit pecori, neu peruia furi*. **contusus**, 'bruised,' a less violent word than *conuulsus* (Thuan.), 'torn away,' 'shattered,' which Catullus uses in LXIV. 40 of the plough tearing up clods. *conuulsis*, *contusis* occur side by side, medically, Plin. H. N. xxv. 98.

**41. Mulcent**, 'stroke,' Ben Jonson, cf. XI. 23. **educat**, the showers

<sup>1</sup> *Eoum* Ribbeck, after Bentley and Näge. Yet *solem* seems defensible, cf. Plin. ii. 36 *Praeueniens quippe et ante matutinum exoriens luciferi nomen accipit ut sol alter diem. quae maturans*.

play the most important part in the gradual development of the flower; they alone can be said to *rear* it to perfect growth. Vulp. quotes from Plato Legg. viii. 845 "Ἔδωρ δὲ πάντων μὲν τὸ περι τὰς κηπέας διαφερόντως τροφίμων, εὐδιάφθαρτον δέ. οὔτε γὰρ γῆν οὔτε ἥλιον οὔτε πνεύματα τοῖς ὕδασι ξυμπροφέων τῶν ἐκ γῆς ἀναβλαστανόντων ῥάδιον φθείρειν.

42. **illum**, κείνον or κείνον δὲ of Greek similes. The line with 44 is imitated by Ovid. Met. iii. 353 *Multi illum iuvenes, nullae cupiere puellae. Sed fuit in tenera tam dira superbia forma Nulli illum iuvenes, nullae tetigere puellae.* The perfects *optauere coluere accoluere* 53, 55 are aoristic, Madvig Opusc. ii. 115.

44. **tenui ungui** (Her. iv. 30) defines **carptus**: the flower is *nipi*; in itself *carptus* would, I think, imply a ruder action, pulling or plucking. **defloruit**, 'has shed its blossom,' as is shown by 46, and so Plin. H. N. xviii. 120 *Faba aquas in flore maxime concupiscit; cum uero defloruit, exiguas desiderat.*

45. **dum** . . . **dum** is the reading of the Bolognese and some other MSS. as well as of Quintilian ix. 3. 16, for though Halm's MSS. of the *Institutio* have in the second clause *tum*, the context shows that Quintilian read *dum* twice. He explains the line 'as long as she remains unwed, so long is she dear to her kinsmen.' On this view **dum—dum** would be literally 'the while she remains unwed, the while she is dear.' Cf. the use of *cum—cum*, and more closely of *τόφρα μὲν—τόφρα δὲ* in Callim. Del. 39, 40, ὄσον—ᾄσον Theocr. iv. 39. It is not necessary to interpret Catullus so harshly. **Sic** may contain the predicate *optata est* implied in the protasis of the simile, 'so is the virgin desirable while she remains unprofaned, while she is dear to her kinsmen.'

46. **florem**, in the sense of youth in its prime, is common, not only in Catullus (XVII. 14, LXIV. 402) and other poets, but even in prose, sometimes with *aetatis aevi* etc., sometimes without, Eun. ii. 3. 28, Lucr. iv. 1105, Suet. Jul. 49. But here the word is not yet a mere metaphor; the comparison is not between a flower in its freshness or decay with a maiden in her prime or decline, but between a flower unplucked and a maiden in her virginity. Hence *castum florem* is not so much 'the pure flower of her prime' as 'the flower of her chastity;' in other words **castum** defines *florem*.

49. **nudo**, 'bare,' i. e. without trees or other signs of fertility. Sall. Jug. 79 *per loca inaequalia et nuda gignentium.*

50. **mitem** is in relation to **educat**, but must not be joined in construction with it, as also Ovid's *Non ager hic pomum, non dulces educat uuas* Pont. i. 3. 51, cf. Colum. x. 13.

51. **prono pondere**, Ciris 26. Conr. de Allio quotes De Senect. xv. 52 *Vitis quae natura caduca est et nisi fulla sit ad terram fertur.*

52. **Iam iam**, 'is on the point to,' as in Aen. ii. 530 *iam iamque manu tenet et premit hasta.* **flagellum** is explained by Varro R. R. i. 31. 3 *Eiuncidum enim sarmentum propter infirmitatem sterile neque ex se potest eicere uitem, quam uocant minorem flagellum, maiorem etiam unde uuae nascuntur, palmam.* The *radix* and *flagellum* are correlatives, as old English crop and moore, i. e. top and root. **contingit radice flagellum** an inversion for *contingit radicem flagello*. For the comparison cf. Shakspeare Henry the Sixth, Part i. Act 2. sc. 5 *And pithless arms like to a wither'd vine That droops his sapless branches to the ground.*

53. It is not easy to decide between *coluere* and *accoluere*, the reading of Thuan. In 55 I have little doubt that *accoluere* is right, and it might be said that if read there it should be read in 53. Lachmann rejects it here, perhaps as less supported by MSS; but such variations are quite in accordance with the artificial usages of the school to which Catullus belonged: so *fertur* in 20 is responded to by *lucet* in 26, *pepigerunt* and *pepigerere* occur in the same line 28.

54. *ulmo marito*, 'to the elm as her husband,' contrasts with Quintilian's *maritum ulmum* viii. 3. 8. Is it impossible that Catullus meant *marito* to be adjective, and notwithstanding retained the termination in *o*, where a feminine sign was out of place? Ennius used *cupressus*, Cato *ficus* masc. Servius on G. iv. 145 adds *spinus*, Priscian *platanus populus laurus*, Donatus *pinus* (Neue Formenl. i. 645); *fagus* seems to be masculine in a poem ascribed by Bücheler to the age of Nero, Riese Anthol. L. 726: Horace uses *lepus*, Plautus *elephantus* feminine, where the notion of sex made it natural or necessary, S. ii. 4. 44, Stich. i. 3. 14: see Bentley on the former passage.

55. *accoluere*, 'till about,' a sense which seems not found elsewhere.

56. *inculta*, 'untended,' 'uncared for.' *senescit*, cf. Lysist. 593 Περὶ τῶν δὲ κορῶν ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις γηρασκουσῶν ἀνώμαλοι.

57. *par*, 'with one that is her equal,' ὁμαλὸς γάμος Prom. 901, Ouid. Heroid. ix. 29-32 *Quam male inaequales ueniant ad aratra iuuenti, Tam premittitur magno coniuge nupta minor. Non honor est sed honus, species laesura ferentem. Si qua uoles apte nubere, nube pari.*

58. *inuisa*, Eurip. fr. Nauck 944 Καὶ παῖδας εἶναι πατρὶ μὴ στυγομένοους. Catullus uses a strong expression for the distaste which a parent feels at the sight of an unmarried daughter. Passerat quotes from Menander Ἀλιεῖς fr. 6. Mein. Χαλεπὸν γε θυγάτηρ κτῆμα καὶ δυσδιάθετον, Ἀνεψιοὶ fr. 2 Θυγάτηρ κτῆμ' ἔστιν ἐργώδες πατρὶ, and Meineke a fr. of Lycon ap. Diog. Laert. v. 65 Βαρὺ φορτίον πατρὶ κόρη. Possibly there is a reference to the increased importance which a childless parent, at least in later times, obtained, Sen. Cons. ad Marciam 19 *adeo senectutem solitudo ad potentiam ducit ut quidam odia filiorum simulent et liberos eiurent et orbitatem manu faciant.* But family affection was not a Roman virtue. Fronto p. 135 Naber *Nihil minus in tota mea uita Romae repperi quam hominem uere φιλόστοργον, ut putem, quia reapse nemo est Romae φιλόστοργος, ne nomen quidem huic uirtuti esse Romanum.* *parenti.* Hom. H. Cer. 136 Δοίεν κουριδίου ἀνδρας καὶ τέκνα τεκέσθαι ὧς ἐθέλουσι τοκῆς.

59-65. Final apostrophe to the bride, in close connexion with the lines immediately preceding, and enforcing them. The youths take up the thought which would be most predominant at such a time, the loss of virginity, and remind the bride that this is a possession which she can only call partly her own; the larger share her parents and her husband claim. In two fragments of Sappho the bride dwells similarly on the approaching loss of her virginity, fr. 102 Bergk Ἦ ρ' ἔτι παρθενίας ἐπιβάλλομαι; and fr. 109 which seems to represent the struggle of mind in the form of a dialogue, Παρθενία, παρθενία, ποί με λίποις οἴχη; Οὐκετι ἦξω πρὸς σέ, οὐκετι ἦξω.

60. Callim. H. Apoll. 15 κακὸν μακάρεσσιν ἐρίζειν.

63. This arithmetical division of the whole into three parts is well known from Pindar's ἐν παρ' ἑσλὸν πῆματα σὺν δύο δαίονται βροτοῖς ἀθάμτοι. P. iii. 81 Bergk, cf. Aesch. Supp. 1069 τὸ βέλτερον κακοῦ καὶ τὸ δίμοιρον αἰῶν.



**64. pugnare duobus.** Plat. Legg. xi. 919 πρὸς δύο μάχεσθαι καὶ ἐναντία χαλεπόν. Phaed. 89 πρὸς δύο οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς. It was a proverb (Passerat).

**65. cum dote.** Dig. xxiii. 3. 5 *Profecticia dos est quae a patre uel parente profecta est de bonis uel facto eius.* There could be no *matrimonium* without a *dos* ib. 3.

## LXIII.

IN the *Attis* Catullus presents an idea which, by contrast, works into the series of poems connected with marriage, the frenzy of self-emasculation, and the agony of mind which its reaction produces. Common as the sight of the eunuch priests of the Great Mother must have been in antiquity, and frequent as are the allusions to the worship in Greek and Roman writers, it cannot be said to have greatly influenced their poetry. The externals of the cultus are indeed often mentioned; the short Homeric hymn *eis μητέρα θεῶν* already speaks of her as

Ἴη κροτάλων τυπάνων τ' ἰαχὴ σὺν τε βρόμος αὐλῶν  
 Εὔαδεν ἠδὲ λύκων κλαγγὴ χαροπῶν τε λεόντων,  
 Οὔρεά τ' ἠχήμεντα καὶ ὑλήεντες ἔναυλοι.

Pindar, in a dithyramb of which Strabo has preserved a fragment, x. 469, says

σοὶ μὲν κατάρχειν  
 Μᾶτερ μεγάλη, παρὰ ῥόμβοι κυμβάλων,  
 Ἐν δὲ κεχλάδειν κρόταλ', αἰθομένα δὲ δᾶς ὑπὸ ξανθαῖσι πεύκαις  
 (Bergk fr. 57 B).

Sophocles, identifying the Great Mother with Earth, invokes her as 'the blessed one who sits on bull-slaughtering lions,' Philoct. 400; and Euripides, besides numerous allusions to her rites scattered through his plays, e. g. the choric rhesis of the Phrygian Eunuch in the *Orestes* 1368 sqq., see especially 1453, represents her (Hel. 1301) as searching, like Demeter, for her daughter over the snowy woods of Ida, to the sound of cymbals and tambourines. (Cf. ἡ ἄλη τῆς Ῥέας Paus. viii. 10). The dithyrambic poet Telestes (circ. 400 B.C.) associates the introduction of Phrygian music into Greece with the Mountain Mother

Πρῶτοι παρὰ κρατήρας Ἑλλάνων ἐν αὐλοῖς  
 Συνοπαδοὶ Πέλοπος ματρὸς ὀρείας  
 Φρύγιον ἄεισαν νόμον (Bergk fr. 4).

Diogenes tragicus ap. Athen. xiv. 636 speaks of noble Phrygian ladies as celebrating her rites

Καίτοι κλύω μὲν Ἀσιάδος μιτρηφόρους  
 Κυβέλας γυναίκας, παῖδας ὀλβίων Φρυγῶν,  
 Τυπάνοισι καὶ ῥόμβοισι καὶ χαλκοκτύπων  
 Βόμβοις βρεμούσας ἀντίχερσι κυμβάλων  
 Σοφὴν θεῶν ὑμῶδον ἱατρὸν θ' ἄμα.

A custom which found its way to Greece, and was ridiculed by Menander in his comedy *Ἱέρεια*. (See Meineke *Fragm. Com. Graec.* iv. p. 140). We may form some conception of the extravagant behaviour of these women from the description of Nicander *Alex.* 215-220. Speaking of a particular form of madness he compares the shrieks he attended it to those of a priestess of Rhea (*κερνοφόρος ζάκορος βωμίστρια Ῥείης*) on the ninth day, when she makes those whom she encounters in the streets tremble at the hideous howl of the Idaean Mother.

The earliest connexion of these rites with Attis is perhaps traceable in Aristoph. Aves 874, where Cybele is mentioned with Sabazius; for the cry *Εὐοὶ Σαβοῖ, Ὕης Ἄττης, Ἄττης Ὕης*, associates if it does not identify Sabazius with Attis. Anecd. Bekk. 202 *Ἄττης ὕης, τὸ μὲν ὕης υἱός, τὸ δὲ ἄττης θεὸς Σαβάσιος. Ἄλλοι δὲ Ὕην τὸν Διόνυσον* (Lob. Aglaoph. 1045). Theopompus, who belonged partly to the old, partly to the new comedy, quoted by Suidas i. p. 370 *Ἄττις παρὰ Φρυξί μάλιστα τιμᾶται ὡς πρόσωπος τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν. Ἄττιν, οὐχὶ Ἄττια· Θεόπομπος ἐν Καπηλίσι*

*κολάσομαι γέ σε*

*καὶ τὸν σὸν Ἄττιν* (Meineke Fr. Com. Graec. ii. p. 801)

is already familiar with Attis; and this appears to be the first actual notice of him. About a century later Hermesianax the elegiac poet, a friend and disciple of Philetas, wrote a poem on Attis, an abstract of which is given in Paus. vii. 17. 9. This account made him the eunuch son of a Phrygian Calaus; he migrated to Lydia, there instituted the rites of the Mother, and was killed by a boar, sent by the anger of Zeus. Attis is also mentioned with Cybele in the Anacreontea 11 Bergk, but the date of these is very uncertain; in Theocritus xx. 40 *καὶ τὴν Ῥέα κλαίεις τὸν βόκολον*, Cybele's passion for him is a familiar story, like that of the moon for Endymion, and of Aphrodite for Anchises and Adonis; Apollonius in the passage describing the rites performed near Cyzicus by the Argonauts in honour of Rhea i. 1092-1152 does not speak of Attis; but in the Alexipharmaca of Nicander 8, the underground chambers (*θαλάμαι*) where the votaries of Rhea underwent castration, and the place of Attis' mysterious rites (*ὄργαστήριον Ἄττει*) are conjoined as a description of that town. To the same period<sup>1</sup> perhaps belongs the earliest extant specimen of the Galliambic metre peculiarly associated with the cultus (Hephaestion xii. p. 39 Westphal) *Γαλλαὶ μητρὸς ὀρείης φιλόθυρσοι δρομάδες, Αἰς ἔντεα παταγείται καὶ χάλκεα κρόταλα*. Alexander Polyhistor, a contemporary of the dictator Sulla, in the third book of his work *περὶ Φρυγίας*, spoke of the Galli; Gallus and Attis both castrated themselves; Gallus gave his name to the river Tyras where he had settled after his castration, and from the river the name passed to similar votaries generally. (Steph. B. s. u. *Γάλλος* and *Μητρόπολις*).

These passages are quoted from writers anterior to Catullus; but it is from writers of his own or later periods that we derive most of our information as to the origin and details of the cult, especially in its connexion with Attis. Its original seat, so far as it can be traced historically, was Phrygia. Marmor Parium Epoch. 10 (1506 B. C.) in Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* vol. i. p. 544 [*βρέτας θ*] *εἰὼν μητρὸς ἐφάνη ἐν κυβέλοις, καὶ Ὑαγυῖς ὁ Φρυξὲς αὐλοῦς πρῶτος ἤδρευ ἐγκ[ε]λ[α]τ[ί]ναι[ς] πόλει τῆ[ς] Φρυγίας καὶ ἀρμονίαν τὴν καλλουμένην Φρυγιστὶ πρῶτος ἠύλησε καὶ ἄλλους νόμους Μητρὸς, Διονύσου, Πανός.* Strabo 472 *φησὶ δὲ ὁ Σκήψιος* (Demetrius of Scepsis, fl. circa 190 B.C.) *ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τὰς τῆς Ῥέας τιμὰς μὴ νομίζεσθαι μηδὲ ἐπιχωριάζειν. . . ἀλλ' ἐν*

<sup>1</sup> Bergk Poet. Lyr. fr. adesp. 121 inclines to ascribe these verses to the writer of Priapea, cited by Hephaestion xvi. p. 57 Westphal as Euphorion Chersonesita, by Strabo 382 as Euphronius. Meineke (Anal. Alex. pp. 341-348) makes it probable that this Euphorion (so he prefers to name him) was a contemporary of Ptolemaeus Philopator, whom he celebrated as *ὁ νέος Διόνυσος*. If so, his date would be 222-205 B.C. But the Galliambic metre had been used before by Callimachus (Schol. Hephaest. p. 194 Westphal) though it is expressly stated by Hephaestion (p. 65) to have been appropriated to Cybele and her worship by the *la'ier* poets (*οἱ νεώτεροι*).

τῇ Φρυγίᾳ μόνον καὶ τῇ Τρωάδι. ib. 469 οἱ δὲ Βερέκυντες Φρυγῶν τι φῦλον καὶ ἀπλῶς οἱ Φρύγες καὶ τῶν Τρώων οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἰδην κατοικοῦντες Ἴεραν μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ὀργιάζουσι ταύτῃ, μητέρα καλοῦντες θεῶν καὶ Ἄγδιστιν καὶ Φρυγίαν θεὸν μεγάλην, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τόπων Ἰδαίαν καὶ Δινδυμήνην καὶ Σιτυλήνην καὶ Πεσσιουντιδα καὶ Κυβέλην. It was in an especial manner connected with the town of Pessinus; at Pessinus Attis was buried (Paus. i. 4. 5), and a coin of Pessinus containing the heads of Cybele *turrata* and Attis in a Phrygian cap and a pine-crown with stars, and on the reverse a lion with his paw on a tympanum, and two crotala, is stated to be the earliest relic of the worship. (Labatut in *Revue Numismatique Belge* for 1868). Pessinus was on the southern slope of Mount Dindymon, or, as it seems also to have been called, Agdistis (Paus. i. 4. 5, Strabo 567), a word peculiarly local and which was sometimes used to denote the goddess herself (Strabo 469 and 567, Hesychius s. u. Ἄγδιστις) as well as the mythical hermaphrodite who sprang from the seed of Jupiter and from whose own genitals Attis was said to have arisen (Paus. vii. 17. 11, Arnob. v. 2).

The Phrygian language was Indo-European, as may be inferred from the extant inscriptions (see that on the tomb of Midas, and another quoted from Texier's *Asie Mineure* ii. 157, in Rawlinson's Herodotus i. 666), in which the verbal and substantival suffixes closely resemble those of Latin or Greek; from the assertion of Plato *Cratyl.* 410 that πῦρ ὕδωρ κίνες existed with slight variations in Phrygian; and from the fact that many Phrygian names are found in Zend Persian or other Indo-European languages, e. g. Βαγαῖος, the Phrygian Zeus (Hesych.) = Old Persian *bagā*, Zend *bagha*, Ind. *Baghavat*, Slavonic *bogh*; Mazeus (ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Φρυγίᾳ Hesych.) = Medineus the Lydian Zeus (ib.) = Zoroastrian Mazda; Men, the lunar god (Plut. de Isid. 24, Strabo 557, 577) = μήνη *mensis* *mond* *month* (Rawlinson i. 667 note, Robiou Hist. des Gaulois d'Orient p. 137): and it might seem that the worship of Cybele was Indo-European<sup>1</sup> were it not that other names connected with it are either doubtful as *Ma* the mother, *Rhea* perhaps = *Ri*, the Babylonian word by which the Great Goddess of the Assyrians Bilita or Mulita is commonly known, (Sir H. Rawlinson in Rawlinson's Herod. i. p. 605,) or distinctly Semitic as *Nana* the legendary eater of the almond from which Attis is conceived, who may safely be identified with the Babylonian *Nana*, modern Syrian *Nani* (Sir H. Rawlinson p. 635). However this may be, the worship of Cybele rapidly spread over the whole of Asia Minor; Herodotus iv. 76 describes it as fully established at Cyzicus in the sixth century B.C., mentions the burning of her temple at Sardis v. 102, and knows her by the name of the Dindymenian Mother i. 80<sup>2</sup>. From Polyænus viii. 53. 4 it would seem that about 500 B.C. the rites were already solemnized in Caria with eunuchs, women, flute- and tambourine-players; Herodotus iv. 76 adds night-processions: perhaps a Greek addition, Pindar fr. 57 B. In Greece itself Achaia seems to have been a special seat of the worship; temples of the Dindymenian Mother and Attis are mentioned at Dymae and Patrae

<sup>1</sup> Robiou thinks Bactrian, and many names connected with the cultus are traceable in Zend, e. g. *Berecyntus* = *Berezat*, *Corybantes* = *Gereuantō*, Labatut p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus vii. 73 makes the Armenians colonists of the Phrygians, and Stephanus B. s. u. Ἀρμενία, says they had many Phrygian words. Sir H. Rawlinson p. 605 concludes from the fact that the same sign *Ri*, with the determinative of divinity, commences some of the royal names in the Armenian inscriptions of Van, that the Babylonian goddess was also worshipped there.

(Paus. vii. 17. 9, vii. 20. 3). But in Phrygia proper the cult was of far greater antiquity: tradition ascribed it to Midas (Justin xi. 7, Clem. Al. Protrept. p. 5<sup>1</sup>): Arrian, quoted by Eustathius on Dionys. Periegetes 809, says *Λέγονται Φρύγες παλαιότατοι ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι καὶ ὅτι μαινόνται τῇ Ῥέμ καὶ πρὸς Κορυβάντων κατέχονται· ὅταν δὲ αὐτοὺς κατὰσχῃ τὸ θεῖον, ἐλαυνόμενοι καὶ μέγα βοῶντες καὶ ὀρχοῦμενοι προθεσπίζουσι τὰ μέλλοντα θεοφοροῦμενοι καὶ μαυόμενοι.* Diodorus Sic. iii. 58, 59 gives a condensed account of the collective traditions which had gathered round the Mother and her votary: *Παραδέδοται δὲ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης καὶ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν γένεσις. Οἱ γὰρ ἐγχώριοι μυθολογοῦσι τὸ παλαιὸν γενέσθαι βασιλέα Φρυγίας καὶ Λυδίας Μήονα· γήμαντα δὲ Δυνδύμην γεννήσαι μὲν παιδίον θῆλυ, τρέφειν δ' αὐτὸ μὴ βουλόμενον εἰς ὄρος ἐκθεῖναι τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Κυβέλον. Ἐνταῦθα τῷ παιδίῳ κατὰ τινα θείαν πρόνοιαν τὰς παρδάλεις καὶ τινα τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀλκῆ διαφερόντων θηρίων παρέχουσαι τὴν θηλὴν καὶ διατρέφειν. Γύναια δὲ τινα παρὰ τὸν τόπον ποιμαίνουσα κατιδεῖν τὸ γινόμενον, καὶ θαυμάσαντα τὴν περιπέτειαν ἀνελεῖσθαι τὸ βρέφος, καὶ προσαγορεύουσα Κυβέλην ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου. Ἀξιομένην δὲ τὴν παῖδα τῷ τε κάλλει καὶ σωφροσύνῃ διενεγκεῖν, ἔτι δὲ συνέσει γενέσθαι θαυμαστήν. Τὴν τε γὰρ πολυκάλαμον σύριγγα πρώτῃ ἐπινοῆσαι καὶ πρὸς τὰς παιδίας καὶ χορείας εὐρεῖν κύμβαλα καὶ τύμπανα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καθαρμῶσι τῶν ὑποσυντων κτηνῶν τε καὶ νηπιῶν παίδων εισηγήσασθαι· διὸ καὶ τῶν βρεφῶν ταῖς ἐμφυδαῖς σωζομένων καὶ τῶν πλείστων ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐναγκαλιζομένων, διὰ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοστοργίαν ὑπὸ πάντων αὐτῇ ὀρεῖαν μητέρα προσαγορευεθῆναι. Συνναυστρέφουσαι δ' αὐτῇ καὶ φιλίαν ἔχει ἐπὶ πλείον φασὶ Μαρσύαν τὸν Φρύγα, θαυματούμενον ἐπὶ συνέσει καὶ σωφροσύνῃ. Καὶ τῆς μὲν συνθέσεως τεκμήριον λαμβάνουσι τὸ μμηῖσασθαι τοὺς φθόγγους τῆς πολυκαλάμου σύριγγος καὶ μετενεγκεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰλούς τὴν ὄδον ἄρμονίαν· τῆς δὲ σωφροσύνης σημεῖον εἶναι φασὶ τὸ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς ἀπείρατον γενέσθαι τῶν ἀφροδισίων. Τὴν οὖν Κυβέλην εἰς ἀκμὴν ἡλικίας ἔλθουσαν ἀγαπήσαι τῶν ἐγχωρίων τινα νεανίσκον τὸν προσαγορευόμενον μὲν Ἄττιν, ὕστερον δ' ἐπικληθῆντα Πάπαν· συνελθούσαν δ' εἰς ὀμίλιαν αὐτῷ λάθρα καὶ γοσημένην ἔγκουσι ἐπιγνωσθῆναι κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων. Διάπερ ἀναχθείσης αὐτῆς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς παρθένου προσδεξαμένου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γρόντος τὴν φθοράν, καὶ τὰς τε τροφούς καὶ τὸν Ἄττιν ὑνελότους καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐκρίψαντος ἄταφα, φασὶ τὴν Κυβέλην διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ μεϊράκιον φιλοστοργίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς τροφαῖς λύπην ἐμμανῆ γενομένην εἰς τὴν χῶραν ἐκηδηῆσαι. Καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὀλολύζουσαν καὶ τυμπανίζουσαν μόνην ἐπιέναι πᾶσαν χῶραν, καταλελυμένην τὰς τρίχας, τὸν δὲ Μαρσύαν ἐλευθῆναι τὸ πάθος ἐκουσίως αὐτῇ παρακολουθεῖν καὶ συμπλανᾶσθαι διὰ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν φιλίαν. . . . Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐμπεσοῦσης νόσου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀκάρπου γενομένης, ἐπερωτησάντων τὸν θεὸν περὶ τῆς τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆς, προστάξει φασὶν αὐτοῖς θάψαι τὸ Ἄττιδος σῶμα καὶ τιμᾶν τὴν Κυβέλην ὡς θεόν. Διόπερ τοὺς Φρύγας διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἡφανισμένου τοῦ σώματος εἰδώλου κατασκευάσαι τοῦ μεϊρακίου, πρὸς αἷ θρηνοῦντας ταῖς οικείαις τιμαῖς τοῦ πάθους ἐξιλᾶσκεισθαι τὴν τοῦ παρανομηθέντος μῆνιν· ὅπερ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου ποιοῦντας αὐτοὺς διατελεῖν. Τῆς δὲ Κυβέλης τὸ παλαιὸν βωμοῦς ἰδρυσάμενους θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν καθ' ἔτος· ὕστερον δὲ ἐν Πεισινούντι τῆς Φρυγίας κατασκευάσαι νεῶν πολυτελῆ καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ θυσίας καταδείξαι μεγαλοπρεπεστάτας, Μίδου τοῦ βασιλείως εἰς ταῦτα συμφιλοκαλήσαντος· τῷ δ' ἀγάλματι τῆς θεοῦ παραστήσαι παρ-*

<sup>1</sup> "Ολοῖτο οὖν ὁ τῆσδε ἄρξας ἀπάτης ἀνθρώποις, εἴτε ὁ Δάρδανος, ὁ μητρὸς θεῶν καταδείξας τὰ μυστήρια, εἴτε Ἡεῖων ὁ τὰ Σαμοθρακῶν ὄργια καὶ τελετὰς ὑποστησάμενος, εἴτε ὁ Φρύξ ἐκείνιος ὁ Μίδας, ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Ὀδρύσου μαθὼν, ἔπειτα διαδοὺς τοῖς ὑποταγαμένοις ἐνετεχνον ἀπάτην.

θάλεις καὶ λέοντας διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τούτων πρώτως τραφῆναι. Περὶ μὲν οὖν μητρὸς θεῶν ἰοιαῦτα μυθολογεῖται παρὰ τε τοῖς Φρυγῆσι καὶ τοῖς Ἀτλαντίοις τοῖς παρὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν οἰκοῦσι.

This account of Diodorus illustrates most of the prominent ideas of the worship.

(1) Emasculation and its connexion with chastity. As here Marsyas is ἀπείρατος τῶν ἀφροδισίων, so in another version of the legend is Attis; Ouid. *Fast.* iv. 224 *Phryx puer in siluis facie spectabilis Attis Turrigeram casto uinxit amore deam. Hunc sibi seruari uoluit, sua templa tueri; Et dixit, Semper fac puer esse uelis.* Similarly Cybele herself *casta est accipienda manu* ib. 260; her image is met by the Vestal virgins 296; Claudia appeals to the Goddess as umpire of chastity *castas casta sequere manus* 324. Euripides *Κρήτες* fr. 475. 9–18 Nauck

Ἄγνὸν δὲ βίον τείνομεν, ἐξ οὗ  
Διὸς Ἰδαίου μύστης γενόμεν,  
Καὶ νεκτιπόλου Ζαγρέως βροντὰς  
Τὰς τ' ὠμοφάγους δαΐτας τελείας,  
Μητρὶ τ' ὀρεῖφ δάδας ἀνασχών,  
Καὶ Κουρήτων

Βάκχος ἐκλήθην ὄσωθεΐς.  
Πάλλευκα δ' ἔχων εἴματα φεύγω  
Γένεσίν τε βρωτῶν καὶ νεκροθήκης  
Οὐ χριμπτόμενος, τήν τ' ἐμφύχων  
Βρώσιν ἐδεστῶν πεφύλαγμα.

Origen *Philosophumena* v. 9 Πάνυ γὰρ πικρῶς καὶ πεφυλαγμένως παραγγέλλουσι ἀπέχεσθαι ὡς ἀποκεκομμένοι τῆς πρὸς γυναῖκα ὁμιλίας. Minuc. *Octavius* xlii. 4, *Lact.* i. 17 *Deum mater et amauit formosum adolescentem et eundem cum paelice deprehensum exsectis uirilibus semiuirum tradidit.* *Arnob.* v. 3, *Plin.* xxxv. 165. And this is perhaps the most prominent feature of the ritual.

(2) Its connexion with *wild* nature. Cybele is fed by panthers, as she is drawn by lions; κύβελα are according to Hesychius caves<sup>1</sup>; Cybele is the μήτηρ ὀρεία and μήτηρ Ἰδαία (*Ἰδη* a wild wood)<sup>2</sup>; and the same idea is strongly expressed by Apollonius Argon. i. 1092–1152. Jason is to go to the top of Dindymon and there appease the mother of all the gods, the supreme sovereign of nature. Then a statue of the goddess is planted on the hill overarched by the highest oaks; an altar is wreathed with oak-leaves, and youths dance a war-dance, clashing swords and shields together. It is part of the same idea that her temples were sometimes open to the sky (*Paus.* viii. 44. 3), that the oak is sacred to her (*Schol. on Apoll. Rhod.* i. 1124), perhaps also that the pine tree figures so prominently in her rites. This conception naturally passes into the later one of a supreme civilizing power as exhibited by Lucretius ii. 600 sqq. and Varro ap. Augustin. *de Ciuit. Dei* vii. 24; an interpretation which the recurring story of a lion overawed by the gestures and tambourines of the Galli (Varro ap. *Non.* 483, *Anth. P.* vi. 217–220) shows to have been common. But the other and earlier idea is the truer, and is obviously connected with the rocks woods and caverns of Phrygia. *Statius* S. i. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Κύβελα ὄρη Φρυγίας· καὶ ἄντρα καὶ θάλαμοι. θάλαμοι would seem to mean chambers, natural or constructed, like the *Λοβρίνης θαλάμοι* of Nicander *Alexiph.* 8.

<sup>2</sup> Rohiou p. 137.

36, ii. 2. 87 associates the castration of Attis with the marble caverns of Synnada; Vitruvius ii. 1. 5 mentions the Phrygian habit of excavating hills and forming in them passages and rooms; that subterraneous chambers were connected with the rites of Attis is expressly stated by the schol. on Nicander Alex. 8; and these whether in the natural form of rock-caverns or the later but still ancient shape of excavated rock-temples or cities, may plausibly be considered the earliest sanctuaries of the mysteries of Cybele, as the mountain-tops of her more open rites.

(3) A third point mentioned by Diodorus is the identification of Attis with Papas. This is also stated by Arrian in a fragment of his Bithyniaca quoted by Eustathius on Il. v. 408 *ἀνιόντες εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὀρέων Βιθυνοὶ ἐκάλουν Πάπαν τὸν Δία καὶ Ἄττιν τὸν αὐτὸν*<sup>1</sup>, and again in the Philo-  
sophumena ascribed to Origen, v. 9 ed. E. Miller<sup>2</sup>. Herodotus iii. 59 says Papaeus was the Scythian name for Zeus; if Attis was worshipped as Papas, it would seem that he must first have been identified with Zeus, the *father*<sup>3</sup> par excellence; perhaps the *Παπίας Σωτήρ* of an inscription in Leake's Asia Minor p. 20, quoted by Rawlinson iii. 199. Both names seem to be true Phrygian; *Ates* and *Baba* are found on the tomb of Midas; but at what period they became identified, and how, is probably undiscoverable.

(4) The prominence given to the dead body of Attis, and the annual mourning for him, with the various symbolical interpretations of successive ages are found in most of the accounts. Theocr. xx. 40, Mart. xiv. 204. 1

*Aera Celaeneos lugentia Matris amores.*

Stat. Theb. x. 170

*Sic Phryga terrificis genetrix Idaea cruentum  
Elicat ex adytis consumptaque brachia ferro  
Scire uetat: quatit ille sacras in pectora pinus  
Sanguineosque rotat crines et uolnera cursu  
Exanimat: pauel omnis ager, respersaque cultris  
Arbor et attoniti currum erexere leones.*

Stat. S. ii. 2. 87

*Synnade quod maesta Phrygiae fodere secures  
Per Cybeles lugentis agros.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plin. v. 143 *Urbs fuit immensa Attusa nomine, nunc sunt xii ciuitates inter quas Gordiucome, quae Iuliopolis uocatur* (in Bithynia); and the Ἄτιος λόφος near Smyrna (Aristides xxv. vol. i. p. 318 ed. Jebb), like the similar Ἄτης λόφος on which Ilium was built (Apollocl. iii. 12. 3, Hesych. s. u. Ἄτιλόφος) was probably a relic of this worship.

<sup>2</sup> *Καίρε τὸ κατηφές ἄκουσμα ῥέας, Ἄττι· σὲ καλοῦσι μὲν Ἀσσυριοὶ τριπόθητον Ἄδωνιν, ὄλη δ' Αἰγυπτος Ὀσιριν ἐπουράνιον μηνὸς κέρας, Ἕλληγες σοφίαν, Σαμοθράκες Ἄδὰμ σεβάσιμον, Αἰμίονιο Κορύβαντα, καὶ οἱ Φρύγες ἄλλοτε μὲν Πάπαν, πότε δὲ νέκυν ἢ θεὸν ἢ τὸν ἄκαρπον ἢ αἰπόλον ἢ χλοεῖρον στάχυν ἀμηθέντα, ἢ ὃν πολύκαρπος ἐτίκτεν ἀμύγδαλος ἀνέρα σφυκτάν. Τοῦτον φησὶν εἶναι πολύμορφον Ἄττιν, ὃν ἕμνοῦντες λέγουσιν οὕτως, Ἄττιν ἕμνησὼ τὸν Ῥεῖης οὐ(κ) ὠδινῶν συμβόμβοις, οὐδ' αἰλῶν Ἰδαίων Κουρήτων, μύκτητα (1. μυκτητῶν), ἀλλ' οἷς Φοιβείαν μίξω μούσαν φορμίγγων, εὐοί, εἰδὼν ὡς Πάν, ὡς Βακχεύς, ὡς ποιμήν λευκῶν ἀστρων.* The two passages are obviously lyrical, and are arranged by Schneidewin Philol. iii. 261 and Bergk Poet. Lyr. p. 1320. Bergk considers them to be late, which is indicated by the syncretistic confusion of various deities.

<sup>3</sup> Buschmann Transact. of the Philol. Society vol. vi. shows that the types *pa* and *ta*, with the similar forms *ap* and *at* preponderate as names for father while *ma* and *na*, *am* and *an*, preponderate as names for mother. Tylor, Primitive Culture i. 203.

Carmen in Symmachum ed. Morel 77<sup>1</sup>

*Plangere cum uocem soleant Megalensibus actis.*

Arrian Tactica xxxiii. 4 δρᾶται δὲ ἐστὶν ἃ καὶ Φρύγια· καὶ γὰρ ἡ ῥέα αὐτοῖς ἢ Φρυγία τιμάται ἐκ Πεισινοῦτος ἐλθοῦσα, καὶ τὸ πένθος τὸ ἀμφὶ τῷ Ἀττῆ Φρύγιον ἐν Ῥώμῃ πευθεῖται, καὶ τὸ λουτρὸν δὲ ἡ ῥέα ἐφ' οὗ τοῦ πένθους λήγει τῷ Φρυγῶν νόμῳ λούται. What seems to be a purely Phrygian account of Attis and the origin of the mourning for him is given by Pausanias vii. 17. 10 sqq. and more fully, probably on the most ancient authority he could procure, by Arnobius v. 5-7<sup>2</sup>. In various ways it is often alluded to by the Christian fathers, Lact. i. 17, Minuc. vi, vii, xxii. 4, xxiv. 4, Firmicus iii. 2, viii. 3, xviii. 1.

The worship of the Magna Mater was introduced into Rome in the second Punic war. In accordance with an injunction of the Sibylline books, that a foreign foe might be driven from Italy if the Idaean mother were brought to Rome from Pessinus, an embassy was sent in 205 B.C., (Liv. xxix. 11) to Attalus king of Pergamus, who made over to the Romans a sacred stone, not larger than could easily be carried in the hand, and of a black colour (Prudent. Martyr. Rom. 206), which the Pessinuntines affirmed to be the mother of the Gods. The next year (*P. Sempronio M. Cornelio consulibus, quintusdecimus is annus Punici belli erat* Liv. xxix. 13) it was transferred to Rome and placed in the temple of Victoria on the Palatine on the 12th of April, which was kept as a holiday. There was a lectisternium and games called Megalesia. (Liv. xxix. 14.) The Megalesia are mentioned in ancient calendars, as well as in Ovid's Fasti, as beginning on the 4th of April, and lasted six days. So Fasti Maffeiiani, CIL. I. 305, F. Praenestini ib. p. 316 where they are thus described *Ludi M.D.M.I. Megalensium. uocantur. quod. ea. dea. Migale. appellatur. Nobilium. militationes. cenarum. solitae. sunt. frequenter. fieri. Quod. mater. magna. ex. libris. Sibullinis. arcessita. locum. mutauit. ex. Phrygia. Romam.*, F. Philocali p. 340. Lucretius ii. 600 sqq., and Ovid Fast. iv. 179 sqq. describe the procession of castrated priests carrying the towered image of the great Goddess through the streets to the sound of cymbals tambourines and flutes, collecting contributions (*stips*) as they pass on, whence the name *μητραγύραι*; a word of worse association than that by which Cicero mentions them Legg. ii. 9. 22 *famuli matris Idaeae*, cf. ii. 16. 40. According to Servius on G. ii. 394, the hymns to the Mother of the Gods were always in Greek, a peculiarity which must for a long time have given them a distinctiveness quite in accordance with the fact mentioned by Livy xxix. 11 that the worship of Cybele was the first introduction of a foreign cult into Rome. But it is remarkable that none of the Roman authors either prior to Catullus or contemporary with him have in speaking of the rites made any allusion to Attis. This is perhaps mere accident; Caecilius, the friend of Catullus, may have introduced Attis in his poem on the Magna Mater (Cat. xxxv. 18); the fragments of the *Saturae* of Varro speak of the Mother with her priests and orgiastic rites and mention her connexion with Ida, Eumen. fr. xxxiii-xliv Riese, *Iex Maenia* fr. ii, "Ὀνος λύρας xi; in his *Antiquitates rerum diuinarum* Varro would scarcely omit some mention of

<sup>1</sup> See my article in the Cambridge Journal of Philology for 1868, On a recently discovered Latin poem of the fourth century.

<sup>2</sup> It is in this account that the name Nana appears.

the ritual, though according to Augustine De Civ. Dei vii. 25, as Mr. Bywater has shown me, he turned away from any discussion of the meaning of the Attis legend<sup>1</sup>. It seems probable that this legend was imported to Rome from Pessinus with the worship of the Mother; for Attis, like Batacus, seems to have been the traditional title of her priests there (Polyb. xxii. 20, Plut. Marius 17); and Servius expressly states (on Aen. xii. 836) that the rites of the mother of the Gods were observed by the Romans according to the use of Phrygia, of which the Attis legend may be said to form the most prominent part. At any rate the century subsequent to Catullus seized on the story with avidity; in the time of Nero *Berecynthius Attis* was a stock subject for the effeminate poets of the day, including Nero himself (Pers. i. 93, Dion C. lxi. 20), and it was about the same time, perhaps under Claudius (Lydus iv. 41) that a festival was instituted, which in successive days commemorated the sufferings of Cybele for the loss of Attis and her joy at his restoration. The Fasti Philocali give the days in order. Mart. 22 *Arbor intrat*, 23 *Tubilustrium*, 24 *Sanguem*, 25 *Hilaria*, 26 *Requ(i)etio*, 27 *Lauatio* (CIL. I. p. 338). On the first day a pine, on which was hung an image of Attis, was carried in procession amidst the lamentations of priests called *Dendrophori Matris Deum Magnae*, or simply *Dendrophori*<sup>2</sup>, to the temple of the great goddess, and there wreathed with wool and flowers, in commemoration of the suicidal self-mutilation of Attis under a pine-tree, the violets which had risen from his life-blood, and the removal of the tree by Cybele to her cavern (Arnob. v. 7, Preller Römische Mythologie p. 736). On the second day there was a *περισσισμός*<sup>3</sup> or sounding of trumpets, either as Julian Orat. v. p. 169 Spanh. suggests to sound the retreat and humiliation of Attis, or as a signal of mourning; on the third, the *Sanguem* or *dies sanguinis*, the priests castrated themselves (Jul. v. 168 C, Trebell. Pollio Vita Claudii iv. 1, Tertullian. Apol. xxv, Lact. i. 21). During this time a *castus* or abstinence<sup>4</sup> from bread (Arnob. v. 16) pomegranates apples and herbs of which the root was eaten was observed; at the expiration of the three days of mourning, which collectively seem to have been called *catabasis*<sup>5</sup>, a period of joy called the *Hilaria* set in; this, it would seem, commemorated the restoration to Cybele of the body of Attis, with the privilege of remaining

<sup>1</sup> If we may believe Clement of Alexandria Protrept. 12, the Corybantic rites of Dionysus were early carried into Etruria; and the castrated Dionysus, whose genitals were conveyed thither in a cista, was by some identified with Attis; with this compare the *ἱερός λόγος* mentioned by Lucian de Syra Dea 15; according to this Attis was a Lydian by birth; Rhea castrated him and he then assumed the form and dress of a woman and travelled from place to place chanting Rhea, recounting his own sufferings, and initiating men in his rites, *καὶ τὰ Φρυγῆς καὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ Σαμόθρακες ἐπιτελεῖουσι, Ἄττεω πάντα ἔμαθον*.

<sup>2</sup> The original meaning of *tubilustrium* is shown by Mommsen in his note on this day of the calendar to have been quite different; but, as he observes, Julian evidently considers it part of the Attis ceremonial.

<sup>3</sup> Drunkards were excluded from the rites, Arnob. v. 2.

<sup>4</sup> The *Dendrophori* formed a collegium, and occur in Inscript. IRN. 2624. 6352; in IRN. 2559 a long list of them is given, and they are described as *sub cura xv uir. s. f.* (see Mommsen Inscript. Regni Neapolitani p. 482).

<sup>5</sup> Macrobi. i. 21. *10 ritu eorum catabasi finita, simulationeque luctus peracta, celebratur laetitiae exordium a. d. octanum Calendas Aprilis, quem diem Hilaria appellant, quo primum tempore sol diem longiorem nocte profendit.*



unputrified, and of retaining vitality in the little finger and the hair (Paus. vii. 17. 12, Arnob. v. 7). The fifth was a day of repose, *requietio*; on the sixth the image of Cybele was carried to the Almo, and there washed as (according to Ovid F. iv. 337 sqq.) it had been after its first landing at Ostia before entering Rome. (See Mommsen CIL. I. pp. 389, 390, Preller pp. 735-738.) No inscription of the republican period has preserved the name of Attis; but it is found in a Balearic inscription combined with the Magna Mater CIL. II. 3706, IRN. 4054, with Minerua Berecintia or Paracentia IRN. 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, with the Magna Mater and Bellona IRN. 5354; the Archigallus Matris Deum is mentioned IRN. 3583. The symbols of the worship are exhibited with great clearness on each side of a brazen hand engraved in the *Magnae Deum Matris Idaeae et Attidis initia* of Pignorius; the same work exhibits a figure of Attis, as ἡμίθελος, wearing a dress which reaches in one piece from the feet and legs, round which it forms slashed trousers, to the head which it covers in the form of a Phrygian cap; the female breasts and imperfect male genitals are exposed, the right hand points to the latter, and the throat wears a necklace. The same subject is not uncommon in other works of art, as well as on coins. A bas-relief, engraved by Zoega i. 13, represents a towered Cybele holding a tympanum and a pine-branch and drawn on a car by two lions. At the side is a pine on which a cock is perched, and from which cymbals hang. Attis supports himself on the trunk, in a Phrygian dress and holding a tympanum; near him is a crook; on the reverse side is a tree with birds and implements, by it a bull and a ram; on one of the sides two flutes, one *recurua*, and a syrinx: on the other torches and cymbals. Another given by Zoega ii. 105, represents a sacrifice to the Mother. In Donaldson's *Architectura Numismatica* is figured a medallion of the elder Faustina, on the reverse of which is MATRI. DEVM. SALVTARI; beneath, a towered Cybele seated with her feet upon a stool, her left hand rests upon a tympanum or cymbal, on each side of her is a lion. Attis in a Phrygian cap and chlamys stands outside, holding in his right hand a pastoral stick, in his left a Pan's pipe. Others are described by Labatut, and in Creuzer's Symbolik ii. 2. taf. iv. Creuzer (ii. pp. 378-382) gives a *resumé* of the various symbolical meanings attached by successive ages to the details of the ritual. Cf. Varro ap. Augustin. de Ciuit. Dei vii. 24, Lucret. ii. 604, Servius on Aen. iii. 111, Ovid F. iv. 189 sqq., Plutarch *de Iside et Osiride* 69, Macrob. i. 21. 9, 22. 5, Iulianus Orat. v *eis tήν Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν*, Eusebius Praep. Evangelica 110, 120, Sallustius *περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου* 4, Origen *Philosophumena* v. 7, 8, 9, 14 ed. E. Miller.

Catullus in his *Attis* has not followed any of the legends as they have been transmitted to us: he has taken the bare outline of the story and worked it up as his own imagination suggested. His Attis is a youth, who surrounded by all the happiness of Greek life, the gymnasia with their group of applauding spectators, the crowd of admirers who hang garlands in his vestibule and wait his rising at day-break to escort him to the palaestra, is suddenly roused by a call which he cannot resist, to leave all and follow Cybele. With a band of companions ready to bind themselves by the same laws and share his exile, he sails to the Trojan Ida; there with the rest of the troop castrates himself; and amid the sound of tambourines and cymbals, the instruments of Cybele's worship, hurries with them to

the sanctuary of the goddess on the top of Ida. Sleep dispels their frenzy, and at sunrise Attis, now repentant, returns to the shore, and looking across the sea to his country, declares his regret. Cybele, roused by his passionate complaint, sends a lion to frighten him again into obedience; he returns into the forest and there remains all his life her votary. It will be seen from this that the main idea of the poem is the revolt against nature, or as it might more truly be called, the passion of unnaturalness. This is expressed partly in the description of the self-mutilating frenzy of Attis, partly in the agony of regret with which he recalls his life before it. This regret is intensified by the completely Greek, quite un-Roman cast of feeling of 59-67, in which a peculiar glow is thrown over the associations of home which had hitherto found little, if any, expression in Roman poetry, as it had comparatively little influence on Roman life. Only in the Phaedrus, the Charmides, the Lysis, the Symposium of Plato, can we realize that intense admiration of perfect male form to which Catullus has here given such splendid expression. On the other hand the horror, to us so familiar, of the loss of virility, is more Roman than Greek, and is skilfully combined by Catullus with the Roman conception of country as an aggregate fatherhood (see on 49). In the back ground of the picture is the aspect of a wild forest and mountain scenery, the snowy ridges of Ida which house the hind and the boar, the sanctuaries and pillared caverns of Phrygia, and supreme over these, Cybele, the lion-charioted mountain mother, on whom the winds and sea and all the earth beneath and the snowy seat of Olympus depend, to whom when she ascends from the mountains into the great heaven Zeus himself gives way (Apoll. R. i. 1099-1101). This stern power, whose rule is absolute and unrelenting, whose devotees lash themselves into frenzy as the lions that draw her chariot work themselves into rage (76), is, as has been observed by Prof. Sellar, thrown into relief by slight touches of sympathy for the feminine youth of Attis, such as *teneris digitis, roseis labellis, tenerum Attin*, as well as by the beautiful description of day-break, a passage unusually modern in its colouring and in its association of revived nature with restored reason.

It can hardly be doubted that Catullus derived at least some part of his inspiration in this, the most famous of his poems, from an actual inspection of the localities. We know that he visited the plains of Phrygia XLVI. 4, and the neighbourhood of Ida must have been known to him from his brother's grave at Rhoeteum LXV. 7. It is not impossible that Attis and his company are supposed to land at Lecton, at which point Homer places the beginning of Ida, Il. xiv. 283

Ἴδην δ' ἰκέσθην πολυπίδακα, μητέρα θηρῶν,  
 Λεκτόν, ὅθι πρῶτον λιπέτην ἄλα' τῷ δ' ἐπὶ χέρσου  
 Βήτην' ἀκροτάτη δὲ ποδῶν ὑπὸ σείετο ὕλη'

where Strabo observes 583 τοῖς οἰκίαις τοῦ ποιητοῦ φράζοντος τὸ Λεκτόν. καὶ γὰρ ὅτι τῆς Ἰδης ἐστὶ τὸ Λεκτόν καὶ διότι πρώτη ἀπόβασις ἐκ θαλάσσης αὐτῇ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἴδην ἀνιοῦσιν εἴρηκεν ὀρθῶς. This would agree with the not very distinct words of the first lines of the poem, which seem to imply that Attis and his troop landed after crossing the sea on ground sacred to Cybele, and at no great distance from the sanctuary of the goddess on Ida. It corresponds also with 47 sqq. in which Attis is described as

returning in the morning to the shore and looking over the sea, on this view the Aegean, to his native country Greece. This will also account for the introduction, borrowed from the same Homeric episode, of Sleep and Pasithea II. xiv. 270-276.

1. The opening is like the chorus in the Helena 1301 Ὀρέα ποτε δρόμαδι κώλφ describing the wanderings of the Mountain Mother in quest of her daughter. **celeri** not otiose (θοῆη νῆι Od. iii. 61) but as part of the general rapidity.

2. **citato** may be adj. as in 26 *citatis tripudiis*, and the rhythm of the line which makes a break between *citato* and *cupide* is in favour of this; on the other hand **cupide** is more naturally constructed with *citato* (participle) than with *tetigit*; the rhythm will then be like *furenti rabie* 4, *siluis redimita* 3.

4. **Stimulatus**, σεσοβημένος ὄστρωφ, applied to a votary of Cybele Anth. P. vi. 219. 1. **uagus animis** is like *furens animis* Aen. viii. 228; in neither place can the ordinary sense of the plural 'high spirit, pride,' be said to remain. The plural seems to give the idea of conflicting feelings or emotions. The ablative, which was early changed to *animi*, is like *Medea animo aegra* Enn. Trag. 288 Vahlen. The bewilderment of feeling in Attis corresponds to the actual wanderings which formed part of the rites connected with him (*erroribus* Tib. i. 4. 60). Cf. Anthol. P. vi. 218. 6 Τύμπανον ἐξ ἱερᾶς ἐπλατάγησεν ἄλης, said of a votary of Cybele.

5. **Deuoluit**, 'dashed to the ground,' Apul. M. I. 19 *Spongia repente de eo deuoluitur*, Ovid has *Corpora deuoluunt in humum* Met. vii. 574. The word gives the idea of falling heavily. **ile**, the conjecture of Lachmann, is defended by Haupt from Servius on Aen. vii. 499, Ecl. vii. 26, 'hoc ile et haec ilia facit : ' and as 'ipsa formae raritate et fortasse uetustate huic carmini imprimis aptum.' According to Plin. H. N. xi. 208 *ilia* are *inter uesicam et aluom arteriae ad pubem tendentes*, and Forc. connects this with *ilia rumpens* XI. 20. But *ile* must here = *testiculos*, an unexampled use. Archilochus fr. 138 Bergk Ἴνας δὲ μεδέων ἀπέθρισεν, and Alcaeus, the author of an epigram in the Anthology (Anth. P. vi. 218. 1) Κειράμενος γονίμην τις ἀπὸ φλέβα Μητρὸς ἀγύρτης speak the one of the muscles, the other of the vein of the genitals. If Catullus meant to express a similar idea by *ile*, it seems unlikely that he would have used *deuoluit*; unless we suppose *deuoluit ile* to mean 'he severed the ligaments and let the testicles fall to the ground.' **silicis**, Arnobius vi. 11 says the Pessinuntines worshipped a *silex* as the mother of the gods, hence a special propriety in the use of flints for emasculation. **pondere**, 'mass,' perhaps implying that it was used just as taken up, without any detrition: a characteristic mark of unreflecting frenzy.

6. **sine uiro**, 'robbed of their virility.' Lucan x. 133 *ferro mollita iuuentus Alque exsecta uirum*. Stat. quotes Arnob. v. 39 *Pinus illa solenniter quae in Matris infertur sanctum Deae, nonne illius imago est arboris sub qua sibi Attis uirum demensis genitalibus abstulit? 13 Quid admiserat Gallus . . . ut se uiro . . . priuaret?*

7. **Etiam** with **maculans**, 'whilst still staining.' And. i. 1. 89 *Nil suspicans etiam mali*. The MSS. have *maculas*, like *requires* CXVI. 1; the *n* was indistinctly pronounced before *s*, not only in the nom. sing. of participial forms in *-ns*, but in the adverbial suffix *-iens*, as well as in the

adjectival forms found in Inscriptions *Pisaurese Thermesium Narbonesium* etc., as Corssen shows at length, *Aussprache* i. pp. 252-5.

8. *citata*, change of gender to denote the now *ἡμιγύνακα θεῖς λάτριον* Anth. P. vi. 217. 9. So Parthenius *Erotica* 15 of a man in woman's dress, "Ἐτυχε δὲ πῶς αὐτῇ κατὰ νοῦν γενόμενος, οὐ μεθίει τε αὐτὴν ἀμφιπεσοῦσά τε καὶ ἐξηρημένην πᾶσαν ὥραν. For the same reason the hands are snow-white. Cf. Babr. 126. 6 *Τίς γὰρ ἀγροίκων Οὐκ οἶδεν ἄττιν λευκὸν ὡς ἐπρωθή;* *leue*, to distinguish it from the larger and more ponderous kettle-drum (Rich, Companion p. 704).

9. Anth. P. vi. 219. 19 *Χεῖρὶ δ' ἀνασχόμενος μέγα τύμπανον ἐπλατάγησεν, Διωπὸν ῥείας ὄπλον Ὀλυμπιάδος.* The form *τύμπανον* occurs as early as the Homeric Hymns xiv. 3; cf. Aesch. fr. 56. 10 Nauck. Both here and in the passage from Varro's *Eumenides* (Non. 49) as well as the verses of Maecenas quoted by Atil. Fortunatianus i. 4 *Ades inquit o Cybelle fera montium Dea Ades et sonante typano quate flexibile caput*, the word is wrongly written in the MSS. with *m*. It was 'a wooden hoop covered on one side with hide (*terga taurei*) like a sieve, and set round with small bells or jingles. It was sounded by beating with the hand or running the forefinger round the edge, sometimes also with a stick (Phaedr. iv. 1),' Rich, Companion p. 704. In some cases it had no metal appendages; Lucretius ii. 618 *Tympana tenta tonant palmis*, Statius Theb. v. 730 *Tergaque et aera dei*, viii. 221 *gemina aera sonant Idaeaeque terga*, (see Otto Müller on ii. 78), Sil. Italicus Pun. xvii. 18 *Circum arguta cauis tinnitibus aera, simulque Certabant rauco resonantia tympana pulsus*, distinguish the *tympana* from the *aera* or cymbals: and so Catullus. See on 18. *tubam*. Both Lucretius ii. 619 and Varro ap. Non. 334 mention horns (*cornua*) in connexion with Cybele, and these only differ from the ordinary *tuba* in being round, *σάλπιγξ στρογγύλη*. But according to Seruius on Aen. xii. 836 *sacra Matris deum Romani Phrygiō more coluerunt*; and we may be sure that trumpets, an Etruscan invention (Aen. viii. 526, Soph. Aj. 17), originally formed no part of the rites. Catullus then, who is describing the Phrygian cultus in its most unadulterated form (he had probably witnessed it in Asia Minor, its original home), naturally contrasts it with more purely Roman rites, and remembering the part which the trumpet plays in these, introduces *tubam Cybelles* to show how prominent in her exotic worship was the corresponding instrument, the tambourine. Voss compares Polyaeus Strateg. i. 1 *Διόνυσος κυμβάλοις καὶ τυμπάνοις ἐσήμευεν ἀντὶ σάλπιγγος.* *Cybelles*. The MSS. are in favour of *Cybcles* or *Cybelles*. Hertzberg on Prop. iii. 22. 3 writes *Cybelae* 'Nam Bentleii normae qui ad Lucan. i. 600 penultima producta Cybebe, correpta Cybele semper scribi iubet, nec codd. MSS. nec Graecorum usus addicit, qui non modo Κυβέλη Κυβήθη Κυβήλη Κυβέλλα promiscue scribunt, sed in deriuatis Κυβηλιστής Κυβηλῆς contrariam formam constanter seruant.' *tua, mater, initia*. Catullus again contrasts another ritual, for *initia* are properly the mysteries of Ceres (Cic. Legg. ii. 14. 36, Varro R. R. iii. 1. 1); the tambourine is so called as the symbol of initiation into the mysteries of the Great Mother Cybele. The Balliol Glossary has *initia sacrorum orgia*.

10. *terga taurei*, the βύρσης ταυρείου of Anth. P. vi. 219. 21, *taurea terga* Ouid. F. iv. 342. *caua*, Aesch. fr. 56. 6 *χαλκοδέτοις κοτύλας teneris*, Ibis 458 *Et quatiās molli tympana rauca manu*.

12. Steph. B. Γάλλος πόταμος Φρυγίας' οἱ περίοικοι κατὰ μὲν Τιμόθεον Ποταμο-

γαλλίται κατὰ δὲ Προμαθίδαν Ποταμογαλληνοί, οὓς παρατίθεται ὁ Πολυύστωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ Φρυγίας τρίτῳ· καὶ ὅτι τὸν Γάλλον καὶ τὸν Ἄτιν ἀποκόψαι τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τὸν μὲν Γάλλον ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Τύραν ποταμὸν καὶ οἰκῆσαι καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Γάλλον καλέσαι· ἀπὸ ἐκείνου γὰρ τοὺς τεμνομένους τὰ αἰδοῖα Γάλλους καλοῦσι. Plin. H. N. v. 147 *Flumina sunt in ea (Galatiā) praeter iam dicta Sangarius et Gallus a quo nomen traxere Matris deum sacerdotes*. The fem. form Γαλλαί is found in a fragment quoted by Hephaestion xii Γαλλαί μητρός ὀρείης φιλόθυρσοι δρομάδες. With a similar reference to emasculation Virgil Aen. ix. 617 *O uere Phrygiae neque enim Phryges, ile per alta Dindyma, ubi assuetis biforem dat tibia cantum*: and see Boot on Cic. Att. iv. 11.

13. Apollonius calls Rhea μητέρα Δινδυμήν πολυπότνιαν i. 1125, cf. Ῥεὴν πολυπότνιαν 1151 = *dominae*, which like *era* was her special title, see Aen. iii. 113 and the note of Servius. Voss cannot be right in explaining *pecora* of the ass (Babr. 126, Phaedr. iv. 1) which he supposes to have been employed in drawing the car of Cybele, and the place of which is here taken by the votaries. Rather they are *uaga pecora* either as wandering at random in the roving and orgiastic worship of Cybele, 'Cybele's loose-wandering herd,' or as straying away from Cybele their lawful mistress, 'Cybele's stray sheep.' Somewhat similarly Aeschylus, speaking to the Furies, Eum. 196 *Χωρεῖτ' ἄνευ βοτῆρος αἰπολούμεναι, Πόϊμνης τοιαύτης δ' οὔτις εὐφίλης θεῶν*.

14. *exules* is explained by 59, 60.

15. *Sectam*, 'following my rule.' *Sectam sequi* is frequent in Cicero, either in the special sense of submitting to the dictates of a school of philosophy (Brutus xxxi. 120) or adopting a particular course of life, Cael. xvii. 40 *apud nos qui hanc sectam rationemque uitae re magis quam uerbis secuti sumus*, Sest. xlv. 97 *Sunt principes consilii publici, sunt qui eorum sectam secuntur*. Livy (xxix. 27) seems to imitate Catullus. Long before them the poet Naevius, according to Servius on Aen. ii. 797, wrote *Eorum sectam secuntur multi mortales* (Punica fr. 10 Vahlen) of Aeneas and Anchises flying from Troy to Italy, and taking with them the *matresque uirosque Collectam exilio pubem*: a use very like that of Catullus here.

16. *Rapidum*, here and in LXIV. 358, 'swift-flowing,' ἀγάρρουν H. Cer. 34. *truculenta*, LXIV. 179, 'the boisterousness.' Tacitus has *truculentia caeli* Ann. ii. 24. *pelagi*, all MSS, and nothing makes the change to *pelage* (Lucr. vi. 619), though accepted by Bentley and others, necessary. Cf. Virgil's *pelagi alla* Aen. ix. 81. The only instance in Catullus of a Greek plural in *e* is *Tempe* LXIV. 35, 285, 6. (Heussner *Obscruat. Gramm.* p. 15).

17. *euirastis*. Nonius 46 *Euirare dicitur uirilitatem amittere et effeminari*. Varro *Marcipore* (fr. xvi Riese) *Spatule euirauit omnes Veneriuaga pueros*.

18. *aere* with *citatis*, 'gladden your heart with roving stirred by the clanging copper.' So Lachmann, and no doubt the pure ionic *a* minore comes in here with special effect. But as Servius states that Cybele was called *Era*, the reading of most Edd. *erae* may be right, 'gladden the heart of your queen, Cybele,' cf. Harusp. Resp. xi. 24 *hanc Matrem Magnam . . . accepimus agros et nemora cum quodam strepitu fremituque peragrarē*.

21. *cymbalum*, 'a musical instrument consisting of two hollow half-

globes of bell-metal, with a ring at the top, by which they were held between the fingers and clashed together with both hands.' Rich, Companion p. 231. *Cymbalum* for *cymbalorum* is harsh. Catullus has also *Caelicolum Troiugenum deum diuim uirum* (Heussner p. 11); Lucretius *Chaldaeum Molossum Graium Siculum consanguineum*, see Munro on i. 162. v. 727. Stat. mentions *nox* as the reading of one MS. and thought it might be right in the sense of *Nox ipsa sonat cymbalum*. My MS. *A* has *nox*, and the use of *nocte* by the poet Statius in a passage which seems modelled on Catullus, Theb. xii. 224-227 *Nocte uelut Phrygia cum lamentata resultant Dindyma, pinigeri rapitur Simoentis ad annum Dux uesana chori, cuius dea sanguine lecto Ipsa dedit ferrum et uittata fronte notauit*, is sufficiently particular to make this reading possible. *Cymbalum* will then be accus. after *sonat*, somewhat as in *hominem sonat* Aen. i. 328 = *sonat sonum cymbali*, see Dräger p. 359.

22. The invention of the flute is assigned to Phrygia, Plutarch *περὶ Μουσικῆς* 5, 'Ἀλέξανδρος δ' ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν περὶ Φρυγίας κρούματα "Ὀλυμπον ἔφη πρῶτον εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας κομίσει, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους' "Ἰαγνῶν δὲ πρῶτον αὐλῆσαι, εἶτα τὸν τοῦτον υἱὸν Μαρσύαν, εἶτ' Ὀλυμπον. Lucret. ii. 620, Ouid. Fast. iv. 181, Polyæn. Strat. viii. 53, 4. *curuo calamo*, a reed or cane bent at the lower end into a horn, or having a horn-shaped extremity affixed there; according to Rich, Comp. 663 'this was specially employed in the ceremonials of Cybele; it is termed *curua* Aen. xi. 737, Tib. ii. 1. 86, or *tibia adunco cornu* Ouid. Met. iii. 533.' *graue*, the curved or horn-like extremity gave it depth of tone.

23. The connexion between the rites of Dionysus and Cybele is often alluded to. Apollodorus Bibl. iii. 5. 1 says Dionysus was purified from madness by Rhea at the Phrygian Cybela, and was then initiated by her into her rites and took her dress: thence passed into Thrace with a train of Bacchanals and Satyrs and punished Lycurgus king of the Edoni by the Strymon. Strabo on the other hand x. 470 sqq. thinks the rites were brought from Thrace by colonists from that country into Phrygia; he quotes a fragm. from the Edoni of Aeschylus (56 Nauck) as proving the identity of the cultus of Dionysus and Cybele. So Euripides Bacch. 58, quoted by Munro on Lucr. ii. 611, *τάπιχόρι' ἐν πόλει Φρυγῶν Τύμπανα, ῥέας τε μητρὸς ἐμά θ' εὐρήματα*. *ederigeræ*, as Bacchus is called *κισσοφόρος* Thesmoria. 988, and Bacchanals are said *κισσοφορέιν*. Voss, who thought that *Maenades* are the Galli in a female dress, as Attis calls himself a Maenad in 69, explains *ederigeræ* by a passage of the Etym. M. 220 which states that Ptolemy Philopator was called Gallus because he was<sup>1</sup> wreathed with ivy-leaves like the Galli. *iaciunt*. Anth. P. vi. 219. 2 Ῥομβητοὺς δονέων λυσοομανεῖς πλοκάμους.

24. *sacra sancta* is a rare collocation: *sancta* seems to refer to their inviolability. *acutis*, shrill, as of eunuchs or women. *agitant* is interpreted by Stat. 'strike,' and he must therefore have explained *sacra* as 'sacred instruments,' cf. Prop. iv. 1. 22. It is simpler to take *agitant*

<sup>1</sup> Γάλλος ὁ φιλοπάτωρ Πτολεμαῖος διὰ τὸ φύλλοις κισσοῦ κατεστίχθαι ὡς οἱ γάλλοι. 'Αεὶ γὰρ ταῖς Διονυσιακαῖς τελεταῖς κισσῶ ἑστεφανούντο. The emendation *κατεστίχθαι* (which Voss follows) is rejected by Lobeck and Gaisford, the former of whom explains 'quia uulgo bacchantes caput hedera redimibant Ptolemaeus ille exuperantia quadam pietatis hederae signum sibi inuri iussit.'

as either 'solemnize,' cf. *Dionysia agitat* Heaut. iv. 4. 11, or more probably 'set in motion,' something like *commouere sacra*.

25. *illa* calls up the ceremonial as a solemn and well-known scene as in Aen. ii. 779 *Nec . . . Fas aut ille sinit superi regnator Olympi. uolitare*, LXIV. 251 of moving rapidly, as often in Cicero.

27. *notha*, i. e. *nec femina nec uir* Ibis 457, as Attis calls himself below *mei pars* and *uir sterilis*. Orest. 1528 *Οὐτε γὰρ γυνὴ πέφυκας οὐτ' ἐν ἀνδράσω σὺ γ' εἶ*.

28. *trepidantibus*, not = *tremulis* (Voss) but referring to the confused and tumultuous character of the cries. Sueton. Nero 49 *trepidanter effatus*.

29. *recrepant*, 'ring in echo,' a rare word used also in Ciris 108 *Saepe lapis recrepat Cyllenia murmura pulsus*. The echoes produced by the instruments are found also in the fragment of Aeschylus' Edoni 8-11 *Ταυρόφθογγοι δ' ὑπομυκῶνται Ποθεν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς φοβεροὶ μίμοι: Τυπάνου δ' εἰκὼν ὡσθ' ὑπογαίου Βροντῆς φέρεται βαρυταρβῆς*.

30. *Viridem*. 'Ida would be covered with snow during the winter, as all mountains of the same height are in the neighbourhood of the Aegean. During the summer it is free from snow. If Catullus implies in the Attis that the leaves were on the trees, and I fancy that he does, this would be a test of his accuracy.' H. F. Tozer: a view confirmed by this line and 32 *per opaca nemora*, as well as the general impression of the poem; though 70, in which *uiridis Idae* and *algida niue amicta loca* are combined, makes it possible that Catullus may be speaking more generally from recollections of Greek poetry. Hes. Theog. 1010 *Ἰδης ἀληέσσης*, Theocr. xvii. 9 *Ἰδαν ἐς πολύδενδρον*, Anth. P. vi. 218. 2 *Ἰδης εὐδένδρον*. *Idam*. Heussner thinks Catullus may have written *Idan* (*Ydan* is the reading of G) like *Cybelles Arsinoes Acmen*.

31. *uadit* with *uaga*, 'moves with an errant step.' *Animam agere* is generally 'to breathe one's last,' 'to be at the last gasp,' as in Seneca's *Est tanti habere animam ut agam?* Ep. 101. 12, cf. Ep. 26. 6, 54. 2: but there is nothing to prevent its being used here in a sense short of this 'gasp as if for life.' Catullus seems to be imitating Apollon. R. ii. 430 *εἶτ' ἄσπετον ἐκ καμάτου Ἄσθμ' ἀναφυσίδων*.

32. *Comitata tympano* marks out Attis as moving by himself in advance of the rest, almost = 'with no attendant but the tambourine.' *Comitatus* is nearly always followed by an abl. of persons or *living* attendants, even in such cases as Tib. iii. 2. 13 *matris comitata dolore*, i. e. *dolente matre*, Stat. A. ii. 309 *lacrymis comitata sororum*, Ouid. Am. i. 6. 33 *militibus comitatus et armis* = *armatis militibus*: possibly the tambourine with its bells and noise is thought of personally. *opaca*, probably with trees in full leaf, as Aen. viii. 107 *inter opacum Adlabi nemus*.

33. The point of the comparison lies mainly in the free bearing of the neck, as a restive heifer might be called *δύσλοφος*; its propriety in the fact that it was customary to sacrifice to Cybele *sine labe iuuenecam . . . operum coniugiiq; rudem* (Ouid. F. iv. 335, 6). *indomita*, 'not broken into the yoke,' *μόσχος ἀδάματος* Phoen. 640 Kirchhoff.

34. *properipedem* seems to be *ἀπ. λεγ.* Cicero has *celeripes* Att. ix. 7. 1, apparently quoted from some poet.

35. *domum*, probably a temple, certainly a definite sanctuary of some

kind. Ovid Met. x. 686 sqq. describes a temple of Cybele built by Echion in the depths of a forest and with a cavern adjoining; Claudian Rapt. Pros. 199 sqq. a rock temple surrounded by pines on the top of Ida, within which the votaries of Cybele are heard shrieking: Plutarch de Fluv. 13 mentions *altars* to Zeus and the Great Mother on Ida or Gargaron. The temples of the Mother of the Gods were sometimes open to the sky, like that which Pausanias found near the source of the Alpheus (viii. 44. 3); the Bithynian worship of Attis was celebrated on the tops of mountains (Arrian ap. Eustath. ad Il. v. 408); the description in 39, 40 gives the idea of an eminence from which air sea and earth are all visible; and we may perhaps conclude that this sanctuary was on one of the heights of Ida, Gargaron, or perhaps Cybela, if we may refer to Ida a statement in the Balliol Glossary *Cybele mons troie dictus a Cybelo primo sacerdote*. *lassulae*, as *frigidulos* LXIV. 131, *pallidulum* LXV. 6, *turgiduli* III. 18, *aridulis* LXIV. 316. The diminutive seems to give the idea of pity or sympathy, 'feeble and weary,' 'sick and weary.'

36. *e*, 'after,' a sense in which *ex* would be more common, as in De Inuent. ii. 4. 14 *post quam illos artius iam, ut fit, ex lassitudine dormire sensit*. Here *e* is probably chosen as more clearly expressing that immediate sleep is the natural, not merely the actual, result of exhaustion. Apoll. R. iii. 616 *Κούρην δ' ἐξ ἀχέων ἀδινὸς κατελώφειεν ὕπνος*. **sine Cerere**. Abstinance from bread, technically called *castus*, was part of the later Attis ritual, Arnob. v. 16 fin. *Quid temperatus ab alimonia panis? Cui rei dedistis nomen castus. Nonne illius temporis imitatio est, quo se numen ab Cereris fruge uiolentia maeroris abstinuit?*

37. **labante langore**, 'with drooping faintness,' abl. as in L. 10, Virg. G. iv. 414 *incepto legeret cum lumina somno* of Proteus. This seems more probable than taking *labante langore* as abl. absolute, 'as their faintness begins to droop,' the natural preliminary of sleep. Propertius seems to imitate Catullus, i. 10. 7 *Quamuis labentes premeret mihi somnus ocellos*.

38. **quiete molli** recurs in 44, and *molli* seems to have been read by Festus p. 273 M., though the article is too fragmentary to decide much. *Mollis* (nominative), the reading of most MSS, would refer to the unnatural impulse of the Galli to emasculate themselves and assume female attire, as the tympana are called *molliā*, Prop. iii. 17. 33, Stat. Achill. i. 654. This would necessitate *rabidi*.

39. **oris aurei**, an unusual genitive of quality or description, as such genitives, when no verb is added, ordinarily describe either a class of objects or individual objects generally, not objects of which one only exists in *rerum natura*; 'a golden-visaged sun,' not 'the golden-visaged sun.' Attis was identified with the sun. Arnob. v. 42 *Quid tandem de uobis sol aureus meruit ut ei cum semiuero faceretis uocabulum istud esse commune?* **oris aurei radiantibus oculis**. Soph. Ant. 100-103 *Ἄκτις ἀελίου . . . ὃ χρυσεὸς ἡμέρας βλέφαρον*. Enn. Med. fr. xxi (321-323 Vahlen) *Iuppiter tuque adeo summe sol, qui omnis res inspicis Qui mare terram caelum contines tuo cum lumine*. **radiantibus**, 'ray-darting'; Ovid has *radiantia lumina solis* Trist. ii. 325. *It's bid the world's bright eye adieu, In gelid tears of falling dew*, Cotton, Night.

40. A tripartite division probably connected with the cult. So a fragment of the Orphic Theogony (vi. 3, 4 Hermann) *Αἰθέρος εὐρείης ἢδ' οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαῶν*



ἕψος Πόντου τ' ἀτρυγέτου, γαίης τ' ἔρικυδέος εὐρη. Sil. Ital. xvii. 36 sqq. *Caelicolum genetrix, numen quod numina nobis Cuncta creas, cuius proles terramque fretumque Sideraque et manes regnorum sorte gubernat.* Hom. H. Cer. 69 Ἄλλὰ σὺ γὰρ δὴ πᾶσαν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κατὰ πόντον Αἰθέρος ἐκ δίης καταδέρκεαι ἀκτίνεσσιν, a passage perhaps in Catullus' view. **Lustravit**, either 'surveyed,' 'scanned' as Od. xi. 16 Ἥλιος φαέθων ἐπιδέρκεται ἀκτίνεσσι, or more probably 'illuminated' as in Lucr. v. 575, 693 Munro. In this sense *lustravit* nearly = *patefecit*, the sense ascribed to it by Nonius in Aen. iv. 6 and Catil. i. 3. 6 *Si lustrantur, si erumpunt omnia* (MSS. and Orelli *illustrantur*). **album**, 'bright,' as at day-break, after the gloom of night has dispersed. So *albente caelo* of dawn Caesar B. C. i. 68. Apollonius has πολιοῖο δὲ ἥρος iii. 275, and before him Euripides πολὺν αἰθέρ' Orest. 1376, λευκὴν αἰθέρα Androm. 1228. **sola**, Enn. Ann. 443 *sola terrarum*, Lucret. ii. 593 *sola terrae*. **dura**, Virgil Ecl. vi. 35 *Tum durare solum et discludere Nerea ponto* connects the solidification of the earth's crust with a separation from the previously surrounding sea. **ferum**, as *nemora fera* 89, Virgil's *montes feri* Ecl. v. 28. The solid habitable earth stands out in contrast with the wild and homeless sea. Diodorus xvii. 7. 6 and Lucretius v. 663 mention a tradition that at day-break fires were seen in different places on the top of Ida, which by degrees appeared to unite into a single orb. Euripides (Troad. 1066 Kirchhoff) speaks of the woods of Ida as Τέρμονα πρωτόβολον ἀλίω, Τὰν καταλαμπομένην ζαθέαν θεράπναν; and it would thus seem that the unusual minuteness with which Catullus describes the transition from night to day is connected with some phenomena of dawn peculiar to the place.

41. **Pepulit** is explained by Forc. 'drove away,' as the sun's steeds are said to drive away the stars, Eur. Ion 84. But Catullus always uses *pellere* of striking or smiting, even in LXIV. 239 *pulsae uentorum flamine nubes*, as is shown by LXIV. 272, and so Lucretius of the setting sun, *sol ultima caeli Impulit* v. 652. **sonipedibus**. The horses of the sun are unknown to Homer, and are first found in the Homeric hymns. In the short hymn to the sun 14 they are called ἄρσενες, and this notion may lie in *uegetis*, which with *sonipedibus* nearly = the Homeric τετράροιοι ἄρσενες ἵπποι, the ἄρματα λαμπρὰ τεθρίπων of Eur. Ion 82, cf. a line from an unknown author quoted by Censorinus fr. 15 p. 98 Iahn *Agilis sonipes rapitur celeri sonitu trepidans*. But the primary idea of *uegetis* is of course 'fresh from their rest,' as in Hor. S. ii. 2. 81.

43. **Pasithea**, in Il. xiv. 250, 276, is described as one of the younger Charites and is promised to Sleep as a wife if he executes the commands of Here. Catullus makes her the actual wife of Sleep, and so perhaps Antipater in Anth. P. ix. 517. 6. Lachmann on Lucret. vi. 971 observes that Statius makes the final *a* of *Pasithea* long, and this is borne out by Otto Müller's MSS. in Theb. ii. 286, though it is not equally certain in the other words mentioned by Lachm. from Statius, *Nemea Tegea Malea Midea*, where the MSS. fluctuate between final *a* and *e*. **Trepidantem** seems to express the eager joy of Pasithea at her husband's return. Cf. Anth. P. ix. 517. 5 ἀφηνώσσαι κεν ἀκούων Αὐτὸς Πασιθέης Ὕπνος ἐν ἀγκάλισιν. *Trepidantem* would give a more lively picture of Sleep fluttering as he descends into Pasithea's bosom, but it is without MS. support.

44. **Ita**, 'then.' **de**, 'after,' as in Most. iii. 2. 8 *Non bonus somnus*

*est de prandio.* **rapida rabie**, cf. the *uolentus furor* of Lucret. ii. 621; it refers partly to the mental *delirium* (Attius, fr. Meleager 450 Ribbeck *amentia rapior ferorque*) partly to the excited gestures and movements of the Galli, Lucret. ii. 630-636.

45. **ipse pectore recoluit** = *secum recoluit*. Phil. xiii. 20. 45 *quae si tecum ipse recolueris*.

46. **liquida**, free from the storm of passion which had darkened its perceptions. Plautus has *animo liquido et tranquillo* of a mind unruffled and at rest, Epid. v. i. 36. Eur. Hipp. 220 *καθαρὰν φρένα*. **sine queis**, euphemistic; *testiculis* is meant. **ubique**, 'and where,' literally, I think; in the sanctuary of Cybele on the Asian Ida, not in the cities and gymnasia of Greece. The emasculated condition to which Attis is reduced is finely expressed in the nerveless tribrach *ubique* which precedes the final iambus.

47. **aestuante**. The agitation of the spirit finds sympathy in the agitation of the sea. If *liquida mente* is immediately followed by *animo aestuante*, this is only that the clear mental perception, which comes on waking from sleep is followed immediately by the tumultuous agony of spirit which the thought of the unalterable consequences brings. **rusum** with **tetulit**. The form *rusum* is shown by Munro on Lucret. iii. 45 to occur three times in the two primary MSS. of Lucretius, *prosum* twice, *introsum* once.

49. **Patriam**. A fragment of Varro's *Lex Maenia* ap. Non. 106 (Riese ii) is a commentary on this line, as well as in the whole of the soliloquy following, *Si qui patriam maiorem exlinguit, in eo est culpa; quod facit pro sua parte is qui se eunuchat aut alioqui liberos non producit*. He who castrated himself could not be a father, and so continue the succession of stocks which form the collective *patria*; to be a eunuch was therefore to play the parricide to one's country. **miseriter** is one of the unusual adverbs mentioned by Nonius 517; he quotes a line of Laberius *Maereo*, *mens incorrupta miseriter corrumpitur* (Ribbeck 60), but not Catullus, which is remarkable as Catullus is quoted for the immediately following *properiter*. Schwabe follows the latter MSS. in reading *miseritus* of which Forc. quotes no example, but which would be like *communitus publicitus pugnitus immortalitus largitus* all mentioned by Nonius. Sound is in favour of *miseriter*, and this, as well as the absence of other adverbs in *-tus* from Catullus, has probably determined most editors including Lachm. in preferring *miseriter*.

50. **mei creatrix, mea genetrix**, 'thou that didst engender me, O thou that art my mother!' Lucretius v. 792 makes the earth the original mother of all living beings, including men, and describes the birth of the first men from *uteri terram radicibus apti* 808, whence he says *maternum nomen adepta Terra tenet, merito quoniam genus ipsa creauit* 822. In **mei creatrix** Catullus seems to apply a similar idea to the native country; which is not only, as Varro says, *maior parens*, but the actual conceiver and engenderer of its children. The genitive *mei* after *creatrix* shows that the force of the primitive verb is still too strong to allow it to become a mere substantive like *genetrix*; and this also agrees with the use of *rerum natura creatrix* in Lucretius. Plato *Crito* 51 compares the obligations which a man has to his country with those to parents and ancestry, *σέβεισθαι δέι καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπέκειν καὶ θαυπέειν πατρίδα χαλπαίνουσαν ἢ πατέρα καὶ ἡ*

πείθειν ἢ ποιεῖν ἂν κελεύη, καὶ πάσχειν, ἔάν τι προστάτῃ παθεῖν, ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντα, ἔάν τε τύπτουσαι ἔάν τε δέισθαι, ἔάν τε εἰς πόλεμον ἄγῃ τρωθησόμενον ἢ ἀποθανούμενον, πονητέον ταῦτα, καὶ τὸ δίκαιον οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ οὐχὶ ὑπεικτέον, οὐδὲ ἀναχωρητέον, οὐδὲ λειπτέον τὴν τάξιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ καὶ πανταχοῦ ποιητέον ἂν κελεύη ἢ πόλις καὶ ἡ πάτρις: with which contrast 51 sqq.

51. Attis flies from his country, with its civic and social obligations now become distasteful, as a slave flies from a master whose service has become intolerable. There is an extra point in the comparison, as it suggests the new service of Cybele to which the runaway has devoted himself; Cybele is now the *domina*, the *era* (92) ready to resent any show of independence (*libere nimis* 80) in her new *famula* (68, 90) and *ministra* (68). *erifugae* is ἄπ. λεγ. like *retonent ederigerae propripipedem siluicultrix nemoriuagus*.

52. *Famuli*, *πρόσπολοι* or *πρόπολοι*, each used in the double sense of an attendant on men, and a ministrant of the gods. Here of course the former alone is meant, as in Ouid. *Metam.* viii. 635 *dominos illic famulosne requiras*, but the word is perhaps chosen as suggesting the other idea, the new service of Cybele. Cicero uses *eri* and *famuli* as correlatives *De Off.* ii. 7. 24; and *Idaeae matris famuli* occurs in a law quoted *De Legg.* ii. 9. 22.

53. Eur. *Troad.* 1066 Ἰδαία κισσοφόρα νάπη Χίου κάρυα ποταμῖα. *stabula*, 'housing-places,' the *σκιόεντας ἐναύλους* of Hom. *H. Ven.* 74.

54. *furibunda* is usually taken as nominative agreeing with the now feminine Attis: but this after *miser* in 51 is impossible; *furibunda latibula* is like *mugienti fremitu* below; the dens are *furibunda* as sheltering lions and other fierce beasts of prey; Martial has *furiali dente* of a lion ii. 75. 7, Claudian *tacitusque (leo) per altas Incedit furiale niues* *De Bello Getic.* 325. *latibula*, φωλεὸς Babr. 106. 3, Anth. P. vi. 219. 8. Homer calls Ida *μητέρα θηρῶν* *Il.* xiv. 283; in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 70, 71, wolves lions bears leopards are particularized.

55. *quibus locis*, 'in what region,' Nep. *Dat.* 4 *quaerit quibus locis sit Aspis*. *reor*, 'am I to think?' See on I. 1.

56. So Byron of a passionate weeper, *The very balls Of her black eyes seem'd turned to tears* *Don Juan* iv. 33. The straining of the eyes might, even in prose, be described as the effort which they make to see. Catullus intensifies this; the effort of the eyes becomes the longing of the eyeballs, the central-point of vision.

*pupula* is used by Varro *Prometheus Liber* fr. v Riese (Non. 172), by the poet Calvus fr. 11 L. Müller, and perhaps by Catullus again LXVIII. 55. Lucretius iv. 249 and Cicero *prefer pupilla*. *dirigere aciem*, Plin. *H. N.* xi. 148 *Pupilla cuius angustiae non sinunt uagari incertam aciem ac uelut canali dirigunt*.

57. *carens est*. Cic. *de Nat. D.* ii. 8. 21 *Omnia haec meliora sunt quam ea quae sunt his carentia*; where however a class of objects is meant. Lucretius has ii. 1089 *genus omne quod hic generatimst rebus abundans*, iii. 396 *magis est animus uitai claustra coercens Et dominantior*, where Munro seems scarcely to distinguish *abundans coercens est* from *abundat coerceset*, cf. Hertzberg on *Prop.* iii. 17. 38. Here, I think, Catullus draws out *caret* into *carens est* to mark more clearly the duration of the short interval during which the mind is calm. See on LXIV. 317.

58 sqq. Apoll. *Rhod.* iv. 361 Πάτρην τε κλέα τε μεγάρων αὐτοῦς τε τοκῆας

Νοσφισάμην, τά μοι ἦεν ὑπέρτατα. τηλόθι δ' οἷη Δυγρῆσιν κατὰ πύντον ἄμ' ἀλκυό-  
νεσσι φορέυμαι.

59. **genitoribus**, 'parents,' as it seems to be in Lucret. ii. 615. *Patres* is quoted from inscriptions with the same meaning, cf. Aen. ii. 579: and so *γεννήτορες* Eur. I. T. 576.

60. Attis' thought returns to the wrestling-school, the course, and the gymnasium, the chief centres of Greek life and imagination. Euripides makes Polynices talk of returning to his native gymnasia (Phoen. 368) and the chorus mourns that Hippolytus will no longer be seen with his steeds on the race-course of Limnae (Hipp. 1131). **palaestra**. Catullus seems here to distinguish the palaestra from the gymnasium, and so Plautus Amph. iv. 1. 3, 4. In another place Bacc. iii. 3. 22 *Ante solem nisi tu exorientem in palaestram ueneras, Haud mediocris gymnasi praefecto poenas penderes*, the palaestra seems to be part of the gymnasium, as in fact the gymnasium included every kind of exercise, even a stadium for foot-racing and a hippodrome for horse-racing. Plato however speaks of particular palaestrae, as the palaestra of Taureas the scene of the Charmides, and the newly-erected palaestra outside the walls of Athens the scene of the Lysis. **stadio et gymnasiis** MSS. and, if this is right, the original ionic a minore is preserved in the first foot of the second half of the line, as in Varro's *sonitu matri' deum* and *tibi nunc semiuiri* (Eumen. fr. xxxv Riese); it seems doubtful whether *guminasiis* would have been admitted by Catullus, though L. Müller defends it by Varro R. i. 55. 4.

61. **Miser a miser**, LXI. 132. **anime**, like the *θυμέ* so frequent in Greek soliloquies, Archil. fr. 66. 1 Bergk, Med. 1056, Philetas fr. 7. Schneidewin Ἡ μὲν δὴ πολέεσσι πεφύρησαι χαλεποῖσιν Θυμέ, γαληναίη δ' ἐπιμίσηται οὐδ' ὄσον ὄσον, Ἀμφὶ δέ τοι νέαι αἰὲν ἀνία τετρήχασιν.

62. **figurae**. As Attis complains so deeply (*etiam atque etiam*) of his lost happiness, *figurae* would seem to imply not merely the various shapes which before his present condition he had gone through as youth stripling and boy, but that in all these shapes he had been admired. *Figurae* would seem therefore to mean not only shape, but shapeliness, or rather an *admired* shape. Propertius uses it with something of the same meaning iii. 19. 21 *Tuque o Minoa uenundata, Scylla, figura*. The cast of the expression is Greek, and recalls the admiration of form, as well as the celebrity attaching to unusual beauty, which grew out of the gymnasia, cf. Lysis 204 E πολλοῦ δέῖς τὸ εἶδος ἀγνοεῖν τοῦ παιδός, ἱκανὸς γὰρ ἀπὸ μόνου τοῦτου γινώσκεισθαι. **ego non quod**, inversion of the natural order, as in XCI. 5 *Sed neque quod matrem* for *quod neque*, Plaut. Poen. i. 2. 105 *Quid iam non dudum ante lucem*, Hor. S. i. 5. 33 *non ut magis alter amicus*.

63. 'I have been a woman, and a youth, and a stripling, and a boy, I have been the flower of the gymnasium, I was the glory of the oiled ring.' **Fui** is to be supplied from 64 to all the nominatives in 63. Attis begins with the last stage and goes back to the first; and in the retrospect each stage, including the final and present one, is viewed as part and parcel of the past. Ovid. Met. x. 522, 3 *modo formosissimus infans Iam iuuenis, iam uir, iam se formosior ipso est*. **ephebus** has a special propriety as a properly constructed gymnasium included an *ephebeum*, 'a large hall furnished with seats, intended as the exercising-room of the *ephebi*,' Rich

p. 324. The ἑφήβοι were youths above 16 or 17 years, if Xenophon represents the general Greek usage *Cyrop.* i. 2. 8 μέχρι μὲν δὴ ἕξ ἢ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἑτῶν ἀπὸ γενεᾶς οἱ παῖδες ταῦτα πράττουσι, ἐκ τούτου δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐξέρχονται, from 18 to 20 according to Pollux viii. 105 (*Dict. Antiqq.*).

64. *olei*, *De Orat.* i. 18. 82 *Nitidum quoddam genus est uerborum et laetum sed palaestrae magis et olei.*

65-67. These lines might in themselves refer to the admiration of Attis as simply beautiful, as in the *Lysis* 204 B Socrates asks τίς ὁ καλός; that he is to see in the palaestra, and in the *Charmides* 154 D is asked to give his opinion on the beauty of the νεανίσκος Charmides. But from 67 it is clear that the homage paid to Attis is connected at least in part with his successes in the gymnasium; it is on his way thither at day-break that he sees the garlands at his gate, and the crowd of admirers waiting to escort him. In fact that perfection of form which the Greeks considered at least as essential to beauty as perfect features (*Lysis* 154 D εἰ ἐθέλοι ἀποδύναι δόξει σοι ἀπρόσωπος εἶναι· οὕτως τὸ εἶδος πάγκαλός ἐστι) was so closely connected with the exercises of the gymnasium and the palaestra, that the two ideas naturally became associated, and the flower of the gymnasium would usually combine both.

65. *frequentes*, crowded with ἔρασταί Charm. 154 A. ib. C οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐρᾶν ἔμοιγε εἰδοῦναι αὐτοῦ . . . πολλοὶ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι ἔρασταὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὕπισθεν εἴποντο. It was the custom with lovers to attend at the gate or vestibule of those they admired. *Plat. Symp.* 183 κοιμήσεις ἐπὶ θύραις. *Theocr.* vii. 122 Μηκέτι τοι φρουρέωμες ἐπὶ προθύρῳ, Ἄρατε, Μηδὲ πόδας τρίβωμες· ὁ δ' ὄρθριος ἄλλον ἀλέκτωρ Κοκκύσδων νάρκησιν ἀνηραῖσι διδοίη. *tepida*, according to Statius, 'swarming, populous,' in the same sense as *calere* in *Phil.* v. 4. 11 and as *feruere* more commonly. But no example of *tepere* so used is quoted by Forc., and it is safer to take it of the actual warming of the doorway by the ἔρασταὶ who spent the night stretched upon it. So Propertius in a poem which is throughout a commentary upon this part of the *Attis*, i. 16. 17-26 *Ianua uel domina penitus crudelior ipsa, Quid mihi tam duris clausa taces foribus? Cur nunquam reserata meos admittit amores? . . . Nullane finis erit nostro concessa labori? Tristis et in tepido limine somnus erit? Me mediae noctes, me sidera prona iacentem, Frigidaque Eoo me dolet aura gelu.* *Plato Symp.* 183 A speaks of sleeping at the door of the beloved as one form of ἐθελοδουλεία.

66. Garlands were hung on the doorposts and laid on the *limen* (but see Munro on *Lucr.* iv. 1178) of the beloved. In the *Amores* i. 6. 67, 8 Ovid takes the garland from his head at dawn and lays it on Corinna's threshold to show that he has been there all night. Cf. *Met.* xiv. 708-710 *Interdum madidas lacrymarum rore coronas Postibus intendit, posuitque in limine duro Molle latus.*

67. A law of Solon's enacted that gymnasia should be opened at sunrise and closed at sunset, *Aeschin.* c. Timarch. 2. 12. *Achaeus* ἄθλα 3 Nauck *Γυμνοὶ γὰρ ἔρθρον* (so I emend the MSS. ὤθων) φαυδῖμου βραχίονας ἠβῆθι σφριγῶντες ἐμπορεύονται νέφ Στίλβοντες ἄνθει καρτέρας ἐπωμίδας. The idea of a group collected to admire is found in *Callim.* fr. 169 *Blomf.* Μέμβλετο δ' εἰσπνήλαις ὅποτε κούρος ἴοι.

68. *deum*, L. Müller would write for *deum* here and for *deae* in 3 and 20, *Rheae*: but here *deum* in the first clause generalizes what is specialized in the second (see on 75), and *deae* is sufficiently defined in 3 by *Phrygium*

*nemus*, in 20 by the rest of the line. **Cybeles famula**, Valerius Flaccus seems to use *famulus* absolutely of the servants of Cybele, Argon. iii. 20. Catullus heightens the indignity of the word by using the feminine *famula*.

**69. mei pars**, i. e. *amissis genitalibus*. **uir sterilis**, 'a man but without a man's power of procreating.' Passerat's *uis sterilis*, 'seed that cannot generate,' is ingenious, but forced.

**71. columinibus** might apply to the towered cities and pillared temples of Phrygia, which is called *εὐρείχρητος* in the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite 112, cf. Ouid. Fast. iv. 219, 220 *At cur turrata caput est ornata corona? An Phrygiis turres urbibus illa dedit?*, Lucr. ii. 606 and see Paley on Troad. 46. It seems more likely that Catullus refers to the peculiar rock-formations of Phrygia. Sir Charles Fellows, speaking of the country near Cotyaeum, in which the hills form a number of pointed sugar-loaf rocks and in other places lofty rocks perforated with caves (Asia Minor p. 128), says, 'These peculiar pointed rocks are hollowed like a honey-comb with sepulchral caves, many leading from one to the other by flights of steps, and all having small recesses scooped out of the sides, probably for urns containing the ashes of the dead, and little holes above each for a lamp or small offering; in some of them slight traces of architectural ornaments remain.' p. 133. 'At the distance of twenty miles from Kootayd we entered a valley, also filled with the singularly formed pointed rocks of the pumice-earth, and for eight miles passed through a continuous cemetery, the rocks and the ground being perforated by thousands of caves. Each of those which we entered had others above and below it, and the road sounded hollow from the excavations.' p. 134. Such underground retreats were particularly associated with the rites of Cybele, see the passage of Nicander quoted on 35: and even where her temples were in the open air, a cavern was often adjoined, as in Ovid's description Met. x. 686-694 *Templa deum matri quae quondam clarus Echion Fecerat ex uolo nemorosis abdita siluis, Transibant . . . Luminis exigui fuerat prope templa recessus Speluncae similis nativo pumice tectus, Religione sacer prisca, quo multa sacerdos Lignea contulerat ueterum simulacra deorum.*

**72. Phaedrus** has *nemoricultrix* of a sow ii. 4. 3, Publilius Syrus ap. Petron. S. 55 *pietaticultrix* of a stork. **aper nemoriuagus**, Il. xi. 414 *ὦς δ' ὅτε κάπριον ἀμφὶ κύνας θαλεροὶ τ' αἰζηοὶ Σέονται, ὁ δὲ τ' εἶσι βαθείης ἐκ ξυλόχοιο.*

**73. Attius Neoptolemus** 471 Ribbeck *Dolet pudetque Graium me et uero piget*, where Nonius 424 remarks *pigere paenitentiae est*.

**74. Roseis**, as of one in tender youth, like Πορφυρέου Ἀπὸ στόματος ἰεῖσα φωνὰν παρθένος Simon. 72 Bergk. Cf. Mart. viii. 56. 15 *roseis labris* of the young slave Alexis. This, as Prof. Sellar remarks Roman Poets of the Republic p. 370, is one of those touches which incidentally force upon the mind the contrast between the tender youth of Attis and the power of the passion which possesses him.

**75-76.** Various objections have been made, amongst others by W. S. Lander and Mr. Browning, to the language and order of these lines. There is not much reason for introducing the gods, if Cybele alone is meant: *geminas* is meaningless; and *noua nuntia* unusual. Hence Scaliger transposed the two lines and changed *deorum* to *eorum*, i. e.

*leonum* : Lachmann for *deorum* read *matris*. It is more probable that Catullus speaks as he has done already in 68 *deum ministra et Cybeles famula* ; the cry bursts upon the ears of the gods collectively, to indicate its loudness and passion ; it is noticed by Cybele alone because she alone is concerned to do so.

**75. Geminas** is not otiose, but expresses the vehemence of the complaint which insists on finding its way to the ears of the gods. Il. xii. 442 *ὡς φάρ' ἐποτρύνων, οἱ δ' οὐρασι πάντες ἄκουον* : Callim. Ep. xxxi. 6 *Τὸν καλόν, δὲ μόχθηρ', ζῆλεπες ἀμφοτέροισ, 'you had a full sight.'* Translate 'full or straight to the ears of the gods.' So Virgil Aen. vi. 788 *Huc geminas huc flecte acies* ; in Culex 150 *geminas avium uox obstrepit aures* seems to mean that the song of the birds rises noisily all around the shepherd : in Stat. S. iv. 4. 26 *Certum est ; inde sonus geminas mihi circuit aures*, the sound is unmistakable, it is heard in both ears. **nuntia**. According to Nonius 215 quoted by Voss *nuntium neuter apud aliquos non receptae auctoritatis lectum est, sed doctos* : Servius, on the other hand, on Aen. vi. 456, xi. 897 recognizes it as the ordinary expression for *quod nuntiatur*. It is, as a matter of fact, rare ; Varro quotes from the Censoriae tabulae L. L. vi. 86 *Vbi noctu in templum censurae auspicauerit atque de caelo nuntium erit* ; but in Lucr. iv. 704, it is more adj. than subst. and is besides used actively : see Munro. For the general expression, cf. Orator liii. 177 *Aures uel animus aurium nuntio naturalem quandam in se continet uocum omnium mentionem*. Catullus makes the sound deliver the message to the ears : Cicero makes the ears transmit the message to the mind.

**76. iuncta** with *iuga*, perhaps to make the yoking of so fierce a beast more prominent, and so Pacuvius fr. 347 Ribb. *Angues ingentes alites iuncti iugo*. Virgil Aen. iii. 113 and Pliny viii. 55 *iugo subdidit eos primusque Romae ad currum iunxit M. Antonius* both mention the yoking, as well as the drawing of the chariot. *Iuncta iuga* nearly = *quibus iuncti erant leonibus* with *resoluens*. Lions were a regular adjunct of the Magna Mater, and are often found on coins and in works of art, crouching at either side of her throne or drawing her car. Lucret. ii. 604 explains this as meaning that the savage instincts are to give way to the parental relation ; from Firmicus Maternus ix. 2 it might seem that the chastity, from Servius on Aen. iii. 113, that the abnormal appetites of the lion were the cause ; it is more likely that lions abounded in the mountainous or woodland region which was the original seat of the cult, and that the secret of taming them was transmitted from thence with it. Cf. Schol. on Aristoph. Aves 877. In the time of Catullus lion-taming was a traditional secret of the Galli. Varro mentions the figure of a lion *ad Idam eo loco ubi quondam, subito eum cum uidissent quadrupedem, galli tympanis adeo fecerunt mansuem, ut tractarent manibus*, "Ovos Λύπας fr. ii Riese, Non. 483 : cf. Anth. P. vi. 218-220, 237.

**77. Laeuum**. The Idaei Dactyli were divided into *δεξιοί* and *ἀριστεροί* Schol. on Apoll. Rhod. i. 1129 : some such allusion may be meant. **pecoris** includes not only sheep and goats, but larger animals, as oxen and bulls Varro R. R. ii. 1. 10. Sophocles Phil. 400 calls Ge, whom he identifies with the Great Mother, *ταυροκτόνων λεόντων ἔφεδρε* ; the lion that threatens the life of a votary of Cybele is *ταυροφόνος θήρ* Anth. P. vi. 219. 7, *βουφάγος* vi. 217. 4, *ἄμυστῆς* vi. 237. 6. **stimulans**, 'striking with a goad' (Hertzberg). Catullus may have thought of the

Homeric *Κέντρον ἐπισπέρχων* Il. xxiii. 430. In Lucan i. 208 the lion uses his own tail as a goad.

78 sqq. seems modelled on Men. v. 2. 109-116, especially 113, 114 *Agile equi facitote somitus unguularum apparcat: Cursu celeri facite inflexa sil pedum pernicitas*; 115, 116 *Ecce Apollo denuo Me iubet facere impetum in eum qui hic stat atque occidere*; and 118 *Imperium tuum demulat atque edictum Apollinis.* (Stat.)

79. The force of *furoris ictu* cannot be estimated by the common use of the participle *ictus* with such ablatives, e. g. Liu. v. 21 quoted by Doering, *uelut repentino icti furore*. Statius in an admirable note shows that Catullus has in his mind the *μάστις πολυαστράγαλος* Anth. P. vi. 234. 4, a scourge of knuckle-bones strung on a thong which was used to punish refractory Galli or with which they affected to flog themselves for the purpose of exciting compassion, Rich, Companion p. 289, where a drawing is given. Plutarch Moral. 1127 C *οὐδὲ μάστιγος ἐλευθέρως δέομενος, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀστραγαλωτῆς ἐκείνης ἢ τοὺς Γάλλους πλημμελοῦντας ἐν τοῖς Μητρώοις κολάζουσι*. The meaning then is: Attis is refractory and must be brought back to obedience. The lion's onset is to rouse the religious frenzy which, like the lashes of the scourge, will recall the delinquent to his duty, and make him return to the service of Cybele.

81. *cauda*, ἀλκαία. Il. xx. 170 *Οὐρῇ δὲ πλευράς τε καὶ ἰσχία ἀμφοτέρωθεν Μαστίεται, ἔε δ' αὐτὸν ἐποτρύνει μαχέσασθαι*. Plin. viii. 49 *Leonum animi index cauda . . . Innota ergo placido, clemens blandienti, quod rarum est; crebrior enim iracundia. Eius in principio terra uerberatur, incremento terga ceu quodam incitamento flagellantur*. Luc. i. 208 *se saevae stimulauit uerbere caudae*. *tua*, 'your own,' generally it is another who *iussit pati uerbera* Sen. Med. 337.

82. *mugienti fremitu*, the roar bellows, as the hair of the excited votary is itself called mad, Anth. P. vi. 220. 2 *Ἐκφρων μαινομένην δοὺς ἀνέμοισι τρίχα*.

83. Imitated by Sen. H. F. 948 of the constellation Leo *et rutila iubam Ceruice iactat*. *torosa*, Aen. xii. 6 *mouet arma leo gaudetque comantis Enculiens ceruice toros*.

84. *religat*, binds up the loose straps to the pole, to prevent their dangling till the lion returns.

85. *Ferus* is used by Cicero de Diuin. ii. 30. 63, and often later, as by Virgil Aen. ii. 51, vii. 489, Phaedrus i. 21. 8, Ovid Heroid. ix. 114, the two last of a lion, as a substantive, and Vulp. and Doer. take it so here, perhaps rightly. Catullus may then be expressing *θήρ*, which, according to the schol. on Arat. 36, was applied to lions *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. *ipse sese adhortans*, like *perrumpere nituntur seque ipsi adhortantur* Caesar B. G. vi. 37 (Vulp.) *rapidum animo*, proleptic after *incitat*, 'spurs himself into fury of heart.'

86. *refringit* is well explained by Stat. Theb. iv. 139 *Non aliter siluas umeris et utroque refringens Pectore, montano duplex Hylæus ab antro Praecipital*. As the lion rushes on, the brushwood is beaten back on each side and a path thus opened. *pede uago* recurs LXIV. 277: in each case it seems to express the indeterminateness of the direction.

87. *humida* is farther defined by *albicansis*, a rare participle. The shore whitens with the foam of the billows: it is not likely that the whiteness is that of the *sandy* shore (*λευκοφαῖ ψάμαθον* I. A. 1054).



88. Lucretius connects the use of *marmor* in reference to the sea with the white flashing colour of the waves in agitation ii. 666 *mare . . . Vertitur in canos candenti marmore fluctus*. Ennius quoted by A. Gellius ii. 26. 21 *Verrunt extemplo placide mare marmore flavo*, seems to use *marmor* of a smooth sea, and Conington on Aen. vi. 729 considers this to be the idea which the Roman poets associated with the word, in opposition to that of glistening, which predominates in the Greek *ἄλα μαρμαρέην* Il. xiv. 273. Corssen i. p. 412 considers the sense of 'glistening' to be the only one conveyed by the word. I believe that in Catullus at any rate the notion of flashing colour is combined with that of a smooth level surface. My metrical translation aims at expressing this, 'the sea's level opaline.'

89. **Facit impetum**, a strictly prose expression. Liv. i. 5.

91. **magna dea**. Prop. iii. 17. 35 *Vertice turrigero iuxta dea magna Cybelle*. **domina**, here in close connexion with **Dindymeis**, 'queen of Dindymus.' Dindymon, or Dindyma plural, rarely Dindymus (Prop. iii. 22. 3, Plin. v. 142), is the name of a mountain which rises above Pessinus in Galatia (Strabo 567), of mountains of the Troad (Stephanus B.), and of a mountain near Cyzicus (Apollon. Rhod. i. 985, and Scholia there). Stephanus may have extended the Troad to Cyzicus, as Strabo 586 places the beginning of the Troad at Zeleia, a little to the W. of Cyzicus; or some part of the Trojan Ida may have been called Dindymon, as Ovid connects *Dindymon et Cybelen et amoenam fontibus Iden Mater et Iliacas semper amavit opes* F. iv. 249, and Strabo says 473 that all the extremities of Ida were sacred to Cybele. The name Dindymenian mother would in the first instance no doubt be connected with the earliest seat of the worship, the Phrygian Dindymon, but as soon as the worship spread farther and the name Dindymon with it, the Goddess of Dindymon would lose its original definiteness and be variously applied by different writers. Thus Apollonius Rhod. i. 985, Prop. iii. 22. 3, speak of the Cyzicene Dindymon; and so probably Sil. Italicus xvii. 20, where he describes the introduction of the cult at Rome, *Semiuirique chori gemino qui Dindyma monte Casta colunt*; cf. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 985 *Δίνδυμον ὄρος Κυζίκου ἱερόν τῆς Πέρας διὰ τὸ διδύμου μαστοῦς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀνήκειν, ἣ διὰ τὸ δύο ἔχειν ἄκρα. οὕτω καλεῖται*: Virgil speaks indefinitely of *Dindyma* ix. 618, x. 252; Catullus, I think, has in his mind the Phrygian mountain proper, as in 71 he speaks of the *alla Phrygiæ columina*, words which can scarcely apply to the country near Cyzicus or in the Troad.

92. Imitated by Ovid. Fast. iv. 116 *a nobis sit procul iste furor*.

## LXIV.

THE marriage of Peleus and Thetis was a favorite subject of ancient poetry. Pindar Isthm. v. 24 declares that no city was so barbarous as not to have heard the fame of the hero Peleus, the happy son-in-law of the gods: in Pyth. iii. 87-96 he classes him with Cadmus, as the two happiest of men, who heard the Muses singing, and witnessed the Gods banqueting at their marriage, and saw the Kings, the sons of Cronos, on golden seats, and received gifts. In the third Nemean Peleus is described as taking Iolcos without an army and grasping the seaborne Thetis. In the fourth, after overcoming her in the shape of fire and a lion, he marries her, one of the high-throned Nereids, and sees the fair-circling seat on which the

kings of heaven and sea sat, and set before him gifts. In the fifth the Muses with Apollo in the midst sing of Peleus and Thetis ; how Hippolyte tried to seduce and then kill Peleus ; how then Zeus promised to give him speedily one of the sea-born golden-spindled Nereids for a wife, with the consent of Poseidon, like Zeus, a rival for the possession of Thetis. This is more fully drawn out in the eighth Isthmian. There Zeus and Poseidon, after contending for Thetis, give her up to Peleus, on account of a prophecy of Themis that if Thetis married Zeus or one of his brothers, her son should be a greater king than his father. 'Let Thetis wed a mortal and see her son slain in war, like Ares in hands and like lightning in his power of foot. I Themis assign to Peleus a goddess as the most pious man of Iolcos : let a message be sent straight to Chiron's cavern, and let not Thetis dissent : she shall lose her virginity in Peleus' arms in the evenings when the moon is full.' Zeus and Poseidon assented ; thenceforth Achilles became famous in war, dyed the Mysian plain with the blood of Telephus, made a bridge for the return of the Greeks home, and delivered Helen. In the Iphigenia in Aulis of Euripides 701-709 Zeus gives Thetis to Peleus, who marries her on Pelion, the gods themselves holding the wedding feast. A chorus in the same play (1036-1074) describes the marriage ceremony ; the Muses sang of Peleus and Thetis to the feasting gods, Ganymede acted as cup-bearer, and the fifty Nereids danced on the sand. The Centaurs attended, and Chiron prophesied the future greatness of Achilles. In the Andromache (15 sqq.) Peleus and Thetis after their marriage are said to have lived aloof from men on the borders of Phthia and Pharsalus, at a place called from the event Thetideion.

Isocrates, Euagoras 192 b, sums up the life of Peleus thus, Πηλεὺς δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Κενταύρους ἀριστεύσας καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς ἄλλους κινδύλους εὐδοκμήσας Θέτιδι τῇ Νηρῆως θυγῆτος ὧν ἀθανάτων συνῴκησε καὶ μόνου τούτου φασὶ τῶν προγεγενημένων ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ἰμῆναιον ἀσθῆναι. According to Apollonius Rhodius iv. 791 sqq., Zeus in love with Thetis but repulsed through the influence of Hera, swears she shall never marry an immortal, but continues to persecute her till Themis prophesies that the son of Thetis is fated to be superior to his father. Then Hera gives to Thetis the best of mortal men, invites all the gods to be present, and herself holds up the marriage-torch at their wedding.

It is probable that Catullus was acquainted with all the above-mentioned passages of Pindar Euripides and Apollonius ; but he may have drawn also from other sources, now lost. The well-known lines in Il. xxiv. 61 sqq.

Αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς ἐστι θεὸς γόνος, ἦν ἐγὼ αὐτῇ  
 Θρέψα τε καὶ ἀτίτληα καὶ ἀνδρὶ πόρον παράκοιτιν  
 Πηλεῖ, ὃς περὶ κῆρι φίλος γένετ' ἀθανάτοισι,  
 Πάντες δ' ἀντιάσθε θεοὶ γάμου· ἐν δὲ σὺ τοῖσι  
 Δαῖν' ἔχω φόρμιγγα,

are indeed the outline which later poets did but fill up. Elsewhere in the Iliad the marriage is mentioned in allusion to the gifts which Peleus then received from the gods, the horses Xanthus and Balius and the divine armour, xvi. 381, xvii. 443, xviii. 82 ; and by Thetis xviii. 432 sqq. who complains that Zeus had singled her out from the goddesses of the sea to wed a mortal against her own will, and only to bring her to greater misery. Hesiod besides an allusion to the marriage Theog. 1006, wrote

Ἐπιθαλάμια εἰς Πηλέα καὶ Θέτιν, of which Tzetzes Proleg. ad Lycophr. has preserved two verses

Τρὶς μάκαρ Αἰακίδῃ καὶ τετράκις ὄλβιε Πηλεῦ  
 \*Ὅς τοῖσδ' ἐν μεγάροις ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβαίνεις<sup>1</sup>,

and four lines from an elegiac Θέτιδος Ἐπιθαλάμιον by Agamestor of Pharsalus are quoted by the scholiast on Lycophron 178. At a later period Statius Achill. i. 193 imagines Achilles, still a youth in Chiron's cave, singing to his mother the labours of Hercules, the fight of Pollux and Amycus, of Theseus and the Minotaur, lastly her own God-attended nuptials on Pelion.

Catullus would therefore have no want of literary precedents in writing his Marriage of Peleus and Thetis. But it was quite as universal a subject of art. Valerius Flaccus Argon. i. 129-133 makes the marine procession of Thetis to the marriage-chamber of Peleus the first of a series of tableaux with which he imagines the Argo to have been painted: and besides numerous works now lost, a variety of bassi-relievi vases urns etc. still existing, show the popularity of the legend. A bas-relief figured in Zoega i. 52 represents, according to Winckelmann Monumens Inédits vol. ii. pp. 97-99 ed. 1808, a procession of figures bearing marriage-gifts to Peleus, who is seated with Thetis veiled on his right, with his right hand stretched out to take a sword presented by Vulcan; after whom comes Pallas with a helmet in her right hand and a spear in her left, followed by a train of single figures male and female. At the top is a border with marine monsters, cf. Plin. xxxvi. 26. Another (Mon. Inéd. ii. pp. 93-97) is thought by Winckelmann to refer to the same subject: in it the Gods form an outer group enclosing the central figures of Thetis asleep and Peleus advancing towards her. The same subject is believed to be portrayed on the famous Portland vase, as well as on another figured in Millingen's Unedited Monuments pl. x; and it stands fourth in the eleven designs illustrating the life of Achilles on the François vase found at Chiusi in 1845 and now preserved at Florence<sup>2</sup>.

Even more frequent in ancient art was the legend of Ariadne, as may perhaps be inferred from the frequent repetition of it by Ovid (Heroid. x, Met. viii. 172-181, F. iii. 459-516). Xenophon Symp. ix describes a sort of ballet performed at a private entertainment, in which a young man and woman act in pantomime the parts of Bacchus and Ariadne. Gell gives two Pompeian pictures supposed to refer to this subject. In the first (vol. i. p. 164) Ariadne looks out upon the sea; a ship is in the horizon. In the other (ii. p. 121) she lies asleep, while Theseus embarks. Very similar is the picture of Ariadne described by Philostratus *Εἰκόνες* p. 786 Kayser; and Pausanias saw in the most ancient temple of Dionysus at Athens a picture, in which were Ἀριάδῃ καθεύδουσα καὶ Θησεὺς ἀγαγόμενος καὶ Διόνυσος ἤκων ἐς τῆς Ἀριάδης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν i. 20. 3. A vase with the inscription ΝΑΪΩΝ given in Millingen's Unedited Monuments i. pl. 26, contains the figures of Ariadne Dionysus and Eros; and Dr. Birch affirms that no incident appears so frequently on vases of every period and with every variety of detail. (Ancient Pottery p. 238).

<sup>1</sup> Düntzer fr. xxxv.

<sup>2</sup> Birch History of Ancient Pottery p. 226. This vase has the names of the figures inscribed. It is noticeable that the return of Theseus to Crete, his marriage and dance with Ariadne, form the second of the groups painted upon it.

It would seem probable then that Catullus wishing to write a poem distinctly epic in character, partly as giving scope to a greater variety of powers, partly as a new contribution to the Alexandrian epyllia which were the fashion of the day, partly to show his management of the hexameter, still known to the Romans chiefly in the *Annales* of Ennius, was determined in the choice of his subject mainly by its universality and adaptability as shown in works of art. This would alone suffice to explain the main defect of the poem, the loose connexion of its parts. Each part in effect was conceived separately, and was then worked into a not very artistic whole by the introduction, borrowed from Apollonius, of a quilt on which one of the stories is embroidered: the total effect is of two poems rather than one. So strongly has this been felt that some have denied the poem to be a real whole; Merkel Praef. ad Ibin p. 360 considers it to be a translation from a Greek original, itself much larger, Bernhardt defines this as a poem of the Hesiodic school, Bergk as a poem of Euphorion, Riese of Callimachus, Hertzberg of a contemporary of Callimachus or Apollonius<sup>1</sup>. Haupt holds that the abrupt beginning (1-3) as well as the sustained and solemn close (381-408) disprove this hypothesis, and he defends the unnecessary apostrophe to the heroes (22-25), and the inordinate length of the episode of Ariadne, by the custom of the Alexandrian poets. Yet nothing in Callimachus or Theocritus can, I think, be said to produce the same feeling of disproportion as this digression of Catullus, which indeed seems to have absolutely nothing to do with the main subject of the poem. Even granting that a connecting link is to be found in the common theme of the two stories, the glory of marriage, a view recently put forward by Mr. Shadworth Hodgson<sup>2</sup> (*Theory of Practice* ii. p. 535), and which certainly has the merit of making the episode, not indeed of almost equal, but of somewhat less unequal, importance with the rest of the poem, it will hardly be denied that this view does not lie on the surface, and after all does not explain the want of poetical finish in the junctures. This is particularly perceptible in 50-52, 212 sqq. in each of which the

<sup>1</sup> And so Teuffel *Hist. of Roman Literature* i. 211. 6, English Translation.

<sup>2</sup> 'The theme of the so-called Marriage of Peleus and Thetis of Catullus is the glory of marriage, idealised by means of an instance in which all the circumstances of happiness are united, and which is invested with all the imagined glories of the heroic age. Those who consider the subject of the poem to be merely the marriage of Peleus and Thetis are at a loss to account for the disproportionate length of the episode, as it then appears, the story of Theseus and Ariadne. But the truth is that the theme of the poem, the glory of marriage, is exhibited by the two contrasted stories, which thus properly assume almost equal importance. Thus it is the very marriage-bed of Peleus and Thetis which is covered with the tapestry exhibiting the story of Ariadne:

Talibus amplifice vestis decorata figuris  
Pulvinar complexa suo velabat amictu.

Thetis is given in marriage by Jupiter himself: Ariadne deserts her father's home for Theseus. The first union receives its crown in the birth of an heroic son Achilles; the inconstancy of mind which leads Theseus to desert Ariadne, in the second, is the cause of his own father's death.

Sed quali solam Theseus me mente reliquit  
Tali mente, Deae, funestet seque suosque.

Again, the circumstance that the union of Peleus and Thetis was an union between a mortal and an immortal finds its counterpart in the advent of Bacchus. But though old wounds may be healed, there is no future in the picture; while for Peleus and Thetis the song of the Parcae weaves into the fruition of the present the anticipated fame of their son.'

reader is carried off into a new digression. Unfortunately the contemporaneous epyllia, the Io of Calvus, the Smyrna of Cinna, the Glaucus of Cornificius, have perished; those of a later period, such as the Ciris, though probably modelled on Catullus and his school, are the work of very inferior writers.

The influence of the Alexandrian poets on Catullus has been much dwelt upon; and it is possible that the defects of the *Peleus and Thetis* are conscious imitations of their peculiarities; for the short disposition of large subjects, a disproportionate copiousness of detail as compared with the rapid conciseness of the transitions, and a tendency to subjective reflexions and apostrophes e. g. 22-30, 94-100, 116-123, are, as has been well observed by Riese, among the more prominent features of the school. My commentary will show how often Catullus has been indebted to them for words ideas and types of expression; Merkel, Proleg. to Apollonius p. xiv, considers that the artistic hexameters of Apollonius have nowhere been so successfully imitated as in the Epyllion of Catullus; and the same view has been enforced in detail by Haupt and L. Müller. Yet it must not be forgotten that the Alexandrian poets belong as a whole to a declining, Catullus to a rising, period of art. Neither Callimachus Apollonius nor Theocritus ever leaves that impression of simplicity which is one great charm of the *Peleus and Thetis*; on the other hand we fail to detect in this any of those tricks by which the later Greeks sought to veil their exhaustion. The Callimachean artifice of repeating the same word three or four times over in one sentence (H. Jov. 6, 7, 55, 84, Dian. 56, 7, 136-140, Ap. 27-30) or clenching a thought by a short epigrammatic clause at the end, is rarely found, cf. however 256-264: there is no attempt to heighten the interest by sudden questions and answers (Callim. H. Jov. 62, Dian. 113-121, 183-185) or to produce a quaint effect by amusing episodes (Callim. H. Dian. 66-79, 146-158, Cer. 57-116). Weaknesses the poem has; but they are not those of over-elaboration. In places there is a *nescio quid nimii*; the same idea or the same word recurs too often (see vol. i. 241 note on *pectus mens cor animus*); present participles, as was observed by Hertzberg, are accumulated more than the genius of the language admits, see 5, 7; the complaint of Ariadne is, as a whole, too lengthy; sometimes a line might have been omitted advantageously. In these respects it might almost be said that the poem is at least as unlike the Alexandrians as it is like them; on the other hand it would not be fair to ascribe, with Westphal, to them whatever is displeasing, to Catullus whatever is really good and beautiful.

Haupt has noticed the inaccuracy of Catullus in making Ariadne speak of the mountains of Idomeneus (178), the son of her brother Deucalion, and either not born or in tender years at the time supposed, at least a generation before the Trojan war. Again, the first lines, in which the Argo sails on Amphitrite for the first time, are inconsistent with the description of Theseus departing *celeri cum classe*, and with the story of Theseus' black sail. It is equally probable that Catullus disregarded the strict proprieties of time in connecting Venus with Golgi and Idalium; or in speaking of Pallas as the dweller on Itonus, and Diana as the inhabitant of Idrus. But these are small errors if compared with the liberties which other Roman poets, notably Virgil, allowed themselves

in matters of geography and chronology. As a whole the poetic keeping of the *Peleus and Thetis* is good; nothing offensively modern or unnatural mars the heroic tone assumed at the outset.

There is nothing to determine the date. Bruner thinks it was written when Catullus was in Asia Minor, and published on his return to Rome. Westphal, who finds in the treason of Theseus and the unrighteousness of the post-heroic age the morbid reflex of the poet's own bitterness when abandoned by Lesbia, refers it to the supposed cycle of rival poems, and, considering these to extend from the death of Metellus in 59 to the journey into Bithynia early in 57, assigns as a probable date the later half of the year 58. Munro on Lucr. iii. 57, where he collects the passages in the *Peleus and Thetis* which resemble Lucretius, observing that all these are found in the episode of Theseus and Ariadne, surmises that this episode was filled up by Catullus when he was fresh from reading the new work of Lucretius; and accepting the view of Schwabe that Catullus published a collected edition of his poems only a very short time before his early death in 54 B.C., considers that the Nuptials of *Peleus and Thetis* must have been written just before this publication. Couat assigns it, with the other long poems, to the last years of the poet's life, when his powers were in full maturity (Étude p. 252). It seems probable that the subject was suggested to Catullus when he was at Sigeum and Rhoeteum, the former the burialplace of Achilles, the latter of Ajax and the poet's brother. Philostratus Heroic. p. 741 says the Thessalians sent theoi yearly to the tomb of Achilles, and that before landing they sang a hymn to Thetis.

The name of the poem in most of the MSS. is *Argonautia* or *Argonautica*, a title which can hardly have come from Catullus, as the subject of the poem is so definitely the marriage of *Peleus and Thetis*, and only the beginning has any reference to the Argonauts. On the other hand *Peleus* was a prominent Argonaut, and assisted in carrying off *Medea* (Pind. fr. 149 Bergk); the name may therefore have been given by some one well acquainted with the whole history of the hero, perhaps a grammarian of the later Empire.

I have used for this poem the special commentaries of Bernardinus Realinus (Bononiae apud Anselmum Giaccarellum 1551) Mitscherlich and Kraft: but the best illustration of it is to be found in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, of which Catullus must have made a considerable study.

1. **Peliaco.** Apoll. R. i. 386 Πηλιάς Ἀργώ. Eur. Med. 1-5 εἶθ' ὄφελ' Ἀργοῦς μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος Κόλκων ἐς αἶν κτανείας Συμπληγάδας, Μῆδ' ἐν νάπαισι Πηλίου πεσεῖν ποτε Τρηθείσα πύκη μῆδ' ἐρετμῶσαι χέρας Ἀνδρῶν ἀριστέων οἳ τὸ πάγχρυσον δέρος Πελία μετήλθον. Cf. Enn. Med. fr. 280-285, a passage repeatedly quoted by Cicero, ad Heren. ii. 22. 34, de Fato xv. 35, pro Caelio viii. 18, de Fin. i. 2. 5, de Nat. Deor. iii. 30. 75, and parodied by Phaedrus iv. 7. 6.

2. **liquidas**, 'watery,' or 'flowing,' as Lucr. v. 488 speaks of *Undas et liquidam molem camposque natantes*. The idea is shown by Ouid. Met. i. 94, 95 *Nondum caesa suis peregrinum ut uiseret orbem Montibus in liquidas pinus descenderat undas*; it was a new thought to bring the world of water and the world of solid nature together; the first ship associated them.

4. Apoll. R. iii. 347 Τῆ δ' ἐναγειράμενος Παναχαΐδους εἶ τι φέριστον, Ἡρώων

τὸν ἄστυ (the city of Aeetes) μετήλυθε. Apollonius i. 9. 16 calls the Argonauts τοὺς ἀρίστους τῆς Ἑλλάδος. They were all ἀθανάτων υἱές τε καὶ υἰωνοί Apoll. R. iii. 366.

5. **Auratum pellem**, χρύσειον μετὰ κώας Apoll. R. i. 4. **auertere**, as Mitscherlich observes, seems chosen in reference to driving off cattle, its common though not invariable meaning. Caesar B. C. iii. 59 *stipendium equitum fraudabant et praedam omnem domum auertebant*. Virgil has *auertere equos* Aen. i. 472, *tauros* viii. 208, *praedas* x. 78. Mitsch. points out that Catullus has been imitated by Val. Flaccus v. 630 *Vellera sacra meis sperantem auertere lucis*.

6. **cita**, not merely otiose like Homeric *θοῆ νηϊ*, but in reference to the ease and quickness of the voyage. **decurrere**, Virgil Aen. v. 212 suggests that the idea may be that of running down a slope of water. The accusative **uada salsa** is like *currimus aequor* Aen. iii. 191, *aequora curro* v. 235. Hedyllus ap. Strab. 683 πῶς ἀνόδευτον Χεῦμα δι' εἰρωνῶν ἐδράμομεν ζεφύρων.

7. **Verrentes**. Enn. Ann. 377 *Vahlen Verrunt exiemplo placidum mare marmore flauo*. **abiignis**. Priscian ii. 44, speaking of adjectives in *-eus*, says *inueniuntur pauca sine e ut quernus colurnus abiignus oleaginus faginus*, and in an old Inscript. CIL. I. 577 *abiignieis abiignea* as well as a longer form *abiigneas* occur. This proves that the original form was *abiigneus*, whence *abiigneus* on the one hand, *abiignus* on the other. **palmis**, 'oar-blades,' *παροῖς*. Vitruv. x. 8 (3), *6 remi . . . extremis progredientibus palmis (parmis MSS.) . . . protrudunt porrectam nauem*. The word is also found in Laberius 53 Ribbeck, Non. 151.

8. **Diua**, Pallas. Apoll. R. i. 111 *Ἀντὴ γὰρ καὶ νῆα θοὴν κάμε' σὺν δέ οἱ Ἄργος Τεῦξεν Ἄρεστορίδης κείνης ὑποθημοσύνησιν*, iii. 340 *Νῆα δ' Ἀθηναίη Πάλλας κάμεν*. **retinens in summis urbibus arces**, whence she is called Ἐρυσίπολις Πολιάς Πολιοῦχος Ἀκραία Ἀκρία, cf. Il. vi. 88 *νηὸν Ἀθηναίης γλαυκώπιδος ἐν πόλει ἄκρα*.

9, 10. **currum, texta**. Pallas is specially the patroness of chariot-making and of carpentry. Thus Il. v. 59 sqq. Phereclus, the builder of the ships in which Paris sailed to Troy, is loved by her; the wooden horse was made by Epeios σὺν Ἀθήνῃ Od. viii. 493; the skillful carpenter who straightens the ship timber by his rule works under her suggestions Il. xv. 410 sqq. In the Hymn to Aphrodite 12, 13 Athene *Πρώτη τέκτονας ἄνδρας ἐπιχθονίους ἐδίδαξε Πιῦσαι σατίνας τε καὶ ἄρματα ποικίλα χαλκῷ*, hence she is called Ἐργάνη and Μηχανίτις.

9. **Ipsa**. A well-known terra-cotta relief in the British Museum represents Argus Athene and Tiphys building the Argo<sup>1</sup>. **currum**. Aesch. Supp. 33 *σὺν ὄχῳ ταχυήρει*, Soph. Trach. 656 *ναὸς πολυκόπων ἔχημα*, Dionys. Hal. de Comp. Verb. 17 quotes an unknown fragment *οἱ δ' ἐπέιγοντο πλωταῖς ἀπῆναισι χαλκεμβόλοισιν*.

10. 'Joining a close fabric of pine to the rounded keel.' **texta** might be in reference to the junction of the pine uprights to the keel; more probably the connected series of upright and horizontal planks which form the sides of the vessel, and which are joined to the keel as a quite separate piece are called *texta*. Attius Nyctegresia 484 Ribbeck has *scandit oras, laterum texta flamma Volcani uorax*: according to Servius on Aen. xi. 326 Ennius used *textrinum*=a dockyard.

<sup>1</sup> See Birch Ancient Pottery p. 492. The same subject is not uncommon on Greek vases of the later period, ib. p. 260.

11. **cursu** with **imbuit**, as Mart. viii. 51. 17 *Imbuat egregium digno mihi nectare munus. rudem*, strange to it, Prop. iii. 15. 5. **Amphitriten**, perhaps with a personal idea, as the use of *Amphitrite*=*mare* is stated by Haupt to belong to the late Greek of Oppian and Dionysius. This would confirm the reading indicated by the Oxford MS. (*O*) *Illa rudem cursu proram imbuit Amphitrite*, as suggested by me in my edition of 1867, and now adopted by Behrens. 'It was then that Amphitrite gave to the untaught prow the first lesson in voyaging.' For this pregnant use of *Illa* compare Prop. iv. 4. 14 *ubi nunc est curia septa, Bellicus ex illo fonte bibebat ecus*, 'from the spring there.' Apollonius i. 1062 seems to make *τόδε σῆμα*= 'monument of this event.'

12. **proscindere** is generally used of the first ploughing which breaks up a virgin soil Virg. G. i. 97, and this would have a point here, in reference to the Argo, the first ship that ploughed the sea.

13. Od. xii. 171 *οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἔρετμὰ Ἐξόμενοι λεύκαιον ὕδρω ξεστῆς ἐλάτησιν. remigio*, not 'rowing,' as in Bacch. ii. 3. 55 *remigio sequi*, nor 'the rowers,' as in Hor. Ep. i. 6. 63, but, 'the oars' collectively, as in Hor. C. i. 14. 4, Tac. Ann. ii. 24 *claudae naues raro remigio*. Sil. vii. 412, quoted by Mitsch. *Ac tortus multo spumabat remige pontus Cum trepidae fremitu uitreis e sedibus antri Aequoreae pelago semel emerere sorores* cannot prove that *remigio*= 'rowers,' as the ablative is after *spumabat* not *tortus*, and Silius need not be doing more than paraphrase Catullus.

14. **feri uultus**, 'wild faces,' in apposition with *Nereides*. The faces are wild because they belong to the children of the wild sea LXIII. 40. Apollonius i. 547-552 says all the gods looked from heaven on the Argo and its crew, and the nymphs of Pelion wondered on the highest peaks as they gazed upon the work of Athena; and in i. 1310 as the Argo passes, the sea-god Glaucus lifts his shaggy head and chest from the sea and utters a prophecy. One of these seems to have suggested to Catullus the general idea of 14-18; but he alters the expression, like Moschus ii. 118 *Νηρείδες δ' ἀνέδυσαν ὑπέξ ἁλός, αἱ δ' ἄρα πάσαι Κηρείοις νότοισιν ἐφῆμεναι ἀντροχέοντο*. Catullus in his turn has been copied by the author of the *Ciris* 391, of the *Dirae* 55-57, and by Silius vii. 413.

15. **monstrum**, 'the strange creature.' Catullus no doubt knew the passage from Attius in which a shepherd *ut procul diuinum et nouum uehiculum Argonautarum e monte conspexit, primo admirans et perterritus loquitur* De N. D. ii. 35. 89.

16. **Illa atque alia**, the general reading of the MSS. seems to be a corruption either of *Illa atque haut alia* or *Illaque haut alia*. For the loss of *haut* cf. Pseud. i. 5. 59 where *atque alio tu* of MSS. appears to represent an original *atque haut alio* (Ritschl) or *haudque alio tu* (Bothe). The meaning must be 'on that day only, and on no other before or since,' perhaps, as Voss suggests, a reminiscence of Apollonius' *Πάντες δ' οὐρανόθεν λείψον θεοῖ ἡματι κείνῳ* Nῆα i. 547, where the position of *ἡματι κείνῳ* makes it emphatic. In iv. 317 the shepherds leave their flocks *νηὼν φόβῳ, οἳα τε θήρας Ὀσσομένοιο πόντου μεγακίτεος ἐξαιώντας. Οὐ γάρ πω ἄλλας γε πάρος πόθι νῆας ἴδοντο*.

17. **Mortales oculi** is found also in Lucret. i. 66, Pedo ap. Sen. Suas. i. 15. Cf. *mortali manu* Prop. ii. 32. 50, *mortale corpus* Ouid. M. iii. 308, xiv. 824, *m. ora* Ouid. M. vii. 87, *m. pectora* M. iv. 201.

18. **Nutricium**, 'breasts,' apparently *ἄπ. λεγ.* in this sense. Catullus follows a Greek use. Hesych. *τιθίον τιτθῆ τιτθὸς μαστὸς ἢ τροφός*, but



Liddell and Scott give no instance of *τιθή* = 'breast.' *τιθός* is used both for a teat (Thesm. 640) and a nurse, for which Philo i. 166 is quoted. Similarly *μάμη*, *mamma* are used both for nurse or mother and breast. Hertzberg condemns *Nutricum* as tasteless, and considers it to prove that Catullus was not writing a poem of his own, but translating from the Greek. It looks like an attempt at novelty, like the spondaic endings in which Catullus shows himself *τῶν νεωτέρων* (Cic. Att. vii. 2. 1). **ex-tantes e gurgite cano** is like Lucretius iv. 397 *Extantisque procul medio de gurgite montis*; Munro however does not mention it on iii. 57, where he collects the parallels between Lucretius and Catullus; all those are in the Ariadne episode; this is not. Tacitus Ann. i. 70 *modo pectore, modo ore tenus exlantes*.

19-21. The triple consecution of the same word is found in the Alexandrian poets, Callim. H. Del. 83-85, H. Apol. 27-30, 42-44, 54-57 where *Φοῖβος* is followed by *Φοῖβος* three times, 61-62, Theocr. i. 71-72, 73-74, 80-81, 100-101, 116-117, ii. 38-39, vii. 83-84; but also in Homer II. xxi. 197-198 *πάντες—πάσα—πᾶσαι*, 350-356 *καίετο—καίετο—καίετο*. Hesiod *Ἔ. κ. Ἡ.* 576-578 *ἦώς—ἦώς—ἦώς*, 315-317 *αἰδώς—αἰδώς—αἰδώς*. Theog. 832-834 *ἄλλοτε—ἄλλοτε—ἄλλοτε*: see Paley on the first of these passages.

20. Homer II. xviii. 432-434 makes Thetis accept Peleus as a husband against her will, *Ἐκ μὲν μ' ἀλλάων ἀλιδίων ἀνδρὶ δάμασσαν Αἰακίδῃ Πηληΐ, καὶ ἔτλην ἀνέρος εὐνήν Πολλὰ μάλ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσα*. **despexit hymenaeos**, like *auctus hymenaeo* LXVI. 11, is probably in imitation of Homer, certainly of Greek models. The fact that *-it* of the present and perfect indicative is sometimes long in Ennius' *Annales* and the comedians would rather determine Catullus and his school against it. See Mr. Nettleship's Excursus to Aeneid xii in Conington's Virgil.

21. **pater** was explained by the early commentators and lately by Orelli of Nereus, whom Homer II. i. 538, xviii. 52, Hesiod Theog. 244, 1006, Eurip. Androm. 46, 1274, Apollod. iii. 13. 5, Tib. i. 5. 45, Verg. Aen. viii. 383 agree in making the father of Thetis. This view might be illustrated by a passage of Philostratus Junior *Εἰκόνες* i. p. 863 Kayser *τὸ γὰρ τοὶ Μοιρῶν ἐπὶ τῷ παιδί δόγμα τοῦ πατρὸς Νηρέως ἢ Θέτις μαθοῦσα καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἄμφω πεπρωμένον αὐτῷ εἴη ἢ ζῆν ἀκλεῶς ἢ εὐκλεᾶ γενόμενον τάχιστα τελευτᾶν, ἀπόθετος αὐτῇ ὁ παῖς . . . κρύπτεται*: where F. T. Welcker remarks that this foreknowledge of the future agrees with the character of Nereus as a seer (*ἀψευδέα καὶ ἀληθέα* Hes. Theog. 233). On this hypothesis Nereus is supposed by Catullus to recognize in Peleus the predestined husband of Thetis. But this prominence of Nereus in the marriage of his daughter does not seem to be dwelt upon by most of the writers who have mentioned the subject, though Pindar probably includes Nereus in the *οὐρανοῦ βασιλῆες πάντων τε* who set forth gifts at Peleus' marriage Nem. iv. 110. The early traditions point to Zeus as the person most directly interested in the marriage; Homer II. xviii. 432 makes Zeus single out Thetis to wed a mortal; in Pindar (Nem. v. 8) Zeus, when Peleus has refused the adulterous advances of Hippolyte, determines that he shall wed a Nereid; in Isthm. viii Zeus and Poseidon, both in love with Thetis, on hearing the prophecy of Themis that if Zeus or his brother wedded her, the child born would be stronger than his father, consent to give her up to Peleus. Aeschylus (Prometh. 762 sqq., 920

sq.) makes Prometheus threaten Zeus with the same prophecy about Thetis; Lucian Dial. Deor. 1 follows the same story. In Apoll. R. iv. 791 sq. Zeus, repulsed by Thetis, swears she shall never marry an immortal, but continues to persecute her till frightened by the prophecy of Themis; then Hera gives her to Peleus. It is clear then that Zeus, not Nereus, figured most conspicuously in the legend; hence *pater ipse* (cf. Virg. G. i. 121, 328, 353, Lucr. vi. 398) is Jupiter: a view confirmed more positively by Eur. I. A. 700 κλ. τὰ δ' Αἰκόου παῖς τίς κατέσχε δώματα; ΑΓΑ. Πηλεύς· ὁ Πηλεύς δ' ἔσχε Νηρέως κόρην. ΚΑ. θεοῦ διδόντος, ἢ βία θεῶν λαβών; ΑΓΑ. Ζεὺς ἡγγύσσε καὶ δίδωσ' ὁ κύριος. Kraft quotes Ouid. Met. xi. 224 sqq. *Ergo ne quidquam mundus Ioue maius haberet, Quamuis haud tepidos sub pectore senserat ignes, Iuppiter aequoreae Thetidis conubia uolat, In suaque Aeacidem succedere uota nepotem, Iussit et amplexus in uirginis ore marinae*: and so Anth. P. ix. 485. 3.

22-24. An invocation in the style of the Homeric hymns, where it is generally added at the end, e. g. H. Merc. 579, 580 Καὶ σὺ μὲν οὔτω χαῖρε, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱέ, Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοῖδης, H. Ven. 292, 3, H. Bacch. 58, 9, H. Dian. 7-9, H. Eis Μητέρα Θεῶν 6 Καὶ σὺ μὲν οὔτω χαῖρε θεαὶ δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι αἰοῖδῃ: more rarely earlier in the poem as H. Apoll. Del. 14 sqq. It is, however, as Haupt observes, found also in the Alexandrian poets, e. g. Theocr. xvii. 135-137 Χαῖρε, ἀνοξ Πτολεμαίε· σίθειν δ' ἐγὼ ἴσα καὶ ἄλλων Μνήσομαι ἠρώων· δοκέω δ' ἔπος οὐκ ἀπόβλητον Φθέγγομαι ἰσσομένοις ἀρετᾶν γε μὲν ἐκ Διὸς ἕξεις. Apollonius breaks into a similar apostrophe to the heroes of the Argo iv. 1381 sqq., but only, it would seem, as an artifice to avoid detailing a tiresome action which would have involved a lengthy description.

22. *nimis*, LVI. 4, 'happy beyond measure.' Realinus compares Aen. vi. 649 *Magnanimi heroes, nati melioribus annis*.

23. *deum genus*, δῖον γένος Hom. H. 34. 2. Stat. compares Hesiod "Ε. κ. 'H. 158 Ἀνδρῶν ἠρώων θεῖον γένος, αἱ καλέονται Ἡμίθεοι πατρήρη γενεῆ κατ' ἀπειρονα γαῖαν. More probably Catullus may have in view Apollonius iii. 402 Εἰ γὰρ ἐτήτυμον ἔστε θεῶν γένος, especially as the Argonauts were all ἀθανάτων υἱές τε καὶ υἰώνοι Apoll. R. iii. 366. *bona*, 'benign,' Hor. C. iv. 2. 38. *mater* is usually interpreted of Thetis either as a primeval goddess (Mitsch.) or as the mother of a son himself a hero.' It seems better to explain it with Muretus of the Argo. In Apoll. R. iv. 1325 the Argonauts are directed to pay to their mother a return for all her long labour in bearing them in her womb, and this is explained in 1370 to refer to the Argo itself, which had carried them through a continued series of toils. This passage Catullus seems to have known; the idea is not unnatural in itself, and agrees with the recurring representations of the Argo as an animate being, (Ἀργὼ a proper name, like Eido Hypso Aphro Brimo Ioulo), possessed of voice and reason, and in part divine. Philo Iud. vol. 2. p. 468 quoted by Nauck fr. Aesch. 20 Οὐδ' ἡ Ἀργὼ ναυαρχοῦντος Ἰάσονος ἐπέτρεπεν ἐπιβαίνειν οἰκέταις μεμοιραμένη καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ λογισμοῦ, φύσις αὔσα φιλελεύθερος. ὅθεν καὶ Αἰσχυλος ἐπ' αὐτῆς εἶπε· Πῶ δ' ἔστιν Ἀργοῦς ἱερὸν αὐδασον ξύλον; Apollod. i. 9. 19 Φερεκίδης δὲ αὐτὸν (Herculeum) ἐν Ἀφάταις τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἀπολειφθῆναι λέγει, τῆς Ἀργοῦς φθεγγαμένης, μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν τὸ τοῦτου βᾶρος, cf. i. 9. 24, places which all seem to refer to the piece of speaking timber (αὐδῆν δόρυ) which Athene built into the cutwater, and which Apollonius describes as urging

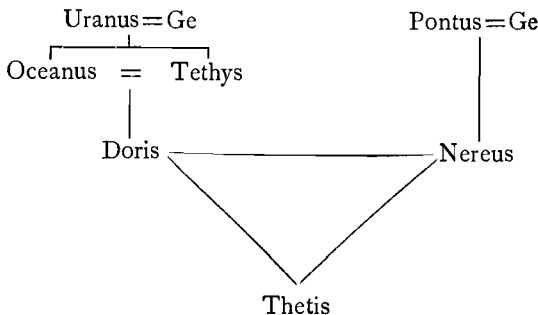
the start from Pagasae (i. 525) and warning the Argonauts to expiate the murder of Absyrtus by a visit to Circe (iv. 580 sqq.). The MSS. vary between *mater* and *matre*; and the Veronese Scholiast on Aen. v. 80 quotes the passage as *Saluete deum gens* (Aen. x. 228) *O bona matrum Progenies saluete iterum*. Lachmann seems to consider this as a fragment of a lost poem in his first edition; Orelli Ecl. Lat. p. 94 and Haupt Quaest. Cat. p. 44 treat it as genuine and conclude that our MSS. have lost a line. This view has been generally taken since and the lacuna has been variously filled up (see my first vol.). But Conington rightly observes that *saluete iterum* may be part of the scholion; the weight of the Veronese Scholia, imperfect and full of lacunae as they are, is not to be set against our MSS; it is difficult to imagine any mode of filling up the lacuna which would not either be weak or load the sentence unnecessarily.

**24. conpellabo** must not be pressed, as if the poem actually contained repeated apostrophes to the heroes. Catullus seems to have in view the recurring *Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμέων τε καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς* of the Homeric hymns. Theocritus expresses shortly the sense of Catullus' three lines i. 144 ὦ χαίρετε πολλάκι, Μοῦσαι, Χαίρετ'· ἐγὼ δ' ὕμνων καὶ ἐς ὕστερον ἄδιον ᾄσω.

**26. columnen**, 'pillar.' Pindar calls Hector *Τροίας ἄμαχον ἀστραβῆ κίονα* Ol. ii. 82 Bergk. Anth. P. vii. 441 Ὑψηλοῦς Μεγάτιμον Ἀριστοφώντᾳ τε Νάξου Κίονας.

**27. suos.** Melanippides described Thetis as actually pregnant by Zeus when she was married to Peleus, Schol. on Il. xiii. 350. **dium genitor**, a motive to Thetis for rejecting a mortal.

**28. tenuit**, 'clasped' as wife. **pulcerrima.** Thetis conquered Medea in a contest of beauty. **Neptunine**, in what sense? According to Apollod. i. 7. 4 Poseidon had a son Nereus, and if this Nereus was the father of Thetis, she might be called *Neptunine* *παππωνυμικῶς* as the granddaughter of Neptune or Poseidon (Schmitz Dict. Biog. s. v. Thetis, and Haupt Quaest. p. 71). So Ajax is called Aeacides Euphor. fr. 36, Perseus Agenorides Ouid. Met. iv. 771, Protesilaus Phylacides (Meineke Anal. Alex. p. 71), and Lycophron Al. 1324 speaks of Theseus as the son of Phemius, his grandfather. But, as Haupt observes, the best MSS. of Apollodorus i. 7. 4 read *Nireus*; Nereus is the son of Pontus and Ge (i. 2. 6): Apollodorus gives the following stemma:—



thus Thetis would be *Neptunine* either as granddaughter of Pontus, whom Catullus would then identify with Neptune, or more generally as the

descendant of a number of marine deities represented by the general term Neptune. Slightly different is the explanation of Perizonius, that Thetis is called Neptunine as the most famous of the goddesses of the sea, the peculiar domain of Neptune. Against all these views must be set the fact that Catullus particularizes the grandfather and grandmother Oceanus and Tethys; and that he seems to have in his mind a distinct pedigree throughout. Hence, as he nowhere actually calls Thetis a daughter of Nereus, he perhaps identifies Nereus with Neptune, possibly to avoid the awkwardness of the form *Nereine*, a word which though shown by Näke (*Hecale* p. 44) to be found in Oppian (*Hal.* i. 386), and Quintus Smyrnaeus, was avoided by the Romans, and is replaced by *Nerine*, *Virg. Ecl.* vii. 37. Haupt asserts that *Nephtunine* is without any properly Latin precedent; but the Glossaries quote *Oceanine Oceani filia*; and if from Εὔηρος Εὐκόλος Ὠκεανός Ἀδρηστος could be formed *Euenine Eucoline Oceanine Adrestine*, Catullus imitating these Greek forms might form from *Neptunus Neptunine*.

**30.** Supposed by Riese to be imitated from a line of Euphorion, fr. 158 in Meineke's *Analecta Alexandrina*, Ὠκεανός τῷ πάσα περίρρυτος ἐνδέδεται χθών. Catullus however is more particular; Oceanus surrounds the globe with the sea: so Eurip. *Orest.* 1377 πόντον Ὠκεανός δὲ Ταυρόκρανος ἀγκάλυις ἑλίσσων κυκλοῖ χθόνα: and before him Aesch. *Prom.* 137. The belief in a circumambient ocean was held in Catullus' time by Cornelius Nepos, and supported by the evidence of Q. Metellus Celer, the husband of Clodia, who when proconsul of Gaul had received as a present some Indians carried by storms, as they asserted, from the Indian Ocean to the shores of Germany (*Mel.* iii. 45).

**31.** *Quae* is a vagueness like *illa Amphitrite* above: it refers to the *laedae felices* of 25. *tempore* depends on *fnitae*, 'days determined by the approach of the welcome time.'

**34.** *Dona*. So in the Homeric hymn Aphrodite says to Anchises 139 sqq. Οἱ δὲ κέ τοι χρυσόν τε ἄλις ἐσθῆτά θ' ὕφαντῆν Πέμψουσιν· σὺ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγλάα δέχθαι ἄποινα. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας δαῖνον γάμον ἱμερόεντα Τίμιον ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν. The marriage-gifts precede the banquet. *prae se*, 'in their hands.' Cic. *Phil.* ii. 12. 30 *Stillantem prae se pugionem tulit*.

**35.** *Scyros* lies off Euboea, at a considerable distance even from the S. E. point of Thessaly, the Sepias Akte. Meineke *Vindiciae* Strabon. p. 152 accordingly proposed to read here *Cieros* (Strabo 435), a town of Thessaliotis, apparently identified with Cierium. This would be in the vicinity of Larisa Crannon and Pharsalus; but it is not likely that so obscure a place would be mentioned by Catullus, and it does not correspond to the MSS. reading *Siros Syros* or *Scyros*. How then could Catullus introduce *Scyros* here? (1) According to *Il.* i. 479, 484 Peleus is King of Phthia at the extremity of which lay the Dolopes; *Thuc.* i. 98, *Diod.* xi. 60 speak of *Scyros* as inhabited by Dolopes and Pelasgi (Orelli); (2) *Scyros* may be included in Thessaly as *Pelasgian*, a name sometimes equivalent to Thessalian Hesych. Πελασγοὶ οἱ Θεσσαλοί, and Apollonius i. 580 calls Thessaly πολυλήμιος αἶα Πελασγῶν where the Schol. says ἡ ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν ἔθνος βαρβαρικῶ οἰκήσαντος τὴν Θεσσαλίαν καὶ τὸ Ἄργος ἡ ἀπὸ Πελασγοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος υἱοῦ καὶ Λαρίσης. (3) With such claims to be called Thessalian, *Scyros* would naturally occur to Catullus as intimately connected with the family of Peleus. This would appear from the selection

of the island as the hiding place of the young Achilles, or from the Homeric account according to which Achilles himself attacked and took Scyros II. i. 668 and afterwards left his child Pyrrhus there: or from the story mentioned by Philostratus Vit. Apollon. 731 that Peleus sent Achilles to Scyros to avenge the death of his friend Theseus, killed there by Lycomedes (Lycoph. Al. 1324); Philostratus adds *ἐνταῦθα τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ διατωμένῳ παρεγίνετο ἡ Θέτις . . . ξυλληγομένου δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἰθίδα τοῦ στρατοῦ κῦριον τοῦ παιδός.* (4) Peleus himself was buried in Icos, a small island between Scyros and Sciathus Anth. P. vii. 2. 10. **Phthiotica**, is not strictly applicable to Tempe as Phthiotis proper did not extend farther north than Pharsalus and the Thessalian plains (Strabo 430); but Tempe seems to be called Phthiotic as the valley through which the Peneus flows, as Callimachus has *Πηνειὸν Φθιώτα* Del. 112. It is not likely that Catullus uses *Tempe* here as an appellative, 'vallies,' when he speaks afterwards of the celebrated Tempe, infr. 285: and both Crannon and Larisa are, like Tempe, close to the Peneus.

**37. Pharsaliam.** The more ordinary account makes Peleus marry Thetis on Pelion, the abode of Chiron. Eurip. I. A. 704, 5, 1040. Cf. Androm. 1277, Stat. Achill. i. 192. In the Andromache 16 sqq. Thetis is said to have gone with her newly-married husband Peleus to the neighbourhood of Pharsalus, and to have given her name to the place, Thetideion; and so Pherecydes cited by Schol. on Pind. Nem. iv. 81. Pharsalia is the name both of a town and a district. Here the town is meant, as is shown partly by the omission of any preposition (Kraft), partly by its being combined with Crannon and Larisa, partly by the word *coeunt* which could scarcely apply to any place larger than a town. There is no need to alter *Pharsaliam* into *Pharsalon* the form of the word in Strabo; not that *Pharsaliam* is to be considered a trisyllable, by synzesis of *-iam*, as Mitsch. and Kraft think; but the second *a* which is properly long (Androm. 16) is shortened in *Pharsāliam*, long in *Pharsālia*. In Calpurn. iv. 101 *Pharsāliae* is the reading of most MSS, and in I. A. 812 the MSS. give *Γῆν γὰρ λιπὼν Φαρσάλιον*. For the doubtful quantity in proper names cf. Apollonius' *Θρηϊκίον* but *Θρηϊκίης* i. 1110, 1113; *Βεβρύκων* but *Βέβρυκες* ii. 2, 98; and for the combination *Pharsāliam Pharsālia* in one line, Callim. H. ad Iov. 55 *Καλὰ μὲν ἤξευε, καλὰ δ' ἔτραφε;* Epig. xxx. 3 *Καλὸς ὁ παῖς, Ἀχελῶε, λίην καλός,* Lucretius' *liquidis liquida* iv. 1259 where see Munro, Horace's *nigris nigro* C. i. 32. 11; and cf. Jebb on Soph. El. 148.

**38-42.** The order of these verses has been objected to by various commentators: Ramiresius de Prato (Hypomnem. in Martialem i. 44) and Walter Savage Landor proposed to arrange them thus *Rura colit—Non glebam—Squalida—Non humilis—Non falx* which cannot be right, ending as it does weakly with *umbram*, and neglecting the evidently intentional repetition of *non* in three consecutive verses. Ritschl, observing that 38 contains the general idea that neither men nor beasts work, and that in 39, 41 the first part alone of this is drawn out, viz. the care bestowed by men on vineyards and gardens, while in 40 the poet passes to what concerns both men and beasts, ploughing, to which 42 adds as conclusion the consequences of all the first four, arranges them thus *Rura colit—Non humilis—Non falx—Non glebam—Squalida* which he compares with Ecl. iv. 40, 41. It is true that this keeps together the two lines about trees, as well as the

two about ploughs; and it might be called the most natural order. Yet it is also possible that Catullus may have intended an *alternative*, 39, 41 corresponding, and 40, 42 to each other: a view which had struck me before I found it in Kraft. The old objection to these five verses, noticed by Realinus, as absurdly exaggerating the duration of the nuptials, is hardly excused by his defence, that Catullus only takes a poet's licence of amplifying his subject: the want of proportion still remains: there is a *nescio quid nimii*.

38. *mollescunt*, from no longer bearing the yoke.

39. Hertzberg thinks *humilis*, 'sunken,' a possible translation of *οἶνο-πέδη χαυμαλή*, which Catullus may have found in the original Hertzberg supposes him to copy. Both views are gratuitous; vines *grow* low, and vineyards, if *uinea* is to be interpreted literally, might be called low for the same reason (Realinus). *curuis*, with curved prongs, see Rich s. u. *purgatur*, cleared by the removal of the accumulated weeds and earth at the bottom of the plant.

40. *prono* can hardly refer to the bending forward of the ploughman (Vulp. who compares *curuus arator* Virg. Ecl. iii. 42, *arator incuruus* Plin. xviii. 179); it represents the *presso uomere* or *depresso aratro* of Geor. ii. 203, l. 45; the more the plough is pressed downwards the more thorough the ploughing; hence also *taurus*, which, as in G. i. 45, 65 *Fortes inuertant tauri*, by the suggestion of extra strength, adds to the idea of labour.

41. Servius on Ecl. i. 57 *Tria genera sunt frondatorum, frondator qui arbores amputat, et qui frondibus manipulos facit hiemis tempore animalibus ad pastum offerendos, et qui manibus vitium folia auellit, quo ardor solis uiam maturiorem reddit*. The language of Catullus might suit all these operations, lopping the boughs and stripping off the leaves of trees, to be then used for fodder; or else cutting away the redundant leaves of the vines: the *falx* would serve either purpose. Mitsch. refers it to the last, the *pampinatio*, or pruning of the leaves from the vine-plants: Kraft to the lopping and pruning of the elms and other trees, to which the vines were tied in the arbustum. I think that it is in any case safer to explain *arboris* generally, not particularly of the vine, as he has already mentioned *uinea* in 39, and the alternation of ideas in 39, 41 need not be more exact than it is in 40, 42. On the other hand in a country like Italy, where the vine was commonly grown, the mention of the pruner would so readily call up the vine, as well as the tree to which it was attached, that it is not likely that Catullus meant to exclude it. The rhythm of the verse is Lucretian.

42. *desertis*, 'left to themselves,' to moulder. *infertur*, 'steals over,' nearly = 'infert se,' Mitsch. who compares Tib. i. 10. 50 *Militis in tenebris occupat arma situs*.

43. *Ipsius*, of Peleus, in opposition to the forsaken houses of the visitors. *quacunq̄ue opulenta recessit Regia*, 'in every farthest nook of the sumptuous palace.' *recessit* of a house retiring into inner chambers and corners. Aen. ii. 300 *Secreta parentis Anchisae domus arboribusque oblecta recessit*, of a house withdrawn from public gaze.

44. So in Od. iv. 72 sqq. Telemachus wonders at Χαλκού τε στεροπήν κατὰ δώματα ἠχήεντα Χρυσού τ' ἠλέκτρον τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἠδ' ἐλέφαντος in the palace of Menelaus. *splendent*. Bacchyl. 27. 8. Bergk Χρυσῶ δ' ἐλέφαντί τε μαρμαίρουσιν οἴκοι.

45. *solis*, dative, as Aen. vi. 603 *lucent genialibus altis Aurea fulcra toris*. *mensae* is also I think dative; in each case the ordinary construction with the ablative *solia candent eborae, mensae collucent poculis* (cf. Aen. x. 539 *Totus collucens ueste atque insignibus armis*) is inverted in the same way. If genitive, *mensae* will be like Virgil's *plena pocula mensae* Aen. xi. 738. With the singular *mensae*, which is found in all the MSS, cf. *arboris* in 41. Catullus cannot mean one long table, as is shown by *constructae mensae* 304. Transl. 'The thrones are of white ivory, the tables bear glittering cups.'

46. The Bolognese MS. has *gazza*, a good form and found also in the Medicean of Virgil Aen. ii. 763, v. 40. According to Conington on Aen. v. 40, probably quoting Curt. iii. 13 (cf. Diod. xvii. 35), *gaza* is Persian for royal treasure: *regali* is thus explanatory of *gaza* as *altas* of *Alpes* XI. 9. *gaudet*, 'is gay,' looks like a translation of γάρυται or γανῆ; it has the same double play of meaning, gladness and brightness passing into each other; Cratinus has γαυριῶσαι τράπεζαι Incert. fr. 9.

47. *Puluinar*, whether used to denote a cushion or a couch, always conveys a notion of greatness and grandeur, and hence is applied to the couches on which the images of the gods were laid out at the Lectisternium, or to beds of state such as that of the divine Thetis, and the Roman Emperors (Suet. Dom. 13, Juv. vi. 132). Rich, Companion s. u. Apollonius, describing the marriage-bed of Iason and Medea in the cave of Phaeacia, calls it λέκτρον μέγα iv. 1139.

48. *Sedibus in mediis* corresponds to the *atrium* in a Roman house (Rossbach); it was of course also placed here in order to be seen and admired by the visitors. *Indo quod dente politum*, i. e. framed of polished ivory, as *raro corpore nexum* Lucret. vi. 958 = 'possessing a loose texture of body;' the transition from 'polished with ivory' to 'made of polished ivory' is natural and intelligible. *Indo dente*, 'the tusks of Indian elephants.' Stat. S. iii. 3. 95 *Indi dentis honos*. Prop. ii. 31. 12 *Et ualuae Libyci nobile dentis opus*. Varro speaks both of *eburnei* and *eborati lecti* (Pseud. fr. xii Riese, Quinquatrus fr. iii).

49. *purpura* in itself might = 'purple hangings,' much as in Pro Cluent. xl. 111 *usque ad talos demissa purpura*, of a praetexta, Suet. Jul. 84 *lectus eburneus auro ac purpura stratus*; then *conchili* will depend on *fuco*, and the two words define the colour of the *purpura*, which might be purple violet or red; as Propertius says iv. 3. 51 *Nam mihi quo Poenis tibi purpura fulgeat ostris?* to express the crimson colour of Lycotas' robe; and as Statius S. iii. 2. 139 *Quo pretiosa Tyros rubeat, quo purpura fuco Sidoniis iterata cadis* distinguishes the dye of the Tyrian and Sidonian purples. It seems more probable that *conchili* depends on *purpura* like Lucretius' *purpureus color conchili*, 'purple from the sea-shell;' the notion of coverlet would be sufficiently expressed in *tegit*. In the Argonautica Iason's mantle is described as red in the middle, purple at the edges Apoll. R. i. 728; but Catullus can hardly mean anything so definite as this. The combination of ivory couches with purple or crimson coverlets is often mentioned: Plato Com. ap. Athenae. 48 κἄτ' ἐν κλίμας ἐλεφαντόποσι καὶ στρώμασι πορφυροβάπτιοι. Varro Quinq. fr. iii *in eborato lecto ac purpureo peristromate*. Hor. S. ii. 6. 102 *rubro ubi cocco Tincta super lectos canderet uestis eburnos*.

50 sqq. The introduction of a quilt containing in embroidery repre-

sentations of mythical events is probably owing to Apollonius, who describes seven scenes embroidered on the mantle given by Pallas to Iason i. 730-767. Such descriptions are common from Homer onwards: like the shield of Achilles II. xviii. 478 sqq. is the shield of Hercules described by Hesiod Ἄσπ. Ἡ. 139 sqq., and the shields of the chieftains in Aeschylus' Ἐπρ. ἐπι Θήβας and Euripides' Phoenissae 1090 sqq. In the Ion 1141-1165 Euripides describes with great minuteness the scenes embroidered on the hangings of a building: Theocritus i. 27 the carving of a cup, Moschus ii. 37 the figures on Europa's basket. The Roman poets abound with similar descriptions; Virgil, besides the shield of Aeneas viii. 625 sqq., and the doors at Cumae on which were sculptured the death of Androgeos, the drawing of the lots for the victims to the Minotaur, and the story of Pasiphae vi. 20 sqq., describes vi. 250 sqq. a chlamys on which was embroidered the rape of Ganymede: Ovid the carvings on the doors of the temple of the sun, and on a cup given to Aeneas M. ii. 5, xiii. 681 sqq.: Silius the shield of Hannibal ii. 403 sqq. I have already spoken of the disproportionate length of this description: another point worthy of notice is the difficulty of deciding how much is supposed to be represented on the coverlet. Kraft considers that 50-75 and 251-264 are alone represented: all the rest being mere digression. If so, it is difficult to see what are the *heroum uirtutes*: an expression which naturally refers to the devotion of Theseus for his country and his battle with the Minotaur 76-85, 105-115.

**50. priscis hominum figuris** for *priscorum hominum figuris*. See on XXXI. 13. Mitsch. compares Stat. Achil. ii. 444 *priscosque uirum mirarer honores*. **uariata**, of embroidery, Mart. viii. 28. 18 *Texta Semiramia quae uariantur acu*.

**51. uirtutes**, 'valorous deeds,' as perhaps in 323. Mitsch. compares κλέα ἀνδρῶν Ἡρώων II. ix. 524. **mira arte**. Apollonius says of Iason's mantle ἐν δ' ἄρ' ἐκάστω Τέρματι δαίδαλα πολλὰ διακριδὸν εὖ ἐέκυστο i. 729.

**52.** Catullus follows Apollonius iv. 433 Μινωίδος ἦν ποτε Θησεὺς Κνωσσόθεν ἐσπομένην Διῆ ἐνὶ κάλλιπε νήσῳ, cf. iii. 999 sqq.: an account based on Od. xi. 321-325, which describes Ariadne as accompanying Theseus from Crete to Athens, but killed on the way in the island Dia by Artemis, owing to the witness of Dionysus. **fluentisono** is ἄπ. λεγ., it seems to express ἀμφιρῦτη Od. xi. 325, but with more definiteness, 'stream-sounding,' i. e. 'loud-streaming;,' *fluenta*, not waves, but the streamings of the waves. **Diae**. In Od. xi. 321-325 Theseus while taking Ariadne from Crete to Athens is frustrated by her death Διῆ ἐν ἀμφιρῦτη. The schol. on this passage says Δία νήσος πρὸς τῇ Κρήτῃ ἦτις νῦν Νάξος καλεῖται· ἱέρα δὲ αὐτῆ τοῦ Διονύσου; and so Eustathius there; and as Strabo 484 speaks of an island Dia close to the Heracleion of Cnossus, from which town Ariadne started with Theseus, it seems likely that this Dia is the one meant by Homer. Apollonius iv. 425-434 speaking of Theseus and Ariadne, says he left her, after she had followed him from Cnossus, in the island Dia; and that then Dionysus, the prince of Nysa, wooed her in a wonderful robe which the Charites wrought for him in the island. This also might refer to the Dia near Crete: and Theocritus ii. 46 is not more determinate. But the scholiasts on Apollonius and Theocritus explain Dia in each case of Naxos, the former quoting a line of Callimachus (fr. 163 Blomf.) Ἐν Διῆ· τὸ γὰρ ἔσκε παλαι-



τερον οἶνομα Νάξω, cf. Etym. M. s. u. Δία; and whatever may have been the case with Homer Apollonius and Theocritus, the story of Ariadne is connected by the Roman poets with the Cyclad island Naxos, which, perhaps from its fertility in vines, was consecrated to Bacchus (Serv. on Aen. iii. 125), hence sometimes called Διονυσίας, and is often mentioned as his birthplace Hom. H. xxxiv. 2 or in connexion with him, Apollod. iii. 5. 2, Diod. iii. 65. 3, v. 50-52. That Catullus means Naxos is shown by 178, where the Cretan mountains are said to be separated by a long distance of sea from Dia.

55. Voss's emendation makes all clear. Ariadne only half awake (*incertum uigilans* Her. x. 9) and dazed by the sight of Theseus' ship sailing away without her cannot bring herself to believe that it is true. Ovid Her. x. 31 seems to allude to this line, *Aut uidi, aut tamquam quae me uidisse putarem, Frigidior glacie semianimisque fui.*

56. *excita sompno*, from *ex sompno* (Liv. iv. 27) is rare. Lucan i. 239 has *stratis excita iuuentus.*

58. *pellit uada remis*, a carelessness of which there is no other example in the Peleus and Thetis. Ennius has similar endings not rarely *fusi sine mente* Ann. 134, *conferta rate pulsum* 378, *iubam quassat simul altam, spumas agit albas* in two consecutive lines 506, 7, *simul cata dicta* 519; and so has Cicero in the fragments of his poems, Lucretius, and even Tibullus ii. 5. 111.

60. *procul* is defined by *ex alga*, 'from a distance amid the shore-weeds.' *alga*, though not commonly mentioned in such scenes by the ancients (see however Val. Flacc. i. 252) adds to the effectiveness of the picture. Ariadne has gone to the extreme edge of the shore, the seaweed and sea-pools, to gain a last glimpse of the receding ship: cf. 168 (Kraft).

61. The comparison lies in the wild but speechless and tearless (Her. x. 44) grief of Ariadne. Hor. C. iii. 25. 8. *Saxea*. Philemon fr. inc. xvi Meineke ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν κακῶν τῶν συμπεσόντων, τοῦ τε συμβάντος πάθους Προσηγορεύθη διὰ τὸ μὴ φωνεῖν λίθος, of Niobe. *Eheu*. It is not easy to decide between *eheu* and *euhoē*. In 255 *Euhoē bacchantes* are constructed together on a Greek analogy, and *bacchantis euhoē* might be so constructed here 'of one shouting the Bacchic cry Euhoē,' though the separation of *bacchantis* from *euhoē* makes some difference: *euhoē* would then, as Conr. de Allio Mitsch. and Doer. suggest, express the open mouth in the one case of the Bacchanal shouting, in the other of Ariadne struggling to make her cry heard. Such a statue seems to be described by Callim. H. Apol. 22-24 Καὶ μὲν ὁ δακρυθεὶς ἀναβάλλεται ἄλγεα πέτρος Ὅστις ἐνὶ φρυγίῃ διεπρὸς λίθος ἐστήρικται Μάρμαρον ἀντὶ γυναικὸς διζυρόν τι χλωύουσης. I have preferred *eheu* as simpler and more pathetic: it is to be taken with the second *prospicit*, 'alas still gazes,' implying the futility of the effort.

62. For the repeated *prospicit* cf. Lucret. iv. 790 *mollia membra Mollia mobiliter*. Cic. de Diuin. i. 8. 14 *acredula uocibus instat, Vocibus instat*. Ovid. F. vi. 16 *Ex illis sed tamen una fuit, Ex illis fuit una.* *curarum*, like *μέριμναι* Theocr. xvii. 52, the sorrows of love as in 72 and II. 10. *undis*, as Lucretius iii. 298 has *irarum fluctus*, Virgil *magno irarum fluctuat aestu* Aen. iv. 532.

63. Hom. H. Cer. 40 Ὅξυ δέ μιν κραδίην ἄχος ἔλλαβεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαιταῖς Ἀμβροστίας κρήδεμνα δαΐζετο χερσὶ φίλησι, Κύνειον δὲ κάλυμμα κατ' ἀμφοτέρων

βάλετ' ὄμων. **flavo**, Homer II. xviii. 592 calls Ariadne *καλλιπλόκαμος* : Hesiod Th. 947 *Χρυσοκόμης δὲ Διόνυσος ξανθὴν Ἀριάδην Κούρην Μίνωος θαλερὴν ποιήσας* 'ἄκοιτιν seems to connect the golden hair of Dionysus with the yellow locks of his wife Ariadne. **mitram**, 'the mitre of the Greek women was formed of a scarf of mixed colours, fastened round the head and under the chin ;' Rich, s. u. **subtilem**, 'fine-spun,' Lucr. iv. 88. **retinens**, 'holding in its place,' Cir. 510 *Nunquam illam posthac oculi uidere suorum Purpureas flavo retinentem uertice uillas*.

64. **contecta** is drawn out in **uelatum**, as *ingrata* is expanded by *frustra* in 103.

65. '*Strophium est fascia breuis quae uirginalem horrorem cohibet papillarum*' Non. 538. It was a sash or scarf twisted into a long round and even form (*tereti*), and fastened round the bust close under the breast to serve as a support to the bosom, Rich, s. u. According to Mart. xiv. 66 *Taurino poteras pectus constringere tergo. Nam pellis mammas non capit ista tuas*, leather was used for one kind of breast-band ; and this may be the meaning of *tereti*, of smooth leather. **lactentes** is more usual of the thing suckled, *Romulus paruus atque lactens* Cic. Cat. iii. 8. 19, *agni porci lactentes*, etc. ; and Isidorus (Orig. xix. 33) seems to have actually read *lactantes* in this passage, which he wrongly ascribes to Cinna. But Virgil G. i. 315 *Frumenta in uiridi stipula lactentia turgent*, and Ouid. F. i. 351 *sata teneris lactentia sucis* show that *lactens* may be used simply for 'full of milk,' and so Catullus here, of course to give the idea of swelling or fullness usual in such cases.

67. **Ipsius**, of their mistress. **alludebant** is explained by Ouid. Met. iv. 342 *Huc it et hinc illuc, et in alludentibus undis Summa pedum taloque tenui uestigia tingit*. Plin. xxvi. 39 *Tripolion in maritimis nascitur saxis ubi alludit unda, neque in mari neque in sicco*. Stat. Theb. ix. 336 *extrinis adludunt aequora plantis*. The waves reach Ariadne not enough to disturb her position, enough to move the fallen pieces of her dress gently from the ground. Val. Flac. vi. 664 constructs *alludere*, as Catullus, with an accusative. *allidebant* would be out of place, as Attius Clytaemnestra fr. iv Ribbeck shows *Flucti immisericordes iacere et taetra ad saxa adlidere*.

68. **fluitantis** is explained by Stat. and Forc. 'loose-flowing,' as in Tac. Germ. 17 *uestis non fluitans, sed stricta*, cf. *pleno fluitantia uela theatro* Prop. iii. 18. 13. But this would make Catullus guilty of the critical fault of using a word metaphorically where it ought to have a literal meaning, 'floating,' Lucr. ii. 555.

69. **uicem**, here strictly a substantive after **curans**, 'what happened to.' Suet. Aug. 66 *Vicem suam conquestus est*. **pectore**, sensuously, *animo*, as we should say with her heart, meaning the affections, *mente* the thought.

70. **pendebat**, 'was fixed immovably.' Xen. Symp. viii. 19 τὸν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος κρεμάμενον of a lover. Plato Legg. 831 C *κτημάτων ἐξ ὧν κρεμαμένη πᾶσα ψυχὴ πολίτου πάντος οὐκ ἂν ποτε δύναιτο τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμέλειαν ἴσχειν*, Eurip. El. 950 Ἄρεος ἐκκρεμάννται, 'think of nothing but war ;' Anth. P. v. 241. 7 ᾧ ἔπι πᾶσαι εἰσὶν ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἐλπιδες ἐκκρεμέες. The general idea is of an absorbed concentration, in which the eyes or thoughts fix themselves on the one object of their devotion, and cannot be shaken from it. Val. Flacc. i. 481 *Peruigil Arcadio Tiphys pendebat ab astro*.

**71.** Apuleius who uses *externare* in the sense of disinheriting, probably derived it from *externus*, 'to estrange,' and this has generally been looked upon as the etymology of the word in its other meaning, 'to alienate from one's senses or reason,' hence 'to madden.' It is found in this sense below 165, and in Ouid. *Met.* i. 641 *peritumuit seque externata refugit*, xi. 77 *Externata fugam frustra tentabat*, *Ibis* 432 *Cur externati solis agantur equi*, in each of the last three passages in the sense of 'scared,' 'frightened.' The analogy of *consternare* points to an old verb *sternare*, perhaps another form of *sternere*; the original sense might be 'fling to the ground;' thence *consternare*, 'to throw into disorder,' of a number; *exsternare*, 'to throw off one's balance,' of an individual. See however Corssen i. 178.

**72. Spinosas**, *Hor. Epist.* i. 14. 4. **Erycina.** This name belongs quite to the heroic times: according to *Diod.* iv. 83, *Hyg.* 260 Eryx was the son of Venus and Butes, and built the city of Eryx and the temple of Venus there: later Aeneas, himself a son of Venus, on his voyage to Italy added to its wealth and ornaments (*Diod.* iv. 83. 4). Apollonius iv. 915 speaks of Kypris, the goddess who rules Eryx, as saving the Argonaut Butes, here not represented as her son, from death by the Sirens, and placing him on Lilybaeum. Apollonius like Diodorus would thus seem to consider the association of Venus with Eryx to precede the Argonautic expedition: Catullus therefore speaks correctly: though a later account, followed by *Virgil Aen.* v. 759 represents the temple of Eryx as founded by Aeneas on his voyage to Italy. It was famous from the earliest times, and honoured in succession by the Sicanians Carthaginians and Romans (*Diod.* iv. 83. 4-7); at Rome a temple was built to Venus Erucina outside the Colline gate B.C. 181 (*Liv.* xl. 34, *Strabo* 272). **serens**, 'planting.' *Kraft* compares *Soph. Aiax* 1005 *δσας άνίας μοι κατασπειρας φθίνεις*.

**73. Illa tempestate . . . quo ex tempore**, like *quo tempore . . . ex eo* XXXV. 13, 14. The usage is perhaps borrowed from the Alexandrian poets *Callim. H. Apoll.* *ἔξετι κείνου Ἐξότ' ἐπ' Ἀμφρυσῶ ξενίτιδας ἔτρεφεν ἴππους*, *Apoll. R.* iv. 520 *Ἐκ τόθεν, ἐξότε*. The repetition, to which *Ritschl* objects as meaningless, is purposely introduced to define the moment at which the passion of Ariadne began; a point of time to which the poet again recurs in 86 and 171.

**74. curuis** describes the peculiar conformation of Piraeus which forms three distinct inlets, each of them used by the Athenians as a harbour. *Pausanias* i. 1. 2 says that Theseus sailed to Crete from *Phalerum*; and it was at *Phalerum* that an altar to *Androgeos* stood in his day i. 1. 4.

**75. iniusti.** *Minos*, who in the *Odyssey* gives sentence amongst the dead, and is consulted by them as arbiter of their disputes (xi. 568 sqq.), is here called *iniustus*, either from the severity of the tax laid upon the Athenians which his ordinary character for justice (*Ouid. Her.* x 69) and the fact that the Athenians threw themselves upon his mercy in leaving it to him to decide the amount of punishment (*Apollod.* iii. 15. 8) would make more sensibly felt; or in accordance with the later legends which represent him as an unjust and cruel tyrant (*L. Schmitz* in *Dict. Biog.* who quotes *Philostrat. Vit. Apollon.* iii. 25 *Μίνω τὸν ὀμότητι ὑπερβαλομενον πάντας*). The author of the Platonic dialogue *Minos* 12 and *Plutarch Thes.* 16 ascribe this character for injustice to the tragedians *καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μίνως αἰε*

διετέλει κακῶς ἀκούων καὶ λοιδορούμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς θεάτροις καὶ οὔτε Ἡσίοδος αὐτὸν ᾤησε βασιλεύεσθαι, οὔτε Ὀμηρὸς ἄριστὴν Διὸς προσαγορεύσας (Od. xi. 179), ἀλλ' ἐπικρατήσαντες οἱ τραγικοὶ πολλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λογιεῖν καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀδοξίαν αὐτοῦ κατεσκεδάσαν ὡς χαλεποῦ καὶ βιαίου γενομένου. **Cortynia**

**templa.** So Minos is called *Gortynius heros* Cir. 114, *Gortynius arbiter* Stat. Theb. iv. 530. Cockerell (On the Labyrinth of Crete in Walpole's Travels ed. 1820 pp. 402-409) thought *Gortynia templa* referred to the Labyrinth, which Cedrenus and Eustathius describe as a cave at Gortyna, and which Tournefort and Cockerell have in modern times identified with a subterraneous cavern leading into numerous labyrinthine chambers near Agio Dekka, in the vicinity of Gortyna. The Labyrinth was generally placed at Cnossus, and is figured on Cnossian coins: but Claudian de vi Cons. Honorii speaks of it as *semitiuri Gortynia tecta iuueni*, and the etymology of Gortyna might seem to connect it with the Minotaur. Hesych. Καρτεμνίδες οἱ Γορτύνιοι. Κρήτες. ib. Κάρτην τὴν βοῦν Κρήτες. This would also give more force to *iniusti*, and would accord with the immediately sequent mention of the Minotaur and his human victims<sup>1</sup>. See however 172, 3.

**Templa.** Ennius, speaking of the palace of Priam, calls it *saeptum altisono cardine templum* (Androm. Aechm. 119 Vahlen) either from its being built in the style and shape of a sacred building or from the solemnity and quasi-divinity of the royal office. Some such meaning it would have here, 'solemn halls,' or 'halls of state: ' the plural of course takes from the definiteness of the meaning. Those who explain *Gortynia templa* of the labyrinth might support their view by Callim. H. Del. 311 γναμπτόν ἔδος σκολοῦ λαβυρινθίου: and if the labyrinth is meant, it might be called a temple from the association of such structures with sepulture, and the divine honours paid to mythical heroes after their death: Diodorus seems to speak of the temple of Belus and the tomb of Belus as identical ii. 9. 4, xvii. 112. 3: Ninus was buried in the palace of Semiramis Diod. ii. 7. 1; and such a combination of temple palace and tomb seems to be indicated by the fluctuating sense of the *Memnonia*.

76. **peste**, Plut. Thes. 15 Τὸ δαιμόνιον ἔφθειρε τὴν χώραν ἀφορία τε γὰρ καὶ νόσος ἐπέσκηψε πολλή καὶ ἀνέδυσαν οἱ ποταμοί. Diod. iv. 61. 1 mentions drought and famine. Apollod. iii. 15. 8 γενομένου τῆ πόλει λιμοῦ τε καὶ λοιμοῦ.

77. Apollod. iii. 15. 7 gives two accounts of Androgeos' death, Τοῦτον Αἰγέως ἐπὶ Μαραθῶνιον πέμφψε ταῦρον, ὑφ' οὗ διεφθάρη ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτὸν λέγουσι πορευόμενον εἰς Θήβας ἐπὶ τὸν Δαῖον ἀγῶνα πρὸς τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν ἐνέδρευθεντα διὰ φθόνου ἀπολέσθαι. Plut. Thes. 15 Ἀνδρογέω περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποθανεῖν δόλω δόξαντος. *Androgeoneus* is formed from *Androgeon*, the accusative of which *Androgeona* is found in Prop. ii. 1. 62, as *Acrisioneis* Aen. vii. 410 from *Acrision*.

78-80. **Innuptarum — Minotauro — uexarentur.** Catullus here allows himself three consecutive spondaic endings: this was done by the Alexandrian poets, e. g. Euphorion fr. 27 in Meineke's Analect. Alexand. φωνηθείσης—κικλήσκουσαι—αὐδηθῆναι.

<sup>1</sup> Leake Supplement to Numismata Hellenica p. 157 thinks it beyond doubt that the cavern explored by Tournefort and Cockerell was the famous Labyrinth; and he considers its forty or fifty chambers to have been used for purposes of primeval. or perhaps royal, sepulture.

78. Plut. Thes. 15 Ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι καὶ δεηθέντες ἐποιήσαντο συνθήκας ὥστε πέμπειν δι' ἐννέα ἐτῶν δασμὸν ἡθέους ἑπτὰ καὶ παρθένους τοσαύτας, ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ξυγγραφέων : and so Paus. i. 27. 10, Diod. iv. 61. 3, Apollod. iii. 15. 8. Servius on Aen. vi. 21 gives the names of six youths, seven maidens. On this view Theseus himself would be the seventh youth, and so Hygin. P. A. ii. 5 *Cum Theseus Cretam ad Minoam cum septem uirginibus et sex pueris uenisset*, and the Schol. on Il. xviii. 590. A second version, followed by Euripides H. F. 1326 and Plato Phaedo 58, mentioned fourteen youths; a third (Verg. Aen. vi. 21, Hygin. Fab. 41) made the number seven children sent yearly. **decus innuptarum**, the flower of the virgins, as Pindar speaks of ἡρώων ἄωτοι Nem. viii. 15.

79. **Cecropiam**; the primeval period ἐπὶ Κέκροπος καὶ τῶν πρώτων βασιδέων terminated with Theseus, Thuc. ii. 15. Hence Cecropia would still be the most correct name: and so Callimachus Del. 315 speaking of the ropes of the *θεαρίσ* which were sent yearly to Delos in commemoration of Theseus' landing there with the rescued victims calls the Athenians *Κεκροπίδαι*. **dapem**. Plut. Thes. 15 Τοὺς δὲ παῖδας εἰς Κρήτην κομιζομένους ὁ μὲν τραγικώτατος μῦθος ἀποφαίνει τὸν Μινώταυρον ἐν τῷ Λαβυρινθῷ διαφθεῖρειν, ἢ πλανωμένους αὐτοὺς καὶ τυχεῖν ἐξόδου μὴ δυναμένους ἐκεῖ καταθνήσκειν. In the Theseus of Euripides οἱ ταττόμενοι παῖδες εἰς βορὰν τῷ Μινωταύρῳ were introduced, according to the Schol. on Aristoph. Vesp. 312 and Tzetzes Chiliad. ii. 555: see the fragments in Nauck.

80. **angusta**, the small size of Athens would make the recurring loss of its youth felt more severely. It was after the events described by Catullus that Theseus increased the size of the town, and included all the Attic populations under it as metropolis Thuc. ii. 15, Plut. Thes. 24. Ouid. F. iii. 181 *Moenia iam stabant populis angusta futuris, Credita sed turbae tunc nimis ampla suae* suggests the farther contrast, sentimentally so attractive to the Romans in reference to their own city, of the primeval simplicity and later greatness of Athens: and this may well have been in the thought of Catullus writing as he is of the *παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν* Apoll. R. i. 1. **uexarentur**, 'were sorely troubled'; *uersarentur* the reading of one or two MSS. 'were in confusion, upset,' would be an exaggeration.

81. **corpus** has a special force in reference to the beauty of Theseus. Hesiod 'A. Ἡρακλ. 182 describes him as ἐπείκελον ἀθανάτοισι. Diod. iv. 71. 4 calls him εὐπρεπεία διαφέρων, Hyginus Fab. 270 ranks him *inter formosissimos*.

82. **Proicere**, of a voluntary sacrifice. Plut. Thes. 17 Ταῦρ' (the murmurs of the citizens against Aegeus) ἦνία τὸν Θησέα καὶ δικαίων μὴ ἀμελεῖν ἀλλὰ κοινωρεῖν τῆς τύχης τοῖς πολίταις ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ἀνεὺ κλήρου προσελθόν. **optauit potius quam funera portarentur**. Andr. iv. 5. 2 *Quae sibi inhoneste optauit parere hic ditias Potius quam in patria honeste pauper uiueret*, where W. Wagner quotes Aul. Prol. 11 *Inopemque optauit potius eum relinquere Quam eum thesaurum commonstrarel*. **Cretam** as an island omits the preposition.

83. **Funera . . . nec funera** is an obvious imitation of Greek combinations like *vâes âvâes* (Pers. 681), δῶρα ἄδωρα, γάμος ἄγαμος, πότμος ἀποτμος, πόλις ἀπολις, τάφος ἀταφος, βίος ἀβίωτος, etc. (see Passerat) βίωτος οὐ βίωτος Anth. P. ix. 574. 2; a poet quoted by Cic. de Orat. iii. 58. 219 has *innuptis nuptiis*, Cicero himself *insepultam sepulturam* Phil. i. 2. 5, of the

irregular funeral of J. Caesar. The idea seems to be the same as in Lucr. v. 993 *Viua uidens uiuo sepeliri uiscera busto* of men devoured by wild beasts, and thus buried in a living tomb: here the living tomb is the Minotaur, and the youths and maidens are the bodies conveyed to their unnatural and hideous burial in his jaws. (Conr. de Allio, Hertzsb.) Manilius similarly of Andromeda exposed to a sea-monster v. 548 *Virginis et uiuae rapitur sine funere funus*. The original idea is perhaps found in Lycophron Alex. 154 of Pelops' shoulder eaten by Demeter 'Ασαρκα μιστύλασ' ἐτύμβευσεν τάφφ, 413 of a number of Greeks devoured by sea-monsters Πολλῶν γὰρ ἐν σπλάγχχοισι τυμβευθήσεται Βρωθεῖς πολυστοίχοισι καμπέων γνάθοις Νήριθμοις ἔσμός. From another point of view *funera nec funera*, 'a freight of living dead,' 'corpora peritura et adhuc uiua' (Passerat), might be explained of the living victims transported in the hearse-like black-sailed ship of death like bodies really dead: so seemingly Alex. Guarinus 'Funera Cecropiae quia licet uiua corpora portarentur, habebantur tamen tanquam mortua.'

84. *nitens*, 'pressing on,' as in Val. F. i. 358; oars, though not mentioned, may be implied. Attius Telephus fr. xiii Ribbeck *remisque nixi propter nauem in fugam Transdunt*, Apollon. iv. 1631 ἐπερρώων' ἐλάτησιν.

85. *Magnanimum*, 'the hero,' = *μεγάθυμον* of Homer and Apollonius. *superbas*, 'of tyranny,' as Aen. viii. 196 *foribusque affixa superbis Ora uirum tristi pendebant pallida labo*.

86 sqq. The description of Ariadne's passion for Theseus and her lament for his faithlessness are closely modelled on Apollonius' minute and studied picture of Medea, her love for Iason and the conflict of feeling which at one moment forbids her to leave her parents and home, at another urges her to fly with her lover iii. 275 sqq. As a peculiar exhibition of feminine passion the elaborate but vivid description of Apollonius is in my judgment more effective than that of Catullus, it approaches the greatness of Euripides and Virgil. All three are more or less painful; in Catullus there is nothing which can be called tragic or harrowing.

86. *cupido lumine*, Apollon. iii. 443 Θεσπέσιον δ' ἐν πᾶσι μετέπρεπεν Αἴσωνος υἱὸς Κάλλει καὶ χαρίτεσσιν' ἐπ' αὐτῷ δ' ὄμματα κούρη Λοξά παρὰ λιπαρὴν σχομένη θηεῖτο καλύπτρην, Κῆρ ἄχει σμύχουσα. *lumine*, 'a glance,' Stat. Achill. i. 584 *nimio quod lumine sese Figat et in uerbis intempestiuus anhelet*.

87. *suaui odores*, *θυώδεος ἐκ θαλάμοιο* Hom. H. Cer. 244. *exspirans*, imitated by the author of Ciris 3 *Cecropius suaues exspirans hortulus auras*.

88. Mitsch. compares Hes. \*E. κ. 'H. 517 *παρθενικῆς ἀπαλόχροος* . . . Ἦτε δόμων ἔντοσθι φίλη πάρα μητέρι μμυει Οὐπῶ ἐργ' εἰδύια πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης, Εὐ τε λοεσσαμένη τέρενα χρῶα καὶ λίπ' ἐλαίφ Χρισσαμένη νυχίη καταλέξεται ἔνδοθι οἴκον. *alebat*, was nurturing at the time Theseus arrived. The couch is said to rear the maiden in her mother's embrace, inasmuch as she grows up in the inner chambers of the house, among the women and under the eye of her mother.

89. *Eurotae*, Culex 400 *Spartica myrtus* (Realinus). I do not know of any passage where the myrtle is mentioned in connexion with the Eurotas; Virgil Ecl. vi. 83 speaks of the bays of Eurotas, probably the rhododaphne or oleander which grows by it in great luxuriance (Gell,

Journey in Morea p. 322, ed. 1823). But myrtles are common throughout Peloponnesus, Eur. El. 324, 512, 778; the plant has at the present day a special name there, *μυρτιά* (Sibthorp, Flora Graeca v. p. 59), and its presence in Laconia may be inferred from Hesych. *μυρτιάς ἡ ὀξύμυρρίνη, ὡς Λάκωνες*. It is difficult to decide between *myrtus* and *myrtos*; MSS. are rather in favour of the former, and there can be little doubt that *laurus* is right in 289.

90. *distinctos colores*, 'diverse hues,' for 'flowers of diverse hue,' somewhat similarly Tib. i. 4. 29 *Quam cito purpureos deperdit terra colores*, and more nearly Prop. i. 2. 9 *Aspice quos summittit humus formosa colores*. *educit*, not 'rears,' a sense which it has Aen. vii. 763, viii. 413, ix. 584, but 'brings forth,' as in Plin. H. N. x. 152, cited by Conington on Aen. vi. 765 = *ἀναπέμπει*, Pind. P. ix. 82 *ὄσσα τε χθὼν ἠριὰ φύλλ' ἀνάπεμπει* (Mitsch.), or more closely *ἐκφέρει*, used of the ground Herod. i. 193, of women Callim. H. Del. 56. Infr. 282 *Aura parit flores*.

91. *declinavit*, 'drooped,' Ovid Met. vii. 86 sqq. *Spectat et in uultu ueluti tum denique uiso Lumina fixa tenet: nec se moralia demens Ora uidere putat: nec se declinat ab illo*.

92. Apollon. iii. 286 *βέλος δ' ἐνεδαίετο κούρη Νέρθεν ὑπὸ κραδίῃ (funditus), φλογὶ εἴκελον' ἀντία δ' αἰεὶ βάλλεν ὑπ' Αἰσονίδην ἀμαρύγματα*: after which follows the simile of the chips bursting into a blaze at the touch of fire.

93. Theocr. iii. 17 *Ὅς με κατασμήχων καὶ ἐς ὀστίον ἄχρισ ἰάπτει*.

94 sqq. An apostrophe to Love, perhaps suggested by Apollon. iv. 445-449 *Σχέτλι' Ἔρως, μέγα πῆμα, μέγα στόγος ἀνθρώποισιν, Ἐκ σέθεν οὐλόμηναι τ' ἔριδες στοναχαί τε γόοι τε "Αλγέα τ' ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἀπείρονα τετρήχασιν*. Catullus associates Love and Venus, as Euripides Hipp. 1268-1270 *Σὺ τὰν θεῶν ἄκαμπτον φρένα καὶ βροτῶν ἄγεις, Κύπρι, Σὺν δ' ὁ ποικιλόπτερος ἀμφιβάλων' Ὀκυράτα πτερῶ*.

95. *inmiti corde*. The ordinary explanation of this difficult verse, 'Ah thou that woefully rousest thoughts of frenzy in the cruelty of thy heart,' falls short of its proper definiteness of meaning; Love rouses madness *in* the heart. Hence Mitsch. explains *inmiti* of the yet untamed heart of the victim who is smitten for the first time, comparing Ovid A. A. ii. 177 *Si nec blanda satis nec erit tibi comis amanti Perfer et obdura: postmodo mitis erit*, Tib. iii. 6. 13. So Statius Achill. i. 302 calls Achilles, as yet strange to love, *Trux puer et nullo temeratus pectora motu*. This would be like the *ἄκαμπτον φρένα* of Hipp. 1268. Doering in his first edition thought *inmiti* could = *immaturo*, Hor. C. ii. 5. 10, 'a heart unripe for love;' a less violent possibility would refer *inmiti* to the *πάτολμος ἔρωτες*, the *θηλυκρατῆς ἀπέρωτος ἔρως* of Aesch. Choeph. 597, 600. Against any of these views may be set the general feeling of the address which begins with apostrophizing Love as cruel, and only specifies Ariadne later: as well the logical connexion between *inmiti corde* and the subject of the sentence, *Sancle puer*. It remains to explain the ablative as local, 'Thou that settest all madness astir in thy fierce heart;' Love is *μάργος*, a raging madman, Apollon. iii. 120, and not only the rouser of strife and grief in others (iv. 446, 7) but *himself* full of turmoil, *τετρηχῶς* (iii. 276). Somewhat similarly Cic. Att. iii. 7. 2 *Non faciam ut enumerem miseras omnes ne et meum maerorem exagitem et te in eundem luctum uocem*; more nearly Moschus iii. 85 *καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα Ἐτρεφεν ἐν κόλποισι καὶ ἤρεθε τὰν Ἀφροδίταν* of a lover stirring love in his own breast, cf. Stat. S. v. 1. 201,

both quoted by Mitsch.<sup>1</sup> and so Medea *Κινεῖ κραδίαν κινεῖ δὲ χόλον* Med. 49.

95. **Sancte**, 'divine,' XXXVI. 3. **curis . . . gaudia**, LXVIII. 18. Soph. fr. 856 Nauck (*Κύπρις*) Ἔστιν μὲν Αἴδης, ἔστι δ' ἄφθιτος βία, Ἔστιν δὲ λύσσα μαυῖς, ἔστι δ' ἕμερος Ἄκρατος, ἔστ' οἰμαγμός. Eurip. fr. Aeolus 26 Τῆ δ' Ἀφροδίτῃ πόλλ' ἔνεστι ποικίλα Τέρπει τε γὰρ μάλιστα καὶ λυπεῖ βροτοῦς.

96. **Golgos . . . Idalium**, Theocr. xv. 100 Δέσποιν' ἄ Γόλγως τε καὶ Ἰδάλιον ἐφιλίσσας, and see on XXXVI. 12, 14.

97. **incensam iactastis Fluctibus** is a confusion of metaphors more readily condoned by the ancients than ourselves. Pind. fr. 100 Bergk Τὰς δὲ Θεοξένον ἀκτίνας προσώπου μαρμαροίσας δρακεῖς Ὅς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται, ἐξ ἀδάμαντος Ἡ σιδάρου κεχάλκευται μελαίαν ψυχρὰ φλόγι, Plato Epigr. 30. 3 Bergk Ἄ δειλοὶ νέότητος ἀπαντήσαντες ἐκείνης Πρωτοπλόου, δι' ὄσης ἤλαθετε πυρκαϊῆς. **incensam with mente**.

98. **Fluctibus**, Prop. ii. 12. 7 *Scilicet alterna quoniam iactamur in unda Nostraque non ullis permanet aura locis*. See Hertzberg there. **in**, 'for love of,' after *suspirare* as in Ouid. F. i. 417. Alexander Aetolus ap. Parthen. Erotic. xiv. 11 Ἀνθεὺς Ἑρμείῃ ταχυνῶ φίλος, ᾧ ἐνὶ νύμφῃ Μαίνας ἕφαρ σήσῃε τὸν λιθόλευστον ἔρον. **flauo**, Apollonius iii. 1016 Τοῖος ἀπὸ ξανθοῖο καρχάτος Αἰσονίδαυ Στραπτεν Ἔρωσ ἠδείαν ἀπὸ φλόγα.

99. **languenti**, 'fainting,' the relaxation of the muscles produced by strong fear. **timores**, at the thought of Theseus combating the Minotaur. Apollonius iii. 619 sqq. describes Medea as frightened by a dream in which she herself yokes the oxen instead of Iason, and again iii. 751 as unable to sleep for the thought of his danger. Dreams are probably in Catullus' mind though not, of course, exclusively.

100. **Quanto** instead of *quantum* would seem to be explicable on a false analogy, *quanto gravius, quanto melius*, etc. The general idea seems taken from Apollon. iii. 297 ἀπαλὰς δὲ μετετρωπᾶτο παρεῖας Ἐς χλόον, ἄλλοτ' ἔρευθος. **expalluit**, LXXXI. 4. The comparison of paleness to the sickly colour of gold is not uncommon. Mitsch. quotes Ouid. Met. xi. 145 *Arua rigent auro madidis pallentia glebis*, Sil. i. 233 *redit infelix effosso concolor auro*, Stat. S. iv. 7. 15 *Pallidus fossor redit erutoque Concolor auro*. In the same way Theocritus ii. 88 compares a blanching complexion to the yellow *θάψος*, and Lucr. iv. 336 speaks of the *pallores* in the yellow-tinged faces of jaundiced persons. **fulgore** is rejected by Ritschl on the ground that the ideas of paleness and glitter are incongruous: he proposes *fuluore*, supporting it by the analogous rarity of *macor* in Pacuvius, *pigror* in Lucilius, *aegror* in Lucretius. May not *fulgore auri* express the *cold glitter* of southern faces when blanched with emotion?

101. **monstrum**, τὸ τέρας Dioid. iv. 61. 3.

102. Apollonius iii. 428 puts in Iason's mouth the determination here assigned to Theseus Τῷ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν ἄεθλον ὑπερφιάλον περ ἔοντα Τλήσομαι, εἰ καὶ μοι θανέειν μῶρος. **oppeteret** was objected to by Muretus as not suited to **praemia**. It is in fact almost always used of meeting one's death or dying, *oppetere mortem* Enn. Trag. 235, Cic. Sest. xxi. 47, *festem poeta* ap. Cic. Tusc. Disp. ii. 16. 38, Plaut. Asin. i. 1. 7, *letum* Sen. Troad. 370; Phaedrus iii. 16. 2 has *poenas oppetit superbiae* of incurring punishment. Hence *appeteret*, the reading of the Bodleian MS. (O), may be

<sup>1</sup> Who however refers *exagitant* to Ariadne; a view of course impossible.



right: *mortem appelere* is found Suet. Ner. 2, Sen. Ep. 24. 23 in both places apparently of *wishing* to die. Yet such passages as Fam. xi. 28. 4 *nunquam enim honestam mortem fugiendam, saepe etiam oppetendam* (*faced*) *putavi* are enough to prove that *appelere* even with *mortem* might retain the idea of something sought voluntarily.

103. i. e. *Non tamen ingrata munuscula frustra diuis promittens succendit uota tacito labello*, 'yet not without return were the gifts she promised to the gods in vain (i. e. not without return so that she promised them in vain) when on her lip she kindled the silent breath of vows.' *ingrata* is farther drawn out in *frustra*, as, in Aen. ii. 101 *nequiquam* is again explained by *ingrata*, in Tib. iii. 4. 14 *Et frustra immeritum pertimuisse uelut* by *immeritum*, in Pont. i. 5. 9, 10 *Haec quoque quae legitis . . . Scribimus inuita uixque coacta manu*, the *inuita manu* is drawn out in *uixque*, and *uixque* itself explained by *coacta*. Cf. Callim. Ep. 71. 1 *Τὸς ὁ ψεύστας στυγὰ καθάψε μίτην* Έντρα; H. Cer. 90 *Ἀλεμάτως ἀχάριστα κατέρρυσεν*. *munuscula* are the offerings (*ἀναθήματα*) which Ariadne promises to the gods, in the event of their bringing Theseus safe through. Catullus has *munera* of gifts vowed or offered to the gods LXVI. 38, 82, cf. 92: these are here called *munuscula*, to denote the extreme youth of Ariadne; the offerings of a girl would be childish.

104. *tacito*, 'unvoiced,' i. e. which found no audible expression: as becomes a maiden praying for her lover. Mitsch. quotes Pind. P. ix. 171 *\*Ἀφωνοί θ' ὡς ἐκάστα φίλτατον Παρθενκαὶ πόσω ἢ Γιῶν εὐχόντ', ὦ Τηλεσίκρατες, ἔμμεν*. *succendit*, 'kindled,' on the lips as an altar the vows which ascend like incense to the gods; so Hercules *Vota incepta tamen libataque tura ferebat* Stat. Theb. xi. 236; in each case the ground idea seems to be that the incense is lighted as the prayer is thought, so that the steam of the incense carries the prayer: *λιβανωτὸν λαβὼν καὶ προσευξάμενος ῥίπτεις αὐτὸν τὴν εὐχὴν φέροντα* Dio. C. xli. 45. *Suspendit*, 'she let her vows hover or hang irresolutely,' i. e. only gave them half-utterance like Lucr. v. 1069 *Suspensis dentibus, suspenso gradu*, 'on tip-toe,' would be like Apollonius iii. 683 of Medea hesitating to speak *Μῦθος δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν οἱ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτης ἀνέτελλεν Γλώσσης, ἄλλοτ' ἔνερθε κατὰ στήθος πεπότητο*, but is without MS. authority: *succerpit* (De Nat. Deor. iii. 39. 93), is prosaic. *uota*. In Apollon. iii. 467 Medea prays to Hecate that Iason may return home alive.

105. Similes of falling trees are among the commonest in ancient poetry Il. v. 560, xiii. 389, which recurs xvi. 482. Apollonius has three iii. 967 *\*Ἡ δρυὸν ἢ μακρήσιν εἰδόμενοι ἐλάτησιν, Αἶ τε πάρασσον ἔκηλοι ἐν οὐρεσιν ἐρρίζωνται Νηριμῆϊ μετὰ δ' αὐτῆς ὑπὸ ῥήπης ἀνέμοιο Κινύμεναι ὁμάδησαν ἀπέριτον*, which Catullus seems to have imitated, iii. 1374, iv. 1680. **Tauro**, an early instance of the specification of place in similes so common in Virgil and the later poets. Hesiod Έ. κ. 'Η. 509 sqq. of Boreas *Πολλὰς δὲ δρυὸς ὑψικόμους ἐλάτας τε παχείας Οὐρέος ἐν Βήσσησις πιλυὰ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ Ἐμπίπτων* καὶ πᾶσα βοᾷ τότε νήριτος ὕλη. Leake speaking of Cilicia Tracheotis says, 'During the ascent the road presented some magnificent views of mountain scenery. We leave on the left a very lofty peaked summit, one of the highest of the range of Taurus, probably between 6000 and 7000 feet above the level of the sea. In the lower regions of

<sup>1</sup> After this note was written I found the same view in Madvig Opuscula i. p. 62 'Copiosius, ut solet, Catullus eandem rem et adiectivo et adverbio expressit: Non ingrata tamen munuscula fuerunt et frustra oblata.'

the mountain we passed through woods consisting chiefly of oak ilex arbutus lentisk and junipers of various species. As we ascend we enter the region of pines.' Journey in Asia Minor, p. 234 of Walpole's Travels ed. 1820. **brachia**, Cul. 142.

**106. conigeram** (Theoc. v. 49, *coniferae cyparissi* Aen. iii. 680) **sudanti cortice**, a general description of the pine; Kraft remarks that it has no particular force, which is perhaps true; but it is to be remembered that the habit of looking for a special meaning in every detail of a poet's fancy is the growth of a learned and artificial school. Catullus retains sufficient simplicity to allow this mere piece of description to be ascribed to variety and nothing more. Perhaps however he describes what he may have seen. Leake speaking of the region of the Calycadnus (Caramania) opposite Cyprus says, 'In the upper parts scarcely any trees were seen but pines of different species: most of these were of a moderate size, but some which we saw in the highest parts of the mountain were straight, large, tall, and fit for the masts of ships of war. Great numbers had been destroyed for the sake of the turpentine by making an incision near the foot of the tree and lighting a fire under it, which has the effect of making the resin run more freely.' Walpole's Travels p. 240. **sudanti cortice**, cf. Ecl. viii. 54 *Pinguia corticibus sudant electra myricae*: *B* and *D* have *corpore*, 'trunk,' which would be like *brachia* in 105. Pliny has *corpus piceae* xvi. 57, so *body* in old writers for trunk. Wheler's Journey into Greece p. 295, ed. 1682 'We saw a wonderful great Cypress-tree. The body, a foot from the ground, is twenty-one foot about,' ib. p. 310 'Spurge in Trees, with Bodies half a foot Diameter.'

**107. Indomitus turbo**, like Pacuvius' *sacui turbines* fr. inc. 415 Ribb. *D* has *Indomitum*, and as Servius on Aen. vii. 378 states that Catullus used *turben* in the neuter, Spengel read here *Indomitum turben*, and this has been accepted by most editors since, including L. Müller who compares *sanguen* in Stat. Theb. iv. 464. I have not done so (1) because *Indomitum* might equally well refer to *robur*; (2) all the MSS. give *turbo*, and it is improbable that the rare *turben* should have fallen out; (3) Servius may have referred to a lost poem, e.g. that in which Catullus treats of magic (fr. ix.) and may have introduced a magic wheel, cf. Hor. Epod. xvii. 7. At any rate he could not have arrived at the conclusion that Catullus used *turben* neuter from this line; (4) even on the hypothesis of two editions, one in which *Indomitum turben*, one in which *Indomitus turbo* was written, consistency would require us to follow the preponderating text of our MSS. The authority of *D* here is rather diminished from its not being supported by the similarly descended Brit. Mus. MS. *a*; (5) Charisius iii. 145 Keil treats *turben* as masc.; (6) Pleitner considers that the extra liquid in *turben* adds to the effect of the line; to me it softens and weakens it. **contorquens** expresses the riving of the wind on every side of the tree, Aen. iv. 442, cf. G. i. 481 *Proluit insano contorquens uertice siluas Eridanus*. **robur**, 'heart of oak;' Cic. Mur. xxxv. 74 *Lacedaemonii qui quotidianis epulis in robore accumbunt* seems to use it of any very hard or solid wood.

**108. procul** with *Prona cadit*. **radicitus exturbata**, Apollon. iv. 1683 sqq. ἡ δ' ὑπὸ νυκτὶ Ῥηῆσιν μὲν πρῶτα τινάσσεται, ὕστερον αὐτὴ Πρυμνόθεν ἐξεαγείσα κατήριπεν. In the similar passage of Virgil Aen. v. 449 the MSS. are in favour of *radicibus*; and *radicibus* is the reading of several MSS.

here, including the Riccardian and *a*: *procul* might then be taken closely with the abl. 'wrenched away to a distance from its roots.' In 288 *radicitus* is certain: and I prefer it here as Homer has ἐκ ῥιζέων, Apollonius πρὸς νόθην in corresponding descriptions, Il. xxi. 243, Argon. iv. 1685.

**109. lateque et cominus**, 'far and near:': *cominus* as in Lucr. iv. 407, Ouid. Pont. i. 6. 74, Stat. S. iii. 5. 38 *Cum iam Lethaeos audirem cominus amnes*. According to Servius on G. i. 104 this meaning of *cominus* was most frequent in Cisalpine Gaul. **obuia**. Other MSS. *omnia*. The former is more distinct. The whole line is well illustrated by a fragment of Varro's Parmeno ix Riese *Alla traps pronis* (Catullus' *Prona*) in *humum accidens proxumae* (Catullus' *cominus*) *Frangit ramos cadens*.

**110. saeuum**, 'the fierce one,' (*foruum taurum* Ouid. Met. viii. 132) substantively, as *ferus* in LXIII. 85, *prudicas* Prop. iii. 13. 9. The difficulty of the word lies in its vagueness; Hesiod's ἴδρις for the ant, ἀόσπεος the polypus, φερέοικος the snail, πέντοζος the hand, γλαυκή the sea, Aeschylus' ἡ ἀμίαντος the sea, are quaintnesses which at once explain themselves. Catullus perhaps signalizes by the strangeness of the expression the monstrous character of the σύμμικτον εἶδος κάποφώλιον τρέφος, the ταύρου καὶ βροτοῦ διπλὴν φύσιν Eur. Thes. fr. 383, 384 Nauck. **prostrauit**. The sculptor Bathycles represented the Minotaur bound and led off *alive* by Theseus Paus. iii. 18. 11.

**111** seems a translation of Πολλὰ μάτην κεράεσσιν ἐς ἡέρα θυμήναιτα, a line quoted by Cic. Att. viii. 5. 1 from an unknown author. **uanis**, 'mocking,' 'ineffectual,' as receiving the blows of the Minotaur without feeling them, or allowing them to produce any effect. Mitsch. compares Stat. Theb. vi. 790 *geminatque rotatas Multiplicatque manus: rapiunt conamina uenti, Pars cedit in caestus*.

**112. pedem reflexit**, like *Reflecte gressum dum licet teque eripe* Sen. Thy. 428, might mean simply 'returned:': more probably it is chosen in direct reference to the tortuous path through the Labyrinth, along which Theseus winds his way back.

**113. regens**. Her. x. 103 *Nec tibi quae reditus monstrarent fila dedissem Fila per adductas saepe recepta manus* shows how Theseus guided himself. In Aen. vi. 30 Daedalus is described as *Caeca regens filo uestigia*. **filo**. Plut. Thes. 19 Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κρήτην, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ γράφουσι καὶ ἄδουσι, παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδης ἐρασθείσης τὸ λίνου λαβὼν καὶ διδαχθεὶς ὡς ἐστὶ τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τοὺς ἐλιγμοὺς διεξελθεῖν, ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Μινώταυρον καὶ ἀπέπλευσε τὴν Ἀριάδην ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἡρώους. Hyginus gives a curious story P. A. ii. 5 *Dicitur etiam a Vulcano facta (corona) ex auro et Indiciis gemmis per quas Theseus existimatur de tenebris Labyrinthi ad lucem uenisse, quod aurum et gemmae in obscuro fulgorem luminis efficiebant*.

**114. flexibus**. Apollod. iii. 1. 4 ἦν ὁ λαβύρινθος οἴκημα καμπαῖς πολυπλόκοις πλαῶν τὴν ἕξοδον. Ouid. Met. viii. 159 thus describes it *Daedalus ingenio fabrae celeberrimus artis Ponit opus, turbatque notas et lumina flexum Ducit in errorem uariarum ambage uiarum*; he compares it to the Maeander.

**115. Tecti with error**. Both Virgil Aen. vi. 29, and Ouid Met. viii. 168, Her. x. 71 call the Labyrinth *tectum*: cf. Strabo of some caverns artificially worked into mazes near Nauplia 369 ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῇ Ναυπλίᾳ τὰ σπηλαῖα καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομητοὶ λαβύρινθοι, Κυκλώπεια δ' ὀνομάζουσιν, a description which quite suits the account of the doors and chambers in the cavern near Agio Dekka, explored by Cockerell. **frustraretur**, should baffle

him in his attempt to come out. **inobseruabilis error**, the untraceable irregularity of the building, *δυσείπερος* Bacc. 1221; it was not possible to note where the path began to lose itself; as *obseruare uestigia* Aen. ii. 753, ix. 393 of noting one's steps with the view of retracing them. Virgil imitates Catullus twice Aen. v. 591 *Falleret indeprensus et inremediabilis error*, vi. 27 *Hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error*, in each case of the Labyrinth.

116. A sudden interruption or self-interpellation in the style of the Alexandrian poets. So Apollonius iv. 1378-1388 breaks the ordinary course of his narrative by an apostrophe to the heroes and a reflexion on their greatness, when he wishes only to give in outline a tiresome and tedious event of the expedition, the carrying of the Argo on the shoulders of the crew for twelve days and nights. With **Sed quid ego plura commemorem**, cf. Enn. Ann. 210 *Sed quid ego hic animo lamentor?* 318 *Sed quid ego haec memoro?* Sallust. de R. P. ii. 9 *Sed quid ego plura quasi de ignotis memorem?* Nep. Att. 17 *De pietate Attici quid plura commemorem?* a **primo carmine** (Lucr. vi. 937), from the first part of my song, viz. the description of Ariadne standing on the shore of Dia. Catullus can hardly mean the subject of the first part of the whole collective poem, viz. the marriage of Peleus and Thetis; as the great length of the complaint of Ariadne would be in ridiculous opposition to such a remark. Possibly the *cum primo* of MSS. represents *in primo* the reading of *h*: cf. Lucr. vi. 937; this would mean 'why should I, at the outset of my song (either the whole poem, or the episode of Ariadne) stray off to details which prevent my coming to the point?'

117. **Vt, ut—ut** 118, *ut* 121, *ut* 122, as in Theocr. vii. 73 *ὤς—ὠς, ὠς 74—ὠς 78—ὠς 80*, and in Apollon. iv. 731 *ῥσᾶ—732 ῥς τε—733 ῥς τε. uultum*. Apollonius iii. 999 says Minos was angry at her going, but was afterwards pacified and consented.

118. **consanguineae**. According to Apollod. iii. 1. 2 Minos and Pasiphae had four daughters, Akake Xenodike Ariadne Phaedra. If Catullus particularized the sister in his own mind, Phaedra is probably meant, as the most prominent, and as actually represented with Ariadne in works of art, Paus. x. 29. 3. In his later life Theseus is represented as the husband of Phaedra; but neither Phaedra nor Pasiphae (*matris*) were characters much in harmony with the sentimental parting here described.

119. **misera in gnata** after both **deperdita** and **lamentata est**, 'wept aloud in desperate love for her hapless daughter.' Prop. i. 13. 7 *Perditus in quadam tardis pallecere curis Incipis*, ii. 4. 18 *Gaudeat in puero. misera*, from the violence of Ariadne's love for Theseus, 71: perhaps spoken from the mother's point of view. *lamentata est* Conington; but the conjecture is slightly weak. The MSS. have *leta*, which Lachmann changed to *laetabatur*, 'used to take joy in.' Perhaps *lentabatur*, 'lingered,' Sil. viii. 11: this at any rate would not do violence to the imperfect.

120. **praeoptarit**, a word used by Plautus Capt. iii. 5. 30, Trin. iii. 2. 22, and Terence Hec. iv. 1. 17, as well as Caesar Livy and others. Cornelius Nepos Attic. 12 *Vt praeoptaret equitis Romani filiam generosarum nuptiis*.

121. **Diae**. Diod. iv. 61. 5 *Ἀνακομιζόμενος δὲ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ κλέψας τὴν Ἀριάδην ἔλαθεν ἐκπλεύσας νυκτὸς καὶ κατήρην εἰς νῆσον τὴν τότε μὲν Δίαν, νῦν δὲ Νάξον προσαγορευομένην*.

**122.** A word is lost here, which in my first volume I suggest may be *tenentem*. The rarity of this rhythm would not be much greater than in the poem on the Civil War in Petronius, where it occurs once in 295 lines. Apollonius is also very sparing in his use of it: in the 1406 lines of the third book I have counted two, 863 1190 *ἐρεμνὴ ἐρεμνῆ*; in Book iv containing 1779 lines I have found four, 568 606 1629 (*κελαινῆ κελαινῆς κελαινῆ*) 686 *ἔφετραῖς*: an average which might justify Catullus.

**123.** *Liquerit*, a form sufficiently uncommon to be noticed by Nonius 335 'liquerit *significat et reliquerit*.' Apollon. iv. 434 *Μινωίδος ἦν ποτε Θησεύς Κνωσσόθεν ἐσπομέην Δίῃ ἐνὶ κάλλιπρε νήσῳ*. Plutarch Thes. 20 says that a verse of Hesiod's represented Theseus as leaving Ariadne for love of another woman Aegle, and that Peisistratus expunged the verse as a slur upon Athens. Another account, in Pausanias x. 29. 4, represented Theseus as robbed of Ariadne by Dionysus who attacked him with a larger fleet. **immemori**. Catullus follows the popular version which made Theseus a proverb of unfaithfulness. Theocr. ii. 45 *Τόσσον ἔχοι λάθας ὄσσον πόκα Θησεία φαντὶ Ἐν Δίῃ λασθήμεν εὐπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνας*.

**124.** *ardenti*, as in 197 *inops, ardens, amenti caeca furore*, of the fever of pain, nearly = 'agonized.' Att. ix. 6. 4 *Ante sollicitus eram et angebar . . . nunc autem postquam Pompeius et consules ex Italia exierunt, non angor, sed ardeo dolore οὐδέ μοι ἦτορ ἔμπεδον, ἀλλ' ἀλαλόκτημαι. Non sum, inquam, mihi crede mentis compos; tantum mihi dedecoris admisisse uideor*.

**125.** *Clarisonas*, a word used by Cicero in his *Aratea*, 280.

**126.** *tum . . . tum* 128, 'at one time, at another.' Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 20. 53 *Mercurius nunquam ab sole longius discedit tum antecedens tum subsequens*, De Diuin. ii. 2. 6 *eae tum a principibus tenerentur tum a populis aliquando a singulis*.

**127.** Ouid. Her. x. 25-28 *Mons fuit: apparent frutices in uertice rari Hinc scopulus raucis pendet adesus aquis. Adscendo, uires animus dabat, atque ita late Aequora prospectu melior alta meo*. The MSS. read *aciem uastos*, which has generally been altered into *aciem in uastos*. Possibly Catullus wrote *acie uastos*, 'might stretch with her gaze the waste surges of the sea before her,' i. e. might see the waste surging sea stretching before her; a construction however which rather belongs to a later school of poetry.

**128.** *tremuli* might refer to the slight agitation of the sea under a gentle breeze, as Her. xi. 75 *Vi mare fit tremulum tenui cum stringitur aura*, Sen. Ag. 432 *Vnda uix actu leui Tranquilla zephyri mollis afflatu tremit*, 'ruffled,' more probably it is 'rippling.'

**129.** Apollon. iii. 874 *Ἄν δὲ χιτῶνας λεπταλέους λευκῆς ἐπιγουνίδος ἄχρῖς ἄειρον*. **Mollia**, 'fine,' LXV. 21. **nudatae**, proleptic: my Metrical Translation expresses the idea, *Lifting raiment fine her thighs which softly did open*.

**130.** *extremis querellis*, instrumental, 'with the last utterances of her sorrow.'

**131.** 'As with streaming lips she called up faint chill sobs.' **Frigidulos**, from the chilling effect of grief, *κρυεροῖο γόοιο* Od. iv. 103, cf. Choeph. 83. **udo**, the tears fell on her mouth: she cries and sobs alternately. **ore**, another instrum. abl. **cientem**, they came and went. With the general description cf. Ouid. Her. xi. 54 *Et cogor lacrymas combibere ipsa meas*.

**132-201.** This complaint of Ariadne, which is often imitated by succeeding poets, notably by Virgil in the fourth book of the Aeneid, and by Ovid in the tenth of his Heroides, in the third book of the Fasti 459-516, and in his version of Minos and Scylla Met. viii. 108-142, is itself largely borrowed from Greek sources. The Medea of Euripides, and the third and fourth books of Apollonius' Argonautica, are full of passages which in thought and expression closely resemble Catullus. Together they form the best commentary on this part of the poem.

**132. patriis ab aris,** as in Aen. xi. 269, πατρός δόμοι Med. 440, δόμενος πατρώου 801. So Medea in Apollon. iv. 361 Πάτρην τε κλέα τε μεγάρων αὐτοῦς τε τοκῆς Νουφισάμην. Charisius probably refers to passages like this, when he says p. 33 Keil *arae pro penatibus, dicimus namque ara singulariter. auctam.* Ariadne left with her father's consent; it might seem therefore that there is no idea of force in *auctam*. Plautus has *amicam secum auexit ex Samo* Bacch. iv. 1. 2, and *Quot eras annos natus cum te pater a patria auexit?* Men. v. 9. 56. But combined with *patriis ab aris*, the family sanctuary, the centre of the ideas of home as well as of virginity (Etym. M. s. u. Ζεύγου ἡμίονειον παραλαβόντες τὴν νύμφην ἐκ τῆς πατρῶας ἐστίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμαζαν ἄγουσιν εἰς τὰ τοῦ γαμοῦντος ἐσπέρας ἰκάης, cf. Cic. pro Domo xli. 109) *auctam* can, I think, hardly be without some notion of violence, and it seems more likely that Ariadne in her passionate reproaches represents what was a voluntary act of her own as forced upon her by her irresistible lover. So Tac. Ann. vi. 34 *Iason post auctam Medeam*, which was certainly an abduction. This also agrees with the position of **perfidie**, 'Is it thus, faithless one, that you bore me from the shelter of my father's altars to leave me, Theseus, faithless one, on a lonely shore?'

**133. Perfidie.** Theseus was a stock type of perfidy. Theocr. ii. 45, Alciph. ii. 4. 10.

**134. neglecto,** 'sighting,' so fr. Trag. Incert. 55 Ribbeck *Cuius ipse princeps iuris iurandi fuit, Quod omnes scitis, solus neglexit fidem.* **numine**, the sanctity or power of the gods which he had appealed to to confirm his oaths. Apollon. iv. 358 makes Medea say Πού τοι Διὸς Ἰκεσίου Ὀρκια; ποῦ δὲ μελιχραὶ ἰποσχέσται βεβήασιν;

**135.** Dobree Advers. p. 434 quotes Dem. de Falsa Legat. 409 Τὴν ἄραν καὶ τὴν ἐπιorkίαν οἰκάδε εἰσενέγκησθε. **deuota**, not simply 'accursed,' Hor. C. iii. 4. 27, but under sentence of cursing. It is not a mere expression of anger for the past, but of menace for the future. Ovid. Her. vi. 163, 4 *Haec ego coniugio fraudata Thoantias oro, Vivite deuoto nuptaque uirque toro*, and so Hor. Epod. xvi. 9 *Impia perdemus deuoti sanguinis aetas.* **portas**, in reference to the ship returning with its freight of perjury and the curse which that perjury entails. Caesar B. G. v. 23. Yet in 329 *Portans optata maritis Hesperus*, Ciris 289 *Aut amor insanae luctum portauit alumnae*; *portare* seems 'to be the bearer of,' and so And. ii. 2. 1 *Di boni, boni quid porto*, ii. 6. 2 *Hic nunc me credit aliquam sibi fallaciam Portare.*

**137. praesto.** Lucr. ii. 1067 *cum materies est multa parata, Cum locus est praesto.* Apollon. iv. 385-389 ἐκ δὲ σε πατρὸς Ἀδτικῆ ἔμαι σ' ἐλάσειαν Ἑρμύνης οἶα καὶ αὐτῇ Σῆ πάθον ἀτροπή; τὰ μὲν οὐ θέμις ἀκράντα Ἐν γαίῃ πεσέειν μάλα γὰρ μέγαν ἤλιτες ὄρκον, Νηλεές.

**138. uellet,** 'should consent,' cf. 302.

**139. nobis,** not, as Kraft thinks, 'to me and my parents:' it is simply

a variation of *mihi* as often in Propertius. See Prop. ii. 1. 55, 56 *meos sensus, funera nostra*; ii. 4. 16, 17 *mea, nobis*; ii. 6. 41 *Nos uxor numquam, numquam me ducet amica*.

140. **Voce**, not whispered but spoken. **mihi** with **iubebas** as in Cicero Caesar and other good authors.

141. Aen. iv. 316 *Per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos*. Wagner and Conington there distinguish between *conubia* the furtive union, *hymenaeos* the formal rite. Catullus certainly makes no such distinction: the marriage and the marriage-rites are here identical.

142. **cuncta**, all in one moment, together. **aerei** is shown by *aereas nebulas* XXX. 10 to mean, not 'breezy,' or 'gusty,' but 'sky-sweeping,' cf. Tib. iv. 1. 127 *Nulla nec aereas uolucris perlabitur auras*. It adds the notion of rapid dispersion through space. Troad. 419 *ἀνέμοις φέρεσθαι παραδίδωμ'*, 453 *δῶ θοαῖς αὔραις φέρεσθαι σοί τὰδ'*. **irrita**, proleptic, 'into nullity.'

143. There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of **Tum iam**, though unlike *nunc iam*, it is of comparatively rare occurrence: see Most. i. 2. 48 *Ad legionem cum itant adminiculum eis danunt Tum iam aliquem cognatum suum*, 'from that moment they proceed to give:' Liu. xxvii. 14 *Tum iam non unus manipulus, sed pro se quisque miles, pila conicere*: Mel. ii. 37 *obiacet tum iam uasta et multum prominens Graecia*: here *tum iam* = 'from that time onwards,' viz. the time when Theseus made his false promises to Ariadne. Stat. observes that Catullus in making Ariadne denounce the whole race of men for the fault of Theseus follows rhetorical precedents, Aristot. Rhet. ii. 21 *καθόλου δὲ μὴ ὄντος καθόλου εἰπεῖν, μάλιστα ἀρμόττει ἐν σχετλιασμῷ καὶ δεινώσει*.

144. **uirī sermones**, 'what her lover speaks with her.'

145. **praegestit**, 'is very eager:' a rare word used also by Cic. Cael. xxviii. 67 *Praegestit animus iam uidere lautos iuuenes*, Hor. C. ii. 5. 9. **apisci** = the commoner *adipisci*: it can hardly be called an archaism as it is used in letters by Cicero Att. viii. 14. 3 and Sulpicius Fam. iv. 5. 6, as well as by Tacitus Ann. iv. 1, iv. 16, and Pliny the younger Epist. iv. 8. 6.

146. **metuunt**, 'scruple,' Lucr. vi. 565. Stat. quotes Hecyr. i. 1. 10 *Nam nemo illorum quisquam, scito, ad te uenit Quin ita paret sese abs te ut blanditijs suis Quam minimo pretio suam uoluptatem expleat*.

148. **metuere**. See on LXII. 42.

149-152. Med. 476 *Ἐσώσά σ' ὡς ἴσασιν Ἑλλήνων ὄσοι*, Apollon. iv. 364 *Σῶν ἔνεκεν καμάτων, ἵνα μοι σόος ἀμφί τε βουσῖν, Ἀμφί τε γηγενέεσσιν ἀναπλήσειας ἀέθλους*.

149. **Certe**, at any rate you cannot deny I saved you in your danger. **turbine**, 'whirling waters,' as *uortice amoris* LXVIII. 107. Silius has *Gradiui turbine* xi. 101. **uersantem**, *εἰλισσόμενον*: Apollonius uses the latter as Catullus *uersantem*, in the general sense of being placed in, moving in: cf. Cicero's *inter tela uersari* De Orat. i. 46. 202, *in conuersione rerum ac perturbatione uersemur* Flac. xxxvii. 94.

150. **Eripui** . . . **creui**, assonance like *Eripui fateor leto me et uincula rupi* Aen. ii. 134, *Promisi ultorem et uerbis odia aspera moui* ib. 96, *Excepi et regni demens in parte locaui* iv. 374, and so Ennius Ann. 51 Vahlen *Tendebam lacrumans et blanda uoce uocabam*. **germanum**, the Minotaur. Hyg. 205 *Ariadne Minois filia fratrem et filios occidit*. The suppression

of the name just saves Catullus from the charge of bad taste. But he was no doubt thinking of the murder of Absyrtus by his sister Medea's designs Apollon. iv. 451 sqq., Med. 167. **creui**, 'I determined,' as in Cist. i. 1. 1 explained by Varro L. L. vii. 98, Lucilius ap. Non. 261 *Postquam praesidium castris educere creuit*, Cic. de Legg. iii. 3. 8 *Quotcumque senatus creuerit populusque iusserit*. This meaning survived in the single formula *hereditatem cernere*, to determine whether one would take an inheritance or not.

151. **fallaci**, 'deceitful as thou art,' pathetic. **supremo in tempore**, 'in thy last need,' cf. *extremo tempore* 169, Lucr. i. 93 *Nec miserae prodesse in tali tempore quibat*: and so *sorte suprema*, 'death,' Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 173.

152. **Pro quo**, as a return for which, so *pro uita* 157, *pro multis officiis* LXVIII. 150. **feris dabor**, Troad. 450 *θηρσι δώσουσι δάσασθαι. alitibusque*, Antig. 29 *ἄκλαστον ἄταφον οἰωνοῖς γλυκὴν Θησαυρὸν εἰσορώσι πρὸς χάριν βορᾶς*. In Ouid. Her. x. 83 sqq. Ariadne looks to an approaching end of her sorrows by wolves lions tigers or seals.

153. **iniacta**, retains the *a* of the primitive, as *conspargere* Lucr. iii. 661, *dispargitur* iii. 539, iv. 895, *dispargit* ii. 1135, *expargi* v. 371, *explaudentibus* Lucr. iv. 710, *conscraui* Monumentum Ancryanum iv. 25 Mommsen. **tumulabor**, not implying a formal tomb, but the mere sprinkling of the earth over the corpse which constituted burial Antig. 429, Hor. C. i. 28. 3. The author of the Ciris 441 *iniacta tellus tumulabit arena* imitates Catullus, and Ouid Met. vii. 361 *parua tumulatus arena*, shows the meaning; *cumulabor*, the first hand in *D*, would point to a σῆμα Od. xi. 75.

154-157. See on LX. 1-3, where the lioness and Scylla are similarly introduced.

155. **conceptum expuit**, 'engendered and disgorged.' Il. xvi. 33 *Νηλεές, οὐκ ἄρα σοὶ γε πατήρ ἦν ἱππότα Πηλεὺς οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ' γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκετ' ἑλάσασσα Πέτραι τ' ἠλίβατοι θει τοι νόος ἐστίν ἀπηρῆς. expuit*. Catullus may be thinking of Homer's *ἐξεμείν*, twice used of Carybdis Od. xii. 237, 437. Gell. xv. 21 *Ferocissimos et immanes et alienos ab omni humanitate tanquam a mari genitos Neptuni filios dixerunt Cyclopa et Cercyona et Scyrona et Laestrygonas*.

156. **Syrtis**, probably from Apollonius' account of the Syrtis and the stranding of the Argo upon it iv. 1228-1392. It is thus described 1237 *Πάντη γὰρ τέναγος, πάντη μυιόνετα βυθοῖο Τάρφεα' κούφη δέ σφιν ἐπιβλύει ὕδατος ἄχνη' Ἡερίη δ' ἄμαθος παρακέκλιται' οὐδέ τι κείσε Ἐρπετόν, οὐδέ ποτητὸν ἀείρεται. ib. 1246 Ἡέρα καὶ μεγάλῃς νῶτα χθονός, ἥερι ἴσα Τηλοῦ ὑπερτείνοντα δινηκέες' οὐδέ τω' ἀρδμόν, οὐ πάτον, οὐκ ἀπάνευθε κατηνγᾶσαντο βοτήρων Αὐλίον, εὐκῆλαφ δέ κατειχέτο πάντα γαλήνη. rapax*, 'ravening,' alluding to the sea-monsters which terminated Scylla's body LX. 2. **uasta Carybdis**, as in Lucr. i. 722, 'waste,' 'desolate,' from its destroying any living creature which approached: hence *ὄλοην Χάρυβδιν* Od. xii. 428: cf. xii. 106 *Μή σὺ γε κείθι τύχοις ὅτε ῥοιβδησειεν. οὐ γάρ κεν ῥύσαιτό σ' ἐπέκ κακοῦ οὐδ' ἐνοσίχθων. Virgil Aen. vii. 302 appropriates the line: and the whole passage 154-157 is paraphrased by Tib. iii. 4. 85-92.*

157. **qui reddis**, for so returning, as CXIV. 2 *Non falso diues Fertur, qui tot res in se habet egregias*, and XLIV. 21. In these cases the indic. expresses the reason *in* the instance; the subj. includes the instance as



one of a number which collectively form the reason. **pro dulci uita**, the dear boon of life, as *uita dulcius atque anima* LXVIII. 106.

159 seems to express Apollonius' 'Ἡέ τιν' οὐλομένην ἐδάης ἐκ πατρὸς ἐνπιήν iii. 677. **Saeua**, 'angry,' Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 21. **prisci**, from the notion of 'old-fashioned,' 'antique,' passes into that of 'morose,' 'peevish,' Copa 34 *A pereat cui sunt prisca supercilia*. Plautus uses *pristinus* somewhat similarly Prol. Trucul. 6. **parentis**, Aegeus, not Minos.

160. **uestras**, of you and your family, see on XXXIX. 20; so Pro Scauro 30 *Si te omen nominis uestri forte duxit*, Theocr. ii. 128 Πάτως καὶ πελέκεις καὶ λαμπάδες ἦρθον ἐφ' ὑμέας.

161. The ground idea is found Il. iii. 409 *Εἰς ὅτε σ' ἡ ἄλοχον ποιήσεται ἡ δργε δούλην*. Eurip. fr. 133 Nauck "Αγού δέ μ', ὦ ξέν', εἴτε πρόσπολον θέλεις εἶτ' ἄλοχον εἴτε δμοῖδ'. Shakspeare Tempest iii. 1 *I am your wife if you will marry me : If not I'll die your maid : to be your fellow You may deny me ; but I'll be your servant Whether you will or no*. **iocundo labore**, a toil that was a delight.

162. **permulcens uestigia**. As the old Euryclea washes the feet of her master Ulysses, Od. xix. 387; cf. the lines from Pacuvius' Niptra (244 Ribbeck) *Cedo tamen pedem tuum lymphis flauis flauum ut puluerem, Manibus isdem quibus Ulixi saepe permulsi, abluam Lassitudinemque minuum manuum mollitudine*. In my Metrical Translation I explain *liquidis* as 'clear:' but *liquidas undas* in 2, *liquidas aquas* Tib. i. 9. 12 cannot mean this; in all three cases the sense is the same, 'flowing,' here, with a farther notion of the liquid water falling about and over the feet, 'soft-flowing.'

163. Catullus here amplifies the Homeric *πορσύνειν λέχος* Il. iii. 411, Od. iii. 403, vii. 347, Apollon. iii. 1129, iv. 1107, 1119; it matters little that according to Heyne, *πορσύνειν λέχος* is in Homer always applied to the wife, only later to concubines. Catullus borrows the outline of the expression and fills it up according to his own fancy. The passage is imitated by the author of the Ciris 443 *Mene inter comites ancillarumque cateruas Mene alias inter famulorum munere fungi, Coniugis atque tuae quaecunqve erit illa, beatae, Non licuit grauidos peno deuoluere fusos?*

164. From Lycophron Al. 1451 *Τί μακρὰ τλήμων εἰς ἀνηκόους πέτρας, Εἰς κῦμα κωφόν, εἰς νάπας δασπλήτιδας Βάζω, κενὸν ψάλλουσα μάστακος κρότον;* (Scaliger). **ignaris auris**, 'the brutish gales,' that know nothing and are heedless of my sorrow, the *κωφαῖς μαψαύραις* of Callimachus fr. 67. 4 Blomf.

165. **sensibus auctae**, as Lucr. iii. 630 *Sic animas intro duxerunt sensibus auctas. At neque sorsum oculi neque nares nec manus ipsa Esse potest animae neque sorsum lingua neque aures Auditū per se possunt sentire neque esse*. Munro thinks Catullus here copies Lucretius.

166. 'Can neither hear the words which others utter nor give back words of their own.' *Mittere uocem* = 'to speak,' Lucr. iii. 931, Cic. Sest. xix. 42, Flac. iii. 6 : *reddidit uocem* = 'lowed in reply,' is found in Aen. viii. 217, *reddere uoces*, 'to reply,' A. P. 158. Yet the ambiguous position of **missas** and the awkwardness of making **uoces** do double duty might suggest another interpretation, 'can neither hear the words launched upon them nor give them back as their own,' the answer to the words being represented as the same words given back with an answer. Virgil imitates Catullus twice Aen. i. 408 *Cur dextrae iungere dextram Non datur ac ueras audire et reddere uoces?* vi. 688 *datur ora tueri Nate tua et notas*

*audire et reddere uoces?* where both *notas* and *ueras* apply equally to *audire* and *reddere*; and this might seem to support the latter and more artificial interpretation.

167. **prope iam** with the whole of the clause *mediis uersatur in undis*, 'has all but reached the middle of his course over the waters.' **uersatur**, see on 149.

169. **insultans** with **extremo tempore**, as Prop. iii. 6. 24 *Si placet, insultet, Lygdame, morte mea*.

170. **etiam** with **inuidit**, has gone the length of grudging me a listener. So Lucr. vi. 179 *Plumbea uero Glans etiam longo cursu uoluenda liquescit*, actually melts.

171-176. Besides a general resemblance to the famous opening of the *Medea* Catullus here imitates Apollon. iii. 773 'Ὠς ὄφελόν γε Ἀρτέμιδος κραιπνοῖσι πάρος βελέεσσι δαμῆναι, Πρὶν τὸν γ' εἰσιδέειν, πρὶν Ἀχαιῖδα γαῖαν ἰέσθαι Χαλκιόπης νῆας· τοὺς μὲν θεὸς ἤ τις Ἑριννὸς Ἄμμυ πολυκλαύτους δέυρ' ἤγαγε κείθεν ἀνίας, iv. 32 αἶθε σε πόντος, Ξεῖνε, διέρρῃαισεν πρὶν Κολχίδα γαῖαν ἰέσθαι. Virgil copies Catullus, *Aen.* iv. 657, 8.

171. **tempore primo**, returns to the moment when Ariadne first saw Theseus. So *Medea* contrasts the past with the present *Med.* 493, 4.

172. **Gnosia**. Homer *Il.* xviii. 590 describes Daedalus as working a representation of a *χόρος* for Ariadne ἐνὶ Κνωσσῷ εὐρείῃ: Cnossus and Gortyn are associated in the catalogue *Il.* ii. 646: in *Od.* xix. 178 Cnossus is called a great city, in which Minos nine seasons was king (ἐννέωρος βασιλεὺς). **puppis**. In 53 Theseus leaves *Dia celeri cum classe*; in 212 he leaves Athens *classi*; on the other hand in 85 he presses on his journey to Minos *naue leui*, and in 121 the one *ratīs* which bore him and Ariadne reaches *Dia*. It would seem therefore that the expedition consisted of more than one ship; and that the ship of Theseus as forming part of the collective fleet, is sometimes included in this, sometimes spoken of independently, perhaps thought of as pursuing its journey apart from the rest.

173. **Indomito**. Sen. *H. Oet.* 875.

174. 'The faithless seaman had moored his cable on the shore of Crete.' **religasset funem** = πείσματα or πρυμνήσια ἀνάψαι, which Apollonius constructs sometimes with ἐπὶ and a genitive iii. 570, sometimes with a dative ii. 462, iv. 1637, sometimes with ἐν or ἐπὶ and a dative i. 965, iv. 523 ἐπὶ χθονὶ πείσματ' ἔδησαν. The MSS. mostly read *Cretam*: *Creta* however is found in *D* and *O*, and must, I think, be right, as *in Cretam* could scarcely mean 'on the shore of Crete.' The ordinary construction after *religare funem* is *ab*, *Aen.* vii. 106, *Luc.* vii. 860; *Horace C. i.* 32. 7 has a simple *abl.*, and so *Seneca Med.* 611: *Ouid. M.* xiv. 248 *religata in litore*, as Catullus here.

175. **malus**, substantively, 'cattiff.' Jason reproves *Medea* for continually λέγονσ' Ἰάσον' ὡς κάκις τὸς ἐστ' ἀνὴρ *Med.* 451.

176. **requiesset**, probably of actual repose as in *LXVIII.* 5: Ariadne would be more impressed by the beauty of the stranger who was resting his limbs under the same roof.

177-183. Closely modelled on *Med.* 502 Νῦν ποῖ τράπωμαι; πότερα πρὸς πατρός δόμους; Ὅς σοὶ προδοῦσα καὶ πάτραν ἀφικόμην; Ἡ πρὸς ταλαίνας Πελοπείδας; καλῶς γ' ἂν οὖν Δέξιαντό μ' οἴκοις ὧν πατέρα κατέκτανον. *Soph. El.* 812 Νῦν δέ

ποι. με χρη μαλείν; Μόνη γάρ εἰμι, σὺ τ' ἀπεστερημένη καὶ πατρός. Ovid Met. viii. 113-118 expands Catullus.

**177. me referam**, 'am I to return?' Aen. vii. 286, Hor. S. i. 6. 115. The younger Dousa quotes Enn. Medea Exul fr. x Ribbeck *Quo nunc me uertam? quod iter incipiam ingredi? Domum paternamne anne ad Peliae filias?* Similarly Eur. Supp. 1095 sqq. **nitor**, 'what hope have I to rest upon?' So Prop. ii. 34. 1 *Cur quisquam faciem dominae iam credit amori?* Phaedr. Prol. iv. 20 *Inlitteratum plausum cur desidero?* For permutations of indic. and subj. see Hertz. Quaest. Propert. p. 118.

**178. Idomeneosne**, an anachronism. Idomeneus was the son of Deucalion, a child, like Ariadne, of Minos and Pasiphae (Apollod. iii. 1. 2); Homer makes him leader of the Cretans in the Trojan war Il. ii. 645. The name is probably chosen as most readily suggesting Crete; mythologically Idomeneus and Crete were brother and sister Apollod. iii. 3. 1. The tomb of Idomeneus was at Cnossus Diod. v. 79. 3. Lachmann proposed to read *Idomeneus* Ἰδομενεύς, a reading mentioned by the Schol. on Il. xiii. 424 Ἰδομενεύς δ' οὐ λήγε μένος μέγα. Ramsay Latin Prosody p. 144 says *-eos* of Greek genitives is generally, perhaps always, to be scanned as two short syllables; but L. Müller de Re Metrica p. 275 seems right in defending *Idomeneos* on the analogy of *Peleo* 336, of *ostrea cerea* in Horace, *alueo aluearia aerei aureo aureis ferrei Eurystheo Menestheo Orpheo Typhoeo Typhoea* in Virgil, *Enipeo Nereo Prometheo* in Propertius, *alueo* in Tibullus, not to speak of the more doubtful cases of Greek genitives in *ei*, *Erechthei Pelei Thesei*, etc. **a**, the interjection. *At*, the reading of Muretus Stadius and Doering, is compared by the younger Dousa to a very similar passage De Orat. iii. 56. 214 *Quo me miser conferam? quo uertam? in Capitoliumne? At fratris sanguine redundat. An domum? matremne ut miseram lamentantemque uideam?*

**179. Discernens diuidit**. Il. i. 157 ἐπεὶ ἦ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξύ Οὔρεά τε σκίοεντα θάλασσά τε ἠχέησσα. Soph. Phil. 635 ὡς ἡμᾶς πολὺ Πέλαγος ὀρίζει τῆς Ὀδυσσεύς νεώς. Lucr. i. 721 *Angustoque fretu rapidum mare diuidit undis Italiae terrarum oras a finibus eius*. Sen. Epist. viii. 2. 1 *Oblitus uasto nos mari diuidi*. **truculentum**, LXIII. 16. After this word the MSS. have *ubi*, which though metrically improbable is at least explicable. 'Am I to sail for the Cretan mountains? Those mountains where a wide tract of sea separates me, alas, with a watery waste, and keeps me away.' Ovid in a similar soliloquy Met. viii. 115 has a relative *Patris ad ora? Quae tibi donauit? diuidit*, sc. *montes*.

**180. patris**. Apoll. iv. 378 Πῶς ἴξομαι ἔμματα πατρός; **quemne**, i. e. *eiusne quem*; so often in Plautus, Epid. v. 2. 52 Epid. *Inueni, et domist*. Apoc. *Quemne hodie per urbem uterque sumus defessi quaerere?* Merc. iii. 3. 12 Lys. *Peruerse facies*. Dem. *Quodne ames?* See Holtze Syntax ii. p. 262.

**181. fraterna caede**, i. e. Minotauri. See on 150.

**182. memet** is very rare in poetry: but Catullus here returns to the language of the earlier poets. Attius (Athamas fr. ii. Ribbeck) said *utinam memet possem obliſcier*. Here *memet* intensifies the idea of self, 'myself by myself,' suggesting the absence of the person from whom Ariadne would naturally look for consolation.

**183. incuruans**, with the strain of the rowing. The relation of *lentos* to *incuruans* is doubtful; *lentos* is not only supple or pliant, but 'resisting'; on this view the rower bends the resisting oar by the strain of his

pull, and the effect of the adjective is to heighten the eagerness of Theseus to get away, by suggesting the toil of his rowers as they beat the water, *lentos* thus suggesting the reason of *incuruans*. Yet from Aen. iii. 384 *Trinacria lenlandus remus in unda* it would seem that in connexion with rowing *lentos* expresses the *flexibility* of oars produced by their passing repeatedly and rapidly through the water; for this sense and this only suits equally well *lentare remum* and *lentare arcum* Stat. Achill. i. 436: since *lentare*, as Dr. Henry shows, must = *lentum facere*, and this is incompatible with the sense of tough or resisting. Then *lentos incuruans* would be either 'making the flexible oars curve' or proleptically 'bending into flexibility' by rapid motion through the water. Catullus perhaps imitates Apoll. R. ii. 591 Ἐπεγνάμπτοντο δὲ κόπαι ἤϊτε καμπύλα τόξα. At any rate Catullus cannot allude to the apparent curvature of the oars in the water, an alternative suggested by Passerat, quoting Lucr. iv. 438 sqq.

**184. sola insula**, in apposition with *litus*, 'the shore has no dwellings, an island of desolation.' Orelli compares Her. x. 59 *Vacat insula cultu. Non hominum uideo, non ego facta boum.*

**186. nulla spes**, as *pote stolidum* XVII. 24, *impotentia freta* IV. 18. For the description cf. Apollon. iv. 1237 Πάντη γὰρ τέναγος, πάντη μνώεντα βυθοῖο Τάρφεια, ib. 1247 οὐδέ τι' ἀρδμόν, Οὐ πάτον, οὐκ ἀπάνευθε κατηργύισσαντο βοτήρων Ἀῦλιον, εὐκλήφ δὲ κατείχετο πάντα γαλήνη.

**187. omnia . . . omnia.** Vulp. compares Lucr. v. 830 *Omnia migrant; Omnia commutat natura et uertere cogit.* Virgil imitates Catullus Aen. i. 91 *Praesentemque uiris intentant omnia mortem*, whence Orelli thinks he read *intendant* here.

**188. Non tamen ante.** Ouid. Met. xiv. 724 *Non tamen ante tui curam cessisse memento Quam uitam.*

**189. fesso**, 'worn out with grief:' similarly Ouid. Met. xiv. 730 *Si tamen O superi mortalia facta uidetis, Este mei memores, nihil ultra lingua precari Sustinet.*

**190. I.** Voss quotes Pacuvius Iliona fr. ix. Ribbeck *Di me etsi perdunt tamen esse adiutam expetunt Cum prius quam intereo spatium ulciscendi danunt.*

**192. uirum**, of men, as sexually distinct from women: not quite = 'lovers.' Tib. iii. 6. 41 *Sic cecinit pro te doctus, Minoi, Catullus Ingrati referens impia facta uiri*, does not prove that *facta uirum* can itself mean 'the deeds of husbands:' on the other hand Sillig is wrong in explaining it as simply = *hominum*.

**193. anguino** not *anguineo* is the MS. reading, and is supported by Pacuv. Antiopa fr. iv Ribbeck, Varro R. R. i. 2. 25, Prop. iv. 8. 10. On the other hand in Trist. iv. 7. 12 *Gorgonis anguineis cincta fuisse comis*: Merkel's MSS. point to the form in *-eus*: and so perhaps Tib. ii. 4. 87. According to Pausanias i. 28. 6, quoted by Ritter on Hor. C. ii. 13. 36, Aeschylus was the first who described the hair of the Furies as intertwined with snakes, Choeph. 1049 πεπλεκτανημένα Πυκνοῖς δράκοισιν.

**194. praeportat**, 'bears on its front,' a word occurring twice in Cicero's Aratea, 208 of the Centaur *partem praeportans ipse uirilem*, 430 of the Scorpion *prae se Scorpius infestus praeportans flebile acumen*. Lucr. ii. 621 *Telaque praeportant uiolenti signa furoris.*

**196. Vae misera**, the reading of most MSS, is retained by Bentley and defended from Ouid. Am. iii. 6. 101 *uae demens*, and Verg. Ecl. ix. 28 *Mantua uae miserae nimium uicina Cremonae*, where *uae* seems to have

little connexion with *miseræ*; cf. Hor. C. i. 13. 3. I have followed *D* in reading *miseræ* (1) because when combined with *miser, uae* generally takes a dative, Andr. iv. 4. 4, Heaut. ii. 3. 9; (2) the assonance of the two *e* sounds *miseræ extremis* would be in the manner of Catullus, see on XLV. 12; (3) the final *e* of *miseræ* would easily fall out before the *e* of *extremis*; (4) *uae miseræ* is certain in Heroid. iii. 82.

197. *ardens*, see on 124. *amenti caeca*. Sest. vii. 17 *caecus atque amens tribunus*.

198. Here I seem to trace a prolixity, not to say prosiness, unusual in Catullus, and quite in the manner of his great but less artistic contemporary. *ueræ*, 'containing true indictments:' Lucr. iii. 57 has *ueræ uoces tum demum pectore ab imo Eiciuntur*.

201. *funestet*, 'bring the curse of death upon.'

202. *pröfudit*, as Lucretius has both *pröpello* and *pröpello*; so *pröcuro pröpino pröpago* (Munro in Public School Gramm. § 221).

204. *inuicto*. Most MSS. have *inuito* which was explained by Heinsius Aduersar. p. 574 '*utpote qui fratris filio faueret*,' Theseus being according to some accounts the son of Poseidon (Plut. Thes. vi). If so, Catullus confused two accounts of his parentage; for in 241 Aegeus is represented as Theseus' father. Voss suggests that Catullus is here expressing the Homeric ἐκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ, said of Zeus granting a thing with only half a mind; as Ovid says of Augustus Pont. i. 2. 126 *Et iacit inuita fulmina rara manu*. But it seems unlikely that Catullus would introduce a word which like *inuito* conveys a special allusion, without any hint to explain it; and I have followed nearly all edd. in reading *inuicto*; the two words are easily confused, Ouid. A. iii. 9. 24, Ibis 502. Conr. de Allio quotes from Livy vii. 30 *Annuite, patres conscripti, nutum numenque uestrum inuictum Campanis et iubete sperare*. *numine* after *annuit* might seem to be physical, as it must be in Lucr. ii. 632 *Terrificas capitum quatientes numine cristas*; see Munro there, and cf. iv. 179; in iii. 144 *ad numen mentis momenque mouetur* it seems to be in a transition stage, 'direction.' Lachmann however on Lucr. ii. 632, a line which recurs again v. 1315 with *undique* for *numine*, denies that *numen* ever means *nutus*; and Varro L. L. vii. 85 while deriving *numen* from *nuere*, implies that *numen* was not=*nutus*. The same connexion is found in Cic. de Rep. i. 36. 56 *Ut rex putaretur unus esse in caelo, qui nutu ut ait totum Olympum conuerteret*, but immediately after *deos omnis censent unius regi numine*, and in the passage from Livy vii. 30 just quoted. Cf. Paul. Diac. p. 172 M. It would seem that Catullus like Varro Cicero Livy had in his mind the received etymology from *nuere*; but we need not conclude that *numine inuicto* is therefore strictly physical, as it certainly is not in Liu. vii. 30: 'sovereign inclination' perhaps expresses the idea in both passages.

205. Il. i. 528 Ἡ καὶ κνανέησω ἐπ' ὄφρησι νεύσε Κρονίων Ἀμβρόσια δ' ἄρα χάρται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος Κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον.

206. The language seems to be Lucretian, v. 515 *Quo uoluenta micant aeterni sidera mundi*, 1203 *Suspiciamus magni caelestia mundi Tempa super stellisque micantibus aethera fixum*.

207. *caeca*, 'blank,' rather than 'blinding,' as in Aen. v. 589.

208. Plautus has *consitus senectute* Men. v. 2. 4, like *aerumnam obseuisti* Epid. iv. 1. 30 and the common *obsitus squalore, illuuit*, etc. The metaphor would thus seem to be a true Roman one, though in Lucr. ii. 211 *sol*

*lumine conscribit arua* Munro quotes a Greek fragment *σπείρων θεοκρίσταν φλόγα* from Arist. Poet. 21. Cf. Heliodorus ap. Galen. de Antid. ii. p. 776 Ald. (Meinek. Anal. Alex. p. 385) 'Ἡέλιον σπείροντα θεοῖς φασείμβροτον αἶγλην. It is remarkable that Catullus speaks of darkness, Lucretius of light, as thick-sown; but Catullus approaches more nearly to the Plautine use of the word, Lucretius seems to have in his mind the idea of various spots successively illumined by the sun; with him the word is more of a distinct simile, in Catullus it approaches a metaphor.

209. *mandata* as shown by 238 is substantive.

210. *sustollens*. Lucr. iv. 906 uses *sustollere* of a machine drawing up weights by pulleys. It is not simply = *tollens* but gives the idea of hauling up with some effort. *dulcia signa*, viz. the white sail, 235.

211. *uisere*, 'sighted.'

212. *diuæ*, the city of Pallas, Athens. *classi*, abl. as in LXVI. 46, 'in his ships,' see on 172.

213. *concrederet*, 'consigned to,' very common in Plautus. Cicero combines *commendare et concedere* Pro Quint. xx. 62.

215. *unice*, as in XXXIX. 5. The position of *unice* between *iocundior* and *uita* is doubtless intentional. Theseus was more dear than long life as the only son of his father. *uita*, LXVIII. 106. Lucan v. 739 makes Pompey say to his wife Cornelia *Non nunc uita mihi dulcior, inquit, Cum laedet uitae, laeto sed tempore coniux*, but length of days is more often represented as a blessing, irrespective of the happiness or unhappiness which attends it.

216. Realinus notices a similar iteration of *Nate* in Aen. v. 724, Stat. in Aen. i. 664, where Servius remarks '*Nate ab indulgentissimo nomine causa amoris.*' *demittere*. Passerat shows that this is a prose use of the word. Fam. x. 8. 2 a letter of Plancus *Cum in eum casum me fortuna demisisset*, ix. 1. 2 *Cum me in res turbulentissimas infidelissimis sociis demissem*: and so Livy.

217. *Reddite*. Theseus was the offspring of an amour of Aegeus with Aethra, the daughter of Pittheus king of Troezen. Aegeus, knowing her to be pregnant, left his sword and sandals beneath a rock, and ordered her, if she should bear a son, to bid him when he reached manhood, as a test of his strength, lift the rock and remove the tokens of his paternity. This Theseus did and on arriving at Athens was recognized by showing Aegeus' sword. Aegeus was old at the time he thus recovered his son. Plut. Thes. 12.

218. *fortuna*, 'ill fortune.' More usually *fortuna* and *uirtus* are united as the two sides of the same great Roman character. Liv. xxiii. 41 *Tua nos non magis uirtus fortunaque*, 'your valour and good fortune.' *feruida*, 'impetuous.'

219. *Eripit*. Augustus began his will with the words *Quoniam sinistra fortuna Caium et Lucium mihi eripuit*. Suet. Tib. 23 (Passerat). *languida*, 'failing,' as *languescunt lumina morte* 188.

220. *saturata*, like *pasceret oculos*, 'a common phrase,' Munro on Lucr. i. 36.

223. A line in the style of Cicero's poems, as indeed is most of this section of the Peleus and Thetis. *expromam mente* is illustrated by LXV. 3 *Nec potis est dulcis Musarum expromere fetus Mens animi*. The mind is the storehouse of grief or joy. Ion 923 *μέγας θησαυρός ὧς*

ἀνοίγνυται κακῶν ἐφ' οἷσι πᾶς ἂν ἐκβάλῃ δάκρυ. Plaut. Truc. ii. 7. 43 *Nunc ego meos animos uiolentos meamque iram ex pectore iam promam.*

224. **Canitiem**, 'grey hair,' as in Prop. i. 8. 46, and in Virgil. **puluero**. Il. xviii. 23 Ἀμφότερησι δὲ χερσὶν ἐλὼν κόων αἰθαλόεσσαν Χεύατο κὰκ κεφαλῆς χαρίεν δ' ἤσχυε πρόσωπον.

225. **infecta**, 'coloured by a dye,' Prop. ii. 18. 23. **uago**, 'swaying' or 'wavering.' Nonius 469 quotes a line from the Hectoris Lustra of Ennius *Arbores uento uagant*, where the verb seems to have the same meaning; cf. Lucr. iii. 1052 *animi incerto fluitans errore uagaris*, where I think the metaphor is the same, 'you waver swaying to and fro with an unsteady vacillation.'

226. **nostros** . . . **nostrae**, in opposition to *Non ego te gaudens laetanti pectore mittam*. The meaning seems to be, 'if others have a sign of joy, I will have a sign of my own, a sign of grief.' **luctus, incendia**, hendiadys, 'the grief kindled in my heart.' **incendia** as the mother of Euryalus *incendii luctus* Aen. ix. 500, where Conington compares Od. xx. 353 Οἰμωγὴ δὲ δέδρα.

227. **Carbasus**, which according to the Veronese Schol. on Aen. viii. 34 is both masc. and fem., is here fem. as in Ennius Ann. 560 Vahlen, Lucr. vi. 109, Prop. iv. 11. 54. **dicet**, may show. Nonius 287 *dicare indicare nuntiare*. Lucilius lib. xxx *Sicubi ad auris Fama tuam pugnam clarans allata dicasset*. So Lucretius uses *dedicare* = *indicare*. There is however some plausibility in Lachmann's conjecture *decet*; *dicere* for *decere* occurs in the palimpsest of Fronto p. 159 Naber: the objection to it is that the statement though true is weak; whereas Aegeus would naturally go on to explain the reason of his hanging up a dyed sail. **ferrugine** Non. 549 *ferrugineum colorem ferri similem esse uolunt*; *uera autem ferrugineus caeruleus est*, and he quotes Plautus Mil. G. iv. 4. 43 *palliolum habebas ferrugineum, nam is colos thalassicus'st*. This is explained by Munro on Lucr. iv. 76 to denote a dark violet colour like that of steel after it has been heated in the fire and cooled; and he affirms the Mediterranean in certain weather to have precisely such a colour. **Hibera**. Aen. ix. 582 *ferrugine clarus Hibera*, where Servius interprets *Hibera* of the Pontic Iberia, a country celebrated for dyeing colours. Yet on G. i. 467 he explains *ferrugo* to be *purpura nigrior, Hispana*; and this is more likely. Cato ap. Gell. N. A. ii. 22. 29 speaking of the *Hispani qui citra Hiberum coleant* says *Sunt in his regionibus ferrariae, argenti fodinae pulcerrimae*, and Strabo 146 speaks of τὸ περὶ τὰς μεταλλείας εὐφύεις of Spain.

228. Il. v. 260 Εἰ κέν μοι πολύβουλος Ἀθήνη κῆδος ὄρεξη Ἀμφότερα κτεῖναι. **sancti**, from the sanctuary of Athena which made the town celebrated. So Soracte is *sanctum* as the sanctuary of Apollo Aen. xi. 785 (Passerat). Itonus or Iton (Il. ii. 696) is placed by Strabo near the Phthiotic Thebes, above the Crocian plain, 435 Τῶν Θεβῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τὸ Κρόκιον πέδιον πρὸς τῷ καταλήγοντι τῆς Ὀθρυος, δι' οὗ ὁ Ἀμφρυσος ρεῖ τούτου δ' ὑπέρκειται ὁ Ἴτωνος, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας ἱερόν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ ὁ Κουάριος ποταμός, cf. Paus. i. 13. 2. The Itonian Athene is often mentioned, especially in the Alexandrian poets, Callim. Cer. 74, Apoll. R. i. 551, 721 as read by the Schol.; Millingen pl. ii. note 8 speaks of Thessalian coins on which she is represented as holding a spear to dart against the enemy. **Ἴtoni**, as in Callim. Cer. 74, Epigr. ap. Plut. Pyrrh. 26, Anth. P. ix. 743. 2. Homer and Apollonius make the first letter long.

**229. nostrum**, the race of kings to which Aegeus and Theseus belonged. According to Apollod. iii. 14. 5 sqq. Cecrops was succeeded by Cranaus; Cranaus was expelled by Amphictyon, who in his turn was expelled by Erichthonius, the child born from the rape of Hephaestus on Athene. Erichthonius was succeeded by his son Pandion, Pandion by his son Erechtheus, the great-grandfather of Aegeus; who is thus great-great-great grandson of Athene. There is perhaps also a special reference in *Itoni*, for Itonus was traditionally the son of Amphictyon **Erechthi**. The MSS. point pretty uniformly to *Erechthi*, not *Erechthei*. This tendency to assimilate Greek nouns in *-eus -es* to Roman nouns of the second declension, like the tendency to decline Greek nouns in *-e* on the analogy of the Roman nouns of the first declension, still predominates in Cicero and the writers of his time. Catullus may have thought of Il. ii. 546 sqq. Οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον εὐκτίμενον πτολίεθρον, Δήμου Ἐρεχθῆος μεγάλητορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη Θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα, Καὶ δ' ἐν Ἀθήνης εἶσεν, ἐφ' ἐνὶ πύλοι νηῶ.

**232. uigeant . . . obliteret.** De Orat. ii. 87. 355 *ita audire . . . ut illi non infundere in aures tuas orationem sed in animo uideantur inscribere. Itaque soli qui memoria uigent sciunt quod et quatenus et quomodo dicturi sint.* Cicero talks of men with a vigorous memory; Catullus makes the memory the soil in which the words to be recorded live and grow (*uinit uigetque* Liv. xxxix. 40).

**233. inuisent** seems to be little more here than 'look upon,' as in De N. D. ii. 43. 110, though there is perhaps the idea of the eyes passing through a succession of objects and coming at last to the sight of the hills of Attica. **lumina** is strictly correct in the same sense as Lucretius speaks of objects which *perueniunt oculorum ad lumina nostra* vi. 184.

**234. antennae.** 'The yard-arm was made of a single piece of fir when the vessel was a small one, but of two pieces braced together for those of a larger size. Hence the word is often met with in the plural number, while the sail attached to it is at the same time expressed by the singular, *antennis totum subnectite uelum* Ouid. Met. xi. 483' (Rich, Companion s. u.). Hence there is an appropriateness in **undique**, not merely from end to end, but from each end of the two pieces which together form the yard-arm. **uestem**, as we might say 'housings,' of course meaning the sail.

**235. Candidaque.** Another version, followed by the poet Simonides, represented the sail which Aegeus gave not as white, but purple or red. Plut. Thes. 17 *Πρότερον μὲν οὐν οὐδεμία σωτηρίας ἐπίς ὑπέκειτο· διὸ καὶ μέλαν ἰστίον ἔχουσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ προδήλω, τὴν ναῦν ἔπεμπον. τότε δὲ τοῦ Θησέως τὸν πατέρα θαρρύνοντος καὶ μεγαλγοροῦντος ὡς χειρώσεται τὸν Μινώταυρον, ἔδωκεν ἕτερον ἰστίον λευκὸν τῷ κυβερνήτῃ, κελυσσας ὑποστρέφοντα σωζομένου τοῦ Θησέως ἐπάρασθαι τὸ λευκόν, εἰ δὲ μή, τῷ μέλανι πλεῖν καὶ ἀποσημαίνειν τὸ πάθος. ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης οὐ λευκὸν φησιν εἶναι τὸ δοθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰγέως, ἀλλὰ φοινίκιον ἰστίον ὑγρῷ πεφυρμένον πρὸς ἄνθει ἐριθίλλου· καὶ τοῦτο τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι σημείον.* **intorti**, Ouid. M. iii. 679, 'twisted,' like *torios funes* Aen. iv. 575, Hor. Epist. i. 10. 48; the word suggests either the strength of the cables which haul up the sails, or their tight and compact make, which would render them more available for the same purpose.

**236.** Before this verse Faernus and Muretus inserted a verse ascribed to Catullus by Nonius 546, to Cinna by Isidorus Orig. xix. 2. 10 and the Schol. on Lucan v. 418. Nonius gives it imperfectly *Lucida qua splendet*



*carchesia mali*, Isidorus adds *alti*, the Schol. on Lucan *summi*; they besides read, Isidorus *confulgent*, the Schol. *cum fulgent*. This verse was generally admitted into the text till Lachmann's edition, and Lucian Müller has again inserted it. His reasons are (1) that it is appropriate: Aegeus would see the top of the mast first, and there if anywhere a white sail would naturally be hoisted, (2) other verses have fallen out of our MSS. of Catullus, (3) the authority of Nonius is unquestionable, and the more so here that he cites the verse from *Catullus Veronensis*. I reject the verse (1) because, though it is true that it might naturally follow the description in 234–235<sup>1</sup>, and *might* even be appropriate, it is doubtful whether Catullus had this idea, since in 243 the sail when it first comes in sight is puffed out by the wind, a description which does not suit the top, but the central part of the sail; (2) when other verses have fallen out, the sense always indicates it, which it certainly does not here; (3) the authority of Nonius is, as L. Müller himself admits, rather shaken by the fact that he ascribes to Catullus elsewhere (517) a verse attributed by Diomedes 513 K. to Serenus, and though his circumstantiality here makes it less probable that he is wrong in assigning the verse to Catullus, it is possible that it came from one of the lost poems; (4) it seems here unnecessary, a descriptive accessory which mars the simple completeness of 234, 5, and spoils the force of the opposition of colours in these two lines by introducing another object, the mast-top, itself described as bright.

237. **Agnoscam**, may recognize the joy of which the white sail was the sign. *aetas* is generally interpreted 'time'; it is perhaps more natural to refer it with Alex. Guarinus to the life of Theseus, cf. LXVIII. 16, and Propertius in several places ii. 5. 27 *Scribam igitur quod non unquam tua delet aetas*, ii. 18. 5 *Quid si iam canis aetas mea candeat amnis? reducem sistet*, 'shall bring safe home.' Augustus ap. Suet. 28 *Saluam ac sospitem rempublicam sistere in sua sede*, Aen. ii. 620 *tutum patrio te limine sistam*, Liu. xxix. 27 *domos reduces sistatis*.

238. The construction of this and the following two lines is, as remarked by Haupt, peculiarly Alexandrian. Theoc. xii. 8 *σκιερὴν δ' ὑπὸ φηγὸν Ἡελίου φρύγοντος ὀδοιπόρος ἔθραμον ὡς τις*. Apoll. R. iii. 858 *Τῆς οἴην τ' ἐν ὄρεσσι κελαυῆν ἱκμάδα φηγού Κασπίη ἐν κόχλῳ ἀμήσατο φαρμάσσεσθαι*. ib. 1293 *αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῦσγε Εἰ διαβάς ἐπιόντας ἄτε σπιλάς ἐν ἄλι πέτρῃ Μῦναι ἀπειρεσίησι δονεῖμενα κύματ' ἀέλλαις*. So Hor. A. P. 457 sqq. *Hic . . . Si ueluli merulis intentus decidit auceps In puteum foueamque*.

239. Catullus seems to be imitating Il. v. 522–526 *Ἄλλ' ἔμμενον νεφέλησιν εὐκίστες, ἄς τε Κρονίων Νηνεμῆς ἔστησεν ἐπ' ἀκροπόλοισιν ὄρεσσιν Ἀτρέμας, ὄφρ' εὐδῆσι μένος Βορέου καὶ ἄλλων Ζαχρηῶν ἀνέμων, αἵτε νέφεια σκίεοντα Πρωϊῆσιν λιγυρήσι διασκιδνάσιν ἀέντες*.

240. **niuei** (*ὄρεϊ νεφέεντι* Il. xiii. 754, compared by Kraft), in the very rare sense of *niusi* or *niualis*: similarly however Verg. G. iii. 354 *Sed iacet aggeribus niueis informis et alto Terra gelu*, Germanicus Arat. 243 *niueus Haemus*. This forgetfulness on the part of Theseus was, according to Pausanias i. 22. 5, caused by grief for the loss of Ariadne, cf. Diod. iv. 61. 5: Plutarch says both Theseus and the pilot forgot for joy at their safe return (Thes. 22).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Schol. on Lucan v. 418 edited by Usener ' *carchesia mali ligna quae antennam tenent aut certe quod est in summum arboris quod nunc calcese dicitur, in quo trochilae per quas funes currunt.*'

**241. prospectum petebat**, 'looked out to see. Pacuvius in his Chryses (Non. 467) similarly in *omnis partis prospectum aucupo*. **arce**, the Acropolis. Wordsworth, Athens and Attica, places the traditional locale of this precipitation towards the S. W. angle of the Acropolis, a little higher than the temple of Aphrodite Pandemos. 'This particular spot commands a wide prospect of the sea. Catullus has been saved from an error, perhaps by his acquaintance with the scene, into which later writers have fallen. They with few exceptions make Aegeus throw himself from the rock of the Acropolis into the sea, which is three miles off.'

**242. absumens**. Mitsch. compares Theocritus in Anth. P. ix. 432.

1 τί ται πλέον, εἰ καταταξείς Δάκρυσι διγλήνωσ ὄπασ δδουρόμενος.

**244. scopulorum e uertice**, ἀναβάντα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἑαυτὸν κατακρημῖσαι Diod. iv. 61. 7. Pausanias i. 22. 5 mentions the exact spot. Another version made Sunium the place from which Aegeus threw himself into the sea called from him Aegean: see Stat. Theb. xii. 624-626, and cf. Schol. on Apoll. R. i. 831.

**245. funesta with paterna morte**. Cicero uses *funesta familia* of a household in mourning for the death of one of its members, Legg. ii. 22. 55, and so Epicetion Drusi 474.

**247. Minoidi**, after *offerre luctum* like the datives after *offerre mortem* Rosc. Amer. xiii. 37, *offerre exitium* Tac. Ann. iv. 11, where see Nipperdey.

**248. Obtulerat**. Cicero generally says *offerre luctum*, as in Rosc. Am. v. 13. **mente immemori** is placed between the two clauses as equally referring to either; with the first in the sense of faithlessness to Ariadne, in the second of forgetfulness towards Aegeus. For the sentiment cf. an epigram ascribed to Archias Anth. P. ix. 339. 5 *ὄν ἔτευχεν ἐπ' ἄλλῳ* 'Ἐκ κείνου τλήμων αὐτὸς ἔδεκτο μόρον.

**249. G and O** point to a reading *tum prospectans*; but **tamen aspectans**, the reading of most MSS, is more skillful as an expression. 'Yet all the while she gazing still at his receding keel,' etc.; partly as indicating the fixed despair of Ariadne which took no heed of the lapse of time and the actual disappearance of Theseus' ship, partly as suggesting the immobility of the figures on the tapestry.

**250. saucia**, 'stricken,' not with grief (Doer.) but with love as in Aen. iv. 1 *gravi iam dudum saucia cura*, Tib. ii. 5. 109.

**251-264.** Transition to another part of the subject embroidered on the coverlet: Bacchus in quest of Ariadne with his crew. Besides the natural connexion of this with the former part of the story, Catullus may have been led to introduce it by two other reasons, (1) the connexion of the wandering Bacchus with *Thetis*. Apollod. iii. 5. 1 *ἐπὶ Ἰνδοῦς διὰ τῆς Θράκης ἠπειγέτο*. Λυκοῦργος δέ, παῖς Δρύαντος, Ἥδωνῶν βασιλεύων, οἱ Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν παροικουσι, πρῶτος ὑβρίσας ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν. Καὶ Διόνυσος μὲν εἰς θάλασσαν πρὸς Θέτιν τὴν Νηρηέως κατέφυγε, Βάκχαι δὲ ἐγένοντο αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ τὸ συνεπτόμενον Σατύρων πλῆθος αὐτῶ. (2) The connexion of the worship of Bacchus with the Ptolemies and Alexandria. See Athen. v. 200 where a long account is given of a Dionysiac procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus, in which the same subject was represented.

**251. florens**, the bright-blooming or the fresh young Iacchus: a composite idea, expressing partly the youth of the god, partly the freshness of his complexion and look, like τὸν ὠραῖον θεόν as he is called Aristoph.

Ran. 395. **uolitabat** of rapid and indeterminate motion as often in Cicero. Mitsch. compares Ciris 307 *Nunquam ego te in summo uolitantem uertice montis . . . Conspiciam.*

252. **Nysigenis.** Iacchus is supposed to be returning from the Indian (Plin. vi. 79) Nysa, as in Aen. vi. 805 *Nec qui pampineis uictor iuga flectit habentis Liber agens celso Nysae de uertice tigres.* Hence probably his name Nysius, combined with Euhius by Cicero pro Flacc. xxv. 60. Others, as Diodorus iii. 66. 3, place Nysa in Arabia, *μεταξὺ Φωϊκῆς καὶ Νείλου* Diod. iv. 2, where he seems to be following the Homeric Hymn to Dionysus 26. 8: others in Asia Minor or Thrace: Steph. B. mentions a Nysa in Naxos: in an island so closely connected with the worship of the god, it is not unlikely that one of the principal legendary names associated with him should be introduced for that reason; but the description of Catullus is of a barbaric or non-Greek procession; oriental, even if not Indian. Strabo 687 quotes a fragm. of Sophocles which closely corresponds with Catullus, *"ὄθεν κατείδον τὴν βεβακχιωμένην βροτοῖσι κλεινὴν Νύσαν, ἣν ὁ βούκερως Ἰακχος αὐτῷ μῦθον ἠδίστην τρέφει.* Apollonius iv. 431 speaks of Dionysus as the prince of Nysa when he woos Ariadne in Dia, a passage which may have been in Catullus' memory. **Silenis.** Diod. iii. 72. *Ἰ συστρατεύσαι δὲ φασὶ καὶ τῶν Νυσαίων τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους, οὓς ὀνομάζεσθαι Σειληνοὺς. Πρῶτον γὰρ τῶν ἀπάντων βασιλευδαί φασὶ τῆς Νύσης Σειληνόν.* Aelian V. H. iii. 40 *Σάτυροι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σεσηρέναί. Σειληνοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σιλλαίνειν. τὸν δὲ σίλλον ψόγον λέγουσι μετὰ παιδίας δυσαρέστον: Ἐσθῆς δ' ἦν τοῖς Σειληνοῖς ἀμφίμαλλοι χιτῶνες.* *Silenorum nomine seniores omnes Bacchi comites intelligi notum est* Hertzberg on Prop. ii. 32. 14.

253. **tuo amore**, 'love of you:' so *mea cura*, 'care for me,' Prop. i. 8. 1, *amore meo*, 'love of me,' Hor. Epod. v. 81.

255. 'Raving to the cry Euhoe, swinging their heads to the cry Euhoe.' The construction follows the Greek use of εὐοῖ, in such passages as Trach. 218 *ἰδοῦ μ' ἀναταράσσει εὐοῖ μ' ὁ κισσός*, Thesmoph. 1003 *κατ' ἄρα Νυμφῶν ἐρατοῖς ἐν ὕμνοις Εἴιον Εἴιον, εὐοῖ ἀναχορεύων*, cf. Bacch. 158. Lobeck Aglaoph. p. 1042 quotes Harpocration to prove that the pronunciation was *eu-hoe*, i. e. with an audible inter-aspiration: Lachm. on Lucr. v. 743 shows that the *h* is found in many Latin MSS. The MSS. of Catullus here are in favour of *euohe* rather than of *euhoe*; so *inchoare* by the side of *inchoare*; but in Aen. vii. 389 all Ribbeck's MSS. seem to have *euhoe*.

256. **Harum** alludes to the women who traditionally formed the main part of such Bacchic processions. See the Bacchae of Euripides *passim*, and cf. Diod. iii. 63 *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα στρατόπεδον ἐκ τῶν γυναικῶν συναγαγόντα καὶ θυροῖς καθοπλίσαντα στρατείαν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ποιήσασθαι τὴν οἰκουμένην καταδείξει δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς καὶ μεταδοῦναι τῶν μυστηρίων τοῖς εὐσέβεσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ δίκαιον βίον ἀσκούσι.* In the S. C. de Bacchanalibus it is decreed that *magister neque uir neque mulier quisquam esset.* **tecta**, either with vine-leaves (Ouid Met. iii. 666 speaks of Bacchus shaking *pampineis uelantam frondibus hastam*, Aen. vii. 396), or ivy (Prop. iii. 3. 35, a plant resembling which called *σκινδαψὸς* grew on Nysa Schol. Apoll. R. ii. 904), or fir-cones. Rich gives illustrations of all three. The legend was that Bacchus covered the top of the thyrsus with leaves to conceal an iron point which might be used as a weapon (Diod. iii. 64. iv. 4).

257. **iuuenco**, as in the lines ascribed to Nero in Persius i. 100,

Bacch. 737 Καὶ τὴν μὲν ἂν προσεΐδες εὐθελον πόριν Μυκωμένην ἔχουσαν ἐν χερσίν δίκη, Ἄλλαι δὲ δαμάλας διεφόρουν σπαράγμασιν. Εἶδες δ' ἂν ἢ πλεύρ' ἢ δίχληλον ἔμβασιν ῥηπτόμεν' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω. On vases Bacchus is seen tearing the limbs of a kid or fawn, or holding a snake. Birch Ancient Pottery p. 294.

258. Bacch. 665 Καταστίκτους δορὰς Ὀφεισι κατεζώσαντο λιχμῶσιν γένυν.

259. 'Some with deep caskets were bearing mysterious emblems in procession.' **cauis cistis** is abl. instrum., the caskets being the most prominent indication of the procession. **celebrabant** retains its proper sense of crowding or doing a thing in a crowd or concourse infr. 287, 302: but Ast is hardly right in interpreting 'frequenter adibant, ad orgia accedebant uenerationis causa,' as in Tib. i. 3. 33, iii. 5. 29. The meaning of **orgia** is fixed by Seneca's imitation Herc. Oct. 592 *Nos Palladias ire per aras Et uirgineos celebrare choras*; *Nos Cadmeis orgia ferre Tecum solitae condita cistis*, as well as by Theocr. xxvi. 13 Σὺν δ' ἐτάραξε ποσὶν μανιάδεος ὄργια Βάκχου Ἐξαπίνης ἐπιούσα, τὰ δ' οὐχ ὀρέοντι βέβαλοι, which in 7 are called ἱερὰ ἐκ κίστας πεποναμένα. The *cista* was originally a cylindrical wicker-basket, as represented on numerous coins and bas-reliefs; later a casket or box of more costly materials, used for holding the mystic emblems of the rites of Bacchus or Ceres, and borne in procession by *cistophori*. Rich.

260. Hom. H. Cer. 476 Ὀργια Σεμνὰ τὰ τ' οὐπως ἔστι παρέξιμεν οὔτε πυθέσθαι Οὐτ' ἀχέειν μέγα γάρ τι θεῶν ἄγος ἰσχάνει αἰδὴν. Bacch. 471 Πεν. Τὰ δ' ὄργι' ἐστὶ τίν' ἰδέαν ἔχοντά σοι; Διον. Ἄρρητ' ἀβασκχεύουσιν εἰδέναί βροτῶν. Πεν. Ἐχει δ' ὄρησιν τοῖσι θύουσιν τίνα; Διον. Οὐ θέμις ἀκοῦσαί σ', ἔστι δ' ἄξι' εἰδέναί. Isocrat. Paneg. 28 Δήμητρος εὐμενῶς διατεθείσης ἐκ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἃς οὐχ οἶον τ' ἄλλοις ἢ τοῖς μεμνημένοις ἀκούειν. Theoc. iii. 51 ὄσ' οὐ πνευσέσθε βέβαλοι, Apoll. R. i. 920 οἱ λάχον ὄργια κείνα Δαίμονες ἐνναέται, τὰ μὲν οὐ θέμις ἄμμιν αἰδέειν. **profani**, A. A. ii. 601 *Quis Cereris ritus audet vulgare profanis?*

261. Lucr. ii. 618 *Tympana lenta tonant palmis et cymbala circum Concaua* (the *tenuis tinnitus* of Catullus) *raucisonoque minantur cornua cantu Et Phrygio stimulat numero caua tibia mentis* (the *cornua* and *tibia* of Catullus). **plangebant**. Lucr. vi. 115. **proceris** gives the idea of tapering fingers.

262. **tereti**, 'rounded'; the cymbals consisted of two hollow half-globes *similia hemicyclis caeli* Seruius on G. iv. 64. **ciebant**. G. iv. 64 *Tinnitusque cie et matris quate cymbala circum*.

263. **Multis**, many made horns blow out their hoarse-toned boom. **bombos**, as in Lucr. iv. 544, Pers. i. 99. From the passage in Lucretius it would seem that *bombas* expresses the under- or after-sound which is heard in playing horns and similar instruments. Augustinus de Dialect. v *Verbum cum dicimus, inquam, prima eius syllaba uerum significat, secunda sonum. Hoc enim uolunt esse bum. Vnde Ennius sonum pedum bombum pedum dixit*: an etymology which Wilmans ascribes to Varro, De Marci Terenti Varronis libris grammaticis p. 144.

264. **Barbara**, LXIII. 22. **stridebat**, 'shrilled.'

265. **amplifice**, 'gorgeously.' Forc. quotes no other instance, and **amplificus** only from Fronto p. 150 Naber.

266. **suo**, a drapery of its own; it was a special couch and had a special coverlet as befitted the marriage-bed of a goddess and its prominent position in the centre of the palace (47-49).

267. Od. iv. 47 *Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τάρπησαν ὀρώμενοι ὀφθαλμοῖσιν.* Spenser Prothalamion *Whom when they saw they stood amazed still Their wondering eyes to fill.*

268. *decedere*, 'to give place to,' Amph. iii. 4. 4, more fully *decedere de uia* Amphit. iii. 4. 1, Trin. ii. 4. 80, and in Cicero. *diuis* for πάντες δ' ἀντιάσθε θεοὶ γάμου Il. xxiv. 62.

269-275. The departure of the guests is compared to the waves of the sea stirred by a breeze at morning. At first it is slow and only a few are seen moving from the doors of the palace; by degrees the impulse becomes more general, till at last they are seen streaming in all directions, and at a long distance off. The simile is to some extent modelled on Il. iv. 422 sqq. Ὡς δ' ὄτ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ πολυχηεὶ κύμα θαλάσσης Ὀρρυτ' ἐπασσύτερον, ζεφύρου ὑποκινήσαντος, Πῶτφ μὲν τὰ πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα Χέρσφ ῥηγνύμενον μεγάλα βρέμει: but the details make it quite original. The passage has been partially imitated by Alciphron iii. 1. fin.

269. *flatu matutino* with *Horrificans*.

270. *Horrificans*, 'ruffling,' as *horror* Lucan v. 446. Homer uses φρίξ of the sea brushed by a wind Il. vii. 63 Οἷη δὲ ζεφύροιο ἐχεύτο πόντου ἐπι φρίξ Ὀρρυμένοιο νέον, μελάνει δὲ τε πόντος ὑπ' αὐτῆς. *procliuas*, proleptic with *incitat*, stirs into slanting ridges: Catullus seems to mean no more than the curved form of waves just beginning to rise on a hitherto smooth and windless sea. The Bodleian MS. has *procliuiter*, a word found in Gell. i. 6. 6: the comparative is used by Lucr. ii. 792. Similar adverbs are *humaniter* Fam. vii. 1. 5, *longiter* Lucr. iii. 676, *caduciter* Varro ap. Non. 91. Nonius gives a long list of them pp. 509-517.

271. *sub limina*, to which the MS. reading *sublimia* points, naturally connects itself with *exoriente*, 'when morning is rising upwards to the threshold of the far-travelling sun,' with which might be compared Il. ii. 48 Ἦὼς μὲν ῥα θεὰ προσεβήσето μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον, Theocr. ii. 147, xiii. 11 Οὐθ' ὅκα ἅ λεύκιππος ἀνατρέχει ἐς Διὸς ἄως, except that they speak of the morn as rising to the sky, Catullus to the east. It is an objection to this view that *exoriens* when applied to the rise of the morning or the sun (Lucr. iv. 538, G. i. 438, Cic. Arat. 589) does not generally contain any farther idea, and is not as here constructed with a clause which implies motion in a particular direction. We might then punctuate after *exoriente* and construct *incitat* with *sub limina*, the west wind pushing the waves up against the eastern sky, as Aeschylus represents them Ag. 1180-1182. *uagi*, as in a fragm. of Laevius ap. Macrobr. S. i. 18. 16 *Hac qua sol uagus igneus habenas Inmittit propius iugatque terrae*, not 'tremulous,' (Astr.), nor 'straggling,' in reference to the broken and dispersed appearance of the sun at daybreak, as seen from the top of Ida (Voss).

272. *tarde* with *procedunt*, the slowness is in proportion to the lightness of the gust.

273. *plangore*, 'plash,' Lucr. ii. 1155: *clangore*, the reading of *ACL*, would give the idea of a ringing sound, like *clangente* in the passage from Attius below. *cachinni*, 'ripples.' A passage of Attius' Phinidae may have occurred to Catullus (571 Ribbeck) *Simul et circum magna sonantibus Excita saxis suavissona echo Crepitu clangente cachinnat.*

274. *magis magis*, like μάλλον μάλλον Iph. T. 1406, Ran. 1001, in each instance perhaps a nautical expression. *increbescunt* I retain as the reading of most good MSS; the MSS. of Cicero fluctuate between

*increbuit* and *increbuit*, though on Phil. xiv. 5. 12 Orelli says 'nullus ex meis *increbuit*;' on the other hand in Virgil all Ribbeck's primary MSS. have the *r* in *increbrescere* G. i. 359, Aen. viii. 14, *crebrescere* xii. 222, *crebrescit* xii. 407: in Plaut. Merc. v. r. 9, Ritschl's MSS. all give *increbrescent*. Cicero uses *increbrescere* of the wind getting higher Fam. vii. 20, Virgil of the sound of the winds gradually increasing G. i. 359; Catullus applies the word more strictly to the waves crowding faster and faster, *ἑπασσύτερον κῶμα* Il. iv. 423: so Sallust quoted by Servius on Aen. i. 116 *Crebritate fluctuum*.

275. *procul*, rather with the whole sentence than with *nantes* alone: 'and far out at sea as they float reflect a brightness from the glowing light.' *procul*, just as the guests are seen at last streaming off no longer in the vicinity of the palace only, but at a great distance from it. *nantes*, Ennius has *fluctus natantes* 584 Vahlen: Theocr. xxi. 18 *Τρυφερὸν προσίναχε θάλασσα* (Mitsch.).

276. *uestibuli regia tecta*, 'the shelter of the royal porch,' inversion of the adjective as in XXXI. 13.

277. *At (ad) se*, 'to their own homes:' so *transcurrito ad uos* Mil. Glor. ii. 6. 45; *abi ad uos* ib. 54. Od. xxi. 215 *Οἰκία τ' ἔγγυς ἐμῶι τετιγμένα*, 'near my own dwelling.' *uago pede*, as their feet bore them this way or that: *uagus* here = 'wide-ranging.'

278. *princeps*, 'first,' as might have been expected from the prominent part he plays in the legend of Peleus and Achilles. Pindar Nem. iii. 97 makes Chiron give Thetis in marriage to Peleus. Staphylus, in the third book of his work on Thessaly, represented Chiron as an astronomer who, wishing to make Peleus celebrated, contracted an alliance for him with Philomela the daughter of Actor, then gave out that Peleus was going to marry Thetis, and that the gods would come to the wedding in a storm. As soon as stormy weather set in he married Peleus to Philomela: the report meanwhile spreading that Peleus had wed a goddess. Schol. on Apoll. R. iv. 816. *Pelei*. Where was the cavern in which Chiron lived.

279. *portans*. On a vase figured by Millingen pl. x, and representing the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, Chiron carries over his left shoulder what looks like a branch or stalk of some large shrub. *siluestria*, in keeping with his character as well-versed in plants and herbs: the centaury was sometimes called Chironia.

280. *quodcumque* might be *quotcumque*, see Lachm. on Lucr. iii. 317, but the distance of *flores* makes it more likely that it is an indefinite expression 'all which.'

281. *fluminis*, here not of a particular river, but generally 'by river-waters.'

282. Callim. H. Apoll. 81 *Ἄνθεα μὲν φορέουσιν ἐν ἔαρι, τόσσα περ Ὀραι Ποικίλ' ἀγινέουσιν ζεφύρου πνεύοντος ἔερσην*.

283. *indistinctis*, 'unsorted,' i. e. in which the flowers were of various kinds and colours, like the garland called Eros which was sold at Nicaea for the dead. Etym. M. *plexos*. Lucr. v. 1399 *plexis redimire coronis Floribus et foliis: ἄνθη πλεκτὰ* Pers. 618.

284. *Quo*, with *iocundo odore*. *risit*. Hom. H. Cer. 13 *Κηῶδει δ' ὄδη πᾶς οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθεν Γαῖά τε πᾶσ' ἐγέλασσε καὶ ἰλμυρὸν οἶσμα θαλάσσης*.

**285. Penios** not *Peneios* nor *Penius* is the best attested reading of the MSS: the river-god is meant. **uiridantia**, as in a fragm. of Attius' Bacchae ap. Non. 489 (Ribb. 243, 244) *ubi sanctus Cithaeron Frondel uiridantibus fetis*; the word gives the idea of a diffused verdure, not simply of greenness. **Tempe**, as Callim. H. Del. 105 Πηνείος ἐλισσόμενος διὰ Τεμπέων, where the river is also personified as here by Catullus.

**286. siluae.** 'The cliffs all through the pass are composed of grey limestone finely tinted with red, and their ledges and hollows are fringed with trees which fix their roots to the rocks. The vegetation is magnificent, and wherever the slopes are sufficiently gradual, runs far up the mountain sides: it is composed of oak, wild olive and dwarf ilex, together with a thick undergrowth of agnus castus, palluria, and oleander, while the banks of the stream are everywhere shaded by plane-trees of luxuriant growth. In a few places also may be seen the laurel of Apollo, which that divinity was said to have transplanted from hence to Delphi.' Tozer, *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey* vol. ii. p. 68: the same author remarks that Catullus has shown his usual felicity in seizing on one salient feature of Tempe, its overhanging woods: whereas most other ancient accounts are more or less inaccurate.

**287.** 'To be thronged by the Doric dances of the Magnesian women;' the construction of **celebranda** like Aen. iii. 280, *Achaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis*. **linquens**, XXXV. 3. Aen. vii. 562 *supera ardua linquens*. I follow Scaliger in retaining **Doris**; the form is found as a variant in Cic. Flac. xxvii. 64, Servius on Aen. ii. 27, which seems identical with Isidor. Orig. ix. 2. 80, Festus p. 206. 3: but *Dorii* (cod. *Doriis*) Fest. p. 317. 33 and this latter form with a double *i* may be the word meant in the other places. **Magnessum** is my conjecture for *Minosim*; I suppose it to stand for Μαγνησσών. Strabo 442 Πέπονθε δέ τι τοιοῦτον καὶ ἡ Μαγνήτις· καθριθιμημένων γὰρ ἤδη πολλῶν αὐτῆς τόπων, οὐδένας τοῦτων ὠνόμασε Μάγνητας Ὅμηρος ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μόνους οὖς τυφλῶς καὶ οὐ γνωρίμως διασφείει οἱ περὶ Πηνείου καὶ Πήλιου εἰνοσίφυλλον Ναιέσκον. ib. 443 Τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεχθέντας Μάγνητας ὑστάτους ἐν τῷ Θεσσαλικῷ καταλόγῳ νομιστέον τοὺς ἐντὸς τῶν Τεμπῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηνειοῦ καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης ἕως Πηλίου. The general sense is expressed by Collins, *Ode to the Passions*, *They saw in Tempe's vale her native maids, Amidst the festal-sounding shades, To some unwearied minstrel dancing*: he probably read after Heinsius *Aemonisin*. Haupt's *Naiasin*, though partially supported by Cul. 19, 117, 119, is tame and purposeless; the common interpretation which refers the line to the Muses (*Mnemonidum Mnemonisin Aonisin*) has little support from the descriptions of Tempe: yet see Stat. S. v. 3. 209. It would seem that the Muses are only associated with Tempe as the attendants of Apollo (Hor. C. i. 29. 9), in whose honour a novennial procession of youths from Delphi existed in historical times: but Catullus says expressly that Apollo stayed to guard heaven (299), and here therefore no such notion of association exists. **Doris**, partly as Thessalian, partly as exposing the limbs, cf. δωριάζειν, and see my *Excursus* in vol. i.

**288. uacuos**, 'empty-handed.' Stat. compares a passage of Attius apud Festum 265 M. *Neque erat quisquam a telis uacuos, sed uti cui quisque obuiam fuerat sic ferrum alius, saxum alius raudis sumpserat* (Ribbeck 263). So κενός Il. ii. 298, Od. xv. 214, κενός O. C. 359. **ille**, either an inversion of *non ille uacuos, namque tulit*, or more probably 'in his

turn,' as his gift.' **radicitus** with *tulit*, like Virgil's *teneram ab radice ferens*, *Silvane, cupressum* G. i. 20, where however *ab radice* seems to be 'from the root upwards,' whereas *radicitus* is rather 'torn from the roots:' in other words *tulit radicitus* is the more pregnant expression.

**289. recto** with **proceras**, 'stately with an upright stem.' **laurus**, for which Tempe was famous, *δάφνης Τεμπίδος* Nicand. Alex. 198.

**290. nutanti**. Ennius apud Gell. xiii. 20. 13 *Capitibus nutantis pinos rectosque cupressos*. The word expresses the swaying of the luxuriant mass of foliage which forms the top of the plane-tree. **lenta**, 'limber,' a natural description of the poplar.

**291. aerea**, 'sky-springing,' Mart. xii. 50. 1, cf. 240: Virgil has *aeræe ulmi*, *aeræe quercus*, of high-towering trees. The younger Dousa quotes Theoc. xxii. 41 *Λεύκαί τε πλάτανοί τε καὶ ἀρόκομοι κυπάρισσοι* for the same combination of poplar plane and cypress.

**292. Haec**, 'all these,' indefinite like *quodcumque* 280. **late contexta**, 'woven into a broad close screen.' Plin. Epist. v. 6. 9 *Sub his per latus omne vineae porriguntur unamque faciem longe lateque contexunt*.

**293. molli fronde**, as in Ecl. v. 31 *Et foliis lentas intexere mollibus hastas*.

**294. sollerti corde**, as the inventor of the arts and sciences Prom. 440-506. Prometheus says of himself, *πάσαι τέχναι βροτοῖσιν ἐκ Προμηθέως* ib. 506.

**295-7** seem based on Apoll. R. ii. 1250 sqq. *Καὶ δὴ Καυκασίῳ ὄρεῳ ἀνέτελλον ἐρίπναι Ἠλίβατοι, τόθι γυῖα περὶ στυφελόισι πάγοισιν Ἰλλόμενος χαλκέησιν ἀλυκτοπέδησι Προμηθεὺς Αἰετὸν ἦπατι φέρβε παλιμπετέε ἀίσσοντι*.

**295. Extenuata**, 'faded.' Pliny uses *cicatrices extenuare* xxxii. 24 and 37. **uestigia**, the scars left by the nails which fastened Prometheus to Caucasus. Others, explain *extenuata uestigia* of the piece of rock set in iron (Plin. H. N. xxxvii. 2, Servius on Ecl. vi. 42) which Jupiter gave Prometheus on setting him free, to wear as a ring in memory of his punishment: *extenuata* then would mean reduced to small compass. The view of Lenz, which refers the words to the crown of olive said to have been worn by Prometheus after his release Athen. xv. 674, Hygin. P. A. ii. 15, Apollod. ii. 5. 11, is impossible.

**296. silici** like *ungui classi capiti* may be ablative, **restrictus** following the construction of *relinxit* Aen. iii. 76, *ligavit* Anth. L. 707. 6 Riese, *religare* Hor. C. i. 32. 8. More probably it is dative, as *stringi* in Quint. Declam. x. 8. Martial Spect. 7. 1 has *in Scythica religatus rupe Prometheus*.

**297. Persoluit**, 'paid in full.' Prom. 112 *τοιῶνδε πονῆς ἀμπλακημάτων τίνω*. **praeruptis**, *πρὸς πέτραις Ὑψηλοκρήμοις* Prom. 4.

**298.** After Prometheus, whose counsel had diverted Jupiter from his own attempt at marrying Thetis, Jupiter himself with the rest of the younger dynasty of gods is naturally introduced. All appear except Phoebus and his sister Hecate, whose absence has been variously explained. Kraft thinks Catullus was here following an Alexandrian account: Preller ascribes the absence of Apollo to his strong feeling for Troy, a view substantially the same as that of Muretus, who connects it with the fact that Achilles was slain by Apollo; in Il. xxi. 278 Achilles speaks of this death as foretold by Thetis: its anticipation by both her and Apollo would



be enough to keep the latter away. Hecate would do what her brother did, καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Δηρώϊας ὥσπερ Ἀπόλλων Callim. H. Dian. 83. A fanciful reason was suggested by Marcilius, founded on the story mentioned by Staphylus (see on 278) that the marriage of Peleus took place in stormy weather, when neither sun nor moon was visible. This would certainly give a greater point to the introduction of Hecate. **coniuge natisque.** Homeric: Od. iii. 381 Αὐτῶ καὶ παιδεσσι καὶ αἰδοίῃ παρακοίτι. The hypermeter as in CXV. 5, also a hexameter: so XXXIV. 22 *Romulique* in a glyconic.

**299. Aduenit caelo.** Plautus uses the ablative after *aduenio* of any place where one has been for some time living, *Lemno aduenio* Truc. i. 1. 74, ii. 4. 4, *Aegypto aduenio* Most. ii. 2. 10, and so *aduenio Acherunte* ap. Cic. Tusc. Disp. i. 16. 37: *domo* is habitually used without the preposition; and it seems likely that Catullus has this idea in his mind, heaven being the usual abode of the gods. Such omissions of the preposition are however common in poetry, see Madvig Gramm. § 275. 4. Phoebus in Il. xxiv. 63 is expressly stated to have been present at the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, with his lyre; and Plato Rep. ii. 383 says Aeschylus introduced him singing a prophecy afterwards falsified of the happiness of Thetis and her child. Euripides however makes no mention of Apollo in the chorus which describes the nuptial feast Iph. A. 1036–1074: and as he supposes this song to be sung by the Muses, would seem to follow a different account from that given in the Iliad. Catullus differs from both: neither Apollo nor the Muses are supposed by him to be present.

**300. Vnigenam,** also in LXVI. 53, either ‘only-begotten,’ as in Cicero’s translation of the Timaeus iv *Singularem deus hunc mundum atque unigenam procreavit* = Plato’s εἰς ὅδε μονογενῆς οὐρανός 31 B, cf. Fest. 195 M. *oenigenos unigenitos*; or (2) ‘of the same race,’ ‘sister,’ ὁμόγιον (Hertzberg): Artemis is called in the Iliad xx. 71 κασιγνήτη Ἐκάτοιο, in the Homeric hymns 9. 2 ὁμότροφος Ἀπόλλωνος. The latter view is the general one, as the goddess is called Phoebus’ *sister* in 301, and there is a *prima facie* absurdity in speaking of a goddess as an only child in one line, and as having a brother in the next. Yet, setting aside LXVI. 53, the evidence is more in favour of ‘only-born’ than ‘of one and the same race:’ whilst *μονογενῆς*, Plato’s equivalent for *unigena*, is a recurring epithet of Hecate from the Theogony onwards, Th. 426 Οὐδ’ ὅτι μονογενῆς ἦσσαν θεὰ ἔμμορε τιμῆς, 448 Οὐτῶ τοι καὶ μονογενῆς ἐκ μητρὸς εἴδουσα, as the single child of Asterie, Leto’s sister, by Perses 406–409. Similarly Apollon. R. iii. 1035 Μονογενῆ δ’ Ἐκατήν Περσηίδα μελίσσοιο, on which line the Scholiast mentions another story adopted by Musaeus, that Zeus impregnated Asterie and then gave her to Perses. On this latter view she might be called *μονογενῆς ἐκ μητρὸς*, yet sister to Phoebus as in part the child of Zeus. Or again she might be called *unigena* as Hecate, *soror Phoebi* as Artemis with whom Hecate is often identified. The mere form of the two statements is rather against the prevailing view; for it is not in Catullus’ manner to repeat the self-same idea in two consecutive lines. **cultricem montibus** = *quae colit montibus*: the ablative with *colere* is like *incolere* with ablative, Rud. iv. 2. 2, Varro Prom. fr. iv Riese; Gellius has *colere in loco* ii. 22. 19. Possibly Catullus translates *οὐρεσιφοίτιν*. **Idri** is explained by Voss of the Carian district Idrias Herod. v. 118; Steph. B. mentions a Carian city

Idrias, formerly Chrysaoris, which was also called Hecatesia (s. u. Ἐκατήσια) and where Hecate was worshipped as Lagynitis. Strabo 660 also speaks of the territory of Stratonicea as containing a celebrated temple of Hecate at Lagyna, to which there were great gatherings yearly. Leake Numism. Hellen. Asiatic Greece p. 124 states that coins of Stratonicea bear a head of Diana, surmounted by a crescent: others an altar with fire, others torches, both referring to the worship of Hecate at Lagyna. There would be less difficulty in identifying this goddess with the *cultrix montibus Idri*, if the form Idreus could be established. But the nominative seemsto be Idrieus, the genitive ΙΔΡΙΕΩC occurs on coins of Halicarnassus: the MSS. of Steph. Byz. s. u. Ἰδρίας give the genitive as Ἰδρίεω, s. u. Εὐρώπος as Ἰδρίας: it is not easy to see how *Idri* as a Latin genitive could represent either. Nor is it easy to see why the Carian Hecate should be introduced here. Elsewhere in this poem the geographical allusions are generally Greek, mainly indeed Thessalian. Possibly Catullus wrote *Iri*; a town Irus near Trachis is mentioned by Lycophron 903; Steph. B. calls it a Malian town, cf. Thuc. iii. 92 Ἰερῆς Τραχίνιοι and Meineke's note on Callim. Del. 287. Herodotus vii. 98 describes Malis as hemmed in by high and inaccessible mountains called the Trachinian rocks, which would suit Catullus' *montibus*. That Apollo and Artemis were both worshipped in this neighbourhood seems clear from Trachin. 205 sqq. where a hymn is sung to Apollo Artemis and the neighbouring nymphs. Strabo 432 includes Trachis and the district of Oeta in the territory ruled by Achilles.

**302. celebrare**, 'to crowd,' i. e. form one of the procession carrying the torches. Sen. Oct. 708 cited by Realinus on 321, *Quorum toros celebrasse caelestes ferunt*, of Peleus and Thetis.

**303. niueis**, from the dazzling whiteness (*candor* 45) of the ivory seats. **flexerunt**, 'rested,' like κάμπτειν O. C. 19 Οὐ κῶλα κάμψον τοῦδ' ἐπ' ἀξέστου πέτρου. Mitsch. compares Stat. Achill. ii. 393 *tenero nec flexa cubili Membra*.

**305. Cum interea**, 'and in the meanwhile,' without the notion of *tamen* which according to Hand Tursellinus s. u. it ordinarily has.

**306. Veridicos**, a word used twice by Lucretius in his last book, vi. 6 and 24. Persius has *Parca terna x ueri* v. 48. Mr. Cranstoun suggests that Catullus in introducing the Fates as singing the hymeneal of Peleus and Thetis, as they sing that of Zeus and Hera in the Birds of Aristophanes 1731, had in view the description of them in the Homeric hymn to Hermes 555 κατὰ δὲ κρατὸς πεπαλαγμένα ἄλφιστα λευκὰ οἰκία ναιετάουσιν ὑπὸ πτερχὶ Παρηγησίου. This would certainly be in the vicinity of Thessaly. But it seems more probable that he knew and in part copied the fine description of the Fates in the tenth book of Plato's Republic 617, where each of them sits on a throne in a white robe and with a chaplet on her head, Lachesis singing the past, Clotho the present, Atropos the future, touching and turning the spindle of Necessity.

**307. His**, 263. **tremulum**, shaking with age.

**308. Candida**. Plato Rep. 617 θυγατέρας τῆς Ἀνάγκης Μοίρας λευχειμονούσας στέμματα ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἐχούσας. (Stat.) Catullus adds to the white robe a purple border which falls round the feet. Hom. H. Cer. 182 ἀμφὶ δὲ πέπλος Κνώεος ῥαδινοῖσι θεῆς ἐλελίξεται ποσσίν. **talos**. Tib. iii. 4. 35 *Ima uidebatur talis illudere palla*. Alex. Guarinus observes that Catullus gives to the Fates the dress of a Roman matron, the *uittae tenues, insigne pudoris, Quaeque tegis medios instita longa pedes* A. A. i. 31. **incinxerat**

is rare, except in Ovid: the participle is found in Cicero Acad. Pr. ii. 28. 89, a translation, in Virgil G. iv. 342 and elsewhere.

**309. At roseo niueae**, the reading of all the MSS. and supported by Cir. 122 *At roseus medio surgebat uertice crinis*, is explained by Alex. Guarinus of the rose-perfumed heads of the Fates, by Orelli of their divine brightness: Kraft considers *roseo* to be a perpetual epithet which has lost its special force, and is applied to the aged goddesses in the same manner as *καλλιπάρηος* to the Graiae by Hesiod Theog. 270. But *roseus* in the time of Catullus was not a very common word in itself, while its juxtaposition to *niueae* seems to confine the meaning of both to colour, just as in Cir. 511 *Purpureas flauo retinentem uertice uittas*, Stat. Ach. i. 610 *Cinxit purpureis flauentia tempora uittis* the purple and yellow are intended to form a contrast. In Ciris 122 the purple lock in the middle of the white hair of Nisus is called *roseus crinis*, but this lock was peculiar to Nisus and could not be supposed to belong to the Fates: nor do I know of any passage where their hair is called bright, even were such an idea consistent with the description of them as aged women. It remains to suppose either (1) that *roseo* is 'rose-crowned,' an extension of its use in Copa 32 *Et grauidum roseo nocte caput strophio*, something like Claudian's *roseis conuallibus Hennaë* Rapt. Pros. iii. 85; then the Fates would wear a chaplet similar to that ascribed to the Muses by Sappho ap. Plut. Symp. iii. 2, and the white filets would blend with these into a sort of *infula*, which was regularly made of alternate flocks of *red* and *white* wool; or (2) that the epithets are inverted; the hair was white, the filets red, but as each colour blends into the other, Catullus attempts to express this blending by describing the hair as red, the filets white. So Chaeremon ap. Athen. 608 speaks of yellow hair luxuriating in the *zephy* winds (*ζουβοΐσιον ανέμοις*), and again of crocus-flowers wiping off on the dress of persons reclining on them a sun-like reflexion (Oeneus fr. 14. 14 Nauck); passages which show that the idea of rays of colour thrown off and communicating themselves to neighbouring objects was carried to great lengths by the ancients. This view I have attempted to express in my Metrical Translation *Wreaths sat on each hoar crown, whose snows flush'd rosy beneath them*.

**310. carpebant**, 'were busy with,' a word chosen here from its double use of pulling the fluff off wool, G. iv. 335, *carpentes pensa* G. i. 390, and pursuing a way or assigned course.

**311. amictum**. *Colus* is here masculine as in Prop. iv. 1. 72 and 9. 48.

**312. deducens**, 'drawing down' from the mass of wool at the upper part of the distaff the fibres which are to become thread. Varro L. L. vii. 54 *Carere a carendo, quod eam tum purgant ac deducunt ut careat spurcicia (ex quo carminari dicitur tum lana) cum ex ea carunt quod in ea haeret, neque est lana, quam in Romulo Naeuius appellat asta ab Oscis*. **supinis**, 'up-turned,' the natural position, as the distaff was held high in the air, on a level with the head or above it.

**313. Formabat**, 'shaped,' i. e. gave to the fibres their new form of thread. **prono**, 'down-pressed;' the spindle was twirled nearer and nearer to the ground. **torquens**, viz. *fusum*, as is shown by Tibullus ii. 1. 64 *Fusus et apposito pollice uersat opus*, Ovid. Met. vi. 22 *Sive leuiteret uersabat pollice fusum*: Carm. in Maecen. 73 *Torsisti pollice fusos*.

**314. Libratum** with **tereti turbine**, 'poised evenly on its rounded wheel.' The meaning of *turbine* is fixed partly by *tereti*, partly by Epiced.

Drusi 164 *Hanc lucem celeri turbine Parca neat.* This *turbo* or more properly *uerticillum* was 'a small circular plate of wood, stone or metal, through which the lower end of the spindle was inserted, for the purpose of giving it rotation, and assisting by its weight to twist the thread tight.' Rich.

315. **Atque ita**, 'and as it went on' in reference to the process described in 312-314. **decerpens**, clearing the threads by plucking away the outstanding shreds which made their surface uneven. To this perhaps refers Festus' *decermna dicuntur quae decerpuntur purgandi causa.* **semper**, 'continually,' every time a new shred presented itself. **dens**, the finger might be lifted to the teeth without disturbing the course of the operation.

316. **morsa** seems to be ἀπ. λεγ. Stat. compares *mansa*.

317. **leui**, on the otherwise smooth thread. Conversely Carm. Maecen. 74 *Lenisti morsu leuia fila parum.* **fuertant extantia**, Lucr. ii. 1089, iii. 396, iv. 427, Prop. iv. 6. 1, Cic. N. D. ii. 8 *Quae sunt his carentia*, quoted by Hertzberg on Prop. iii. 17. 37. Dräger Histor. Synt. p. 267 quotes from Cato R. R. praef. *male cogitantes sunt*, Cic. de Orat. iii. 26 *inhaerentes esse debent*, B. Hisp. 29 *currens erat*, Liv. xxviii. 44 *nec ad uos pertinens sit* and the comic *ut sis sciens*, with others. The construction is however rare.

318. At the feet of the Fates are baskets containing the thread already wound off and rolled up into balls, ready for use. These balls (*glomera*) as cleared from all impurities were of course much whiter than the unprepared wool: hence *candentis*. Cf. a fragment of Philetas (Bergk Anth. Lyric. p. 115) *Δμῶιδες εἰς ταλάρους λευκὸν ἀγούσιω ἔρι.* Realinus and Mayor on Iuuen. xii. 65 consider the whiteness to have reference to the happy fate foretold by the Parcae: Mayor cites Sen. Apocol. 4, Mart. vi. 58. 7, 8 *Si mihi lanificae ducunt non pulla sorores Stamina*, iv. 73. 3, 4. **molliā**. Od. iv. 124 *μολακοῦ ἐρίοιο*. The wool-baskets lie at the feet of the Parcae as in Apoll. R. iii. 254 the sewing-maidens *ποδῶν προπάροιθε βαλοῦσαι Νήματα καὶ κλωστήρας ἀολλέες ἔκτοθι πάσαι Ἔδραμον*.

319. **Vellera**, Varro R. R. ii. 11. 9 *Lanam demptam ac conglobatam alii uellera, alii uelamina appellant.* **uirgati**, of osier or wicker-work, Ouid F. iv. 435 *lento calathos e uimine textos*, Heroid. ix. 76 *Rasilibus calathis*. Elsewhere *uirgatus* is 'striped,' and Forcellini interprets it here of the variously coloured rods of which the baskets were made, but like *βαθωτός* with which it is compared by Conington on Aen. viii. 660 it may easily have had both meanings. **custodibant**, like *scibant* LXVIII. 85, *audibant* LXXXIV. 8. **calathisci**, *καλαθίσκοι*, Thesin. 822, Lysist. 535. 579.

320. **pellentes uellera**, 'filantes. Nam quae filant uellera digitis impellunt,' Alex. Guarinus. In drawing out the threads the mass of wool is from time to time smartly struck or tapt to facilitate the separation of each thread from the rest, and break up the knots which naturally form in it. So Carm. in Maecen. 75 *Percussit crebros te propter Lydia nodos.* **clarisona uoce** with *fuderunt*, with which *diuino carmine* is also constructed as a second ablative, a practice common in Lucretius (cf. Cicero's *uberibus grauidis uitali rore rigabat* De Div. i. 12) and more excusable here as *talīa diuino carmine fata* is practically i. q. *talē carmen diuini fati*.

322. **perfidiae nulla arguet aetas**. Pind. Ol. x. (xi.) 56 ὁ τ' ἐξελέγων μόνος Ἀλάθειαν ἐτήτυμον Χρόνος.

323. 'O thou who exaltest thy rare glory by great deeds of valour.' **decus eximium**, the special honour of marrying a goddess, as in 25 *eximie taedis felicibus aucte*. This is more probable than to take *decus* as referring to the glory of Peleus' heroic race, the Aeacidae, whose special gift from the gods was courage Hes. fr. ccxxiii Markscheffel Ἀλκὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκεν Ὀλύμπιος Διακίδασι, xciii Ἀλακίδας πολέμῳ κεχαρηότας ἦντε δαυτὶ, though this is a particularly Roman idea; Epitaph. Cn. Scipionis 1 *Virtutes generis meis moribus accumulavi*, Ouid. Pont. i. 8. 17 *Ille memor magni generis uirtute quod auget*. **uirtutibus augens**, Τέλος ἐπιτίθεις δι' ἀρετὴν Plato Cratyl. 395; Cicero has *dum nostram gloriam tua uirtute augeri expeto* Q. Fr. i. 1. 2.

324. **tutamen**, a rare but felicitous word Aen. v. 262. **clarissime**, 'most glorious' on account of thy son, the yet unborn Achilles. Eur. I. A. 1063 Μέγα φῶς γεννᾶσεις addressed to Thetis at the marriage-feast. Stat. compares Cic. de Off. iii. 16. 66 *Vt enim caeteri ex patribus sic hic* (the father of Cato Uticensis) *qui illud lumen progenuit ex filio est nominandus*. Ouid. Met. xi. 266 *Felix et nato, felix et coniuge Peleus*.

325. **sorores**. Ouid. Trist. v. 3. 17 *Dominæ fati quicquid cecinere sorores*.

326. **quæ fata secuntur** depends on **ducentes**, to which **subtegmina** is added as an appositive predicate, 'but do you, ye spindles, run on, drawing out as threads the destinies which are to come.' cf. Theocr. xxiv. 69 Ὁ τι μοῖρα κατὰ κλωστήρος ἐπέγει. To separate *quæ* from *fata* either as nom. 'threads which follow the course of fate,' or accus. 'threads which fate follows,' Stat. Theb. i. 213 *Et uocem fata secuntur*, is unnatural: to construct *quæ fata secuntur* with *Currite*, 'run through the fate which is to come,' is harsh and only doubtfully supported by Virgil's *Talia saecula suis dixerunt currite fusis Concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcae* Ecl. iv. 46, where see Servius.

328. **iam**, straightway. **portans**, the bearer, see on 135. **maritis** refers not to husband and wife, a sense which it has in the Digest xxiv. 1. 52, but to the husband alone, whom Catullus regards as the more favoured party, LXI. 109, and of course much more when the bride is a goddess, see above 27-30.

330. **flexanimo**, passive, as in a fragment of Pacuvius quoted by Cic. de Div. i. 36. 80, Varro L. L. vii. 87 (Teucer 422 Ribbeck) *Flexanima tanquam lymphata aut Bacchi sacris Commota*, where it seems to mean 'passionate.' Nonius 113 only quotes it in its active sense, 'heart-quelling,' also in a line of Pacuvius. Ast compares G. iv. 516 *Nulla Venus, non ulli animum flexere hymenaei*. **perfundat amorem**. The ordinary construction of *perfundere* with an abl. of the thing sprinkled is replaced by the more recondite acc. of the thing and dat. of the recipient, as in Prop. ii. 4. 5 *Nequiquam perfusa meis unguenta capillis*.

331. **Languidulos**, like λουσιμῆλης applied to sleep Od. xx. 57 and love Hes. Theog. 911, Archil. 85 Bergk, Carm. Popul. 44 Bergk. Cicero used the word in a passage preserved by Quintil. viii. 3. 66 *Humus erat imunda, lutulenta uino, coronis languidulis et spinis cooperta piscium*. In Catullus the diminutive seems to give the idea of softness 'the soft languor of sleep.'

332. Dirae 171 *Grandia formoso supponens gaudia collo*, probably an imitation.

**334. contexit**, 'has roofed in,' i. e. safe from prying eyes: a variation from the more prosaic shutting-in of the bride Theoc. xviii. 5. Lachmann conjectured *connexit*, which would be more nearly like *coniunxit* in 335; *nexisti* for the more usual form *nexuisti* was read in Prop. iii. 8. 37 by Diomedes p. 366 P, *nexit* for *nexuit* by Lucilius ap. Priscian 861 P.

**336. Qualis adest Thetidi, qualis Peleo** for *qualis adest Thetidi et Peleo*. **concordia**, LXVII. 87. The four lines 334-337 are omitted in some good MSS. and rejected by Scaliger, who thought they were added by Marullus or some other Italian of the Renaissance, to avoid the abruptness of the transition from 332 to the birth of a son in 338. But (1) the oldest MSS. have them, and though absent from the Datanus, they are found in the similarly derived codex *a*; (2) they might easily have fallen out owing to the refrain *Currite ducentes subtegmina, currite, fusi*, the eye passing from 333 to 337 and omitting the interval; (3) the difficulty of *contexit* and the juxtaposition of *amor amantes* would have been avoided by an interpolator; (4) the symmetry of the song is broken if they are omitted; as the five five-line strophes 337-361 are followed by a strophe of four lines, it would seem natural that they should be preceded by a strophe of the same number; the correspondence is chiasmic 5 6 4. 5 × 5. 4 6 10.

**339. tergo**. Schol. V. on Il. xvi. 380 Αισχύλος δὲ Ἀχιλλῆα σὺν τῇ πανοπλίᾳ φησὶν ὀπισθεν ὀρμήσαντα πηδήσαι τὴν τάφρον μὴ δείξαντα τὰ νῶπα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. The expression seems derived from Il. xiii. 289 Οὐκ ἂν ἐν ἀχέῃ ὀπισθε πέσοι βέλος, οὐδ' ἐν νῶπῳ, Ἄλλὰ κεν ἢ στέρων ἢ νηδύος ἀντίασει. So Mommsen CIL. I. 682, Sallust Jug. 85 *Cicatrices aduerso corpore*, Plin. H. N. vii. 101 L. *Siccus Dentatus quadraginta quinque cicatricibus aduerso corpore insignis, nulla in tergo*, Ouid A. A. i. 209 *Tergaque Parthorum Romanaque pectora dicam*, Met. x. 706 of animals *Quae non terga fugae, sed pugnae pectora praebent*.

**340. uago**, 'wide-ranging,' Stat. Achill. ii. 400 of Achilles *exhaustumque uago per gramina passu Laudabat gaudens*. **certamine**. In the Iphigenia in Aulis Euripides describes Achilles running a race in armour against a four-horse chariot 212 sqq. Cf. his Homeric name ποδώκης, πόδας ὠκύς; Euripides' τὸν ἰσάνεμον τε ποδοῖν Λαιψηροδρόμον Ἀχιλλῆα I. A. 206.

**341. Flammea** like *igneae* Aen. xi. 718, *igneus* xi. 746. Pindar Isthm. viii. 37 Bergk calls Achilles Χείρας Ἄρει τ' ἐναλίγκιον στεροπαῖσι τ' ἀκμὰν ποδῶν, cf. Hes. Scut. H. 345 Προγόνοντ' ἴκελοι πυρὶ ἢ ἐ θεῆλλῃ. **praeuertet**, imitated by Virgil Aen. vii. 807, xii. 345, and more closely by Statius Achill. ii. 396 *uolucres cum iam praeuertere ceruos et Lapithas cogebat equo*. **ceruae**. Pindar Nem. iii. 51 says Achilles slew stags without the help of dogs or nets by superior swiftness.

**343. Non quisquam se conferet**, for the nearest was μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα, *ab Achille secundus*: Achilles describes himself Il. xviii. 105 Τοῖος ἐὼν οἶος οὗτις Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων Ἐν πολέμῳ.

**344. campi** for *teuen* or *tenen* of the MSS. is confirmed not only by Stat. Achill. i. 84-88, but by a line in the Latin version of the Iliad 384 *Sanguine Dardanii manabant undique campi*.

**345. longinquo** might be 'distant,' i. e. a war over seas, as Cicero speaks of *externo hoste atque longinquo* Cat. ii. 13. 29: but it is more probably 'lingering,' as Caesar has *longinqua oppugnatione* B. C. iii. 80,

Cicero and Corn. Nepos *longinquum tempus*, Propertius *longinquus amor* i. 6. 27. Catullus seems to have in his mind II. ii. 134 sqq. where Agamemnon complains that nine years have past, the timbers of the ships are rotten and the ropes broken; the wives and children of the Greeks sit at home waiting for them, but their task is still unfinished.

**346. Periuri.** Pelops promised Myrtilus the charioteer of Oenomaus half his kingdom if he succeeded in making him conquer Oenomaus in a chariot-race, the condition of marrying his daughter Hippodamia. Myrtilus did this, and Pelops married Hippodamia; but falsified his promise to Myrtilus and threw him into the sea near Geraestus in Euboea, upon which Myrtilus cursed the house of Pelops, a curse from which sprang all the subsequent calamities of the Pelopidae. Soph. El. 504-515, Eur. Or. 985-1012, Plato Crat. 395, Lyc. Al. 165, Sen. Thy. 139 sqq. *Periuri* is thus not otiose: Pelops' perjury caused the rape of Helen, and this the siege of Troy. **tertius heres**, Agamemnon, as he explains in the speech just quoted II. ii. 105 *Αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Πέλοψ δῶκ' Ἄτρεί, ποιμένι λαῶν Ἄτρευσ δὲ θηήσκων ἔλιπεν πολύαρνι Θυέστῃ Ἄτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνου λείπε φορῆναι, Πολλῆσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν.* Pelops himself is on this view not included, and this is in strict conformity with the use of *secundus tertius heres*; cf. also Ovid's *sic ab Ioue tertius Aïax* (Met. xiii. 28), which he himself explains not to include Jupiter, thus, Aeacus, Telamon, Aïax; on the other hand Thyestes is not generally included in the line of Argive kings, then *tertius heres* would refer to Agamemnon as grandson of Pelops and heir to his throne in the third generation.

**348.** II. xviii. 122 *Καί τινα Τρωιάδων καὶ Δαρδανίδων βαθυκόλπων Ἄμφοτέρῃσιν χερσὶ παρεΐδων ἀπαλάων Δάκρυ' ὁμορξαμένην ἀδιδὸν στοναχῆσαι ἐφείην.*

**350. incuruo,** of the bowed heads of old women *γήραι κυφὸς* Od. ii. 17, cf. the description of Polyxo Apoll. R. i. 672 *Λευκῆσιν ἐπιχρῶσάσῃ ἐθείρας . . . ἀνὰ δ' ἔσχεθε δευρὴν ἦκα μόλις κυφοῖο μεταφρένου,* and Propertius' *curua anus* ii. 18. 20, *incurua proceritas* Tac. A. iv. 57. The MSS. generally give *in cinium* which is already corrected in *D* to *in cinerem*, the common reading. This would refer either (1) to the custom of cutting off the hair and covering the corpse with it (II. xxiii. 135, 152, Od. xxiv. 46, Eur. Tro. 480), or throwing it upon the pyre: 'when they unbind their hair to let it fall into the embers,' or (2) to the practice of sprinkling ashes or dust on the head in token of mourning, as Achilles does II. xviii. 25-27; cf. Eur. Supp. 826 *Κατὰ μὲν ὄννεψι ἠλοκίσμεθ ἄμφι δὲ Σποδὸν κᾶρα κεχήμεθα*: 'when they unbind their hair to receive the embers,' and so perhaps Seneca Troad. 99-102 *Soluimus omnes Lacerum multo funere crinem. Coma demissa est libera nodo, Sparsitque cinis feruidus ora,* cf. 84 *Soluite crinem: per colla fluant Maesta capilli, tepido Troiae Pulvere turpes.* But such a construction of *in cinerem soluent* is very harsh, if indeed it is possible. **soluent** can hardly mean *scindent*, to which it is opposed by Ouid Met. xi. 682 *nec crinem soluere curat, Scindit*: cf. Aen. iii. 685, Ouid. Am. iii. 9. 3, Prop. ii. 15. 46, quoted by Passerat.

**351. Putrida,** 'withered,' *mammae pulres* Hor. Ep. viii. 7. **uaria-bunt.** Plaut. Poen. Prol. 26 *Ne et hic uarientur uirgīs et loris domi. pectora* which were stript bare for the purpose, see Sen. Troad. 90 sqq. Cic. Tusc. Disp. iii. 26. 62 *Varia et detestabilia genera lugendi: paedores, muliebres lacerationes genarum pectoris, feminum capitis percussiones.*

353. Il. xi. 67 sqq. Οἱ δ' ὄσπ' ἀμητήρες ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλοισιν Ὀγμόν ἐλαύνωσιν ἀνδρὸς μάκαρος κατ' ἄρουραν Πυρῶν ἢ κριθέων, τὰ δὲ δράγματα ταρφέα πίπτει. Ὡς Τρώες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι θορόντες Διόν. **praecerpens**, mowing the heads off, *lopping*, Plin. xviii. 177 *Araturos boues oportet fiscellis capistrari ne germinum tenera praecerpant*. **cultor**, 'a husbandman,' less particularizing than *messor*, which *O* gives.

354. **sole sub ardenti**. Virg. Ecl. ii. 13.

355. *corpera* is found in the Brit. Mus. MS. *a*, and is printed by Lachmann in his first edition. So *pignera feneris facineris iocineris facinerosus* (Corssen ii. p. 202); in Lucr. iv. 190 German. Arat. Progn. 77 *fulgere fulgera* are abl. and accus. of *fulgur*, with which compare *fulgeratoris* quoted by Corssen from Gruter; Priscian i. 36 *Antiqui* auger *et* augeratus *pro* augur *et* auguratus *dicebant*.

357. Catullus refers to the 21st book of the Iliad, where Achilles kills a number of Trojans in the Xanthus, Ὀν Ξανθὸν καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον. Attius ap. Non. 192 is very like Catullus *Scamandriam undam salso sanctam obtexi sanguine Atque aceruos alta in amni corpore expleui hostico* Ribb. 322.

358. **passim**, if we may suppose Catullus to speak from personal observation, may refer to the scattered and disunited character of the Σκαμάνδρου ἐκβολαί, as described by Strabo 595 *συμπεσόντες γὰρ ὁ τε Σιμόεις καὶ ὁ Σκάμανδρος ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, πολλὴν καταφέροντες ἰλύν, προσχοῦσι τὴν παραλίαν καὶ τυφλὸν στόμα τε καὶ λιμνοθαλάττας καὶ ἔλη ποιοῦσι*. So Brutus in a letter to Cicero, Fam. xi. 13. 2 *Ille enim iit passim, ego ordinatim*, 'in loose order,' and so Asellio ap. Servium on Aen. xii. 121 opposes *passim* and *pilatim* as 'promiscuously,' and 'in a close column.' It seems more probable that *passim diffunditur* refers to the river losing itself in the whirling waters of the Hellespont and being carried hither and thither by their more powerful current: *passim* and *rapido* will then be in relation to each other, the latter explaining the former; cf. Il. xxi. 124 Σκάμανδρος Οἴσει δινήεις εἶσω ἄλὸς εἶρέα κάλπον, where *εἶρέα* suggests an idea very similar to *passim diffunditur*. A third view, proposed by Mitsch., explains *passim* of the full body of water which the Scamander pours into the sea: the glossary of Philoxenus has *passim ἀθρόως*: but though Homer calls the river eddying, such a description of its mouth can scarcely have been true in his time, and was the very reverse of true in the time of Catullus, who, we must remember, visited this locality in person; on the other hand no real instance is quoted where the word means this. **rapido**. Ἀγάρρουν Ἑλλησποντον Il. xii. 30, *διη πορφύροντα* Apoll. R. i. 935.

359. Il. xxi. 7 Ἡμίστες δὲ Ἐς ποταμὸν εἰλεῦντο βαθύρρου, ἀργυροδίην, ib. 20 Τῶν δὲ στόνος ὤρνυτ' αἰκίης Ἴαρι θεινομένων, ἐρνθαινετο δ' αἵματι ὕδρα. **angustans**, ib. 218 Πλήθει γὰρ δή μοι νεκῶν ἐρατεινὰ ῥέεθρα, Οὐδὲ τί πη δύναμαι προχέειν ῥόον εἰς ἄλα διάν, *Στεινόμενος νεκύεσσι*.

360. **tepefaciet**, but *tepefaxit* LXVIII. 29, *madefient* LXIV. 368. **permixta caede**, 'with indiscriminate slaughter,' Lucr. iii. 643. Il. xxi. 16 Πλήτο ῥόος κελᾶδων ἐπιμίξῃ ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

362. **quoque**, the last and most terrible attestation. **reddita**, 'given over,' 'assigned,' not simply, I think, an archaism for *morti datus* (Serv. on Aen. iii. 333). *Ollus leto datus est* was the official notice of a *funus indictium* Varro L. L. vii. 42.

363. **terres**, 'rounded,' the natural shape of the *σήματα* or barrows in



which the Homeric heroes were buried. It can hardly refer to the pillar with which such barrows were often surmounted (Forcellini); a gradually diminishing roundness is sufficiently in accordance with Festus' definition p. 363 M. *Teres est in longitudine rotundatum, quales aggeres natura ministrat.* **aggerē.** Od. xxiv. 80 of the tomb of Achilles Ἄμφ' αὐτοῖσι δ' ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον Χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερός στρατὸς αἰχμητῶν Ἀκτῆ ἐπὶ προυχούση, ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ, ὧς κεν τηλεφανῆς ἐκ ποντοφῶν ἀνδράσι εἶη: an account however in which the story of Polyxena forms no part. **bustum** (Ouid. Met. xiii. 452) is correct, as the body was first burnt, then the barrow raised over the ashes, Od. xxiv. 71 sqq., Il. xxiv. 787 sqq.

**364. Excipiet,** perhaps with an idea of welcoming, as a gift to the dead Achilles, whose shade was restless till the sacrifice was completed. Hec. 537, Troad. 623 Δῶρον ἀψύχῳ νεκρῷ.

**366. fessis.** Hor. C. ii. 4. 11 *Tradidit fessis leuiora tolli Pergama Grais.* It is remarkable that *copiam Achivis, corporum aceruis*, two unusually harsh elisions, occur in this the most finished part of the poem. The infinitive after **dederit copiam** is like Sal. Catil. 17 *in otio uiuere copia erat:* the construction with the gerund is very common in the comic writers.

**367. Neptunia.** Troad. 4-7 Ἐξ οὖ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τήνδε Τρωικὴν χθόνα Φοῖβός τε καὶ γὰρ λαῖνους πύργους περίξ Ὀρθοῖσιν ἔθεμεν κάνοσιν spoken by Poseidon. **soluere uincla** looks like a free translation of Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα λύωμεν Il. xvi. 100, Τροίης λύομεν λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα Od. xx. 388; *uincla*, 'fastenings,' is naturally applied to the walls enclosing a city. Petronius de Bello Ciuilis 291 *Non muris oppida soluis.*

**368. madefient** for *madescunt*, cf. the MSS, as *liquefiunt* for *liquescunt* of Korn's MSS. Pont. i. 2. 57. There is however some probability in the reading of the Datanus *milescent*, as the sacrifice of Polyxena was to appease the shade of Achilles, Hec. 535-541; cf. the use of *μελίσσειω* Il. vii. 410, Apoll. R. ii. 925. **sepulcra**, 'place of burial,' like *ταφοί*.

**369. uictima**, πρόσφαγμα Troad. 628, σφέλιον Hec. 108. Polyxena compares herself to a calf Hec. 206 and is so spoken of by Talthylbius Hec. 526.

**370. summisso poplite.** Hec. 561 Καθεῖσα πρὸς γαίαν γόνυ. **truncum**, by being severed from the neck Hec. 567 Τέμνει σιδήρῳ πνεύματος διαρροάς.

**372. optatos animi amores** is not a mere variation of *optatos animis amores*, cf. Ter. Heaut. ii. 4. 28 *Antiphila maxime animo exoptatam meo*, nor does *animi* simply mean 'inward,' as in *animi cupido* which Orelli compares with it (Sallust Orat. Philippi 11); rather it expresses the surrender of the heart and feelings to an absorbing love, 'fond love.' So *ex animo* Lucr. iv. 1195, and similarly *habebam alibi animum amori deditum* Hecyr. iii. 1. 13.

**373. felici**, as Pindar says of Peleus, Isthm. vi. (v.) 36 Πηλέος αἶε κλέος ἦρωος, εὐδαίμονος γαμβροῦ θεῶν.

**374. Datur, LXI. 58. iam dudum**, with *datur* in the sense of 'forthwith,' as in Aen. ii. 103, Ouid. A. A. i. 317, ii. 457, Val. Flacc. vi. 456. Hertzberg constructs *iam dudum* with *cupido*; this is in accordance with the frequent combinations *iam dudum exspectas* Ter. Eun. v. 4. 8, *iam dudum auent* Enn. Alexander 34 Ribbeck.

**376. orienti luce**, 'at dawn of day,' like *orienti lumine* Lucr. v. 664, *luce serenanti* Cicero in the lines from his poem De Consulatu quoted

De Divin. i. 11. 18 which seems nearly = *luce serena*, like *nocte serena* Arat. 345, *luna silenti* Cato R. R. 40, but *luna decrescente* ib. 31. Madvig's rule that the participle never ends in *i* in ablatives absolute seems to be observed by Cicero in his Aratea, thus *minitanti murmure* 305, *uertenti cursu* 579, but *præcipitante nocte* 314; cases like *orienti luce*, *lumine* etc. are better regarded as temporal, a development, it would seem, of the local meaning of the ablative.

**377. filo**, either 'necklace,' as Epithal. Laurentii et Mariae 71, 2 *Nullum sil capiti quo crinis comitur aurum, Nec collo maneat nisi quae sunt laeuia fila*; or simply 'thread,' if, as is not unlikely, a more homely test of consummation is alluded to. Ramage, Nooks and Byways of Italy p. 208 'I met an intelligent inhabitant as I was strolling through Venusia. Among other things, he inquired, laughing, if I had ever heard of the following mode of discovering whether a youth or maiden is still without knowledge of the other sex. He said that the custom was not unknown to Southern Italy, and maintained that it was an excellent criterion. Measure the neck of a marriageable youth or maiden correctly with a ribbon; then double the length, and bringing the two ends together, place the middle of it between the teeth. If we find that it is sufficiently long to be carried from the mouth over the head without difficulty, it is a sign that the person is still a virgin, but if not, we are to infer the contrary.' **Hesterno**, i. e. ante quam cum marito coiret (Alex. Guarinus). For a physical particularization of *grief*, similarly against modern taste, see Apoll. R. iii. 762.

**379. discordis**, of quarrelling lovers, as *discordare* Ter. And. iii. 3. 43.

**380. Secubitu**, estrangement from her husband's bed. Ouid Am. iii. 10. 16. See on LXI. 101.

**382. praefantes** is explained by Orelli 'speaking as prelude to the marriage;' he quotes De Divin. i. 45. 102 *Maiores nostri omnibus rebus agendis quod bonum faustum felix fortunatumque esset praefabantur*, cf. *Iouem lanumque praefamino* Cato R. R. 141, *praefatus diuos* Aen. xi. 301, where see Servius. Livy however uses *praefari carmen* v. 41 of the Pontifex maximus dictating the set form of words by which the Senate devoted themselves, and this may be the meaning here; the plural *carmina* occurs in this sense Pro Rabir. iv. 13 *Tarquinius ista sunt cruciatus carmina*. The Parcae dictate the set words which are to be followed by fate. **Pelei** in any case is genitive, not, as Scaliger and Voss thought, dative, for which Catullus uses *Peleo* 336, whether *felicia Pelei carmina* is 'Peleus' happy marriage-song,' or 'a form of happy words for Peleus' nearly = 'set words of felicitation to Peleus.'

**383. diuino**, 'prophetic,' as in Aen. iii. 373 *Atque haec deinde canit diuino ex ore sacerdos*, cited by Behrens, who reads here *cecinerit e pectore*.

**384. Praesentes**, 'in bodily shape.' **ante**, in the heroic age, as Nestor says Od. iii. 420 of Athene "Η μοι ἐναργής ἦλθε θεοῦ ἐς δαῖτα βάλειαν, and as Alcinous says of the Phaeacians Od. vii. 201 sqq. that the gods feast with them in bodily form, sitting where they sit. So Hes. fr. 218 Markscheffel *Ἐυναὶ γὰρ τότε δαῖτες ἔσαν, ἔϋνοι δὲ θόωκοι Ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι καταβητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις*. Dousa compares Germanicus Aratea 107 of Justice *mediis te laeta ferebas Sublimis populis nec dedignata subire Tecta hominum et puros sine crimine, diua, penates Iura dabas*.

**385. mortali** = *mortalium*. **coetu**, dat. as in LXVI. 37.

**387. templo in fulgente reuisens** is explained by Scaliger as an archaism, nearly=*templum reuisens*: in the older language the abl. was often used when the stricter grammar of later times required the acc. as *ponere in mensa in scrobe in sole in tecto*, all in Cato R. R., and more nearly parallel *introire in naso* ib. 157 (Holtze Synt. i. 85); Cicero has *reponere* with *in* and an abl. N. D. ii. 49. 125, Virgil *mandet humo solita* Aen. ix. 214, Ovid *in parte recipere* Heroid. vi. 20: *praedium in publico obligatum* in the lex agraria CIL. I. 200. 74 corresponds, as Mommsen points out, to the more usual *in publicum obligatum*: and *coloniam deducere* seems technically constructed with the abl. in Mon. Ancyr. 5. 35, perhaps in Liu. xl. 34, Suet. Caes. 81. This seems better than connecting *reuisens* with *annua sacra*, or making *reuisens* a simple epexegetis of *templo in fulgente*, 'in his temple which he revisited,' a Greek rather than a Roman construction. Of course in all such cases where verbs of motion are followed by a local abl., the explanation is the same; they express not only motion, but the rest which follows motion: thus *mandet humo solita* commit to the keeping of earth, *templo in fulgente reuisens* returning in his temple to see. **fulgente** looks as if Catullus were thinking of the splendid temple of Jupiter at Olympia.

**388. Annua sacra**, as Alex. Guarinus saw, cannot refer to the Olympian games, the foundation of which by Hercules as a *πενταετηρίς* is explicitly stated by Pindar in a passage probably known to Catullus Ol. x. (xi.) 70, 71; the description in 387-389 is in fact a general one; Hom. H. Cer. 27 Ὁ δὲ (Κρονίδης) νόσφιν Ἴστο θεῶν ἀπάνευθε πολυλλίστω ἐνὶ νηῶ Δέγμενος ἱερά καλὰ παρὰ θηγῶν ἀνθρώπων, and more closely parallel Callim. H. Apoll. 76-78 Δεῖμε δέ τοι μάλα καλὸν ἀνάκτορον ἐν δὲ πλῆρῃ Θῆκε τελεσφορίην ἐπετήσιον, ἧ ἔνι πολλοὶ Ὑστάτιον πίπτουσιν ἐπ' ἰσχύιον, ὧ ἄνα, ταῦροι.

**389. centum**, not merely in reference to *ἐκατόμβαι*, but to the regular Hellenic custom *πάντα θύειν ἑκατὸν* Strabo 155. **tauros** is an early correction, cf. Trist. ii. 75; the MSS. have *currus* with *procurrere* or *percurre* as a variant for **procumbere**. *Procurrere currus* is not impossible as an imitation of the earlier poets; Ennius has *longiscere longe* Ann. 480 Vahlen, Cicero *signaque signavit* Arat. 163, *talaria talos* ends v. 65 of the careful elegy on Maecenas, *discurrere currus* v. 16 of the hexameters to the ocean in Riese's Anthol. Lat. ii. p. 168; Val. Flaccus vi. 697, quoted by Orelli, has *infesto procurrit in agmina curru*; Tib. i. 1. 55 *Me retinet uinctum formosae uincta puellae*; Virgil's *parcere parto* Aen. viii. 317, is perhaps an imitation of the same love of identical sounds: Hom. H. Ven. 114 Τρωάς γὰρ μεγάρω με τροφὸς τρέφειν, Od. ix. 217 ἐνόμει νομὸν κάτα πίοια μῆλα. This would also suit *centum*, see Verg. G. iii. 18. But **terra** is then a rather meaningless addition, unless we suppose an opposition between the god in his temple and the chariots rushing along the ground before him.

**390. uagus**. Eurip. Hypsipyle fr. 752 Nauck Διόνυσος δὲ θύρσοισι καὶ νεβρῶν δοραῖς καθάπτος ἐν πεύκαισι Παρνασὸν κατὰ Πηδᾶ χορεύων παρθένους σὺν Δελφίσιον. **Liber**. Festus p 182 M. *Oreos Liber pater, et Oreades Nymphae appellantur, quod in montibus frequenter apparent*; Macrob. S. i. 18. 3. **Parnasi uertice summo**, Lycorea, if Catullus is speaking exactly, as we might be led to suppose from Paus. x. 32. 7. But Lycorea is at a considerable distance *above* the Corycian cave; and in the earlier Greek poets it is this latter and the two peaks of Parnassus at some dis-

tance *below* it, between which the Castalian spring flows, which are specially associated with the worship of Dionysos. Soph. Antig. 1126 Σέ δ' ἰπὲρ διλόφου πέτρας Στέραψ' ὅπως λεγνύς, ἔνθα Κωρύκται Νύμφαι στείχουσι Βακχίδες Κασταλίας τε νῆμα; cf. Eum. 22, Ion 1125, 6, Bacch. 306. These two summits are the most conspicuous features in the scenery to any body in Delphi, and the God would naturally be represented descending from these upon the city.

**391. egit**, drove before him. 'The ancient path to the heights of Parnassus ascended the mountain immediately above the city. It was a zigzag path consisting of more than a thousand steps cut out of the hard rock and forming an uninterrupted flight of steps to the heights above.' Dict. Geog. s. u. Delphi. This steep ascent may have suggested Catullus' picture.

**392. Delphi**, the people, Herod. i. 54. **certatim**, struggling which should be first. Phil. ii. 46. 118 *Certatim, mihi crede, ad hoc opus curretur.*

**393. lacti** is found in two MSS. and read by Voss, who shows from Bacch. 142, Hor. C. ii. 19. 10 that milk was offered as well as wine and honey to Bacchus. But this would hardly agree with **fumantibus aris**, which as in Cic. de Divin. ii. 30. 63 must mean altars steaming with sacrificed victims.

**394-396.** Ares encourages the Trojans Il. v. 461 sqq. Athene runs from Olympus to bid the Pylians arm for battle Il. xi. 713; in one of the Cyclic poems Ulysses and the Thesprotians are routed in a battle with the Brygi by Ares, and Ares is then opposed by Athene (Photii Excerpt. in the Didot ed. of Homer p. 525). The two deities are mentioned as the patrons of war together Il. v. 430 Ταῦτα δ' Ἀρηὶ θεῶ καὶ Ἀθήνῃ πάντα μελήσει.

**394. Mauors**, a poetical word according to Paulus Diac. p. 147 M. It is however explained by Cic. N. D. ii. 26. 67, iii. 24. 62 as the fuller name of Mars, *qui magna uorteret*, and *Maurte* occurs in an old inscription CIL. I. 63 *Mauortei* ib. 808. Corssen considers it to mean 'the-battle-turner;' he connects it with *mah* to cut, *μάχη*, *μάχαιρα*, and *uortere*, like *τροπαίος* in *Zeus Troπαίος*, etc. (I. p. 410 note). It is found in Ennius Ann. 108 Vahlen, and, in a line of the comic writer Licinius Imbrex ap. Gel. xiii. 23; but it is remarkable that in the other extracts from ancient writers there given referring to Mars and his wife, the shorter and ordinary form of the name is preserved throughout.

**395. rapidi**, 'streaming,' hardly suits a lake, especially the Libyan lake Tritonis which Lucan ix. 347 calls *torpens palus*; it remains doubtful whether Catullus speaks of the river Triton which falls into this lake, Herod. iv. 178 Ποταμὸν μέγαν τῷ οὔνομα Τρίτων, Plin. H. N. v. 28 *Palus uasta amnem Tritonem nomenque ab eo accipit, Pallantius appellata Callimacho et citra minorem Syrtim esse dicta, a multis uero inter duas Syrtis* Sil. It. iii. 322, Schol. Apollon. R. iv. 1311 Τρίτων ποταμὸς Λιβύης ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Βοιωτίας· δοκεῖ δὲ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ παρ' ἑτέρω αὐτῶν γεγενῆσθαι: or, of the small river Triton, near Alalcomenae in Boeotia, Paus. ix. 33. 7 'Ρεὶ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐνταῦθα οὐ μέγας χεῖμαρρος· ὀνομάζουσι δὲ Τρίτωνα αὐτόν, ὅτι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τραφήναι παρὰ ποταμῷ Τρίτωνι ἔχει λόγος, ὡς δὴ τοῦτον τὸν Τρίτωνα ἔντα καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν Λιβύων, cf. K. O. Müller Orchomenos p. 349, Leake Northern Greece ii. p. 136: or of a third in Thessaly. Schol. Apoll. R. i. 109 Τρίτωνες τρεῖς Βοιωτίας, Θεσσαλίας, Λιβύης· ἐν δὲ τῷ κατὰ Λιβύην ἐτέχθη ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ.

Catullus seems to use **Tritonis hera** as peculiarly belonging to Athene in her *warlike* capacity; so Callim. Ep. 71. 5 Δούρατα δ' αἰματόεσσα μέβες Τριτωνίδι δια, Verg. Aen. ii. 226, 615, xi. 483 *Armiptotens belli praeses, Tritonia uirgo*, Sil. Ital. iii. 322, 3, ix. 297. **Ramnusia uirgo**, I. XVI. 71, LXVIII. 77, Nemesis, of which goddess a famous statue and temple existed at Rhamnus. Paus. i. 33. 2 describes both, μικρὸν δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Νεμέσεως ἔστιν ἱερόν, ἢ θεῶν μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις ὑβρισταῖς ἔστιν ἀπαραίτητος. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀποβάσιν ἐς Μαραθῶνα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπαντῆσαι μῆνιμα ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης· καταφρονήσαντες γὰρ σφισιν ἐμποδῶν εἶναι τὰς Ἀθήνας εἰλεῖν, λίθον Πάριον ὡς ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένους ἦγον ἐς τροπαίους ποιήσιν. Τοῦτον Φειδίαν τὸν λίθον εἰργάσατο ἄγαλμα μὲν εἶναι Νεμέσεως, τῇ κεφαλῇ δὲ ἔπεισι τῆς θεοῦ στέφανος ἐλάφους ἔχαν καὶ Νίκης ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα; cf. Strabo 396, Auson. Epig. 21. It might fall within the scope of Nemesis' attributes to interfere in defence of a weaker army hardpressed by an overpowering and confident enemy; or possibly her name *Adrastea* was thought to express her power of stopping flight in the weaker, producing it in the stronger: see Rhes. 342-365 and 468, where the name perhaps has this reference. But there is some plausibility in the conjecture of Behrens and Peiper<sup>1</sup> *Amarunsia*, referring to Artemis of Amarynthus in Euboea, where she had a celebrated temple and festival. Strabo 448 mentions a stele in this temple which estimated the numbers who joined in her procession at 3000 hoplites, 600 horsemen, 60 chariots; and another, also at Amarynthus, forbidding the use of missiles launched from a distance, bows, slings, javelins etc.; the place seems therefore associated with *war*.

397 sqq. are modelled on Hes. \*E. κ. \*H. 171-199, in which Hesiod describes the fifth race of men. Cf. especially 180-186 Οὐδὲ πατὴρ παῖδεσσιν ὀρούσι, οὐδὲ τι παῖδες, Οὐδὲ ξείνος ξεινοδόχῳ, καὶ εταῖρος εταίρῳ, Οὐδὲ κασίγνητος φίλος ἔσσεται, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ, Αἶψα δὲ γηράσκοντας ἀμύησουσι τοκῆας. Μέμψονται δ' ἄρα τοὺς χαλεποὺς βάζοντες ἔπεισι Σχέτλιοι οὐδὲ θεῶν ὕπιν εἰδίστες, οὐδὲ μὲν οἶγε Γηράντεσσι τοκεῦσιν ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δύνειν.

398. Hes. \*E. κ. \*H. 190 Δίκη δ' ἐν χερσὶ καὶ Αἰδῶς Οὐκ ἔσται, ib. 197 Ἀθανάτων μετὰ φύλον ἔβαν προλιπόντ' ἀνθρώπους Αἰδῶς καὶ Νέμεσις. **cupida** refers to the increasing desire of amassing wealth, and the crimes it produces. Lucr. iii. 70 sqq. is a commentary *Sanguine ciuili rem conflant diuitiasque Conducunt auidi caedem caede accumulantes. Crudeles gaudent in tristi funere fratris* (399) *Et consanguineum mensas odere timentique*. This part of the poem is very like Sallust's account of the decline of Roman morals Catil. 10-13.

399. Verg. G. ii. 510 *Gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum*.

401. As Catiline put his son out of the way in order to marry Aurelia Orestilla. Sal. Catil. 15 *Quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens priuignum adultum aetate, pro certo creditur (Catilina) necato filio uacuum domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse*.

402. **Liber**, without the constraint which the presence of a son by the former marriage would produce, including the possibility of the son's becoming his father's rival in the affections of the virgin bride. **no-uercæ** expresses the new bride's relation to her husband's former children.

<sup>1</sup> Tritonia and Nemesis are combined as here in an inscription in hexameters describing the dedication to the two goddesses of a tomb belonging to Herodes Atticus near Rome, in Jacobs *Delectus Epigrammatum Graecorum* p. 349: but this is a very poor support.

So *gener* of an intended, but not actual son-in-law, Hor. Epod. vi. 13; Verg. Aen. ii. 344 (Ast). **innuptae**, virgin, LXII. 6: it can scarcely be 'else unwed,' i. e. unless the son died.

403. **mater**, as Iocasta with Oedipus. **substernens se**. Suet. Aug. 68 *puđicitiam A. etiam Hirtio substrauerit*.

404. **Impia**, see on 62: 'ob ingens scelus idem repetit uerbum.' Alex. Guarinus. **diuos parentes**, the deified spirits of her parents, to whom there could be no greater offence than such incestuous confusion of their own relation with hers, as at once mother and wife. For the expression cf. a fragm. of Corn. Nepos *ubi mortua ero parentabis mihi et inuocabis deum parentem*. An ancient law ascribed to Servius Tullius enacted *Si parentem puer uerberit aut ole plorassit, puer diuis parentum sacer esto* Fest. s. u. *plorare scelerare*, 'to bring the stain of sin upon,' Verg. Aen. iii. 42.

405. **fanda nefanda**, that may be told or may not as too abominable. Sen. de Ira ii. 9. 2 *Velut signo dato ad fas nefasque miscendum coorti sunt*.

406. **Iustificam** seems to be ἄπ. λεγ.

408. **contingi** probably from *tango* as seems to have been the usage of Lucretius. See Munro on i. 934.

## LXV.

THE immediate object of this poem is to introduce a translation of Callimachus' Βερβίκης Πλόκαμος to the notice of Hortalus, probably Q. Hortensius Hortalus, the orator and rival of Cicero (Att. ii. 25. 1, iv. 15. 4). Voss indeed considered the Hortalus here addressed to be the grandson of the orator, the M. Hortensius Hortalus of Tacitus Ann. ii. 37. This however, as Ernesti observes, would ill agree with the date of the poem; nor do I see any ground for thinking that Q. Hortensius Hortalus, the son of the orator, a Caesarian, but a friend of Cicero's, who speaks of him as a profligate (Att. vi. 3. 9, x. 4. 6), is meant. But it would be quite in Catullus' manner to inscribe a poem to one of the most famous speakers of the day, as indeed he inscribes XLIX to Cicero, and if in XCV. 3 Hortensius is derided as a poetaster and contrasted with the author of Zmyrna, G. Helvius Cinna, this also is quite in agreement with the character of Catullus, to love and hate alternately; nor is there anything to preclude the supposition of Schwabe (Quaest. p. 272) that XCV was composed after a quarrel.

Catullus has however worked into these introductory verses to Hortalus a second theme which reappears more distinctly in LXVIII, his grief for the death of his brother. The emphatic iteration in that elegy of the lines in which this death is recorded 20-24, 92-96, as well as the short epicedion *CI Mullas per gentes et multa per aequora uectus* show how deeply he felt the loss. This brother at the time when LXV was written had recently (*nuper* 5) died in the Troad (cf. LXVIII. 91), where Catullus saw his grave (CI) no doubt during his Bithynian journey. From LXV. 9-14 as well as from the general scope of all the allusions to this event, it seems probable that the sad news reached the poet some time after it happened, and from a considerable distance, whilst he was still in Italy, whether at Verona or Rome. From LXVIII. 34-36 it might appear that he was at Rome, his ordinary residence, and was driven by grief with a few books as his companions to Verona.

It is a question whether Catullus sent with the *Coma Beronices* any other poems translated from Callimachus. The words *carmina Battiadae* LXV. 16, CXVI. 2 are ambiguous; the 'verses of Callimachus' might as well be one long, as several short poems; *carmina* is used of a single poem LXI. 13, LXIV. 383. But it seems improbable that Catullus would have either tasked himself to translate more than one long and difficult elegy, or if he did so would not have recorded it more distinctly.

The date is fixed by Iungclaussen Schwabe and Westphal at 694 | 60. This supposes the Bithynian journey to fall in 57. But if Catullus went to Bithynia in 65-64, the composition of LXV must be assigned to the years immediately preceding.

1 sqq. This exordium is imitated by the author of the *Ciris* 1 sqq. *Leti me uario iactatum laudis amore.*

1. **confectum dolore**, Lucilius ap. Non. 268 *doloribus confectum corpus*. The reading of some MSS. *defectum*, 'fainting,' might be supported by German. Aratea 65 *defecta labore*, Col. v. 6. 37 *Arborem senio defectam*, Grat. Cyn. 435 *defecta tate*: but its other sense 'abandoned by' with an abl. of the thing lost *defectus uiribus*, etc. makes the word an awkward one and less likely therefore to be used by Catullus.

2. **doctis**, the Muses, Tib. iii. 4. 45 *doctae sorores*, Catal. 11. 2 *Doctae Pegasides. uirginibus*, 'Ελικώνια παρθένου Pind. I. vii. 57.

3. **fetus**, perhaps with the idea found in Pindar that poets are the keepers of the golden apples of the Muses (fr. 273 Bergk). *fetus* is used of the produce of trees Verg. G. i. 55, ii. 390. **expromere**. Catal. 11. 7 *nostros expromere cantus Maximus et sanctos dignus inire choros*.

4. **Mens animi**, 'the thought of the mind,' is found in Plautus Epid. iv. 1. 4, Cist. ii. 1. 6, and four times in Lucretius, iii. 615 *Animi mens consiliumque*, iv. 758 *Mens animi uigilat*, v. 149 *Animi uix mente uidetur*, vi. 1183 *Perturbata animi mens*. Cicero de Rep. ii. 40. 67 speaks of *mens* as *pars animi*. *ipsa*, the mind is too unquiet itself to produce anything else.

5. **Lethaeo in gurgite**. Catullus appears to mean the river Lethe, which does not seem to occur before Plato Rep. 621 C as another expression for the previously mentioned river of Indifference (Αμέλης). Moschus Epitaph. Bion. 22 'Αλλὰ παρὰ Πλουτῆι μέλος ληθαῖον ἀείδει applies the word to the forgetfulness of the living world which comes upon the dead. Like Catullus, Tibullus i. 3. 80, iii. 3. 10, Propertius iv. 7. 10. 91, speak of the water and boat of Lethe; Virgil describes it Aen. vi. 705 *Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat amnem*. So Culex 215 *Lethaeas cogunt transnare per undas*.

6. Theoc. i. 140 *Χώ Δάφνης ἔβα ῥόον· ἔκλυσε δῖνα τὸν μοῖσαις φίλον ἄνδρα, τὸν οὐ νύμφαισιw ἀπεχθῆ*. **manans**, 'slow-streaming,' suggests the same idea as the *uada lenta* and *implicat* of Prop. iv. 12. 16. **alluit**, present, as in Prop. ii. 32. 23, the action extending from a recent past to the present.

7. **Rhoeteo**, the reputed grave of Ajax, as Sigeum of Achilles, Anth. P. vii. 146. 1, Mel. i. 96, Plin. H. N. v. 125: it is here that Virgil makes Aeneas erect a cenotaph to Deiphobus, Aen. vi. 505. Seneca Troad. 1123 Rhoeteum the grave of Achilles.

8. **obterit**, 'crushes,' Lucr. iii. 893 *Vrgeriue superne obtritum pondere*

*terrae* similarly of a grave. Pindar fr. 191 Ταρτάρου πυθμὴν πιέζει σ' ἀφανέος.

9. **audiero nunquam**, 'shall I never for a moment hear thee?' The fut. perf. seems to give the notion of a moment of time, or a momentary action cut off and separated from other moments, isolated, Madvig Opusc. ii. p. 95, where he quotes Planc. xxxiii. 79 *Multo citius meam salutem pro te abiecero quam Cn. Plancii salutem tradidero contentioni tuae*, 'I would rather once for all,' Att. iii. 19 *Nusquam facilius hanc miserrimam uilam uel sustentabo uel quod multo est melius abiecero*, in which as here the two futures are combined. Possibly however the notion may be simply that of a second action included in the first, as in the instances quoted by Madvig p. 89; 'shall I never speak with thee, and in speaking hear thee talk of what thou has done.' The word lost after *tua* is more likely to have been *facta* than *uerba*, *gesta*, or *fata*.

10. **uita** LXVIII. 106, LXIV. 215, Cul. 212.

11. **At certe semper amabo**. Inscript. Orell. 4847 *Namque ego te semper mea alumna Asiatica quaeram Adsidueque tuos uollus fingam mihi merens*.

12. **togam**, I will muffle or veil in silence. That this is the meaning is shown by the comparison with the nightingale singing veiled from sight amid the leaves. **tua morte** after **maesta**, as LXIV. 379; cf. Verg. G. iii. 518 *Maerentem abiungens fraterna morte iuuenicum*.

13. So Barry Cornwall to a nightingale at midday *Thy holy strain Should be amongst the silence born: Thy heart may there unfold its pain, Leaning upon its bridal thorn*. Hom. Od. xix. 518 ὤς δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κόρη χλωρῆς ἀηδῶν Καλὸν ἀείδῃσιν ἕαρος νέον ἰσταμένωιο, Δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη πυκνοῖσιν, Ἥ τε θαμὰ τραπῶσα χεῖε πολυηχία φωνὴν Παῖδ' ὀλοφυρομένη Ἴτυλον φίλον, ὃν ποτε χαλκῶ Κτεῖνε δι' ἀφραδίας, κοῦρον Ζήθιοιο ἄνακτος. This however is not the commoner legend alluded to by Catullus, according to which Procne and Philomela were the daughters of *Pandion*; the former married the Thracian prince Tereus, who fell in love with her sister Philomela and violated her; for which both the sisters killed Tereus' son Itys and served him up to his father as a meal: the three were then changed into birds, Procne into a swallow, Philomela into a nightingale, Tereus into a hoopoe. Apollod. iii. 14. 8, Soph. Elect. 107, Ouid. Met. vi. 425-670.

14. **Daulias**, from Daulis an ancient town of Phocis, on the road from Orchomenus and Chaeroneia to Delphi (Dict. Geog. s. u.), where Tereus ruled. Thuc. ii. 29 Ὁ μὲν ἐν Δαυλία τῆς Φωκίδος νῦν καλουμένης γῆς ὁ Θρηὺς ὄκει τότε ὑπὸ Θράκων οἰκουμένης· καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ περὶ τῶν Ἴτυν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἔπραξαν· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ἀηδόνοσιν μῆμη Δαυλίας ἢ ὄρνιθι ἐπώνομασται. The name is derived from *daulós* = *dáusos*, owing to the thick woods which grow there. Paus. x. 4. 7. **absumpti**, 'foully slain,' *Increpet absumptum nec sua mater Ityn* Prop. iii. 10. 8.

15. The sentence begun with *Et si* in 1 and interrupted by the long parenthesis 9-14 is resumed here, the *sed* implying that it has been broken off and as it were begins *de nouo*. **maeroribus**, this spelling is confirmed by Inscr., e. g. CIL. I. 1202 and one of the Augustan age Orelli 4859. For the plural Mr. Pinder compares Stat. S. v. 5. 8 *Quem luimus tantis maeroribus?* spoken of frantic grief for the loss of an adopted son. So the Inscr. above quoted CIL. I. 1202 *Interieisti et liquisti in maeroribus matrem*. **mitto**. Pindar fr. 101 Τοῦτό τοι πέμπω μεταδῶρπιον.



**16. expressa**, 'translated,' so Ter. Adolph. Prol. 11 *Verbum de uerbo expressum extulit*. Cic. in Limone ap. Sueton. in uita Terenti 5 *Conuersum expressumque Latina uoce Menandrum*, Plin. Epist. iv. 18. 1. **Battiadæ**, Callimachus son of Battus of Cyrene: so he calls himself in a distich written to be placed upon his tomb, Epig. 36. 1 Blomf.

**17. nequicquam** because **credita uentis**, LXIV. 59, Lucr. iv. 1096. The meaning is not that the words had been trusted to the winds, and then that the winds had betrayed their trust; but that they had been committed to the winds, and were therefore ineffectual. **tua dicta**, probably some request which Hortensius had made to have a poem of Callimachus translated by Catullus.

**18. Effluxisse**, of forgetfulness. So Cic. Fam. vii. 14. 1 *Si nostri oblitus es, dabo operam ut istuc uentiam ante quam plane ex animo tuo effluo*.

**19-24.** The comparison is not merely fanciful. As the lover's gift falls unconsciously from the girl's bosom, so, Hortensius might think, had the words he had spoken in friendship have passed out of the memory of his friend.

**19. missum** might be 'thrown,' cf. Anth. P. v. 79. 1  $\tau\omega$  μήλω βάλλω σι and 80. 1  $M\eta\lambda\omicron\nu$  ἐγώ, βάλλει με φίλων σέ τις, and the passage of Lucian cited on 21, but Virgil's *Aurea mala decem misi, cras altera militam* Ecl. iii. 71 favours the ordinary interpretation. **munere**, as in Cl. 8. **malum**, apples were sent as gifts by lovers, Theocr. iii. 10, Verg. E. iii. 71, Prop. ii. 34. 69, 71: perhaps from a supposed resemblance to the breasts. Crates, ap. Mein. Fragm. Com. ii. 248  $\text{Ἐρικώτατα τὰ τιτθί, ὥσπερ μήλον}$ . Cantharus ib. ii. 836, and often in Aristophanes.

**20. Procurrit . . gremio**. Festus p. 165 M. *Nec mulieri nec gremio credi oportere: prouerbium est, quod et illa incerti et leuis animi est, et plerumque in gremio posita, cum in obliuionem uenerunt exsurgentium, prociidunt*.

**21. miserae**, to be taken in close connexion with **oblitae**; so perhaps LXIV. 57. **molli sub ueste locatum**. Lucian Dial. Meretr. xii. 1  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  δὲ τοῦ μήλου ἀποδακὼν προκίψας πως εὐστόχως προσηκόντως εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ λαθὼν γε πειρώμενος ἐμέ. ἡ δὲ φίλησασα μεταξὺ τῶν μαστῶν ὑπὸ τῷ ἀποδείσμῳ παρεβύσατο, a passage which Aristaenetus has copied nearly word for word.

**23. Atque**, as in Verg. G. i. 203 *Atque illum in praecipit prono rapit alueus amni*, Most. ii. 2. 56, 57 *Lucernam forte oblitus fueram extinguere Atque ille exclamat derepente maximum*, is not simply for *statim* (see Gell. ix. 29) but introduces in the form of an emphatic concluding clause a sudden and unexpected catastrophe. **illud** in contrast to **Huic**. **prono**, the apple shoots forwards to the ground. **decursu**. Conington on Verg. G. iii. 276 *Saxa per et scopulos et depressas conuallis* considers that Virgil there and Catullus here meant to indicate the one swiftness the other indecorum by the spondaic ending: he compares Il. iv. 74  $B\eta$  δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων αἴξασα, x. 359  $\text{Φευγόμεναι τοῖ δ' αἶψα διώκειν ὠρμήθησαν}$ . At the end of his note however he adds that, judging merely by the ear, we might say that the change from dactyl to spondee in all the lines except Il. x. 359 expresses motion downwards. To me it seems more likely that in each case the interruption of the dactylic movement by a spondaic rhythm expresses a sudden check: the line is as it were pulled up; the level sinks into a valley, the apple comes to the ground, the rapid flight is arrested and after a time becomes slower: meanwhile the slowness

of the spondees throws into greater relief the quick movement of the dactyls which precede it. *Decursus* is used by Lucretius of the rush of water down a hill-side v. 946.

24. *manat*, 'spreads.' *consciūs*, 'guilty,' Most. iii. 1. 13 *Nihil est miserius quam animus hominis consciūs*. The 'conscious blush' has in English become almost proverbial.

## LXVI.

THE Βερενίκης Πλόκαμος, of which Catullus has here given a translation, is, if we except the Λουπρά Παλλάδος, the only surviving specimen of the Callimachean elegy. The few certain fragments of the original which remain are not enough to decide whether Catullus has given a literal version or not; but there is at least no reason to think that he has merely paraphrased Callimachus (see vol. I. pp. 332-334). The obscurity however which the loss of the Greek necessarily produces in a translation from so elaborate a writer as Callimachus makes many passages of the Latin poem doubly difficult; it may indeed be doubted whether we shall ever be able to explain completely vv. 51-58. But even if we had this original we should still be in perplexity as to the time when it was composed, or the exact circumstances in the life of Berenice and her husband to which it alludes. In the diversity of conflicting statements it seems best to place together those passages in the poem itself which speak clearly. They are these—

- 8-14 E Beronicaeo uertice cesariem  
Fulgentem clare, quam multis illa dearum  
Leuia protendens brachia pollicita est,  
Qua rex tempestate nouo auctus *Hymenaeo*  
*Vastatum finis iuerat Assyrios*,  
Dulcia nocturnae portans uestigia rixae,  
Quam de *uirgineis* gesserat exuuiis.
- 19-22 Id mea me multis docuit *regina* querellis  
Inuisente nouo praelia torua uiro.  
At tu non orbum luxti deserta cubile,  
Set *fratris* cari flebile discidium?
- 25-29 At te ego certe  
Cognoram a *parua uirgine* magnanimam.  
Anne bonum oblita es facinus, quo regium adeptas  
Coniugium, quod non fortior ausit alis?  
Sed *tum* maesta uirum mittens quae uerba locuta es!
- 35 Is haut in tempore longo  
*Captam Asiam Aegypti finibus addiderat*.  
Quis ego pro factis caelesti reddita coetu  
*Pristina uota nouo munere dissoluo*.  
77 dum *uirgo quondam* fuit.

From these passages it appears that Berenice vowed a lock of her hair to the Gods shortly after her nuptials with her cousin Ptolemy Evergetes, and that the occasion of the vow was her husband's starting on an expedition to lay waste the Assyrian (or Syrian) borders. Ptolemy

is called *king*, and would seem to have been so at the time: similarly Berenice is called *queen*. She was not a girl at the time of her marriage, though that marriage had been brought about by an act of heroism performed when she was still a girl. Ptolemy's expedition was soon successful, and ended in the subjugation of Asia. Then, apparently some time after it had been first made (*pristina uota*), Berenice performed her vow; the identification of the lock with a group of stars discovered or named by Conon, and the poem of Callimachus recording the event, were perhaps considerably later.

The expedition alluded to in 12, 36, has usually been identified with that mentioned by Polybius v. 10 *Συνέβαινε γὰρ Σελευκίαν ἔτι τότε κατέχεσθαι φρουραῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Εὐεργέτην ἐπικληθέντα Πτολεμαίων καιρῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐκείνος, διὰ τὰ Βερενίκης συμπτώματα καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης ὀργὴν, στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ Συρίαν τόπους ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο ταύτης τῆς πόλεως.* Appian Syr. 65 *Δύο δὲ εἶχε (Antiochus Theos, King of Syria) Λαοδίκην καὶ Βερενίκην ἐξ ἑρωτῶς τε καὶ ἐγγύης Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου θυγατέρα. καὶ αὐτὸν (Antiochum Theon) ἔκτεινε Λαοδίκη, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ Βερενίκην τε καὶ τὸ Βερενίκης βρέφος· καὶ Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου ταῦτα τιννύμενος Λαοδίκην τε ἔκτεινε καὶ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἤλασε.* Hieronymus Comment. in Daniel. xi. 7 *Occisa Berenice et mortuo Ptolemaeo Philadelpho patre eius in Aegypto frater illius et ipse Ptolemaeus, cognomento Euergetes, tertius successit in regnum . . . et uenit cum exercitu magno et ingressus est prouinciam regis Aquilonis, id est, Seleuci cognomento Callinici qui cum matre Laodice regnabat in Syria: et abusus est eis et obtinuit in tantum ut Syriam caperet et Ciliciam superioresque partes trans Euphraten et propemodum uniuersam Asiam. Cumque audisset in Aegypto seditionem moueri, diripiens regnum Seleuci, quadraginta milia talentorum argenti tulit et uasa pretiosa simulacraque deorum duo milia quingenta; in quibus erant et illa quae Cambyses, capta Aegypto, in Persas portauerat. Denique gens Aegyptiorum idolatriae dedita quia post multos annos deos eorum retulerat Euergetem eum appellauit; et Syriam quidem ipse obtinuit, Ciliciam autem amico suo Antiocho gubernandam tradidit, et Xantippo alteri duci prouincias trans Euphratem.* Justin xxvii gives a very indistinct account. Poly-aenus viii. 50 *Μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν Πτολεμαῖος ἦκεν ὁ πατὴρ τῆς ἀνηρημένης, καὶ διαπέμπων ἀπὸ τῆς προσηγορίας τοῦ πεφονευμένου παιδὸς καὶ τῆς ἀνηρημένης Βερενίκης ὡς ἔτι ζώντων ἐπιστολάς, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταύρου μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χωρὶς πολέμου καὶ μάχης ἐκράτησε, τῷ στρατηγήματι τῆς Παναρίστης χρησάμενος.* Inscriptio Adulitana ap. Montfaucon Collect. Nou. Patrum et Scriptorum Graecorum ii. p. 141 transcribed by Cosmas in the beginning of the reign of Justin, who began to reign A.D. 518 (Clinton F. H. iii. p. 382 note) *Βασιλεὺς μέγας Πτολεμαῖος υἱὸς βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης θεῶν ἀδελφῶν, τῶν βασιλέων Πτολεμαίων καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης θεῶν σωτήρων ἀπόγονος, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ πατρὸς Ἑρακλέος τοῦ Διός, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ μητρὸς Διονύσου τοῦ Διός, παραλαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης καὶ Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Λυκίας καὶ Καρίας καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων, ἔξεστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετὰ δυνάμεων περὶκῶν καὶ ἱππικῶν καὶ ναυτικοῦ στόλου, καὶ ἐλεφάντων Τρογλοδυτικῶν καὶ Αἰθιοπικῶν οὓς ὁ τε πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἐκ τῶν χώρων τούτων ἐθήρυσαν, καὶ καταγαγόντες εἰς Αἴγυπτον κατεσκεύασαν πολεμικὴν χρεῖαν. κυριεύσας δὲ τῆς τε ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου χώρας πάσης, καὶ Κιλικίας καὶ Πιαιφυλίας καὶ Ἰωνίας καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Θράκης, καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων τῶν ἐν ταῖς χώραις ταύταις πασῶν, καὶ ἐλεφάντων Ἰνδικῶν, καὶ τοὺς μονάρχους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τόποις πάντας*

ἑπηκόους καταστήσας, διέβη τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν, καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ Βαβυλωνίαν καὶ Σουσιάνην καὶ Περσίδα καὶ Μηδείαν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πᾶσαν ἕως Βακτριάνης ὑπ' αὐτὸν ποιησάμενος, καὶ ἀναζητήσας ὅσα ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἱερὰ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξήχθη, καὶ ἀνακομίσας μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης γάζης τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων εἰς Αἴγυπτον, δυνάμεις ἀπέστειλε διὰ τῶν ὀρυχθέντων ποταμῶν.

Ptolemy Euergetes became King of Egypt B.C. 247 (Clinton F. H. iii. p. 379, following Porphyry and the Astronomical Canon), and, according to Eutropius iii. 1, the Syrian war was over in 241 B.C. when the Romans sent an embassy to Ptolemy offering him help in it. The Assyrian conquests mentioned by Jerome and the inscription of Adule seem to fall within the same limits: whether therefore *finis Assyrios* mean Syria or Assyria, whether *Asiam* means Asia Minor or the districts east of the Euphrates, the war mentioned in the poem can hardly be later than 242 B.C. That it was however earlier than this is probable (1) from the words *Is haut in tempore longo Captam Asiam Aegypti finibus addiderat*; (2) from the date of the marriage of Ptolemy and Berenice. (1) Antiochus Theos the king of Syria to whom Ptolemy Philadelphus had married his daughter Berenice, was killed in 247 B.C. and succeeded in 246 by his son Seleucus Callinicus. The murder of Antiochus was followed by that of his wife Berenice and her infant son, and it was to avenge this last outrage that Ptolemy Euergetes the son of Philadelphus and brother of the murdered Berenice, invaded Syria. We thus obtain 246-245 as the probable date of the beginning of the expedition alluded to in 12, and, without pressing *haut in tempore longo*, we may perhaps conclude that he returned not later than 244; (2) Berenice, the wife of Euergetes, had been betrothed to him in infancy by her father Magas of Cyrene. But on the death of Magas, his widow Apame, or, according to Justin xxvi. 3, Arsinoe, disapproving of the marriage, invited from Macedonia Demetrius surnamed ὁ Καλός, brother of Antigonos Gonatas, to take the place of Ptolemy as the intended husband of her daughter. Demetrius, however, instead of ingratiating himself with Berenice, formed an amour with her mother, and was killed in her arms at the instigation of Berenice (Justin xxvi. 3). This, as since Niebuhr has been generally agreed, is the *bonum facinus* alluded to in the poem (27), by which Berenice secured her marriage with Ptolemy. If then she was at that time a girl, *Cognoram a parua uirgine magnanimam*, i. e. probably not more than 13 or 14 years old, and the marriage with Ptolemy followed as soon after the death of Demetrius as the conditions of age and the circumstances of the time allowed (the language of the poem in 25-30 implies, I think, that Berenice was then a full-grown woman), the marriage can hardly fall later than 247, the date of Ptolemy's accession. The ordinary chronology places the reign of Magas, which lasted 50 years, B.C. 308-258; allowing two or three years for the arrival and death of Demetrius, Berenice might be 13 in the year 255, and 21 in 247<sup>1</sup>.

Merkel however, Prolegomena to Apollonius xii, xiii, with whom

<sup>1</sup> Droysen, accepting Niebuhr's view (Kl. Schriften, p. 235) that the statement of Eusebius, which fixes the death of Demetrius at Ol. 130. 2, B.C. 259, is corrupt, determines from Trogus Prol. xxvi that event at some period between the revolt of Ptolemy the son of Philadelphus at Ephesus (Athen. 593) and the death of Antiochus Theos in 247. Assuming it to have happened in 251 | 250 when Berenice was 14 years old, he thinks she may have married Ptolemy in her 17th year, 248 | 7.

Donaldson agrees (Hist. of Greek Literat. ii. 432), maintains that the war mentioned in the poem cannot have been the Syro-Assyrian expedition of 247-242. For if it had been, we should expect to find some allusion to the cause which occasioned that war, the outrage on Ptolemy's sister Berenice, as well as to the worship of Arsinoe the sister-wife of Philadelphus as Aphrodite, which must have preceded the expedition. Again, if the death of Demetrius happened in Ol. cxxx<sup>1</sup>, 260-257 B.C. as stated in the Eusebian Chronicle, the marriage of Berenice with Ptolemy Euergetes would naturally follow soon, and could not fall as late as 247. Hence he concludes that the war alluded to is that mentioned by Jerome Comment. in Daniel. xi. 6 *Iste aduersus Ptolemaeum Philadelphum—gessit bella quamplurima et totis Babylonis et Orientis uiribus dimicauit. Volens itaque Ptolemaeus Philadelphus post multos annos molestum finire certamen filiam suam nomine Berenicen Antiocho uxorem dedit.* This war seems to have brought to the dominion of the Egyptian king many cities of Asia Minor; and caused others to be founded or receive new names. It was conducted, he supposes, not by Ptolemy Philadelphus in person, perhaps owing to his weak health (Athen. xii. 536), but by his son Euergetes, the hero of the poem.

This view, though in accordance with Niebuhr, who in his Lectures on Ancient History iii. p. 289 believes the marriage of Euergetes and Berenice to have taken place in the latter part of the life of Philadelphus, and with Droysen who considers the word *parentum* in 15 to have no point if neither the father nor mother of the bridegroom was present (Berenice's parents were both dead) is open to objection on several grounds.

1. We must then assume that Callimachus spoke of Ptolemy as king before his father's death. This indeed is not impossible; but it is not stated of him, as it is of his father, who was associated by Ptolemy I in the government two years before his own death (F. Hell. p. 379), and is specially joined with Antiochus I of Syria and Artaxerxes the brother of Cyrus from this point of view by Plutarch *Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης ἢ ἀρετῆς* c. 9 *Ἀπιθὶ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον τὸν Σελεύκου, πρὸς Ἀρταξέρην τὸν Κύρου ἀδελφὸν ἤπελθε πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλάδελφον. Ἐκείνους ζῶντες οἱ πατέρες βασιλεῖς ἀηγήρευσαν, ἐκείνοι μάχας ἀδακρύτους ἐνίκων, ἐκείνοι πανηγυρίζοντες ἐν πομπαῖς καὶ θεάτροις διετέλεσαν, ἐκείνων ἕκαστος δι' εὐτυχίαν ἐγήρασεν.*

2. The war described by Jerome as carried on between Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) and Antiochus Theos seems to have been signalized by no striking successes on the part of Ptolemy, such as Callimachus implies. It was a *molestum certamen* which was ended pacifically by the marriage of Antiochus with Ptolemy's daughter Berenice. In fact if not an obscure war it seems not to have been a great one: and nothing is said by any of the chroniclers who have recorded it of Euergetes playing any part in it. The story mentioned by Libanius Orat. xi seems to show that Philadelphus was, at any rate, not kept in Egypt by ill-health during the latter years of his reign.

3. It is at least *more* likely that a court-poet would speak of an expedition in which his royal patron had gained real distinction. Everything in the poem points to the war being a more than ordinarily serious one, Berenice would hardly have vowed her lock if Ptolemy had been merely

<sup>1</sup> Obiit etiam Demetrius, cuius cognomentum Pulcher uocabatur, anno c. trigesimae Olympiadis secundo. Hieron. Chron. i. p. 237 ed. Schöne.

starting on a short raid into Syria: she must have contemplated an absence of some time and dangers from which her husband might perhaps not return at all: such a war, a gigantic war, as Niebuhr calls it is that mentioned by Polybius, Appian, Jerome, and the inscription of Adule, in which Euergetes at the head of a vast army, after making himself master of Syria and Cilicia, passed the Euphrates and subjugated a great part of Asia. It was after this expedition that he received the name of Euergetes, probably, as Jerome says, for bringing back the images of Egyptian gods which had been carried away by Cambyses into Persia, cf. the decree of Canopus line 7 Ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ βασίλισσα Βερενίκη ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ γυνή, διατελοῦσιν πολλὰ καὶ μέγала εὐεργετοῦντες τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἱερὰ καὶ τὰς τίμας τῶν θεῶν ἐπὶ πλείον αἰχούντες . . . καὶ τὰ ἐξευχθέντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἱερὰ ἀγάλματα ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἐξστρατεύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνέσωσεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀπέδωκεν εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ ὅθεν ἕκαστον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐξήχθη: it was in fact the great event of his reign. The words of the poem *Vastatum fines iuerat Assyrios* and *Captam Asiam Aegypti finibus addiderat*, suit this war quite as well as the earlier one; and though no hint is given in the poem of the object of the expedition, the allusion to Berenice as not only wife but *sister* of Ptolemy (21, 22) has more meaning if the latter was starting to revenge an outrage on his sister; an outrage which above all others was likely to be most keenly felt by a Ptolemy, and therefore by his sister-wife.

4. The verses in which Arsinoe is spoken of 54-58, though very obscure, do point to her deification as Arsinoe Aphrodite. This is the *motif* of 56 *Veneris casto collocat in gremio*. If Arsinoe was Venus, it is a natural idea to describe the lock as borne to the goddess in heaven by the famulus of her representative on earth. Arsinoe had a temple on the Zephyrian promontory in Egypt (Strabo 800, Athen. 318, Steph. B. s. u. Ζεφύριον) and was called from it Zephyritis, a name which occurs in this connexion in an epigram by Callimachus and another by Poseidippus (Athen. 318). The same name is found in v. 57 of Catullus' poem; and it is a reasonable inference that it refers to the same person.

5. Catullus and therefore Callimachus pointedly *contrast* the time when Berenice killed Demetrius with that of her nuptials. At the former she was a girl, and yet showed the courage of a woman: at the latter she was a woman and yet completely overcome by the grief of parting with her husband. There was therefore some interval between the two periods. Yet even if we suppose no interval it would not follow that she married in Ol. cxxx. It is true that her father Magas was regent of Cyrene for 50 years (Athenaeus xii. 550) and if we suppose him to have become regent immediately after the revolt of Ophellas in 308 B.C. his death would fall in 258 or 257: but this is a modern inference. (Orelli *Eclogae Poet. Latin.* p. 125 2nd ed.)

Accepting then the ordinary view that Callimachus speaks of the Syro-Assyrian war of Ptolemy III, we must suppose him to have written the poem after the return of Ptolemy to Egypt, apparently in 245; and we may perhaps infer from the use of *pristina uota* that the fulfilment of the vow was not till some years after the vow had been offered, and that the poem was itself later. This is quite in accordance with the statement of ancient writers as to the life of Callimachus. Suidas says Callimachus lived on to the time of Ptolemy Euergetes (παρέτεινε μέχρι τοῦ Εὐεργέτου

κληθέντος Πτολεμαίου) and that he was the master of Aristophanes the Grammarian when still a young man (Ἀριστοφάνης Βυζάντιος—μαθητῆς Καλλιμάχου καὶ Ζηροδότου· ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν (Καλλιμάχου) νέος, τοῦ δὲ (Ζηροδότου) παῖς ἦκουσε. Clinton considers this to extend the life of Callimachus to 230 B.C.; Ritschl places his death in Ol. cxxxvi. 236-233 B.C.; but even supposing him to have died early in the reign of Euergetes, before 240, a sufficient time is left to make everything in the poem not only intelligible, but exact.

The *Coma Beronices* shows Callimachus in two points of view which are not very discernible in his other extant poems, first as a student of astronomy, secondly as a man familiar with Egyptian habits and ideas. From a Scholion on Homer Il. xviii. 487, as well as from Hyginus P. A. 18, 34 (fragm. 385, 386, 387 in Blomfield's Callimachus) we know that he wrote about the stars, a branch of science which was then making great advances under the patronage of the Ptolemies, and which had very shortly before been popularized in the *Phaenomena* of Aratus. Niebuhr calls the reign of Euergetes the golden age of the exact sciences (Lect. on Anc. Hist. iii. 242, 3); and we may look upon this poem as a scientific not less than a poetical tribute paid by learning to the founders and supporters of the Museum. It is thus not without reason that Callimachus dwells so long on the stars at the beginning of the poem, and that he returns to them in the middle and at the end of it: the same spirit of flattery which had prompted Conon to associate a royal name with a constellation would induce Callimachus not only to versify the event, but to turn his astronomical knowledge to account in doing so. Compare 1-9, 59-74, 89-94.

Again, the poem becomes more significant if explained by Egyptian allusions. It is true that to offer locks of hair in vows was not uncommon in Greece; but the conceit of making Berenice's lock a star was more natural in a country where all the males shaved their heads, and only women wore their hair (Herod. ii. 36); fine locks would be finer, and be fitter objects of admiration than elsewhere. Nor would Callimachus have dwelt on the double connexion of sister and wife, so odious to the Greeks, had he not been writing in a country of abnormal customs, where Greek influences had only made their way in proportion as they fell in with the national usage. If the Ptolemies one after another adopted a form of marriage generally thought incestuous, we may be sure it was to please their subjects: and Callimachus in the sentimental eulogy which he pronounces on the connexion, must have known that he was pleasing not his royal patrons only, but the great mass of the Egyptian people. Equally Egyptian is the description of Berenice praying with outstretched arms (10), the introduction of the Aethiop Memnon (52), and the allusion traceable in 90 to a *λυχνοκαία* such as that at Sais mentioned by Herodotus ii. 62.

The poem is of course full of references to the reigning dynasty: 45, 6 allude to the completion of the canal between the Pelusiac branch of the Nile and the Red Sea, which Philadelphus is said to have carried on from the Bitter Lakes to the head of the Heroopolite bay at Arsinoe near the modern Suez (Strab. 804, Plin. H. N. vi. 165), a great work which we have seen revived in our own day. Even if, as Sir G. Wilkinson infers from Herod. ii. 158, all that the Ptolemies did was to reopen and improve the canal (Rawlinson's Herodotus ii. p. 243), this would be enough to give a

point to the otherwise far-fetched introduction of Athos. Again, the deification of Arsinoe as Aphrodite, mentioned in 53-58, is quite in accordance with the traditions of the Ptolemies. The decree of Canopus ordains the apotheosis of a Berenice, daughter of Euergetes and his queen, who died young, and speaks besides of 'King Ptolemy son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, the brother-gods, and Queen Berenice, his sister and wife, the Benefactor Gods,' and similarly the Rosetta stone (lines 4, 5 ed. Sharpe, 1871) has θεῶν Σωτηρῶν καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων καὶ θεοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς Εὐχαρίστου, and decrees divine honours to Ptolemy Epiphanes, as well as additional honours to his ancestors who were deified already; *ib.* l. 10 Epiphanes is called θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς καθὰ τὸ ὄνομα ὁ τῆς Ἰσίου καὶ Ὀσίριος υἱός. Again, 59-62, in which, as in the passage of Nonnus' *Sylloge Historiarum* quoted below, the crown of the yellow-haired Ariadne in the sky is compared with the golden lock of Berenice now similarly exalted, is in distinct reference not only to the fact that one of the Alexandrian demes was called Ariadnis, but to the mythical connexion of the Ptolemies with Bacchus, his family and descendants. Satyrus ap. Theophilum in Meineke's *Analecta Alexandrina* p. 346 Σάτυρος ἱστορῶν τοὺς δήμους Ἀλεξανδρέων ἀρχαίμενος ἀπὸ Φιλοπάτορος τοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου προσαγορευθέντος, τούτου μνηθεὶ Διονύσου ἀρχηγέτην γεγενῆσθαι . . . ὄθεν καὶ τὰς προσωνομίας ἔχουσιν οἱ κατ' αὐτοὺς δήμοι, Ἀριάδνης ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς Μίνω γυναικὸς δὲ Διονύσου, Παιδὸς πατροφίλας τῆς μιχθείσης Διονύσῳ Ἐν μορφῇ πρῦμνιδι (l. πρῦμνη), Θεστῆς ἀπὸ Θεστίου τοῦ Ἀλλεῆας πατρὸς, Θεαντῆς ἀπὸ Θέαντος παιδὸς Διονύσου, Σταφυλῆς ἀπὸ Σταφύλου τοῦ Διονύσου, Εὐδανῆς ἀπὸ Εὐδάνου τοῦ Διονύσου, Μαρωνῆς ἀπὸ Μάρωνος υἱοῦ Ἀριάδνης καὶ Διονύσου· οὗτοι γὰρ πάντες υἱοὶ Διονύσου; cf. *Inscript. Adul.* τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Διὸς, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ μητρὸς Διονύσου τοῦ Διὸς. *Alciph.* ii. 4. 19 Πτολεμαίων καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ Διονύσου, οὐ δημοκρατικόν, ὡς οἴσθα. So 76-78 have a particular force in reference to the princesses of the house of Ptolemy, who were devoted to unguents, Athen. 689 Ἠκμασε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ (μύρα) διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἀρσινόης καὶ Βερενίκης σπουδῆν. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἐν Κυρήνῃ ῥόδιδον χρηστότατον καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἔζη ἡ Βερενίκη ἡ μεγάλη. Lastly with 91, 92 compare the following passages which speak of the *liberality* of the Ptolemies, Memnon lib. xiii, xiv. c. 25 in Müller's *Fragment. Histor. Graec.*, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς λαμπροτάταις μὲν δωρεαῖς εὐεργετεῖν τὰς πόλεις προήγετο, Decree of Canopus lines 7-10 (Sharpe).

In 58 where *Graita* seems to be opposed to *Canopieis* as Greek to Egyptian, the selection of Canopus as a generic term may have been partially determined by the favour which that town received from Euergetes and his queen. The decree of Canopus mentions τὸ ἐν Κανώπῳ ἱερόν τῶν Εὐεργετῶν θεῶν (l. 7 Sharpe), and the infant daughter of the royal pair was consecrated as a goddess μετὰ τοῦ Ὀσίριος ἐν τῷ ἐν Κανώπῳ ἱερῷ, ὃ οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἱεροῖς ἐστὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν πάντων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τιμωμένοις ὑπάρχει (l. 50 Sharpe).

I have used for this poem the special commentaries of Valckenaer 1799, Ugo Foscolo 1803, and Brüggemann 1830; as well as that of Orelli in his *Eclogae Poetarum Latinorum* ed. 2. 1833.

1. *dispexit*, of seeing clearly where from darkness or confusion it is not easy to do so. *Lucr.* vi. 647 *Latest alleque uidendum Et longe cunctas in partis dispiciendum.* *despexit*, the MS. reading, would not necessarily



imply that Conon was dead and looked down upon the stars as a soul living in heaven after death (Valckenaer, who compares Manil. i. 756, cf. Verg. E. v. 57); it might mean simply that the skill of the astronomer was able to place him in a point of view from which the whole world of constellations moved before and subject to his eye.

2. **obitus**, 'settings.' Cicero de Fato ix. 17 *Signorum ortus obitusque perdiscere*.

3. **rapidi**, 'scorching.' Georg. i. 92, 424. Brüggemann compares ὄξυν Ἥλιον in an epigram of Callimachus (31. 1 Blomf.) **obscuretur**, in eclipses. Plin. H. N. ii. 47.

4. **cedant**, not 'yield,' overpowered by the blaze of the sun (Ugo Foscolo), but 'withdraw,' like Horace's *Decedentia certis Tempora momentis* Epist. i. 6. 4.

5. **Latmia saxa**, the cave on Mount Latmos in Caria where the Moon was said to have kissed Endymion. Apoll. R. iv. 57 Οὐκ ἄρ' ἐγὼ μούνη μετὰ Λάτμιον ἄντρον ἀλύσκω οὐ δ' οἷα καλῶ περιδαίομαι Ἐνδυμίῳ, with the schol. λέγεται δὲ κατέρχεσθαι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἄντρον τὴν Σελήνην πρὸς Ἐνδυμίῳνα. Pausanias v. i. 5 says there was a sanctuary (ἄδυτον) of Endymion on Latmos. **relegans**. Love makes her an exile from the sky: a graceful conceit to express a lunar eclipse.

6. **guro**, 'her circling course,' as in Sen. Hipp. 312 *Nocturnas agitare bigas Discit et gyro breuiore flecti*, Hor. S. ii. 6. 25 *Seu bruma niualem Interiore diem gyro trahit*. Valck. and Orelli explain it less probably of the circle of the sky, like γῦρον γῆς Iesaias xl. 22. **deuocet**. Theocr. xx. 37 Ἐνδυμίῳν δὲ τίς ἦν; οὐ βωκόλος; ὃν γε Σελάνα βωκολέοντα φιλάσεν ἀπ' Οὐλύμπω δὲ μολοῖσα Λάτμιον ἂν νάπος ἦλθε καὶ εἰς ἓνα παιδί κάθειυεν. **aereo** is not to be changed to *aethereo*: Callimachus has *Τείρεσιν, ἡμῖκα πλείστα κατ' ἡέρα βουκολέονται* Del. 176, where O. Schneider shows that *αἰθήρ* and *ἀήρ* are interchanged by Callimachus Apollonius and their imitators.

7. **numine** with *Fulgentem*, 'shining with the divinity of a god,' i. e. with the effulgence proper to celestials. The Greek, which is here preserved Τῆδε (MSS. ἡδέ) Κόνων μ' ἔβλεψεν ἐν ἡέρι, τὸν Βερονίκης Βόστρυχον, ὄντ' ἄρα κείνη πᾶσιν ἔθηκε θεοῖσιν, has nothing corresponding to *numine*, and Canter accordingly conjectured *lumine*, Voss *in lumine*. But the Greek seems to be fragmentary, and perhaps represents what was originally four lines. At any rate *numine* cannot mean that Conon saw the lock, now changed into a star, by divine power, 'quasi diuinum quid fuerit, illam uidere in stellis conuersam' Alex. Guarinus.

8. **cesariem**, here perhaps from a wrong idea of its connexion with *caedo*, of a single tress: generally it is used of a head of hair, particularly if it is thick or long: cf. *Promissa cesaries* Liv. xxviii. 35, *decoram Cesariem* Aen. i. 589. Gratius Cyn. 272 *discretaque collo Cesaries, non pexa nimis*, can scarcely be alleged as parallel to Catullus' use.

9-10. Valck. rejects these verses (1) because the stars in Berenice's hair are not bright, but dim. (2) *Multis dearum* is in opposition to *cunctis diuis* in 33. Berenice would have avoided the offence of praying to some Gods and omitting others, and the Greek is πᾶσιν θεοῖσιν. (3) *Leuia protendens brachia* is meaningless. But (1) to say that the lock shone brightly is little more than saying that it had become visible as a constellation, though even if an exaggeration it would be pardonable in a court-poet.

(2) All the *gods* may include many *goddesses*, Catullus says *dearum* not *deorum*; and yet if he did write *deorum*, as from *πάντων θεοῖσιν* is possible, this would not necessarily be in opposition to *cunctis diuis*, a poet varies his expressions on grounds not to be tested by logic. (3) As Haupt remarks Quæstt. p. 81, to stretch out the arms is a natural way of expressing prayer, cf. the Homeric *χεῖρας ἀνέχειν* II. i. 450, iii. 318, and Callim. Del. 107 Πήχευς Ἀμφοτέρους ὀρέγουσα μάτην ἐφέβηξαστο τοῖα, cited by Stat.

9. *dearum*, as Arsinoe, daughter of Ptolemaeus, offers a plait of her hair to Artemis in an epigram of Damagetus, Anth. P. vi. 277, and leaves it in her temple. In the six epigrams there which speak of hair offered in dedication, the four addressed to goddesses are in behalf of women, the two addressed to gods of males (Anth. P. vi. 274-279). Sil. Italicus makes a warrior vow to offer his hair to Gradivus if victorious Pun. iv. 200, and Tacitus Germ. 31 says the Catti used to make vows not to shave their head till they had slain an enemy.

11. *nouo auctus hymenaeo*, hiatus as in CVII. 1, followed by a compensating lengthening of the final syllable of *auctus*; cf. LXII. 4, LXIV. 20 *dicitur hymenaeus, despexit hymenaeos*, CXV. 1 *habet instar auctus*, LXIV. 25.

12. *Assyrios*. Blomfield Callim. fr. 152 thinks the original is preserved here. Ἦν ἐπ' Ἀσσυρίων ἡμεδαπὴ στρατιῇ (Etym. M. s. u. Ἀσσυρία, where the MSS. give Ἦν ἀπ' Ἀσσυρίων). But O. Schneider Callimachea ii. p. 420 points out that the Assyria of the Etym. M. is the country of the Leucosyri near Sinope, which could not be meant by Callimachus here. Nor is it easy to determine whether *Assyrios* is Assyrian, as Callimachus calls the Euphrates the Assyrian river (H. Apoll. 107), or Syrian, as in the passages cited by Nöldeke Hermes v. p. 466, Verg. G. ii. 465, Ciris 440, Culex 62, Petron. S. 119, Sen. Hipp. 87. It is perhaps in favour of the latter view that the poet says in 36 that Ptolemy soon annexed *Asia* to Egypt: and that Lucian de Dea Syra 17 calls Stratonice the celebrated wife of Antiochus I king of Syria, the contemporary of Euergetes, wife of the king of the *Assyrians*.

13. A line imitated by the author of one of the Catalecta. 11. 5 *Horrida barbaricae portans insignia pugnae. Dulcia uestigia*. 'Signa et notas iocundas ferens, quas puella marito infixerat, dum pudicitiae florem uiolenter quodammodo auferret.' Alex. Guarinus. Claudian. Fescenn. 30 *Nocturni referens uolnera proelii* (Valck.)

14. *de*, to win. Ouid Ibis 173 *Deque tuo fiet, licet hac sis laude superbus, Insatiabilibus corpore rixa lupis. uirgineis exuuiis*, 'the spoils of virginity,' LXVIII. 14.

15-38. 'Are brides in earnest when they weep on reaching the marriage-chamber? Their tears must surely be hypocrisy. Else Berenice would not have been so sad when she had to part from her bridegroom. She will say it was as a brother, not as a husband that she wept for him. But her grief was too overpowering to make that credible. In fact she seemed to have quite lost all self-control. Yet as a girl, she feared nothing: she cannot have forgotten the splendid crime which secured her marriage with the King of Egypt. What then overpowered her so completely in parting from her husband? It must be love. Then she vowed to offer me, the lock of her hair, as well as a sacrifice of oxen, if Ptolemy returned

safe. This he soon did, and I am now given up to the gods in fulfilment of the vow.'

15. Scaliger compares Callimachus fr. 118 Blomf. Ἡ παῖς ἢ κατάλειστος τῆν οἱ φασὶ τεκόντες Εὐναίους ὀαρισμούς· Ἐχθειν ἴσον δλίθροφ. Sententiae Varronis 11 Riese *Sic flet heres ut puella uiro nupta; utriusque fletus non apparet est risus.* *anne.* The MSS. have *atque*, which either necessitates *salsis* or gives a weak sense, 'Is it true that brides hate love? and is it possible that they disappoint their parents' pleasure by pretended grief on the verge of union? Surely their hatred is hypocritical, their tears are feigned.' In this case *falsis* anticipates and therefore spoils the conclusion *non uera gemunt*. It seems clear that *falsis* is the determinative word in the second half of the interrogative sentence, and that an opposition is implied to the first. Hence *anne* seems necessary.

16. *falsis lacrimulis*, like Terence's *haec uerba una mehercule falsa lacrimula* (tear-drop) *Quam oculos terendo misere uix ui expresserit Restinguet* Eun. i. 1. 22. Fronto p. 229 Naber *Guttam unam minimam quanta dissimulantis lacrima esse solet.*

17. *Vbertim*. Fronto p. 268 Naber *Vbertim flentem desiderio tui atque huius discidii dolore.* The MSS. vary between *intra inter, lumina limina*. The choice would seem to lie between *intra limina, inter lumina*, 'among the lamps of the marriage chamber,' Mart. x. 38. 7. Yet in Aen. xi. 267 Ribbeck reads *prima inter limina* where the MSS. give both *inter* and *intra*.

18. i. e. *ita me diui iuerint, non uera gemunt*. The separation of *non* from *gemunt* gives prominence to the negation, as in XIV. 16. For the adjuration cf. LXI. 189 *ita me iuuent Caelites.* *iuerint*. In Phorm. iii. 3. 4 *adiuerit comiter*, the MSS. including the Bembine give *adiuuerit*, as the MSS. of Catullus *iuuerint* here.

20. *torua*, not quite otiose, but in contradistinction to *nocturnae rixae* above (Alex. Guarinus).

21. *Et*, the reading of some of the best MSS, is perhaps right; as Hand thought Tursellin. i. 441. 'And will you say it was not for the desolation of your couch you mourned?' like *Et tu in Caesaris memoria diligens?* Phil. ii. 43. 110.

22. *fratris*. Decree of Canopus line 7 ed. Sharpe βασιλεῖς Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ βασίλισσα Βερενίκη ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ γυνὴ θεοῦ Εὐέργεται, and similarly the golden plate containing the dedication of a temple to Osiris at Canopus, quoted by Paley Theocritus p. 94. Mr. Sharpe, note on the hieroglyphics p. 37, considers that Berenice is so called in compliment, as in Solomon's Song the king styles his wife his sister. Other explanations are that (1) Berenice and her husband were both children of Arsinoe, the daughter of Lysimachus, Arsinoe having married Magas, Berenice's father, after her banishment from the court of her first husband, Ptolemy Philadelphus (Niebuhr), a view based on Hyginus' *Ptolemaei et Arsinoes filiam* cf. Justin. xxvi. 3; but Droysen Hellenismus ii. p. 244 rejects the authority of Hyginus as doubtful, and according to other accounts the name of Berenice's mother was Apame (Paus. i. 7. 3); (2) that Berenice is cousin of Euergetes as being daughter of Magas, the son of Berenice, wife of Ptolemy I (Soter), by a former husband. Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) would then be ὁμομήτριος ἀδελφός to Magas: and the children of each might thus be called ἀδελφοί as cousins

by the mother's side. This latter is the generally received view, and the pronounced manner in which Callimachus dwells on the relation makes it probable that this, or possibly some other link, gave an air of reality to what would otherwise be a rather overstrained compliment. Yet it is not to be forgotten that this sister-wife connexion had a religious meaning to the Egyptians. 'As the Egyptian Isis and Osiris were at once Sun and Moon, brother and sister, and husband and wife, so it was with the Peruvian Sun and Moon, and thus the sister-marriage of the Incas had in their religion at once a meaning and a justification.' Tylor, *Primitive Culture* i. p. 261. See Theocr. xvii. 130-134.

23. Orelli rightly shows that this verse is in close connexion with the two preceding. Catullus often carries on a sentence begun in one distich to the middle or end of the hexameter of the next: cf. 7-9, 59-61, 79-81, LXV. 9-11, and several times in LXVIII. Conr. de Allio explains **Cum** as=*quandoquidem*, cf. LXVIII. 8, Roby Latin Grammar § 1725: but this, besides laying too much stress on the fraternal as opposed to the conjugal relation, does not agree so well with *Vt tibi tunc toto pectore sollicitae* which can only apply to the intense grief of a lover. Hence *cum* is temporal, 'at a time when.' 'Will you say you wept, not for a husband, but a brother? what? when your very vitals seemed to be consumed by grief? How utterly you were overcome!' **cura**, the grief of lovers, see on LXIV. 72, LXVIII. 51. **exedit**, like *Est mollis cura medullas* Aen. iv. 66: XCI. 6 *Hanc cuius me magnus edebat amor*.

24. **Vt**, 'how,' interjectionally as Manil. v. 88, compared by Stat. and Valck. *Quae tua tunc fuerat facies! quam fugit in auras Spiritus! ut toto caruerunt sanguine membra!* Most of the commentators take **toto pectore** with *excidit*: cf. Ouid. Pont. ii. 4. 24: to me it seems more naturally to connect itself with *sollicitae*, 'in the utter disquietude of thy heart.'

25. 'Thy senses were ravished from thee, thy reason fell away.' **Sensibus ereptis** like LL 5, 6 *Misero quod omnis Eripit sensus mihi*. Brügemann suggests that Callimachus may have used the word used by Sappho there, *πρωϊεύ*, cf. Callim. H. Dian. 191. **at te ego certe** for *at ego certe* of most MSS. is more likely than *atque ego certe*: yet *atque* might well mean 'and all the time,' 'yet for all that,' as in Cic. ad Fam. xiv. 4. 5 *Cetera, quamquam ferenda non sunt, feramus. Atque ego qui te confirmo ipse me non possum*. Suet. Cal. 54 after an enumeration of Caligula's skill as an actor and dancer, *Atque hic tam docilis ad cetera natare nesciit*. Fronto p. 70 Naber *Sed quae tua et mea meteorica est, neque tu me admonebis, neque ego tibi narrabo. Atque enim reuera opus consulto est*.

27. **facinus**. According to Hygin. P. A. ii. 24 Berenice mounted a horse and rallied the flying army of Ptolemy Philadelphus, thus saving her father's life, an exploit for which Callimachus called her magnanimous (*magnanimam*). Though Hyginus must here have Catullus in view, his explanation is probably wrong. The *bonum facinus*, as Niebuhr pointed out, is the assassination of Demetrius the paramour of Berenice's mother. Justin xxvi. 3 (Arsinoe) *inuita se contractum matrimonium solutura misit, qui ad nuptias uirginis regnumque Cyrenarum Demetrium fratrem regis Antigoni a Macedonia arcesserent, qui et ipse ex filia Ptolemaei procreatus erat. Sed nec Demetrius moram fecit. Itaque cum . . . Cyrenas aduolasset, fiducia pulchritudinis, qua nimis placere socrui coeperat, statim*

*a principio superbus regiae familiae militibusque impotens erat, studiumque placendi a uirgine in matrem contulerat. Quae res suspecta primum uirgini, dein popularibus militibusque inuisa fuit: itaque uersis omnium animis in Ptolemaei filium (Euergetem) insidiae Demetrio comparantur; cum in lectum socrus conscendisset, percussores immittuntur. Sed Arsinoe audita uoce filiae ad fores stantis et praecipientis ut matri parcerent, adulterum paulisper corpore suo protexit. Quo interfecto Berenice et stuprum matris salua pietate ulla est et in matrimonio sortiundo iudicium patris secuta.*

**28. quod non fortior ausit alis.** Not, 'which no one else though braver would venture' (Voss), but 'which none else would show themselves braver by venturing,' 'could venture and so win the title of braver.' *fortior* is part of the predicate. So Hor. iii. 23. 18 *Non sumptuosa blandior hostia Molliuit auersos Penates*. Polybius v. 36 speaks of Berenice's τῶμα. **alis**=*alius*. Catullus speaks generally.

**29. tum,** in pointed opposition to the period of girlhood mentioned in 26-28. **mittens,** when you were sending on his way, like *Mitteret in magnum imperium* Aen. xi. 47.

**30. Iuppiter,** here and 48 perhaps a translation of Ζεῦ πάτερ, a form of invocation which may have been connected with marriage, or at least with women. Alcman introduced παρθένους λεγούσας Ζεῦ πάτερ αὐτὸ γὰρ ἐμὸς πόσις εἶη fr. 29 Bergk. **tristi** for *triuisti*, like *Misti* XIV. 14. Catullus has also *luxti* 21, *duxti* XCI. 9, *promisti* CX. 3, *subrepsti* LXXVII. 3, *abstersti* XCIX. 8. Berenice rubs her eyes to dash away the tears. Propertius i. 15. 35 *Hos tu iurabas, si quid mentita fuisses, Vt tibi suppositis exciderent manibus* suggests another idea not incompatible with the former; tears are often dashed from the eyes as much in anger as in grief: the new bride would be revenging herself on her eyes for losing sight of her husband, and would feel a pleasure in punishing them violently.

**31.** 'Who is that great God that changed thee?' **tantus** is in reference to **mutauit**, as in *Quae te tam laeta tulerunt Saecula?* Aen. i. 605, 'what age bore thee, an age happy enough to do so?' 'what God changed thee, a God great enough to do so?' Stat. compares Theocr. xx. 20 Ἄρα τις ἐξαιτίας με θεὸς βροτῶν ἄλλον ἔτευξεν;

**32. caro corpore,** 'body of their beloved.' Calvus fr. 14 Lachm. *Et leges sanctas docuit et cara iugauit Corpora conubiis et magnas condidit urbes*. In both passages *carum corpus* is used of the newly-wed.

**33. me** seems absolutely necessary here, as the object of *pollicita* *es* cannot be supplied from the preceding lines: otherwise *prae cunctis*, as read in ed. Gryph. 1542, would be forcible enough, suggesting the idea of Berenice standing as it were in front of the whole company of gods, and calling upon them collectively to hear her promise. **ibi**, 'thereupon,' as often in Plautus, Amph. v. 1. 39 *Postquam . . . ibi*; ib. 41 *Inuocat deos . . . ibi continuo contonat*.

**34. Non sine taurino sanguine,** the sacrifice accompanied the vow, as in Tibullus iii. 3. 2 the vow for Neaera's safe return is accompanied by an offering of incense. A queen would of course offer a costly sacrifice. Vulp. and apparently Brüggemann explain the words to mean that Berenice vowed to cut off her lock *and* to sacrifice bulls, as in Iliad vi. 93 Hecuba promises to sacrifice oxen in the temple of Athene if she take pity on the Trojans, cf. ib. 115 Δαίμοσω ἀρήσασθαι

ὑποσχίσθαι δ' ἑκατόμβας; so Achilles' father Peleus vows to the Sperchius if his son return to his native land Σοί τε κόμην κερέειν ῥέξειν θ' ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην, Πεντήκοντα δ' ἔνορχα παρ' αὐτόθι μῆλ' ἱερεύσειν. But *cunctis diuis* implies a great occasion, and such an occasion would naturally be accompanied by a sacrifice.

**36. Asiam** as recorded in the inscription of Adule quoted above. The inscription records Ptolemy's conquest both of Asia Minor and the more eastern part of Asia, to the east of the Euphrates. The former seems to be meant by Justin xxvii. 3 speaking of this actual expedition *Ea tempestate omnia bella in exitium Asiae gerebantur; uti quisque fortior fuisset, Asiam uelut praedam occupabat. Seleucus et Antiochus fratres bellum propter Asiam gerebant: Ptolemaeus rex Aegypti sub specie sororiae uitionis Asiae inhiabat*: but the word does not seem to occur in the extant remains of Callimachus, and Justin would be no guide as to the poet's usage.

**37. reddita**, 'given up,' according to promise, as in Horace's *Ergo obligatam redde Ioui dapem* C. ii. 7. 17. So *reddere epistulam* of delivering a letter to persons who ought to get it, Cic. Att. iv. 15. 3, and see on LXIV. 362. **coetu** LXIV. 385.

**38.** 'I pay the vow of the past by an offering of to-day.' This is the only sense which the antithesis **pristina nouo** can bear, and such is the meaning of Sophocles' Κάδμου τοῦ πάλαι νέα τροφή O. T. 1, and Virgil's *Seque nouo ueterum deceptum errore locorum* Aen. iii. 181, cf. Mart. v. 7. 3. *Pristina* need not imply that the vow had been made a long time before, as *die pristini* = *pridie* (Gell. x. 24. 8, cf. Caesar B. G. iv. 14), *nox pristina* = 'the night before,' Suet. Aug. 94. **dissoluo**. Cic. ad Att. xv. 11, quoted by Valck. *Erat absurdum quae, si stetit respublica, uouissem, ea me euersa illa uota dissoluere*. Valck. observes that Catullus is fond of resolving *uoluere* and *soluere*, so *euoluam* infr. 74, *peruoluent* XCV. 6, *soluunt* LXI. 53.

**39-50.** 'I was very unwilling to leave the head of my queen, but who can resist steel? Steel could open a way through Athos when Xerxes cut a canal through it for his fleet; how was a lock of hair to stand against steel? My curse upon the Chalybes, and upon the wretch who was the first to dig the ore and fashion it for the purposes of war!' In 38 the lock is cut off in fulfilment of the vow; 39-50, we may suppose, represent the interval during which it lies by itself before being transported to the sky, as described in 51 sqq.

**39.** Imitated by Virgil Aen. vi. 460 *Inuitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi*.

**40. adiuro teque tuumque caput.** The Greek is here preserved *σὴν τε κάρην ὄμοσα σὸν τε βίον*. Forcell. gives no instance of *adiuro* constructed with an accusative of the thing sworn by from Cicero Plautus or Terence, who say *adiuro per*. Virgil Aen. xii. 816 *Adiuro Stygii caput implacabile fontis* perhaps follows Catullus. Cf. Apuleius Met. ix. 41, Koziol Styl des Apuleius p. 348. The lock swears by the head and person of Berenice, as Aeneas swears by the head of Ascanius (Aen. ix. 300), and as Dido calls to witness her sister's person and head, Aen. iv. 357. Cf. Trist. v. 4. 46 *Per caput ille suum solitus iurare tuumque Quod scio non illi uilius esse suo*. There is of course a strict propriety in making the lock of hair swear by the head whence it has been severed.

**41. quod**, i. e. *caput*. **inaniter**, not uncommon in Cicero.

42. **Qui.** Holtze Syntax. i. p. 362. **se postulet esse parem** as in Menaechm. ii. 3. 88 *Set ego inscitus sum qui ero me postulem moderarier*, Cic. de Orat. i. 22. 101.

43. 'Even that famous mountain was levelled to the ground, which is the highest within the borders of his realm that Thia's bright child passes over in his chariot.' **euersus**, as in Ouid Met. xi. 554 *Si quis Athon Pindumue reuolsos Sede sua totos in apertum euerteret aequor*. Here the word is an exaggeration; it seems to allude to the loss of earth caused by cutting the canal. **in oris**, like *luminis orae* in Lucretius, *caelestibus oris* Met. ix. 254. This, though harsh, is less violent than to interpret *in oris*, 'on its shores,' i. e. the shores of Macedonia, to which Athos belongs; or 'on sea-coasts' generally. **maximum.** Cic. de Rep. fr. inc. 39 *Quis enim est Athos aut Olympus tantus?* Strab. 331 fr. 33 "Ἔστι δ' ὁ Ἄθων ὄρος μαστοειδές, ὀξύτατον, ἰσηλότατον" οὐ οἱ τὴν κορυφὴν οἰκούντες ὄρωσι τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πρὸ ὠρῶν τριῶν τῆς ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ ἀνατολῆς, cf. ib. fr. 35. Nicander described Athos as a giant Steph. Byz. s. u. Ἄθως.

44. **Progenies Thiae clara**, the Sun. Pind. Isthm. iv. 1 *Mâter ἀελίου πολυώνυμε Θεία.* Hes. Theog. 371 *Θεία δ' ἠελίου τε μέγαν λαμπρὰν τε σελήνην Γεῖναίθ' ἰποδηθεῖσ' Ὑπερίονος ἐν φιλότῃτι.* Apollod. i. 2. 2 *Ὑπερίονος δὲ καὶ Θείας Ἥως ἥλιος Σελήνη.* This is Bentley's reading and explanation: for the expression Valck. compares Paus. viii. 33. 3 *Βαβυλῶνος δὲ ταύτης ἦρτα εἶδε πόλεων τῶν τότε μεγίστην ἥλιος*, 38. 1 *Πόλεων δὲ ὅσας ἐπὶ τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔδειξε γῆ καὶ ἐν νήσοις Λυκόσουρα ἐστὶ πρεσβυτάτη, καὶ ταύτην εἶδεν ὁ ἥλιος πρῶτην*: and so Verg. Aen. vii. 216 *Regnis quae maxima quondam Extremo ueniens sol adspiciebat Olympo*. The MSS. have *Phthiae* which would naturally be a corruption of *Phthiae*, and this was the old reading till Voss suggested and Bentley explained *Thiae*: Bentley's explanation is made more uncertain by **superuehitur** which is used in Liv. xlii. 48 of sailing past a promontory *praeter oram Italiae superuectus Calabriae extremum promuntorium in Ionio mari Dyrrachium traiecit*. (1) Scaliger explained *progenies Phthiae clara* to be the Macedonians, and so before him Alex. Guarinus, who considers Athos to be here included in Thessaly, as Seneca Med. 720 calls it *Haemonian*. Servius on Aen. i. 246 makes the Achivi children of (Achaeus and) Phthia, and Callimachus may have identified these with the Thessalians, as they sometimes were, according to the Schol. on Apoll. R. i. 284, cf. Schol. on i. 177. This would agree with the view of Conr. de Allio, who however reads *Thyiae*, Thyia being the mother of Macedon, founder of the Macedonian race. Steph. Byz. s. u. Μακεδονία. 'Ἡ χώρα ἀπὸ Μακεδόνοιο τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Θείας τῆς Δευκαλίωνος ὡς φησιν Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητῆς' Ἡ δ' ἰποκουσαμένη Διὶ γείνατο τερπικεραύνην ὕει δὲ δύο Μάγνητα Μακηδόνα θ' ἰποχάρμην Οἱ περὶ Πιερίην καὶ Ὀλυμπον δώματ' ἔναιον. The Macedonians might be called *famous* since the victories of Alexander; Plin. H. N. iv. 39 *Haec est Macedonia terrarum imperio potita quondam, haec Asiam Armeniam Iberiam Albaniam Cappadociam Syriam Aegyptum Taurum Caucasum transgressa, haec in Bactris Medis Persis dominata toto oriente possesso, haec etiam Indiae uictrix per uestigia Liberi patris atque Herculis uagata*. (2) The Macedonian kings may be meant. They would be *Progenies Phthiae*, as descended from Achilles, the lord of Phthia. So Prop. v. 11. 39, 40 *Et Persen proauī simulantem pectus Achillis Quique tuas proauo fregit Achille domos*. Sil. Ital. xv. 291 speaking of Philip king of Macedonia, *Hic gente egregius, ueterisque ab origine regni, Aeacidium*

*sceptris proaouque tumebat Achille.* Velleius i. 6 *Circa quod tempus Caranus uir generis regii sextus decimus ab Hercule profectus Argis regnum Macedoniae occupauit ; a quo Magnus Alexander cum fuerit septimus decimus, iure materni generis Achille, auctore paterni Hercule gloriatus est.* (3) It had occurred to me that an actual king, son of a Phthia, might be meant : but the only Macedonian king whose reign approaches the limits of the poem, Philip V, son of Demetrius II and Phthia, daughter of Alexander II King of Epirus, seems to have been born after 239 B.C. and would thus have been a child in 230, the latest period at which Callimachus could be supposed to be still living. But whatever the real explanation, it seems probable that Callimachus should, in speaking of Athos, introduce some definite reference to Macedonia. The Ptolemies were proud of their Macedonian descent, and mentioned it in their inscriptions (Paus. vi. 3. 1, x. 7. 8).

45. *peperere nouum mare*, like Petronius' *Mare nascitur aruis.* Anth. L. 461 Riese, *Hic quem cernis Athos inmissis peruius undis Flexibus obliquis circumeundus erat. Accepit magno deductum Nerea fluctu Perque latus misit maxima uela suum. Sub tanto subitae sonuerunt pondere classes, Caeruleus cana sub niue pontus erat. Idem commisit longo duo litora ponte Xerxes et fecit per mare (the Hellespont) miles iter. Quale fuit regnum mundo noua ponere iura ! Hoc terrae fiat, hac mare dixit eat.* The idea is an expansion of Herodotus' remark that the construction of the canal was a piece of display, *μεγαλοφροσύνης ἕνεκα* vii. 24. Lucretius iii. 1029 speaks of the bridge over the Hellespont, but not of Athos.

46. *barbara*, i. e. non-Hellenic. *nauit*, the canal was broad enough to admit two triemes rowed abreast, Herod. vii. 24. Cicero de Fin. ii. 34. 112 *Si Athone perfosso maria ambulauisset terramque nauigasset maria pedibus peragrantem, classibus montes* possibly had Catullus' words in his memory.

47. *Quid facient crines, cum ferro talia cedant ?* So Ouid A. A. iii. 633 *Quid faciet custos, cum sint tot in urbe theatra ?* But Verg. E. iii. 16 *Quid domini faciant, audent cum talia fures ?* A. A. iii. 655 *Quid sapiens faciet, stultus cum munere gaudet ?* The subj. in the second clause is the more usual, the indic. the more poetical construction. Munro in Journal of Philology ii. p. 145.

48. The mock solemnity of this adjuration would be understood by an Egyptian. Diodorus i. 45. 2, 3 tells a story of Tnepachthos, king of Egypt, pronouncing a solemn curse on Menes the introducer of luxury, which he then has inscribed *ἱεροῖς γράμμασι* on the temple of Jupiter at Thebes. *Iuppiter ut pereat*, as in Hor. S. ii. 1. 43 *O pater et rex Iuppiter ut pereat positum rubigine telum.*

49. *sub terra*, as miners. Apoll. R. ii. 1007 of the Chalybes, whom like Xenophon Anab. v. 5 he places next to the Tibareni, *Ἄλλὰ σιδηροφόρον στυφελὴν χθόνα γατομέοντες ὄνον ἀμείβοντα βιοτήσιον.* *uenas*, veins of ore, so *μικρὰ φλέψ ἀργυρίτιδος* Xen. Vect. i. 5.

50. *Institut*, in the same sense as *insistere uiam*, 'began : ' so, I think, Att. fr. 134, 428 Ribbeck, *insistere negotium* Mil. Glor. iii. 3. 55. Drakenborch on Liu. xxx. 12 shows that this meaning is common in Livy. *ferri*. Iron was used as far back as the construction of the pyramids Herod. ii. 125. *stringere* = *in stricturas cogere*. In this connexion *stringere* expresses, as Prof. Edwin Palmer has explained to me, the



*pulling* or drawing out of the bar of iron from the furnace, *strictura* the bar itself thus drawn from the furnace, not yet worked up for any particular purpose, but only chopped into convenient lengths for use as material.

51-78. 'I had not been long parted from my sister-tresses when the winged famulus of Arsinoe flew in, carried me off to the sky, and laid me in the bosom of Venus. The goddess immediately changed me into a star, assigning me a position near the Virgin and the Lion. Yet though thus exalted to the society of the gods, I take the stars to witness that I am less rejoiced at my elevation than grieved to part from Berenice, and my life of essences and unguents as a lock of her hair.'

51. *Abiunctae* is taken as a genitive with *mea fata*, 'the fate of me now severed from them,' by Alex. Guarinus Muretus Anna Lefevre Valckenaer and Orelli 'nam minora a maioribus segregantur, non autem maiora a minoribus' (Guar). But (1) If a lock has been cut away the remaining locks may as properly be said to be severed from it, as it from them; (2) Catullus would avoid the ambiguity of leaving *comae* either genitive or plural; (3) the ordinary view is more in accordance with the natural order of the words: just as in Hor. C. iii. 25. 19, 20 *Dulce periculum est, O Lenae, sequi deum Cingentem uiridi tempora pampino*, the construction of *Cingentem* is mainly determined by this. *paulo ante* with *abiunctae*. The expression is compared by Valck. with Aeschines de Fals. Legat. 52 'Ἀδελφοὶ οἱ διαλυγνέτες ἐμοῦ ζῆν οὐκ ἂν προέλονται, and *sorores* with Poen. i. 3. 8, 9 *Hanc per dexteram Perque hanc sororem laeuam*.

52. *Lugebant*. Verg. G. iii. 518 sqq. *Maerentem abiungens fraterna morte iuuenctum*. *cum se*, 'when the brother of the Aethiop Memnon, the winged horse of Locrian Arsinoe, came before me as the air vibrated to his fluttering wings, and bearing me aloft flew away with me through the darkening sky and laid me in the spotless bosom of Venus. It was Zephyritis herself who had sent her own servant on that errand, she the dweller from Greece on the shores of Canopus.' *Aethiopsis*. Pind. Isthm. v. 40 *Στράταρχον Αἰθίοπων ἄφοβον Μέμνονα*. Paus. x. 31. 7 *Παρά δὲ τῷ Μέμνονι καὶ παῖς Αἰθίοψ πεποῖηται γυμνός, ὅτι ὁ Μέμνων βασιλεὺς ἦν τοῦ Αἰθίοπων γένους*. Hence he is *black* in works of art, *nocticolor* Laevius ap. Gell. N. A. xix. 7. 6, *niger* Ouid. Am. i. 8. 4, and this is probably the idea which Callimachus suggests here.

53. *Vnigena*. LXIV. 300. On the usual interpretation of *unigena*, 'born from the same parent,' 'brother,' the reference is either to Zephyrus, son of Eos and Astraeus, as Memnon was son of Eos and Tithonus; or, to Emathion, here identified with an ostrich, the famulus of Arsinoe Zephyritis. Apollod. iii. 12. 4 *Τιθωνὸν μὲν οὖν Ἥως ἀρπάσασα δι' ἔρωτα εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν κομίσει· κακῆ συνέλθοῦσα γεννᾷ παιδάς Ἡμαθίωνα καὶ Μέμνονα*. Emathion is connected with *Arabia* (Apollod. ii. 5. 11), and seems etymologically to be derived from *ἄματος*, 'he of the sands,' a name which would well describe an ostrich. Memnon was himself mythically associated with a bird, the Memnon or Memnonis, and there would thus be less impropriety in making him the brother either of an ostrich, or of a hero identified with one. Or this bird which was fabled to spring from the funeral-pyre of Memnon (Ouid. M. xiii. 600-619, Am. i. 13. 3, 4 *sic Memnonis umbras Annua solenni caede parentet auis*), and which is described as a very black species of hawk (Aelian H. A. v. 1, Anecdota Paris.

Bekkeri ii. p. 25 Οἱ δὲ ἄρνευσι οἱ Μένωνος γένος μὲν τῶν μελαντάτων Αἰθιοπῶν εἶσι . . . καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πτερυγίων ἦχον ἀσπίδων ἂν τις ἀπεικάσειε κτύπον), may be in this sense the *only child* of the *Aethiōp Memnon*. There would be a propriety in describing such a bird as the attendant of Arsinoe Aphrodite, because the hawk is a frequent emblem of Athor, the Egyptian Venus (Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* c. xiv. p. 206). *nulantibus*, 'flapping.' Apuleius vi. 15 *libralis pinnarum nulantium motibus* of the eagle that carried off Psyche.

54. **Arsinoe**, the sister wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus, whom he married after banishing his first wife, Arsinoe daughter of Lysimachus. She was deified as Aphrodite Arsinoe, and a temple was built to her on the Zephyrian promontory by Callicrates, as recorded in an epigram of Poseidippus ap. Athen. 318 Τοῦτο καὶ ἐν πόντῳ καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ τῆς Φιλαδέλφου Κύπριδος ἰλάσκεσθ' ἱερὸν Ἀρσινόης. Ἦν ἀνακοιρανέουσαν ἐπὶ Ζεφυρηίδου ἀκτῆς Πρῶτος ὁ ναύαρχος θῆκατο Καλλικράτης. Ἦ δὲ καὶ ἐπιλοῖην δώσει καὶ χεῖματι μέσσω τὸ πλάτυ λισσομένοις ἐκλιτανεῖ πέλαγος. Hecker Comment. on Anthol. Graec. p. 73 quotes Schol. Ven. II. xiii. 703 Πτολεμαῖος εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρσινόης χιλιάρουρον (χιλιάρουρον Bekker) τέμενος μέλας ἐνῆκε βοῖς and Schol. Theocr. xvii. 123 Ὁ Φιλάδελφος οὗτος ψκοδόμησε καὶ τῶν γονέων ἀμφοτέρων παμμεγέθη ναὸν καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς Ἀρσινόῃ καὶ Φιλωτέρῳ as showing that her worship was widely diffused. From her temple at Zephyrium, she seems to have been called *Zephyritis* (57) Athen. 318, Steph. Byz. s. u. Ζεφύριον. ἔστι καὶ ἄκρα τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀφ' ἧς ἡ Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἀρσινόῃ Ζεφυρίτις, ὡς Κολλίμαχος. From Hesych. Ἰππία ἡ Φιλαδέλφου Ἀρσινόῃ it would seem that she was fond of horses; she was also devoted to unguents and perfumery Athen. 689. **Locridos**, Bentley's conjecture for *elocridicos* of MSS. (compare χοιρίλοχος for χοίριλος, ὄρχιλοχος for ὄρχιλος Meineke Anal. Alex. p. 40), was explained by Bentley of the Pentapolis or Cyrenaica, where there was in very early times a Locrian settlement, Aen. xi. 265 *Libycone habitantis litore Locros* ῥ, and where the Ptolemies gave their names to three cities, Ptolemais, the earlier Barca, Berenice, before Hesperides, Arsinoe, before Teucheira. A Zephyrian promontory is included in this region by Ptolemy iv. 4. 5; hence *Locridos* might suggest Arsinoe's title Zephyritis, whether she was so called from *this* Zephyrium (Bentley), or as seems more probable, was connected by the name with every Zephyrian promontory within the domains of the Ptolemies. From Eustathius on Dionys. Perieg. 21 Λοκρὸς μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοὺς Λοκροὺς καλεῖται ὁ Ζέφυρος, ὃ ἔστι Λοκρικὸς καθάπερ Ἰσμαρικὸς ὁ Βορρᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἀπὸ Ἰσμάρου πόλεως, cf. Schol. there ὡσπερ Θρηίκιον τὸν Βορρᾶν, οὕτως καὶ Λοκρὸν τὸν Ζέφυρον κλητέον, it would seem that the words *Λοκρὸς* and *ζέφυρος* might connote each other; and if this was possible anywhere, it might be in Callimachus. Bernhardt on Dionys. p. 532 thinks Callimachus transferred the name Locrian from the Locri Epizephyrii on the S. E. coast of Italy, where there was a promontory Zephyrium, to the Zephyrian promontory in Africa where Arsinoe was deified; a view which Hecker Comment. in Anth. Graec. p. 73 explains to mean that Arsinoe, as worshipped on the African Zephyrium, is supposed to have Zephyrus as her *famulus*, and as Zephyrus was specially associated with the Locri Epizephyrii, the lady mistress of Zephyrus is called from him Locrian. These explanations are very doubtful: the opposition of *Graia Canopiis* in 58 suggests as a possibility that *Locridos* refers to the Locrians in Greece, with whom

Arsinoe may have been in some way connected. **ales equos**, not the Phoenix (Alex. Guarinus) nor Pegasus (Scaliger after a suggestion of Muretus, and so Sherburne Translation of Manilius p. 28), who, though the horse, is not the son, of Aurora (Lycophron 17); but either (1) Zephyrus, who is described by Eurip. Phoen. 211 as *πνοαῖς ἰππεύσαντος ἐν οὐρανῷ*, cf. Val. Flacc. i. 610 quoted by Vulp. *fundunt se carcere laeti Thraces equi, Zephyrusque et nocti concolor alas Nimborum cum prole Notus*. Zephyrus would then be the famulus of Arsinoe as he is of Cupido in Apul. v. 13; or (2) an ostrich, as first suggested by the Italian poet Vincenzo Monti from Paus. ix. 31 *Καὶ Ἀρσινόης ἐστὶν ἐν Ἐλικῶνι εἰκὼν ἣν Πτολεμαῖος ἔγρημεν ἀδελφὸς ὦν τὴν δὲ Ἀρσινόην στρουθὸς φέρει χαλκῆ τῶν ἀπτήνων πτέρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐταὶ κατὰ ταῦτὰ ταῖς ἄλλαις φύουσιν, ἰπὸ δὲ βάρους καὶ μεγέθους οὐχ οἷα τέ ἐστὶν ἀνεχεῖν σφᾶς ἐς τὸν ἀέρα τὰ πτέρα*. The Pentapolis was famous for its breed of ostriches: Arsinoe, who, like her husband, would be interested in rare or fine animals (see Athen. 200 where eight pairs of ostriches figure in the grand procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus) and was fond of horses, had perhaps tamed an ostrich to carry her: the same reason which caused this to be represented in a work of art would associate the ostrich with the deified Arsinoe as famulus or subordinate, as a doe is *famula* of Diana Sil. It. xiii. 124, and a pig famulus to the same goddess Ouid Met. viii. 272; or (3) if *unigena* = 'only child,' the Memnon, or black hawk described above may be meant. Each view is open to objection. (1) If Zephyrus is the winged horse, there is little force in *Aethiopsis*; Callimachus might perhaps call Zephyrus brother of Memnon but he would hardly add an unmeaning epithet; and Zephyrus though often represented winged (Lucr. v. 736) is not often a winged *horse*; and if he is, how would he take the lock, and how would he deposit it in Venus' bosom? (2) Ostriches do not fly (Aelian H. A. ii. 27); Callimachus would be guilty of a grotesque violation of fact in making one soar through the sky: in fact the very passage of Pausanias which speaks of Arsinoe on an ostrich says that an ostrich's wings cannot lift it into the air. (3) How could a hawk be called *ales equos*? As bearing a message not on land, but through the air? or as the best representative in bird-form of the horse, an animal peculiarly favoured by Arsinoe? Of the three theories the most plausible is perhaps the second; it is accepted by Orelli, Brüggemann, Haupt. Its grotesqueness would not be felt much in Egypt, perhaps would actually recommend it; and even in Rome at a later period a *peacock* carries the Empress Faustina to heaven, as represented on a coin in Donaldson's *Architectura Numismatica* p. 183. As to its flying, Flavius Vopiscus in his life of Firmus c. 6 says *Sedentem ingentibus struthionibus uelut esse et quasi uolitasse*. There is besides (cf. Claudian in Eutrop. 310) a peculiar force in *Memnonis Aethiopsis*, if an ostrich is meant: for the Aethiopian ostriches were celebrated (Plin. x. 1. 1): on the other hand nothing could be a better description of an ostrich than 'a winged horse,' an expression which would also allude to the partiality of Arsinoe for horses, and, if Hyginus represents a distorted fact, for horse-racing.

55. **aetherias umbras**, implying that it was night. Aen. v. 838 *Cum leuis aetheriis delapsus somnus ab astris Aera dimouit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras*.

56. **Veneris**, for Arsinoe was identified with Venus, as Ἀφροδίτη Ἀρσινόη; so Ariadne was Aphrodite Ariadne, Plut. Thes. 20, cf.

Ἡρακλῆς Θεμισῶν Athen. 289, Ἀφροδίτῃ Λαμία (Lobeck Paralipomena p. 368).

57. **eo legarat**, 'had dispatched on that service.' Most. iii. 2. 96 *Quo me miseram adfero omne impetratum*. Vatin. vi. 15 *Eo impulisset quod esset oblitendum*. **famulum**, if Zephyrus is meant, cf. Apul. v. 6 *illi tuo famulo praecipere Zephyro simili uectura sorores huc mihi sistat* (Valck.): if, as I think, some bird, cf. Aelian H. A. i. 47 of the raven *θεράπων Ἀπόλλωνος*, Porphyrius de Abstinentia iii. 5 *Ὀρνίθες τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰσι κήρυκες ἄλλοι ἄλλων θεῶν*. Διὸς μὲν αἰτὸς, Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ ἰέραξ καὶ κόραξ, Ἥρῳ δὲ πελαργός, Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ αὐ κρέξ τε καὶ γλαυξ, καὶ Δῆμητρος γέρανος καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλοι.

58. Lachmann's conjecture **Graia** seems certain: there is an antithesis between Greece and Egypt: for this seems to be the meaning of **Canopieis**. Solin. 31. 1 (Mommsen p. 153. 6, 7) *Quod ab Atlante usque Canopitanum ostium panditur, ubi Libyae finis est et Aegyptium limen, dictum a Canopo Menelai gubernatore*. There is the same opposition of birth-place and place of living Aen. x. 719 *Venerat antiquis Corythi de finibus Acron, Graius homo*. Canopus may also be selected as in the neighbourhood of the territory called the *Zephyrian plain-country* (Ζεφύριον πεδιάδα, Schol. Od. iv. 563, quoted by Hecker u. s.) **Canopieis litoribus**, a local abl. See on LXIV. 300.

59. **iuueni Ismario**, Bacchus. Prop. iv. 17. 7, Ouid. F. iii. 513-516 *Sintque tuae tecum faciam monumenta coronae, Vulcanus Veneri quam dedit, illa tibi. Dicta facit, gemmasque nouem transformat in ignes. Aurea per stellas nunc micat illa nouem*. Millingen pl. 26 gives a vase-picture in which Ariadne holds a crown or wreath of gold, studded on each side with pearls or precious stones. This crown was made by Vulcan. For the various legends about it, see Hygin. P. A. 5. **limine caeli**, 'the threshold of heaven,' i. e. the lower part of the sky in which the stars are supposed to be fixed, and beyond which the gods dwell. Verg. E. v. 56 *Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi Sub pedibusque uidet nubes et sidera Daphnis*. Attius similarly *alto ab limine caeli*, where the MSS. have *lumine*, as here most of the MSS. of Catullus have *numine*.

60. **Ex Ariadneis temporibus** taken from Ariadne's brows and transferred to the sky.

61. **corona**. Apoll. R. iii. 1001 Οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἀθάνατοι φίλαντο, μέσφ δὲ οἱ αἰθέρι τέκμαρ Ἀστερόεις στέφανος, τόντε κλείουσ' Ἀριάδνης, Πάννυχος οὐρανίους ἐνελίσσεται εἰδώλοισιν. Arat. Phaen. 71.

62. **flauī**, like Ariadne's, LXIV. 63. The parallel between Ariadne and Berenice is a natural one, and was doubtless a favorite conceit among the courtiers of Alexandria. **exuuiæ**, used by Attius of the skin of a beast (256, 446), here of the hair stripped from the head, Sen. Hipp. 1181. The Greek seems to be preserved here, ὅστε φόβης ξανθοτάταις ἐκόμα (Callim. fr. 483 Blomf.)

63. **Vuidulum** for *uindulum* or *uiridulum* of MSS. would be like Horace's *uuida uestimenta* (C. i. 5. 14) of garments dripping from the sea, Plautus' *uuidum rete* Rud. v. 3. 5. But Ausonius Epigr. cvi. 4 speaking of the dripping hair of Venus as painted by Apelles rising from the sea says *Umidulis spumas stringit utraque comis*, and *uimiduli* is probably right in Ouid A. A. iii. 629: cf. Lucr. vi. 509 where Wakefield conjectures for *uienti* of MSS. *umentia*, which Lachmann accepts. **a fluctu** can hardly refer, as Sillig thought, to the lock rising as a star

from the waves, which it does *afterwards* (69, 70): it only becomes a star when received by Venus; more probably the waves are introduced as the natural transit to the sky, possibly with the farther notion suggested by Voss of the souls of the dead passing through the ocean on their way to another life, cf. Od. xxiv. 11, Hes. "Ε. κ. 'Η. 169. Hesych. 'Ὀκεανοῖο πόρον' τὸν ἀέρα εἰς ἃν αἱ ψυχὰι τῶν τελευτῶντων ἀποχωροῦσιν, an idea peculiarly appropriate in a poem where the allusions are throughout Egyptian: for the passage over a lake was a regular formality of Egyptian funerals and only after such transmission could the soul be admitted to the regions of the blessed (Wilkinson Ancient Egyptians ii. p. 420 Second Series). The Alexandrian poets, as Meineke shows Anal. Alex. p. 156, habitually called the horizon the Ocean, see the Schol. on Aratus Phaen. 56 'Ὀκεανὸν τὸν ὀρίζοντα ὃ Ἄρατος λέγει ποιητικῶς.

**65. Virginis . . . Leonis.** The stars which form the Coma Berenices are above the tail of the Lion, and adjoin the right arm of the Virgin.

**66. Callisto**, daughter of the Arcadian Lycaon, having had intercourse with Jupiter whilst in attendance on Diana, was metamorphosed into a bear: the bear was killed and placed among the stars as Helice or Ursa Maior. (Apollod. iii. 8. 2, Ouid. F. ii. 155 sqq., Met. ii. 409 sqq.). **iuxtā** as *contra* in Ennius ap. Varr. L. L. vii. 12. But *iuncta* is an obvious and plausible emendation. **Lycaoniam.** Callim. H. Iov. 41 Blomf. Λυκαονίης ἄρκτοιο where Schol. τῆς πρῆν λεγομένης Καλλιστοῦς, Λυκάονος δὲ θυγατρὸς.

**67. Vector in occasum**, 'I wheel to my setting,' like Theocr. xxiv. 11 Ἄμος δὲ στρέφεται μεσονύκτιον ἐς δύσιν ἄρκτος. **tardum dux ante Booten**, 'leading the way in front of slow Bootes.' German. Aratea 139 *Tardus in occasum sequitur sua plaustra Bootes*.

**68. uix sero.** The epithet tardily-setting applied to Bootes alludes to the fact that his disappearance, 'inasmuch as the constellation is in a perpendicular position, occupies some time, whereas his rising is rapid, being effected in a horizontal position.' Sir G. C. Lewis, Astronomy of the Ancients p. 59. Homer speaks of Bootes as ἄψε δύοντα Βοώτην Od. v. 272.

**69.** Scaliger compares Arat. Phaen. 339 θεῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ φορεῖται Λείψανον Ἡριδανοῖο πολυκλαύστον ποτάμοιο. Manilius v. 14 seems to imitate Catullus *Premunt uestigia diuum Fluminaque errantes late sinuantia flexus* (Valck.). Plutarch Q. R. 76 Μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν αἰ ψυχὰι τὴν σελήνην ὑπὸ πόδας ἔξουσιν, Verg. E. v. 56.

**70. Tethyi.** German. Arat. 589.

**71. Pace tua**, 'under correction from thee,' as Ouid. Pont. iii. 1. 9 *Pace tua dixisse uelim*, Am. iii. 2. 60 *Pace loquor Veneris, tu dea maior eris*. **Ramnesia.** See on LXIV. 395. The lock speaks under correction of Nemesis, because she punishes excessive praise (ἀχάλια λέγειν Jacobs Anthol. Epig. p. 37), especially of things mortal as compared with immortal or divine. If Callimachus knew the legend which made the Telchines, in some accounts the first workers of iron, the sons of Nemesis (Bacchylides fr. 69 in Bergk's Poet. Lyr. Graeci), there might be a particular meaning in this mock-heroic invocation of the goddess: the poet would then say 'without any offence to the goddess who punishes proud words, and is the ultimate cause of my being severed from the head of my sovereign, I declare I would rather be there again than raised to the dignity of a star.'

**72. tegam**, 'will veil.' **timore** is probably causal 'for fear:'

conceivably it is instrumental, *tegam* then=‘I will not bury under any fear:’ but see on LXV. 12.

73. *Nec si*=ὅδ’ εἰ. This passage seems to prove that *nec*=*ne quidem* is not confined to writers of the Augustan and post-Augustan age. But see Madvig de Fin. pp. 802–814. *discerpent*, not *discerpant*, is the reading of the MSS, ‘if they are to rend me,’ not ‘if they were to rend me;’ the future expresses an anticipation which is almost a realization. Bentley wished to change *dictis* to *dextris*, an almost grotesque personification of the stars, and besides unnecessary, as *dictis* might already convey the idea: *dictis* for *digitis* is found in a fragment of Lucilius ap. Non. 25, cf. *dictum* 117; but such trifling is here forced: see Luc. Müller on Lucil. xvii. 1. Forc. quotes no instance of *discerpere* used in this sense of defaming; but *carpere* is often thus used, *carpere sermonibus* Liv. vii. 12, *uocibus* Caesar B. G. iii. 17, cf. Cic. Balb. xxvi. 57 *In conuuiiis rodunt, in circulis uellicanti, non illo inimico sed hoc maledico dente carpunt*: similarly *fama distrahi* Tac. Ann. iii. 10.

74. i. e. *Non tegam timore uera quin euoluam condita ueri pectoris* a construction like Prop. i. 8. 21 *Nam me non ullae poterunt corrumpere tædæ Quin ego, uita, tuo limine uera querar*, ‘that it should prevent me from unwrapping the secrets of a sincere heart.’ *Condita* is here a substantive, as under the Empire, when it was used=‘magazines,’ ‘store-houses.’ *euoluam*, Cic. de Orat. ii. 86. 350 *euolutum illis integumentis dissimulationis tuæ nudatumque*.

75, 6. *me afore . . . Afore me*, a remarkable inversion.

77, 8. ‘With whom I, as I was a stranger to all unguents while Berenice was in the former time of her virginity, so I have since drained in her company unguents many a thousand.’ The two periods are contrasted by *quondam*, associated by *una*. The lock had always been with her mistress, alike in the artless simplicity of her girlhood, and in the luxurious profusion of her married life: and this is why it is so hard to leave her (*discrucior*). *Omnibus expers unguentis* conveys by allusion the farther idea of artlessness and innocence: *δολερὰ μὲν τὰ εἴματα, δολερὰ δὲ τὰ χρίματα* was proverbial Clem. Alex. i. p. 294 Sylburg, Herod. iii. 22, Plut. Q. R. 26, Symp. iii. 1, de Herod. Malign. 28: which Müller considers to be a peculiarly Dorian feeling (Dorians iv. 2. 5). For the use of unguents in marriages cf. Lysist. 943, Plut. 529 *Ὅτε μύροισιν μυρίσαι στακτοῖς, ὁπότεν νύμφην ἀγάγησθον*, Xen. Symp. ii. 3 *Αἰ μέντοι γυναῖκες, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἦν νύμφαι τύχασιν οὐσαι, μύρον μὲν τι καὶ προσδέουσι* ἄν. See A. Müller on Acharn. 1054. Other views are (1) to refer *omnibus expers unguentis* to the time at which the lock is speaking, ‘in whose company I, that now am robbed of all unguents, (Huebner Inscriptt. Hisp. 172. 15 *Di immortales expertem patria incolumilate fortunisque omnibus faxint*), drank in many thousand unguents while she was yet a maid.’ (2) That of Munro, who reading *ex pars* for *expers* translates ‘with which head, while my queen was in the time of her virginity, I, a part of that head, absorbed in its company many thousands from among every kind of unguent.’ (3) That of Lachmann, who changed *unguentis* to *unguenti si*; *omnibus expers* would then mean ‘strange to all lovers,’ (Muretus, Orelli), not ‘free from every care’ (Brüggemann); for *unguenti milia multa* cf. LXI. 203. The clause *Quicum ego si una milia multa bibi* would then become the protasis to which *Nunc uos* is the apodosis. (4) To change *expers* into *expersa*

(Heinsius and Conington). Catullus admits hypermeter in hexameters LXIV. 298 *natisque*, CXV. 5 *paludesque*, Lucretius has v. 849 *concurrere debere*, Callimachus ἡμῶν δ' οὐκ οἶδ' Epigr. 42. 1. On all these four views the period of maidenhood is contrasted with the period since marriage as a time of unguents with a time when unguents ceased. But this exactly inverts the fact, for if Berenice used unguents as a girl she would use them *a fortiori* as a queen; though no doubt the time during which the lock had belonged to her as queen had been short compared with the previous period of girlhood.

79-88. 'I now call upon you, newly-wedded brides, to show your consideration for me by withholding from your lords their nuptial rights till you have first offered unguents to me; I speak to the good alone, for if any adulteress makes such an offering, let it perish: I seek not rewards from the vile: though my hope is that you may live in love and harmony with your husbands.'

80. *post*, 'hereafter; ' *non* must be taken in close connexion with this. Whatever you may have done before, remember that you must not hereafter gratify your husbands, without paying an acknowledgment to me. *unanymis*, IX. 4.

81. *nudantes*, 'baring the nipples of your breasts by throwing back your robe.' Lucilius ap. Varr. de L. L. vi. 69 *Quae cum ad me cubitum uenit, sponte ipsa suaptest Adducta ut tunicam et cetera reiceret*.

82. *munera*. Callim. fr. 106. 1-3 Blomf. Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν ὄσσα καρῆτι τῆμος ἔδωκα, Ξανθὰ σὺν εὐδόμοις ἀκραλιπῆ (ἄκρα λίπη O. Schneider) στεφάνοις, "Ἄπνοα πάντ' ἐγένοντο παραχρῆμ'. *onyx*, the stone, not the gem: it was found chiefly in Arabia. Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 60 *Hunc aliqui lapidem alabastriten uocant quem cauant et ad uasa unguentaria, quoniam aptum seruare incorrupta dicatur*. Possibly Catullus may use *onyx* to translate ἀλάσαστρος; a word used by Callimachus L. P. 13, 15.

83. *Vester onyx, quae*, 'your vase alone, ye who.' The repetition of *uester* as well as the sudden address in the second person are quite Callimachean. So L. P. 40, 41 Κρεῖον δ' εἰς ὄρος φέκισατο, Κρεῖον ὄρος. *iura*, the rights of a wife; cf. LXI. 144-6.

85. 'Ah, may the light dust drink in her vile gifts that they may be in vain,' i. e. may her offerings of oil or unguents be absorbed by the ground and not reach the deity for whom they are meant. This seems to be the idea: it is perhaps modelled on the proverbial ἕδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένοισθε II. vii. 99, which Hesychius explains as διαλυθεῖητε καὶ ἀποθάνοιτε, and for which Apollonius substitutes κόβις καὶ γαῖα ἐγένοντο iv. 1408; cf. εἰς τέφραν γράφειν. Propertius ii. 16. 46 prays that a rival lover's gifts of robes and gems may be carried off by storms and so be changed to earth and water: cf. Tib. i. 9. 11, 12 *At deus illa In cinerem et liquidas munera uertat aquas*.

87. *magis*, LXXVIII. 30, LXXIII. 4. Q. Catulus ap. Gell. xix. 9. 3, 4 *Ne illunc fugitiuum Mitteret ad se intro, sed magis eiceret*.

88-94. 'Do you, Berenice, when you make offerings in the evening to Venus, remember to extend your bounty to me, your faithful servant, who would still rather be a lock on your head than hold a place among the stars.'

89. *tuens sidera*, looking on the stars at evening: this explains *festis luminibus*, no doubt the lamps lighted in honour of the goddess. Herodotus ii. 62 speaks of such a λυχνοκαία at Sais.

**91. Sanguinis**, from the victims offered on the occasion. Herodotus ii. 62 speaks of sacrifice accompanying the *λυχνοκαία*. Horace mentions victims offered to Venus C. i. 19. 16, iv. 11. 8. But there is much probability in Bentley's conjecture *Vnguini's*. **iusseris** for *uestris* of MSS. seems to me more probable than Scaliger's *siueris* or Lachmann's *siris*. For *non iusseris*, 'thou shalt not command' = 'see thou command not,' see Dräger p. 287. *Non feceris* for *ne feceris* is condemned by Quintilian i. 5. 50. **tuum**, 'thy servant,' Men. v. 7. 39, masc. as in *Vuidulum* 63. The rhythm is like 63 *ad templa deum me*.

**92. affice muneribus**, an expression of prose. Cic. ad Fam. ii. 3. 2, Nep. Ag. 3.

**93, 4.** 'Would that the stars might fall together in a crash! let me become a lock on a royal head; then let Orion shine next to Aquarius; ' i. e. to be once more a lock on the head of my sovereign, I would gladly see all the stars thrown into confusion.

**94.** Orion and Aquarius instead of being, the former, a southern sign near the Bull and the Dog, the latter a zodiacal sign between Capricornus and the Fish, may for aught I care be close to each other. **Hydrochoi**, dat. Ὑδροχοῖ for which Aratus 389 has Ὑδροχοῖ. Germanicus Arat. 382 uses *Hydrochoos* as nomin. **fulgeret**, imperf. of *fulgēre*, not pres. of *fulgerare*, though the latter word might well suit the flashing sword and belt of Orion. *fulgeret* returns to the tense of *corruerent*; the construction is like XXIII. 22 *Si leras fricesque, Non posses*: cf. VI. 2, 3. Tib. i. 8. 22 *Et faceret, si non aera repulsa sonent*. **Oarion**, as in Corinna fragm. 2. 2 Bergk, Pind. fr. 50, Callim. H. Dian. 265 Blomf.

## EXCURSUS ON LXVI.

## PASSAGES SPEAKING OF THE Βερενίκης Πλόκαμος.

Eratosthenis Catasterism. xii Ὀρῶνται ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν (*Leonem*) ἐν τριγώνῳ κατὰ τὴν κέρκον ἀμαυροὶ ἑπτὰ, αἱ καλοῦνται πλόκαμοι Βερενίκης Εὐεργέτιδος. Also in the Vienna Scholia on Aratus p. 411 in vol. i. of Buhle's edition. Hipparchus in the Catalogue of Fixed Stars inserted in Ptolemy's Syntaxis vii. 5 several times alludes to the Πλόκαμος: thus under οἱ περὶ τὸν Λέοντα ἀμόρφωτοι he says τῆς μεταξύ τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ λέοντος καὶ τῆς ἄρκτου νεφελοειδοῦς συστροφῆς κίλουμένης πλόκαμος τὸ βορειότατον. Ἄγαιη τῶν νοτίων τοῦ πλοκάμου ἐξοχῶν ἢ προηγουμένη. Ἄγαιη ἀστέρες εἰς δευτέρου μεγέθους αἱ, πέμπτου δ, καὶ ὁ πλόκαμος. Ἄγαιη under οἱ περὶ τοὺς ἰχθύας ἀμόρφωτοι he adds at the end καὶ ὁ πλόκαμος ἕξ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. The concluding words of the catalogue are καὶ ὁ πλόκαμος. Hyginus P. A. ii. 24 *Sunt aliae septem stellae ad caudam Leonis in triangulo collocatae, quas crines Berenices esse Conon Samius Mathematicus et Callimachus dicit; cum Ptolemaeus Berenicem Ptolemaei et Arsinoes filiam sororem suam duxisset uxorem, et paucis post diebus Asiam oppugnatum profectus esset, uouisse Berenicem, si uictor Ptolemaeus redisset, se detonsuram crinem; quo uoto damnatum crinem in Veneris Arsinoes Zephyritidis posuisse templo, eumque postero die non comparuisse; quod factum cum rex aegre ferret, Conon mathematicus, ut aule diximus, cupiens inire gratiam regis dixit crinem inter sidera uideri collocatum; et quasdam uauis a figura septem skillas ostendit, quas esse*



*fingeret crinem. Hanc Berenicem nonnulli cum Callimacho dixerunt equos alere et ad Olympia<sup>1</sup> mittere consuetam fuisse. Alii dicunt hoc amplius, Ptolemaeum Berenices patrem multitudinem hostium perterritum fuga saluatum petisse; filiam autem saepe consuetam insiliisse in equum et reliquam exercitus copiam constituisse et complures hostium interfecisse, reliquos in fugam coniecisse, pro quo etiam Callimachus eam magnanimam dixit. Eratosthenes autem dicit et uirginibus Lesbiiis dolem quam cuique relictam a parente nemo solueret, iussisse reddi; et inter eas constituisse petitionem.* Strabo 3 Τὸν Βερενίκης πλόκαμον καὶ τὸν Κάνωβον ἐχθές καὶ πρόην κατονομασμένον. Plin. H. N. ii. 178 *Nec Canopum (uide!) Italia et quem uocant Berenices crinem.* Tatianus contra Graecos p. 149 ed. Paris. 1615 Justini Martyris Τίς ἐστὶν ὁ Βερενίκης πλόκαμος, ποῦ δὲ οἱ ἀστέρες αὐτῆς πρὶν τὴν προειρημένην ἀποθανεῖν; Theon Scholiasta in Arati Phaen. 146 Ἄπλοοι τοιούτους ἀκατανόμαστοί εἰσι καὶ οὐ συμπληροῦνται εἰς τύπον ἐξ αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ ἠλακᾶτην αὐτὴν λέγουσι. Κόνων δὲ ὁ μαθηματικός, Πτολεμαῖος χαριζόμενος, Βερονίκης πλόκαμον ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατηστερίσε· τοῦτο καὶ Καλλιμάχος που φησὶν Ἡδὲ Κόνων μ' ἐβλεψεν ἐν ἥρι τὸν Βερονίκης βόστρυχον ὄντ' ἄρα κείνη πᾶσιν ἔθηκε θεοῖσιν. Proclus de Sphaera xv Βόρεια δὲ ἐστὶν, ὅσα τοῦ τῶν ζωδίων κύκλου πρὸς ἄρκτους κείται . . . δελτωτόν, καὶ ὄστερον κατηστερισμένος ὑπὸ Καλλιμάχου Βερενίκης πλόκαμος. Achilles Tatius Isagoge in Arati Phaenom. p. 134 of Petavius' Uranologium Ὁ μὲν ἀστὴρ καὶ ἀστρον' οὐκέτι δὲ τὸ ἀνάπαλι' ὁ μέντοι Καλλιμάχος (codd. ὅταν μέντοι ὁ Καλλιμάχος)

Πρὶν ἀστέρι τῷ Βερενίκης

ἐπὶ τοῦ πλοκάμου φησὶν ὅς ἐξ ἐπτὰ καταφανῶν σύγκειται. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν πλόκαμον οὐκ οἶδεν Ἄρατος· παρήρησε δὲ Κόνων ὁ μαθηματικός. Hesych. Βερενίκης Πλόκαμος· τοῦτον κατηστερίσθαι φησὶ Κόνων. Nonnus Συναγωγὴ ἰστοριῶν in editione Etonensi 1610 S. Gregorii Nazianzeni in Julianum Inuertiuarum duarum p. 159 Ἀριάδην θυγάτηρ ὑπῆρχε Μίνως τοῦ Κρητῶν βσιλεύος· αὐτὴ ἠράσθη Θυσέως τοῦ Ἀθηναίων βασιλεύος, ἐλθόντος ἐπ' ἀναρέσει τοῦ Μινωταύρου· ἐκ τοῦ οὖν Θυσέως ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν ὁ Διόνυσος καὶ ἀνήγαγεν ἐν τῇ Νάξῳ καὶ συνεμίγη αὐτῇ· καὶ πρὸς τιμὴν αὐτῆς, στέφανον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ δι' ἀστέρων ὑπεζωγράφησεν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ πλοκάμου τῆς Βερονίκης ἐστὶν αὕτη· Βερονίκη γυνὴ τις ἦν τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Εὐεργέτου καλουμένου. τοῦ οὖν ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ὄντος ἐν πολέμοις, ἠύξατο, ὅτι εἰ ὑποστρέψει ἀπρωτος τῶν πλοκάμων τῶν ἐαυτῆς ἀπόκαρμα ἀναθήσει ἀνάθημα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ· καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ἡ Βερονίκη τὸν πλόκαμον ἀποκείρουσα τὸν ἐαυτῆς ὑποστρέψαντος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου. Κόνων δὲ τις ἦν ἀστρονόμος ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῆς χρόνων ὁ (l. ὅς) πρὸς κυλακίαν αὐτῆς φησὶν ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ τὸν πλόκαμον τοῦτον ἐν ἀστροῖς ἀνέθηκαν. καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ τις βοτρυνειδῆς θέσις ἀστέρων ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὁ καλοῦσι πλόκαμον Βερονίκης. (Also in Villoison's Anecdota i. p. 90.) Scholiasta Germanici Arat. p. 72 ed. Breysig. *Videntur aliae iuxta caudam eius stellae obscurae septem quae uocantur crines Berenices Euergetidos. Dicuntur et earum uirginum quae Lesbo perierunt*: cf. ibid. 132. Meyer Anthol. Lat. 1565. 8-11, Riese 916 *E Beronicae delonsum uertice crinem Retulit esuriens Graecus in astra Conon. Gentia, rapta tibi fial coma prolenus astrum, Et regat Illyricas certior Vrsa rates.*

<sup>1</sup> Valckenaeer considers this a mistake, and thinks that Hyginus has here confused Berenice, the wife of Ptolemy Euergetes, with a Berenice or Pherenice, the daughter of Diagoras of Rhodes, who, as daughter mother and sister of men who had conquered at Olympia, obtained a special permission to witness the games. Ael. V. H. x. I. But if Arsinoe, the wife of Philadelphus, was called *ἱππία*, as Hesychius says, a term which would imply fondness for horses and probably skill in managing them, may not Berenice have had the same taste and shown it by sending horses to Olympia?

## LXVII.

THE obscurities which surround this poem are so considerable that it seems hopeless to do more than sketch in outline the story which it contains, leaving the subordinate points undecided.

A house, probably in Verona (34) had belonged for some time to an old man named Balbus, who seems to have been unmarried, as may be inferred from 6 *Postquam es porrecto facta marita sene*. During his life it was free from scandal, which is expressed in the words 'the door of the house was the kindly servant of its master,' 3, 4. On his death it came into the possession of a newly-married couple, and soon grew scandalous. The chief of these scandals was that the wife had committed incest with her husband's father, whence the door is sarcastically described in 1 as *iocunda uiro, iocunda parenti*. She had in fact not been a virgin at the time when she entered the house as a bride; but had previously committed incest with her husband's father at Brixia. Brixia was also the scene of several other adulteries, with a Postumius, a Cornelius, and a tall man whose name is suppressed, but who had been attacked in the law-courts on a question of supposed pregnancy.

The chief difficulty of the poem is to determine the relation of the persons mentioned in 3, 9. (1) Is Balbus simply the first tenant of the house afterwards occupied by the scandalous pair? or is he otherwise connected with them? (2) Is Caecilius the impotent husband of 20, or a second husband, or merely third in the series of tenants into whose hands the house had successively passed?

(1) Nothing connects Balbus *necessarily* with any part of the scandal. So long as he occupied the house, the door was faithful to its master: it is only after his death that it loses its former character and becomes disreputable (*mutata feraris In dominum ueterem deseruisse fidem*). To suppose with Doering that Caecilius is the *adoptive* son and heir of Balbus, is a gratuitous hypothesis, not supported by the description of the father and son in 23-26, and inconsistent with the general tenour of the poem and the probabilities of the case. If the incest spoken of in 23-26 was committed by Balbus, how is it that the house did not become scandalous while Balbus was still living in it? or how could it be true that the same door was successively loyal to the aged adulterer, false to the youthful husband of the adulteress? on the other hand to suppose with Schwabe (Quaest. p. 347) that the Balbus of 3 is the Caecilius of 9—that this Caecilius Balbus, a native of Brixia, was admitted into the house of an old Veronese, who at his death left it with the rest of his property to him, is improbable (*a*) as dissevering *Balbo* 3 from *senex* 4; (*b*) as weakening the natural force of *cui tradita nunc sum* 9, words which suggest that Caecilius was the new, as opposed to Balbus, the former, owner.

(2) The form of the expression *ita Caecilio placiam, cui tradita nunc sum* 9 can scarcely apply to the cajoled husband described in 20. The door has just been taxed with treachery to its master (8), it replies, 'My *new* master will find no cause to distrust me: I will explain how it is that I seem culpable. The guilty wife was guilty before she came here, as all Brixia knows: and the reason of her

guilt was her husband's impotence. This and her other crimes I know, not because I am told all the secrets of Brixia, but because I used to overhear the woman's own confessions.' Catullus had contrasted the condition of the house under its first owner Balbus and under its later tenants the guilty wife and her husband (1-8): it would be weak, after this, to represent the door as wishing to please the very master to whom it had already done the deepest disservice. Hence Caecilius cannot be the impotent husband described in 20. But it is still a question whether he is merely the third owner of the house, or besides this the second husband of the woman. The words *uir prior* in 20 might seem to imply a former husband; this husband may have died or divorced his wife; Caecilius had married her and in doing so become the new master of the house. If this is so, Catullus, we must suppose, holds his dialogue with the door just after the new marriage: he has heard of the scandals connected with its last master, and inquires the reason; the door, in explaining, intimates that a new state of things has now set in and expresses a hope that all may be decorous for the future. That Caecilius is not merely the new tenant, seems also to follow from the interest which Catullus continues to take in the house, *Nos uolumus, nobis dicere ne dubita*, words which show that he has a *personal* interest in its inmates, no doubt as himself one of the woman's admirers; whether an unsuccessful one taking his revenge (as Alex. Guarinus thought) in this exposure, or an aspirant who hopes to frighten a vicious woman into compliance, is uncertain.

Three stages, on this view, are traceable—

1. *Before* the woman occupied the house, whilst she still lived at Brixia.
2. Her first entrance into the house, as the bride or wife of an impotent husband.
3. When she was married to her new husband Caecilius.

A simpler, but in my view less tenable hypothesis, is as follows: An old man Balbus owns a house at Verona. He is the father of a son Caecilius, who at his death succeeds to the ownership of the house and brings into it with him his newly-married wife. The wife, who was supposed to be a virgin at the time of her marriage, had however previously committed incest with her husband's father in his house at Verona, as well as at Brixia, the scene of several other scandalous amours. On this view 1-8 might be paraphrased thus: 'Door, who, if scandal says true, have favoured a father's illicit passion for his son's wife, who while old Balbus lived and occupied you as master, lent yourself to his incestuous purpose, and when at his death his son Caecilius entered you as a bridegroom turned round and betrayed your new master, explain this change of conduct.' The door replies, 'If I seem to favour my first master's passion, and betray my new one, it is because the facts of the case are not accurately known. Caecilius' wife was not a virgin when he brought her here: his father had anticipated the marital duties of his languid son, and the reputed *noua nupta* had lost her virginity before her marriage. This was known at Brixia, where she has had other paramours. Scandal naturally followed her when she came to Verona.'

The personal part sustained by the house-door need not surprise us. As I have observed on the Attis, the threshold and the door were peculiarly associated in the ancient world with ideas of love and therefore

of scandal. Serenades sung by Greek lovers at the house-door of their mistress had a special name παρακλαυσίθυρον, a humorous specimen of which is to be found in the Ecclesiastusae of Aristophanes 950-975. But Catullus would remember many similar scenes in the literature of his own country; compare e. g. the words of Plautus Curc. i. 15 sqq. Fleckeisen

Phaedr. *Huic proximum illud ostiumst oculissimum.*  
*Salve : ualvistine usque oculissimum ostium ?*

Palin. *Caruitne febris te heri uel nudiuertius,*  
*Et heri cenaustine ?*

Phaedr. *Deridesne me ?*

Palin. *Quid tu ergo, insane, rogilas ualeatne ostium ?*

Phaedr. *Bellissimum hercle uidi et taciturnissimum :*  
*Numquam ullum uerbum multil : quom aperitur, tacet,*  
*Quomque illa noctu clanculum ad me exit, tacet.*

And a similar personification of a door Asin. ii. 3. 10

*Ita haec morata ianuast : extemplo ianilorem*  
*Clamat procul si quem uidet ire ad se calcitronem.*

Propertius i. 16. 17-48 makes the door of Cynthia recall in a soliloquy the serenade which he had addressed to her before it; Ovid in one of the most famous of his *Amores* (1. 6) represents himself stationed all night at the door of Corinna's house, and vainly entreating the porter to admit him.

1. *iocunda*, ironical, 'you that are welcome to the husband's father as well as to the husband himself,' in allusion to 23-26. *iocunda* as in LXII. 26 of connubial delights. *dulci*, 'darling,' or 'well-beloved,' as husbands ought to be: similarly ironical LXXVIII. 3, C. 4. The form of the expression is ingeniously ambiguous, suggesting that the *uir* and the *parens* are identical.

2. *auctet*. Amphit. Prol. 6 *Bonogue atque amplo auctare perpetuo lucro*; also in Lucretius. The whole line is imitated by Ovid. F. i. 612 *Et quodcunque sua Iuppiter auget ope*.

3. *seruisse benigne*, 'yielded ungrudging service,' Plin. Epist. vii. 24. 8 *Domus C. Cassi seruiet domino non minori*.

4. 'In old times whilst the old man was himself the tenant of his home.' *ipse*, in opposition to the subsequent tenants. *senex*, Balbus.

5. 'And who afterwards, they say, lent yourself to the service of an ill-affected vow,' whether of its new mistress, not to submit to the dictation of an impotent husband, or some paramour, bent on a criminal purpose. It was a common practice with lovers to make vows at the door of their mistress's house; see Theoc. xxiii. 35-46, Prop. i. 16, Mart. x. 13. 7. 8: sometimes garlands or other tokens were left in the porch, as in Am. i. 6. 67, where Ovid maintains a dialogue, kept up all through the night, with a *ianitor*, whom he cannot induce to unbar the gate which keeps him from Corinna. A more complying *ianitor* we may perhaps suppose gave admittance to the paramours of the lady introduced here by Catullus. Others make *uoto maligno* ablative, 'with a grudging will:' this agrees better with *benigne* in 3, but hardly leaves *uoto* its proper amount of meaning.

6. 'When the old man was laid out and you became the door of a bride.' **porrecto**, as a corpse, Mart. ix. 85. 4 *Sed mea porrexit sportula, Paule, pedes.* Pers. iii. 104 *Tandemque beatulus alto Compositus lecto, crassisque lutatus amomis Ad portam rigidos calces extendit.* **marita**, Liv. xxvii. 31 *Vagabatur cum uno aut altero comite per maritas domos dies noctesque.*

7. **mutata**. Prop. ii. 14. 31 *Quod si forte aliqua nobis mutabere culpa.*

8. **ueterem** with **fidem**.

9. **ita**, as I wish to please my new master. If this is the unfortunate husband of 20-22, the words of the door can hardly be quite sincere: which would not be out of keeping with the rest of the speech. More probably however Caecilius is the *third* occupant of the house; and the door after losing its character under its second tenant expresses here its anxiety to please its new and more reputable master.

10. Heroid. iii. 8 *Culpa tua est, quamuis haec quoque culpa tua est.*

11. **peccatum**, participle; in Heaut. i. 1. 106 it seems to be substantive. **quisquam quicquam**, Plautine.

12. 'But it's what the people say, Quintus, The door is the culprit.' This is my correction of the corrupt MS. reading *Verum istius (isti) populi ianua qui te facit.* Persius i. 42 uses *os populi meruisse* of a poet being talked of by the people: cf. Phorm. v. 7. 18 *Nam qui erit rumor populi si id feceris? Olim cum honeste potuit tum non est data. Nunc uiduam extrudi turpe est*, Pseud. i. 5. 4, ad Herenn. ii. 8. 12 *Contra rumores dicemus primum . . . et aliquam fictam fabulam in aduersarios afferemus, quam dicamus omnibus in ore esse.* **Quinte**, the conjecture of Scaliger, is not disproved in my judgment by the arguments of Schwabe Quaestt. p. 15 sqq. The praenomen might well be used by the door to a fellow-townsmen (Sen. Apocol. 6 *Marci municipem uides* where see Bücheler), especially to one whom it wished to conciliate or cajole: Hor. S. ii. 5. 32, 6. 37. **ianua facit**, with the double-entendre conveyed by *facere* Iuuen. vii. 240, Petron. 87 *si quid uis, fac iterum*, Mart. ix. 16. 2. Another possibility would be to read *Verum isti populo ianua, Quinte, facit*, 'but the house-door, Quintus, does sacrifice to your fine mob,' i. e. is sacrificed for the offences of other people. In the Orat. pro Domo xxix. 77 the MSS. read *cum populo fecisti* not *pro populo*. The words would still convey a double-entendre, 'the house-door does the deed in the judgment of the mob.'

14. **Qui . . . omnes**. The collective noun *populi* is distributed by *omnes*, cf. the instances quoted by Roby Latin Grammar ii. 1434.

15. **uno dicere uerbo**, 'just to say so and have done,' a slightly different sense from the not uncommon one 'without more ado,' *uno uerbo omnia sana faciet* Cato R. R. 157. 7, And. i. 1. 18 *Quin tu uno uerbo dic quid est quod me uelis?*

16. **Viz.** by detailing the facts at length.

17. *Quis aut scit aut curat?* Phil. xiii. 16. 33. **laborat**, 'is anxious,' so Horace S. ii. 8. 19 *nosse laboro*, Epist. i. 3. 2 *scire laboro* (Vulp.).

19. **uirgo tradita**, 'made over to us a maid,' i. e. a virgin-wife. **nobis**, the house with its master and establishment.

20. **non illam uir prior attigerit**. Either (1) 'To be sure, her first husband did not touch her;' this assumes a second marriage: *Non attigerit* concessively; the negative particle *non* (not *ne*) is determined by

*illam*, as in LXVI. 80 *non* by *post*: or (2) 'Her husband cannot have been the first to handle her.' Prop. ii. 3. 25 *Haec tibi contulerint caelestia munera diui*, 'must have contributed'; where as here some MSS. give the pluperfect. On this latter view *prior* is in reference to the other person to whom she lost her virginity: but Tibullus i. 4. 32 *Qui prior Eleo est carcere missus equus* seems to use *prior* = before all the rest.

21. *sicula* seems = *pugiunculus*. It was probably distinct from *secula* the Campanian word for *falx* Varro L. L. v. 137. *tenera*, 'not full grown.' Hor. S. i. 3. 116. *beta*. Suetonius mentions *betissare* = *languere* as one of the words used commonly by Augustus (Oct. 87). *Ponit assidue et pro stulto baceolum, et pro pullo puleiacium et pro cerrito uacerrosum et uapide se habere pro male et betissare pro languere quod uulgo lachanizare dicitur.*

22. *tunicam*, XXXII. 11, Ouid. Am. i. 7. 48 *Aut tunicam summa deducere turpiter ora Ad mediam*, uses the word of Corinna's under-robe.

23. *illius* with *pater* not with *gnati*.

24. *miseram*, 'degraded,' the consequence of the incestuous act. *conscelerasse*, LXIV. 404: Cicero has *consceleratus* as an adjective, but not, it would seem, the verb.

25. *caeco*, 'headstrong,' Pis. xxiv. 57 *Quae te, praedo amenissime, nisi praedae ac rapinarum cupiditas tam caeca rapiebat?*

26. *iners*, 'listless,' 'cold,' Hor. Epod. 12. 17. *iners sterili semine* like *Falsum mendaci uentre* 48.

27. *unde unde*, 'from somewhere or other,' 'no matter whence.' Hor. S. i. 3. 88, cf. Apul. M. v. 30 *Nec uindictae solacium undeunde spernendum est.*

29. *Egregium*, ironical as in Aen. iv. 93.

30. *minxerit*. This disproves Döderlein's theory quoted by O. Iahn on Pers. i. 114 that *meiere* alone, not *mingere*, is used 'ubi obscene quis uel cum risu loquitur.' The commentators compare Hor. S. ii. 7. 52 *meiat eodem*, Pers. vi. 73 *Patriciae immeiat uuluae*, and the similar use of *οὐπέiv*. Curtius connects *μοιχος* with *mingere*. *nati gremium* can hardly be *gremium uxoris nati* (Hertzberg on Prop. iv. 3. 52) as if the wife's bosom were the son's possession, (*Ostenditque tuum, generose Britannice, uentrem* Iuuen. vi. 124 which Vulp. quotes is different); but the father who makes a cuckold of his own son is said to make water into his son's lap, partly with the contemptuous idea found also in *καρουπέiv* (Eccles. 832), partly with the farther notion of the bride reclining *in gremio mariti*, Iuuen. ii. 120.

32. *Brixia* now *Brescia*, a town west of the Lago di Garda in the territory of the Cenomani, a Gaulish tribe, who are mentioned as its founders by Livy v. 35 *Alia subinde manus Cenomanorum, Elitoutio duce, uestigia priorum secula eodem saltu, fauente Belloueso, cum transcendisset Alpes, ubi nunc Brixia ac Verona urbes sunt (locos tenuere Libui) considunt.* In XXXII. 30 he speaks of *uicos Cenomanorum Brixiamque quod caput gentis erat*, whence it must have been the capital of the district. The *Chinaea specula* is not known from any other authority; Cluverius says it was a fort on the top of the hill overlooking the town, and was included in it. The name is probably Celtic; *specula* in itself need not imply more than a high summit capable of being used as a place of observation, like the *specula aerii montis* Verg. E. viii,

60, α σκοπιή περιφαινόμενῃ ἐνὶ χώρῳ Hom. H. Ven. 100. **supposita specula** = *posita sub specula*, abl. for dat. as *subdere* in Apuleius Met. v. 20.

**33. percurrit.** The Mella, now *Mella*, does not traverse Brixia, but flows a mile west of it. Hence Cluverius conjectured *praecurrit*: others have supposed Catullus to allude to a small stream called *Garza* which flows through the city: Cluverius objects to this view that Philargyrius on Verg. G. iv. 278 *Mella amnis in Gallia Cisalpina uicinus Brixiae oritur ex monte Brenno* describes it as near, not in, the town. He adds that in his time the Mella was drawn off into so many small channels that the main bed was nearly dry near Brixia. It seems possible that in ancient times an arm may have passed through the city which has since been filled up; or that the city formerly extended farther to the west, just as Verona itself is now traversed by the Adige, which once only surrounded it (Cluver. p. 115). This latter view is however thought improbable by Mr. Bunbury in the Dict. Geog. **moli**, 'rippling.'

**34. mater**, the mother-town or metropolis of Verona. Catullus seems therefore to agree with those who like Ptolemy (iii. 1. 31), Justin (xx. 5), and apparently Livy (v. 35), made Verona a Gaulish settlement. On the other hand Pliny (H. N. iii. 130) says *Raetorum et Euganeorum Verona*; Strabo 206 says the Raeti reached to that part of Italy which is above Verona and Comum, (though 213 he includes Verona among the Gaulish settlements near the Po); so too the *Raetica uina* are ascribed to the *Veronensis ager* Plin. xiv. 16 and 67. Cluverius thought Verona was founded by the Raeti and afterwards received a Gaulish colony from Brixia, as was the case at Mantua; Niebuhr (Lectures on Ethnography ii. p. 245 English Transl.) suggested that Brixia may have been the seat of a conventus, a relation similar to that which the metropolis in Asia Minor bore to the towns under it; or that Catullus alludes to an earlier time, when Brixia may have been one of the twelve cities forming the Etruscan community north of the Apennines, to which Felsina Mantua Adria and Melpum belonged. In this capacity it may have stood to Verona in the position of metropolis, as Mantua did to the twelve subordinate communities Aen. x. 203. **Veronae** is not dative as Vulp. after Alex. Guarinus thought, but genitive, 'Brixia, the well-loved mother-city of my own Verona.' **meae**, because the door belongs to a house at Verona. The valuable Brit. Mus. MS. *a* has *uice* for *meae*; possibly Catullus wrote *Brixia Veronae mater amata uicem*, 'Brixia that mother-city which I love as I love Verona,' a verse which we may suppose the poet to have inserted as a way of expressing the close connexion between the two towns; unless indeed *mater* refers to the *family* coming originally from Brixia, in the same manner as Virgil calls Aricia (Aen. vii. 762) and Populonia (x. 172) the mothers of the warriors who come from them. For *uicem* used in this sense cf. Sallust ap. Non. 497 *Ceteri uicem pecudum obruncabantur*; Key Lat. Gram. § 917. At any rate there seems to be no cause for doubting the genuineness of the line: Vulp. quotes from the Heroides of Ovid a similar juxtaposition of words *Proderit exemplo mater amata suo* (viii. 40). So *infamantur amantum* Prop. iii. 16. 27.

**36. malum**, 'vile': 'like a *mala adultera* LXI. 97.

**37. Dixerit hic aliquis.** The door interrupts itself, 'some one will

ask here.' So Ouid. Pont. ii. 2. 29 *Dixerit hoc aliquis tutum non esse : fateamur.*

**38. domini limine**, suggests by contrast *alienum limen* Prop. iii. 3. 47.

**39.** It is odd that the very words used by the door to express its inability to catch up the talk of the town might as easily convey the exactly opposite idea. Plautus Merc. ii. 4. 9 *Omnia ego istaec auscultavi ab ostio*, Truc. i. 2. 1 *Ad fores auscultate atque adseruate aedes* speaks of the house-door as a favorite place for overhearing conversations. The fact seems to be that Catullus speaks not of conversations held in or near the house, but of the popular rumour of the streets. The door is a fixture, it cannot go about and pick up scandal. **suffixa**, used in a more ordinary combination XCIX. 4, here 'fastened up to,' as in Luc. ix. 328 *Prouidus antennae suffixit lintea summae.*

**40. aperire aut operire domum** : so the Romans said both *aperire* and *operire caput* Non. 237, 507. Plaut. Capt. iii. 3. 9 *operta quae fuerit aperta sunt* (Vulp.).

**42. ancillis.** Tib. i. 2. 94, Ouid. Am. i. 11. 2.

**43. Nomine**, a sign of complete fearlessness.

**44. linguam**, to speak; **auriculam**, to hear. Propertius i. 16. 27, 28 *O utinam traiecta tua mea uocula rima Percussas dominae uertat in auriculas* shows that a door might literally become vocal; but it is probable that this mode of conversing with her lovers had not been practised by the lady of whom Catullus is speaking. Plautus, in the passage of the Curculio quoted in the introduction, gives eyes as well as the power of speech to a door; in the passage from the Asinaria he speaks of a door crying aloud (*clamat*).

**45. dicere nolo.** Iuv. viii. 275.

**46.** 'Lest he lift his reddening eye-brows in anger.' Quint. xi. 3. 79 *Ira contractis (superciliis), tristitia deductis, hilaritas remissis ostenditur.* More often *supercilium tollere, subducere*, etc., refer to the grave airs of offended virtue, as in Cic. Pis. ix. 20, Priap. 49. 4, Varro ap. Non. 399. Cf. the Greek *ὄφρῦς ἀναστῆναι* Acharn. 1069, Fals. Leg. 442, Alexis ap. Mein. Com. Fragm. iii. p. 391, *αἶρειν* Menander ap. Mein. iv. 82, 205, Diphilus ap. Mein. iv. 415, *ἐπαίρειν* Baton ap. Mein. iv. 502, in which the prevailing idea is of philosophic or magisterial pride. In Eq. 631 *κάβλαψε νᾶπυ καὶ τὰ μέτωπ' ἀνέσπασεν* anger is meant as here, cf. the Schol. on Vesp. 655 *τὰς ὄφρῦς αἶρειν ἔθος τοῖς ὀργιζομένοις.* The physiognomist edited by Rose (Anecd. Graeca p. 116) mentions eyebrows reaching upwards towards the forehead as a sign of a passionate disposition. **rubra** refers either to the colour of the eyebrows (cf. Alexis ap. Mein. iii. 423 *τὰς ὄφρῦς πυρρὰς ἔχει τις*) or to the reddening of the brow common in anger.

**47.** Vulp. and Forcellini take **Longus homo** to be=*stultus* like Theocritus' *ἀνὴρ τρισκαιδεκάπηχης* xv. 17, and the latter compares *longurio*. But Nonius, the only authority for the word, merely says *longurio*=*longus*, and nothing in the passage quoted by him from Varro's Triphallus implies any such notion of stupidity. Conr. de Allio seems to be more right in explaining *Longus homo* of the tall stature and long limbs of this wrongly-accused suitor: so LXXXVI. 1. **magnas . . . puerperium**, 'who was once assailed by a lengthy process at law for the supposed



pregnancy of an enlarged womb.' He had been accused of *stuprum* with a woman who from the external signs of pregnancy was believed to have had a child by him. Such seems to me the natural meaning of the words: the commentators generally explain them of a legal process brought against him for recovery of property which he had obtained under false pretences, as heres of some one with whom he was not really connected by ties of blood. On this view the *puerperium* is that of his supposed mother. *lites*, not merely the costs, but the whole legal process with all its details: similarly Horace S. i. 7. 5 says *Persius . . . habebat . . . lites cum Rege molestas*. Cic. uses *inferre litem* Cluent. xli. 116.

48. The line recalls Horace's taunt addressed to Canidia Epod. 17. 50 *Tuusque uenter Pactumeius, et tuo Cruore rubros obstetrix pannos lauit Vicunque forlis exsilitis puerpera*.

## LXVIII.

THIS is perhaps the most artificial, though it is hardly one of the most successful, of the poems of Catullus. I have shown in my first volume, that it falls into two quite separable parts 1-40, 41-160, each written at a different time. For (1) in 31-40 Catullus tells his friend he cannot send him any gift of verse, whereas in 41-160 he sends him an elaborate encomion of more than 120 lines; (2) Mallius is *caelebs* in 1-8; he has a wife or a mistress in 155; (3) 1-40 are written in an ordinary style, 41-160 are finished and evidently framed on a Greek model. I assume here what it seems outrageous to deny, that the Mallius of the first part (11) is the Allius and Mallius (66) of the second.

What then are the conditions under which 1-40 were written? Mallius the host and friend of Catullus 12, cf. 69-71, whom he had assisted in prosecuting his amour with Lesbia by providing a house at Rome where the lovers might meet, 70, had, whilst suffering from the grief caused by the loss of his own wife or mistress, written to Catullus for consolation, asking him to send him a poem speaking of love 10, and also for a loan of books 33-40. Mallius had taken the opportunity of remonstrating with the poet on his stay at Verona, either as debarring him from the amorous pursuits natural to his temperament and position in society, or as preventing him from interfering in the scandalous career upon which Lesbia had now entered. (See note on 27-30.) Catullus, in the forty beginning lines which form his direct reply to the letter of Mallius, professes his inability to comply with his friend's demand, (1) because his brother's untimely death makes any thought of love or love-poetry impossible; (2) because not being at Rome he has only a part of his library with him.

This section of the poem then was written at Verona, shortly after the death of the poet's brother. The second part 41-160 must have been composed considerably later; for in the interval Mallius had ceased to be *caelebs*, and Catullus had sufficiently recovered his ordinary tone to do what his friend had requested, write and send a poem treating of his passion for Lesbia, illustrated by a subject which would at the same time remind Mallius of his own loss, the unhappy love of Laodamia. That some time had elapsed between the two parts is also indicated, I think, by the occurrence in each of the verses describing the death of the poet's brother 20-24, 94-98; a repetition which is in another way significant,

as showing the mutual relation of the two divisions. If on the one hand the occurrence in both parts of the same five verses makes it probable that the two parts were not written simultaneously, it is equally improbable on the other that they belong to two perfectly distinct poems: and it follows that 1-40 are an introduction to 41-160; separable it is true, but with the separation not well defined. Where the latter part was written is not clear; in my first volume I suggested that the erudite style in which it is composed points to Rome, where the poet possessed an ample library; this is also not inconsistent with the concluding lines 147-160 which have more meaning if we suppose Catullus to have been near Lesbia at the time.

It would seem that the poem was composed at an early though not the earliest period of the amour with Lesbia. She had ceased to be faithful to Catullus; but her errors were still confined to a few 135 *Rara uerecundae furta feremus herae*. She is still dearer to the poet than his own self, and while she lives he finds a pleasure in living 159, 160. Hence Jungclaussen, who assigns the earliest love-poems to the years 692-694 v.c., 62-60 B.C., considers that this falls in 694 | 60, to which year he also assigns the death of Catullus' brother. Schwabe concurs on this latter point with Jungclaussen but, believing that the last part of the poem was written first, assigns vv. 41-160 to the year 60, vv. 1-40 to 59. Couat, *Étude* p. 250, leaves a larger margin, and places it between 65-57 B.C.

I have used for this poem the special commentaries of Santen (1788) and A. Weise (1869).

1-14. 'Your letter written under the grief of losing her you love and absence from books in which you might find consolation gave me pleasure, because you prove in it that you consider me a real friend, by asking me to make up for your losses by writing to you of love, and sending you a poem of my own. Yet I cannot comply with your request, for my own happiness is shipwrecked.'

1. **Quod . . . mittis**, formal commencement of a letter as *Fam. vi. 7. 1* *Quod tibi non tam celeriter liber est redditus, ignosce timori nostro et miserere temporis*.

2. **Conscriptum lacrimis**, not 'tear-scrawled,' but as in Caesar B. G. v. 48 *Epistulam Graecis conscriptam litteris*, 'written in tears' instead of ink (*Vulp.*). **hoc**, Catullus has Mallius' letter before him. **epistolium**, ἐπιστόλιον *Plut. Cato 24*.

3. **Naufragum**, mainly in reference to love, a sense which is often found in the Greek Anthology v. 161. 4, 235. 5; with a more general idea *Philodemus περι κακιών col. 18 ναυαγών ἐν ἀπασι*, *Theophrastus* (quoted by *Ussing* on *Philodemus u. s.*) ap. *Diog. L. v. 55 ἐν ταῖς ἰδίοις μάλα νεναυαγηκότα*. **eiectum**, 'thrown on shore,' *Aen. iv. 373*.

4. **Subleuem**, lift from the ground where you lie ship-wrecked. The word is common in the sense of relieving e.g. in a letter of *Metellus Celer's* to *Cicero Fam. v. 1. 1*, and *Cicero's* reply v. 2. 9. **a mortis limine restituum**. *Culex 224 Restitui superis leti iam limine ab ipso*.

5. **sancta**, as in *XXXVI. 3, Tib. iv. 13. 23 Sed Veneris sanctae considam uinctus ad aras* is applied here to *Venus* as the goddess of faithful love.

6. **Desertum in lecto caelibe**, 'on the widower's couch where you lie forsaken.' **caelibe** probably means that he had lost his wife.

*Caelibes* are defined by Quintilian i. 6. 36 *Qui uxore carent*, cf. Acron on Hor. C. iii. 8. 1, Cic. Legg. iii. 3. 7 *Censores prolem describunt, caelibes esse prohibent*; so Laodamia writing to her husband says *lecto caelibes* Heroid. xiii. 107. **perpetitur**, 'endures,' a stronger word than *patitur*.

**7. ueterum scriptorum.** Fronto p. 18 Naber *nec uideo qui ueterum scriptorum quisquam me beator fuerit*, means the ancient authors of Rome. Catullus doubtless means the Greek poets as Horace speaks of *ueterum libri* S. ii. 6. 61. Poetry is often mentioned as a cure for love, e. g. Theocr. xi. 1-3, Philoxenus ap. Philodemum *περὶ Μουσικῆς* Vol. Hercul. i. 15 (quoted by Bergk on Philox. fr. 7) *πόηματα δ' εἰ προαιρείται* (the love-sick patient) *διδόσθω, καὶ Φιλόξενον, εἰ τοῦτ' ἠγίττειτο, μὴ τελέως ψεύδεσθαι.* Plut. Symp. Quaest. i. 5 "Ὅπου καὶ τὸν Κύκλωπα Μούσαις εὐφώνοις ἰάσθαι φησι τὸν ἔρωτα Φιλόξενος.

**8. cum** here and in 32 *Haec tibi non tribuo munera cum nequeo* seems to waver between the temporal sense 'at a time when' and the causal 'since,' so common in Plautus and Terence. See Roby Latin Grammar § 1725. **mens peruiugilat.** Lucr. iv. 758 *mens animi uigilat.* **anxia**, 'for sorrow.' A variation of the idea of the soul keeping awake through the night is the Euripidean *γούσιον ὄρθρευομένα* Sup. 977 rising up betimes in the morning to weep.

**9.** Fronto p. 60 Naber *Vtique illud ipsum quod tanta ad me scripsisti . . . id uero mihi longe fuit gratissimum, in eo ego me beatissimum supra omnis homines arbitratus sum; nam quanti me faceres, quantamque amicitiae meae haberes fiduciam in eo maxime atque dulcissime ostendisti.*

**10.** 'You ask me to supply you with the two things you are at present in want of, poetry and the consolations of love.' This Catullus might have combined (**et-et**) by sending him a poem of his own composition, treating of some subject connected with love, presumably some story of unhappy affection, such as that of Laodamia, and working up into it his own or his friend's love-history. *Munera et Musarum et Veneris* are thus virtually a hendiadys (Vulp. Doer. Westphal). For **Munera Musarum**=poems, cf. Hor. Epist. ii. 1. 243 *Libros et ad haec Musarum dona.* The expression is Greek. Alcman fr. 37 *Τοῦθ' ἀδείαν Μουσᾶν ἔδειξεν Δῶρον μάκαιρα παρθένων*, Archil fr. 1 *Καὶ Μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος*, Theogn. 250 *Ἄγλαά Μουσῶων δῶρα ἰοστεφάνων*, cf. 1055-57, Solon 41 *Μουσέων παρὰ δῶρα διδαχθεῖς*, Anth. P. vii. 14. 8 *δῶρ' Ἐλικωνιάδων.* **Veneris munera** is used by Horace iv. 10. 1 of personal charms; but Catullus obviously means the *μείλιχα δῶρα* Hom. H. 10. 2, the *δῶρα φιλοστεφάνου Ἀφροδίτης* H. Cer. 102, Theognis' *Κυπρωγενοῦς δῶρον ἰοστεφάνου* 1304, 1332, *χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης δῶρα* 1293, the sensuous delights of love. It seems possible that Mallius had asked Catullus to find him a new mistress; and that Catullus in the words *Munera et Musarum et Veneris* designedly chooses an expression which would cover his friend's request and his own more delicate interpretation of it. Other interpretations are (1) to explain 'the gifts of Venus' of a wish expressed by Mallius that Catullus should return to his love-pursuits at Rome (Parthenius), an impossible view; (2) that *Munera Musarum* are poems of consolation (Alex. Guarinus), or epic poems (Conr. de Allio), *Munera Veneris* love-poems; (3) that *Munera Musarum* are works of Greek poets, *Munera Veneris* love-poems by Catullus himself (A. Weise). It seems clear

that (2) is wrong; Catullus would then be saying, 'You ask me to send you both poems and love-poems,' which would be ridiculous; (3) is arbitrary.

12. *hospitis officium* would most naturally mean the duty of a host, on which view Mallius must have asked Catullus to admit him to his house for a time. There is nothing in the poem which supports this view; it seems probable that Catullus means only 'the duty of a friend whom you have entertained,' viz. by providing the house in which the poet and Lesbia met, 67 sqq.

13. *Accipe*, 'listen,' a common use from the earliest writers onwards. Lucil. ap. Non. 240 *Hoc etiam accipe quod dico, nam pertinet ad rem.* Hor. S. i. 4. 38 *Agedum pauca accipe contra.* *merser fluctibus* repeats the metaphor of 3, 4. *merser*, 'am plunged,' Lucr. v. 1008: Horace more closely Epist. i. 1. 16 *Mersor ciuilibus undis*, Epist. i. 2. 22 *Aduersis rerum inmersabilis undis.*

14. *dona beata*, 'the gifts of happiness,' viz. the amatory verses which I might write under happier circumstances. Similarly Prop. ii. 20. 25 *muneribus beatis*, 'gifts of the wealthy,' *aura beata*, 'breeze of the happy,' iv. 7. 60, see Hertzberg Q. P. p. 144, and cf. LXVI. 14.

15-26. 'When I first quitted boyhood, I allowed my life to have its spring, and was no stranger to the goddess of love and her bitter-sweet delights; but since the death of my brother I have given up all such pursuits: for with him all my pleasure is buried, and all our house in desolation.'

15. *uestis pura*, the toga worn by men, made of white wool, without ornament or colour, (Rich s. u.) as opposed to the *toga praetextata* of boys. *Togam puram dare* is used technically of admitting a boy to the status of manhood, Phaedr. iii. 10. 10, Cic. Att. v. 20. 9, ix. 6. 1, vi. 1. 12 where the day on which the ceremony usually took place is mentioned, the *Liberalia*, March 17.

17. *Multa satis lusi*, 'I dallied with love at my will,' as below 156. Pomp. Inscript. 1781 *mea uita, meae deliciae, ludamus parumper.* This agrees better with *non est dea nescia nostri* than to explain the words of love-poems as in LXI. 225, Ouid. Am. iii. 1. 27, 8 *Quod tenerae content, lusit tua Musa, puellae, Prinaque per numeros acta iuuentia suos.* *non est dea nescia nostri*, like Cir. 242 *Non est Amathusia nostri Tam rudis ut nullo possim cognoscere signo*, seems to be an inversion of the prose *non sum nescius Veneris*, justified by the reciprocity of the relation; he who knows Love is known by Love. Cf. Theocr. ix. 35, 6 Ἐμὶν Μῶσαι φίλαι: οὓς γὰρ ὀρεῦντι Γαθεῦσαι, τῶς δ' οὔτι ποτῶ δαλήσατο Κίρκα.

18. 'She who mingles with her sorrows a honey-gall.' Sappho had called Eros γλυκύκικρον ὄρπετον fr. 40 Bergk, cf. Theogn. 1353 Πικρὸς καὶ γλυκὴς ἐστὶ, καὶ ἀρπαλέος καὶ ἀπηνής . . . ἔρωσ. Plautus similarly Pseud. i. 1. 63 *Dulce amarumque una nunc misces mihi* of a lover receiving a letter from his mistress, and ii. 4. 1 *Dulcia atque amara apud te sum eloculus omnia.* *Scis amorem, scis laborem, scis egestatem meam*, cf. the play of words in *mel, fel* Poen. i. 2. 182, Cist. i. 1. 71, Truc. i. 2. 76. Romaunt of the Rose p. 86 Bell *For ever of love the sickness Is meinde with swete and bitterness.*

22. *sepulta domus*. This seems to imply that Catullus had looked to his brother to continue the family name, and that he had died childless. For the expression cf. Anth. P. vii. 139. 1 Ἐκτορι μὲν Τροίη συγκατάβαινε, 3 Πέλλα δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συναπώλετο.

23. Romeo and Juliet iv. 5 *For with my child my joys are buried.* Eurip. Temenid. fr. 734 Nauck *κακόισι δὲ ἅπαντα φροῦδα συθάνονθ' ὑπὸ χθονός.*

26. *studia atque delicias.* Cael. xix. 46 *Studia delectationis ludus iocus conuiuium.*

27-40. 'If then you write to me, "Catullus, you cannot stay at Verona without disgrace, for in your absence your Lesbia is the paramour of all the fashionables of Rome:" I reply that is my misfortune, not my disgrace, so you must pardon me, if having nothing pleasant to tell you of my love-affairs, I send you nothing on that subject. As to the other request for books, I have only a few here, because my ordinary residence is Rome, and my library is there. You will see that it is not from any churlish or illiberal feeling that I disappoint you in both requests: if I could write to you pleasantly of love or had books with me, I would have written to you or offered you books without waiting to be asked.'

27. **Quare.** 'Therefore as regards your assertion "It is a disgrace to Catullus to be at Verona, because here (i. e. at Rome) every one of higher rank has unchilled the frozen limbs on the couch you have forsaken," i. e. has consoled Lesbia for Catullus' absence by becoming in turns her paramour. This is the ordinary interpretation, and is confirmed by the correspondence between the two parts of the poem, perceptible throughout: both mention Allius' friendship to Catullus, the death of Catullus' brother, and the passion of the poet for Lesbia. An objection has been raised on the ground that Mallius cannot have written from Rome, if he asks for a loan of books, which he might either borrow from some one else or buy at a book-shop there; to which we may reply that though he might have done so, he need not; he might well have taken the opportunity of writing to Catullus to ask him as a literary man for books which he was sure to possess, and which Mallius was not sure to be able to procure in any other way. Another interpretation is to refer **hic** to Verona where Catullus was at the time; 'it is disgraceful to Catullus to be at Verona, because here every man of mark is left to warm limbs that are loveless on a bed which is forsaken,' i. e. is unable to follow at Verona the pursuits of a man of pleasure, which would be a disgrace to Catullus since his amour with Lesbia and his fame as a poet had made him fashionable. This has the advantage (1) of giving *tepefaxit* its proper meaning of slightly, as opposed to thoroughly, warming, Prop. i. 13. 26 *non tepidas faces*; (2) of making *frigida* and *deserto* mutually explain each other, and making both refer to the subject of *tepefaxit*, instead of a different subject to be supplied from the general meaning of the poem; cf. A. A. iii. 70 *Frigida deserta nocte iacebis anus*, but the meaning is weak, and without particular knowledge of the circumstances of the time, scarcely intelligible. Prof. Jowett has suggested to me an entirely different interpretation. He supposes Allius to remonstrate with Catullus on remaining at Verona, when he might imitate the example of the fashionable world by *taking a course of hot baths*, i. e. at Baiae or some other well-known watering-place. Allius will then say, 'It is disgraceful to you, Catullus, to be at Verona, because everybody of any fashion has been here (at Baiae, or some other hot spring) giving up his bed and warming his chilly limbs' (in a hot bath); and Catullus will reply, 'My absence from the world of fashion is not a disgrace, but a sign of my present misery.' This certainly agrees with the introduction of the hot-

springs of Thermopylae in the latter part of the poem 54, as well as with the repeated allusions to Baiæ and similar resorts in the writers of this period as well as later. See Excursus. **deserto**, gives us his warm bed and takes to warm *baths*.

**28. Esse**, 'to be staying,' as often in Cicero e.g. Att. viii. 11. B. 2 *Veni Capuam ad Nonas Februar. Cum fuisset triduum, recepi me Formias.* **hic** seems to be a reference to the actual letter of Mallius. **quisquis**, 'everybody,' as in the description of Terence in Cicero's Limon Suet. Vit. Terentii 5 *Quidquid come loquens.* Madvig on de Fin. v. 9. 24 shows that *quidquid* is used several times by Lucretius=*quidque*, ii. 957 *in suos quidquid meatus*, iv. 145 *summum quidquid*, v. 131 *ubi quidquid crescat*, 773 *qua fieri quidquid posset ratione*, 1454 *unum quidquid*.

**29. Frigida.** Matius fr. 4 L. Müller *Sinuque amicam refice frigidam caldo*, Prop. iv. 7. 6 *Et quererer lecti frigida regna mei*, Ouid. Am. iii. 5. 42 *Frigidus in uacuo destituere toro.* Ben Jonson *The Silent Woman* iv. 2 *She that now excludes her lovers may live to be a forsaken beldame in a frozen bed*, with which compare A. A. iii. 70. **tepefacit** but *tepefaciet* LXIV. 360. So *madeficiet* LXIV. 368. The word is not necessarily used of partial warmth, A. A. ii. 360 *Hospitis (Paridis) est tepido nocte recepta sinu*, Ibis 138 *tepidus Ganges, frigidus Ister erit*.

**30. turpe, miserum**, an ordinary antithesis. Cic. de Har. Resp. xxiii. 49, quoted by Vulp. *Nam si Cn. Pompeio, uiro uni omnium fortissimo quicumque nati sunt, miserum magis fuit quam turpe, quamdiu ille tribunus plebis fuit, lucem non aspicere, carere publico.*

**31.** Imitated by Propertius i. 11. 19 *Ignoscas igitur, si quid tibi triste libelli Attulerint nostri.*

**33. Nam**, passing to another part of Mallius' request. The line has been explained by some commentators as merely adding another ground for not sending a poem: see on 37. But the expression of 39, 40, especially the words *Vltro ego deferrem* are in favour of the common view that Mallius had asked his friend for a loan of books. **scriptorum, masc. copia.** Ouid. Trist. iii. 14. 37 *Non hic librorum, per quos inuiter alarque, Copia.* Hor. Epist. i. 18. 110.

**34.** So Cicero ad Fam. ix. 1. 2 *Scito enim me, posteaquam in urbem uenerim, redisse cum ueteribus amicis, id est, cum libris nostris, in gratiam.*

**35. sedes.** In the Digest i. 16. 203 *domus* is defined *ubi quisque sedes et tabulas haberet suarumque rerum constitutionem fecisset.*

**36. una ex multis**, 'one only,' 'only a single,' like *unus e multis* Hor. Ep. i. 6. 60. **capsula**, a smaller capsula or circular box employed for the transport of books. Rich, who quotes Cic. Divin. in Caecil. xvi. 51, Hor. S. i. 4. 22, 10. 63. Such small cases would naturally be taken on a journey. Cf. Plut. Cato 20 *Παραλαβὼν βιβλία καὶ φιλοσόφους ἐβάδιζεν εἰς Λευκαρίαν.*

**37. mente maligna**, as in Plaut. Bacch. iii. 2. 17 *Malignus, largus*, 'niggardly.'

**38. non satis ingenuo**, 'churlish.'

**39. petenti**, 'at your request,' the reading of all the MSS, is less prosaic than *petiti*. **copia posta est**, 'I have set at your disposal.' I have followed Voss in keeping *posta*; somewhat similarly Horace Epist. i. 18. 111 *Sed satis est orare Iouem, quae ponit et aufert*, cf. *reponere* with a dative of the person = to restore; Petronius Sat. 115 has *ponere consilium*,

which Bücheler notices as unusual. The form *postus* is found four times in Lucretius i. 1059, iii. 857, 871, vi. 965 (Neue Formenl. ii. p. 435).

**40. Vltro deferrem.** Pseud. iv. 8. 5 *Obuiam vltro ei deferam*, Hor. Epist. i. 12. 22 *Si quid petet, vltro Defer*, Fam. xiii. 29. 5 *Vltro te ad me detulisse putabo*.

**41** sqq. Here begins the second part of the poem, an Encomion on Allius. It commences with an address to the muses, like Theocritus' Encomion on Ptolemy, Id. xvii. 1.

**41-50.** 'Muses, I must needs declare the service Allius rendered me. Time must not bury his zeal in oblivion. I will tell the story to you, and ye will tell it to posterity, that the name of Allius may grow in fame after death and nothing dim the record of his memory.'

**41. deae,** the Muses; Homer addresses them so Il. ii. 485 'Υμείς γὰρ θεαί εστε πάρεστέ τε ἴστε τε πάντα, and so in Pindar 'Υμνοὶ θεῶν = ἱμνοὶ Μουσῶν, Isth. vii. 131. Stat. Theb. i. 3 *Vnde iubetis Ire deae?*

**43. Nec . . . tegat,** 'nor can time conceal,' a potential. **obliuiscuntibus** seems abl. absolute, 'as the ages forget it,' i. e. bring forgetfulness of it. Very similar is Petron. S. 135 *Hecale quam Musa loquentibus annis Tradidit*, to the years that speak her name.

**44. caeca,** 'blank,' see on LXIV. 207.

**45.** Callimachus H. Dian. 186 *Ἐπέε, θεά, σὸν μὲν ἄμμιν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτέροισιν αἰείω*, exactly inverts Catullus' idea. The Muses are here the recorders of the poet, who dictates to them the verses in which the noble deeds of Allius are to be handed down to posterity. The form of the expression recalls a passage of Plato's Symposium 189 *ἐγὼ οὖν πειράσομαι ὑμῖν εἰσηγήσασθαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διδάσκαλοι ἔσεσθε*.

**46. carta anus** as *fama anus* LXXVII. 10: the paper and rumour are to grow old to tell the story. Aesch. fr. 323 Nauck has *γέρον γράμμα*, Theocr. vii. 17 *γέρον πέπλος*, Od. xxii. 184 *γέρον σάκος*. Ciris 40 *Nostra tuum senibus loqueretur pagina saeculis* imitates Catullus. Martial is fond of using *senex* in this way, *senes nulli, cycni*, etc.

**49-50.** 'And that no spider aloft weaving her web of gossamer spin her thread over Allius' forgotten name.' Perhaps with the idea of a monument, which from neglect becomes covered with cobwebs, an 'unswept stone besmeared with sluttish time,' Shakspeare Sonnets lv. 4. Neglect is often thus expressed, e. g. Od. xvi. 34 *Ὀδυσσεύς δὲ πού εἰνῆ Χῆται ἐνευναίων κάκ' ἀράχνια κείται ἔχουσα*. Theocr. xvi. 96 *ἀράχνια δ' εἰς ὄπλ' ἀράχνια Δεπτὰ διαστήσαντο*. Prop. iii. 6. 33 *Putris et in uacuo texetur aranea lecto*. **tenuem telam.** Mart. viii. 33. 15. **sublimis,** ἀερσιπότῆρος ἀράχνης Hes. E. 775.

**50. Deserto,** left to itself to moulder. Prop. ii. 6. 35, 36 *Sed non immerito uelauit aranea fanum Et mala desertos occupat herba deos. opus faciat = neat*. Cf. Tib. i. 3. 88. *opus*, of a spider, as of a silk-worm Mart. viii. 33. 16. *ἔργον ἀράχνια* was an expression of the poet Callias according to Suidas s. u. ἀράχνης. See Bergk Pind. fr. 281 (268).

**51-72.** 'The Muses know what pangs I suffered from the goddess of love. And when I was at the height of my fever, and tears of passion drenched my cheeks, ceaseless as the brook which now dashes from the mountain, now courses along the valley, now passes through the haunts of men, bringing relief to the drought-parched traveller; then it was that Mallius came to my relief, like a favourable breeze to storm-tossed

mariners. It was he who made a road to my passion, by furnishing a house where I might meet Lesbia.'

51. *duplex* is explained by Meursius Cyprus i. 8, Voss, and Bentley on Hor. C. i. 6. 7 of a statue of Venus at Amathus in which the goddess was represented as an hermaphrodite, and Voss considers the reason of the epithet here to be in reference to the twofold character of the poet's amours, 'utpote qui non Lesbiam tantum, sed et complures deperiret adolescentes.' The passages there quoted are Hesych. Ἀφρόδιτος· Θεόφραστος μὲν τὸν Ἑρμαφρόδιτὸν φησιν, ὁ δὲ τὰ περὶ Ἀμαθοῦντα γεγραφὼς Παιῶν εἰς ἄνδρα τὴν θεὸν ἐσχηματίσθαι ἐν Κύπρῳ λέγει. Macrobius Sat. iii. 8 *Nonnullorum quae scientissime prolata sunt male enuntiando corrumpimus dignitatem, ut quidam legunt : Discedo ac ducente deo flammam inter et hostes Expedior, cum ille doctissime dixerit, ducente deo non dea. Nam et apud Caiuum Aterianus adfirmat legendum, Pollentemque deum Venerem, non deam. Signum etiam eius est Cypri barbatus corpore, sed ueste muliebri, cum scepro ac natura uirili, et putant eandem marem ac feminam esse. Aristophanes eam Ἀφρόδιτον appellat. Laeuinus etiam sic ait : Venerem igitur alium adorans, Siue femina siue mas est (Seu femina isue mas est Haupt) Ita uti alma Noctiluca est. Philochorus quoque in Athide eandem affirmat esse Lunam, et ei sacrificium facere uiros cum ueste muliebri, mulieres cum uirili quod eadem et mas aestimatur et femina : words which recur with little variation in Servius on Aen. ii. 632. Plutarch Thes. xx states from Paeon of Amathus that the *couuade* was practised there, seemingly in connexion with the worship of Ariadne Aphrodite, κατακλινόμενον τινα τῶν νεανίσκων φθέγγεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν ἄπερ ὀδίνουσαι γυναῖκες, and there can be little doubt that a cultus of Venus as half male, half female, was specially connected if not with Amathus, with Cyprus in general. If Catullus knew this, it is probable that in the word *duplex* he meant to allude to it ; but the point can scarcely be that which Voss suggests, as Catullus is speaking of Lesbia alone ; possibly the reference is to the alternate predominance of the male and female in love, whether in the actual shape of the lover ruling his mistress and vice versa (Aelius Spartianus in Caracallo c. vii quoted by Ian on Macrob. iii. 8) or to the union of a more violent with a more passive element which characterizes the emotion in any given individual. Most of the commentators, including Hertzberg, explain *duplex* as 'wily,' as *διπλός* is used (Santen); on this view Catullus would allude to the suddenness and completeness of the passion into which his still inexperienced youth was surprised by the feminine artifices of Lesbia. Forc. quotes besides only Hor. C. i. 6. 7 *duplicis Ulixei* for this sense, and Bentley denies it altogether ; yet, as Forc. says, Ovid seems to allude to it in Am. i. 12. 27. A. Weise can hardly be right in explaining *duplex* of the mixed pains and pleasures of love, see above on 18. **Amathunsia** need not have any special reference, see Ciris 242, Ouid. Am. iii. 15. 15.*

52. *in quo genere* can hardly be = *quomodo*, for though *genus* is shown by Madvig on Cic. Fin. ii. 3. 9 to mean 'manner,' in *alio genere, uno genere*, etc., there seems to be no reason for the preposition, unless Fam. viii. 7. 2 *Multa in hoc genere incredibilia te absente acciderunt*, Varro R. R. i. 18. 1 *in eo modo*, can be thought similar ; it seems safer to explain it as = *in qua re* ; cf. Cic. ad Q. Fratr. ii. 12. 5 *Ego rescripsi nihil esse quod posthac arcae nostrae fiducia conturbaret, lusique in eo genere et*



*familiariter et cum dignitate*. Att. iv. 2. 7 *Quo in genere nunc uehementer laboratur*. Fam. v. 12. 7 *Nec minus est, Spartiates Agesilaus ille perhibendus qui neque pictam neque fictam imaginem suam passus est esse, quam qui in eo genere laborarunt.* *corruerit*, 'overthrow,' as in Lucr. v. 368.

53. *Trinacria rupes*, Aetna. Grat. Cyn. 430, Theocritus ii. 134 Ἔρωσ δ' ἄρα καὶ Λιπαρίου Πολλάκις Ἀφαίστιοι σέλας φλογερότερον αἶθει prefers Lipara in a similar comparison. Horace Epod. 17. 33, and Ouid. Rem. Am. 491, follow Catullus.

54. *Lympha*, the hot mineral springs, which gave Thermopylae its name; they were sacred to Hercules, to whom they were presented by Athene, according to Peisander Τῶ δ' ἐν Θερμοπύλῳσι θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη Ποιεῖ θερμὰ λουτρὰ παρὰ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης, by Hephaestus according to Ibycus, Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1050. Sophocles speaks of them Trach. 633-650. Herod. vii. 176 Τῶν Θερμοπυλίων τὸ μὲν πρὸ ἐσπέρας ὄρος ἄβατον τε καὶ ἀπόκρημον, ὑψηλὸν, ἀνατεῖνον ἐς τὴν Οἴτην. τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς ὁδοῦ θάλασσα ὑποδέχεται καὶ τευάγεια. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά. *Malia* may be an allusion to the name of Allius Mallius, even if we do not follow Turnebus (Advers. xxiv. 5) in supposing that the hot springs at Thermopylae were called *agua Mallia* from L. Mallius who made his way out of the pass with the elder Cato, Plut. Cat. Ma. 13.

55. *assiduo* and *neque cessarent*, perhaps suggested by the ceaseless flow of the hot springs, just as Sophocles speaks Trach. 919 of *δακρύων θερμὰ νάματα*.

56. *imbre*, of a shower of tears, Ouid. Trist. i. 3. 18.

57 sqq. It is a question whether this simile refers to the tears of Catullus, or to the relief which Allius gave him. A. Weise who discusses the question at length (Kritische und Erklärende Bemerkungen pp. 20-26) supports the latter, which is also the view of Ramler Roszbach and Westphal. His grounds are (1) *Qualis* in 57 seems naturally to correspond to *Tale* in 66. (2) If the simile refers to the tears of Catullus, the latter part of it is a digression without special meaning; (3) the tears of sorrow are compared with the *pleasurable* relief which a stream of water gives to the thirsty traveller; (4) there is a want of logical parallelism in the expression *imbre madent genae, qualis riuus prosilit* as compared with *Qualis riuus prosilit, tale fuit nobis Mallius auxilium*. Against this it may be said (1) 63 *Hic uelut* seems to introduce a *new* object of comparison, not to resume one spoken of before, though the length of the first simile makes such a resumption less harsh and improbable than it would otherwise be; (2) no part of the simile is irrelevant; the tears of sorrow in the end bring relief (*dulce leuamen*), not less certainly because they continue a long time; if the digression loses sight of the idea with which the simile started, it leads up in doing so to another idea closely connected with it, at any rate not sufficiently at variance to rouse a feeling of illogical contradiction. (3) This is certainly the first impression which the passage conveys; the view that it refers to the help given by Allius proceeds from exaggerating the importance of 59-62, and almost necessitates the change of *Hic* in 63 to *Ac*, against the MSS. If *Qualis* referred to what follows, some particle of transition would, I think, have preceded it; elsewhere verses beginning thus refer to what goes before, not to what follows; cf. 109 *Quale ferunt Grai*, LXV. 19 *Vt missum sponsi*, LXV. 13 *Qualia sub densis*, LXIV. 89 *Quales Eurotae progignunt flumina*

*myrtus*, LXI. 16, 17 *Namque Iunia Mallio Qualis Idalium colens*. As Haupt remarks Quaestt. p. 89, three distinct moments or phases may be traced in the comparison; in 57, 58 the brook is seen bursting forth on, or, perhaps, from the top of a mountain; in 59 pursuing its course along the precipitous slopes of a valley; in 60 running on level ground past a high road, where it may be drunk by the thirsty wayfarer.

57. *aerei*, LXIV. 240. *perlucens* seems to refer not to the transparency of the water, which would make the participle i. q. *qui perlucet*, and only weakly connect it with *in aerei montis uertice*, but to the distinctness with which the white glimmering colour strikes the eye, as it dashes down the crest of the mountain. So *διαγλαύσσειν* in Apoll. R. i. 1281, and *lucere* Aen. ix. 383 of the glimmer which a path makes as perceptible through brushwood (see Conington there). This gives more force to *aerei*; the eye notices the line of colour high on the ridge.

58. *Riuus*. Il. ix. 14 Ἰστατο δακρυχέων, ὥστε κρήνη μελάνδρος Ἥ τε καὶ αἰγίλιπος πέτρης δυοφερὸν χέει ὕδωρ. *muscoso*. Lucret. v. 951 *Lubrica saxa super uiridi stillantia musco* (Vulp.).

59. Varro *Cave Canem* ap. Non. 75 *Vbi riuus praecipitatur in nemore deorsum rapitur atque offensus aliquo a scopulo lapidoso albicatur*. This illustrates *de prona praecipit ualle*; the brook after leaving the mountain falls into a valley which descends unevenly into a plain: along these uneven, often rocky slopes the water tumbles headlong *praecipit est uolutus. prona ualle* is found in Cul. 123 (A. Weise).

60. 'Crosses along the path where the people throng.' *iter* with *per medium*, cf. Il. xv. 681 Σεύας ἐκ πεδίοιο μέγα προσι ἄστν διώκει Λαοφύρον καθ' ὁδόν, πολέες τε ἐ θηήσαντο Ἄνῆρες ἠδὲ γυναῖκες. Nicand. Alex. 218 Λαοφύροι κέλευθοι. This is simpler than with *Huschke* and A. Weise to join *transit iter*, 'makes its path across.' *iter transire* occurs in Corn. Nep. 17. 4 *Tanta usus est celeritate ut quod iter Xerxes anno uertente confecerat, hic transierit triginta diebus*, but with the different sense of passing over and so getting to the end, as Haupt, apparently without the passage before him, had anticipated (Quaestt. p. 88). *densi* seems to point to the neighbourhood, if not to the actual streets of a town, cf. Hor. Epist. i. 6. 59 *Differtum transire forum populumque*.

61. Eldik quotes Anth. P. xvi. 228. 3 Πίδακά τ' ἐκ παγᾶς ψυχρὸν πῖε· δὴ γὰρ ὀδίταις Ἄμπαυμ' ἐν θερμῷ καύματι τοῦτο φίλον. Oppian *Cyneg.* ii. 39, 40 *Ψυχρὸν δ' ἐξ ἄντροιο προχέμενον ἄργυρον ὕδωρ Οἶν κερμηῶσι πατόν, γλυκερὸν τε λοετρόν* (Doering). *lasso* is connected with *in sudore* by Stat. and had the line belonged to a later period would probably have been meant so, as the rhythm points that way, and *lassus* might well mean 'wearying,' like *tussis anhela* G. iii. 497, *arida febris* G. iii. 458, *arida torres* Lucr. iii. 917, *secundi calices* Hor. Epist. i. 5. 19. In Catullus it is safer to refer it to *uiatori*.

62. *grauis*, 'oppressive,' 'brooding,' Hor. C. ii. 5. 6 *Nunc fluiuis grauem Solantis aestum*. *hiulcat*. G. ii. 353.

63. Il. vii. 4-7 Ὄς δὲ θεὸς ναύτησιν ἐελδομένοισιν ἔδωκεν Οἶνον, ἐπὴν κεκάμωσιν εὐξέστησ' ἐλάτῃσι Πόντον ἐλαύνοντες, καμάτῳ δ' ὑπὸ γυῖα λέλυνται: a passage imitated by Val. Flacc. vii. 25 *Gratae iam fessis descendunt flumina remis*. *Hic*, 'then,' as in LXIV. 269. *nigro turbine*, rather the black whirling waters (cf. LXIV. 149), than the hurricane itself, though this latter is called *turbo ater* Aen. x. 603. In this latter sense *in*

is less appropriate, cf. Prop. iii. 5. 11 *uento iactamur*, ii. 12. 7 *alterna quoniam iactamur in unda*, Hor. Epist. i. 11. 15.

64. *aspirans aura secunda*, Sil. Ital. xv. 162 *Leuis inde secunda Aspirans aura propellit carbasa uentus*.

65. To make *implorata* abl. as if *implorare precem* were a variation on *precari precem*, is harsh, though metrically the long final syllable is preferable to the ear; it remains (with Bergk Philologus xvi. 626) to suppose it nominative, 'a gale, besought by prayer at one time to Castor, at another to Pollux.' **prece Pollucis** like *uota deum* Aen. xi. 3 which Macrobius S. vi. 5 explains as *quae dis uota sunt*, and *Iunonis uotum* Prop. iv. 1. 101. So Val. Flacc. i. 570 *Fratresque petiuit Tyndareos, placida et mediis in frontibus haesit Protenus amborum, lumenque innoxia fudit Purpureum, miseris olim implorabile nautis*, where the light on the foreheads of Castor and Pollux is alluded to. So also Hor. C. iii. 29, 59, 64. **iam . . . iam**, as in Aen. iv. 157, Hor. S. ii. 7. 20. The earliest mention of the Dioscuri as protectors of ships and seamen seems to be Hom. H. 33, cf. 8 Οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν Εὐχόμενοι καλέουσι Διὸς κούρους μεγάλιοι Ἄρνεσσαν λευκοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀκρωτήρια βάντες Πρύμνης· τὴν δ' ἄνεμός τε μέγας καὶ κύμα θαλάσσης Θῆκαν ὑποβρυχίην· οἱ δ' ἐξαπίνης ἐφάνθησαν Ξουθήσι περὺγεσσι δι' αἰθέρος αἴξαντες, Ἀντίκα δ' ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων κατέπαυσαν ἀέλλας. Κύματα δ' ἐστόρεσαν λευκῆς ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι, Ναυταῖς σήματα καλά, πόνοιο κρίσιν. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες Γήθησαν, παύσαντο δ' οἰζυροῖο πόνοιο. There can scarcely be a reference to intercessory prayer, as if Castor and Pollux were implored to pray for the safety of the ship (Vulp.).

67. 'It was he who made accessible with a broad pathway a field closed before,' a natural metaphor; Catullus of course speaks of the permission which he thus obtained to indulge his passion for Lesbia. Compare the Greek use of *λεωφόρος*=a woman open to all comers. Theogn. 581 Ἐχθαίρω δὲ γυναῖκα περιδρομον ἄνδρα τε μάργον, ὅς τὴν ἄλλοτρὴν βούλει ἄρουραν ἀροῦν. Plaut. Curc. i. 1. 35, 36 *Nemo ire quenquam publica prohibet uia Dum ne per fundum septum faciat semitam*, and Asin. v. 2. 24.

68. **domum** and **dominam** are regularly connected as house and mistress of the house (see on LXI. 31); hence the meaning seems to be 'Allius allowed me to meet Lesbia in a house the mistress of which was favourable to our love.' So, I think again in 156. The interpretation which makes *dominam* Lesbia is against *Quo mea se molli candida diua pede*, in which Lesbia seems to appear for the first time.

69. **Ad quam**=*apud quam*, as in Heaut. iii. 3. 43, v. 2. 26, Pomp. Inscript. 1880 *At quem non ceno, barbarus ille mihi est*. See Dräger Hist. Synt. p. 534. Santen and A. Weise refer *quam* to *domum*, a construction like that in Hes. Ἔ. κ. Ἡ. 405, 6 Οἶκον μὲν πρόωιστα γυναῖκά τε βούν τ' ἀροτήρα, Κτητὴν οὐ γαμετὴν ἦτις καὶ θουσίην ἔποιτο. For a relative referring to a remoter object cf. Tac. Ann. i. 74, Cic. Arch. x. 25. Yet below when Catullus speaks definitely of the house he writes *domus in qua* 156, and on this view the poet is needlessly obscure, as he might have said in 68 *isque dedit dominae*. **communes amores** cannot be a mistress shared by both (Petron. S. 105, Mart. xi. 81. 1) for Lesbia at this early stage of her passion for Catullus would at least have taken care not to indulge a second passion for Mallius in the very house provided by him for her meeting the poet. It remains to explain it either (1) of Catullus and Mallius pursuing their loves in common, in the same

house, *Exercere amores communes* being i. q. *exercere amorem communiter*; or (2) of Catullus and Lesbia pursuing their love together, cf. the *communia gaudia, communis uoluptas* of Lucr. iv. 1195, 1208. **exercere amorem**, of prosecuting love, like *exercere inimicitiam odium*, etc. Propertius uses *agilare amorem* in the same sense i. 7. 5.

70. **diua**. Anth. P. v. 137. 3.

71. **trito** and **fulgentem** possibly in relation to each other. The feet would be more conspicuous against a polished surface. *fulgentem* of the white glistening feet, as Tibullus i. 8. 31 has *iuuenis cui leuia fulgent Ora*; others refer it to the bright colour of the sandal, cf. 134, LXI. 9, 10 and 160, Lucr. iv. 1125.

72. The construction seems to be *fulgentem plantam innixa arguta solea constituit (eam) trito in limine*. So Propertius twice ii. 29. 40 *Prosiluit in laxa nixa pedem solea*, i. 3. 8 *Non certis nixa caput pedibus*. Stat. quotes Turpilius 31 Ribbeck *Sandalio innixa digitulis primoribus*; and so Quid. Am. iii. 1. 31 *pictis innixa cothurnis*. **arguta** is explained by Muretus Santen Jacobs Hertzberg Conington (on Geor. iii. 80), and A. Weise, who quotes Pallad. iv. 13. 2 *Aures breues et argutae*, as 'neat.' But both Catullus elsewhere VI. 11, and Propertius confine *argutus* to the sense of *sound*: hence Statius is more right in explaining it here as 'crepante,' 'creaking.' Possibly the sound of the sandal is connected with the smallness of the foot as Ben Jonson The Silent Woman iv. 1 *If she have an ill foot* (A. A. iii. 271), *let her wear her gown the longer and her shoe the thinner*. **solea**. De Harusp. Resp. xxi. 44 *muliebribus soleis*.

73-86. 'There Lesbia came to me, enamoured as Laodamia of old when she entered the house of her new-wed husband Protesilaus; that husband whom she was destined to lose prematurely for neglecting the proper sacrifices to the gods, as it was fated he should die at Troy.'

74. **Protesilaeam** like *Menelaeo* Prop. ii. 15. 14.

75. **Inceptam frustra**, 'begun for no perfect issue,' the house was doomed to be incomplete by losing its nobler half, its lord and master, Protesilaus. Il. ii. 698 sqq. τῶν αὖ Πρωτεσίλαος ἀρήτος ἡγεμόνευε, ζωὸς ἔων τότε δ' ἤδη ἔχεν κατὰ γαῖα μέλαινα. τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀμφιδρυφῆς ἰλοχος Φυλάκη ἐλέλειπτο καὶ δόμος ἡμιτελής· τὸν δ' ἔκτανε Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ, Νηὸς ἀποθρῶσκοντα πολὺ πρόωπιστον Ἀχαιῶν. So Val. Flaccus of the widowed wife of a hero slain in battle vi. 688 *Coniux miseranda Caico Linquitur et primo domus imperfecta cubili*. Inscript. at Philadelphia, quoted by Schrader on Musaeus p. 341 Παρθένος ἧς ἀπέλευσε μίτηρην, ἧς ὄριον ἄνθος ἔσχεν ἐν ἡμιτέλει παυσάμενον θαλάμῳ. Anth. P. vii. 627. 1 Ἡμιτελῆ θάλαμόν τε καὶ ἐγγύθι νυμφικὰ λέκτρα. Plut. Quaest. Rom. 50 Ὁ τοῦ γεγαμηκότος οἶκος τέλειος· ὁ δὲ τοῦ γήματος οὐκ ἀτελής μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πεπρωμένος. These passages show that this was a common interpretation of *ἡμιτελής*: but in Catullus there is a harshness in connecting *Protesilaeam domum* in the literal sense with *Inceptam frustra* in the connotative one of family; hence it seems better to refer *inceptam frustra* to the uncompleted house which Protesilaus as a married man was building for himself. Schol. Il. ii. 701 Ἡ ἀτελείωτος· ἔθος γάρ ἦν τοῖς γήμασι θάλαμον οἰκοδομῆσθαι· διὸ οἱ πολλοὶ φασιν ὅτι οἰκοδομῶν θάλαμον ἐαυτῷ ὁ Πρωτεσίλαος ἀπέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. So Paley; and cf. Wordsworth Laodamia *My new-planned cities and unfinished towers*. **sanguine sacro**, 'the blood of sacrifice.' So *Sacrum iugulis demitte cruorem* G. iv. 542. Tac. Ann. ii. 14 *Vidit se operatum et sanguine sacro respersa praeexta*.

**76. Hostia**, the victim offered in the sacrifice which preceded marriage, *προτέλεια* Eur. I. A. 718, cf. ib. 433. (Alex. Guarinus, Santen). There is nothing in Homer which connects the untimely death of Protesilaus with neglect of such a nuptial sacrifice; Catullus must be following some later legend, perhaps the *Protesilaus* of Euripides, in which the hero was described as obliged to leave his wife for Troy after only one day's cohabitation. Schol. Aristid. p. 671 ap. Nauck fragm. Trag. Graec. p. 443. Possibly however Catullus refers not to a special nuptial sacrifice, but to the common Homeric notion of sacrifice as necessary to the success of any undertaking, like the wall and trench which were built *θεῶν ἀέκητι* and without offering *τελέσσας ἐκατόμβας* Il. xii. 6-8 (a passage quoted by Santen), and the voyage which is stopped for the same reason Od. iv. 352. **pacifasset**, Sil. Ital. xv. 421, had won the good-will (*pacem*) of the gods by sacrifice at their altars Aen. iv. 56. **heros**. *θεοῦ γὰρ δεσπότης καλεῖν χρεῶν* Eur. Hipp. 88. *Caelestes heros* exactly = the *dominos deos* of Heroid. iv. 12.

**77. tam ualde**, 'so very much,' 'overmuch.' In Petron. S. 126 *Nolo tibi tam ualde placeas* which Santen thinks imitated from Catullus, the sense seems to be strictly 'so excessively,' and so in Fin. v. 11. 31: as here, Petron. S. 17 *Sed de remedio non tam ualde laboro*. **Ramnusia uirgo**, the actual statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus was said to be made out of a piece of marble brought by the Persians for the purpose of erecting a trophy over the Greeks, whom they felt confident of conquering at Marathon, according to an epigram translated by Ausonius (Epigr. 21). This would itself be *Susceptum temere inuitis heris*, and may have struck Catullus if he had seen the statue. It is at least remarkable that the *Ramnusia uirgo* is mentioned by him three times, LXIV. 395, LXVI. 71, and here: Pliny says Varro preferred it to all statues xxxvi. 17.

**78. inuitis heris**, *ἀέκητι θεῶν*. Aen. ii. 402 *inuitis diuis*.

**79. ieiuna** might be 'thirsting,' Prop. iii. 15. 18, but it is perhaps more probably the opposite of *pinguis*, Aen. iv. 62; starved for want of the blood on which it feeds. So Hense *Poetische Personification* i. 239. **pium**, 'of oblation.' There can be no reference, as Voss supposed, to the blood of Protesilaus as one of the *best* of the Grecian heroes; but Catullus may mean that the death of Protesilaus proved how unappeasable is the desire of the gods for blood; if animals are not forthcoming, they must have men. **desideret**. So Horace C. iv. 11. 6-8 *Ara castis Vincla uerbenis auet immolato Spargier agno. cruorem*. Servius on Aen. viii. 106 *Frustra quidam cruorem pecudum, sanguinem hominum uolunt*. Catullus has *sanguine sacro* in 75.

**82. una atque altera rursus**, 'one winter and after it a second.' Cluent. xiii. 38 *Cum unum iam et alterum diem desideraretur*.

**83. in**, in the course of: see on XXIII. 20. **saturasset**, her purpose was baffled. **auidum**. Lucr. iv. 1102-1108.

**84. abrupto**, the idea seems to be that of a thread broken off: so often with *medius*, *m. sermonem* Aen. iv. 388, *m. annos* Luc. vi. 610, Plin. Epist. v. 5. 4 *Mors incohatum aliquid abruptat*.

**85. Quod**, sc. *coniugium*. **non longo tempore abisse**, 'had surely passed away soon,' 'was sure to pass away soon.' In oratio recta the sentence would be *Non longo tempore abiit coniugium, si miles ierit*. For this rhetorical use of the perfect to express a future action

following with certainty upon the occurrence of a given contingency Dräger *Historische Syntax* p. 233 quotes *Fam.* xii. 6. 2 *Si conseruatus erit, uicimus*, *Verr.* iii. 62. 145, *Liv.* xxi. 43. 2, in each passage *uicimus*; and for the Infinitive *Liv.* xxi. 8. 8 *Poenō cepisse iam se urbem, si paulum adnitatur, credente*. For *abisse* = 'pass away' cf. *Fam.* ix. 20. 1 *Illā meā quae solebas antea laudare abierunt*. The only other interpretation which seems possible is Santen's 'for the fates knew that he had not gone away for long, if he went to Troy;' so soon would he be sent back dead. He compares *Prop.* iii. 12. 13 *Neue aliquid de te flendum referatur in urna. Sic redeunt illis qui cecidere locis*. For the abl. of duration of time see Dräger p. 493. This would make the passage very like a Tragic fragm. quoted by Santen from *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 13. 28 *Praeterea ad Troiam cum misi ob defendendam Graeciam, Scibam me in mortiferum bellum, non in epulas mittere*: but the suppression of the explanatory clause is intolerably harsh, as taken by themselves the words, if the subject is Protesilaus, suggest the exactly opposite meaning, viz. that he would soon come back *alive*, i. e. as a conqueror. Some inferior MSS. give *abesse*, a word often confused with *abisse*, e. g. in the *Copa* 5 where see Ribbeck: the meaning would then be 'which severing of the marriage-tie was not very distant.' **scibant**. *Lucr.* v. 934, cf. *audibant* LXXXIV. 8, *custodibant* LXIV. 319. *Quid.* *Heroid.* xiii. 93 *Sors quoque nescio quem fato designat iniquo Qui primus Danaum Troada tangat humum*. *Auson.* *Epitaph.* *Heroum* 12 *Fatale adscriptum nomen mihi Protesilao . . . Quid queror? hoc letum iam tum mea fata canebant, Tale mihi nomen cum pater imposuit.* (A. Weise).

**87-104.** 'Already the Greeks were arming for Troy, that city as fatal to Protesilaus as to all other heroic worth, and now to my lost brother, whom I cannot cease to mourn, and who lies buried under that accursed soil. But then all Greece was astir to attack it, and to avenge the rape of Helen.'

**87. Helenae.** Propertius perhaps was thinking of this passage when he wrote ii. 34. **87** *Haec quoque lasciuī cantarunt scripta Catulli, Lesbīa quis ipsa notior est Helena.* **raptu**, in consequence of the rape i. e. to avenge it: so *munere isto* XIV. 2. **primores ἀμύρνας** of Homer: so perhaps *primorum* *Aen.* ix. 309.

**88. ad sese ciere**, either the offending city challenges Greece to war before her walls, cf. *Sil. Ital.* iv. 272 *Criuxum clamore ciebat Ad pugnam*: or, more probably, Troy summons to her walls the chiefs of Greece, because she causes the summons of war against her to be issued to them in their own country, as in *Heroides* viii. 73 *Taenaris, Idaeo trans aequor ab hospite rapta, Argolicas pro se uertit in arma manus*. For *ciere* in this sense of calling to arms cf. *Aen.* x. 198.

**89. nefas**, 'O execrable,' parenthetical as in *Aen.* vii. 73, viii. 688, *Stat.* *Theb.* iii. 54. **commune sepulcrum** is applied to the earth by *Lucr.* v. 259, to a promiscuous burial-ground by *Horace* *S. i.* 8. 10. Cf. *Auson.* *Epit. Her.* 11. 3, 24. 3. **Asiae Europaeque**. The position of Troy, on the ground where Europe and Asia meet, struck the ancients much more than those among the moderns who like Max Müller resolve the Trojan war into a solar myth. *Philostratus Icones* 765 Ὑψηλὴ μὲν αὐτῆ ἡ πόλις καὶ ταυτὶ τὰ κρήδεμνα τοῦ Ἰλίου, πεδίον δὲ τουτὶ μέγα καὶ ἀποχρῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀντιτάξαι. *Aen.* vii. 223 *Quibus actus uterque Europae atque Asiae fatis concurrerit orbis*, x. 90 *Consurgere in arma Europamque Asiamque*, *Prop.* ii. 3. 36.

**90. uirum et uirtutum**, 'heroes and heroic deeds.' Enn. Phoenix 338 Vahlen *Virum uirtute uera uiuere animatum addeceat*, Verg. Aen. i. 566 *Virtutesque uirosque. acerba cinis*, 'untimely grave,' like *acerbo funere* Aen. vi. 429. CIL. I. 1202 *Eheu heu Taracei ut acerbo es deditus fato. Non aevo exacto uitae es traditus morti, Sed cum te decuit florere aetate iuuenta, Interieisti et liquisti in maeroribus matrem.* ib. 1422 *pueri uirtus indigne occidit. Quouis fatum acerbum populus indigne tulit.* Sen. ad Marciam de Consol. 9 *Tot acerba funera (ducuntur): nos togam nostrorum infantium, nos militiam et paternae hereditatis successionem agitamur animo.* De Ira iii. 25 *Aequiore animo filium in angulo fleuit, qui uidit acerba funera etiam ex regia duci.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 17 *A maioribus institutum subtrahere oculis acerba funera*, referring to Britannicus. Catullus alludes to the premature deaths of Achilles Patroclus Antilochus Ajax Protesilaus, as well as of Hector Troilus Paris Memnon. **cinis**. According to Nonius 198, Caesar Catullus and Calvus made the word feminine, cf. Calvus fr. 4. Lachm. *cum iam fulua cinis fuero*, 5 *Forsitan hoc etiam gaudeat ipsa cinis.* Lucret. iv. 926 has *multa cinere*, and so *cineres suas* Orelli Inscript. 4393, *cinere adoperta* 4479, *usta cinis* 4839.

**91. ueter id fatum miserabile**, 'that ancient death of sorrow,' i. e. the same untimely decease which befel the heroes of old. **ueter** is neuter like *fatum celer aut tardum* Nonius 526, *iaculum celer* ib. 552, *maturum dicitur celer* ib. 348: cf. 240. Ennius wrote *ueter* masc. *ueter Priamus*, Ann. 17 Vahlen, and so Attius 481 *ueter fatorum terminus*: it is not known to occur as a fem. or neuter; but if, as Probus asserts 1453 P., *acer* was used in all three genders, and *celer origo* in Lucretius iv. 160, *Volucer fama, siluester aedon* in Petronius S. 123, 131, to say nothing of *fames acer* in Naevius, *acer hiems* in Ennius (Neue Formenlehre der Latin. Sprach. ii. p. 7) prove that the termination in *-er* was not confined to the masculine, it seems not improbable that it was also occasionally neuter, like *uber solum* Tac. Hist. v. 6.

**92-96** nearly = 20-24. This repetition *Fratrem maerentis rapto de fratre dolentis Insolabiliter* is, I believe, unexampled in the other Roman poets, and can hardly be considered, artistically, very happy.

**97. tam longe** looks as if Catullus were writing in Italy. **sepulcra**, strictly plural, 'the tombs of the family:' not so in LXIV. 368.

**98. compositum**, 'buried,' properly in reference to laying up the ashes in a funeral urn. Tib. iii. 2. 26, Val. Flacc. vii. 208. Hor. S. i. 9. 28 *Omnes composui* where Acron explains *in urnis sepeliui*. **cineres**, masc., but *acerba cinis* above: probably one of the artifices of the *cantores Euphorionis*.

**99. obscena**, 'abominable,' as Cassandra calls the ship which carried Helen, the cause of so many deaths, to Troy *obsenam puppim* Heroid. v. 119. **infelice**, 'accursed:' originally perhaps applied to the *arbor infelix* on which criminals were hung. Rabir. iv. 13. The abl. *infelice* is rare; Neue ii. p. 47 quotes *felice* from Cic. Or. xlvi. 159, but Catullus himself prefers *felici* LXII. 30, LXIV. 373.

**100. Detinet**, not simply κατέχει Il. iii. 243, Od. xi. 300 but ἐρύκει, Il. xxi. 62 ἢ μιν ἐρύξει Γῆ φυσίχοος ἦτε κατὰ κρατερὸν περ ἐρύκει. **extremo solo**, 'on the land's last verge:' he was buried *Rhoeteo subter litore* LXV. 7.

**101.** Eldik compares Bion xv. 9 Οὐδέ τις Ἑλληρῶν οὔτε Μυκηναίων, οὐτ' Ἕλιδος, οὔτε Λακωνῶν, Μείνει ἐὼν κατὰ δῶμα, φέρων δύστανον Ἄρηα.

**102. penetralis focos** the hearths in the centre of their homes, connected with the family worship of the household gods; the ἐρκείω πυρῶ of Troad. 483 seems to express the same idea, just as Ἐρκείοι = *Penates*, though the outer court (ἔρκος) is strictly quite different from the *tablinum*, or inner recess of the atrium, where the Romans placed their household gods. Cic. N. D. ii. 27. 67 *Vis eius (Vestae) ad aras et focos pertinet. Itaque in ea dea quae est rerum custos intimarum omnis et precatio et sacrificatio extrema est. Nec longe absunt ab hac uī di Penates, siue a penu ducto nomine (est enim omne quo uestuntur homines penus) siue ab eo, quod penitus insident: ex quo etiam penetrales a poetis uocantur.* Some MSS. give *penetralis deos*, cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 10 *penetralis Germaniae deos*, Sen. Theb. 340 *Facibus petite penetrales deos*; but Cic. de Harusp. Resp. xxvii. 57 has *Deorum ignes solia mensas abditos ac penetrales focos.*

**103. libera**, 'undisturbed.' LXIV. 402.

**104. pacato**, 'where war did not come,' 'quiet from war.' Cic. pro Lig. ii. 4 *Domo egressus est non modo nullum ad bellum, sed ne ad minimam quidem suspicionem belli; legatus in pace profectus est; in provincia pacatissima ita se gessit ut ei pacem esse expediret.* **thalamo.** Catullus perhaps recalled the meeting of Helen with Paris in the θαλάμῳ καὶ διωνοτοῖσι λέχασσι of the latter, ll. iii. 391, cf. 421, 423.

**105-118.** 'It was thus that Laodamia lost Protesilaus, the husband whom she loved with a passion not less deep than the chasm which Hercules made by draining the waters of Pheneos in Arcadia, a task which he undertook voluntarily, at the same time that he shot the birds of Stymphalus at the bidding of Eurystheus, thus winning the rank of a god and an immortal bride, Hebe.'

**106. uita dulcius atque anima**, 'life and the breath of life.' Lucan v. 739 *Non nunc uita mihi dulcior, inquit, Cum taedet uitae, laeto sed tempore, comiux.* The addition of *atque anima* gives intensity to an otherwise commonplace expression.

**107. absorbens**, 'engulfing.' Cicero uses the word metaphorically with *aestus*, Brut. lxxxi. 282. **uertice.** Charis. 88. 16 Keil *uertex a uertendo dicitur, uortex a uorando, et uult Plinius uerticem immanem uim impetus habere ut ingens a uertice pontus* (Aen. i. 114), *uorticem uero circumactionem undae esse, ut et rapidus uorat aequore uortex* (Aen. i. 117). From this it would seem that the ordinary distinction of *uortex fluminis*, *uertex capitis*, which is found in Flavius Caper de Orthographia p. 2243 Putsch was not recognized by Pliny, and probably did not exist in his time. The older form was *uortex*, the forms in *e* were introduced by Scipio Africanus, according to Quint. i. 7. 25. (Brambach Neugestaltung der Lateinischen Orthographie p. 102). The MSS. of Catullus uniformly present the *e* form. See Ribbeck, Verg. iv. p. 436. **amoris**, both with *uertice* and *Aestus*.

**108. abruptum**, 'sheer,' here adj. In Sen. N. Q. iii. 16. 4 *abrupto in infinitum hiatu*, which explains the idea, it is a participle. Catullus seems to be thinking rather of the precipitous character of the descent than of the chasm itself. **barathrum.** The subterranean channels, or katavothras as they are now called, which carry off the waters of rivers like the Erasinus and the Ladon, and when choked up make them overflow, were called βέρεθρα, in Arcadian ζέρεθρα, Strabo 389.

**109. Quale**, 'like the oozy soil which, as the Greeks tell, is drained near



Cyllenaeae Pheneos by the straining out of the marsh-waters.' A *description* of the katavothra. The comparison is not exact, for the abyss of love is like the hollow into which the water subsides, not the soil which the overflow of the waters has converted into a marsh. But there is much plausibility in Schrader's emendation *Siccare*. Then *Quale* will refer to *barathrum*, 'like the abyss which drains the soil : ' and this agrees better with *Quod* in 111.

**Pheneos**, a town in the N.E. of Arcadia, with a territory extending about seven miles in length and breadth, and shut in by offshoots of Cyllene and the Aroanian mountains. (Dict. Geog.) The river Olbius or Aroanius traverses this plain, and when the βέρεθρα, which ought to carry off its waters, are stopped up, inundates the plain and becomes a lake. The reservoir ascribed to Hercules was intended to act as an artificial channel for this river. Paus. viii. 14 Διὰ μέσου δὲ ὤρυξεν Ἡρακλῆς τοῦ Φενεατῶν πεδίου ῥέυμα εἶναι τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ὀλβίῳ, ὄντινα Ἀροάνιον Ἀρκάδιον καλοῦσιν ἕτεροι καὶ οὐκ Ὀλβιον. μῆκος μὲν τοῦ ὀρύγματος στάδιον πενήκοντά εἰσι· βάθος δέ, ὅσον μὴ πεπτωκός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐς τριάκοντα καθήκει πόδας. The author of the article in the Dict. Geog. considers this to be the work which Catullus speaks of; but Pausanias mentions besides two βάραθρα, one beneath mount Oryxis, the other under mount Skiathus, as also constructed by Hercules : and as in Pausanias' time marks were shown on the sides of the mountains up to which the waters were believed to have ascended, and Catullus specially mentions the hewing out of the mountain, it seems likely that the poet had these in his mind.

**Cylleneum**. Catullus perhaps follows Callim. Del. 71 Φεῦγεν δ' ὁ γέρων μετόπισθε Φεναιός ; in Paus. viii. 14, Stat. Theb. iv. 291 *Pheneos* is fem.

110. **emulsa**. Strabo 389 calls the katavothra or βέρεθρα *strainers*. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ φησι περὶ Φενεὸν μὲν τὸν Ἀνίαν καλούμενον ποταμὸν λιμνάζειν τὰ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, καταδέσθαι δ' εἰς τινας ἡθμοὺς οὓς καλεῖσθαι ζέρεθρα. **pingue**, παχύ, a *thick* soil, here from the coagulation of the marsh-waters, more generally from the richness of the juices, as in Verg. G. i. 64, Tib. ii. 3. 6.

111. **Quod**, sc. *siccatum solum*, nearly = 'which drainer of the soil,' **caesis montis medullis**. Paus. viii. 14 Ὑψ' ἑκατέρω δέ ἐστι τῷ ὄρει βάραθρον τὸ ὕδωρ καταδεχόμενον ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου. Τὰ δὲ βάραθρα οἱ Φενεάται ταῦτά φασιν εἶναι χειροποίητα, ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὰ Ἡρακλῆα τηρικαῖτα ἐν Φενεῳ παρὰ Λαονόμη τῇ Ἀμφιτρύωνος μητρὶ οἰκοῦντα· γενέσθαι γὰρ Ἀμφιτρύωνα ἐκ Λαονόμης Ἀλκαίῳ τῆς Γουνέως, γυναικὸς Φενεάτιδος, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Πέλοπος Λυσιδίκης. Εἰ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ παρὰ τοὺς Φενεάτας μετόπισθε, πείθειτο ἂν τις, διαχθέντα ἐκ Τίρυνθος ὑπὸ Εὐρυσθέως αὐτὸν οὐκ αὐτίκα ἐς Θήβας, πρότερον δὲ ἐς Φενεὸν ἀφικέσθαι. Pausanias here follows a different version from Catullus; the common point of the two is the connexion of Pheneos with *Amphitryon*.

112. **Audit** = *dicitur*. Forc. quotes no instance of *audire* in this sense followed by an infinitive. **falsiparens**, a translation of Callimachus' ψευδοπάτωρ Cer. Cal. 98, where Triopas applies it to his unnatural father Poseidon. Here the word is in close connexion with **Amphitryoniades**, 'he who was falsely called Amphitryon's son,' being really the son of Jupiter. Ἀμφιτρυωνιάδης is a recurring title of Hercules in the *Scutum Herculis* ascribed to Hesiod. The construction of the reservoir at Pheneos was one of the voluntary labours of Hercules, ἐξ αὐταγρεσίης Callim. fr. 120 Blomf.

113. **Tempore quo**, during his visit to Arcadia. Stymphalus adjoins Pheneos on the east : and like it was celebrated for a mountain-inclosed

lake which escaped by a katavothra and, when this outlet was obstructed, inundated the neighbouring country. **certa sagitta.** Hor. C. i. 12. 23, 24. **monstra**, the birds of lake Stymphalus, which Pausanias viii. 22 conjectures to have resembled the Arabian birds of the same name, of the size of cranes, and in form like the ibis, except that their beaks were stronger and not crooked. Peisander of Camirus (Paus. viii. 22. 4) and Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1054-1059, gave a different account. According to this, Hercules was unable to keep off the birds with his bow, and only scared them away by shaking a brass rattle from the top of a high rock.

114. **deterioris**, Eurystheus, *Μάλα γὰρ πολὺν χεῖρονι φωτὶ Δεδμήμην, ὁ δὲ μοι χαλεποὺς ἐπετέλλετ' ἀέθλους*, the words of Hercules to Ulysses Od. xi. 621.

115. Od. xi. 602 *Ἀτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι Τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃ, καὶ ἔχει κολλίσφυρον Ἥβην.* Hom. H. 15. 7 *Νῦν δ' ἤδη κατὰ καλὸν ἔδος κίφεντος Ὀλύμπου Νάϊει τερπόμενος καὶ ἔχει κολλίσφυρον Ἥβην.* **ianua**, 'the gateway,' Cic. N. D. ii. 27. 67 *Transitiōnes peruiæ Iani, foresque in liminibus profanarum aedium ianuae nominantur*, a remark otherwise in strange contrast with the application of the word here to the abode of the gods. **tereretur**, 'might be trodden,' as in *terere uiam limen porticum* cf. LXVI. 69. Another interpretation is suggested by Sen. H. F. 960 *Quid si negaret? non capit terra Herculem Tandemque superis reddit. En ultro uocat Omnis deorum coetus et laxat fores Vna uetante. Recipis et reseras polum? An contumacis ianuam mundi traho?* viz. the wearing away of the door by the opening and shutting necessary to admission.

117. **altus amor**, *βίθυσ ἔρωσ* Theoc. iii. 41.

118. 'For it forced him that was the master (Protesilaus) to become the slave and bear the yoke,' viz. of his wife's overpowering passion. The comparison is strictly exact: as Hercules bowed his neck to the task of digging a deep reservoir for the marsh-waters, so did Protesilaus to gratify the deep love of Laodamia. So Ovid represents Hypsipyle as saying of Medea's passion for her husband Jason, Her. vi. 97 *Silicet ut tauros, ita te iuga ferre coegit*, in allusion to the fire-breathing bulls which she taught him to subdue; Prop. ii. 3. 47-50 expands the idea; Wordsworth in his Laodamia expresses in detail such a passion, and contrasts it with the finer love of Protesilaus himself, *Be taught, O faithful Consort, to control Rebellious passion; for the Gods approve The depth, and not the tumult, of the soul; A fervent, not ungovernable, love.*

119-140. 'Neither the love of a grandfather for his only daughter's son, nor that of a dove for her mate, could compare with the transports of Laodamia. Yet hardly inferior to Laodamia in strength of passion was Lesbia when she met me, breathing love and desire. And if she is not quite as faithful to me as I might wish, I take care to complain as little as I can, knowing that she has examples for her lightness in the Celestials themselves, and that I am only copying the forbearance of Juno to her roving husband Jupiter.'

119-124. From Pindar Ol. xi. 86 *Ἄλλ' ᾗτε παῖς ἐξ ἀλόχου πατρὶ Ποσειδῶς ἴκοντι νεότατος τὸ πάλιν ἤδη, μάλα δὲ τοι θερμαίνει φιλότατι νόον. Ἐπεὶ πλοῦτος ὁ λαχὼν ποιμένα Ἐπακτὸν ἀλλότριον Θυάσκοντι στυγερῶτατος.*

119. **confecto aetate parenti.** Aen. iv. 599.

120. **Vna**, therefore his only hope of posterity. Santen remarks that the passage has special force in reference to the lex Voconia b.c. 169,

which enacted that no one included in the census after the censors of that year should make any female his heir: (Verr. i. 42. 107, cf. Gaius ii. 274) a provision which extended even to only daughters (Augustin. de Ciuit. Dei iii. 21). **caput** suggests the pleasure which an old man would feel in the thought of his perpetuation as a free Roman citizen. **seri**, ὄψιγόνου Hom. H. Cer. 164 sqq. Τηλύγετος δέ οἱ υἱὸς ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ εὐπήκτω Ὀψιγόνος τρέφεται, πολυεῖχτος ἀσπασίος τε (*uix tandem inuentus*): ib. 219 Παιδα δέ μοι τρέφε τόνδε, τὸν ὄψιγονον καὶ ἄελπτον Ὀπασαν ἀθάνατοι, πολυάρητος δέ μοι ἐστίν (Santen), cf. II. ix. 481, 482.

**121. diuitiis**, dative, 'to succeed to the wealth.' **inuentus**, here used of the child whose appearance has been long looked for in vain. The construction is like And. iii. 3. 39 *Tibi generum firmum et filiae inuenias uirum*.

**122.** 'Has entered his name on the tablets of the will.' *Testari*=to make a will, e. g. Liu. i. 34, and *tabulae testatae* (passive) seems to mean little more than 'the tablets of the will made,' though possibly there may be a farther notion of the will being drawn up with particular attention to all requisite formalities, as would be natural in the case of a long-expected heir. On this view *tabulas* would itself stand for the will as in A. A. ii. 332, Iuuen. iv. 19; *testatas* would mean 'testibus confirmatas,' as Santen explains. Cic. ad Heren. i. 13. 23 *Tabulas in carcerem afferunt, testamentum ipso praesente conscribunt, testes recte affuerunt*. **Nomen intulit**=has been entered by name, *nominatim scriptus est* De Orat. i. 38. 175.

**123.** 'Blasting the unnatural joy of the baffled heir next of kin, bids the vulture soar away from the gray head,' i. e. frees the grandfather from the expectant heir who counted on the absence of direct issue to inherit the property. Heren. i. 13. 23 quoting from the Twelve Tables *Si paterfamilias intestato moritur, familia pecuniaque eius adgnatum gentiliūque esto*: De Inuent. ii. 50. 148. **Impia**, 'quia gentilis propinquum sine liberis heredibus decessurum sperabat,' Santen. Rather, perhaps, in opposition to the *pius* grief of a nearer relation for the loss of his aged kinsman. **derisi**, proleptic LXIV. 129. Browning, The Ring and the Book ii. 580 *Partly to cheat the rightful heirs agape, Each unclé's cousin's brother's son of him, For that same principal of the usufruct It vexed him he must die and leave behind*.

**124. Suscitāt.** The vulture is perched on the gray head already, in anticipation. Truc. ii. 3. 16 *Illum student iam; quasi uolturii triduo Prius praediūnant quo die essuri sient*, where Spengel quotes Plin. H. N. x. 19. **uolturium**, of an heir expectant. Mart. vi. 62 *Amisit pater unicum Salanus. Cessas mittere munera, Oppiane? Heu crudele nefas malaēque Parcae. Cuius uulturis hoc erit cadauer?* Sen. Epist. 95. 43 *Amico aliquis aegro adsidet. Probamus. At hoc hereditatis causa facit. Vultur est, cadauer expectat*. Suidas s. u. ἀπειροὶ γῦπες (Erasmus ἀπερ οἱ γῦπες) ἐπὶ τῶν διὰ κληρονομίαν ἢ διὰ κέρδος προσεδρεύοντων τινί: παρόσον οἱ γῦπες τοῖς θνησιμαῖοις παρεδρεύουσιν. **capiti**, ablative like *lapidi fieri labi tripodi Cilici Heliconi de parti in luci* and even *rationi mucroni* in Lucretius. **cano capiti**. Pers. i. 83.

**125. niueo columbo**, XXIX. 8. According to Varro L. L. ix. 56, quoted by Vulp. *columba* was for a long time the only form, and the distinction *mas columbus, femina columba* of comparatively recent introduction; yet *columbus* is found in Rud. iii. 6. 49. The constancy of the male and

female dove to each other is often mentioned, Prop. ii. 15. 27, Paroem. Graeci ii. 447 ed. Leutsch, Plin. H. N. x. 104 *Pudicitia illis (columbis) prima et neutri nota adulteria; coniugi fidem non uiolant, communemque seruant domum; nisi caelebs aut uidua nidum non relinquit.*

126. **Compar**, 'mate,' Hor. C. ii. 5. 2. It is found in Inscriptt. = wife, as in Orelli 2656. **multo improbius** is explained by Santen as = *improbissime*, cf. *paulo, nimio* with comparatives. But in all the other passages where it is used by Catullus XLV. 15, LXXII. 6, LXXXII. 3, LXXXIII. 5, in Horace throughout, in the passages of Plautus given in the Delphin index, and in Terence, the comparative, when combined with *multo*, retains its distinct comparativel force, though the thing compared is sometimes left to be inferred, sometimes placed in the clause following, e. g. Men. v. 6. 13 *Magis multo patior facilius ego uerba: uerba odi i. e. facilius uerberibus*. Poen. Prol. 7 *Qui edistis multo fecistis sapientius: Qui non edistis, saturi fite fabulis*. In Most. iii. 2. 139 *Multo improbiore*, Lucil. xxx. 78 L. Müller *Inprobior multo, quam de quo diximus ante, Quanto blandior haec, tanto uementius mordet*, the comparatives have their proper force. Here the thing compared with the wantonness of the dove is the doating caprice of women; but the sentence is abruptly closed before this object is expressed; it thus becomes the nominative of a new clause, and is then inferred backwards: 'the dove which is said to kiss far more wantonly (than a woman), though a woman's fancy is the most wide-ranging of all things.' The interposition of 127 makes this less harsh; but the alteration to *Quam quae* is a slight one, and may be right. **dicitur**, as often in Pliny of statements taken from others, H. N. x. 191, 2.

127. Athen. 394 *Ἴδιον δὲ λέγει τῆς περιστέρᾶς τὸ κυνεῖν αὐτὰς ὅταν μελλῶσιν ἀναβαίνειν, ἢ οὐκ ἀνέχεσθαι τὰς θηλείας· ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀναβαίνει μὴ κύσας. οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι αἰεὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ὀχεύουσιν, καὶ αἱ θηλείαι δ' ἀλλήλας ἀναβαίνουσιν ὅταν ἄρῃν μὴ πάρῃ κυσάμεναι.* Lycophron Al. 131 calls Helen *κίσσης πελειάδος*. **mordenti**, participial ablative used adjectively. *So mugienti fremitu candenti e gurgite laetanti coetu fulgenti auro atque argento laetanti pectore*, Neue Formenl. ii. p. 46. **semper** with **decerpere**, 'to be for ever snatching.'

128. The argument returns to the point which it started with, the strength of woman's passion, and so to Laodamia. **multiuola**, like *omniuoli* in 140, from *uelle*, cf. Varro's *multicupidus* ap. Non. 123, not from *uolare*, as if the idea were 'those gentle birds that fly from man to man.' Forc. gives no other instance: but Vulp. quotes from the Vulgate Ecclesiastic. ix. 3 *Ne respicias mulierem multiuolam, ne forte incidas in laqueos illius*. To take **mulier** of the female dove, as Doering, is harsh in point of language and not true, as doves though wanton, are notoriously faithful to each other, and could not possibly be called *multiuolae*.

129. **tu**, Laodamia. **horum**, masculine, as the particular instances are thought of generally. Cf. LXVI. 28 *fortior alis*.

130. **flauo**. Philostratus *Ἡρωικὰ 673 Καὶ μὴν καὶ κόμης ξανθῆς ἔχει τὸ μέτριον*. **conciliare**, here of bringing man and wife together Lucr. v. 963, Am. i. 13. 42, more generally in a bad sense of acting as procurer, Mil. Glor. iii. 1. 206.

131. **Aut nihil aut paulo**, a curious modification, but cf. *μόνος ἢ πρῶτος θηγῶν* Aristot. Eleg. fr. 3. 3 Bergk. Cic. Fam. xiv. 4. 1 *Certe nihil aut non multum in nila multi uidissemus*. Hor. C. iv. 14. 20 *Indomitas*

*prope qualis undas Exercet Auster.* Ouid. Her. ii. 146 *Aut hoc aut simili carmine notus eris.* xiv. 41 *Aut sic aut etiam tremui magis.* Shelley Prometheus Act ii. ad fin. *And rest having beheld somewhat like thee.*

133. **circumcursans.** Sen. Apocol. ix. (*Hercules*) *modo huc modo illuc cursabat.*

134. **crocina.** Aristophanes gives Cupid wings of gold Aves 697 *Στίλβων νότον περυγοῖν χρυσοῖν.* **candidus** probably refers to his lustrous complexion. Plato Rep. 474 says fair loves (λευκοί) were called *θεῶν παῖδες.* **tunica.** Sappho fr. 64 Bergk gives Eros a purple chlamys.

135. Ter. Eun. i. 2. 42 *Neque tu uno eras contenta neque solus dedit.* Hor. Epod. 14. 15, of a male, A. A. ii. 399.

136. **Rara** and **uerecundae** explain each other. Catullus will bear with his lady's frailties, for she is decorous and they are few. **herae**, in Greece the Spartans and Thessalians called their wives *δέσποινα* Plut. Lyc. xiv, Hesych. s. u. *Δεσποίνας.*

137. **stultorum**, 'jealous fools.' Propertius ii. 34. 20 says of himself in reference to Cynthia *Stultus quod stulto saepe timore tremo.* Alciph. i. 31 *Διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον ἀμαθίαν ὑπερᾶραι τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἐρωτικῆς ζήλοτοπίας.* From a less particular point of view, a lover whose assiduity makes him tiresome (*molestus*) becomes disagreeable (*odiosus*) and converts love into hatred, a proof of his folly (*stultitia*).

138. Aristoph. Nub. 1080 *εἴτ' ἐς τὸν Δι' ἐπανευγκεῖν Κάκείνος ὡς ἦπται ἔρωτός ἐστι καὶ γυναικῶν. Καίτοι σὺ θνητὸς ὢν θεοῦ πῶς μείζον ἀν δύναιο;* addressed to a supposed adulterer. **in culpa** is constructed both with **flagrantem** (Dräger p. 607) and **iram** as in *pellice saevae* Ouid. Met. iv. 546, *uesanum in uile*, Prop. iii. 17. 23. See Hertzberg on Prop. i. 13. 7, and Quaestt. Prop. p. 134. **contudit**, as in Att. xii. 44. 3 *Contudi animum et fortasse uici, si modo permansero*, might mean simply 'has crushed or mastered;' but it seems more likely that the reference is to stifling the flame of anger, as Cic. de Rep. i. 1 has *Incendium belli Punici excitatum contudisset.* **iram.** Callim. Del. 55 *Οὐδ' Ἥρην κοτέουσαν ἰπέτρεσας, ἢ μὲν ἀπάσας Δεινὸν ἐπεβριμάτο λεχωῖσιν, αἰ Διὶ παῖδας Ἐξέφερον.* Trist. ii. 291, 2 *Proxima adoranti Iunonia templa subibit Paelicibus multas hanc doluisse deam.*

140. **omniuoli.** Stat. compares Ἔρωτι παντορέκτα Anacreont. 10. 11 Bergk. **plurima furta**, as related by him to Juno II. xiv. 315-328, Dia Danae Europa Semele Alcmena Demeter Latona.

141-142. The explanations of these two verses on the view that they follow each other are mainly two (1) 'Yet after all men are not gods, and I am not without a bad wish: to be rid of my mistress' father, who is tiresome and watches us' (Scaliger) or, 'is censorious on our amour' (Conf. de Allio); and (2) 'Yet, since men are not gods, i. e. either (a) I am not so great as Juno, and must therefore be more patient, or (b) I am not so great as Juno, and Lesbia may therefore resent being treated like Jupiter; or (c) Lesbia is a frail woman and must not be treated as Juno treated Jupiter; away with the tiresome burden of a father's senility i. e. let us have no over-jealousy; I do not wish to treat my mistress as a father, but as a lover. The general sense would then be like Ouid. Am. iii. 4. 43, compared by A. Weise *Si sapis (=ne nimium simus stultorum: more molesti]*, *indulge dominae [=rara furta feremus herae], uultusque*

*seueros Exue* [= *tremuli tolle parentis onus*]. To these may be added the view of Heyse, (3) 'Yet since men are not gods but jealous and impatient mortals, you must take upon yourself, Catullus, the tiresome task which properly belongs to parents, of watching your mistress' irregularities.' The poet will then be addressing himself in *tolle*, which, without any indication of a change of person as in VIII. 18, 19 is unjustifiably harsh, although such sudden self-addresses are not uncommon in Propertius, e. g. ii. 5. 9-16. Santen explains *tolle* as a general expression 'away with,' cf. *pete nobiles amicos* XXVIII. 13, *I nunc tolle animos* Prop. iii. 18. 17, and if either (1) or (2) is adopted, this is the readiest interpretation of the word. I prefer to follow Marcilius and Lachmann in supposing a considerable lacuna between 141 and 142, though there is no indication of this in the MSS. The lost verses probably contained, as Haupt suggests, another digression; perhaps, as I suggested in my first volume an allusion to the loss of Creusa by Aeneas; at any rate the words *Ingratum tremuli tolle parentis onus* might well apply to Aeneas lifting his father Anchises on his shoulders, as narrated by Virgil Aen. ii. 707 sqq. The connexion of ideas would then be as follows: 'Yet men are not gods, I am not Juno. Let me put myself in the position of a mortal: I, it is true, have lost Lesbia, but not wholly, and not a wife; Aeneas, the son of a Goddess, lost his wife Creusa wholly, when at the bidding of his mother Venus he shouldered his father on the way to his new home.'

141. Il. v. 440 Μηδὲ θεοῖσιν ἴσ' ἔθελε φρονέειν ἐπεὶ οὐ ποτε φίλον ὁμοῖον Ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν χυμαί ἐρχομένων τ' ἀνθρώπων. Philo de Caritate T. ii. 404 ed. Mang. (Bergk fr. Pindar 265 A) Ἐπεῖτα δ' ὅτι φρονήματος ὑπόπλεως ἀλόγῳ γενόμενος πᾶς ἀλάζων οὔτε ἄνδρα οὔτε ἡμίθεον μᾶλλον ἢ δαίμονα κατὰ τὸν Πίνδαρον ὑπολαμβάνει ἑαυτὸν, ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀξίων βαίνειν. It is remarkable that Catullus in comparing himself and Lesbia with Juno and Jupiter (Cas. ii. 3. 14) inverts the very profanity which caused Ceyx and Alcyone, who called each other Jupiter and Juno, to be metamorphosed into birds (Apollod. i. 7); Plutarch de Fluv. 11 mentions the similar metamorphosis of the brother and sister Haemus and Rhodope into mountains, for the same profanity. Lesbia seems to have challenged comparison with Juno, LXX. 2, LXXII. 2; Cicero alludes to Clodia several times as Ἡρα βοῶπις, probably in reference to the stories of her scandalous intercourse with her brother (Cael. xxxii. 78, Att. ii. 9. 1, 12. 2, 14. 1, 22. 5, 23. 3). *nec* was perhaps answered by a lost *nec* or *et*: it might however be, 'Yet since *on the other hand* mortals ought not to be compared with gods.' Ouid. Pont. iv. 13. 5 *Non quia mirifica est, sed quod nec publica certe.*

142. *Ingratum* and *tremuli* (LXI 51) are in relation to each other. The father is a disagreeable burden as old and helpless, *inutilis* Aen. ii. 647, cf. 708 the words of Aeneas to Anchises *Ipse subibo umbris, nec me labor iste grauabit*. In *tolle* there may be a double entendre as in the epigram on Nero *Quis neget Aeneae magna de stirpe Neronem? Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem*. Cf. Varro Sexagesis fr. vii Riese.

143-146. 'After all Lesbia was not solemnly married to me; her husband was living and our first meeting was clandestine. I may therefore be well contented if I am the one favoured lover whose day she marks as a day of signal and special happiness.'

143. *Nec tamen* is obviously in reference to some married pair, mentioned in the digression. *deducta*, of a bride Prop. iv. 3. 13, Tib.

iii. 4. 31. *dextra paterna*, in the Roman *conuentio in manum*, the father delivered his daughter to her husband: cf. LXII. 60 (Santen).

144. *Fragrantem*, i.e. with all the pomp and luxury of a formal marriage. *Assyrio*. See on VI. 8.

145. *mira*, 'rare,' 'unspeakable.' Somewhat similar is Lucretius' *manuum mira uirtute* v. 966, Hor. Epist. ii. 2. 129 *miros tragoedos*. The idea is nearly that of Alciphron's *ἐκείνης τῆς ἱερᾶς νυκτός* ii. 1. 4. *munuscula*. Petron. fr. Bücheler 30. 14 *dat adultera munus*.

146. *dempta uiri gremio*, 'subtracted from her husband's embraces:' see on LXVII. 30. This line is almost alone sufficient to show that Catullus is speaking of Lesbia.

147. *Quare illud satis est*. Catalecta 13. 11.

148. *Quem diem*, in conformity with a remark of Servius on Aen. i. 736 *Quidam uolunt masculini generis diem bonum significare, feminini malum*. *candidiore*. 'Id solenne est scriptoribus Latinis ut dies felices creta uel albo lapide lapillo calculo gemma signandos et notandos dicant: infaustos uero nigro.' Bentley on Hor. C. i. 36. 10, who besides this passage of Catullus and CVII. 6 quotes Mart. xii. 34. 5-7, viii. 45. 1, 2, xi. 36. 1, 2, ix. 52. 4, 5, x. 38. 4, 5, Stat. S. iv. 6. 18, Plin. Epist. vi. 11.

3. Lesbia must have so far varied this custom as to specialize *one* particular day by a white mark, and assigned it to her most favoured lover. It is remarkable that Roman women wore white robes and nets for the dead, Plut. Q. R. 26: to an imaginative lover this would rather detract from the happy significance of the omen.

149-160. 'Such, Allius, is the gift of verse with which I would requite your many kindnesses to me, and keep in everlasting remembrance your household name: heaven will add all those blessings which have from time immemorial been the portion of good and true friends. I wish all happiness to you and your lady-love, to the house as well as the owner of the house which harboured Lesbia and me, to Anser, the first promoter of our love, lastly to her who is dearer to me than all the world beside, Lesbia, whose life makes my life happy.'

149. *quod potui*, 'it was all I could.' Catullus sends his friend the best he can do. Verg. E. iii. 70 *Quod potui, puero siluestri ex arbore lecta Aurea mala decem misi: cras altera mittam* (Vulp.). Heroid. viii. 3 *Quod potui, renui*. Calp. ix. 68. The elaborate character of the poem is in strong contrast with the humility of the poet's language. *confectum carmine*, wrought or framed in verse; Caesar B. G. i. 29 has *Tabulae litteris Graecis confectae*, Nepos Hann. 13 *Libros Graeco sermone conficere*. Possibly Catullus wrote *confictum*, a word which would suggest the elaborate moulding and dove-tailing into shape, which characterize the poem. So *Fauos confingunt et ceras* of bees Plin. H. N. xi. 11.

151. *uestrum* after *ibi*, 'your family name,' see on LXIV. 160. *scabra*, 'corroding.' Verg. G. i. 495 *Exesa inueniet scabra robigine pila*. Here the notion seems to be that of a monument, in which the letters of Allius' name are engraved and liable to be corroded by time. Shakspeare Sonnets ci *it lies in thee To make him much outlive a gilded tomb, And to be praised of ages yet to be*.

152. 'To-day and to-morrow and other days in long succession.' Ad Heren. iv. 50. 63 *Alio nomine appellat, deinde alio atque alio*.

153. Themis gave to Pelus as *εὐσεβέστατος* the *θεόμορον γέρας* of marrying

Thetis, Pind. Isthm. viii. 40. Hesychius identifies Themis with Good Fortune ἀγαθὴ Τύχη, see Welcker Götterlehre iii. 18–20 and 210, Plutarch with Carmenta, who gave the Roman matrons εὐτεκνίαν καὶ πολυτεκνίαν Q. R. 56. Hesiod associates her with Aphrodite Hebe and Dione (Theog. 16), and she is called σωματικὴ θεὰ in Etym. M. Hence I think the blessings of which Catullus speaks are those of marriage, happiness in the possession of a healthy wife and children, as well as of a vigorous body. If this is so, Allius who in 1–40 is spoken of as a widower would seem to have chosen another wife (*tua uita*), whether as yet married or not is uncertain.

**154. Antiquis**, e. g. in the golden age, or in the Heroic period. **piis** is here a substantive as *prudicas* Prop. iii. 13. 9. Ovid has *diues auarus* Am. iii. 7. 50, Statius *sapientum priorum* S. ii. 2. 69, Fronto *antiqui ueteres* p. 166 Naber.

**155. uita**, in this sense of ‘beloved,’ is generally in the vocative, Truc. ii. 4. 37, Cas. i. 47, and so above XLV. 13 *infr.* CIX. 1, Prop. ii. 3. 23, 26. 1, *uita* i. 2. 1, i. 8. 22.

**156.** ‘And the house itself in which we both enjoyed our love, and she that is mistress of the house.’ **ipsa** fixes the meaning of **domina**, ‘not only the mistress of the house, but the house itself,’ cf. 70. **lusimus** can hardly refer to Allius and Catullus; like *nobis* in 157 it must be explained either of the poet alone, or, as seems more likely, of Catullus and Lesbia.

**157. rem condidit**, ‘was the originator of all.’ This is my conjecture for the MS. reading *terram dedit*; but there is much to recommend Scaliger’s *te transdedit* either as ‘placed you at my disposal’ Cic. ad Q. Fr. ii. 3. 5 *Domum ad eum statim uenimus eique nos totos tradidimus*, or in the sense of recommending, Fam. vii. 17. 2 *Ei te commendauit et tradidi*, Hor. Epist. i. 18. 78 *Fallimur et quondam non dignum tradimus*, S. i. 9. 47 *Hunc hominem uelles si tradere*. Fronto p. 168 Naber *Neque tu me a Nigro tibi traditum diligere coepisti*. Scaliger explains it in this sense; but though Caesar seems to have written *se hostibus transdederunt* B. G. vii. 77, I doubt whether this spelling is admissible in the sense of recommending. **Anser** is the conjecture of Heyse; perhaps the person alluded to by Virgil E. ix. 36, Prop. ii. 34. 84, Ouid. Trist. ii. 435; cf. Cic. Phil. xiii. 5.

**158. primo** unelided before **omnia** is extraordinarily harsh; but cf. LXVI. 48 *chalybum*, XCVII. 2 *culum*. Peiper conjectures *nomina nata boni*.

**159. Et longe ante alias omnes mitissima mater** Tib. iii. 4. 93; hence the construction seems to be *Et quae longe ante omnes carior mihi me ipso est*, a condensed expression for *et quae longe omnium carissima, atque adeo me ipso carior est*. The order of the words is as in Cic. Att. iii. 22. 3 *Premor desiderio omnium meorum qui mihi me cariores semper fuerunt*. Pont. ii. 8. 27 *Per patriae nomen quae te tibi carior ipso est*, Trist. v. 14. 2 *O mihi me coniunx carior*.

**160. Merc. ii. 4. 5 Id mihi adimitur qua causa uitam cupio uiuere**. Fronto p. 59 Naber *amo uitam propter te*, ib. 88 *desiderantissime, causa optima uitae meae*. Callimachus fr. 219 Blomf. Τεθναίην δ’ ἐκέλευν ἀποπνεύσαντα πυθόμην. **uiuere dulce mihi est** is Homeric Od. xxiv. 435 Οὐκ ἄν ἐμογε μετὰ φρεσὶν ἠδὲ γένοιτο Ζώμεν, ἀλλὰ τάχιστα θανῶν φθιμένοισι μετείην.



## EXCURSUS ON LXVIII. 28, 29.

If Prof. Jowett's view of these verses is right, it seems probable that Allius may have alluded to Baiae, then, as later, the fashionable watering-place of the Romans. Varro gave this name to one of his Menippean Satires, Non. 154 *Puellascere cfeminari uel reuiridiscere. Varro Bais Quod non solum innubae fiunt communis, sed etiam ueteres puellascunt et multi pueri puellascunt*, a passage which shows the soft and enervating character of the place<sup>1</sup>. Cicero often alludes to Baiae, especially in reference to the profligacy which there found a natural home. Cael. xv. 35 *Libidines amores adulteria Baias actas conuiuia comisationes cantus symphonias nauigia. xx. 47 Nihil igitur illa uicinitas redolet? nihil hominum fama? nihil Baiae denique ipsae locuntur? Illae uero non locuntur solum, uerum etiam personant: huc unius mulieris libidinem esse prolapsam, ut ea non modo solitudinem ac tenebras, atque haec flagitiorum integumentum non quaerat, sed in turpissimis rebus frequentissima celebritate et clarissima luce laetetur? 49 Si quae non nupta mulier domum suam patefecerit omnium cupiditati, palamque sese in meretricia uita collocarit, uirorum alienissimorum conuiuuiis uti instituerit; si hoc in urbe, si in hortis, si in Baiarum illa celebritate faciat*. In these three passages Cicero is speaking of Clodia, therefore perhaps of Lesbia; and the connexion of Baiae with Clodia and her brother Pulcher is shown by a fragment of Cicero's oration In Clodium et Curionem iv. 1 Orelli *Primum homo durus ac priscus inuectus est in eos, qui mense Aprili apud Baias essent et aquis calidis uterentur. Quid cum hoc homine nobis tam tristi ac seuro? Non possunt hi mores ferre hunc tam austerum et tam uehementem magistrum, per quem hominibus maioribus natu ne in suis quidem praediis impune tum, cum Romae nihil agitur, liceat esse ualitudinique seruire. . . . Quid homini, inquit, Arpinati cum Baiis, agresti ac rustico? Quo loco ita fuit caecus, ut facile appareret uidisse eum quod fas non fuisset: nec enim respexit illum ipsum patronum libidinis suae non modo apud Baias esse, uerum eas ipsas aquas habere, quae gustu tamen Arpinatis fuissent*. Cf. Att. i. 16. 10 where this joke is repeated: it proves conclusively that Baiae was the fashionable resort of the *beau monde*, and that the society there was not only made up of those *de meliore nota*, but apt to be exclusive to those who were not. This would explain Catullus' strong expression *turpe* (27); he would lose consideration as a man of fashion by not being at Baiae; of course more, if Lesbia was there. His reply *non est turpe, magis miserum est* is in other words what Cicero says Att. ix. 2. 5 *Te uero nolo nisi ipse rumor iam raucus erit factus ad Baias uenire. Erit enim nobis honestius etiam cum hinc discesserimus uideri uenisse in illa loca ploratum potius quam natatum*. The season at Baiae was in spring (cf. Tib. iii. 5. 1-4 where however the allusion is not to Baiae, but to hot springs in general) and Venus, the goddess of *April* (Hor. C. iv. 11. 16) seems to have been the tutelary deity of the place (Mart. xi. 80. 1). Hence a special point in the combined allusions to spring and Venus in 16-18. Indeed the whole exordium of the poem, gains new significance if we suppose Allius to have written to Catullus from Baiae, where the sight of the sea with its foaming breakers would suggest the image of

<sup>1</sup> See Couat Étude p. 43.

shipwreck in 3, as the *sancta Venus* in 5 would be a reminiscence of the goddess who though worshipped as the tutelary power of the place could do nothing to relieve the pangs of one of its visitors.

It is not however necessary to suppose Baiæ alluded to. There were hot sulphur springs near Verona, subsequently known as aquæ Iunonis, now Caldiero. The writer of Murray's Handbook to Northern Italy states that an inscription found at Caldiero proves the baths there to have been built or repaired by Petronius Probus A.V.C. 753; but they are likely to have been known long before this happened. Again Allius may have been at the hot springs near Padua, the *fontes Patauini* or *Patauinorum aquæ calidæ* of Pliny H. N. xxxi. 61, ii. 227, the celebrated *fontes Aponi rudes puellis* (Mart. vi. 42. 4) of the Empire: cf. Luc. vii. 193, Sil. xii. 218. But neither of these are *known* to have been fashionable in Catullus' time.

## LXIX.

THE Rufus of this poem is supposed by Muretus Status and Schwabe to be M. Caelius Rufus, the rival of Catullus in the affections of Lesbia: a view which Vulp. and Doering impugn, considering it improbable that such an attack should be directed against a man sufficiently handsome to be described by Cicero (Cael. xv. 36 *Candor huius te et proceritas, uultus oculique perpulerunt*). Schwabe (Quæstt. p. 87) justly remarks that this does not really affect the question; but if Caelius was the profligate Cicero calls him it is difficult to believe that 1, 2 can refer to him. See below on LXXVII.

2. *supposuisse* after *uelit*, a recurring formula CIL. I. p. 43 *Neiquis eorum Bacanal habuisse uelet*, ib. *Bacas uir nequis adiese uelet*, and so Liu. xxxix. 14 and 17, Hor. S. ii. 3. 187 *Ne quis humasse uelit Aiacem*, Prop. ii. 19. 32 *nocuisse uelit*, but not in Cicero Caesar Sallust or Tacitus. (Dräger p. 230). The frequent use of this infinitive in elegiac poetry is probably determined, as Hertzberg (Quæstt. Propert. p. 120) observes, by its metrical convenience. Holtze ii. 38 and Dräger call it an aoristic use; it is equally possible that the wish is regarded as anticipating the completion of the act.

3. *rarae*, 'of thin texture,' Am. i. 5. 13, like the Coan robes, Plin. H. N. xi. 76, Hor. S. i. 2. 101 *Cois tibi paene uidere est Ut nudam. labefactes*, 'corrupt,' Cluent. lxxviii. 194 *Quibus pecuniam promiserit, quorum fidei pretio labefactare conata sit*.

4. *perluciduli*, *διανγέος*, like the amethyst Anth. P. v. 205. 3. Bentley on Hor. iv. 13. 14 quotes Sen. Epist. 90. 45 *Illi quidem non aurum nec argentum nec perlucidos lapides ima terrarum facce quaerebant*. N. Q. iii. 25 *κρύσταλλον appellant Graeci hunc perlucidum lapidem*. Manil. v. 526. *deliciis*, 'to make her doat,' in reference to the daintiness of the gift, Hor. C. iv. 8. 10.

6. *Valle alarum*, like *uirginalis scrobs* = *muliebria* Arnob. iv. 7. *trux caper*. Ouid. A. A. iii. 193 *Quam paene admonui ne trux caper iret in alas*. The words *caper*, *capra* (Hor. Epist. i. 5. 29) *hircus* (Hor. Epod. 12. 5, infr. LXXI. 1, Plaut. Pseud. ii. 4. 48, cf. *κιάβρα γράσος*) are all used of the rank smell of the arm-pits. *trux*, enough to knock one down.

According to Varro *caper* was strictly only *qui excastratus est* Gell. ix. 9. 10: possibly the word is used here in reference to the abhorrence of women.

7. **mala Bestia** is Plautine. Bacch. i. 1. 21.

8. **quicum**, feminine, as in Trin. Prol. 15 (Holtze Synt. i. p. 379).

9. **crudelem pestem LXIV. 76. nasorum.** A. A. i. 522 *Nec laedat nares uirque paterque gregis* (Vulp.). **interfice** seems to keep in view the idea of the *mala bestia*, though the passages cited by Nonius 449 show that *interficere* was used of destroying inanimate objects, e. g. bread Lucil. inc. 92 L. Müller, harvests Verg. G. iv. 330, and possibly therefore a smell.

10. **fugiunt**, the indic. adds downrightness and coarseness, as in Plautus; see Holtze Synt. ii. 236 sqq., Dräger Histor. Synt. p. 307.

## LXX.

A SHORT epigram on Lesbia without chronological indication, but probably subsequent to the first stage of the passion, and if we may argue from the word *habere*, after the death of Lesbia's husband. It is obviously modelled on Callimachus, Epig. 26: cf. especially the repetition of *dicit—dicit* with \**Ἔμοσε—ἔμοσεν*:—

\**Ἔμοσε Καλλιγνώτος Ἴωνίδι, μήποτ' ἐκέλευε*  
*ἔξειν μήτε φίλον κρείσσονα, μήτε φίλην.*  
*ἔμοσεν ἄλλὰ λέγουσιν ἀληθέα, τοὺς ἐν ἔρωτι*  
*ἔρκους μὴ δύνειν οὔτ' ἐς ἀθανάτων.*  
*νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἀρσενικῶ θέρεται πυρὶ, τῆς δὲ ταλαίης*  
*νύμφης, ὡς Μεγαρέων, οὐ λόγος, οὔτ' ἀριθμός.*

Cf. Hesych. Ἄφροδίσιος ἔρκος. Plat. Symp. 183 Ἄφροδίσιον ἔρκον οὐ φασιν εἶναι, Phileb. 65.

1. **Nulli . . . non si**, as LXXXVIII. 7, 8.

2. **Iuppiter**, LXXII. 2, Cas. ii. 5. 13–15 Olymp. *Orat, opsecrat Ne Casinam uxorem ducam.* Stal. *Quid tu postea?* Ol. *Negavi enim ipsi me concessurum Ioui, Si is mecum oraret.* Poen. i. 2. 76 *Illa me amet malim quam di.* Heroid. iv. 36, Met. vii. 801.

4. Plato Phaedr. 276 Οὐκ ἄρα σπουδῆ αὐτὰ ἐν ὕδατι γράφει. Meleager in Anth. P. v. 8. 5 Νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἔρκια φησιν ἐν ὕδατι κείνα φέρεσθαι. Paroem. Graec. ii. p. 379 Ὅρκους ἐγὼ γυναικὸς εἰς ὕδωρ γράφω, a line ascribed to Sophocles (fr. 741 Nauck, where see references). Philostr. Imag. ii. 8 Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔναρ ταῦτα, ὧ Κριθίης, οὐδὲ ἐς ὕδωρ τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦτον γράφεις. Cic. Fin. ii. 22. 72 *Fundamenta in uoluptate, tamquam in aqua, ponitis.* Troilus and Cressida iii. 2 *as false As air, as water, wind or sandy earth.*

## LXXI.

MARCILIUS seems to be right in saying that this epigram is tame, unless some actual name is introduced to give it point, and it follows that the MS. reading of 1 *Virro* is not a corruption of *iure* but, as Scaliger observed, another way of spelling *Virro*, a name which occurs in Juv. v. 39, 43, 99, 128, 134, 149, 156, ix. 35, and is similarly corrupted in many MSS.

The general sense of the epigram is thus expressed by Haupt Quaestt. p. 92 'Si unquam cuiquam homini merito contigit ut hirco et podagra

laboraret, aemulus iste tuus utrumque malum meritissimo et poena iustissima nactus est. Nam quotiens rem habet cum illa quondam tua puella, ulciscitur iniuriam tibi illatam; punit enim odore suo puellam et se podagra.'

The MSS. however give *quam*, not *quem*, in 2, and this agrees with the antithesis of the last line *Illam affligit odore, ipse perit podagra*. On this view Virro transmits his foulness, Virro's mistress her gout, (Sen. Ep. 75. 20, 21) to the new lover. The words *si cui bono hircus obstitit* will then = *si cui bono fuit (profuit) quod hircus obstaret*, and the argument may be stated as follows: *Si cui unquam bono fuit quod alarum hirco laboraret, aut si cui feminae bona causa fuit cur podagra cruciaretur, in amante aemulo Virronis utrumque perspicitur. Quoties enim cum Virronis amica stuprum facit, et Virronis et amicae uitius laborat, ab eo hircum ab ea accipit podagram: unde fit ut simul se cum amica puniat, simul ambos Virronem et amicam ullores faciat nequitiae, cum utriusque uitium in se admiserit.* Here both *uestrum* and *ulciscitur* are ambiguous; in 3 *uestrum* = either *tuum suumque* or *tuum et amicae tuae*; in 5 *ulciscitur ambos* is either 'punishes both,' i. e. himself and her, or 'gives both a revenge,' i. e. both you and your mistress, by the pangs which each of you transmits to him. For *ulcisci* in this latter sense cf. *Sest. lii. III In quo tamen est me ultus cum illo ore inimicos est meos sauuiatus.*

1. **Si cui bono.** Possibly *merito* in 2 is referred backwards to this line, as Haupt suggests p. 92. It seems more like the direct style of Catullus to explain *Si cui bono obstitit hircus* on the analogy of *εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλος, εἴπερ ποτε, εἴ ποτε καὶ ἄλλοτε*, etc. So *CII. 1, Cic. Fam. vii. 23. 3 Si quid generis istiusmodi me delectat, pictura delectat.* 'If there ever was a good soul afflicted with foulness and racked for his sins with gout, that man is Virro's rival.' **bono**, semi-ironical, *XXXIX. 9 bone Egnati. sacer*, 'accursed,' *XIV. 12. alarum.* *Petron. S. 128 Quid est? inquit, nunquid te osculum meum offendit? nunquid spiritus ieiunio macer? nunquid alarum negligens sudor?* **obstitit**, in a general sense, 'stood in his way.' *Ouid. F. iii. 435 Ne tamen ignaro nouitas tibi nominis obstat.* *Plaut. Trin. i. 1. 15 Quae in rebus multis opstant odiosaeque sunt.*

2. **merito** is used almost specially of punishment falling upon an offender who deserves it. *Am. ii. 14. 39* of a woman dying in the attempt to procure abortion, *Ipsa perit, ferturque toro resoluta capillos, Et clamant Merito, qui modo cumque uident.* *Prop. i. 17. 1* of a lover overtaken by a storm for deserting his mistress, *Et merito, quoniam potui fugisse puellam, Nunc ego desertas alloquor alcyonas.* Here the offender is served right by the double punishment which his profligacy entails upon him. **tarda Podagra.** *Hor. S. i. 9. 32 'quia tardos homines facit et est ὑπαλαγή.'* *Acron* there. **secat**, 'racks.' *Mart. ix. 92. 9 Podagra cheragraque secatur.*

3. **exercet**, as in *LXVIII. 69, Sen. Epist. 99. 13 Suam alienamque libidinem exercent.* **amorem** is not i. q. *amicam*, but the love which you and he share together (*uestrum*).

4. **Mirifice**, *LIII. 2. a te.* Virro transmits with his mistress both his own complaints.

5. **ulciscitur**, 'punishes.' *Menaechm. i. 2. 17 Nam si foris cenat profecto me, haut uxorem, ulciscitur.* **ambos**, i. e. himself and her.

## LXXII.

THIS epigram is closely connected in subject with LXX. But what was then a future possibility, the perfidy of Lesbia, is now a past reality. It may therefore have been written considerably later: yet it belongs to a time when the passion was still at its height (*impensius uror*), and is earlier, I think, than either VIII or LXXVI. The tone is like Theognis: see the notes. Tibullus has imitated this epigram i. 9. 31-34

*Tunc mihi iurabas nullius diuitis auri  
Pondere, non gemmis uendere uelle fidem.  
Non tibi si pretium Campania terra daretur,  
Non tibi si Bacchi cura Falernus ager.*

1. **Dicebas quondam** seems to put Lesbia's assertion (*Dicit LXX, 1, 3*) quite in the past: like *Fulsere quondam candidi tibi soles VIII, 3*, and *At non haec quondam nobis promissa dedisti LXIV. 139. solum*. Theogn. 1314 sqq. Οὐ μὲν δὴ τοῦτοις ἔῃσθα φίλος πρότερον, ἄλλ' ἐγὼ ἐκ πάντων σ' ἐδόκουν θήσεσθαι ἐταῖρον Πιστόν· καὶ δὴ νῦν ἄλλον ἔχεισθα φίλον.

2. **tenere**, XI. 18. **Iouem**, LXX. 2.

3. **Dilexi** is no doubt less distinctly erotic than *amare*, but it does not necessarily imply a moral preference: for Catullus himself has *nescio quid febriculosi Scortii diligis VI, 4, quem tu diligere inciperes LXXXI. 2*.

5. **Nunc te cognoui**. Theogn. 969 Ἐφθην ἀνήσας πρὶν σου κατὰ πάντα δαῖνα ἠθεα. **impensius**. Terence has *impense cupere Ad. v. 9. 36, inuidere Eun. iii. 1. 23*: the meaning is simply 'more exceedingly.'

6. **mei** for *mihi* seems to have been written by Catullus here as in LXXVII. 3. **leuior**, 'of less esteem.' Ter. Hec. v. 1. 33 *Nec leuiorem uobis, quibus est minime aecum, eum uiderier*.

7. **Qui potis est? inquis**. Plin. Epist. iv. 9. 17 *Qui fieri potest? inquis*. Pers. i. 56 *Qui pote? uis dicam? nugaris*. Cicero Att. xii. 40. 2 uses *Qui potest?* = 'how is it possible?' if the MSS. can be trusted.

8. The younger Dousa quotes Anth. P. v. 256. 3, 4 Ὑβρις ἔρωτας ἔλυσε μάτην ὅδε μῦθος ἀλάται· Ὑβρις ἐμὴν ἐρέθει μᾶλλον ἐρωμανίην. Here the **iniuria** is doubtless a preference shown by Lesbia to some rival of Catullus. **magis**, the lover becomes more enamoured of the person, as he becomes less attached to the character (**minus**) Ouid. A. iii. 11. 38 *Auersor morum crimina, corpus amo* (Dousa f.)

## LXXIII.

A SHORT protest against the ingratitude of a friend. Who the person alluded to is, is not known: Muretus Voss and others think it is the Alfenus of XXX: Alex. Guarinus, with whom Schwabe agrees (*Quaest. p. 85*), the Rufus of LXXVII, in accordance with which view Schwabe reads in 4 *Immo etiam, Caelei, taedet obestque magis*. As there is nothing in the language of the epigram to determine the character of the offence, it may have been written on either: but it may quite as well have been written on neither. It is not necessary to suppose that Catullus introduced the

name of his ungrateful friend: *quisquam* rather points to the contrary. The tone is again Theognidean.

1. **bene uelle mereri**, 'to wish to do any kindness.' So constantly and in Asin. i. 2. 3 (a scene which may have occurred to Catullus, see on 3) *Bene merenti mala es, male merenti bona es.*

2. **pium**, 'grateful.' Pont. iv. 1. 7, 8 *Non potuit mea mens quin esset grata teneri. Sit precor officio non grauis ira pio.*

3. **ingrata**, 'without return,' as in Asin. i. 2. 10 *Ingrata inrita esse omnia intellego Quae dedi et quod benefeci.* Epid. i. 2. 33 *Miserum est ingratum esse homini id quod facias bene.* This is more likely than that *Omnia sunt ingrata* = 'everything is ungrateful,' 'all is ingratitude,' cf. LXXXIX. 3 *omnia plena puellis*; for *ingratus* in this sense cf. Sen. Epist. 99. 4 *Dolor iste non superuacuis tantum sed ingratus est. Ergo quod habuisti lalem amicum, periit opera? tot annis, tanta coniunctione uitae, tam familiari studiorum societate nihil actum est?* The sentiment is of course common Od. iv. 695 *Οὐδέ τις ἐστὶ χάρις μετόπισθ' εὐεργέων.* Theogn. 1263 *Ἄ παῖ, ὅς εἰ ἐρδοντι κακῆν ἀπέδωκας ἀμοιβήν, Οὐδέ τις ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶ χάρις παρὰ σοί· Οὐδέν πῶ μ' ὤνησας· ἐγὼ δὲ σὲ πολλάκις ἤδη Εὐ ἔρδων αἰδοῦς οὐδεμιῆς ἔτυχον.*

4. **nihil fecisse benigne Prodest**, 'There is no kindness which brings to the doer an after-gain.' Petron. S. 92 *Neminem nihil boni facere oportet: aequae est enim ac si in puleum conicias, sed antiquus amor cancer est.* **immo etiam taedet.** Att. ii. 6. 2 *Nam istic non solum non licet, sed etiam taedet.* **obestque.** Fronto p. 168 Naber *Ne quid obsit amicitia nobis quae nihil profuit.*

5. **Vt mihi (obest).** Theogn. 1309 *Ὡσπερ ἐγὼ νῦν ὦδ' ἐπὶ σοί. quem nemo grauius nec acerbius urget,* Sapph. fr. 12 Bergk *ὄττινας γὰρ Εὐ θέω, κῆροί με μάλιστα σίνον Ταί.*

6. Probably the most prosaic verse in Catullus: yet the position of *modo* belongs to verse, not prose. **unum atque unicum.** Truc. i. 2. 91 *unice unum (amat).*

## LXXIV.

THIS is the first of a series of poems addressed to Gellius. The remaining six are LXXX LXXXVIII LXXXIX XC XCI CXVI. The MS order is no indication of the chronological sequence; and it is quite possible, as Bruner and Westphal suppose independently, that the earliest is XCI, in which Gellius is accused of acting treacherously to Catullus in the matter of Lesbia. With Catullus, as we know from the parallel cases of Furius and Aurelius, of Egnatius and Ravidus, jealousy was the habitual starting-point of a poetical attack; and there is a fierceness in these epigrams on Gellius which must have been prompted by a personal motive, probably the strongest personal motive which the poet knew, rivalry in the love of Lesbia.

Were all the poems written to the same individual? and if so can we identify him?

Reasoning *a priori* we should expect to find in a series of attacks aimed at the same personality the same name; and conversely, if we found the same name attached without variation to a series of poems agreeing in their general scope as well as in the specific character of their

charges we should incline to believe that they were all aimed at the same individual. If then in four of the poems (LXXXVIII-XCI) a person called Gellius is accused of incest and other gross impurities, the remaining two poems (LXXIV, LXXX) in which the same name Gellius is introduced, and which also dwell on incest and gross impurity, must be addressed to the same person. If subsequently we find in each of the two groups the same fluctuation of vocative and nominative (*Gelli* LXXXVIII XCI *Gellius* LXXXIX = *Gellius* LXXIV *Gelli* LXXX) the probability of identity is increased. Proceeding to the last poem of the series CXVI, if we find, not indeed the same kind of allegation, but a confession of hostility which has taken the shape of a personal attack, has drawn upon the author of that attack the hatred of the person assailed, has obliged the assailant to supplicate his enemy by an appeal to his literary vanity—a supplication which after all is of no avail;—all this agrees so entirely with what we learn from the former six poems as to justify us in concluding that it is the sequel and result of them, and that the Gellius in each of the three groups is the same. Nor will it be denied that the solemn and emphatic *Gelli* of CXVI. 6 comes with far greater force if we suppose it a final warning to a character already held up to detestation. In one word, as Merkel has well remarked, Gellius is to Catullus what the subject of the *Ibis* was to Ovid, the mark of his most determined hostility; to suppose a division of personality is to frame an hypothesis as gratuitous and improbable in itself, as it is injurious to the effect of the collective series of poems.

Assuming then that the Gellius of all the seven epigrams is the same, can we find any historical person to correspond to the description of Catullus? the points of this description are—

1. Gellius was young—*rosea labella* LXXX. 1—and the vices ascribed to him, though not incompatible with maturer years, suggest more naturally the idea of youth: especially LXXXIX. 1-3 *Gellius est tenuis: quidni? cui tam bona mater Tamque ualens uiuat tamque uenusta soror Tamque bonus patruus tamque omnia plena puellis Cognatis*. It is also more probable that Catullus would be on terms of close friendship with a young man; parity of years would be more likely to produce confidence, and this confidence would be more likely to be abused by a young man. (XCI).

2. He is accused of gross profligacy: and in particular (1) of making advances to Lesbia; (2) of incest with his mother, sister, and uncle's wife; (3) of personal impurities of an unmentionable kind: LXXIV. 5 *quamuis inrumet ipsum*, LXXX. 6, LXXXVIII. 8.

3. He was literary, CXVI. Catullus had tried to appease his anger by sending him some translations from Callimachus: and the words *tela ista tua cuius*, as compared with *fixus nostris* seem to imply that he had written something against Catullus.

There are two historical personages to whom Catullus has been supposed to allude. Schwabe (*Quaestt.* pp. 103-117) collects the passages in which they are mentioned; I give them *in extenso*.

The first of these is Gellius Publicola, who is attacked by Cicero in his speech *Pro Sestio* li. 110. This Gellius was the son by a former husband of a woman who afterwards married L. Marcus Philippus consul 663 | 91, and thus uterine brother of L. Marcus Philippus consul 698 | 56.

Pro Sest. li. 110 *An sicubi aderit Gellius homo et frater indignus uiro clarissimo atque optimo consule, et ordine equestri, cuius ille ordinis nomen retinet, ornamenta confecit, id erit populare? Est enim homo ille populo Romano deditus. Nihil uidi magis: qui cum eius adulescentia in amplissimis honoribus summi uiri, L. Philippi uitrici, florere potuisset, usque eo non fuit popularis, ut bona solus comesset. Deinde ex impuro adulescente et petulante, posteaquam rem paternam ab idiotarum diuitiis ad philosophorum regulam perduxit, Graeculum se atque otiosum putari uoluit, studio litterarum se subito dedit. Nihil † saneate † iuuabant anagnostae, libelli pro uino etiam saepe oppignerabantur; manebat insaturabile abdomen, copiae deficiebant. Itaque semper uersabatur in spe rerum nouarum: otio et tranquillitate rei publicae consenescebat.* lii. *Ecquae seditio umquam fuit, in qua non ille princeps? Ecqui seditiosus, cui ille non familiaris? Ecquae turbulenta contio, cuius ille non concitator? Cui bene dixit umquam bono? bene dixit? immo quem fortem et bonum ciuem non petulantissime est insectatus? qui, ut credo, non libidinis causa, sed ut plebicola uideretur, libertinam duxit uxorem.* iiii. *Is de me suffragium tulit, is adfuit, is interfuit epulis et gratulationibus parricidarum—in quo tamen est me ultus cum illo ore inimicos est meos sauius—qui quasi mea culpa bona perdidit, ita ob eam ipsam causam est mihi inimicus, quia nihil habet. Vtrum ego tibi patrimonium eripui, Gelli, an tu comedisti? Quid? tu meo periculo, gurges ac uorago patrimonii, helluabare, ut si ego consul rem publicam contra te et gregales tuos defendissem, in ciuitate esse me nolles? Te nemo tuorum uidere uult: omnes aditum sermonem congressum tuum fugiunt: te sororis filius Postumius, adulescens grauis senili iudicio notauit, cum in magno numero tutorem liberis non instituit. Sed latus odio et meo et rei publicae nomine, quorum utri ille sit inimicior nescio, plura dixi quam dicendum fuit, in furiosissimum atque egentissimum ganeonem.* iiii. *Illuc reuertor contra me cum est actum, capta urbe atque oppressa, Gellium, Firmidium, Titium, eiusmodi furias illis mercennariis gregibus duces et auctores fuisse, cum ipse lator nihil ab horum turpitudine audacia sordibus abhorreret.* In Vat. ii. 4 *Gellius nutricula seditiosorum omnium.* De Harusp. Resp. xxvii. 59 *Aut tam eminentibus canibus Scyllam tamque ieiunis quam quibus istum uidetis, Gellius Clodius Titius rostra ipsa mandentem?* Att. iv. 3. 2 *Vix Decimum designatorem, uix Gellium retinet.* Q. Fr. ii. 1. 1 *Fuerunt nonnulli aculei in C. Caesarem, contumeliae in Gellium.* Schol. Bob. in Orat. pro Sestio li. *L. Marcius Philippus uir honestissime cognitus, qui etiam collega Cn. Lentulo Marcellino in consulatu fuit. Fratrem hic (cod. hunc) habebat uterinum L. Gellium, et ipsum quantum apparet Ciceronis inimicum. In quantum igitur legem Philippi fratris (cod. frater) eius extulit, in tantum hunc deflorauit, qui dissimilis exstiterit.*

There are several points in which the Gellius here described by Cicero would correspond with the Gellius of Catullus: he was literary (*Graeculus*), indifferent to conventional ideas of decorum, as shown by his marrying a *libertina*, and foul in his vices (cf. *illo ore* with LXXX, LXXXVIII. 8). He was also a partisan of Clodius, and notorious among the men of the time; an additional reason for the marked prominence which Catullus has given to his name.

It is however unlikely that the Gellius of Cicero's orations is the Gellius of Catullus for the following reasons: (1) If L. Marcius Philippus was consul in 56 B. C., even allowing him to have obtained the consulate *suo anno* he must have been 43 years old at the time; and his half-brother



Gellius must have been older. The poems against Gellius must have been written subsequent to the period when Catullus first became acquainted with Lesbia, on the ordinary hypothesis 62–59 B.C.: now even in 59 L. Marcius Philippus must have been 40, and Gellius no longer young: it follows that in proportion as a later date is assigned to the poems, the chance of their being addressed to Cicero's Gellius becomes less; (2) when Cicero delivered the *Pro Sestio*, in B.C. 56, the son of Gellius' sister Postumius was already father of several children; (3) Cicero's description implies that Gellius had gone through the successive phases of a profligate youth, a would-be philosopher, a political incendiary ready for any seditious or revolutionary undertaking. Again, if Cicero's Gellius was the Gellius of Catullus, it is strange that Cicero who never shows any scruples of delicacy in the charges he brings against his opponents, should say nothing of incest—the most prominent feature of the picture painted by Catullus. And reversely if Gellius was the glutton and the needy adventurer Cicero represents him, would not so skilful an artist as Catullus have worked this into his picture?

For these and similar reasons Schwabe, whose arguments, though in the whole convincing, seem to me over-minute (see especially pp. 108, 109), concludes that the Gellius Publicola of Cicero's *Pro Sestio* cannot be the object of the seven epigrams of Catullus: although this identification has been adopted by Parthenius Manutius Muretus Turnebus Statius Vulpianus, and recently by Drumann and Halm. (Schwabe *Quaestt.* p. 103.)

It was the opinion of Octavius Pantagathus quoted by Statius in LXXIV. 1, and recently revived by Bruner and Schwabe, that Catullus alludes to a younger Gellius, the son of L. Gellius Publicola consul 682 | 72. The passages which refer to him are these: Val. Max. v. 9. 1 *L. Gellius omnibus honoribus ad censuram defunctus cum grauissima crimina de filio, in nouercam commissum stuprum et parricidium cogitatum, prope modum explorata haberet, non tamen ad uindictam procurrit continuo, sed paene uniuerso senatu adhibito in consilium expositis suspicionibus defendendi se adulescenti potestatem fecit: inspectaque diligentissime causa absoluit eum tum consilii tum etiam sua sententia. Quod si impetu irae abstractus saeuire festinasset, admisisset magis scelus quam uindicasset.* Dion Cass. xlvii. 24 Διατρίβουτος δὲ Βρούτου ταύτη ἐκείνῳ Γέλλιος Ποπλικόλας ἐπεβούλευσε . . . ὁ δὲ δὴ Γέλλιος ἐφωράθη μὲν, ἔπαθε δὲ δεινὸν οὐδέν, ὃ γὰρ Βρούτος ἐκείνῳ τὸ ἐν τοῖς φιλιτάτοις αἰεὶ ποτε νομίμας εἶναι, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Μάρκον Μεσσάλαν πάντῳ Κασσίῳ προσκείμενον εἰδώς, ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν. καὶ ὅς ἐπέθετο μὲν καὶ τῷ Κασσίῳ, οὐδὲν δὲ οὐδὲ τότε κακὸν ἔπαθεν. Αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Πόλλα προμαθοῦσα τὴν ἐπιβούλην καὶ δείσασα περὶ τὸ Κασσίῳ μὴ προκαταλήφθῃ (σφόδρα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἠγάπα) καὶ περὶ τῷ υἱῷ μὴ καταφωράθῃ, τὸ τε ἐπιβούλευμα αὐτῆ ἐκούσα τῷ Κασσίῳ προμήνησε καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ παιδὸς ἀντέλαβεν· οὐ μόντοι καὶ βελτίως αὐτὸν ἐποίησε· πρὸς τε γὰρ τὸν Κάισαρα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπὸ τῶν εὐεργετῶν ἀπνητομολήσεν.

If, as is generally assumed, the Gellius Publicola of Dion Cassius is the person alluded to by Valerius Maximus, it would seem that L. Gellius Publicola consul 72, censor 70, divorced his wife Polla and that after this divorce Polla married the father of the famous M. Messala Corvinus, subsequently well known as an orator and as the friend of Tibullus. After divorcing Polla, L. Gellius married again; and it is to this wife and

the charge of incestuous intercourse between her and her husband's son that Catullus may be alluding. It is a farther possibility, maintained by Bruner and less positively by Schwabe, that the *patruus* of LXXIV is the Gellius attacked by Cicero; and if so, the *uxor patruī* may be the *libertina* of Pro Sestio lii. It will not be denied that read in this light the poems stand out in increased clearness, especially LXXIV, each detail of which is consistent with the delineation of Cicero: cf. 1, 2 with Cicero's *ad philosophorum regulam*; 3, 4 with *qui ut credo, non libidinis causa, sed ut plebicola uideretur, libertinam duxit uxorem*; 5, 6 with *illo ore inimicos est meos sauatus*. The *mater* of LXXXVIII LXXXIX XC XCI will then be the *nouerca* of Valerius Maximus. (Schwabe Quaest. pp. 111-117.)

I will add here a conjecture of my own. Horace in his first book of Satires (10. 28) speaking of the folly of those who mixed Greek words with Latin, mentions Pedius Publicola and Corvinus together as speakers who affected a laborious purism in their language. They are again combined in v. 85 of the same satire *te, Messala, tuo cum fratre*; if we may follow the natural impression which the words convey, as well as the direct attestation of Acron, whose note is *fratre Publicola*. What little is known of Pedius Publicola is given by this scholiast and Porphyrius. Acron on S. i. 10. 25 *Te, inquit, qui Lucilium defendis, consulo: utrum tunc tantum Latinis Graeca permisceas, cum uersus facias, an et quando durissimam causam Petillii de furto Capitolino aduersus Pedium Publicolam siue aduersus Messalam Coruinum peroras? Hi autem ita a Graecis abhorruerunt ut Messala primus Funambuli nomen intulerit et post eum Terentius* (Hec. Prol.) *Funambuli eodem accessit exspectatio*. Again *Pedius Publicola et Messala Coruinus oratores fuerunt, qui obseruauerunt ne Graecis sermonibus uterentur. Erant autem fratres cauidici optimi*. Porphyrius u. s. *Pedius Publicola et Messala adeo curasse dicuntur ne Graeca Latinis uerbis immiscerent ut Messala primus funambulus dixerit, ne σχωφοβάτην diceret. Post hunc Terentius Funambuli eodem accessit exspectatio*. A more correct version of this statement is given by Cruquius' scholiast u. s. *Pedius Publicola et Messala Coruinus a Graecis uocibus ita abhorruerunt ut Messala schoenobaten latine funambulū reddiderit ex Terentio in Hecyra*.

Can this Pedius Publicola, the brother of Messala Corvinus, and his rival in accuracy of language, be the Gellius Publicola whom Dion Cassius calls the brother of M. Messala? Publicola is mentioned as commanding the right wing of Antonius' fleet at the battle of Actium (Vell. P. ii. 85) and does not afterwards appear in history; but there is nothing which would lead us to infer that he died then. It is at least conceivable that he passed by adoption into the family of the Pedii, and under this name combined with his own cognomen Publicola, devoted himself to oratory with the same aims and purpose as his more famous brother M. Messala Corvinus. The connexion of Messala with Q. Pedius, the grand-nephew of Julius Caesar, and consul 711 | 43, who had married a relation of Messala's, the grandmother of Q. Pedius, the painter (Plin. H. N. xxxv. 21), would be a reason for Gellius' wishing to connect himself with the family of the Pedii. He would retain his cognomen Publicola in the same manner as M. Junius Brutus when adopted by Q. Servilius Caepio is called Q. Caepio Brutus (Phil. x. 11. 24-26), less formally Q. Caepio, sometimes simply M. Brutus or M. Caepio.

It is obvious that Catullus' last poem would be addressed with peculiar

propriety to a man whose literary bias was to purism. Catullus says he had often been seeking with a mind which hunted closely (*animo uenante requirens*) to send Gellius some translations from Callimachus, and that he had hoped to soothe his anger by this appeal to his literary vanity. According to Quintilian (x. 5. 2) it was a habit with Messala to translate Greek orations into Latin; Gellius may have followed the same principle, a natural expedient for securing accuracy and delicacy of expression.

1. **patruum**, his uncle, as in LXXXVIII LXXXIX. The Romans associated ideas of strictness and stern morality with this relation, as in Horace's *patruae uerbera linguae* C. iii. 12. 3, Persius' *Cum sapimus patruos* i. 11, Pro Caelio xi. 25 *Fuit in hac causa pertristis quidam patruus censor magister: obiurgauit M. Caelium, sicut neminem unquam parens, nulla de incontinentia intemperantiaque disseruit.* **obiurgare.** Pro Caelio xi. 27 *Deliciarum obiurgatio.* Hor. S. ii. 2. 99 *Iure, inquit, Trausius istis Iurgatur uerbis*, where the railing words are explained by 97 *Iratum patruum, uicinos, te tibi iniquom.*

2. **delicias diceret**, VI. 1. **faceret**, XLV. 24.

3. **ipsi** = an emphasized *sibi*. Roby Latin Grammar 2269 quotes De Diuin. i. 54. 122; but except in *oratio obliqua* this use is rare and hardly classical (Dräger p. 66). **perdepsuit** = *futuli*, as *molere* which is combined with *depsere* in Varro ap. Non. 99. Cic. Fam. ix. 2. 4 *Batuit, inquit, impudenter: depsit multo impudentius. Atqui neutrum est obscœnum.*

4. 'And by the act laid his uncle under the seal of silence.' **reddidit**, not simply = *fecit*, but made as the result of his act: the notion is literally that of giving back or returning with a new condition attached. The verse is imitated in an epigram Riese Anthol. Lat. 159. 6 *Incepto puerum reddidit Hippocratem.*

6. **uerbum non faciet**, as often. Ter. And. i. 2. 7, 8 *Nunquam cuiquam nostrum uerbum faciet, neque id aegre tulit.* Si. *At nunc faciet.*

## LXXV.

THAT this tetrastich is an independent whole and not the second half of an eight-line epigram from which it has been severed by an accidental displacement of some leaves of the archetype—a theory first stated by Scaliger and adopted since by most editors including Lachmann—is in my opinion probable from the following considerations. (1) It is in itself perfect: it is the isolation of LXXXVII, the supposed missing half, which first prompted the wish to complete that allowedly imperfect tetrastich by these four lines, and to alter the reading of all good MSS in LXXV. 1 to do so; (2) the MS reading *Huc deducta* is a simple and natural expression, which bears in itself the marks of genuineness. Caesar B. C. i. 62 *Huc iam rem deduxerat ut equites etsi difficulter atque aegre fiebat, possent tamen atque auderent flumen transire.* i. 70 *Res tamen ab Afranianis huc erat necessario deducta ut, si priores, montes quos petebant, attingissent, ipsi periculum uilarent, impedimenta totius exercitus cohortesque in castris relicta seruare non possent.* i. 86 *Paucis cum esset in utramque partem uerbis disputatum, res huc deducitur ut ii qui habeant domicilium aut possessiones in Hispania, statim; reliqui ad Varum flumen dimittantur.* Hor. S. I. i. 15 *Ne te morer, audi Quo rem deducam.* Velleius P. i. 2 *Sed uel ferocia ingenii uel inscitia nostrorum ducum uel fortunae indulgentia cum alios duces, tum Pompeium magni*

*nomini virum ad turpissima deduxit foedera . . . nec minus turpia ac detestabilia Mancinum Hostilium consulem.* In all these passages *deduci* is used of something to which a person or object is finally brought—a crisis or point at which the situation defines itself, sometimes as necessitating a disgraceful issue, sometimes as indicating two alternatives, each disagreeable. It is in this last sense, I think, that Catullus says *Huc est mens deducta*: his devotion to Lesbia on the one hand, and her increasing profligacy on the other, have reduced him to a miserable alternative: however virtuous she may become, he cannot any longer love her with absolute good will: however vicious, he cannot dismiss his love entirely.

1. *mea* with **Lesbia**, as in V. 1, LXXXVII. 2. **culpa**, XI. 22.

2. 'And has lost itself so irreparably (irrecoverably) by its own devotion; i. e. has reduced itself to such a state of distracted love by its determination to be constant. **officio**, as Prop. ii. 25. 39 *At vos qui officia* (attentions) *in multos reuocatis amores.* So Shakspeare uses 'duty.' **perdidit se.** Tib. ii. 6. 51 *Tunc morior curis: tunc mens mihi perditam fingit Quisue meam teneat, quot teneatue modis.*

4. **omnia si facias**, Shakspeare Sonnets lvii *So true a fool is love that in your will, Though you do anything, he thinks no ill.*

## LXXVI.

In this poem Catullus takes a retrospect of his passion for Lesbia, and reflecting on his own fidelity and the now incurable vices of his mistress, resolves to break off the connexion. He is consoled in this determination by thinking how true he had himself been to Lesbia throughout; his many words and deeds of love cannot fail to bring him joy in the recollection (1-6). It is true they have not been requited; so much the more reason why they should cease (7-10). He must brace his resolution to leave her, and even if so long-continued a love cannot be relinquished without pain, must make up his mind to this as the only course of safety (11-16). Here however he is overcome by an agony of love, and, as if conscious of his weakness, calls on the gods to help him in tearing from his heart the passion which has ended with robbing him of all pleasure and brought him to the verge of death (17-22). Lesbia is now sunk past all recovery; he will not hope any more that she can be otherwise; it is enough if the gods repay his devotion by suffering him to forget her (23-26).

The intensity of this soliloquy makes it one of the most interesting in the cycle of Lesbia-poems: as an expression of resignation struggling with despair it possesses a force and reality which belong only to the highest genius. Its ruggedness rather adds to the effect: perhaps from the contrast which it presents in this respect to the polished tenderness of Ovid and the elaborately-wrought, though not less equally real, feeling of Propertius. It must have been written late, perhaps indeed after all the rest of the cycle except LVIII. See however on XI.

1. Catullus argues from the conduct of men in their dealings with their fellow-men to his own conduct as a lover. If the memory of services done and the consciousness of duty religiously performed bring pleasure

in the retrospect, his own religious fidelity to Lesbia must surely be a source of satisfaction in the future, in spite of her ingratitude. The language is parallel on both sides; the **benefacta** of men to men (1) is answered by Catullus' *bene dicta factaque* (10) to Lesbia: the *pietas* (2) which leads men to avoid breaches of oath or contract in dealings with each other, has kept Catullus from any verbal or formal violation of his solemnly-plighted fidelity to her (26). It is this notion of *pietas* which connects the beginning with the centre and end of the poem; it recalls the unkindness of the gods and then by a kind of revulsion of feeling prompts the despairing appeal to their compassion.

2. **pium** is explained by 3, 4; it consists in the blameless performance of what possesses a religious or quasi-religious sanction, fulfilment of oaths or promises, and avoidance of anything which would tend to violate such sanction, e. g. swearing by the gods with the intention of deceiving. Alciphron ii. 4. 18 εὐσεβεῖ σοι κέχημαι ἐραστῇ καὶ ὄρκων ἱερῶν μνήμονι.

3. **sanctam fidem**, 'the sanctity of good faith.'

4. **Diuum numine abusum**, the reading of nearly all the MSS, is supported by Cic. pro Domo Sua xlvi. 125 *Ementiri fallere abuti deorum immortalium numine* (Vulp.) *Numen* and *nomen* are often confused in MSS. (see Bentley on Hor. Epist. ii. 1. 16, Ribbeck on Aen. v. 768) and Quintilian has *Potest uideri hoc nomine (epichirematidis) recte abusus* Inst. Orat. v. 10. 6; but here *nomine* (Voss) is without MS support, and is weaker than *numine*, as the mere *name* of the gods was often introduced into expressions of conversation or ordinary life, and would hardly be *impium*: whereas to swear by the divine power of the gods was a recurring formula in oaths and promises, e. g. Ouid. Met. x. 430 *Promissaque numine firmat*, vii. 94 *Seruatus promissa dato. Per sacra triformis Ille deae, lucoque foret quod numen in illo . . . iurat*; and so Quintilian in a transferred sense vi. Prooem. 10 *Iuro per illos manes numina mei doloris*.

5. **parata manent**, 'are ready and in store.' **in longa aetate**, the retrospect would be a life-long pleasure.

6. **ingrato**, 'unrequiting,' LXXIII. 3.

7. The exclusive **cuiquam**, 'any single one,' is here used without a negative as in Att. ix. 15. 5 *Praeterquam quod te moueri arbitror oportere iniuria quae mihi a quoquam facta sit*, Sen. de Tranquill. 11 *Cuius potest accidere quod cuiquam potest*, and in the numerous passages of the comic writers as well as of Cicero, where *quisquam* is preceded by *si*. See Holtze Synt. i. p. 400, Dräger Synt. p. 80, who however quotes some instances where a negative is either expressed or implied, e. g. Phil. viii. 4. 12, Legg. iii. 18. 42, De Fato 26. Catullus in speaking of the benefits performed by lovers to the beloved uses Platonic language. See Phaedrus 231, where however the opposite view is stated, that lovers *regret* the kindness they have done, after the passion is over.

9. **perierunt**, 'have gone for nothing.' Prop. ii. 21. 5 *Tot noctes periere*, Lucr. iii. 940 sqq. *Sin ea quae fructus cumque es periere profusa Vilaque in offensust, cur amplius addere quaeris, Rursum quod pereat male et ingratum occidat omne?*

11. **Offirmare animum** is found in Plautus Merc. Prol. 81, and Plin. Epist. vii. 27. 10 *offirmare animum auribusque praetendere*; but as *offirmare* is used intransitively Pers. ii. 2. 40 *Obfirmastin' occulare*, Hec. iii. 5. 4

*Certum affirmare est uiam persequi*, Eun. ii. 1. 11 *Censen posse me affirmare Perpeti*, 'to steel myself so as to bear,' Wagner ad loc. the construction with the ablative is easily intelligible. *istinc te ipse reducis*, 'and of your own accord withdraw from that love:' *ipse*, as nothing but his own resolution could rid him of the passion. The ordinary reading *istinc te usque reducis* is unlikely because *usque* would naturally qualify *istinc* like *usque illinc*, 'from as far as that,' Truc. iv. 3. 79, not *reducis*, 'go on withdrawing,' as the sense requires.

12. *deis inuitis*, in despite of the gods, though the gods say no: i. e. though destiny seems resolved to keep you miserable. Sen. Theb. 205 *Quod innocens es dis quoque inuitis*, of the involuntary criminal Oedipus. Aen. ii. 402. Quintil. vi. Prooem. 3 *Quem ultra esse usum mei dis repugnantibus credam?* *desinis esse miser*. Rem. Amoris 657 *Odio qui finit amorem, Aut amat aut aegre desinit esse miser* (Stat.).

13. *Difficile est—Difficile est*. See on LXIV. 61, 2. *longum amorem*, 'a love of long time,' here past; in Aen. iii. 487 of the future. Propertius i. 19. 26 *Non satis est ullo tempore longus amor* seems to mean that there is no moment at which the lover, looking back on the past, can say love has lasted long enough.

14. *efficias*, as if laying down an injunction, 'you are to do this in any way you can.' See on VIII. 1.

15. *Vna salus*, Aen. ii. 354. *hoc est tibi peruincendum*, 'this is the point you must not fail to win,' as in Liu. iv. 12 *Tribunus plebis . . . factus neque ut de agris diuidendis plebi referrent consules ad senatum peruenire potuit*, xxxvii. 16, Cic. Att. ii. 1. 8 *Restitit ac peruicit Cato*, which shows the idea of resistance or struggle against opposing forces seen in *peruicax*.

16. *siue pote*. From this we may perhaps infer that Catullus would have avoided *potest* in the sense sometimes found in the comic writers = 'is possible.' It is not that he makes *potis*, *pote* an adjective, but that he confines *potest* to the construction with the infinitive. That *potis* is not adjective to Catullus is clear from XLV. 5 *Qui pote plurimum perire*, LXVII. 11 *Nec peccatum a me quisquam pote dicere quicquam*, LXXII. 7 *Qui potis est?*

17. *si uestrum est misereri*, which was denied.

18. *Extremam* is explained by *ipsa in morte*. Virgil seems to have this line in his memory Aen. ii. 447 *Extrema iam in morte parant*: this confirms my reading *ipsa in* (MSS *ipsam*) instead of the *ipsa* of most edd.: the preposition is not so closely connected with the following word as to prevent the pentameter dividing after it, cf. CXI. 2 *Nuptarum laus e laudibus eximiis*, Prop. iv. 8. 35 *Vnus erat tribus in secreta lectulus herba*.

19. *puriter* seems strange from Catullus, not so much as the lover of Lesbia, towards whom he had been religiously faithful, but as judged by poems like that to Ipsithilla XXXII. Yet he himself declares that his poems were no indication of his conduct XVI. 5; and Horace in a passage like this S. i. 6. 68-70 *Si neque auaritiam neque sordes nec mala lustra Obicit uere quisquam mihi, purus et insons, Ut me collaudem, si et uiuo carus amicis*, certainly appeals to the chastity, or at least to the absence of profligacy, in his life. Cf. *puriter* of bodily cleanliness in XXXIX. 14 and of cleanly-washed hands, in a comic fragm. ap. Non. 516. The ordinary view

explains *puriter* 'blamelessly' of the absence of anything like crime or impiety, as Propertius speaks of Cynthia ii. 32. 27, 28 *Non tua deprensio damnata est fama ueneno; Testis eris puras, Phoebe, uidere manus*; cf. Ouid. Pont. ii. 7. 49: and so Theognis 198 uses καθαρῶς with σὺν δίκη, as we say 'with clean hands' for 'honestly.'

**20. pestem perniciemque**, 'mischief and misery.' The two words are joined in Ad. ii. 1. 34 *Pernicies communis adulescentium, Periurus, pestis*, Pro Rabir. i. 2 *Pestem ac perniciem ciuitatis*; Lucilius ap. Non. 218 *Pestem perniciemque catax quam et Manlius nobis*.

**21. Sei**, after the former *si* in 19 is not more objectionable than the double *si* in Hor. Epist. ii. 2. 155-157, and again 158-159. **surrepens**. Callim. Epig. 45. 5 Τῶ καὶ νῦν δειδουκα, Μενέξευε, μή με παρεισδῖς Ὀδρος ὁ σγέρπης εἰς τὸν ἔρωτα βάλῃ. Seneca Epist. 104. 1 has *febrem subreptentem. torpor*, he seems to speak of the lethargy which Horace Epod. 14. 1 describes as produced on him by his passion for Phryne.

**22.** Passerat's *exsomni* is clever, but hardly agrees with the lethargic stupor Catullus is describing. **laetitiis**, a strict plural. Cicero has *sollicitudines et laetitiis tuas* Att. i. 17. 6 and quotes *omnibus laetitiis* as an expression of the comic poet Caecilius de Fin. ii. 4. 13, Fam. ii. 9. 2 (Vulp.).

**23-24.** Ouid. Am. iii. 14. 1-4 *Non ego ne pecces, cum sis formosa, recuso, Sed ne sit misero scire necesse mihi. Nec te nostra iubet fieri censura pudicam, Sed tantum tentes dissimulare rogat*.

**24. non potis est**, 'is impossible,' as in LXXII. 7, Eun. ii. 2. 32. This seems simpler than to supply *esse* and make Lesbia the subject of *potis est*.

**25. ualere . . . morbum**. Phaedr. 231 of lovers αὐτοὶ ἁπολογουῖσι νοσεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ σωφρονεῖν.

**26. pro**, as the reward of, LXIV. 157, LXVIII. 150. The author of the Ciris 524 imitates Catullus *Illi pro pietate sua . . . Reddidit optatam mutato corpore uitam*. But in Caesar B. G. v. 27 *Pro pietate satisfacere*, = 'as natural duty demanded.'

## LXXVII.

If we could be sure that the four lines *Sed nunc—anus* which Scaliger Lachmann and Haupt place after v. 6 of this poem are rightly inserted there, we might speak more confidently of its exact meaning. But these lines in the MSS follow LXXVIII. 6, and though they cannot belong to that epigram (which certainly ends with the word *adulterium*), and can hardly be said to fit well into either of the other places assigned them XCI. 10, LXXX. 8, it does not follow that they are rightly assigned to LXXVII. It was the opinion of Bergk, subsequently, it is true, withdrawn, that they are the remains of a poem which as a whole is lost. That there are solid grounds for this belief is, I think, clear. (1) 1-6 are in themselves complete; as in other hexastichs of Catullus, the point of the epigram is conveyed in the balance of the last two lines. whether we suppose an antithesis between the past fidelity of Rufus and his present treachery (*uenenum, pectus*) or an emphatic repetition of the same denunciation in slightly different terms (*uenenum, pestis*): with the former view cf. LXXXIII. 5, 6, LXXIV. 5, 6, XCVI. 5, 6; with the latter LXXXIII. 5, 6, LXXXVI. 5, 6, XCVIII. 5, 6, CXIV. 5, 6. (2) There is in 1-6 a tendency to

repeat in the pentameter either a word or a sound of the hexameter, 1, 2 *frustra, frustra*; 3, 4, 5 *subrepsti, eripuisti, Eripuisti*; 5, 6 *heu heu nostrae; heu heu nostrae*; this is not found in the four verses *Sed nunc—loquetur anus*, which in consequence give a perceptibly feeble effect to the whole. (3) The strong word *amicitiae* clenches the epigram well as in CIX. 6. (4) If the four verses *Sed nunc—anus* form part of the epigram, what is the point of the opposition conveyed by them? Scaliger explained it to lie in the fact that in 1-6 Rufus is upbraided for his treachery in robbing Catullus of the affections of Lesbia, in 7-10 is taxed with the additional aggravation of making love in a foul way (*os hircosum*). But if this is the meaning, we should have expected the high-flown language of 1-6 to be followed at the end of the epigram by language at least not less strong. Whereas after stating in hyperbolic words that Rufus was the viper who had stolen into his bosom, and robbed him of his all, he ends with the comparatively tame remark, 'yet this is not the cause of my present anger; I am now protesting against the disgusting character of your intimacy with Lesbia, and I assure you that you will pay for your outrage in the knowledge of your filthiness which I transmit to posterity.' To me this seems a descent and an anti-climax. Is it not equally possible that the four verses *Sed nunc—anus* are the surviving remnant of a lost epigram, the commencement of which contained an attack on an enemy of the poet's on some ground *not* associated with Lesbia, to which *Sed nunc—anus* add this intimacy as a new and final aggravation?

If it is uncertain whether verses 7-10 belong to LXXVII at all, it is also uncertain who the person addressed is. Muretus and Statius thought it was M. Caelius Rufus, the orator; and this view was accepted by Niebuhr (*Rhein. Mus.* ii. 598) and more recently by Teuffel Iungclaussen and Schwabe. As M. Caelius is known to have been one of the lovers of Clodia there is nothing to make this opinion impossible, and the poem may then be assigned to the period when Caelius and Clodia were acquainted, i. e. from 695 | 59 to 697 | 57 (Schwabe *Quaest.* pp. 66, 67). On the other hand the tenour of Cicero's speech *Pro Caelio* seems rather to indicate that Clodia was notorious, if not actually infamous, when she made the acquaintance of Caelius (cf. XXXI. 75 *in hoc flexu quasi aetatis—nihil enim occultabo fretus humanitate ac sapientia uestra—fama adolescentis paulum haesit ad metas notitia noua mulieris et infelici uicinitate*: cf. ib. *ab illius familiaritatis infamia*) and if so, can we suppose Catullus to have so completely shut his eyes to the prevailing ill-repute of his mistress, as to call her *pura puella*, and speak of her *pura sauiua*?

1. **frustra** refers to the disappointment which Catullus felt in finding Rufus to be false, when he thought him true, **nequicquam**, to the fact that nothing came of believing him to be true. **credite**, 'believed,' as several times in Ovid, *Met.* vii. 98, *Trist.* iii. 10 35 *Vix equidem credar.* *Verg. Aen.* ii. 247 *Dei iussu non unquam credita Teucris.*

2. **immo**, 'I was not disappointed of one thing—a heavy loss.' **magno cum pretio atque malo.** *Trin.* i. 2. 182 *Famigeratori res si cum damno et malo.*

3. **subrepsti**, like a snake: Theognis 602 speaks of a false friend as *Ψυχρόν δς ἐν κόλπῳ ποικίλον εἶχες ὄφιν.* De Harusp. *Resp.* xxiv. 50 *Etiamme in sinu atque in deliciis quidam optimi uiri uiperam illam uenenatam ac pesti-*



*feram habere potuerunt?* Seneca very similarly *Consol. ad Marciam* 1 *Vide quam non subreptam tibi nec furtum facere adfectibus tuis cogitem.* **mei**, LXXII. 6. **intestina** = 'bowels,' is common in Plautus. **perurens**, as Pliny says *Epist. vii. 1. 4 Perustus ardentissima febre*: Catullus explains his meaning in 5, 6.

4. **omnia nostra bona** probably refers to Lesbia, who was all in all to Catullus. Terence in the *Andria* makes Chrysis on her death-bed speak of Glycerium as *bona nostra haec*. Behrens well compares LXVIII. 158 *A quo sunt primo omnia nata bona*.

5, 6. 'Shame on thee, the cruel poison of my life, shame on thee the once-true breast on whom my friendship leaned,' i. e. shame on you for betraying the intimacy of our friendship by injuring me in my dearest affections. I have retained **pectus** which is regularly used with **amicitiae**. *Stat. S. iv. 4. 103, Mart. ix. 14. 2, Manil. ii. 582, Carmen de Maecenate 26 (Riese Anth. Lat. ii. p. 248) Pectus eram vere pectoris ipse tui.* Cicero *Lael. xxvi. 97* dwells on the cognate idea of friends looking into each others' breasts, *In qua nisi ut dicitur apertum pectus uideas tuumque ostendas, nihil fidum nihil exploratum habeas, ne amare quidem aut amari, cum id quam vere fiat ignores.* Shakspeare is fond of the conceit, especially in the *Sonnets*, e. g. *cix. 3, 4 As easy might I from myself depart As from my soul which in thy breast doth lie.*

7-10. If these verses belong here, Scaliger's explanation is probably right, 'Exprobrat illi os hircosum,' and so Schwabe *Quaest. p. 86*; cf. LXXX, LIX. 1. The words **spurca salua** occur again XCIX. 10, perhaps, but not certainly, with the same meaning. In themselves vv. 7, 8 need mean no more than that the object of Catullus' attack was a profligate who had ventured on the last liberties with Lesbia, cf. *Lucr. iv. 1108*. **purae**, if Lesbia is alluded to, would indicate that as yet she had not entered on her final stage of debauchery; but even at an early period the word seems incongruous.

8. **Sauia**, here 'lips,' as in *Mil. Glor. ii. 1. 16*. **conminxit**, or as Catullus perhaps wrote *conmixit*, see *Neue Formenlehre* ii. p. 382, and cf. *Hor. S. i. 3. 90*, 'has befouled,' is supported by *conmixtae* XCIX. 10.

9. **non inpune feres**, 'you shall not carry off your act (i. e. retire with) unpaid for.' So often, e. g. XCIX. 3, *Heaut. v. 1. 45 Ne illud haud inultum, si uiuo, ferent*, *Asin. iv. 7. 2 tacita haec auferas*.

10. **qui sis**. *Ouid. Pont. iv. 3. 1, 2 Conquerar, an taceam? ponam sine nomine crimen, An notum qui sis omnibus esse uelim?* **fama anus**. See on LXVIII. 46. *Martial's* imitation xii. 4. 4 *Fama fuisse loquax cartaque dicet anus* personifies in one line the two things personified separately by Catullus; but he has also *fama anus* i. 39. 2.

## LXXVIII.

A SHORT epigram on a man named Gallus, otherwise unknown. The hexastich is obviously complete in itself, and is one of the best written by Catullus. The vv. *Sed nunc id doleo—carta loquetur anus*, which follow it in the MSS, cannot belong to it; but it is quite possible that they are in their right place, part of the poem to which they belong having been lost and these four verses surviving as a fragment. See introduction to LXXVII.

Gallus has two brothers, one the husband of a charming wife, the other father of as charming a son. Gallus shows his good taste in effecting the union of a pair made for each other. Gallus also shows his folly in not seeing that he is himself a husband and an uncle, and that his own wife may effect a similar union with his nephew.

1. **lepidissima**, 'very charming,' with a *bodily* idea as in *Epid. i. 1.*  
41 *Forma lepida et liberali adulescentulam*, *Heaut. v. 5.* 16 *Dabo illam lepidam quam tu facile ames.*

3. **bellus**, a man of refinement, with especial reference to gallantry. *Inscr. Pomp. 1883 Nemo est bellus nisi qui amavit.* *Lucr. iv. 1190 Et si bello animos et non odiōsa.* *Att. I. i. 4 Durius accipere hoc mihi visus est quam ego uellem et quam homines belli solent*: the last two passages show the idea of surrender or complaisance which forms part of the notion of a man of gallantry. Here Gallus shows himself true to the character by his indifference to personal or family considerations in forwarding the intimacy of his two scandalous relatives.

4. **bello bella**, of course in the other sense 'pretty:' so *CVI. 1.*  
*Bacch. I. i. 48 lepidus cum lepida accubet.*

5, 6. 'Gallus is a fool and fails to see that whilst he is himself an uncle who teaches his nephew how to seduce an uncle's wife, he is all the time a husband with a wife of his own,' and that the lesson taught may be applied against himself, by the seduction of his wife by his nephew. This seems to be a more probable construction than to make *Qui patruus patruī monstret adulterium* a definition of *maritum*, 'that he is a husband who with a nephew of his own (*patruus*) points out how a nephew may seduce his uncle's wife.'

## LXXIX.

THIS poem becomes more interesting if we read it in the light of Apuleius' assertion, that Lesbia's real name was Clodia. For if Lesbia is Clodia, Lesbius will of course be Clodius, and, as Schwabe has shown, *Quaest. p. 62 sqq.* P. Clodius, the *sororius adulter* of *Pis. xii.* the *istius mulieris uir, fratrem uolui dicere* of *Cael. xiii.* Not only does this give a point to *pulcer* (P. Clodius Pulcer), but also to *gente*, in which we may well trace an allusion to the family pride of the gens Claudia. The meaning of the last line to some extent depends on the reading which we adopt. The general idea indeed is unaffected; *sauia* must refer to that *oris impudicitia* which, though not specially imputed to P. Clodius, is included in the general description of his infamy, *De Harusp. Resp. xxvii, 59, xx. 42, Sest. vii. 16 qui enim in eiusmodi uita nerui potuerunt esse hominis fraternis flagitiis sororiis stupris omni inaudita libidine infamis?* (Schwabe *Quaest. p. 91*). But if we retain the reading of most MSS *natorum*, the allusion would seem to be something more than this: for in conjunction with *tria* we can scarcely fail to interpret this of that fixed number of three children, on which under the empire was founded the *ius trium liberorum* or *natorum* (*Mart. iii. 95, 6, ii. 91, 6, 92, 1*), and which would seem to have been becoming the recognized number of a *iusta familia* some time before. *Suet. Caesar 20 Campum Stellatam . . . diuisit extra sortem ad uirginti millibus ciuium, quibus terni pluresque liberi*

essent. ib. 50 *Pompeio exprobratum est quod cuius causa post tres liberos exegisset uxorem . . . eius postea filiam . . . in matrimonium recepisset.* Catullus may then be supposed to allude not only to the impurum os of Clodius, but also to the *mollities* which was sometimes associated with it, cf. Gell. i. 5. 1 *Hinc etiam turpibus indignisque in eum uerbis non temperatum, quin parum uir et ore quoque polluto diceretur.* The connexion of the two lines would then be 'still vile as I and my family are in the estimation of this handsome scion of a patrician family, I defy him to produce three children of his own begetting who would not shrink from kissing their polluted father.' See however for another explanation my note on 4.

1. **quidni**, 'well he may be,' 'by all means let him be so.' Aesch. fr. 303 Nauck *λευκός. τι δ' οὐχί; καὶ καλῶς ἠφευμένος Ὁ χοῖρος.*

2. **cum tota gente.** Clodius might look down upon the provincial Catullus. Cicero alludes to his connexion with the gens Claudia in Clodium et Curionem v. 3 *Tunc cum uincirentur pedes fasciis, cum calautica capiti adcommodaretur, cum uix manicatam tunicam in lacertos induceres, cum strophio adcurate praecingerere, in tam longo spatio nunquam te Appii Claudii nepotem esse recordatus es?*

3. **pulcer**, cf. Cicero's jokes on the *pulcellus puer* Att. i. 16. 10, ii. 1. 4, 22. 1. **uendat**, a word which seems peculiarly associated with Clodius. De Harusp. Resp. xxvii. 58 *Reges qui erant, uendidit; qui non erant, appellauit*, an allusion to Clodius' putting up to sale the person and effects of Ptolemy king of Cyprus, Sest. xxvi. 57, xxvii. 59, Pro Domo xx. 52. Possibly Catullus may also be thinking of his pecuniary embarrassments (see on XXVI), 'let Clodius have my person and goods made over to him by the praetor (*addictus*) for debt.' Flacc. xx. 48.

4. i. e. if he can find three children to acknowledge him as their father by kissing him, as was usual between parents and children. Plaut. Stich. i. 2. 34. The point is thus twofold (1) he cannot be a father of a perfect *familia*; (2) he is too polluted to allow of his nearest relations kissing him. Others take **natorum** in the sense of *nemo natus*, 'no one in the world,' or as = 'well-born,' Mart. x. 27. 4 *Nemo tamen natum te, Diodore, putat*, the opposite of *ex se natus* Tac. xi. 21 a man of no family. The Bodleian MS (O) has *notorum*, 'acquaintances,' Cael. ii. 3, Hor. S. i. 1. 85. It can hardly be gen. plur. of *notor*, 'vouchers of respectability,' though this would agree well with the interpretation which refers 3 to debt: 'let Clodius have my person and goods made over to him by the praetor as an insolvent debtor, if he can find any three people of character to acknowledge him as a friend and advance him money to pay his own debts.' See Pro Flacco xx, where Cicero speaks of Heraclidas borrowing from *primarii uiri*, and on the attestation *lectissimi hominis*.

## LXXX.

1. **Quid dicam quare**, 'what am I to say is the reason?' Rosc. Amer. xxxiii. 94 *Permulta sunt quae dici possunt quare intellegatur.* For *Quid est quare* cf. Sen. de Ira ii. 6. 3. **rosea**, LXIII. 74.

3. 'When you rise in the morning, or leave your couch after the mid-day siesta,' LXI. 111.

4. **quiete E molli** with **suscitat**, Tusc. Disp. iv. 19. 44 *Quaerentibus*

*respondebat Miltiadis tropaeis se e somno suscitari.* **longo die**, not simply, I think, 'in the lingering summer day,' but 'in the long hours of the day,' i. e. when the heat is greatest, and the hours pass most slowly.

5. 'At any rate there is something the matter.' Verg. Ecl. viii. 108 : and in Pers. v. 51 *Nescio quod certe est quod me tibi temperat astrum*, some MSS have *nescio quid* (Conington). **an uere**. Pont. i. 5. 31 *An populus uere sanos negat esse poetas?*

6. **medii uiri**. Mart. ii. 61. 2, iii. 81. 2. Priap. xlv. 2. **tenta = mentulam tentam** Priap. xx. 6, cf. ib. xxxiii. 2, lxxxix. 1. **uorare**. Mart. vii. 67. 15.

7. **Sic certe est**. See on LXII. 8. **rupta ilia**, of a rupture, as in XI. 20.

8. **sero**. Petr. Petitus Misc. Obs. iii. 2 compares Plutarch's *σπερματικὸς ὄρρος*, De Placitis Philosophorum 24.

## LXXXI.

ONE of the series of poems to Juuentius, who is here accused of deserting the poet for a rival from Pisaurum. From *in tanto populo* we may conjecture that it was written at Rome. Cicero mentions a Drusus of Pisaurum, a friend of Pompeius, as employed on the lucrative Campanian commission Att. ii. 7, but there is nothing to identify him with the object of Catullus' jealousy. Couat Étude p. 98 thinks Furius is meant.

2. **diligere inciperes**, a pleonasm in the style of the older poets (Scaliger). Enn. Medea Exul 231 Ribbeck *quod iter incipiam ingredi?*

3. **moribunda** is explained by Voss of the sickly character of the air of Pisaurum, which in his own time was believed to prevent longevity : by Conr. de Allio of the *inhabitants* who, from their unhealthy climate, wore a deathly look : a view adopted by Forcellini. It seems more natural to refer *moribunda* to the decaying (*Viribus illa carens et iam moribunda* Ouid. M. vii. 851) state of Pisaurum, which, though it does not seem to be expressly stated, is not at variance with the general language of Cicero ; at any rate Mr. Long Dict. Geog. s. u. can hardly be right in concluding from Sest. iv, Phil. xiii. 12 that Pisaurum was at that time in a flourishing condition. **Pisauri**, a town of Umbria on the Adriatic between Fanum Fortunae and Ariminum. It was founded as a Roman colony simultaneously with Potentia in Picenum B. C. 184, Liv. xxxix. 44. (Dict. Geog. s. u.)

4. **inaurata**, composed of wood or some similar material and then coated with gilt. They are often mentioned as in Cic. Verr. ii. 61, iv. 40, Pis. xi. 25, Amm. Marc. xiv. 6, xxviii. 4 : such gilt statues were sometimes presented as a compliment to distinguished benefactors, as by the Capuans to Cicero Pis. xi. 25. Here *inaurata* is in reference to the paleness of the man, cf. LXIV. 100. **statua**, with the notion partly of stiffness as in Pseud. iv. 1. 7, partly of inanity as in Eur. El. 383 *Αἰ δὲ σαρκὲς αἱ κεναὶ φρενῶν Ἀγάλματ' ἀγορᾶς εἰσὶν*, quoted by Mayor on Iuuen. viii. 55, partly of frigidity Dion Iviii. 2 *Γυμνοὺς ποτε ἄνδρας ἀπατήσαντας αὐτῇ καὶ μέλλοντας διὰ τοῦτο θανατωθῆσθαι ἕσωσεν* (Lucretia) *εἰποῖσα ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀνδρῶντων ταῖς σωφρονοῦσαις οἱ τοιοῦτοι διαφέρουσι*.

6. **et nescis**, without being sensible of your enormity. *et* nearly=*et tamen* as in XCVII. 2.

## LXXXII.

THE Quintus of this poem may be the person mentioned in C. 1 with Caelius as *flos Veronensum iuuenum*, and as enamoured of Aufilena. Schwabe, following many of the commentators, thinks that C. 7 *Cum uesana meas torreret flamma medullas* refers to Catullus' passion for Aufilena (CX, CXI), and explains the present poem as a protest addressed by the poet to a rival. But this view of C is violently improbable, and it seems better with Conr. de Allio to explain LXXXII. 3, 4 of Lesbia, *Ambobus mihi quae carior est oculis* CIV. 2; for only Lesbia can be designated by *mea uita*.

1. **oculos debere**, to be indebted to you as the preserver of all he holds most dear; the sense might be paraphrased, 'if you wish me to look upon you as the saviour of my happiness, do not become the destroyer of it.'

2. **carius oculis**. Lear i. 1 *Dearer than eyesight space and liberty*.

3. **Eripere**. Hor. S. ii. 5. 35 *Eripiet quivis oculos citius mihi*. **ei** monosyllabic as in *eidem* Lucil. Inc. iv. 4, Manil. iii. 73. See Lachmann on Lucr. iii. 227.

4. **seu quid**=*siue quid*=*uel si quid*. Plin. Epist. i. 18. 4 *Patria et si quid carius fides uidebatur*. Symm. Ep. i. 32 *Me tibi et parente et amico et si quid utroque carius est cariorem fuisse sensisti*.

## LXXXIII.

IF Lesbia was Clodia, this epigram must have been written before the death of Q. Metellus Celer in 59. There is nothing to fix it more determinately. The subject of it is similar to Prop. iii. 8, cf. especially 9, 10 *Nimirum ueri dantur mihi signa caloris: Nam sine amore graui femina nulla dolet*. 19, 20 *Non est certa fides, quam non iniuria uersat. Hostibus eueniat lenta puella meis*. 28 *Semper in irata pallidus esse uelim*.

2. **fatuo**, XCVIII. 2 *uerbosis dicitur et fatuis*. Servius on Aen. vii. 47 *Fatuos dicimus inconsiderate loquentes*: and so perhaps here, the husband shows himself *fatuus* in bragging of his wife's open disparagement of Catullus.

3. **Mulle**, 'dolt,' a very rare use, connected with its *tarditas indomita* (Plin. H. N. viii. 171). Catullus may also allude to the well-known fact that mules rarely breed. Umpfenbach Philologus for 1874 p. 234 retains the MS reading *Mulle*, quoting the proverb *μῦλλος πάντ' ἀκούει* ἐπὶ τῶν κωφότητα προσποιουμένων καὶ πάντα ἀκούοντων: see Diogenianus vi. 40, Zenob. v. 14, Apostol. xi. 85 in Leutsch's *Paroemiographi Graeci*. But the allusion is too obscure to be probable.

4. **Sana**, 'heart-whole,' in reference to love as a disease as in LXXVI. 25, Tib. iv. 6. 18. (Conr. de Allio). **gannit**, 'snarls.' Varro L. L. vii. 103 *Multa ab animalium uocibus tralata in homines, partim quae sunt aperta, partim obscura . . . Plauti. Gannit odiosus, omni totae familiae*. **ob-**

**loquitur**, 'rails,' Afranius ap. Non. 78 *Quid est istuc? te blaterare atque obloqui.*

5. **acrior**, Hor. S. ii. 7. 93, more poignant or stimulating, i. e. more potent in rousing some outward manifestation of displeasure; *quae multo acrior est res* nearly = *id quod multo acrius est.*

6. **uritur**, 'her heart burns,' partly with love, as in Hor. C. i. 13. 9 *Vror seu tibi candidos Turparunt umeros immodicae mero Rixae*, partly with vexation to think of the lover she has quarrelled with but cannot bring herself to dismiss. **et loquitur**, 'and therefore speaks.'

## LXXXIV.

CICERO in the Brutus (lxix. 242) mentions among the inferior orators of his time a Q. Arrius, who had risen from the ranks into importance without any special talent or learning, by watching his opportunities, but had fallen into insignificance in the collapse of forensic mediocrities occasioned by the judiciary regulations of Pompeius in his third consulship 702 | 52 (cf. Brut. xciv. 324, De Fin. iv. 1. 1). Cicero says of him *fuit M. Crassi quasi secundarum*, and Schwabe infers from this that he was in the intimacy of Crassus and may therefore have accompanied him into Syria 699 | 55. The description would agree very well with what is said of Arrius in Catullus' poem. (Schwabe Quaest. pp. 322-331.)

The pronunciation of the letter *h* was one of the grammatical questions of the time. Caesar treated *de uerborum aspirationibus* in his work *de Analogia* (Fronto p. 221 Naber); Nigidius Figulus laid down a rule *Rusticus fit sermo si adspires perperam* (Gell. xiii. 6); Varro enjoins its omission or retention in individual words e. g. *Graccus ortus* (Charis. p. 82 Keil) *pulcrum* (Charis. 73 Keil) *Rodus retor* (Cassiodorus p. 2285 P.), and elsewhere indicates the same thing by his etymologies, as in connecting *olus asta* with *olla astare* L. L. v. 108, 115 *hordeum* with *horrere* L. L. v. 106.

According to Cicero (Orator xlviii. 160) a change was introduced in his own lifetime. The old fashion was to aspirate vowels only, consonants never; this he had been obliged to give up in deference to the new fashion. *Quin ego ipse, cum scirem ita maiores locutos esse ut nusquam nisi in uocali aspiratione uerentur loquebar sic, ut pulcros Celegos triumphos Kartaginem dicerem; aliquando idque sero conuulio aurium cum extorta mihi ueritas esset, usum loquendi populo concessi, scientiam mihi reseruauit. Orciuos tamen et Matones Otiones Caepiones sepulcra coronas lacrimas dicimus quia per aurium iudicium licet.* And this agrees with the well-known statement of Quintilian i. 5. 20 *H litterae ratio mutata cum temporibus est saepius. Parcissime ea ueteres usi etiam in uocalibus, cum aedos ircosque dicebant, diu deinde seruatum ne consonantibus aspirarent, ut in Graccis et in triumphis; erupit breui tempore nimius usus ut choronae chenturiones praechones adhuc quibusdam inscriptionibus maneant, qua de re Catulli nobile epigramma est.* Cf. Gell. ii. 3. Corssen i. pp. 103 sqq. traces this fluctuation in inscriptions and MSS: see also Brambach Neugestaltung der Latein. Orthographie pp. 282-294.

From this epigram it is clear that Catullus disapproved of the gradually

encroaching predominance of *h*, in this respect agreeing with Cicero. Their judgment was to some extent confirmed by the Augustan writers; for the MSS of Virgil, which may be taken as the best representative of the orthography of that time, are against such spellings as *chorona chenturio*, etc., and preponderate in favour of *erus umerus umor ora onus Orcus*; on the other hand the new fashion prevailed in such words as *Cethegus Otho*, etc. Catullus takes care to represent Arrius' over-fondness for the letter as a vulgar habit which he had inherited from his ancestors; if this is true, the plebeian pronunciation had overpowered the more aristocratic, which, as we saw from Cicero, was then beginning to be antiquated; if, as is more probable, the habit was a consequence of the increasing number of Greeks in Rome, we can only look upon the poet's statement as one of those personalities so frequently found in his writings, or rather perhaps as a misrepresentation intended to throw ridicule on a trick of pronunciation which threatened to become the fashion.

**1. commoda**, military stipends or rewards out of the usual course. Fam. vii. 8. 1 *Simul sum admiratus cur tribunatus commoda, dempto praesertim labore militiae, contempseris*. A. A. i. 131, 2 *Romule, militibus scisti dare commoda solus. Haec mihi si dederis commoda, miles ero.*

**4. quantum poterat**, 'with the full strength of his lungs.'

**5, 6.** Cicero De Orat. iii. 12. 45 very similarly, but in *contrariam partem*, of women preserving in its integrity the language and pronunciation of antiquity, *Equidem cum audio socrum meam Laeliam—facilius enim mulieres incorruptam antiquitatem conseruant, quod multorum sermonis expertes ea tenent semper quae prima didicerunt—sed eam sic audio ut Plautum mihi aut Naevium uidear audire. Sono ipso uocis ita recto et simplici est ut nihil ostentationis aut imitationis adferre uideatur; ex quo sic locutum esse eius patrem iudico, sic maiores; non aspere ut ille quem dixi, non uaste non rustice non hiulce sed presse et aequabiliter et leniter* and so the elder Curio grew up in a house trained to purity of language *patrio instituto* (Brut. lix. 213). But these were aristocrats; the plebeian Arrius would inherit a plebeian pronunciation.

**5. Credo**, ironical: Arrius seems to have prided himself on his hereditary pronunciation. Theophrastus makes it a sign of the *δυσχερής* to call his ailments *συγγενικά ἄρρωστήματα*, ἔχειν γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν πάππον. **Liber** is probably the uncle's name: Passerat ingeniously explains it as adj. Arrius, he supposes, was the descendant of men who were *not* free; he compares a similarly ironical line of Afranius ap. Charisium 119 *Keil liber natus est, ita mater eius dixit, In Gallia ambos cum emerem*. The whole verse is consistently contemptuous: *auunculus*, itself an undignified word (Serv. on Aen. iii. 343), is made more so by the prosaic addition of *eius*. **eius**, very rare in poetry; Bentley on Hor. C. iii. 11. 18 quotes five instances where it ends a hexameter, Hor. S. ii. 6. 76, Lucret. i. 782, 965, Prop. iv. 2. 35, Ovid. Trist. iii. 4. 27.

**7. omnibus aures**, Fronto p. 61 Naber *Omnibus aures tuae uoculae subseruiunt* where Naber reads *omnium* against the MS.

**8. leniter et leuiter**, Att. xiii. 21. 6 *De Attica optime quod leuius ac lenius et quod fert εὐκόλως*. Apuleius is full of such assonances; see Koziol Stil des L. Apuleius pp. 201–208.

**9. postilla**, a word found in Ennius (Ann. 42), Cato, Plautus Men. iv.

3. 11, Terence (Eun. i. 2. 47) and the older writers, but probably antiquated in Catullus' time.

10. Phil. xiii. 9. 19 *Parata sententia consularis cum repente ei affertur nuncius.*

11. **Ionios.** He would cross the Adriatic (*Ionium mare* De Orat. iii. 19. 69, cf. Prop. iii. 11. 72) on his way. The repose (*requierant*) was not allowed to remain undisturbed long; for this would be at the beginning of the journey. Catullus probably means by *Ionios fluctus* the lower part of the Adriatic, as Virgil places the Strophades *Ionio in magno* Aen. iii. 211, cf. Strabo 123, Mela ii. 67; he can hardly allude to any part of the Aegean, though Ovid seems to mean this Fast. iv. 566, cf. Sen. Theb. 610, Thy. 143.

## LXXXV.

THIS epigram is a brief but pointed expression of the connexion between violent love and violent hate. Plut. Cato 37 *κινδυνεύει τὸ λίαν φιλεῖν, ὡς φησι Θεόφραστος, αἴτιον τοῦ μισεῖν γίνεσθαι πολλάκις.* Am. ii. 4. 5 *Odi, nec possum cupiens non esse, quod odi.* The infidelities of Lesbia would have been sufficient to occasion it at almost any period of Catullus' amour with her: but it belongs rather to the early than to the later period. See on LXXXVI.

## LXXXVI.

A COMPARISON of a certain Quintia with Lesbia. 'Quintia in the judgment of many is beautiful; to my view she has particular points of beauty, fine complexion, height, and symmetry of form; but is not completely beautiful. Only Lesbia is such; she combines a beautiful whole with perfection in every part.'

Catullus has before compared Lesbia with rival beauties, see XLIII. Petronius has a similar epigram fr. xxxi Bücheler—

*Non est forma satis, nec quae uult bella uideri,  
Debet uulgari more placere sibi.  
Dicta sales lusus sermonis gratia risus  
Vincunt naturae candidioris opus.  
Condit enim formam quicquid consumitur artis  
Et nisi uelle subest, gratia tota perit.*

1. **multis.** So Lucilius ap. Non. 306 *Omnes formosi, fortes tibi: ego improbus: esto.* **longa,** 'tall,' LXVI. 1, 47. Varro ap. Non. 27 describes a woman as *proceram candidam teneram formosam*, Prometheus Liber fr. x Riese.

2. **Recta,** 'well-shaped,' Prop. ii. 34. 46 *Despicit et magnos recta puella deos.* **singula,** 'one by one,' Philostrat. Icones i. 28 *Τάχα τις καὶ τὴν παρεῖαν ἐπαινέσεται, καὶ τὰ μέτρα τῆς ῥινός, καὶ καθ' ἐν οὐτωσὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ.*

3. **illud formosa,** that word 'beautiful.' The word is quoted without alteration. So Quintil. viii. 6. 38 *illud canto*, ix. 3. 64 *illud edico.* So in Greek Strab. 157 *Ἐπαρξαι πόλεις αὐτόθι, τὴν μὲν καλουμένην Ἑλληνες, τὴν δὲ Ἀμφίλοχοι.*

4. **mica salis,** 'grain of salt,' 'any spark of animation.' Stat. compares



Lucr. iv. 1162 *tota merum sal.* Mart. vii. 25. 1-4 *Dulcia cum tantum scribas epigrammata semper Et cerussata candidiora cute, Nullaque mica salis nec amari fellis in illis Gulta sit, o demens, uis tamen illa legi.*

5. **formosa** would seem from this to imply more than **pulcherrima**; not mere beauty of form or person, but a general charm of gesture and expression.

6. Anth. P. v. 95 *Τέσσαρες αἱ Χάριτες, Πάφιαι δύο, καὶ δέκα Μοῦσαι· Δερκύλις ἐν πασαῖς Μοῦσα Χάρις Παφίη.* Musaeus Her. et Leand. 63 *Πολλὰ δ' ἐκ μελέων Χάριτες μέον' οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ Τρεῖς Χάριτας ψεύσαντο πεφυκέναι. εἰς δὲ τις Ἡροῦς Ὀφθαλμὸς γελῶν ἑκατὸν Χαρίτεσσι τεθήλει.*

## LXXXVII.

AN obviously imperfect fragment. See on LXXV.

3. **Nulla fides nullo.** So Lachmann after the Datanus, and the double negative is in harmony with the simple plainness of the statement, as well as with τὸ ἀκακὸν τῆς γυναικείας ἐρμηρείας which Catullus here, like Sophron, may voluntarily be imitating Etym. M. 774. 41. Similarly Tibullus iv. 7. 8 *Ne legat id nemo quam meus ante uelim.* **foedere.** The addition of **nullo** takes from the harshness of the abl. without *in*. But *in* would easily fall out after *unquam*, and Doering may be right in restoring it, as I have done in the very parallel case LXXVI. 18 *ipsa in morte.*

4. **amore tuo**, 'love for you.' LXIV. 253. **ex parte.** See on LXXVI. 18.

## LXXXVIII—XCI.

ON Gellius: the first three deal with the charge of incest only, the fourth accuses him besides of making love to Lesbia. See on LXXIV. With this and the two following epigrams compare Mart. ii. 4 *O quam blandus es, Ammiane, matri! Quam blanda est tibi mater, Ammiane! Fratrem te uocat et soror uocatur. Cur uos nomina nequiora tangunt? Quare non iuuat hoc quod estis esse? Lusum creditis, hoc iocumque? Non est. Mater quae cupit esse se sororem, Nec matrem iuuat esse nec sororem.*

LXXXVIII. 1. **Quid facit is**, like *Qualem existimas qui in adulterio deprenditur?* De Orat. ii. 68. 275.

2. **Prurit**, Mart. ix. 73. 6. **abiectis tunicis**, a mark of shameless depravity. **peruigilat**, Aristoph. fr. 116 Dindorf *ἐν ἡδυόσμοις Στρώμασι παννυχίζων.* Nub. 1069 *Τὴν νύκτα παννυχίζειν.* Lucian Dial. Meretr. xiv. 1 *Ὁ δὲ τῶν νυκτῶν φιλεῖται καὶ μόνος ἔρδον ἔστί καὶ παννυχίζεται.* In all these passages there is probably some idea of the nocturnal festivals of Venus, the licentious *peruigilia Veneris*.

3. **non sinit**, by seducing his uncle's wife, LXXIV. 3.

4. **suscipiat**, 'incurs,' 'contracts,' as Cic. Phil. xi. 4. 9 *Miserior igitur qui suscipit in se scelus quam si qui alterius facinus subire cogitur.* So *suscipere impuritates parricidia maculam crimen* etc.

5, 6. Lucr. vi. 1076 *Non si Neptunus fluctu renouare operam det, Non mare si totum uelit eluere omnibus undis.* Did Catullus copy Lucretius, or Lucretius Catullus?

5. **quantum non**, 'more than.' Liu. ix. 37 *quantus non unquam antea*

*exercitus*. Trist. ii. 231 *Tanto quantum non extitit unquam*. **Tethys**. Haupt Ind. Lect. 1855 affirms that *Tethys* is not used for *mare* by any writer before Archias Anth. P. vii. 214. 6 Πορθμεύσεις Τηθύος εἰς πέρατα, although from Catullus LXVI. 70 Callimachus may be thought to have done so. Here Catullus obviously has in his mind Homer's Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύον, cf. Apoll. R. iii. 244 Τηθύος Ὠκεανοῦ τε: a personality attaches to both names, as is farther indicated by *genitor Nympharum*.

6. **abluit**. O. T. 1227 Οἶμαι γὰρ οὐτ' ἂν Ἴστρον οὔτε Φᾶσιν ἂν Νίψαι καθαρῶ τήνδε τὴν στέγην, ὅσα Κεύθει. De Legg. ii. 10. 24 *amnis ullis elui*. **genitor Nympharum**, Ocean with all his streams cannot wash away such guilt. Catullus may have in his mind the national custom of punishing parricides by throwing them, after first being sewn in a bag, into the deep sea or a running stream, Rosc. Amer. xxv. 70, and especially xxvi. 72, Digest. xlvi. 9. 9. An ancient legal formula in Cic. Legg. ii. 9. 22 enacts the punishment of death for incest, *Incestum pontifices supremo subpicio sanciunt*.

7. **nihil quicquam**, as in Plaut. Bacch. iv. 9. 113 *Nil ego tibi hodie consili quicquam dabo*, Poen. iii. 1. 1 *Tardo amico nihil est quicquam iniquius*, Merc. iii. 1. 9, Ter. And. i. 1. 63, Hec. iii. 3. 40, Ad. iii. 3. 12, and so *nemo quisquam* (Holtze Syntax. i. p. 403). 'There is nothing whatever that is crime.'

## LXXXIX.

1. **quidni**? 'well he may be,' De Orat. ii. 67. 273 *Cum rogaret eum (Maximum) Salinator ut meminisset opera sua se Tarentum recepisse: Quidni, inquit, meminerim? nunquam enim recepissem, nisi tu perdidisses*. **bona**, 'kind,' ironically, in the same sense as CX. 1, where see note.

2. **ualens uiuat**, in contrast with the *tenuitas* of Gellius.

3. **bonus**, as allowing him to take liberties with his wife. **omnia plena**, a common formula. Att. ii. 24. 4 *Sed prorsus uitae laedet, ita sunt omnia omnium miseriarum plenissima*. Fam. ix. 22, 4 *Stultorum plena sunt omnia*. Verg. G. ii. 4 *Tuis hic omnia plena Muneribus*. Tib. i. 8. 54 *Lacrymis omnia plena madent*. Ouid. Pont. iii. 3. 86 *Cunctaque laetitia plena triumphus habet* (partly from Vulp.).

5. **nihil attingat, nisi quod fas tangere non est**. Similarly Cicero in Clodium et Curionem fr. iv. 3 Orelli *Quo loco ita fuit caecus ut facile appareret uidisse eum quod fas non fuisset*.

## XC.

2. **aruspicium** seems to allude to divination with sticks of tamarisk, as described by Strabo 733 (see on 5), Schol. Nicand. Theriac. 613 Μάγοι δὲ καὶ Σκύθαι μυρρίκῳ ματεύονται ξύλῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις ῥάβδοις ματεύονται. Phoenix ap. Athen. 530 Οὐ παρά Μάγοισι πῦρ ἱερὸν ἀνέστησεν, ὡσπερ νόμος, ῥάβδοισι τοῦ θεοῦ ψάων. (Scaliger.)

3. Strabo 735 Τοὺς δὲ Μάγους οὐ θάππουσιν, ἀλλ' οἰωνοβρώτους ἔωσι· τοῖτοις δὲ καὶ μητράσι συνέρχεσθαι πάτριον νενόμισται. (Scaliger.)

4. **impia**, 'unnatural,' and, to Roman ideas, abominable. Euripides Androm. 173 sqq. speaks of such incestuous connexions as peculiarly

barbarous, i. e. non-Hellenic, τοιοῦτον πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γένος, Πατήρ τε θυγατρὶ παῖς τε μητρὶ μίγνυται Κόρη τ' ἀδελφῶ, διὰ φόβου δ' οἱ φίλτατοι Χωροῦσι καὶ πᾶνδ' οὐδὲν ἐξείργει νόμος, where the scholiast notes ταῦτα Περσικὰ ζήη (Doering).

5. **Gnatus**, 'that the son of these parents may worship the gods with a chant which is acceptable,' i. e. if the gods are to look with favour on the rite, it must be performed by the son born of an incestuous union between a mother and her child. **carmine**, the ἐπῳδαὶ of which Strabo speaks several times 733 Ἐπ' ἐπὶ μῦθῳ διαθέντες τὰ κρέα, βάβδοις λεπτοῖς ἐφάπτονται οἱ Μάγοι καὶ ἐπάδουσιν, ἀποσπένδοντες ἔλαιον ὁμοῦ γάλακτι καὶ μέλιτι κεκραμένον οὐκ εἰς πῦρ, οὐδ' ὕδωρ, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦδαφος. τὰς δ' ἐπῳδὰς ποιοῦνται πολὺν χρόνον βάβδων μυρικίνων λεπτῶν δέσμην κατέχοντες. *ibid.* καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν δὲ εἰσιόντες ἐπάδουσιν ὥραν σχεδόν τι. (Scaliger.) **diuos**, according to Strabo 732 Zeus the Sun the Moon Aphrodite and the elements.

6. **Omentum**, the caul or membrane enveloping the intestines. Plin. H. N. xi. 204 *Ventriculus atque intestina pingui ac tenui omento integuntur*. Catullus here speaks with strict correctness, for the Magians, though victims were cut up as part of their worship, did not like most nations assign any portion of the *flesh* to the gods, ὅμως δὲ τοῦ ἐπίπλου τι μικρὸν τιθέασιν, ὡς λέγουσὶ τινες, ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ. Strabo 732 (Scaliger). **liquefaciens**. Persius imitates Catullus ii. 47 *Tot tibi cum in flammis iunicum omenta liquescant* (Scaliger). Persius has *in flammis*, Catullus **in flamma**, if the reading of most MSS may be trusted: but it is not impossible that Persius is here a safer guide as *in flammam* is actually found in *L*.

## XCI.

3. **cognossem**, subjunctive of the supposed but false reason, as **uidebam**, of the actual or true one. Roby Latin Grammar 1744.

5. **neque quod**, an inversion of the natural order *quod neque*: see on LXIII. 62. **matrem** here for *nouercam* (Westphal Catull's Gedichte p. 121). **germanam**, properly a sister on both the father's and mother's side, whence the combination *soror germana*.

6. **cuius me** not *me cuius*, in spite of the bad rhythm, and the inversion of *neque quod* in 5. **edebat**, 'preyed upon,' gives the idea of a slowly and silently consuming passion. Aen. xii. 801 *Ni te tantus edit tacitam dolor*.

8. **Non satis id causae**. De Inuent. ii. 20. 60 *Atrocitas iniuriarum satisne causae sit quare praevideatur?* **id** is emphatic: 'though you were admitted to my intimacy, *that* did not seem to me a sufficient ground for expecting that you would betray me:' a fine irony.

9. **satis id**, exactly inverts the emphasis of *id satis* in 8.

10. **Culpa**, Cic. Fam. ix. 22. 2 *Memini in senatu disertum consularem ita eloqui: Hanc culpam maiorem an illam dicam? potuit obsceniis? Non, inquis: non enim ita sensit. Non ergo in uerbo est: docui autem in re non esse: nusquam igitur est*. Plin. H. N. viii. 43 *Odore pardī coitum sentit in adultera leo totaque ui consurgit in poenam. Idcirco ea culpa flumine abluitur aut longius comitatur*.

## XCII.

ON the same subject as LXXXIII, and perhaps belonging to the same period: but more probably later, if we may argue from *assidue* in 4 that Lesbia had entered upon the more profligate period of her life.

2. *dispeream nisi*, like *dispeream si* Prop. ii. 21. 9, a form of adjuration which seems to have become archaic in Martial's time xi. 90. 8.

3. *Quo signo?* Anth. P. v. 213. 3 *Εἰπὲ δὲ σημεῖον*. Fam. xii. 21. 1 *Signum enim magnum amoris dedisti*. Hec. ii. 1. 39 *Quid ais? non signi hoc sat est?* sc. of pretended hatred. *totidem mea*. The expression is perhaps drawn from the language of games, possibly the game of *scripta* as described by Ouid A. A. iii. 363 sqq., cf. Rich. s. u. *abacus*; 'I have made as many points,' our scores are even, as we might say, it's six of one to half-a-dozen of the other, meaning it is exactly the same with me as with her. This is perhaps the meaning of Ovid's *Quid faciam? turbae pars habet omnis idem* F. v. 108 all the Muses have made the same score. Not unlike is *paria habet* Fronto p. 24 Naber. *deprecor*. Gellius N. A. vi. 16. 2 in a discussion on this verse interprets the word as meaning *detestor uel execror uel depello uel abominor*; and he quotes instances from Ennius and Cicero where it seems = *propulsare* or *abigere*. If this is right, *deprecor* here = 'I wish off, away,' 'I pray to be rid of.' It can hardly mean, as it has been explained, 'I curse her;' but the fluctuations of Gellius suggest as a possibility, 'I cry out upon her,' nearly = 'I rail or revile at her.'

4. *Assidue*, Sen. Ep. 9. 22 *Nec quid uno die sentiat sed assidue*.

## XCIII.

AN expression of contemptuous indifference to the good opinion of J. Caesar. Schwabe assigns it to 55 B. C.: but there is absolutely nothing to fix the date. It was perhaps suggested by some overture which Caesar had made him: his fame as a poet would make it worth while to win him over, if not to friendship, to silence. It probably preceded XXIX, LVII.

1. *Nil nimium studeo*, 'I am not over-anxious.' Mart. ix. 81. 3 *Non nimium curo*. *uelle placere*, a pleonasm perhaps belonging to common life. Sen. Apocol. 14 *Incipit patronus uelle respondere* where Bücheler quotes Petron. 9 *Coepit mihi uelle pudorem extorquere*, 70 *coeperat Fortunata uelle saltare*, 98 *Si Giuona tuum amas, incipe uelle seruare*. Similarly Plaut. Asin. i. 3. 61 *Neque conari id facere audebatis prius*. Nep. Att. 4 *Noli me uelle ducere*.

2. Phaedr. iii. 15. 10 (of a lamb) *Vnde illa sciuit niger an albus nasceret?* Cic. Phil. ii. 16. 41, Quintil. xi. 1. 38, Apul. de Magia 16. The personal appearance of Caesar would of course interest his admirers; and Catullus seems by his expression to convey that he hardly cared to think of Caesar as a great man. Plin. H. N. xxxv. 10 *Maius, ut equidem arbitror, nullum est felicitatis specimen quam semper omnis scire cupere qualis fuerit aliquis*.

## XCIV

THIS with CV *Mentula conatur Pipleum scandere montem* CXIV *Firmanus saltu non falso Mentula diues* CXV *Mentula habet instar triginta milia prati*, forms a series of attacks on an individual nicknamed *Mentula*, probably identical with *Mamurra*, the favorite of Caesar XXIX, LVII, and perhaps the *decoctor Formianus* of XLI, XLIII. The points dwelt upon in the epigrams are *Mentula's* profligacy, his unsuccessful attempts in literature, and his wealth. In all these he corresponds closely with *Mamurra*, the pet and paramour of the ladies of Rome (XXIX. 7), the *diffutata mentula* on whom Caesar and Pompeius squander twenty or thirty millions of sesterces, the possessor of all the rich stores of Gaul and Britain; again the *eruditulus* whom Caesar admits to his own reading sofa (LVII. 8). This view is scarcely invalidated by the fact that *Mentula* is not a metrical equivalent of *Mamurra*, for though this rule is generally observed and probably determined Catullus in calling his mistress *Lesbia*, it is obvious that *Mentula*<sup>1</sup>, as a nickname, and not a pseudonym, might follow the ordinary freedom observed in nicknames, cf. LII. 2 *struma Nonius* (see Schwabe *Quaest.* p. 234). It is perhaps a confirmation of this identification that *Mentula* in CXIV is called *Firmanus*; for in the combination *Firmanus Mentula* Catullus may well have meant to suggest the *Formianus Mamurra* (Schwabe p. 231). It is a suspicion of Iungclaussen's that the adoption of the name *Mentula* was subsequent to Caesar's reconciliation with Catullus, as mentioned by Suetonius Jul. 73; the poet would have ceased to attack Caesar, but would continue his hostility to the favorite; hence would adopt a pseudonym. (See Iungclaussen p. 22, Schwabe pp. 235-239.) This view is to some extent at variance with the present epigram, the point of which turns upon the correspondence of *Mentula's* name with his conduct, and would be a very poor joke if the name was not a real one. Hence Fröhlich considers *Mentula* to be an actual name like *Bestia Buca Capito Naso Bibulus Caballus Capella Capra* and denies the identification with *Mamurra* (cf. Westphal p. 195). It seems possible that the word was as a name connected in some way with the family of *Mamurra*, and was known to be, but was kept out of sight, perhaps from some accident of language, which tended in the time of Catullus and Cicero to give a specific and obscene meaning to many words which had long been innocuous. *Fam.* ix. 22.

*Mentula* commits adultery, at least there's a namesake of his which does; it's a true proverb that says: the pot will find its own way to the pot-herbs.

*Mentula, wanton is he. His calling sure is a wanton's.*

*Herbs to the pot, 'tis said wisely, the name to the man*<sup>2</sup>.

1. *Mentula* in the first case seems to be used as a name; in the second, in its proper sense of *membrum uirile*. We might paraphrase the line '*Mentula* is an adulterer: poor man he can't help his name.'

2. *hoc est, quod dicitur illud Fraternalium uere dulce sodalicium* C. 3, 4. *ipsa olera olla legit*, 'the pot gathers the pot-herbs for itself,' i. e. if

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Plato was called *Satho* by Antisthenes *Diog. Laert.* iii. 35, vi. 16, *Athen.* v. 220, xi. 507 as pointed out to me by my lamented friend Mr. R. Dear.

<sup>2</sup> From my Metrical Translation, London, Murray 1871.

there's a pot it will find its own way to the herbs, and a Mentula will play a *mentula's* part. That this is the meaning is shown by the assonances *Mentula—mentula, olera—olla*. Scaliger compares the Homeric *αἰὼς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος* Od. xvi. 294. Another view, adopted by many of the older commentators, explains *ipsa olera olla legit*—‘it's the pot itself that steals the herbs,’ i. e. an excuse put forward by the real thief. On this view v. 1 may be explained either (1) as an excuse offered by Caesar. Caesar says ‘It is Mentula (i. e. Mamurra) that is the adulterer, not I.’ Reply, ‘True; at any rate there's a namesake of Mentula's that commits adultery. It's the old proverb, the pot is the thief of the pot-herbs; but the pot did not put them there, and Mamurra is not responsible for Caesar's adulteries.’ Or (2) ‘You say it is the flesh that commits adultery: by all means; you might as well say “it's the pot that's the thief.”’ (Vulp.) Varro connects *olla* with *olus* L. L. v. 108.

## XCV.

On the Zmyrna of G. Helvius Cinna, Catullus' companion in the cohorts of Memmius in Bithynia (X. 29). Of this poem, which was on the incestuous connexion of Myrrha with her father Cinyras, and which occupied its author for nine years, a few fragments only remain. I quote them from L. Müller's edition—

*At scelus incesto Zmurnae crescebat in aluo* Prisc. 718. P.

*Te matutinus stentem conspexit Eous*

*Et stentem paullo uidit post Hesperus idem* Servius on G. i. 288.

Besides these, Charisius 73 and 118 mentions the genitive *tabis* as an unexampled form used by Cinna in the Zmyrna. The poem was, as might be expected from its elaboration, obscure. Philargyrius on Ecl. ix. 35 *Cinna Zmyrnam scripsit quam nonum post annum ut Catullus ait edidit; id quod et Quintilianus ait.* (x. 4. 4) *Vnde etiam Horatium in Arte Poetica dicunt ad eum alluisse, cum ait 'nonumque prematur in annum.' Fuit autem liber obscurus adeo ut et nonnulli eius aetatis grammatici in eum scripserint magnamque ex eius enarratione sint gloriam consecuti.* Suetonius Gramm. 8 says Crassitius wrote a commentary on it, *Vni Crassitio se credere Zmyrna probavit . . . Intima cui soli nota sua exstiterint.* Martial (x. 21. 4) *Iudice te melior Cinna Marone fuit* selects Cinna as a type of those obscure poets who write for grammarians. Yet it was this poem, not the hexameter *Propempticon Pollionis* (Charis. 124 K.) or the *poemata* in various metres (Gell. ix. 12, xix. 13) which gave him his reputation. Catullus does not seem to have exaggerated his friend's merits, since Virgil Ecl. ix. 35 *Nam neque adhuc Varius uideor, nec dicere Cinna Digna, sed argutos interstrepere anser olores* classes him with Varius and contrasts him with Anser. See Servius there, and cf. Valgius' lines ap. Schol. Veron. on Ecl. vi. 22 Herrmann *Codrus(que) ille canit, quali tu uoce solebas Atque solet numeros dicere, Cinna, tuos; Dulcior ut nunquam Pylio profluxerit ore Nestoris aut (doc)to pectore Demodoci.* See Teuffel, Hist. of Roman Literature i. p. 370 English Translation, Schwabe Quaest. pp. 266 sqq.

The Hortensius of 3 is probably the Q. Hortensius Hortalus to whom Catullus sent his translation of the *Coma Beronices*. The description of Catullus agrees well with the words of Gellius xix. 9 *Nam Laeuus implacata et Hortensius inuenusta et Cinna inlepidata et Memmius dura ac deinceps*

*omnes rudia fecerunt atque absona*, as well as with Cicero's statement (Orat. xxxviii. 132) that Hortensius was a better speaker than writer, and Quintilian's assertion that his writings were below his reputation (xi. 3. 8; see Schwabe Quaeest. p. 270). Catullus may have quarrelled with him after sending him LXV and the accompanying translation: or *vice versa* after offending Hortensius by the slighting allusion to his poetry in the present epigram, may have sent LXV as a peace-offering.

The change from Hortensius to Volusius (7, 8) is perhaps intentional. To pass from one poetaster to another, as if both were on a level, and both equally contemptible, would indirectly add to the acerbity of the attack on the former, especially if the lines on Volusius *Annales Volusi cacata carita* were already published and known.

1. i. e. *post nonam messem quam coepta est* = *nona messe post quam coepta est*. **messem** = 'summer,' Heroid. vi. 56, 7 *Hic tibi bisque aetas bisque cucurrit hiemps, Tertia messis erat*. **nonam**, Quintil. x. 4. 4 *Cinnae Zmyrnam nouem annis accepimus scriptam et panegyricum Isocratis qui parcissime decem annis dicunt elaboratum*.

3. **cum interea**, 'and all the time' = 'and yet,' see on LXIV. 305. **Millia quingenta**, of any large number like *millibus trecentis* IX. 2. **uno**, perhaps *mense*: Haupt suggests *die*: Plutarch says Cicero could write 500 verses in one night, Cic. 40.

5. **cauas**, 'deep,' descending far into their bed, Verg. G. i. 326, iv. 427. **Satrachi**, a river of Cyprus, mentioned by Lycophron Al. 448 where Tzetzes notes *Σάτραχος πόλις καὶ ποταμὸς Κύπρου· τινες δὲ διὰ τοῦ εἰ γράφουσι Σέτραχος*. Nonnus Dionys. xiii. 458 *Ἦχι θαλασσιγόνου Παφίης νυμφίῳ ὕδωρ Σέτραχος ἡμερόεις, ὅθι πολλάκις οἶδμα λαβοῦσα Κύπρις ἀνεχλαίνωσε λελουμένον νιέα Μύρρης* which shows its connexion with Myrrha or Zmyrna the subject of Cinna's poem. Etym. M. p. 117, 37 *Ἄωος· ποταμὸς τῆς Κύπρου· Ἄω γὰρ ὁ Ἄδωνος ὀνομάζετο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ Κύπρου βασιλεύσαντες· Ζωίλος δὲ ὁ Κεδραεὺς καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μητρὸς κληθῆναι· τὴν γὰρ Θεϊαντος θυγατέρα οὐ Σμύρναν ἀλλὰ Ἄδων (Ἄδων Meineke) καλοῦσι. Φιλίας δὲ πρώτων βασιλέα Ἄδων Ἡοῦς ὄντα καὶ Κεφάλου, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἕρος τι ὀνομάσθη Ἄωιον, ἐξ οὗ β' ποταμῶν φερομένων Σεράχου καὶ Πλιέως, τὸν ἕνα τούτων ὁ Παρθένιος Ἄωον κέκληκε.* (Meineke Anal. Alexand. p. 279, cf. Haupt Obs. Crit. pp. 1, 2, Weichert Poet. Lat. Rel. p. 179). Haupt is doubtless right in explaining Catullus' introduction of the Satrachus here in reference to the subject of the Zmyrna. 'Cinna's poem shall be read in the remote region whose legends it narrates.' **penitus**, far into the interior of the country. **mittetur**, to be read in the provinces Mart. xii. 3. 1 *Ad populos milli qui nuper ab urbe solebas Ibis, io, Romam nunc peregrine liber*.

6. **cana**, the centuries will grow gray in reading the poem: so long will it be remembered. Mart. viii. 80. 2 uses *saecula cana* = past ages. **euoluent**, Trist. ii. 238 *nostros euoluisse iocos*.

7. **Volusi**, i. e. Tanusi. See on XXXVI. **Paduam**, one of the mouths of the Po. Polyb. ii. 16 *Σχίζεται δ' εἰς δύο μέρη κατὰ τοὺς προσαγορευομένους Τριγαβόλους· τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἕτερον στόμα προσονομάζεται Παδδα, τὸ δ' ἕτερον Ὀλανα*. Vibius Sequester p. 13 Bursian *Padua (Paduae, Bursian's cod. Vaticanus and Brit. Mus. Add. 16, 986, Padusa Bursian) Galliae a Pado dicta*. Serv. on Aen. xi. 457. **ad ipsam**, they will not travel beyond the birth-place of their author.

8. **scombris**. They will be used as waste-paper to wrap fish in. Mart. iii. 50. 9 *Quod si non scombris scelerata donas, Cenabis solus iam, Ligurine, domi*. iii. 2. 3, 4 *Ne nigram cito raptus in culinam Cordylas madida legas papyro*.

**laxas** because there was plenty of paper and no stint: hence also perhaps **saepe**: other and viler uses are alluded to XXXVI. 1. **tunicas**, of paper used for wrappers, Mart. iv. 86. 8 (Alex. Guarinus).

9. **parua**, Servius on Ecl. ix. 35 calls the Zmyrna a *libellus*. **sodalis** though a mere conjecture is supported by X. 29.

10. **populus**, as Horace speaks of *uentosae plebis suffragia* Epist. i. 19. 37. **tumido**, 'wordy,' mainly in reference to the length of Volusius' Annals, hence in opposition to *parua monumenta* (Schwabe p. 282), but also with the notion of many words and little meaning. This agrees with ancient statements about Antimachus, e. g. Brut. li. 191 *Dixisse Antimachum ferunt qui cum conuocatis auditoribus legeret eis magnum illud uolumen suum* (his *Thebais*) *et cum legentem omnes praeter Platonem reliquissent: Legam, inquit, nihilo minus; Plato enim mihi instar est centum millium*. Schol. on A. P. 146 *Antimachus poeta reditum Diomedis narrans coepit ab exordio primae originis, id est, coepit ab interitu Meleagri*. This lengthiness was also found in Antimachus' *Lyde*, an elegiac poem on his mistress, cf. Callim. fr. 441 Blomf. *Λύδη καὶ παχὺ (pingue) γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν*. It seems strange that Catullus should think of comparing Volusius with a poet who, according to Quintilian x. 1. 53, ranked second among epic poets; perhaps we may trace in this his dislike of unfinished workmanship (*adfectibus et iucunditate et dispositione et omnino arte deficitur* Quintil. u. s.) and the predominating influence of Alexandrian symmetry and conciseness.

## XCVI.

To Calvus on the loss of Quintilia his wife or mistress. Schwabe Quaestt. p. 264 thinks the former, as Quintilia is an actual Roman name<sup>1</sup>, and the grammarian Diomedes 376 Keil speaks of Calvus' wife *Caluus alibi ad uxorem 'prima epistula uidetur in uia delita'*. Calvus wrote elegies on Quintilia Prop. ii. 33. 89, 90—

*Haec etiam docti confessa est pagina Calui  
Cum caneret miserae funera Quintiliae,*

to which two of the extant fragments have been referred fr. 16, 17 L. Müller.

1. **quicquam** after **si** as in CII. 1. **mutis sepulcris**, nearly = the silent dead CI. 4 *Et mutam nequicquam alloquerer cinerem*. So Antipater of Sidon in Anth. P. vii. 23. 5 *Ὅφρα κέ τοι σποδὴ τε καὶ ὀστέα τέρψην ἄρηται, εἰ δὴ τις φθιμένοις χρίμπτεται εὐφροσύνα*. **gratum acceptumque**. The two words are combined similarly Tusc. Disp. v. 14. 45 (Peiper) and Stich. i. 1. 49. Cf. XC. 5.

3. **Quo desiderio**, in apposition with *dolore*, 'from the regret with which we renew the image of past loves.'

4. **missas**, 'lost,' as in Pseud. ii. 3. 19 *Certa multimus dum incerta*

<sup>1</sup> This is not conclusive: Quintilia occurs as the name of a Mima (Teuffel, Hist. of Roman Literature, i. p. 11, English Transl.)



*petimus*. For the sentiment cf. Sen. Ep. 99. 19 *Hae lacrimae per elisionem cadunt nolentibus nobis; aliae sunt quibus exilium damus cum memoria eorum quos amissimus retractatur et inest quiddam dulce tristitiae, cum occurrunt sermones eorum iucundi, conuersatio hilaris, officiosa pietas.*

5. **Certe**, perhaps in its strict sense 'at least;' implying that the joy might be much greater than the grief; in any case it preponderated. **tanto doloreist** as *magno dolori esse* B. G. v. 29.

6. **quantum gaudet**=*quantum gaudium habet*, as in Luc. i. 259 *Sed quantum, uolucres cum bruma coercent, Rura silent, mediusque iacet sine murmure pontus, Tanta quies.* Pers. i. 60 *Linguae quantum siliat canis Apula, lantum.* 'At least be sure that Quintilia's grief for her early death is not so great as the joy she feels in your love.' The same balance in Prop. ii. 18. 15, 16 *Cui maiora senis Tithoni gaudia uiui Quam grauis amisso Memnone luctus erat.*

## XCVII.

AGAINST Aemilius, of whom nothing is known. The poem is unusually coarse even from Catullus: only XXIII XXXIII XXXVII and the fragmentary LIV can compare with it. There is a similar epigram Anth. P. xi. 241 of which the last part is lost *Τὸ στόμα χῶ πρωκτὸς ταῦτόν, Θεόδωρέ, σου ἔχει, Ὅστε διαγῶναι τοῖς φυσικοῖς καλὸν ἦν. Ἡ γράψαι σε ἔδει ποῖον στόμα, ποῖον ὁ πρωκτός, cf. ib. 415 Τίς σου, Μεντορίδη, προφανῶς οὕτως μετέθηκεν τὴν πυγῆν, ὄπερ τὸ στόμ' ἔκειτο πρὸ τοῦ; Βδέϊς γάρ, κοκκ ἀναπνεῖς, φθέγγη δ' ἐκ τῶν καταγείων. Θαῦμα μ' ἔχει τὰ κάτω πῶς σου ἄνω γέγονεν.* Riese Anth. Lat. 205. 10.

1. **ita me dii ament**, as in Plautus, e. g. Pseud. iv. 1. 33.

2. **culum**. See on LXVI. 48. Alex. Guarinus well observes that the non-elision of *-um* here, follows the hiatus of *dii ament* in 1: hence it seems doubtful whether *Vtrumne os an culum*, the generally accepted emendation, is necessary.

3. I. e. *os nihilo mundior res est culo, culus nihilo inmundior res est ore. nilo*, as in Hor. S. i. 5. 67, Priap. 52. 10.

4. **Verum etiam**, 'or rather indeed.' **mundior et melior**, double alliteration as in Vell. P. ii. 3 *Equestris ordinis pars melior et maior.* Sa *leniter et leuiter* LXXXIV. 8.

5. **sesquipedalis**, like Sappho's *Πόδες ἐπτόρογιοι*, fragm. 98 Bergk. Pers. i. 57.

6. 'And gums that might belong to a worn-out carriage-frame,' i. e. receding from the teeth and forming fissures or gaps like those in the body or frame of a gig, when the leather or other soft material with which it is covered gives way and falls into a number of uneven notches or slits all round. See Rich s. u. Nearly so Alex. Guarinus 'exesas carie, sicut est capsae uetus tinea corrosa: but his MS of Festus, i. e. probably of Paulus Diaconus 'codex manu scriptus antiquus sane et integer satis, in quo multa reperiuntur uocabula quae in aliis desunt codicibus' did not contain the word: and he speaks therefore with hesitation. Festus explains *ploxenum* as *capsum in cisio capsae*; i. e. the body of a carriage, Vitruv. x. 9. 2. Quintilian (i. 5. 8) says Catullus found the word in the region of the Po.

7. *defessus*, according to Scaliger, refers to the mule resting to make water, 'fessi muli strigare solent, hoc est interquiescere, ut meiant, idque aut in aestu, aut in difficili uia, puta in salebris, aut uado, aut caeno.' But this is very harsh: hence it seems better to explain *defessus* in the original sense of *fatisci*=*findi*, nearly i. q. *defissus*, the reading of most editions. in *aestu*, 'quia tum laxior esse solet,' Alex. Guarinus. The MSS. give *in aestum* which Scaliger defends as an archaism. Cato R. R. 39 seems to have written *in uillam quid fieri possit*, 52 *in arborem relinquito*, Hyginus Fab. 82 *in aquam stare*; cf. the dissertation in Hand's Tursellinus, iii. 344 sqq. but here such an archaism seems very doubtful as *in aestu* would naturally follow the construction of *in sole* Cato R. R. 88, Celsus i. 2, iv. 3; and even if *in aestum* be retained it might more easily be explained, 'at the approach of.'

9. Cf. XXXVII. 5. *facit*, 'gives out.'

10. *Et*, 'and yet.' Phaedr. i. 8. 11 *Caput Incolume abstuleris et mercedem postules*. Sen. de vita beata 21 *Quare opes contemnendas dicit et habet?* *pistrino traditur atque asino*, 'is made over to the grinding-mill and the donkey,' i. e. is sentenced to drive the donkey employed to turn the stone mill (*mola*) in the pistrinum. A horse is figured in this employment in Rich s. u. *mola asinaria*. Cf. Cato R. R. 11, Ouid. F. vi. 318, A. A. iii. 290. This is more natural than to explain *asino* after Muretus and Voss of the upper stone of the mill, like *ὄνος* (Hesych. *ὄνος λέγεται ὁ ἀνώτερος λίθος τοῦ μύλου*, Xenoph. Anab. i. 5. 5 *ὄνος ἀλέτης*); or to suppose that *tradi asino* can mean to be made over to donkey's service, whether literally or, as Scal. suggests, understanding *asino* as a jocular name for the *man* thus employed. Plautus has *in pistrinum tradier* Most. i. 1. 16; and of this Catullus' words are a mere expansion. Apuleius ix. 12 describes the men employed in the *pistrinum* as *sic tunicati ut essent per pannulos manifesti; frontes litterati et capillum semirasi et pedes anulati, tum lurore deformes, et fumosis tenebris uaporosae caliginis palpebras adesi*; and in 13 speaks of the miserable state of the mules and asses employed.

11. *attingit*, 'is ready to touch,' 'consents to handle.'

12. *Aegroti*, and therefore *cacaturi*. Voss' explanation 'pallidi et luridi,' is possible, yet hardly as a mere epithet naturally belonging to executioners: but as heightening the revolting idea connected with such men by a new circumstance of disgust, as we might speak of a sick hangman. *carnificis*, contemptuously, as the rudest and most brutal of men. *Carnifici mea flenda potest fortuna uideri* Trist. ii. 37. *Permixtum nautis et furibus ac fugitiuis Inter carnifices et fabros sandapilarum* Iuuen. viii. 174.

## XCVIII.

It is doubtful to whom this epigram alludes. The MSS. have *Victi*, one or two inferior ones *Vitti*: and this may represent the name Vettius, or Vectius. The history of Catullus' time contains one notorious person of this name, L. Vettius the informer, *Vettius ille, ille noster index* as he is called by Cicero Att. ii. 24. 2. His first appearance is in B.C. 62 when he accused J. Caesar of being an accomplice of Catiline, Suet. Jul. 17; later, in 59 B.C., he gave information to the younger Curio of a plot to assassinate Pompey, was brought before the senate and there produced a list of

supposed conspirators, including Brutus and C. Bibulus the consul. This list he afterwards expanded, omitting Brutus and adding others not mentioned before, Lucullus, C. Fannius, L. Domitius, Cicero's son-in-law C. Piso, and M. Iuuentius Laterensis. Cicero was not included; but was indicated as an eloquent consular who had said the occasion called for a Servilius Ahala or a Brutus. (Att. ii. 24, In Vat. x, xi.) Vettius was not believed and was thrown into prison, where he was shortly afterwards found dead.

Cicero (In Vat. x sqq.) asserts that Vettius was brought to the Rostra to make a public statement on this alleged conspiracy by Vatinius, and that as he was retiring he was recalled by Vatinius and asked whether he had any more names to add. An informer who did not scruple to charge some of the noblest and best men in Rome with so monstrous a design would naturally be hated, and this hatred would be increased by his connexion with Vatinius, the object of universal disgust. There is therefore nothing improbable in the view put forward doubtfully by Schwabe but accepted by Westphal, that the epigram of Catullus is directed against this L. Vettius. If the young Iuuentius of the poems belonged to the family of Iuuentius Laterensis, Catullus would have a personal motive in addition to public and general grounds of dislike: but public feeling alone would be enough to prompt the epigram. The persistency with which Cicero attaches the words *index indicium* to Vettius was doubtless meant to convey a slur; while the words of Catullus *Ista cum lingua* etc., find a practical commentary in Cicero's language *ibi tu indicem Vettium linguam et uocem suam sceleri et menti tuae praebere uolunisti* x. 24, just as *Si nos omnino uis omnes perdere, Vetti* is well illustrated by Cicero's *ciuitatis lumina nolasset* xi. 26.

1. **putide**, 'disgusting,' XLII. 11.

2. **fatuis**, see on LXXXIII. 2. *Fatui* or idiots were sometimes kept in Roman houses Sen. Ep. 50. 1.

3. **Ista cum lingua**, 'as owner of that vile tongue,' Pers. iii. 1. 68 *Cum hac dote poteris uel mendico nubere*. Phorm. iii. 1. 1 *Multimodis cum istoc animo es uituperandus*. **si usus ueniat tibi**, 'should you ever have the opportunity,' Cato R. R. 157 *Et hoc, si quando usus uenerit, qui debilis erit haec res sanum facere potest*. Mil. Glor. i. 1. 3 *Vbi usus ueniat*.

4. **Culos**. Your tongue is so foul that it might well be employed as a peniculus for the filthiest purposes: either as a *sponge* to clean the posteriors (Paul. Diac. p. 208 M., Mart. xii. 84. 7) or a *brush* for removing the dirt from a rustic's shoe (Festus p. 230 M., Mart. ii. 3. 40). **carpatinas**, or as it is sometimes spelt *carbatinas* is explained by Hesych. *μονόπελμον καὶ εὐτελὲς ὑπόδημα ἀγροικικόν*, where Rich supposes *μονόπελμον* to mean having the sole and upper-leather all in one.

5. **omnino omnes**. Varro Bimarc. fr. ii. Riese *τρόπων τρόπων qui non modo ignorasse me Clamat, sed omnino omnis heroas negat Nescisse*.

6. **Hiscas**, 'just speak,' of speaking in the lowest whisper, Munro on Lucr. iv. 66 who there quotes Mayor on Phil. ii. 43. III *Respondebisne ad haec aut omnino hiscere audebis?* **omnino**, 'by all means;' the two senses may be kept up by translating 'if you wish quite to kill all of us, just speak; you'll quite succeed in doing what you wish.' The word is perhaps taken from Vettius' speeches.

## XCIX.

To Iuuentius. The tone of remonstrance is Theognidean : see 1283 sqq. From *dum ludis* in 1 I am inclined to think that this is one of the earliest of the series, perhaps the first ; it belongs to the same period as XLVIII and is prior to XV XVI XXI XXIII, as well as to LXXXI : and so Bruner.

The poem is interesting from two points of view, (1) from the comic exaggeration of the offence : cf. however Xen. Symp. iv. 25 Δοκεί οὗτος καὶ πεφιληκέναι τὸν Κλεινίαν· οὐ ἔρωτος οὐδὲν ἐστὶ δεινότερον ὑπέκκανμα· καὶ γὰρ ἀπληστον καὶ ἐλπίδας τινας γλυκείας παρέχει. (2) From the *medical* character of the language throughout. See my Excursus in vol. i.

2. *dulci dulcius*, Asin. iii. 3. 24 *melle dulci dulcior.* **ambrosia**, Anth. P. xii. 68. 10.

3. *id non impune tuli*, LXXVII. 9.

4. *Suffixum in cruce*, impaled on an upright pole with a sharp point at the top. In Pison. xviii. 42 *Si te et Gabinium cruci suffixos uiderem.* Sen. Epist. 101. 12 *Suffigas licet et acutam sessuro cruce subdas.* Maecenas ap. Senec. Epist. 101. 11 *Hanc mihi uel acuta Si sedeam cruce sustine.*

5. *purgo*, 'clear myself,' i. e. excuse : so often, Amphit. iii. 2. 28 *Vti me purgarem tibi*, said by Jupiter in fear of Alcmena's anger. Eun. iii. 1. 44 *Purgon ego me de istac Thaidi?* Cic. de Pet. Consulatus ix. 35 *Si qui tibi se purgare uolet, quod suspectum se esse arbitretur.* x. 40 *Quos laesisti, iis te plane purgato.*

6. *tantillum*, 'one grain,' Apul. M. vi. 21 *Ne tantillum quidem inde delibo.* **uestrae**, not =  *tuae*, but 'of you and others like you,' 'your boyish cruelty.' So Prop. iii. 15. 44 *Nescit uestra ruens ira referre pedem* the anger of you women : cf. ii. 9. 31. 29. 32 *Me similem uestris moribus esse putas?* Ouid. Her. i. 75. Mart. vi. 43. 6 *Vestrae, Castrice, diuitiae*, of you millionaires. *Vester* is never = *tuus* in Catullus. See on LXXI. 3. **Saeuitiae**. Theogn. 1300 *ἀλλά τί μοι τέρμα γένοιτο κικεῖν Σῆς ὀργῆς.*

8. *abstersti*, Asin. iv. 1. 52 *Tu labellum abstergeas Potius quam quisquam sauium faciat palam.* **articulis**, 'fingers,' De Nat. Deor. i. 28. 79 *Naeuos in articulo pueri delectat Alcaeum*, so Am. ii. 15. 4. Petronius 32 has *articulo digiti*. Catullus perhaps preferred the word as giving greater distinctness to the idea.

9. *contractum*, of taking or catching a disease, infection, etc. *Tussim contractam* Cels. iv. 10.

10. *lupae*, the Roman name for a prostitute of the lowest kind. Lucilius ap. Non. 498 *Si nihil ad faciem et si olim lupa prostibulumque Numi opus atque assis.* The word is mentioned in the Pornographia of Suetonius in Miller's *Mélanges Grecques* as *λύππα*.

11. *infestum*, 'to the attack of,' passive as CXVI. 4, Gell. ix. 12 *Infestus ancipiti significatione est. Nam et is infestus appellatur, qui malum infert cuiquam, et contra cui aliunde impendit malum, is quoque infestus dicitur.* **misero amori**, 'my woeful love,' which is here represented as punishing Catullus by the agony which it makes him endure from the displeasure of the loved object : so *misero amori* 15.

12. *Non cessasti*, untiringly : you gave yourself up to the task.

13. *ex ambrosia*, 'from being ambrosia,' Stich. i. 2. 81 *Quin uos capitis condicionem ex pessuma primariam.*

14. *tristi*, 'bitter,' as in Anth. P. v. 29. 2 Πικρότερον γίνεται ἔλλεβόρου.

15, 16. Cf. the last two lines of Ouid. Pont. i. 9 *Qui quoniam exstinctis quae debet praestat amicis Et nos exstinctis adnumerare potest.* Cf. ii. 2. 123.

### C.

Two youths of Verona, Caelius and Quintius, had respectively attached themselves to a brother and sister of the same family, Aufilenus and Auflena. Catullus here expresses his satisfaction in this very fraternal love-making, but professes his sympathy for the former in preference, as for one whose friendship he had tested at the height of his own passion for Lesbia. At least the words *uesana flamma* can hardly refer to anything but this, cf. VII. 10, XCI. 2. The reference to *sodalicia* in 4 suggests that the poem was written in 799 | 55 when Crassus seems to have carried a law against the illegal political societies known by that name.

The Aufilenus and Auflena of this poem recall the Agathocles and Agathoclea who were each in turn beloved by Ptolemy Philopator Schol. on Thesmophor. 1059.

1. *Caelius*, perhaps the *Caeli*, *Lesbia nostra*, *Lesbia illa* of LVIII. (Westphal). *Quintius*, perhaps the person to whom LXXXII is addressed, and a relation of the Quintia of LXXXVI.

2. *Flos iuuenum*, Theogn. 1320 Σόν δ' εἶδος πᾶσι νέοισι μέλει.

3. *Hoc est, quod dicitur illud.* The expression *fratrum sodalici-um* was proverbial. 'This is that brotherhood of true love of which the proverb speaks.' This is generally explained as referring simply to Aufilenus and Auflena, Catullus meaning that Caelius and Quintius are *fratres sodales* because they attach themselves to a brother and sister. But the words would certainly have more point if the two lovers were not only attached to a brother and sister, but *fratres* themselves, cf. Horace's *par nobile fratrum* S. ii. 3. 243. This would be possible if either Quintius or Caelius had been adopted and taken the name of his new family, or if they were merely *cousins*, as suggested by Vulp.

4. *dulce*, A. A. ii. 480.

5. Sudden question and answer as in I. 1-3 *Qui dono? . . . Corneli, tibi.*

6. The construction seems to be *tua amicitia exigitur nobis perfecta unica* either (a) 'your friendship is tested by me complete and singular,' or (b) 'your friendship is tested by me as consummated to a rare perfection.' In this case *perfecta* is strictly participial and *unica* depends on it as *nitens* seems to depend on *perfecta* Aen. vi. 895. *exigitur*. Stat. shows from Plin. xxxvi. 188 that *exigi* is used of testing measurements of length thickness, etc., with a foot-rule or plumb-line. That *exigitur* might end the first half of a pentameter before a word beginning with a vowel seems to be indicated by Martial xiv. 77 *Si tibi talis erit qualem dilecta Catullo Lesbia plorabāt, hic habitare potest*, which can scarcely be anything but a Catullian archaism. Yet the reading is doubtful and Quintilian ii. 4. 4 uses *perfecta exigi potest (oratio)* in the sense of 'can be exacted:' the natural meaning, but impossible here.

7. **Cum**, i. e. *exigitur tum fuisse perfecta cum flamma torreret*. Caelius may have sent Catullus a poem of consolation, like that which the poet begs of Cornificius, XXXVIII (Westphal): or, as is more probable, may have spoken his sympathy and tried to amuse him. Conr. de Allio, comparing LXXXII, suggests that Caelius had been tested in regard to Lesbia and had not tampered with her, whereas Quintius had tried to withdraw her from Catullus.

8. **potens**, 'successful,' as in Prop. ii. 26. 22 *Tota dicar in urbe potens*. 'In amore eueniat tibi ut potiaris.' Turnebus Advers. xvii. 11.

## CI.

A POEM written on the arrival of Catullus at Rhoeteum, where his brother was buried (LXV. 7). It would naturally be his first thought when starting on his Bithynian journey to visit this spot with as little delay as possible: and I cannot agree with Schwabe in supposing that it was on his *return* from Bithynia that Catullus visited the tomb and wrote these verses. Certainly this is not the first impression left by 1-4, in which Catullus says he had travelled over many peoples and seas and had just reached the grave, *in order that* he might pay the last sad duties to the dead. Nor can it be inferred from 10 *in perpetuum, frater, aue atque uale* that Catullus was then leaving Asia finally. The poem, as Gruppe suggests, would naturally be inscribed upon the tomb, or at least upon a stone at the place where the ashes were deposited; and would of course express the final leave-taking. But even if they were not so engraved, there is no difficulty in supposing that Catullus at the time when he wrote them did not contemplate the chance of a return to Rhoeteum. Or again, we might regard the words *in perpetuum aue atque uale* as the solemn expression in poetry of the last words uttered at the funeral ceremony, cf. Aen. xi. 97 *Salue aeternum mihi, maxime Palla, Aeternumque uale*.

Parthenius can hardly be right in explaining the poem of a cenotaph<sup>1</sup> (Aen. ix. 215 *Absenti ferat inferias decoretque sepulcro*) erected by Catullus to his brother's memory on returning to Italy, though the words *lete abstulit ipsum* would agree well with that view, and *parentum* would have more meaning if the rite was performed on some part of the poet's patrimonial estate. But this is certainly not the obvious meaning of the first four lines: especially of *Aduenio ut te donarem*.

1. **uectus** more strictly belongs to *multa per aequora*, like *uentosa per aequora uectis* G. i. 206, and in fact Catullus had performed most of the journey by sea.

2. **Aduenio**, 'I am come,' Stich ii. 4. 8 *Salue, hicine hodie cenas, saluos quom aduenis?* Poeta ap. Tusc. Disp. i. 6. 37 *Adsum atque aduenio Acherunte*.

3. **munere mortis**, 'death-gift,' i. e. the gift which belongs to death and is therefore the last (*postremo*).

<sup>1</sup> Cenotaphs were common. Appian says many of the captives taken by the pirates before their suppression by Pompeius found, on returning to their homes, cenotaphs erected to their memory as dead. B. Mithr. 96.

4. **mutam**, see on LXVIII. 90. **nequicquam**, as Aeneas addresses the ashes of Anchises Aen. v. 81 *Saluete recepti Nequiquam cineres*.

5, 6. That these verses are the protasis to which 7-10 are the apodoses, is probable from the imitation of Cir. 42-46. The connexion of thought is 'Since destiny does not permit me to see you again in person (*tele ipsum*), receive meanwhile as compensation (*tamen*) these last rites traditionally offered to the dead.'

5. **quandoquidem**, a choriambus as in XL. 7. **fortuna**, LXIV. 218.

6. **frater adempte mihi**, repeated from LXVIII. 20, 92. **indigne**, 'wrongfully,' because the death was premature. CIL. I. 1422 *Parentibus praesidium amicis gaudium Pollicita pueri uirtus indigne occidit. Quoius fatum acerbum populus indigne tulit*. Cael. xxiv. 59 *cum hic uir* (Q. Metellus, husband of Clodia) *integerrima aetate, optimo habitu, maximis uiribus eriperetur indignissime bonis omnibus aique uniuersae ciuitali*.

7. **tamen**, as some compensation, though a poor one, with a notion of consoling. Capt. ii. 3. 44 *In tantis aerumnis tamen*. Cluent. vii. 22 *filium quem tamen unum ex multis fortuna reliquum esse uoluisset*. Verg. Ecl. x. 31, Aen. iv. 329. The passage of the Ciris illustrates the meaning, 44 *Haec tamen interea quae possumus. . . Accipe dona. prisco more parentum*, 'according to ancestral custom,' Aen. vi. 223.

8. **Tradita**, 'handed down' as the traditional usage. Tib. ii. 1. 2 *Ritus ut a prisco traditus extat auo*. **munere**, 'by way of donation,' as in LXV. 19. So Lucil. iv. fr. 26 L. Müller *portant ingentes munere pisces*. Mart. ix. 59. 2 *Et mansura pio munere templa dedit*. Hygin. P. A. ii. 35 *Canem munere accepisse*. The abl. is supported by most of the good MSS. against the ordinary reading *tristis munera ad inferias*, with which however cf. Tib. ii. 4. 44 *Nec qui det maestas munus in exsequias*. **inferias**, Serv. on Aen. x. 519 *Inferiae sunt sacra mortuorum ab inferis dictae*. The offerings to the dead were wine, milk, blood, honey, flowers.

9. **manantia** would seem to imply that the offerings were mainly solid: possibly flowers as in Tib. ii. 6. 31 *Ille mihi sancta est, illius dona sepulcro Et madefacta meis sarta feram lacrymis*, and so Ovid, after asking his wife to have his ashes put in an urn, adds *Tu tamen extincto feralia munera ferto Deque tuis lacrymis umida sarta dato* Trist. iii. 3. 81.

10. So *Haue Vale* CIL. 2. No. 3490, *auē et uale* ib. 3506, 3512, 3519, *haue et uale*, ib. 3686, all funeral inscriptions, and so Virgil joins *salue et uale* when Aeneas utters his farewell to the corpse of Pallas Aen. xi. 97. Either word *haue* or *uale* is often found alone in Inscriptt. to the deceased. Catullus no doubt conveys in this line what was actually the conclusion of the *inferiae*; the solemn words of farewell to the dead.

## CII.

A SHORT expression of resolute secrecy on some matter unknown. Schwabe conjectures that the Cornelius to whom it is addressed is the G. Cornelius who was impeached by the Cominii and defended by Cicero 688 | 66. See on CVIII.

1. **Si quicquam**. See on LXXI. 1, Holtze Synt. i. p. 400. **tacito**, 'to one who kept silence.'

2. **Cuius**, epexegetis of *tacito*. **fides animi**, 'inward good-faith.'
3. **Meque** = *me quoque* or *et me*. So *uosque XXXI. 13, postque Manil. iv. 39. hodieque, iamque*, perhaps also *Meque Prop. iii. 1. 35, posteroque tempore* Sallust de R. P. ii. 13, where however *posteroque* is followed by another clause beginning with *que* and may be 'both,' 'and,' as *que . . . et* conceivably are here. Cf. Poen. Prol. 3 *Sileteque et tacete atque animum aduertite* (Holtze ii. p. 333). But where a personal pronoun with *que* is followed by *que* or *et* in this sense, the words thus connected are generally other pronouns, not verbal clauses, e. g. Asin. iii. 2. 31 *Vi meque teque maxime atque ingenio nostro decuit*, Sallust de R. P. i. 5 *Quoniam tuque et omnes tui agilitatis. illorum iure sacratum*, 'bound by their oath of initiation.' So Virgil Aen. ii. 157 *Fas mihi Graiorum sacrata resolvere iura* where Servius explains *quia non licet soluere sacramentum militare aduersariis uel hostibus*. The oath (*ius*) is sanctioned by the penalty of a curse on him who violates it (*sacratum*); and conversely the man who takes the oath is bound by its sanction (*sacratus*). **illorum**, seemingly, *tacitorum quorum fides penitus nota sit*. Catullus here disclaims what Sinon avows Aen. ii. 158 *Fas omnia ferre sub auras Si qua legunt*.
4. **Arpocratem**, Varro L. L. v. 57 *Hi dei (Caelum et Terra) idem qui Aegypti Serapis et Isis, etsi Arpocrates digito significat ut taceas eam* (l. *taciscam*).

## CIII.

AGAINST a *leno* who was at once exacting and rude. Schwabe following Vulp. states the argument of the poem thus: Silo had received 10,000 sesterces from Catullus as payment for introducing him to some *ἐράιπα*, had then refused to introduce him, and on being pressed had broken into threats and violence. Catullus remonstrates, 'pay me back the money, and then be as violent as you please: but if you want to keep it, it becomes you as a man of your profession to keep a civil tongue.'

This is possible, but not necessary: nor even, I think, probable. Catullus, who shudders at the 15,200 sesterces for which his villa is mortgaged, and indignantly declines to pay Ammiana the 10,000 sesterces she claims, is not likely to have paid this very sum to any *ἐράιπα in advance*. It is enough for our purposes to suppose that after Silo and Catullus had both performed their part of the bargain, the poet gave some ground of complaint to the *leno*, which caused the latter to fall into a violent rage: then Catullus expostulates with him as unreasonable; such rudeness might be pardoned if he were called upon to give back the sum paid him for his services; but if he keeps his money, he is expected to show the ordinary civility of his profession.

1. **sodes**, a mild but firm remonstrance 'if you please.' See Ramsay's *Mostellaria* p. 236. **decem sestertia**, a sum little short of £90: not very considerable in itself (Juv. xiii. 72 sqq.) but a large amount to pay to a *leno*, as we may perhaps infer from XLI. 2.

2. 'After that understand that you may be as angry and violent as you will.' **esto**, i. e. *hac lege, ut reddas*. **indomitus**, Men. i. 2. 1 *Indomita inposque animi*.



3. **Si te numi delectant.** Mart. xi. 70. 7 *Si te delectat numerata pecunia.*

4. **atque idem,** 'and all the time' = 'and yet' XXII. 14, 15.

#### CIV.

SOME one had remonstrated with Catullus for his harsh language to Lesbia. Catullus denies the fact, and charges his accuser in turn of shrinking from nothing, a certain Tappo, not otherwise known, abetting him in this inhumanity.

Catullus' denial may be true on this particular occasion; but it is in direct contradiction of his assertion above XCII. 1 *Lesbia mi dicit semper male, 3 sunt totidem mea: deprecor illam Assidue,* and he has left undoubted proof of his determination not to spare Lesbia's failings in each division of his poems. See especially XI. 15-20, XXXVII. 14-16, LVIII, LXVIII. 135, 136, LXXVI. 23-26.

2. Anth. P. v. 122. 1 *Μη σὺ γε, μηδ' εἴ τοι πολὺ φέρτερος εἶδεται ὄσσω Ἀμφοτέρων.* See above LXXXII. 2.

3. Catullus may have remembered Terence's *Neque faciam neque me satis pie posse arbitror* Ad. iii. 4. 13. Plin. Epist. ix. 31. 2 *Neurum possum satis, et si possem, timerem.*

4. **Tappone,** a name found in inscriptions *T. Titius T. f. Ser. Tappo* Henzen 6457, Orelli 3827 C. APPVLEIVS M. F. TAPPO, and in Liu. xxxv. 10, 20, xxxvii. 46, xxxviii. 36. **omnia monstra facis,** 'you shrink from nothing as too shocking,' i. e. you do such things yourself and accuse others of doing them. Scaliger's translation *πάντα τερατολογεῖς* or *τερατοποιεῖς* in the sense of 'you make a monstrosity of everything,' cf. *ξενίεσθαι*, might be illustrated by a line quoted by Cicero Cael. xv. 36 *Quid clamore exorsa uerbis paruam rem magnam facis?* Catullus would then seem to imply that he had said something which Tappo and his friend had exaggerated into a *maledictum* against Lesbia.

#### CV.

ON Mamurra's attempts at poetry. See LVII. 7.

1. **Pipleium,** a village sacred to the Muses, in the Thracian Pieria, not far from Dion. Strabo 330 fr. 18 *Ὅτι ὑπὸ τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ πόλις Δίον. ἔχει δὲ κόμην πλησίον Πίμπλειαν· ἐνταῦθα τὸν Ὀρφέα διατρῖνθαι φασι τὸν Κίκωνα . . . ἐνταῦθα πλησίον καὶ τὰ Λεῖβηθρα.* ib. 410 *Τεκμαίροιτ' ἂν τις Θρᾶκας εἶναι τοὺς τὸν Ἐλικῶνα ταῖς Μούσαις καθιερώσαντας, οἳ καὶ τὴν Πιερίδα καὶ τὸ Λεῖβηθρον καὶ τὴν Πίμπλειαν ταῖς αὐταῖς θεαῖς ἀνέδειξαν.* ib. 471 *Πιερία καὶ Ὀλυμπος καὶ Πίμπλα καὶ Λεῖβηθρον,* which shows the original form to have been Pimpla. Cf. Apollon. R. i. 25, Lyc. 275, Varro L. L. vii. 20. Müller Dorians i. p. 501 considers the names *Λεῖβηθρα* 'a well-watered valley,' *Πίμπλη* 'a full fountain,' *Ἐλικῶν* 'a winding stream,' purely Greek. **scandere,** as Enn. Ann. 223 Vahlen *Cum neque Musarum scopulos quisquam superarat Nec dicti studiosus erat.*

2. **furcilleis,** 'two pronged forks,' used for various agricultural purposes, Varro R. R. i. 49. 1. Cicero has the same expression Att. xvi. 2. 4 *Quoniam furcilla extrudimur* I am obliged *nolens uolens* to retire. Horace

*Naturam expelles furca* Epist. i. 10. 24. So *δικροῖς ὠθεῖν* Ar. Pax 638, *δικράνοις ἐξωθεῖν* Luc. Tim. 12.

## CVI.

ON a boy whom the poet had seen in the company of a crier. Such an association can have but one meaning; he wishes to put himself up for sale. The epigram is well illustrated by a passage from the *Bacchides* of Plautus iv. 7. 16. C. *O stulte, stulte, nescis nunc uenire te: Aique in eo ipso adstas lapide ubi praeco praedicat.* N. *Responde, quis me uendit?* Slaves thus sold by auction were made to stand upon a stone to elevate them above the crowd and thus give buyers a better view (Ramsay Most. p. 270).

Possibly the epigram is directed against Clodius, Cicero's *pulcellus puer*, who may have used the services of a crier to harangue the people, as Augustus sometimes did Suet. Aug. 84, or to command silence, when necessary. Tac. Ann. xi. 7 *Prompta sibi exempla quantis mercedibus P. Clodius aut C. Curio contionari soliti sint.* This would add to the meaning of *se uendere*.

1. **praeconem.** Criers were used to announce sales and call the articles put up for sale. A. P. 419 *Vi praeco ad merces turbam qui cogit emendas.* Hence *uoci praeconis subicere*=to sell by auction De Off. ii. 23. 83. **ipse** if genuine seems to mean *suis oculis* as in Aen. iv. 358: cf. *ipse flagitabam* LV. 9. It of course implies that the sight was an unusual and surprising one. But *isse* is an easy and plausible conjecture, 'has walked in the company of.'

2. **Quid credat.** Calvus fr. 6 Lachm. *Magnus quem metuunt omnes digito caput uno Scalpit. Quid credas hunc sibi uelle? uirum.* **discupere**, 'longs,' Trin. iv. 2. 87. Caelius in Cic. Fam. viii. 15. 2. The word is not common.

## CVII.

To Lesbia, who had returned unexpectedly after an absence. The poem implies a temporary reconciliation; but it is mere trifling to attempt to fix the period at which it was written.

1. **cupido optantique.** The unelided *o* is extraordinarily harsh, but cf. LXVI. 11, LXVIII. 158.

2. **Inesperanti** after *optanti* as in De Orat. i. 21. 96 *Inesperanti, mihi et Cottae sed ualde optanti utrique nostrum cecidit.* Here it is the determining word of the clause, 'if a man has seen something he wished ardently fall in his way unexpectedly.' **proprie**, 'in the strict sense.' Sest. xli. 89 *Descendit ad accusandum. Quis unquam tam proprie rei publicae causa?* Phil. ii. 31. 77 *O hominem nequam! quid enim aliud dicam? magis proprie nihil possum dicere.*

3. **carius auro**, Choeph. 372 *Ταῦτα μὲν ᾧ παῖ κρείσσονα χρυσοῦ*, where Conington quotes Pind. Ol. i. 1 and Aristotle Hymn. in Hermiam *χρυσοῦ τε κρείσσω καὶ γονέων.* Theoc. viii. 53 *Μή μοι γὰν Πέλοπος, μή μοι χρύσεια τάλαντα εἶη ἔχειν.* Sappho fr. 122 *Χρῦσον χρυσότερα.* **Lido** is my conjecture for the MS. reading *nobis*. So Sappho fr. 85. 3 *Ἄντι τᾶς ἐγὼ οὐδὲ*

Λυδῖαν πᾶσαν. Tib. iii. 3. 29, Stat. S. ii. 2. 121. Behrens ingeniously conjectures *quouis*.

5. *insperanti* has been constructed amongst others by Hertzberg Quaeest. Propert. p. 121 with *nobis* = *mihī* on the analogy of *absente nobis* Eun. iv. 3. 7, *praesente his, praesente omnibus, praesente testibus* ap. Non. 154, *praesente legatis omnibus* Varro ap. Donatum ad Eun. iv. 3. 7. Cf. *Perfida nec merito nobis inimica merenti* Tib. iii. 6. 55. Changes from a singular to a plural are not uncommon in Latin especially in pronouns of the first person, Prop. iii. 16. 1 *dominae mihi uenit epistula nostrae*, Mart. x. 14. 9 *Nil aliud uideo quo te credamus amicū*, cf. Plat. Rep. iv. 425 καὶ τελευτῶν δὴ οἶμαι φαίμεν ἄν, H. Fur. 858, I. A. 1002; but here such a combination is very harsh and at least not necessary, to say nothing of the increased effect of the line if *ipsa* begins a new clause. *refers te*, Prop. i. 18. 11 *Sic mihi te referas leuis*.

6. *candidiore nota*. See on LXVIII. 148. Od. xxiv. 514 *Tis vū μοι ἡμέρη ἦδε, θεοὶ φίλοι; ἦ μάλα χαίρω*.

7. *Quis me uno uiuit felicior? Eun. v. 8. 1. Aut magis ab dis Optandum in uita?* This is my conjecture for the MS reading *aut* <sup>hac</sup> *magis me est optandus uita*. Stich. ii. 1. 24 *Vix ipsa domina hoc si sciat exoptare ab deis audeat*.

## CVIII.

LIPSIUS (Var. Lect. iii. 5) was the first to identify the Cominius of this epigram. Cicero (Cluent. xxxvi. 100) mentions two brothers P. and L. Cominius as accusers of Staienus; and in the Brutus (lxxviii. 270) notices amongst the less eminent speakers of his own time P. Cominius of Spoletum *Quo accusante defendi G. Cornelium, in quo et compositum dicendi genus et acre et expeditum fuit*. G. Cornelius was prosecuted for *maiestas* 688 | 66, but the trial was interrupted, as narrated by Asconius in Cornelianam p. 59 Orelli. *Detulit nomen Publius, subscripsit Gaius et cum P. Cassius praetor decimo die, ut mos est, adesse iussisset eoque die ipse non adfuisset, seu auocatus propter publici frumenti curam seu gratificans reo, circumuenti sunt ante tribunal eius accusatores a notis operarum ducibus, ita ut mors intentaretur, si mox non desisterent. quam perniciem uix effugerunt interuentu consulum, qui aduocati reo descenderunt. et cum in scalas quasdam Cominii fugissent, clausi in noctem ibi se occultauerunt, deinde per tecta uicinarum aedium profugerunt ex urbe. postero die cum P. Cassius adsedisset et citati accusatores non adessent, exemptum nomen est de reis Cornelii. Cominii autem magna infamia flagrauerunt uendidisse silentium magna pecunia*. In the following year Cornelius was again accused by P. Cominius, but acquitted mainly owing to Cicero's speeches in his defence, an oratorical display which Quintilian (viii. 3. 3) ranks amongst his most brilliant efforts: cf. Ascon. ad Cornel. p. 61 Orelli.

Schwabe considers this P. Cominius to be the object of Catullus' epigram. This would agree with the words *populi arbitrio*(1), as Cornelius was a popular champion, and would not be inconsistent with Cicero's statement (Brut. lxxviii. 271) that P. Cominius was recently dead in 708 | 46, if we suppose Cominius to have died at an advanced age and to have been already old (*tua cana senectus*) when he prosecuted Cornelius, in 688 | 66.

On the other hand I cannot see in Cicero's language Cluent. xxxvi. 100 *P. et L. Cominiis equitibus Romanis honestis hominibus et disertis* anything cold or disparaging. Yet the speech *pro Cluentio* was delivered in the very year when the two Cominii accused Cornelius.

This however is nothing against the general probability of the hypothesis. The epigram bears on its face the marks of being aimed at a public character, and such the principal in the prosecution of a man so well known as G. Cornelius could not fail to be. We can no more conclude from the acerbity of the epigram that P. Cominius was a monster than we can conclude it from similar attacks made by Catullus on other public men. He may have had a personal motive, possibly friendship for Cornelius, as Schwabe suggests, see on CII; but it is quite as possible that he wrote under the influence of the moment, during the height of the popular indignation against Cominius as detailed by Asconius.

3. **Non equidem dubito** like *Haud equidem patiar* Ouid. M. viii. 497. Virgil similarly *Dubitem haud equidem implorare quod usquam est* Aen. viii. 311.

4. **exerta**, 'protruding,' in life a sign of Cominius' contemptuous effrontery (Liu. vii. 10, Gell. ix. 13, Pers. i. 60), in death of the barbarity practised on the corpse. *execta*, the reading of most edd. and Lachm. might be supported by Cluent. lxvi. 187 *Stratonem in crucem esse actum execta scitote lingua*, Fronto de Eloquentia p. 145 Naber *Si linguam quis uni homini execet*: cutting out the tongue would be a natural and appropriate way of punishing a scurrilous orator. **auido uulturio**, Trist. i. 6.11 *edax uultur*. **sit data**, of a future distinctly foreseen, as in Sen. de Ira ii. 21. 10 *Non dubito quin citius patrem imitatus sit quam Platonem*.

5. It is not easy to decide whether **effossos** refers like **uoret** to the raven, or is the preliminary punishment inflicted by men. *Effodere oculos* is common in Plautus (Aul. i. 1. 14, 146, Men. i. 2. 46, Trin. ii. 4. 62, cf. Ter. Eun. iv. 6. 2) as a threat, and Caesar B. G. vii. 4 mentions cutting off the ears or gouging the eyes as a lighter sort of punishment in Gaul: cf. Suet. Domit. 17. But the two lines together (5, 6) suggest a single picture: the raven, the dogs, the wolves are respectively busy on the eyes, the intestines, the rest of the limbs of one body and at the same time; hence it is better to take *effossos uoret* as 'peck out and devour,' cf. *fodere* of a crow pecking the breast of a cow Am. iii. 5. 24, 39.

6. This and the preceding verses are imitated by Ovid Ibis 167-170 *Vnguibz et rostro tardus trahet ilia uultur, Et scindent auidi perfida corda canes. Deque tuo fel, licet hac sis laude superbus, Insatiabilibus corpore rixa lupis.*

## CIX.

ANOTHER poem to Lesbia, apparently of reconciliation. The distrust in verses 3, 4 points to a not very early period of the amour; yet hardly the latest, at which time Catullus would have avoided such language as *Aeternum sanctae foedus amicitiae*.

1. **proponis**, 'you promise.' Val. Max. ii. 15 *Recursum iis ad pristinum militiae ordinem proposuerunt, si quis bina spolia ex hostibus tulisset.*

2. **inter nos** with **iucundum perpetuumque fore**. Holtze Synt. i. 365 shows that *inter se amare*, etc. is a recurring formula.

3. Att. xvi. 1. 6 *Dii faxint ut faciat ea quae promittit : commune enim gaudium*.

4. **sincere**. Catullus uses the words of Phaedria Eun. i. 2. 95 *Vtinam istuc uerbum ex animo ac uere diceret Potius quam te inimicum habeam : si istuc crederem Sincere dici, quiduis possem perpeti*.

5. Lachmann Lucr. p. 367 denies that *perducere* here and in Prop. i. 3. 37 *O utinam tales perducas inprobe noctes* can be used without some idea of a specified limit or end as in Lucr. v. 1027. But here the end is sufficiently defined by *tota uita* ; whilst *producere* would suggest a slightly different idea, that of *prolongation* in uninterrupted sequence, as opposed to mere *continuation*.

6. **Alternum**, 'reciprocating,' (Turnebus) though not supported by any good MS is not impossible. In G. i. 60 some MSS have *alternaque foedera* : perhaps rightly ; in each passage the meaning would be the same ; a treaty implies two parties : hence Catullus would repeat in *alternum* the *inter nos* of 2 : Virgil would express the mutual agreement of any particular region and its natural growths, to produce and be produced by each other. **sanctae**, 'inviolable,' *amicitiae sanctum et uenerabile nomen* Trist. i. 8. 15. **foedus**, not merely poetical : *foedus et amicitia dabuntur* is said of a treaty of alliance between the Roman people and Bocchus Sall. Jug. 104. See Acron on Hor. Epist. ii. 1. 25.

## CX.

THIS and CXI are both addressed to a woman named Auflena, probably the person mentioned in C. 1 as beloved by the Veronese Quintius. If this is so, Auflena may be supposed in the interval to have grown scandalous ; for here Catullus accosts her as an *amica*, and in CXI accuses her of incestuous intercourse with one of her relations.

The point dwelt on in the epigram is repeated more emphatically by Ouid. A. A. iii. 463-466 *Illa potest uigiles flammam extinguere Vestae, Et rapere e templis, Inachi, sacra tuis ; Et dare mista uiro tritis aconita cicutis, Acceplo Venerem munere si qua negat*.

Auflena, a mistress who deals with her lovers handsomely, is always a favorite ; she gets her own price. But you are constantly outraging me : by not doing what you contracted with me to do, or by refusing to have any dealings with me at all.

A woman of generous feeling would not promise without performing : a chaste woman would withhold all promises whatever. You have neither proper feeling nor chastity : you promise your favours, receive the money in advance, and then refuse performance : this is rapacity and worse than the rapacity of a prostitute lost to all shame.

1. **bonae**, 'kind,' i. e. not exacting, Tib. ii. 4. 45 *At bona quae nec auara fuit*.

2. **facere instituunt** is explained by Scaliger as a legal periphrasis for *faciunt*, 'set about doing.' But the verse has more meaning if *instituunt* retains its proper force 'undertake,' 'determine' (*sex libris exponere institui* Varro L. L. v. 1), as Catullus is explaining what it is that makes such

women acceptable, i. e. not merely the performance of what they stipulate, but the honorable feeling which makes the performance a matter of course. **quæ**, neut., not fem. plur. 'they receive the price of their purposed favours,' because they are understood to be *bonae*, and not likely to disappoint their lovers.

3. 'But you, in making me a promise, in disappointing me as only a false mistress can, in refusing either to give or take, are outraging me continually.' **mentita**, as in Hor. Epist. i. 1. 20 *Vt nox longa quibus mentitur amica*. **inimica** seems to be here the opposite of *amica*, (as *amicus* and *inimicus* in the ordinary sense are opposed Phil. xii. 9. 23) but with special reference to Aufilena's *perfidy*, as in Prop. ii. 9. 44, Tib. iii. 6. 55. A different interpretation is suggested by A. A. ii. 155, 6 *Dos est uxoriam lites. Audiat optatos semper amica sonos*, where Ovid warns the lover not to quarrel with his mistress, but leave wrangling to married people: so here Aufilena may show herself *inimica* by taking the first step to *quarrel* with Catullus by withholding what she had engaged to grant. Cf. A. A. ii. 461-464.

4. **das** and **fers** are correlative 'give and take,' as in Most. iii. 1. 82 *Feram si quid datur*, Trist. i. 2. 68 *Quodque dedit cum uolet ipse feret*. So δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν, δὸς καὶ λαβέ, Anth. P. v. 209. 2. The words may be explained either of Aufilena's granting her favours and receiving the price of them, or of the reciprocal enjoyment which each of the lovers receives from the other, 'you disappoint me in altogether refusing to have anything to do with me *amatorie*.' Both senses of *dare* are combined by Ovid A. iii. 461 *Si bene promittunt (men) totidem promittite uerbis. Si dederint, et uos gaudia pacta date*: and *ferre* is used of the lover favoured by his mistress Rein. 522. **saepe** a greater fault in a woman. A. A. iii. 31 *Saepe uiri fallunt, tenerae non saepe puelle*.

5. **ingenuae**, Conr. de Allio quotes Fam. ii. 6. 2 *Est animi ingenui cui multum debeas eidem plurimum uelle debere*: the word seems to express what we call nice feeling, cf. A. A. ii. 530 *Dedecet ingenuos taedia ferre sui*. **est** and **fuit** are strictly correct: if you had the feelings of an honorable woman you ought now to perform the contract which, had you been chaste, you would never have made at first.

6. 'But to purloin one's gifts by cheating him of the returns they bring, is the conduct of a woman more grasping than the harlot who has prostituted herself in every limb.' The construction is like De Off. iii. 13. 55 *Quid est enim aliud erranti uiam non monstrare si hoc non est, emptorem pati ruere? Plus etiam est quam uiam non monstrare, nam est scientem in errorem alterum inducere*. **data**, nearly a substantive as in Asin. i. 1. 42, iii. 1. 22. It is often used of the sums given to women.

7. **Fraudando**. By withholding the promised favours after receiving the money for them, Aufilena became a thief: the *fraudatio effecti* constitutes the *furtum dati*. **effectis**, i. e. *quae ex datis efficiuntur*, the returns (*amatorie*) which the *data* bring in. *Efficere* is often used of the yields of land, Verr. ii. 3. 63. **plus quam meretricis auaræ**, sc. *est*, an unusually harsh omission. So *parum* Heroid. iii. 25. The words seem to admit of three constructions (1) *plus auaræ quam meretricis*, in which case *plus* is used with an adjective = *magis*, cf. Nemes. iv. 72 *plus est formosus Iolas*; (2) *meretricis est plus quam auaræ*, 'is the act of a prostitute more than grasping,' i. e. something more than ordinarily

rapacious, see Zumpt Lat. Gr. 725. So *perfidia plus quam Punica* Liu. xxi. 4, *Bella plus quam ciuilia* Luc. i. 1, *plus quam uicina* Met. i. 573, and often; (3) (*est*) *plus quam meretricis auaræ*, 'is the act of one something beyond a rapacious strumpet,' = *eius est quæ plus quam auara meretrix est*. Hand, Tursellinus s. u. shows that *plus quam* is constructed in this sense with substantives, as well as adjectives, e. g. *plus quam sicarios, plus quam homicidas* Phil. ii. 13, *proelia plus quam uirorum* Liu. x. 28; and there seems no reason why if Catullus could say *plus quam meretricis* he should not have said *plus quam meretricis auaræ*. At least this is less violent than (2), whilst (1) is improbable in the Latin of Catullus, and breaks up into two what is practically a single expression (*plusquam*). Ben Jonson imitates Catullus Every Man In His Humour iv. 8 *thy more than strumpet impudence*.

## CXI.

ON the incestuous intercourse of Aufilena with one of her relations, her uncle, as is generally thought: perhaps her brother, as from C. 1, 3 we know she had one.

From 1, 2 we may infer that Aufilena was married. If she was married when CX was written, it is possible that Ovid alludes to Aufilena Trist. ii. 429, 30 *Nec contentus ea* (Lesbia) *multos uulgauit amores In quibus ipse suum fassus adulterium est*.

1. **contentam**, but **nuptarum**. So Lucilius ap. Lact. v. 9. 20 *Vni se atque eidem studio omnes dedere et arti Verba dare ut caute possint, pugnare dolose. Blanditia certare, bonum simulare uirum se; Insidias facere, ut si hostes sint omnibus omnes. Lex Iulia Municipalis 17 Queiquomque frumentum populo dabunt, dandumue curabit*; and so, I think, Lucr. vi. 956 *Et tempestate in terra caeloque coorta In caelum terrasque remotæ iura facessunt uiro solo*. Merc. iv. 6. 8 *Vxor contentast quæ bonast uno uiro*.

3. **succumbere**, of cohabiting. Varro R. R. ii. 10. 9 *Quas uirgines ibi appellant, nonnunquam annorum xx, quibus mos eorum non denegauit ante nuptias ut succumberent quibus uellent*. Mart. xiii. 64. 1. Hence *succuba*.

4. The interpretation depends on the meaning of **patruo**. (1) Aufilena may have committed incest with her *uncle*: then *matrem fratres concipere ex patruo* will be either (a) by incest with an uncle to have sons that as born of the same mother are *brothers*, as the children of an uncle and a niece are cousins (*fratres* in another sense); or, (b) to be a mother who by incest with her uncle bears children who are her own cousins, i. e. her sons, and as her uncle's children her cousins (*fratres patruales*) also. (2) Aufilena committed incest with her *brother*; then *matrem and patruo* are both in reference to *fratres*, the mother and uncle respectively of the incestuous offspring, 'that the mother by intercourse with the uncle should conceive sons who are at once brothers (*fratres*) as the sons of the same father and mother, and cousins (*fratres patruales*) as the offspring of a brother and sister.' This is, in my judgment, the most probable view, as giving each word its significance in relation to the others.

## CXII.

THERE is nothing to identify the Naso of this epigram. In the trial of Cluentius 688 | 66 Q. Voconius Naso, had acted as *iudex quaestionis* Cluent. liii. 147; and he must have held the praetorship in that or some other year, Flac. xxi. 50. See Waddington *Fastes* 24.

Salmasius is right in calling the epigram very obscure: but all the alterations suggested make it obscurer. It is possible that the word *multus* had popular meanings which have not reached us for that very reason: at any rate none of the commentators quite establish the sense they give it. On the other hand Munro's ingenious *Mutus* is too simple not to be disappointing.

1. *Multus* is generally explained as = *multorum hominum*, 'a man of many friends,' like *homo perpaucorum hominum* Eun. iii. 1. 18. The lexicons quote no instance, but the sense seems referable to the same usage as *multa opinio est* Gell. iii. 16. 1 a general opinion: *multus homo* would thus mean a man generally or commonly known. With this Catullus may combine the sense found not unfrequently 'in many places,' e. g. Flor. iv. 2 *Multus in eo proelio Caesar fuit*. Others explain *multus* of the body, 'lengthy,' or 'large,' cf. Am. ii. 4. 33, 34 *Tu quia tam longa es, ueteres Heroidas aequas. Et potes in toto multa iacere toro*, as we sometimes say of a tall man, 'there's a great deal of him.' But it is clear that in the last clause *multus es et pathicus*, the *multus* is defined by the *pathicus*: hence some meaning like that given above seems more likely: 'you're much in men's company,' or 'you're known to everybody.' **neque tecum multus homo qui Descendit**, i. e. (1) *neque multus homo (est) qui tecum descendit*; (2) *neque multus tecum (est) homo qui tecum descendit*. The position of *tecum* is designedly ambiguous: in (2), *multus tecum* = 'is seen often in your company,' and *descendit* is of course obscene.

2 *Descendit* (1) goes down to the forum with you, a recurring formula, Phil. ii. 6. 15 *Hodie non descendit Antonius*. viii. 2. 6 *Consul se cum praesidio descensurum dixit*. Rosc. A. xlvii. 133 *Alter tibi descendit de palatio et aedibus suis*. De Orat. ii. 66. 267 *In forum descendens*. So καταβαίνειν Plut. Cato 50 μετ' ἄριστον ὥσπερ εἰθιστο καταβάς εἰς ἀγοράν. Philodemus Περὶ Κακιῶν 20 Ussing εἰς ὀτιδήποτε κοινωνημα συγκαταβαίνειν. (2) Sens. obscen. Iuven. xi. 164, cf. *inclinare* Iuven. ix. 26, x. 224.

## CXIII.

PLEITNER (Q. Val. Catullus Epigramme in Iul. Caesar und Mamurra Speyer 1849) has identified the Maecilia of this epigram with Mucia, wife of Pompeius. The arguments in favour of this view are—

1. The change from *Maecilia* to *Mucilla* is a very slight one, whether we suppose a corruption in the MSS, or assume that Catullus slightly disguises the name, as he has done in the case of Volusius and Aquinus. *Mucilla* would be a diminutive of *Mucia*, as *Domitilla Claudilla Terentilla Liuilla Octauilla* from *Domitia Claudia Terentia Liuia Octauia* (Schwabe *Quaest.* p. 214); and the diminutive might be used with a notion of disparagement as in Suet. Oct. 69 (ibid.).



2. *Mucia* committed adultery with J. Caesar, and was accordingly divorced by Pompeius on his return to Italy after his conquests in the East 693 | 61. Plut. Pompeius 42 Ἐξύβρισε γὰρ ἡ Μουκία παρὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ. καὶ πόρρω μὲν ἔν ὃ Πομπήϊος κατεφρόνει τοῦ λόγου πλησίον δὲ Ἰταλίας γενόμενος καὶ σχολάζοντι τῷ λογισμῷ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς αἰτίας ἀψάμενος ἐπεμψεν αὐτῇ τὴν ἄφεισιν, οὔτε τότε γράψας οὔθ' ὕστερον ἐφ' οἷς ἀφήκεν ἐξεπιστῶν. ἐν δ' ἐπιστολαῖς Κικέρωνος ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται. Cicero says the divorce was much approved Att. i. 12. 3. *Mucia* afterwards married M. Aemilius Scaurus, a man of profligate character, Ascon. in Scaurianam p. 19 Orelli; and is perhaps the same *Mucia* who is mentioned with Fulvia by Val. Maximus ix. 1. 8 as prostituting her chastity in the house of Gemellus, in the consulship of Metellus Scipio 702 | 52 (Schwabe p. 217).

The name *Maecilia* is a real one, e. g. C. I. L. 2. No. 1277 *Maeciliae P. F. Herennianae*: and this throws some slight additional doubt on a theory certainly very plausible. The two dates B. C. 70 and 55 are interesting on a very different ground; the first as the year in which Virgil was born; the second as that in which, on Oct. 15, Virgil assumed the *toga uiril*is, Lucretius died. (Donatus in vita Vergilii.)

In the first consulship of Pompeius, *Maecilia* counted two paramours; now that fifteen years have elapsed and Pompeius is a second time consul, *Maecilia* still counts two, but with the addition of a thousand to each unit. Nothing breeds like adultery.

1. **Consule Pompeio primum** with M. Licinius Crassus 684 | 70. The Romans reckoned their ages by consuls. *Nec quotus annus eat, nec quo sit nata require Consule*, says Ovid to the lover, A. A. ii. 663, 4. **solebant**. Plautus has *solere cum uiris* of women cohabiting with men Cist. i. 1. 38 and it is possible that Catullus constructs the accusative *Maeciliam* after *solere* in this sense, not as dependent on an infinitive understood, *stuprare* or something similar. The construction of *posse* with an accusative sens. obscen. Hor. Epod. xii. 15, Mart. iii. 76. 4, is parallel.

2. **nunc iterum** with Crassus 699 | 55. The occasion was memorable for the games exhibited by Pompeius, including a show of 600 mules, 3000 *craterae*, and a great display on the last day of elephants. Cic. Fam. vii. 1.

3. **sed creuerunt milia in unum Singula**, 'but there has been an increase of a thousand for each one of the two,' i. e. instead of two there are 2000. *Singuli* is attracted into the case of *milia* as often. The only other sense possible would be to take *in unum* with *milia*, a thousand taken together i. e. in the aggregate, 'Two still remain, but grown in each case to an aggregate of 1000.' Seneca Epist. 95. 27 contrasts *singula* and *in unum* as individuals and an aggregate. The MSS give *singulum* which I retained in my first vol. This would more distinctly emphasize the numerical idea 'there has been an increase of a thousand for each unit.' But Lachmann denies that Catullus could have written *Singlum* Lucr. p. 412, and the rhythm is decidedly against it, especially with **fecundum** following.

## CXIV.

THIS and CXV describe an estate of Mentula's at Firmum, a Picenian town somewhat to the south of Ancona. The reason which determined Catullus to devote two poems to this subject was probably the opportunity it gave him of another attack upon the *decoctor Formianus*. *Firmanus* would suggest *Formianus*, even though the change to *Formianus* which was introduced into the text as early as Muretus and has been adopted by many editors since, has been rightly rejected by Conr. de Allio as metrically impossible.

The Picentine territory was a very fertile one (Varro R. R. i. 2. 7, Colum. iii. 3. 2) and the language of Catullus in *1 saltu non falso diues Fertur* implies that the owner of this Firman manor was thought a fortunate man. Nor does Catullus deny that it was a fine property to look at; but its value was not equal to its size, the greater part of it was unproductive, either forest-land or marsh or water. Hence the profits derived from it were less than the necessary outlay (4). From CXV. 7 *Omnia magna haec sunt* I think we may infer that in mere extent it was considerable; the depreciation of 1, 2 is perhaps exaggerated; if Mentula is Mamurra, he would probably take care to make his property at Firmum correspond with his wealth elsewhere; cf. Att. vii. 7. 6 *Et Labieni diuitiae et Mamurrae placent*.

Mentula has an estate at Firmum which will entitle him to the name of rich; for what a variety of fine things there are in it! Game, fish, meadow and arable land in profusion. Still it does him very little good; for the costs are greater than the returns after all. Allow then that he is a rich man; still he is a rich man in want of everything which constitutes wealth; allow his manor to be a fine one, still the master of it is a beggar.

1. **Firmanus**, Att. iv. 8. 3. **saltu**, which is technically a measure of land = 800 iugera (Varro R. R. i. 10 fin. *Quatuor centuriae coniunctae ut sint in utramque partem binae appellantur in agris diuisis uiritim publice saltus*, i. e. 200 iugera  $\times$  4 = 800 iugera) is here used of an estate, where the ground was mainly pasturing-ground or wood, not arable land: see the definition quoted CXV. 2, and cf. Varro L. L. v. 36 *Quos agros non colebant propter siluas aut id genus, ubi pecus posset pasci et possidebant, ab usu suo saltus nominarunt*. The abl. is not after *diues*, but causal or instrumental, 'on account of.'

2. **qui tot**, some MSS have *qui quot*, 'for think what a number of fine things it contains!' as in Iuuen. vi. 277, Heaut. ii. 3. 122 *Quae solet quos spernere*. **res** is often used of edibles, see Boot on Att. iv. 10. 1.

3. **Aucupium**, 'game,' so *uenatio*. Cels. ii. 26 *Minima inflatio fit ex uenatione aucupio piscibus*. De Fin. ii. 8. 23 *Piscatu aucupio uenatione*. **omne genus** indeclinable, as several times in Varro. The birds would be found in the *ingentes siluae* as well as in the *saltus paludesque* CXV. 5; the fish only in the *paludes*. Hence *omne genus* is better constructed with *Aucupium* than with *piscis*. Yet cf. Pomponius ap. Non. 488 *omne piscati genus*.

4. **Nequicquam**, Lucretian, iv. 1110. **exuperat**, Plin. H. N.

xvii. 213 *Vilitate reditum impendia exsuperant*. The nominative is probably *saltus*, as more simple and straightforward: to make the nom. *Mentula*, 'he exceeds the produce by the outlay,' gives a different subject to *fructus* and *sumptibus*, and thus takes from the forcible plainness of the epigram.

6. Mart. xi. 12 *Ius tibi natorum uel septem, Zoile, detur, Dum matrem nemo det tibi, nemo patrem*. **modo** unelided before **ipso** is suspicious, but Lachmann's *domo* the only plausible emendation proposed (see Phil. xiii. 17. 34 where *domo modo* are similarly confused) suggests a contrast between the estate and the buildings upon it which is not expressed elsewhere in either of the epigrams and spoils the antithesis *saltum* and *ipse*.

## CXV.

MENTULA OWNS about thirty *iugera* of meadow-land, forty of arable: the rest of his estate is marsh and water. Such a man may well be thought a Croesus, possessing as he does in one single estate an endless variety, meadow plough-land forest pasture and marsh stretching on to infinity. Yet vast as all this is, the master of it is vaster still; what shall I call him? he is not a man, but a monstrous menacing *Mentula*.

1. **habēt** like *fulgēt* Lucr. ii. 27, *scirēt* v. 1049, both retained by Munro. See Mr. Nettleship's Appendix on the lengthening of short final syllables in Conington's Virgil iii. p. 466. **instar**, 'to the amount of.' Vell. P. ii. 20 *triginta legionum instar impleuerat*.

2. **arui**. Arable land was not strictly included in the idea of *saltus*. Aelius Gallus ap. Festum p. 302 M. *Saltus est ubi siluae et pastiones sunt, quarum causa casae quoque: si qua particula in eo saltu pastorum aut custodum causa aratur ea res non peremit nomen saltui*. **maria** can hardly be as sometimes explained 'big talk,' like *maria et montes polliceri* Sallust Cat. 23; nor, as Passerat thought, channels of sea-water introduced artificially like the *Euripus et maria* which Lucullus constructed for fish in one of his villas near Naples, Plin. H. N. ix. 170, unless indeed we suppose that the sea overlapped the estate and formed such channels naturally. It remains to interpret it 'mere waste water,' a succession of salt-water or brackish pools, (cf. the *septem maria* made by the Po not far from its mouth Plin. H. N. iii. 119 *Qua largius uomit septem maria dictus facere*, 120 *Egesto amnis impetu per transversum in Atrianorum paludis quae septem maria appellantur*), which took up space and gave the estate its appearance of size, but could not be turned to much profit. Vulpius' interpretation 'lakes' is not supported by Suet. Ner. 31 *Stagnum maris instar*.

4. **totmoda** would be like *multimodi* Lucr. iii. 856, if the MS reading there could be trusted: but Lachmann in his note on the passage reads *multimodis* and says 'multimodus adiectiuum lingua Latina non agnoscit, quamquam totmoda Catullum scripsisse multi crediderunt 115. 4.' Yet Fronto p. 24 Naber has *omnimode*.

5. **saltusque** as part of a *saltus* would seem to mean pasture-grounds, the main idea of the word: it can hardly be as suggested by Turnebus Advers. xxvi. 9 the measure described in Varro R. R. i. 10, which would not agree with *paludes*. The hypermetrical *que* of **paludesque** conveys

the idea of infinite continuity, like Virgil's *pugnent ipsique nepolesque* Aen. iv. 629.

6. **Hyperboreos**, here probably taken to represent the extreme north, but with the farther notion of fabulous or mythical. Plin. H. N. iv. 89 *Pone eos montes (Ripaeos) ultraque Aquilonem gens felix (si credimus) quos Hyperboreos appellauere, annoso degit aeuo, fabulosis celebrata miraculis. Ibi creduntur esse cardines mundi extremique siderum ambitus.* **mare Oceanum**, the great Northern ocean. So Caesar B. G. iii. 7 *Proximum mare Oceanum in Andibus hyemarat* = Oceanum vii. 4. Tac. Ann. i. 9 *Mari Oceano septum imperium*, and often. Juvenal has *Oceano fluctu* xi. 94, where see Mayor. The words *oceanus, mare oceanum* (Paus. i. 33. 4) must have been unusually familiar to the Romans at this time, in connexion with Caesar's conquests in Gaul, and his invasion of Britain, and *Hyperboreos* may similarly allude to Gaul *sub septentrionibus posita* B. G. i. 16.

7. 'All these are on a large scale; but the master goes beyond them and is largest of all.' *ipse* and *ultra* are combined similarly Varro R. R. iii. 17. 6 *Neque satis erat eum non pasci piscinis, nisi eos ipse pasceret ultra*, Plaut. Men. v. 2. 79 *Insanire me aiunt, ultra quom ipsi insanunt*. The MSS have *maximus ullor*, without meaning, though the words are joined by Virgil Aen. viii. 201. Of the emendations Bruner's is the cleverest *maximu multo (multo)*, cf. Lucilius' *maximu multo* Non. 19.

8. **Non homo sed**, a recurring, but not very common, formula. Stich. i. 2. 7 *Non homines sed sues*. Asin. ii. 4. 88 *Lupus est homo homini, non homo*. Ter. Hec. ii. 1. 17 *Lapidem non hominem*. Att. i. 18. 1 *Non homo sed litus atque aer et solitudo mera*. vii. 13. 6 *Non hominem, sed scopas solutas*. Petronius S. 39 *Fantasia non homo*. 43 *Discordia non homo*. 44 *Piper non homo*. Menand. Ὀργή i. 6 Κρήσιππος, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος. Philemon Incert. lxiii. 4 Στρατιῶτα, κοῦκ ἄνθρωπε. **sed uero**, Lucr. iv. 986 *Non homines solum sed uero animalia cuncta.* **mentula magna minax** alliteration in the style of Plautus and the comic writers. For *minax* cf. Priap. 31. 1, 51. 28, 56. 2, 72. 2.

## CXVI.

ADDRESSED to Gellius, probably the person attacked in LXXIV LXXX LXXXVIII-XCI: see introduction to LXXIV. There I have suggested that the Gellius of this poem is the person afterwards known as Pedius Publicola, an orator mentioned by Horace (S. i. 10. 28) as affecting, like his contemporary Messala Corvinus, a pure Roman style from which Greek words were carefully excluded. The present poem proves Gellius to have been a man of some culture; for only to a man of culture could translations from Callimachus be an acceptable offering. The first line indeed almost implies that he was a very exacting critic; as such he might look for something more exact and finished than the only specimen which we still retain of Callimachean translation by Catullus, the *Coma Beronices*. That version can scarcely be said to show signs of careful word-hunting (*studioso animo uenante*); it is rough, and where we can compare it with the original, inexact; we may form some idea of its imperfections by contrasting it with the one complete elegy extant of Callimachus, the *Λουτρὰ Παλλάδος*, a poem marked by singular delicacy of feeling, as well as by great finish in language and versification. If Catullus ever completed

his design of sending Gellius a Latin version of some of the works of Callimachus, the poems have not descended to our time: unless indeed the fragment of five lines *Num te laena montibus Libystinis* (LX) may be so considered.

I see no reason to doubt that this epigram was written after the others; the anger which Catullus says he had vainly attempted to soothe would naturally have been roused by the gross charges which those epigrams contain: while the solemn tone of the concluding lines of CXVI is stamped with the conviction of a mutual hostility which nothing now could alter.

1. **studioso** is constructed with **uenante**, like *Saxosus sonans* G. iv. 370. Catullus alludes to the careful hunting for words which was part of the literary training introduced by the Alexandrian poets and grammarians: this word-hunting was called *λεξιθηρία*, Gell. ii. 9, cf. Plato's *θηρεύειν ὀνόματα* Gorg. 489 B, *θηρατῆς λόγων* Aristoph. Nub. 358, and Anth. P. xi. 321. 5 *Συνδέσμων λυγρῶν θηρήτορες, οἷς τὸ μὴ ἢ σφιν εὔαθε καὶ ζητεῖν εἰ κύων εἶχε Κύκλωψ*. Somewhat similarly M. Aurelius to Fronto p. 253 Naber *Necdum legi Coelianum excerptum quod misisti, nec legam priusquam sensus ipse uenatus fuero*. **requirens** expresses the labour of the search as Ovid says Pont. iii. 4. 47 *Vix bona post tanto quaerenti uerba subibant*.

2. **uti possem mittere carmina**, 'seeking how possibly to send,' refers not to the difficulty of transmitting the verses to Gellius, but to the labour of translating Callimachus adequately.

3. **Qui = quibus carminibus**. Cato R. R. 11 *Cola qui florem demant, 12 Confibulas ligneas qui arbores comprimat*, Capt. v. 4. 6 *Aut anales aut coturnices dantur quicum lusulent* (Holtze Synt. i. p. 379). **nobis = mihi** with *lenirem* immediately preceding is noticeable. See on CVII. 5, 6.

4. The order of the words suggests constructing **Telis** with **mittere** like *βάλλειν ὑπὸ δουρῶ*, etc. and so Hertzberg in his Translation 'dass du nach meinem Leidendem Haupt nicht stets zieltest mit deinem Geschoss.' The addition of *in usque* is rather in favour of this; as the instrumental ablative is more in place where a distinct effort is expressed. Otherwise *Telis infestum* might be taken together, 'and that you might not attempt to shoot far enough to reach the head which your arrows assailed,' cf. Q. Curt. iv. 6. 22 *Interiora quoque urbis telis infesta erant*. **in usque** is rare. Stat. Theb. i. 438 *Quae causa furoris Externi inuenes? neque enim meus audeat istas Civis in usque manus*. By *telis* Catullus no doubt alludes to some attack, either written or spoken, which the author of libels as gross as the epigrams on Gellius, might naturally draw upon himself. Ad Herenn. iv. 28. 38 *Vehementer auditorem commouet eiusdem redintegratio uerbi et uulnus maius efficit in contrario causae, quasi aliquod telum saepius perueniat in eandem partem corporis*. Ovid Pont. iv. 6. 33 of a speaker *Cum tibi suscepta est legis uindicta seuerae, Verba uelut tinctum singula uirus habent. Hostibus eueniat quam sis uiolentus in armis Sentire et linguae tela subire tuae*. For *mittere* used absolutely 'to shoot,' 'aim,' cf. Ovid F. iii. 584 *Quam quantum nouies mittere funda potest*.

5. Caesar B. G. iii. 14 *intellexit frustra tantum laborem sumi*.

6. **hic**, 'in this point,' viz. of averting your anger.

7, 8. 'Instead of that, while I am wrapt close to parry those darts of yours, you shall be pierced by mine and so pay the penalty.' Catullus means that pacificatory measures had failed; he can no longer play the

suppliant to Gellius, or attempt to avert a hostility which has declared itself openly. On the contrary he makes up his mind for war, and in that war he is sure to have the best of it. **Contra** refers both to **euītamus** and **dabi**, and more to the latter. In what sense Catullus was close-wrapt against the attack of Gellius he does not say: possibly he means that it would be dangerous to Gellius to attack him by name. Or, if we suppose the epigrams against Gellius were written before Catullus was known as a poet, *amicīei* might express the obscurity which he enjoyed under his incognito, as compared with the notoriety the epigrams drew down upon Gellius. Compare the words of Apuleius on his obscure accuser Aemilianus Apol. 16 *Hoc mihi aduersum te usu ueni, quod qui forte constitit in loco lumine conlustrato atque eum alter e tenebris prospectat. Nam ad eundem modum tu quidem quid ego in propatulo et celebri agam facile e tenebris tuis arbitraris, cum ipse humilitate abditus et lucifuga non sis mihi mutuo conspicuus.* **amicīei** seems to include not only the safety of the poet's own person, but the difficulty of seeing him; a close wrapper would of course serve both purposes. So Aristides T. ii. 155 *εἰ δὲ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι παραβοῶντες ῥητορικὴν ψέγουσι, μᾶλλον δὲ τουθορύζοντες ἐκ τοῦ ψέφους τοξεύοντες κατὰ Ἀλκαῖον . . . τοσοῦτον μοι πρὸς τούτους ἀποκεκρίσθω, ὅτι ῥητορικῇ πρὸς πάδας διδάσκει τὴν δίκην.* Munro with most editors prefers *amicū*, 'by wrapping my toga round my arm,' as a simple and easy means of parrying the darts: cf. Sen. de Constant. 7 *Non minus latro est cuius telum opposita ueste elusum est*, Pacuuius Hermiona (Non. 87) *currum liquit, clamyde contorta astu clipeat brachium*, Petron. S. 80 *intorto circa brachium pallio composui ad proeliandum gradum*, ib. 63 *inuoluta sinistra manu curiose*: Catullus would then mean 'I have only to lift my arm to be quite safe, my toga will defend me without any other armour.' But if this were the meaning, would *amicū* have thus stood alone? and if Catullus alludes to a covering of the head (4), *amicīei* would better include this than *amicū*.

8. **dabi**, the single instance in Catullus of an elided *s*: an old-fashioned custom which Cicero considered in his time *subrusticum* Orat. xlviii. 161. He adds that it was avoided by the new school of poets (*poetae noui*): and we may feel sure that Catullus would not have allowed it in any of his lyrics. It is noticeable that the elided *s* precedes another *s*; probably Catullus would not have admitted it before any other letter.

## FRAGMENTS.

## I.

See on LIV.

## II.

A DEDICATORY poem to Priapus, written at Lampsacus, one of the chief seats of the worship of the god. Few poems of Catullus are so often quoted by the grammarians as this; it is ascribed to him by Terentianus Maurus, Atilius Fortunatianus, and Marius Victorinus, and cited, though without the author's name, by Censorinus p. 97 Iahn. The metre is called Priapeus, and was particularly associated with this ithyphallic divinity: it recurs in this connexion Priap. 85 ed. L. Müller *Hunc ego o iuuenes locum uillulamque palustrem*, a poem which was long ascribed to Catullus and inserted in the editions of his works. Catullus himself uses the metre XVII *O colonia quae cupis ponte ludere longo*.

We can hardly infer from this tetrastich that Catullus actually consecrated a planted inclosure to Priapus. Possibly the poem was written for a Roman friend living at Lampsacus: it can hardly be a translation. We may conjecture that the occasion of a visit to the town prompted not only this, but whatever other poems Catullus wrote on the same subject. Dedicatory or epigrammatic verses on Priapus were common (Priap. 60). The Priapia contain (81) a hexastich ascribed to Tibullus, in which, like Catullus here, a certain Perspectus dedicates a temple to the god.

1. *lucum*, some MSS *locum*, a frequent confusion. Apuleius plays on the two words F. i. 1 *Cum aliqui lucus aut aliqui locus sanctus in uita oblatu est*, Apol. 56 *Nullus locus aut lucus consecratus* (Koziol Stil des Apuleius p. 203). **dedico consecroque**, formulistic like *dabo dedicaboque* on a Narbonese altar to Augustus (Hermes 1872 p. 203). **Priape** a god unknown to Hesiod, and introduced at a later period, Strabo 587 fin.

2. 'At Lampsacus your special domicile.' Priapus calls himself *Ille tuus ciuis, Lampsace* Priap. 55. 6. *Te ruricola, Lampsace, tuta deo* Trist. i. 10. 26. Paus. ix. 31. 2 *Τούτῳ τιμαὶ τῷ θεῷ δέδονται μὲν καὶ ἄλλως ἔνθα εἰσὶν αἰγῶν νομαὶ καὶ προβάτων ἧ καὶ ἔσμοι μελισσῶν. Λαμψακηνοὶ δὲ ἐς πλεόν ἢ θεοῦς τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζουσι. Διονύσου τε αὐτὸν παῖδα εἶναι καὶ Ἀφροδίτης λέγοντες.*

Anth. P. xvi. 242. 7, 8 Παρ' Ἑλλης Ἴόνα τὴν ἱερὴν Λάμψακον ἀμφιπολείς. The nominative is sometimes *Lampsacum* Verr. i. 24 *Oppidum est in Hellesponto Lampsacum in primis Asiae prouinciæ clarum et nobile*.

3. **urbibus**, e. g. Priapus near Lampsacus, Strabo 587.

4. **Hellespontia** Petron. S. 139 *Hellespontiaci sequitur grauis ira Priapi* after Virgil G. iv. 111 *Hellespontiaci seruet tutela Priapi*. **ceteris** perhaps from the number of rivers flowing into the Hellespont, one of the conditions most favourable for oysters according to Pliny H. N. xxxii. 59. **ostriosior**, Priap. 76. 13 *Cyzicos ostriosia*. The oysters of Cyzicus are mentioned Plin. H. N. xxxii. 62: those of Abydos by Nicander ap. Athen. 92, Ennius Hedyph. 2, Virgil G. i. 207, and in Ausonius' catalogue Epist. ix. 29.

### III.

THIS fragment is also Priapean. **de meo**, 'on my means, 'at my cost,' as often in the comic writers Pers. i. 3. 42 *tuburcinari de suo*, iv. 3. 4 *Nil gustabit de meo*, Stich. iii. 1. 25 *Vel decem, dum de tuo*, Truc. v. 5. 61 *Sed de uestro uiuio*, (Holtze i. p. 55). **ligurrire**. It was the function of Priapus to prevent thieves from stealing and eating garden fruits. See the Priapia *passim*. The word probably conveys an obscene joke (Serv. on Ecl. vii. 33). See Priap. 35. 2, 5. 43. 4, Mart. xiv. 69, and cf. Voss Catullus p. 314. **libido**, 'humour.'

### IV.

IT is doubtful whether this verse is by Catullus. It is ascribed by Diomedes 496 G. to Serenus, probably the Septimius Serenus several times mentioned by Terentianus Maurus 1891-1900, 1973-1982, 1991, 2627-2630, and quoted by Nonius as the author of *Ruralia* and *Opuscula*. Though there is nothing in the verse like the matters described in most of the other extant fragments of Serenus, the unusual character of the metre would well suit this poet, and the proceleusmatic foot, which is the basis of the verse, is found in the four lines, seemingly by Serenus, quoted in Terent. Maurus 2001-2004 *Quando flagella iuga, ita iuga*, etc.

Whoever was the author, it seems more likely that he wrote *abiit* (Lachmann) than *abit*. Hephaestion defines the Proceleusmatic tetrameter γίνεται γάρ, ἐκάστου τῶν πρώτων τριῶν ποδῶν ἀναπαιστων λευμένου εἰς τὸν προκελευσματικόν, δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ἀναπαιστικόν, quoting as a specimen Aristophanes' τίς ὄρεα βαθύκομα τὰδ' ἐπέσντο βροτῶν; and Marius Victorinus p. 2545 *recipit autem prima et secunda et tertia sede Proceleusmaticum, quarta Tribrachyn aut Anapaestum, quibus et clauditur, scilicet detracta Proceleusmatico syllaba ultima, aut duabus breuibus ultimis in unam longam redactis propter anapaestum uti metrum sit, non numerus*: and he gives as specimens *Nemus aue reticuit, ager homine sonat*, and *Perit abit auipedis animula leporis*. This is also the specimen given by Terent. Maurus 1464, with the explanation that the verse is a tetrameter, with the last foot a tribrach. Cf. the line quoted from the lyric poet Timotheus fr. 7 Bergk (Etym. M. 630) Τεταμένον ὀρίγαγα διὰ μυελοτρεφή with the appended description σύγκεται δ' οὗτος ὁ στίχος ἀπὸ προκελευσματικῶν, ὁ δὲ τελευταῖος ποὺς ἀναπαιστικός



ἔστι τῶν δύο βραχέων εἰς μίαν μακρὰν συναυρεθεισῶν. On the other hand Atilius Fortunatianus ii. 17 gives a specimen in which the last foot is an iambus; and though in i. 7 two of the three lines given seem corrupt, and the third has the final tribrach, it does not seem certain that the corrupt lines had the tribrach also.

## V.

See on LXIV. 235.

## VII XI XII.

THESE fragments dwell on the same characteristic of Catullus' style, his tendency to deviate from common use in the gender of nouns. As *carbasus* is fem. in fr. VII and LXIV. 227, *turben* neut. either in LXIV. 107 or elsewhere, so he combines *ulmo marito* LXII. 54, and makes *cinis* fem. LXVIII. 90, CI. 4, as Calvus did also fr. 4, 5 Lachm. (Charis. 78), and as Cinna made *aluus* masc. in his Zmyrna (Prisc. 718). Similarly Catullus seems to have followed Ennius in making *arcus* fem. (fr. XI).

Cf. the strange vocative *une* XXXVII. 17, Ticide's *sole*, (see on LXI. 107) both seemingly experiments.

## VIII.

CATULLUS is here speaking of the famous Rhaetian wine, which was of course well known in Verona, Comum, and the neighbourhood of the Rhaetian Alps. Strabo 206 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥαιτοὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας καθήκουσι τῆς ὑπὲρ Οὐλήρωνος καὶ Κώμου. Καὶ ὁ γε Ῥαιτικὸς οἶνος τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἰταλικαῖς ἐπανουμένων οὐκ ἀπολείπεται δοκῶν ἐν ταῖς τοῦτων ὑπωρείαις γίνεσθαι. Celsus iv. 12 mentions Rhaetic as a good wine for complaints of the chest. Mart. xiv. 100 *Si non ignota est docti tibi terra Catulli Potasti testa Raetica uina mea.* Verg. G. ii. 95 *Et quo te carmine dicam, Raetica? nec cellis ideo contende Falernis.* Plin. xiv. 67 *In Veroniensi item Raetica, Falernis tantum postlata a Vergilio, ib. 25 Namque est aliquis tantus locorum amor ut omnem in vis gloriam suam relinquunt nec usquam transeant totae. Quod et in Raetica Allobrogicaque quam supra picatam appellauimus euenit, domi nobilibus nec adgnoscentis alibi. Fecundae tamen bonitatis uice copiam praestant, eugenia feruentibus locis, Raetica temperatis.* This was the favorite wine of Augustus (Suet. Aug. 77). From Sen. N. Q. i. 11 *His quod nomen inponimus? an facio quod Vergilius, qui dubitauit de nomine, deinde id de quo dubitarat proposuit? Et quo te nomine dicam Raetica? nec cellis ideo contende Falernis,* it might seem that it had another name: but he probably quotes from memory. There was an inferior *Raetica uua* Plin. xiv. 41.