

THE CYCLICAL UNITY OF CATULLUS 61 TO 68

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OF
CATULLUS 61 TO 68

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A Thesis

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ABSTRACT

Catullus 61 to 68 have not received the attention they deserve. Critics have either analysed the poems in isolation or attempted superficial and selective examinations of the group as a whole. By scrutinizing the poet's use of recurrent vocabulary in poems 61 to 68, it is possible to see a definite cyclic progression throughout the poems, and a clear development of the various themes relating to love and marriage.

Poem 61 presents, on the surface at least, a positive view of marriage. Certain negative elements are subtly introduced (the bride's hesitation, the potential infidelity of the groom, the role of the gods) which create some tension in the poem; but at the end, the marriage is consummated. Poem 62 brings the underlying tensions of poem 61 into the open. The boys' legalistic view of marriage overcomes the girls' emotional outcry against it; but it is the intensity and imagery of the girls' stanzas that remain in the reader's mind.

Poem 63 plunges the reader into the world of mythology; but the presentation of Attis' relationship with Cybele in terms of a marriage follows logically from poems 61 and 62. The violence associated with Attis' negative "marriage" with Cybele causes the *vox poetae* to condemn such a relationship and wish it away from his experience.

Poem 64 is a lengthy reflection on every aspect of love and marriage presented so far in the cycle. The apparently positive marriage of Peleus and Thetis is contrasted with the negative non-marriage of Theseus

and Ariadne. Imagery found in the three previous poems is recalled here; the connotations associated with it eventually alter the reader's (and the poet's) perception of the outer story from positive to negative. The *vox poetae* returns to condemn all ages, all relationships.

The *vox poetae* also opens poem 65, in which the poet begins to rework the material and themes from the previous poems. The death of his brother, following logically on the deaths caused by Achilles in poem 64, colours the poet's ability to write; but his devotion to his friend overcomes his inability and a glimmer of hope emerges in the cycle.

Poems 66 and 67 present the opposite extremes of love: the ideally happy marriage of Ptolemy and Berenice, and the scandal-ridden relationships mentioned by the door-bride.

Poem 68 stands as a coda or summary of the entire cycle. As in poems 65 and 66, the poet is able to overcome his inability to write through the influence of his friend. He recalls the happy days of his relationship with his goddess-bride; but the allusion to the Laodamia myth is unfortunate, as it reminds the poet for the third time of his brother's death. Moreover, the details of the myth underscore how dangerous and potentially disastrous is his own relationship with his beloved.

Poems 61 to 67 show that no relationship, no marriage can be truly happy. As poem 68 concludes, the poet reassesses his attempts to idealize his relationship with his beloved. He finally accepts her faults and resolves to love her on her terms.

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IN MEMORIAM PARENTUM

INTRODUCTION

I

The Order of the Collection

The title of this thesis demands that the vexing question of authorial ordering of the poems in the collection be discussed at the outset. Did Catullus himself decide on this particular order, or did an editor, either contemporaneous with or later than Catullus, make the decision?

This question has considerable bearing on the approach that a scholar will take in discussing the poems of Catullus. He may decide to take a "non-historical" approach, not concerning himself about whoever put these poems in this particular order. He will take the order as a given, and proceed to find whatever literary insights may arise from that order.

On the other hand, he may decide to take the more historical approach, concluding that the relevant historical facts that pertained to the creation of the collection had some influence on that text and must be incorporated into any discussion of the poems. With this approach, an attempt must be made, at the very least, to determine if Catullus himself placed these poems in this order.

In general, the question of authorial intention is not an easy one. In fact, it is a question that can never be answered. In terms of the more tenuous elements of a poem, its "meaning," for example, a critic may never be able to determine with certainty an author's original intentions. In terms of the apparently more substantive elements, the order of a collection, for example, a critic must consider many factors, both internal and external, to determine with any certainty that the transmitted order of the poems is the one intended by the author. Even here, conclusions may not be irrefutable, since such investigations become increasingly more difficult the farther back in time the author in question lived.

I believe that the historical context in which a literary work was created cannot and should not be so easily dismissed from a critical discussion of that work. The difficulty, even the impossibility, of determining with complete certainty the relevant facts pertaining to the text should not provide the critic with an easy excuse to throw up his hands and proceed to analyze a work as if it existed in a vacuum. Such an approach is certainly possible; but it is not one which I find useful or stimulating.¹

Some attempt, therefore, must be made to determine if Catullus himself ordered the poems in the collection, even if the evidence is

¹K. Quinn, *Catullus: an Interpretation* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1972), 148, states the problem quite well: "it is one thing to be cautious and quite another thing to refuse to test our intuitions by matching them up against a body of conjecture that is widely regarded as probable, if beyond proof." Cf. B. Arkins, *Sexuality in Catullus* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1982), 47: "The doctrine of 'the poem itself,' in which the literary construct is seen as totally independent of any external reality, is particularly inappropriate for Catullus."

circumstantial (external to the poems) or largely subjective (internal to them) and is still likely to result in no definitive, indisputable conclusion.

Past discussions of this question eventually focus on the form of the ancient book and whether or not the entire *corpus Catullianum* could have circulated as a complete literary work at the time of the poet. It is not possible within the scope of this introduction to present all the arguments for and against the participation of Catullus in the ordering of the poems. However, recent articles devoted to this question seem quite persuasive that the old opinions about the format and size of the ancient roll are no longer valid.² But no discussion of the integrity of the corpus must be restricted to these external criteria: any investigations of the ancient roll must also be concerned with the internal qualities of the works that were printed on it.

In my opinion, an article by J. D. Minyard provides the most coherent and convincing argument that the entire collection could have existed as an integral unit in Catullus' time.³ While accepting that possibility, Minyard also recognizes that the unity of the collection cannot be determined solely by external, arbitrary criteria:

²See A. L. Wheeler, *Catullus and the Traditions of Ancient Poetry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964): 1-32.

³J. D. Minyard, "The Source of the *Catulli Veronensis Liber*," *CW* 81 (1988): 343-53.

The Catullan collection could...have been contained on one roll or been published as a single unit on several rolls. Publication on more than one roll would not have destroyed its identity as a unit. The conclusion must be that no case can be made on the basis of physical evidence against a distinctive *Catulli Veronensis Liber*, including all the poems known to us as that book, in the age of the papyrus roll.⁴

Minyard then looks at the indirect evidence for a unified *Liber Catulli*. Citations of Catullus in other authors do not refer to any recognized divisions within the collection. Many of the citations are general references to the meters or to the subject matter of a particular poem.⁵ By contrast, indirect citations of other classical authors whose works consisted of several parts tend to mention those divisions. This, argues Minyard, suggests that these references to Catullus are ways of "noting parts of a unitary book by its generic affiliations" rather than indicating separately published and circulated parts of the collection. Generic citations of Catullus, especially by Festus and Gellius, indicate that "his work had no specifying title (either generic or distinctive), even according to the Classical habit of entitulation, and that it circulated simply under the designation 'Catulli Liber.'"⁶

⁴Ibid., 346. See also J. van Sickle, "The Book-roll and Some Conventions of the Poetic Book," *Arethusa* 13 (1980): 5-42.

⁵Ibid., 347-8. Such generic references include "epigramma" or poems "in hendecasyllabis," "versiculis," "in Galliambis," or a poem "ad Coloniam."

⁶Ibid., 348. Minyard also discusses (349-50) Martial's references to the "*passer*" of Catullus and concludes that the "book 'title' *Passer* does not limit the extent of the collection, any more than *Aeneadum genetrix* causes us to expect an epic on Roman history. Since no other such general citation of a collection of Catullus occurs, it cannot be assumed that *Passer* does not refer to the whole of the present *Liber*...There is nothing that indicates the existence of any other Catullan book, any other dedicatory poem, or any other opening phrase usable for the purposes of citation."

As for those poems cited in antiquity as being by Catullus but not appearing in our collection, Minyard argues that they too support the integrity of the transmitted collection. If they were genuine and circulated separately from the unified collection, then no editor was able to gather every poem written by Catullus to create the book of miscellaneous verse that has come down to us. This is especially damning if the editor were a "close friend" of the poet's, compiling the collection soon after Catullus' death.⁷ On the other hand, if there was no unified collection in Catullus' time, why were these poems, supposedly by Catullus, not included in the codex form of the book some time later, since the collection "would previously have had no integrity as a single unit?"⁸

There is an answer that serves the case. Catullus made his collection. It had integrity. No extraneous poems, poems he had excluded, could be admitted. When the codex was made, the making consisted of the transference of the *Catulli Veronensis Liber* as a unit from its roll form.⁹

From this conclusion, Minyard entrusts the collection to other critics who are concerned with the internal structure of the corpus. In referring to the many critical studies done so far, he notes that they "have gone a long way toward the demonstration of an order in Catullus that is

⁷Ibid., 351. See also note Minyard's note 22: "Perhaps [these poems] were not genuine, in which case the integrity of the unified collection was such that it could exclude impostors. In any case, the existence of separate poems inclines toward Catullan responsibility for the *liber* at least as much as toward the editorship of 'a close friend.'"

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

sophisticated, relevant to the understanding of the original poems, and suggestive of the outlook and craft of the poet."¹⁰

Throughout his article, Minyard cautions the reader to recognize that all of his evidence is circumstantial at best; but there is a logic to his argument that is convincing. If nothing else, Minyard's article supports Quinn's conservative remarks about authorial ordering of the collection:

What cannot be said is that no evidence exists for a collection in which the order of the poems was determined by Catullus himself: *some* evidence does exist, and it isn't easily got around.¹¹

II

The Long Poems: 61 to 64 or 61 to 68?

A question related to the overall order of the collection is the division of the corpus into three parts. Does part three begin at poem 65 or poem 69? Is there any evidence for considering poems 61 to 68 as a recognizable and artistically valid unit?

At first glance, it seems logical to begin part three with poem 65. It is the first of the elegiacs and indicates a new section distinct from the polymetrics and long poems. A division at poem 65 also creates a relatively equal disbursement of the number of lines in the collection: poems 1 to 60

¹⁰Ibid., 352.

¹¹Quinn, *An Interpretation*, 14.

(900 lines), poems 61 to 64 (840 lines), poems 65 to 116 (660 lines). The third part is shorter than the other two, but not inordinately so.

On the other hand, although poems 61 to 64 are usually called the "long poems," poems 65 to 68 are certainly not "short" compared with the lengths of the elegies in poems 69 to 116. The longest of the latter elegies is poem 76 with 26 lines. To be sure, poem 65 has only 24 lines, but if it is considered as the prelude to poem 66, then the unit 65/66 contains 118 lines. Poem 67 is the shortest of the self-contained poems in the former group of elegies, with 48 lines, but that is still almost twice as long as poem 76. From a different mathematical perspective, therefore, poems 65 to 68 belong with poems 61 to 64. This grouping, however, creates an imbalance between the second and third parts of the corpus: poems 61 to 68 (1166 lines), poems 69 to 116 (334 lines).¹²

So, this arbitrary mathematical evidence does not provide a solution to the problem of division. Some internal, textual evidence must be examined to see if it is more logical to begin the third section at poem 65 or poem 69. Drawing indisputable conclusions from this type of evidence is difficult, since interpretation of the internal evidence is subjective. The great number of differing conclusions by various critics over the years bears witness to this problem. Nevertheless, it is useful to give a few examples of the type of conclusions drawn from this internal evidence.

¹²If the collection was originally published on one roll, this imbalance would not have been significant. If the collection was printed on three rolls, then it is highly probable that the third section began with poem 65, assuming that it was customary to have rolls of roughly the same size.

Many commentators see textual evidence in poem 65 for a new beginning here. T. P. Wiseman sees the announcement of a new theme: "the 'sad songs' [*maesta...carmina*, 65.12] that follow are due to the death of the poet's beloved brother."¹³ Wiseman also notes that the reference in 65.2 to the Muses (*doctis...virginibus*) is parallel to similar references in other poems that delineate the other two sections (<0> *patrona virgo*, 1.9; *Uraniae genus*, 61.2).¹⁴ From a more interpretive point of view, Quinn believes that poem 65 begins the third section because groups 1 to 60 and 65 to 116 are both "personal" in theme and deal with Catullus and Lesbia specifically, while poems 61 to 64 do not.¹⁵

However, commentators have also noted many elements which suggest that poems 65 to 68 belong with poems 61 to 64. D. O. Ross feels that poems 69 to 116 represent a tradition of Roman epigram different from the epigrammatic tradition found in poems 65 to 68.¹⁶ Wiseman too seems drawn to the inescapable conclusion that poems 69 to 116 do not really belong with poems 65 to 68.¹⁷ In *Catullus and His World: A Reappraisal*,

¹³T. P. Wiseman, *Catullus and His World: A Reappraisal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985): 159.

¹⁴Ibid., 266, 184 note 3.

¹⁵Quinn, *An Interpretation*, 15. However, his main reason for determining the content of the three parts is meter.

¹⁶See D. O. Ross, *Style and Tradition in Catullus* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969).

¹⁷For other views on this question, see T. P. Wiseman, *Catullan Questions* (Leicester: University Press, 1969); G. W. Most, "On the Arrangement of Catullus' *Carmina Maiora*," *Philologus* 125 (1981): 109-25; E. Block, "Carmen 65 and the Arrangement of Catullus' Poetry," *Ramus* 13 (1984): 48-59; J. Ferguson, "The Arrangement of Catullus' Poems," *LCM* 11 (1986): 2-6, 18-20; B. Arkins, "Callimachus and Catulli Veronensis Liber," *Latomus* 46 (1987): 847-48; H. Dettmer, "Design in the Catullan Corpus: a Preliminary Study," *CW* 81 (1988): 371-81; J. P. Hallett, "Catullus on Composition: Response," *CW* 81 (1988): 395-401; J. E. King, "Catullus' Callimachean *Carmina*, cc. 65-116," *CW* 81 (1988): 383-92.

Wiseman officially maintains that the third section begins at poem 65.¹⁸ But he spends a great deal more effort illustrating the fact that poems 65 to 68 belong more closely with poems 61 to 64 than with poems 69 to 116. Throughout the latter part of his book, Wiseman finds more and more evidence to suggest that, in spite of their common metre, poems 69 to 116 reflect a completely different artistic element from that found in poems 65 to 68.¹⁹ But apart from the mathematical convenience of the forty-eight poems in the group 69 to 116, Wiseman notes a radical change of attitude on the part of the poet, beginning at poem 69:

At poem 69, Catullus' elegiac collection suddenly contracts from the spacious sweep of mythological narrative to the concentrated economy of epigram.²⁰

The "spacious sweep of mythological narrative" is certainly evident in poems 65 to 68: the Muses, Troy, Itylus, the Lock of Berenice, Laodamia and Protesilaus. They show great kinship with the mythological

¹⁸I have already mentioned the significance he places on the references to the Muses in poems 1, 61 and 65, and the announcement of a new theme (*maesta...carmina*) at 65.12. He also talks about the "progress of pessimism" and the theme of marriage that dominate the second volume, poems 61 to 64 (Wiseman, *A Reappraisal*, 120, 165). He notes too (184), as have others, that the name of Callimachus is used by the poet to open and close the third section: *carmina Battiadae*, 65.16; *carmina...Battiadae*, 116.2.

¹⁹This can be seen, for example, in the charts and figures he uses to discuss poems 69 to 116. These forty-eight poems can be conveniently divided into two groups of twenty-four. A thematic summary of the first group of poems (69 to 92) is presented (Wiseman, *A Reappraisal*, 169). In the accompanying discussion, Wiseman notes (170) that this sequence is really about Lesbia and the men in her life: the poems "all have a characteristic shape and tone." In the second group of twenty-four poems (93 to 116), Lesbia is hardly mentioned at all (173). It is interesting to note that Wiseman's subdivision of the third section into two groups of poems of equal numbers parallels Quinn's subdivision of the first section into two subgroups based on metrical variation in the hendecasyllabic poems. This provides further evidence for the participation of Catullus in the arrangement of the collection, and for determining that the artistic beginning of the third section is poem 69.

²⁰Wiseman, *A Reappraisal*, 164. Cf. Arkins, *Sexuality*, 34.

themes of poems 61 to 64: Hymen, *genus Uraniae*, Venus, Paris, Attis, Cybele, Ariadne, Bacchus, Peleus, Thetis. By contrast, there are very few mythological references in poems 69 to 116.

Wiseman has also sensed a significant and culminating element in the latter elegies. Referring to poem 72, he comments:

This is a new tone in Catullus' love poetry - cooler and more analytical than the outbursts of joy or fury in the first book...in the elegiacs, he often seems to be sorting his experiences out in his mind, trying to define its mutually inconsistent elements and somehow make sense of them.²¹

I believe Wiseman is correct. There is very little analytical tone in either of the other two parts. This too helps to separate the longer elegies from these shorter, more introspective elegies, and to determine that the collection as we have it was ordered by the poet himself. The first book, the exposition, portrays the poet's experiences as real, vibrant, take-them-as-they-come episodes in his life. The second book, the development, sets the experiences of his life in a grandiose and mythological frame. Only after his experiences have been treated so fully, so realistically and so dramatically, does the poet begin to reflect on the nature of love in his own poetic recapitulation: the analytical elegies of poems 69 to 116.²²

²¹Wiseman, *A Reappraisal*, 166. M. Pulbrook, "The Lesbia *Libellus* of Catullus," *Maynooth Review* 10 (May, 1984): 72-84, recognizes this change but "misuses" it by suggesting that the original *libellus* contained the polymetrics intermingled with the elegies.

²²If the collection was published on three rolls, I believe it would have made no difference to the overall interpretation of the collection whether or not poems 65 to 68 were actually published on the same roll as poems 61 to 64. Publishing poems 61 to 68 on one roll creates a tremendous imbalance in the relative number of lines contained on each of the three rolls. I am willing to believe that poems 65 to 68

III

Positive and Negative Love

As the reader proceeds through the *corpus Catullianum* (especially the two parts that frame the long poems), an intricate but increasingly clear picture of the poet's perception of his love affair with Lesbia is drawn. In the extremes, love is seen as a fulfilling union of two kindred souls (*vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus*, 5.1) or a destructive and tormenting agony of incomprehensible proportions (*odi et amo.../...fieri sentio et excrucior*, 85.1-2). I use the terms positive and negative love to define these conflicting aspects.

Wiseman offers an eloquent and sustained investigation of these concepts as he traces the Lesbia affair within the collection.²³ He gives convincing evidence that a very traditional, moral ethic, born from the poet's Transpadene background, is at the centre of the poet's character. This traditional morality, coupled with a strong sense of fairness developed through his business interests, created in Catullus an all-encompassing sense of *pietas* and *integritas*:

were actually printed on the same roll that contained poems 69 to 116. If the entire collection was arranged and published with the blessing of the poet, the physical separation of poems 65 to 68 from their artistic partners, poems 61 to 64, would have had but a momentary effect on the reader as he changed rolls. The artistic integrity and progression of the entire collection would not be damaged. Such separation does not necessarily harm the unity of a work but can enhance it: indeed the latter statement of a theme always tends to be a bit more reflective.

²³Wiseman, *A Reappraisal*.

The poet grew up in a hard-working, straight-laced, traditional society that knew and valued Greek culture, was not inhibited about commercial profit, but took seriously the responsibilities of honest dealing.²⁴

The evidence for such a moral ethic is found everywhere in the poetry. The Hymn to Diana concludes with a traditional reflection on a fair return for one's effort (*Romulique, / antique ut solita es, bona / sospites ope gentem*, 34.22-24). The end of poem 68 presents the idea that the ancient concept of Justice will reward good deeds (*huc addent divi quam plurima, quae Themis olim / antiquis solita est munera ferre piis*, 68.153-54). The elegy on his brother's death is rooted in traditional Roman beliefs about death and dying (*haec, prisco quae more parentum / tradita sunt tristi munere ad inferias, / accipe*, 101.7-9).²⁵

It is natural, therefore, to see such traditional values and concepts applied by the poet to love. In the two marriage poems, the ideas of *fides* and *foedus* are of paramount importance. In poem 61, the marriage sanctioned by Hymen is a good one, designed to produce an heir for the family and guardians for the state. The marriage is contractual in poem 62:

et tu ne pugna cum tali coniuge, virgo.
non aequom est pugnare, pater cui tradidit ipse,
ipse pater cum matre, quibus parere necesse est.

(62.59-61)

²⁴Ibid., 111. Most, "Catullus' *Carmina Maiora*," 119 note 40, also recognizes this attitude towards marriage: "What interests Catullus is evidently not marriage for its own sake, but instead marriage as the socially institutionalized expression of the consummation of love, and thereby as the coincidence of individual fulfilment and social legitimation."

²⁵Wiseman, *A Reappraisal*, 106-7.

So strong is the concept of positive, contractual, duly-sanctioned love in the poet's character, that he constantly refers to his affair with Lesbia in terms of a marriage.²⁶ In the early stages of the affair, the poet emphasizes the mutual love in the relationship (*vivamus...amemus*, 5.1). He addresses Lesbia in a significant adaptation of one of Sappho's most famous marriage poems (poem 51). But it is especially in the more reflective and analytical elegies that this concept is most eloquently stated:

nulla potest mulier tantum se dicere amatam
 vere, quantum a me Lesbia amata mea est.
 nulla fides ullo fuit umquam foedere tanta,
 quanta in amore tuo ex parte reperta mea est.

(87.1-4)

It is a wiser Catullus who can think back on the affair and realize that *he* is not responsible for his present sorrow. He at least acted responsibly, in accordance with the traditional views of *fides* and *foedus*:

siqua recordanti benefacta priora voluptas
 est homini, cum se cogitat esse pium,
 nec sanctam violasse fidem, nec foedere nullo
 divum ad fallendos numine abusum homines,
 multa parata manent in longa aetate, Catulle,
 ex hoc ingrato gaudia amore tibi.

(76.1-6)

²⁶See G. Williams, "Some Aspects of Roman Marriage Ceremonies and Ideals," *JRS* 48 (1958): 25: "Marriage could be a *foedus*..., but Catullus extended these marriage-concepts to his *amicitia* with Lesbia. In that lay the tragedy of their relationship."

By contrast, when Lesbia is unable or unwilling to conduct the affair on Catullus' strict moral terms, the poet condemns her with all the power his invective can generate:

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

(11.17-20)

This view of negative love is all the stronger because of the intense depiction of positive love elsewhere in the collection.

These two concepts are most eloquently portrayed in poems 61 to 68. Even though Lesbia herself does not appear in these poems, her affair with the poet provides the impetus for the thematic development throughout the cycle.²⁷ On the simplest level, this cycle progresses from a positive, ideal perspective on love (poem 61) to the pit of negative love, love betrayed (poem 64), back to a more positive, if also a bit wiser, view of love (poem 68). But no great work of art can be so easily summarized. Within the overall structure, the poet will use verbal reminiscences and leitmotifs to suggest darker, more negative elements in the positive poems, and positive elements in the darker poems. A detailed examination of these two concepts in poems 61 to 68 is central to my thesis.²⁸

²⁷I recognize that many critics see veiled references to Lesbia in poem 68 (*dominae*, 68.68; *domina*, 68.156; *candida diva*, 68.70; *lux mea*, 68.132, 160; *erae*, 68.136), especially since Catullus' name does appear in the cycle. But the poet has left Lesbia's name out of the cycle and she therefore does not "officially" appear in it.

²⁸For another examination of positive and negative love, see Arkins, *Sexuality*.

CHAPTER 1: POEM 61¹

I

The Invocation of Hymen

(61.1-15)

The poet's task in the first poem of a cycle is to establish the elements that will figure prominently in the ensuing poems. He must ensure

¹Poem 61 is an epithalamium. This genre has a long tradition among classical authors. Aspects of the wedding-song genre can be found to greater or lesser degree in Homer, Hesiod, Alcman, Sappho, Euripides, Callimachus, Philoxenus, Telestes, Eratosthenes, Theocritus, and Parthenius (among the Greeks), and Tigidas and Calvus (among the Romans). For general discussions about this subject, see R. Ellis, *A Commentary on Catullus*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), 208-10; C. J. Fordyce, *Catullus: a Commentary* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1961), 235-6; P. Fedeli, *Catullus' Carmen 61* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1983): 7-16.

Like much of Latin poetry, the Roman epithalamium was strongly influenced by the Greek epithalamium. One must then ask: To what extent is Catullus being creatively original in this poem, or merely drawing on a well-established tradition? Unfortunately, the number of extant examples of Greek prototypes and Roman parallels is small. Poem 61, in fact, is the major surviving Latin work of this type. A. L. Wheeler, "Tradition in the Epithalamium," *AJP* 51 (1930): 205-23, attempts to address this question by examining the work of the rhetoricians of Roman imperial times (including Menander, Dionysius, Himerius, Gregory of Nazianzos, Aptonius and Libanius) and by citing the material they collected from lost epithalamia. Among this material is a systematic catalogue of "things customarily said" at weddings. But since the list by and large corresponds to those very elements found in poem 61, it is impossible to determine whether they were using Catullus' poem as the evidence of the influence from earlier sources or merely as the prime source for their comments (see Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 11).

Nevertheless, poem 61 displays a curious combination of Greek and Roman elements: in spite of the different cultural background of the Roman wedding, it is evident that poem 61 is primarily Greek in form and technique but Roman in content. See Wheeler, "Epithalamium," 222; Williams, "Some Aspects," 16-29; L. Hutchins, "Comment and Conjecture on Catullus: Folkloristic Elements in Roman Wedding Customs," *CW* 36 (1943): 247-48.

that his theme is clearly presented and his images are precisely delineated. But a good poet must also be careful not to anticipate the ultimate development of his theme and images. What may appear to be a clear and unequivocal statement of the theme in the initial poem should still allow for considerable development, so that, by the final poem, the original theme may be seen from a different perspective, even illustrating a completely opposite point of view. In like manner, the various images established in the first poem should allow for subtle or even radical changes in interpretation as the cycle progresses.

The initial address to Hymen concentrates on his genealogy. His dwelling-place on Mt. Helicon (*collis o Heliconii / cultor*, 61.1-2) is consistent with the tradition that makes Hymen a child of one of the Muses, in this instance, Urania.² Since the opening two lines do not automatically

²Hymenaeus' mother is variously reported to be Calliope (Sch. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.313), Clio (Apollodorus) or Terpsichore (Alciphron). In making him the son of Urania, Catullus is perhaps following Callimachus (fr. 2a.42 Pf.). See Ellis, *Commentary*, 210, and Fordyce, *Commentary*, 239. Ellis suggests, however, that *Uraniae genus* represents Cypris Urania, who was chosen by Catullus in order to establish this poem as a paean to the purest form of love, which was under the protection of Cypris Urania. He cites Plato *Symp.* 180c-185d, where Pausanias tries to distinguish between the more noble, "heavenly" love (Cypris Urania) and the baser, "popular" love (Cypris Pandemos). If Catullus is indeed thinking of this passage, it is surprising that he should recall arguments that praise homosexual rather than heterosexual love.

V. A. Estevez discusses this question in "The Choice of Urania in Catullus 61," *Maia* 29/30 (1977-78): 103-5. He argues that Catullus was certainly aware of the "two Aphrodites," (perhaps evident in poem 3.1: *o Veneres Cupidinesque*) either directly from Plato or from Hellenistic poets like Theocritus, to whom is attributed an epigram which describes a married couple whose prosperity increases because it began from Aphrodite Urania (*Anth. Pal.* 6.340). Estevez states (104): "This is not to suggest Aphrodite as Hymen's mother here. The association with Helicon at 1...and later at 27-30 establishes our Urania most certainly as the Muse. But by using her name Catullus may have meant to remind us of a Venus like the goddess of the epigram, whose blessing upon a marriage would be of greater import than that of Urania the Muse." If Catullus intended to suggest this vague connotation, this provides the first specific contribution to the positive portrayal of love in this poem.

suggest that it is Hymen who is being addressed, and since the specific mention of his name is delayed until the end of this stanza, the first real indication that this is a marriage-poem occurs at 61.3-4: *qui rapis teneram ad virum / virginem*. The portrayal of Hymen as a marriage-god *qui rapit* is probably traditional.³ Even so, if the first specific reference to marriage in this generally happy poem is one of violence, this may foreshadow some darker elements that occur later in this and subsequent poems.

The dark cloud is fleeting, however, and the first stanza is completed with an ecstatic cry to the god himself (61.4-5).

The description of the god (61.6-15) is curious, in that he appears to wear those articles traditionally worn by the bride: garlands fragrant with marjoram (61.6-7), the flame-coloured marriage-veil (61.8) and the yellow slipper (61.10). The poet may even be giving to this god of marriage feminine physical characteristics (*niveo.../...pede*, 61.9-10; *voce...tinnula*, 61.13).

Estevez comments that these characteristics seem to be at cross purposes for a god of marriage;⁴ but they help to illustrate his view of the

³Cf. Festus 364.26: *rapi simulatur virgo ex gremio matris*. An allusion to the ancient rite of marriage by capture is seen here by those who support a reference to violence. These include Ellis, *Commentary*, 210; K. Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems* (London: Macmillan, 1970), 266; P. Y. Forsyth, *The Poems of Catullus* (Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America, 1986), 297; Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 27 ("*rapere*...is a typical verb indicating the utterly Roman custom of the *raptio*."). Fordyce, *Commentary*, 239, rejects the view.

⁴V. A. Estevez, "The Wedding Song of Manlius and Junia," *CB* 41 (1965): 36. He binds his temples with sweet-smelling marjoram (*suave olentis amaraci*, 61.7), which suggests *amarus*, and results in a bitter-sweet image. The *luteum* was also worn by comic actors and was "considered a sign of effeminacy." On the other hand, Hutchins, "Folkloristic Elements," 247-8, remarks that "the amaracus of the bridal wreath was generally believed to have special efficacy in warding off evil spirits." A similar apotropaic function was provided by the veil.

theme of poem 61: "this love is presented as a risk and a gamble, something uncertain, which the lovers can never take for granted." By this Estevez means that conflicts will always arise within the marriage. This theme is reinforced by the description of Hymen at the beginning of the poem: "Even the god Hymen, the very personification of marriage, reflects this opposition between man and woman, and the double aspect of love; for Catullus calls him *qui rapis*, and yet he wears the yellow slipper."⁵

Hymen is urged to appear at the wedding with great joy. He is to come happily (61.8); he is to awaken on a joyful day (61.11); and he is urged to sing (61.12-13), beat the ground (61.14) and shake the pine torch

⁵Estevez, "Wedding Song", 36. G. Lieberg, "Observationes in Catulli Carmen Sexagesimum Primum," *Latinitas* 22 (1974): 217-18, argues that Hymen's regalia, especially the *flammeum*, is his own and not borrowed from the bride. He cites the painting known as the Nozze Aldobrandine to support his argument, but misidentifies the figure seated alongside the bride on the couch as Hymen. In reality, Hymen is seated on the ground to the left of the couch. The figure seated beside the bride is Peitho. This matches the circumstances in poem 61. The bride is hesitant and worried; in poem 61 it is the attendants who encourage the bride to embark on the ceremony, not Hymen.

In his article, however, Estevez does make some valid points about the subtle tensions within this poem. He concludes (38) that the "feminine" appearance of Hymen at the beginning of poem 61 is transferred to the bride herself at the end of the poem: "In a sense, the bride has become love, has become a goddess of marriage." This is an interesting comment and has great relevance to other poems in this group (cf. 68.70, where the poet's beloved is described as *mea candida diva*). Another male/female transformation is found in poem 63 and Dionysus (poem 64) frequently displays male and female attributes.

This focus on male/female sexuality also caught the attention of Ellis, *Commentary*, 209. He divides the eight poems of this group into two parts: in the first part (poems 61 to 64), the "male sentiment either predominates or is exhibited side by side with the female," while the second group "is more concerned with the female emotion." I do not believe Ellis is entirely correct in his perception of these eight poems. His theory does not adequately allow for the inclusion of poem 63 within the first group. In his catalogue of the eight poems, he must separate poem 63 and deal with it at the end, describing it as representative of an "anti-nuptial sentiment." How such a poem can logically be included in a group that celebrates what Ellis calls the "unity of subject" (i.e. marriage) is difficult to see. But Ellis' comments still indicate that the poet has established sexuality (of whatever nature) as an integral part of these eight poems.

(61.14-15). This positive description of Hymen's anticipated arrival dispels any underlying feelings of misgiving suggested by earlier images.

II

The Wedding Couple

(61.16-30)

It is not until the fourth stanza that the names of the wedding couple are given (61.16-20).⁶ When the bride is mentioned in 61.16, it is in conjunction with an elaborate simile:

qualis Idalium colens
venit ad Phrygium Venus
iudicem

(61.17-19)

Just as Hymen is the inhabitant (*cultor*, 61.2) of the Heliconian mount, so is Venus the inhabitant (*colens*, 61.17) of Idalium. The poet's use of the cognates *cultor* and *colens* in such close proximity links the two divinities, and suggests that this marriage is under the positive auspices of these two important and appropriate gods.⁷ On first reading, the reference to Venus is

⁶See Appendix A for a discussion of the names of the wedding couple.

⁷Hymen is to be found on a mountain; and although Venus is strictly to be found in the city of Idalium on Cyprus, the mention of her name in connection with the judgment of the Trojan Paris suggests Mt. Ida in Phrygia. Ellis, *Commentary*, 214: "*Phrygium*. Trojan, perhaps with a notion of Paris' special connexion with Ida, *Iph. Aul.* 1289-90." To Ellis (*Commentary*, 210), Hymen's genealogical tag (*Uraniae genus*, 61.2) seems to suggest the influence of Cypris Urania (see above, note 2). If so, the inference is made much clearer now as Venus herself is mentioned, as the poet combines her Cypriot ancestry (*Idalium*, 61.17) and her Phrygian victory (*Phrygium.../ iudicem*, 61.18-19). If Cypris Urania is indeed suggested at 61.2, what better divinity than the protector of pure love to preside over a marriage-hymn?

a logical one in an epithalamium: the poet is comparing the beauty of the bride to that of the winner of the greatest beauty contest of all time.

But the significant point here is not so much the reference to Venus' beauty as the allusion to Paris, the judge of the contest (*iudicem*, 61.19). Of all the ways the poet could have referred to the beauty of Venus, mention of the judgment of Paris may not be the most appropriate or auspicious, since the reader would recall the terrible aftermath of Paris' decision. Not only was the marriage of Helen and Menelaus destroyed, but also the marriages of Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra, Hector and Andromache, and countless others.⁸

Critics point out that this comparison ostensibly establishes only that the bride is extraordinarily beautiful.⁹ But the poet suggests that there is more to the comparison than this. He states that this bride will wed Manlius *cum bona l...alite* (61.19-20). Is this simply a reference to the common practice of taking the auspices before a wedding? Or is this a reference specifically to a good omen, a positive reference to counter the potentially negative connotations in the simile? The poet is suggesting that, even though Venus is involved here, it cannot be taken for granted that she always presides over a positive or successful marriage.¹⁰

⁸The choral ode in Euripides' *Hec.* 629-56 condemns Paris for bringing destruction on Troy, especially through his part in the judgment of the beauty contest (lines 644-56). Hector condemns Paris for causing destruction for Troy through his part in the judgment in *Il.* 3.39-57 and 6.280-85.

⁹See Ellis, *Commentary*, 214.

¹⁰Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 28, citing Cic. *De Div.* 1.16.28, mentions that the practice of taking the auspices for Roman weddings was "practically abolished" in Catullus' time. Therefore, simply by referring to this out-dated practice at 61.19-20, Catullus is drawing attention to it. The fact that he has included the phrase *cum bona*

There is another clue that leads to this conclusion. The simile in this fourth stanza recalls the imagery of the first. In the fourth stanza, the apparently positive but subtly inauspicious comparison to Venus at the judgment of Paris is followed by the immediate reference to a *good* omen (*cum bona alite*). Similarly, but in reverse order, the positive reference to Hymen in the first stanza, is followed immediately by a more negative reference to seizing a maiden for marriage (*qui rapis teneram ad virum / virginem*, 61.3-4). Admittedly, both images (*rapis* and *cum bona alite*) are part of the wedding tradition. But when the initial reference to Hymen *qui rapit* is connected to the reference in the fourth stanza (*iudicem*) and the chain of events suggested by it, another seizure comes to mind, not of a *virgo*, to be sure, but of Helen.¹¹

Once again, then, poem 61 is subtly, almost subliminally, planting the seeds of doubt, of tension, of potential disaster, even though the poem presents primarily a positive statement about love and marriage.

alite seems to me to make the point even more emphatic. The point is not simply that the auspices have been taken, but that the omen is a good one (and it conceivably could have been a bad one).

¹¹Indeed, in Euripides' *Troades* 919-65, Helen condemns the malevolent influence of Aphrodite as much as the involvement of Paris in the beauty contest and its terrible consequences. Cf. also the letter of Helen to Paris (Ovid *Heroides* 17). Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, suggests another ironic twist in this simile: "Junia is similar to Venus, when the goddess appeared in front of Paris for the famous judgement..the bride is introduced at the very moment she approaches the groom: she looks beautiful and shy, sublime and humble as if she were coming before a judge." He suggests here, and states emphatically later (140), that the parallels in the simile are two-fold: Venus = Junia and Paris = Manlius. If these lines do allow for a double comparison (instead of merely relating to Junia), then this adds a more negative connotation to the groom. If he is like Paris, this may be the first indication of the groom's potential infidelity.

The description of the bride's beauty concludes with a floral simile (61.21-25), a customary element in the epithalamium.¹² The myrtle is traditionally associated with Venus¹³ and is a logical plant to choose for this comparison. That this myrtle is flowering in Lydia continues the eastern, Phrygian setting. Having described the bride, the poet returns to Hymen and calls him forth to the ceremony (61.26-30).¹⁴

III

The Bride and Her Home

(61.31-35)

The poet asks the god to summon the bride to her new home:

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

(61.31-35)

This marks the first appearance of the concepts of *domus* and *domina*, two of the most important images in this cycle.¹⁵

¹²Wheeler, "Tradition," 213.

¹³Cf. *Ecl.* 7.61-62: *gratissima... / formosae myrtus Veneri.*

¹⁴The phrase *quare age, huc* (61.26) recalls the initial *huc / huc veni* (61.8-9); but the solemn language (*aditum ferens* 61.26) stresses the ritual nature of the poem and indicates more urgency.

¹⁵V. P. McCarren, *A Critical Concordance to Catullus* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977) lists twenty-eight examples of the word *domus* within the collection. Of these, twenty-five occur within poems 61 to 68 (three in poem 61, five in poem 63, eight in poem 64, two in poem 67 and seven in poem 68). This is obviously a concept that the poet wished to treat in this cycle. The first appearance of *domus* at 61.31 balances its last appearance five lines from the end of poem 68 (*et domus [ipsa] in qua lusimus,*

The image of the *domus* is central to poem 61, especially since it is the goal of the bridal procession. The home represents the security of the family, and the wife's duty is to maintain the security of the home in order to provide a fertile environment for the continuation of the family and the race, as the emphasis on children within this poem indicates.¹⁶ The poet is concerned with both the physical and spiritual influence of the *domus*.

The word *domina* can have positive and negative connotations, but its initial appearance at 61.31 suggests the traditional, positive role of the wife within the legal marriage arrangement.¹⁷ The wife's role here is made even stronger by the reference to the bond that exists between herself and her husband (*coniugis cupidam novi*, 61.32), a bond reinforced through the subtle influence of Cupid (*cupidam*) and Venus (*mentem amore revinciens*, 61.33).¹⁸ Binding the bride's mind with love may simply be a very strong way of describing the girl's deep affection for her husband, since the verb is used elsewhere to denote very tight constraints.¹⁹ The

68.156). The word *domina*, with which *domus* is coupled in 61.31, receives equally important, though less frequent, treatment throughout the collection. The word *domina* occurs nine times, and again most of these (six of nine) appear in poems 61 to 68 (one in poem 61, two in poem 63, one in poem 66 and two in poem 68). All other appearances occur within the first sixty poems; there are no examples in the later elegies. Like the *domus*-theme, the concept of *domina* will be a recurring motif throughout the cycle.

¹⁶For a detailed discussion of the role of the wife, see T. E. V. Pearce, "The Role of the Wife as Custos in Ancient Rome," *Eranos* 72 (1974): 16-33.

¹⁷See Appendix B.

¹⁸Fordyce, *Commentary*, 242-3, states that *cupidam* suggests that the bride's "desire for her husband" will help overcome her hesitation at the beginning of this new stage in her life. This suggests a hint of a negative element here.

¹⁹Cf. Ovid *Meta.* 11.212 (Apollo ties Laomedon's daughter to the rocks); Virgil *Aen.* 3.76 (Apollo ties Delos to Myconos and Gyarus). The phrase may be adapted from some formula that described the flowers woven in the bride's hair.

significance of the phrase, however, is clarified by the simile with which it is connected:

mentem amore revinciens,
ut tenax hedera huc et huc
arborem implicat errans.

(61.33-35)

Clinging ivy is a common image for human relationships. Ellis suggests that this common image is "applied in an uncommon way" in this simile, since "generally the ivy is the *person* who clasps..., here it is love which clasps the soul."²⁰ More important than this is the fact that the poet uses ivy (*hedera*) in the simile, a wild and untamed plant (*errans*, 61.35), rather than the domesticated vine (*vitis*), the other plant that is commonly used in similes suggesting human relationships.²¹ By portraying Hymen as binding the bride's mind with love as wild and untamed as the ivy, the poet indicates that the bride needs some strong external impetus to foster or confirm her feelings of love for the groom. Her mind must be bound with this kind of love, a love that is as wild as the ivy which can entwine itself around a tree completely, in no well-ordered way (*huc et huc / arborem implicat*, 61.34-35).

The poet, therefore, suggests a wealth of meaning in 61.31-35. The *domus* represents security; the *domina* is indicative of the traditional role of the wife within the marriage bond. The words used to express the strength of the love between the couple (*cupidam, mentem amore*

²⁰Ellis, *Commentary*, 217.

²¹See Appendix C.

revinciens) are ostensibly positive. Even the traditional ivy imagery is still meant to suggest the positive aspects of love. However, there have already been examples of underlying dark elements in poem 61 (the implied violence at 61.3-4, and the allusion to Venus at the judgment of Paris at 61.17-19). Now, in this passage, the skilful use of vocabulary that suggests underlying tensions (wild *hedera* versus civilized *vitis*) presents a third instance of subtle thematic development.

IV

The Address to the Bridal Attendants

(61.36-45)

The poet next shifts the reader's attention from Hymen to the attendants at the wedding (61.36-45).²² His use of parallel vocatives with appropriate connectives makes the transition clear, even if it is somewhat abrupt.²³ More importantly, these ten lines recall many images introduced

²²These ten lines at first seem only loosely connected to the opening seventy-five lines that are addressed directly to Hymen. Quinn, *The Poems*, 265, calls these lines an "aside to the bridesmaids," implying, perhaps, that he finds it difficult to place them within the strict confines of an exordium to the god. Ellis, *Commentary*, 210, calls the lines a "summons to the virgins appointed to sing the hymeneal." But these *virgines* are called to the ceremony (*vosque*, 61.36) just as the god is called by the poet, who is acting, as Wheeler notes, much like a chorus-leader, directing and taking part in the action. Whether this technique is meant to suggest that poem 61 is a "real" marriage-hymn, intended to be sung at a real wedding, is rather doubtful. Most critics feel that this is simply a literary marriage-hymn (Quinn, *The Poems*, 264-65). See Appendix A. In such a long poem, Catullus had to be constantly mindful of unity. Although Quinn has reservations about the place of this passage within the exordium, Catullus has in fact skilfully constructed these lines in order to relate them to what has just been described and to look forward to what is about to be described.

²³The opening second person singular vocatives referring to Hymen (*collis o Heliconii / cultor*, 61.1-2) are matched by the emphatic second person plural vocatives at 61.36-37 (*vosque...integræ / virgines*). Adverbs of time (*item simul*, 61.36) help to emphasize the immediacy of the ceremony. The ritual cry that

in the first thirty-five lines; this links this passage with the former, and keeps the poet's themes constantly in the reader's mind.²⁴

The address to the *virgines* recalls the role of Hymen, who seizes the *teneram virginem* for her husband (61.3-4). There is, however, a shift in emphasis here. Both sections seem positive in outlook; but there are hints of underlying conflict in the preceding section. In the section devoted to the attendants, these tensions are more suppressed. The maidens are specifically described as *integrae* (61.36), "pure, untouched, unmarried." Moreover, the reference to Venus here is clearly positive: *dux bonae Veneris*. The fact that she is called *bona* counters the subliminal negative connotations associated with Venus in the simile at 61.17-19.²⁵ Even the reference to Hymen is unequivocally positive: he is the god who joins those in legitimate love (*boni / coniugator amoris*, 61.44-45).²⁶ This also serves

concludes the opening stanza of this poem (*o Hymenaeae Hymen, / o Hymen Hymenaeae*, 61.4-5) also concludes this stanza (61.39-40), thus marking a transition to a second element in the poem.

²⁴Just as the god awakens on this happy day (*excitusque hilari die*, 61.11), so does an equally happy day come for these maidens (*quibus advenit / par dies*, 61.37-38). The god is urged to sing the wedding-song with ringing voice (*nuptialia concinens / voce carmina tinnula*, 61.12-13), just as the maidens are urged to chant the ritual cry "in time" (*agite in modum / dicite, o Hymenaeae Hymen, / o Hymen Hymenaeae*, 61.38-40). The poet calls on the god to come gladly (*laetus, huc / huc veni*, 61.8-9), an exhortation which is echoed by the maidens (*ut lubentius, audiens / se citatier ad suum / munus*, 61.41-43). The repetition of archaic periphrases (*quare age, huc aditum ferens*, 61.26; *huc aditum ferat*, 61.43) unifies the two sections and maintains the feeling of anticipation. The mention of Venus in the fourth stanza (*Iunia... / qualis... / Venus*, 61.16-18) is matched at 61.44 (*dux bonae Veneris*). Even Hymen's traditional role (*qui rapis teneram ad virum / virginem*, 61.3-4) is reiterated here (*boni / coniugator amoris*, 61.44-45).

²⁵Cf. the clarifying *cum bona /...alite* at 61.19-20. See Arkins, *Sexuality*, 119: "[Catullus] reinforces this thematic emphasis on the value of marriage at a verbal level by freely using forms of the adjective *bonus*."

²⁶Ellis, *Commentary*, 218, suggests that *amoris boni* contrasts with *meretricii amores*. Cf. Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 44: "*bona Venus - bonus (i.e. legitimus) amor*."

to counter the negative connotation in the earlier Venus/Paris simile.²⁷ This section of the poem, therefore, produces a very positive statement about love and marriage.

However, there may still be some subtle negative connotations here. These maidens are called *integrae* within a marriage-hymn; the poet even foresees the day of their hoped-for marriage (*quibus advenit / paradies*, 61.37-38) at which time their *integritas* will be lost.²⁸ Moreover, by mentioning the role of these maidens in summoning the marriage-god to his duty (*ad suum / munus*, 61.42-43), the poet recalls the first reference to Hymen's role: *qui rapis teneram ad virum / virginem* (61.2-3). So, while there is nothing explicit in these ten lines to suggest any negative aspect of marriage, the earlier references to Paris and violence, with their vague hints of conflict within love and marriage, have an impact on this passage. Certainly the poet is attempting to dispel some of the earlier tension. But the care with which he has linked these ten lines to the preceding indicates that the very positive image portrayed here must be seen in conjunction with the earlier, less positive images.

Therefore, this brief "aside" to the attendants underscores the various themes already presented in the poem, especially those that waver between positive and potentially negative aspects of love and marriage. But it also tips the scale in favour of the positive. The maidens are *integrae* just

²⁷That the current passage is meant to suggest the former is indicated by similar alliteration: *bona cum bona / nubet alite virgo* (61.19-20); *dux bonae Veneris, boni / coniugator amoris* (61.44-45).

²⁸This stands in contrast to their being called *integrae* within the Hymn to Diana (*Dianae sumus in fide / puellae et pueri integri*, 34.1-2).

as Iunia is pure (*bona*). There is no textual hint that the marriage these maidens may one day have will be anything else but pure (*quibus advenit / par dies*). Venus is now *bona* and Hymen, who is now *boni / coniugator amoris* (61.44-45), is simply called upon to do his duty (*ad suum / munus*, 61.42-43): the specific delineation of that duty (*qui rapis*) is not mentioned. It is only in comparison with the earlier passage, especially the connotations of the Venus/Paris simile, that the reader is reminded of a possible cloud on the horizon.

The first thirty-five lines of poem 61 establish a possibility that some negative aspects may occur in love and marriage. In the passage devoted to the attendants, the poet skilfully recalls these same aspects only to stamp them with a more positive cast. It is as if he were saying to the reader: "I am going to give you some images of marriage and love. I will couch them in somewhat ambiguous terms in 61.1-35 so that you will be aware primarily of the positive connotations; but I will do it in such a way that you may perceive, albeit subliminally, some darker implications. Once I have established this duality, I will bring back the same aspects in the section on the attendants, but I will be more positive. By this, I hope that you, the reader, will immediately dismiss any vague feelings of uneasiness that I have instilled in your minds from the opening section and decide that this is, indeed, a poem about the positive aspects of love and marriage. But the seeds of underlying tension have already been planted, waiting only for the appropriate time to germinate."

V

The Concluding Invocation to Hymen

(61.46-75)

The introductory section of poem 61 ends with the encomium to Hymen, indicating that the god has finally arrived at the ceremony.²⁹ The encomium begins with several implied comparisons in the form of rhetorical questions (61.46-50). The first wonders what other god is more appropriate to be sought by those involved in mutual love (61.46-47).³⁰ The second presents a generalizing statement about the appropriateness of

²⁹See Appendix D. Once again, Catullus delineates this third part of the introduction by repeating the ritual cry (*o Hymenaeae Hymen, / o Hymen Hymenaeae*, 61.49-50) at the conclusion of the first stanza in this section.

³⁰The first sentence in the stanza has some textual problems. Critics agree that *quis* instead of *qui* as the interrogative adjective is quite acceptable. However, the manuscript reading *amatis est* does not conform to the metre. Bergk's transposition (*est ama- / tis*) fits the metre but most critics feel that this too presents problems. The neat parallels of *amatis/amantibus* would suit an Alexandrian style: other parallels have already been presented in this poem (*virum / virginem*, 61.3-4; *bona cum bona /...alite*, 61.19-20; *domum dominam*, 61.31; *dux bonae Veneris, boni / coniugator amoris*, 61.44-45).

Fordyce, *Commentary*, 243, allows the inversion of the order of the words; but he finds it difficult to accept *amatis* in place of a present participle passive (which the sense of the passage requires) as the standard parallels of *amant amantur* in asyndeton would require. Therefore, he and others suggest that perhaps Haupt's emendation *anxiis* might be more "plausible."

Even if *anxiis* or some similar word is correct, there is still the problem of determining which words modify which words. Haupt makes *anxiis* predicate with *amantibus*: "which god is to be sought by lovers more earnestly." But Ellis rightly makes *anxiis* attributive to *amantibus*: "what god is more to be sought by heart-sick lovers." Perhaps one point in favour of the conjecture *anxiis* is that it suits the situation of the young lovers, and anticipates a similar reflection on the groom (*timens...novos /...maritus*, 61.54-55); it also recalls the earlier phrase *dominam.../coniugis cupidam novi* (61.31-32), if Fordyce's comment (242) is correct, that *cupidam* implies that the bride's hesitation has been overcome by her desire for her husband. This provides a general comment on the nervousness of young lovers (*anxiis amantibus*) and a specific example pertaining both to the bride (*dominam cupidam*) and groom (*timens novos maritus*). Certainly the words and images used are quite similar in both stanzas (61.31-33; 61.54-55). In the end, however, I think Catullus probably wrote *amatis*.

Hymen in the marriage ceremony: *quem colent homines magis / caelitum* (61.48-49).³¹ After the third repetition of the ritual cry to Hymen (61.49-50), the poet begins a series of stanzas describing the various functions and roles of the god. Now, however, the god is addressed directly through second person singular pronouns and adjectives (*te, tibi, tu, tuis*).

The first stanza in the group (61.51-55) combines the three most important participants in the marriage ceremony: parent, bride and groom. The mention of the father (*parens*, 61.51) brings the theme of ancestry into the poem for the first time.³² In particular, it is the father's concern for his own children that is stressed (*te suis tremulus parens / invocat*, 61.51-52). That the father is old adds to the urgency. Why does the aged father invoke the god for his children? Ellis comments that "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."³³ But there is more to it than this. The parent is concerned that children be produced from the marriage to ensure the survival of the clan. It is the offspring of the marriage and not merely the marriage itself that is the greater concern of the aged parent.

³¹The use of *colent* recalls Venus at 61.17 (*qualis Idalium colens*) and Hymen in 61.1-2 (*collis o Heliconii / cultor*). This play on the word *colo* ("worship," "inhabit") has an Alexandrian quality about it.

³²Statistics concerning the word *parens* are significant. The word occurs sixteen times in Catullus, of which thirteen occur within poems 61 to 68 (two references in poem 61, three in poem 62, three in poem 64, one in poem 66, two in poem 67, and two in poem 68). One could argue that the high style of poems 61 to 68 dictates that *parens* be used more often than *pater*. But regardless of the word used, the father-theme remains a major one in this cycle. Of course, it is natural to include the theme of ancestry in a marriage-hymn; but it is obvious that Catullus thought it a theme important enough to develop throughout these eight poems.

³³Ellis, *Commentary*, 218.

This theme is indirectly continued in the next few lines: for Hymen, the maidens loose their garments from their girdles (*tibi virgines / zonula solvunt sinus*, 61.52-53). The sudden shift from the aged parent to the young maidens is striking.³⁴ The phrase *zonam solvere* describes the traditional action of the bride at marriage; but it also symbolically represents the surrendering of her virginity.³⁵ This further establishes that the theme of this stanza is the children to be born of this marriage.

The stanza concludes with the third participant in the marriage: the fearful husband "grasps Hymen by the ear" (*captat*), listening for the god's presence to aid him in the job at hand.³⁶ The husband is described here as "new" (*novos*), as he was at 61.32 (*coniugis...novi*). This may account for his timorousness (*timens*).³⁷ The husband listens with "eager" ear (*cupida.../...aure*, 61.54-55) just as the bride is "eager" for her husband (*dominam.../...cupidam*, 61.31-32). The subtle influence of Cupid is affecting both partners. Even the image of constraint inherent in *captat* recalls earlier images: Hymen "seizes" the maiden for the man (*rapis*,

³⁴The use of the diminutive *zonula* is the first of many used in the poem to refer to the bride. It suggests the youth of the girl here, providing a stark contrast to the *tremulus parens*.

³⁵Ellis, *Commentary*, 219. He quotes Paulus: "...initio coniugii solutio erat cinguli, quod nova nupta erat cincta...; cingillo nova nupta praecingebatur quod vir in lecto solvebat." See also Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 50.

³⁶Cf. Virgil *Aen.* 3.513-14: *haud segnis strato surgit Palinurus et omnis / explorat ventos atque auribus aera captat*. There may also be a legal allusion here. Horace allows the boor's antagonist to touch his ear (*ego vero / oppono auriculam*, *Sat.* 1.9.76-77) to guarantee Horace's appearance in court. In poem 61, this legal element may enhance the groom's position, as argued by the boys in poem 62.

³⁷61.46-47 may have anticipated this point, if the emendation of *amatis* to *anxiis* more accurately reflects what Catullus actually wrote.

61.3); love "binds" the mind of the bride with love (*mentem amore revinciens*, 61.33).

If this stanza portrays Hymen as receiving the attention of the father, the bride, and the husband (*te, tibi, te*), the next stanza (61.56-60) shows him actively participating in the marriage process (*tu.../...ipse*, 61.56-57).³⁸

Once again the poet presents familiar images, although the specific vocabulary used to refer to the bride and groom in past stanzas now gives way to generalities. The groom, described previously as *virum* (61.30), *coniugis* (61.32) or *maritus* (61.55), is now *iuveni* (61.56). Similarly, the bride, who was previously *virgo* (61.20) or *dominam* (61.31), is now *puellulam* (61.57).³⁹

The youthfulness of the bride is enhanced by the adjective *floridam* (61.57): not only is she very young, but she is like a flower, fresh and delicate. Floral imagery has been used already by the poet to underscore the beauty of the young bride. She is like the Lydian myrtle, shining "with floral sprays" (*floridis.../...ramulis*, 61.21-22). The delicate

³⁸Once again, the poet repeats the ritual cry (61.59-60). This indicates a fourth subsection within these opening lines. The other occurrences of the cry indicate various stages of the god's epiphany: (1) the god is far away (61.1-35); (2) the attendants are urged to help hasten the god's arrival (61.36-45); (3) the god has arrived (61.46-55); (4) he now actively takes part in the marriage process (61.56-75).

³⁹Note especially the double diminutive *puellulam*. It is interesting that, of the terms used in the earlier stanzas to describe both the bride and the groom, those referring to the bride almost exclusively stress her youth. The groom may be *vir*, *coniunx*, *maritus* or *iuvenis*, but nothing in these words explicitly describes his youthfulness. By contrast, except for *dominam* (61.31), all the terms for the bride suggest that she is very young: *virgo*, *puellula*. Indeed, if Iunia is the true name for the bride in this poem, this too may stress her youth.

nature of the young maiden bride has been mentioned (*teneram.../ virginem*, 61.3-4) and in her honour, the marriage-god himself is urged to deck himself with flowers, like a bride (*cinge tempora floribus / suave olentis amaraci*, 61.6-7). There may even be a hint of floral imagery in the striking metaphor of Hymen "binding the mind of the bride with love" (*mentem amore revinciens*, 61.35), since brides wore flowers in their hair.

The groom possesses a different character: *fero iuveni* (61.56). What exactly does the poet mean by *fero*? Forsyth translates it as "high-spirited" but adds no explanation for the translation, other than to contrast it with the bride's epithet (*floridam*, "in the bloom" of youth).⁴⁰ Ellis gives a lengthy discussion of the term, translating it as "rude," "partly from the *ardor violentus* of love."⁴¹ He also links the word with the potentially violent allusion at 61.3 (*qui rapis*) and the traditional "ravishing" of the bride "as an enemy."⁴² He dismisses the suggestion of Riese, comparing references in Tibullus and Seneca's *Hippolytus*, that the word implies "defiant," "in the sense of not yet submitting to the rule of the marriage-god." I think Ellis is correct in dismissing Riese's view of the groom's defiance of the marriage-god. However, there may indeed be a suggestion of defiance or provocation on the part of the groom, not *against* the authority of Hymen, but *towards* the bride herself.

Quinn translates *fero* as "rough," "not gentle."⁴³ He too sees some link to the old view of marriage as a violent tearing away of the bride

⁴⁰Forsyth, *The Poems*, 302.

⁴¹Ellis, *Commentary*, 219. This may indeed be the best interpretation.

⁴²This view is rejected by Fordyce, *Commentary*, 244.

⁴³Quinn, *The Poems*, 268.

from her mother (*qui rapis*). However, he suggests that *fero* really means "shy," "nervous," "like a wild creature," whose inexperience in this new situation makes his actions less than smooth and refined. This would make this reference to the groom consistent with 61.54-55 (*timens...novos /...maritus*). Whatever the exact meaning of *fero*, the word suggests that the groom possesses some degree of violence or wildness that can or will be used against the bride, whose gentleness and vulnerability is stressed (*floridam...puellulam*, 61.57).

If *fero* is meant by the poet to recall the rather violent function of the marriage-god from 61.3, the reference to the god's role in *this* stanza is certainly less violent. Hymen does not "seize" but "gives" (*dedis*, 61.58) the youthful bride to the rough young man. To be sure, his action is still somewhat violent, as he takes the bride from her mother's protective embrace (*a gremio suae / matris*, 61.58-59), but the change of verb from *rapis* to *dedis*, with the emphasis on the very personal intervention of the god (*tu...ipse*), seems to soften the difficult transition of the bride from her mother's lap to the groom's house.

The phrase *a gremio suae / matris* is an important one. Like the *domus*, the *gremium* represents security, specifically the security represented by the protective embrace of the bride's own mother (*suae / matris*, 61.58-59).⁴⁴ But the phrase also helps to develop the associations

⁴⁴The word *gremium* is used only nine times in the collection; but again, most of the examples (seven) occur in poems 61 to 68. The other two occur in poems that also stress the security of the *gremium*. In poem 3, the pet sparrow loved his mistress (*domina*) as well as a young girl knows her own mother. The sparrow is envisaged as being in a marital or even filial relationship with Lesbia. The protective

of violence with marriage already presented. Even though the bride is being *placed into* the hands of her new husband (a positive image), his inexperience (*fero*) creates a situation of insecurity at the very least. But the poet also stresses that the bride is being *taken from* the protective embrace of her own mother (a negative image), a situation whose permanence is emphasized by the separation of *a gremio suae* from *matris* by enjambment (61.58-59).⁴⁵

The next three stanzas progress naturally and logically, according to Ellis, from "(1) the relation of the husband and wife to (2) that of parent and child, and (3) that of citizen and country."⁴⁶ He further categorizes the

lap of Lesbia represents total security for the sparrow, a security which only death has been able to break, and a security which the poet wishes he could enjoy.

The *gremium* also occurs in the Acme/Septimius ode (poem 45). The strength of love between these two people is symbolically portrayed at the beginning of the poem through the description of their embrace: *Acmen Septimius suos amore / tenens in gremio* (45.1-2). Again, verbal similarities abound between poems 45 and 61. There are many diminutives and Amor assumes a direct role in approving the relationship. The asyndeton of 45.20 (*amant amantur*) may have been matched in 61.46-47 (*est ama- / tis petendus amantibus*). Rhetorical questions are used to express the power of love (45.25-26). Poem 45 represents an idealized, totally happy and secure view of a relationship. It was presented so from the very beginning, symbolized by the protective embrace of the two lovers. Cf. also Luc. *De Rerum Natura* 1.33-37.

⁴⁵Unlike Amor in poem 45, who clearly shows his approval of the relationship between Acme and Septimius, Hymen is simply doing his duty (*suum munus*) and giving the young, fresh, flower-like bride into the hands (*in manus*) of the inexperienced young man. Certainly the poet is recalling parts of the marriage tradition with the phrases *in manus* and *a gremio suae / matris*. Fordyce, *Commentary*, 244, who tends not to see references to the old traditions in this poem, interprets these phrases as being simply "natural" under the circumstances. But if this poem represents a formal depiction of the marriage-hymn, then such formulaic expressions should be of paramount importance. Given the strong emotional impact of the word *gremium* and the stress on the delicate nature of the young bride in contrast with the inexperienced nature of the young man, the traditional phraseology does take on more significance. This is especially so in view of similar ambiguous images used earlier (cf. 61.3-4, 17-19, 34-35).

⁴⁶Ellis, *Commentary*, 220. In order to emphasize the close relationship of these three stanzas, Catullus makes extensive use of repetition and parallel phrasing. The thought expressed in the initial *nil potest sine te* (61.61) is repeated with slight variation at the beginning of the next stanza (*nulla quit sine te*, 61.66) and with major variation in the third (*quae...careat... / non queat*, 61.71-72). The continued use of archaic infinitives (*compararier*, 61.65, 70, 75; *nitier*, 61.68) unites these stanzas and

progression as "corresponding 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."⁴⁷

The first of these stanzas (61.61-65) treats of sexual matters (*Venus*). This is the third mention of *Venus* in the poem. The first reference, the *Venus/Paris simile* (61.17-19), suggests some underlying negative aspects; the second is unequivocally positive (*dux bonae Veneris*, 61.44); and it is this positive element that is stressed in the third reference.

Each line of the stanza contributes to the development of the thought. Initially, *Venus* can do nothing without *Hymen* (*nil potest sine te Venus*, 61.61). This seems to be all-encompassing: all types of love, good and bad, positive and negative, are impossible without *Hymen*. But this generalization is quickly clarified: *Venus* can do nothing, that is, that a *bona fama* (61.62) might approve. The poet uses the word *fama* in only two other poems in the collection; both instances suggest that *fama* tends to indicate a *bad* reputation.⁴⁸ But in poem 61, it is the respectable type of love, a love that is the cause of no ruinous rumours, that the poet is stressing: a *bonus amor*, a love found within a marriage begun *cum bona*

links them to earlier ones (*citarier*, 61.42). Two sentences are repeated almost verbatim in all three stanzas (*at potest / te volente*, 61.63-64, 68-69; *at queat / te volente*, 61.73-74). All three stanzas end with the same sentence: *quis huic deo / compararier ausit* (61.64-65, 69-70, 74-75). All this serves to emphasize the formal and ritualistic element in poem 61.

⁴⁷Ellis quotes Cicero *De Officiis* 1.17.54, which also mentions the tripartite nature of procreation: *coniugium, liberi, una domus*.

⁴⁸In poem 78, *fama* will tell all the world for all time what sort of lecherous person Gallus is (*nam te omnia saecla / noscent et, qui sis, fama loquetur anus*, 78.9-10). In poem 80, *fama* will also broadcast the vices of Gellius (*nescio quid certe est: an vere fama susurrat / grandia te medii tenta vorare viri*, 80.5-6).

l...alite (61.19-20), and not one found in illicit affairs. It is this type of love that Hymen, *dux bonae Veneris* (61.44), makes possible. The addition of the adjective *bona* to modify *fama* makes this clear.⁴⁹

Once this type of love has been recognized, the poet stamps it with approval: this is worth striving for. Without Hymen and his power to direct Venus into positive types of love-making, "nothing good," no advantage (*nil.../ commodi*, 61.61, 63) can be achieved; but with the marriage-god, it is possible (*at potest / te volente*, 61.63-64). Once again, the poet expresses his awe at the power of the god with a rhetorical question: *quis huic deo / compararier ausit* (61.64-65).⁵⁰

The second of the three stanzas (61.66-70) deals with the relation between parent and child. One of the advantages (*commodi*) of the legitimate love praised in the last stanza is the begetting of children. So important is this aspect that the poet speaks of it in universal terms: it is not specifically the wife and husband that produce children, but the house itself (*domus*, 61.66).⁵¹ The mention of *domus* (61.66) as the official benefactor of legitimate marriage underscores the earlier reference to the house (*domum dominam voca*, 61.31), now especially symbolic of the much broader and more important concept of the security of the family. It

⁴⁹Cf. Arkins, *Sexuality*, 121-22.

⁵⁰The archaic infinitive (*compararier*) and the old optative (*ausit = audeat*, Quinn, *The Poems*, 269) again serve to add formality to this hymn. See the comments of Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 45, about the passive infinitives in *-ier*.

⁵¹The phrase used to indicate the begetting of children (*liberos dare*, 61.67) is probably an old one (cf. Fordyce, *Commentary*, 244, where several examples from Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Tibullus are given). This continues the trend of using archaic words and formulae to make this hymn as formal as possible, even if many of the terms used in this hymn were considered "obsolete" in Catullus' time.

is the *domus* that produces children (*liberos dare*, 61.67), provided that the marriage-god so wishes (*te volente*, 61.69), just as he willed the success of legitimate marriage in the previous stanza.

To underline the point, the poet recalls the image of the *parens* (61.67). At 61.51-52, the aged father (*tremulus parens*) invokes Hymen on behalf of his children, hoping that the new marriage will produce descendants. Now the poet amplifies on that thought: with the marriage-god's blessing, the young stock of the bride and groom can bear fruit to ensure the security of the family. The father can rely on his children as the roots or the foundation of his house (*stirpe nitier*, 61.68).⁵² Once again, the poet ends the stanza with the rhetorical question honouring the god's power (*quis huic deo / compararier ausit*, 61.69-70).

For the third time, the theme of the previous stanza leads directly to the next (61.71-75): the relationship of these new children to the state. If the *domus* at 61.66 can produce children (*liberos dare*), so can the land (*terra*, 61.73) produce guardians (*dare praesides*, 61.72) to protect the borders of the state (*finibus*, 61.73), but only if the god's rites (*sacris*, 61.71) are respected. In this stanza, the poet has skilfully combined two themes. The children from this successful marriage will be protectors not just of the immediate family (*stirpe nitier*, 61.68) but of the state (*queat dare praesides / terra finibus*, 61.72-73). But, by using the subjunctive in

⁵²This metaphor, referring to the descendants as a tree-trunk, is a natural one in this circumstance; but it is particularly appropriate in this poem. Floral and plant imagery have been used already to suggest the delicate youthfulness of the bride (61.21-25; 57) and even Hymen himself (61.6-7). Cf. Cicero *Pro Caelio* 79 (*qui hoc unico filio nititur*) and *Tusc. Disp.* 5.13.37 (*stirpibus suis niteretur*).

the third stanza, the poet has also shifted this broader and perhaps less important theme to a higher plane: the use of the indicative in the previous stanzas allows the more personal theme (individual marriage and children) to occupy the foreground.⁵³

With this stanza, the *exordium* to Hymen comes to an end. The poet has produced a complex and rich tapestry in which are portrayed many of the themes that recur in this poem and the other seven. The excitement and immediacy of the ceremony, the youthfulness of the bride and the great potential of the young couple, the power of the marriage-god, are all vividly portrayed. If the poet suggested some dark clouds on the horizon at the beginning of this poem, he dispels them as the official marriage ceremony commences. Hints of violence within the marriage rite (61.3-4, 56-59) or the possibly inappropriate *exemplum* of Venus before Paris (61.16-20) are almost completely erased from the memory as the poet concludes the *exordium* with a strong picture of the old marriage rites producing children to be a source of strength both to the aged father within the family and to the state as a whole.

⁵³Ellis, *Commentary*, 221, remarks that the change from the indicative in the previous two stanzas to the subjunctive here is "suited to the more remote contingency." The other two stanzas speak of immediate consequences: a successful and happy marriage and the increase of children. But the poet can only hope that these children will someday grow up to be the protectors of the state. See also Lieberg, "Observationes," 219-20.

VI

The First Address to the Bride

(61.76-113)

At 61.76, the imagined haunts of Hymen from the *exordium* are exchanged for the real world of the "street door of the bride's house."⁵⁴ The arrival of the bride is announced, with appropriate signs (61.76-81).⁵⁵ The use of *virgo* at 61.77 connects this second section to the *exordium*. It is the fifth time the word has been used in this poem. The earlier examples were, for the most part, general in nature.⁵⁶ But in the middle of these earlier examples is the one specific reference to the bride:

⁵⁴Ellis, *Commentary*, 221. He imagines the crowd waiting for the bride to appear and reflecting on the emotions she may be feeling. He suggests that this section (61.76-120) is "very Greek throughout: probably a good deal was modelled on Sappho; Callimachus was also, perhaps, imitated in parts."

⁵⁵The bride's exciting arrival is parallel to the arrival of Hymen earlier in the poem. Imperatives are used here (*pandite*, 61.76) as there (*cinge, cape, veni, pelle, quate, perge, voca, agite, dicite*). The torches accompanying the bride are described as "shaking their tresses" (*faces / splendoras quatunt comas*, 61.77-78); in a similar fashion, Hymen is urged to "shake the pine torch in his hand" (*manu / pineam quate taedam*, 61.14-15). There may even be another subtle reference to the bride's hair in *comas* (61.78), coming as it does after the emphasis on the adornments to Hymen's hair (*cinge tempora floribus / suave olentis amaraci*, 61.6-7). The bride listens to the voice of *ingenuus pudor* (*quem tamen magis audiens*, 61.80) just as Hymen earlier listened to the summons of the attendants and has come to the ceremony (*audiens / se citatier ad suum munus*, 61.41-42), although the bride is anxious (*tardet... / flet*, 61.79, 81) while Hymen comes willingly (*lubentius*, 61.41).

The earlier parallels between the exciting arrival of Hymen and similar occurrences in Callimachus' *Hymns* are even more appropriate here. At the approach of the bride, the doors to her compartment are flung open (*claustra pandite ianuae. / virgo adest*, 61.76-77), as are the bolts of Apollo's shrine at the arrival of the god (Call. *Hymns* 2.6-7). The bride's torches shake their tresses (*viden ut faces / splendoras quatunt comas?* 61.77-78), just as the laurel branch of Apollo trembles (Call. *Hymns* 2.1). Even the parenthetical use of *viden* and οὐχ ὀράας is common to both poems (61.77; Call. *Hymns* 2.4).

⁵⁶The *virgo* was simply part of the description of Hymen's role at 61.4; at 61.37, anonymous *virgines*, attendants at the wedding, were encouraged to summon Hymen to the ceremony; at 61.52, *virgines* are again a part of a generalization.

namque Iunia Manlio

.....

bona cum bona
nubet alite virgo.

(61.16, 19-20)

It is this specific reference that is now taken up by the poet to lead on to the second part of the poem: *virgo adest* (61.77).

In the midst of this description, a lacuna occurs after 61.78. Up to the lacuna all seems quite normal, with the doors opening and the torches blazing. But the gap in the text interrupts the joyous proceedings. When the text resumes, there seems to be a problem: the bride is hesitating and even weeping. What could have happened in the missing text?

Before the possible content of the lacuna is considered, the surviving text should be examined. The bride hesitates to enter into the procession because of the influence of her *ingenuus pudor* (61.79). These two words are filled with subtle connotations. *Ingenuus* implies that the bride is of noble birth.⁵⁷ But the word also suggest simply that this bride, like all brides, feels the conflict of leaving the security of her home for an unknown future with her husband. In either case, she is a nervous bride, probably nobly-born, about to enter a new phase of her life.

Pudor gives cause for a little more concern, especially since the context is missing. But the bride has previously been portrayed as very young and inexperienced (*teneram virginem, floridam puellulam, dominam*

⁵⁷Fordyce, *Commentary*, 246, and Ellis, *Commentary*, 222.

coniugis cupidam novi),⁵⁸ and *pudor*, in this passage, must also reflect this inexperience: she hesitates. However, even though the bride "is tempted to listen (*magis audiens*) to the voice of *pudor*,"⁵⁹ she nevertheless realizes what must be and, weeping, enters upon the ceremony (*flet quod ire necesse est*, 61.81).

But the circumstances in the missing text are still unclear. Is this simply a case of pre-nuptial nerves?⁶⁰ The next lines (61.82-86) provide some clues as they offer a response to the bride's concerns in the lacuna.

The bride who, in the previous stanza, was weeping because of her *ingenuus pudor* (in a context now lost) is now urged to cease weeping (*flere desine*, 61.82). The reassuring words spoken by the poet suggest that the reasons for her weeping have more to do with the *future* of this marriage than with the simple *circumstance* of the impending marriage itself.⁶¹ The bride, now called Aurunculeia, is encouraged not worry that she lacks sufficient beauty (61.82-86).

⁵⁸See above, note 18, for Fordyce's comment about the bride's hesitation.

⁵⁹Fordyce, *Commentary*, 245. See also Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 63: "in the missing part there must have been the bride's intimate conflict between her natural *pudor* and the equally spontaneous call of love." Arkins, *Sexuality*, 124, assumes the reason for the bride's reluctance is merely "the fear that she may not be sufficiently attractive to her future husband." But later (126), he assumes that "Junia's hesitation in joining the *deductio* is due to her misgivings about Manlius' fidelity." See also *ibid.*, 129.

⁶⁰W. Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 133, suggests that "the hesitation of the bride may be a conventional motif."

⁶¹This is made even clearer by the reference to the bride as *femina* (61.84), as Ellis, *Commentary*, 223, quoting Bährens, points out: "*femina*, 'vis inest voci 'femina', h.e. puella ex virgine iam facta coniunx.'"

The structure and content of this stanza suggest that what was contained in the missing text in the previous stanza(s) between 61.78 and 79 dealt with the bride's fear that her husband might not be faithful, because her beauty might not be great enough to keep his eye from wandering to some other, more beautiful, woman. Her inborn, even nobly-born, shame (*ingenuus pudor*) of such a circumstance causes her to delay to enter upon the ceremony. This must have been the subject of the text in the lacuna, prompting the reply in the next stanza that Aurunculeia has nothing to worry about in this regard. If the poet were trying to counter merely the pre-nuptial nerves of Everybride, he would have said something like this: "Don't worry, all brides get nervous before their wedding." But the response in the text is much more specific than that.⁶²

To emphasize the bride's beauty further, the poet begins a simile, comparing the bride to a hyacinth flower blooming in the garden of a *dominus* (61.87-91).⁶³ This beautiful floral image further enhances the portrayal of the bride as a young, innocent creature. But this simile serves also to stress the outstanding beauty of the bride. The tallness of this flower is important if it is to stand out (*stare*, 61.89) among the many other types of flowers in this small, but variegated, garden (*in vario.../ divitis*

⁶²If, indeed, this theme of the potential infidelity on the part of the groom was introduced in the lacuna, it is another instance of a darker element encroaching on the overall brightness of poem 61. G. B. Pighi, "La struttura del carme 61 di Catullo," *Humanitas* 2 (1948-9): 48-50, offers some reconstructions of the lacuna after 61.78. But none of them mentions the theme of infidelity which the response after the lacuna addresses.

⁶³The imagery in this stanza is very compact. The diminutive *hortulo* (61.88) continues the trend of diminutives used earlier to refer to the bride.

domini hortulo, 61.87-88),⁶⁴ just as the bride is to hold her own among the (implied) variety of beauties waiting to catch the eye of her new husband. This simile is an attempt to assuage the bride's concerns over her beauty, first encountered perhaps in the lacuna after 61.78, and now mentioned specifically by the poet at 61.82-86.⁶⁵

It is significant that the bride's beauty is highlighted here, and placed (probably) in the context of the potential infidelity of the groom. This recalls the earlier allusion to the bride's beauty in the Venus/Paris simile and supports the implied negative connotations of that simile, with its suggestions of the mythological infidelity of Helen and others.

The simile is cut short (*sed moraris, abit dies*, 61.90)⁶⁶ and the bride is urged politely to come forth (*prodeas nova nupta*, 61.92),⁶⁷ but

⁶⁴Ellis, *Commentary*, 223. The influence from Homer is also evident, with Catullus' phrase *flos hyacinthinus* imitating Homer's ὑακίνθινον ἄνθος (*Od.* 6.231).

⁶⁵However, the choice of the hyacinth flower, with its mythological associations with a sad love affair, may forebode tragic consequences.

⁶⁶This emphasis on the passage of time continues the linear development of the poem. The poet has portrayed the extended arrival of the god himself. Now he stresses the extended arrival of the bride.

⁶⁷61.91 is missing in the manuscript. Most editors introduce the phrase *prodeas nova nupta*, suggested by 61.92 and the recurrence of the phrase as a refrain at 61.96, 106 and 113. However, I am inclined to disagree with introducing the phrase in 61.91. By doing so, the symmetry of this section is distorted. As the rest of the section shows, the refrain *prodeas nova nupta* occurs in the alternate stanzas only (61.96, 106 and 113). Elsewhere, the enjambment of the text at the last line of the stanza prevents the appearance of the refrain (*secubare papillis*, 61.101; presumably also *candido pede lecti*, 61.108, although the lacuna prevents certainty here). If the poet intended this pattern to extend over five stanzas only (61.92-113), then the anticipatory appearance of the refrain *prodeas nova nupta* at 61.96 would destroy the symmetry. If the poet planned to include the pattern over six stanzas (61.87-113), then the appearance of the refrain at 61.91 would again distort the symmetry, this time by creating two contiguous stanzas in which the refrain is the concluding line. I therefore believe that Catullus did not intend for 61.91 to contain the refrain *prodeas nova nupta*. I realize, however, that when the phrase occurs elsewhere as a refrain (61.106 and 113) it is always in conjunction with *abit dies*. This certainly helps the argument for adding it at 61.91. However, to my ear, having *prodeas nova nupta* occur in both 61.91 and 92 sounds artificial and grating. See also Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 62.

with a "touch of impatience" (*si / iam videtur, et audias / nostra verba*, 61.92-94),⁶⁸ expressed by the repetition of the earlier torch image:

viden ut faces
splendidas quatiunt comas?

(61.77-78)

viden? faces
aureas quatiunt comas:

(61.94-95)

Finally, this stanza concludes with the repetition of its opening line (*prodeas nova nupta*, 61.92, 96), creating a refrain of the phrase, and underlining once more the impatience of the poet.⁶⁹

In the next stanza, the poet dismisses the unlikely possibility that the bride's new husband will be unfaithful (61.97-101).⁷⁰ These reassuring words are carefully chosen by the poet. He continues to counsel the bride as if the marriage has already taken place: just as he refers to her earlier as a married woman (*femina*, 61.84), so here he calls the groom "her husband" (*tuus.../...vir*, 61.97-98).

⁶⁸Fordyce, *Commentary*, 246.

⁶⁹The use of the refrain here parallels the use of the phrase *o Hymenae Hymen, o Hymen Hymenae* in the first section of this poem. This underscores the poem's unity and ritualistic nature.

⁷⁰This is the first specific mention of the groom's infidelity in the extant text. If, however, the lacuna following 61.78 contained this theme, then this stanza represents not the beginning but the continuation of the theme. The poet's words of assurance to the bride in 61.82-96 respond to such a concern on the bride's part and, to my mind, the stanzas beginning at 61.97 follow much more logically if there was an earlier reference in the lacuna after 61.78. The fact that the specific theme of infidelity at 61.97 follows immediately upon the image of the blazing torches (61.94-95) matches the initial reference to infidelity in the lacuna, which also follows the image of the blazing torches (61.77-78).

The fickleness of the husband (*levis*, 61.97) and the specific, though unlikely, possibility that he will be unfaithful (*in mala / deditus vir adultera, / probra turpia persequens*, 61.97-99) are dismissed here precisely because of the power and influence of the bride's physical beauty (*non... / a tuis teneris volet / secubare papillis*, 61.97, 100-101). This reprises the poet's previous encouragement to the bride (61.82-86), where he dismissed the similar, though more generalizing, fears of Aurunculeia by assuring her that there was no living woman who could match her beauty. The pattern is complete: the torches are blazing; the bride should come forth; if she is afraid that she will not be able to keep her husband faithful, she should rest assured that her beauty will be unequalled. The pattern occurs twice to stress the impatience of the poet and to create dramatic tension.

Even though this mention of potential disaster within the marriage is immediately dismissed, it *has* been mentioned, and even expanded upon by a generalizing phrase of very strong language (*probra turpia persequens*, 61.99). This serves to implant into the mind of the reader the subtle feeling that, even in the midst of this festive day, dark clouds can develop.

This technique of raising a spectre then dismissing it has been employed already in this poem.⁷¹ But in this particular stanza, the specific mention of adulterous behaviour of the man coupled with the sexual enticements of the woman recalls the earlier comparison of the bride with

⁷¹E.g. the presentation then the countering of the violent images contained in some of the earlier vocabulary (*rapis*).

Venus as she comes before Paris to have her beauty judged (61.17-19). If the poet, in the vaguest of terms, is hinting at some sort of *probra turpia* with the Venus/Paris simile, he is being much more specific here.⁷²

To bolster his argument about the power of the bride to curb the groom's potential infidelity, the poet creates a simile: as the tree is entwined by the vine, so is the husband wrapped in his bride's embrace:

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

(61.102-6)

This vine image recalls the earlier ivy image (61.31-35); but the significance of the two images is quite different.⁷³ The earlier simile relates exclusively to the bride. The wild ivy (*hedera*) represents love that entwines itself around the bride's mind, fortifying her feelings for her husband. Now, the image of the vine (*vitis*) is used to illustrate the power of the bride herself to keep her husband faithful.⁷⁴

Each item in the simile creates an appropriate parallel for the bride's situation. The vine is pliant (*lenta*, 61.102); this means that it can adapt and mold itself closely to the various props by which it is

⁷²This could be the third example of potential disaster within a marriage context: a) the implications of the Venus/Paris simile; b) the fears of the bride concerning potential infidelity of her husband contained in the missing text between 61.78 and 79; c) the specific mention of infidelity at 61.97-99.

⁷³See Appendix C.

⁷⁴Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 71, mistakenly connects the groom with the vine image. Cf. F. Della Corte, "Catullo, la vite e l'olmo," *Maia* 28 (1976): 79: "Qui la vite non è il simbolo della *virgo*, ma del giovane sposo."

supported.⁷⁵ Like the pliant vine, the bride should be adaptable to the various situations which she may find in her marriage.⁷⁶

The vine is supported by the trees that have been planted beside it (*adsitas /...arbores*, 61.102-3). This arrangement does not occur naturally, but has been achieved by design, like a marriage, in which vine and tree, man and woman, are intentionally brought together. But it is the vine which embraces and folds itself around the tree (*vitis implicat arbores*, 61.103). The image is one of constraint, with the vine appearing to prevent the tree from escaping from its control. This is why the simile is so appropriate here. It is the influence (specifically the beauty) of the wife that prevents the husband from wandering: like the tree entwined by the vine, the husband is entwined in the bride's embrace (*implicabitur in tuum / complexum*, 61.104-5).

The words of the poet encourage the bride to enter upon the ceremony and the refrains of previous stanzas are now repeated (61.105-6).

With the fears of the bride apparently sufficiently assuaged, the final stanzas in this section address the joys of marriage (61.107-13). The address to the marriage bed (61.107-8) may have been traditional.⁷⁷ The

⁷⁵See Fordyce, *Commentary*, 301, for a discussion of the various meanings of *lentus*.

⁷⁶I wonder if there might a series of puns here. In the earlier ivy simile, love is compared to a wild, untamed, "wandering" ivy (*hedera.../...errans*, 61.34-35) that subdues the bride's mind. Then the husband is described as fickle (*levis*, 61.97), one who may pursue disgraceful activities (*probra turpia persequens*, 61.99). Now it is the bride who is supple (*lenta*, 61.102), able to adapt herself to the situation, keeping her (potentially) errant husband entwined in her embrace.

⁷⁷Various editors mention a similar apostrophe in an epithalamium by Tigidas. See Pighi, "La struttura," 49-52, for a discussion of various attempt at reconstruction of this stanza. See also Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 80.

stanza which closes this section is unabashedly positive. The joys that come to the master of this bed (*ero*, 61.109) are great and almost continuous: he will enjoy the joys of love both night (*vaga / nocte*, 61.110-11)⁷⁸ and day (*medio die*, 61.111).⁷⁹ The stanza and the section close with the third and final repetition of the refrain (61.112-13).⁸⁰

VII

The *concupinus* Episode and the First Address to the Groom

(61.114-43)

The next section opens with a stanza (61.114-18) which contains many echoes of earlier sections, thus underscoring the unity of poem 61.⁸¹

⁷⁸Could there be a slight pun on *vaga* here, given the earlier mention of the errant husband?

⁷⁹This is the fifth mention of the day (*dies*). See 61.11, 38, 85, and the refrains (*abit dies*) at 61.90, 105.

⁸⁰It may seem strange that this final stanza of a section devoted to the bride should be more concerned with the husband (*ero*). But this makes for a smooth transition to the next section, where matters relevant to the bridegroom are addressed.

⁸¹The pattern here reprises the pattern seen in the *exordium*. Hymen is addressed with imperatives (*cinge*, etc.) to urge him to appear at the ceremony. The bridal attendants are also addressed in imperatives and urged to sing the bridal refrain (61.36-40). Now, following a similar personal address to the bride following her appearance (61.82-113), male attendants are urged to sing the bridal refrain (*ite concinite in modum*, 61.116). The verb *concinite* also recalls the singing of the marriage rites by the god himself (*nuptialia concinens*, 61.12).

The reference to the torches (*faces*, 61.114) parallels the torch that Hymen himself is urged to shake (*pineam quate taedam*, 61.15) and the torches that shake their own tresses when the bride appears (*viden ut faces / splendidas quatiunt comas*, 61.77-78).

The mention of the bridal veil (*flammeum*, 61.115) recalls the veil that Hymen himself is urged to wear (*flammeum cape laetus*, 61.8). Compare the comment of Estevez, "Wedding Song," 38, that the bride "has become Love." The refrain itself, a slight variation of the earlier one, recalls the purely ritual element of this poem, the bridal procession itself, the *domum deductio*.

This stanza also contains the first personal reference in the poem: *video* (61.115). A *persona* is, of course, implied throughout this poem, primarily through the use of imperatives. Critics seem concerned about identifying this *persona*. It is an important question, since personal references recur in the rest of poem 61 and throughout the cycle. Ellis, *Commentary*, 225, suggests that *video* represents the poet

The next stanza establishes this section as a time to indulge in Fescennine verses (61.119-23).⁸² The purpose of the Fescennine jests at a marriage ceremony seems to be to ward off the evil eye (*invidia*) from the new couple.⁸³ The effects of *invidia*, both implied and specific, are abandonment and desertion. This is indeed part of the theme in the passage under discussion, as the *concupinus* must deal with the loss of his lover. But coming as it does after earlier references (both implied and specific) to the (potential) breakdown of the marriage (the Venus/Paris simile and the worries of the bride from 61.82-86, 97-101, and perhaps the missing text after 61.78), it adds a further subtle comment about the concepts of love and marriage from the poet's perspective.

himself, much as Statius enters into his epithalamium to Stella and Violantilla. Others (Bährens) suggest that it is the choregus who speaks. Fordyce, *Commentary*, 236, seems to combine both theories: "The poet himself is the speaker throughout, acting as leader of an imaginary chorus and master of ceremonies."

However, Catullus provides no specifics to help identify the *persona* contained in *video*, just as he provides no real information to identify Manlius and Iunia. Therefore the reader must not attempt to take the personal too literally here. The personal *video* simply continues the dramatic context that has been so well established in this poem.

⁸²Catullus seems to be using the tools of his trade to add some variety to the repetitive quality of ritualistic poetry. Here, for example, the new refrain (*io Hymen...*, 61.117) spans a long section (eleven repetitions) that deals first with the groom, then the bride. This also contributes to the unity of the poem.

Ellis, *Commentary*, 224-25, has a good and thorough discussion of the unity of this section as it relates to the Fescennine element here. At first there does seem to be a structural problem. The refrain introduced at 61.117-18 (*io Hymen Hymenaeae io, / io Hymen Hymenaeae*) is not regularly repeated at the end of the next few stanzas. It closes the stanzas from 61.137 to 183, but is missing from 61.122 to 133. But Ellis' analysis of this section clearly establishes its overall unity. If the first two stanzas of the *Fescennina iocatio* (61.124-33) display elements more purely Roman (hence the exclusion of the Greek refrain to Hymen), they do not necessarily destroy the poem's integrity. The poet has already displayed a skilful blending of Roman and Greek elements in the proem. There too the repetition of the refrain to Hymen was not "consistent": it appeared first at 61.4, but did not recur again until 61.39; even then, its repetition within this section (61.36-75) was "inconsistent" within a passage that clearly made up a unit within the poem (it occurred at 61.49 and 59, but not again in this section).

⁸³This is especially so if the derivation of *fescennina* is *fascinum* (Fordyce, *Commentary*, 248). See also Hutchins, "Folkloristic Elements," 248.

The introduction of the favourite slave is intended officially to "exalt the position" of the groom: he is giving up his childish life (symbolized by the throwing of nuts to the *pueri* by the *concupinus*) and is now ready for marriage.⁸⁴ But the emphasis in this first reference (to be expanded in the next stanzas) is on the intensity of the relationship of the *concupinus* to the groom, seen from the slave's perspective.

The wording of 61.122-23 (*desertum domini audiens / concupinus amorem*) allows for several possible interpretations, depending on whether one takes the genitive *domini* as objective or subjective.⁸⁵ I interpret it as a subjective genitive. This subjective treatment, the fact that the lover (*dominus*) has left the beloved (*concupinus*) for another, continues the theme of infidelity suggested earlier in the Venus/Paris simile and in the

⁸⁴The phrase "exalt the position" of the groom is Ellis' (*Commentary*, 226). I am not sure whether I completely understand his extensive analysis about who was actually throwing the nuts and why it is significant. There is much discussion among critics about the significance of the throwing of nuts. Most comment that this reference signifies the "putting away" of childish things, as the groom prepares for his marriage, since nuts were apparently used as toys by Roman children.

Several ancient authors give their own insight into the practice. Servius, commenting on *Ecl.* 8.30 (*spargite, marite, nuces*), suggests, among other things, that the throwing of nuts makes for a very favourable omen: *quod proiectae in terram tripudium solistimum faciunt*. Fordyce, *Commentary*, 248, ridicules this suggestion of Servius for reasons which I cannot understand. If such a "religious" connotation is valid, it may add to the attempts by the poet to create a favourable climate for the beginning of this marriage (cf. *cum bona l...alite*, 61.19-20). While I do not wish to overstress the point, the fact that a practice designed to create a favourable omen is mentioned in immediate conjunction with a lover's desertion (the groom from the *concupinus*) may be a further amplification of the positive/negative portrayal of love. See also Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 89-90.

⁸⁵Quinn, *The Poems*, 270, interprets it as an objective genitive: "hearing that his love for his master has been rejected." Fordyce, *Commentary*, 248, sees it as a subjective genitive: "realizing from what he hears that his master's love for him is forsaken." Kroll, *Poemata*, 116, also interprets it as a subjective genitive (*dominus amorem concubini deseruit*), and he too recognizes the difficulty in the passage (*desertum* usw. ist etwas gezwungen ausgedrückt). Ellis, *Commentary*, 226, discusses both interpretations but favours the subjective genitive.

description of the bride's fears in the lacuna and following stanzas. The irony, of course, is that now the lover/master is opting, not for illegitimate affairs, but for the sanctity of marriage.

From the groom's point of view, his leaving his favourite is simply a natural stage of maturation; but from the favourite's point of view, this is desertion, and it is devastating.⁸⁶ The poet elicits great sympathy for the favourite here, just as he creates sympathy for the bride in her pre-nuptial nervousness.⁸⁷ Having first established some sympathy for the slave, the poet continues with the Fescennine passage proper (61.124-28), where the biting invective serves only to enhance the psychological damage already done to the *concubinus*.

He is addressed directly,⁸⁸ and is described as "impotent," *iners* (61.124).⁸⁹ The hope expressed earlier (61.31-32, 66-68), that children would issue from this marriage and perhaps all marriages, is now reiterated subtly here. The favourite is told he has played with childish things long

⁸⁶Arkins, *Sexuality*, 131, recognizes the fact that the *concubinus* "is experiencing the pain of love-sickness."

⁸⁷Indeed, in both places, the poet uses the present participle *audiens* in the same position in the line to indicate an important psychological shift in the character's dramatic development. For the bride at 61.79-81, listening to her *ingenuus pudor* (*quem magis audiens*) and fearing the potential infidelity of her husband, causes her to hesitate to enter upon the ceremony. For the *concubinus*, hearing about his lover's desertion (*desertum domini audiens /... amorem*, 61.122-23) causes him to delay the *Fescennina iocatio*. The poet also uses *audiens* at 61.41 to indicate the effect that he hopes the song of the attendants will have on Hymen's willingness to come to the ceremony. Word order in the *concubinus* reference is also used to underscore the loss of love: *desertum domini* (with its alliteration) is separated far from *amorem*.

⁸⁸This continues one of the poet's methods of unifying the poem. So far, Hymen, the female attendants, the bride, the bed and the male attendants have all been addressed directly.

⁸⁹Forsyth, *The Poems*, 307. Some critics see in the adjective simply a reference to the traditional inactive life of the favourite slave (Ellis, *Commentary*, 227; Quinn, *The Poems*, 271, translates it as "lazy").

enough: *satis diu / lusisti nucibus* (61.125-26).⁹⁰ Besides the literal meaning of *lusisti*, the poet is suggesting a most appropriate sexual connotation.⁹¹ The slave is told to forget about childish things (homosexual experimentation) and grow up (experience mature heterosexual love). This is also indicated by the phrase: *lubet / iam servire Talasio* (61.126-27).⁹²

The *concupinus* is given more ridicule and advice in the next stanza (61.129-33). Ellis remarks that the *concupinus* discounts any relationships with the *vilicae* because they are "too homely in their appearance and occupations to please his gentility or give him any concern as rivals in his master's favor."⁹³ I would agree that the *surface* meaning of these lines is intended to ridicule the *concupinus* (as is the earlier, curt dismissal of his childish love-affair: *satis diu / lusisti nucibus*, 61.125-26). But Ellis' suggestion, that the slave rejected these women because they gave him no concern as rivals to his master, is also intended by the poet. If the slave was so shocked to learn of his master's desertion earlier (61.122-23), the reasons can now perhaps be seen. The *concupinus* may have

⁹⁰The verb *ludere* (and its derivatives) is an important one in poem 61. References occur in 61.24, 126, 203, 204 and 225.

⁹¹The verb also has this double connotation in other poems. The sparrow "plays" on Lesbia's lap (*quicum ludere, quem in sinu tenere*, 2.2); the poet can steal a kiss from Juventius while he "plays" (*surripui tibi, dum ludis, mellite Iuventi, / suaviolum*, 99.1-2); and the poet can "play" with verses (at least) in the company of Calvus (*hesterno, Licini, die otiosi / multum lusimus in meis tabellis*, 50.1-2).

⁹²The subject of the verb must still be the *concupinus*, but critics vary in their interpretations of the lines. Ellis, *Commentary*, 227: "Your master discards [playthings] for a manlier duty, and so must you." Quinn, *The Poems*, 271: "The time has come for the *concupinus* to change his master." Fordyce, *Commentary*, 248, (wrongly, as the following stanza shows) sees a definite change of subject here: "your master now chooses to take Talasius as his master."

⁹³Ellis, *Commentary*, 228.

thought, in his innocence, that his relationship with the groom was more permanent: not even *vilicae* could prove a threat to it.

Once again the *concupinus* receives a curt comment on his loss of innocence: *nunc tuum cinerarius / tondet os* (61.131-32). "You are not young anymore. You must grow up and live in the real world." There is certainly a good bit of invective and ridicule here, but with a strong suggestion of underlying pathos.

The direction the poem has taken here is strange. Why is the poet so concerned about the disappointments of the *concupinus*? It may have been traditional in Fescennines to ridicule him and to tell him to grow up and do as his former master is doing: find a legitimate, heterosexual relationship. As such, the poet may not have had much freedom in treating the subject of the *concupinus*. But he prefaces this "traditional" section with a sympathetic image of the *concupinus* who is hurt by the loss of his lover due to the forthcoming marriage. The ridicule leveled against the *concupinus* during the *Fescennina iocatio* then becomes rather strained. From the point of view of the *concupinus*, the groom is not simply an aristocrat discarding the childish trappings of his youth before his marriage. He is a cold-hearted man who can easily dismiss his former confidant by telling him to go and get himself a "real lover." No wonder the *concupinus* is addressed as *miser a miser / concubine* (61.132-33).⁹⁴

⁹⁴Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 95, says that these words are expressed with "ironic compassion."

In this development within poem 61, the poet has created vivid images of two people, the bride and the *concubinus*. The bride fears future sorrow from her potentially philandering husband; the *concubinus* has already experienced it.⁹⁵

It is only now that the groom is addressed directly (61.134-43), the first time since his name was mentioned at 61.16. This address follows four stanzas devoted to his *concubinus*, where the groom is portrayed as someone rather insensitive to the feelings of his former favourite slave. That picture is made all the more negative because it is seen from the slave's perspective, not the groom's. Now, however, the situation is seen more from the groom's point of view.

Even though the groom is addressed directly (*diceris*, 61.134), the passive voice adds some distance to the perspective.⁹⁶ A different evaluation of the relationship between the groom and the *concubinus* is also presented. From the slave's perspective, the groom has ended the relationship and is totally devoted to the new marriage. Here, however, there are rumours (*diceris*) that the groom will still find it difficult to leave his former lovers (*male...a tuis /...glabris.../ abstinere*, 61.134-36). Of

⁹⁵Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 90, suggests some more evidence that the *concubinus* is being singled out for special treatment. He points out that it was normally the groom, not the *concubinus*, who threw the nuts. He concludes that Catullus, by making this change, "shifts the reader's attention to the *concubinus*, hinting, in this way, that he and not the bride and groom will be the main target of the jokes of the *fescennina iocatio*." I agree that the slave is the focus of attention during this section; and indeed, on the surface, he is lampooned. But the slave is also singled out because he is treated with some sympathy.

⁹⁶This is quite different from the strongly personal addresses to the bride (*desine*, 61.82; *moraris*, 61.90; *audias*, 61.93) and the *concubinus* (*da*, 61.124, 133).

course, this is part of the invective levelled against the groom in the Fescennines; but, since the earlier invective against the slave is tinged with a bit of pathos (because it is seen from the slave's perspective), it is possible that the invective here is not totally free from subtle connotations.

Invective there surely is here. The word used to describe the slave (*glaber*) is not a kind one.⁹⁷ Indeed, the use of *glabris* here is quite ironic when coupled with the adjective *unguentate* describing the groom.⁹⁸ But the result of this invective on the reader is curious. Good-natured lampooning of the groom was traditional in the Roman marriage rite. Certainly all the material is present in these stanzas to give the groom a thorough thrashing. If these stanzas had come earlier in the poem, before the section sympathetic to the *concupinus* (61.119-33), the effect would have been clear and simple: the groom has had some youthful sexual experiences and will find it difficult to give them up; but he will give them up. However, coming as they do *after* the *concupinus* episode and the distressing portrayal of the effects of the groom's attitude to his slave, these quips at 61.134-43 seem, at the very least, in bad taste. The reader is left again with the impression that this groom is fickle and can abandon or resume affairs (legitimate or otherwise) at a whim. Ironically, the source of the slave's distress in the earlier stanzas is the groom's decision to marry the bride, to the detriment of the groom's reputation (from the slave's point of

⁹⁷*glaber* has more negative connotations than *concupinus*. Cf. Catullus' vicious use of the verbal parallel to *glaber* in poem 58.5 (only three poems earlier than poem 61): *glubit magnanimi Remi nepotes*.

⁹⁸See Ellis, *Commentary*, 229: "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.'"

view). And the groom's reputation is certainly not enhanced now by the hint that this same groom can yet resume his old affairs with effeminate slave boys. Either way, the groom is not portrayed very sympathetically.⁹⁹

Of course, all of this is presented within the frame of the Fescennine jest. As such, the poet is skilfully conditioning the reader not to take these "serious" connotations too literally. But there are strong hints that not all the invective is intended to be taken so frivolously. The poet is creating a portrait of a groom who is potentially unable to maintain any lasting relationship, either within or outside the marriage rite. This is made even more ironic by the inclusion here of the cry to Hymen, the god who is to sanctify this marriage (61.137-38, 142-43).¹⁰⁰

The next stanza (61.139-43) confirms the fact that the reader should be seeing stronger connotations in the invective. The groom's earlier activities are declared to be legal, at the very least (*haec tibi quae licent / sola cognita*, 61.139-40).¹⁰¹ While it may be traditional to say so, the declaration of the groom's relative innocence sounds a bit hollow in view of the content of the last few stanzas. Once again the groom is given a rather curt dressing-down. Married men are not supposed to act in the same manner as they did when unmarried (even though their bachelor activities

⁹⁹I disagree with Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 95: "Catullus passes over the husband's past life and does not undermine his dignity."

¹⁰⁰Cf. the "ironic" cry to Hymen uttered by the mad Cassandra in Eur. *Troad.* 308-41. M. Schumacher, "Imitatio - a Creative or an Annihilating Force?" *CF* 20 (1966), 56, also makes the connection between the two works: "What a contrast this [Euripides passage] is to the joyful setting and promise of wedded happiness in Catullus' happy song for Vinia and Manlius." But I think she misses the point, which is that, like Euripides, Catullus may also be suggesting some darker elements in this section of the poem.

¹⁰¹Ellis, *Commentary*, 229, recognizes in *cognita* a sexual connotation.

are still lawful): *sed marito / ista non eadem licent* (61.140-41). A similar rebuke was given to the *concupinus* (61.126-27, 131-32). There, the effect was rather pathetic. Here, the effect is more ominous.

The portrait of the groom in this section is complex. Ostensibly he is lampooned to the full measure of the Fescennine verse. But, to me, these lines serve only to cloud further the issue of the potential happiness of this marriage. The *concupinus* receives more sympathetic treatment here than the groom, just as the bride is portrayed more sympathetically earlier.¹⁰² And it is at this point that the poet returns to the bride.

VIII

The Second Address to the Bride

(61.144-83)

The next eight stanzas are devoted to a second address to the bride. Here, as in the previous address (61.76-113), the bride is depicted as one who must subordinate herself to the groom. Moreover, success in this marriage depends upon the degree to which the bride is able to deal with new circumstances.

¹⁰²The constant use of diminutives to describe the bride contributes to this sympathetic attitude towards her. See Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 33, referring to the comments about diminutives made by A. Ronconi (*Studi catulliani*, Brescia, 1971: 129ff): "he [Ronconi] underlines with great efficacy their function in Catullus...when he says that a diminutive mirrors an affectionate disposition of the subject who depicts things of a poetic world, transforming them into something caressed." See also Fedeli, *ibid.*, 118-19.

This section continues directly from the lines devoted to the groom.¹⁰³ What links these two sections is precisely the matter of the groom's potential infidelity (61.144-53). What was a traditional jibe at the groom in the Fescennine section of this poem becomes a more serious matter when seen from the bride's perspective.¹⁰⁴ However, there is a marked shift in emphasis here. Previously (61.79-106), the bride merely feared that her beauty would not be enough to keep her husband from wandering. Now, the bride is encouraged to take an active role in preventing her husband from doing so (*tu quoque quae tuus / vir petet cave ne neges*, 61.144-45).¹⁰⁵ The Fescennine section of this poem is over.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³Note that the first word in the stanza (*nupta*, 61.144) recalls the last word from the previous address to the bride (*nupta*, 61.113). The personal pronoun (*tu*, 61.144) recalls the personal perspective of the earlier address to the bride in contrast to the curiously distant address to the groom. The repetition of the cry to Hymen (seen previously at 61.117-18, 137-38, and 142-43) also serves to link this section with the previous one.

¹⁰⁴The same double psychological perspective is seen in the *concupinus* episode. Williams, "Some Aspects," 16, dismisses any serious implications in the *concupinus* episode ("This is not to be taken seriously: it is mere *iocatio*"). But when he comes to the bride, he remarks: "when Catullus came to speak to the bride, he felt himself under still greater restraint [quoting 61.144-46]. Here the tone is light but basically serious: this is not the raillery appropriate for a man, but advice, however joking, on her married behaviour." See also Forsyth, *The Poems*, 208; Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 102.

¹⁰⁵This is the second specific mention of the groom's infidelity: *ni petitum aliunde eat* (61.146); *non tuus levis in mala / deditus vir adultera, / probra turpia persequens* (61.97-99). Pearce, "Role of the Wife," 21, sees this passage as simply indicative of the wife's traditional obedience to her husband.

¹⁰⁶Pighi, "La struttura," 43, argues that the second part of poem 61 is devoted entirely to the Fescennine section, consisting of 61.119-73. I find it difficult to accept this division, since the refrain *io Hymen Hymenaeae* continues for two more verses (61.174-83) into what Pighi calls (46) the third section. Quinn, *The Poems*, 270-72, is more accurate by labelling 61.114-83 as a unit "held together by the refrain *io Hymen* etc." He seems to conclude that the Fescennine section contains 61.120-43, although he admits that the refrain continues to 61.183 but with a "tenderer and more sympathetic tone."

Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 8, is perhaps the most accurate, basing his division of the poem on the three basic parts, the cletic hymn, the *hymenaion* (part of the *deductio*) and the *epithalamium* proper (sung outside the bedchamber). These parts are distinguishable by the appearance or absence of the ritual cry to Hymen: "the ritual cry invoking Hymen is repeated both in the cletic hymn [61.1-75] and during the

The next stanzas reprise the image of the house (*domus*) and the security which it symbolizes (61.149-58). Much of the vocabulary here recalls earlier sections of the poem. The house itself and role of the wife as its new mistress are stressed (*domus.../ quae tibi sine seruiat*, 61.149, 151) in a more expanded form than the economical juxtaposition of *domum dominam* (61.31).¹⁰⁷ The house is a wealthy one and reflects well on her new husband (*domus ut potens / et beata viri tui*, 61.149-50) just as the earlier simile placed the bride in the lush garden of a wealthy *dominus* (*in vario.../ divitis domini hortulo*, 61.87-88).

The poet suggests that the security of such a good marriage should continue until old age (61.154-56). The image of old age shaking its trembling head recalls the aged father invoking Hymen for his children:

usque dum tremulum movens
cana tempus anilitas
omnia omnibus annuit.

(61.154-56)

te suis tremulus parens
invocat

(61.51-52)

In both passages, it is the idea of the lasting security of the family and house that is stressed.

deductio stage [61.114-83]; but in the part preceding the *deductio* the refrain takes the form *prodeas nova nupta*, and after the *deductio*, in the song before the bedchamber, there is no further invocation of the god Hymen." However, he extends the *fescennina iocatio* to 61.148 (ibid., 85).

¹⁰⁷See Pearce, "Role of the Wife," for examples from ancient texts and epitaphs that illustrate this function of the wife.

An attempt is being made to counter much of the recent attention to the potential infidelity of the groom. But this time the greater pressure is on the bride (to prevent her husband from wandering) than on the groom (to correct his tendencies to wander).

The reference to the house at 61.149 and the natural, linear progression of poem 61 bring the reader to the threshold of the groom's house at 61.159-63.¹⁰⁸ Strangely, the poet has the bride lift her own feet across the threshold instead of having someone else carry her across.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the significance of the act is to avoid a bad omen caused by stumbling on the threshold. This is made clear through the reference to the good omen (*omine cum bono*, 61.159), which immediately recalls the first reference to the happy couple at 61.16, 19-20: *namque Iunia Manlio, /...bona cum bona / nubet alite virgo*. Once again, the reference to a good omen comes after a lengthy section on possibly unfortunate events in this

¹⁰⁸Once again the bride is being addressed directly, with *transfer* (61.159) continuing the long string of imperatives used to create immediacy in this poem.

¹⁰⁹Ellis, *Commentary*, 232, provides a good summary of the various reasons suggested for this custom, including the theory of Rossbach: "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." The first part of Rossbach's theory may be true but does not seem overtly applicable to this poem, unless there is a hint of the act of ravishing in the reference to *Hymen qui rapit* at 61.3.

However, if the practice does correspond to the snatching of the bride from her mother, this is more appropriate here, since several references to this very act have already been made (61.3-4, and especially 61.56-59). But the portrait of the bride at the threshold does not contain any textual hint of a specific allusion to such practices, and the violent imagery introduced earlier in the poem cannot so easily be applied here. The fact that the bride's feet are golden (*aureolos pedes*, 61.160) may seem nothing but a poetic elaboration. But the diminutive *aureolos* continues the trend of stressing the bride's youth (*puellulam*, *virgo*, floral imagery). It also serves to develop the rich colour vocabulary in this poem, especially yellow (*flammeum*, 61.8, 115; *luteum...soccum*, 61.10; *splendidas...comas*, 61.78; *aureas...comas*, 61.95; *candido pede*, 61.108; *cana...anilitas*, 61.155; and perhaps even the name *Aurunculeia*).

marriage. It is as if a good omen must be invoked specifically to counter such negative possibilities. As such, it subtly reiterates the vacillation between positive and negative elements in this poem.

As the bride enters the house (*rasilemque subi forem*, 61.161), she sees her husband inside waiting for her (61.164-73).¹¹⁰ Even though this scene is a traditional part of the wedding, it still offers a strong statement about the groom's eagerness for and dedication to the bride. Since so many references to the groom's potential infidelity have already been made in this poem, it is refreshing (if a little bit surprising) to find him appearing so "domesticated." But this is a section devoted to the bride, who is still a bit tentative and in need of reassuring. The couch on which the groom is reclining is richly appointed (*Tyrio in toro*, 61.165) and should remind the bride of the earlier encouraging mention of his wealth (*domus...potens / et beata*, 61.149-50) and the security that represents.

The most striking element in these stanzas is the intensity of the groom's devotion to the bride. No longer feeling the need to wander or seek affection with his old flames, he is now "totally obsessed" with the bride (*totus immineat tibi*, 61.166).¹¹¹ The flame of love is burning in his breast as intensely as it does in the bride's (*illi non minus ac tibi / pectore uritur intimo / flamma*, 61.169-71); it may even burn more intensely (*sed*

¹¹⁰Once again an imperative is used to connect the stanza in this section (*aspice*, 61.164). The groom is already envisaged as her husband (*vir tuus*, 61.165).

¹¹¹Ellis, *Commentary*, 233, remarks that *immineat* may contain a hint of "menacing glances of violent desire." Although this may be an underlying aspect here, it is not the dominant one, as Ellis himself says, since this passage is intended to reassure the bride. However, the groom is earlier described as a *ferus iuvenis* (61.56).

penite magis, 61.171).¹¹² This is a very powerful picture and does much to counter the negative images of this potentially philandering husband.

This section devoted to the bride concludes with an exhortation to male and female attendants to convey the bride to her husband (61.174-83).¹¹³ The use of vocatives (*praetextate*, 61.175; *feminae*, 61.180) to refer to the male and female attendants is important. It is logical that the poet apostrophize with vocatives the more important characters in this poem: Hymen (forty-eight lines); the bride (sixty-two lines); the husband (ten lines). The minor characters receive less attention: the *virgines* at 61.36-40

¹¹²The image of the flame to represent the desire of love is a common one. This is a particularly important image in poems 61 to 68, with *flamma* or its derivatives occurring eleven times (especially in poems 61 and 64). Its appearance here continues the imagery of the torches from earlier passages (61.15, 77-78, 94-95, 114).

¹¹³Some critics consider this a rather abrupt transition. Ellis, *Commentary*, 233, believes that a strophe describing the bride's approach to the marriage-chamber has been lost between 61.173 and 174. Fordyce, *Commentary*, 251, simply assumes that Catullus left out that part of the ceremony by design. But in my view, this is a very skilful transition. The poet is preparing another shift from the bride to the groom by focusing on their intermediaries. Catullus uses the same technique at 61.109-13. Note how the string of imperatives that hitherto referred to the bride (*transfer*, 61.159; *aspice*, 61.164) still continue, but now refer to the attendants (*mitte*, 61.174; *collocate*, 61.181).

Catullus is also preparing for the conclusion of this poem. By mentioning the young, male attendant here (*praetextate*, 61.175), he is in fact reminding us of the beginning of the procession, where three *pueri patrimi et matrimi* accompanied the bride, two escorting the bride on either side and one carrying a torch. The various discussions of the number of male attendants here is of little concern (see Ellis, *Commentary*, 233-34; Fordyce, *Commentary*, 251). The immediate parallel is, of course, the reference to the male attendants at 61.114 (*tollite*, <0> *pueri*, *faces*), which helps unify the various sections of this long poem.

But Ellis, *Commentary*, 233, also sees an allusion to 61.15 where Hymen himself is pictured as shaking the pine torch before the bridal procession (*pineam quate taedam*). If that is valid, then the poet has created a similar structure at 61.15 and in this present section: in both passages, references to the torch procession are followed by specific references to Manlius and Iunia, the first introducing the couple (61.16-20), and the second preparing for their final appearance (61.209-28). This is important, since the first appearance of the couple contained some negative overtones (the Venus/Paris simile). The final appearance, however, is preceded by more positive allusions, which serve to balance the earlier passage.

(five lines), the *pueri* at 61.114-18 (five lines), and even the marriage-bed at 61.107-8 (at least five lines).

Only one other minor character, the *concubinus*, receives ten lines of specific attention with accompanying vocatives, the same number as the husband. Looking at it a different way, the *concubinus* is the only *individual* minor character who receives an extended treatment. Therefore, when the reader comes to the vocative *praetextate* (61.175), he may be reminded (even if only for a moment) of the other vocative reference to an individual slave (*concubine*, 61.125, 130, 133). It may even be for this reason that the poet refers only to one of the slaves here. The *concubinus* episode does not create a very positive image for the groom. Here, however, the poet is describing a much more positive situation: the bride is still virginal and is about to be given to her husband *qui totus imminet ei*, a husband who no longer *dicetur male se a suis glabris abstinere*.

A similar purpose may lay behind the description of the female attendants in the next stanza (61.179-83). The only other contact with female attendants was at 61.36-40. These were *virgines integrae*, unmarried girls, the most appropriate individuals to escort the virgin bride to her new house.¹¹⁴ Now, however, as the bride crosses the threshold and becomes a wife, it is more appropriate that other women escort the bride: *pronubae*.

Blessed in their marriages (*bonae...feminae*, 61.179-80), these women recall the good omen under which this marriage is to take

¹¹⁴Ellis, *Commentary*, 234, gives a good discussion of the significance of the purity of the bride's male and female attendants.

place.¹¹⁵ Specifically, their marriages have lasted a long time and they have remained faithful to their first and only husband: *senibus viris / cognitae bene* (61.179-80).¹¹⁶ The positive use of *cognitae* here recalls and contrasts 61.139-40, where the former well-known affairs of the groom are mentioned (*scimus haec tibi quae licent / sola cognita*).¹¹⁷ These attendants, like the *praetextatus* of the previous stanza, serve to establish a wholesome image of marriage, by countering the earlier depictions of infidelity.

However, it is the bride who is still the centre of attention in these stanzas. The youthfulness of the bride is constantly stressed, as she is characterized twice by the double diminutive *puellula* (61.175, 181). She was so described earlier, in a less gentle context, as Hymen gave the young bride to the inexperienced groom (61.56-59). Now the context is "softer." The *praetextatus* is urged to release her smooth, delicate arm (*mitte brachiolum teres /...puellulae*, 61.174-75). The additional use of the diminutive *brachiolum* enhances the bride's youth. She will now approach the marriage-bed (*iam cubile adeat viri*, 61.176), apostrophized earlier at 61.107 (*o cubile*). The *pronubae* will set the bride in place on the couch (*collocate puellulam*, 61.181). All the details create a positive, innocent, gentle image of marital bliss. The earlier fears of the bride are forgotten.

¹¹⁵*bona cum bona / nubet alite virgo*, 61.19-20; *dux bonae Veneris, boni / coniugator amoris*, 61.44-45; *transfer omine cum bono / limen aureolos pedes*, 61.159-60. Cf. also the use of the adjective *bona* at 61.61-63 (*nil potest sine te Venus, / fama quod bona comprobet, / commodi capere*).

¹¹⁶See Williams, "Some Aspects," 23-24, for references to the "ideal of marriage to one husband." The reference to old men (*senibus*) may be intended to recall the *tremulus parens* at 61.51, and the concept of familial security.

¹¹⁷I disagree with Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 119: "A malicious 'double entendre'...is referred to the *bonae feminae*, that is, the use of the verb *cognoscere* with an erotic meaning."

The poet has brilliantly prepared for this moment. This section devoted to the bride (61.144-83) began with fleeting references to potential infidelity, but gradually dispelled all thoughts of trouble through positive images and gentle vocabulary. The poet is now ready to look once more to the groom.

IX

The Second Address to the Groom

(61.184-98)

The groom is urged to approach the bride (61.184-88).¹¹⁸ The earlier portrayal of the groom, burning with a fierce, inner flame (61.169-71), is now countered with a delicate description of the bride: she is shining with a complexion like a little flower (*ore floridulo nitens*, 61.186).¹¹⁹ The reference in *floridulo* is then expanded: she is like a white daisy or a yellow poppy (*alba parthenice velut / luteumve papaver*, 61.187-88). The daisy is chosen to underscore the bride's purity: it is white (the symbolic colour of purity) and the ironic reference in *parthenice* (παρθένος = *virgo*) makes the choice of this flower appropriate.¹²⁰ The fact that the

¹¹⁸This stanza begins the epithalamium proper. Even though this address to the husband parallels the address to the bride, a new section is clearly indicated here by the absence of the ritual cry to Hymen (*io Hymen Hymenaeae io, / io Hymen Hymenaeae*, 61.182-83). But Catullus links the two sections by recalling much of the imagery from the address to the bride.

¹¹⁹This recalls the earlier descriptions of the bride: *floridis velut enitens / myrtus Asia ramulis* (61.21-22); *floridam...puellulam* (61.57); and the comparison to a hyacinth flower at 61.87-89 (*flos hyacinthinus*). The diminutive adjective (*floridulo*, 61.186) continues the emphasis on her youth.

¹²⁰See Kroll, *Poemata*, 120; Quinn, *The Poems*, 274; Forsyth, *The Poems*, 311.

poppy is yellow (*luteum*) recalls the colour of the slipper worn by Hymen himself (*luteum soccum*, 61.10).¹²¹

The poet links the description of the groom in the next stanza (61.189-93) to that of the bride. The intensity with which this description is given, indicated by the oath *ita me iuvent / caelites* (61.189-90), recalls the earlier passage devoted to the bride (61.82-113). The personal and intense emotions of the speaker here match the interjections at 61.92-94: *prodeas nova nupta, si / iam videtur, et audias / nostra verba*. The earlier examples encouraged the *bride* to enter into the ceremony; now, they encourage the (apparently) rather hesitant *groom*.¹²² This is emphasized by the repetition of the refrain from the earlier passage (*sed abit dies*, 61.192) and the exhortation to hurry (*perge, ne remorare*, 61.193), this time directed to the groom, not to the bride.¹²³

Moreover, the purpose of the poet's encouraging words to the bride in the former passage was to overcome her insecurities about her beauty, that she did not consider it strong enough to keep her husband faithful to her. Now, ironically, the same argument is used to encourage

¹²¹Indeed, extensive floral imagery is also used to describe Hymen at the beginning of this poem. In fact, he appears to be decked out like the bride herself. Estevez' comment about this description ("Wedding Song," 38) bears repeating. He feels that the feminine aspects of Hymen (symbolized by the feminine attire) are transferred to the bride at the end of the poem: in effect, the bride has become love personified, a goddess of marriage. I find the analogy appealing. At the very least, the description of the bride here, so similar to the description of Hymen, helps to provide a cyclic unity to this poem.

¹²²The poet is recalling and countering 61.54-55 (*te timens cupida novos / captat aure maritus*).

¹²³Cf. *sed moraris, abit dies* (61.90), *sed abit dies* (61.105, 112), and the exhortation to Hymen to hurry to the ceremony: *perge linquere*, 61.27. If there is a strong linking between Hymen and the bride (primarily through the same manner of dress), this repetition of *perge* may link Hymen to the groom: both are urged to hurry to the ceremony.

the husband (*nihilo minus / pulcer es*, 61.190-91).¹²⁴ The bride and groom, no longer hesitant or philandering, are finally coming together in this apparently ideal and traditional marriage ceremony.

The poet, again as encouragement, declares that Venus does not overlook the groom (*neque te Venus / neglegit*, 61.191-92), that is, the goddess of beauty and love also cares for the male partner. This is the fourth and penultimate mention of Venus in this poem. What is the significance of Venus here? Does she represent the positive elements from the first address to the bride (*dux bonae Veneris*, 61.44, or from the generalizing statements about Hymen, *nil potest sine te Venus / commodi*, 61.61, 63)? Or does she represent the more negative connotations of the Venus/Paris simile?

In this section, the poet is attempting to counter negative images that occurred earlier. The very first mention of Venus (the Venus/Paris simile) is specifically placed in the context of a beauty contest (*ad Phrygium... / iudicem*, 61.18-19), comparing the bride's beauty to that of Venus, just as here it is the groom's beauty that is stressed. That simile had a subtle, negative statement about marriage (that is, the judgment of Paris destroyed many of them). Is the poet suggesting with the same subtle (but bitter) irony that, since Venus does not neglect this groom either, some potential trouble may arise?

¹²⁴Cf. 61.82-86: *non tibi Au- / runculeia periculum est, / ne qua femina pulcrior / clarum ab Oceano diem / viderit venientem.*

It is highly possible. Indeed, the Venus/Paris simile also occurs in a section which is generally positive. But much has been revealed in this poem since that simile, especially as far as the groom is concerned. There were strong rumours about his potential infidelity. Since that is the predominant image created of the groom, the mention of Venus here, in connection with his beauty, reminiscent of the Venus/Paris simile, supports a negative connotation, even in the midst of apparent reconciliation between negative and positive elements in the poem. But this negative connotation is fleeting as the next stanza shows.

The result of the exhortation to the groom to hurry is seen immediately, as the groom approaches the bride (61.194-98).¹²⁵ The final mention of Venus in this poem establishes the positive perspective here. It is not just Venus who is helping the groom but *bona...Venus* (61.195), recalling the positive *dux bonae Veneris* at 61.44 and the Venus who, with Hymen's help, provides advantages that make for good reputations (61.61-63).¹²⁶ The fact that the poet is so specific here (referring back to the *positive* references to Venus) gives support to the argument that the unadorned reference in the previous stanza (*neque te Venus / neglegit*, 61.191-92) is subtly intended to remind the reader of the *negative* aspects

¹²⁵A similar progression occurred earlier. The bride was told repeatedly to hurry (*sed moraris, abit dies*, 61.90-113 *passim*) and eventually heeded the call (*flammeum video venire*, 61.115). The groom has been similarly scolded (*sed abit dies: / perge, ne remorare*, 61.192-93) and responds accordingly (*non diu remoratus es: / iam venis*, 61.194-95).

¹²⁶Cf. Fedeli, *Carmen 61*, 127: "the groom rushes at the call of the poet, who wishes him the favour of *bona Venus* and justifies this wish by saying that his desire is right and that he shows a lawful love."

of Venus. In these two stanzas, therefore, the poet recalls all the previous Venus references, both good and bad.

The stanza concludes with an open vision of the intense love the husband has for his bride. His desire for her is manifest for all to see (*palam / quod cupis cupis*, 61.196-97).¹²⁷ He does not hide his love: *et bonum / non abscondis amorem* (61.197-98).¹²⁸ Again the adjective *bonum* sets a decidedly positive stamp on this scene, parallel to *bona Venus* at 61.195 in this stanza and in the other examples within the poem.

The word *amor* is used sparingly in this marriage-hymn; but the four passages in which it occurs are all significant for the strong connotations they convey. In its first appearance, Hymen is "binding the bride's mind with love" (*mentem amore revinciens*, 61.33), an intense and positive image. A few stanzas later, Hymen himself is described as "the god who unites with sacred love" (*boni / coniugator amoris*, 61.44-45).

¹²⁷The reading of the manuscript at this point raises some questions. The Oxford text reads *cupis cupis* which most critics accept. Examples of other tautological expressions are given in support (from authors like Ovid, Ennius, Lucretius and Plautus). Ellis, *Commentary*, 236, reads *cupis capis* as does the Loeb edition. Ellis' reasons for deciding on the two different verbs here (apart from what he judges to be the "superior" tradition of the Oxford [O] manuscript) include a curious pronouncement: "[*cupis capis*], I have little doubt, is what Catullus wrote. Our poet would probably not have cared to have his style judged by a comparison with the antiquated repetitions of Ennius, the prosaisms of Lucretius, or the slave-turned-freedman vulgarities of Petronius." However, Catullus has already imitated stylistic elements from these earlier poets and others (it was part of the Alexandrian tradition) and similar parallel expressions can be found elsewhere (cf. *quis deus magis est amat / is petendus amantibus?* 61.46-47, although the text here is in doubt).

¹²⁸Cf. the earlier references to his affairs at 61.134-43. There are strong hints of subtle concealment in those lines (e.g. *diceris*, i.e. it is merely reported, not clearly evident, that the groom might have difficulty leaving his youthful loves; cf. also *scimus*, i.e. we know about them, but perhaps you thought we did not). This gives pointed significance to the verb *non abscondis* at 61.198 in relation to his love for his bride.

Significantly, the third reference relates to the *concupinus*. He is urged not to delay to scatter nuts even though he has found out about the loss of his master's love for him (*desertum domini audiens / concupinus amorem*, 61.122-23). Since the poet creates a very sympathetic portrayal of the *concupinus* here, the fact that *amor* is used to describe his relationship with his master raises that relationship (on the surface at least) to the same level as that of a married couple. The loss of his master's love (from the perspective of the *concupinus*) is just as intense as the potential loss of the husband's love by the bride (expressed in the two passages devoted to the bride, especially 61.76-106 and 144-48).

The fourth appearance of *amor* at 61.198 recalls all the other images but creates a final, enduring portrait of the groom's strong marital relationship with his wife, especially since *amor* is modified by *bonum*.¹²⁹

X

The Final Tableau

(61.199-228)

The final section of the poem is devoted to the bridal pair. The unbounded joy of the married couple is compared to the stars in the sky and the sands in a desert (61.199-203).¹³⁰

¹²⁹Indeed, this final image is almost predicted at 61.104-5: *implicabitur in tuum / complexum*.

¹³⁰This is undoubtedly a common metaphor. Similar examples from other authors are fairly numerous (cf. poem 7, and see Ellis, *Commentary*, 236, for examples from Pindar and Sappho). That does not lessen the effect of the metaphor here to express the joys of the marriage.

The poet uses the word *ludi* (61.203) to characterize the couple's love here. This concept is used elsewhere in poem 61 (and recurs three more times in the following stanzas). Fordyce cites Livy 26.50.5 for a similar use of the word in a speech of Scipio's, where it suggests the innocent love of youth.¹³¹ It surely has the same meaning here in poem 61. The verbal form is used in the *concupinus* episode as a bit of a taunt, but also as the epitome of youthful innocence (*satis diu / lusisti nucibus*, 61.125-26).¹³² By using *ludi* at 61.203, the poet firmly establishes the youthful enthusiasm of the young couple.

The concept of *ludus* is amplified in the next stanza (61.204-8). The sporting now, however, has more point to it. The purpose of this marriage (and all marriages) is to bring children into the world, and quickly (*ludite ut lubet, et brevi / liberos date*, 61.204-5).¹³³ This stanza develops themes introduced earlier. The aged parent invokes Hymen for his children (*te suis tremulus parens / invocat*, 61.51-52) so that he can have an heir; Hymen make it possible for the house to provide children as a support for the parents (*nulla quit sine te domus / liberos dare, nec parens / stirpe nitier; at potest / te volente*, 61.66-69). The mention of children leads easily to a passage stressing the importance of lineage (61.205-8),¹³⁴ which

¹³¹Fordyce, *Commentary*, 252: *si frui liceret ludo aetatis praesertim in recto et legitimo amore.*

¹³²A derivative is employed early in the poem to represent the myrtle as the innocent plaything of the Hamadryads (*Hamadryades deae / ludicrum sibi roscido / nutriunt umore*, 61.23-25).

¹³³See Ellis, *Commentary*, 237: *ludite* = ἀφροδισιάζετε.

¹³⁴This passage is cited to support the identification of the groom as the real-life Manlius Torquatus, praetor of 49. See Appendix A.

in turn leads directly and powerfully to the portrait of the yet-unborn child of the wedding couple (61.209-13).¹³⁵

Much of the vocabulary is repeated from earlier stanzas with great significance. The young *Torquatus* is envisaged as stretching forth his hands from his own mother's lap (*matris e gremio suae*, 61.210), the very source of the family's security.¹³⁶ Here the *gremium* provides a positive connotation to contrast with the earlier, negative context, where Hymen gives the young bride to the groom from out of her mother's lap (*a gremio suae / matris*, 61.58-59). The boy is not being snatched from the security of his mother's lap but is merely reaching out to his father while still resting in her lap. The family is unified here, not torn apart.¹³⁷ The poet has also most skilfully illustrated the concept of family lineage by using the same phrase (*a gremio suae / matris*, 61.58-59; *matris e gremio suae*, 61.210) to refer both to the mother of the bride and the bride herself.

The boy is merely stretching forth his hands (*porrigens teneras manus*, 61.211). They are, naturally, tender and delicate hands and provide a nice contrast to the "rough" nature of the groom's hands into which the

¹³⁵The emphasis on the family name from the previous stanza is brilliantly matched by the placing of *Torquatus* at the beginning of this stanza. The diminutive *parvulus* adds a touch of poignancy to the words and continues the trend of diminutives already established in the poem. The use of *volo* here, providing the second instance of personal intervention in this poem, also adds to the importance of this scene.

¹³⁶The fact that Ellis (*Commentary*, 237) rejects the theory that *matris* represents the nurse and not the mother is well-taken.

¹³⁷Note the positions of the words in the phrases involving the *gremium*. In the earlier example, where the bride is taken from her mother's lap (*a gremio suae / matris*, 61.58-59), the word *gremio* is separated from *matris* by enjambment. In the current example, where the family unity is maintained, there is no break in the phrase (*matris e gremio suae*). Indeed, the word *gremio* is surrounded, embraced as it were, by the mother (*matris...suae*).

bride is given by Hymen (61.56-57). The use of *teneras* here also recalls the opening stanza where Hymen's role is described (*qui rapis teneram ad virum / virginem*, 61.3-4) but again with a contrasting effect.¹³⁸ The final picture of the boy smiling sweetly at his father creates a calm at the end of this poem that has contained sometimes rather violent imagery.¹³⁹

The address to little Torquatus continues in the next two stanzas (61.214-23), where the child is now viewed more indirectly, defined in a sense by the characteristics of his parents. The theme of a son born from the same stock (*indidem /...ingenerari*, 61.207-8) is elaborated here with the actual name of his father, mentioned for the first time since 61.16: *sit suo similis patri / Manlio* (61.214-15).¹⁴⁰ Ellis' reference to Hesiod, that "it is a sign of happiness in a state when Τίκτουςιν γυναῖκες ἑοικότα τέκνα γονεῦσιν" is most appropriate here.¹⁴¹

The theme of the similarity of likeness between father and son continues with a rather forced image of the boy's being recognized as the son of his father even by those who do not know the "facts of his relationship" (*facile insciis / noscitur ab omnibus*, 61.215-16).¹⁴² Likewise, the boy's appearance will testify to the faithfulness of his mother

¹³⁸Cf. also 61.100-102: *a tuis teneris volet / secubare papillis*.

¹³⁹Catullus has also continued the trend to diminutives with *labello*, and delights in creating new words (*semihiente*).

¹⁴⁰It is interesting to note that the name of Manlius occurs sixteen lines from the beginning of the poem and fourteen lines from the end. The specific mention of the name at 61.215 raises some questions, since the various manuscripts do not agree on its form: *manlio* and *mallio* are given both for 61.215 and 61.16.

¹⁴¹Ellis, *Commentary*, 238.

¹⁴²Fordyce, *Commentary*, 253.

(*pudicitiam suae / matris indicet ore*, 61.217-18).¹⁴³ This theme of the mother's *pudicitia* spills over into the next stanza (61.219-23). The moral qualities of little Torquatus are stressed, just as the physical qualities are emphasized in the previous stanza.¹⁴⁴ The mother is *bona* (61.219) and the moral inheritance from his mother will establish his descent (*genus approbet*, 61.220). This recalls the benefits of the good marriage (*fama bona*) when Hymen presides (61.61-64).

To illustrate the point, the poet adds a simile: Torquatus is like Telemachus, the son of Penelope, who received an unparalleled and everlasting reputation from his excellent mother (61.221-23). Again the stress is on the moral steadfastness and uprightness of the mother. The choice of this example is appropriate, for many reasons. It recalls the same "historical" time-frame of the other significant simile in the poem, the Venus/Paris simile at 61.16-20. But it also suggests some subtle paradoxes. The Venus/Paris simile contains hints of possible marital difficulties. By recalling that simile here, the poet is directing the reader to examine this simile closely as well. Penelope is set up as the paragon of *pudicitia* simply because she was forced to wait for so long while her husband was wandering so far from home. The reader would remember

¹⁴³While *pudicitia* was undoubtedly one of the best attributes a wife could possess in the Roman world and was probably a standard element in an epithalamium, specific reference to the faithfulness of the *woman* in this poem seems almost insulting, given the way this particular poem has developed. Catullus has stressed the potential infidelity of the *man* throughout this poem, with the long-suffering wife almost pining away in the background. He is obviously preparing for the comparison with Penelope in the next stanza. But I wonder if he is also not attempting to place into the mind of the reader the possibility that the wife too could be unfaithful. Unfaithful women will appear in poems 66, 67 and 68.

¹⁴⁴Ellis, *Commentary*, 239.

that, while Odysseus was wandering, he had affairs with Circe and Calypso at least. While these aspects of the example are surely intended to be kept well in the background, they still may have a place in the interpretation of this simile. Like Penelope, the bride has in fact endured the (potential) infidelities of the groom, and yet the marriage is a lasting one. Thus the negative connotations of the earlier Venus/Paris simile are firmly countered in this reference to Penelope.

Ellis points out that the three strophes devoted to the young Torquatus treat his development from a baby (61.209-13), to a boy (61.214-18) to an *adulescens* (61.219-23).¹⁴⁵ This neatly portrays the passage of time and is tantamount to a prediction of a lasting marriage for this couple, thereby recalling the status of the *pronubae* at 61.179-80 (*bonae senibus viris / cognitae bene feminae*). The poet has skilfully positioned the key words for mother and father within these three stanzas: *matris...patrem* in the first stanza, the inverse order (*patri...matris*) in the second and the double reference to *matre...matre* in the third.¹⁴⁶ This keeps these concepts constantly in the reader's mind and helps to stress the unity of this family, revolving around the young child.

With the epithalamium over, the poet literally closes the doors and leaves the couple to their love (61.224-28);¹⁴⁷ everyone has played enough

¹⁴⁵Ibid., 238.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., 237.

¹⁴⁷Doors are closed at the end of the poem (*claudite ostia*, 61.224) just as doors were opened at the beginning (*claustra pandite ianuae*, 61.76).

(*lusimus satis*, 61.225).¹⁴⁸ Since Hymen (*boni / coniugator amoris*, 61.44-45) has happily united the couple (*boni / coniuges*, 61.225-26), the poet wishes them good luck (*bene vivite*, 61.226) and urges them to spend their time in constant devotion to their married duty (*munere assiduo*, 61.227).¹⁴⁹ The youthfulness of the couple, emphasized so frequently throughout the poem, becomes the final image in this poem (*valentem / exercete iuventam*, 61.227-28).

This poem is essentially a positive portrayal of love and marriage. There are passages in which the potential infidelity of the groom is described; but these are presented either as the pre-nuptial nerves and fears of the bride (61.76-113, 144-48) or as part of the Fescennine jibes at the groom (61.119-43); so, they may "officially" be dismissed as unrepresentative of the poem's positive elements. But this is exactly the point. The poet has periodically created dark clouds on the horizon of an otherwise bright day, and then countered them with more positive imagery. The positive images from the beginning of the poem are revived at the end, with an even stronger cast. But coupled with these obvious images are the more subliminal connotations derived from carefully chosen similes and themes (Venus/Paris, the *concupinus*, Penelope) that suggest that the potential infidelity of the husband, portrayed as part of the fun (*lusimus*), may not be entirely frivolous.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸This is the fifth appearance of the theme of *ludus* in the poem and recalls all the other references and their accompanying connotations ("play," "love," "innocent toy," "childish games").

¹⁴⁹Cf. the reference to Hymen's duty: *ad suum / munus* (61.42-43).

¹⁵⁰Cf. Arkins, *Sexuality*, 119: "Despite an occasional negative note, the view of marriage presented within this dramatic framework is overwhelmingly positive." See also Putnam, "Catullus 64," 204, note 47.

CHAPTER 2: POEM 62

I

Setting the Scene

(62.1-19)

There are many similarities between poems 61 and 62. The setting, the imagery, the variation on the ritual cry to Hymen, the dramatic context (even more prominent than in poem 61), all suggest that poem 62 is a very close relation of poem 61.

The link between the two poems is established in the opening lines of poem 62. The initial reference to the concept of time (*vesper adest*, 62.1) follows logically from the emphasis on the progression of time in poem 61.¹ The clause *vesper adest* also recalls several passages from poem 61: *virgo adest* (61.77), *iam cubile adeat viri* (61.176), *iam venis* (61.195). The poet addresses *iuvenes* at the beginning of this poem (62.1). The same word described the groom in poem 61 (*tu fero iuveni in manus /...puellulam / dedis*, 61.56-58). Significantly, *iuvenes* at 62.1 picks up the last word of poem 61: *iuventam* (61.228).

¹The stress on the day-time element in poem 61 and the insistent mention of the rapid passage of time (*abit dies*, 61.90, 105, 112, 192), culminating in the calm closing of the doors at the end of the day, provide a unified, if extended, picture of time.

The imperative *consurgite* (62.1) continues the long list of imperatives from poem 61.² The function of this initial imperative provides a contrast to the last lines of poem 61: *claudite ostia, virgines: / lusimus satis* (61.224-25). A person reading these two poems in succession would be struck by the renewed activity at the beginning of poem 62.

That the poet was influenced by a fragment of Sappho has long been recognized:

Ἔσπερε, πάντα φέρεις ὅσα φαίνολις ἐσκέδασ' αὔωσ.
†φέρεις ὄιν, φέρεις αἶγα, φέρεις ἄπυτ' μάτερι παῖδα.³

Even though the second line of the fragment is "corrupt beyond hope of restoration,"⁴ the meaning seems to have been that Hesperus brings back in the evening those things that the Dawn scattered in the morning (the sheep, the goat, the child to his mother). So too, it is conjectured, Hesperus will bring the bride to the groom. This recalls various themes from poem 61. The god Hymen is instrumental in bringing the bridal couple together (61.3-4, 56-58). But, to a lesser extent, this theme also applies to the other characters in poem 61. The bride is urged by *integrae virgines* to come forth (61.90-91, also 61.96, 105-6, 112-13) and the elderly matrons place the bride by the groom's side (61.179-81). The poet himself urges the bride to enter the bridal chamber (61.159-60, 164-66).

²By my count, there are thirty-one verbs in the imperative and ten in various forms of the hortatory subjunctive.

³Fr. 104 L-P.

⁴C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 219.

The reference to *vesper* suggests a learned allusion to Venus (the evening star), which in turn recalls the many references to Venus from poem 61.⁵

Most critics interpret *Olympo* (62.1) as a generalizing locative ("in the sky"). But I would support Ellis' suggestion:

the careful antagonism which Catullus has made in the songs of the youths and virgins throughout demands a contrast of mountains, as it necessitates a contrast in the name of the star; *Vesper* arises from Olympus for the youths, the *night-bearer* from Oeta for the virgins.⁶

A specific, rather than generalizing, allusion in *Olympo* parallels the list of the various haunts of Hymen and Venus from poem 61 (Helicon, Ida, Boeotia). It certainly creates a strong link between the first lines of both poems, where mountains are prominently placed (*collis o Heliconii / cultor*, 61.1-2; *Vesper adest, iuvenes, consurgite: Vesper Olympo*, 62.1).

The youths in poem 62 rise from the banquet with urgency: *surgere iam tempus, iam pinguis linquere mensas* (62.3). It is the repetition of *iam* here that symbolizes the pressing nature of the moment.⁷ The

⁵Cf. Ellis, *Commentary*, 241: "*Vesper*, the name of Venus when an evening star." D. A. Kidd, "Hesperus and Catullus 62," *Latomus* 33 (1974): 22-33, provides an excellent survey of the popular, scientific, and poetic allusions to Hesperus.

⁶Ellis, *Commentary*, 242. He also points out (243) that Servius linked Mt. Oeta with the actual worship of both Hesperus and Hymenaeus. This would enhance the choice of these mountains here and provide a further link to Hymen in poem 61.

⁷This is analogous to five passages in poem 61. The female attendants express annoyance at the bride's hesitation (*prodeas nova nupta, si / iam videtur, et audias / nostra verba*, 61.92-94). The *concupinus* is unceremoniously urged to devote himself to more legitimate affairs (*lubet / iam servire Talasio*, 61.126-27). The bride is exhorted to approach the marriage-couch (*iam cubile adeat viri*, 61.176) as is the groom (*iam licet venias, marite*, 61.184). The results of these exhortations are quickly

reasons for the boys' actions are given in the next line: *iam veniet virgo, iam dicetur hymenaeus* (62.4).⁸ The anticipated arrival of the bride in poem 62 recalls the excited announcements of various arrivals in poem 61: the bride (*virgo adest*, 61.77), the bridal veil (*flammeum video venire*, 61.115), and especially the groom (*iam venis*, 61.195). The expressed urgency to sing the hymeneal (*iam dicetur hymenaeus*, 62.4) also finds parallels in poem 61, as both the female and male attendants are expressly urged to do the same (*agite in modum / dicite*, 61.38-39; *ite concinite in modum*, 61.116). It is logical, therefore, to find a variation on the cry to Hymen at this point in poem 62: *Hymen o Hymenae, Hymen ades o Hymenae!* (62.5).

The opening five lines of poem 62, therefore, exhibit a demonstrable link to the previous poem. The common vocabulary provides a textual connection and the interpretations of this vocabulary, already developed in poem 61, provide a semantic connection. The reader comes to poem 62, therefore, with a predominantly positive view of love and marriage, but with underlying negative implications.

With this complex background established, the poet can begin to develop the peculiar amoebaeon character of this poem (62.6-10). Thus, beginning with the most obvious, the length of this stanza matches the

seen, as the groom finally arrives (*non diu remoratus es: / iam venis*, 61.194-95). The verb *linquere* may have been chosen at 62.3 to remind the reader of the urgent request in Poem 61 for Hymen to leave his haunts to attend the ceremony (*quare age... / perge relinquere Thespiae / rupis Aonios specus*, 61.26-28).

⁸Two more repetitions of *iam* again heighten the urgency.

length of the previous one.⁹ Similar vocabulary and grammatical constructions also link the two stanzas (the vocatives *iuvenes/innuptae* are coupled with the imperatives *consurgite*, 62.1, 6).

Variation of imagery is also developed by the poet here. The boys' perception of the rising of Hesperus is matched by the girls' perception, not specifically of the rising of the Nightstar, but of the rising of the youths (*cernitis, innuptae, iuvenes?*, 62.6).¹⁰ To be sure, mention of the rising of the Nightstar is also found in the second line of the stanza (*Oetaeos ostendit Noctifer ignes*, 62.7),¹¹ but now it has a more ironic tinge to it (emphasized by *nimirum* and *sic certest*). This time, the purpose of the Nightstar's rising is to illuminate the rising of the young men (*sic*

⁹This is not always consistent, however (see Forsyth, *The Poems*, 315-16). The lengths of the stanzas in the actual contest (62.20-58b) may have been symmetrical, but the mutilated text makes certainty impossible.

The poet may never have intended the introductory stanzas to be of the same length. The boys are given two stanzas to the girls' single one. It is unlikely that a stanza of nine lines for the girls, parallel to 62.11-19 for the boys, has been lost after 62.19. But one could argue that 62.11-19 do represent a balanced pattern in this first section of the poem. The boys are given four lines plus the refrain (62.1-5) as are the girls (62.6-10). This is followed by eight lines for the boys (combining the earlier patterns of four specific lines for each of the groups) plus the refrain for a total of nine lines (62.11-19). Although the girls are not given equal treatment here, the total number of lines in the first part of the poem does create an easily recognizable and legitimate pattern. A further reason for creating an unsymmetrical, although balanced, first section is to enable the girls to begin the contest at 62.20. See also Kroll, *Poemata*, 123.

¹⁰A. E. Radke, "Zu Catull C. 62, 6.7," *Hermes* 100 (1972): 120, attempts to make sense of the Thuanus ms. readings, and conjectures that 62.6-7 should read: *cernitis, innuptae, iuvenes consurgier? aethra / nimirum Oetaeos ostendit Noctifer umbras*. She argues that this more exactly parallels and indeed caps the boys' opening lines: Während die Jünglinge den Sternenglanz besingen, der sich am Abendhimmel entfaltet, sehen die Mädchen nicht nur den Glanz des Himmels, sondern vor allem die heraufziehenden Schatten der Nacht." This "darker" element, notes Radke, is taken up again in the girls' singing contest. It is a good attempt to make sense of the ms. readings, but I remain unconvinced. See also Kidd, "Hesperus," 31.

¹¹S. Commager, "The Structure of Catullus 62," *Eranos* 81 (1983): 23, sees a negative reference in Mt. Oeta: "*Oetaeos ignes* would suggest the myth of Hercules, and his death by fire on Mount Oeta, a story scarcely calculated to recall the more benign aspects of marriage."

certest; viden ut perniciouser exsiluere? 62.8). Yet in the midst of this variation, the poet can still match images word for word: Mt. Olympus becomes Mt. Oeta and the evening star (Hesperus) becomes the Nightstar (Noctifer).¹² Hesperus can raise its light (*lumina tollit*, 62.2) just as Noctifer can show forth its fires (*ostendit...ignes*, 62.7).

The poet caps this stanza by adding a touch of criticism to the general description. The girls notice a definite purposefulness about the boys' actions in rising from the table (*non temere exsiluere*, 62.9). In the corresponding point in the first stanza, the boys simply notice that the bride will soon come (*iam veniet virgo*, 62.4). This shows the poet's appreciation of the psychology of the situation and prepares the reader for the positive/negative contents of the forthcoming matched stanzas.

To the boys, this contest is a simple, rather matter-of-fact event, one that requires no particular comment: the star has risen; it is time to leave the banquet; the bride is coming; the marriage-hymn should begin. To the girls, however, this is a very critical moment: they must gather their wits together for the impending contest, for it soon becomes clear that the very nature of their companion's lifestyle is at stake: to paraphrase Quinn, "their song will be worth defeating" (*canent quod vincere par est*, 62.9).¹³

¹²Fordyce, *Commentary*, 256, recognizes Noctifer as a variation of Lucifer (Venus, Vesper) and surmises that it was coined by the poet himself.

¹³Quinn, *The Poems*, 277. This interpretation requires the reading *vincere* as the complementary infinitive in 62.9 (as in the Oxford text). Of the various editors, Kroll, Fordyce, Thomson, Mynors, and Forsyth read *vincere* while Ellis and Quinn read *visere*. E. Fraenkel, "Vesper Adest (Catullus 62)," *JRS* 45 (1955): 1, retains *vincere* in the text of poem 62, but later states (3): "A conservative critic keeps *visere*." Kidd, "Hesperus," 32, provides the best arguments for accepting *visere*. He views the boys as singing "what it is right and proper to see," namely Hesperus as the theme which recurs in the first four stanzas following 62.19. He offers examples

The matter of the contest is immediately taken up by the boys at 62.11: *non facilis nobis, aequales, palma parata est*.¹⁴ Once more the poet shows excellent command of the psychological situation (62.11-14). The rising of the boys in the first stanza causes the girls to rouse themselves for the contest they know is imminent. In turn, their purposeful rising now causes the boys to assess the task that lies ahead. Indeed, they see that the girls are practising their verses for the contest (62.12), and it is the boys who confirm the intensity of the girls' preparations: their verses are memorable (because the subject is so important to them) and it is therefore no wonder that the girls are totally intent on their rehearsal (62.13-14).¹⁵

The development continues in the next lines (62.15-19) as the boys realize that they have not been as diligent in their preparations as the girls. This confirms their matter-of-fact attitude from the first stanza and

of *visere* in other poets to indicate how appropriate the verb is "for looking at a sight worth seeing." However, all the examples are visual ones and, in spite of Kidd's zeal, I find it difficult to interpret *canent quod visere par est* as referring merely to the theme of the first two stanzas. The first objection, and perhaps the only one necessary, is that this important theme (Hesperus) is not found in the third group of stanzas, thereby breaking the pattern and complicating Kidd's rationale (which he himself must admit later in his article).

Those who prefer *vincere* are adamant in their view. I agree with Kroll's assessment here (*Poemata*, 124): "Die Mädchen sind beherrscht von dem Gedanken des Wettstreites, der das Gedicht durchzieht, und wollen das Lied der Jünglinge übertreffen, ehe sie es noch gehört haben. *vincere* ist daher wehrscheinlich." Fordyce calls this reading "necessary" and I believe he is right. The very purpose of this poem, after all, is a contest in which, on the surface at least, not only poetry but the very lifestyle of the bride is at stake.

¹⁴This line provides more evidence for reading *vincere* in 62.9. The idea of a contest can not easily be assumed from the opening lines of poem 62. If *visere* were read at 62.9, the mention of the palm at 62.11 would then be the first specific mention of the contest in the poem. This is possible; but if *vincere* were read at 62.9, the mention of the *palma* at the beginning of the next stanza would create a more unified structure for the poem.

¹⁵62.14 appears in only the Thuanian manuscript. Ellis, *Commentary*, 243, has an excellent note about this point.

creates the impression that the boys are displaying a certain arrogant self-assuredness about their abilities to win in this contest. Of course, the reader has not yet "heard" the arguments of either the boys or the girls; but the poet is creating a psychological frame for those arguments by establishing the differing attitudes that both sides have towards this match.

Although only a singing contest, its subject (marriage) is of vital importance to the girls, so important in fact that intense rehearsals are already underway. As for the boys, it is only after seeing the preparations of their competitors that they take the contest seriously: *iure igitur vincemur: amat victoria curam* (62.16). Now, they begin to prepare in earnest, and attempt to match the intensity of the girls' rehearsals (*quare nunc animos saltem convertite vestros*, 62.17). But it is clear that they have waited till the last minute, for the contest is about to begin (*dicere iam incipient, iam respondere decebit*, 62.18).¹⁶

As he did in poem 61, the poet has written an important prelude to the main body of the poem, creating a subtle, psychological setting into which the contest itself is now placed.

¹⁶Cf. J. Ferguson, *Catullus* (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1985), 181: "[the boys] themselves are more casual, with half a mind on their own song and half on the girls...They do not really believe that they will be beaten; they trust their capacity to improvise in response to the girls' more careful preparation."

II

Round One

(62.20-31)

The girls begin the contest at 62.20.¹⁷ The initial reference to Hesperus here, like Vesper in 62.1, continues to keep the goddess Venus before the mind's eye, together with all the emotional baggage she acquired from the last poem. It is, therefore, not a complete shock to hear the girls refer to the celestial symbol of this supposedly benevolent goddess in such strong and harsh language: *quis caelo fertur crudelior ignis?* (62.20).

On the surface, the line appears to be simply a further structural development of the initial lines of the first two stanzas.¹⁸ But the rather neutral descriptions in the first two stanzas are shattered here as the girls begin their song. The light of Vesper that was simply long-awaited (*expectata*, 62.2) and the fires of Noctifer that came simply from Oeta (62.7) cannot match the fires of Hesperus, than which nothing is more cruel (*quis...crudelior ignis*, 62.20).

¹⁷Structural unity within this poem is created by the initial address to Hesperus. For the fourth time in four stanzas, a vocative will hold a prominent place at the beginning of the stanza. The reference to Hesperus immediately recalls the initial word in poem 62 (*Vesper*); but by using the Greek version of the star, Catullus seems to be paying homage to the fragment of Sappho that may have inspired him.

¹⁸*Vesper* in 62.1 is matched by *Noctifer* in 62.7 and now by *Hespere* in 62.20. *Vesper* can spread its *lumina* in 62.2, as the Nightstar and Hesperus can display their *ignes* in 62.7 and 20 respectively. Even the locative references in all three stanzas are matched (*Olympe*, 62.1; *Oetaeos*, 62.7; *caelo*, 62.20).

This triple reference to light and fire recalls similar imagery in the previous poem.¹⁹ There, the progress of the torch and the ultimate culmination in marriage establish the metaphor of the fire of love.²⁰ But it is precisely because the references in poem 61 are ultimately positive (the bride and groom are last seen enjoying their marital bliss) that the harsh reference to fire at 62.20 is all the more effective and shocking.

This sudden change to harsher imagery continues in the stanza:

qui natam possis complexu avellere matris,
complexu matris retinentem avellere natam,
et iuveni ardenti castam donare puellam.

(62.21-23)

The tearing of the young girl from her mother's protective embrace by a god of love or marriage is one of the dominant themes in poem 61. This scene, with all its specific detail and parallel vocabulary intact, appears as part of the general address to Hymen at the climax of the proem:

tu fero iuveni in manus
floridam ipse puellulam
dedis a gremio suae
matris.

(61.56-59)

But this rather neutral description (i.e. the use of *dedis*) is preceded by a much more intense description in the first stanza of the poem:

¹⁹Flame and fire imagery occurs eleven times in poems 61 to 68, with the majority appearing in poems 61 and 62.

²⁰Cf. *taedam*, 61.15; *faces*, 61.77, 94, 114; *uritur.../ flamma*, 61.170-71. The emphasis on day and night in poem 61 (*die*, 61.11; *dies*, 61.38, 90, 105, 112, 192; *nocte...medio die*, 61.111; *diem*, 61.85) also contributes to this concept and helps pave the way for the triple reference to Vesper in poem 62.

qui rapis teneram ad virum
virginem

(61.3-4)

This theme of violence connected with marriage is developed throughout poem 61. The insecurity of the bride and her hesitancy to embark on the marriage celebration stems just as much from her fear of leaving the protection of her mother as from the questionable actions and reputation of her new husband. In part, then, it is precisely because the violence of the marriage-god's role is stressed throughout the poem that the contrasting portrait of family bliss at the end, painted with some of the same vocabulary, is so effective:

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

(61.209-13)

Now, in poem 62, much the same vocabulary is recalled. The persistent use of diminutives to describe the bride in poem 61 is matched here with the reference to the bride as simply *natam* (62.21), stressing even more the innate relationship between the young girl and her mother. The protective lap of the mother (*gremium*) from which the bride is torn in the previous poem, becomes the embrace itself (*complexu matris*, 62.22), a positive image, parallel in poem 61 to the hoped-for state of marital bliss envisaged by the attendants, and symbolized by vine imagery:

lenta sed velut adsitas
vitis implicat arbores,
implicabitur in tuum
complexum.

(61.102-5)

The neutral description of Hymen's function in 61.58 (*dedis*) is overlooked by the poet in favour of the harsher one: the verb *rapere*, used so effectively in 61.3 (*qui rapis*), is now matched by *avellere* (62.21).²¹ In every instance, the vocabulary in this stanza creates an impression even more intense than the one developed in poem 61.²²

The emphasis on the bride's innocent continues in 62.23 (*iuveni ardenti castam donare puellam*), although the harsh vocabulary is softened somewhat by the verb *donare*, recalling a similar moment in poem 61 describing the function of Hymen:

tu fero iuveni in manus
floridam ipse puellulam
dedis a gremio suae
matris.

(61.56-59)

²¹Kroll, *Poemata*, 125, cites two similar examples of the use of this verb from Cicero (*Font. 46: de matris hunc amplexu...avellet atque abstrahet*) and Vergil (*Aen. 6.616: complexu avolsus Iuli*, Aeneas torn from the embrace of Iulus).

²²The technical structure of these verses also contributes to the power of the girls' opening stanza. The word order of 62.21 visually symbolizes the separation of the girl from her mother, with *complexu* being placed at the centre of the line and *natam* and *matris* situated at its opposite ends. The line is varied immediately in the following verse, with the addition of *retinentem* to underscore even more the close bond between mother and child (*complexu matris retinentem avellere natam*, 62.22). The use of *retinentem* here recalls the very strong and positive image of the young Torquatus (*porrigens teneras manus l...ad patrem*, 61.211-12). Although repetition of this sort reflects a ritualistic origin for this kind of poem, it nevertheless helps to stress the intense emotions contained in it. Metre too plays its part in emphasizing the pathos of the stanza. The great number of spondees in 62.20-22 adds weight and seriousness to the girls' words.

Even the reference to the unsophisticated and excited groom is similar (*fero iuveni*, 61.56; *iuveni ardenti*, 62.23). The use of *ardenti* recalls in general terms the fire and torch imagery developed so well in poem 61, and continued in the opening lines of the first stanzas of poem 62.²³ But it also recalls the other description of the groom from poem 61:

illi non minus ac tibi
pectore uritur intimo
flamma, sed penite magis

(61.169-71)

By repeating forceful vocabulary and images already developed in poem 61, the poet creates a strong opening volley in the girls' song. He concludes the stanza with a new image, comparing the harsh realities of marriage with the devastating effects of war: *quid faciunt hostes capta crudelius urbe?* (62.24). The metaphor is strong. The groom has become an enemy (*hostes*) who has attacked and captured a city (*capta...urbe*). The sexual connotations here are clear. The severity of the goddess of love (Hesperus = Venus) is no different from the that of the conquering foe.²⁴

The poet's technique of linking poem 62 with poem 61, primarily through the use of similar vocabulary and imagery (fire, the tearing of the daughter from her mother, the giving of the pure girl to a "burning youth")

²³See above, notes 19 and 20.

²⁴Ellis, *Commentary*, 244, gives several references from other authors illustrating the harshness of similar wartime situations. The example from *Aen.* 2.746 (*aut quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe?*) seems directly influenced by this passage in poem 62 (*aut quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe?*). It is interesting that Virgil used this image from poem 62 to describe the fall of Troy. A similar allusion is found in the Venus/Paris simile (61.16-19).

is evident especially in this first verse of the girls' song. For this reason, the images here, though strong in themselves, must be seen from a perspective already coloured by the connotations, both obvious and subtle, developed in poem 61. The intensity of this stanza confirms the girls' dedication for winning this contest: *canent quod vincere par est* (62.9).²⁵

However, if the boys are up to the task, there is much ammunition available in the girls' verses to use in rebuttal. The boys match the girls' opening line almost word-for-word, except that they see a more positive view of Hesperus. What for the girls is a cruel fire borne through the sky (*caelo fertur crudelior ignis*, 62.20) is for the boys a very pleasant or welcome light (*caelo lucet iucundior ignis*, 62.26).²⁶

The boys next mention the legal aspects of marriage (62.27-29) to counter the emotional elements so strongly presented by the girls.²⁷ In this,

²⁵I find it difficult to concur with those critics who contend that the girls' verses are presented with "mock plaintiveness" or in an atmosphere of light-hearted banter. See Quinn, *The Poems*, 278; also Fordyce, *Commentary*, 254; Forsyth, *The Poems*, 315.

²⁶The image given the boys by the poet is not merely a simple variation on the girls' opening image, but seems to be a direct borrowing from *Il.* 22.318: ἔσπερος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν οὐρανῷ ἴσταται ἀστήρ. The Homeric line is found in a simile, comparing the evening star to the bright point of Achilles' spear, as he rushes to kill Hector around the walls of Troy. The poet's adaptation of this line could remind his readers of the Homeric passage and its context. This would make for a tight transition from the *last* line of the girls' stanza (and the reference to the devastation caused by men in war) to the first line of the boys' verse, at the same time matching the *first* line of the girls' stanza. See also Kroll, *Poemata*, 126

²⁷A comparison with a passage from the *Argonautica* is suggested (see Ellis, *Commentary*, 244). In Book I, Jason is welcomed to the island of Lemnos by Queen Hypsipyle. After donning his divine mantle and clasp his great spear, Jason strides forth "like a bright star" to the city of Hypsipyle: βῆ δ' ἵμεναι προτὶ ἄστρῳ, φαεινῷ ἀστέρῳ ἴσος (*Argo.* 1.774). The passage continues with a description of this bright star which the closeted maiden beholds, love-sick for her husband-to-be, betrothed to her by her parents (*Argo.* 1.774-81). Cf. Kidd, "Hesperus," 27-28, 33. This is a positive view of marriage, and a marriage based on legal requisites. The bride has been betrothed by her parents and she rejoices in the match. Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid*, 20, makes a point of berating modern critics for not seeing the

the poet presents an impressive and logical psychological drama. Faced with an impressive opening volley by the girls, the boys open their stanza with a line, based on Homer, that matches the first line of the girls' verse, but which also relates to the subject of the girls' last line (the cruelty of war). The rest of their stanza concerns itself with the legal aspects of marriage, an arranged union (*desponsa...conubia*, 62.27).²⁸ By this means, they hope to counter the girls' fears about marriage.

Their argument progresses well, and manages to incorporate many of the same images and vocabulary found in the girls' stanza. The boys' emphasis on strengthening (*firmes*, 62.27) a marital union counters the theme of destruction and dissolution (*avellere*, 62.21) in the corresponding line of the girls' stanza. The boys are more intrigued with fire imagery than the girls and add the first of several references here (*tua...flamma*, 62.27).

The boys are unable to match the powerful two-line variation from the girls' stanza (62.21-22), but do manage to repeat the verb in 62.28: *quae pepigere viri, pepigerunt ante parentes*. Thematically they may be trying to counter the girls' reference to the bride's mother and the destructive act of tearing the girl from her protective embrace. The boys

influence of the Hellenistic poets on the works of Virgil and others: "Virgil's commentators have neglected Apollonius. But that Virgil should have neglected Apollonius...is all but inconceivable."

²⁸There may be more points to make if Catullus did indeed have the *Argonautica* in mind here. a) The fact that the star simile follows immediately after the reference to Jason's spear coupled with the fact that the Homeric passage specifically relates the Hesperus simile to Achilles' spear seems more than coincidental. b) The fact that Jason is on Lemnos, about to meet with Hypsipyle, an example par excellence of the cruelty and faithlessness of marriage, could support the sentiment found in the girls' stanza. (This is a very subtle point and I do not wish to stress it overly much.) c) Finally, it would seem logical for the greatest of the neoterics to match the prototype of epic (Homer himself) with a "modern" version (the Alexandrian *Argonautica* of Apollonius.

mention the father of the bride and portray his actions as supportive of the marriage that has been contracted beforehand (*pepigerunt ante parentes*, 62.28),²⁹ in close co-operation with the husband (*pepigerere viri*). The repetition of *pepigerere/pepigerunt* hammers home the argument.

Another attempt to soften the girls' theme of violence in the marriage is made by suggesting that, in spite of a firm contract, the actual nuptials do not take place until after the "fire of love" has arisen (*nec iunxere prius quam se tuus extulit ardor*, 62.29). This is an attempt to counter the girls' reference to the *iuveni ardenti* (62.23). The image of the burning youth from the girls' stanza and the violence implied there is now matched by the positive burning love of Hesperus (*tuus...ardor*, 62.29; cf. *iucundior ignis*, 62.26); such love is also presented as the logical and positive prerequisite for any fulfilment of the marriage contract: "nothing will happen unless Venus joins us with the ardour of love."³⁰

The final line of the boys' first stanza again attempts to match the girls'. The latter conclude with a metaphor expressing their view of the cruelty of marriage (*quid faciunt hostes capta crudelius urbe*, 62.24). This is entirely appropriate, since their view of marriage is presented from the perspective of tearing the girl from her mother. Having made their case primarily from a legal standpoint, the boys conclude by presenting their own positive statement: *quid datur a divis felici optatius hora?* (62.30).

²⁹Ellis, *Commentary*, 245, indicates that *parentes* here refers to the father of the bride, not to both the parents. So also Quinn, *The Poems*, 279.

³⁰This theme matches the sentiment expressed in the passage from Apollonius (γάνυται δέ τε ἠιθέοιο / παρθένος ἰμείρουσα μετ' ἄλλοδαποῖσιν ἔόντος / ἀνδράσιν, *Argo*. 1.778-80).

Mention of the gods here (*a divis*) is nothing more than a figure of speech, and their final punch in this round is consistent with their attitude to this contest. The marriage may be desirable (*optatius*), but by whom? By the groom undoubtedly; but would the bride, of her own accord, share in the joy? The boys assume she would (62.29) but the girls have given no indication that the effect of taking the girl from her mother would be lessened or even eliminated if the "fire of love" were present beforehand.³¹

It appears that the boys have failed to win round one of the contest. The elevated and intense images of the girls' stanza are countered with the boys' standard, legalistic views of marriage: the delineation of a marriage of convenience, agreed to by the groom and father without much sincere input from the bride.

III

Round Two

(62.32-38)

The second group of stanzas is unfortunately badly mutilated. Only the first line of the girls' stanza has survived (*Hesperus et nobis, aequales, abstulit unam*, 62.32).³² Based on this line and the boys' reply,

³¹Commager, "Catullus 62," 25, remarks on the sexual overtones contained in *iucundior*, *optatius*, and *felici*.

³²It is difficult to know how many lines have been lost. It is logical to assume that the boys and girls were given an equal number of lines. Kroll, *Poemata*, 123, produces a formula to illustrate this, based on the extant number of lines given to the boys: Girls (6 + x verses); Boys (x + 6 verses). Although there is no advantage in knowing how many lines these stanzas may have contained, it seems probable that they consisted of eight lines each, which would make for a logical number in the second group, sandwiched between a group containing six lines each and one

most critics assume that the stanza described Hesperus as a thief, who steals young girls from their companions (*aequales*). This develops naturally from the first stanza, where the girl is taken from her mother.³³

In response to the girls' stanza, the boys praise Hesperus as the god of vigilance (62.33-38). The exact context in which the guard is placed is lost; but they present Hesperus as the protector of girls, because he aids the *custos* in keeping the bride safe for her husband.³⁴ This assumes that

containing ten lines. However, the lack of the refrain to Hymen at the close of the third group makes even this suggestion doubtful (perhaps a line is missing in the girls' final stanza, 62.39-48).

The rhythm of the line and the position of *nobis aequales* in it links this line to 62.11. This certainly helps to unify the poem. Whether there was any further textual link to this stanza from the boys' earlier stanza is impossible to say.

³³Ellis, *Commentary*, 245, has an excellent discussion of this problem. He conjectures that the girls' verses contained an attack on Night itself, "the Devirginator, the foe of sun and daylight, that nips all things with frost, that brings harm (*nocet*) and is rightly called the harmer (*nox*)." He refers to a passage in Varro's *De Lingua Latina* 6.6: *Nox quod ut Catulus [Catullus] ait, omnia nisi interveniat sol, pruina obriguerint, quod nocet, nox*. This passage precedes a discussion of the etymology of *vesper*, *vesperugo* and a connection with ἑσπέρα. While there is no specific mention of frost in poem 62, one could argue (although admittedly with some difficulty) that the image in the girls' next stanza, the delicate flower, could also be harmed by the frost of night and would therefore be a logical development from this present stanza. A better connection, of course, is the continuing emphasis on the imagery of day and night, sun and stars. Such imagery forms an important part of poem 61 and recurs again throughout the cycle of eight poems.

It could be that the passage in Varro did indeed refer to the missing lines in poem 62. Other critics disagree with Ellis and read Pacuvius instead of Catullus (Scaliger), or believe that the Varronian passage refers instead to a fragment of Catullus (Bährens). A definitive answer to the problem is impossible. In a sense, the inability to reconstruct the missing lines here is not serious, certainly not as serious as determining the content of the lacuna in poem 61. (There, the lacuna occurs at the beginning of the development of the theme of the wayward husband. It is, therefore, more important to attempt a reconstruction.) The girls have already made a strong case in their opening stanza and will make an even more powerful final argument. It is regrettable that the intermediate argument is lost, but the general gist of the content can be determined from the boys' reply.

³⁴It may be that the poet is still influenced by the passage from Apollonius suggested in the previous stanza (see above, note 29), describing the bride closeted in her chambers by her parents, kept safe there for her husband (*Argo*. 1.775). If this is so, the context is again positive and, for the boys, a logical retort to the girls' possible contention that Hesperus is a thief, stealing the bride from her companions.

the bride has already been betrothed by her parents (a situation already discussed and "settled" in the previous stanzas).

But if this is the gist of the boys' argument, it again shows a certain lack of sympathy for the girls' arguments. To the boys, the marriage is a foregone conclusion, already agreed to between the groom and the father: the girls have nothing to say in the matter. For the girls themselves, marriage is a personal matter that cannot or should not be decided for them without their consent: it is an emotional question, concerning the violent tearing of the bride not only from her mother but also from her companions.

If this is the context of the girls' lost lines, then the reference to the thieves at 62.33-35 comes as a logical development. Ellis implies that the guard is there to protect the closeted bride from the stolen amours of some adulterer.³⁵ In this context, the *fures* would be able to steal the bride from her bower, leaving the groom bereft. This clearly is designed to counter the girls' contention that any stealing that may be done here (*abstulit*, 62.32) would in fact be worse and more violent if Hesperus were not there to protect the bride and save her for her true, or at least legitimate, lover. But again, the boys seem to be missing the point of the girls' argument.

The boys reflect on the ironic double nature of Hesperus, who is seen as both the morning and evening star (62.35). Any nefarious act, any

³⁵Ellis, *Commentary*, 246.

attempt to steal the bride from her protective home, either in the late evening or early morning, will be revealed by the light of the ever-vigilant Hesperus.³⁶ Now, in the dramatic psychology of the moment, the boys perhaps realize that their technical and "legal" argument may not win the girls over, just as they realized that their previous argument required the late addition of a more emotional point.³⁷ They argue that, even though the girls complain about (*carpunt*, 62.37) the cruel role of Hesperus in marriage, they are merely feigning such complaints (*ficto...questu*, 62.36) and are really longing for the marriage that the star will help bring about (*tacita quem mente requirunt*, 62.37).

Such an argument would surely have the opposite effect than the one desired by the boys. There is no greater way of provoking an already emotional advocate of a particular point than to suggest that he really does not mean what he is expressing so earnestly. But it has been clear from the outset that the boys do not understand the intensity with which the girls are presenting their case.

By the end of the second group of stanzas, therefore, the boys have failed to counter the strongly emotional case against marriage made by the girls. Their cold, legal arguments merely underscore the validity and intensity of the girls' thoughts.

³⁶This line continues the emphasis on light and dark, day and night.

³⁷In their first stanza, the boys stressed the legal nature of marriage, but added the point that no marriage would take place without the inspirational love of Hesperus (*ardor*, 62.29).

IV

Round Three

(62.39-58b)

The next two stanzas represent the final arguments on both sides. Once again floral imagery is used to emphasize the youthful and fragile nature of the bride (62.39-42), and once again much of the vocabulary is familiar. The girls take up the boys' image of the sequestered girl and transfer it to a flower that springs up in an enclosed garden (*ut flos in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis*, 62.39). The mention of a garden recalls two striking scenes from poem 61. At the beginning of that poem, the bride is compared to a flowering myrtle which the Hamadryades nourish as a *ludicrum* (61.24). Later, the bride is compared to a hyacinth flower standing in a rich man's garden:

talis in vario solet
divitis domini hortulo
stare flos hyacinthinus.

(61.87-89)

The vocabulary in this latter example is similar to the passage in poem 62 (*in vario.../...hortulo /...flos hyacinthinus*, 61.87-89; *flos in saeptis...hortis*, 62.39). In poem 61, the simile is used to encourage the hesitant bride, to suggest that her beauty is sufficient to keep her husband faithful. In other words, it is used as an inducement to marriage. Here, however, the image is used by the girls to suggest the opposite, that the

delicate flower growing in this sequestered garden will be destroyed by the touch of a man.

The emphasis on the isolated nature of this garden (*saepitis secretus*, 62.39) recalls the boys' image of the *custodia* (62.33). But this garden simile also suggests the protected and secure life the girl enjoyed while in the embrace of her mother (and possibly in the company of her companions in the lacuna after 62.32). This is confirmed by the use of *nascitur* (62.39), leading the reader back to 62.21-22 where the impending tearing of the girl (*natam*) from her mother's embrace causes the girls so much distress:

qui natam possis complexu avellere matris,
complexu matris retinentem avellere natam

(62.21-22)

The girls elaborate on the simile in 62.40-42. The essence of this flower is its cultured and protected nature. For this reason, it is almost inconceivable that any cattle might graze on it or that a plough might destroy it (*ignotus pecori, nullo convolsus aratro*, 62.40).³⁸ What gives the

³⁸Ellis, *Commentary*, 248, reads *contusus* for *convolsus* because the former is "less violent." But this is precisely why *convolsus* is the appropriate word. The girls want to stress the violence of marriage here. Cf. the difference between *convolsus* at 62.40 and *tactus* 11.24. *convolsus* appears in T which, to Fraenkel, "Vesper," 4, is superior to V. This passage may have inspired Virgil in his description of the death of Euryalus: *purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro / languescit moriens* (*Aen.* 9.435-36).

It may be that Catullus has in mind a fragment of Sappho: οἶαν τὰν ὑάκινθον ἐν ὄρεσι ποίμενες ἄνδρες / πόσσι καταστείβοισι· χάμαι δέ τε πόρφυρον ἄνθος. But as Quinn, *The Poems*, 280, points out, this flower in a fenced-in, cultivated garden is quite different from the Sapphic one growing wild on the mountain. It is expected, perhaps, that a wildflower might sometime be touched by the grazing cattle or the passing plough.

cultivated flower strength is the natural sustenance from nature: warm breezes, the sun, the rain (*quem mulcent aerae, firmat sol, educat imber*, 62.41). The imagery in the verbs suggests the natural upbringing of a young child, who receives tender care (*mulcent*), and matures (*firmat*) from youthful beginnings (*educat*), while still in the protective embrace of her family. Removing the flower (or the girl) from that protective environment would destroy it; but allowing it to grow and mature in this safe atmosphere would strengthen it: this is what boys and girls desire (*multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae*, 62.42).³⁹

The emphasis on *pueri...puellae* at 62.42 is a bit surprising, since it is the familial security that has been stressed so far in the poem; this "surprise" may be due to the lacuna following 62.32. The girls previously stressed the protective nature of the family in round one. However, it seems probable that the girls stressed a second type of protected and supportive environment in round two: *aequales*. The bride's companions may have been presented as a different but equally valid society which

A similar image is used in poem 11: the poet's wild, youthful and uncomplicated love has been cut down and destroyed by the mere touch of destructive love, as a flower is touched by the passing plough (*velut prati / ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam / tactus aratro est*, 11.22-24). The flower is growing in an uncultivated part of the land (*prati / ultimi*, 11.22-23), unprotected and uncared for. The essence of this flower is its wildness. In this poem, the plough is seen rather as a violator of the land in general, a leviathan destroying indiscriminately everything in its path. That is why the wound inflicted by the mere touch (*tactus*) of the passing plough (*praetereunte.../...aratro*) is so devastating. In effect, Catullus has created two diametrically opposed concepts using the same image. The basic nature and unchanging "function" of the flower in poem 11 is to remain wild and in poem 62 to remain pure and untouched.

³⁹E. S. Stigers, "Retreat from the Male: Catullus 62 and Sappho's Erotic Flowers," *Ramus* 6 (1977): 86, argues that the nurturing function of nature here (*aerae, sol, imber*) replaces the nurturing element of the family from 62.20-24: "even the protecting mother of the earlier stanza is banished: the nourishment provided in the garden does not come from cultivation." I disagree: this description of such nurturing is not inconsistent with development within the family.

could also offer protection to the unmarried girl. In round three, the girls may be attempting to combine both environments. The protected garden at the beginning of this round seems logically to stand for the protective environment of the family (presented in round one). Now, in the middle of this stanza, the girls shift to the security provided by their companions (presented in round two). This "one-two" punch underscores the intensity of the girls' protected society.

The girls then describe what happens when that inviolate flower is plucked (62.43-48). In doing so, they subtly shift the perspective once again. After mentioning the cattle and the plough, possible external threats to the flower (threats, that is, that are literally outside the fence of their garden), they turn to the real threat of someone purposely picking the flower (*idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui*, 62.43).⁴⁰

It is easy to see why the girls choose the image of the cultivated flower. The plucking of the flower and the resultant loss of its bloom, its essence (*defloruit*, 62.43), is easily transferred to the "deflowering" of the young girl. This flower is destroyed by the violent action of a fingernail (*tenui...ungui*, 62.43).⁴¹ The girls have skilfully turned the tables on the boys' argument by taking the verb *carpere* (which the boys employ in the

⁴⁰This line may have inspired Virgil in his description of the death of Pallas: *qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem / seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi* (*Aen.* 11.68-69). Compare above note 38 and the death of Euryalus. K. W. Gransden, *Virgil's Iliad: an Essay on Epic Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 114-19, has a detailed discussion of these passages from Virgil and a similar passage on the death of Gorgythion (*Il.* 8.306-8).

⁴¹Quinn, *The Poems*, 280, suggests that a girl is doing the picking here, an unnecessary and irrelevant assumption. The image also occurs in Propertius 1.20.39-40 (*decerpens tenero pueriliter ungui /...florem*).

abstract sense "to complain," 62.36-37) and using it in the literal sense of "plucked" (*tenui carptus...ungui*, 62.43). What to the boys is merely a playful complaint is destruction itself to the girls. The result, of course, is that no one now would want such a damaged flower (*nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae*, 62.44), whose bloom (*defloruit*) will soon die. Again, such feelings of desire or rejection are important only within the small circle of the girls' companions (*pueri, puellae*); they have no real connection with the world outside, the world of those who wish to take the girl away from such a circle.

This is made clear in 62.45-47, where the elaborate simile of the untouched and protected flower is specifically related at last to the bride. As long as she remains untouched, she remains dear to her own (*sic virgo, dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est*, 62.45). By *suis* the poet means primarily the bride's companions,⁴² but the bride's family could also be implied here through the imagery of 62.39-41 in this stanza.⁴³

Then, parallel with the earlier simile, the poet turns to the possibility of violence done to the bride, who, like the plucked flower (*defloruit*, 62.43) loses the "bloom of her chastity" (*castum amisit...florem*, 62.46), her body irrevocably defiled (*polluto corpore*, 62.46). Now, she is no longer a joy to boys nor dear to girls (*nec pueris iucunda manet, nec cara puellis*, 62.47). These lines underscore once again

⁴²See C. Knapp, "A Discussion of Catullus 62., 39-58," *CR* 10 (1896): 367, note 1: "I regard *suis* in 45 as merely a variation for *pueris et puellis* virtually contained in 42, 44, and 47."

⁴³The protected, isolated garden in which the flower is reared is like the family which rears a child (*mulcent, firmat, educat*). Cf. also 61.51-52: *te suis tremulus parens / invocat*.

the asexual environment of this circle of boys and girls. The girls stress the youthful age of the bride: she is still within the protective embrace of her family and plays only with those whose innocence matches her own. Any attempt to break the sanctity of that circle, in this context, would naturally be viewed as a horrendous and violent act which would change the girl and render her "unacceptable" or at least not as dear to her friends and family.

This is the girls' final argument. They certainly make a very strong case for the violence of the act of marriage. However, this third argument seems to border very close to fanaticism. The hesitant bride in poem 61 does not feel this strongly about marriage. Marriage is certainly portrayed as a violent act, but the poet conveys that concept more subtly than the overt declarations and imagery found in poem 62. The bride of poem 61 is more concerned that the marriage be a happy and lasting one, than that it not take place at all. The final scene with the happy couple enjoying their bliss certainly counters the negative connotations about marriage developed in poem 61; but there are no resolutions so far in poem 62 that can satisfy the girls.⁴⁴

The poet prepared the reader to expect these weighty arguments in the earlier stanzas (*canent quod vincere par est*, 62.9). The boys did not seem to share the girls' dedication to this contest and have hitherto not

⁴⁴See Fraenkel, "Vesper," 6: "[the girls'] argument, however skilfully presented, proves hopelessly out of place...If they were right, there ought to be no wedding at all." Quinn, *The Poems*, 280, remarks again that "this attitude is assumed, of course, for the sake of the contest, rather than seriously held." I disagree with Quinn's view. The intensity of the girls' imagery and dogmatism of their views suggest that, in the dramatic context of poem 62, the girls fully believe what they are saying.

been able to cap the girls' stanzas to any significant degree. This is their final opportunity.

The fact that the vocabulary and grammar are matched so closely in the boys' reply is a sign of the seriousness which the boys now display in the contest.⁴⁵ Like the girls, the boys begin with a simile from nature (62.49-55).⁴⁶ The girls structured their stanza by placing the positive description of the sequestered flower before the negative one. The boys reply with a structure exactly opposite. They counter the girls' image of a protected flower with that of the unsupported vine (*vidua...vitis*, 62.49).

The traditional imagery of marriage connected with viticulture (*iungere, adiungere, ducere, vidua, maritus*) suits the boys' purpose very well.⁴⁷ If plants are to be used to illustrate their argument, the boys' choice of the vine is much more appropriate and effective than the girls'

⁴⁵See Fraenkel, "Vesper," 6: "[the boys] have come to the wedding wholly unprepared, but now they make up for their laziness by a remarkable presence of mind."

⁴⁶There is a discrepancy in the number of lines given the girls and boys here (nine for the girls compared with ten for the boys, not including the refrain, which is added as an extra line, 58b). Quinn, *The Poems*, 281, has a good discussion of this. I believe that the boys did not conclude their verse with the refrain. This would "allow" the boys to use five lines for their initial simile, resulting in the "bumping" of their line 53 (*hanc nulli agricolae, nulli coluere iuveni*), parallel to the girls' line 42 (*multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae*), down one line, but allowing for a very close matching of lines elsewhere in the stanza.

⁴⁷Virgil talks of uniting or marrying the vine to the elm (*ulmisque adiungere vitis / conveniat*, *Geor.* 1.2-3). Cf. Cato the Elder, *De Agricultura* 32.2: *arbores facito uti bene maritae sint vitesque uti satis multae adserantur*; Ovid *Ars Amat.* 1.682: *Scyrias Haemonio iuncta puella viro*; Juvenal *Sat.* 6.200-2: *si tibi legitimis pactam iunctamque tabellis / non es amator, ducendi nulla videtur / causa*. The concept of the vine "wedded" to its supporting tree is so strong that the vine or tree that is not "joined in marriage" is termed "widowed," (*condit quisque diem collibus in suis, / et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores*, Horace *Odes* 4.5.29-30). Cf. Juvenal *Sat.* 8.78: *stratus humi palmas viduas desiderat ulmos*. Della Corte, "Catullo, la vite," 75-76, provides a list of references to marriage imagery in ancient authors. See also Appendix C.

sequestered flower. The theme of this poem, after all, is marriage, not hermitism, and to counter the girls' litany of the agonies of marriage, the boys illustrate the obvious advantages.⁴⁸

The youthfulness of the tender vine is expressed by *nascitur* (62.49) parallel to the girls' description of their flower (*nascitur*, 62.39); but the girls' protected and cultivated garden (*in saeptis secretus...hortis*, 62.39) now becomes a cleared field, barren of trees (*in nudo...arvo*, 62.49). This is an important point. The cultivated garden is essential for the continued existence and well-being of the girls' flower; but the parallel cultivated and barren field is a hazard for the vine, since there are no trees to ensure that the vine can grow up strong and fruitful. The result is an unsupported or "widowed" vine (*vidua...vitis*, 62.49) whose very survival is in jeopardy.⁴⁹

The boys elaborate brilliantly in the next lines. An unsupported vine can never raise itself by growing up a tree (*numquam se extollit*, 62.50) nor ever bear fruit (*numquam mitem educat uvam*, 62.50). Their imagery refutes the girls' contention that it is only a sequestered life that can nurture productive and positive growth. The girls' flower is reared by nature alone (*quem mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber*, 62.41) and is destroyed by any intervention by man (*tenui carptus defloruit ungui*,

⁴⁸Cf. Kroll's comment, *Poemata*, 128: "Die Burschen antworten ebenfalls mit einem kunstvollen Vergleiche, der die Vorzüge der Ehe ins Licht setzt."

⁴⁹The psychological connotations of *vidua* are important. It is not just that the vine is "unwedded" (i.e. not having been married before) but that it is "widowed," bereft of a component that should be there to ensure continued prosperity. The term *vidua* implies that such a vine is in an unnatural state.

62.43). The boys' vine cannot survive by nature alone and needs man's intervention and the support of artificial props to fulfil its natural function.

To stress their point, the boys divert from the strict line-by-line matching of the girls' stanza to expand the image of the "widowed" vine: if unsupported, the tender shoot (*tenerum...corpus*, 62.51) cannot stand, but falls to the ground (62.51-52). The bending of the vine downwards by its own weight (*prono deflectens pondere*, 62.51) results in a situation that is unproductive and unnatural for viticulture (*contingit summam radice flagellum*, 62.52).⁵⁰

It seems that all is lost. But the use of *iam iam* (62.52) opens the door for a reprieve: the "widowed" vine is just about to touch bud to roots, but there is still time to save it.⁵¹ Matching a corresponding line in the girls' stanza, the boys declare that such an unsupported vine is cherished neither by the farmer nor the oxen (*hanc nulli agricolae, nulli coluere iuveni*, 62.53). The boys have capped an apparently positive line of the girls with apparently a negative one. The girls argued that the protected flower, while untouched by outside forces, would thrive to be an object of

⁵⁰The placing of *summum* and *radice* together is clearly meant to illustrate the unnatural state of affairs here. Commager, "Catullus 62," 30, notes that the peculiar image of the plant touching its top with its root "epitomizes the technique of the boys...the inverting of the opponents' words and images." Quinn, *The Poems*, 281, sees this image as an absurdity, included in the boys' stanza "as part of the fun." I believe the boys are being very serious.

⁵¹This use of *iam iam* parallels similar uses in poem 61 and at 62.3, 4, 18. The function of *iam iam* here is to enhance the image; but it also indicates the boys' firm intention to convince the girls of the validity of their arguments in support of marriage. Once again Quinn, *The Poems*, 281, thinks otherwise: "The details of the imagery are graceful and charming; but, as in 33-36, the spirit in which the boys cap the girls' complaint is one of playful irony aimed at outwitting the girls, not at convincing them."

desire for those existing in a similar situation (i.e. innocent boys and girls): *multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae* (62.42). The boys argue that, precisely because the vine is not "cherished" by outside forces (the farmer and the oxen who break up ground around the vine to enable it to thrive), it will die. In this context, it is really the boys' line that is positive, not the girls'.⁵²

So far in their stanza, the boys have described the negative aspect of viticulture (what happens if a vine is not cultivated). Now they turn to the positive (62.54-58b), even as the girls concluded with the negative.⁵³ These lines not only cap the girls' stanza, but end the boys' stanza with a positive image, virtually ensuring the success of their argument.

The technical vocabulary of viticulture continues with even greater effect. The joining of the vine to the elm (*ulmo coniuncta*, 62.54) to become a "wedded vine" suggests that the elm is like a husband (*marito*, 62.54). This concept of joining or uniting is established in poem 61: Hymen is *boni / coniugator amoris* (61.44-45) and the bride is *coniugis cupidam novi* (61.32). So strong is the final image of marital bliss in poem 61 that the couple is apostrophized as *boni / coniuges* (61.225-26). The attendants also use the image of viticulture to suggest the potential marital

⁵²Cf. Commager, "Catullus 62," 30-31: "[*coluere*] may have religious overtones, and thus becomes a suitable rejoinder to the girls' *castum...polluto* (46)...Only if the girl remains insolate and unapproachable will she be *inculta* (56), which suggests 'unworshipped' as well as 'uncultivated.'" Cf. W. F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii* (New Rochelle: Caratzas Brothers, 1979), 130: "the word *hortus*...is commonly used by the ancient authors to describe the domain of Venus." This would make the girls' use of the garden to represent their view of love all the more distorted.

⁵³Note especially the girls' pattern (*multi...multi/nulli...nullae*, 62.42, 44) compared with the boys' (*nulli...nulli/multi...multi*, 62.53, 55).

bliss of the young couple (*lenta sed velut adsitas / vitis implicat arbores, / implicabitur in tuum / complexum*, 61.102-5).

This image is picked up now in poem 62 to suggest the ultimate success of the mutual support of vine and elm, wife and husband. Far from being destroyed by the touch of man (as the girls' flower is depicted, 62.43), the assistance of man will strengthen the vine, to be an object of desire by those who have supported it (*multi illam agricolae, multi coluere iuveni*, 62.55).

Matching the structure of the girls' stanza, the boys immediately relate their nature simile to a real marriage (62.56-58), producing a more relevant effect, since the imagery of marriage is transferred so easily from viticulture to human relations. For the girls, the maiden is cherished by her closed society only so long as she remains untouched (*sic virgo, dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est*, 62.45). For the boys, the same untouched "purity" means an uncared-for existence in maturity (*sic virgo dum intacta manet, dum inculta senescit*, 62.56).

The mention of old age recalls several important passages from poem 61. Hymen is invoked by the aged parent on behalf of his children (*te suis tremulus parens / invocat*, 61.51-52), hoping to see them married and producing heirs. This theme recurs a little later, as the god provides children to the house, on whom the parent can lean for support (*nulla quit sine te domus / liberos dare, nec parens / stirpe nitier; at potest / te volente*, 61.66-69). The point is that marriage provides the opportunity for children to support the survival of the clan. The image is repeated at the end of the

poem (*ludite ut lubet, et brevi / liberos date*, 61.204-5), just before the final tableau of the young couple playing with the yet-unborn Torquatus. A further illustration of old age occurs as the *pronubae* escort the bride to the groom at the end of poem 61. They represent the positive qualities (*bonae*, 61.179) of a long-lasting marriage, having lived to old age with their aged husbands (*bonae senibus viris / cognitae bene feminae*, 61.179-80). It is appropriate that they escort the bride since they are symbols of what this new marriage should strive to achieve.

These positive images of old age from poem 61 lie behind the boys' reference at 62.56. The sexual connotations in both *intacta* and *inculta* imply the lack of offspring from the fertile "ground" of the maiden. The boys have already mentioned this aspect (*vidua...vitis.../...numquam mitem educat uvam*, 62.49-50) and they now elaborate on it. They present an image of the ideal marriage, a marriage which is "appropriate,"⁵⁴ where "the partners are suitable to each other"⁵⁵ (*par conubium*, 62.57).⁵⁶ If the maiden, at her peak (*maturo tempore*, 62.57), can contract such a marriage (*adepta est*, 62.57), she will be cherished by her husband especially (*cara viro magis*, 62.58) and resented less by her father (*minus est invisae parenti*, 62.58).

The vocabulary here is skilfully chosen. The boys are, of course, matching and capping the girls' final statement. The girls' maiden was a

⁵⁴Quinn, *The Poems*, 281.

⁵⁵Forsyth, *The Poems*, 325.

⁵⁶Ellis, *Commentary*, 249, cites an example from Ovid's *Heroides* in which a marriage of unequals is related to the ploughing of the field: *quam male inaequales veniunt ad aratra iuveni, / tam premitur magno coniuge nupta minor*. (*Her.* 9.29-30). Catullus may also have been influenced by the first Epigram of Callimachus.

defiled flower that had lost its bloom (*castam amisit polluto corpore florem*, 62.46) and was, therefore, uncherished by her companions. The boys' maiden is a girl in the full bloom of her youth (*maturo tempore*, 62.57) who, like the vine, is cherished precisely because she is now wedded to a supporting husband who is appropriate for her.

The boys stress the suitability of this relationship (*par conubium*, 62.57). They may be attempting to counter the girls' contention that those people who mattered most to them were their companions of similar age (*aequales*, 62.11, 32; *pueri, puellae*, 62.42, 44, 47), that is, those within a closed, sequestered society. For the boys, what matters most in a marriage is the affection between partners who are appropriate for each other (*cara viro magis*, 62.58), a relationship that requires leaving the protected environment of the family and creating a new one with the husband. This continues the theme found in poem 61. The female attendants who sing the hymeneal are still pure and are awaiting the day of their marriage which, they hope, will match the joy of Iunia's wedding day (*integrae / virgines, quibus advenit / par dies*, 61.36-38). The *pronubae* who escort the bride to the groom have maintained their marriages into old age (*bonae senibus viris / cognitae bene feminae*, 61.179-80). Manlius and Iunia are filled with reciprocal longing for each other (*illi non minus ac tibi / pectore uritur intimo / flamma*, 61.169-71). The final apostrophe to the couple stresses their mutual marital bliss (*boni / coniuges*, 61.225-26).

This emphasis on suitability in the boys' argument has been developing throughout poem 62, no doubt prompted by some of the girls'

arguments. Among the maidens' first utterances is an expressed desire to be "equal" to the contest that is about to take place, to be up to the task of conquering the boys in the singing match (*canent quod vincere par est*, 62.9). The boys acknowledge that they have not been as diligent in their preparations as the girls (62.15) and this is reflected in the relative lack of appropriateness and sympathy in their initial responses to the girls' verses.

In answering the girls' first argument (that marriage is a violent tearing of the girl from her mother's protection), the boys can only declare that the marriage has already been contracted between the groom and the father and that is the end of it. This argument gives little indication that they have recognized the nature of the girls' complaints, although they do add that the marriage will not be finalized until the ardour of love is kindled (*nec iunxere prius quam se tuus extulit ardor*, 62.29). But these words sound a bit hollow in the present context.

In answering the girls' second argument (that marriage tears the girl away from her companions), the boys reply that the girl who is already betrothed is in fact more secure from external threats to her purity through the ever-watchful light of Hesperus. Once again, they seem not to have responded in kind to the girls' arguments.⁵⁷ To compound the problem, they add that girls are always making up these complaints (*ficto...questu*,

⁵⁷Of course it is difficult to know for sure since the girls' arguments are lost. But the structure of the poem suggests that the boys' response in 62.33-38 met with much the same success as their first rebuttal.

62.36) to mask their true desire for marriage (62.36-37). Again, the boys do not seem to have a real appreciation of the bride's concerns.⁵⁸

The essence of the girls' arguments, then, is that marriage does not take into consideration the bride's legitimate anxieties for her well-being, or the fact that she is forced to give up the security she has known till then, the security of family and friends. The boys' arguments do little to assuage these concerns as they merely reiterate the traditional attitudes of the males towards marriage, that it is basically a legal transaction between husband and father and that the girls really desire this radical change in spite of their expressed complaints.⁵⁹

However, in this third rebuttal, the boys finally are able to match the girls' arguments and acknowledge that marriage should reflect some sort of equitableness between the partners (*par conubium*, 62.57). Like the vine and the elm, the bride and groom should provide mutual support. If they do, they will not be cut off from the love of those who wished them well in the past (the parents and companions) but cherished all the more by those who wish them well now (*cara viro magis*, 62.58), just as the vine and elm are supported by the nurturing farmers and helpful cattle.⁶⁰

⁵⁸Cf. S. Treggiari, "*Digna Condicio*. Betrothals in the Roman Upper Class," *EMC* 28 N.S. 3 (1984): 438: "Since authoritative male opinion held that girls were precociously passionate, there were grounds for the view that a bridegroom should overpower his bride, since her reluctance was mere pretence. But there is a strong literary tradition about the trauma of marriage for a virgin, that may be supposed to have some roots in fact."

⁵⁹This is not to say that the girls' arguments are not also traditional. But the more intense imagery of the girls in poem 62, following the dramatic depiction of these attitudes in poem 61, directs the reader to feel that these concerns are still real ones, which the boys do not seem to counter in their first two attempts.

⁶⁰See Ferguson, *Catullus*, 183.

In a brilliant reversal of the persuasive arguments of the girls, the boys show that it is precisely because the maiden leaves the protected environment of family that she is cherished more by that family (*minus est inuisa parenti*, 62.58). The possibility of offspring from the marriage makes the bride less "distasteful" to her father who, like the aged father in poem 61, is concerned for the birth of heirs. The initial negative image of this stanza, the "unwedded" vine that produces no offspring (62.50), is replaced by the final positive image of the happy and fruitful marriage. The girls' apparently positive image of the delicate flower in the protected and sequestered garden has now become an aberration, a thwarting of the truly productive functions of nature.⁶¹

V

Conclusion

(62.59-66)

The last line of the boys' final argument mentions the importance of the marriage to the husband and the father (*viro...parenti*, 62.58). While the boys use these words in a different context now (the joy felt by the husband and father for a reciprocally beneficial marriage), the words still recall the earlier legalistic context (*quae pepigere viri, pepigerunt ante*

⁶¹As a sign of the seriousness of the girls' arguments, their first stanza contains a greater number of spondees within the hexameter than the boys' first stanza (20 spondees for the girls; 16 for the boys, excluding the refrain). It is impossible to compare the second group of stanzas due to the lacuna. But in the third group, the boys outdo the girls 40 spondees to 36. This indicates that the boys have recovered from their ill-prepared beginnings and have rallied to match the girls' intensity and therefore to win the contest.

parentes, 62.28). It is logical therefore for the boys to conclude the poem with an amplification of that legalized argument (62.59-66).

The boys urge the maiden not to fight with a husband such as they have described (*ne pugna cum tali coniuge*, 62.59).⁶² I believe this indicates that the boys have been influenced by the girls' arguments. The content of their last stanza, extolling the virtues of an appropriate marriage, is not just empty rhetoric. The husband who contracts the marriage in these last verses is not the same as the one described in 62.26-31. He is the type (*tali*) portrayed in 62.49-58, a husband who considers to some degree the feelings of the bride. The boys' earlier, half-hearted concession that even a contracted marriage would not officially take place until the fire of love was kindled (*nec iunxere prius quam se tuus extulit ardor*, 62.29) now seems to have acquired more substance.

This is not to say that the boys have come wholeheartedly over to the girls' side. The last lines of poem 62 indicate that the traditional and legal aspects of the Roman marriage are of paramount importance here. The boys never waver from that position. But they have acknowledged, in their own way, that the sentiments and concerns of the girls are valid ones. They do their best, given the conservative values which they hold, to relate the legal marriage to the emotional fears of the girls.

⁶²Kroll, *Poemata*, 129, links this line to 61.151 (*quae [domus] tibi sine serviat*), indicating that the boys are giving the bride a warning "nicht spröde zu sein." While this represents the traditional role of the wife as *custos*, the "dramatic" situations in the two poems are quite different. While the brides are reluctant in both poems, the groom in poem 61 has shown himself to be much more sympathetic to the bride than the boys have portrayed the groom in poem 62.

So, they argue, it is not right (*aequom*) to fight the circumstances of the contracted marriage (62.60-61).⁶³ In other words, if the girls were to fight such a marriage, they would be contradicting the arguments for fairness which they have been attempting to present from the outset. They declared that this singing contest was a worthy one to win (*canent quod vincere par est*, 62.9), a contest between suitable antagonists. In their stanzas, they argued that marriage was so horrible because it was so unfair to the bride, tearing her away from her mother and companions with no acknowledgment of the bride's concerns.⁶⁴

The boys now contend that such an argument is just as unfair to the groom and indeed to the bride's parents. The contracted marriage is a fact. For the bride to fight against that contract is unfair to those who care most for her: the groom himself (now apparently more concerned for the bride's feelings) and the father who gave the bride to the groom (*pater cui tradidit ipse*, 62.60).⁶⁵ Even the mother, from whose protective embrace

⁶³The fact that the boys are responding to a situation in which a Roman may have objected to an arranged marriage suggests that such objections may have occurred in Roman society.

⁶⁴Treggiari, "*Digna Condicio*," 439, suggests that mothers and women could have some say in the arranged marriage: while a woman might not "appear as protagonist in negotiation, this does not mean that she could not be pulling strings off stage." She goes on to say: "This will more naturally happen, not with very young girls at their first marriage...but with maturer widows, divorced women and even married women." Treggiari cites Catullus 62 for evidence that girls about to be married for the first time "had to do what their fathers and mothers told them." However, one might be able to argue that the evidence (a) of the girls' strong arguments in Catullus 62 for some consideration in their first arranged marriage, coupled with (b) the boys' final comments about not fighting such arranged marriages and (c) the evidence for "unofficial" participation of women in marriages beyond their first might lead one to conclude that the concerns of the woman or girl would be voiced, even if such concerns were not given the attention that the girls would hope.

⁶⁵Cf. Commager, "Catullus 62," 31-32: "the battle, not only of wills but of words, is finished...Even the bride's parents, her constantly invoked allies, have surrendered, or even betrayed her: *tradidit* (60). The city's capture (cf. 24) is complete,

the girls fear to be torn, has agreed fully with the father (*ipse pater cum matre*, 62.61). With such agreement among three of the four parties concerned in this contract, it is obviously advisable for the fourth party to accede and obey those whom she should obey (*quibus parere necesse est*, 62.61). Even the hesitant bride in poem 61 recognizes that the marriage must take place (*flet quod ire necesse est*, 61.81). Staying in the protected but unfruitful environment of the family is not a viable option.

The boys conclude with an excursus on *virginitas* (62.62-65). This is prompted undoubtedly by the girls' strong description of the violence implied in marriage, the tearing away from the protection of the family and the innocence of youth.⁶⁶ The legalistic language the boys use here is appropriate: they are, after all, still emphasizing the differing concerns of the various parties within the marriage contract.⁶⁷ This time they exclude the groom and remain wholly within the family:

virginitas non tota tua est, ex parte parentum est,
 tertia pars patrist, pars est data tertia matri,
 tertia sola tua est.

(62.62-64)

Their emphasis on the equal division of virginity among the father, mother and bride seems consistent with their acceptance of fairness within the contracted marriage, although it is a fairness quite different from

and officially sanctioned." While this may be overstating the case, it does reflect what the boys have shown: that the girls' arguments are really untenable.

⁶⁶Catullus may have been influenced by poems of Sappho and other authors where a similar arithmetical division of things into three parts is seen. Cf. Ellis, *Commentary*, 250; E. Courtney, "Three Poems of Catullus," *BICS* 32 (1985): 88.

⁶⁷Quinn, *The Poems*, 282, feels these lines are not intended to be serious.

what the girls would like. The argument also counters the girls' earlier contention that the maiden can remain happy and secure only within the mother's (or family's) embrace.

Having established the legitimate status of the bride within the family, the boys can return to the role of the groom. Because the bride's virginity is a communal property within the family, it is logical for the boys to urge the bride not to fight with the other two parties of the agreement (*noli pugnare duobus*, 62.64), especially since they have sealed the contract both symbolically and substantially, by giving the groom their rights and the dowry (*qui genero sua iura simul cum dote dederunt*, 62.65).

Compared with poem 61, which presents a ritualistic view of marriage, poem 62 presents a strong legalistic view. If the arguments of the boys seem rather dry, it must still be acknowledged that they represent the standard view of marriage. The girls' arguments, while also traditional, remain the more powerful and emotionally satisfying in this poem, even though they turn out to be rather misguided within the traditional concept of marriage. They differ from the bride's concerns about marriage in poem 61 by being so strongly negative and violent. The bride in poem 61 hesitates to enter the marriage more because of her own insecurities than the apparently inherent detrimental aspects of marriage itself. If the groom in poem 61 is portrayed initially in a negative light (although the final lines reveal him in a more positive light), he appears in poem 62 as a more diligent and steadfast exponent of the state of marriage.⁶⁸

⁶⁸There is an irony here. In the previous poem, depictions of the questionable actions and attitudes of the groom create a tense situation in which the

Like poem 61, poem 62 ends with an implied union between bride and groom. But the final tableau is quite different. The vibrant and idealized family scene from poem 61 is replaced by a formal description of a marriage deal between the family and the groom. The arguments and images presented by both sides in poem 62 are very strong. The boys' views eventually win out. But because their victory is won with less than absolute dedication to the contest, the reader is inclined to feel greater sympathy for the losers, the girls, whose dedication to the contest and the subject is very strong from the outset, and whose emotional stake in the outcome is vital.

The end result is a feeling that marriage is difficult but possible within the traditional Roman framework. The concerns of both the bride and groom have, for the moment, been reconciled.⁶⁹

understandable concerns and worries of the bride need to be assuaged by the female attendants. In poem 62, the situation is, in one sense, reversed. The positive, if primarily legal, image of marriage is presented by the boys in the face of the negative and harsh views of the girls.

⁶⁹Cf. Commager, "Catullus 62," 33: "The 'triumph' of the boys is, finally, a...fruitful armistice."

CHAPTER 3: POEM 63¹

I

Attis Arrives in Phrygia

(63.1-11)

The opening lines of poem 63 startle the reader with the fast pace of the unusual Galliambic meter. The reader must mentally gather together

¹In the two previous poems in the cycle, the poet confined his use of mythology to a few important but rather subtle references: *Uraniae genus* (61.2), the Venus-Paris simile (61.16-20), the Hamadryades (61.23), Telemachus and Penelope (61.222-23), Vesper, Hesperus and Venus (poem 62). In poem 63, the poet plunges the reader into the mythological world. The unusual Galliambic metre and the uncompromising introduction of the Attis myth *in medias res* create a sudden change in direction from the formalized and controlled style of poems 61 and 62. This has caused critics to wonder how poem 63 fits within a cycle devoted to love and marriage. Ellis, *Commentary*, 209, calls poem 63 an "anti-nuptial," while Ferguson, *Catullus*, 191, calls it an "anti-epithalamium." This question must be addressed in this chapter.

Substantial references to Attis occur in Diodorus Siculus (3.58-59), Pausanias (7.17.9) and Ovid (*Fasti*, 4.179-246); there are also important allusions to Cybele and her worship in Lucretius (2.598-643) and Livy (29.14). Several poems in the Palatine Anthology deal with Attis (6.51, 173, 220 and 234). There is also a brief reference to Attis in Ovid, *Meta.* 10.104 and some fragments from a poem on Cybele by Varro are extant. A reference in Polybius (21.37.5) merely records the fact that the name Attis has come to mean the priest of Cybele. For an extensive catalogue of references, see Hugo Hepding, *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, Vol. 1: *Attis: seine Mythen und sein Kult* (Diss. Gieszen [Töpelmann]: 1903).

In discussing poem 63, critics point out that Catullus' version of the Attis story "bears no resemblance to the Attis of myth and ritual" (Fordyce, *Commentary*, 261). Ellis, *Commentary*, 260: "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." References to the Attis myth in antiquity suggest that it may not have existed in any standardized version. See Appendix E for the significant versions of the Attis myth in extant Greek and Roman authors, and a brief discussion of the influence of other authors on poem 63. It may have been for this reason that Catullus chose this myth, one vague enough to admit his own peculiar variations, and one suitable to be adapted to his theme. J. P. Elder, "The Art of Catullus' *Attis*," *TAPhA* 71 (1940): xxxiii-xxxiv, presents interesting arguments to support his opinion about the originality of poem 63.

the many specific details given in the first few lines in order to comprehend the setting and the myth. Attis has sailed over the seas (*alta...maria*, 63.1) to Phrygia and the dark woods of the goddess (*opaca...loca deae*, 63.3). Why he has sailed here and from where is unclear at this point, although some motivation is implied (*cupide*, 63.2). Goaded by frenzied madness and distraught in his mind (*stimulatus...furenti rabie, vagus animis*, 63.4), Attis emasculates himself (63.5). As the blood falls to the ground, the youth quickly² takes up the instruments of Cybele's worship (*typanum, initia*, 63.9) and, beating the drum (*quatiensque terga tauri...cava*, 63.10), begins to exhort his companions (*suis...comitibus*, 63.11).

Such is the poet's prologue to this tale. The foreign origin of Attis is implied in the opening line, without explanation. A poem by Dioscorides in the Palatine Anthology also describes a journey for Attis; but his Phrygian origin is clear (Σάρδεις Περσινόμεντος ἀπὸ Φρυγῶς ἤθελ' ἰκέσθαι, *Anth. Pal.* 6.220.1). The reason for his madness is not specified; yet it is somehow connected to his act of emasculation. Even the name of the goddess is delayed until 63.9 (although the reference to *deae* in 63.3 can only be Cybele). Those reading this prologue for the first time would be perplexed by these confusing and dizzying images, especially if they had prior knowledge of any "traditional" version of the myth. What remains vividly in the mind is the swiftness of the voyage (*celeri rate*, 63.1; *citato...pede*, 63.2), the emphasis on Attis' maddened state, the immediacy

²The feminine *citata* (63.8) shows the immediate effect of the castration.

of the brutal act of self-emasculatation and the strangeness of the instruments of Cybele's worship.

The poet has certainly identified the basic elements of the myth, but the other details confuse the issue. Why does this Attis appear to be a foreigner? From where does he come? Who are his companions? Are they a band of the faithful, following their leader, as the Bacchae follow Dionysus?³ Are they friendly or hostile? Why has the poet only hinted at the relationship between Attis and Cybele (*cupide*, 63.2) which forms a significant part of other versions of the myth? These questions are not answered. The reader is simply left with these bits of information.

Before proceeding to Attis' first speech, it is necessary to deal with the question of the placing of poem 63 after poems 61 and 62. The opening lines of poem 62 provide a demonstrable linguistic and thematic link to poem 61. It was perhaps easier for the poet to create a connection between those two poems since they were both wedding-poems. The unusual beginning and overt mythology of poem 63, however, seem to segregate it from the previous poems. But linkages among poems can be formed by contrasts as well as similarities, and closer examination will reveal that poem 63 does contain demonstrable links to poems 61 and 62.⁴

On the obvious level, all three poems begin with the arrivals of Hymen (*huc / huc veni*, 61.8-9), Vesper (*Vesper adest*, 62.1) or Attis

³There are, in fact, many similarities between poem 63 and Euripides' *Bacchae*. See Appendix F.

⁴See G. Sandy, "Catullus 63 and the Theme of Marriage," *AJPh* 92 (1971): 187-88, for his summary of connections between poems 61 and 63.

(*Phrygium...nemus...tetigit*, 63.2).⁵ The opening lines of poems 61 and 62 contain specific references to those places which the characters have left in order to come to the wedding. Hymen leaves his caves (61.27-28) and Vesper leaves Olympus (62.1); even the boys leave their tables (62.3). Attis is also travelling from afar (*super alta vectus Attis...maria*, 63.1), although his place of origin is left obscure. Moreover, the characters in poems 61 and 62 are coming to places of relative light: the darkness of Hymen's caves is exchanged for the light (albeit fading) of the day (*abit dies*, 61.90, 105, 112, 192) and the blaze of wedding torches (*faces*, 61.77, 94, 114); Vesper and the Nightstar bring their fires from Olympus (*lumina*, 62.2) and Oeta (*ignes*, 62.7) to illuminate the scene of the contest. Attis, on the other hand, goes to the dark woods of the goddess (*adiitque opaca silvis redimita loca deae*, 63.3). The significance of these differences in poem 63 becomes clear later.

The various protagonists in the three poems face strong and sometimes violent situations, all involving divinities. Hymen cuts the young girl off from her family in poem 61 (*rapis*, 61.3; *dedis*, 61.58), as does Hesperus in poem 62 (*natam...complexu avellere matris*, 62.21, also 62.22). These actions eventually end in a duly-completed marriage; this directs the reader to view the earlier, somewhat negative, image almost as a necessary evil required for a positive result. In poem 63, devotion to Cybele causes Attis to do violence to himself (*devolsit*, 63.5), and this too is seen as necessary for the completion of the "union" between initiate and

⁵Reference is even made to the feet of Hymen (*niveo gerens / luteum pede soccum*, 61.9-10) and Attis (*citato...pede*, 63.2).

goddess. In fact, Attis calls Cybele *mater* (63.9), and rushes to her side, providing an ironic reversal of the situations in the previous poems.

Attis' violent act is done under the influence of madness (*stimulatus...furenti rabie, vagus animis*, 63.4) apparently caused by the goddess (*deae*, 63.3). In this regard, Attis is like the bride in poem 61, on whom Hymen places a similar, though undoubtedly less severe, form of mental constraint (*mentem amore revinciens*, 61.33). Further links between poems 61 and 63 centre around the feminine qualities of the bride, Hymen, and Attis. Both the bride and Hymen wear a veil (*flammeum*, 61.8, 115); Hymen wears a yellow slipper on his snowy foot (*niveo gerens / luteum pede soccum*, 61.10), anticipating the comparison of the bride to *luteum papaver* (61.188) and her crossing of the threshold with her golden feet (*transfer.../...aureolos pedes*, 61.159-60). Hymen is urged to sing the hymeneal with high-pitched voice and stamp the earth with his feet while shaking the pine torch (*nuptialia concinens / voce carmina tinnula, / pelle humum pedibus, manu / pineam quate taedam*, 61.12-15). Attis shakes and beats the drum with his delicate, snowy fingers and sings to his companions with quivering voice:

niveis citata cepit manibus leve typanum,
 ...
 quatiensque terga tauri teneris cava digitis
 canere haec suis adorta est tremebunda comitibus.

(63.8, 10-11)⁶

⁶The act of singing forms a major part of poem 62, both for the girls (*canent quod vincere par est*, 62.9) and the boys (*iam dicetur hymenaeus*, 62.4; *dicere iam incipient, iam respondere decebit*, 62.18).

The collaboration of the bride and Hymen, resulting in a positive portrayal of marriage at the end of poem 61, suggests that a similar positive outcome can be expected for Attis, whose physical state (castrated male with female characteristics) likens him both to Hymen (physical male with female characteristics) and the bride (true female); his positive relationship with Cybele will occur because of, not in spite of, the violent act of self-emasculatation.⁷ This confusion over the sexuality of Attis is reflected in the various parallels that can be made with him. Sometimes he is like a male (sharing physical characteristics with Hymen), sometimes he is like a female (entering into a "marital" relationship like the bride).⁸

This seems to be confirmed by the specific details of Attis' journey. His arrival at Mt. Ida (*adit Idam*, 63.30) and the Phrygian woods of Cybele (*Phrygium...nemus*, 63.2) recalls the initial description of the bride in poem 61, who is compared with the Venus who dwells on Ida and comes before her Phrygian judge (*qualis Idalium colens / venit ad Phrygium Venus / iudicem*, 61.17-19). Attis approaches the Phrygian Cybele as a groom approaching his "Phrygian Venus." The negative connotations inherent in the Venus/Paris simile and explored throughout poem 61 could suggest that Attis' relationship with Cybele may not be a

⁷C. A. Rubino, "Myth and Meditation in the Attis Poem of Catullus," *Ramus* 3 (1974): 157, argues that this male/female opposition is the primary one in poem 63. His table of oppositions derived from this primary one is most useful.

⁸Attis is changing his home for another, apparently out of love (*cupide*, 63.2). Cf. Sandy, "Marriage," 191-92: "The element of marriage that is inextricably tied up in the legend of Attis and Cybele is probably responsible for the phrase *ad domum Cybebes* (20)...The irony of the situation is that Attis is not the *maritus*, who anxiously awaits his bride, but the *sponsa*, complete with the physical features of the Roman brides pictured in the epithalamia, who is led to the *erus* (*era* [17])."

happy one. But those negative connotations were eventually overcome, resulting in the final positive depiction of the Torquatus marriage. Therefore, the reader can expect that a similar progression may take place in poem 63; in fact, such expectations are enhanced by the intervention of poem 62, where similar conflicting aspects of marriage, described in even more discordant terms, were also resolved.

II

Attis' Speech to the Gallae

(63.12-26)

It is important to remember that the words which Attis addresses to his Gallae (63.12-26) reflect his own perception of his role and the mental attitude and conviction of his companions. They may not exactly reflect the reality of the situation.

He calls them Gallae, indicating that they are indeed fellow-worshippers of Cybele.⁹ So important is the goddess to Attis that she is mentioned specifically in the first line of his speech (*Cybebes nemora*, 63.12) and is symbolically placed in the centre of the second line (*Dindymenae dominae*, 63.13). Like the poet in poem 61, who urges the bride and others to proceed with the ceremony, and like the leaders of the

⁹The poet uses the feminine here to correspond with and to underscore the use of feminine adjectives to emphasize Attis' emasculated condition. A similar use of the feminine in the Hephaestion fragment provides no proof of any Hellenistic model for Catullus. See Rubino, "Attis," 174, note 37.

semi-choruses in poem 62, who rally their companions for the contest, Attis encourages his followers to rush to Cybele's haunts. The urgency of his exhortation is emphasized by the many imperatives: *agite ite* (63.12), *simul ite* (63.13), *hilarate* (63.18).¹⁰ These imperatives provide the first indication that the Gallae may not be as dedicated as Attis; they seem to need constant encouragement.

The same information from the prologue is repeated here. They seek the deep woods of Cybele (*ad alta...Cybeles nemora*, 63.12) as does Attis (*Phrygium...nemus*, 63.2; *opaca silvis redimita loca deae*, 63.3). He describes them as "wandering" (*vaga pecora*, 63.13). This is initially a reference to the journey they have all undertaken (cf. *vectus Attis*, 63.1); but it also suggests that they may be maddened like himself (*vagus animis*, 63.4). This does not necessarily imply that their journey is an unhappy one. They have indeed travelled far; but such journeys, like that of the wide-ranging night in poem 61, can bring joys: *quae tuo veniunt ero, / quanta gaudia, quae vaga / nocte, quae medio die / gaudeat!* (61.109-12).

The fact that he describes them as *pecora* suggests that he views their dedication to his leadership as unswerving (they follow him blindly like a herd of cattle); but it may also underscore the notion that they need constant encouragement to continue on their journey (they need his direction). Like him, they are seeking foreign parts as exiles (*aliena...petentes velut exules loca*, 63.14).¹¹ Why are they *velut exules*? I

¹⁰A similar use of imperatives is seen in poems 61 and 62.

¹¹The manuscript reading of 63.14 has caused some difficulties, but attempts to incorporate the ms. gloss *celeri* seem weak. See Fordyce, *Commentary*,

suggest that Attis views himself as someone who no longer belongs in a world where Cybele does not hold sway. He is apart from that world, distinct from it. No one may have driven him from his as yet unnamed homeland, like a true exile; but his devotion to Cybele is so intense that he has chosen to leave that world and seek another, one more sympathetic to his cause. In this sense, he and his Gallae are *velut exules*.

Attis stresses his leadership (*duce ME MIHI comites*, 63.15) and describes the Gallae as literally following in his footsteps (*sectam MEAM exsecutae*, 63.15).¹² Why such emphasis on his leadership? Quinn downplays his leadership strength here;¹³ but the fact that the apparently reluctant Gallae have journeyed this far bears witness to his leadership qualities. His references to his leadership suggest that his companions may not have the same enthusiasm for the journey or even for the act of initiation. In his maddened devotion to Cybele, he assumes they share his commitment; yet he must continue to urge them on. He must even remind them of what they have done so far: the journey they have taken (*rapidum salum tulistis truculentaque pelagi*, 63.16) and even their self-emasculation (*et corpus evirastis*, 63.17).

265; J. A. Fort, "Correspondence," *CR* 37 (1923): 95; D. A. Slater, "Two Notes on Catullus," *CR* 37 (1923): 25-26. Slater removes *velut exules* because, in his view, "the Gallae are real - not 'quasi' - exiles."

¹²The *figura etymologica* contained in *sectam...exsecutae* is representative of the formal, even religious, style of the speech. But with *sectam* the poet is also suggesting the act of castration, recalling the initial description of Attis' self-emasculation (63.5-6) and anticipating the statement about the castration of the Gallae (*corpus evirastis*, 63.17). See also Quinn, *The Poems*, 288; P. Fedeli, "Struttura e stile dei monologhi di Attis nel carme 63 di Catullo," *RFIC* 106 (1978): 42-43. For other examples of ambiguity or puns see S. G. P. Small, "The Unity of Catullus 63," *SPh* 49 (1952): 10-11.

¹³Quinn, *The Poems*, 287-88: "His attempt to assert his leadership over his companions...is a pathetic betrayal of his dependence on them - he clutches at command to conceal his helplessness from himself."

At last, a new point is made: their self-emasculatation has been done *Veneris nimio odio* (63.17). The phrase is a strange one. It seems to indicate that the act of castration has been performed because these men have renounced sex and will no longer need their sexual "equipment." This does not necessarily imply that they are renouncing the emotional aspect of *Venus*, since Attis, at least, has come to Phrygia under the subtle influence of a power associated with sex and the emotions (*cupide*, 63.2).¹⁴ So, from the perspective of these new devotees, this declaration of their excessive hatred of *Venus* must be a positive statement. They are bragging about their castration, their renunciation of physical, sexual love.

Having reminded them of their past actions, Attis concludes the first sentence in his speech by urging his followers to cheer the heart of their mistress with their ecstatic, ritualistic revels (*hilarate erae citatis erroribus animum*, 63.18).¹⁵ It seems natural for a man who is *vagus animis* (63.4) to make such a request.

Finally, the suspicions about the dedication of the Gallae are confirmed, as Attis must instruct them to overcome their great reluctance: *mora tarda mente cedat* (63.19). In the two previous poems, similar acts of hesitation also have the potential for disaster. The bride in poem 61 hesitates (*tardet*, 61.79) to enter into the marriage ceremony, thus,

¹⁴Cf. the subtle influence of Cupid in poem 61: *cupidam* (61.32); *cupida.../ aure* (61.54-55).

¹⁵Cf. Kroll, *Poemata*, 133: "Das wilde Umherschwärmen (*errores* vgl. V. 25) erfreut die Göttin, die wie *domina* (13) so auch *era* genannt werden kann." There is a play on the word *erroribus*, suggesting both the mental and physical "wanderings" of the Gallae.

presumably, offending Hymen; she requires the constant encouragement of the poet to complete the ceremony. The boys in poem 62 have been less than diligent in preparing for the contest (62.15); but, after stirring themselves to action (62.17), they win.

So offensive to Attis (and, presumably, to Cybele) is the hesitation of the Gallae that he changes the force of his commands. No longer content to urge them merely to go to Cybele's haunts with him as their companion (*agite ite...simul*, 63.12; *simul ite*, 63.13), he becomes more of a leader (*simul ite, sequimini / Phrygiam ad domum Cybebes, Phrygia ad nemora deae*, 63.19), reviving his earlier leadership role (*Attis... / Phrygium ut nemus...tetigit*, 63.1-2).¹⁶ At the insistent urging of the poet in poem 61, the bride eventually overcomes her hesitation and consummates a successful marriage; from his exhortations, Attis seems to expect a similar outcome for their relationship with Cybele.

Cybele's woodlands (*nemora*, 63.20), which have been mentioned twice before (63.2, 12), are now described by Attis as her "home" (*domum*, 63.20). The two-fold repetition of *Phrygiam/Phrygia* and the double citation of *Cybebes/deae* underscore the importance of this allusion. Cybele is in fact calling Attis and the Gallae to her home (*ad domum Cybebes*, 63.20) as Hymen calls the bride to the home of the groom in poem 61 (*domum dominam voca*, 61.31). This seems to make Attis and the initiates equivalent to the bride; yet they are also males arriving at the home

¹⁶The repetition of "Phrygian" in emphatic positions in 63.20 underscores the strangeness of the place, strange, that is, to these Gallae who are foreigners in this land. A fourth mention of "Phrygian" occurs in 63.22 (*tibicen...Phryx*). Cf. the Dioscorides poem, *Anth. Pal.* 6.220.

of a goddess. This is another example of the confusion surrounding the sexuality of Attis and the Gallae.¹⁷

Just as the poet points out to the bride the nature of her new home in poem 61 (*en tibi domus ut potens / et beata viri tui*, 61.149-50), so does Attis indicate to the Gallae the activities which take place within Cybele's home. There, the Gallae will enjoy the same strange music of Cybele's worship (*cymbalum sonat vox...tympana reboant, / tibicen...canit Phryx*, 63.21-22) that Attis has just experienced (63.8-11).

Attis informs the Gallae that Maenads also share Cybele's woodlands. The description of their activities recalls the initial depiction of Attis himself and underscores the theme of madness already observed. They are ivy-crowned (*hederigerae*, 63.23), reminiscent of Cybele's woodlands (*opaca silvis redimita loca deae*, 63.3). They violently shake their heads (*capita...vi iaciunt*, 63.23) and toss about their sacred emblems with wild shouts (*sacra sancta acutis ululatibus agitant*, 63.24), much as Attis begins his song to the Gallae while wielding Cybele's sacred instruments (*quatiensque terga tauri...cava.../ canere haec suis adorta est tremebunda comitibus*, 63.10-11). This suggests a connection between Attis and his Gallae and Dionysus (implied) and his Maenads.¹⁸

The speech concludes with a reference to the raving nature of the Maenads (*suevit illa divae volitare vaga cohors*, 63.25), providing a textual

¹⁷See again note 8 above.

¹⁸Euripides mentions the connection between the worship of Dionysus and Cybele (*Bacchae* 55-59, 78-82, 120-34). See also Ellis, *Commentary*, 265; Kroll, *Poemata*, 133; Fordyce, *Commentary*, 266; Quinn, *The Poems*, 289; Forsyth, *The Poems*, 334.

connection between them and the Gallae (*vaga pecora*, 63.13) and their leader (*vagus animis*, 63.4).¹⁹ He completes the second period of his speech as he did the first (*hilarate...citatis erroribus*, 63.18), urging the Gallae to join the Maenads in the worship of Cybele (*citatis celerare tripudiis*, 63.26), as befits (*decet*, 63.26) their status as new initiates. The fact that their dances are *citatis* is in keeping with Attis' frenzied progress (*citato...pede*, 63.2) through the first part of the poem.

Attis' speech underscores the joyous and ecstatic element in this strange "marriage" between goddess and initiates. Their madness and self-emasculatation are portrayed as entirely positive.

III

Attis Awakens from his Madness

(63.27-49)

The urgency that characterizes Attis' first speech continues in the description of the rush to Mt. Ida (63.27-34). Attis' name is mentioned for the first time since 63.1 and he is now described as *notha mulier* (63.27), a phrase referring to his emasculation and serving as a formal recognition of his confused sexual state.²⁰

¹⁹*volitare* may also recall the various references to the swift arrival of Attis in Phrygia (*celeri rate*, 63.1; *citato...pede*, 63.2) and his subsequent quick actions (*citata cepit*, 63.8).

²⁰He has been modified by feminine adjectives (*citata*, 63.8; *adorta est tremebunda*, 63.11), as have the other Gallae (*quae petentes*, 63.14; *exsecutae*, 63.15). Cf. Ovid *Ibis* 455, *nec femina nec vir ut Attis*, and Eur. *Orestes* 1528. The earlier implied comparisons of Attis with the bride also suggest this confusion.

The impact of his speech is seen immediately, as the Gallae, of one accord (*thiasus*, 63.28), respond to Attis' words. They suddenly raise a yell with quivering voices (*repente linguis trepidantibus ululat*, 63.28), matching the sounds of the Maenads (*acutis ululatibus*, 63.24) and Attis himself (*canere...adorta est tremebunda*, 63.11). Cybele's music, played by Attis earlier (63.8-11) and resounding through the goddess' woodlands (*ubi cymbalum sonat vox, ubi tympana reboant*, 63.21) is now taken up by the Gallae (*leve tympanum remugit, cava cymbala recrepant*, 63.29). Finally, they match Attis' earlier actions (*nemus citato cupide pede tetigit / adiitque opaca silvis redimita loca deae*, 63.2-3) as they rush to the greenery of Ida (*viridem citus adit Idam properante pede chorus*, 63.30).

Once again, the focus shifts back to Attis (63.31-32). It is the physical elements of Cybele's orgiastic worship that take centre stage. Still beating the drum (*comitata tympano*, 63.32), he continues to rush headlong, maddened, gasping, through the dark woods of the goddess (*furibunda...anhelans vaga vadit animam agens*, 63.31). This passage reinforces the initial description of his orgiastic ecstasy (63.1-11).²¹

The description ends with a simile: Attis is like a heifer, untamed, shrinking from the burden of the yoke (*veluti iuvenca vitans onus indomita iugi*, 63.33). This important image has engendered a variety of different interpretations. Shipton sees the simile as reflecting primarily the head-

²¹Cf. *furibunda* (63.31) and *stimulatus...furenti rabie* (63.4); *anhelans* (63.31) and *canere...adorta est tremebunda* (63.11); *vaga...animam agens* (63.31) and *vagus animis* (63.4); *comitata tympano* (63.32) and *cēpit manibus leve tympanum* (63.8); *vadit.../ per opaca nemora dux* (63.31-32) and *adiitque opaca...loca deae* (63.3).

tossing element of orgiastic worship.²² This may be the initial and superficial significance of the image; but there are other, more important, allusions here. Gerald Sandy argues that the image of the yoke anticipates the later scene where "Cybele removes the yoke from the lion only to attempt to place it upon the shoulders of the heifer (that is, Attis) which has just attempted to avoid it. The yoke taken off the lion represents the forced or imposed onslaught of ἐνθουσιασμός, that is, μανία, which Attis had earlier accepted willingly."²³ Justin Glenn, however, argues that the *iuvenca* image in fact "looks back to an earlier line, the description of Attis' castration."²⁴

Glenn, I think, is closer to the mark. He isolates three aspects of the poem to underscore his interpretation: (a) the poet constantly stresses the castration by using the feminine gender to refer to Attis; (b) the periphrasis *onus...iugi* (63.33) recalls *ili...pondera* (63.5); (c) *onus*, like the earlier *pondera*, is used in a sexual context, connected as it is to

²²K. M. W. Shipton, "The *iuvenca* Image in Catullus 63," *CQ* 36 (1986): 268-70. She argues, quite convincingly, that of the four elements of Cybele's cult mentioned in 63.21-25, the noisy music, the wild shrieking, the rushing movement of devotees, and the violent head-tossing, three are specifically matched in 63.27-34 (music, shrieking, and rushing movement). She concludes (270): "we might *prima facie* expect that the remaining description of Attis' behaviour - the comparison with the heifer - is somehow connected with the only activity in 21-5 which has not so far appeared - the violent head-tossing of Cybele's followers."

²³G. N. Sandy, "The Imagery of Catullus 63," *TAPhA* 99 (1968): 395. J. Glenn, "The Yoke of Attis," *CP* 68 (1973): 59-60, remarks that "this will not do. Attis at this point is just reaching the climax of his...madness...How can Attis, at the height of his ecstatic frenzy, be described as 'shunning the yoke of madness?'" Glenn has, I believe, misinterpreted Sandy's argument, which, while not stated with the greatest clarity, does suggest that it is the Attis *post somnum* who is now "refitted" with the yoke of madness, not the Attis *ante somnum*, that is, the Attis-heifer of 63.33.

²⁴Glenn, "Yoke," 60.

indomita and *iugi*. Glenn cites various examples of both words used to denote sexual situations:

The taming and yoking of heifers (and mares) is an extremely common erotic metaphor in ancient literature, and is closely connected with the frequent metaphor of the "untamed virgin" [cf. Homer's ἀδμήης παρθένος]. In this context, of course, *indomita* means free from sexual experience, and is applied by Latin elegists to men and women alike...Some scholars are under the false impression that *iugum* in this metaphorical sense refers only to the "yoke of marriage." Actually, *iugum* is frequently applied to sexual experience in general, without necessarily entailing marriage...It is this erotic metaphor, rather than the yoke of madness or anything else, which probably lies at the root of this Catullan simile.²⁵

Several examples from other authors can be cited where this metaphor is presented in language similar to that found in 63.33. Most of the examples postdate Catullus; but the general similarity of the imagery suggests either that such imagery was traditional in this context, or that Catullus had a strong influence on these later authors.

Lucretius, the only author who predates Catullus, places the *iuvencus* in an amorous context when describing the sound which the young stallion makes while madly pursuing mares (*florenti aetate iuvencus /...saevit calcaribus ictus amoris, De Rerum Natura, 1074-75*).²⁶ Horace presents the other perspective, likening an unmarried girl who will

²⁵Ibid. See Glenn's literary references in his footnotes.

²⁶Lucretius seems to be emphasizing the etymological connection between *iuvencus* and *iuvenis* (*florenti aetate*) here.

eventually seek a mate to a *iuvenca* who, at the moment, can not yet submit to the yoke or the weight of the amorous bull:

nondum subacta ferre iugum valet
cervice, nondum munia comparis
aequare nec tauri ruentis
in venerem tolerare pondus.

circa virentis est animus tuae
campos iuvencae.

(Horace *Odes* 2.5.1-6)²⁷

Virgil too describes a scene where the *iuvenca* is the object of the amorous desires of two competing bulls (*Geor.* 3.209-42).

These few examples establish the specifically amorous context of the *iuvenca*/*iuvenca* image. But there are also two references to sacrifices of *iuvencae* where the pure nature of the animal is stressed. Ovid refers specifically to the sacrifice of an unbroken and "unmarried" heifer to Cybele: *sine labe iuvencam / mactarunt operum coniugiique rudem* (*Fasti* 4.335-36). This is matched by Virgil's description of the Trojan's sacrifice at the Sibyl's grotto: *nunc grege de intacto septem mactare iuencos / praestiterit* (*Aen.* 6.38-39).

All these references underscore the complex nature of the *iuvenca* image in 63.33. Attis is a *iuvenca indomita*, an unviolated animal, one that has not yet endured the yoke nor experienced sexual union. That is why he shrinks from the weight of the yoke of sexual love (*vitans onus...iugi*). The poet intends this image to have a positive bearing on the passage in

²⁷Cf. also Horace *Epist.* 1.3.32-34: *ac vos / seu calidus sanguis seu rerum inscitia vexat / indomita cervice feros?*

question, since Attis, like a heifer, is being offered almost as a sacrifice to Cybele (*hilarate erae...animum*, 63.18). The means by which Attis has become committed to Cybele is his act of castration: *devolsit ili...pondera* (63.5), which act is recalled here (*vitans onus...iugi*). As Glenn remarks:

[the *iuvenca* simile] suggests the interpretation that Attis is shunning the yoke of sexual experience. This focuses our attention once again on the terrible mutilation which began this first act of the tragedy of Attis. He is abandoning forever the yoke of and capacity for sexual love.²⁸

Attis has, in fact, already stated the case quite clearly: *corpus evirastis Veneris nimio odio* (63.17).²⁹ Attis' rejection of sexual love makes him as happy and unfettered as the *iuvenca* which symbolizes here the positive nature of his service to Cybele. But the comparison to an animal confuses the issue somewhat. Is Attis, like the other Gallae, merely part of an unthinking *vagum pecus*? Like the Venus/Paris simile in poem 61, this superficially positive comparison seems to contain potentially disturbing elements.³⁰

The perspective shifts once again back to the band of Gallae, as they follow the swift progress of their leader (*rapidae ducem sequuntur Gallae properipedem*, 63.34).

²⁸Glenn, "Yoke," 61.

²⁹Rubino, "Attis," 159, is quite blunt about this phrase: "[the Gallae] have unmanned themselves 'out of their uncontrolled hatred for sex' (*Veneris nimio odio*)."

³⁰Sandy, "Imagery," shows that animal imagery is dominant in poem 63. He further argues (394-95) that the nature of Attis changes within this frame of imagery: "In the first two structural units of the poem Attis appears predominantly as a human in possession of his reasoning faculties and seems, in fact, to be characterized as a *pastor*, as his commands to the *vaga pecora* suggest...Immediately after the simile of verse 33 he becomes leader of the herd instead of a *pastor*. This simile, then, is the turning point of the poem." See also Ferguson, *Catullus*, 190.

Twice in this passage (63.27-34) the Gallae have been described by collective nouns: *thiasus* (63.28) and *chorus* (63.30). These recall the earlier description *vaga pecora* (63.13) and create a strong connection to the Maenads (*vaga cohors*, 63.25). There is an attempt here to portray the Gallae as a homogeneous whole, where individuality is suppressed within the group. This creates a conflict with Attis himself. While he sees himself as merely one among equals (*comitibus*, 63.11; *simul*, 63.12, 13, 19), he finds that he must take a greater leadership role in this journey than he wishes in order to overcome the inertia of the other Gallae. This sets him apart from the group. But the description of the Gallae as *thiasus* and *chorus* seems to indicate that Attis has succeeded to some degree in motivating and unifying the band.³¹ But the conflict between the one and the many is not entirely resolved: the poetic camera shifts from the individual Attis and the collective Gallae in equal proportions.³²

This conflict between the individual and the group is a major theme in the earlier poems in this cycle. In poem 61, the individuality of the bride and groom is constantly being set against others, who provide either a good example for the couple (*integrae / virgines*, 61.36-37; *pueri*,

³¹Note that the specific mention of *Gallae* (63.12, 34) frames this section of the poem devoted to his companions.

³²P. Fedeli, "Dal *furor* divino al rimpianto del passato. Tecnica e stile di Catull. 63,27-49." *GIF* 29 (1977): 40-41, clearly enunciates the structure of 63.27-34: "Il parallelismo non esclude la ricerca di raffinati effetti di contrasto: nei vv. 27-30 l'attenzione è tutta incentrata sui *comites* di Attis, mentre ad Attis è riservato solo il verso iniziale; ma nei vv. 31-34 la situazione è rovesciata: tre versi riguardano Attis (vv. 31-33) e soltanto uno i suoi *comites* (v. 34)."

61.114; *praetextate*, 61.175; *bonae.../...feminae*, 61.179-80) or a negative one (*concupinus*, 61.123).³³

In poem 62, this conflict is even more pronounced. Both the boys and girls have a strong sense of their own and their opponents' solidarity (*iuvenes*, 62.1, 6; *innuptae*, 62.6, 12; *aequales*, 62.11, 32). In their stanzas, both groups also promote, first in literal then in figurative language, a community of kindred spirits. The girls argue for the purity of the family and the youthful innocence of their companions (*natam...matris*, 62.21, 22; *puellam*, 62.23), parallel to the boys and girls who cherish the protected flower (*pueri...puellae*, 62.42, 44; *suis*, 62.45; *pueris...puellis*, 62.47). The boys argue for the importance of the parents and the groom (*vir...parentes*, 62.28) in a marriage contract, parallel to the farmers and oxen who support the propagation of the vine (*agricolae...iuvenci*, 62.53, 55; *viro...parenti*, 62.58). The boys win the day and make a final pronouncement about their views on the bride's individuality, their excursus on *virginitas* (62.62-64). They give some recognition to her uniqueness (62.29, 59, 64), but her claim to individuality is valid only in so far as she conforms to the traditional view of marriage.

In poem 63, it is the unity of the group that Attis seems to desire. But his absolute dedication to Cybele, compared to the rather reluctant dedication of the Gallae, creates an emotional conflict within Attis and forces him to exert his leadership, his individuality. It is the uniqueness of

³³The *concupinus* officially provides a negative example for the groom (he should give up such amorous pursuits), even though this episode is sympathetic to the *concupinus* while also suggesting subtle criticisms of the groom.

Attis that becomes the focus of the rest of the poem, after the band of Gallae disappear from the poetic stage.

Attis and the Gallae finally reach their journey's end, Cybele's home (*ut domum Cybebes tetigere*, 63.35).³⁴ The positive connotations associated with *domum* in poem 61 are not lost here. The house of Cybele provides security for these devotees; they have become, to all intents and purposes, a family, as the emphasis on togetherness implies.³⁵ Their earlier wanderings, coupled with the fatigue from their heavy labour (*lassulae, / nimio e labore*, 63.35-36), makes them fall asleep without eating (63.36).³⁶ It is the effect that sleep has on their eyes that the poet stresses (*piger his labante languore oculos sopor operit*, 63.37).

During sleep, the madness departs (*abit in quiete molli ravidus furor animi*, 63.38).³⁷ Whose madness? The phrase *furor animi* recalls the initial description of Attis' mental state (*stimulatus...furenti rabie, vagus animis*, 63.4) and suggests that it is only he who regains his sanity.³⁸ The

³⁴Note the gradual progression throughout the poem: *Phrygium...nemus*, 63.2; *Cybeles nemora*, 63.12; *Phrygiam ad domum Cybebes, Phrygia ad nemora deae*, 63.20; *viridem...Idam*, 63.30; *per opaca nemora*, 63.32. Cf. the arrival of Hymen.

³⁵Cf. *suis...comitibus*, 63.11; *agite ite...simul, / simul ite*, 63.12-13; *sectam meam exsecutae duce me mihi comites*, 63.15; *simul ite, sequimini*, 63.19; *nos decet...celerare*, 63.26; *simul haec comitibus Attis cecinit*, 63.27; *simul...vadit*, 63.31; *rapidae ducem sequuntur Gallae properipedem*, 63.34.

³⁶For the constant references to their wanderings, compare *super alta vectus Attis...maria*, 63.1; *vaga pecora*, 63.13; *aliena...petentes velut exules loca*, 63.14; *rapidum salum tulistis truculentaque pelagi*, 63.16; *citatis erroribus*, 63.18.

³⁷Cf. Dioscorides: ἄγρια δ' οὐτοῦ / ἐψύχθη χαλεπῆς πνεύματα θευφορίας (*Anth. Pal.* 6.220.3-4).

³⁸Indeed, nowhere in the poem are the Gallae described as mad. Attis implies that they are maddened when he calls them *vaga pecora* (63.13); but this is more literal than figurative. By mentioning that the maddened Maenads also share Cybele's woodlands (*ubi suevit illa divae volitare vaga cohors*, 63.25), Attis may be attempting to forge a link between the mental state of the worshippers of Dionysus and himself and his Gallae. But it is only Attis who remains on the poetic stage

description of the next day's Dawn (63.39-43) symbolically reflects this change in Attis' mental state. The bright eyes of the golden-faced Sun (*oris aurei Sol radiantibus oculis*, 63.39) spread their rays over the world.³⁹ The positive image of the Sun here is matched by similar allusions to light in the previous poems. In poem 61, the day itself is fading (*abit dies*, 61.90), so the torches provide the light, as they shake their golden or radiant hair (*faces / aureas quatunt comas*, 61.94-95; *faces / splendidas quatunt comas*, 61.77-78). In poem 62, it is Vesper/Hesperus who provides the light (*lumina*, 62.2; *ignes*, 62.7; *ignis*, 62.20, 26). In both poems, the scene thus illuminated culminates in a successful marriage. The coming of Dawn in poem 63, therefore, seems to portend the same positive outcome.⁴⁰

The Sun performs several functions here, all summarized by *lustravit* (63.40). He "surveys" and "illuminates" the tripartite division of creation, clear sky, hard earth and wild sea; he also "purifies" the world.⁴¹ The brightness of the sun drives away the shadows of night with his refreshed steeds (63.41).⁴² At Dawn's coming, Sleep, which covered Attis' eyes earlier (63.37), quickly leaves him (63.42) as the Sun's radiant eyes

following this welcome sleep. Whether the Gallae were mad or not makes no difference now: Attis' mental state is the poet's only concern.

³⁹Cf. the reference to the sun in Eur. *Hec.* 636, where the Chorus sing of the voyage of Paris to win Helen, τὰν καλλίσταν ὁ χρυσοφανῆς Ἄλιος ἀυγάζει. This chorus bears significantly on poem 61 and 64. See Chapter 1, note 8.

⁴⁰The bright face of the Sun (*oris aurei Sol radiantibus oculis*, 63.39) recalls the fresh face of the bride (*ore floridulo nitens*, 61.186) at the happy conclusion of poem 61.

⁴¹Cf. Cato the Elder, *De Agricultura* 141: *agrum lustrare sic oportet*; Tibullus 1.1.21: *tunc vitula innumeros lustrabat caesa iuencos*. See also Ferguson, *Catullus*, 188.

⁴²See Ellis, *Commentary*, 268.

survey the world (63.39).⁴³ Sleep is then received by his goddess-wife Pasithea (63.43).

This Dawn passage is a turning point in the poem, marking the shift from the perception of reality experienced through Attis' maddened eyes so far in the poem, to the true reality which he experiences in the rest of the poem.⁴⁴ The imagery contained here is important for the reader's understanding of the psychological change taking place in Attis' mind.

Shipton has provided a concise and accurate analysis of this passage and its relation to Attis' emergence from madness.⁴⁵ She points out that both the Sun and Sleep at first seem to provide parallels for Attis' situation, but in reality they offer direct and significant contrasts. I list Shipton's main points of comparison. The Sun sees his surroundings

⁴³The genders of the adjectives which modify Attis from this point in the poem are not entirely consistent. I prefer the ms. reading *excitum* here, as well as the other masculine forms: *ipse* (63.45), *tenerumque* (63.88) and *ille* (63.89). I omit Bentley's addition of *citus* in 63.74. Catullus seems to be strict in his use of gender: Attis is feminine following his castration in his maddened state, and masculine in his sanity. This emphasizes Attis' inability to accept his feminine condition. But *allocuta* (63.49) causes a problem, since it does not seem to be a doubtful reading, and this seems to break the pattern. Perhaps Catullus is attempting to stress that Attis can acknowledge and recognize his male psyche in his sanity (hence the use of masculine forms) but cannot discount his feminine physical condition, especially his voice (*canere...adorta est tremebunda*, 63.11; *Attis cecinit notha mulier*, 63.27; *roseis...labellis*, 63.74). See also J. P. Elder, "Catullus' Attis," *AJP* 68 (1947): 399. T. Oksala, "Catullus Attis-Ballade: über den Stil der Dichtung und ihr Verhältnis zur Persönlichkeit des Dichters." *Arctos* 3 (1962): 203, note 4: "Im langen Monolog (50-73) wechselt das grammatische Geschlecht je nachdem, ob Attis an seine Vergangenheit oder seine Gegenwart denkt." Oksala's comment can also apply to the narrative sections before and after the speech. See also T. Oksala, "Das Geschlecht des Attis bei Catull," *Arctos* 6 (1969): 91-96.

⁴⁴D. A. Traill, "Ring Composition in Catullus 63, 64 and 68b," *CW* 81 (1988): 367, places the Dawn passage at the centre of the ring structure in poem 63.

⁴⁵K. M. W. Shipton, "Attis and Sleep: Catullus 63.39-43," *LCM* 9 (1984): 38-41. She notes initially that this passage is set off from the rest of the poem by two matching lines: *abit in quiete molli ravidus furor animi*, 63.38; and *ita de quiete molli rapida sine rabie*, 63.44. The tight grammatical structure of 63.39-43 underscores the unity of the passage.

clearly (*lustravit*, 63.40), illuminating and purifying the world as he drives away the shadows of night (*noctis umbras*, 63.41). After waking, Attis too sees clearly (*liquidaque mente vidit sine quis ubique foret*, 63.46), having been purified and cleansed of his madness. He comes to the sea-shore, abandoning, it would appear, the shadowy forests of Cybele (*opaca nemora*, 63.32). The Sun's face is golden (*oris aurei*, 63.39) while Attis' lips are rosy (*roseis...labellis*, 63.74), an epithet sometimes applied to the Dawn. As for Sleep, it is the swiftness with which he leaves Attis that is emphasized (*Somnus...citus abiit*, 63.42), matching the swift journey of Attis to Phrygia (*citato...pede*, 63.2; *citata*, 63.8) and recalling the activities of Attis and his Gallae (*citatis erroribus*, 63.18; *citatis...tripudiis*, 63.26). *Somnus* is rushing to sleep in the arms of his beloved goddess Pasithea (63.43), just as Attis is rushing *ad domum Cybebes* where he too sleeps.

Shipton argues that it soon becomes clear, following the Dawn passage, that the similarities between Attis, the Sun and Sleep are more apparent than real. The Sun surveys his world *radiantibus oculis* (63.39) but Attis *lacrimantibus oculis* (63.48). The rosiness of Dawn reflects her essential nature; but the rosy lips of Attis illustrate "not his beauty, but his completely non-natural change into a female condition. The superficial resemblance of Attis to a traditional Dawn in fact points up the hideous abnormality of his position."⁴⁶

⁴⁶Ibid., 40.

Shipton notes that the description of Sleep also betrays the abnormality of Attis. Sleep hastens to return to Pasithea who receives him *trepidante...sinu* (63.43). Attis and his Gallae have been rushing to Cybele's shrine, chanting *linguis trepidantibus* (63.28). But, upon waking from sleep, Attis leaves the shrine of Cybele and returns to the sea-shore with a heart in turmoil (*animo aestuante rursum reditum ad vada tetulit*, 63.47). The allusion to Sleep and Pasithea will soon serve to emphasize the completely opposite relationship that exists between Attis and Cybele. This will be the subject of Attis' second speech (63.50-73).

Further to Shipton's analysis, there are other aspects which help underscore Attis' *post somnum* mental state. Reference is made in 63.45-47 to *pectus*, *mens*, and *animus*, the various sites of the emotions. The words are not synonymous, and clear distinctions seem to be allotted to them throughout this cycle. On regaining his sanity (63.44), Attis reflects on what he has done (*simul ipse pectore Attis sua facta recoluit*, 63.45). The mention of his *pectus* seems designed to contrast with the earlier references to his *animus/anima* where his insanity raged (*vagus animis*, 63.4; *animam agens*, 63.31; *furor animi*, 63.38). This does not necessarily mean that Attis' *pectus* is free of emotional turmoil; one can compare the intense fire of love that burns in the groom's *pectus* in 61.170-71 (*pectore uritur intimo / flamma*). But it does indicate that his *pectus* is less frenzied and is the appropriate site for his reflections. This is confirmed by the two subsequent references to his mental state. His storm-tossed *animus* seethes with anger over the devastating actions he undertook in his madness (*animo*

aestuante, 63.47); yet his *mens*, apparently the site of his conscious and reasoning thoughts, is now clear (*liquidaque mente vidit*, 63.46).⁴⁷

The deeds that are now the object of Attis' intense contemplation (*Attis sua facta recoluit*, 63.45) are now made specific: his castration and his journey to Phrygia (*vidit sine quis ubique foret*, 63.46), those very subjects which occupied the first part of this poem. What is conspicuous by its absence is any specific mention of Cybele.⁴⁸ In fact, Attis leaves the goddess' shrine and rushes back to the shore (*rusum reditum ad vada tetulit*, 63.47), tearfully scanning the same vast seas (*ibi maria vasta visens lacrimantibus oculis*, 63.48) which he has just crossed (*super alta vectus Attis...maria*, 63.1). This time he addresses not the goddess, not even his fellow Gallae, but his fatherland (*patriam allocuta*, 63.49), and not joyously as he addressed his Gallae before (*canere...adorta est tremebunda*, 63.11), but with intense sadness (*maestast...voce miseriter*, 63.49). It is now for the first time that the reader's suspicions about Attis' non-Phrygian status are confirmed.⁴⁹

⁴⁷This provides a contrast to the *mens* of the Gallae, where their reluctance to complete the pilgrimage to Cybele seemed to rest (*mora tarda mente cedat*, 63.19). If the *mens* does, in fact, represent the reasoned and conscious mind, this may offer further confirmation that the Gallae do not share in Attis' ecstasy to the same degree.

⁴⁸Cf. *deae*, 63.3; *tuum, Cybebe, tua, mater, initia*, 63.9; *Cybeles nemora*, 63.12; *Dindymenae dominae*, 63.13; *erae*, 63.18; *ad domum Cybebes, Phrygia ad nemora deae*, 63.20; *divae*, 63.25; *domum Cybebes*, 63.35.

⁴⁹This represents a change from Dioscorides' description of Attis' journey.

IV

Attis Reflects on His Life

(63.50-73)

Attis' *patria* and what it means for him is the subject of most of this important speech. His *patria* is not just a geographical location but a symbol for all that Attis has lost.⁵⁰ He expands on the etymological roots of *patria* and addresses it in familial terms: *patria o mei creatrix, patria o mea genetrix* (63.50).⁵¹ Earlier he addressed Cybele as *mater* (63.9); now his mother/fatherland takes her place: *creatrix, genetrix*. Like the bride in poems 61 and 62, he has been torn from the embrace of his mother/fatherland.⁵² But unlike the little Torquatus who can smile at his father from the security of his mother's lap (61.209-13), Attis sadly address his *patria* from a distance. The familial security which he imagined resided with the Gallae and Cybele is now revealed to be a sham and cannot replace the true security of his mother/fatherland which he has left behind (*ego quam...relinquens*, 63.51).

⁵⁰Cf. M. C. J. Putnam, "The Art of Catullus 64," *HSPh* 65 (1961): 172: "As always in Catullus, the voyage means more than geographical wandering. It symbolizes change through departure, the leaving of one kind of life for another."

⁵¹The gender confusion which has characterized Attis throughout this poem is transferred to the *patria*, which is feminine and therefore can represent his *creatrix* and *genetrix*. Cf. Ferguson, *Catullus*, 188: "[Attis' second speech] begins with an astonishing ambiguity, as he invokes his *patria*. I once rebuked a student for the translation 'O fatherland that mothered me', but I am not sure that without knowing it he was not completely right."

⁵²Notice how the words which represent Attis the person are surrounded, "embraced," by the words representing his mother/fatherland: *patria o MEI creatrix, patria o MEA genetrix*. The word order seems to represent a wish that he may return to the embrace of his "mother." Compare the opposite word order effects in 61.57-59 (*floridam ipse puellulam / dedis a gremio suae / matris*) and 62.21 (*natam possis complexu avellere matris*) where the separation of child from mother is suggested.

Attis is once again engaged in a struggle over his individuality. Earlier, his individuality is seen as part of, not distinct from, the collectivity of the band of Gallae. On recovering his sanity, he again stresses his distinct and unique personality;⁵³ this time, however, he is alone, no longer part of a group: the chorus of Gallae disappear from the scene around 63.38.

This thematic development in poem 63 provides both similarities and contrasts with parallel developments in poems 61 and 62. The wedding attendants eventually withdraw, leaving the bride and groom together, alone (*claudite ostia, virgines: / lusimus satis*, 61.224-25). Similarly, the boys encourage the bride to accept the contracted marriage, in effect isolating her from her family and companions (62.60-61). In these cases, the protagonists are eventually seen from a new perspective: their individuality, formerly merged with the collectivity of their supporters, becomes distinct and is associated now with one individual: the groom or bride respectively.

While the overall structures of poems 61 to 63 may be the same, the effect at the end of poem 63 is completely different. Attis is certainly alone, and merged in some way with Cybele. But he does not accept his role as Cybele's partner. His earlier desire to be one of the many who are rushing to the security which *domus Cybebes* offers is now shown to be a cruel consequence of his madness. His lament *must* focus on his

⁵³*ego*, 63.51, 58, 62, 63 (four times), 64 (twice); 68, 69 (three times); 70, 71; *mei...mea*, 63.50; *mea*, 63.58; *mihi*, 63.65 (twice), 66, 67; *mei*, 63.69.

individuality, for it is the loss of his personality in the madness of Cybele that is so devastating to him. As an indication of how distinct from the Gallae, and even Cybele, he feels himself to be now, he refers to himself once more in the masculine: *miser* (63.51).

With bitter irony, he likens himself to a runaway slave (63.51-52).⁵⁴ His *patria*, apostrophized as his *creatrix/genetrix*, is now his *domina* who exerts complete and total control over his life. In his madness, he considered such a life oppressive and left it behind, like a slave who leaves its master (*dominos ut erifugae*, 63.51).⁵⁵ Now, he realizes that it is his new *domina*, Cybele, who is the oppressive one. In *dominos* and *erifugae*, he recalls his homage to *Dindymenae domina* (63.13) and his exhortation *hilarate erae...animum* (63.18); but he also realizes he has made a horrible mistake. Now he calls himself *famulus* (63.52), suggesting that he is not only a servant of the goddess, but her slave. The use of the masculine indicates he does not accept this fate.

Looking back towards his *patria* causes him to recall the journey that brought him to Phrygia (*ad Idae tetuli nemora pedem*, 63.52), matching, in fact, the initial description itself (*Phrygium ut nemus citato cupide pede tetigit*, 63.2). Throughout this speech, Attis becomes increasingly aware of the deceptions caused by his maddened devotion to Cybele. He once considered his *patria* oppressive and left it; now he

⁵⁴See K. M. W. Shipton, "The Attis of Catullus," *CQ* 37 (1987): 447-49 for an extended discussion of the runaway slave motif.

⁵⁵The use of this masculine noun with a "feminine" (first declension) ending continues the male/female confusion that has become such an integral part of Attis' character.

remembers how supportive it was and longs to return to it. He once viewed Cybele's *nemora* on Ida as green (*viridem...Idam*, 63.30); now they are revealed as cold and unforgiving, fit only for wild animals (*ut aput nivem et ferarum gelida stabula forem*, 63.53). He imagines he is one of them, visiting their dens in his lingering madness (*et earum omnia adirem furibunda latibula*, 63.54).⁵⁶

Such reflections culminate in an emotional outburst, again addressed to his mother/fatherland: *ubinam aut quibus locis te positam, patria, reor?* (63.55). His inability even to know in which direction his *patria* lies arises from the confusion that overwhelms him on waking from his therapeutic sleep.⁵⁷ Confusion over his sexuality and the true nature of the journey that has taken him from his *patria* underscores his aloneness; he naturally wishes to reach out and find once more that one thing that can give him a true sense of his identity: his *patria*, his family.

All he can do is cast his eye over the expanse of sea for the short time he remains free of madness:

cupit ipsa pupula ad te sibi derigere aciem,
rabie fera carens dum breve tempus animus est.

(63.56-57)

⁵⁶63.54 has defied attempts at emendation. I read Mynors' text and take *furibunda* as feminine, referring to Attis. This follows more readily after the feminine *ferarum* in 63.53 referring to the wild animals among which Attis must now live. His own use of the feminine here contrasts with *miser* in 63.51, and suggests that he himself continues to appreciate in his sanity the horror of his situation.

⁵⁷See Kroll, *Poemata*, 136: "Er weiß natürlich nicht, in welcher Richtung seine engere Heimat liegt."

It was the all-seeing eyes of the Sun (*radiantibus oculis*, 63.39) that could view all creation and release Attis from his madness; but his own eye is not so powerful. His description of his madness (*rabie fera carens dum...animus est*, 63.57), recalling his initial appearance (*stimulatus ibi furenti rabie, vagus animis*, 63.4), indicates how completely he realizes the true nature of his situation.

He tries to imagine himself back in his *patria*; the nature of the journey he has undertaken is so incomprehensible in his mind that he refers to it in rhetorical questions directed to the future. Will he really be carried off from his home to these remote woodlands (*egone a mea remota haec ferar in nemora domo?* 63.58)?⁵⁸ Even though he has finally reached the house of Cybele (*Phrygiam...domum Cybebes, Phrygia...nemora deae*, 63.20), it is not her home but his own, back in his *patria*, that he remembers. In his sanity, he realizes that it is not Cybele's *domus* that provides him with security, but his own *domus*. Will he really be cut off from all he holds dear? His list is comprehensive: *patria, bonis, amicis, genitoribus abero?* (63.59). In short, will he really be separated from those activities that made him what he was: *abero foro, palaestra, stadio et gymnasiis* (63.60)?⁵⁹

⁵⁸Most critics take *remota* as a feminine with *ego* (see Fordyce, *Commentary*, 268; Quinn, *The Poems*, 293; Forsyth, *The Poems*, 339). But Attis would not refer to himself in the feminine here, since he is recalling his time before his journey (when he was not a eunuch) and imagining the distance that would separate him from his home. Cf. Apollonius *Argo*. 4.361-63. See Kroll, *Poemata*, 137: "*remota* gehört wohl zu *nemora*; die gesuchte Wortstellung ist in diesem Gedicht die wahrscheinliche."

⁵⁹The terms used in 63.60 are Greek, except for *foro*. Fordyce, *Commentary*, 269, sees *foro* as the Latin translation of *ἀγορά*, although the two words

So great is his remorse that he must make complaint again and again in his sad heart: *miser a miser, querendum est etiam atque etiam, anime* (63.61). For the second and third time in his speech, Attis refers to himself as *miser*. He recalls the *concubinus* in poem 61 (*miser a miser / concubine*, 61.132-33). Both characters are in similar situations: both have male/female qualities and both have been separated from the ones they love by circumstances apparently beyond their control. Attis is cut off from his *patria* by the madness of Cybele, a madness that now, for the first time in the poem, seems not to have been voluntary; the *concubinus* is cut off from the groom by the latter's decision to marry. Attis is like a slave that has left its master (*dominos ut erifugae*, 63.51); the *concubinus* is a slave cut off from the love of his master (*desertum domini audiens / concubinus amorem*, 61.122-23).

The significance of these parallel situations is quite different. Even though the *concubinus* has no say in the groom's decision to abandon him, and that decision makes the slave *miser*, the *concubinus* is still free to return to his lifestyle if he so wishes, even though he is urged to change his ways (61.126-27). Moreover, the groom's decision to abandon the *concubinus* and marry Iunia is a natural and conventional one which leads eventually to positive results: a lasting marriage and a child. The role of the *concubinus*, therefore, is important but brief: to cast some doubt over the integrity of the groom.⁶⁰ Attis, however, is no minor character. Unlike the

have completely different associations within the two cultures. See Quinn, *The Poems*, 294; Forsyth, *The Poems*, 340.

⁶⁰This does not mean that the emotions and agonies of the *concubinus* are less real.

concupinus, he cannot return to his old lifestyle as he so strongly wishes to do. He does not even know where to find his *patria*. At least one of the lovers in poem 61 will find happiness; but it seems unlikely that anything positive can come from Attis' situation. Both Attis and the *concupinus* are *miser*; but not even the *concupinus* suffers as much as Attis.

Allusions to the *concupinus* seem appropriate here, as Attis focuses the intensity of his suffering on his mutilated body and how irrevocably it has changed his life: *quod enim genus figuraest, ego non quod obierim?* (63.62).⁶¹ He reviews, in reverse order, the various transformations his body has undergone: *ego mulier, ego adolescens, ego ephebus, ego puer* (63.63).⁶² The quadruple repetition of *ego* underscores the individuality of Attis, and suggests that he has always had enormous pride in his body and his physical development.⁶³ If this is so, the inclusion of *mulier* here seems ironic, and recalls the poet's warning to the groom in poem 61 to stay away from effeminate favourite slaves (the derogatory *glabris*, 61.135).

He continues, however, to review his life in roughly the reverse order of *figurae* in 63.63. He remembers those venues where his manhood

⁶¹Compare the designation of the *concupinus* in poem 61 as *iners* (61.124), suggesting the impotency caused by his emasculation.

⁶²Quinn, *The Poems*, 269: "*ego mulier* is awkward, since *sum* must be understood with these words while *fui* is understood in the other clauses." Why cannot *fui* be understood as a present perfect: "I have been a woman, a youth, etc."? This tense seems to be suggested by *obierim* (63.62).

⁶³See Ellis, *Commentary*, 271: "As Attis complains so deeply...of his lost happiness, *figurae* [63.62] 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."

was most proudly displayed: *ego gymnasi fui flos, ego eram decus olei* (63.64). The fact that this is the second mention of this aspect of his life (63.60) indicates how important it was to him: it was an integral part of his lifestyle, a lifestyle which earned him many admirers (63.65-67).⁶⁴ His doors were always crowded with followers, his home crowned with garlands when he departed in the morning. Following from a double reference to athletic venues, these lines seem concerned primarily with Attis' physical perfection.⁶⁵ But there are other, more subtle interpretations that can be drawn, since these lines contain so many echoes of earlier passages from poem 63 and the two previous poems.

Specifically, 63.65-67 recall passages devoted to love or marriage.⁶⁶ The lines imply that Attis had admirers of his love-life as well as his athleticism; but, curiously, these echoes seem not to clarify Attis' past life as much as to confuse it. References to Attis' door and threshold (*mihi ianuae frequentes, mihi limina tepida*, 63.65) match certain details of the wedding procession from poem 61 (*claustra pandite ianuae*, 61.76; *transfer.../ limen aureolos pedes*, 61.159-60). In both cases, however, the reference is to the bride, not the groom. Is Attis once again being compared to the bride here, as he was when he approached Cybele's *domus*? The fact that the door and threshold are busy and warm implies that many lovers

⁶⁴Exactly how important and integral all these details are to Attis' character is indicated by the many specific references to Attis himself: *ego* (six times in 63.63-64) and *mihi* (four times in 63.65-67).

⁶⁵See Ellis, *Commentary*, 272.

⁶⁶Cf. Ferguson, *Catullus*, 188: "It is a speech which brings together both the Greek horror at loss of physical athleticism and the beauty of the young male body, and the Roman horror at the loss of masculine potency."

have been camped out there.⁶⁷ This again represents somewhat of a reversal for the *exclusus amator*: normally it is the man who is shut outside, while the woman waits inside.

This reversal of roles seems to continue in the next line. Attis remembers his *floridis corollis redimita domus* (63.66). This recalls the abundance of floral imagery from poem 61.⁶⁸ Attis has also just referred to himself as *gymnasi...flos* (63.64). These references enhance the parallels between Attis, the bride, and Hymen, all three of whom have marked feminine qualities.

Attis' garlanded house (*redimita domus*, 63.66) suggests those lovers who hang garlands of flowers on the door.⁶⁹ But Cybele's *domus* is earlier described as *opaca silvis redimita loca* (63.3). By describing his own home in the same terms as Cybele's, he ironically reminds the reader not only of his past life (*adolescens*), but also his present life (*notha mulier*). Once more, in his recollection of his past happiness, he implies that he, a man, but staying inside the house like a woman, was the object of the affections and attention of his lovers, women, who camped outside like men.

Even the apparently unimportant recollection of leaving his house in the morning (*linquendum ubi esset orto mihi Sole cubiculum*, 63.67) contains a disturbing parallel. Attis can remember these things because the

⁶⁷Cf. Small, "Catullus 63," 8: "the many lovers who spent the night before [Attis'] door found the threshold not uncomfortably cold."

⁶⁸Cf. 61.6 (of Hymen), 61.21-22, 57, 89, 186-88 (of the bride).

⁶⁹Cf. Luc. *De Rerum Natura* 4.1177-78: *lacrimans exclusus amator limina saepe / floribus et sertis operit.*

rising of this day's Sun cleared the madness from his mind (63.39-43). In that passage, the rising Sun also allowed Sleep to leave Attis and return to his beloved. For Attis, however, leaving his home at sunrise is now only a distant memory, and there is no goddess willing to receive him so kindly.

These important lines (63.65-67), therefore, ostensibly refer merely to Attis' life as a successful male in his happier past. But the initial reference to family (*patria...creatrix, patria...genetrix*, 63.50) and the many specific parallels with various characters from earlier in the cycle (Hymen, the bride, the *concupinus*), coupled with the earlier references to *domus, mater, Veneris* within poem 63, suggest that these lines are more concerned with *amor* than with sports.⁷⁰

These recollections of his happier past life bring into clearer focus the horror of his present situation. Once more he resorts to rhetorical

⁷⁰Quinn, *An Interpretation*, 250, relies on 63.64-67 to interpret poem 63 as a "study of a young man, who, along with others, had found (to their horror, or their shame) that they could not make the transition society demanded from the role of *puer delicatus* to that of husband, or Don Juan, and who abandon civilized life for the wilds of Phrygia and there unman themselves." The venues and activities mentioned here (the gymnasium and wrestling floor) are proof for Quinn of Attis' previous homosexual experience. He also cites the feminine characteristics of Attis (*niveis...manibus*, 63.8; *teneris...digitis*, 63.10; *roseis...labellis*, 63.74) as further proof of his homosexuality, although he does admit that these traits could be the result of his emasculation. He concludes: "But isn't it more likely they point to the sort of young man Attis was?"

However, it seems to me that his theory fails because of the very same evidence. This second speech of Attis does not reflect any inner feelings of regret at having been such a *puer delicatus* (if indeed he ever was one). I also find it difficult to conclude from the feminine characteristics of Attis and the venues mentioned in 63.60 and 64 that Catullus intended to portray Attis as a homosexual. Of the various versions of the myths, only Pausanias (via Hermesianax) makes Attis a eunuch by birth. All the other versions involve Attis in heterosexual relationships exclusively.

This speech certainly continues the portrayal of Attis' sexual confusion. But it is not the loss of his "female" or homosexual side that is stressed (since there is no evidence he had such a sexual bent in his *patria*), but the loss of his male, heterosexual side as a result of his self-emasculation, which he regrets. This is also suggested by the comparison of Attis with Somnus who returns to Pasithea.

questions to express his inner emotions. He can hardly believe that he must now be called a servant and attendant to Cybele (*ego nunc deum ministra et Cybeles famula ferar?* 63.68). What was merely an element in an earlier simile (*ut erifugae / famuli*, 63.51-52) now becomes a potential reality (*Cybeles famula*, 63.68); the imagery and the change of gender (*famuli* versus *famula*, *ministra*) denote the horror he feels when he realizes that his mutilated body irrevocably prevents his returning to his former life. This is the only specific reference to Cybele in the speech. This indicates how focused Attis is on his past life, his *patria*. In his enthusiastic speech to the Gallae, still under Cybele's madness, she was mentioned six times; now he barely mentions her, and when he does, it is in a negative context.

The confusion over his gender continues (63.69). His earlier maddened reference to the Maenads (63.23-25) was intended as a positive reinforcement for his reluctant Gallae. Now he wonders: will he really be a Maenad (*ego Maenas*)? In this he provides for himself a negative example of what he does not wish to be. Will he be only part of what he was (*ego mei pars*)? The most important part of him, his maleness, both literally and figuratively has been left behind (*relicta...sibi membra sine viro*, 63.6), just as his *patria*, the social support of his sexuality, has been left behind (*patria.../ ego quam miser relinquens*, 63.50-51).

The result: *ego vir sterilis ero?* (63.69). He is still a man, but one unable to partake in those activities that help define his male sexuality. Remembrances of his athletic and amorous prowess back home (63.63-67) only serve to underscore his lack of such prowess now. In general, he has

become useless, unproductive; specifically, he is unable to produce children. In this, he provides a direct contrast to the groom in poem 61. There, under the protection of Hymen, the groom's house can produce offspring (*nulla quit sine te domus / liberos dare*, 61.66-67); Cybele's house, however, is inhabited by Attis, *vir sterilis*.⁷¹

His earlier boast that he and the Gallae emasculated themselves *Veneris nimio odio* (63.17) has come home to haunt him, much like the hybristic actions of a tragic hero. What initially was a reference primarily to the sexual aspects of Venus now becomes a more all-encompassing reference. He rejected Venus once and irrevocably; now he longs to participate in her activities once again, but cannot, since he is unable to fulfil the productive function of love in a relationship.

He next turns to the ironies that pertain to Cybele's *domus* on Ida: the mountain may be green with life, but Attis wonders if he will truly be inhabiting that part of it that is cold and dead (*ego viridis algida Idae nive amicta loca colam?* 63.70).⁷² Specifically, will he dwell under the high peaks of Phrygia (*ego vitam agam sub altis Phrygiae columinibus*, 63.71)? The height of the peaks (*altis*) is stressed through the metre; this reminds the reader of the depth of the sea that brought Attis here (*alta...maria*, 63.1) and the density of the woodlands to which he and the Gallae rushed (*agite ite ad alta, Gallae, Cybeles nemora*, 63.12).

⁷¹For the connection between Attis and children, see Sandy, "Marriage," 194-95.

⁷²The word order of 63.70 helps illustrate the irony. *viridis* is set beside *algida*; the regions of Ida are clothed (*amicta loca*), but clothed with the coldness of the snow (*algida...nive*). There may also be an ironic twist in *colam*, suggesting both habitation and worship.

All three references combine to underscore Attis' isolation and the intensity of the forces that prevent his return to his *patria*. Earlier, in his madness, he felt cut off from his *patria*, like an exile (*velut exules*, 63.14). Now he is truly cut off from it, both figuratively and literally: the six repetitions of *ego* in 63.68-71 emphasize his unhappy existence that stands separate and apart from his former, happier existence (expressed with six repetitions of *ego* in 63.63-64).

The haunts Attis will now inhabit are frequented by wild animals, the hind and the boar (*ubi cerva silvicultrix, ubi aper nemorivagus*, (63.72). He has come full circle in his speech (cf. 63.52-54). Cybele is nowhere mentioned; but the compound adjectives used with the animals suggest earlier passages which pertained specifically to her. The hind that dwells in the forests (*silvicultrix*) recalls *opaca silvis redimita loca deae* (63.3). The boar who wanders in the woods (*nemorivagus*) recalls the many references to Cybele's *nemora* (63.2, 12, 20, 32, 52) and the voyage taken by Attis and the Gallae to reach them (*vaga pecora*, 63.13; *vaga vadit*, 63.31). But more importantly, *nemorivagus* recalls the madness that drove Attis here in the first place and caused him to mutilate his body: *vagus animis* (63.4).

Attis' constant use of rhetorical questions here recalls the girls' mournful cry *quid faciunt hostes capta crudelius urbe?* (62.24). Their scream was answered by the boys' positive response: *quid datur a divis felici optatius hora?* (62.30). Such comforting words about the gods can mean nothing for Attis.

The positive recollections of his past life, his *patria*, his successes as an athlete and lover, serve only to underscore the negative realities of his current position: his emasculated and unproductive self, half-man, half-woman, *vir sterilis, notha mulier*, a creature living like an animal among the animals (63.53-54, 72). These emotions culminate in a line of agonizing heaviness: *iam iam dolet quod egi, iam iamque paenitet* (63.73).⁷³ The intensity of his regret is mirrored in the four-fold repetition of *iam*: it is the "now" that finally hits home. The many previous repetitions of *ego* have been replaced by two impersonal expressions (*dolet, paenitet*). The individuality of Attis, the man and lover, has all but disappeared.⁷⁴

V

Cybele's Retribution

(63.74-90)

The forward-looking perspective which closes his second speech (*Cybeles famula ferar?* 63.68) appears to foreshadow the final acceptance by Attis of his future as a servant of Cybele. But his last words are not of

⁷³The images designating weightiness in this poem are important. Attis' genitals are a weight (*pondera*, 63.5) which he casts off, just as the *iuvenca* avoids the weight of the yoke of love (*onus...iugi*, 63.33). The Phrygian flute-player plays a "weighty" song (*canit...grave*, 63.22). The sleep that finally covers Attis weighs upon his eyes (*piger his labante languore oculos sopor operit*, 63.37). The weight of the lion's foot destroys the underbrush (*refringit virgulta pede vago*, 63.86). In contrast, during Attis' madness, the trappings of Cybele are "light" (*leve typanum*, 63.8) and the swiftness of his journey is described in terms of "lightness of foot" (*citato...pede*, 63.2; *citatis erroribus*, 63.18).

⁷⁴Ferguson, *Catullus*, 188, rightly calls this speech a "monstrous parody" of an *epibaterion*.

resignation to his fate (reluctant or otherwise) but of outright rejection of it (63.73). This is immediately contrasted in the following narrative by an apparent reference to his feminine side (*roseis...labellis*, 63.74). The sound of his complaint rushes quickly to the ears of the gods (*sonitus <citius> abiit*, 63.74), ironically recalling the swiftness of the earlier, apparently more devoted acceptance of Cybele by Attis and the Gallae.⁷⁵

The fact that Attis' rejection of his fate is contrary to the traditional myth is shown by the phrase *nova nuntia* (63.75).⁷⁶ This prompts a direct intervention by Cybele herself.⁷⁷ In the true tragic manner, the goddess appears, almost *ex machina*, to effect the outcome demanded by the myth.

The description of Cybele's actions here is totally consistent with the language and imagery used elsewhere in the poem. She begins to release one of her lions from their fastened yokes (*iuncta iuga resolvens Cybele leonibus*, 63.76). This immediately recalls the *iuvenca* image (63.33) which symbolically represented Attis' joyous rejection of sexual love in order to become an initiate of Cybele, a *notha mulier*. The release of

⁷⁵*citato...pede*, 63.2; *citata*, 63.8; *citatis erroribus*, 63.18; *citatis...tripudiis*, 63.26; *citius adit Idam*, 63.30. If the phrase *<citius> abiit* is the correct reading here, this also provides a pointed contrast with 63.42 (*citius abiit*) where Somnus quickly departs from Attis in order to rejoin his beloved Pasithea: the sounds exiting quickly from Attis' mouth at 63.74 will provoke, not satisfy, Cybele.

⁷⁶In some sense, this also parallels the boys' contention that girls are always feigning complaints about marriage, while secretly desiring it (62.36-37). Cybele will force Attis to "return to the fold," much as the boys will advise the girls not to fight against the contracted marriage.

⁷⁷The reference *geminas deorum ad aures* (63.75) is curious here. Ellis' note, *Commentary*, 274, seems logical: "If *geminas deorum* is retained, Catullus must be supposed to speak as he speaks 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. (So L. Müller.)"

the lions from their yokes in 63.76 initially appears to carry the same positive connotation: there is, as yet, no textual hint that Cybele is angry with Attis.⁷⁸ The exact significance of the yoke-image here, however, has still not become clear.

But it becomes more apparent with the imagery in 63.77 that all is not well, as Cybele goads one of the lions to action (*stimulans*). This recalls the initial description of the maddened Attis (*stimulatus...furenti rabie*, 63.4). But much has changed since then. His madness, which initially seemed to be a joyous and integral part of his devotion to Cybele, has revealed itself to be a despised violation against his entire being. His madness drove him to castrate himself, an act which he has now repudiated. Mention of another instance of goading, this time towards an animal and instigated directly by Cybele herself, does not bode well, especially since the vocabulary used to describe Attis and the Gallae suggested that they were like animals themselves.

This is confirmed by the description of the lion as *laevumque pecoris hostem* (63.77). In his madness, Attis likened his band to a herd (*vaga pecora*, 63.13) of which he was the leader (*duce me*, 63.15; *dux*, 63.32; *ducem*, 63.34). By describing her lion as *pecoris hostem*, Cybele finally reveals her animosity towards Attis.⁷⁹ His earlier function was to

⁷⁸Cf. Rubino, "Attis," 162: "The verbs signifying release (*resolvens* in line 76 and *religat* in line 84) suggest the positive side of the oppositions; but the suggestion is deceptive, for Cybele frees the lion from its yoke only to bring Attis under the yoke of slavery."

⁷⁹Sandy, "Imagery," sees animal imagery as dominant in poem 63. He argues that Attis in particular is seen first as *pastor pecoris*, then as *dux pecoris*. The change from one to the other is marked by the *iuvenca* image of 63.33. "This [*iuvenca*] simile...is the turning point of the poem. In conjunction with this simile

symbolize unswerving dedication to Cybele; now he represents complete rejection of her, and incurs the enmity of her new champion, the lion. This recalls the girls' analogy of the groom as an enemy that attacks a captured city (*quid faciunt hostes capta crudelius urbe?* 62.24). Once again the roles are reversed: Cybele (the female "groom") attacks Attis (the male "bride").

Cybele's short speech (63.78-83) is in many ways parallel to Attis' first speech (63.12-26). Both urge on their subordinates, Cybele's lion, a real animal, and the Gallae, who are described in animal terms (*vaga pecora*, 63.13). Similar imperative constructions open both speeches (*agedum...age*, 63.78; *agite ite*, 63.12); and more imperatives are scattered throughout.⁸⁰ Ironically, it is Attis, in his madness, who must urge his reluctant but apparently devoted Gallae to come to Cybele's shrine; now, in his sanity, it is Attis, not only reluctant, but completely hostile to Cybele, who requires the strong impetus of his superior, Cybele, to effect devotion. Attis, the former leader of the herd, is now hunted by its enemy.

Cybele's goal here is the reimposition of madness on Attis (*fac ut hunc furor <agitet>*, 63.78; *furoris ictu*, 63.79). The fact that the same vocabulary is used to describe both the original madness of Attis (*furenti rabie*, 63.4; *furibunda*, 63.31, 54; *furor animi*, 63.38) and the reimposition of it leads to the conclusion that Attis' initial devotion to Cybele was also the result of a madness directly imposed by Cybele. I do not mean that Attis simply felt the "call of the goddess" and drove himself to madness. I

the phrase *pecoris hostem* (77) takes on great importance, for Attis has become in verse 33 the herd animal of which the lion is an enemy." (Sandy, 395)

⁸⁰There is a total of ten imperatives in Cybele's speech, six in Attis'. Like the ones in Attis' first speech, these imperatives recall those in poems 61 and 62.

contend that Cybele suddenly drove Attis mad, forcing him without his prior knowledge to become a Gallus, to journey to Phrygia and to castrate himself.⁸¹ This interpretation is also suggested by Cybele's use of the masculine *hunc* to refer to Attis. Cybele, like Attis himself, realizes that he does not accept his emasculation and his new feminine condition. So great is his revulsion at his new status that it seems impossible he would have voluntarily opted for such a severe initiation rite to become one of Cybele's followers. Hence, Cybele was forced to madden him against his will in order to achieve the desired result.⁸²

The evidence for this interpretation is found in Attis' second speech (63.50-73). This speech is delivered, of course, during the brief period of his sanity, during which his quiet and lucid state of mind (*de quiete molli*, 63.44; *liquidaque mente*, 63.46) stands in such sharp contrast to his violent madness (*rapida sine rabie*, 63.44; *rabie fera carens*, 63.57). It is while sane that he truly realizes for the first time that he has left his *patria* and especially that he has castrated himself (*vidit sine quis ubique foret*, 63.46). In the first section of the poem, only one line is allotted to the actual castration of Attis (63.5) and the Gallae (63.17). Such a brief

⁸¹Some support for this view seems to be suggested by two critics. Small, "Catullus 63," 2, note 4: "Attis' self-mutilation offers an interesting example of so-called 'double motivation.' On the human plane, one may readily suppose that his action...was prompted by *nimum Veneris odium*; but he was also *stimulatus furenti rabie* (v. 4), and in view of vv. 91-93, we may assume that this *rabies* was of divine origin." Oksala, "Catullus Attis-Ballade," 202: "Catullus Attis ist ein gewöhnlicher Sterblicher...den der von Kybele gesandte *furor animi* so erfüllt hat, daß er sich auf die gebührende, schauerliche Weise dem Dienst der Göttin weihet."

⁸²See Elder, "Attis," 399: "the goddess subtly recognizes the revolt in Attis' own mind by calling him masculine when she bids the lion drive him back into submission [63.78]." Oksala, "Geschlecht," 95, interprets Cybele's use of the masculine in a more practical way: "In Kybeles Befehl ist Attis Maskulinum...weil sich die grausame Herrin nicht um die menschliche Tragödie kümmert oder weil Kybele ihren Partner als Maskulinum betrachtet."

reference suggests that Attis, in his madness, considered the act to be of no special importance, but merely one aspect of the initiation that included the journey, the singing, the beating of drums, and the dancing. Now, in his sanity, it becomes the most important aspect of his "new" life, next to the separation from his *patria*. Such a startling realization seems strange if he willingly accepted Cybele's madness while still at home.

This realization constitutes the bulk of his second speech. If Attis had decided to follow Cybele willingly, it would seem logical that he would realize what that entailed: a journey and self-castration. Furthermore, if he now regrets that decision, would he not make some comment like, "I did not realize how devastating this decision would be?" Instead, all he can do is lament the loss of his *patria* and his former lifestyle. Even then he can hardly believe what has happened, since he refers to his recent actions by means of rhetorical questions expressed in the future tense. Cybele is hardly mentioned: he is barely aware of her presence here, just as he was unaware of her initial intervention in imposing her madness.

Phyllis Young Forsyth disagrees with this interpretation:

Catullus' Attis must act of his own free will and take the initiative in his love for Cybele to become a tragic figure. Should Cybele force him to castration, Attis would be exonerated from all responsibility; he could then never cry out in anguish: *iam iam dolet quod egi, iam iamque paenitet*.⁸³

⁸³P. Y. Forsyth, "Catullus: the Mythic Persona," *Latomus* 35 (1976): 557.

But it is not always necessary to act of one's own free will to become a tragic figure. This is illustrated by two examples from Greek drama which also provide useful parallels for Attis. In *Oedipus Rex* and *Bacchae*, Apollo and Dionysus force their wills on Oedipus and Agave so that, without realizing the significance of their actions, Oedipus kills his father and marries his mother, and Agave kills her son.

Parallels with Agave are more relevant, since poem 63 is often compared to the *Bacchae*. She initially refuses to accept Dionysus and as a consequence is maddened against her will by the god and sent raving into the woodlands of Cithaeron. There she exhibits both the positive and negative aspects of Dionysian worship, illustrated primarily in the Herdsman's speech (*Bacch.* 677-774). Finally, possessed by Dionysus' madness (ἐκ Βακχίου κατείχετ', *Bacch.* 1124), Agave kills Pentheus, mutilating his body, not through her own strength but through the strength of the god (οὐχ ὑπὸ σθένους, / ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς εὐμάρειαν ἐπεδίδου χεροῖν, *Bacch.* 1127-28). Although blameless of any initial affront to Cybele, Attis, like Agave, is also maddened against his will (*stimulatus...furenti rabie, vagus animis*, 63.4) and is sent raving to Phrygia and the woodlands of Cybele, where he first displays a joyous acceptance of her worship, and mutilates his body.⁸⁴

⁸⁴While not in poem 63, there is an element of conscious hostility to Cybele on Attis' part in some versions of the "traditional" myth, especially in *Fasti*. Could Cybele have imposed madness on Attis because he, like Agave, actually refused to accept her?

In spite of the fact that Oedipus, Agave, and Attis do not act of their own free will, no one can deny that they are tragic figures.

Forsyth also claims that an external imposition of madness on Attis would absolve him from all responsibility in his act of castration. But the concept of responsibility does not really pertain to Attis in this strict sense; nor does it pertain to Oedipus and Agave in the same way that it pertains to characters like Pentheus or Creon. The latter two consciously do things for which they are punished; but Attis, Oedipus, and Agave perform their tragic deeds without the benefit of full knowledge. This does not absolve them from recognizing their responsibility in doing what they do; but it also gives them a certain noble innocence: the hands that do the deeds are theirs, but a god guides those hands. Attis never denies his part in his journey nor his self-castration: in fact his final lament (63.73) is precisely an acknowledgement of his responsibility. The journey happened; the castration was done, and it was Attis' hand that performed it, but only because Cybele had imposed madness on him.

Oedipus too recognizes the overwhelming influence of Apollo in his life; but he also tells Creon that he killed his father and married his mother against his will (*Oed. Col.* 962-68). He also acknowledges his own act of self-mutilation (*Oed. Rex* 1329-34).⁸⁵ Similarly, Agave comes to see that her hands killed her son, but only because she was under the influence

⁸⁵Oedipus' act of self-mutilation is of a different kind, of course, from that of Attis. When Oedipus blinds himself, he does so in defiance of the god's oracle. It is the one thing he does in his life that is independent of Apollo's oracles.

of Dionysus' madness (*Bacch.* 1286-96).⁸⁶ When Agave is restored to sanity by Cadmus through references to the Sun, marriage, her home and her son (*Bacch.* 1263-86), she reflects primarily on the things she has lost: her son, the hope of her family, her home. After the personal intervention of Dionysus, she is driven into exile and must leave her home and family against her will. Her fate resembles that of Attis. He too awakens from his madness through the healing influence of the Sun. But the shock of finding himself far from his home and seeing his mutilated body causes him to reflect on those very things he has lost: his home, his family and his masculinity. Through the direct intervention of Cybele, he must remain in exile, far from his home, unable in fact ever to produce a family.

Like the bride in poem 62, who is urged not to fight against those who have arranged her future life in spite of her objections (*et tu ne pugna cum tali coniuge, virgo. /...noli pugnare duobus / qui genero sua iura simul cum dote dederunt*, 62.59, 64-65), Attis is forced to accept this "marriage" with Cybele against his will.⁸⁷

It is natural but significant that the lion is Cybele's agent of retribution. The wildness of the lion is stressed (*ferox*, 63.78), indicating the appropriateness of such a beast to reimpose the wild madness that plagued Attis earlier (*rabie fera*, 63.57).⁸⁸ The lion and its wild nature are

⁸⁶I acknowledge that the madness that afflicts Agave is a consequence of her initial denial of Dionysus. But it remains a fact that the killing and mutilation of Pentheus is performed completely under the influence of her madness. She is not conscious of her deed while doing it.

⁸⁷There is a difference, of course. In poem 62, the groom acknowledges to some small degree the legitimate concerns of the bride. Cybele has no such empathy with Attis.

⁸⁸This recalls the wildness of the groom in poem 61.56: *fero iuveni*.

also appropriate to counter the civilized environment that Attis wishes to regain: he laments that he must live among the wild animals (*ferarum gelida stabula forem / et earum omnia adirem...latibula*, 63.53; also 63.72). Symbolically, it is, in part, the calming of the wild sea (*mare ferum*, 63.40) by the Sun that enables Attis to regain sanity and view more clearly the civilized *patria* that he has unwillingly abandoned.

The animalistic nature of Cybele's service is summarized in the rest of her speech. The lion is to drive Attis once more into her woodlands in a maddened state (*fac uti furoris ictu reditum in nemora ferat*, 63.79). This recalls his initial arrival there (*nemus...tetigit*, 63.2; *per opaca nemora*, 63.32; *tetuli nemora*, 63.52). But the reference also focuses on the theme of "returning" that has developed so far in the poem. Cybele wishes Attis to return to her woodlands (*reditum in nemora ferat*, 63.79), picking up the action from where Attis left the woodlands to return to the seashore (*reditum ad vada tetulit*, 63.47). But more significantly, Cybele's wishes counteract Attis' expressed desire not to return to her woodlands if it means being separated from his *patria*: *egone a mea remota haec ferar in nemora domo?* (63.58).

This is confirmed in the next line as Cybele characterizes Attis as one who is too free and wishes to flee from her authority: *mea libere nimis qui fugere imperia cupit* (63.80). Does *imperia* not suggest something more than merely a "call to follow Cybele," especially since he has already likened himself to a runaway slave (*erifugae / famuli*, 63.51-52)? She stresses not just his independence, but his excessive independence (*libere*

nimis); yet her initiation rites required castration, performed by the maddened Attis from his excessive hatred of sexual love (*Veneris nimio odio*, 63.17). In his sanity, it is precisely because of his great love of love, his *Veneris nimius amor*, that he regrets his act of castration (*ego mei pars, ego vir sterilis ero?* 63.69). When Cybele sees him looking longingly towards his *patria* (*cupit ipsa pupula ad te sibi derigere aciem*, 63.56) she realizes what he truly wants (*mea...fugere imperia cupit*, 63.80).⁸⁹ To Cybele, he is acting *libere nimis* and, in some perverted analogy to the bride in poem 61 who must see to it that her husband not go elsewhere (61.144-46), she has no alternative but to drive him mad again to restore his imposed dedication to her.⁹⁰

In the remainder of her speech, Cybele goads the lion itself to frenzied action, recalling Attis' previous maddened acts of devotion, and hoping by sympathetic magic to ensure a subsequent resumption of such devotion. She commands the lion to whip its back with its own tail, endure its own beatings, and make everything echo with its animal roaring (63.81-82). Such actions recall Attis' earlier brutal self-mutilation. The whipping

⁸⁹Sandy, "Marriage," 191-93, sees in the line a reference to the concept of the breach of faith in the marriage bond which is so important to Catullus: "It is, in fact, to the mythological accounts of [the marriage of Attis and Cybele] and its violation by Attis that this verse refers...Attis has violated conjugal faith." I agree with Sandy with this proviso: from Cybele's point of view, this is the case; but from Attis' point of view, it is not, since this constraint was imposed on him.

⁹⁰Shipton, "Attis," 448, discusses the phrase *libere nimis* in relation to the more severe punishment given to runaway slaves who "pretended to be free": "Seen against this legal background, 'libere nimis' thus suggest that Attis, regarded by Cybele as her slave, affects to be a free man as he seeks to escape."

of the lion's back and the loud roaring recall Attis' beating of the drum and the wild music which Attis and Cybele's other followers played and sang.⁹¹

Finally, the lion is urged to shake its red mane on its muscular neck (*rutilam ferox torosa cervice quate iubam*, 63.82). This last line of Cybele's short speech takes the reader back to its beginning: consistent with the initial description, the wildness of the lion is stressed (*ferox*, 63.82; *ferox*, 63.78). Moreover, the lion is able to shake its head precisely because Cybele frees it from its yoke (*iuncta iuga resolvens Cybele leonibus*, 63.76), a fact which is restated in the next line: *Cybebe religatque iuga manu* (63.83).⁹²

This second reference to the yoke once again recalls the earlier *iuvenca* image. Now the many ironies inherent in the comparison between the *iuvenca* and the lion become clearer. In his madness, Attis was likened to a *iuvenca* that considered freedom from the yoke of sexual love a joyous thing. Cybele then was *mater* (63.9), the mistress of a *domus* that provided protection and security. But Attis has since repudiated that freedom from sexual love. As a result, Cybele now is *minax*, one who hangs over Attis' destiny, one who threatens him.⁹³ Now another animal is freed from the yoke, one which is *pecoris hostem* and causes not joy but sorrow for Attis.

⁹¹*quatiensque terga tauri*, 63.10; *canere...adorta est tremebunda*, 63.11; *nemora deae / ubi cymbalum sonat vox, ubi tympana reboant*, 63.20-21; *thiasus repente linguis trepidantibus ululat / leve tympanum remugit, cava cymbala recrepant*, 63.28-29. Sandy, "Imagery," 392-93, argues that these verbs normally describe animal sounds: *reboant* (63.21), *ululat* (63.28; also *ululatibus*, 63.24), *remugit* (63.29).

⁹²See once again Shipton, "*iuvenca*," and note 22 above.

⁹³Compare the relationship of the groom and the bride in poem 61.166: *totus immineat tibi*. Like the lion and Attis in poem 63, the groom was earlier described as *fero iuveni* (61.56). See Chapter 1, note 111.

Quickly the lion does its work. The actions of the lion provide direct parallels for the earlier actions of Attis. Initially, these parallels illustrate Attis' *ante somnum* maddened state where his devotion to Cybele is still strong. Goaded by Cybele into wild action, both the lion (*ferus ipse sese adhortans*, 63.85) and Attis (*stimulatus...furenti rabie*, 63.4) become maddened in their minds.⁹⁴ The lion and Attis both rush forth in their enthusiastic obedience to Cybele (*vadit*, 63.86; *vadit*, 63.31), and they let out wild animal sounds.⁹⁵

Soon, however, details in the description of the lion underscore not the similarities but the differences that exist between the two. The negative aspects of Cybele's domination of her subordinates, which in Attis' case were seen only *post somnum*, are blatant when seen from the lion's perspective. In their madness, Attis and the Gallae hastened with swift foot to an Ida that was green with life (*viridem citus adit Idam properante pede chorus*, 63.30). But the lion in its mad and indeterminate rush tramples the young shrubs under foot (*refringit virgulta pede vago*, 63.86). The life-giving aspect of Cybele was a sham, seen by Attis only through maddened eyes. In his sanity, it is not green Ida but an Ida of ice and cold, filled with wild animals, that awaits him (*ad Idam tetuli nemora pedem / ut apud nivem et ferarum gelida stabula forem*, 63.52-53; *ego viridis algida Idae nive amicta loca colam?* 63.70).

⁹⁴The lion *incitat animo*, 63.85; Attis *Phrygium...nemus citato...pede tetigit*, 63.2; *citata cepit manibus leve typanum*, 63.8; he is *vagus animis*, 63.4; *animam agens*, 63.31.

⁹⁵The lion *fremit*, 63.86; Attis *quatiensque terga tauri.../ canere...adorta est tremebunda*, 63.10-11; presumably he joins with the *thiasus Gallarum* which *linguis trepidantibus ululat*, 63.28.

The lion finally reaches its goal, the watery region of the white seashore (*at ubi umida albicantis loca litoris adiit*, 63.87), where the lion and Attis meet: *tenerumque vidit Attin prope marmora pelagi* (63.88).⁹⁶ The details of this scene help to summarize the ultimate cruel fate of Attis. The lion is sent to the shore precisely because it is here that Attis comes in his sanity (*ad vada tetulit*, 63.47), abandoning the woodlands of Cybele and his devotion to her.

The description of the sea stresses its bright, white colour and its smoothness: *albicantis...litoris* (63.87); *marmora pelagi* (63.89).⁹⁷ The setting, therefore, is the same as it was when the Sun rose this day: [*Sol*] *lustravit aethera album, sola dura, mare ferum* (63.40). But it is now clear that the influence of the Sun did not just "illuminate" or "survey" the world; in particular, the wild sea was calmed, symbolically curbing the madness that plagued Attis at that time. It is significant, therefore, that the Attis whom the lion meets is *tenerum*. This implies a vulnerability, and indeed an innocence and a purity, that is threatened by the wild lion.

This interpretation is supported by several passages from poems 61 and 62, and also, I believe, by the preceding reference to *virgulta* (63.86). The use of floral imagery to describe the youthfulness and

⁹⁶See above, note 43, concerning my preference for the masculine here.

⁹⁷The exact significance of *marmora* is discussed by the critics. Ellis, *Commentary*, 277, cites Lucretius (2.767) and Ennius (in Gellius 2.26.21) to suggest that the word reflects both the whiteness and smoothness of the sea (so also Forsyth, *The Poems*, 345). Quinn, *The Poems*, 296, interprets the word to mean "the marbled expanse of ocean" (so also Fordyce, *Commentary*, 271). Ferguson, *Catullus*, has an interesting comment: "Attis stood by the sea, but the sea is turned to stone (*marmora*) in contrast to his/her tenderness (*teneram*, 63.88)."

delicacy of the bride throughout the two previous poems is continued in *virgulta*. The etymological connection between *virgulta* and *virgo* recalls immediately the first reference to the bride in the cycle: *teneram.../ virginem* (61.4). Later, her soft breasts are an encouragement to her husband to remain faithful (*[non] a tuis teneris volet / secubare papillis*, 61.100-101), and the delicate hands of little Torquatus (*porrigens teneras manus*, 61.211) symbolize the success of the marriage.

In poem 62, floral imagery is used by the girls and the boys to support their respective views of marriage. To the girls, the unwed maiden is like a delicate, protected flower that can be destroyed by the mere touch of a fingernail (62.43); once the body loses its bloom, the flower (like the girl) is dear to no one who loves it (*cum castum amisit polluto corpore florem*, 62.46). To the girls, it is sexual activity that destroys the bloom. Attis can represent the girls' flower/maiden metaphor in an ironic reversal of roles. While he was untouched, undefiled, *vir integer*, he was dear to those who loved him, the athletes and lovers, like the bride in poem 62 (*sic virgo, dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est*, 62.45). Now that he has been defiled, his body mutilated, he has become *notha mulier tenera*; like the flower that has lost its bloom, Attis, *sui pars*, is dear to no one. The irony is that his defilement is not a result of past sexual activity, but an irreparable impediment to any future sexual activity.

So strange is Attis' case that he can also represent the unreality of the girls' argument as expressed by the boys in poem 62. The boys maintain that a maiden must be wed; she must fulfil her natural function in

life by relying on the male for support and providing offspring to him. Their *vidua vitis* contains much the same negative connotations as Attis' *vir sterilis*. The boys' unsupported vine (female) is unnatural: bending down its delicate body with its heavy weight, the vine touches its top shoot with its root (62.51-52). Attis' condition is ironically like the unsupported vine. While still a male, Attis is like the female vine: the heavy weight of his testicles is hurled to the ground (*devolsit ili acuto sibi pondera silice*, 63.5), his limbs are devoid of their manhood (*itaque ut relictis sensit sibi membra sine viro*, 63.6). He immediately becomes a female (*citata*, 63.8), but a bogus female (*notha mulier*, 63.27), one that is unproductive, useless, a *vir sterilis*, a *vidua vitis* which *numquam se extollit, numquam mitem educat uvam* (63.50). The boys argue that such a vine should be supported, to prevent the unnatural and unproductive touching of the weight of its bloom to its root. Attis longs to have his manhood back, to undo his unnatural state, so that he can be productive once more in the realm of love. Now, this is impossible: now he is *virgo tenera*; and as the boys argue, *sic virgo dum intacta manet, dum inculta senescit* (62.56).

Attis at the end of poem 63 is a portrait of contradictions, and represents nature that is completely out of joint.⁹⁸

The comparison of Attis with a *virgo tenera* continues as the lion attacks him: *facit impetum* (63.89). Cybele, like Hymen and Hesperus,

⁹⁸Rubino, "Attis," 159, argues that the reference to the greenness of Cybele's realm "suggests the nature-culture opposition...Here we are presented with the contrast between the natural paradise inhabited by the mother goddess and the difficult cultivation of both land and people which must be present in the transition to human and masculine civilization."

achieves her aims through violence. Hymen snatches away the young girl for her husband (*qui rapis teneram ad virum / virginem*, 61.3-4). He, like Hesperus, takes her from the protection of her mother (*floridam ipse puellulam / dedis a gremio suae / matris*, 61.57-59; [*Hespere*] *qui natam possis complexu avellere matris*, 62.21), just as Cybele takes Attis from his mother/fatherland (*patria o mei creatrix... / ego quam miser relinquens*, 63.50-51). Hymen and Hesperus transfer the girl to a wild youth (*fero iuveni in manus*, 61.56; *iuveni ardenti castam donare puellam*, 62.23), just as Cybele transforms Attis into a maddened woman (*furibunda... anhelans vaga... animam agens*, 63.31), eventually to be attacked by a wild lion. The imagery of marriage remains consistent in the description of the lion's actions; but this is no marriage from Attis' point of view.

The lion does its job well. Cybele's madness is reimposed upon her initiate and he flees from the shore into the wild woodlands: *ille demens fugit in nemora fera* (63.89). Against his will, he fled his *patria*; in his sanity, he attempted to flee Cybele's *imperia*. Now, he is forced to flee once again, from his recollections of his past life, from the conscious realization of his tragic condition.

The fact that *ille* (not *illa*) is used by the poet suggests that the Attis on whom Cybele reimposes her madness is fundamentally different from the one on whom she initially imposed her madness. Attis was unable to question the first onslaught of madness because he had no previous experience with it. This time he has seen the horror such madness causes and is able somehow to retain some of his individuality in order to question

his actions and present condition. Attis does return to the woodlands in a maddened state, but the masculine *ille* and the "genderless" *demens* emphasize his underlying resistance to his fate. His earlier fear (*Cybeles famula ferar?* 63.68), however, is realized: *ibi semper omne vitae spatium famula fuit* (63.90). The fact that he is ultimately a *famula*, not a *famulus*, continues the confusion over his gender (*notha mulier*); but it also stresses the overwhelming power of Cybele to impose her will on him.⁹⁹

Sandy offers an excellent summary of the conclusion of the Attis myth in this poem:

Because *furor*, which sleep has banished (38),
must be present if Attis is to fulfil his duties to
her, Cybele sets out to renew it with the yoke as
its symbol (78-80):

fac ut hunc furor agitet,
fac uti furoris ictu reditum in nemora ferat,
mea libere nimis qui fugere imperia cupit.¹⁰⁰

The yoke of sexual love, which Attis in his madness wishes to escape, but which, in his sanity, he wishes to retain, is exchanged by Cybele with the yoke of madness (which Attis attempts to resist). The sexual confusion permeating the poem is resolved. As Rubino states: "the female dominates and obliterates the male, leaving only traces of the conflict behind."¹⁰¹

⁹⁹Cf. Elder, "Attis," 399: "in our last picture of Attis [63.89], we are left with a hint of that inner struggle which he is destined in occasional periods of sanity to feel for the rest of his life." Oksala, "Catullus Attis-Ballade," 203, note 4: "In der Schlusspartie gibt es, soweit die Texttradition stimmt, ein recht kühles Oxymoron, das gewissermassen das Schicksal des Jünglings als Zwitter besiegelt: *tenerumque...ille...famula*." Rubino, "Attis," 164: "The power of the divine woman produces this psychological upheaval in Attis and eventually...drives him completely mad."

¹⁰⁰Sandy, "Imagery," 395-96.

¹⁰¹Rubino, "Attis," 169.

VI

Vox Poetae: The Final Prayer

(63.91-93)

The poem closes with an apotropaic prayer to Cybele, spoken by the poet. This intrusion of a non-mythological element into the poem is somewhat of a surprise; but it provides a connection with the non-mythological poems 61 and 62.

The address to the goddess (63.91) is remarkable for its alliteration and the triple repetition of *dea*. Indeed, the poet refers to Cybele five times in this line. These many references parallel those in Attis' first enthusiastic speech to the Gallae, where Cybele is mentioned six times; but they contrast with his second speech, where she is mentioned only once. The poet's context here, however, is very different from that of Attis' first speech. The poet calls Cybele *domina Dindymi*, matching Attis' earlier appellation (*Dindymenae dominae*, 63.13); at 63.92, he calls her *era*, again matching an earlier reference (*erae*, 63.18). But Cybele as *domina* is more than a traditional reference to a divinity, even within the quasi-marriage context of poem 63. The poet is focusing on the negative, domineering qualities of the goddess who can cause such tragic events to happen in Attis' life.

This becomes clear in the final distich. The prayer concentrates on the theme that opens and closes the mythological part of the poem, *furor*:

procul a mea tuos sit furor omnis, era, domo:
 alios age incitatos, alios age rabidos.

(63.92-93)

Once again no new imagery is used here. In expressing the wish that Cybele drive others to frenzy (*incitatos*, 63.93), others to madness (*rabidos*, 63.93), the poet is but recalling the afflictions that plagued Attis. Specifically, he is referring to the violent actions of the lion (*incitat*, 63.85) in reimposing Cybele's madness, that was previously reflected in Attis' externally-inspired haste to fulfil Cybele's bidding (*citato... pede*, 63.2; *citata*, 63.8; *citatis erroribus*, 63.18; *citatis...tripudiis*, 63.26; *citus adit Idam*, 63.30).¹⁰² He is also recalling the mania that afflicted Attis throughout the poem (*stimulatus...furenti rabie*, 63.4; *rabidus furor animi*, 63.38; *sine rabie*, 63.44; *rabie fera carens*, 63.57).

The poet sees Cybele as a destructive and vengeful goddess.¹⁰³ In this he is but picking up on Attis' final judgment of her. But in the early part of the poem, she appeared to be a positive force in Attis' life. This positive/negative duality is consistent with this goddess' mythology. She is the Great Mother who can save children in Diodorus Siculus (3.58); she is the Mother of the Muses in Ovid (*Fasti* 4.191). But she is also the goddess who destroys the tree-nymph Sagaritis because Attis fell in love with her. In Euripides' *Helen* 1301-68, Demeter, another form of the Great Mother,

¹⁰²This is also suggested by the repetition of the imperative of *ago* in all three exhortations: of Attis to the Gallae (*agite*, 63.12), of Cybele to the lion (*agedum...age*, 63.78) and of the poet to Cybele (*age...age*, 63.93).

¹⁰³Cf. P. Numminen, "Severa Mater," *Arctos* 3 (1962): 145: "dici potest Catullum eius modi matrem descripsisse, quae saevissimis tyrannis simillima est, nulla humanitate imbuta."

distraught at the loss of Persephone, ranges over the earth in her chariot drawn by Phrygian lions until finally, tired of her wanderings, she climbs the snow-bound summits of Ida. There she causes cattle to starve, the earth to bear no fruit, the child to die in its womb. Cybele will destroy the very Nature she symbolizes if she is thwarted.¹⁰⁴

It is this negative view of Cybele that the poet presents here. Her harsh intervention at the end of poem 63, driving Attis mad once more against his will and forcing him to serve her, stands in direct contrast to the positive recollections of his past life that Attis sees in his sanity. His castration, performed not out of an innate devotion to Cybele but in a fit of imposed madness, does not symbolize a positive token of his service to her but an irreparable sign of the loss of his ability to lead a productive and loving life away from her. It is not to Cybele's home (*domum Cybebes*, 63.20) that Attis looks in his sanity, but to his own (*domo*, 63.58; *domus*, 63.66), left behind in his *patria*. It is no wonder that the poet wishes such a goddess to remain far from his house: *procul a mea tuos sit furor omnis, era, domo* (63.92).¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴See A. M. Dale's comments on this chorus in his edition of the *Helen* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 147.

¹⁰⁵The addition of the adjective *mea* here, although logical in a personalizing apotropaic prayer, nevertheless brings the poet himself into poem 63 for the first time. Does this set up poem 63 as an allegory of Catullus' own life and loves? If so, the allegory is rather confusing. Attis must represent Catullus. Like Attis, Catullus has been stung by a bad love affair (no doubt with Lesbia) and has fled to the mysterious east (Bithynia) where...What? Where he castrates himself? Where he becomes devoted to Cybele? Where he becomes a homosexual? Or perhaps he merely cuts himself off from all love.

I find these and other allegories simply unsupported by the text. I can envisage a situation where Catullus, upset by some love affair, even with Lesbia, might write a poem about a mythological character who also had a devastating love affair. But surely this particular myth would not be appropriate. The many details in this poem simply cannot be made to fit the real-life particulars. See Elder, "Attis," 395; P. W. Harkins, "Autoallegory in Catullus 63 and 64," *TAPhA* 90 (1959): 102-

The final apotropaic prayer confirms poem 63 as a generalizing allegory about the breakdown of love itself. It is for this reason that the poet makes his Attis so different from the character in the "traditional" legend and leaves his country of origin so vague (but still symbolic of a civilized way of life). In this context, 63.92 causes no difficulty. By expressing the wish that a goddess like Cybele, who can destroy a loving existence so irreparably and harshly, not bring her particular madness to his house, the poet is expressing a powerful albeit generalizing truth to which Everyman (embodied by Attis) can relate. Attis can no longer return to his house, the symbol of all that is positive and secure in his world, but must live among the wild beasts, in a cold environment, far from his home. All vestiges of the security and the love he once knew are gone.

Poem 63 presents a marked shift in direction in the cycle. Like poems 61 and 62, Poem 63 deals with the marriage theme, but only incidentally as part of a strange myth of devotion of mortal towards goddess, in which sexuality is ambiguous and roles are reversed. Devotion and faith, the "marriage" required by Cybele, are imposed upon Attis against his will. The dark and negative aspects associated with love and marriage that began to surface in poems 61 and 62 have become predominant in poem 63.

16; Forsyth, "Mythic Persona," 555-58; S. W. Cohen, "Catullus 63: Attis the Dreamer," *CB* 54 (1978): 49-52.

CHAPTER 4: POEM 64¹

I

Peleus and Thetis

(64.1-30)

Since the story of Peleus and Thetis was a popular one for ancient authors and artists, Catullus would have had many prototypes from which to draw for his poem.² The opening lines of poem 64 indicate that Catullus was influenced specifically by the *Medea*, both its Euripidean and Ennian versions.³ Why would he choose to recall the story of Medea? An obvious answer would be that her fantastic story of foreign adventures over the seas would provide good parallels for a similar story in poem 64.

¹Poem 61 is rooted in the real world of Catullus' own time, defined by the wedding of Manlius and Iunia. Poem 62 provides a less specific setting but also seems rooted in the real world. Yet within these poems are subtle references to an earlier time, especially the period of the Trojan War. These are two wedding poems, the first of which is predominantly positive in outlook (although with subtle, underlying negative connotations) while the second is more overtly negative (although the poem ends with an apparent reconciliation of the conflicts presented). Mythological allusions in these wedding poems, while important, are largely incidental to the "real-life" human context (Paris, Telemachus, Penelope, suggestions of the Trojan War). Poem 63, however, jolts the reader into the world of mythology; but again the time frame is vague (although subtle references to elegiac love poetry and the poet's tag at the end of the poem bring the setting back to the real world).

These three poems prepare the reader for poem 64, in which mythology again provides the setting (like poem 63) but within the specific context of another wedding (like poems 61 and 62). The Trojan War also has an important role here and poem 64 also ends with a moralizing tag.

²Ellis, *Commentary*, 278, gives an extensive list of passages dealing with the Peleus/Thetis story, including works by Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Euripides, and Apollonius.

³See Appendix G and L. C. Curran, "Catullus 64 and the Heroic Age," *YCS* 21 (1969): 185.

But perhaps the poet had a more subtle reason for recalling Medea. The story of Jason and Medea is at the very least a story of a marriage gone wrong, a marriage between unequals (Greek and barbarian) in which trust and oaths are betrayed with tragic results.⁴ By recalling this *exemplum* from the outset, the poet is preparing the way for his equally tragic story of Ariadne and the final moralizing tag.⁵

The beginning of poem 64 once again plunges the reader into the rich world of mythology. The tragic atmosphere at the conclusion of poem 63 is dispelled by the wondrous description of the voyage of the Argo. But much of the vocabulary is familiar, and the connotations acquired from the previous poems create a conflict between the surface joy and underlying tension in the opening lines.

The mythological world of poem 64 is so wonderful that the poet can only report about its existence through hearsay (*dicuntur*, 64.2). The time frame too is kept vague (*quondam*, 64.1).⁶ The opening lines contain

⁴Cf. Eur. *Medea* 1389-92.

⁵Another reason for recalling the story of the Argonauts may be to confirm the equally important influence of Apollonius and Ennius on poem 64. Cf. B. Arkins, "Tradition Reshaped: Language and Style in Euripides' *Medea* 1-19, Ennius' *Medea Exul* 1-9 and Catullus 64.1-30," *Ramus* 11 (1982): 129, and note 38. Arkins specifically points out (130) the strong influence from Ennius here: "Catullus employs these echoes [of Ennius] to write about neither Medea nor his own deserted heroine Ariadne but rather about the love of Peleus and Thetis. Thus Catullus transfers material relating to unhappy love to a story of happy love...But at the same time the learned reader...might sense that right at the beginning of poem 64 there is a hint of unhappy love to come and this sense is confirmed later in the poem when Catullus transfers the negative wish about the voyage of the Argonaut Jason...to the negative wish of Ariadne about the voyage of Theseus [64.171-72], and when he equates Ennius' *Medea* and his own Ariadne by referring to his heroine as *saucia* (*Medea Exul* 9, 64.150)." See D. Konstan, *Catullus' Indictment of Rome: The Meaning of Catullus 64* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1977), 67-71.

⁶This tendency to rely on tradition or "secondary" sources seems to be an Alexandrian technique (Fordyce, *Commentary*, 276; see also D. P. Kubiak, "Catullus

textual reminiscences of key phrases from the previous three poems, thereby providing a link with those poems.⁷ The goals of the voyages of the Argonauts and Attis are expressed in parallel grammatical structures:

Phasidos ad fluctus et fines Aeeteos

(64.3)

Phrygiam ad domum Cybebes, Phrygia ad nemora
deae

(63.20)

The emphasis on youth from the earlier poems continues here with *lecti iuvenes* (64.4) and *prognatae* (64.1). The mention of *prognatae* recalls the bride taken from her mother at 62.21 (*natam...complexu avellere matris*), a situation similar to the taking of the Golden Fleece in poem 64 (*auratam...Colchis avertere pellem*, 64.5). The epithet *auratam* also recalls the torches' golden hair (*aureas...comas*, 61.95) and the bride's golden feet (*aureolos pedes*, 61.160) in poem 61. The description of the Argive youth as *optantes* (64.5) recalls the girls' third stanza in poem 62:

multi illum [sc. florem] pueri, multae optavere
puellae:
idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui,
nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae.

(62.42-44)

64.1-2," *AJPh* 102 (1981): 41-42). But it also serves to keep the time-frame for the poem indeterminate, a technique already used in poem 63.

⁷There is a reminiscence of this opening scene in Apollonius *Argo*. 1.547-52, where the gods and the nymphs on Pelion look down upon the heroes as they sit at the oars on the Argo, described as the work of Ionian Athena. See also *Hec.* 629-37: the chorus regret the day when Paris felled trees on Ida for a ship to travel to Greece to win Helen. This, in turn, recalls the Venus/Paris simile at 61.16-20. See Chapter 1, note 8.

The poet next describes the moment when the first ship, the Argo, dipped her prow in the sea for the voyage (*illa rudens cursu prima imbuit Amphitriten*, 64.11).⁸ He then extends the image of the sea voyage to incorporate sexual motifs: the Argo sets her prow not just in the sea, but in the personification of the sea (64.11).⁹ The description of the Argo churning the sea and making it white with foam:

quae simul ac rostro ventosum proscidit aequor
tortaque remigio spumis incanuit unda

(64.12-13)

recalls the swift voyage of Attis and the Gallae over the deep and turbulent seas (*alta...maria*, 63.1; *rapidum salum...truculentaque pelagi*, 63.16) and especially the whiteness of the sea when Attis makes his final, ineffectual complaint (*umida albicantis loca litoris*, 63.87; *marmora pelagi*, 63.88).

⁸The textual problems in this line have engendered many solutions. I am drawn to the suggestion of A. Massimi, "Note Catulliane," *GIF* 12 (1959): 263-66, who emends *rudem* to *rudens* (present participle of *rudo*) based on the parallel passage in Apollonius (*Argo*. 1.519-27). Making the Argo the first ship to sail the sea (Mynors' text) suits the poem at this point, as Kroll, *Poemata*, 144, notes: "Die Streitfrage, ob die Argo oder das Schiff des Danaos oder Minos das älteste gewesen sei...war für unseren Dichter dadurch entschieden, daß er das Motiv von V. 16 brauchte." But reconciling this statement with the voyage of Theseus to Crete (64.53), which took place before that of Jason, seems at first impossible. One can ask whether the poet or the reader should be concerned about such fine details. See J. C. Bramble, "Structure and Ambiguity in Catullus 64," *PCPhS* 16 (1970): 22, note 4; G. Munno, "Un verso di Catullo," *Athenaeum* 7 (1929): 227; Quinn, *The Poems*, 302, 310.

But C. Weber, "Two Chronological Contradictions in Catullus 64," *TAPhA* 113 (1983): 263-71, to my mind has found the solution. He notes that Apollonius also inverts the order of the Argo and Theseus, and Catullus follows suit; moreover (269) "Catullus signaled the perversity of his chronology by referring to Theseus as *priscus* (50)." He concludes that this "perversity" is entirely suitable in a poem (270) "in which heroic *virtutes* professed are sometimes sordid *scelera* in fact, marriages called happy are replete with insistent reminders of unions ending in tragedy."

⁹By contrast, Apollonius extends his passage on the sea voyage by describing geographical details (*Argo*. 1.580-608). This personification is anticipated in 64.1 as the pines are said to have swum (*pinus / dicuntur...nasse*, 64.1-2). See Arkins, "Tradition," 128.

This comparison suggests a potential cloud on the horizon for the voyage of the Argo.

The ship causes the Nereids to rise from the white water (*emersere feri candenti e gurgite vultus*, 64.14).¹⁰ The wildness of their faces befits their nature as daughters of the sea; but they also recall the wildness of the groom at 61.56 (*fero iuveni*) and the maddened Attis who, after complaining to the wild sea that was symbolically calmed by the Sun (cf. *mare ferum*, 63.40, and *marmora pelagi*, 63.88), eventually is driven against his will to the wild woodlands of Cybele (*nemora fera*, 63.89). This too may portend some disturbing element for the marriage of Thetis.¹¹

The Nereids marvel at the strangeness (*monstrum*, 64.15) of the ship, even as the mortal sailors wonder at them (64.16). Specifically, it is the sexuality of the sea nymphs that is stressed: *nudato corpore Nymphas / nutricum tenuis exstantes e gurgite cano* (64.17-18). The emphasis is on light (*viderunt luce*, 64.16), vision (*oculis*, 64.17), and whiteness (*e gurgite cano*, 64.18).¹² This too is expanded in the next lines, as the scene quickly focuses on Peleus the Argonaut and Thetis the Nereid.¹³ In a

¹⁰I see no reason to emend *feri* to *freti*. See Ellis, *Commentary*, 255; Quinn, *The Poems*, 303; Forsyth, *The Poems*, 352; J. Vahlen, "Beiträge zur Berichtigung der römischen Elegiker, Catullus, II," *SAWDDR* (1905): 761; Konstan, *Indictment*, 19, note 29.

¹¹Curran, "Catullus 64," 187, remarks that the reader would remember the Nereids rising from the water at *Il.* 18.35, in mourning over the Patroclus "who died because of Achilles and the Achilles who will die soon himself." This may forecast the dark events of Achilles' life in the song of the Parcae.

¹²F. Cairns, "The Nereids of Catullus 64.12-23b," *Grazer Beiträge* 11 (1984): 95-101, argues that the image of half-naked Nereids portends both a good voyage and a good marriage and contributes to the positive nature of this description.

¹³Fordyce, *Commentary*, 280, points out that, according to Apollonius, Peleus is already the husband of Thetis when he sets sail on the Argo. By changing this, Catullus stresses the wonderful origin of this marriage. Cf. Arkins, "Tradition,"

beautifully balanced, tripartite construction (64.19-21), the poet describes the swift progress of this courtship: boy falls in love with girl, girl falls in love with boy, the girl's father sanctions the future union.

The language chosen to illustrate Peleus' intense love for Thetis has also been used in the preceding three poems. Peleus burns with love of Thetis (*Thetidis Peleus incensus amore*, 64.19) like the groom in poem 61 (*illi non minus ac tibi / pectore uritur intimo / flamma*, 61.169-71), the burning youth in poem 62 (*iuveni ardenti*, 62.23), the intensity of that pledged marriage (*Hespere... / qui desponsa tua firmes conubia flamma*, 62.26-27), and the raging madness/love of Attis and his band in poem 63 (*stimulatus... furenti rabie*, 63.4; *furibunda... / ...Attis*, 63.31-32; *rabidus furor animi*, 63.38; *rabie fera carens*, 63.57; *illa demens fugit in nemora fera*, 63.89). The use of repetition here in poem 64 (*tum Thetidis... / tum Thetis... / tum Thetidi*, 64.19-21) recalls parallel constructions in poem 63 (repetition of *ubi*, 63.21-25, and of *ego*, 63.63-71) and to a lesser extent in poem 61 (repetition of *tu*, 61.51-60; *at potest / te volente; at queat / te volente*, 61.63-74) and in poem 62 (as is to be expected in an antiphonal poem).¹⁴ Even the use of *iugandum* (64.21) to express the marital union recalls the imagery of the *iugum* in poem 63 (*iuvenca vitans onus indomita iugi*, 63.33; *iuncta iuga resolvens Cybele leonibus*, 63.76). One wonders if the same ominous overtones from the *Attis* are present here.

130. There are, however, other problems with the myth here, and Catullus seems to be mixing various versions. If Peleus and Thetis are not married before the Argo voyage, and Jupiter *concessit suos amores*, then the myth of Prometheus is suggested, where Jupiter is persuaded not to marry Thetis. Prometheus, of course, appears later in poem 64. Cf. Curran, "Catullus 64," 183-84, for Catullus' originality in handling the myth.

¹⁴Cf. Ellis, *Commentary*, 286, for other examples of similar repetition from Greek authors.

The thought expressed in 64.20, that Thetis did not disdain marriage with a mortal, is a positive one, and may be a subtle criticism of the reluctant behaviour of both the bride and groom in poems 61 and 62, which prompts constant admonition from the attendants in 61.90-91, 192-93, and a more concerted effort of the boys to win over the girls at 62.59. The positive attitude of Thetis towards Peleus also provides a stark contrast to the negative attitude of Attis towards Cybele that concludes poem 63, which prompts quite a different response from that divinity (63.79-80). Even the approval of Nereus, Thetis' father (*tum Thetidi pater ipse iugandum Pelea sensit*, 64.21), matches the approval of the bride's father in 62.60.¹⁵

The joy at the pending nuptials of Peleus and Thetis leads to a general apostrophe to the heroes of old (64.22-30). The unbounded exultation expressed here is, to my mind, unmatched so far in these four poems. It seems more spontaneous than the formal invocations of Hymen in poems 61 and 62 and certainly more honest than the madness-inspired invocation of Cybele in 63.12-26. If it has any parallel at all, it is the second address of Attis to his *patria* (63.50-73), although that speech is a lament, prompted by Attis' negative relationship with a goddess.¹⁶

¹⁵I have been persuaded by R. Mayer, "On Catullus 64.21," *PACA* 15 (1980): 16-19, that Nereus is in fact alluded to in *pater ipse*. Nereus has been suggested already in 64.15, whereas Jupiter does not officially appear until 64.26. See also Ellis, *Commentary*, 286.

¹⁶Cf. the use of positive rhetorical questions at the conclusion of the apostrophe to Hymen (61.61-75) and here (64.28-30), compared with the negative rhetorical questions in 63.60-61 and 68-72, as Attis laments his being torn forever from his *patria*.

The content of this apostrophe seems the typical thing to say here. But the words used are full of special significance in this cycle. The initial stress on the birth and origins of the heroes (*nati, deum genus, o bona matrum / progenies*, 64.22-23b) recalls similar passages in the first three poems of the cycle: the emphasis on youth, the repeated pairing of the bride with her mother,¹⁷ and especially the emphasis on the hope for children in marriage (the picture of the young Torquatus in poem 61,¹⁸ the implied fruitfulness of the bride in the floral images in 62.49-58 and, by contrast, Attis' inability to have children, *ego vir sterilis ero?* 63.69).

Subsequent references to marriage and familial relationships in the apostrophe continue the theme, exemplified most clearly by *deum genus* (64.23, referring to the heroes) and *divum genitor* (64.27, referring to Jupiter). The phrase used to describe the fortunate nature of Peleus' marriage (*taedis felicibus aucte*, 64.25) recalls again the idea of increase (*aucte*) in children (poem 61) or flowers (poem 62); the metonymy of *taedis* immediately reminds us of the strong emphasis on the marriage torch in poem 61 and the fires, celestial and earthly, of poem 62. The image of Peleus as a column of strength for Thessaly (*Thessaliae columen*, 64.26) recalls the image of the child as the supporting prop for the old man in 61.68 (*stirpe nitier*) and the elm holding up the vines in 62.54-55. The specific and generic names of family members at the end of the apostrophe

¹⁷Ironically, perhaps, the bride is paired with her mother only to be torn from her embrace in marriage. But see also 61.217-18 (*et pudicitiam suae / matris indicet ore*) and the following stanza (61.219-23) where the child is secure in his mother's embrace.

¹⁸There are also less specific references: 61.51-55, 66-70 (the hopes of the elders for children), 61.204-8 (the continuation of the lineage).

also contribute to the intricate and quite specific family portrait here (*Nereine, Tethys, neptem, Oceanus*, 64.28-30), and recall the real-life family portrait of Manlius Torquatus. The use of rhetorical questions (64.28-30) "almost implies amazement at the good fortune of the lovers,"¹⁹ and provides a parallel to the questions describing Hymen's influence (*quis huic deo / compararier ausit?* 61.64-65, 69-70, 74-75) and a contrast to the negative allusions in Attis' rhetorical questions (63.58-60, 68-72). These references stress the positive nature of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis.

II

The Palace of Peleus

(64.31-49)

The poem continues with a description of the happy wedding day (64.31-37). The strict formality of the wedding, implied in *Iuppiter ipse /...concessit* (64.26-27) and *finito tempore* (64.31), recall the formal arrangements in poem 61 (especially the emphasis on time) and at 62.64-65. This is a welcome marriage-day for the couple (*optatae...luces*, 64.31); and the important image of the home returns in the cycle (*domum*, 64.32, repeated in 64.36-37: *domos, moenia, tecta*), symbolizing the security created by the marriage.²⁰ The richness of the assembled company is stressed: *oppletur* (64.33), *dona* (64.34), and the "wealth" of people

¹⁹Putnam, "Catullus 64," 190.

²⁰The choice of the palace as the site of the wedding constitutes a change by Catullus from Pelion or Chiron's cave. This, of course, is deliberate, and allows the poet to link past and future references to the *domus* to poem 64. See Konstan, *Indictment*, 5-6.

attending from all over Thessaly (*conventu tota frequentat / Thessalia*, 64.32-33; *laetanti...coetu*, 64.33; *coeunt...frequentant*, 64.37).²¹

The description of the mortals arriving from their various homes matches the opening of poem 61, as Hymen leaves his haunts to attend the wedding, and provides an ironic contrast to Attis' arrival in Phrygia.²² What effects the guests' arrivals have on the everyday world is described next (64.38-42). The normally bustling world of agriculture has come to a stop (emphasized by the greater use of spondees in the lines). On the surface, this seems to be the typical description of idealized nature.²³ The world is at rest (*rura colit nemo*, 64.38; *non glebam...convellit...taurus*, 64.40)²⁴ and the gist of the passage indicates that the farm implements (*curvis...rastris*, 64.39; *prono...vomere*, 64.40; *falx*, 64.41) are not being used.²⁵ But the cessation of agricultural activities has resulted not merely in an idealized land at rest but in a real landscape undergoing deterioration. Freeing the animals from their yokes makes their necks soft (*mollescunt colla iuvenis*, 64.38), a situation that would render them less suitable for work. The lack of attention to the vines and trees (*non...purgatur vinea*,

²¹G. Giangrande, "Catullus 64.35," *LCM* 1 (1976): 111-12, gives a convincing argument for accepting Scyros for Cieros in 64.35. This would anticipate the appearance of Achilles at the end of poem 64.

²²Cf. the parallel construction of 64.37 (*Pharsalum coeunt, Pharsalia tecta frequentant*) and 63.20 (*Phrygiam ad domum Cybebes, Phrygia ad nemora deae*).

²³Quinn, *The Poems*, 307, notes similar passages from Tibullus 2.1.5-8, Ovid *Fasti* 1.663-668, and Virgil *Ecl.* 4.40-41.

²⁴Cf. Tibullus: *requiescat humus, requiescat arator*, 2.1.5; *grave...cesset opus*, 2.1.6; *nunc ad praesepe debent /...stare boves*, 2.1.7-8; Ovid: *da requiem terrae.../ da requiem...viris*, *Fasti* 1.667-68; *state coronati plenum ad praesepe iuvenis*, *Fasti* 1.663.

²⁵Cf. Tibullus: *suspensa vomere*, 2.1.6; *solvite vincla iugis*, 2.1.7; Ovid: *rusticus...palo suspendat aratrum*, *Fasti* 1.665; Virgil: *robustus...tauris iuga solvet arator*, *Ecl.* 4.41.

64.39; *non falx attenuat...arboris umbram*, 64.39) will result in a less productive crop. A similar interpretation can be placed on the inactivity of the bull (*non glebam prono convellit vomere taurus*, 64.40).²⁶

The mere suggestion of some darker element so far in this passage becomes clear in 64.42: *squalida desertis rubigo infertur aratri*. Rust, like the soft necks of steers, has no place in an idealized, or, for that matter, a real landscape.²⁷ The level of deterioration (*squalida...rubigo*) confirms the length of time that the land has been untilled (*desertis...aratri*) and caps a hitherto ambiguous passage with a clear statement: this wedding has inadvertently produced a negative impact on the landscape.²⁸

This hint of deteriorating nature is significant since a positive image of agriculture has been established in the preceding poems. Floral imagery abounds in poem 61, especially as a symbol of the positive aspects of love. Even in poem 63, the poet can illustrate idealized nature by having the emasculated Attis rail against nature perverted (63.69-73).

But it is in poem 62 that this theme is especially relevant. The boys counter the girls' simile of the sequestered flower with the strong image of the wedded vine.²⁹ In this regard, J. Cressey has convincingly

²⁶The same imagery is used by the girls in poem 62 to describe a potentially negative impact on the untouched, pure nature of their sequestered flower (*nullo convolsus aratro*, 62.40).

²⁷Cf. Virgil, *Geor.* 2.220: *nec scabie et salsa laedit robigine ferrum*.

²⁸It is irrelevant to see in this description any realistic allusion to the "hyperbolic extension of the nuptials' duration," in the words of J. Cressey, "Ploughing for Grapes: Catullus 64.38-42," *LCM* 2 (1977): 153. This allusion to time does, however, link poem 64 to poems 61 and 62 with their repeated references to time, and even, perhaps, to poem 63, where Attis will be a servant of Cybele *omne vitae spatium* (63.90).

²⁹This image is also found in 61.102-4.

shown that viticulture is, in fact, the sole theme of 64.38-42.³⁰ The wedded vine in poem 62 symbolizes the strength and natural productivity of marriage. Therefore, descriptions in poem 64 of the vines and trees remaining untrimmed, the land going untilled, and the necks of the steers becoming soft, compel the reader to feel once again that this is not merely idealized nature at rest. There is a difference between animals and farmers who are simply not working and animals who have become soft, vines that are no longer tended. This is unfruitful nature, not idealized nature. It is an ominous image to be placed at the beginning of a marriage poem.³¹

This portrait of nature is followed by a starkly contrasting description of Peleus' home (64.43-49).³² His *domus* (64.46, but also *sedes*, 64.43, *regia*, 64.44) does indeed suggest familial security, and its rich and exotic nature could not be more different from the natural haunts of the mortal wedding guests. The purpose of this elaborate description is essentially to introduce the marriage-bed (*pulvinar*, 64.47) with its coverlet.³³ It is, of course, most appropriate for a marriage-bed to be in a

³⁰Cressey, "Ploughing," 154: "the five lines have a unity of theme and time." He shows that two types of viticulture are described here, vines that grow low on the ground without the support of trees (*humilis...vinea*, 64.39), and those wedded to trees (64.41). The different types of vines require different methods of care: one uses animals to dig or plough around the vines (64.40) and the other a *frondator* to cut back the leaves to allow the sun to ripen the grapes (64.41). The *humilis vinea* may also suggest the *hedera* simile in 61.33-35, although *hedera* remains a wild plant, while *vinea* is a cultivated one.

³¹Cf. Bramble, "Structure," 38-39; J. Duban, "Verbal Links and Imaginistic Undercurrent in Catullus 64," *Latomus* 39 (1980): 780-82.

³²The colours used throughout this passage, gold (*auro*, 64.44), white (*candet ebur*, 64.45) and rose (*roseo...fusco*, 64.49), and the general brightness of the scene, recall similar colours and atmospheres from the previous three poems.

³³The description of Peleus' palace also brings the reader clearly back to the world of mythology from the previous lines, where the description of nature could apply equally to the real and mythological worlds. This is achieved through similar vocabulary, used immediately before and after the description of the landscape, to indicate the richness of Peleus' palace (*oppletur laetanti regia coetu*, 64.33; *quacumque*

wedding poem; but its appearance here seems even "more logical" since similar situations have already been presented in previous poems. The groom is seated on a couch while waiting for his bride in 61.164-65 and the boys rise from the banquet in 62.3. These latter examples preceded weddings that were happy (poem 61) or at least duly completed (poem 62). This suggests that the fluctuations between positive and negative connotations in the opening of poem 64 have been resolved on the side of the positive.

III

Theseus Abandons Ariadne

(64.50-75)

The short, two-line description of the coverlet prepares the way for a story about the "valorous deeds" (*virtutes*) of the heroes. This is entirely to be expected, following the poet's effusive apostrophe to the ancient heroes in 64.22-30. But, as Quinn points out, the incidents in the story of Ariadne and Theseus seem hardly to define *virtutes*.³⁴

opulenta recessit / regia, 64.43-44) and the joyous atmosphere (*dona ferunt prae se, declarant gaudia vultu*, 64.34; *tota domus gaudet regali splendida gaza*, 64.46).

³⁴Quinn, *The Poems*, 309-10. See also P. Murgatroyd, "Catullus 64.50-75," *Akroterion* 28 (1983): 15, note 6: "Catullus is here deliberately trying to intrigue and mislead his readers. Commentators generally explain *virtutes* as something like 'deeds of prowess,' but at this stage the sense (moral) 'virtue' also seems possible. As will be clear shortly, this latter sense must have been very much in Catullus' mind here. Similarly heroes in fact play a very small part initially in the story that Catullus proceeds to relate."

The poet, as usual, has prepared the reader for this ironic example of heroic *virtus*. The subtly negative description of the landscape a few lines earlier has already placed a cloud over the wedding celebrations of Peleus and Thetis. Furthermore, as the opening lines of the Ariadne story unfold, the specific details of the tragedy are delayed: someone is looking out from Dia's shore (*prospectans*, 64.52), watching Theseus sail away (*Thesea cedentem...tuetur*, 64.53). The reader must wait until 64.54 to know for certain that the figure is Ariadne, who finally realizes, though she can scarcely believe it, that she has been abandoned by the hero. The story of Ariadne's abandonment would have been well-known to the Roman audience;³⁵ but this does not mean that the poet cannot create some suspense in the introduction of the story. The reader has been led to expect a tale of heroic *virtus*: he is surprised by the example.³⁶

This initial description of Ariadne is important in establishing her emotional condition and terrible madness: *indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores*, 64.54).³⁷ This provides a direct parallel between Ariadne

³⁵For a comprehensive account of the Ariadne myth, see T. B. L. Webster, "The Myth of Ariadne from Homer to Catullus," *G&R* 13 (1966): 22-31.

³⁶Murgatroyd, "Catullus," 12, notes that the inner story begins *in medias res* just as Attis' story does.

³⁷This continues the theme from poem 63, where twelve references to the various physical sites of the emotions are made (*animus/anima*, *pectus*, *mens*). In poem 64, Catullus makes forty-six references to these words: *mens* (seventeen references), *pectus* (fourteen), *animus/anima* (eight), *cor* (seven). The word *cor*, however, is not used in poem 63. It bears repeating that the words are not synonymous, and clear distinctions are allotted to the different terms: *mens* seems to represent the rational faculty, while *animus*, *cor*, and *pectus* denote the irrational, love-tormented, maddened emotions. This overwhelming number of allusions indicates that the emotional elements of love and marriage are paramount in this poem.

and Attis.³⁸ If this is the madness of love, then both Attis and Ariadne are suffering from a deceptive love. Attis' act of castration is committed under an imposed (*stimulatus...furenti rabie*, 63.4) love for the goddess Cybele. The fact that he later repents of the act (63.73) and Cybele must reimpose her will on him (63.78, 80) proves that Attis' love was false from the beginning. Ariadne too suffers from a madness that has blinded her to the possibility that Theseus could abandon her (*necdum etiam sese quae visit visere credit*, 64.55), after she, like Attis, has been cut off from what most matters to her, her fatherland and family.³⁹

Other parallels between Ariadne and Attis are no less striking. The heroes are depicted standing on the shore, where Attis commits his bloody act (*etiam recente terrae sola sanguine maculans*, 63.7), and where Ariadne becomes aware of her total isolation (*in sola...harena*, 64.57). They are looking sadly at the vast expanse of the sea (*ibi maria vasta visens lacrimantibus oculis*, 63.48; *prospectans litore Diae /...necdum etiam sese quae visit visere credit*, 64.52, 55). Both have recently awakened from sleep (*de quiete molli*, 63.44; *fallaci...excita somno*, 64.56); this allows them to realize suddenly how alone they are, deprived of the things they love most (*patria, bonis, amicis, genitoribus abero?* 63.59; *desertam...miseram se cernat*, 64.57).

³⁸Cf. *stimulatus furenti rabie*, 63.4; *furibunda*, 63.31; *rabidus furor animi*, 63.38; *illa demens fugit in nemora fera*, 63.89.

³⁹Cf. Putnam, "Catullus 64," 168-69.

The similarities between Attis and Ariadne establish these two heroes as *exempla* of negative love and provide a mythological parallel to the examples in poems 61 and 62 of relatively positive love.

This initial sympathetic portrait of Ariadne is now immediately contrasted with a portrait of the fleeing Theseus (64.58-67). The speed and intensity with which this youth rows away (*iuvenis fugiens pellit vada remis*, 64.58) in his guilty flight are a stark contrast to the exciting and noble sailing of the youthful Argonauts at the beginning of the poem (*cum lecti iuvenes.../ ausi sunt vada salsa cita decurrere puppi*, 64.4, 6). But this entire passage is filled with important imagery designed to compare and contrast this scene with other scenes in the cycle. Theseus stands in contrast to the groom in poem 61, who is advised not to wander from his wife (61.134-36); she, in turn, is advised to do all she can to keep him from wandering (61.144-46).⁴⁰ Ironically, Theseus also recalls Attis: both men travel in a swift ship (*celeri...classe*, 64.53; *celeri rate*, 63.1), the one to escape a relationship, the other apparently to consummate one.⁴¹ Theseus ploughs the shoals (*pellit vada*, 64.58) in order to return to his homeland while Attis, standing in the water (*reditum ad vada tetulit*, 63.47), can merely long to return to his. Theseus is escaping (*fugiens*, 64.58) from his relationship with Ariadne; but Attis, who longs to flee from Cybele's commands (*fugere imperia cupit*, 63.80), cannot escape his relationship

⁴⁰The poet also encourages the bride by stating early in the poem that he is disinclined to wander anyway (61.97-101).

⁴¹Note too that Theseus is departing from Ariadne (*cedentem*, 64.53); the poet uses the same verb to express Attis' exhortation of his Gallae to "get going" and reach Cybele's shrine: *mora tarde mente cedat* (63.19).

with her and instead flees (*fugit*, 63.89) from the attack of her lion that inevitably forces him back to her wild woodlands. Theseus is eventually punished for abandoning his relationship and returning home; Attis is punished by not being allowed to return home and by being forced to maintain his relationship.⁴²

The guilt of Theseus is emphasized by the theme of the broken contract, as he abandons his promises to the gusty winds (*ventosae linquens promissa procellae*, 64.59). The scene, of course, is viewed from Ariadne's perspective and therefore is strongly critical of Theseus' actions. Theseus, in Ariadne's mind, has made promises (*promissa*) to which he is now indifferent (*immemor*, 64.58).⁴³ The appearance here of the concept of a pledge or contract picks up the theme from the beginning of poem 64 (*tum Thetidi pater ipse iugandum Pelea sensit*, 64.21) which is itself a continuation of the theme from the earlier poems. The groom at 61.134-43 is told to remain true to his marriage and give up his old habits; the bride at 62.59-65 is told to honour the contract arranged by her parents and new husband. These all appear to be positive examples of the marriage contract. However, Attis too is forced to honour his obligations to Cybele (63.89-90), thus providing a negative example. This emphasis on the broken contract of Theseus and the parallels he offers with Attis further serve to establish this insert as a strangely inappropriate one to illustrate the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.

⁴²Murgatroyd, "Catullus," 16, note 8, remarks that Theseus' brief appearance in this scene "implies a degree of contempt for the hero." One could say the same for the brief appearance of Cybele in Attis' second speech in 63.50-73.

⁴³See Fordyce, *Commentary*, 286.

In a remarkable example of metonymy, the poet has Theseus abandon his broken promises on the shore of Dia. It is logical, therefore, following the brief glimpse of the fleeing Theseus, to return to the personification of those broken promises, the image of Ariadne herself.

The portrait of Ariadne as a Maenad matches the image of Attis as a Maenad who, like Ariadne, has been maddened and who eventually sees in the image of Maenadism a negative view of love (*ego Maenas, ego mei pars, ego vir sterilis ero?* 63.69).⁴⁴ The negative elements in poem 64 are conveyed through the intense vocabulary used to describe Ariadne's pathetic situation: her mournful eyes (*maestis...ocellis*, 64.60), the oxymoron of a marble Maenad, hence silent and motionless (*saxea ut effigies bacchantis*, 64.61), the repetition of *prospicit* (64.61, 62), the interjection *eheu* (64.61), the metaphor of her raging sea of troubles (*magnis curarum fluctuat undis*, 64.62). This description provides a direct parallel with Attis: his tearful eyes (*lacrimantibus oculis*, 63.48), his position by the "marble" sea (*prope marmora pelagi*, 63.88), his raging mind (*animo aestuante*, 63.47).⁴⁵

⁴⁴See Murgatroyd, "Catullus," 13, although I disagree with him that this reference implies that "like a Bacchante, Ariadne will be cherished and protected by Bacchus and will herself love the god and be devoted and subservient to him." See my discussion of 64.251-64.

⁴⁵The description is intensified through the use of anaphora. The repetition of *non* at the beginning of 64.63-65, describing the negative effects of Theseus' departure, recalls the repetition of *non* in 64.39-41, describing the negative effects on nature of the guests' arrival at the wedding; but it also recalls the repetition of *tum Thetidis/Thetis* in 64.19-21, describing the positive relationship of Peleus and Thetis. Similar anaphora and repetition also occur in poem 63 (especially *ubi*, 63.23-25, and *ego*, 63.63-64, 68-71), in passages depicting the negative aspects of Attis' relationship with Cybele. Cf. also *Hespere, quis caelo* (62.20, 26).

The internal conflict of Ariadne is given an external face as she stands naked on the shore, her breast, the seat of her deepest emotions, exposed and vulnerable (*non contacta levi velatum pectus amictu*, 64.64).⁴⁶ This passage has a more important function, however, in recalling the vivid description of the Nereids in 64.16-18. But, while the nudity of the Nereids is ostensibly a positive source of wonder for the Argonauts, resulting in love at first sight between Peleus and Thetis, the nudity of Ariadne is a symbol of the breakdown of her relationship with Theseus. The final description of Ariadne's clothing that has slipped from her body and now lies floating in the lapping waves of the sea (64.66-67) also reminds the reader of Attis, stripped of his manhood:

omnia quae toto delapsa e corpore passim
ipsius ante pedes fluctus salis alludebant.

(64.66-67)

devolsit ili acuto sibi pondera silice.
...
liquidaque mente vidit sine quis ubique foret,
animo aestuante rursum reditum ad vada tetulit.

(63.5, 46-47)

Both descriptions offer physical symbols of the negative effects of love.

⁴⁶The purpose of emphasizing the clothing here may be simply to expand the visual image of Ariadne as a statue (*effigies*, 64.61). But this passage recalls the physical description of Hymen (61.6-10) and, to a lesser extent, the bride in poem 61 and Attis in poem 63 (*niveis manibus, teneris digitis, ego mulier, ego adulescens, ego ephebus, ego puer, roseis labellis*). There may also be an attempt to recall Hellenistic statues of Aphrodite herself, emerging half-nude from the sea foam.

The next lines (64.68-75) continue to elaborate on Ariadne's mental state and serve as a bridge to the next section of the poem.⁴⁷ The intensity of the emotions felt by Ariadne is underlined by the use of appropriate vocabulary and by repetition. Her torment is emphasized by the use of *pectore* (64.69, 72), *animo*, and *mente* (64.70), the triple repetition of *toto/tota* (64.69-70) and the key word *perdita* (64.70). The use of *pendebat* (64.70) to indicate the single-mindedness of Ariadne's thoughts recalls ironically the positive intensity felt by groom towards the bride at 61.164-66 (*aspice...ut.../ vir tuus.../ totus immineat tibi*)⁴⁸ and the girls' dedication to the contest at 62.12-14, in contrasts with the boys' lack of commitment at 62.15-16.

The poet states that Venus has maddened Ariadne (*externavit / spinosas Erycina serens in pectore curas*, 64.71-72), matching Cybele's role in driving Attis mad in poem 63.⁴⁹ Both heroes are therefore innocent victims of negative love. The repetition of *curans* (64.69) and *curas* (64.72) further enhances the suffering and recalls the phrase *magnis curarum fluctuat undis* from 64.62. The juxtaposition of *tempestate* and *ferox* in 64.73 suggests the storm that is raging in Ariadne and recalls by contrast and analogy the groom at 61.56 (*fero iuveni*) and many elements

⁴⁷The transition back to Ariadne's emotional state is made nicely by referring briefly to the clothing that now lies floating (*fluitantis*, 64.68) at her feet in the waves. I think Quinn, *The Poems*, 313, is wrong here. *fluitantis* does not refer back to *levi amictu* (64.64) but to *omnia quae toto delapsa e corpore passim / ipsius ante pedes fluctus salis alludebant* (64.66-67).

⁴⁸A negative parallel to his situation is provided by *minax Cybebe* (63.84).

⁴⁹The girls in 62.20-24 argue that Hesperus (Venus) also causes grief in love, whereas Hymen in poem 61 is symbolic primarily of positive love (in spite of the violent imagery in the beginning of the poem).

from poem 63.⁵⁰ Finally, the picture of Theseus leaving Piraeus (*egressus curvis e litoribus Piraei*, 64.74) recalls Attis' journey from his homeland (*super alta vectus Attis...maria*, 63.1). In both instances, what begins as a positive journey ends in tragedy.

IV

Ariadne Helps Theseus Kill the Minotaur

(64.76-115)

The poem continues with a flashback describing Theseus' trip to Crete (64.76-85).⁵¹ The poet places the voyage of Theseus on the same level as the voyage of Peleus. Both occur in the same indeterminate time and are known through legendary reports (*perhibent olim*, 64.76; *quondam.../ dicuntur*, 64.1-2). Theseus, like Peleus, travels with chosen youths (*electos iuvenes*, 64.78), although the reasons for choosing the youths to go to Crete are quite different from the reasons for choosing the Argonauts (*lecti iuvenes*, 64.4).

⁵⁰*mare ferum* (63.40), *ferarum...stabula* (63.53), *rabie fera carens* (63.57), *age ferox <i>* (63.78), *ferox...quate* (63.83), *ferus...incitat* (63.85) and *illa demens fugit in nemora fera* (63.89).

⁵¹The poet prepares for this flashback by ending the previous passage with references to Crete and king Minos. The adjective *iniusti* (64.75) is interesting. Ellis, *Commentary*, 296, suggests that Minos is described as *iniustus* either because of the tribute of Athenian flesh he demanded or because of his later reputation for cruelty. But perhaps the poet is subtly and ironically suggesting that it is really Theseus who is unjust and cruel. He merely states that it is Theseus who leaves Piraeus by order of the cruel Minos (*iniusti regis*, 64.75); but the result of this fateful trip is the cruelty and injustice Theseus inflicts upon the innocent Ariadne. All this is implied by *Gortynia templa* (64.75) and the role Ariadne had in Theseus' success there.

In both voyages, the fantastic is given prominent place: Peleus is among the first to see the naked bodies of the Nereids (*viderunt.../ mortales...nudato corpore Nymphas*, 64.16-17) and Theseus is destined to battle the Minotaur by sacrificing his own body in place of the innocent youths of Athens (*suum...pro caris corpus Athenis / proicere*, 64.81-82).⁵² Theseus has chosen to do this (*optavit*, 64.82) just as the Argonauts have chosen to carry off the Golden Fleece (*optantes*, 64.5). The description of the speed of the ship on the voyage to Crete (*nave levi nitens ac lenibus auris*, 64.84) recalls the opening description of the voyage to Colchis (*cita decurrere puppi, / caerula verrentes...aequora*, 64.6-7). The goal of both voyages is also described in similar phraseology: *magnanimum ad Minoa venit sedesque superbas* (64.85); *Phasidos ad fluctus et fines Aeeteos* (64.3).

The purpose of these parallels is to link the two voyages in the reader's mind and to indicate the great contrast between them: Peleus' voyage apparently results in a happy marriage; that of Theseus does not.

This parallel continues directly with a description of Ariadne's first glimpse of Theseus (64.86-93). Coming as a flashback *after* the tragic result has been presented so graphically, this description provides the greatest contrast. Once again the situation is familiar. The Argonauts first see the Nereids (*illa...viderunt luce marinas / mortales oculis...Nymphas*, 64.16-17) in the same way as Ariadne first looks upon Theseus (*cupido*

⁵²T. E. Kinsey, "Irony and Structure in Catullus 64," *Latomus* 24 (1965): 917, points out that this passage is one of the few in the Ariadne episode which truly shows Theseus' *virtutes* in the positive sense.

conspexit lumine, 64.86). But the final result is much different: Peleus apparently has a happy marriage to Thetis; the relationship of Ariadne and Theseus is not so fortunate.

Ariadne's innocence is emphasized by an image very familiar to the reader: she is still in the protective embrace of her mother (*in molli complexu matris*, 64.88). This specifically recalls the separation of the bride from her mother in 62.21-22 (*natam...complexu avellere matris, / complexu matris retinentem avellere natam*) which in turn recalls the original object of the Argo's voyage: *auratam...avertere pellem* (64.5). Since the removal of Ariadne from Crete eventually results in a disastrous relationship, the removal of the golden fleece (which leads to the meeting of Peleus and Thetis) may also lead to a troubled marriage for them.

The image of the mother's protective influence has already been well presented in the previous three poems. In the positive sense, Hymen removes the girl (*puellulam / dedis a gremio suae / matris*, 61.57-59) to become the bride in a successful marriage, symbolized by the young Torquatus seated in his mother's lap (*Torquatus...parvulus / matris e gremio suae / porrigens teneras manus*, 61.209-11). By contrast, Attis leaves the security of his parent-city (*patria o mei creatrix, patria o mea genetrix, / ego quam miser relinquens*, 63.50-51) for a life of imposed servitude. The final position of this positive/negative swing has already been decided in poem 64, since the reader has just seen the tragic results of Ariadne's leaving her mother's embrace.

The simile which compares the sweet odours of Ariadne's *lectulus* to the myrtles which flower by the Eurotas (64.87-89) recalls the simile at 61.20-25 that compares the bride with the myrtles of the Hamadryades. The description of the variety of flowers nurtured by the spring breeze (*aurave distinctos educit verna colores*, 64.90) recalls the garden of the *dominus* with its many flowers at 61.87-89 and the girls' portrait of the sequestered flower nursed by the gentle rain and breezes at 62.39, 41 (*ut flos in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis / quem mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber*).⁵³ All of these images represent the simple security of the young woman before marriage.

These similes make the next passage, with its intense imagery, all the more effective. The innocent Ariadne, with but one look at Theseus, is consumed with burning love (*flagrantia... / lumina*, 64.91-92; *cuncto concepit corpore flammam / funditus atque imis exarsit tota medullis*, 64.92-93). Her emotional state recalls other intense images from the previous poems. Most are positive: the young couple burning with the flame of love at 61.169-71 (*illi non minus ac tibi / pectore uritur intimo / flamma*); the boys' view of love at 62.26-27 (*Hespere... / qui desponsa tua firmes conubia flamma*) and Attis' brief respite from his intense madness at 63.44-45 (*de quiete molli rapida sine rabie / simul ipse pectore Attis sua facta recoluit*). Negative images include the girls' view of marriage at 62.23 (*iuveni ardenti castam donare puellam*). It is this negative connotation that applies to Ariadne, since the reader has already seen the

⁵³Note the repetition of *educat* (62.41) and *educit* (64.90).

results of her burning love: *indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores* (64.54); *toto ex te pectore, Theseu, / toto animo, tota pendebat perdita mente* (64.69-70).

This portrayal of Ariadne is the third of a series of similar descriptions in poem 64. First (64.1-21), the Argonauts, sailing to Colchis, catch a glimpse of the Nereids, resulting in a positive love relationship between Peleus and Thetis. Secondly (64.52-75), Ariadne, left behind on Dia, watches as Theseus sails away, symbolic of their negative love relationship. Now, in the third description (64.86-93), Ariadne catches her first glimpse of Theseus as he arrives in Crete, and falls instantly in love with him. This ternary structure emphasizes the initial positive nature of both the Peleus/Thetis and the Theseus/Ariadne relationships. However, the contrasting middle section, illustrating the tragic conclusion of the Theseus/Ariadne relationship, colours the positive flashback on Crete and may even imply a similar potentially negative outcome for the Peleus/Thetis episode.

To confirm the potentially negative aspects of Ariadne's first meeting with Theseus, the poet inserts an apostrophe to Cupid and Venus (64.94-102). While the two gods do not appear together elsewhere in this cycle, there are significant references to them throughout. The influence of Cupid is implied through the use of the adjective *cupidus*. He has a positive influence on the bride and groom in poem 61 (*coniugis cupidam novi*, 61.32; *te timens cupida novos / captat aure maritus*, 61.54-55), but will ultimately have a negative influence on Attis (*ut nemus...cupide...tetigit*,

63.2). In this too, Ariadne is like Attis, since her first look at Theseus (*cupido...lumine*, 64.86) is so different from her last glimpse of him (*Thesea cedentem...tuetur /...necdum etiam sese quae visit visere credit*, 64.53, 55).⁵⁴

In poem 64, there is no doubt that Cupid is portrayed in a negative way. He is described as inciting madness with his cruel heart (*exagitans immitti corde furores*, 64.94), the results of which have already been seen: *indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores* (64.54).⁵⁵ He mixes joys with cares (*curis hominum qui gaudia misces*, 64.95) and once again Cupid's influence on Ariadne is already manifest: what begins as a joyous relationship (*hunc...cupido conspexit lumine virgo*, 64.86) eventually becomes a torment (*magnis curarum fluctuat undis*, 64.62).

Venus is similarly portrayed in a negative way. By indicating her jurisdiction (*quaeque regis Golgos quaeque Idalium frondosum*, 64.96), the poet recalls the initial reference to Venus at 61.17-19 (*Idalium colens / venit ad Phrygium Venus / iudicem*). The negative aspect of the earlier reference is supported by this later one. As he does in the apostrophe to Cupid, the poet incorporates earlier allusions to Ariadne showing the results of Venus' influence. There is a difference of course: what is a generalizing description of the influence of Cupid becomes a specific reference to Venus' power over Ariadne.

⁵⁴Cf. Putnam, "Catullus 64," 172.

⁵⁵Ellis, *Commentary*, 301, tries to make *immiti corde* refer to the heart of the victim of Cupid. I do not think the Latin allows for that interpretation, although the "backwards echo" of 64.94 in 64.54 may imply as much.

Venus hurls the lovesick girl on waves of torment (*qualibus incensam iactastis mente puellam / fluctibus*, 64.97-98) as has already been seen (*spinosas Erycina serens in pectore curas, / illa tempestate ferox quo...Theseus / egressus*, 64.72-74). The description of Ariadne sighing for Theseus in their first meeting (*in flavo saepe hospite suspirantem*, 64.98) ironically recalls similar feelings after his departure (*illa vicem curans toto ex te pectore, Theseu, / toto animo, tota pendebat perdita mente*, 64.69-70). Once again it is on Ariadne's emotions that Venus has the greatest effect (*corde*, 64.54, 94, 99; *pectus*, 64.64; *pectore*, 64.69, 72; *animo*, 64.70; *mente*, 64.70, 97). In short, every site of the emotions, both rational and irrational, is touched (*imis exarsit tota medullis*, 64.93). Indeed, the fears (*timores*, 64.99) she feels now make her paler than gold (*quanto saepe magis fulgore expalluit auri*, 64.100), recalling the vivid description of Ariadne as a statue, oblivious even of her clothing that falls from her body.

The influence of Cupid and Venus on Ariadne matches the influence of Cybele on Attis. Both protagonists are the innocent victims of a harsh love. There are, however, ironic differences: in poem 63 it is the victim who wishes to leave the relationship but cannot and is forced to remain within the relationship, cut off from his *patria*; in poem 64 the victim is also forced to remain far from her home, but here it is the human perpetrator of Cupid's power (Theseus) who leaves, severing their relationship.

Once again the image of the distracted Ariadne leads to a flashback, not merely to the arrival of Theseus on Crete (as in 64.68-75) but to the purpose of his journey, the slaying of the Minotaur:

quanto saepe magis fulgore expalluit auri,
cum saevum cupiens contra contendere monstrum
aut mortem appeteret Theseus aut praemia laudis!

(64.100-102)

The details are skilfully revealed. Using the same technique as in 64.50-57, the significant word in the sentence (*Theseus*) is postponed in order to lead the reader to believe that the subject of *cupiens* is the same subject of *expalluit* (i.e., Ariadne): "how often did (she) grow pale, when, desiring to contend with the fierce monster (i.e. Theseus), (she) sought either death..." But then the nominative *Theseus* reveals that the monster is really the Minotaur.

By constantly recalling, throughout the apostrophe to Cupid and Venus, the image of the tragic Ariadne on the shore (especially by mentioning "the sea of troubles" upon which Venus has cast Ariadne in 64.97), the poet has subtly diverted the reader's attention from the actual arrival of Theseus (at the beginning of this passage) to the mental image of his departure from Dia. As in 64.50-57, the reader is surprised by the shift in perspective. Who is the monster here, Theseus or the Minotaur?⁵⁶ Even after the transition to Theseus' contest with the Minotaur is established, the

⁵⁶*monstrum* is ambiguous. The positive *monstrum* of the Argo in 64.15 (*aequoreae monstrum Nereides admirantes*), leading to a positive relationship between Peleus and Thetis, has become a negative *monstrum* in 64.101.

mention of *mortem* and *praemia laudis* (64.102) seems hollow under the circumstances. The myth demands that Theseus will emerge unhurt from his supreme contest and Ariadne will eventually be the loser. But the mention of a glorious reward for Theseus' actions still seems surprising in the context of Ariadne's great suffering already described.

Also surprising is the vow that Ariadne next makes (64.103-4). The subject has shifted back to Ariadne and the period before her voyage from Crete. The fact that her vow is fulfilled indicates that she has favour with the gods.

The next lines (64.105-15) present Theseus' contest with the Minotaur. Although describing a specific dramatic moment in the story, the vocabulary still recalls the earlier scene of Ariadne standing on the shore: in other words, the flashback constantly recalls future (or present) events.⁵⁷ Ariadne prays effectively for the safe return of Theseus from the labyrinth (*non ingrata tamen frustra munuscula divis / promittens*, 64.103-4); but she has already watched Theseus sail away, leaving unfulfilled the vows he made to her (*irrita ventosae linquens promissa procellae*, 64.59). She makes her vow silently (*tacito...labello*, 64.104) just as she later stands silently on the shore of Dia (*saxea ut effigies*, 64.61).

The killing of the Minotaur is compared to the falling of a great tree: Theseus is like an untamed whirlwind tearing apart the very essence of

⁵⁷Seeing events in the flashbacks after the reader has witnessed the results of those past events develops strong negative connotations for the relatively innocent depictions in the flashbacks. D. A. Traill, "Ring Composition in Catullus 64," *CJ* 76 (1981): 239, remarks that this "convoluted chronology" is also designed to fit the poet's ringed structure.

the tree (*indomitus turbo contorquens flamine robur*, 64.107), just as he has already roused Ariadne's untamed anger (*indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores*, 64.54). The tree lies in ruin, torn from its very roots (*eruit...radicitus exturbata*, 64.108) and lying lifeless on the ground (*prona cadit*, 64.109), its entire existence destroyed (*late quaevis cumque obvia frangens*, 64.109). The fall of the tree is all the more terrible because it grew on the top of the mountain (*in summo...Tauro*, 64.105);⁵⁸ the fact that it could be an oak or even a pine (*quercum aut...pinum*, 64.106) immediately suggests the pines which brought the Argonauts to Colchis (*Peliaco...prognatae vertice pinus*, 64.1). This may imply some subtle foreboding for Peleus and Thetis. Furthermore, the symbolic, total destruction of this tree by Theseus recalls the girls' plucked flower in poem 62 (*carptus defloruit*, 62.43; *castum amisit polluto corpore florem*, 62.46) or the rampage of Cybele's lion in poem 63 (*vadit, fremit, refringit virgulta pede vago*, 63.86), both of which descriptions boded evil for their respective contexts.

Specifically, however, the fall of the tree (*prona cadit*, 64.109) and the killing of the Minotaur (*domito...prostravit corpore Theseus*, 64.110) indicates that Theseus will also destroy Ariadne, consumed entirely as she is with tragic love for the hero (*funditus atque imis exarsit tota medullis*, 64.93): she will eventually stand silently on the shore, her clothes falling from her body (*omnia quae toto delapsa e corpore passim*

⁵⁸The fact that the mountain is Taurus is ironically significant (= ταῦρος). That the tree is shaking its branches (*quatientem brachia*, 64.105) on Taurus recalls Attis' shaking of Cybele's drum (*quatiensque terga tauri*, 63.10). Both become negative images in the cycle.

...fluctus salis alludebant, 64.66-67), symbolic of her tragedy. Even the final image of the dead Minotaur reminds us of Ariadne: because of Theseus, the monster will no longer toss his horns in the wind (*nequiquam vanis iactantem cornua ventis*, 64.111); by contrast, because of Theseus, Ariadne is compelled to be tossed on the turbulent waves of tragic love (*qualibus incensam iactastis mente puellam / fluctibus*, 64.97-98). The language in the passage paints Theseus as a destroyer of both the Minotaur and Ariadne.

Given the concentration on death and destruction (of the Minotaur and Ariadne), it is ironic to see Theseus emerging safely from the ordeal and earning a great reputation in the process (*sospes multa cum laude*, 64.112). He, at least, is not deceived by the maze of the labyrinth (*ne.../ tecti frustraretur inobservabilis error*, 64.114-15). How tragic that it is the woman who helps him escape (unceremoniously alluded to merely by *tenui...filo*, 64.113) who is deceived (*fallaci...excita somno*, 64.56).

V

Ariadne Leaves Crete

(64.116-31)

Confirmation of the ironic success of Theseus comes in the next lines, as the poet quickly "passes over" (*quid ego...plura / commemorem*, 64.116-17) the various events that followed the killing of the Minotaur in order to return to that point in time before the flashback began in 64.76.

The poet first alludes to Ariadne's flight not *with* Theseus (a positive perspective), but *away from* her family (a negative perspective). The father is first to be mentioned, or, more specifically, his face (*linquens genitoris...vultum*, 64.117), and Ariadne is designated by her relationship to him (*filia*, 64.117). This recalls little Torquatus being recognized by his resemblance to his father's face, thereby proving the purity of his mother (*pueritiam suae / matris indicet ore*, 61.217-18). It underscores the contrast between the security of the Torquati and the difficult situation facing Minos' family at this point. Quinn suggests that the reference to the father's face implies that Minos is "unapproachable."⁵⁹ This makes some sense, since Ariadne has assisted in the killing of her brother. If so, this lack of approval for this relationship contrasts with the sanction given by Nereus to Peleus and Thetis in 64.21⁶⁰ and by the father in poem 62.⁶¹ The fact that Ariadne is leaving her father (*genitoris*, 64.117) provides another link to Attis (*patria... / ego quam miser relinquens*, 63.50-51).

⁵⁹Quinn, *The Poems*, 319.

⁶⁰Cf. 64.15, where it is the faces of the Nereids that first emerge from the sea (*emersere feri candenti e gurgite vultus*). This leads to the love between Peleus and Thetis.

⁶¹W. Clausen, "Ariadne's Leave-taking: Catullus 64.116-20," *ICS* 2 (1977): 220, interprets it differently: "the king her father, as becomes his dignity, stands silently by - *premit altum corde dolorem*." He cites *Argo*. 3.997-1000 where Minos ends his wrath against Ariadne, implying that Apollonius changed the tradition in which Minos' anger "remained vigilant and unsleeping." Clausen then explains the later references to Ariadne's father and brother (64.180-81, 140) as "inconsistent" on Catullus' part. On the contrary, if Minos is "unapproachable," Catullus is being entirely consistent.

Next, Ariadne leaves the embrace of her sister (*consanguineae complexum*, 64.118). This recalls the bride's fear of leaving "her own" (*suis*, 62.45), that is, her family and friends, in poem 62.⁶²

But what is most important is Ariadne's leaving her mother's embrace (*linquens.../...complexum, ut denique matris*, 64.117-18). Once again the strong image of the mother's protective embrace comes to symbolize the negative impact of a relationship, marriage or otherwise. It is specifically in the context of this motherly embrace (*in molli complexu matris*, 64.88) that Ariadne first sets eyes on Theseus. Now she leaves that embrace and for the first time we see the effect on the mother: *quae misera in gnata deperdita lamentata est* (64.119).⁶³ Pasiphae laments the terrible and deadly circumstances of Ariadne's leave-taking. She senses that her daughter will not be happy in this relationship (*misera in gnata*), a situation which has already proven to be true (*miseram se cernat*, 64.57; *a misera*, 64.71).⁶⁴ Ironically, Pasiphae herself is "destroyed" (*deperdita*) by

⁶²Ariadne's sister is probably Phaedra, who also has a disastrous relationship with Theseus.

⁶³The last word in 64.119 is given in Mynors' text as *laeta<batur>*, using Lachmann's conjecture, implying that, although Pasiphae is terribly upset that Ariadne is leaving with Theseus, she puts on a brave face. See Quinn, *The Poems*, 319. Clausen, "Leave-taking," 221-22, argues convincingly for *lamentata est* from the palaeographical perspective. I disagree, however, with his reasoning from the psychological perspective.

⁶⁴Clausen, "Leave-taking," misinterprets the situation here. This is not a happy departure and Pasiphae has every right to be sad, not, as Clausen claims, merely because she is losing a daughter, but because she is losing Ariadne under these circumstances. The mother does not seem to be concerned about the loss of a daughter in marriage in 62.60-63: indeed, she is on the side of the father and groom in handing over the bride. Certainly, in poems 61 and 62, separation from the mother is difficult for the bride, but there is no suggestion that the mother is sad at such a time.

In 64.119, Pasiphae laments the loss of Ariadne under these specifically tragic circumstances. Ariadne can legitimately be described as *misera* either from Pasiphae's point of view, or from the poet's, who has interjected himself into the poem for the second time, and who has already described her as such.

Ariadne's flight with Theseus; yet again the "flashback" predicts the future when Ariadne too is destroyed by Theseus' actions:

illa vicem curans toto ex te pectore, Theseu,
toto animo, tota pendebat perdita mente.

(64.69-72)

Ariadne "chooses" to go with Theseus, placing her love for him above all else (*omnibus his Thesei dulcem praeoptarit amorem*, 64.120).⁶⁵ She assumes their love will be happy (*dulcem*), like the love that produces little Torquatus who can smile sweetly at his father from his mother's lap (*dulce rideat ad patrem*, 61.212). Reminiscent of Attis' arrival at Phrygia (*super alta vectus Attis celeri rate maria, / Phrygium ut nemus...tetigit*, 63.1-2) is the description of Theseus' ship arriving at Dia (*ut vecta ratis spumosa ad litora Diae*, 64.121),⁶⁶ a bitterly ironic contrast to the earlier image of Theseus' ship sailing from Dia (*prospectans litore Diae, / Thesea cedentem...tuetur*, 64.52-53). The shore's foam (*spumosa*) recalls the foam churned up by the Argo (*spumis*, 64.13), suggesting that the result of that voyage too may not be entirely happy.

Finally, the poet mentions Ariadne's terrible sleep (*devinctam lumina somno*, 64.122) which allowed Theseus to sail away, and from

⁶⁵Cf. variants of *opto* already encountered: 64.5, 22, 31, 82; 62.30, 42, 44. This line supports the interpretation, contrary to that of Clausen, that Ariadne's leave-taking is not a happy one. Ariadne's decision to prefer Theseus to her family (*omnibus his*, 64.120) implies a conflict within that family. Konstan, *Indictment*, 77, argues that personal passion (*amor*), for Catullus, is a basis for a legitimate and enduring relationship; this runs counter to the "traditional" view of marriage as one of "convenience" or arrangement between groom and father. This attitude has been seen already in poems 61 and 62, and one could argue that Cybele's insistence that Attis fulfil his "contractual duties" to her represents the same idea.

⁶⁶I see no reason for emending the ms. *ratis* to *rati*.

which she awoke at the beginning of the coverlet scene (*fallaci...excita somno*, 64.56), fully revealing Theseus' deception. The condemnation of Theseus here, especially his forgetfulness, matches almost word for word the same condemnation voiced earlier:

[quid commemorem...]
 ut eam devinctam lumina *somno*
liquerit immemori discedens pectore coniunx?

(64.122-23)

utpote fallaci quae tum primum excita *somno*
 desertam in sola miseram se cernat harena.
immemor at iuvenis fugiens pellit vada remis,
 irrita ventosae *linquens* promissa procellae.

(64.56-59)

Mention of Theseus' *pectus* (64.123) is significant, since it is specifically Ariadne's *pectus* that has been most affected by love for Theseus (*toto ex...pectore*, 64.69; *Erycina serens in pectore curas*, 64.72).⁶⁷ That her heart is so mindful and his so forgetful intensifies the grief she feels.

Something new, however, is added to the description of Theseus: he is her consort (*coniunx*, 64.123), the one with whom she is united in marriage, a point that makes his flight and especially his "forgetfulness" of his duties all the more reprehensible. This provides a stark contrast both to the positive marriage of Manlius and Iunia (*boni / coniuges*, 61.225-26; also *coniugis cupidam novi*, 61.32), the obvious result of Hymen's intervention (*boni / coniugator amoris*, 61.44-45), and to the union of the couple in poem 62, although the boys' final words suggest some tension in

⁶⁷It is also from her physical *pectus* that Ariadne's clothing falls (64.64).

the relationship (*et tu ne pugna cum tali coniuge, virgo*, 62.59). One can also cite the positive connotations of the root of *coniunx* from earlier in poem 64, as Nereus sanctions the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (*Thetidi pater ipse iugandum Pelea sensit*, 64.21), a wedding made possible by the actions of Athena in joining pines to the ship's keel (*pineae coniungens inflexae texta carinae*, 64.10). There are, however, negative connotations from poem 63 (*veluti iuvenca vitans onus indomita iugi*, 63.33; *iuncta iuga resolvens Cybele leonibus*, 63.76, also 63.84).

At last the reader returns to the beginning of the Ariadne episode (64.124-31). As this passage concludes, some elements remain the same. The vague time-frame still exists (*perhibent*, 64.124; cf. *perhibent*, 64.76) and Ariadne is still enraged (*illam...ardenti corde furentem*, 64.124; cf. *indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores*, 64.54). But the silent, immovable, statue-like Ariadne is no more. Now she is ranging over the mountains in her sadness (*praeruptos tristem conscendere montes*, 64.126), as Attis and the Gallae do in their madness (*viridem citus adit Idam properante pede chorus*, 63.30), giving voice to her deep despair (*clarisonas imo fudisse e pectore voces*, 64.125; cf. 64.92-93, *cuncto concepit corpore flammam / funditus atque imis exarsit tota medullis*).

But the seashore remains the focal point of the scene, since it represents the path by which she left Crete and Theseus left her. She casts her eyes over the expanse of ocean (*unde aciem <in> pelagi vastos protenderet aestus*, 64.127) and runs to the shore (*tremuli salis adversas procurrere in undas*, 64.128), just as Attis does after he awakens (*rusum*

reditum ad vada tetulit. / ibi maria vasta visens lacrimantibus oculis, 63.47-48). The poet stresses the nakedness of her body (*mollia nudatae tollentem tegmina surae*, 64.129), as he stresses the emasculated body of Attis (*vidit sine quis...foret*, 63.46). Standing there, Ariadne, like Attis (*patriam allocuta maestast ita voce miseriter*, 63.49), pours out her lament (*atque haec extremis maestam dixisse querellis, / frigidulos udo singultus ore cientem*, 64.130-31).⁶⁸

VI

Ariadne's Lament

(64.132-201)

Like Attis, Ariadne begins her lament by stressing her loneliness. In both cases, they have been cut off from those factors which define and sustain their existence (the nourishing influence of the *patria* and the family) leaving them forlorn and abandoned in a strange and hostile land:

sicine me patriis avectam, perfide, ab aris,
perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu?

(64.132-33)

patria o mei creatrix, patria o mea genetrix,
ego quam miser relinquens...

(63.50-51)

⁶⁸It must be remembered that the condemnation of Theseus comes from Ariadne's prejudiced perspective. The reader is never given Theseus' own side of the story. Those who attempt to absolve Theseus of the crime of forgetfulness are placing an element in the poem that the poet himself does not place there. This is indicated by the fact that the poet has purposefully made no mention of any of the versions which account for Theseus' abandonment of Ariadne (love of Aigle, violent storm, the will of Dionysus). See Forsyth, "Mythic Persona," 559-60; Konstan, *Indictment*, 45-46.

What is stressed in Ariadne's opening words is the affront to *sanctitas* (64.134-48). She has been taken from the sanctity of her home (*me patriis avectam...ab aris*, 64.132); this is confirmed by the setting where she first saw Theseus (*quam [sc. Ariadne].../ lectulus in molli complexu matris alebat*, 64.88).⁶⁹ The promises he made have been forgotten and broken (*immemor a! devota domum periuria portas?* 64.135) through callous disregard for the gods (*neglecto numine divum*, 64.134). In this, she recalls the initial description of Theseus sailing away, forgetful of his responsibilities (*immemor*, 64.57). She mentions that he is sailing home (*domum*, 64.135), in contrast to her own situation, cut off from her *patria*. No wonder he is twice condemned as *perfide* (64.132, 133).

She reflects on Theseus' cold-hearted nature: could nothing bend the purpose of his cruel mind (*crudelis...mentis*, 64.136), no clemency incline his inexorable heart (*immite...pectus*, 64.138) to pity her?⁷⁰ Such a complaint is natural in one whose own heart has suffered so terribly in her complete devotion to Theseus (64.69-70).

Once again she refers to his broken promises (*non haec quondam blanda promissa dedisti / voce mihi*, 64.139-40) and insists that he proposed a lawful marriage: *conubia laeta...optatos hymenaeos* (64.141). She complains that it was not these broken promises for which she was

⁶⁹Re: *avectam*, cf. 63.1, *super alta vectus Attis*, and the similar images in 62.21, 22 (*avellere*) and 64.5 (*auratam...avertere pellem*).

⁷⁰Her use of questions here provides a further link to Attis, who must express his disbelief in his situation through questions (63.58-60; 68-72). Cf. also her questions at 64.157, 164-66, and especially 64.177-83. They also suggest that the rhetorical questions concerning the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (64.28-30) may also forecast unhappiness for them. At 62.20-24, the girls also ask painful questions.

hoping when she left Crete (*non haec miserae sperare iubebas*, 64.140); but her hope has been replaced by misery (*miserae*). She recalls Theseus' abandonment of her (64.59) by stating that such promises are so easily torn apart (*discerpunt*) and wafted away on the winds:

quae cuncta aerii discerpunt irrita venti

(64.142)

irrita ventosae linquens promissa procellae.

(64.59)

Ariadne repeatedly hurls accusing words at Theseus: *crudelis*, *nulla clementia*, *immite pectus*. He becomes the personification of perfidy (*perfide...perfide...periuria...periuria*, 64.132, 133, 135, 148). It is interesting to compare this passage with the conclusion of poem 62. There, it is the boys who insist that the legal aspects of marriage be honoured by the girls; here, it is the woman (Ariadne) who stresses the honouring of similar oaths and contracts.

She continues with a tirade against the faithlessness of all men:

nunc iam nulla viro iuranti femina credat,
nulla viri speret sermones esse fideles.

(64.143-44)

The emphasis is on the truth of a matter (*credat*, *fideles*) versus what is said about it (*iuranti*, *sermones*). The tirade constructs an imposing condemnation based on emotionally-charged vocabulary: there is nothing a man will not swear or promise before his amorous conquest (*nil metuunt*

iurare, nihil promittere parcunt, 64.146) and nothing he will fear afterwards (*dicta nihil metuere, nihil periuria curant*, 64.148) in his lustful and covetous mind (*cupiens animus*, 64.145; *cupidae mentis satiata libido est*, 64.147). The emphasis on the negative influence of *Cupidus* on the *mens* and *animus* reinforces the negative portrayal of *Cupido* in the earlier apostrophe:

heu misere exagitans immiti corde furores,
sancte puer, curis hominum qui gaudia misces

(64.94-95)

Ariadne next refers to the services she rendered to Theseus in his contest with the Minotaur (64.149-53). His battle within the labyrinth is described as a whirlwind (*te in medio versantem turbine leti*, 64.149), recalling the earlier description of the death of the Minotaur and the simile of the falling tree:

nam velut in summo quatientem brachia Tauro
quercum aut conigeram sudanti cortice pinum
indomitus turbo contorquens flamine robur,
eruit

(64.105-8)

In the earlier simile, the whirlwind was meant to suggest a positive portrayal of Theseus, totally in control of the situation, destroying the monster utterly, with only a vague hint of Ariadne's assistance (*tenui filo*, 64.113). By contrast, the whirlwind simile here represents the difficulties Theseus experienced and from which Ariadne claims to have saved him (64.149-50). The change in perspective reflects the change in Ariadne's

attitude towards Theseus, from her first infatuated meeting with him to the final abandonment on Dia.

To underline her (misplaced) commitment to Theseus, and to recall the theme of the family from the beginning of the lament, Ariadne refers to the Minotaur as her brother (*germanum*), who, tragically, took second place in her affections at that critical time (*potius germanum amittere crevi, / quam tibi fallaci supremo in tempore dessem*, 64.150-51).⁷¹ This is indeed a slap in the face to Theseus: even the horrible Minotaur was not so great a monster as the faithless (*fallaci*) Theseus, and should have found greater favour in Ariadne's heart. By acknowledging his faithlessness, she shows that she has indeed awakened emotionally and physically from the deceptive dream (*fallaci...excita somno*, 64.56) that led her to follow him in the first place.

She concludes this section with a vision of the future that awaits her, her dead body torn apart by the animals, unburied, unsanctified:

pro quo dilaceranda feris dabor alitibusque
praeda, neque iniacta tumulabor mortua terra.

(64.152-53)

She shares the fate of Attis, likewise a victim of deceptive love, who, although alive, is forced to live among the wild animals far from his *patria* (*apud nivem et ferarum gelida stabula forem*, 63.53).

⁷¹Ellis, *Commentary*, 310, and Kroll, *Poemata*, 164, see a veiled reference to Medea's slaughter of her brother before her flight with Jason. This may be accurate, given the reminiscence of *Medea* at the beginning of poem 64 and the influence of the *Argonautica* on this poem.

Ariadne curses Theseus by wondering what monster or thing gave him birth (64.154-57). Significantly, it is the lion (*leaena*, 64.154) that is mentioned first, recalling Cybele's lion which deals Attis a similar fate. The other monsters all have something to do with the sea: *mare*, *Syrtis*, *Scylla rapax*, *vasta Carybdis*, suggesting that the sea that has separated her from her home and Theseus from her has become her enemy, as it has for Attis (*egone a mea remota haec ferar in nemora domo?* 63.58).

Ariadne refers again to the services she rendered (*talia...praemia*, 64.157) and ironically recalls the earlier description of Theseus emerging unscathed from the labyrinth (*praemia laudis*, 64.102; *multa cum laude*, 64.112). She now realizes how deceived she was in preferring the sweet love of Theseus to her family (64.120); now she knows that it is her very life that she cherishes (*pro dulci...vita*, 64.157), a life which her previous actions have jeopardized.

She next returns to the theme of marriage, wondering why Theseus did not fulfil his promise (*si tibi non cordi fuerant conubia nostra*, 64.158).⁷² The vocabulary is significant. This is the second time she has mentioned *conubia*, now in connection with Theseus' heart.⁷³ References to *cor* abound in poem 64.⁷⁴ All the references prior to this refer to love's

⁷²Quinn, *The Poems*, 323, suggests that the pluperfect *fuerant* indicates that "Theseus had rejected any thought of marriage from the outset (despite what he said to Ariadne) because of the supposed *praecepta* of his father." Fordyce, *Commentary*, 298, rejects such "precision of thought."

⁷³Cf. *conubia laeta*, 64.141. *conubia* is also the objective of the boys in 62.27, 57.

⁷⁴64.54, 94, 99, 124, 158, 231, 294. Of the various words for the sites of the emotions, *cor* appears only in poem 64.

madness, caused by Cupid (*exagitans immiti corde furores*, 64.94) and manifested in Ariadne (*in corde gerens Ariadna furores*, 64.54; *quantos illa tulit languenti corde timores*, 64.99; *illam...ardenti corde furemtem*, 64.124). It is fitting, therefore, that Ariadne should refer to Theseus' *cor* in her invective against him: a heart that can cause such fear and madness cannot also provide happiness in marriage.

Putting aside Theseus' fear of his father's old-fashioned opinions about marriage (64.159),⁷⁵ Ariadne declares that he could have led her to his house (*in vestras potuisti ducere sedes*, 64.160) where she would willingly have become his slave (*tibi iucundo famularer serva labore*, 64.161), if marriage were not possible. The language is full of ironic sarcasm: *ducere in sedes* is tantamount to marriage, as in 61.31, *domum dominam voca*.⁷⁶ The security implied by *sedes* recalls the palaces of Minos (*sedes*, 64.85) and Peleus (*sedes*, 64.43). But Ariadne is not the wife but the slave (*famularer*, 64.161), reminiscent of Attis' final role in his "marriage" with Cybele (*Cybeles famula*, 63.68; *semper omne vitae spatium famula fuit*, 63.90).⁷⁷

⁷⁵Quinn, *The Poems*, 323, suggests that this line represents a warning about marrying foreign women given by Aegeus to Theseus. L. Richardson, "A Note on Catullus 64.159," *AJPh* 84 (1963): 74-75, suggests that *parentis* refers to Pittheus, not Aegeus. J. Cressey, "Find the Knave: Catullus 64.159," *LCM* 4 (1979): 137-38, argues for Minos.

⁷⁶J. Glenn, "Ariadne's Daydream (Cat. 64.158-63)," *CJ* 76 (1980-81): 112. Cf. the positive reference to service in a marriage at 61.149-51: *en tibi domus ut potens / et beata viri tui, / quae tibi sine serviat*.

⁷⁷Putnam, "Catullus 64," 178: "The servitude demanded of Attis in 63 is even greater than that which Ariadne offers here, since it involves renouncing masculinity for abject slavery, whereas Ariadne need only be reduced to the lowest position for one of her own sex." Glenn, "Ariadne's Daydream," 111-12, suggests that sexual favours were part of the duties of *famulae*. He also comments (112): "in view of this and Ariadne's psychological circumstances, I think it likely that her daydream expresses her frustrated desires to submit willingly and with pleasure (*iucundo...labore*, 161) to sexual conventions of the *dominus-famula* relationship." I

She imagines the tasks she might have performed: washing his white feet or spreading his bed with a purple coverlet (64.162-63).⁷⁸ But the irony of Ariadne (portrayed on a coverlet, *vestis*, 64.50) spreading a similar purple coverlet (*purpureave...veste*, 64.163) creates a negative impression, since it directs the reader to remember that this entire story is designed to "complement" the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. To be reminded of this at the moment of perhaps Ariadne's greatest degradation does not bode well.

Ariadne quickly breaks off her reverie, realizing the futility of addressing her words to the senseless breezes (*quid ego ignaris nequiquam conquerar auris*, 64.164). In this she differs from Attis, whose heart must constantly make complaint (*querendum est etiam atque etiam*, 63.61); but Attis has not yet realized the extent of his futility; Ariadne does. What is stressed again is her madness (*externata malo*, 64.165) and the absolute isolation, with nothing to answer her complaints (*nec missas audire queunt nec reddere voces*, 64.166). She imagines Theseus "tossing about" (*versatur*, 64.167) on the open seas; this underscores her aloneness (*nec quisquam apparet vacua mortalis in alga*, 64.168) that has not changed

would argue with "willingly" and "with pleasure"; at the moment she is thinking primarily of security, not sex, even though the security she seeks (marriage) does include sex. Compare Attis' regret at the loss of his sexual prowess (*ego vir sterilis ero?* 63.69).

⁷⁸The vocabulary seems positive (*iucundo...labore*, 64.161; *candida...vestigia, permulcens, liquidis...lymphis*, 64.162) in contrast to the negative vocabulary used earlier in her lament (*avectam, perfide, periuria, crudelis, immite, discerpunt, dilaceranda*). Perhaps this suggests the extremes of emotion Ariadne is feeling: absolute horror at the present situation compared with the happiness she could have experienced. Attis has similar emotional swings (63.63-73), and the boys in poem 62 purposely counter the girls' negative imagery with more positive themes.

since she first awoke (*quem* [sc. Theseus] *procul ex alga maestis Minois ocellis /...prospicit*, 64.60-61). This image of the isolated Ariadne standing on the shore is constantly being recalled by the poet, symbolizing the devastating, personal effect this disastrous affair has had on her.

Prompted by her extreme situation (*extremo tempore*, 64.169), she denounces Fortune, who is brutal (*saeva / fors*, 64.169-70), full of spite (*insultans*, 64.169), consciously refusing to listen to her complaints (*etiam nostris invidit questibus auris*, 64.170).⁷⁹ The use of *invidit* caps the passage, indicating that Ariadne feels she is suffering an unjust treatment from Fortune.

In her address to Jupiter, she wishes that the Athenian ships had never reached the shores of Crete (*utinam ne.../ Cnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes*, 64.171-72).⁸⁰ Such a voyage brought devastation to Ariadne, as Attis' voyage (*Phrygium...nemus...tetigit*, 63.2) destroyed him. Specifically, she wishes the ships had not carried Theseus, once again condemned as *perfidus* (64.174). He brought with him the dreadful tribute for the Minotaur (*dira ferens stipendia*, 64.173), even as Attis brought the wild trappings of Cybele (*initia*, 63.9; *tripudiis*, 63.26). For Ariadne, the cost of this tribute was high: the loss of her family and fatherland and a wretched future on Dia. Ironically, she calls the Minotaur invincible (*indomito*, 64.173), a word that previously described the Minotaur's

⁷⁹It has been suggested to me that the adjective *saeva* at the end of 64.169 modifying the monosyllable *fors* in 64.170 is awkward in terms of versification. Perhaps the poet is enhancing the cruelty of Fortune by this poetic harshness.

⁸⁰These lines are adapted from Euripides' *Medea* and also influenced by Ennius' *Medea* and Apollonius *Argo*. 3.772ff. Cf. note 5 above.

slayer, Theseus (his indestructibility symbolically transferred to the violent storm that fells the tree, *indomitus turbo*, 64.107). As she could not foresee the destruction of the invincible Minotaur, so was she incapable of predicting the tragic outcome of her affair with Theseus.

She concentrates on Theseus' devious character that hid cruel plans under a seemly exterior (*malus hic celans dulci crudelia forma / consilia*, 64.175-76) and engendered positive expectations in Ariadne (*dulcem...amorem*, 64.120).⁸¹ His affront to the laws of hospitality seems particularly vile to Ariadne, since it occurred while he was a guest in their house (*in nostris requiesset sedibus hospes*, 64.176). This latter argument seems a bit strange, since Theseus' crimes were aided and abetted by Ariadne herself. However, she is concentrating on the devious nature of Theseus, not on the reality of the events in Crete, implying perhaps that if she had been aware of his true nature, she would not have helped him.

She begins to consider what the future holds for her, where she can turn (64.177-87).⁸² She continues her reflection on hope (*quali spe perdita nitor?* 64.177), recalling her earlier charge against Theseus (*non haec miserae sperare iubebas*, 64.140). She mentions Mt. Ida as a possible refuge (*Idaeosne petam montes*, 64.178), and recalls the hostile Phrygian

⁸¹The idea of deception is a major theme in this poem: *fallaci...somno*, 64.56; *inobservabilis error* (of the labyrinth), 64.115; *perfide* (many examples); *nunc iam nulla viro iuranti femina credat*, 64.143; *nulla viri speret sermones esse fideles*, 64.144; *nil metuunt iurare, nihil promittere parcunt*, 64.146; *nihil periuria curant*, 64.148; *tibi fallaci*, 64.151.

⁸²Attis has similar concerns (63.55, 58, 68-72). This is a common theme in such situations: Eur. *Medea* 502ff; Soph. *Electra* 812ff; Ovid *Meta.* 8.113ff (Ellis, *Commentary*, 313).

Mt. Ida where Attis is finally forced to go by Cybele's lion.⁸³ She considers the vast and angry expanse of the sea which separates her from her homeland (*at gurgite lato / discernens ponti truculentum dividit aequor*, 64.178-79). Her sea is the same sea that separates Attis from his homeland: *truculentaque pelagi* (63.16); *maria vasta* (63.48). The hopelessness of her situation becomes all the more clear to her when she realizes that, because of her actions on Crete, she can no longer rely on her family. Her deserted father and her slaughtered brother cannot provide any hope of assistance:

an patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui
respersum iuvenem fraterna caede secuta?

(64.180-81)⁸⁴

She who abandoned (*reliqui*, 64.180) her family is now abandoned herself. Attis and his Gallae are in the same situation (*sectam meam exsecutae duce me mihi comites*, 63.15; *patria... / ego quam miser relinquens*, 63.50-51).

Her invective against Theseus becomes sarcastic (*coniugis an fido consoler memet amore?* 64.182). "Marriage," "faithfulness," and "love" are not words that can apply to Theseus. Her description of the fleeing Theseus here echoes the first reference to his flight:

quine fugit lentos incurvans gurgite remos?

(64.183)

immemor at iuvenis fugiens pellit vada remis

(64.58)

⁸³The Phrygian Mt. Ida appears several times in poem 63 in a negative context (63.52, 70), besides the neutral reference in 63.30.

⁸⁴These lines highlight the parallels with Medea.

In both passages, Ariadne's lonely vigil on the shore is depicted, and the reader is once again brought back to the beginning of the story. She, like the island, is *sola* (64.184). She who was used to fine homes (*sedesque superbas*, 64.85; *sedibus*, 64.176) finds the island bereft of even the basic means of shelter (*nullo...tecto*, 64.184). No greater symbol of her insecurity can be found.

Unlike Theseus, Ariadne has no means of escape (*nec patet egressus*, 64.185; *nulla fugae ratio*, 64.186): so recently snatched from the protective embrace of her mother (*in molli complexu matris*, 64.88), she is now surrounded only by trackless waters (*pelagi cingentibus undis*, 64.185). The affair which promised so much hope is now hopeless (*nulla spes*, 64.186). The silence of the place (*omnia muta, / omnia sunt deserta*, 64.186-87) recalls the earlier description of the silent, statue-like Ariadne, for whom there is nothing now but death (*ostentant omnia letum*, 64.187).

Yet in this moment of her greatest despair, she still has the strength to call divine vengeance down upon Theseus (64.188-201). She anticipates the heaviness of death:

non tamen ante mihi languescent lumina morte,
nec prius a fesso secedent corpore sensus.

(64.188-89)⁸⁵

⁸⁵This recalls the sleep that allowed Attis to awaken from madness and realize the horror of his new condition: *piger...labante languore oculos sopor operit* (63.37).

She is the one betrayed (*proditā*, 64.190); the redress she demands of the gods is just (*iustam a divis exposcam...multam*, 64.190); at this last hour, it is the faith she has in the gods (*caelestumque fidem*, 64.191) that gives her strength. The words she uses provide a stinging condemnation of Theseus' faithlessness as manifested earlier in her lament (*perfide, devota periuria, neglecto numine divum, me patriis avectam ab aris*).

She concludes her lament by focusing her calls for vengeance on the Eumenides (64.192-201); their fearsome nature helps link poem 64 with poem 63, also populated with frenzied deities (Dionysus, Cybele).⁸⁶ It is appropriate that their snaky brow displays the anger that breathes from their heart (*frons exspirantis praeportat pectoris iras*, 64.194), since the forgetfulness of his responsibilities that lodged in Theseus' heart (*liquerit immemori discedens pectore coniunx*, 64.123) caused such sorrows in Ariadne's heart (*toto ex te pectore.../...pendebat perdita*, 64.69-70). As Hymen is summoned in poem 61 to sanctify the marriage, so are the Eumenides summoned to condemn Theseus for his betrayal of the promise of marriage. But their prerogative in the field of familial blood-guilt makes them appropriate also to avenge the murder of her brother, the Minotaur.⁸⁷ Ariadne remains wretched (*vae misera*, 64.196), helpless, and maddened (*inops, ardens, amenti caeca furore*, 64.197) to the depth of her being

⁸⁶Cf. the use of *redimita* in the description of the Eumenides hair (*quibus anguino redimita capillo / frons*, 64.193-94) with the description of Cybele's forest-crowned haunts (*opaca silvis redimita loca deae*, 63.3) and Attis' flower-bedecked house (*floridis corollis redimita domus*, 63.66).

⁸⁷Cf. the stress on the kinship of the Minotaur to Ariadne (*germanum*, 64.150; *fraterna caede*, 64.181). See also Quinn, *The Poems*, 326.

(*extremis...medullis*, 64.196).⁸⁸ Her complaints come from the depth of her heart (*pectore ab imo*, 64.198) and on this account the Eumenides are urged to punish Theseus in full measure.

She asks that Theseus suffer the same fate as she: loneliness and utter ruin for his family.

sed quali solam Theseus me mente reliquit,
tali mente, deae, funestet seque suosque.

(64.200-201)

She locates the source of this terrible revenge in the *mens* (64.200, 201), which tends to be the site of rational thought.⁸⁹ Ironically, in poem 63 the object of the god's revenge is Attis himself, the innocent victim of deception, abandoned, like Ariadne, on the shore, far from his fatherland and family. His confusing story continues to generate complex parallels between poems 63 and 64.

Ariadne's lament paints one of the darkest pictures of a doomed relationship in the cycle. Ariadne's tragedy of broken marital promises and Attis' drama of misplaced devotion represent the antithesis of the positive outcomes of poems 61 and 62. Ariadne and Attis must both endure a life of loneliness and ruin as victims of others' deception.

⁸⁸Cf. *concepit...flammam / funditus atque imis exarsit tota medullis*, 64.92-93; *clarisonas imo fudisse e pectore voces*, 64.125; *haec extremis maestam dixisse querellis*, 64.130. D. F. S. Thomson, "Catullus 64.196," *RhM* 113 (1970): 89-91, argues that 64.196 should read *quas ego, vae miserae, imis proferre medullis*. If so, this would provide an even greater similarity to 64.93 and 125.

⁸⁹Cf. *mentem amore revinciens*, 61.33 (of Hymen's influence on the bride); *penitus quae tota mente laborant*, 62.14 (of the girls' concentrated effort for the contest); *liquidaque mente vidit sine quis ubique foret*, 63.46 (of Attis' rational mind after waking).

VII

Theseus Returns Home

(64.202-50)

The result of Ariadne's appeal is immediate.⁹⁰ But it is Jupiter, not the Eumenides, who hears her. The intensity of her appeal, emanating from her sad heart (*maesto...pectore*, 64.202) and the clear statement of her case (*supplicium saevis exposcens anxia factis*, 64.203) moves Jupiter to fulfil her wish for revenge (*annuit*, 64.204) in true epic manner (64.205-206).⁹¹ He is just as quick to avenge the wrong done to Ariadne by Theseus as he is to allow the happy marriage of Peleus and Thetis (64.21). By calling on the gods' power, Ariadne mocks Theseus' lack of religious piety (*neglecto numine divum*, 64.134) and clearly anticipates a favourable outcome for her curse.

The tragedy of Aegēus is described in terms that invite a close comparison with the tragedy of Ariadne. Four themes are common to both stories: the forgetfulness of Theseus; the traumatic separation of the child from the parent; the breakdown of the security of the house; and the image of the tragic hero gazing over the seas.

⁹⁰The reader, of course, already knows how effective Ariadne's prayers can be: earlier prayers helped Theseus defeat the Minotaur (64.103-4). See Konstan, *Indictment*, 41-42.

⁹¹In some versions of this myth, Theseus is guided in the labyrinth by Ariadne's wreath, which is later translated into the constellation Corona. The shaking of the firmament may suggest this transformation. For the wreath of Ariadne, see Webster, "Myth of Ariadne," 24-26.

The theme of Theseus' forgetfulness (of his promise of marriage) has been well established in the Ariadne story.⁹² Since it is the cause of Ariadne's present suffering, it is fitting that it should also be the cause of suffering for Theseus:

ipse autem caeca mentem caligine Theseus
 consitus oblito dimisit pectore cuncta,
 quae mandata prius constanti mente tenebat,
 dulcia nec maesto sustollens signa parenti
 sospitem Erectheum se ostendit visere portum.

(64.207-11)

Theseus' forgetfulness is characterized as a darkness of the mind (64.207). This darkness provides a strong contrast to Ariadne's clarity of vision,⁹³ even though Ariadne describes herself as blinded by madness (*amenti caeca furore*, 64.197).⁹⁴

It is significant, therefore, that Theseus' failure to raise the white sail is described in visual terms: Theseus' darkness of mind (*caeca mentem caligine Theseus / consitus*, 64.207-8) prevents his father from seeing the appropriate signal (*sospitem Erectheum se ostendit visere portum*, 64.211).

⁹²*immemor*, 64.58; *immemori...pectore*, 64.123; *immemor*, 64.135.

⁹³Cf. the many examples of verbs of seeing in the Ariadne section (*prospectans*, *tuetur*, *visit visere*, *cernat*, *prospicit*, 64.52-62; *conspexit*, 64.86; *non...flagrantia declinavit / lumina*, 64.91-92; *aciem...protenderet*, 64.127). The brightness of the opening scene may also be compared (cf. *candenti e gurgite*, 64.14; *viderunt luce*, 64.16; *lucis / advenere*, 64.31-32; *fulgenti...auro atque argento*, 64.44; *candet ebur soliis*, 64.45).

⁹⁴This darkness recalls other dark elements in the Ariadne story: the labyrinthine darkness (*inobservabilis error*, 64.115), and Theseus' masking his true intentions under a seemly exterior (*malus hic celans dulci crudelia forma / consilia*, 64.175-76). Light/dark imagery also figures prominently in poem 63. Cybele's forests are dark (*opaca*, 63.3, 32) but seem bright and colourful to the maddened Attis (*viridem*, 63.30, 70). The shadows of Attis' madness are scattered by the morning's sun (*Sol radiantibus oculis / lustravit aethera album*, 63.39-40; *pepulitque noctis umbras*, 63.41), allowing him to see clearly (*liquidaque mente vidit*, 63.46).

This is underscored by the description of the signal as *dulcia...signa* (64.210). Aegeus expected to see the welcome signal just as Ariadne expected to enjoy a positive relationship with his son (*dulcem...amorem*, 64.120); but neither was meant to be. It is therefore most appropriate (from Ariadne's point of view) that Theseus, who emerged safely from the labyrinth, should fail to indicate that fact to the one person who demanded a visible sign of it.

Throughout the Ariadne episode, emphasis is constantly placed on the effects of Theseus' actions on Ariadne's emotions.⁹⁵ Now it is Theseus' forgetfulness, centred in his emotional *pectus* (*oblito...pectore*, 64.208), that brings ruin to his family.⁹⁶ The severity of his present forgetfulness is stressed by recalling the earlier steadfastness of his memory (*constanti mente*, 64.209).

Once again an indefinite setting and time (*ferunt olim*, 64.212) is provided for Theseus' departure from Athens.⁹⁷ Great emphasis is placed on this parting between father and son. The use of *gnatum* to describe Theseus in 64.213 is significant, since it continues the familial theme developed in the previous three poems.⁹⁸ Already within poem 64,

⁹⁵*in corde*, 64.54; *toto...pectore*, 64.69; *toto animo*, *tota...mente*, 64.70; *in pectore*, 64.72; *mente*, 64.97; *languenti corde*, 64.99; *ardenti corde*, 64.124; *e pectore*, 64.125; *pectore ab imo*, 64.198.

⁹⁶This continues the references to Theseus' emotions from the Ariadne episode: *immemori...pectore*, 64.123; *crudelis...mentis*, 64.136; *immite...pectus*, 64.138; *cordi*, 64.158; *quali...mente.../ tali mente*, 64.200-201.

⁹⁷Cf. *quondam.../ dicuntur*, 64.1-2; *perhibent olim*, 64.76; *perhibent*, 64.124.

⁹⁸*gnatum* is repeated in 64.215, 216, and 220. In poem 61, the emphasis on children is strong (64.51-60; 66-70; 204-8; 209-23). In poem 62, the protective embrace of the mother (64.20-25) and the contractual arrangement between the parents

generalizing references to the family have been presented: the heroes are described as *bona matrum / progenies* (64.23-24), Jupiter as *divum genitor* (64.27).⁹⁹ But by stressing the specific familial relationship between Theseus and Aegeus, the poet provides a parallel to the relationship between Ariadne and her family, tragically delineated in her lament.

It is while still in her mother's embrace (*in...complexu matris*, 64.88) that Ariadne first sees Theseus. But her affair with him forces her to betray her father and brother (64.150, 180-81) and leave her family behind (64.116-20). Now, it is Theseus who is forced to leave his father's embrace (*complexum*, 64.214). Aegeus is entrusting his son to the winds (64.213), implying that Theseus' safety, guaranteed by the protective influence of the family and the city, may be jeopardized. The previous description of Ariadne's disastrous departure from her homeland does not portend happy results for Theseus' journey. His voyage also recalls the voyage of the Argo. Theseus leaves "the fortifications of the goddess [Athena] with his fleet" (*classi cum moenia divae / linquentem*, 64.212-13) just as the Argonauts leave for Colchis on their ships built by the same goddess (64.8-10). Once again the supposedly fortunate voyage of Peleus is linked to the disastrous voyages of Ariadne and Theseus.¹⁰⁰

It is significant that it is Aegeus who provides an indirect reply to Ariadne's lament (64.215-37). Theseus is given no chance to respond to

and the groom (64.59-65) are stressed. In poem 63, the protection of the father/motherland is paramount in Attis' mind (64.50).

⁹⁹The references to the family in the introduction to the Peleus/Thetis story parallel the prophecy of the birth of Achilles by the Parcae at the end.

¹⁰⁰These voyages also recall Attis' voyage from poem 63.

her charges and one wonders what he could possibly have said. By giving Aegeus this lengthy speech, the poet continues to emphasize the family and the tragedy that can result from neglect of one's perceived duty.¹⁰¹

The initial emphasis on Aegeus' love for Theseus establishes the strong familial ties between them.¹⁰² Reference is made (64.217) to the fact that, at birth, Theseus was compelled to leave his father, prove himself, and return to Athens with the appropriate tokens to be recognized by his father.¹⁰³ On the surface, the reference merely underscores the emotional and difficult parting between father and son; but it also establishes the very close parallel with Ariadne's difficult separation from her family.

The first words in Ariadne's lament expressed the devastation of being separated from the security of her fatherland (*sicne me patriis avectam, perfide, ab aris*, 64.132); the tragic result of that voyage forces Ariadne (*cogor*, 64.197) to curse Theseus. Now, Aegeus is forced (*cogor*, 64.216) to endure a similar separation from his son. He must send him forth into uncertainty (*in dubios...dimittere casus*, 64.216), which ironically recalls Theseus' forgetfulness, described just a few lines earlier (*oblito dimisit pectore cuncta*, 64.208). His fortune, he declares, and

¹⁰¹It is ironic, of course, that Aegeus' speech (spoken before the circumstances leading to Ariadne's tragedy) can provide such perfect material for Ariadne's later speech on Dia. This is another brilliant example of Catullus' manipulation of time in the poem: the flashback portends the future.

¹⁰²Aegeus' affection is expressed in a long apostrophe to Theseus using four vocatives and the repetition of *gnate...gnate...gnati* (64.215-20).

¹⁰³The connection between Aegeus and Medea in this part of the Theseus myth may be meant to provide a connection between the outer story (the Argonauts) and the inner one, and may even provide some subtle negative connotations about the happiness of the Peleus/Thetis nuptials. Also, the fact that there was another instance when Theseus had to return with tokens to be recognized by his father parallels this second return with another sign (the change from dark to white sails).

Theseus' *virtus* are tearing his son from him unwillingly (*eripit invito mihi te*, 64.219). Ariadne seems to counter that danger, as she snatches Theseus from death in the labyrinth (*certe ego te in medio versantem turbine leti / eripui*, 64.149-50); but Theseus' forgetfulness of his duties, initially to her and later to his father, results in devastation for his happy family. Ariadne has already spoken of the cruelty of her Fortuna (64.169-70) and her speech has established that *virtus* is not a quality one can or should associate with Theseus.¹⁰⁴ Aegeus' words, therefore, although in flashback, have already proven to be prophetic, since disaster does ensue from his Fortuna and the strange manifestation (from Ariadne's point of view) of Theseus' *virtus*.

Aegeus' words repeatedly recall similar expressions from Ariadne's lament. He cannot get his fill of looking at Theseus (64.219-20) just as Ariadne is unable to look away from the sea which bears Theseus away.¹⁰⁵ If Aegeus' eyes cannot be sated by looking at his son (*nondum / lumina sunt gnati cara saturata figura*, 64.219-20), Theseus at least soon has his fill of his affair with Ariadne (*simul ac cupidae mentis satiata libido est*, 64.147). It is not with a happy heart (*non...gaudens laetanti pectore*, 64.221) that Aegeus lets Theseus go on a journey that eventually destroys Ariadne's heart.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴One is reminded again that this entire episode is a strange example of the *heroum...virtutes* (64.51).

¹⁰⁵Cf. *tuetur*, 64.53; *necdum...visere credit*, 64.55; *maestis Minois ocellis /...prospicit*, 64.60-61; *prospicit*, 64.62.

¹⁰⁶There are also strong parallels with poem 63. Attis too looks at the sea (*maria vasta visens*, 63.48) and great emphasis is placed on Attis' eyes: the sleep that comes over them (*labante languore oculos sopor operit*, 63.37) then leaves them, allowing Attis to see clearly *lacrimantibus oculis* (63.48) or look toward his lost fatherland (*cupit...pupula...derigere aciem*, 63.56).

Aegeus (again prophetically) denies his son the signs of good fortune (*fortunae signa secundae*, 64.222) and sends him forth with lamentations (*multas expromam mente querellas*, 64.223), thereby matching the future laments of Ariadne.¹⁰⁷ Aegeus fouls his hair with dirt (64.224), acting as if Theseus were already dead. Although Theseus will live, it is Ariadne who eventually sees nothing but death (*ostendant omnia letum*, 64.187). Aegeus will hang (*suspendam*, 64.225) sheets of mourning on Theseus' ship as a sign of his tormented heart (*incendia mentis*, 64.226), and in anticipation of a disastrous voyage. Ironically, Ariadne's clothing ceases to hang on her body (*omnia...delapsa e corpore*, 64.66), a visible sign of her distraught mind (*incensam...puellam*, 64.97; *ardens, amenti caeca furore*, 64.197), and of Theseus' desertion of her. These tormented minds recall the mind of Peleus, inflamed with love of Thetis (*incensus...amore*, 64.19);¹⁰⁸ therefore, they continue to cast potential shadows over the nuptials described in the outer frame.

Aegeus next prays to Athena. Her designation as *incola Itoni* (64.228) recalls the invocations of Hymen (*quem colent homines*, 61.48) and especially Venus (*Idalium colens*, 61.17) in the Venus/Paris simile. Both divinities are primarily positive in poem 61 but can also represent more negative aspects. Athena must be seen in the same light, especially since Aegeus prays to her as protector of his race and city (*genus ac sedes*,

¹⁰⁷*haec extremis maestam dixisse querellis*, 64.130; *meas audite querellas, / quas ego, vae misera, extremis proferre medullis / cogor*, 64.195-7. Traill, "Ring Composition 1981," 234, provides a useful chart of verbal echoes in poem 64.

¹⁰⁸These allusions also recall the ambiguous descriptions of the grooms in poems 61 and 62 (*illi.../ pectore uritur intimo / flamma*, 61.169-71; *iuveni ardenti*, 62.23).

64.229) to ensure that Theseus defeats the Minotaur (*ut tauri respergas sanguine dextram*, 64.230). But this act leads ultimately to Ariadne's doom (*respersum iuvenem fraterna caede secuta*, 64.181). Because of Theseus, it is Ariadne who is cut off from family and city (*omnia muta, / omnia sunt deserta*, 64.186-87).¹⁰⁹ Aegeus is counting on Athena's power (*annuit*, 64.230) to protect his son; but Ariadne's lament has already ensured the intervention of a higher power (*annuit...caelestum...rector*, 64.204).

Aegeus concludes his speech with a stern warning for Theseus to remember his final instructions to change the sails, should Theseus be successful in Crete:

tum vero facito ut memori tibi condita corde
haec vigeant mandata, nec ulla oblitteret aetas.

(64.231-32)

These are strong words: "mindful heart," "let them live," "let no stretch of time obliterate them." But future events have already shown how mindful Theseus can be about his promises to Ariadne.¹¹⁰ If Aegeus' instructions were to live in Theseus' heart, this would be an ironic contrast to visions of death already seen both by Aegeus (manifested in his act of mourning and outfitting the ship with mournful sails, 64.224-27) and Ariadne (*ostentant omnia letum*, 64.187). Aegeus' hope, that no amount of time obliterate his instructions, is short-lived.

¹⁰⁹See also 64.160-63, 180-82.

¹¹⁰He is *immemor* in 64.58, 123, 135.

The instructions that conclude the speech contain more references to vision and the mind. Here, the images serve as a tragically ironic comment on Theseus' irresponsible actions. Theseus is to lower the dark sails and raise the white ones as soon as he comes in sight of the hills (*nostros invisent lumina collis*, 64.233). Aegeus' words recall the image of Ariadne standing watchfully on the mountains of Dia (64.126-27). The dark sails falling from the yard-arms (*funestam antennae deponant undique vestem*, 64.234) parallel Ariadne's clothing that falls from her statue-like body (*omnia...delapsa e corpore passim*, 64.66). The twisted ropes that should raise the white sails (*intorti...rudentes*, 64.235) recall Ariadne's thread (*tenui...filo*, 64.113) that saves Theseus from the labyrinth, but not from Ariadne's subsequent curse.

Aegeus demands a visible sign of Theseus' success in order to acknowledge in his heart the joy of his son's return (*quam primum cernens ut laeta gaudia mente / agnoscam*, 64.236-37). This is a total contrast to what Ariadne sees from her perspective on Dia: there is not joy but madness in her heart (*in corde gerens Ariadna furores*, 64.54); the sight she sees is not expected, and can hardly be believed (*necdum...credit*, 64.55); she perceives not her salvation but her miserable isolation (*desertam...miseram se cernat*, 64.57).

The final image of Aegeus' speech is of the family happily reunited (*te reducem aetas prospera sistet*, 64.237). This brings his speech full circle, as his initial fears of eternal separation have been laid to rest. But this picture of familial bliss can only provide a bitter reflection on

Ariadne's situation, where hope of being reunited with her father and brother is non-existent (*nulla fugae ratio, nulla spes*, 64.186).

In a flashback, Aegeus expresses those very points that Ariadne has already addressed in the "future." The concerns for family and the responsibility to one's duties are central to both speeches. Before the journey, Aegeus hopes that Theseus, by remembering to do his duty, will return to a happy home; after the journey, Ariadne prays that Theseus, because he has been forgetful of his duty, will return to an unhappy home. Aegeus has conveniently played into Ariadne's hands.

Of course, the reader knows before Aegeus' speech that Theseus forgets his father's instructions (64.207-11), as a result of Ariadne's prayer to Jupiter.¹¹¹ Confirmation is given immediately after the speech (64.238-40).¹¹² Theseus' forgetfulness is likened to clouds driven by winds from the mountain top (*ceu pulsae ventorum flamine nubes / aereum nivei montis liquere cacumen*, 64.239-40). A similar image to describe Theseus' broken promises is used both by the poet (*irrita ventosae linquens promissa procellae*, 64.59) and Ariadne (*quae cuncta aerii discerpunt irrita venti*, 64.142).¹¹³ Mention of the mountain top leads to the image of Aegeus watching from the citadel (64.241). As he sees the dark canvas of

¹¹¹Putnam, "Catullus 64," 179, remarks that "in no other version of the legend is the curse of Ariadne connected with the death of Aegeus."

¹¹²Cf. especially the virtual repetition of 64.209 (*quae mandata prius constanti mente tenebat*) in 64.238 (*haec mandata prius constanti mente tenentem*).

¹¹³The mountain top itself recalls those mountains belonging to Hymen (*collis...Heliconii*, 61.1), Venus (*Idalium colens*, 61.17), Venus as Hesperus (*Olympo*, 62.1), and Cybele (*Idam*, 63.30, also 63.70) mentioned already in the cycle. Significantly, Aegeus' *cacumen* also recalls the place of origin for the pines used for the Argo (*Peliaco...vertice*, 64.1).

Theseus' ship approaching, he wastes his eyes with abundant tears (*anxia in assiduos absumens lumina fletus*, 64.242) even as Ariadne watches Theseus' ship departing (*quem procul ex alga maestis Minois ocellis /... prospicit*, 64.60-61).

Aegeus commits suicide, hurling himself from the rocky summit (*scopulorum e vertice*, 64.244), believing Theseus a victim of ruthless fate (*amissum credens immiti Thesea fato*, 64.245).¹¹⁴ The adjective *immitis* has been used twice before in poem 64, describing the ruthlessness of Cupid's heart (*immiti corde*, 64.94), as he mixes joys and griefs for mankind (especially Ariadne), and Theseus' savage heart (*immite...pectus*, 64.138), so unwilling to pity Ariadne. Aegeus may categorize Theseus' "death" as the result of *immite fatum*, but the reader knows that fate had nothing to do with it. It was Theseus' own actions, devised in his *immite cor*, that prompted Ariadne's curse and its eventual fulfilment by Jupiter. It was not fate that was ruthless, but Theseus himself.

This conclusion is stated boldly by the poet in 64.246-50, which serves as a summary of the Ariadne episode and the message it contains. The family element is stressed from the outset (*funesta domus...tectata paterna / morte*, 64.246-47). The security provided by the house seems destroyed now. But at least Theseus has a home to which he can return; Ariadne has nothing (*nullo...tecto*, 64.184). As Theseus enters (*ingressus*, 64.246) his palace, he is described as *ferox* (64.247), the same word that

¹¹⁴It is ironic and portentous that Aegeus should hurl himself from the citadel built by the same Athena who built the Argo (*diva...retinens in summis urbibus arces*, 64.8).

described him as he left the palace for the trip to Crete (*ferox...Theseus / egressus*, 64.73-74).¹¹⁵ His uncontrolled character has come home to roost.¹¹⁶ There is no doubt that he is suffering the same grief (for his forgetfulness of Aegeus' instructions) as he caused Ariadne (by his forgetfulness of his promises to her). Ariadne's curse has been fulfilled:

qualem Minoidi luctum
obtulerat mente immemori, talem ipse recepit.

(64.247-48)

quali solam Theseus me mente reliquit,
tali mente, deae, funestet seque suosque.

(64.200-201)

The flashback ends and we see once more Ariadne watching Theseus' ship sail away, her heart sorely wounded by Theseus' irresponsibility. The entire episode (198 lines) has lasted but a moment of time, and the reader is immediately transported back to the beginning:

quae tum prospectans cedentem maesta carinam
multiplices animo volvebat saucia curas.

(64.249-50)¹¹⁷

namque fluentisono prospectans litore Diae,
Thesea cedentem celeri cum classe tuetur
indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores.

(64.52-54)

¹¹⁵See G. M. Hirst, "Notes on Catullus: 64," *CR* 22 (1908): 180; Quinn, *The Poems*, 331-32.

¹¹⁶Forsyth, "Mythic Persona," 562, considers that the death of Aegeus represents the death of the "spiritual aspect of love," which I would categorize as represented by the image of the *domus*. This confirms the rather negative connotation attached to the groom at 61.56 (*fero iuveni*) and echoes the viciousness of Cybele's lion at 63.78, 83 (*ferox*).

¹¹⁷See above, note 5.

VIII

Ariadne and Dionysus

(64.251-64)

A definite conclusion to the Ariadne story seems to occur at 64.250; but the description of the *vestis* continues at 64.251, and the use of *at* suggests some sort of contrast.¹¹⁸ The fact that the arrival of Dionysus is woven in a different part (*parte ex alia*, 64.251) of the tapestry is significant. There is no actual contact between Dionysus and Ariadne; in fact, Dionysus is still seeking her (*quaerens*, 64.253).¹¹⁹

How is the Dionysiac element treated in poem 64? Dionysus is called Iacchus, a cult-title derived apparently from the ritual cry of the initiates. This suggests that it is the more orgiastic Dionysus of the latter part of Euripides' *Bacchae* (who punishes blasphemers mercilessly) who is represented in poem 64, not the Dionysus of the first part of the *Bacchae*

¹¹⁸See Appendix H for the treatment of the Dionysus and Ariadne myth in other writers.

¹¹⁹P. Y. Forsyth, "Catullus 64: Dionysus Reconsidered," *SLLRH* 2.100-101, argues differently. She imagines the physical appearance of the images woven on the tapestry: "There is...a tri-partite division, with Ariadne the focal point, Dionysus approaching her from one side, and Theseus' ship far away at sea. To those guests present at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the dominant figures appearing on the tapestry must have been Ariadne and Dionysus. To a modern reader, however, the major figures of the episode are clearly Ariadne and Theseus, because these are the characters focused upon by the poet. Accordingly, I would suggest that what we in fact have here is a kind of 'double vision': what the tapestry would mean to the guests of Peleus and Thetis is *not* the same as what it means to the poet commenting upon it." Her point, that the physical appearance of the tapestry suggests that Ariadne is about to be rescued by Dionysus, is interesting, but the fact remains that this is a poem, not an artistic representation, and the poet has clearly established the negative aspects of the Ariadne story. Concerning the visual aspect of the scene on the coverlet, see Webster, "Myth of Ariadne," 29-30.

(who offers the heretics a real chance to change their ways). The reader has already been conditioned by the portrayal of the orgiastic rites of Cybele from poem 63 (which contained references to Maenads) to think negatively of such rites. The description of Ariadne as a statue-like Maenad earlier at 64.60-62 also represents one of the more negative aspects of Maenadism, the frenzied state brought on by provocation.¹²⁰

Everything in this episode underscores the wild element of Dionysiac worship. Dionysus is described as *florens* (64.251), indicating his youth, but perhaps also suggesting his impetuous inexperience.¹²¹ He arrives accompanied by his thiasos of Satyrs and Sileni (64.252). The fact that his thiasos consists of males rather than the traditional female followers may be to recall quite specifically the male thiasos of poem 63.¹²²

¹²⁰Forsyth, "Dionysus," argues that the Dionysus episode suggests positive comparisons with Peleus and Thetis, since, in her view, the scene represents the wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne. She bases her thesis on textual similarities between this episode and the outer frame. For Forsyth, the positive elements already described in the first part of the frame (64.1-49) reflect positively on the Dionysus episode. But I would argue for the other direction: the negative elements of the Ariadne story, including the Dionysus episode, reflect negatively on the outer frame. This is more likely since (a) many of the images have acquired negative baggage from the previous poems in the cycle and (b) the Ariadne episode is much longer and complex than the brief opening frame. The poet has given no specific textual indication that he is concerned with the "wedding" of Dionysus and Ariadne. Cf. Kinsey, "Irony," 911: "she is not even depicted as meeting Iacchus, much less marrying him."

¹²¹Cf. 61.54-60, where Hymen gives the young bride into the hands of the youthful and inexperienced groom (*novos maritus, fero iuveni*).

¹²²Later in this episode, however, only female members of the thiasos are mentioned (64.256-64). The Sileni are described as "born in Nysa" (*Nysigenis Silenis*, 64.252). This may be nothing more than a poetic reference to the birthplace of Dionysiac worship (See Fordyce, *Commentary*, 306; Forsyth, "Dionysus," 102) or an attempt to underline the oriental origins of this thiasos and to create a further comparison to Attis' thiasos. However, Apollonius, *Argo*. 4.423-34, makes reference to Nysa in relation to Dionysus' wondrous robe on which Ariadne and he consummated their love. The use of *Nysigenis*, therefore, may be a further (though vague) attempt to connect Dionysus with Ariadne here, before her name is read in 64.253.

There may be more negative connotations in the reference to the robe in Apollonius. It once belonged to Queen Hypsipyle of Lemnos, whose myth does not bode well for happy marriages. The robe is also used to lure Medea's half-brother Apsyrtus into a fatal trap, which does not bode well for the unity and security of the

Dionysus arrives in a state of agitation (*volitabat*, 64.251). This matches the description of the Maenads in poem 63 (*ubi suevit illa divae volitare vaga cohors*, 63.25), and suggests dark comparisons with the voyage of the Argo (*volitantem...currum*, 64.9). Dionysus is seeking Ariadne (*quaerens*, 64.253); Attis and his thiasos are also intently seeking something, the haunts of Cybele (*aliena...petentes...loca*, 63.14), with disastrous results for Attis.

Dionysus is inflamed with love for Ariadne (*tuoque incensus amore*, 64.253). The phrase recalls the initial meeting between Peleus and Thetis (*tum Thetidis Peleus incensus fertur amore*, 64.19), which results quite quickly in arrangements for their marriage (*hymenaeos, iugandum*, 64.20-21). If the poet intended a similar fate for Dionysus and Ariadne, he does not describe it.¹²³ However, since earlier parallels between the Peleus/Thetis and the Theseus/Ariadne episodes tend to suggest opposing messages in the two myths,¹²⁴ it is unlikely that the poet would suggest a happy marriage here, especially since, for Ariadne, the image of burning love (*incensam*, 64.97) is not a happy one.

family. Ellis, *Commentary*, 322, suggests that Catullus may have had the Apollonius passage in mind.

¹²³Many assume a lacuna after 64.253; if so, perhaps it contained such a description. But the overall structure of poem 64 suggests otherwise. A lacuna can be dismissed after 64.254 if *quae* (or the ms. *qui*) is changed to *cui*, a dative of reference to Dionysus. O. Skutsch, "Catull 64,254," *Philologus* 106 (1962): 281-82, suggests *cui Thyades*, which would give a specific reference to the female Maenads after the male Sileni and Satyrs. See Quinn, *The Poems*, 332.

¹²⁴e.g. the arranged marriage/the broken promises; the naked Nereids/the naked Ariadne; the happy voyage of Peleus/the disastrous voyage of Theseus; Jupiter sanctions marriage/Jupiter punishes broken pledges.

The remainder of the Dionysus episode describes the various activities of the female Maenads, who provide a clear parallel with Ariadne as a Maenad from 64.60-62. Most of these descriptions are adapted from Euripides' *Bacchae*, specifically the herdsman speech (677-778), in which the once peaceful and nature-loving Maenads are provoked to unspeakably violent deeds against the cattle and the villagers.¹²⁵

The Maenads are already maddened (*lymphata mente furebant*, 64.254), rushing about as wildly as Dionysus (*passim*, 64.254;¹²⁶ *volitabat*, 64.251) and matching the madness of Ariadne.¹²⁷ They raise the ritual cry and shake their heads (*euhoē bacchantes, euhoē capita inflectentes*, 64.255), echoing the Maenads' actions at 63.23 (*capita Maenades vi iaciunt hederigeras*). Some are waving thyrsos (*harum pars tecta quatiebant cuspide thyrsos*, 64.256). This recalls the positive symbol of the wedding-torch from poem 61 (*pineam quate taedam*, 61.15; *splendidas quatiunt comas*, 61.78; also 61.95); but it also recalls Attis' maddened beating of Cybele's drum (*quatiensque terga tauri*, 63.10) and especially the shaking of the lion's mane (*quate iubam*, 63.83), symbolic of Cybele's anger towards Attis.

Other Maenads are tossing about the dismembered parts of the sparagmos (*pars e divolso iactabant membra iuvenco*, 64.257). Mention of the *iuvenco* recalls the *iuvenca* image from poem 63 and the freedom from

¹²⁵See Appendix G for the influence of the *Bacchae* on poem 64.

¹²⁶If *Thyades* is not read in 64.254, *alacres* will add to the description of the Maenads' wildness.

¹²⁷Cf. 64.54, 62, 70, 93, 94, 97, 99, 124, 165, 197.

sexual love that Attis, in his madness, thought he desired. The Maenads' actions are also reminiscent of the Minotaur who could no longer toss his horns to the winds after his encounter with Theseus (*nequiquam vanis iactantem cornua ventis*, 64.111).

Some are girding themselves with coiled serpents (*pars sese tortis serpentibus incingebant*, 64.258). The twisting of the serpents recalls the twisted cords which should have hoisted Theseus' white sails (*intorti...rudentes*, 64.235), and the sea that was churned up by the Argo (*tortaque remigio spumis incanuit unda*, 64.13). The linking of both voyages with the negative image of the Maenads continues to cloud the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. Other Maenads are carrying the sacred mysteries in covered baskets which the uninitiated are forbidden to see:

*pars obscura cavis celebrabant orgia cistis,
orgia quae frustra cupiunt audire profani.*

(64.259-60)

The intensity of this desire (*cupiunt*, 64.260) to see the *orgia* recalls Ariadne's claim that men do anything to get whatever they desire (*dum aliquid cupiens animus praegestit apisci*, 64.145). She is speaking about Theseus, who arrives in Crete with one desire, to kill the Minotaur (*saevum cupiens contra contendere monstrum*, 64.101), but who also promises marriage to Ariadne in return for her aid in killing the monster. Moreover, while the *profani* may wish (*cupiunt*, 64.260) to hear these *orgia* of the Maenads, Attis is already privy to the sacred rites and instruments of Cybele (*initia*, 63.9). But when he regains his sanity, he wishes (*cupit*,

63.56) only to look back to his *patria*, and have nothing more to do with Cybele's worship (*fugere imperia cupit*, 63.80).

Some Maenads are beating drums, raising the sound of clashing cymbals or playing other strange, eastern musical instruments. This parallels the actions of the Maenads in 63.21-25 and especially those of Attis in his maddened state: the beating of the drum (*typanum*, 63.8, 9; cf. *tympana*, 64.261) with his hands and delicate fingers (*niveis...manibus*, 63.8; *teneris...digitis*, 63.10; cf. *proceris...palmis*, 64.261), producing a strident "singing" (*canere*, 63.11; cf. *horribili...cantu*, 64.264).

These descriptions create a strong image of the frenzied Maenads who are accompanying Dionysus on his apparent mission to rescue Ariadne. The account is broken off suddenly at 64.264 with no precise delineation of the outcome of Dionysus' arrival. But since this passage recalls poem 63, where the initial positive depiction of Attis' divinely-inspired madness is contrasted with the final negative and destructive depiction of Cybele's vengeance, it is logical to conclude that the poet included these details to suggest the same negative outcome for Dionysus' intervention on Dia.¹²⁸ There is also the witness of Euripides' *Bacchae*, in

¹²⁸Note the four-fold repetition of *pars* in 64.256-59, especially the three-fold position of *pars* at the beginning of the line in 64.257-59. This takes the reader back to the anaphora of *non* in 64.63-65, describing Ariadne's "'Bacchic' disarray" (Traill, "Ring Composition 1981," 235). This also matches exactly the use and placing of *ubi* in 63.22-25, describing the Maenad worshippers of Cybele. It also echoes repetitions of *ego* at 63.62-64, 68-71. Cf. Curran, "Catullus 64," 180: "We leave the Ariadne story to the wild strains of the Bacchantes, beside themselves in the same hysterical and potentially destructive frenzy that Catullus evokes in that disturbing *tour de force*, the *Attis*. This terrifying scene and the picture of the betrayed Ariadne are what linger in the mind, not her deliverance." See T. P. Wiseman, "Catullus' Iacchus and Ariadne," *LCM* 2 (1977): 178-80; C. Deroux, "Some Remarks on the Handling of Ekphrasis in Catullus 64," *SLLRH* 4.256-57.

particular, the Herdsman's speech, where the maddened Bacchae terrorize villages, destroy cattle and steal children from the security of their homes.¹²⁹ Having been conditioned to expect a disastrous outcome from the intervention of an orgiastic divinity from poem 63, the reader expects the same conclusion in poem 64.

In the end, therefore, the Ariadne episode provides no positive reflections on love and marriage.¹³⁰

IX

The Arrival of the Divine Guests at the Wedding

(64.265-302)

The reader leaves the inner story as he entered it, by means of a short two-line statement (64.265-66; cf. 64.50-51). Although these lines serve merely as a transition back to the outer story, the words used by the poet keep the relevant themes in the reader's mind. The coverlet "embraces" the couch (*complexa*, 64.266), as Ariadne was embraced by her mother

¹²⁹Cf. *Bacch.* 754: ἤρπαζον μὲν ἐκ δόμων τέκνα. The theme of the house is as strong in the *Bacchae* as it is in the Catullus cycle. There are similar descriptions of frenzied Maenads in the Parodos of Euripides' play. But there is a great difference between the two accounts: the Parodos represents the positive manifestations of the Bacchic *orgia*; the Herdsman's speech represents the negative aspects, made all the more clear by the positive and peaceful depictions of the same Maenads at the beginning of the Herdsman speech.

¹³⁰S. E. Knopp, "Catullus 64 and the Conflict Between Amores and Virtutes," *CP* 71 (1976): 209-10, argues that the coverlet offers a warning for Peleus and Thetis, to reconcile passion and heroism, and hence is entirely appropriate for the wedding. But this is based on an interpretation of the Dionysus episode as a positive resolution of the conflict as far as Ariadne is concerned; this is an interpretation I do not share, because poem 64 must be viewed not just by itself but in light of the interpretations acquired from the three previous poems.

(*complexu*, 64.88; *complexum*, 64.118) and Theseus by Aegeus (*complexum*, 64.214). The *vestis* covers the couch like clothing (*suo velabat amictu*, 64.266), a reminder of the clothing that falls from Ariadne's body (*amictu*, 64.64; *amictus*, 64.68).¹³¹

This is followed by the departure of the mortal guests (64.267-77), parallel to the description of their arrival (64.31-42). The Thessalian youth leave the scene while gazing eagerly (*cupide*, 64.267) on the coverlet, an ironic acknowledgement of the role Cupid had in the Ariadne story.¹³² They begin to yield place to the divine guests (*decedere*, 64.268) even as Ariadne yielded to the will of Cupid, and Theseus to Jupiter. The departure of the mortals is conveyed through a long and elaborate simile. The choice of the sea as the dominant image recalls the sea-borne departure of Theseus from Ariadne, or, to a lesser extent, from Aegeus; there are also clear allusions to the Attis story.

The morning sea is at first calm (*flatu placidum mare matutino*, 64.269), as Dawn rises to the threshold of the wandering Sun (*Aurora ex oriente vagi sub limina Solis*, 64.271), much like the sea that Attis surveys (*Sol.../ lustravit...mare ferum*, 63.39-40) when he awakens from his healing sleep to the harsh reality of his self-mutilation. Soon the West Wind begins to disturb this calm (*horrificans Zephyrus proclivas incitat undas*, 64.270). The use of *horrificans* recalls Ariadne's charge that Theseus "bristles with fear" at Aegeus' old-fashioned views (*saeva quod*

¹³¹In *velabat* (64.266) there may also be a subtle reminiscence of the deception of Theseus, *celans dulci crudelia forma / consilia* (64.175-76).

¹³²Cf. examples of *cupidus* in 64.86, 101, 145, 147, 260.

bas prisca praeccepta parentis, 64.159); it also recalls the manifestation of Jupiter's *numen* in fulfilling Ariadne's curse: *quo motu tellus atque undae contremuerunt / aequora* (64.205-6).

The waves are being churned up, aroused, incited (*incitat*, 64.205) by the West Wind. The image in *incitat* occurs in poem 63 to describe the irresistible, divinely-inspired madness that forces Attis and his followers to travel to Phrygia (*citato...pede*, 63.2) and take up the symbols and rites of Cybele's worship (*citata cepit...typanum*, 63.8; *citatis...tibibus*, 63.18; *citatis...tripudiis*, 63.26). It also describes the intense rage of Cybele's lion (*ferus ipse sese...incitat*, 63.85). Significantly, Propertius uses the verb in the final tag, warding off such destructive madness from his house (*alios age incitatos, alios age rabidos*, 63.93).

The simile continues, describing the waves as they laughingly decrease in intensity before the kindly blast of the winds (*clementi flamine*, 64.272). This reference specifically connects this simile to the story of Theseus, since the same phrase is used to describe how Theseus forgot his father's instructions:

haec mandata prius constanti mente tenentem
Thesea ceu pulsae ventorum flamine nubes
aereum nivei montis liquere cacumen.

(64.238-40)

The word *flamen* is also used in the initial description of the Argo (*diva.../ Iovis fecit volitantem flamine currum*, 64.8-9) and in the tree simile concerning the death of the Minotaur (*indomitus turbo contorquens flamine*

robur, 64.107). The use of this phrase in 64.272 continues to reinforce the impressive structure of inter-related themes in the cycle, and to suggest darker connotations for the outer story.

One further detail in the simile contributes to this aspect of the cycle. The waves as they float away give off a bright reflection of dark red light (*purpureaque procul nantes ab luce refulgent*, 64.275).¹³³ The noun *purpura* or its adjective form is mentioned specifically four times in poem 64 and indirectly once. Most significantly, the very couch in Peleus' palace on which the coverlet is placed is tinged with *purpura* (*[pulvinar] tincta tegit roséo conchyli purpura fuco*, 64.49). In her lament, Ariadne envisions her future as a slave in Theseus' house, spreading his bed with a dark red coverlet (*purpureave tuum consternens veste cubile*, 64.163).¹³⁴ The colour

¹³³An exact translation of *purpurea* is difficult. Derived from the Greek πορφύρα, it is easy, but not always accurate, to translate it as "purple." E. Irwin, *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974), 28, finds this word particularly troublesome. Since the word is used to describe so many disparate things (a wave, death, rainbow, lips and cheeks of young people) she concludes that it must describe not so much a specific colour but the effect of reflected light on certain objects. She notes (18): "In early poetry πορφύρεος is not definitely chromatic, but describes the appearance which purple-dyed material and certain other objects have in common. This may be a sheen or iridescence, the apparent mixture of light and dark on a changing surface." She quotes the description of *purpura* in Pliny, *N. H.* 9.135: *laus ei summa in colore sanguinis concreti, nigrans aspectu idemque suspectu refulgens* (note the use of *refulgent* in 64.275).

The colour purple in English tends to connote royalty, wealth, perhaps even arrogance. Clytaemnestra spreads out a πορφυρόστρωτος πόρος (Aesch. *Ag.* 910) for Agamemnon to walk over. This implies a dark sheen on the cloth. But the dark, blood-red colour may also anticipate the bloody ruin that awaits Agamemnon. In like manner, *purpurea* may connote the negative elements of the various relationships described in poem 64. For *purpura* representing blood, see D. P. Harmon, "Nostalgia for the Age of Heroes in Catullus 64," *Latomus* 32 (1973): 316-18. See also M. O'Connell, "Pictorialism and Meaning in Catullus 64," *Latomus* 36 (1977): 755-76.

¹³⁴The other specific reference is in 64.308, in reference to the dark red border on the robes of the Parcae. There may also be a subtle connection to the dark red sails with which Aegeus equips Theseus' ship on the voyage to Crete (*carbasus obscurata...ferrugine Hibera*, 64.227). Commentators interpret *ferrugine Hibera* as a dark red colour. Cf. Fordyce, *Commentary*, 304, quoting Servius on *Aen.* 9.582: *vicinus purpurae subnigrae*; also Quinn, *The Poems*, 329.

purpura, therefore, represents tragic elements; it does not bode well that the waves in this simile reflect this dark red light.

The final lines of the simile reinforce the connection with Theseus. The description of the mortal guests leaving the palace (*vestibuli linquentes regia tecta*, 64.276), like waves driven by the winds, recalls the image of Theseus leaving his unfulfilled promises on the shores of Dia (*irrita ventosae linquens promissa procellae*, 64.59).

The guests disperse to their own homes with "wide-ranging feet" (*ad se quisque vago passim pede discedebant*, 64.277). Although this group of guests must now "scatter," it is to their homes that they happily return. Other references to scattering and dispersal in the poem are not so happy. The poet reluctantly mentions how Theseus, in his forgetfulness, abandoned Ariadne on Dia (*ut eam... / liquerit immemori discedens pectore coniunx*, 64.122-23); he, of course, returns to his home, although it is a home soon to be in mourning. Ariadne herself immediately picks up on this (*sicine me patriis avectam, perfide, ab aris, / perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu?* 64.132-33). The wide-ranging dispersal of the guests (*vago passim pede*, 64.277) recalls the symbolic scattering of Ariadne's clothing (*omnia quae toto delapsa e corpore passim*, 64.66) and the wide-ranging movements of the maddened Maenads (*alacres passim lymphata mente furebant*, 64.254).

The use of these images in this seemingly innocent simile recalls many of the themes already presented and suggests that similar, less-than-positive elements may be forthcoming in the Peleus/Thetis story.¹³⁵

Chiron is the first of the immortals to arrive.¹³⁶ His presence here may be justified because he becomes the tutor of Achilles, the future child of Peleus and Thetis.¹³⁷ The reference to Pelion (*e vertice Pelei*, 64.278) transfers the reader's attention back to the beginning of the poem (*Peliaco...vertice*, 64.1), the voyage of the Argo, and the initial meeting between Peleus and Thetis, whose nuptials are about to be celebrated.¹³⁸

Like the mortal guests earlier (*dona ferunt*, 64.34), Chiron brings gifts: *portans silvestria dona* (64.279). This simple reference suggests a

¹³⁵Cf. Curran, "Catullus 64," 186: "By the time the words [related to "leaving"] are used in 276 (and 299), the notion of "leaving" has decidedly dark connotations." See also Duban, "Verbal Links," 791-92; Konstan, *Indictment*, 37, note 57. Bramble, "Structure," 32, note 4, disagrees.

¹³⁶The chronology here is a bit confused. According to Aeschylus' version of the myth (which is indicated by the presence of Prometheus, 64.294-97), Chiron died of an incurable wound, transferring his immortality to Heracles. This permitted a reconciliation between Zeus and Prometheus, the secret to be told, and Peleus to be married to Thetis. It is impossible to reconcile this version of the myth with the story that Chiron reared the infant Achilles, son of Peleus and Thetis, let alone that he could attend their wedding. Other versions of the myth make Hera (Apollodorus, *Apollonius Argo*. 4.790-809), Themis (Apollodorus, *Pindar Isth.* 8), Zeus (*Il.* 18.432-35, *Ovid Meta.* 11.217-65) or Chiron himself (Pindar, *Nem.* 3.97) the instigator of the marriage. With these versions, Chiron would still be alive to attend the wedding and tutor Achilles. For a full account of the various versions, see M. Simpson, *Gods and Heroes of the Greeks: the Library of Apollodorus* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976): 197-99.

¹³⁷See Ellis, *Commentary*, 326; Fordyce, *Commentary*, 311; Quinn, *The Poems*, 336.

¹³⁸In Apollonius, Chiron is on hand to see the launching of the Argo (*Argo.* 1.553-58). Dipping his feet in the surf and accompanied by his wife carrying Achilles, he wishes the Argonauts a safe home-coming. If Catullus had this passage in mind, the image of Chiron, pictured in the same situation as Ariadne standing on the shore of Dia, could provide a contrasting reflection on poem 64: Chiron hoped for a safe home-coming; Ariadne prayed for a sorrowful one.

comparison between the arrivals of the mortal and immortal guests. The mortals gather from all over Thessaly: Cieros (or Scyros),¹³⁹ Tempe, Cranon and Larissa; similarly Chiron gathers flowers from all parts of Thessaly. The effect of the mortals' attendance at the wedding is the deterioration of nature (64.38-42). The arrival of the immortals seems to produce similar, ominous results.

What Chiron brings as his gift is an abundance of flowers. There are already many references to flowers and nature's produce within the cycle to illustrate both positive and negative elements in the poems. Flowers adorn Hymen, provide enjoyment for the Hamadryades, decorate Attis' doorway, scent Ariadne's couch when, in her innocence, she first sees Theseus. Flowers are used metaphorically to represent the beauty of the bride in 61.87-91 and 185-89 and to represent the former, happy existence of Attis (*ego gymnasi fui flos*, 63.64). It is worth noting that in none of these passages does mankind appear as a destroyer of nature, although his intervention is implied (someone must have picked the flowers to adorn the various people and items mentioned).

In contrast, negative elements in the cycle have frequently been illustrated by metaphors of nature perverted or destroyed. The emasculated Attis ranges over a verdant Ida covered with snow (63.70); Cybele's lion tramples down the undergrowth (63.86); the death of the Minotaur is likened to a tree felled by a violent storm (64.105-11). Here too, there is no specific reference to the destructive intervention of mankind.

¹³⁹See above, note 21.

However, mankind does appear as a destroyer of nature in one of the strongest images in the cycle: the metaphor used by the girls in their last stanza (62.39-47). They contend that the sequestered flower, nurtured by the kindly elements, untouched by man or beast, represents their ideal: continuous virginity, unsullied by a marriage that would pollute their purity. To them, the flower plucked by man (i.e. marriage) is the most negative of the images of love. This view of nature must be reconciled with the image of plucked flowers that Chiron brings in poem 64. The poet seems to have established the principle that undistorted, pristine nature represents positive love. The girls' view of the sequestered flower in poem 62 seems consistent with this principle. But the boys' counter-argument in that poem (62.49-58) introduces a new element, that in some instances nature needs assistance, specifically man-made assistance, to maintain or even generate productivity (the wedded-vine imagery). The fact that their argument wins the day necessitates a modification of the "absolute principle": the intrusion of mankind into nature may not always connote negative concepts. This is also reflected in the flowers (plucked by someone) that adorn Hymen and the bride, an image which cannot be considered negative.

Therefore, is Chiron's gift of flowers a positive or negative one? He certainly brings an abundance and variety of flowers, as the pronouns *quoscumque...quos.../...quos* (64.280-81) indicate. Within this passage, emphasis is placed on the concepts of birth, generation, or fertility (*ferunt, creat, parit, fecunda*, 64.280-82). This recalls the girls' portrait of the

development of the sequestered flower (*quem mulcent aerae, firmat sol, educat imber*, 62.41). For the girls, the plucking of that flower is a negative symbol of marriage, and this must have some bearing on Chiron's gift of plucked flowers here.¹⁴⁰ However, the surface meaning of Chiron's gift is clear: this special wedding warrants a special gift, flowers in abundance. The fact that Chiron's flowers are woven into a garland to decorate the house (*indistinctis plexos corollis / quo permulsa domus iucundo risit odore*, 64.283-84) reminds the reader of the garland that decorates Attis' home in happier days (*mihi floridis corollis redimita domus erat*, 63.66). As such, Chiron's gift is essentially a positive one. But the aroma from the flowers also recalls Ariadne's fragrant couch when she first sees Theseus (*odores*, 64.87), and this creates a subtle, contrasting connotation for the flowers.

If Chiron's gift is relatively positive, his presence is more ominous. If he is to become the future tutor of Achilles, one must remember the circumstances that lead to that arrangement. His tutelage is necessitated because Thetis abandons Achilles when Peleus interferes with her attempts to make Achilles immortal.¹⁴¹ With that in mind, his presence here reminds the reader that this marriage will not always be so happy. Peleus and Achilles will be abandoned by Thetis, just as Ariadne is abandoned by Theseus.

¹⁴⁰One must remember that the positive image of plucked flowers that appeared in poem 61 was superseded by the negative one in poem 62. This subtly negative view of Chiron's gift may be mitigated somewhat by the fact that Centaurs are not known for their tact or manners. However, given the earlier floral imagery, this one does contain some negative connotations.

¹⁴¹Apollonius *Argo*. 4.866-79; Apollodorus *Bibl.* 3.13.6.

Peneus is the next to arrive (64.285-93), leaving his home in Tempe, as have several mortal guests earlier (64.35). Peneus' realm, like Chiron's, displays nature in fullest array: Tempe is verdant, surrounded with overhanging trees, and apparently filled with the joyous dances of Thessalian women.¹⁴² The words used to describe Tempe here recall images seen earlier in the cycle. Tempe is lush and green (*viridantia Tempe*, 64.285). This same aspect of Mt. Ida is stressed in poem 63. The maddened chorus of Gallae rush to Ida's green slopes (*viridem citus adit Idam...chorus*, 63.30); but after Attis regains his sanity, he see the same lushness as an example of perverted nature, green Ida covered with snow (*viridis algida Idae nive amicta loca*, 63.70). Things can change: marriages can become unhappy.

The trees in the valley of Tempe overhang with rich foliage (*silvae...super impendentes*, 64.286). The image is, of course, quite literal here and represents a positive depiction of nature. But the idea of "threatening" implicit in the verb may also be present. Earlier in poem 64 the poet described another set of overhanging trees, those that had not been trimmed by the mortal wedding guests (64.41). Those trees were not representative of productive nature. Cognates of *impendeo* (*immineo*, *minax*) are used elsewhere in the cycle, usually in the abstract sense, but

¹⁴²The corruption of 64.287 makes it difficult to know exactly what is happening. See G. Perrotta, "Catullo 64.287," *SIFC* 9 (1931): 61-68; B. Arkins, "Catullus 64.287," *Latomus* 44 (1985): 879-80. A. Allen, "Catullus 64.287-88," *Mnemosyne* 42 (1989): 94-95, offers the reading *vinosis linquens duris celebrandis choreis*, suggesting that *vinosi* would "welcome [Peneus'] departure and relish his absence." This would indicate that Peneus' absence causes nature to be somewhat perverted. See Konstan, *Indictment*, 33.

with darker, underlying connotations. The intensity of the groom's devotion to the bride in poem 61 may contain some threatening aspects: *aspice...ut.../ vir tuus.../ totus immineat tibi* (61.164-66).¹⁴³ Cybele is openly described as a threatening force: *minax Cybebe* (63.84). Ariadne's focus on the fleeing Theseus and the revenge she asks for and receives is likewise expressed with a "threatening" phrase: *ex te...Theseu /...tota pendeat perdita mente* (64.69-70). With these striking images in the reader's mind, it is easy to read into *silvae impendentes* a subtle, menacing aspect in this description of Tempe.

Tempe is also described as "surrounded," "encircled" (*cingunt*, 64.286) by these trees. As with *impendeo*, *cingo* and its cognate *redimio* are used elsewhere to suggest something sinister. Attis reminisces about his door-posts crowned by garlands (*floridis corollis redimita domus erat*, 63.66), a symbol of the life he can no longer enjoy. Cybele's haunts are crowned with dark woods (*opaca silvis redimita loca*, 63.3), giving them a sinister importance which Attis eventually sees to his horror: it is to these same woods, now symbolic of nature perverted (63.70), that Attis is driven (63.89). In poem 64, Ariadne is surrounded by the sea that symbolizes the route by which the treacherous Theseus can return home but she cannot: *nec patet egressus pelagi cingentibus undis* (64.185). Moreover, the Eumenides, on whom she calls for retribution, have their heads "girt" with snakes: *Eumenides, quibus anguino redimita capillo / frons*, 64.193-94).¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³This may also be implied by the attendants' advice to the bride to make sure she gives the groom what he wants lest he go elsewhere to get it (61.144-48).

¹⁴⁴The one positive use of *cingo* occurs in 61.6 as Hymen is urged to bind his hair with flowers. But this immediately follows the violent reference to snatching the maiden away from her home to be given to the groom.

Therefore, *cingunt* and *impendentes*, while explicitly positive, may imply some negative connotations derived from the previous uses of these words in the cycle. As he did with the portrait of Chiron, the poet is attempting to colour the portrait of Peneus by skilful use of apparently innocent, descriptive vocabulary.

Like Chiron, Peneus does not come empty-handed (64.288). His gift is also somewhat excessive, for he brings various species of trees: beech, laurel, plane, poplar and cypress (64.288-91).¹⁴⁵ They are tall trees (*altas / fagos*, 64.288-89; *proceras...laurus*, 64.289; *nutanti platano*, 64.290; *aerea cupressu*, 64.291), recalling perhaps the overhanging trees of Tempe; their trunks are straight (*recto...stipite*, 64.289) and supple (*lentaque*, 64.290). They have been uprooted (*radicitus*, 64.288); this recalls the uprooted tree that falls in ruin (*radicitus exturbata / prona cadit*, 64.108-9), symbolic of the Minotaur's death.¹⁴⁶ This, coupled with the reference to the pines on Pelion that were felled to build the Argo, suggests mixed connotations for the marriage of Peleus and Thetis.

The emphasis on the trunks of these trees is significant. The phallic association of the trunks serves as a symbol for the uprightness, strength and security of the various species. As such, they also become symbolic of the strength and security of the human species. The aged parent in poem 61 hopes to lean on the "trunk" of the family tree (*stirpe nitier*, 61.68), which will soon produce the young shoot of Manlius and

¹⁴⁵The choice of trees is significant, since it takes the reader back to the opening line of poem 64: *Peliaco quondam prognatae vertice pinus*.

¹⁴⁶Cf. Curran, "Catullus 64," 182.

Iunia. The bride is like a vine that gains strength by embracing the supporting tree, the groom (61.102-105; 62.49-56).¹⁴⁷

The choice of the various species is also significant. While two of the five three (beech and plane) do not seem to have any specific importance in the catalogue, the laurel, poplar and cypress do carry some ominous connotations. The laurel bears witness to the disastrous love-affair between Apollo and Daphne, who happens to be the daughter of Peneus.¹⁴⁸ By bringing the laurel (her very form declaring the tragedy of the affair with Apollo), Peneus is suggesting an ominous outcome for this marriage (especially since Apollo himself finds it impossible to attend).¹⁴⁹

The poplar is not mentioned by name but through reference to the myth of Phaethon (*lentaque sorore / flammati Phaethontis*, 64.290-91). The story is a tale of hybris:¹⁵⁰ Phaethon, against the wishes of his father Helios, asks to drive the chariot of the Sun for one day; in his inexperience, Phaethon causes havoc and destruction in heaven and on earth before being destroyed by Jupiter;¹⁵¹ Phaethon's sisters, in their grief, are turned into poplar trees, weeping amber tears that are one day to be worn by Latin brides.¹⁵² The hybristic content of the myth of Phaethon

¹⁴⁷Konstan, *Indictment*, 17, notes the phallic connotations of the pine tree from which the Argo was made, and comments (20, note 38) on the association of Attis and the pine tree.

¹⁴⁸*Meta.* 1.452-567. Once again, Cupid is made to be the malicious instigator of this love-affair (*saeva Cupidinis ira*, 1.453).

¹⁴⁹Ovid calls the laurel *innuba laurus* (*Meta.* 10.92). One wonders if a tree described as "unmarried" would be suitable as a wedding gift.

¹⁵⁰Ovid *Meta.* 1.747-79, 2.1-366.

¹⁵¹The devastation includes the desiccation of the river Peneus himself (*Meta.* 2.243).

¹⁵²*nuribus gestanda Latinis*, *Meta.* 2.366. A reference to the myth and the amber tears occurs in the choral ode in Eur. *Hipp.* 738-41. It is initially a reference to

helps confirm the arrogance of Peneus' gift: he brings those very trees that are the transformed sisters of Phaethon, whose actions prompted severe punishment from Jupiter.¹⁵³ The choice of the poplar, therefore, seems a particularly inappropriate one as a gift for this wedding.

The cypress is mentioned last.¹⁵⁴ The Ovidian version of the myth of Cyparissus once again incorporates the idea of excess: Cyparissus mourns too much for the dead stag; he is thus transformed into a cypress tree so that he may become a symbol of mourning for all time.¹⁵⁵ Like the poplar, the funereal cypress may not be the most propitious gift to bring to a wedding. At the very least, it foreshadows death and mourning. The gift soon proves most prophetic.¹⁵⁶

Next to arrive are the more important divinities: Prometheus, Jupiter, Juno and their children (64.294-302). Again the reader is surprised

the river Eridanus where Phaethon crashed. The ode is sung immediately after Phaedra's final speech before entering the palace to commit suicide. Since Phaedra and Ariadne are sisters, the reference to the Phaethon myth in poem 64 may provide another subtle comment on the tragedy of Ariadne and an ominous foreboding for Peleus and Thetis.

Ovid may have had this passage from poem 64 in mind, since many of the same trees mentioned by Catullus are found in Ovid's catalogue of trees that gather to hear Orpheus (*Meta.* 10.90-106). Ovid's reference to the pine tree (*succincta comas hirsutaque vertice pinus* (10.103) is similar to 64.1 (*vertice pinus*). Ovid connects the pine-tree with Attis and Cybele. If he were familiar with an aspect of that myth that is now lost, the opening lines of poem 64 may conceal a textual link to poem 63.

¹⁵³Theseus' actions too prompted severe punishment from Jupiter.

¹⁵⁴It is worth noting that the cypress is also mentioned last in the Ovidian catalogue of trees (the poplar is among the first trees mentioned). Ovid may have placed these two trees in important positions in the catalogue because they occupied important positions in the Catullus passage in question.

¹⁵⁵*Meta.* 10.138-40.

¹⁵⁶Kinsey, "Irony," 922-23, sees the appearances of Chiron and Peneus as ludicrous, in keeping with his overall interpretation of the poem as more ironic and light-hearted, even a parody. He ignores, of course, the position of the poem in the cycle, with the many reminiscences from poems 61 to 63 to reinforce the seriousness of its images and themes. Bramble, "Structure," 30, Wiseman, "Iacchus," 178, also see ominous signs in the gifts of Peneus.

at the list of guests. Why should Prometheus be here? The words used to describe him focus on his dispute with Zeus as outlined in *Prometheus Vincitus* and elsewhere. He is clever (*sollerti corde*, 64.294) and bears the faint scars of his punishment at the hands of Zeus (64.295-97). This reference indicates that he and Zeus have been reconciled, and for some time now (due to the faintness of the scars).¹⁵⁷ Part of that reconciliation was the disclosure by Prometheus of the marriage that Zeus was to avoid. Without that disclosure, the present marriage could not, of course, take place. For this reason, it is logical to see Prometheus at the wedding. Furthermore, since the essential element of his secret was the birth of a son by Thetis who would grow up to be mightier than the father, Prometheus' presence foreshadows the birth of Achilles, a subject which figures prominently in the song of the Parcae in the next lines.

However, it still remains that Prometheus is characterized here not as the benefactor of mankind or as the prophet of Achilles' birth, but as the victim of Zeus' terrible punishment. The words describing him are already familiar and help to link Prometheus to other themes in the cycle. The cleverness for which he is punished is centred in his heart (*sollerti corde*, 64.294). This is the seventh and final example of *cor* in poem 64. Such frequency makes the heart a recurring theme, representing the seat of the deepest and most important sentiments, mostly negative. Cupid incites madness in others with his cruel heart (64.94); in vain, Aegeus urges Theseus to keep his instructions firmly rooted in his heart (64.231); in his

¹⁵⁷This conforms to Prometheus' prophecy of deliverance in the thirteenth generation after Io (Aesch. *PV* 774).

heart, Theseus has no intention of marrying Ariadne (64.158). For the most part, however, the poet focuses on the heart of Ariadne (64.54, 99, 124). She bears invincible madness in her heart (*indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores*, 64.54) just as Prometheus bears the faint scars of his punishment (*extenuata gerens veteris vestigia poenae*, 64.295).¹⁵⁸

This is the third reference to punishment (*poena*) in poem 64. It is to punish Athens for the death of Androgeos (*Androgeoneae poenas exsoluere caedis*, 64.77) that Theseus is sent to Crete, eventually to be the cause of Ariadne's present sufferings. She, in turn, invokes the Eumenides to punish Theseus (*quare facta virum multantes vindice poena / Eumenides*, 64.192-93). A reference to Prometheus' punishment can only remind the reader of the tragic history of retribution that exists in this poem, and may even suggest more punishment to come.

Prometheus is described as harshly restrained by the invincible chains imposed by Jupiter (*silici restrictus membra catena*, 64.296).¹⁵⁹ This situation recalls the result of another god's power, Attis' emasculation (*devolsit ili acuto sibi pondera silice / itaque ut relictas sensit sibi membra sine viro*, 63.5-6). Theseus too is constrained, bound by Aegeus' instructions as truly as the arms that embraced him (*talia complexum iuveni mandata dedisse*, 64.214). The sea surrounding Naxos provides a confinement for Ariadne more ineluctable than even Prometheus' chains (*nulla fugae ratio*, 64.186). She cannot even avail of Prometheus' gift of

¹⁵⁸*vestigia* occurs several times in poem 64, referring to the footsteps of Theseus in the labyrinth (64.113), and Theseus' feet washed by Ariadne (64.162)

¹⁵⁹Putnam, "Catullus 64," 191-92.

hope (*nulla spes*, 64.186), and sees only death (*ostentant omnia letum*, 64.187). Jupiter may eventually have freed Prometheus, but the coming of Dionysus does not figure in Ariadne's own view of the future. He is pictured elsewhere on the coverlet, in a setting that speaks more of suffering than salvation.

During his punishment, Prometheus was suspended from the rocky summit of the mountain (*pendens e verticibus praeruptis*, 64.297). In a sense, he was as threatening as the overhanging trees that encompassed Tempe (64.286), threatening the future security of Jupiter's reign. His position on the top of the mountain (*verticibus*) recalls the top of Pelion whence came the pine tree which was felled to build the Argo (*Peliaco...vertice*, 64.1); it was also from Pelion's summit that Chiron came to the wedding (*e vertice Pelei*, 64.278). These references seem to bode well for the marriage of Peleus and Thetis: the release of Prometheus enabled this marriage to take place, aided by the voyage of the Argo; and Chiron will be the tutor of their child. But the darker aspects of these myths have already suggested less than happy results for this marriage.

Prometheus *pendens e verticibus praeruptis* may also remind the reader of the clothing that falls from Ariadne's body, specifically the head-dress (*non flavo retinens subtilem vertice mitram*, 64.63), symbolic of her devastating tragedy. More importantly, the reader recalls that Ariadne climbed an equally rugged mountain to get a better view of the fleeing Theseus (*praeruptos...conscendere montes*, 64.126); and Aegeus hurled

himself from Athens' rocky summit (*praecipitem sese scopulorum e vertice iecit*, 64.244), he, like Prometheus, a victim of Jupiter's punishment.

Prometheus' presence here is complex, suggesting comparisons with and contrasts to other themes in the poem.¹⁶⁰

Next to arrive are Jupiter and Juno with "their children" (64.298). Their presence seems logical, since Jupiter has allowed the union (64.26) and Juno is the goddess of marriage and childbirth. But since they follow Prometheus, whose description contained a specific reference to his punishment by Jupiter over a prophecy involving Jupiter's relationship to Thetis, it is impossible to see their presence here as simply logical.

Jupiter himself is called *pater divum* (64.298), recalling specifically his role at 64.27 (*divum genitor*) as the god who yields Thetis to Peleus. The reference to Thetis as *suos...amores* (64.27) implies that he has had some involvement with her already and perhaps has even been warned (by Prometheus?) to give her up to a mortal.¹⁶¹ This implies that Jupiter is here not merely as a relatively disinterested wedding guest.¹⁶² He arrives with Juno, *sancta...coniuge* (64.298);¹⁶³ this reference ironically

¹⁶⁰Konstan, *Indictment*, 27-28, sees the influence of *Argo*. 1247-50 here.

¹⁶¹See above, note 13.

¹⁶²There is also, of course, a connection between Jupiter and Ariadne. It was he who answered Ariadne's prayer for vengeance against Theseus. This connects the inner and outer stories and, following the implications of Chiron's presence, casts more shadows over the supposedly happy marriage of Peleus and Thetis.

¹⁶³In Apollonius' account (*Argo*. 4.783-832), Juno has a large role to play in the story of Peleus and Thetis. Juno (or Hera) is indebted to Thetis for rejecting the advances of Jupiter (*Argo*. 4.796-97) and she herself chooses Peleus for Thetis. Although the version in Apollonius differs markedly from that in poem 64 (e.g. according to Apollonius, it was Themis who delivered the dreaded prophecy about Thetis' son), if Catullus had the *Argonautica* in mind he could not mention Juno without suggesting these or other mythological allusions.

draws attention to the less-than-faithful relationship Jupiter has with her. Indeed, among his many loves was the young bride at this wedding. Juno, therefore, would be quite pleased to see Thetis married to Peleus, since this marriage would represent her (Juno's) victory over Jupiter.

Another implication may be drawn from the presence of Jupiter and Juno. If Thetis is a symbol of past discord in their marriage, their presence here may foreshadow discord in the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. Moreover, there have already been many veiled allusions to the child of this new marriage (primarily due the presence of Chiron and Prometheus) and the fact that Jupiter arrives *cum...natisque* (64.298) continues to keep the theme of the child in the reader's mind. The divine family and their children provide a subtle parallel to Peleus and Thetis and their child. In both instances, the marriage is not always a happy one.

If discord is merely suggested in the previous lines, it becomes apparent in the lines that follow. The list of those attending the nuptials concludes with mention of two that do not: Apollo and Artemis (64.299-302). Apollo does attend the wedding in other accounts (Homer, Pindar). According to Plato,¹⁶⁴ Aeschylus mentions that Apollo sang at the wedding, prophesying happiness for Achilles. But the connection between Apollo and the death of Achilles at Troy would negate that prophecy (a situation lamented by Thetis in Aeschylus) and seems to preclude his presence at the wedding in poem 64.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴Plato *Rep.* 2.383.

¹⁶⁵See Ellis, *Commentary*, 329, Fordyce, *Commentary*, 314; Bramble, "Structure," 33.

Why should Artemis be absent (a detail seemingly found only in poem 64)? Her wish not to "celebrate the wedding" is described in strong terms (*nec Thetidis taedas voluit celebrare iugalis*, 64.302). The phrase recalls the negative activities of the Maenads (*celebrabant orgia*, 64.259) at the conclusion of the Ariadne episode. Yet, her role as goddess of childbirth would make her presence here a welcome one. Perhaps a passage from Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* might shed some light. In lines 120-37, the poet recounts the benefits or harm that Artemis can apportion to mankind. Those on whom Artemis looks graciously will prosper, in their fields and in their families, with no hint of strife. But Artemis can prove to be most harmful to the welfare of unjust men, plaguing their cattle, their crops and their children, who, if they survive childbirth, are born deformed.¹⁶⁶ It has already been noted that nature is suffering due to the presence of the mortals (and immortals) at this wedding. If the gracious influence of Artemis is absent from this wedding, this does not bode well for the happiness of the wedding pair, and especially for Achilles.

This section of the poem is complex and filled with much learning. On the surface, the departure of the mortals and the arrival of the immortals bearing gifts seem to be nothing more than a joyous description of preparations for a happy occasion. But the subtle negative aspects hidden in the sea simile, or in the gifts brought by Chiron and Peneus, or in the past history of the Olympians, cast some potentially dark shadows on

¹⁶⁶The choral ode in Euripides' *Helen* 1301-57 offers a similar description of Cybele's power, which was most appropriate for the Cybele of poem 63.

the festivities. The atmosphere is not helped by the conspicuous absence of Apollo and Artemis.

X

The Song of the Parcae

(64.303-81)

The divine guests seat themselves before richly-laden tables (64.303-4). This brief passage serves to recall the earlier description of Peleus' palace (64.43-46). But the reader has experienced much since the poet last described the opulence of the palace. The richness of this scene now provides a stark contrast to the desolation of Ariadne, still clearly visible on the coverlet spread over the *pulvinar* before the gods. Moreover, the portrait of the majestic Olympians seems strangely at variance with the description of the Parcae who, like the attendants in poem 61 (*agite in modum*, 61.38), will soon sing the wedding song.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷The official role of the Parcae here is strange. E. E. Beyers, "The Refrain in the Song of the Fates in Catullus 64 (v. 323-381)," *AClass* 3 (1960): 86, states it thus: "Traditional accounts of the marriage describe variously Apollo present with his lyre, Chiron prophesying, and the Muses singing (*Il.* 24.62, 537; *Eur. Iph. Aul.* 1062ff). The Parcae are included among the wedding guests, but as singers of the marriage song they appear for the first time in Catullus' poem...Catullus could count on the learning of his readers and on the pleasure they would find in the contrast between what they expected - the Muses - and what he presented - three old women."

Beyers finds (86-87) that this song "suggests various traditional features of the marriage ceremony: the feast, the *deductio* and the arrival of the bride, the escorting of the bride and groom to the *thamos*, the jesting, the singing of the *epithalamium*." But J. ter Vrugt-Lentz, "Die singenden Parzen des Catullus" *Mnemosyne* 16 (1963): 262, wonders whether this is an *epithalmium* at all: "[Catull] kündigt das Lied mit den folgenden Worten an (vs. 321) und besagt also, daß es sich nicht handelt um ein Hochzeitslied ohne weiteres, sondern um ein 'Schicksalslied.'" M. L. Daniels, "'The Song of the Fates' in Catullus 64: *Epithalamium* or *Dirge*?" *CJ* 68 (1972): 97, feels that the song provides an exact parallel to Ariadne's lament: "The 'Lament of Ariadne' and the 'Song of the Fates' comprise almost a third of the 408

Their bodies are not reclining at ease on snowy couches, but are shaking with age (*quatientes corpora*, 64.305, 307). This recalls the positive shaking of the wedding torches in 61.15, 78, 95. But in the other poems, the allusions are more negative. The Minotaur no longer shakes his horns (*nequiquam...iactantem cornua*, 64.111), like a great tree shakes its branches (*quatientem brachia*, 64.105), due to Theseus' actions. Most importantly, the trembling bodies of the Parcae recall the shaking of Cybele's drum by the maddened Attis (*quatiensque terga tauri*, 63.10),¹⁶⁸ the shaking mane of Cybele's lion (*quate iubam*, 63.83) and the shaking of the thyrsos by the Maenads accompanying Dionysus (*quatiebant...thyrsos*, 64.256). All these images are associated with relationships gone wrong.

There follows a full description of the clothing of the Parcae,¹⁶⁹ which recalls the description of Ariadne's clothing (64.63-67). This association is also confirmed by a reference to the clothing that "embraces" their bodies (*corpus tremulum complectens undique vestis*, 64.307). The poet has just alluded to the covering that embraced the marriage-couch, describing the tragedy of Ariadne:

lines of c. 64. The lament evinces pathos. The Fates' song, with its irony, is strange music for a wedding. Ariadne's song bewails a pledge that was broken. The *Parcae* sing of a pledge that was secured."

It is clear, however, that this song provides a link not only to the inner story, but also to the previous two epithalamia and the tragedy of Attis.

¹⁶⁸The connection is all the stronger since Attis, like the *Parcae*, is just about to sing (*canere...adorta est*, 63.11; *Parcae coeperunt edere cantus*, 64.306).

¹⁶⁹This continues the theme of representing significant moments in the cycle by describing the protagonists' clothing: that of Hymen from poem 61, the positive description of the naked Nereids (64.17-18), and the negative description of the unclothed Ariadne (64.63-67).

talibus amplifice vestis decorata figuris
pulvinar complexa suo velabat amictu.

(64.265-66)

One also recalls those torn from the secure embrace of their loved ones: Ariadne and the bride from their mothers (64.88, 118; 62.21-22), and Theseus from Aegeus (64.214). Those who enjoy the continued security of their familial embrace are restricted to Manlius and Iunia (61.102-5) and the bride in the boys' vision of marital bliss (62.54).

The description of the whiteness of their robes and the dark red border (*candida purpurea talos incinxerat ora*, 64.308) reminds the reader of the dark and white sails carried by Theseus' ship. The emphasis on these colours denoting good fortune and bad suggests that all aspects of life are fraught with potential success or failure, joy or tragedy. The marriage-couch on which the coverlet lies is also tinged with white and dark red (*dente.../ ...purpura*, 64.48-49), perhaps suggesting that Ariadne's lot could have ended more happily than it did.¹⁷⁰

The last item of clothing mentioned also suggests allusions to Ariadne: the sacred fillets remain on the snowy heads of the Parcae (*roseae niveo residebant vertice vittae*, 64.309), while Ariadne's headdress falls from her head in her torment (*non flavo retinens subtilem vertice mitram*, 64.63). This links the song of the Parcae (and therefore the outer story) with the inner story of Ariadne. The combination of rosy fillets and snow-

¹⁷⁰See especially 64.161-63, in which Ariadne, as a slave-girl, imagines she could happily have served Theseus in his palace, washing his *white* feet (*candida...vestigia*, 64.162) with water and spreading his couch with a *dark red* coverlet (*purpureave tuum consternens veste cubile*, 64.163).

white head also recalls the emasculated appearance of Attis (*niveis...manibus*, 63.8; *roseis...labellis*, 63.74).

The extended and detailed description of the spinning (64.311-19) serves to emphasize the eternal nature of their task (64.310). The Parcae represent the older order in the divine world, whose threads of destiny are difficult to alter.¹⁷¹ In this regard, they recall the Eumenides on whom Ariadne calls for vengeance against Theseus. The analogy is made clearer through the threads that the Parcae draw out (*fila*, 64.312; *filo*, 64.317), an obvious parallel to the thread which Ariadne gives Theseus (*filo*, 64.113). Some of the same vocabulary describing the twisting of the spindle (*prono in pollice torquens / libratum tereti versabat turbine fustum*, 64.313-14) is used in the simile describing the death of the Minotaur (*turbo contorquens*, 64.107; *prona cadit*, 64.109) and in Ariadne's reference to Theseus' ordeal (*ego te in medio versantem turbine leti*, 64.149). Ariadne's tragedy is therefore still paramount in the poem, as clearly reflected in the threads spun by the Parcae as it is depicted by the threads on the coverlet. All these details combine to suggest that the song of the Parcae may not foretell a future of complete happiness for this couple.

They sing their song with clear voice (*clarisona...voce / talia divino fuderunt carmine fata*, 64.320-21) just as Ariadne voices her complaint (*clarisonas...fudisse...voces*, 64.125). Their song tells the truth (*veridicos...cantus*, 64.306) which no amount of time will prove false

¹⁷¹Beyers, "Refrain," 88, believes the refrain in the song contributes to the universality of the song: "Because it is both full of meaning and so without meaning, the refrain has a quality of universality; it adapts itself to each strophe, and may be heard in the mind as the expression of a variety of emotions."

(*carmine, perfidiae quod post nulla arguet aetas*, 64.322). How different from the song of the Parcae are the words of Theseus, repeatedly proven false (*perfide*) by Ariadne. The Parcae represent the immutable truth in contrast to the fickleness and deception of Theseus (64.143-48).

The emphasis on the truth of their song recalls two previous examples of singing. In poem 62, the girls prepare themselves to defeat the song of the boys (*canent quod vincere par est*, 62.9). The girls' truth differs markedly from that of the boys. The boys win the day, but the dark aspects of love and marriage which the girls present have become very real in the subsequent poems. In poem 63, Attis sings of the joys of worshipping Cybele (*canere haec...adorta est tremebunda*, 63.11); but soon the deceptive nature of his maddened song becomes apparent and he, like Ariadne, is reduced to pouring forth his sad lament. In light of these songs, the fact that the Parcae sing a song of truth is encouraging; but the lines leading up to this song create feelings of ominous foreboding. Since their song will tell of the future of Peleus and Thetis and their unborn child, will it describe the *heroum virtutes* as the coverlet was supposed to do, or will it tell a tale of perfidy?

Indeed, it is the *virtus* of Peleus that begins the song of the Parcae (64.323-26), in a description matching almost word for word the initial reference to him (64.25-27). Peleus represents the glory of his race, glory increased by his great deeds of valour (*decus eximium magnis virtutibus augens*, 64.323), and by his fortunate marriage with a goddess (*eximie taedis felicibus aucte*, 64.25). He is the "pillar of Thessaly" and

beloved of Jupiter (*Emathiae tutamen, Opis carissime nato*, 64.324), phrases already used to magnify the significance of this wedding for him:

Thessaliae columnen Peleu, cui Iuppiter ipse,
ipse suos divum genitor concessit amores.

(64.26-27)

But the use of *decus* also recalls both the flower of Athenian youths, including Theseus, who were sent to Crete (*electos iuvenes simul et decus innuptarum*, 64.78) to Ariadne's horror, and the former happy existence of Attis, now irretrievably lost (*ego eram decus olei*, 63.64). Peleus and Theseus are of equal station; but the glory earned by Theseus in the inner story can hardly be called valorous. The *virtus Pelei*, therefore, provides a startling contrast to the *virtus Thesei* already portrayed so dramatically.

Nevertheless, such darkness seems far away as the Parcae mention the happy day of the wedding (*laeta...luce*, 64.325). This matches the happiness of the mortal guests (*oppletur laetanti regia coetu*, 64.33) and recalls Hymen's happy arrival (*laetus*, 61.8) for an equally joyous day for the bride in poem 61 (*hilari die*, 61.11). But the reader remembers that both Ariadne and Aegeus also expected happy outcomes, Ariadne a wedding (*conubia laeta*, 64.141), Aegeus a happy return of his son (*cernens ut laeta gaudia mente / agnoscam*, 64.236-37), even though he sent him off with a heavy heart (*non ego te gaudens laetanti pectore mittam*, 64.221). But the actions of the deceitful Theseus engendered different results. As the first stanza concludes, the Parcae urge Peleus to accept their truthful oracle (*veridicum oraclum*, 64.326).

They declare that Hesperus will soon come, bringing welcome gifts for the couple (*adveniet tibi iam portans optata maritis / Hesperus*, 64.328-29). The mention of Hesperus recalls 62.1-2, where Vesper brings the welcome wedding-day (*Vesper... / expectata... lumina tollit*).¹⁷² But poem 62 also contains a difference of opinion about Hesperus: the girls think it is a cruel star (62.20), the boys a pleasing one (62.26). The Parcae come down on the favourable side of Hesperus, since they declare Thetis will come with an "auspicious star" (*fausto cum sidere*, 64.329).¹⁷³ By calling Thetis Peleus' wife (*coniunx*, 64.329), the Parcae recall Juno's role (*sancta... coniuge*, 64.298) and the positive allusions to marital union from 61.225-26 (*boni / coniuges*), and 62.54 (*est ulmo coniuncta marito*).¹⁷⁴ But all too vivid are Ariadne's references to Theseus as *coniunx* (*liquerit immemori discedens pectore coniunx*, 64.123; *coniugis an fido consoler memet amore?* 64.182).

Thetis will pour over Peleus' mind a love that "charms the soul," "turning his thoughts aside from other things"¹⁷⁵ (*flexanimo mentem perfundat amore*, 64.330), as Hymen charms the bride at 61.33 (*mentem amore revinciens*). Ariadne, however, cannot do the same to Theseus' cruel mind (*nullane res potuit crudelis flectere mentis / consilium?* 64.136-37). Thetis' love can flow as abundantly as the song of the Parcae itself

¹⁷²See Kidd, "Hesperus," 28.

¹⁷³To me, this confirms the ambiguity of such signs. If the Parcae must declare that the star will be favourable, the implication is that it might not be. The same ambiguity is implied in 61.19-20: *bona cum bona / nubet alite virgo*.

¹⁷⁴Also *coniugis cupidam novi* (61.32); *boni / coniugator amoris* (61.45); *ne pugna cum tali coniuge, virgo* (62.59).

¹⁷⁵Quinn, *The Poems*, 342.

(*fuderunt...fata*, 64.321); but Ariadne's complaint of unhappy love can also flow as abundantly (*fudisse...voces*, 64.125). The love of Thetis will charm the mind (*mentem*, 64.330) of Peleus, in contrast to the troubled minds of Ariadne (*tota pendeat perdita mente*, 64.70), Theseus (*crudelis...mentis*, 64.136), Aegeus (*nostraeque incendia mentis*, 64.226) and Attis, clear for a brief moment of sanity (*liquidaque mente*, 63.46).

Thetis will unite with Peleus in lazy slumbers, placing her smooth arms under his manly neck:

languidulosque paret tecum coniungere somnos,
levia substernens robusto brachia collo.

(64.331-32)

The theme of union (*iungere, coniungere*) is manifest in the many allusions to *coniunx*, both positive and negative, mentioned already. It is also evident in the creation of the Argo (*pineae coniungens inflexae texta carinae*, 64.10) which enables the couple to meet, resulting in a marriage sanctioned by Nereus (*Thetidi...iugandum Pelea*, 64.21). This seems to counter the theme of disunion in the cycle. The maddened and emasculated Attis is a *iuvenca* freed from the yoke (*veluti iuvenca vitans onus indomita iugi*, 63.33); later, Cybele frees her lion from its yoke (63.76, 84), ironically to impose a symbolic yoke of servitude onto Attis, joining him to a relationship he does not want. Most critically, perhaps, Apollo and Artemis refuse to celebrate the union of Peleus and Thetis (*nec Thetidis taedas voluit celebrare iugalis*, 64.302). Therefore, when the Parcae sing of their happy union, a positive element in their song, it is impossible not to think

of other negative marital unions, especially the tragic pairing of Ariadne and Theseus.

Other elements in this stanza also help to obscure its overtly positive nature. Thetis will lie with Peleus in "languorous slumber" (*languidulosque...somnos*, 64.331).¹⁷⁶ But other references to *languor* have not been so positive. Ariadne's languorous heart bears the terrible madness caused by Cupid (*languenti corde*, 64.99); her eyes languish (*languescit*, 64.188) as she nears death on Dia. Aegeus' eyes are also tired with worry for his son (*languida...lumina*, 64.219-20). The fact that the Parcae concentrate on the sleep which Thetis will share with Peleus recalls the other significant references to sleep. When Attis awakens from the languorous sleep that overtakes him (*labante languore oculos sopor operit*, 63.37), he realizes to his horror the irrevocable mutilation he has done to himself and curses the deed. Ironically, Sleep himself enjoys a relationship with Pasithea of the type that Attis longs for and can no longer attain. Most recently, Ariadne awakens to a world suddenly made hostile and deadly (64.56-57; 122). The reference to the loving sleep of Peleus and Thetis serves to enhance the tragic sleep of Attis and Ariadne.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶The diminutive intensifies the emotion of the scene and recalls the many diminutives from poems 61 and 62.

¹⁷⁷The only element in the stanza that seems unclouded by negative connotations is the reference to Thetis' arms in 64.332. This may recall the attendant in poem 61 releasing the bride's delicate arm to enable her to approach her husband (*mitte brachiolum teres*, 61.174). On the other hand, the tree which shakes its branches (*quatientem brachia*, 64.105), symbolic of the living Minotaur, is soon in ruin. Perhaps this reference to the arms of Thetis is meant as a learned allusion to the story that Peleus won Thetis by holding on to her as she changed shapes (Ovid *Meta.* 11.229-65). Now she embraces her former opponent.

The next stanza (64.334-36) brings back the theme of the house. The Parcae glorify the palace of Peleus that can protect such love as this (*nulla domus tales umquam contextit amores*, 64.334). The house is conducive to fostering the strong union between the married couple (*nullus amor tali coniunxit foedere amantes*, 64.335). This union is based on a *foedus*, a strong word, which imply that all legal and religious constraints are conspiring to make the marriage last.¹⁷⁸ The phrasing of this passage, with the anaphora of *nulla...nullus* recalls 61.61-75 where no honest love-affair will occur, no house will rear children, no land will produce guardians unless Hymen is willing to give his blessing.

As Quinn notes, this stanza is a Makarismos totally in keeping with a marriage hymn.¹⁷⁹ But once again the unbounded felicity of the stanza cannot help but emphasize the lack of good fortune in the houses of others in the cycle. If the house of Manlius and Iunia is secure at the end of poem 61,¹⁸⁰ it is only after the threats to that security (the various examples of the potential infidelity of the groom) are apparently put to rest.¹⁸¹ The boys in poem 62 revel in their final victory, based on the legality of their marriage contract; but it is a victory won over the intense arguments of the girls whose views of security mean never leaving the

¹⁷⁸This is similar to the emphasis on the legal contract in poem 62 (*desponsa*, 62.27; *pepigere*, 62.28; and 62.59-65).

¹⁷⁹Quinn, *The Poems*, 342.

¹⁸⁰The closed doors at the end of poem 61 represent the security of the house which hide and protect the *boni coniuges* inside, just as Peleus' palace protects (*contextit*, 64.334) the lovers in poem 64.

¹⁸¹The references in poem 62 to the thief that may steal the bride away, thereby requiring the custodial protection of Hesperus (62.33-37), and the girls' image of the virginal flower secure behind a fence (62.39-42) also illustrate this theme.

parents' house, views totally antithetical to marriage. In poem 63, Cybele's house (*domus Cybebes*, 63.20, 35) becomes symbolic of the negative aspects of love: it is the house where the emasculated Attis must now live, far away from his own house (63.58), a house decorated with garlands of love (63.66). So terrible is the message of poem 63, that the poet appears in person to ward off such a goddess from his own house (63.92).

If the palace of Peleus in poem 64 is consistently portrayed as blessed,¹⁸² it is in total contrast with Theseus' house, which he finds in mourning on his return (*funesta domus...tectata*, 64.246), and with Ariadne's *domus*, now a desolate island, far from her family home. The *concordia* (64.336) of Peleus and Thetis praised by the Parcae provides a bitter comment on the *cor immite* of Theseus and especially the *cor ardens, indomitum, furens* of Ariadne.¹⁸³

For the next seven stanzas, the Parcae sing of Achilles, the offspring of this celebrated marriage. The poet has prepared for this aspect of the poem in several ways. By having the Parcae sing the epithalamium instead of the Muses, he can easily describe future events in this marriage.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, the end of poem 64 bears a strong resemblance to the end of poem 61. The earlier poem concludes with Manlius and Iunia playing with the yet-unborn Torquatus, who is equated with Telemachus; this takes the reader back to the time of the Trojan War. Poem 64 ends with Peleus and Thetis, via the song of the Parcae, and with a portrait of the

¹⁸²64.32, 46, 284.

¹⁸³Cf. especially 64.64, where Ariadne's tortured breast is no longer covered, protected (*contecta*) by her clothing.

¹⁸⁴See Fordyce, *Commentary*, 317.

yet-unborn Achilles. This is even more logical since already present at the wedding are Chiron and Prometheus, who have associations with Achilles.

Finally, words signifying son, daughter, or offspring are used repeatedly in poem 64.¹⁸⁵ In several passages they provide general references, to the heroes of old (*nati*, 64.22), and to the children of Jupiter (*natisque*, 64.298; *nato*, 64.324). More often, however, the words are used to refer to Ariadne (*filia*, 64.117; *gnata*, 64.119) and especially to Theseus (*gnatum*, 64.213; *gnate*, 64.215, 216; *gnati*, 64. 220), in a context of extreme tragedy, as Ariadne leaves her parents to elope with Theseus, and Aegeus bids farewell to his son as he sails for Crete. The reader therefore is conditioned to expect a significant reference to offspring in the outer story, even one, perhaps, placed in a tragic context.¹⁸⁶

The first stanza describes the courage and speed of Achilles (64.338-41). His is the courage of a soldier in the heroic age who knows no fear (*expers terroris*, 64.338). The same can hardly be said of Ariadne (*quantos illa tulit languenti corde timores!* 64.99). Achilles will never show his back to his enemies, but will be known for his dauntless breast (*hostibus haud tergo, sed forti pectore notus*, 64.339). In this he differs from Theseus, who does show Ariadne his back as he retreats (*Thesea cedentem*, 64.53). The *pectus Thesei* is, in fact, described as something

¹⁸⁵There are also two references in 62. 21, 22, referring to the child-bride being taken from her mother.

¹⁸⁶See above, note 167, the reference to Daniels, "Song." Curran, "Catullus 64," 175, notes that words denoting reproduction are frequently applied to Ariadne, in a "grotesque travesty of motherhood." Cf. *cuncto concepit corpore flammam* (64.92); [*querellae*] *nascuntur pectore ab imo* (64.198); *lactantis...papillas* (64.65).

less-than-dauntless.¹⁸⁷ Theseus is not the source of great deeds of valour but the cause of heart-breaking sorrow for Ariadne¹⁸⁸ and even Aegeus.¹⁸⁹

Achilles will be able to outrun the "fiery feet" of the deer (*flammea...vestigia*, 64.341) in a contest that ranges far and wide (*vago...certamine*, 64.340). This general description recalls two other contests. Theseus is a victor in a contest for which he has to travel far, directing his wandering feet with the help of Ariadne's thread (*errabunda regens tenui vestigia filo*, 64.113). Attis too knows of wandering, both physically (*vaga pecora*, 63.13) and mentally (*vagus animi*, 63.4); but unlike Achilles, he is unable to win his ultimate battle, or outstrip the far-ranging lion of Cybele (*vadit...pede vago*, 63.86). The result of the battles fought by Theseus and Attis is not great glory but terrible sorrow.¹⁹⁰

The Parcae next turn to Achilles' greatest achievement: no hero will stand against him in the deadly war at Troy (64.343-46). Such exploits are to be expected from the race of heroes addressed so gloriously earlier (64.23). These surely are the valorous deeds the reader expected to encounter when the poet first mentioned the subject (*heroum...virtutes*, 64.51). But the subsequent depiction of those heroic deeds, the *res gestae Thesei*, did not measure up. In order to extol even more the valorous deeds of Achilles, the Parcae begin an extended passage that magnifies the horror of the war around Troy's walls. The Phrygian fields will flow with Trojan blood (*Phrygii...manabunt sanguine <campi>*, 64.344); but so also do they

¹⁸⁷*immemori...pectore*, 64.123; *immite...pectus*, 64.138.

¹⁸⁸64.54, 70, 97, 99, 124, 125, 198, 202, 250.

¹⁸⁹64.221, 223, 226.

¹⁹⁰See Daniels, "Song," 100, for a discussion of *vestigia* in poem 64.

flow with the blood of Attis (*terrae sola sanguine maculans*, 63.7). A positive association (heroic valour) recalls a negative one.

Agamemnon will finally lay waste the Trojan walls; these walls will no longer be able to offer security to the Trojan families inside, in contrast to the security provided to the wedding couple by Peleus' palace (*nulla domus tales umquam contextit amores*, 64.334). But the reference to the King of Mycenae is an oblique one: Agamemnon is the third heir of the perjured Pelops (*periuri Pelopis...tertius heres*, 64.346).¹⁹¹ This brief genealogical reference establishes the concept of the family curse under which Agamemnon, as well as Menelaus and many other heroes, are doomed to suffer a disastrous end to their marriages.¹⁹² Mention of *periuri Pelopis* recalls Ariadne's charge of *periuria* against Theseus (*perfide*).

The slaughter produced in Troy is the subject of the next stanzas. It is categorized initially as the victorious exploits of the Greeks (*egregias virtutes claraque facta*, 64.348) over impersonal enemies. But soon the perspective changes: death acquires a face, and it is the face of grieving mothers at the funerals of their children (*gnatorum in funere matres*, 64.349), their white hair disheveled and falling about their shoulders (*incultum cano solvent a vertice crinem*, 64.350), their withered breasts bruised from constant beating (*putridaque infirmis variabunt pectora palmis*, 64.351). Aegeus' grief is similar, his heart heavy (*non...laetanti pectore*, 64.221), his grey hair fouled with dirt (*canitiem terra atque infuso*

¹⁹¹See Ellis, *Commentary*, 336, for a concise summary of the situation; also H. L. Tracy, "A Note on Catullus 64.346," *CJ* 66 (1970): 64-66; Konstan, *Indictment*, 48.

¹⁹²Cf. the Venus/Paris simile from poem 61.

pulvere foedans, 64.224), as he sends Theseus off to Crete, causing grief for Ariadne through his *virtutes*. The Trojans' hopes, destroyed by Achilles, recall the expectations of the aged parent in poem 61, and the white head nodding assent to the marriage (61.154-56), hoping to rely on the future strength of his heir (61.66-69). The image of the Trojan women mourning their sons contrasts sharply with the image of little Torquatus, hope of the Torquati, whose ancient name shall continue into future generations (61.204-8).

True, these deaths are caused in heroic warfare and even the mothers admit that their sons died because of Achilles' surpassing deeds of courage (*illius egregias virtutes claraque facta / saepe fatebuntur*, 64.348-49); but they do so grudgingly, in keeping with the sentiment found in the *Trojan Women*. Heroic deeds should be part of an encomium to Achilles; but one wonders whether the Parcae are defeating their own purpose by emphasizing the deaths of so many children in a song celebrating another child's birth.

The Parcae continue to detail the slaughter (64.353-55). Achilles, like a reaper mowing down vast fields of corn (*densas praecerpens messor aristas*, 64.353), shall lay low (*prosternet*, 64.355) the bodies of Trojans with his steel. In similar fashion is the Minotaur laid low (*domito saevum prostravit corpore Theseus*, 64.110), to the eventual sorrow of Ariadne, and of Theseus, whose father subsequently hurls himself down from the heights of Athens (*praecipitem*, 64.244). The image of the reaper cutting down so completely the thick ears of corn seems like a positive image,

representing the normal activities of productive agriculture.¹⁹³ This contrasts with the earlier image of deteriorating nature caused by the farmers' attendance at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (64.38-42). But the cutting down of the yellow fields (*flaventia...arva*, 64.354) may remind the reader of the yellow hair of Theseus (*flavo...hospite*, 64.98) and Ariadne (*flavo...vertice*, 64.63), whose disheveled appearance matches the image of mourning women that immediately precedes this stanza. Like the corn, Ariadne and Theseus are emotionally cut down, as is the girls' protected flower (*carptus*, 62.43);¹⁹⁴ all are victims of destructive love.¹⁹⁵

The river Scamander next gives testimony of Achilles' prowess in war (64.357-60). For the second time in the Song of the Parcae, slaughter is attributed to Achilles' great deeds of valour (*magnis virtutibus*, 64.357),¹⁹⁶ proving himself the true son of his father (*magnis virtutibus augens*, 64.323); and once again the slaughter is excessive. The Scamander is a large river, whose flow is made even greater by its union with the

¹⁹³The simile appears to be based on the passage in *Il.* 11.67-71 where the Trojans and Greeks slaughter each other in such great numbers. Mention of the burning sun (*sole sub ardenti*, 64.354) suggests the intensity of Achilles' work, wanting to get it over with as quickly as possible. In *Eclogue 2*, Virgil suggests the love-sick madness of Corydon, who must wander *sole sub ardenti* (*Ecl.* 2.13) and sing of Alexis, while even the reapers are resting from the heat (*fessis messoribus aestu*, *Ecl.* 2.10). Cf. Putnam, "Catullus 64," 193.

¹⁹⁴Cf. Achilles *velut praecerpens messor* (64.353).

¹⁹⁵Although inspired by the letter of the simile at *Il.* 11.67-71, the spirit of the simile in poem 64 seems closer to that found at *Il.* 20.490-503: Achilles, almost maddened, pursues and kills Trojans indiscriminately, like a wind-driven conflagration that consumes the dense forest; he drives his horses relentlessly, trampling bodies under their hooves as easily as yoked bulls trample barley on the threshing floor. This passage from Homer, equating the slaughter caused by Achilles to the wholesale destruction of nature, particularly the forests, is reminiscent of the wholesale gathering of the forests by Peneus for his wedding gift to Peleus and Thetis (64.285-91). Therefore, the image of Achilles cutting down Trojans like a reaper, while heroic in the Bronze Age, becomes less than heroic in the context of poem 64.

¹⁹⁶Also in 64.348.

Hellespont, thereby spreading its waters far and wide (*passim*, 64.358) over a larger area. Yet even this great flow cannot contain the heaps of corpses which choke the current and stain the stream with the warmth of human blood.¹⁹⁷ The reader remembers how Ariadne's clothing also floated far and wide (*passim*, 64.66) on the sea off Dia, a visible symbol of her emotional trauma at the hands of Theseus. The choked and twisting channels of the Scamander suggest other parallels. The slaughter of so many Trojans (*iter caesis angustans corporum acervis*, 64.359) seems to cry out for retribution. Was it not to pay for the slaughter of Androgeos (*Androgeoneae poenas exsolvere caedis*, 64.77) that Theseus went to Crete, leaving his city's walls, already choked by these evils (*angusta malis cum moenia vexarentur*, 64.80); and was he not subsequently cursed by Ariadne in partial retribution for the slaughter of her brother (*fraterna caede*, 64.181) within the twisting channels of the labyrinth (*labyrintheis e flexibus*, 64.114)? Heroic slaughter may immortalize the great heroes of old, but sometimes at a price.

The last testimony to Achilles' greatness is the prize awarded him in death: Polyxena (64.362-70). Such prizes were traditional in the heroic age, but the excessive cruelty of sacrificing her on the tomb of Achilles does not speak well of the Greeks.¹⁹⁸ The fact that the death of Polyxena is extended over two stanzas intensifies the horror of the sacrifice. Polyxena,

¹⁹⁷Curran, "Catullus 64," sees a direct contrast between the Scamander choked with corpses and the Nereids rising from the waves at 64.14-18.

¹⁹⁸This view is expressed in Eur. *Troad.* 622-33 and *Hec.* 251-331. Cf. Putnam, "Catullus 64," 193: "the death of Polyxena, a murder especially 'heroic,' the poet ironically implies, because accomplished after the hero's death (lines 362-64)." This adds fuel to the poet's concluding condemnation of the "heroic" age.

as prize (*praeda*, 64.362) of Achilles, will at least have a magnificent tomb (*teres excelso coacervatum aggere bustum*, 64.363), in contrast to Ariadne, who, unburied, with no tomb, will become prey to wild beasts because of Theseus (*feris dabor alitibusque / praeda, neque iniacta tumulabor mortua terra*, 64.152-53). A detailed description of the sacrifice follows in 64.366-70. Polyxena will die as soon as Fortune allows the Greeks to "break down the binding walls of Neptune" (*Neptunia solvere vincla*, 64.367), a phrase which recalls the security of Peleus' palace (64.334) and the house of Manlius and Iunia (61.224-28). The destruction of Troy leaves the Trojans in the same situation as Ariadne, bereft of habitation (*nullo...tecto*, 64.184).¹⁹⁹ All this is due to Fortune, which was cruel not only to the Trojans, but to Ariadne (*fors...invidit questibus*, 64.170), and to Aegeus (*fortuna.../ eripit invito mihi te*, 64.218-19).

Finally, details of the sacrifice are given. The tomb will be drenched with the slaughter of Polyxena (*alta Polyxenia madaefient caede sepulcra*, 64.368). Like the bodies themselves, the references to death pile up, culminating in the cruelty of Polyxena's sacrifice.²⁰⁰ She is like a victim (*velut...victima*, 64.369), no more than an animal, collapsing under the axe, falling on her knees, a headless corpse. To some degree, she is like the girls' symbolic flower that has lost its bloom (*amisit...florem*,

¹⁹⁹Putnam, "Catullus 64," 195, remarks that "Polyxena becomes an almost symbolic Ariadne, sacrificed to the brutality of the heroic/masculine soul."

²⁰⁰This is the third reference to *caedes* in the last ten lines: the heaps of slaughtered corpses (*caesis...corporum acervis*, 64.359), the river mixed with slaughter (*permixta flumina caede*, 64.360), the slaughter of Polyxena (*Polyxenia...caede*, 64.368). The close proximity of *caesis.../...caede* (64.359-60) has led some critics to emend *caesis*. But the repetition of the word heightens the horror.

62.46), or Attis, who has cut off his own genitals (*relicta...membra sine viro*, 63.6), all victims of binding contracts, devised by men and gods.²⁰¹

The Song of the Parcae, especially in the stanzas devoted to Achilles, presents concepts typical of the heroic age (importance of military prowess, honour and fame earned from slaughter in war, legitimate wartime booty) to which no subjective judgments (especially about the excessive cruelty of some of the details) are given by the Parcae; but these same concepts, when placed in the context of poem 64, especially following the Ariadne story, acquire a strong, negative connotation. One could argue that placing such a judgmental interpretation on the details of the Song is going too far: it is a positive encomium to Achilles and perfectly appropriate as a marriage-hymn. However, the final image of Polyxena's headless corpse falling to the ground is an indisputable indication that the entire Song is to be seen as a critical reflection on the Ariadne story in particular, and on marriage and love in general.²⁰²

The Parcae return to the wedding couple itself in the final three stanzas of the Song (64.372-81), where the dominant themes are love and

²⁰¹Konstan, *Indictment*, 49, points out the similar phrases describing the death of Polyxena (*proiciet...corpus*, 64.370) as a result of Achilles' "*virtus*," and Theseus' goal to die if need be (*corpus.../ proicere*, 64.81-82) to end the sacrifice of Athenian youths to the Minotaur; but the end result of his *virtus* is the abandonment of Ariadne, a victim, like Polyxena, of heroic *virtus*. The use of the phrase in 64.370 "brings out...the incompatibility of the sacrifice with the humane purposes of *virtus*."

²⁰²Catullus uses the same technique elsewhere. For example, most of the details in the description of "nature at rest" (64.38-42) are innocent enough; but the last (and therefore most important) detail clearly indicates a negative element and this requires the reader to reassess the apparently neutral details that went before. Cf. Curran, "Catullus 64," 190-91; Konstan, *Indictment*, 47.

union.²⁰³ The extended encomium to Achilles prompts the Parcae (*quare*, 64.372) to urge the couple to unite in their love (*coniungite amores*, 64.372). This may be a logical structural development within some absolute heroic context (the Parcae would then end the song as they began it); but to urge the couple to produce this hero who will, in the prophetic eyes of the Parcae, cause such slaughter and grief is startling within the context of poem 64. One only has to compare the positive "prophecy" of the future Torquatus from poem 61 (a portrait which also includes an allusion to the heroic age) to see how inappropriate this call to sexual union seems.²⁰⁴

The couple's love is to be desired in their minds (*optatos animi...amores*, 64.372). The importance of the emotions for the various characters in this poem has already been discussed. That their love is desired (*optatos*) suggests many other parallels. The boys in poem 62 feel that there is nothing more desired (*optatius*, 62.30) than uniting in love (*iunxere*, 62.29), especially when the fire of passion is present. The final arguments of the boys and girls revolve around what is desirable (*optavere*, 62.42, 44): to the girls it is the virginal flower; to the boys the wedded vine. While the boys win the day, the girls do establish the possibility that desirable love can take many forms.

²⁰³Editors tend to remove the refrain in 64.378. But, as Quinn, *The Poems*, 347, notes, a quickening of the pace at the end is most suitable, and a break in a section devoted to union/disunion quite appropriate. See also Beyers, "Refrain," 89.

²⁰⁴Cf. Quinn, *The Poems*, 346: "the opening *quare* seems almost ostentatiously to ignore the horror of what has just been prophesied." Note the similarities between *quare agite* (64.372) and *quare age* (61.26); *agite* (61.38); also *agite ite* (63.12); *age ferox <i>* (63.78); *age caede terga cauda* (63.81); *alios age incitatos*, *alios age rabidos* (63.93). The expressions recalls both positive and negative elements from previous poems.

Within poem 64, there are many things considered *optata*. In the outer story, the Argonauts desire to remove the Golden Fleece (*optantes...avellere pellem*, 64.5). That voyage results in the current wedding festivities, the welcome day for which has finally come (*optatae...lucis*, 64.31). Hesperus himself brings welcome gifts to the couple (*portans optata maritis*, 64.328).²⁰⁵ In the inner story, Theseus desires to voyage to Crete, preferring to risk his life than see Athenian youths sail as tribute to Minos (*suum Theseus pro caris corpus Athenis / proicere optavit*, 64.81-82). That voyage too should have resulted in a welcome marriage (*optatos hymenaeos*, 64.141), but ends in tragedy. These contrasting stories of Peleus and Theseus are taken from the age of heroes, described so effusively at the beginning of poem 64 as the most desired of times (*optato saeculorum tempore*, 64.22-23). But the tragic events of the inner story and the horrific litany of Achilles' exploits have coloured the reader's view of that heroic age. Therefore, when the Parcae urge Peleus and Thetis to unite in welcome love, one wonders if complete happiness is possible in this marriage.

The next lines seem to assuage the reader's fears. Peleus, as *coniunx*, is urged to accept his divine spouse in the happy bonds of matrimony (*accipiat coniunx felici foedere divam*, 64.373), consistent with the earlier statement of the Parcae (*nullus amor tali coniunxit foedere amantes*, 64.335), before they chronicled the exploits of Achilles. The bride is urged to be given to the eager groom (*dedatur cupido iam dudum*

²⁰⁵Cf. 62.1-2: *Vesper.../ exspectata...lumina tollit.*

nupta marito, 64.374). Parallels with the happy union in poem 61 are abundant: *te timens cupida novos / captat aure maritus* (61.54-55); *tu fero iuveni in manus /...puellulam / dedis* (61.56-58); *prodeas nova nupta, si / iam videtur* (61.92-93). Great emphasis is placed on the strength of the union (*coniungite*, 64.372; *felici foedere*, 64.373), parallel to 62.59-65. The Parcae sing of the superstition which determines the virginity of a woman: the nurse's evidence will indicate that the marriage will be consummated on the wedding night (64.376-77). Everything suggests that the marriage will be a happy one after all.

But the Song ends on an ambiguous note. Reference to the nurse's thread (*filo*, 64.377) recalls both Ariadne's thread (*filo*, 64.113), in one sense the cause of her tragedy, and the thread of the Parcae (*filo*, 64.317), who have just described the slaughter of Achilles, the child now intimated by the nurse's thread. The mother is concerned (*anxia*, 64.379) that the marriage will not be happy and dash her hope for descendants. This aspect of marriage is the concern of the aged *parens* in 61.51-55, 66-70, and is implied in the boys' imagery of the wedded vine in 62.56 and Attis' horror at his new condition (*ego vir sterilis ero?* 63.69).²⁰⁶

The mother's anxiety recalls two other instances of anxiety in poem 64.²⁰⁷ As Aegeus stands on the heights of Athens scanning the sea for a glimpse of the white sails of Theseus' ship, his *anxia...lumina*

²⁰⁶Why it is the concern of the mother and not the father here is unclear. Perhaps mention of the mother, in a context of separation, is intended to recall the separation of the bride from her mother at the time of the wedding, as elaborated so clearly in poems 61 and 62.

²⁰⁷The bride in poem 61 and the girls in poem 62 are also extremely anxious about their respective weddings.

(64.242) are consumed with tears; in a moment, he plunges to his death when the dark sails are seen. In a similar setting related to Aegeus' death, the troubled Ariadne asks for vengeance for the actions of Theseus which she has just outlined in her lament (*supplicium saevis exposcens anxia factis*, 64.203). In both instances, the anxious concerns result in disaster and death. With these in mind, the concerns of the mother in 64.379 are very serious ones, even though they are apparently laid to rest.

The words expressing the mother's anxieties are strong. She fears the bride will sleep apart from her husband (*secubitu*, 64.380). It is the same fear that the attendants attempt to dismiss for the bride in 61.97-101: *non tuus.../...vir.../...volet / secubare papillis*. What the cause of such estrangement may be, the mother in poem 64 does not know. All she can do is suspect some quarrel (*discordis*, 64.379). In spite of the fact that the Parcae have already celebrated the *concordia* of this marriage (64.336), and even though these concerns are immediately dismissed, the very mention of discord and estrangement is ominous.²⁰⁸

As the Song of the Parcae ends, the ostensibly positive predictions take on a troublesome and foreboding quality. The love between Peleus and Thetis, in the golden age of heroes, is celebrated for its *concordia*; but the details spun by the Parcae contain devastation, death and hints of discord. This Song, like the gifts brought by the immortals, the effects of the mortal guests on nature, and especially the lengthy depiction

²⁰⁸The myth of Peleus and Thetis records that they do separate over Thetis' attempts to make Achilles immortal. These future problems are suggested not only by these final lines, but also by the presence of Chiron, the tutor required for Achilles after the estrangement.

of Ariadne and Theseus on the coverlet, portends anything but happiness in love or marriage.²⁰⁹

XI

Vox Poetae: The Poet's Conclusion

(64.382-408)

A two-line summary of the the Song of the Parcae marks the transition to the Epilogue (64.382-83).²¹⁰ The Song was sung from the heart (*divino...pectore*, 64.383), which is strangely appropriate given the sufferings endured by the hearts of others in this poem. Curiously, the summary declares that the Parcae have celebrated the happiness of Peleus (*felicia Pelei*, 64.382). Ostensibly this is true. The Parcae have declared his marriage a happy one (with any future discord being dismissed as merely the anxieties of the mother) and have sung of the brilliant career of his offspring. The initial *quondam* (64.382) establishes that these details are to be viewed in the context of the Heroic Age.

²⁰⁹J. H. Dee, "Catullus 64 and the Heroic Age: a Reply," *ICS* 7 (1982): 99, notes "it has not been demonstrated that Catullus in particular regarded 'blood and slaughter' as inherently reprehensible or that his concept of *virtus* involved an ethical sense." Much discussion has ensued over this point. But those attempting to answer it have tended to confine their evidence to poem 64. I have attempted to show that the poet's attitude here is dependent on evidence accumulated from poems 61 to 64. See especially the dialogue between Giangrande and Wiseman: Wiseman, "Iacchus"; G. Giangrande, "Catullus 64," *LCM* 2 (1977): 229-31; T. P. Wiseman, "Catullus 64 Again," *LCM* 3 (1978): 21-22; G. Giangrande, "Catullus 64: Basic Questions of Method," *MPhL* 4 (1981): 19-23.

²¹⁰Cf. the two-line transitions into (64.50-51) and out of (64.265-66) the Ariadne story.

This same vague time reference (*quondam*) takes the reader back to the poem's beginning (*Peliaco quondam prognatae vertice pinus*, 64.1). But this is not just a simple "once-upon-a-time" reference; it prepares the reader for the following contrast between the time when gods freely mingled with mankind (64.384-96) and when they did not (64.397-408). In these final lines, the persona of the poet is closer to the surface than anywhere else in the poem. He may not appear as boldly as he does at the end of poem 63, but he does appear nevertheless (*nobis*, 64.406).²¹¹ Why he should surface now is worthy of later investigation.

These lines detail the degeneracy of mankind from the Heroic Age onwards.²¹² The time prior to the fall is outlined first, when gods visited in person the pious houses of heroic man (*domos invisere castas / heroum*, 64.384-85).²¹³ The house is the symbol of the stability and security of the family, for the Torquati, the boys in poem 62,²¹⁴ Attis, Theseus, Ariadne, Peleus and Thetis.²¹⁵ The family is stable primarily because it is protected (*contexta*) by the house. But, as the poet suggests, the house can offer protection and stability only if it is *casta*. Threats to that piety are

²¹¹This reference matches his other appearances in the poem (*compellabo*, 64.24; *sed quid ego*, 64.116).

²¹²This passage is patterned on Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 174-201, and Aratus, *Phaenom.* 100-136. Ovid seems to have these Greek passages and Catullus in mind in *Fasti* 1.247-52 and *Meta.* 1.89-150. *Od.* 7.195-206 also has a bearing on the first part of Catullus' discourse. *Eclogue* 4 seems to be a response to poem 64.

²¹³This matches the reference in Aratus, *Phaenom.* 100-114, where Dikê visits mankind, and the situation is implied in other portrayals of Justice as the last to leave the earth when mankind was wallowing in total degeneracy.

²¹⁴This is indicated primarily by their emphasis at the end of the poem on the contract agreed to by the family members, father and mother.

²¹⁵By my count, there are thirty-eight examples of the various words for house (*domus*, *sedes*, *tecta*) in the cycle.

illustrated throughout the first four poems of the cycle. In poem 61, the wedding itself seems to be in jeopardy because of the bride's fears about the potential infidelity of the groom. In poem 62, the girls' argument for perpetual virginity must be countered by the boys. In poem 63, the act of castration renders Attis incapable of fulfilling the family ideals embodied by the *domus casta*.²¹⁶ In poem 64, Ariadne is torn from her family home and condemned to eternal solitude on a homeless island, while Theseus returns to a home devastated by his father's suicide.

By invoking the time when gods visited mortals, the poet is recalling the traditional morality; but by placing it as a moralizing tag after the *exempla* presented in poem 64, he is also imbuing it with his own personal view of *virtus*. The mythological *exempla* presented in this poem suggest that the old morality was not so moral after all.²¹⁷

Certainly 64.384-96 seem to present a strong case for the morality of the heroic age. Respect for the gods was not yet scorned (*nondum spreta pietate*, 64.386); Jupiter himself attended his sacrifices in the resplendent temple (64.387-89). But even here, the integrity of the case is undermined by events in the main part of poem 64. The palace of Peleus was also resplendent (*sedes.../...fulgenti splendent*, 64.43-44), especially with the

²¹⁶Ironically, of course, his castration ensures that he is forever chaste; but for him, that is a life of eternal damnation.

²¹⁷Cf. Putnam, "Catullus 64," 168: "The ideal [of *concordia*] is never reached, even in the union between Peleus and Thetis, which to ancient authors was above all others the most perfect." Cf. also Bramble, "Structure," 29 (also 32, note 4), who points out that the mortal guests do not really mingle with the gods at the wedding (*quorum post abitum princeps.../ advenit Chiron*, 64.278-79), even though the poet says so at 64.385. This too suggests that the age of heroes is not as ideal as first pictured. See also Curran, "Catullus 64," 185; P. Y. Forsyth, "Catullus 64: The Descent of Man," *Antichthon* 9 (1975): 43.

scene portrayed on the coverlet; and if one hundred bulls fell for Jupiter (*centum procumbere tauros*, 64.389),²¹⁸ so did the Minotaur fall for Theseus, and Polyxena for Achilles. In spite of the poet's claim (*nondum spreta pietas*), Theseus was punished by Jupiter for his neglect of the gods (*neglecto numine divum*, 64.134), in fulfilment of Ariadne's prayer.

In olden days, Bacchus himself led the thiasos; but this description too is filled with important reminiscences. Liber, like Attis, Ariadne, Theseus, and the Maenads, was *vagus* (64.390); yet those wanderings did not always produce happy results. Liber drove his Maenads on the top of Parnassus (*Parnasi vertice summo*, 64.390), a positive reference parallel to the top of Pelion; from there came both the pine tree for the Argo (*Peliaco...vertice*, 64.1), and Chiron (*e vertice Pelei*, 64.278), bearing his wedding gifts. But from the heights of Athens Aegeus hurled his body (*sese...e vertice iecit*, 64.244); Prometheus, also a victim of Jupiter, hung from the heights of Taygetus (*e verticibus praeruptis*, 64.297); the fillets sat on the heads of the Parcae (*residebant vertice vittae*, 64.309) as they foretold happiness for Peleus; but the headdress could not stay on the head of Ariadne (*non flavo retinens...vertice mitram*, 64.63) as she suffered at the hands of Theseus.²¹⁹

²¹⁸J. Cressey, "The Text of Catullus 64.389," *QUCC* 33 (1980): 69-71, attempts to justify the manuscript reading *centum procurrere currus*, citing the parallel with the Argo as *currus* (64.9) and Virgil *Geor.* 3.18 (*centum...currus*). But a similar speech of Alcinous (*Od.* 7.195-206) mentions hecatombs and certainly the lesson of the Minotaur is more relevant than that of the Argo, if the poet's point is that mankind's lack of piety caused the gods to retreat to Olympus.

²¹⁹See Forsyth, "Descent," 44-45. She concludes that the stress on *vertex* and scenes describing "descent" lead directly to the epilogue and its description of the descent of humanity, which took place both in the poet's day and in the heroic age.

The Maenads that Bacchus led in the past were filled with the positive joys of worship, their hair flying, their voices lifting the ritual cry of "evoe" (64.391-93). The men from Delphi happily welcomed this band with smoking altars (*fumantibus aris*, 64.393), a luxury Ariadne can no longer enjoy (*patriis avectam, perfide, ab aris*, 64.132). Moreover, the description of the Maenads from the coverlet portrayed a different, more destructive, thiasos (64.251-64), one that recalled the thiasos (including the maddened Attis) that worshipped Cybele.

In the death-dealing conflict of war (*letifero belli certamine*, 64.394), Mars, Athena and Nemesis took an active role in days past (64.394-96).²²⁰ The mention of death reminds the reader that, even though

²²⁰Critics are bothered by the presence of Nemesis (*Rhamnusia virgo*, 64.395) in this trio, in spite of the fact that the manuscripts seem clearly to indicate the adjective *ramnusia* and Catullus uses the same phrase in two other poems in this cycle (66.71, 68.77). Since it is part of Catullus' structural design to repeat or recall certain key elements within the cycle, it is logical to accept *Rhamnusia virgo* in poem 64 and to try and determine why she should be here.

Fordyce, *Commentary*, 323-24, argues that no other author portrays Nemesis in this context of active warfare and therefore her appearance in poem 64 is "inexplicable." I am convinced, however, that Catullus meant to indicate Nemesis here. Ellis, *Commentary*, 349, in his *excursus* to poem 64, gives other evidence for the juxtaposition of Athena and Nemesis and suggests that the concept of Nemesis indicated by Catullus is of a power "which interferes to assist the cause of the weak against the strong, of the smaller army in conflict with the greater." Already in the inner story Catullus has described the victory of the "weaker" Ariadne over the "stronger" Theseus. Ellis also refers to Pausanias' mention of a statue of Nemesis, crowned with "small figures of Victory," which Ellis regards as a "monument of the humiliation which overtakes overweening arrogance, and the triumph which awaits depressed but defiant patriotism." I find this interpretation most suitable for poem 64, which contains many examples of "overweening arrogance": the career of Achilles, the *virtutes* of Theseus, even to some degree the gifts of Chiron and Peneus. For these reasons alone, Nemesis seems perfectly at home in this warlike trio.

But perhaps the best evidence that Nemesis belongs here is provided by Hesiod, who states that Nemesis and Aidōs are the last to abandon mankind (*Works and Days*, 197-201). Immediately following the reference to *Rhamnusia virgo* in poem 64, Catullus describes the conditions that prompted Nemesis to depart for Olympus.

M. B. Skinner, "Rhamnusia virgo," *ClAnt* 3 (1984): 134-41, has provided the most comprehensive evidence for accepting *Rhamnusia virgo* here. Her most interesting evidence (136-37) is the alternative version of Helen's birth not from Leda,

Ariadne could snatch Theseus from death in his turbulent battle (*in medio versantem turbine leti*, 64.149), she herself was destined to be surrounded by death (*ostentant omnia letum*, 64.187). Even the presence of Dionysus did not seem to offer clear salvation.

Most of the details of this final depiction of Man's fall from grace are adapted from Hesiod and Aratus. But, as he did in the previous lines, the poet has chosen his vocabulary carefully in order to connect these generalizing statements to the specific themes in poems 61 to 64. The earth is "wet," "dipped" in unspeakable crime (*tellus scelere est imbuta nefando*, 64.397). While the poet will soon list examples of these unspeakable crimes, he has already suggested one with *imbuo*. This same verb is used to describe the Argo, the first ship to "wet" its prow in the untried sea: *illa*

but from Nemesis, a birth made necessary, of sorts, because of Thetis' reluctance to marry Zeus. This provides a clear connection to poem 64: "Such a juxtaposition and thematic cross-referencing of the Nemesis and Thetis myths would have forged a strong poetic link between the engendering of Helen, the cause of the Trojan War, and that of Achilles, its greatest hero." Skinner also argues that Catullus' learned audience would have known about what happened immediately after the nuptials: the interruption by Eris and the contest over the Golden Apple, setting in motion the rape of Helen and the entire Trojan War. As the title of his article suggests, G. B. Townend, "The Unstated Climax of Catullus 64," *G&R* 30 (1983): 21-30, considers this an important element in poem 64.

One further bit of intriguing evidence is offered by Skinner (140-41). A story attributed to Varro suggested that the people of Rhamnus bought as their cult statue of Nemesis one that was originally a statue of Venus. Skinner remarks (141): "The mental picture of a Nemesis resembling Venus, and perhaps of a Venus actually transformed into Nemesis, may underlie each Catullan use of the formula *Rhamnusia virgo*, for in all three contexts the concept of love injuring or destroying self and others is of primary thematic importance." See also Konstan, *Indictment*, 34-35, and 38, note 74.

Forsyth, "Descent," 46-47, prefers a reference to Artemis and argues that her presence here would remind the reader of Troy (and Achilles from the Song of the Parcae) and contrast with her absence from the wedding.

rudens cursu prima imbuat Amphitriten (64.11). By implication, that moment represents the beginning of mankind's fall.²²¹

This is not an original idea. In the Golden Age, the earth is frequently characterized by its ability spontaneously to provide all the means necessary for man's well-being.²²² That all changes when strife, conflict and crime infect mankind. The gods are no longer so well-disposed to man, who now must work to acquire those things spontaneously supplied before. The symbol of this fall from grace is the ship: in Hesiod, it is the ship that takes the Greeks to Troy, to meet ruin in war;²²³ in Aratus, the ship is placed in direct contrast to the portrayal of the animals and Justice herself as the great providers.²²⁴ In poem 64, the Argo and the men who sail on her represent a heroic age that is already tainted with the first traces of unspeakable crime (*scelere est imbuta nefando*, 64.397).²²⁵ It places the entire content of poem 64 into the centre of the picture of man's

²²¹See G. M. Hirst, "Notes 1908," 180: "Instances in this poem where Catullus has followed the habit of the Alexandrian school in beginning and ending an episode with the same words or ideas have been often noted, but so far as I know the above instance has not been given." See also Bramble, "Structure," 35-37; Konstan, *Indictment*, 16.

²²²*Works and Days* 117-19; *Phaenom.* 112-13.

²²³*Works and Days* 164-65.

²²⁴*Phaenom.* 110-11.

²²⁵Later poets seem to have interpreted poem 64 in this way. The Argo is specifically cited as the symbol of mankind's baser nature. Ovid mentions it in his account of the degeneracy of mankind, using the synecdoche of the pine tree to represent the Argo: *nondum caesa suis, peregrinum ut viseret orbem, / montibus in liquidas pinus descenderat undas* (*Meta.* 1.94-95). Cf. 64.1-2: *pinus / dicuntur liquidas Neptuni nasse per undas*. See also *Meta.* 1.133-34.

In *Eclogue* 4, clearly intended as a positive response to poem 64, Virgil recognizes that some traces of mankind's old sins will remain, requiring men to sail the seas, to send out another Argo, and to despatch another Achilles: *pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis, / quae temptare Thetim ratibus [iubeant]* (*Ecl.* 4.31-32); *altera quae vehat Argo / delectos heroas* (*Ecl.* 4.34-35). As the Golden Age returns, however, Virgil declares that the pine ships will no longer ply the seas: *nec nautica pinus / mutabit merces* (*Ecl.* 4.38-39).

degeneracy. It is not just the story of Ariadne and Theseus, the obvious choice, that represents this degeneracy: it is also the story of Peleus and Thetis, a story made possible through the voyage of the Argo, the symbol of man's fall.²²⁶

All men have banished Justice from their covetous mind (*iustitiamque omnes cupida de mente fugarunt*, 64.398). The phrase *cupida de mente* cannot be read in this passage without thinking of the many examples of *mens* (or *animus/anima* or *pectus* or *cor*) already mentioned: the intense emotions that dwell in the minds of Ariadne, Theseus, Aegeus, Peleus and Thetis are no different from those that afflict degenerate man.²²⁷ The adjective *cupida*, while ostensibly indicating the greed of these men, also subtly suggests Cupid and the sorrows he causes for Ariadne and Theseus. Apart from his personal appearance in 64.94, he is indirectly present when Ariadne first meets Theseus (*hunc...cupido conspexit lumine virgo*, 64.86), a fact to which she alludes in her later condemnation of Theseus (*cupiens animus*, 64.145; *cupidae mentis*, 64.147). Cupid also has a hand in urging Theseus to fight the Minotaur (*cupiens*, 64.101). The influence of Cupid as illustrated on the coverlet also affects those wedding guests who look upon the embroidered scene (*cupide spectando*, 64.267). Even Peleus and Thetis are not immune from his influence (*dedatur cupido iam dudum nupta marito*, 64.374). Are the *cupidae mentes* of these heroes so different from those who have banished Justice?

²²⁶Cf. Ariadne's thoughts on the infidelity of man (64.143-48) and Putnam, "Catullus 64," 175-76.

²²⁷Cf. Konstan, *Indictment*, 24-26.

The specific details of this age of injustice are given in the following lines. Most of these examples can be found, with some variations, in Hesiod: the fratricide,²²⁸ the son's neglect of his duty to his dead parents,²²⁹ the unnatural affections of fathers and mothers for those with whom they should not become enamoured.²³⁰ But the generalizing reference to the brother who sprinkles his hands with his brothers' blood (*perfundere manus fraterno sanguine fratres*, 64.399) recalls Ariadne's admission that she was partly responsible for shedding her brother's blood (*respersum iuvenem fraterna caede*, 64.181). The son who mourns too little for his dead parents (*destitit extinctos gnatus lugere parentes*, 64.400) represents an unnatural reversal of the norm: but is Aegeus' premature mourning for his son (*nostros...luctus*, 64.226), or his subsequent death, caused by Theseus' neglect of the duty imposed by his father, any more normal?

Equally unnatural and horrendous is the father who hopes for the death of his young son in order to marry a young wife without incurring that son's displeasure.²³¹ Such a marital complication may be intended to

²²⁸Cf. *Works and Days* 184; see also *Meta.* 1.145.

²²⁹Cf. *Works and Days* 185-88; see also *Meta.* 1.148.

²³⁰Cf. *Works and Days* 182; see also *Meta.* 1.146-47.

²³¹The familial complications of 64.401-2 have engendered many articles. The best solution seems to me to be the complicated, but apparently logical, interpretation of Giangrande, published in a trio of articles: G. Giangrande, "The Stepmother-motif in Catullus," *Eranos* 73 (1975): 109-11; G. Giangrande, "Catullus and Latin Grammar," *AC* 47 (1978): 540-45; G. Giangrande, "Catullus and the *innupta noverca*," *CL* 3 (1983): 77. See also T. D. Papanghelis, "Catullus 64.402," *Hellenica* 32 (1980): 356-59; T. K. Hubbard, "The Unwed Stepmother: Catullus 64.400-402," *CPh* 89 (1984): 137-39; P. A. Watson, "The case of the murderous father: Cat. 64.401-2," *LCM* 9 (1984): 114-16.

recall Jupiter's problem in courting and marrying Thetis.²³² Nor is the mother who wishes to couple with her own son any less horrendous. The depiction of the impious mother "spreading herself out beneath her son" (*substernens*, 64.403) recalls Thetis' act of stretching forth her arms beneath Peleus' neck (*substernens...brachia collo*, 64.332). The incestuous mother is especially condemned because her act causes such great offence against the deified ancestors (*divos scelerare penates*, 64.404). In the general malaise presented here, can anyone escape judgment? Even Jupiter himself cannot be considered so innocent, whose violent and (can one say it?) impious acts against his own father form such an important part of the mythology, especially in Hesiod.

All these instances culminate in a statement of general chaos: right and wrong are confounded in evil madness (*omnia fanda nefanda malo permixta furore*, 64.405). The mothers of Troy can speak of this as the deep rivers become polluted with the flood of human slaughter (*alta tepefaciet permixta flumina caede*, 64.360). The family of Priam can speak of this as they watch the lofty tomb become drenched with the blood of Polyxena's sacrifice (*alta Polyxenia madefient caede sepulcra*, 64.368). Ariadne knows of this as she bears witness to the abandoned promises of Theseus, and suffers the agony of madness in her heart (*indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores*, 64.54; *ardenti corde furentem*, 64.124; *amenti caeca furore*, 64.197). And Attis knows of this, his body and mind a maze

²³²The use of the word *genitor* here may recall the reference to Jupiter in 64.26-27: *Iuppiter ipse, / ipse suos divum genitor concessit amores*. This is followed by an account of the relationship of Thetis to other members of the family (*Nereine, neptem*).

of confusion, driven to madness by Cybele (*stimulatus...furenti rabie*, 63.4; *furibunda*, 63.31, 54; *ravidus furor animi*, 63.38).

As a result of this moral chaos, the gods no longer have any concern for mankind; they have turned aside their "mind" that dispenses Justice (*iustificam nobis mentem avertere deorum*, 64.406), and removed their presence from the earth. The words used here recall the goal of the Argonauts to remove the Golden Fleece (*avertere pellem*, 64.5). This confirms that the Argo is indeed a manifestation of the departure of Justice from the world. But the essential element in these two passages, the concept of separation (*avertere*), recurs frequently in this cycle. The bride is taken from her mother, as is Ariadne;²³³ Attis cuts off his genitals and is also cut off from his home and his former love-life; Ariadne too is severed from her home; Aegeus, already deprived of his son's presence for so long (64.215-20), tragically thinks that Theseus is dead and commits suicide; Theseus must then return to a home where happiness has been destroyed forever; the mortal guests leave their homes causing nature to deteriorate; the sons and daughters of Troy are torn from their families by the heroic acts of the Greeks; even Peleus and Thetis will separate and eventually be deprived of their son. Manifestations of the departure of Justice are found throughout these four poems.

How remarkably different is this final view of the heroic age from the initial glorious apostrophe to it in 64.22-30. This represents a thematic development in poem 64 that is pointedly different from the developments

²³³See 61.3, 58; 62.21 (*complexu avellere matris*), 22; 64.88, 118.

in poems 61 to 63. To be sure, all four poems demonstrate linear thematic development, and in three of the four poems the development is logical and even anticipated. The hesitant bride in poem 61 is finally united with the groom. The boys in poem 62 are able to overcome their initial lack of preparation and win the singing contest. These are outcomes to be expected in epithalamia. In poem 63, on the other hand, the violent ending for Attis is not at all expected from the initial and traditional portrait of the ecstatic follower of Cybele. But this unexpected development is presented logically and is nursed gradually to its startling conclusion through the incorporation of the Dawn passage (63.37-49) that bridges the gap between the established myth (the ecstatic, apparently willing follower of Cybele) and the new version (the unwilling victim of the goddess' madness). In this sense, then, even the non-traditional ending of the Attis myth is achieved through the poet's skilful and planned manipulation of his text to produce a logical, new linear development.

This is not the case in poem 64. The poet has purposely devised this poem to read not as an already fully-formed creation, springing Athena-like from his creative brow, but as a living organism, one that can and does change before the reader's eyes, not because of the poet's input but almost in spite of it. The initial apostrophe to the heroic age (64.22-30) portends nothing but a positive development of the myth, much like the beginning of poem 63. The spectacular voyage of the Argo, filled with such promise, culminating in the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, is bathed in the

brightly-coloured light of the mythological past.²³⁴ But the depiction on the coverlet is clouded in the shadows of despair;²³⁵ as a result, when the poet returns to the wedding festivities after the description of the coverlet, the scene seems less bright. The trees placed by Peneus cover the gathering with shade; Apollo, god of the sun, and Artemis, goddess of the moon, are absent. Even the Song of the Parcae, which contains many bright images,²³⁶ is intermingled with many sombre ones,²³⁷ and it is these which have a greater impact on the reader's mind.

Only at the end of the poem does the poet (and the reader) realize that his initial positive perception of the heroic age (*o nimis optato saeculorum tempore nati / heroes*, 64.22-23) has in fact been a deception. The poem pretends to represent that glorious time when gods and mortals freely mingled, when Justice still visited such gatherings as the wedding of Peleus and Thetis; but the living entity of the poem eventually makes it clear that the heroic age is in fact not the "best of times." Like Theseus, the poem's thematic development *celat dulci crudelia forma*.

²³⁴*auratam, caerulea, incanuit, candenti, luce, gurgito cano, fulgenti auro atque argento, candet ebur solis, collucent pocula mensae, tota domus gaudet regali splendida gaza, pulvinar dente politum, tincta roseo conchyli purpura fuco*

²³⁵*Idalium frondosum, languenti corde, expalluit, devinctam lumina somno, in medio turbine leti, purpurea veste, celans dulci crudelia forma consilia, amenti caeca furore, caeca mentem caligine Theseus consitus, languida lumina, non laetanti pectore, canitiem terra atque infuso pulvere foedans, carbasus obscurata ferrugine Hibera, funestam vestem, funesta tecta*

²³⁶*laeta luce, Hesperus, fausto cum sidere, flammae vestigia, clara facta, sole sub ardenti flaventia arva, oriente luce*

²³⁷*languidulos somnos, cum incultum cano solvent a vertice crinem, putrida pectora, densas praecerpens messor aristas, Troiugenum infesto prosternet corpora ferro*

The subtle things (the ominous symbol of nature decayed or destroyed, the unspoken past history of Jupiter, Peleus, and Thetis, the prophetic presence of Prometheus and Chiron) and the obvious things (the unmistakable witness of Ariadne and the excessive cruelty of Achilles' career) create a body of evidence that can no longer be overlooked.²³⁸ The poet himself bursts into the narrative at 64.384, cutting off the wedding festivities as the Parcae end their song with an ominous reference to estrangement in the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. The outer story does not receive any substantial conclusion, no touching scene like the one that closes poem 61,²³⁹ no strong statement about the wedding couple's eternal bliss, not even a gnomic utterance on the happiness of all marriages.

Instead, the poet, himself "startled" by the thematic direction his poem has taken, can do nothing but pour forth his recantation of the earlier apostrophe to the heroic age.²⁴⁰ The gods may have shown themselves to mortals in the past (64.385), but to what end? The brightness of Peleus' wedding is eclipsed by the darkness of Ariadne's tragedy. If the same

²³⁸Bramble, "Structure," 24, interprets poem 64 thus: "Catullus handles the account of the wedding ceremony in such a way as to insinuate that the time of the marriage was a turning point in events. Man mixed with god, but the seeds of decadence were already planted." I would still argue that the poet (as distinct from Catullus) along with the reader must wait until the end to be aware of this conclusion. Bramble himself seems to realize this (or else he contradicts himself) on page 35.

²³⁹In fact, the conclusion of 64 is the direct opposite of the end of poem 61: it is the death of the yet-unborn Achilles that is pictured by the Fates.

²⁴⁰Kinsey, "Irony," 915, suggests that Catullus does not give some of the more sordid details concerning Jupiter, Thetis, and Peleus at the beginning of poem 64 because he does not want to spoil "the dignity of the gods and their harmony with men." Kinsey argues that the poet is displaying irony throughout the poem, manifest in part by what he calls Catullus' apparent "naive enthusiasm" at the beginning. I would argue that the enthusiasm for the gods and heroes at the beginning is poetically sincere, and that this sincerity is unexpectedly destroyed by the events portrayed on the coverlet and the song of the Parcae. See Bramble, "Structure," 35.

golden age contains both *virtutes Pelei* and *virtutes Thesei Achilleique*, what is the definition of *virtus*?²⁴¹ All this also comes after the witness of Attis, whose apparent ecstasy is but a sham. The examples of Peleus/Thetis and Ariadne/Theseus prove that everything is confounded: *omnia fanda nefanda malo permixta furore* (64.405). With such mythological examples, the fears of the girls in poem 62 and the bride in poem 61 seem more real and terrible. The golden age is no different from present ages.²⁴²

At the end of poem 64, the gods no longer think it worthy to visit mortal company in person, nor suffer the touch of the bright light of day (*quare nec talis dignantur visere coetus, / nec se contingi patiuntur lumine claro*, 64.407-8). Gone is the brightness of the beginning of poem 64 (*optatae...lucis*, 64.31) when the guests gathered for the wedding (*laetanti...coetu*, 64.33); with it is also gone the brightness of the previous poems (61.11; 62.1-2; 63.39-40). At the end of poem 64, man must face the same situation which he found in Hesiod after the departure of Justice: nothing but grievous troubles and no defence against injustice.²⁴³ For the poet too, there do not seem to be any answers.

²⁴¹Cf. K. J. Reckford, "Some Appearances of the Golden Age," *CJ* 54 (1958): 81: "although [Catullus'] picture of a time when gods mingled with men suggests a Golden Age, it is already an Age of Heroes, and Theseus the deceitful is as much a hero as the good Peleus." D. F. S. Thomson, "Aspects of Unity in Catullus 64," *CJ* 57 (1961): 52, points out that the expression *virtutes...namque* is used in two crucial points in the poem: to introduce what Thomson rather inaccurately calls "the lay of Theseus' conquest of the Minotaur" (which, in fact, does not actually occur until 64.76-115 - the expression introduces Ariadne) and the violent exploits of Achilles (64.348-70). This certainly links the inner and outer stories, and further condemns Achilles by linking his *virtutes* to those of Theseus.

²⁴²Cf. Curran, "Catullus 64, 191-92.

²⁴³*Works and Days* 200-201.

CHAPTER 5: POEM 65¹

The Poet's Letter to Hortalus

The opening lines of poem 65 read almost as a direct continuation of the concluding lines of poem 64. The persona of the poet, so close to the surface at the end of the previous poem (*nobis*, 64.406), becomes manifest at the beginning of poem 65 (*me*, 65.1). The psychological numbness felt at the end of poem 64 is expressly revealed in the opening line of the subsequent poem: *me assiduo confectum...dolore* (65.1). Although a few more lines are required to determine the exact cause of his grief, the initial impression of this poem is that the same *Weltschmerz* from poem 64 is the source of the poet's distress.²

The poet is troubled by a two-fold grief: *dolor* and some sort of *cura*. The word *cura* is used eleven times in the cycle, six times in poem 64 alone.³ All of the examples in poem 64 refer to the sorrows suffered by Ariadne because of the tragic love affair with Theseus.⁴ It is logical, therefore, to interpret *cura* in poem 65 as some sort of love-related sorrow or concern.

¹See Appendix J concerning the place of Poem 65 within the Long Poems.

²This delay in revealing the context is the same technique used in 64.52-54, 100-102.

³62.16; 64.62, 69, 72, 95, 148, 250; 66.23; 68.18, 51.

⁴Cf. especially the last line of the Ariadne episode: *multiplies animo volvebat saucia curas* (64.250).

The combination of these two sorrows has kept the poet from his writing (*sevocat a doctis...virginibus*, 65.2). Separation has become an important theme in this cycle, especially the separation from the family or the home, and the stability that nurtures the happiness of the individual. In most instances so far, love is the cause of that separation (the love of the groom for the bride, the madness-inspired love of Attis for Cybele, the misguided love of Ariadne for Theseus). But it is death that separates Theseus from his father; and in the most recent example, death at the hands of the Greeks causes the irreparable separation of the sons of Troy from their mothers (64.343-70). In keeping with this theme, the poet is now separated from his writing.⁵

The elegant and poetic reference to his writing in 65.2 is expanded in the next lines. His writings become the sweet offsprings of the Muses which his distraught mind is no longer able to bring forth: *nec potis est dulcis Musarum expromere fetus / mens animi* (65.3-4). The close connection the poet has to the product of his creativity is like the relationship of the parent to the child, the Trojan women to their sons, Ariadne to her parents and brother, Aegeus to Theseus,⁶ Peleus and Thetis to Achilles, Attis to his *patria*, the bride to her mother and father.⁷ In his

⁵The mention of Hortalus' name in 65.2 ostensibly places this poem into the same category as poem 61, an abstract poem set into a real-life frame. Since, however, there are no more specific details here (who has caused the poet's *cura*?), the reader must store the inference in his mind and proceed as he did in poem 61, to view the poem as a general reflection on love, inspired by real-life situations.

⁶Putnam, "Catullus 64," 183, makes the specific connection between these lines and 64.223-24, Aegeus' expression of grief over the anticipated death of Theseus.

⁷This remarkable allusion to poetry as children continues the theme from the previous poems: the grandfather's fears for an heir at 61.51-55, 66-70, the boys' concern for a productive marriage at 62.49-56, Attis' lament over his inability to have

grief, the poet cannot give expression to his art just as Aegeus is unable to utter words of joy at Theseus' departure (*multas expromam mente querellas*, 64.223).

That he is separated from the "sweet offsprings," the "darlings" of his creativity, is due to his distraught state of mind, tossed on a sea of troubles (*mens animi, tantis fluctuat ipsa malis*, 65.4).⁸ The phrase links the poet's condition to that of Ariadne: *magnis curarum fluctuat undis* (64.62). She is in torment because of her love for Theseus, caused by Cupid *curis hominum qui gaudia miscet* (64.95). This parallel suggests that it is primarily the love-inspired *cura*, rather than the family-related *dolor*, that is the source of the poet's inability to write. However, among the most devastating effects of Ariadne's *curae* is the irreparable separation from her family, especially her brother. Indeed, this is one of the principal themes in her lament. As in Ariadne's case, the poet's tempest-tossed mental state is due to his brother's death (*namque*, 65.5); but this does not totally clarify the meaning of *cura* and *dolor* in poem 65. If it is primarily a love-sick *cura* that causes Ariadne's mental conflict (albeit with a familial corollary), it seems to be the familial *dolor* that is the prime cause of the poet's distress (although this too may be combined with some love-sick element).⁹

The solution to the confusion (in the reader's mind if not in the poet's) is that the brother's death is the cause of the poet's *dolor* and *cura*

children at 63.69, and the concerns of Thetis' mother at 64.376-80. There is also the many allusions to child-bearing in imagery devoted to Ariadne.

⁸In *cura*, there may be an attempt to suggest both the "pangs" of childbirth and the "pangs" of love.

⁹Cf. Block, "Carmen 65," 58, note 22.

alike. By suggesting a comparison with Ariadne, the poet is thinking in more general terms: intense love of any kind (for a brother or a lover) can cause great distress, and disrupt, perhaps forever, one's normally productive and positive way of life.¹⁰

The lines describing the brother's death are steeped in emotion and contain many echoes from previous poems. Death is indicated by the waters of Lethe (*Lethaeo gurgite*, 65.5). The word *gurgis* is used four times in poem 64 to describe the sea on which the Argo sails to remove the Golden Fleece (64.14, 18), the sea over which Theseus sails to escape Ariadne (64.183), and the sea which separates Ariadne from some sanctuary on Crete (64.178); although *gurgis* is not used, the sea also separates Attis from his homeland. The theme of separation, therefore, is closely connected with these references to the sea, especially *gurgis*. The concept of forgetfulness, inherent in *Lethaeo*, also recalls Theseus' forgetfulness.

Specifically, death is a wave that flows and washes over the palish foot of the poet's brother: *mei...fratris / pallidulum manans alluit unda pedem* (65.5-6).¹¹ The scene is reminiscent of Ariadne standing on the shore of Dia, as the clothes fall from her body and float in the waves at her feet (*omnia... / ipsius ante pedes fluctus salis alludebant*, 64.66-67), a visible sign of her suffering at Theseus' hands. This also suggests the

¹⁰Ibid., 54: "For Catullus, the death of his brother infuses the concept of *curas* with a new meaning: loss is not only an erotic risk, but a permanent grief."

¹¹*pallidulum* reflects the continued use of diminutives in this cycle (especially evident in poem 61). Other diminutives in poem 65 include *Ityli* (65.14) and even *Ortale* (65.2, 15). This adds to the emotional impact of the passage.

blood that flows over the Trojan plains (*manabunt sanguine <campi>*, 64.344) and Polyxena's altar (*maefient*, 64.368), both instances the result of Achilles' destructive nature. This is confirmed by the poet's designation of the Trojan shore as the site of his brother's death:

Troia Rhoeteo quem subter litore tellus
ereptum nostris obterit ex oculis.

(65.7-8)

Once again it is the shore that is the focus of the scene, as it is for Ariadne (*namque fluentisono prospectans litore Diae*, 64.52), and for Attis, whose blood stains the Phrygian sand (*devolsit ili...sibi pondera.../...terrae sola sanguine maculans*, 63.5, 7) like Lethe's wave washes over the brother's foot. The mention of the poet's eyes (*nostris...ex oculis*, 65.8) recalls the many references to eyes and seeing from poems 63 and 64.

The personal address to his dead brother (*vita frater amabilior*, 65.10) recalls the intensely personal laments of Attis, Ariadne, and even Aegeus.¹² The speakers all regret the actual or potential loss of someone or something very dear to them, a loss which can never be recovered. The fact that the poet will never see (*aspiciam*, 65.11) his brother again is tremendously agonizing for him;¹³ but his love for his brother will never die (*semper amabo*, 65.11). So great is it that he will always sing "sad

¹²Cf. the poet's apostrophe to his brother (*vita frater amabilior*, 65.10) with Attis' address to his father/motherland (*patria o mei creatrix, patria o mea genetrix*, 63.50), Ariadne's reference to her services for Theseus' life (*talia qui reddis pro dulci praemia vita*, 64.157) and Aegeus' apostrophe to Theseus (*gnate mihi longa iucundior unice vita*, 64.215).

¹³Cf. the agonizing glances of Attis at 63.56-57 and Ariadne at 64.188-91. In contrast, the bride can see the groom waiting intently for her at 61.164-66 (*aspice intus ut accubans / vir tuus.../ totus immineat tibi*).

songs" about his death (*semper maesta tua carmina morte canam*, 65.12), just as the nightingale sings of Itylus (65.13-14).¹⁴ The intensity of the poet's loss compels him to make such a statement, and the mythological simile is entirely appropriate. The deaths of the poet's brother and "little Itys" are, in their respective worlds, horrific and inexplicable. How can such things happen? What else can the mother of Itys or the grieving brother do but give voice to their sorrow in the only way they know? But linking his song to a mythological *exemplum* recalls the Song of the Parcae, which also tells of death at Troy. This makes the poet's reference to his brother's death (65.7) all the more real and terrible.

Following the digression on his brother's death, the poet returns to his address to Hortalus, and sends him the requested translation of Callimachus (poem 66), in spite of his sorrow. The poet takes his task seriously and is concerned that Hortalus not think his request has slipped his mind like the empty winds:

ne tua dicta vagis nequiquam credita ventis
effluxisse meo forte putes animo

(65.17-18)

These words are familiar to the reader from the Ariadne story. Theseus' broken promises are also carried away on the winds (*irrita ventosae linquens promissa procellae*, 64.59; *cuncta aerii discerpunt irrita venti*, 64.142) and his father's instructions slip from his mind (64.207-8), like the wind-driven clouds that leave the lofty mountains (*ceu pulsae ventorum*

¹⁴See Appendix J for a discussion of *canam* relative to the ms. *tegam*.

flamine nubes / aereum nivei montis liquere cacumen, 64.239-40). The poet realizes the devastating effects such actions can have on others. Another mention of his emotions (*animo*) links his suffering to those who have suffered in the previous poems.

He concludes the poem with a simile, apparently comparing the thoughts that slip from his mind to an apple that falls from the lap of a girl (65.19-24).¹⁵ This simile seems curiously inexact, so much so that it has generated a wide variety of interpretations. Fordyce calls it "unexpected."¹⁶ Quinn states that it is in fact not Hortalus' request for poems (*tua dicta*, 65.17) that is likened to the apple but the actual translation itself (*carmina*, 65.16).¹⁷ Van Sickle has a more elaborate interpretation:

Like some of its Homeric predecessors, the simile does not follow in fact... The poet sets out to compare a request for poems to a lover's gift, and he compares then, too, his own mind to the secretive lap of an amorous girl: (*ex meo animo* likened to *casto e gremio* (65.18, 20). But the friend's request did not slip from the poet's mind while the apple did escape the girl.¹⁸

¹⁵Most critics agree that some influence from Callimachus' tale of Acontius and Cydippe from the *Aitia* is present here. The aspect of the vow in that tale seems relevant to this cycle, represented by the binding vows of groom and parents in poems 61 and 62, Attis' apparent vow to follow Cybele, Ariadne's complaint of Theseus' neglect of his vow and the upcoming vow of Berenice to cut off a lock. See W. Clausen, "Catullus and Callimachus," *HSPH* 74 (1970): 93; L. W. Daly, "Callimachus and Catullus," *CP* 47 (1952): 97-99; P. A. Johnston, "An echo of Sappho in Catullus 65," *Latomus* 42 (1983): 388-89; King, "Callimachean Carmina," 384-85.

¹⁶Fordyce, *Commentary*, 325.

¹⁷Quinn, *The Poems*, 354.

¹⁸J. B. van Sickle, "About Form and Meaning in Catullus 65," *TAPhA* 99 (1968): 502.

Is the poet changing horses in mid-stream, or is he attempting to make the simile reflect two separate ideas: the request and the gift? If the simile does refer to the request, van Sickle seems to have missed the point of it: the fact that the request does not slip the poet's mind (*ne.../...forte putes*, 65.17-18) does not negate the validity of the simile as a simile.¹⁹

I believe Quinn is right in seeing the simile as an elaboration of the *carmina*, not Hortalus' *dicta*. This interpretation requires that 65.17-18 dealing with Hortalus' *dicta* be considered a parenthetical interpolation that interrupts the continuity of *carmina.../ ut...malum* (65.16, 19). All the details of the simile then make sense:

Surely the apple stands for the version itself which C. had been working at when his brother's death caused him to put it aside. To the arrival of the mother and the girl's jumping up corresponds the letter from Hortalus to which Poem 65 is C.'s reply: it said perhaps, "What has happened to that translation of Callimachus?" The letter elicits the translation, which C. will watch tumble forth upon the world, as embarrassed as the girl at its untimely appearance.²⁰

¹⁹Van Sickle, *ibid.*, 501, believes that the entire simile is a translation from Callimachus. Therefore, in order to justify his interpretation of this simile, he suggests (502-3) that "once the simile has begun, Catullus follows the story itself, the probably Callimachean scene, out to its conclusion, leaving behind the original terms of the simile: *dicta...ut...malum*. Consequently, like the apple it describes, the simile...completes its own full course, *decursu*, responsive to the logic of its own (literary) form and feeling and it makes its own (symbolic) revelation." Even though poem 65 may be one of the earlier poems of Catullus, I do not think that this imprecision would be tolerated by the poet, especially when placing poem 65 in this important place in the cycle.

²⁰Quinn, *The Poems*, 354. See S. Laursen, "The Apple of Catullus 65: A Love Pledge of Callimachus," *C&M* 40 (1989): 163, note 5.

The importance of the simile lies in its vocabulary. The girl is betrothed (*sponsi*, 65.19), a situation which recalls poems 61 and 62. The apple, traditionally a symbol of love, is hidden in the girl's chaste lap (*casto...e gremio*, 65.20),²¹ a symbol of security for the young girl. The fact that the apple/poem is safe in the *gremium* indicates that it is a precious gift indeed, representative of the intensely personal relationship between Hortalus and the poet.

That her lap is chaste recalls several previous situations that contain dark overtones. The girls in poem 62 feel the groom is a threat to their virginity (*iuveni ardenti castam donare puellam*, 62.23; *cum castam amisit polluto corpore florem*, 62.46). The poet recalls the age when gods visited the chaste homes of mortals (*domos invisere castas / heroum*, 64.384-85); but in Peleus' palace, mortals and gods do not mingle, and what the mortals see is a representation of Theseus' abduction of Ariadne from her chaste couch (*castus.../ lectulus*, 64.87-88). The delicacy and positive context of the simile in poem 65 suggests that the concept of *castitas* is being rehabilitated here.

The girl is forgetful (*oblitae*, 65.21) which recalls the devastating forgetfulness of Theseus in poem 64. This element is enhanced by the fact

²¹B. O. Foster, "Notes on the Symbolism of the Apple in Classical Antiquity," *HSPh* 10 (1899): 39-55, gives several examples that seem to connect the apple image in poem 65 with other poems in the cycle. Statues of Aphrodite also hold poppies (cf. 61.188). Rhamnusian Nemesis is portrayed holding an apple-bough (cf. 64.395; 68.77). Aphrodite Urania is described as ἐν καρποῖς (cf. 61.2). The Atalanta myth has a Dionysian connection (cf. 63.23, 69; 64.251-64). The Apple of Discord recalls the Judgment of Paris (cf. 61.16-20, and the events which follow the Song of the Fates). There is also a connection with Laodamia (cf. poem 68).

that the apple is hidden under her soft gown (*molli sub veste*, 65.21), which recalls the coverlet that adorns the *pulvinar* of Peleus and Thetis (64.50, 265), and even perhaps Theseus' couch in Ariadne's daydream (64.163). More immediately, the girl's forgetfulness recalls the river Lethe which washes over the poet's brother (65.5), suggesting that his memory too may become forever lost in time. This is confirmed in the next reference: her forgetfulness causes embarrassment which flows across her face (*huic manat tristi conscius ore rubor*, 65.24). The use of *manat* recalls the wave of death that washes over the brother's foot (*manans*, 65.6).

In many ways, the young girl resembles Ariadne: both are sad (*tristi*, 65.24; *tristem*, 64.126); the apple¹ rushes forth from her lap (*procurrit*, 65.20) as Ariadne rushes back to the seashore (*procurrere*, 64.128). The swift downward rush of the apple (*prono praeceps agitur decursu*, 65.23) recalls many instances of descent: the pine tree and Chiron from Pelion, Prometheus from Taygetus, the Minotaur, brought down like a great tree (*prona cadit*, 64.109).²² Yet the fall of the apple, representing the sending of the poem, is a positive allusion, not a negative one.

The fact that the mother's arrival (*adventu matris*, 65.22) is the cause of this activity is an ironic reflection on the situations presented in earlier poems. There, the girls, like the apple now, leave the security of the *gremium* to experience something new. This is a devastating experience, reflected in the reluctance of the bride in poem 61, the fears of the girls in poem 62, and the tragedy of Ariadne in poem 64; Attis too, *notha mulier*,

²²Johnston, "Sappho," 390-91, sees in the downward rush of the apple an echo from Sappho, Fr. 105a, L-P.

while not torn from his true mother's lap, is nevertheless tragically torn from his mother/(father)land (*patria*, 63.50). The sending of the poem to Hortalus, like the separation of the girl from her mother, is a difficult thing for the poet, since it is done during a difficult time in his life. But, since marriage is the positive result of a girl's separation from her mother, resulting eventually in children, the poem represents the poet's ability once more to produce his blessed "offsprings."

Poem 65 achieves the impossible. Beginning with the world-weary depression and cynicism from the end of poem 64, it concludes by portraying the intensely personal affirmation that life does go on. The poet initially says he cannot produce the "fruits of the Muses" (*nec potis est dulcis Musarum expromere fetus*, 65.3); by the end of the poem, he has: a translation (*expressa...carmina Battiadae*, 65.16), likened to an apple (*malum*, 65.19), as a secret gift (*furtivo munere*, 65.19) for his dear friend.²³ Grief and sickness over death have given way to creative productivity and hope.

²³See Block, "Carmen 65," 48-49. The blush represents a transformation from "chill death to warm life."

CHAPTER 6: POEM 66¹

I

The Lock of Berenice Is Sighted in the Heavens

(66.1-14)

Poem 66 opens with an elaborate encomium to the astronomer Conon.² Imagery from earlier poems continues here and with it the swing between positive and negative connotations. The lights and stars of the sky (*lumina*, 66.1; *stellarum*, 66.2; *sidera*, 66.4) recall the light of Hesperus at 62.2 (*lumina tollit*) that illuminates the contest in which the boys defeat the girls and secure a marriage; Hesperus also attends the marriage of Peleus to

¹Poem 66 presents many problems. It is difficult to determine how exact is Catullus' translation of the original *Coma Berenices* of Callimachus since the remains of that poem are so fragmentary. Because of this, many references in poem 66 to the complicated history of the Ptolemies remain obscure. See Ellis, *Commentary*, 356. But the main problem with poem 66 is its very placement in the cycle. If the cycle was conceived by Catullus as a unified whole, how can this learned poem, so deeply rooted in Ptolemaic Egypt of the third century, possibly fit in? Poem 65 has certainly laid the groundwork for its appearance here; but the structural unity of the cycle so far clearly indicates that poem 66 must reveal more than just Catullus' desire to show off his ability to adapt Callimachus. The content of poem 66 must be relevant to the cycle. This suggests that Catullus found in the original poem elements that could further the development of his themes. If this is the case, his translation of Callimachus may not be so cut and dried.

²Most editors read *dispexit* for the ms. reading *despexit*, reasoning that it is more logical to "see clearly" or "observe" (*dispexit*) the constellations in the sky than to "look down" (*despexit*) on them from Conon's vantage point on the earth. However, A. A. Barrett, "Catullus 66.1: *Dispexit* or *Despexit*?" *RhM* 125 (1982): 135-37, has convincingly shown that *despexit* more accurately reflects the original Greek, as Conon examined all the sky *ἐν γραμμαῖσιν*, from charts or diagrams of the universe devised by the mathematically adept astronomer. This seems to make sense from the semantic perspective as well: Conon is checking his maps of the known constellations to see if the new one (the *Coma Berenices*) has already been charted.

Thetis, and comes under a fortunate omen (*adveniet.../ Hesperus, adveniet fausto cum sidere coniunx*, 64.328-39). The reference to time as determined by the rising and setting of the stars (*stellarum ortus...atque obitus*, 66.2; *cedant...sidera*, 66.4) recalls in general the emphasis on the passage of time in poem 61 (*abit dies*). But the final image of poem 64 is that of the gods spurning the light of the sky (*nec se contingi patiuntur lumine claro*, 64.408) after Justice has left the world. The word *lumina* also recalls the many references (usually sad) to the eyes of Ariadne (64.86, 92, 122, 188), Theseus (64.233), and Aegeus (64.220, 242).

The eclipse of the Sun (*flammeus...rapidi solis nitor obscuretur*, 66.3) recalls the Sun's role in poem 63: it awakens Attis to a world of tragic sanity after his nightmare of madness (63.39-43), just as it marked the time to leave his chambers in his former, happier life (63.67). The Sun also figures in two similes in poem 64, describing the departing mortal guests (*vagi sub limina solis*, 64.271) and Achilles as reaper of a human harvest under the blazing sun (*sole sub ardenti*, 64.354). These mostly negative allusions are counted by the girls' reference to the Sun at 62.41 as a star that nurtures their sequestered flower (*firmit sol*). The lunar eclipse, the last item (and therefore the most important) in the list of Conon's observations, is the most expansive: the Moon is banished from her course in the sky by sweet love (*dulcis amor*, 66.6). It compels the reader to think of other instances of separation from the normal environment (the girls' flower, Attis, Ariadne, even the poet in poem 65).³

³For the significance of the prefix in *devocet* (66.6) compare *defloruit* (62.43, of the destruction of the flower's purity), *devolsit* (63.5, of Attis'

In spite of the preponderance of "light" imagery, all items in the encomium contain elements of "darkness": the stars rise but they also fall, due to the influence of either the day or the seasons; the sun and the moon are eclipsed.⁴ Given the trend established in poems 61 to 64 in this cycle, these images should suggest negative connotations. But the influence of *dulcis amor* (66.6) in this last example creates some confusion. It recalls little Torquatus smiling at his father (*dulce rideat*, 61.212); on the other hand, Ariadne expected but did not receive such a love from Theseus (*dulcem... amorem*, 64.120). The tenor of the opening lines of poem 66 suggests, however, that the trend begun in poem 65, wherein terrible grief is eventually overcome, continues here. This becomes clear in 66.7, when the reader finally realizes that it is Conon who sees so clearly and that it is the Lock itself that is speaking. The ominous signs in the changeable heavens result not in some tragedy on the mortal level but in the uplifting story of Berenice and her Lock which takes its place among the stars. In fact, the poet uses the same narrative technique from the Ariadne story to produce a completely opposite result. In both poems, the end of the story is presented first. The initial depiction of the tragedy of Ariadne requires the reader to take the imagery in the flashbacks in a negative way. In poem 66, the glorious victory of Berenice allows potentially negative imagery to be taken positively.

emasculation), *desertam* (64.57, of Ariadne), *sevocat* (65.2, of the poet's inability to write); also *secubare* (61.101, of the groom lying apart from his bride).

⁴The reference to the Sun and Moon here may reflect the absence of Apollo and Artemis from the wedding in poem 64.

The initial emphasis on vision continues: *ille Conon caelesti in lumine vidit* (66.7).⁵ Conon is like Attis, Ariadne, or Aegeus, looking out over the vast expanse of the sky;⁶ but this time he sees not tragedy but triumph. Unlike Aegeus, who sees the dark sails of Theseus' ship, Conon sees the brightness of Berenice's Lock (*caesariem / fulgentem clare*, 66.8-9). Aegeus fouls his hair in anticipation of disaster (*canitiem...foedans*, 64.224) and the Trojan women loose their hair in mourning for their dead sons (*incultum cano solvent a vertice crinem*, 64.350); but Berenice's Lock is a symbol of success in love and war. This reference to the top of her head (*e Beroniceo vertice*, 66.8) is a positive one, matching the positive and contrasting the negative allusions to *vertex* from the previous poems.

Similarities between the Ariadne and Berenice stories are striking, but the various details place a more positive cast over the portrayal of marriage in poem 66. Like Ariadne, Berenice invokes the gods (66.9-10), not for the destruction of her husband but for his protection. The reader knows that her promises (*pollicita est*, 66.10) have already been fulfilled, unlike the abandoned promises of Theseus (*irrita...promissa*, 64.59). Mention of her arms (*brachia*, 66.10) recalls the limbs of the falling tree,

⁵The difficulties of the manuscript reading *numine* seem insoluble. Ellis, *Commentary*, 364, accepts *numine* and translates with *fulgentem* "shining with the divinity of a god," which seems incomprehensible (can the *numen* shine?). Quinn, *The Poems*, 357 (supported by Fordyce, *Commentary*, 330) reads *limine*, "on the threshold of the sky," based on 64.271 (*vagi sub limina Solis*). That is attractive; but I think Mynors' reading *lumine* is preferable, since it picks up on *lumina* (66.1) quite nicely, even though the sense is changed from the specific to the more general. See also I. Giri, "De Locis Qui Sunt aut Habentur Corrupti in Catulliano Carmine 66," *RFIC* 34 (1906): 57-58.

⁶Cf. 63.48: *ibi maria vasta visens* (Attis); 64.127: *aciem <in> pelagi vastos protenderet aestus* (Ariadne); 64.241: *at pater, ut summa prospectum ex arce petebat, / anxia in assiduos absumens lumina fletus* (Aegeus).

symbolic of the Minotaur's death (*quatientem brachia*, 64.105), the prelude to Ariadne's tragedy. The act of stretching her delicate arms in prayer (*levia protendens brachia*, 66.10) recalls Thetis stretching her arms under Peleus' neck in happy wedlock (*levia substernens robusto brachia collo*, 64.332). The negative allusion contained there (such wedlock produces the murderous Achilles) is countered by the similarity to the arm of the bride in poem 61 (*mitte brachiolum teres*, 61.174) that produces little Torquatus.

Berenice promised her Lock at that time when the king was newly wedded to Berenice (*rex...novo auctus hymenaeo*, 66.11); it was a difficult time (*qua tempestate*, 66.11) when Ptolemy was about to sail to Syria. So it was with Ariadne, whose tragedy happened at the time (*illa tempestate*, 64.73) when Theseus came on a dangerous expedition to Crete and caused Ariadne to feel the first pangs of love. Moreover, the allusion to Ptolemy's wedding echoes the reference to Peleus (*teque adeo eximie taedis felicibus aucte*, 64.25), like Ptolemy, engaged in a difficult expedition. To Ariadne, Theseus only promised marriage (*conubia laeta...optatos hymenaeos*, 64.141), and the initial, bright portrayal of Peleus' marriage ended darkly.

The outcomes of these expeditions are also significant. Ariadne's prayers, like Berenice's, are fulfilled, but at a high price for Theseus. In the Song of the Parcae, Agamemnon's role in the Trojan War is described in similar terms (*periuri Pelopis vastabit tertius heres*, 64.346) as Ptolemy's voyage to lay waste the Syrian territory (*vastatum finis...Assyrios*, 66.12). These allusions relating to the marriage of Berenice and Ptolemy provide another example of earlier negative images

and themes being converted to positive ones. The negative expeditions against Crete and Troy are now contrasted with the positive expedition against the Syrians.

The description of the consummation of the marriage (*dulcia nocturnae portans vestigia rixae*, 66.13) continues the military theme,⁷ and provides a positive contrast to the concerns of Thetis' nurse and mother about her wedding night (64.376-80). Ptolemy's amorous spoils also place in greater relief Theseus' dishonourable ones (*devota domum periuria portas?* 64.135). The positive use of *vestigia* (66.13) to indicate the successful outcome of the wedding night also contrasts with the *vestigia* of Theseus which allowed him safe egress from the labyrinth (64.113), culminating in the devastating affair with Ariadne.⁸ The crude description of the consummation (66.14) serves to change the direction of the poem from the sublime to the more earthly,⁹ and prepares the reader for the hints of the more sordid details of the Ptolemy family history that are to come.

⁷See P. Murgatroyd, "Militia amoris and the Roman Elegists," *Latomus* 34 (1975): 66. Cf. Hesperus' appearance at Peleus' wedding (*portans optata maritis*, 64.328).

⁸In her lament, Ariadne wishes to wash his feet (64.162). Prometheus also bears the signs of a different struggle (64.295). In both instances, the *vestigia* are indicative of negative aspects of love.

⁹Quinn, *The Poems*, 358, suggests that *exuviis* may imply *ut virgo nudaretur*. If so, this provides another comparison with Ariadne, whose cast-off clothing is a symbol of the breakdown of her "marriage" to Theseus.

II

The Lock Reflects on Love

(66.15-38)¹⁰

This section begins with a discussion of the sincerity of the bride's emotions on her wedding night.¹¹ The initial question, is she truly weeping out of fear of love, or is she merely crying "crocodile" tears to frustrate her parents' joys (*estne novis nuptis odio Venus?* 66.15), unites several themes from earlier poems. The phrase *Veneris nimio odio* (63.17), "the too great hatred of love," was the justification for the emasculation of the Gallae in their ecstatic worship of Cybele. That *odium Veneris* was eventually seen to be a false, madness-inspired motivation as far as Attis was concerned, who longed for a return to his former amorous life and regretted his act of self-mutilation. This adds point to the question: Is the new bride's hatred of Venus also false?

The juxtaposition of *odium Veneris* with *novae nuptae* also recalls the repeated exhortations for the reluctant bride in poem 61 to complete the marriage ceremony (61.92: *prodeas nova nupta*).¹² The reference to the

¹⁰This section corresponds to a large gap in the Callimachus original and seems, as Quinn notes (*The Poems*, 358), rather disjointed in its thematic development. However, close examination proves that its themes are relevant both to poem 66 itself and to the rest of the cycle.

¹¹The questions posed here have been asked in earlier poems and are recalled by the vocabulary used in 66.15-18. The rhetorical questions link the Lock's reflections to those of Attis (63.58-60, 68-72), Ariadne (64.177-83), the poet (61.61-75) and the choruses of girls (62.24) and boys (62.30).

¹²Also 61.91, 96, 106, 113. The use of the diminutive *lacrimulis* reminds the reader of the extensive use of diminutives in poem 61.

inner chamber (*thalami...intra limina*, 66.17) recalls the setting of the final scene of poem 61 (*transfer.../ limen aureolos pedes*, 61.159-60; *uxor in thalamo tibi est*, 61.185) and makes the connection between these two poems even stronger. Finally, the emphasis on the expectations of the parents (66.15-17) recalls the expectations of Thetis' mother (64.379-80), and the concerns of the parents at 61.51-52, 66-68, and at 62.59-66. These reminiscences in 66.15-17 suggest that the question posed in poem 66 is not restricted to this poem. The reader is compelled to consider anew the entire theme of the reluctant bride as portrayed so far in the cycle. The judgment of the reader so far is that the bride is sincerely fearful of her wedding-night. For poem 66, however, the question is given a definitive answer: *non, ita me divi, vera gemunt, iuverint* (66.18). The bride is merely following tradition, and faking her reluctance to marry.

The reason for this apparent change of opinion is the different circumstances of poem 66, especially the nature of Berenice herself (66.19-20). By the example of her tremendous grief at her husband's departure, Berenice shows that she felt anything but *odium Veneris* on her wedding-night. Berenice does make complaint (*multis...querellis*, 66.19) as her husband leaves her for the Syrian campaign (*proelia torva*, 66.20), just as Aegeus complains of Theseus' departure from Athens (*multas...querellas*, 64.223); but more importantly, since Berenice laments the departure of her faithful husband, she is the very foil of Ariadne whose bitter complaints about Theseus' faithlessness consume her utterly (*extremis...querellis*, 64.130; *querellas*, 64.195). The description of Ptolemy as Berenice's new

husband (*novo...viro*, 66.20) also provides a contrast to the potentially philandering groom of poem 61.¹³

The perspective of the poem becomes more intimate as the Lock addresses the queen directly (*et tu*, 66.21). The relevance of the specific nature of Berenice's grief, whether for husband or brother, at first seems hard to determine.¹⁴ However, if Berenice, now deserted, is mourning either for her abandoned marriage-bed (*orbem luxti deserta cubile*, 66.21) or for her dear brother now separated from her (*fratris cari flebile discidium*, 66.22), the reader cannot help but be reminded of Ariadne, who likewise laments her deserted marriage-bed (she can only fantasize about it: *tuum...cubile*, 64.163) and the separation by death from her brother (*germanum amittere*, 64.150). This connection is made even clearer by the intensity of Berenice's concern: *quam penitus maestas exedit cura medullas* (66.23). Similar words describe both Ariadne's initial infatuation with Theseus (*funditus atque imis exarsit tota medullis*, 64.93) and her final grief at being deserted by him (*audite querellas, / quas ego...extremis proferre medullis / cogor*, 64.195-97). The intensity of the poet's grief (*cura dolore*, 65.1) on the death of his brother at Troy is also suggested by Berenice's concern for her "brother's" welfare in Syria. Indeed, the poem

¹³Cf. *coniugis...novi*, 61.32; *novos /...maritus*, 61.54-55; also *vir*, 61.98, 145, 165; *viri*, 61.150. The fact that the groom eventually does become faithful also contrasts with the continuous faithfulness of Ptolemy.

¹⁴Catullus may simply be translating a similar passage from the Callimachus original, which would have provided a nice compliment to the royal pair within the context of Alexandrian court poetry. See Ellis, *Commentary*, 361: "If the Ptolemies...adopted a form of marriage generally thought to be 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." See also D. A. Kidd, "Some Problems in Catullus 66," *Antichthon* 4 (1970): 41.

describes Berenice's condition as a madness that has bereft her of her senses (*ut tibi tunc toto pectore sollicitae / sensibus ereptis mens excidit!* 66.24-25), a madness similar to that of the poet (*mens animi, tantis fluctuat ipsa malis*, 65.4), and certainly as devastating as that of Ariadne (*indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores*, 64.54).

To counter the madness, the Lock reminds Berenice of the dangerous deed she performed to achieve her marriage (66.25-28). She both resembles and contrasts with Theseus in this respect. The rhetorical *anne...oblita es* (66.27) implies that Berenice has in fact not forgotten, unlike Theseus (*immemor*, 64.123, 135, 248). Berenice was brave (*magnanimam*, 66.26) as was King Minos to whose shores Theseus came (*magnanimum ad Minoa venit*, 64.85). The nature of Berenice's deed (her role in the death of Demetrius) is not specified, but the result is obvious to all: *regium.../ coniugium* (66.27-28).¹⁵ By contrast, no details are spared in the description of Theseus' *bonum facinus* (he does, after all, emerge from the labyrinth *multa cum laude*, 64.112), and the results are similar: *conubia laeta...optatos hymenaeos* (64.141), at least as far as Ariadne's recollection of his promises is concerned.

It is here, of course, that the stories differ. The marriage achieved by Berenice's *bonum facinus* is a happy one; the departure of her husband is not permanent. As poem 66 continues, the parallels with the Ariadne story provide a direct contrast to that tragic tale. When Ptolemy left for the

¹⁵The particularly sordid and intricate details of the affair between Demetrius and Berenice's mother, although unmentioned, may find their parallel in the list of *nefanda* that closes poem 64.

expedition, Berenice vowed a lock of her hair for his safe return (*multis illa dearum /...pollicita est*, 66.9-10) and, in her grief, lamented his departure (*maesta...quae verba locuta es*, 66.29). When Theseus entered the labyrinth, Ariadne promised gifts to the gods for his safety (*non ingrata tamen frustra munuscula divis / promittens*, 64.103-4); later, as Theseus proved false in his promises, she lamented his departure from Dia (*haec extremis maestam dixisse querellis*, 64.130). In different circumstances, therefore, both women prayed to the gods for the safety of their husbands. Jupiter was moved to tears by Berenice's words (66.30-31) and by the intensity of her love for Ptolemy, a love that could not bear a long physical separation (*amantes / non longe a caro corpore abesse volunt*, 66.31-32). Jupiter was moved to a different purpose by Ariadne's lament, a lament that described not the steadfastness of Theseus but his everlasting absence from her (64.182-83).

Berenice vowed a lock of her hair for the safe return of her husband (*pro dulci coniuge*, 66.33), as well as a sacrifice of bulls (*non sine taurino sanguine*, 66.34). The reader is reminded of Jupiter's joy at such sacrifices (*centum procumbere tauros*, 64.389) before Justice left the world. In the case of Ariadne, however, in part because of the sacrifice of the Minotaur (*ut tauri respergas sanguine dextram*, 64.230) which brought her to her tragic situation, her prayer was for a life for Theseus as equally devastated as her own (64.200-201). Jupiter heard both appeals: Theseus' expedition ultimately failed and he returned to a home destroyed by death (64.246-48). However, the Lock herself bears witness to the success of the expedition and safe return of Ptolemy:

is haut in tempore longo
 captam Asiam Aegypti finibus addiderat.
 quis ego pro factis caelesti reddita coetu
 pristina vota novo munere dissolvo.

(66.35-38)

The conquest of Asia *haut in tempore longo* recalls and contrasts the conquest of Troy *longinquo...bello* (64.345) and demands further comparisons with poem 64. In retribution for the unheroic deeds of Theseus, Ariadne prayed for and received the fulfilment of her just prayer:

supplicium saevis exposcens anxia factis,
 annuit invicto caelestum numine rector.

(64.203-4)

In contrast, for the horrific deeds of Achilles, the innocent Polyxena was duly given up to his grave (*denique testis erit morti quoque reddita praeda*, 64.362). Faced with such *exempla*, the poet reflected on mankind's fall from grace, when the gods no longer thought mankind worthy enough to be included in their celestial company, nor endured to be near the clear light:

quare nec talis dignantur visere coetus,
 nec se contingi patiuntur lumine claro.

(64.407-8)

How completely different is the situation in poem 66. For the heroic deeds of Ptolemy the Lock is given her due place in the celestial company (*ego pro factis caelesti reddita coetu*, 66.37), as a light that can be seen by Conon and by all mankind (*me ille Conon caelesti in lumine vidit*, 66.7). The Lock fulfils the vow of Berenice (*dissolvo*, 66.38) with an offering not

seen before (*novo munere*, 66.38). The example of Berenice and Ptolemy suggests that mankind has somehow regained some of its former exalted position and that the sanctity and security of marriage have been restored.

III

The Lock Protests Her Metamorphosis

(66.39-50)

Mention of the fulfilled vow leads logically to a lengthy discourse on the Lock's metamorphosis into a constellation.

The reluctance of the Lock to leave the head of Berenice (66.39-41) seems at first merely a rather strained conceit (even after one accepts a talking Lock). But the sense of the lines is significant. The subject here, after all, is the separation from something vital to the security and well-being of the Lock. The oath sworn by the Lock on the person and head of Berenice and the warning for those who swear lightly (*digna ferat...si quis inaniter adiuravit*, 66.41) emphasize the importance of this separation for the Lock. But her words also recall Ariadne's charge against Theseus (*nulla viro iuranti femina credat*, 64.143), and his fate bears witness to the truth of the Lock's warning.

It is hardly necessary to reiterate the many examples of the theme of separation from the previous poems. But the poet has adopted a different attitude to this theme in poem 66. If the circumstances are basically similar for the Lock, the bride (poems 61 and 62), Attis, the characters in poem

64, and the poet in poem 65, the setting is distinctly brighter than those presented in the last few poems. Indeed, the setting is more akin to poems 61 and 62 than poems 63 to 65. The poet has already established a more positive emotional frame for poem 66 by recalling previous dark images and recasting them in brighter hues. It is a logical and welcome development to find something close to humour in these lines.

But there is point to this humour. The vocabulary constantly harks back to significant moments from previous poems. The Lock leaves the head unwillingly (*invita...tuo de vertice cessi*, 66.39). The bride is repeatedly portrayed as reluctant to leave the security of her home (*tardet ingenuus pudor*, 61.79; also 62.24), prompting a warning from the boys (*et tu ne pugna cum tali coniuge, virgo*, 62.59). After recognizing the terrible results of his maddened devotion to Cybele, Attis acknowledges that he left his *patria* unwillingly (*patria.../ ego quam miser relinquens*, 63.50-51). Aegeus too is unwilling to see Theseus depart for Crete (*fortuna mea ac tua fervida virtus / eripit invito mihi te*, 64.218-19); he does not know that Theseus' voyage and disastrous affair with Ariadne will eventually cause his own death. All these examples suggest the negative aspects of love and marriage.¹⁶ Now, however, the reluctant separation of the Lock from Berenice's head is ironically due to the success of her marriage.

¹⁶Poems 61 and 62 do conclude with apparent resolutions of the bride's concerns but the strong portrayal of those concerns create a more lasting impression. Poems 63 and 64 do not resolve the concerns raised by the images of separation. Even the poet is reluctant to let go of the translation of this very poem to Hortalus (*etsi me assiduo confectum...dolore /...sed tamen...mitto*, 65.1, 15), although this example does not illustrate the negative aspects of love.

The severing of Attis' genitals best illustrates this change of attitude since it most closely parallels the severing of the Lock. This deed, first portrayed as an exultant and symbolic act of commitment to Cybele (*corpus evirastis Veneris nimio odio*, 63.17), is eventually seen as an irreparable mutilation that renders Attis forever incapable of performing those positive aspects of love which he can now only recall by memory. The severed genitals of Attis are as symbolic of negative love as the severed Lock is of positive love. Attis forever regrets the act (63.73); the Lock, in spite of her protestations, has not been able to conceal her joy (*me.../...caesariem / fulgentem clare*, 66.7-9).

The Lock continues to wax eloquently about her cutting, as she wonders who can resist the power of steel that can slice through Mt. Athos (66.42-47). The citing of a historical precedent parallels the various references to the Trojan War in poems 61 and 64. The Lock's mock-heroic language also recalls some images from previous poems. The oblique reference to the Sun (*progenies Thiae*, 66.44) matches the references to the heroes of old (*o bona matrum / progenies*, 64.23-23b), Hymen (*Uraniae genus*, 61.2), Peleus (*Opis carissime nato*, 64.324), Agamemnon (*Pelopis...tertius heres*, 64.346) and the poet's creative output (*Musarum...fetus*, 65.3). These recollections of such serious passages underscores the humour of the passage.

Mention of travelling (*supervehitur*, 66.44), especially of the Persian fleet through Athos (*cumque iuventus / per medium classi barbara navit Athon*, 66.45-46), recalls other journeys in the cycle: Attis' voyage

(*super alta vectus Attis celeri rate maria*, 63.1), the sailing of the Argo (especially *liquidas Neptuni nasse per undas*. 64.2; *cita decurrere puppi*, 64.6), and the departures of Theseus from Dia (*Thesea cedentem celeri cum classe*, 64.53) and Athens (*classi cum moenia divae / linquentem gnatum*, 64.212-13). These voyages eventually epitomize the destructive element in the world, especially the love between Ariadne and Theseus.

The allusion to Xerxes' expedition provides another contrast to the positive *exemplum* provided by the Lock itself. The cutting of Athos was as inevitable for Xerxes' planned destruction of Greece as the severing of the Lock is inevitable for the glorification of Berenice's love for Ptolemy. The negative connotation suggested by *barbara* (66.46) recalls the description of the Maenads' instruments at 64.264 (*barbaraque horribili stridebat tibia cantu*), and supports the negative connotation of the Dionysus epiphany. Xerxes' arrogance echoes that of Achilles in the Song of the Parcae, namely the swollen Scamander and the sacrifice of Polyxena.

But the Lock's conclusion (*quid facient crines, cum ferro talia cedant?* 66.47) reminds the reader specifically of Achilles' murderous actions (*Troiugenum infesto prosternet corpora ferro*, 64.355) and their effects on the Trojan women (*solvent a vertice crinem*, 64.350). Her words also provide an ironic comment on the stories of Attis and Ariadne. The Lock, unable to resist such force as the steel, recalls Attis' inability to resist Cybele's madness, which results in his emasculation (*devolsit ili acuto sibi pondera silice*, 63.5). Like the Lock, Ariadne stands helpless (*inops*, 64.197) on the shores of Dia, watching Theseus sail away (*Thesea*

cedentem...tuetur, 64.53; *prospectans cedentem...carinam*, 64.249). But unlike these victims of physical and emotional "cutting," the severing of the Lock is the result of something positive: Berenice's love.

The Lock places a curse on the inventors of iron (*Chalybon omne genus*, 66.48); this race parallels the *heroes...deum genus* (64.23), both of which are ultimately destructive forces. The man who first (*principio*, 66.49) sought veins of metal underground matches the Argo, the first ship to sail the seas (*prima imbuit Amphitriten*, 64.11), the symbol of the fall from grace.¹⁷ The Lock's curse on the *πρῶτος εὐρετής* matches the curse in 66.41-42 and provides a fitting climax to this mock-heroic episode. But once again the curse is misplaced: the Lock is in reality not the victim of love but the symbolic glorification of it. However, the curse still serves its purpose by echoing other curses which applied to situations opposite to that of the Lock, especially the prayer of Ariadne to Jupiter condemning the voyage of Theseus to Crete (64.171-76).

IV

The Metamorphosis of the Lock

(66.51-78)

The mood of mock-sorrow continues as the Lock reports that her sister locks mourned her fate (*lugabant*, 66.52).¹⁸ Once again a contrast

¹⁷The "arrogance" of mining for metals may also suggest Chiron's picking of flowers or Peneus' massive harvest of the trees for their wedding gifts to Peleus and Thetis.

¹⁸The exact grammatical functions of the words in 66.51-52 are hotly disputed: does *abiunctae* go with *mea* or with *comae*; is *abiunctae comae* nominative

with poem 64 is suggested. Theseus mourns his father's fate (*luctum*, 64.246-48) as the mothers of Troy mourn for their children (significantly by shearing a lock of their hair, 64.348-51). These are symbolic of the moral degeneracy of the time. Of similar import, and perhaps even more significant, is the fate of those deceased parents left unmourned by their son (*destitit...gnatus lugere*, 64.400), and especially the fate of Ariadne, unlamented by her family (*omnia muta, / omnia sunt deserta, ostentant omnia letum*, 64.186-87). The fact that the sister locks mourned not for the "death" of the Lock but for its severing on the way to metamorphosis and everlasting glory certainly enhances the humour, but also creates even more sympathy for the examples in the previous poems.

It is no surprise, therefore, to find the Lock, the symbol of positive love and the security and sanctity that that implies, deposited *Veneris casto...in gremio* (66.56).¹⁹ The Lock, like the apple (*malum / procurrit casto virginis e gremio*, 65.19-20), has become very precious. What is surprising, however, is the changing role of Venus herself. She

plural in apposition to *sorores* or genitive singular? D. N. Levin, "Ambiguities of Expression in Catullus 66 and 67," *CP* 54 (1959): 109-11, suggests that, while Catullus probably intended for the "official" meaning of the lines to correspond to Callimachus (hence *abiunctae* goes with *mea*), he purposely made the lines ambiguous to suggest all the other inter-related meanings. I think this is accurate.

¹⁹66.56-58 have caused considerable discussion among the critics. Callimachus was merely attempting to connect the Lock with Arsinoe Zephyritis (in whose temple the Lock was placed), hence the naming of the Zephyr as the *famulus* (66.57-58). Various discussions about the accuracy of *nutantibus pennis* [J. R. C. Martyn, "Catullus 66.53," *Eranos* 72 (1974): 193-95], the connection of Arsinoe with Locris [P. Y. Forsyth, "Catullus 66.54: a Note," *CJ* 68 (1972): 174-75], and the specific creature mentioned in 66.54, *equos?*, horse, ostrich, hawk, swan? [A. E. Housman, "Catullus 66.51-4," *CR* 43 (1929): 168] seem strained, for the most part, especially when the original Greek can be used to support Catullus here. It is best simply to admire the accuracy of Catullus in translating the original, and revel in the image of the Zephyr, hovering like a winged horse to snatch the severed lock and take it to the temple.

has been previously portrayed as the goddess who takes precious things from laps, especially the bride and Ariadne from the laps of their mothers.²⁰ In these instances, the results are distressing (from the bride's perspective in poems 61 and 62) and devastating (from Ariadne's point of view). One of the few positive images related to the *gremium* in the earlier poems is the portrait of little Torquatus, stretching forth his hands *matris e gremio suae* (61.210). It is significant, therefore, that the Lock finds herself secure in the lap of Venus, who is becoming once again the symbol of positive love. This is supported by the description of her in 66.58 (*Graia Canopitis incola litoribus*) which recalls and contrasts the (more negative) Venus/Paris simile (*Idalium colens /...Venus*, 61.17-18).

It is impossible to restore the beginning of 66.59; but, as the editors note, the sense is clear: Ariadne's crown will not be the only "promotion" (as Quinn calls it) to the heavens.²¹ As is to be expected, the description of the metamorphosis is filled with light: *vario...in lumine*

²⁰61.58; 62.21-22; 64.88.

²¹Quinn, *The Poems*, 363. Ellis, *Commentary*, 376, suggests that the corrupted words hide a reference to Bacchus (*iuveni Ismario*). But given the negative appearance of Dionysus and the Maenads in poems 63 and 64, it seems strange to match the honourable Berenice with the violent Bacchus as equivalent "promoters" of their respective lover's celestial futures. Even though the connection of Bacchus with Ariadne is well-known in other versions, the poet purposely clouded the issue in poem 64 and, at first glance, it would seem at least inconsistent to resurrect Dionysus' honourable intentions here. However, the pattern so far has been to contrast the affairs portrayed in earlier poems (especially the Ariadne story). The mention of Ariadne's crown (66.60-61) vaguely alludes to the marriage of Bacchus and Ariadne, even though it is omitted in poem 64. The marriage itself, however, also reflects the desertion of Ariadne by Theseus. In this sense, the deified Lock, symbolic of positive love, contrasts with the Crown of Ariadne, symbolic of negative love.

If Ellis is incorrect in reading a reference to Bacchus in 66.59, then the marriage of Bacchus and Ariadne is also omitted specifically in this poem. The Lock would then represent a specific, positive symbol of marriage in contrast to Ariadne's crown, a vague, negative image.

caeli, 66.59; *aurea.../...corona*, (66.60-61); *fulgeremus*, (66.61); *sidus* (66.64). Many of the words relate back to the beginning of the poem: *magni...lumina mundi* (66.1), *caelesti in lumine* (66.7), *fulgentem* (66.9). Emphasis is placed once again on the devotion of Berenice: the Lock is fulfilling her vow (*devotae*, 66.62), as promised (*pollicita est*, 66.10; *pollicita es*, 66.34; *reddita*, 66.37; *pristina vota...dissolvo*, 66.38). The many references to vows fulfilled contrast sharply with the many references to perfidy in poem 64. The military/sexual imagery of her wedding-night (*de virgineis...exuviis*, 66.14) is now transferred to the symbol of the Ptolemy's marital bliss: the Lock is the prize, the spoils of their relationship (*devotae...exuviae*, 66.62).

The reference to Berenice's fair head (*flavi verticis*, 66.62) harkens back to 66.8 (*e Beroniceo vertice*). But the reader is also reminded of the many other negative references to the *vertex* from the earlier poems. Of specific importance is the headdress that falls from Ariadne's fair head (*non flavo retinens subtilem vertice mitram*, 64.63), representing the final outcome of her first glimpse of the fair Theseus (*in flavo saepe hospite suspirantem*, 64.98). Once again poem 66 provides a positive contrast.

The goddess finally transports the Lock to the heavens as a new star (66.63-64): the idea of departure (*cedentem*, 66.63), so negative in previous poems, becomes a positive element in reference to the Lock.²² The

²²The Lock is wet (*uvidulam*, 66.63) and critics are a bit baffled about the cause of the wetness. Callimachus speaks of the "humid air" (δι' ἠέρα δ' ὑγρόν, line 55) through which the Lock journeyed; this is not indicated in the Catullus version (*aetherias...umbras*, 66.55). The manuscript reading *a fluctu* is interpreted by Fordyce, *Commentary*, 337, and Quinn, *The Poems*, 364, as indicating the spray from the temple of Arsinoe which was situated on the coast. Ellis, *Commentary*, 377, 386-87,

position of the *Coma Berenices* in the sky is charted in 66.65-68.²³ The metamorphosis is now complete, yet still the Lock cannot find her own personal satisfaction in her beatitude. She finds more grief than joy in her new situation, one that keeps her forever separated from Berenice's head:

non his tam laetor rebus, quam me afore semper,
afore me a dominae vertice discrucior.

(66.75-76)

The intensity of the vocabulary used here to recall the theme of separation helps alter the mood of the poem from mock-heroic to more serious.²⁴ This vocabulary is much more suitable to express the love that the Lock has for Berenice than that used previously (66.39-50) with its almost ludicrous overstatement. As a result, the reader is more apt to think in more realistic terms and recall some of the darker aspects of previous poems,²⁵ for the Lock too feels such excruciating loneliness and separation.

suggests *a fluctu* indicates that the Lock is washed in the sea before its journey (as in *Il.* 5.5-6: ἀστέρ'...ὅς.../...λελουμένος Ὠκεανοῖο), although this seems to cause a problem of chronology when 66.55-58 are considered. Kroll, *Poemata*, 208, changes *a fluctu* to *a fletu* and imagines that the Lock is still wet from Berenice's tears at Ptolemy's departure (66.22). The original Greek has ὕδασι] λουόμενον which seems to support Ellis' interpretation. See S. West, "Venus observed? A Note on Callimachus, Fr. 110," *CQ* 35 (1985): 62-63.

I am wondering if the words *a fluctu* could refer to the tears of the Lock itself (overlooking the slight problem that locks of hair do not have tear ducts, as we must, since locks also do not have vocal cords). For the last fifteen lines, the Lock has been lamenting her separation from Berenice's head (*invita*, 66.39, 40; *quid facient crines*, 66.47). Her sister locks have been mourning her departure (*lugebant*, 66.52); it seems "logical" for the Lock to weep too. I am not sure, however, if *a fluctu* could mean a "flood of tears."

²³Even though significant vocabulary is found in this passage (*lumina*, *iuncta*, *vestigia*, *lux*) and a myth of sexual misconduct is suggested (Callisto), there seems to be no important thematic significance here. The poet is probably merely copying the original Greek which is missing in the extant fragments.

²⁴Note the double *afore* (66.75, 76), the chiasmus of *me afore.../ afore me* (66.75-76) and the violent metaphor of *discrucior* (66.76).

²⁵e.g. the intense fears of the bride in poems 61 and 62, the tragedies of Attis and Ariadne, heightened by the use of *dominae*, 66.76.

The poet anticipates this change in mood by interjecting an invocation to Nemesis (*Rhamnusia virgo*, 66.71). This reference returns the reader to the final lines of poem 64 where Nemesis is mentioned in the poet's statement about mankind's fall from grace (64.395), a statement prompted both by the inner and outer stories of that poem. Nemesis is appropriate here because of the Lock's arrogance in still wishing to be part of Berenice's head. Although the actual situation is very artificial, there is a greater connection now with the more realistic stories in poem 64.

Arrogance figures prominently in these poems by the examples of Theseus, Achilles, and the Lock, who act in their own interests without thinking about the consequences of those actions on others.²⁶ The results of that arrogance in poem 64 are seen through the tragedy of Ariadne and the devastation in Troy. The result of the Lock's arrogance can only be surmised: if she were still part of Berenice's head, the vow would be unfulfilled, presumably the gods would be offended, and the positive nature of Berenice's marriage would not be glorified. It is this ironic reversal from poem 64, where the arrogance of the Lock may result in essentially a negative portrayal of marriage (since the positive marriage will be unrecognized), that is the point of this reference to Nemesis and its connection with poem 64.

²⁶Such arrogance is also found to some degree in poems 61 and 62 (of the groom not considering the bride's feelings) and poem 63 (of Cybele not considering Attis' change of heart).

This is supported by the Lock's determination not to cover up the truth through her fear (*ego non ullo vera timore tegam*, 66.72).²⁷ The Parcae also tell the truth (64.322) and cannot hide the terrible results of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. How unlike these is Theseus who deceives Ariadne, *celans dulci crudelia forma / consilia* (64.175-76). The Lock will tell the truth even if the stars criticize her, "tear her to pieces" with their hostile words (*me infestis discerpent sidera dictis*, 66.73). It is no coincidence that the same verb is used by Ariadne to describe the rending of Theseus' promise of marriage:

at non haec quondam blanda promissa dedisti
 ...
 sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos,
 quae cuncta aerii discerpunt irrita venti.

(64.139, 141-42)

The Lock, like Ariadne, will pour out the feelings hidden in her heart (*condita...veri pectoris evolvam*, 66.74; *clarisonas imo fudisse e pectore voces*, 64.125).

The Lock laments the fact that she was shorn so soon after marriage and was therefore able to enjoy only the simple perfumes (*vilia*, 66.78) that adorned the heads of unmarried girls.²⁸ Similar attempts to

²⁷The reading *tegam* recalls the controversy over the reading *canam* at 65.12 (see Appendix J). If *tegam* is indeed the correct reading there, it provides a nice contrast to the *tegam* at 66.72. The poet in poem 65 will forever "brood over" his sad songs because of his grief over the separation from his brother; the Lock in poem 66 will *not* cover up her grief because of her separation from Berenice's head.

²⁸The ms. have *milia* which was emended to *vilia* by Lobel. The manuscript reading would stress the quantity of perfumes shared with Berenice, while Lobel's reading would stress the quality of them. The reading *vilia* would match the reading in

maintain or to return to "the good old days" are found in all of the previous poems. In poem 61, the reluctant bride fears to change her unwedded existence for marriage with the groom; that marriage causes the *concubinus* to long for a return to his own previous relationship with the groom. In poem 62, the girls eloquently establish the felicity of continued virginity. Attis longs for a return to his former happy existence in poem 63. Ariadne wishes she could return to Crete and her family in poem 64. In poem 65, the poet longs to see his dear brother again. By expressing a similar wish, the Lock takes her legitimate place in this long sequence; but the significance of her desire is different from most of the previous examples, which (with the exception of the girls in poem 62) present the "good old days" as a positive alternative to the negative events experienced by the heroes. The bride in poem 61 has justifiable concerns about the groom's potential infidelity; the *concubinus* is the real and unfortunate victim of the same groom's insensitivity; Attis is severed from his productive life by the madness-induced influence of Cybele; Ariadne is deceived by Theseus into acting in such a way as to make any return to Crete impossible; the death of the poet's brother seems to destroy his very ability to write.

The Lock's desire to return to the queen's head is unlike these and more like the desire of the girls' in poem 62, to maintain the status quo. Their final argument (62.39-48) is successfully countered by the boys (62.49-58) who prove that such a desire is in fact counter-productive and

Callimachus (πολλὰ πέπωκα λιτά). Clausen, "Callimachus," 86, accepts *vilia*; but see M. C. J. Putnam, "Catullus 66.75-88," *CP* 55 (1960): 225.

destructive, going against the laws of nature. Much the same argument can be made for the Lock. Her wish to return to Berenice's head is unnatural and counter-productive in establishing the felicity of Berenice's marriage.

V

The Lock Finally Accepts Her Metamorphosis

(66.79-94)

Mention of the perfumes shared with Berenice prompts a general address to all brides and the offerings they should make. The emphasis is on the contrast between the faithful and the adulterous bride. This provides a fitting conclusion to a poem that praises the devotion of Berenice while constantly recalling earlier examples of deception and infidelity.

The Lock first addresses those faithful brides whom the wedding torch has united with welcome light: *nunc vos, optato quas iunxit lumine taeda* (66.79). The imagery in this line is familiar to the reader, and its use here provides either a contrast or a confirmation of the earlier implications. The wedding torch is appropriate, and takes the reader back to poems 61 and 64. The references in those poems suggest the type of happy marriage described in poem 66, but the unqualified success of those marriages is not guaranteed. Hymen shakes the wedding torch for Manlius and Iunia (*quate taedam*, 61.15) but the depiction of the potential infidelity of the groom casts some doubt over that union. At the beginning of poem 64, Peleus is characterized by his positive marriage with Thetis (*teque adeo eximie taedis*

felicibus aucte, 64.25); but the absence of Apollo and especially Artemis from the wedding clouds their future happiness (*nec Thetidis taedas voluit [Artemis] celebrare iugalis*, 64.302).

The last example also combines the wedding torch and the concept of "union" (*iugalis; iunxit*). The absence of Artemis seems to challenge the approval of Jupiter for the union (*Thetidi pater ipse iugandum Pelea sensit*, 64.21). The boys in poem 62 declare that no union can take place unless the fire of love is present (*nec iunxere prius quam se tuus extulit ardor*, 62.29); but this does not satisfy the girls' objections. These examples create some confusion about the success of the respective marriages. But the actions of Cybele in poem 63 are unambiguous. The release, or "disunion," of her lion from its yoke (*iuncta iuga resolvens Cybele lionibus*, 63.76; also 63.84) in order to drive Attis into the dark woods is symbolic of the final irreparable break from his former productive life.

When the Lock mentions the welcome light (*optato...lumine*, 66.79) of the marriage day (or marriage torch), she is reviving very strong images of previous *optata*, especially from poems 62 and 64. Other wedding days (62.30; 64.31, 328), the tasks facing the Argonauts (64.5) and Theseus (64.82), the girls' vision of the desirability of the sequestered flower (62.42, 44), the love of Peleus and Thetis (64.372) and the nostalgic portrait of the heroic age (64.22) all come to mind. But these references are not unambiguously positive. Ariadne even ridicules the very concept of the welcome marriage (*optatos hymenaeos*, 64.141) and the poet presents the perversion of the father wishing for his son's death (64.401).

These recollections strengthen, through contrast, the image in 66.79. If the line were in a poem that developed differently than this one, it would be logical to interpret it as another means of presenting the negative element in the cycle. But this reference concludes a poem whose fundamental theme is the security and happiness of the union of Berenice and Ptolemy. The reference in 66.79, therefore, serves not to parallel but to contrast strongly with the ambiguous or negative images in previous poems. The Lock is the shining witness that Berenice and Ptolemy did have a welcome wedding day which united them in a strong marriage. When the Lock addresses those other brides who are similarly married, she looks forward to a more positive outlook for marriage in the cycle, rather than backward to the earlier, negative examples.

This is made even clearer in the next image of the faithful brides giving their bodies to their husbands and baring their breasts:

non prius unanimis corpora coniugibus
tradite nudantes reiecta veste papillas,
quam iucunda mihi munera libet onyx

(66.80-82)

This provides a direct parallel to the Nereids and Ariadne in poem 64. The innocent sexuality of the naked Nereids (64.16-18) is symbolic of the positive marriage of Peleus and Thetis at the beginning of the poem, even as the vulnerable nakedness of Ariadne (64.63-67) symbolizes the tragedy of her broken marriage. But if, at the beginning of poem 64, there seems to be a distinct delineation of the positive and the negative marriage, it is less

clear at the end of the poem. By recalling the nakedness of the Nereids and Ariadne in poem 66, the poet is again compelling the reader to look at an unqualified positive example in contrast with the earlier confused images. The minds of the faithful couple are one (*unanimis...coniugibus*, 66.80) unlike the distraught and maddened minds of earlier characters in the cycle. The bride bares her breasts by a conscious act of shedding the robe (*reiecta veste*, 66.81), unlike the Nereids whose breasts are already bared, and unlike Ariadne, who remains oblivious to the clothing falling around her.

One might even see in *reiecta veste* a conscious rejection of the entire tragedy of Ariadne: the bride casts off her *vestis* even as she might remove the *vestis* that sat on the marriage-couch in poem 64, with its terrible and inappropriate depiction of negative love. This is suggested in the next lines, as the Lock refers to the onyx jar from which offerings should be made to her. The jar belongs to those who keep the laws of marriage in a pure marriage-bed (*vester onyx, casto colitis quae iura cubili*, 66.83), and only they can make the happy offerings (*iucunda...munera*, 66.82) to the now deified Lock. Women who uphold the laws are a better image for a happy marriage than the portrait of Theseus on the *vestis*.

The next lines contrast these virtuous women with the woman who gives herself to foul adultery (*quae se impuro dedit adulterio*, 66.84). This is the first direct appearance of some negative aspect of marriage in poem 66. The vocabulary used to describe the positive nature of Berenice's marriage merely suggests negative elements that appear earlier in the cycle; the vocabulary in 66.84-86 is unambiguous. The expression *se impuro*

dedit adulterio recalls and contrasts Hymen's role in poem 61 (*tu fero iuveni.../...puellulam / dedis*, 61.56-58) and Thetis' marriage to Peleus (*dedatur cupido iam dudum nupta marito*, 64.374). The adulterous woman is portrayed as a perversion of the norm. Indeed, this is the first instance of female indiscretion in the cycle, and provides another parallel to poem 61. The poet in poem 61 asserts that the groom is not involved in adulterous affairs (*non tuus levis in mala / deditus vir adultera*, 61.97-98) although he cannot deny that the groom will find it difficult to give up his childish interests (61.134-37). But the poet also advises the bride to take an active role in preventing him from wandering in the future (61.144-46).

Ironically, the poet has reversed the trend in poem 66. Hitherto he has used the positive example of Berenice to contrast with the negative elements in earlier poems. Now he uses the negative example of the adulterous woman to contrast with the more positive example of the groom in poem 61. Admittedly, within the context of poem 61, the groom appears as a less-than-sterling example of marital fidelity. Although he emerges with his reputation a bit sullied (there are hints only of *potential* infidelity and his dalliances with the *concupinus* are declared at least legal for bachelors, 61.139-40), he finally appears to be domesticated. However, even his indiscretions cannot compare to the adulterous woman in poem 66. Although the trend in the poem is reversed here, the message is the same: virtuous marriages (even ones with some flaws) are the ideal.

The Lock emphasizes her message by praying for a negative outcome for any offerings made by the adulterous woman:

illius a mala dona levis bibat irrita pulvis:
namque ego ab indignis praemia nulla peto.

(66.85-86)

Reminiscences of Ariadne's prayer to the gods are obvious.²⁹ Because Theseus leaves unfilled his promises to Ariadne (*irrita...linquens promissa*, 64.59; *cuncta aerii discernunt irrita venti*, 64.142) and he becomes, if not adulterous, at least faithless, Jupiter immediately fulfils Ariadne's prayer for retribution (64.202-4). Similarly, if adulterous women make vows in the future, the Lock will not fulfil them.

From the unworthy, the Lock will also refuse to accept offerings (*praemia*, 66.86) designed to elicit an advantage from the gods. Once again a direct parallel with poem 64 is indicated. The killing of the Minotaur provides many advantages (*praemia*, 64.102, 157) for Theseus, but not the kind he imagined. The consequences of his actions result in the tragedy of Ariadne, for which Theseus is punished (64.247-48). The etymological connection between *praemia* and *praeda* recalls the description of Ariadne and Polyxena as the *praeda* of Theseus (*pro quo [Theseo] dilaceranda feris dabor alitibusque / praeda*, 64.152-53) and Achilles (64.362). With such examples in mind, the reader can understand how the Lock will not even consider any appeals from such unworthy people as adulterous women.

The dark cloud is fleeting, and the Lock returns to the faithful bride, whose home is filled with concord and love:

²⁹There is also a strong echo between 61.97-98, *non tuus LEVIS IN MALA / deditus vir adultera*, and 66.85, *illius A MALA dona LEVIS bibat irrita pulvis*. This supports the connection between these two passages.

sed magis, o nuptae, semper concordia vestras,
semper amor sedes incolat assiduus.

(66.87-88)

Such sentiment is a most appropriate conclusion to poem 66, an eloquent and heart-felt testimony to the *concordia* and *amor assiduus* of Berenice and Ptolemy. But similar words describe the marriage of Peleus and Thetis:

nulla domus tales umquam contexit amores,
nullus amor tali coniunxit foedere amantes,
qualis adest Thetidi, qualis concordia Peleo.

(64.334-36)

This description, however, is followed by the prediction of the birth of their son, Achilles, and the devastation he inflicts upon the *sedes* of the Trojans (64.367). Moreover, in spite of the declaration that *concordia* reigns in the household of Peleus and Thetis, the Parcae conclude their song with hints of the *discordia* that eventually causes their estrangement from one another (64.379).

The reference to *amor assiduus* recalls the constant rewards Manlius and Iunia will finally experience in their marriage (*munere assiduo valentem / exercete iuventam*, 61.227-28). But more often, the element in the cycle that is constant is grief, from the torment of love. Venus herself maddens Ariadne with constant lamentations (*assiduis quam luctibus externavit*, 64.71); Aegeus' tears over Theseus' death never end (*in assiduos absumens lumina fletus*, 64.242). Even the poet is exhausted with constant grief (*me assiduo confectum...dolore*, 65.1). By glorifying the *concordia* and *amor assiduus* of the faithful bride, especially within the

context of the house, inspired by the example of Berenice, the Lock cannot provide any more striking contrast to these earlier examples.

In the final address to Berenice herself, the Lock connects the various themes presented in these concluding lines. The Lock was earlier deprived of the rich offerings of the married woman (*omnibus expers / unguentis...vilia multa bibi*, 66.77-78); now she urges the queen to rectify the situation (*unguinis expertem non siris esse tuam me*, 66.91) and present her with bounteous offerings (*largis...muneribus*, 66.92), as befits the hair of a virtuous bride (*iucunda mihi munera libet onyx*, 66.82). The offerings are to be given as the queen looks up at the stars in the sky (among which is the deified Lock) and propitiates Venus with festive lights (66.89-90). These lines indicate that both Berenice and, more importantly, the Lock herself have acknowledged the deification. This provides a direct contrast to the Lock's earlier reluctance to leave Berenice's head (66.39-40, 75-76) and leads to the poem's final distich.

E. Harrison convincingly shows that the manuscript readings provide the best conclusion for this poem; the lines then read as follows:³⁰

tu vero, regina, tuens cum sidera divam
 placabis festis luminibus Venerem,
 unguinis³¹ expertem non siris esse tuam me,
 sed potius largis *effice* muneribus
 sidera *cur iterent*: Utinam coma regia fiam!
 proximus Hydrochoi fulgeret Oarion!

(66.89-94)

³⁰E. Harrison, "Catullus 66.92-94," *CR* 37 (1923) 57-58. Italics indicate changes from the Mynors' text.

³¹Harrison accepts the ms. *sanguinis* here but *unguinis* seems better.

With her fulsome offerings to the new constellation, Berenice will cause the other stars to say to themselves, "I wish I could become a royal lock (and receive similar attention), even if my departure from heaven causes widespread upheaval."³²

Harrison makes the valid point that "the tress has said enough about its regrets, and the poem should end, as it ends in the MSS., with the cheerful anticipation of favours and glory to come."³³ To wish to become again a mere lock on Berenice's head would mean a return to the thought expressed in 66.69-78, a wish so dangerous that it requires a plea to Nemesis; and it is dangerous to court the anger of Nemesis twice.

This happy ending is consistent with the overall development of the poem, providing the ultimate positive statement in a poem filled with positive statements. A final rejection of the Lock's divinity would negate the triumph of the virtuous bride outlined so clearly in 66.79-88: "let all faithful brides treat their hair as respectfully as Berenice treated me, the divine symbol of her virtue." The fanciful thought that the other constellations might wish to become mere locks on the heads of queens would be exactly the sort of thing a newly elevated Lock would imagine when recently convinced of the validity of her promotion.

³²Harrison deals with the apparent problems of the construction *effice cur*, the exact meaning of *iterent*, and the singular *fiam* following the plural *sidera*. Kidd, "Catullus 66," 45-49, also accepts the ms. reading of the lines. He interprets the final line not as a reference to a conflagration of the heavens, but as a reference to the anger of Orion in the winter sky (i.e. Aquarius) at the elevation of the Lock.

³³*Ibid.*, 57.

Poem 66 is a remarkable achievement. A poem that has an independent existence, written in another language, rooted in a complex historical setting, and illustrative of a culture entirely foreign to Rome,³⁴ is incorporated by the poet into an intricate cycle without jeopardizing the overall development of his themes. Indeed, by being tremendously skilful in his use of vocabulary that constantly recalls words and expressions from previous poems, he is able to fuse this "transplanted" limb onto the main body of the cycle with very little, if any, signs of surgery. The result is a poem that provides the most positive counter-argument to the ambiguous or negative themes presented so far in the cycle.

³⁴Cf. Ellis, *Commentary*, 361.

CHAPTER 7: POEM 67¹

I

The Poet Addresses the Door

(67.1-8)

The opening lines set the mood for this poem. The formal invocation (*o dulci iucunda viro, iucunda parenti*, 67.1) recalls the opening of poem 61 (*Collis o Heliconii / cultor*, 61.1-2); the "dangling" references *iucunda...iucunda...salve, te* (67.1-2) lead the reader to expect that a woman or bride is being addressed.²

The linking of the husband³ and the parent in 67.1 recalls the same connection at 61.51-55 (*parens*, 61.51; *maritus*, 61.55) and the boys' final statement on the nature of the bride at 62.58 (*cara viro magis et minus est invisa parenti*). The description of the husband as *dulci* (67.1) suggests that the marriage in question is a happy one, like the marriage of Ptolemy, Berenice's *dulcis coniunx* (66.33), who bears the *dulcia...vestigia* (66.13)

¹See Appendix K for a discussion of some of the problems associated with poem 67 and the placing of the poem in the cycle.

²J. P. Hallett, "Ianua Iucunda: the Characterization of the Door in Catullus 67," *HSPh* 84 (1980): 111-12, argues that *iucunda* is especially apt for a "nice Roman woman, a joy to her own, beloved (*dulci*) spouse and parent."

³Forsyth, *The Poems*, 449, translates *viro* as "master," not "husband," relying on *servisse* (67.3). But until the reader comes to 67.3, the natural interpretation of *viro* must be "husband." Forsyth recognizes this with her comment on 67.3: "The audience must now 'rethink' the preceding couplet."

of their wedding-night. Ariadne too thinks that her relationship with Theseus will involve *dulcis amor* (64.120) and she laments the fact that it turned out otherwise (64.157, 175). Stars are affected by *dulcis amor* (66.6) and the poet, when untroubled, rejoices in the result of his happy relationship with the arts, the *dulcis Musarum...fetus* (65.3).⁴

The words seem to be "spoken" seriously, especially when the invocation to Jupiter is added in 67.2 (*teque bona Iuppiter auctet ope*). The references to *bona ope* and *auctet* remind the reader of the weddings of Ptolemy (*rex...novo auctus hymenaeo*, 66.11) and Peleus (*teque adeo eximie taedis felicibus aucte*, 64.25). Of these, the former is indisputably a happy one while the latter is seen to be less so in the context of poem 64. The allusion at 67.2 initially continues the happy description of this (still obscure) relationship, as in poem 66, but contains a hint of possible trouble, as in poem 64.

At 67.3 the poetic deception is revealed: the "lady" is in fact no lady but a door, *ianua*. The delay in revealing the identity of the "protagonist" does more than simply provide a good joke at the reader's expense. These lines firmly establish the tone of the poem from the outset. The poet is pulling the reader's leg, setting up a premise (that the speaker is addressing a woman, possibly a bride) and then shocking the reader at 67.3 with the revelation that the "lady" is in fact a door. This is just the

⁴See G. Giangrande, "Catullus 67," *QUCC* 9 (1970): 87. Cf. also little Torquatus' smile (*dulce rideat ad patrem*, 61.212) and the signal that Theseus failed to raise to indicate his success on Crete (*dulcia nec maesto sustollens signa parenti*, 64.210). These are, or would have been, positive elements in their respective poems.

beginning of a labyrinth of false leads. Moreover, this opening conceit also establishes the level and quality of the various deceptions in this poem. By creating a wedding context in the first distich, then introducing the surprising addressee, and even continuing the conceit in the following lines, capping the image with the words *facta marita* (67.6),⁵ the poet fixes in the reader's mind the possibility that a door can be married.⁶ If that can happen, then perhaps anything can happen. The reader is on his guard not to trust anything in this poem.⁷

More details continue to pile up in the opening lines. Rumours abound (*dicunt*, 67.3; *ferunt*, 67.5) about the door's service to the household of Balbus over the course of a double time-frame: *olim* (67.4) and *rursus* (67.5). That the house once was respectable is indicated initially by the phrase *servisse benigne* (67.3) and then by the use of *sedes* (67.4). The theme of the house has been an important one throughout the cycle, offering protection and security for the sanctity of marriage and the family.

⁵Cf. also *in dominum veterem*, 67.8; *tradita...sum*, 67.9; *domini limine*, 67.38.

⁶Similar imagery suitable both to marriage and slavery is also seen in poem 61. E. Badian, "The Case of the Door's Marriage," *HSPH* (1980): 81-89, finds this imagery very problematic. After the revelation of the door's identity, especially as a disloyal slave, it seems impossible to Badian that any Roman would treat this situation as a *iustum matrimonium*. But the poet is demanding just that from his audience. If a Roman would not even consider such a marriage in real life, the poet is asking him to suspend reality for the duration of this poem. If Badian's emendation of *facta* to *pacta* has merit, it is, in my opinion, not necessarily due to the fact that a door cannot "get married." P. Murgatroyd, "Some Neglected Aspects of Catullus 67," *Hermes* 117,4 (1989): 474, agrees with Badian that the door's marriage is only a joke which "hardly provides a suitable basis for serious argumentation."

⁷Ellis, *Commentary*, 390, calls the opening line "ironical," while Quinn, *The Poems*, 369, hears "sardonic overtones," but this only becomes clear later. There is nothing in the opening lines themselves to suggest definitively that the poem is written with ironical intent.

In poem 67, the house and its first line of defence, the door herself, continue the theme.

The apparently respectful past was presided over by the *senex* (67.4). Mention of the *senex* in connection with the sanctity of the house recalls the concerns of the aged parent from poem 61, who hopes that the house of Manlius and Iunia will provide children to be the mainstays of his old age.⁸ Almost everything in these first four lines suggests that the important theme of the sanctity of the family is once again the subject of this latest poem in the cycle, although the cautious *dicunt* (67.3) and *olim* (67.4) suggest that the sanctity of this particular house may be doubtful.

The ownership of the *senex* was followed (*rursus*, 67.5) by that of the son, whom the door apparently served badly (*ferunt...gnato servisse maligne*, 67.5).⁹ But a question arises: do the *senex* and the *natus* refer to the same people in 67.1 (*viro...parenti*)? The poet provides no clarification;

⁸61.51-55; 66-70. Such sentiment has already been suggested by the first line of poem 67 and its similarity with 62.58.

⁹The ms. reading *voto* is generally changed to *nato*. L. Richardson, "Catullus 67: Interpretation and Form," *AJPh* 88 (1967): 426, Giangrande, "Catullus 67," 86, and Ellis, *Commentary*, 390, accept *voto* and suggest that it means either a compact between the door and master or the marriage itself. Ellis admits, however, that "it is tempting to read...*nato servisse maligne*." Lewis and Short indicate that *votum* = marriage is a late meaning and therefore may not be relevant to Catullus. Badian, "Door's Marriage," 83, F. O. Copley, "The 'Riddle' of Catullus 67," *TAPhA* 80 (1949): 247-48, Forsyth, *The Poems*, 450, and Quinn, *The Poems*, 369, accept the emendation to *nato*.

Badian's argument seems the most convincing, relying on the need to balance the earlier reference to *Balbo...servisse benigne* (67.3) and a contrast to *senex*. This also necessitates a change from the manuscript *maligno* to *maligne*, which is the preferred reading. Apart from failing to balance *benigne*, the latter reading implies that the son is at fault in this scandal, a situation that only the door can reveal. *maligne* remains consistent with the dramatic context here, that the reader is only mentioning rumours that the door is at fault. This emendation has the additional advantage of recalling 67.1 (*viro...parenti*) and creating a chiasmus-like pattern (*viro/parenti; Balbo-senex/nato*).

instead, he merely re-establishes the unusual conceit of the door-bride (*postquam es facta marita*, 67.6).¹⁰

The marriage imagery is continued in the next lines, as the speaker asks the door to justify the abandonment of her loyalty to her old "master/husband" (*mutata feraris / in dominum veterem deseruisse fidem*, 67.7-8).¹¹ Mention of desertion (*deseruisse*) recalls many previous examples. The *concupinus* is deserted by the groom (*desertum domini... / amorem*, 61.122-23); Thessaly is deserted by the mortal wedding guests (*deseritur Cieros*, 64.35), who also abandon their tools (*desertis... aratris*, 64.42); Ariadne is deserted by Theseus (*desertam in sola... harena*, 64.57; *deserto... in litore*, 64.133; *omnia sunt deserta*, 64.187); Berenice is abandoned by Ptolemy for the Syrian campaign (*deserta*, 66.21). In some respect, poem 67 seems to represent a culmination of this theme.¹²

¹⁰See Appendix K for a discussion of the door's marriage.

¹¹I take *veterem* to agree with *dominum*, although the adjective does double duty, also applying to *fidem*. See Levin, "Ambiguities," 110. Richardson, "Catullus 67," 428, seems to take the plural *nobis* (67.7) quite literally, assuming that several speakers address the door throughout the poem. This argument is not a sound one. He posits a woman as the initial speaker but later (429) must conclude that a man must speak the obscenities at 67.29-30, since "the...language here makes it difficult to assign the couplet to the bride, or any woman." See P. Levine, "Catullus 67: the Dark Side of Love and Marriage," *CIAnt* 4 (1985): 65, note 19.

¹²See Hallett, "Ianua Iucunda," 115-16.

II

The Door Begins Her Defence

(67.9-18)

The door immediately declares her innocence. Her annoyance at being so maligned through rumours (*dicitur*, 67.10; *dicere*, 67.11) is strong.¹³ Why such a vehement attack against what is said about her? In earlier poems in the cycle, words are seen to have great power. Ariadne condemns Theseus for going back on his word, calling him *perfidus* and railing against his *periuria*.¹⁴ Aegeus dies because Theseus fails to remember the departing words of his father.¹⁵ The poet feels compelled to defend himself for failing to fulfil Hortalus' verbal request.¹⁶ Berenice's Lock must placate Nemesis for her reluctance to become a constellation.¹⁷ An example more exactly parallel to the door's situation is found in poem 61, where similar rumours about possible scandal are spread about the groom (*diceris male te a tuis /...glabris.../ abstinere*, 61.134-36).¹⁸ The door too must defend herself against what is said about her.

A further, more subtle, parallel to the power of rumour can be seen throughout poem 64. The story of Peleus and Thetis is presented as

¹³There are thirteen references to rumours or hearsay at 67.3, 5, 7, 10, 11, 15, 18, 19, 24, 31, 43, 45.

¹⁴64.133, 139-48, 175-76.

¹⁵64.231-32, 238-49.

¹⁶65.15-18.

¹⁷66.71-74.

¹⁸This is part of the Fescennine section of poem 61 and supports some critics' contention that poem 67 also contains a strong Fescennine element. This example provides a further link with these two poems.

hearsay: *prognatae...pinus / dicuntur...nasse* (64.1-2); *tum Thetidis Peleus incensus fertur amore* (64.19). Initially, it seems logical to introduce this mythological story in this way. But a subtle offshoot of this presentation is the inference that the apparently happy marriage of Peleus and Thetis is not so; it is only "said" to be so. Various parts of the story of Ariadne and Theseus are also presented as hearsay: the voyage of Theseus to Crete (*perhibent*, 64.76), the lamentations of Ariadne (*perhibent*, 64.124) and the instructions of Aegeus (*ferunt*, 64.212). The poet's purpose here is to present both stories equally (consistent with his plan to let the poem appear to "develop" on its own) before pronouncing his final, surprising condemnation of past and present morality. The result is a confounding of the real and the false: the "happy" marriage of Peleus/Thetis and the "disastrous" relationship of Theseus/Ariadne are no different.

The same dichotomy appears in poem 63. Attis appears to be devoted to Cybele and says so, even reproaching his Gallae for their relative lack of enthusiasm (63.19). But after waking, it is clear that his apparent happiness is a sham. The words he uses to express his horror are strong (63.49); they reach Cybele's ears (*nova nuntia*, 63.75), prompting her to send her lion to bring Attis back to the fold.

The theme of rumour and hearsay, illusion and reality, culminates in poem 67. The house, once respectable, has become scandal-ridden, and this seems to be the fault of the door. Her defence attempts to set the record straight, to what poetic purpose the reader must wait to discover.

She begins by stressing this dichotomy between reality and the perception of reality, speaking more about the latter than the former. She quickly declares that the fault is not hers (*non.../ culpa mea est*, 67.9-10; also 67.11), but spends most of the time talking about the propensity of the *populus* to say otherwise (*dicitur*, 67.10; *reperitur*, 67.13; *omnes clamant: ianua, culpa tua est*, 67.14).¹⁹ Truth and the semblance of truth are already intricately entwined.

As an aside in her first speech, she volunteers the information that a Caecilius is now the owner of the house (*ita Caecilio placeam, cui tradita nunc sum*, 67.9). In disclosing this fact, she maintains the imagery of marriage. But the reader is once again confronted with a confusing bit of information. Who is this Caecilius? Is he the same person as *nato* (67.5), or is he someone else? In other words, has the house had two owners (Balbus and *natus Balbi*, now identified as Caecilius) or three owners (Balbus, *natus Balbi* who remains anonymous, and Caecilius)?²⁰

¹⁹P. Y. Forsyth, "A Note on Catullus 67.12," *CJ* 77 (1982): 253-54, offers a good suggestion for the problematic 67.12: *verum isto populo ianua quid faciat*. Munro's suggestion (*verum est ius populi: ianua quicque facit*) is also logical.

²⁰As usual, the poet gives no assistance here. If *nunc* is parallel to *rursus*, then *natus Balbi* must be Caecilius. This is the conclusion of Giangrande, "Catullus 67," 88, and requires that the phrase *ita Caecilio placeam* be considered an ironic aside by the door. Caecilius therefore is part of the scandal still going on in the house, a scandal that still causes the door such distress over her reputation. So the door would no more wish to please this owner than the populace who continue to defame her.

I cannot, however, see any indication in the text that *ita Caecilio placeam* is an ironic comment. The phrase is parallel to the Lock's deferential aside to Nemesis at 66.71-74. In that situation, the Lock is about to say something that may offend Nemesis and result in some possible retribution; so she begs forgiveness beforehand. In like manner, the door, about to disclose the scandals of the past, attempts to placate Caecilius, who is not at all implicated in these scandals.

Thus, the *nunc* of 67.9 provides not a parallel but a contrast with *rursus* (67.5). This is implied as well by the speaker's reference to *dominum veterem* (67.8). The door is asked to talk about the scandals surrounding her former master/husband. She eagerly begins (*non...*, 67.9) but interrupts her defence to protect the reputation

But such a reflective investigation of the text is not possible as the poem continues to fly by. The reader finds himself unable to stop and rest and deliberate about such things. This dilemma seems to be indicated by the poet at 67.15-16, where, in spite of the door's rather verbose denial so far, the speaker still demands that she be more specific about her situation (*facere ut quivis sentiat et videat*, 67.16).²¹

The door takes on more of a personality, as she gives vent to her hurt feelings that no one really cares to know the truth (*qui possum? nemo quaerit nec scire laborat*, 67.17). Is the reader intended to think of Attis and Ariadne who make complaint where no one can hear (*querendum est etiam atque etiam*, 63.61; *quid ego ignaris nequiquam conquerar auris*, 64.164)? Or is he intended to think of the song of the Parcae (*veridicos Parcae coeperunt edere cantus*, 64.306)? Is this the reason why the speaker uses such elevated language in response to the door's emotional confession: *nos volumus: nobis dicere ne dubita* (67.18)? The door, like Attis, Ariadne, and the Parcae, will tell the truth about these scandals.

of the present owner Caecilius, adding the clarifying phrase *cui tradita nunc sum*. This phrase is redundant if Caecilius is the same as *natus Balbi*, already described as the door's "husband" in 67.6. Caecilius, to whom the door is now "married," is a different person from her *dominus vetus*.

There is nothing so far in the poem to suggest that the door would address Caecilius ironically (if he were the current cuckolded husband). Indeed, to read *ita Caecilio placeam* as an ironic statement makes excessive and (I would say) impossible demands on the reader. See Ellis, *Commentary*, 388. The same argument applies here that applied to 67.1, where some critics see an ironic reference in *iucunda*. See above, note 6. Until the reader has more information, no such ironic inference can be applied; and he must wait until 67.20 to get any reference at all to the scandalous husband. See Hallett, "Ianua Iucunda," 107, note 3; Neudling, *Prosopography*, 22-23.

²¹This simple distich may be the poet's ironic way of saying that the various elements of this poem so far have been kept purposely obscure.

III

The Scandalous Evidence

(67.19-30)

Encouraged by the speaker, the door begins to present her evidence; but she does so in a rather strange manner. She has declared that no one can say she has done anything wrong (67.11). But when the speaker demands more specific evidence (67.15-16), she does not speak about herself and her guiltless role as protector of the house, but offers merely a gossipy account of the past behaviour in the house. Her first bit of evidence is indeed shocking: *virgo quod fertur tradita nobis, / falsum est* (67.19-20).²² Presumably, she is talking about the wife of *natus Balbi*. The former mistress of the house was not the virginal maiden that Roman marriage custom demanded. The importance of this custom cannot be overlooked since it has already been established by the emphasis placed on the *nova nupta* at 61.92, 96, 106, 113; 62.6, 12 (*innuptae*) and 66.15 (*novis nuptis*).

The next information is also shocking: *non illam vir prior attigerit* (67.20).²³ Once again some confusion here. What exactly does *vir prior* mean? Does it imply that the lady had a previous husband, the adjective in the attributive position?²⁴ Or does it mean that her husband (*natus Balbi*)

²²See Giangrande, "Catullus 67," 91-92.

²³For the perfect subjunctive *attigerit*, Ellis, *Commentary*, 392, suggests the translation "Her husband can scarcely have been the first to handle her," (because he was impotent); in fact (*sed*, 67.23) it was his father who deflowered her.

²⁴Quinn, *The Poems*, 370; Forsyth, *The Poems*, 453.

was not the first to touch her, the adjective in the predicative position?²⁵ The reader has no time to sort out these details, for the door continues with more information: the husband was not potent enough to do his duty on the wedding night (67.21-22). The significance of the loss of virginity has already been established in the cycle: Hymen is invoked for this task at 61.52-53 (*tibi virgines / zonula solvunt sinus*); in poem 62, the boys argue for the productivity of marriage (*sic virgo dum intacta manet, dum inculta senescit*, 62.56) to counter the girls' view of perpetual virginity (*sic virgo, dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est*, 62.45); Thetis' mother is anxious about the success of the wedding-night and the possibility of children (64.376-80); and there is a hint of this in poem 63, where Attis laments his inability to engage in procreative sexual activities (*ego vir sterilis ero?* 63.69), and in poem 65, where the poet cannot produce his poetic offsprings (*nec potis est dulcis Musarum expromere fetus*, 65.3).

Finally, the door gives the most shocking evidence: to solve the husband's problem, the husband's father did the deflowering (67.23-28).

²⁵Copley, "Catullus 67," 250; Giangrande, "Catullus 67," 94-95. For what it is worth, I will attempt to explain my view of the situation. The door makes two points. First she deals with the false information (*fertur*, 67.19) that the wife was a virgin when she arrived at the house. Then, she announces that she was deflowered not by her husband but by her father-in-law. If she were previously married, her coming to the house as a deflowered lady would not be so shocking; yet it is precisely the non-virginity of the *nova nupta* that is the subject of the first bit of information. The gossips would assume that she had been deflowered already, if she had a previous husband; so announcing her lack of virginity would not be such a big point. The fact that her present husband apparently did not do the deflowering is the really shocking piece of information. It seems to me, therefore, that *vir prior* cannot refer to a previous husband, which would make 67.19 meaningless. The words *vir prior* are anticipatory to the real scandal: it was not the husband but the husband's father who deflowered the girl (67.23-24). Apparently this deflowering happened before the bride arrived at the house, and hence she was reported to be a virgin at the time. Only two, possibly three, people would know of this (the father, the bride, and possibly the husband). Giangrande, "Catullus 67," 97, makes the point that the husband was not totally impotent, but simply not potent enough *ad zonam virgineam solvendam*.

But with this, more problems seem to arise. The language used by the door indicates that she considers the father's actions disgraceful: he violated his son's marriage-bed (*pater illius gnati violasse cubile / dicitur*, 67.23-24)²⁶ and polluted the house (*miseram conscelerasse domum*, 67.24). Certainly the sanctity of *cubile* and *domus* has been well-established elsewhere in the cycle.²⁷ The door's words suggest that the son was unaware of his father's actions (the door is rather ambiguous in her description of this situation, remaining silent for awhile on the son's part in the deflowering). This revelation completely changes the reader's opinion about the father. The initial address to the door suggested that the father was most respectable. The door was *dulci iucunda viro, iucunda parenti* (67.1) precisely because she protected the sanctity of the house and its owner (*Balbo...servisse benigne*, 67.3). It is only now that the opening lines become ironic.

The father's actions in and of themselves condemn him outright. But the door continues by conjecturing why the father would perform this disgraceful act; in the process, she implicates the son in the plot. The door first surmises that the father himself was subject to strong desires which, because he acted upon them, became unlawful (*impia mens caeco flagrabat amore*, 67.25). Burning love is a positive element for the groom at 61.169-71 (*illi.../ pectore uritur intimo / flamma*) and 62.26-27 (*Hespere.../ qui desponsa tua firmes conubia flamma*) and ostensibly for Peleus

²⁶Ellis, *Commentary*, 392, Quinn, *The Poems*, 371, and Forsyth, *The Poems*, 454, stress that *illius* goes with *pater* and not with *gnati*. But I tend to agree with Kroll, *Poemata*, 215, and Giangrande, "Catullus 67," 93, who suggest that *illius* is without any emphasis. The result is still the same: *pater illius* refers to the father of the *vir* who deflowered the lady.

²⁷Cf. the references to *cubile* at 61.107, 176; 64.163; 66.21, 83. The *domus* is well-documented in earlier poems.

(*incensus...amore*, 64.19); but it is a negative element for Ariadne, in her first glimpse of Theseus (*flagrantia.../ lumina*, 64.91-92) and in her later, destructive passion for him (*incensam...puellam*, 64.97). Even Dionysus' love for Ariadne (*incensus amore*, 64.253) cannot escape some negative implications. For Ariadne and the father in poem 67, such love is ultimately destructive, resulting in the father's incestuous blindness (*caeco...amore*, 67.25), and Ariadne's blind madness (*amenti caeca furore*, 64.197). The father is particularly condemned for his *impia mens*. His actions, therefore, are no different from those of the incestuous mother at the end of poem 64 (*ignaro mater substernens se impia nato*, 64.403).

Indeed, the reference to poem 64 is especially appropriate. If the son in that poem is unaware (*ignaro...nato*, 64.403) that he is mating with his own mother, the door in poem 67 suggests that it is with the complicity of the son that his father is mating with his wife (67.26-28). Giangrande calls the father a *deus pertundus*, enlisted by the less-than-potent son to preside over the loss of the bride's virginity (*zonam solvere virgineam*, 67.28).²⁸ The description of the son as *iners sterili semine* (67.26) recalls both the *concupinus* (*iners / concubine*, 61.124-25) and Attis (*ego vir sterilis ero?* 63.69), both examples of negative love.²⁹ But the phrase *zonam solvere virgineam* also harkens back to poem 61, where another father, in the face of the groom's nervousness, is deeply concerned about

²⁸Giangrande, "Catullus 67," 102-4.

²⁹The *concupinus* is a negative example for the groom, who should be giving up such love. From the perspective of the *concupinus*, however, his love for the groom is positive.

the loss of virginity in the respectable marriage of Manlius and Iunia, soon to be consummated:

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

(61.51-55)

These parallel references underscore the negative aspects of this particular marriage in poem 67.

While the door's first speech begins with a reference to the lady, its real subject is the disgraceful actions of the men.³⁰ This is confirmed by the speaker's sarcastic and obscene comment (*egregium narras mira pietate parentem, / qui ipse sui gnati minxerit in gremium*, 67.29-30), pertaining not to the lady's behaviour, but to the "piety" of such a father towards his son. If the father is acting *in loco Dei Pertundi*, he is indeed a *parens egregius mira pietate*. But to praise such a father's *pietas* towards his son is tantamount to praising Theseus' *virtus* towards Ariadne. This is made even more emphatic by the use of *gremium* in an obscene context. The *gremium* is a symbol of the security provided by the bride's natural family

³⁰The brunt of the critics' condemnations, however, is directed not towards the father but against the lady. Copley, "Catullus 67," 249, calls her "hopelessly immoral," Giangrande, "Catullus 67," 91, "a bad 'un." While not wishing to absolve the woman's conduct, I think these comments miss the point. She is certainly mentioned first (67.19); but the content of the speech focuses on the activities (or lack thereof) of the two men. It is the father who violates the marriage-bed and who is suspected of burning with impious love. The lady is portrayed as merely the object of the men's machinations, even if it is nowhere said that she was unwilling.

before she joins her husband in marriage,³¹ and of the security of her new family, epitomized by the children born of the new marriage:

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

(61.209-13)

As the speaker cynically notes, a father *qui sui gnati minxerit in gremium* would, under normal circumstances, hardly be called *pius*.

IV

The Closing Arguments

(67.31-48)

The door seems to take the speaker's ironic statement about the father (67.29-30) as an expression of disbelief in her story, and feels the need to provide corroborating evidence (67.31-34): Brixia can provide more examples of lapses of morality (*atqui non solum hoc dicit se cognitum habere / Brixia*, 67.31-32). She continues by adding several bits of "learned" geographical information.³²

³¹See 61.58, 210; 65.20; 66.56.

³²Some of the details are either exaggerated or wrong. See Copley, "Catullus 67," 250-51; Richardson, "Catullus 67," 430-31. These geographical details provide more fodder for critics' ruminations. From these lines, commentators have drawn conflicting conclusions, either that two towns were involved (the present home in Verona and the house in Brixia where the scandalous behaviour took place) or that everything took place in one town (Brixia). Giangrande, "Catullus 67," 104-17, must emend 67.34, removing the name *Veronae*, in order to make sense of his theory that

Coming as it does, following a lengthy reference to the father's scandalous actions, the passage at 67.31-35 describing some as yet unspecified incidents in Brixia leads the reader to believe initially that it is still the father who is involved in these incidents, since there is no specific reference to the bride. When the door mentions affairs with Postumius and Cornelius (67.35), the reader is even more shocked, since the lines suggest that the father was also involved in homosexual affairs. It is only in 67.36 that the reader finally realizes that the door is talking about the lady (*illa*).

Now it becomes clear that both the male and female members of the house have been actively engaged in scandalous behaviour. It is only after learning about the lady's affairs with Postumius and Cornelius that the reader can state unquestionably that she "is a bad 'un."³³ But the full scope of the scandal is still not yet revealed. The affairs with the two gentlemen of Brixia constitute acts of adultery on the part of the lady (*cum quibus illa malum fecit adulterium*, 67.36). What exactly is the significance of this information? Was the lady married before, or is the door referring to current acts of adultery? If the lady was married before (as she would have to be to commit acts of adultery), then the reference to *vir prior* (67.20) should mean her previous husband. But the point of the door's earlier

all took place in Brixia. This seems an extreme measure and casts serious doubt on the validity of the theory.

Even if the mention of Brixia is intended to identify the particular Balbus involved (for the benefit of Catullus' audience if not ours), the details presented here are nothing more than a red herring and need not be studied overly much. The door seems to be stating that the father's deflowering of the girl and other scandalous incidents took place in Brixia.

³³The structure of the poem, therefore, concentrates on the father's behaviour in 67.19-28 and then the bride's behaviour in 67.31-48.

information about the bride's virginity is the manner by which she was deflowered, not the possibility that she was previously married. Therefore, the significance of 67.35-36 is that the lady committed adultery with Postumius and Cornelius after her marriage with *natus Balbi*.

So unbelievable is this information that the door anticipates the reader's next question: *dixerit hic aliquis: quid? tu istaec, ianua, nosti* (67.37). The purpose of the question is to reaffirm the personification of the door, which was last alluded to specifically in 67.7-8. This allows the poet to continue the theme of the door's "marriage" in 67.38, as she confesses that she is less than mobile: *numquam domini limine abesse licet*. The sanctity of the *limen* has been established in earlier poems. The bride is carried across the threshold at 61.159-60 (*transfer omine cum bono / limen aureolos pedes*); the Lock, inspired by the happy marriage of Berenice, dismisses the idea that false tears are shed by new brides inside the threshold of the wedding-chamber (*thalami...intra limina*, 66.17). Even Attis laments the fact that he will no longer experience the joys of love symbolized by the threshold (*limina tepida*, 63.65).

The fact that the door cannot leave the sanctity of the threshold of her master/husband (because she is part of the *limen*, 67.39) to gather incriminating evidence (*nec populum auscultare [licet]*, 67.39) creates a humorously ironic comment on the sanctity of this particular marriage. She condemns herself further by categorizing her function as merely closing or opening the house (*tantum operire soles aut aperire domum*, 67.40). Indeed, it is precisely because of her "revolving-door" character here, with

its implication of her less-than-diligent attention to her role as *ianitor* or *ianitrix* to protect the residents, that her reputation has been so maligned.³⁴ How unlike this door are the doors of Manlius' house in poem 61: they are opened to receive the young, virginal bride (*claustra pandite ianuae. / virgo adest*, 61.76-77) and are subsequently closed to allow the wedding couple to enjoy their marriage in private (*claudite ostia*, 61.224).

Nevertheless, the door revels in her "secret identity." She explains that, in spite of her fixed position, she has heard the lady speaking secretly to her servants about her misdeeds (67.41-42). The secret discussion about such matters (*furtiva voce*, 67.41) stands in marked contrast to the secret gift of the apple at 65.19 (*missum...furtivo munere malum*), symbolic of the precious nature both of the love between the boy and girl in the simile and of the translation requested by Hortalus.³⁵ More importantly, the bride's lurid confessions about her faithlessness to her attendants also provide a chiasmic reversal of the attempts by the poet in poem 61 to reassure the bride that her husband will not be unfaithful.

The door claims that the lady was so outspoken because she assumed the door had no ears and tongue with which to hear or report the details of her scandalous behaviour (67.43-44). This comic, self-deprecating remark seems to find a tragic parallel in Ariadne's statement

³⁴Hallett, "Ianua Iucunda," 116, sees the fixed position of the door as representative of the loyalty of the good Roman matron. This would enhance the irony of the revolving-door status of the *ianua*. I cannot agree with Hallett (118) that the door is displaying remarkable reticence throughout this poem. Cf. Murgatroyd, "Catullus 67," 475-76, and Ovid *Amores* 1.6.

³⁵That Catullus intended to recall poem 65 here is also indicated by the earlier obscene allusion to *gremium* (67.30), since the apple was hidden in the girl's *gremium* (65.20).

that the breezes have no means of hearing and returning the substance of her complaint against Theseus' actions (*nec missas audire queunt nec reddere voces*, 64.166). To prove her point, the door concludes by teasing the audience with a veiled mention of a third lover, the man with red eyebrows, who was involved in some litigation over a supposititious child (67.45-48). But this last detail too remains unexplained, leaving the reader wondering about this and the other threads in this tangled web.³⁶

Critics have attempted to analyse the various details in this poem in order to present a final, "definitive" statement about what is actually happening here. But in my opinion, such attempts have been failures. I do not believe that there is one analysis which is clearly and unequivocally "correct," since the poet had no intention of creating a poem that could be analysed in this way. From the opening line, poem 67 is an exercise in deception and false leads. The "lady" who is *dulci iucunda viro, iucunda parenti* (67.1) turns out to be a door, who later reveals herself to be *iucunda neque viro neque parenti*. By skilfully forcing the reader to suspend belief in the real world and real-life logic, the poet prepares for the subsequent illogicality of the poem's specific details. This preparation and the choice of the door as the loquacious protagonist of this drama should alert the reader not to take the substance of this poem too seriously.

³⁶R. Kilpatrick, "Catullus and the 'Wedding Door,'" (private communication from the author), suggests that the red eyebrows identify the final lover as Caecilius Rufus. But I cannot help wondering if this final bit of gossip is Catullus' subtle way of ridiculing those people who are trying to solve the "riddles" of this poem: the identities of the individuals depicted here have as much real substance as the *falsum puerperium*. Cf. Levine, "Catullus 67," 67.

True to the character of the door, the details are a bit confused and certainly not clearly presented. Balbus is mentioned (67.3) and then his son (if *nato* is read in 67.5). The mention of the door's *vetus dominus* (67.8) is followed immediately by the reference to Caecilius (67.9). Within these opening nine lines, therefore, many details are given, but the exact relationship of these details is vague. As the poem continues, more confusing details are amassed. A pseudo-virgin has been brought to the house as a married woman. Mention is made of the husband and his father (are they different from Balbus and his son or the same?). Brixia and Verona are mentioned specifically but it is difficult to see the exact relationship they have to the scandals. The father who deflowered the lady seems also to have had affairs with Postumius and Cornelius -- no, it was the lady herself! Where did these affairs take place and did they happen before or after her marriage with...with whom?...*natus Balbi*, Caecilius? The reader's mind is swimming with so many confusing details.

Some critics have tried to discern the chronology by close inspection of the verb tenses used by the door. The various rumours are all apparently still being circulated, judging by the exclusive use of the present tense (*dicunt, ferunt, feraris, reperitur, omnes clamant, fertur, dicitur, dicit, narrat*). But confusion arises over other temporal references: *olim* (67.4), *rursus* (67.5), *nunc* (67.9); and the door's final gossip involves some past tenses: *audivi* (67.41)³⁷ and *addebat* (67.45). The door's

³⁷That this is a secondary tense ("I often heard") and not a primary one ("I have often heard") is indicated by the usual reading *speraret*. However, I recognize that the ms. may have had *speret*, maintaining the primary sequence here. The fact that

inconsistency in her verb tenses does more to define her character than to establish exact chronology.

This inconsistency and confusion indicates that Catullus is either a bad poet or a very skilful one. It is illogical that he would include such a badly written poem at the conclusion of such a masterly cycle. It must therefore be his intention purposely to make these details vague in order to enhance the characterization of the door, and to divert the reader's perception of the purpose of these details. This poem is designed to portray the humorous effects of scandal and gossip; what is most important is not the details of the scandals but the fact that scandals do happen.

In the opening lines of poem 67, the poet establishes a context similar to those found in earlier poems in the cycle. He presents a conflict between negative and positive forces which, in earlier poems, is more or less resolved. The potential infidelity of Manlius vanishes in the familial portrait at the end of poem 61. The girls' untenable arguments for virginity in poem 62 are silenced by the boys' appeal to the reality of marriage. Even the problems in Berenice's family are merely suggested (66.27-28) lest they cloud the celestial brightness of her marriage with Ptolemy.

The opening lines of poem 67 provide the most obvious example in the cycle of the conflict between respectable and scandalous relationships. The speaker's specific enquiry about why the door apparently became a less-than-faithful servant/partner leads the reader to

critics can find reasons to accept both readings supports my view that attempts to determine details by examining the verb tenses is impossible.

believe that a definitive statement will be made by the door confirming her innocence and loyalty, or at least the innocence of some member of the Balbus family. This would match the development of the other earlier poems, resulting in a resolution of the negative/positive forces. But the door does nothing of the kind, except for a generalizing claim of innocence, which the speaker does not really accept (67.15-16). Instead, she launches forth into a gossipy account of the past scandals that have beset the house and perhaps continue to trouble it. Instead of resolving the conflict, the door adds to it, even indicting the elder Balbus who hitherto was reported to have been innocent (67.4-5). The example of the apparently blameless Caecilius could have served to counter the exploits of the scandalous Balbi. But the door merely mentions him in an aside, implying that his boring *fidelitas* has no real place in her story.

Nowhere does the door fulfil her expressed promise to redeem her reputation or the reputation of the house itself. Even when the speaker expresses his disbelief in the scandalous activities of the father in a statement whose obscenity should prompt the door to counter with something positive (67.29-30), the door merely continues the gossip by enhancing even further the immorality of the lady herself.

Earlier poems also deal with scandalous behaviour, from the potential infidelity of the groom in poem 61 to the desertion of Ariadne by Theseus. But nowhere in those poems are the scandals presented with such consistent humour and unabashed glee as in poem 67. One could argue that the Fescennine section of poem 61 comes closest to the tone of poem 67,

and indeed the comparison is useful. But the humour of the *Fescennina iocatio* in poem 61 is tempered somewhat by the sympathetic treatment of the *concupinus*. Similarly, the sympathetic portrayal of the bride in that poem renders her constant fears about her husband's potential infidelity more serious and real. In poem 61, the poet still feels that a marriage can be faithful and lasting and any threats to that stability must be taken seriously. In poem 67, no such feeling remains, and the humour is blatant and unfettered.

The boys in poem 62 attempt to counter the girls' arguments with some sensitivity and a bit of light-heartedness (62.29-30, 36); but it is the intensity of the girls' stanzas that remains in the memory. No one can argue that the depictions of Attis' tragedy or Ariadne's torment contain any humour. Even the apparent joyous marriage of Peleus and Thetis, which ostensibly is intended to counter the tragedy of Ariadne, cannot sustain its innocence during the song of the Parcae. The speaker's final words are not filled with admiration and sympathy for the joys of the past but are fraught with shock and disillusion that apparently no marriage can be truly honourable. Only poem 66 is able to counter the trend of portraying of marriage and love with ever increasing negativity; like poem 67, it does so with some humour.

Yet once again, in poem 67, the penultimate poem of the cycle, it seems that the poet is accepting the fact that relationships, both inside and outside marriage, can probably never be totally happy and faithful. The humorous litany of scandals affecting this house is never countered with a

definitive statement about fidelity or honesty, in spite of the expectations suggested in the opening lines. By presenting the language and the situations of the common Roman in poem 67, the poet seems to be saying that the lofty ideal of the faithful marriage is as artificial and irrelevant to the real world as the elevated language used in the earlier poems, in both the mythological and historical settings.

The investigation of positive and negative love that is the essence of this cycle has come down to two extremes: the perfect marriage (poem 66) and the totally disastrous one (poem 67).³⁸

³⁸Cf. King, "Callimachean Carmina," 388: "66 and 67 provide models for 'both sides of the coin', marriage (and a *domus*) honored and dishonored." Cf. Levine, "Catullus 67," 70-71.

CHAPTER 8: POEM 68¹

I

The Poet Receives a Request

(68.1-10)

The beginning of poem 68 immediately dampens the humour of poem 67. The list of woes that is affecting the poet's correspondent (*fortuna casuque oppressus acerbo*, 68.1) immediately recalls the beginning of poem 65, where the poet too is overcome by troubles (*me assiduo confectum cura dolore / sevocat a...virginibus*, 65.1-2). It will be a while yet before the reader understands how exact is the parallel between the two poems. The initial effect, however, is to plunge the reader into the intense

¹The reader comes to poem 68 prepared for the excitement of the final poem in the cycle. But once again he must face a mountain of criticism that challenges the very existence of the poem as a unified whole. It is not within the scope of this thesis to analyse fully the judgments made on this poem by previous critics. It is necessary, however, to declare my belief that poem 68 is one poem. Consequently, I find that I agree with much of what has been written on this poem, especially by H. W. Prescott, "The Unity of Catullus 68," *TAPhA* 71 (1940): 473-500, P. Levine, "Catullus c. 68: A New Perspective," *CSCA* 9 (1976): 61-88 and J. Sarkissian, *Catullus 68: an Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 1983).

Previous criticism has approached the poem's problems largely from an internal perspective, with almost no attempt to relate this poem to other poems in the cycle. It is my belief that many of the problems engendered by this difficult poem can be resolved by recognizing that poem 68 is inextricably connected to poems 61 to 67. In attempting to analyse the poem in isolation, critics are rejecting a wealth of information, images, and themes that have been carefully developed by the poet to lead to this moment in the cycle. Therefore, while I may agree with many of the points raised by previous critics, I will of necessity disagree with some of the basic interpretations that they have assigned to the lines.

emotional conflicts that have touched both the poet and his friend.

The use of sea-imagery to describe the correspondent's troubles (*nafragum ut eiectum spumantibus aequoris undis*, 68.3) also links poem 68 to poem 65; but so far in poem 68, the roles are reversed. Here, the correspondent is a shipwrecked sailor needing to be restored by the poet; in poem 65, it is the poet who is tempest-tossed (*mens animi, tantis fluctuat ipsa malis*, 65.4).

As poem 68 develops, other images are introduced: the shipwrecked sailor becomes a lover suffering alone in his bed (68.5-6), unable to be consoled by poetry (68.7-8). The language in these opening lines is daring in its juxtaposition of apparently unconnected motifs into one lengthy sentence. In isolation, the language might be considered artificial and incoherent: how can a shipwrecked sailor suddenly be transported to a deserted bed; and why should this person be so concerned about the inability of poetry to console him? But these images have been chosen specifically to link poem 68 to earlier poems in the cycle.

The correspondent, *fortuna casuque oppressus acerbo*, is much like Aegeus in poem 64, whose *fortuna* snatched Theseus from him in the past (64.218-19), and who sends his son again into doubtful circumstances (*quem in dubios cogor dimittere casus*, 64.216). The tears shed by the correspondent as he wrote his letter (*lacrimis*, 68.2) recall the tears Attis shed while addressing his distant and irretrievable homeland (*lacrimantibus oculis*, 63.48). Both are separated from what they love.

The image of the correspondent as a shipwrecked sailor (*naufragum ut eiectum spumantibus aequoris undis*, 68.3) recalls Ariadne, abandoned by Theseus and standing deserted on the shore of Dia (64.57-59); she too is tossed on waves of emotional conflict (*qualibus incensam iactastis mente puellam / fluctibus*, 64.97-98). The foaming waves at 68.3 (*spumantibus...undis*) seem no different from the foam tossed up by the Argo (*spumis*, 64.13) or by Theseus' ship approaching Dia (*spumosa ad litora Diae*, 64.121). It is no wonder that Ariadne incorporates this image into her invective against Theseus (*quod mare conceptum spumantibus exspuit undis*, 64.155). To a lesser extent, the sailor image also recalls Attis (*rapidum salum tulistis truculentaque pelagi*, 63.16). In all these passages, the raging sea is a metaphor for the torments of love.

The correspondent asks to be "raised up" and restored from the very threshold of death (*sublevem...a mortis limine*, 68.4). Theseus returns to a similar "house of death" (*funesta domus...tectata paterna / morte*, 64.246-47), having neglected to fulfil his father's orders to "raise up" the white sails (*dulcia nec maesto sustollens signa parenti*, 64.210).

Eventually the correspondent becomes more explicit about his problems: Venus does not allow him to rest in sweet sleep (*molli requiescere somno*, 68.5) since he is lying deserted in an abandoned bed (*desertum in lecto caelibe*, 68.6). Sleep is a significant theme in this cycle. Both Attis (63.36-42) and Ariadne (64.122, 56) awaken from sleep to find that they are entirely alone and cut off from the supportive and loving influence of their homeland and family. Attis laments his sexual impotence

(*ego vir sterilis ero?* 63.69)² while Ariadne stresses her desertion by Theseus (*desertam in sola miseram se cernat harena*, 64.57; *omnia sunt deserta*, 64.187).

The theme of desertion is also found in other poems. On the comic side, the speaker of poem 67 wonders why the door has apparently abandoned her loyalty to her former master (*quare feraris / in dominum veterem deseruisse fidem*, 67.7-8). On the serious side, the Lock wonders whether Berenice's mourning is for her abandoned marriage-bed (*et tu non orbem luxti deserta cubile*, 66.21). Perhaps the most pathetic treatment of an abandoned lover is found in the groom's desertion of the *concupinus* at 61.122-23 (*desertum domini audiens / concubinus amorem*). These situations parallel that of the correspondent who, at this point in poem 68, seems completely devastated by the loss of love.³ By constantly referring to earlier examples of intense emotional distress caused by love, the imagery in the opening lines of poem 68 directs the reader to take the correspondent's grief seriously.⁴

²While Attis' situation is not exactly parallel to the correspondent's *lectus caelebs*, the end result is the same: inability to partake in the joys of Venus.

³The suggestion (Ellis, *Commentary*, 404) that *caelibe* signifies the death of the correspondent's beloved seems extreme. Catullus leaves the reference ambiguous, signifying nothing more than loneliness on the part of the correspondent.

⁴Levine, "Catullus c. 68," gives an interesting discussion of the motivations behind the writing of poem 68. He argues (64-69) that the correspondent, while appearing to indicate his ignorance of Catullus' grief in this poetic letter, in fact knows about the loss of his brother. Since the poet, in his response to the *epistolium*, seems rather insensitive to the correspondent's distress, this indicates that the poet does not take the posturings of the correspondent seriously. Levine argues that the purpose of the inappropriate requests of the correspondent is to rouse the poet from his grief by forcing him to think again about *Venus et Musae*. Hence the poet gradually comes around and eventually bursts forth into his reply to the letter (so-called poem 68b). This entire argument seems to imply that the reader, like the poet, is not to take the imagery used by the correspondent seriously. It suggests that the beginning of poem 68 matches more closely the mood of poem 67 than I suggested above. However, since the language in 68.1-6 bears such a strong similarity especially

The final element of the correspondent's letter concerns his inability to be comforted by poetry:

nec veterum dulci scriptorum carmine Musae
oblectant, cum mens anxia pervigilat.

(68.7-8)

While this reference prepares for the specific request of the correspondent for some kind of poetry (68.10), its initial function is to draw a further vague parallel to poem 65 where the poet's personal distress (*mens animi*, 65.4) prevents him from producing poetry (*nec potis est dulcis Musarum expromere fetus*, 65.3).⁵

The final reference to the correspondent's troubled mind (*mens anxia*, 68.8) also links this poem to poem 64 where three characters, entwined in the agonies of love, are described as *anxius*: Ariadne, when demanding retribution for Theseus' deeds (64.203); Aegeus, when

to the seriousness of poems 63 and 64, I still argue that the reader is required to take the opening imagery seriously until other indications suggest differently.

⁵Most critics see these two references to *dulcia carmina Musarum* as meaning the poetry of the Greeks (especially Callimachus and Apollonius). However, Levine, "Catullus c. 68," 69 and note 51, suggests that the seemingly analogous references to Greek poetry in 65.3 and 68.7 are in fact different. In poem 65, the poet cannot produce *dulcis Musarum fetus*, that is original Latin poetry, because of his grief. Instead, he sends Hortalus a translation of Callimachus' *Coma Berenices* (65.16). When the reference occurs in poem 68, the addition of the word *veterum* indicates clearly that Greek poetry is meant. (Fordyce, *Commentary*, 345, notes that *dulcis* is not an adjective the Romans would have used to describe the poetry of the ancient Latin poets. However, I do believe that Catullus would have had no trouble in describing his own poetry as *dulcis* in poem 65.) This apparent distinction between Greek translations or adaptations and original poetry will recur when the poet offers his *recusatio* to the correspondent.

scanning the sea for Theseus' white sails (64.242); and Thetis' mother, when concerned about the success of her wedding-night (64.379).⁶

Finally, the specific request of the correspondent is recorded: *muneraque et Musarum...et Veneris* (68.10). Do these words represent a hendiadys (i.e. a poem about love) or are they two separate requests; if so, what exactly is being requested here?⁷ Hendiadys can be rejected through later allusions to the request (especially 68.39, *utriusque*) and by the structure of the following lines where both Venus and the Musae are discussed separately. A request for a *munus Musarum* seems to be clear: a poem, although its exact nature may not be so clear. What a *munus Veneris* could be is still debated.⁸

Sarkissian interprets the combined request as follows:

[the correspondent] asks...that [the poet] visit him and rally his spirits and that he either bring along or send poetry that might capture [the correspondent's] fancy as the familiar literature he has at hand has failed to do.⁹

Levine takes the opposite approach: the request of the correspondent seems designed more to rally the poet's spirits than his own.¹⁰ The solution lies

⁶This long, opening sentence, filled with daring and varied images, sets the stage for the rest of poem 68. It re-establishes a serious mood after poem 67 but also recalls to the reader's mind the major conflicts delineated in almost all of the previous poems in the cycle. The opening lines, therefore, establish poem 68 as the summarizing poem in this group.

⁷Arkins, *Sexuality*, 33, believes hendiadys is at work: "it is clear that what Manlius has asked for is neoteric poetry with a sexual content which might mirror his own predicament and afford him a sort of vicarious sexual gratification."

⁸Corporeal love has been suggested by various critics. See Sarkissian, *Catullus 68*, note 15, for a brief summary of the various opinions.

⁹*Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁰See above, note 4.

somewhere in between. Since, by the end of poem 68, the poet has written a poem of some kind (*hoc tibi, quod potui, confectum carmine munus*, 68.149) and both he and the correspondent have apparently once again found happiness in their respective relationships, the poet will make the exact meaning of the double request clear as he develops the poem.¹¹

II

The Poet Explains His Inability to Fulfil the Request

(68.11-40)

The one element missing from an exact parallel between poems 68 and 65, namely the poet's own misfortunes, is finally introduced at 68.11-14. The link between the two poems is enhanced by the parallel language: the use of the nautical metaphor (*mens animi, tantis fluctuat ipsa malis*, 65.4; *quis merser fortunae fluctibus ipse*, 68.13); the poet's concerns about his relationship with the correspondent (*ne tua dicta.../ effluxisse meo*

¹¹Sarkissian, *Catullus 68*, 47, note 15, is right when he states that the "poet's vagueness on these matters may well be intentional." This would give Catullus the freedom to develop the double concept in the subsequent lines.

One further point needs discussion: how many lines will be devoted respectively to the *munera Musarum* and the *munera Veneris*? Most critics conclude that the *munera Veneris* receive more attention (68.11-32 or 15-32) while the *munera Musarum* receive only a few lines (68.33-38). However, M. Skinner, "The Unity of Catullus 68: the Structure of 68a," *TAPhA* 103 (1972): 495-512, has argued persuasively that the equal weight given the two *munera* in 68.10 is matched in the latter part of the poem: four lines each devoted to the *munera Veneris* (68.27-30) and the *munera Musarum* (68.33-36). The references in 68.15-26 to *lusi*, *studium*, *studia*, *delicias animi* are ambiguous enough to be able to refer both to physical love and literary activity (501, note 15): "If *lusi* and the related nouns in 19-26 are ambiguous,...Catullus...is insisting that his brother's death has quenched both his enjoyment of love and his delight in the making of verses -- thereby providing much stronger motivation for his refusal." I believe she is right. This approach allows for a broader scope of interpretation in the next section of the poem.

forte putes animo, 65.17-18; *neu me odisse putes hospitis officium*, 68.12); and the designation of the requested poem as a *munus* (*munere*, 65.19; *muneraque*, 68.10).

However, the way in which the poet's problems are brought into poem 68 is rather strange. One would expect an initial comment on the correspondent's letter, perhaps an expression of sympathy, since he too is suffering from some *incommoda*. But nothing of the kind is said. Instead, only the poet's own misfortunes are mentioned and connected with some vague reference to *hospitis officium* (68.12) on the correspondent's part. The poet anticipates his *recusatio* by repeating the nautical metaphor used by the correspondent (*quis merser fortunae fluctibus ipse*, 68.13) and by requesting that he not ask from an unhappy man gifts that "a man needs to be happy to give"¹² (*ne amplius a misero dona beata petas*, 68.14).

This development, while ostensibly pointing to the similarities with poem 65, actually creates a different and significant perspective. In poem 65, the focus is fixed solely on the poet's misfortunes. They begin the poem; and the correspondent's request (prompted by no apparent grief on his part) is only an incidental detail added later (65.15-16). In poem 68, it is the correspondent's *incommoda* that occupy centre stage at first; only

¹²Quinn, *The Poems*, 376. I have purposely omitted any reference to the correspondent's name in 68.11. The problem of Mallius/Allius can never be solved. D. F. Bright, "Confectum Carmine Munus: Catullus 68," *ICS* 1 (1976): 88-90, gives a good discussion of the problem. His solution, with which I agree, gives the addressee's name as Allius throughout the poem. However, I contend that the name of the addressee in no way affects the substance of the poem, since it is more important to view poem 68 in context of poems 61 to 67 rather than as an isolated poem. In light of this, however, it might be tempting to accept Manlius as the addressee, thereby creating a connection with the groom in poem 61.

later do they elicit a confession of the poet's own misfortunes. This places the poet's problems in a wider context than that established in the earlier poem, and establishes in poem 68 a theme of more universal significance.

This explains why the poet elaborates on his *incommoda* by introducing a "flashback" to the springtime of his youth when he was well "versed" in the bitter-sweet joys of love (68.15-18). The introduction of such a vast sweep of time suits the larger, more universal theme. However, this transition to the poet's youth is not at all anticipated from 68.13-14. Placing poem 68 into a more universal context does not seem reason enough for such an abrupt shift in the poem's content, and additional reasons must eventually be given for this sudden development.

For now, the poet emphasizes his youth, recalling that theme from the earlier poems in the cycle. His youth is established through reference to the donning of the toga of manhood (*tempore quo primum vestis mihi tradita pura est*, 68.15). The *vestis* recalls many allusions from earlier poems. The symbolic apple in poem 65 is hidden beneath the young girl's soft garment (*molli sub veste*, 65.21); the aged Parcae are clothed in white raiment (64.307-8); the virtuous maidens doff their clothes when giving themselves to their husbands (*reiecta veste*, 66.81). But of greatest significance is the *vestis* portraying the tragic tale of Ariadne (64.50; 265). Even within her story, other *vestes* are mentioned: the covering with which Ariadne sarcastically wishes to cover Theseus' bed (64.163) and the dark sail which Aegeus tells Theseus to lower if his mission to Crete is successful (64.234). All these previous references have something to do

with love, either negative or positive. This keeps the poet's reference to his *vestis* ambiguous.

The linking of *vestis* with *trado* (*vestis...tradita...est*, 68.15) also recalls several earlier passages pertaining to marriage: the contractual marriage at 62.60 (*non aequom est pugnare, pater cui tradidit ipse*); the transferring of the new bride to the house at 67.19-20 (*virgo quod fertur tradita nobis, / falsum est*); and, once again, the wedding nuptials of the virtuous maidens at 66.80-81, significantly combined with the doffing of the maidens' clothes (*unanimis corpora coniugibus / tradite nudantes reiecta veste papillas*). The allusion to *vestis pura* hints at these earlier references, since such a rite was sometimes associated with the pursuits of love.¹³

The second reference to his youth (*iucundum cum aetas florida ver ageret*, 68.16) contains even more allusions. The "springtime" of his youth is *iucundum*, a frequent word in this cycle. All the examples imply the presence (or ironically the absence) of the security and happiness of positive love. In poem 66, *iucunda munera* are poured from the onyx jar to the deified Lock by maidens *casto colunt quae iura cubili* (66.82-83). By contrast, the door, initially described as *iucunda viro, iucunda parenti* (67.1), a phrase implying the normal, positive relationship between the bride and groom, soon shows herself to be anything but so.¹⁴ The most pointed use of *iucundus* is in poem 62. To the boys, Hesperus, far from being the *crudelissimus ignis*, as the girls contend, is in fact *iucundissimus*

¹³Cf. Prop.3.15.3 and Ellis, *Commentary*, 405.

¹⁴Other similar uses of the word are made in 64.161 (Ariadne's sarcastic vision of herself as Theseus' slave), 64.215 (Aegeus' address to his long-lost son) and 64.284 (the description of the palace made fragrant by Chiron's gifts of flowers).

(62.26). To the girls, the defiled flower is *nec pueris iucunda...nec cara puellis* (62.47). This latter reference, juxtaposing *iucundus* and a floral image, links poem 62 to the present passage (*aetas florida*, 68.16).

Floral imagery is used repeatedly throughout the cycle to express the positive nature of love, especially in poem 61. The bride, like the poet's youth, is *florida* (61.21, 57, 186). Hymen himself comes crowned with flowers (61.6). The poet uses the example of the hyacinth to convince the bride of her beauty (61.89). But floral imagery is also used in passages which provide stark contrasts with this positive image. Attis laments his once-happy home *floridis corollis redimita* (63.66), when he was the *gymnasi...flos* (63.64). Dionysus is *florens* (64.251) which may indicate both his youth and his inexperience. At the conclusion of poem 64, the poet describes the perversion of the father wishing for the death of his son *liber ut innuptae poteretur flore novercae* (64.402). Once again, however, it is in poem 62 that floral imagery is used most vividly in the final arguments about the purity of the sequestered flower versus the advantages of the wedded vine (62.39-58). Ironically, the sequestered flower there represented negative, unproductive love. The floral imagery in 68.16, therefore, continues to stress the ambiguity of the poet's youth.

This flashback leads directly to the poet's concise statement *multa satis lusi* (68.17) and it is here that a reason for this sudden introduction of the poet's youth can be found. The verb *ludo* can indicate activity in both love and writing poetry;¹⁵ but given the amatory allusions contained in the

¹⁵For *ludo* with an amorous connotation see 2.2, 9; 61.126, 203, 204. For *ludo* with a literary connotation see 50.2, 5; 61.225. Cf. Ovid's reference to his

preceding lines, *lusi* is best taken initially to indicate the poet's past love-life. As previous indicated, the vocabulary describing his youth recalls many examples of either the innocence or the initial positive nature of young love (the bride in poem 61, the girls' in poem 62, Attis, the girl with the apple, the Lock), and some darker aspects (Ariadne, the door). By declaring *multa satis lusi* following these allusions, the poet not only suggests that his youthful experiences in love were many, but that they may have included both positive and negative aspects.

This is confirmed by the statement: *non est dea nescia nostri, / quae dulcem curis miscet amaritiam* (68.17-18). Venus knows well the youthful poet; but the relative clause makes it specific that his experiences in love are bitter-sweet. This latter phrase recalls the description of Cupid *curis hominum qui gaudia miscet* (64.95) 'at the crucial moment when Ariadne first sees Theseus. That passage continues with a description of Venus herself, the ruler of leafy Ida (*Idalium frondosum*, 64.96), who vexes the maddened Ariadne on a sea of torment (64.97-98). The floral imagery and the sea metaphor link the two passages, indicating that the poet's youthful experiences, like those of Ariadne, are not entirely sublime and without torment.

While *lusi* has primarily an amatory connotation, it also contains a hint of the creative side of the poet. Not only did he experience the mixed

elegies in *Fasti* 2.5-6: *ipse ego vos habui faciles in amore ministros, / cum lusit numeris prima iuventa suis*. J. P. Hallett, "Catullus on Composition," 399, argues that Catullus views poetry "as a personally meaningful, erotically charged mode of communicating with others" and that "with the pivotal 50 and 61...he shifts gears...to an association of his own...verses with more serious, dutiful, reproductive sex and with shared commitment to long-term perpetuation generally."

blessings of love, he wrote about them.¹⁶ The literary purpose of this flashback is now revealed: grief over the death of the poet's brother has removed all desire for the activities of his youth (*totum hoc studium luctu fraterna mihi mors / abstulit*, 68.19-20). He is a different man now from the young man who engaged in and wrote about his love relationships. While both the correspondent and the poet may now be somehow estranged from Venus, the poet is much more affected by his grief, and "is no longer in the mood"¹⁷ to participate again in love or even to write poems about it.

This is an important moment in the cycle. The poet has become totally disillusioned. These lines provide a more devastating parallel to the situation encountered at the end of poem 64 and the subsequent poem 65. There, the poet declares that *omnia fanda nefanda malo permixta furore* (64.405) and he wonders whether love can ever be truly positive when confronted with the examples of perverted love from poem 64. This leads directly to a poem in which the poet's distress, coupled with his grief over his brother's death, prevents him from fulfilling Hortalus' exact request for a poem. In poem 68, it is the poet's own experiences in love that now provide the examples of bitter-sweet love, love gone wrong. Here too, his

¹⁶Several critics (Skinner, "Unity of Catullus 68," 501; Prescott, "Unity of Catullus 68, 480-81; Levine, "Catullus c. 68," 67 and note 42; Sarkissian, *Catullus* 68, 10) discuss at some length the exact meaning of *lusi* here, usually in an attempt to decide whether Catullus is treating the *munera Veneris* or the *munera Musarum* in this section of the poem. But, as Sarkissian suggests, it is characteristic of Catullus to use this ambiguous word to suggest both meanings.

To me, his purpose in suggesting the literary element here is to remind the reader that poem 68 is the summarizing poem in the cycle. A similar expression marked the completion of poem 61 (*lusimus satis*, 61.225). The implied distance between his youth and the present time is parallel to the "emotional" and poetic distance between poem 61 and this point in poem 68. Much has been experienced, both bitter and sweet, indicated by the many allusions to the previous poems contained in the preceding lines.

¹⁷Levine, "Catullus c. 68," 67.

brother's death has a profound effect on his ability to fulfil in any way (*totum hoc studium*, 68.19) his functions as both a lover and a poet.

So distressed is the poet that he interrupts his address to the correspondent (*mittis, tibi, dicis, petis, putes*) with a personal address to his dead brother (68.20-24). These lines, however, are not out of place here. Significant vocabulary links the passage to the preceding lines: the misery of the poet (*misero*, 68.14, 20); his troubles (*mea...incommoda*, 68.11, matched with *mea...fregisti commoda*, 68.21); the imagery of the house of death (*a mortis limine*, 68.4; *nostra sepulta domus*, 68.22); the difficulties of love (*neque sancta Venus...requiescere.../...perpetitur*, 68.5-6; *omnia...perierunt gaudia nostra, / quae tuus...dulcis alebat amor*, 68.23-24).

The most significant image in the lament is the buried house (*sepulta domus*, 68.22). Throughout the cycle, the house is symbolic of the security that nourishes and fosters positive love. The brother's death has buried the poet's house, destroying all nourishment (*alebat*, 68.24) of the poet's joys.¹⁸ That *gaudia* (68.23) refer to love is clear from the reference to *amor* in 68.24, from the context of the poem, and from a similar reference to Cupid at 64.95 (*sancte puer, curis hominum qui gaudia miscal*), already imitated in this poem at 68.18. But the evidence of poem 65 indicates that his brother's death can also destroy his literary creativity.

¹⁸Cf. the use of *alebat* to indicate the security provided to Ariadne by her mother's embrace (64.88).

The poet next summarizes the effects of his brother's death. He has driven all these pursuits from his mind (*tota de mente fugavi / haec studia atque omnes delicias animi*, 68.25-26). By referring to both the rational (*mens*) and irrational (*animus*) aspects of the mind, the poet indicates his total impotency and provides a parallel to his mental state in poem 65 (*mens animi, tantis fluctuat ipsa malis*, 65.4).¹⁹ But the poet's troubled mind also places him in the company of others whose minds have also been tormented by negative love: Attis, Ariadne, Theseus, Aegeus.²⁰

By writing at such great length about the effects of his own *incommoda* on his love-life and creativity, the poet is in a strong position to present his *recusatio* to the correspondent.

He begins by rejecting *munera Veneris* (68.27-32).²¹ For the meaning of the passage, I am inclined to adopt a combination of the suggestions of Levine and Sarkissian. For Levine, the purpose of the correspondent's letter is to rouse the poet from his depression over his brother's death. He hopes to achieve this by criticizing the poet's inactivity in love and urging him, via a light-hearted dig at the quantity and quality of amorous opportunities in the provinces, to return to Rome.²² For

¹⁹References to the various sites of the emotions (*mens, animus, cor, pectus*) abound in the cycle and have been discussed in Chapter 4.

²⁰For Attis, cf. 63.46; for Ariadne, cf. 64.70, 97, 200, 248; for Theseus, cf. 64.136, 147, 201, 207, 209, 238; for Aegeus, cf. 64.223, 226, 236.

²¹These four lines have caused much debate among critics over the precise text Catullus wrote and the meaning of that text, whatever it may be. Skinner, "Unity of Catullus 68," 504, notes that the tendency now is to read the vocative *Catulle* in 68.27 with *tepefactat* in 68.29 and to understand a direct quotation from the correspondent's letter. See also J. G. F. Powell, "Two Notes on Catullus," *CQ* 40 (1990): 202-6.

²²Levine, "Catullus c. 68," 67-68.

Sarkissian, the reference to *quisquis de meliore nota* is more specific, referring to the correspondent himself, who is warming his own cold limbs in his abandoned bed (*deserto...cubili*, 68.29), the same bed from 68.6 (*desertum in lecto caelibe*).²³ The poet can logically (*quare*, 68.27) reject such a suggestion from the correspondent for reasons already given. He is through with love (*fugavi / haec studia*, 68.25-26); and to make his point clear, he adds that it is not so much a disgrace (*turpe*), but a sad fact (*miserum*, 68.30) that he cannot again partake in love.²⁴

A transitional passage from *munera Veneris* to *munera Musarum* is provided by 68.31-32. The "sad fact" of the poet's emotional state, the cause of which is once again clearly stated (*luctus*, 68.31; cf. *luctu*, 68.19), logically (*igitur*) causes him to ask forgiveness from his friend for his inability (*nequeo*, 68.32) to provide *haec munera* (simultaneously looking back to *munera Veneris* and forward to *munera Musarum*). Justification for refusing *munera Musarum* is introduced by *nam, quod* (68.33), which matches *quare, quod* (68.27) that introduced the passage concerning the *munera Veneris*. These lines, emphasizing the poet's supply of appropriate books (68.33-36), have also caused considerable discussion;

²³Sarkissian, *Catullus 68*, 11. Those who attempt to see an allusion to Catullus' affair with Lesbia here are not relying on the text, since no mention of Lesbia has been made in the poem.

²⁴Cf. Skinner, "Unity of Catullus 68," 504, note 19: "There may be a good deal of irony in the employment of the word *miserum*, since the adjective can be conventionally applied to the lovesick *amator* as well as to the bereaved mourner or to the dead man himself. Here the irony would arise from its application to a situation in which erotic pleasure no longer possesses any value."

but they clearly relate to the correspondent's comment about the failure of the sweet poetry of the *veterum scriptorum* to console him (68.7-8).²⁵

The poet's shortage of books is merely a convenient pretext on which to base his *recusatio*. What really concerns the poet is, once again, the devastating effect of his *fraternus luctus* on his personal life, symbolically represented by the *domus*.²⁶ Already his house has been buried (*sepulta domus*, 68.22) by his grief; it is no wonder he is now at Verona. However, this does not prevent him from longing for the normality of his life in Rome:

hoc fit, quod Romae vivimus: illa domus,
illa mihi sedes, illic mea carpitur aetas.

(68.34-35)

The triple repetition of *illa...illa...illic* and the double reference to *domus/sedes* with its important symbolism indicate the emotional strain of the moment. The last reference is the most significant. It is in Rome that he enjoys (*carpitur*, 68.35) the full bloom of his life. The reader has heard this before: *iucundum cum aetas florida ver ageret* (68.16). It is not just the "juvenile" experiences of his youth that are curtailed by his grief; his grief has stopped even his present interests in love and poetry.²⁷

²⁵Levine, "Catullus c. 68," 68-69, argues that the correspondent's request for a translation of Greek poems cannot be fulfilled because the poet lacks the Greek originals to facilitate the task. See also J. C. Yardley, "Copia Scriptorum in Catullus 68.33," *Phoenix* 32 (1978): 337-39.

²⁶It is a shame that the discussion about the *scriptorum magna copia* and the *una capsula* (which occur in the first and last lines of this quatrain) has tended to overshadow the more important references to the *domus* and the poet's *aetas* (which occupy the centre of these lines).

²⁷Cf. Levine, "Catullus c. 68," 70: "The past flowering of his youth (v. 16), his buried home (v. 22), and his perished joys (v. 23) are here fleetingly revived,

The final quatrain of this part of the poem presents the official *recusatio*. The poet feels that the complex and calculated delineation of his tragic situation has been sufficient to convince the correspondent that his reasons are indeed strong and justifiable. But so sensitive is he not to offend his friend that he reiterates his declaration from 68.11-14, that he is not acting in any churlish way:

quod cum ita sit, nolim statuas nos mente maligna
id facere aut animo non satis ingenuo.

(68.37-38)

The references to *mente* and *animo* are meant to recall and reinforce his earlier declaration that his grief has driven all interest in love and poetry from his mind (68.25-26).

The final distich (68.39-40) seems to reject any possibility that the poet will accede to the correspondent's request. What has bothered critics so much here is the apparently spontaneous fulfilment of the request that follows immediately at 68.41.²⁸ But here is the crux of poem 68. The

in inverse order, with *vivimus*, *domus*, and *carpitur aetas*." Levine further argues here that this emotional outburst, although quickly suppressed again by the *huc* of 68.36, betrays a "chink in the wall of sorrow and self-pity" which the poet has built around him. If the purpose of the correspondent's letter is to rouse the poet from his despondency, this may be the first sign of its efficacy and leads eventually to a similar but more positive outburst at 68.41.

²⁸If one accepts, as I do, the unity of poem 68, the critical response to the sudden shift at 68.41 begins with poem 65, in which a similar situation is developed. The various parallels between poems 65 and 68 have already been mentioned: grief over his brother's death has hindered the poet from being completely free in his creativity, although he is able to overcome this grief and fulfil to some degree (if not precisely) his correspondent's request for a poem. The very existence of poem 65 creates a precedent for poem 68.

There are, however, some important differences. The emotions and circumstances seem more acute in poem 68. The effect of the brother's death has had more time to register more deeply on the poet's mind. The lines devoted to the brother

intensity of the poet's grief consumes him utterly, forcing him to renounce his former activity in love and poetry. These emotions are challenged, however, by the great affection the poet has for the correspondent. His friend's request for *munera Veneris* (a return to the world of love) and *munera Musarum* (an original poem to console him in his own grief) creates such an emotional conflict in the poet that a lengthy *recusatio* is at first offered. But the request eventually finds a chink in the emotional armour that the poet has built around him. In spite of himself, he cannot refrain from remembering his former happy existence in love and poetry, the flower of his youth, his house in Rome with its nourishing influence.

As a result, the reader is somewhat surprised when the poet presents not a complete *recusatio* but only a partial one:

quod tibi non utriusque petenti copia posta est:
ultra ego deferrem, copia siqua foret.

(68.39-40)

The key word is *copia*, emphasized by its repetition. The word is used ironically here, and bears a different meaning from 68.33 relating to the poet's supply of books. The earlier meaning relates entirely to the physical supply of material; the later meaning, while intending to recall the earlier one, relates more to the ability of the poet to use whatever material and

are more heart-felt and grief-stricken than those in poem 65. The nature of the correspondent's request is also more intense, coupled with the poet's constant attention to his affection for the correspondent. Only four lines (68.15-18) are expressly devoted to Hortalus' request in poem 65, while the entire first section of poem 68 (1-40) are reserved for the poet's *recusatio*. Finally, the type of poem that is eventually produced is different. In poem 65, the poet sends merely a translation of Callimachus; in poem 68, a poem of greater originality is produced, since the lack of a library in Verona makes a translation all but impossible.

emotional stability he has. It is not that he is rejecting completely his friend's requests for *munera Veneris et Musarum*, but that he is unable to fulfil them to the degree demanded.²⁹ With this interpretation, the shock of 68.41, while still great, is nevertheless not totally unexpected.

III

The Remembrance of Past Services to the Poet

(68.41-50)

The beginning of the poet's *munus* to his friend breaks forth with an emotional intensity as unfettered as the preceding lines were restrained. The initial *non possum reticere* (68.41) supports the argument that the conflict generated from the poet's intense grief and his strong affection for the correspondent suddenly finds release in this ebullient flood of poetry: he simply cannot refrain from writing it.

As expected, this section recalls significant vocabulary from the previous lines. The purpose of this section is to thank Allius for services rendered to the poet (*officiis*, 68.42), thereby answering his concerns about neglecting such services because of his grief (*neu me odisse putes hospitis officium*, 68.12). But the intensity of the expression here, with the two-fold repetition of *iuverit*, is totally in keeping with the suddenness of

²⁹In this, I am following Levine, "Catullus c. 68," 70, note 55, who, in his discussion of the apparently vexing *non utriusque*, says in part: "...while we take *non* to negate the clause, we understand the effect of the negation to relate to the *copia* which Catullus would like but is unable to provide." He goes on to note that "the TLL differentiates the meaning of *copia* in v. 33 from its connotation in vv. 39-40, relating the former to *abundantia*, *amplitudo*, *saturitas*...and the later to *potestas*, *facultas*, *opportunitas*."

this transition.³⁰ The reference to the Muses (*deae*, 68.41) alludes to the request for *munera Musarum*, hereby fulfilled; but it also provides a further link to poem 65 (*doctis...virginibus*, 65.2; *dulcis Musarum...fetus*, 65.3).

In a distich containing much vivid imagery (68.43-44), the poet hopes to save the record of Allius' *officia* for all time. Almost every word in the distich has been used elsewhere in the cycle in contexts suggesting primarily negative but also conflicting interpretations. By recalling them here, in this positive context, the poet not only counters these ambiguous allusions, but "starts afresh," in order to take the reader back to the beginning of the cycle where positive love is the dominant image.

The poet hopes to defeat the influence of "time fleeing with the ages that bring forgetfulness" (*fugiens saeculis obliviscentibus aetas*, 68.43).³¹ The concept of fleeing has already been thoroughly treated in poems 63 and 64. In almost every instance, it is a negative concept. Cybele's lion, dispatched to prevent Attis from escaping her influence (*qui fugere imperia cupit*, 63.80), succeeds by sending the maddened Attis fleeing into the woods (*illa demens fugit in nemora fera*, 63.89). The only respite Attis receives from his madness comes when Sleep abandons him at dawn (*Somnus excitam Attin fugiens...abiit*, 63.42) only to let him see the full horror of his self-castration. Similarly, Ariadne awakens to find Theseus fleeing ignominiously from her (*fugit*, 64.183), leaving her no

³⁰It is significant that the other use of *iuverit* occurs at 61.196 where Venus helps the groom approach the bride. If, in the course of poem 68, the poet and the correspondent find a resolution of their love problems, it may be due in part to Venus' influence.

³¹Forsyth, *The Poems*, 469.

means of escape (*nulla fugae ratio*, 64.186). Her story, in part, results in the poet's final reflection on the flight of Justice herself from the minds of men (*iustitiamque omnes cupida de mente fugarunt*, 64.398).

The poet's desire to stop the destructive flight of time runs counter to his current situation, where his grief has sent his own desires fleeing (*fugavi / haec studia*, 68.25-26; *totum hoc studium luctu fraterna mihi mors / abstulit*, 68.19-20). By extension, therefore, the poet is also beginning to reverse his earlier desire to drive his former pursuits from his mind. The negative effects of flight (time, Ariadne, Theseus, Attis) are symbolically being nullified.

Forgetfulness too is presented as a negative concept in the cycle. In a reference to the only cloud on the bright horizon of poem 66, the Lock warns Berenice not to forget that murderous deed which earned her her present happy marriage (*anne bonum oblita es facinus?* 66.27). In poem 65, the river Lethe washes over the brother's foot (65.5-6), suggesting that his memory may be forgotten; later in the poem, the poet explains his inability to fulfil Hortalus' request in a simile where a girl forgets (*miseræ oblitaë*, 65.21) the precious apple in her lap. In poem 64, black darkness causes Theseus to forget Aegeus' words (*caeca mentem caligine Theseus / consitus oblito dimisit pectore cuncta*, 64.207-8). By fighting against forgetfulness and preserving the record of Allius' *officia*, the poet, through the magic of poetry, is in effect nullifying the forgetfulness of Berenice, the girl, and Theseus, thereby making positive what was remembered to be negative.

Forgetfulness is connected to the concept of time (*aetas*, 68.43) as a force that can destroy memories of the past. Time has special meaning for Aegeus, since time separated him from Theseus long ago (64.215-20). He is again concerned, as Theseus leaves for Crete, that time not destroy the memory of his instructions to his son (*nec ulla oblitteret aetas*, 64.232). His final wish is for that happy time when Theseus will return safely to his home (*cum te reducem aetas prospera sistet*, 64.237). The same concern is voiced by the Parcae, who hope that time will not prove untrue the substance of their prophetic song (*carmine, perfidiae quod post nulla arguet aetas*, 64.322). These instances all produce negative results: Theseus does forget and returns to a house in mourning; by contrast, ironically, the negative portrayal of Achilles and the Trojan War in the Song of the Fates remains vivid in the memory of future generations.

For the poet in poem 68, it is the present time that contains the negative experience, his *sepulta domus*, parallel to Theseus' devastated house (*funesta domus...tectata paterna / morte*, 64.246-47). Ironically, the fact that he can remember his happier past (*aetas florida*, 68.16; *mea carpitur aetas*, 68.35) adds to his grief. His present misfortune forces him to drive the memory of this happier past from his mind (*tota de mente fugavi / haec studia*, 68.25-26). Therefore, by consciously attempting to preserve the memory of Allius' services (*ne fugiens...aetas /...hoc...tegat studium*, 68.43-44), he is also in effect reversing his earlier goal of driving his own happy recollections from his mind.

The poet hopes to prevent time from "covering with blind night" (*caeca nocte tegat*, 68.44) Allius' *studium*. Night is an ambiguous image in the cycle. It provides a positive setting for love for the groom at 61.110-12 (*quanta gaudia, quae vaga / nocte... / gaudeat*) and for Ptolemy at 66.13 (*dulcia nocturnae portans vestigia rixae*). But Night is primarily a negative image in the cycle. In poem 62, the boys condemn those thieves who hide themselves at night to harm the bride (*nocte latent fures*, 62.34) while the girls notice the rising of the Nightstar (*ostendit Noctifer ignes*, 62.7) which it reveals the activity of the boys who will soon compete with them in a critical contest of song. Night is symbolic of the madness of Attis from which he eventually wakes (63.39-42).

It is this negative image that is stressed at 68.49, an image enhanced by the addition of *caeca*. Nothing *caecum* in this cycle is positive. The father who defiles his son's wife's bed and disgraces the entire house does so *caeco...amore* (67.25). Ariadne is blind with madness (*amenti caeca furore*, 64.197) while Theseus' forgetfulness descends on his mind with blind darkness (*caeca mentem caligine Theseus / consitus*, 64.207-8). This last image is especially appropriate here: the tragic darkness that can destroy Theseus' happiness must not destroy the record of Allius' services. By scattering the shades of blind night, the poet will preserve Allius' record and, by extension, will restore brightness to his darkened world.³²

³²Ironically, when Dawn scatters the shades of night for Attis, he awakes to find not happiness but unhappiness. The contrast between this passage in poem 63 and the poet's aim to ensure a lasting remembrance of Allius' *officia* provides another instance of the positive rehabilitation of previous negative images.

The image of "covering" (*tegat*, 68.44) is treated extensively but somewhat ambiguously in the cycle. The Lock refuses to hide her true feelings about her deification (*ego non...vera...tegam*, 66.72), in spite of her fear of retribution from Nemesis. What should be a positive thing (telling the truth) becomes something potentially negative. Similarly, the marriage-couch in Peleus' palace is covered by a tapestry (*tegit...purpura*, 64.49) whose embroideries should portend happiness for the bridal couple, but which instead portray the tragedy of Ariadne. Unambiguous is the clothing (*tegmina*, 64.129) which Ariadne lifts to bare her body, symbolic not of the innocent sexuality that characterizes the Nereids, but of the tragic madness born of a relationship gone wrong.

Of greater symbolic significance are the various dwellings which are designated *tecta*, structures that cover their inhabitants and should provide protection from the hostile world outside. Ariadne desires but cannot find such a structure (*nullo colitur sola insula tecto*, 64.184) as she stands deserted and vulnerable on Dia, irreparably severed from the protection of her ancestral home. The palace of Peleus consists of *tecta*, to which the wedding guests arrive and from which they depart (*Pharsalia tecta frequentant*, 64.37; *linquentes regia tecta*, 64.276). These *tecta*, however, for all their potential protective qualities, cannot protect Peleus and Thetis from future misfortune. More often, various *tecta* clearly represent disaster. Theseus is saved from the *tectum* of the labyrinth (*ne.../ tecti frustraretur inobservabilis error*, 64.114-15), only to return to his own home, now filled with death (*funesta domus...tecta paterna / morte*,

64.246-47) by his tragic forgetfulness. These negative connotations are recalled now, as the poet tries to prevent more disaster, the darkness of forgetfulness from covering the memory of Allius' services to him.

The complex images contained in 68.43-44, coupled with the positive emotional outburst from 68.41, transport the reader back to the joyous opening of poem 61 and the invocation of Hymen. Up to this point in the poem, so great is the poet's desire to celebrate Allius that he speaks his tribute to the Muses themselves, hoping their assistance will enable the record to survive (68.45-46).

The spoken word has been examined thoroughly in the cycle, mostly in the context of what is said, truthfulness versus deception.³³ Now, however, it is the power of the Word that is emphasized: the ability of the poet's strong declaration (*dicam...dicite*, 68.45; *loquatur*, 68.46) to establish the truth about Allius and save this truth from oblivion. Rarely does the reader find a similar example elsewhere in the cycle. The attendants in poem 61 counter the bride's insecurities and rumours about the groom, but with some difficulty; the Lock courageously takes a public stand against her deification (66.69-75). But these examples, significantly taken from the beginning and end of the cycle, are the exception. More often, the power of the spoken word seems to fail. The girls are reduced to silence in the contest in poem 62; Attis addresses his homeland in vain (63.49); Ariadne vents her outrage at Theseus' perfidy to the empty winds

³³Cf. the rumours about the groom in poem 61 (*diceris*, 61.134) and the door in poem 67 (where nineteen references to speaking are used); the debate about love and marriage in poem 62; the perfidy of Theseus; the speeches by the maddened and sane Attis.

(64.164-66), calling upon the Eumenides for help.³⁴ The most devastating example of the failure of the Word is the inability of the poet himself to create the Word itself in poems 65 (*nec potis est dulcis Musarum expromere fetus*, 65.3) and 68 (*totum hoc studium...fraterna mihi mors / abstulit*, 68.19-20). By glorifying in the power of the Word to immortalize Allius, the poet has clearly regained his ability to create it and has virtually nullified any previous failure.

By the poet's words, Allius' fame will grow (68.48), a monument more powerful than any concrete edifice whose immortalizing power can be overcome by even the weakness of a spider's web (*tenuem...telam*, 68.49). The irony of the image is strong. Something as delicate as a fingernail can destroy the purity of the girls' symbolic flower in poem 62 (*tenui...ungui*, 62.43); and something as insubstantial as a thread can save Theseus from the labyrinth (*tenui...filo*, 64.113). That thread eventually leaves Ariadne abandoned on Dia (*desertam se cernat*, 64.57); but no such thread will abandon Allius' name to oblivion (*nec...aranea.../ in deserto Alli nomine opus faciat*, 68.49-50). The magic of poetry may even relieve the correspondent's loneliness (*desertum*, 68.6; *deserto...cubili*, 68.29).

³⁴Even though Ariadne gets a successful outcome of her petition, it is Jupiter not the Eumenides who fulfils it.

IV

The Nature of His Friend's Services

(68.51-69)

Given the positive nature of the last few lines, it is somewhat surprising to find another unexpected diversion in the poem's development. Instead of delineating the nature of Allius' *officia* immediately, the poet once again mentions his negative experiences in love.³⁵ He reports that the fickle Venus has been bitter-sweet to him (*quam dederit duplex Amathusia curam*, 68.51). Not only does this match his earlier description of Venus (*quae dulcem curis miscet amaritiam*, 68.18), it recalls those other victims of love's *cura*: Ariadne especially, but also Berenice and, in another context, the poet (in poem 65), all of whom are tormented about the loss of their brothers.³⁶ The Muses also know in what manner Venus brought the poet crashing down (*in quo me corruerit genere*, 68.52).³⁷ This concept of total destruction finds a very close parallel in the devastation caused by his brother's death (68.21-26): *fregisti commoda, una tota est nostra sepulta*

³⁵If, as I contend, the poet is reprising in miniature in poem 68 the development of the rest of the cycle, then this deviation is not so strange. The positive depiction of love in a real-life setting in poem 61 is followed by a more negative portrayal in poem 62. Here too, the real-life positive and negative experiences of the poet are recounted in subsequent passages.

³⁶For Ariadne's *curae*, see 64.62, 69, 72, 95 (*Cupid curis hominum qui gaudia miscet*), 250; for Berenice, see 66.23; for the poet, 65.1.

³⁷Many emend the verb to *torruerit*, anticipating *arderem* in the next line, but this seems unnecessary. Sarkissian, *Catullus 68*, 14, note 33, accepts *corruerit* and remarks that "*arderem* alone is sufficient to justify the heat images of lines 53-54, and *corruerit* provides a link between Catullus and Laodamia, who is cast down from a pinnacle of love (107-8)."

domus, omnia una perierunt gaudia nostra, tota de mente fugavi haec studia, the last item of which specifically relates to love.³⁸

The account of his torment is extended through a series of images and similes in the next lines. He burns with love and his eyes are ever filled with tears (68.53-56). The image of burning love is a common one in the cycle, having both positive and negative connotations. The poet in poem 61 assures the bride that the groom also burns with the positive flame of love (*pectore uritur intimo / flamma*, 61.170-71); in the same poem, both Hymen and the bride are dressed in the flaming marriage veil (*flammeum*, 61.8, 115). The girls in poem 62 condemn Hesperus for giving the chaste bride to the burning youth (*iuveni ardenti*, 62.23); but the boys praise Hesperus for confirming the contracted marriage with his flame (*tua firmes conubia flamma*, 62.27) and declare that the marriage will not take place until the flame of love (*ardor*, 62.29) arises.

These examples are primarily positive. But more often the image of burning love is a negative one. The philandering father burns with blind love for his son's wife at 67.25 (*flagrabat*). The positive flame that first burns in Ariadne's eyes (*flagrantia... / lumina*, 64.91-92) and ignites her love for Theseus (*concepit... flammam / ...atque... exarsit tota*, 64.92-93) eventually consumes and destroys her (*ardenti corde furentem*, 64.124; *ardens*, 64.197). Ariadne provides the parallel to the poet's experiences in

³⁸Cf. the use of *eruit* in the simile of the uprooted tree that describes the destruction of the Minotaur by Theseus. Ironically, of course, the destruction of the Minotaur eventually results in the destruction of Ariadne's happiness in love.

poem 68. For him too, Venus is both positive and negative (*duplex*, 68.51) and the poet is now being destroyed by the negative aspects of love.

In keeping with the lofty diction inspired by the Muses, learned allusions are introduced. References to Mt. Aetna and the hot springs at Thermopylae (68.53-54) illustrate the intensity of the poet's burning desire.³⁹ This is followed by an elaborate description of the poet's tears. His eyes are as saddened by love (*maesta...lumina*, 68.55) as are those of Ariadne, when watching Theseus' ship sail away (64.60, 249) and when making her complaint to the winds (64.130, 202). Saddened too are Attis' eyes as he addresses his *patria* (63.49). The poet is as sad as Aegeus, when he fails to see the signal (64.210), or Berenice, when she is parted from her husband (66.23, 29), or Thetis' mother, when she worries about the wedding night (64.379). It is the type of sadness that manifests itself in the

³⁹A. G. Robson, "Catullus 68.53: the Coherence and Force of Tradition," *TAPhA* 103 (1972): 433-39, has difficulty accepting the ms. *Trinacria rupes*, feeling that a reference to Sicily is out of place in these lines. He emends to *Trachinia rupes* and sees a reference to the "Trachinian cliffs west of the Asopus gorge which form the face of Mt. Oeta." Trachis, of course, is associated with Heracles, and Robson recounts various myths in which Heracles is associated with intense heat, including the hot springs divinely created at Trachis to revive the tired Heracles after he was abandoned by Jason (Herodotus 7.193-4), and the purifying funeral pyre which consumed the hero's body following Deianeira's tragic use of Nessus' poison. But Robson's prime reason for his emendation is based more on geography than mythology. Trachis is in the same region as Mt. Oeta, Malia and Thermopylae while Sicily is not. He then surmises why a unified reference to this region would be appropriate in this context: the ecological (hot springs), military and mythological associations would provide excellent parallels to the poet's emotional state.

His suggestion is tantalizing for several reasons. A reference to Jason (however obscure) would link poem 68 to poem 64. But more importantly, Heracles himself appears later in poem 68, specifically in reference to his ascent to heaven following his purification on the pyre. It is most surprising, therefore, that Robson does not mention this to help justify his emendation. Of course, the region is already well represented by a three-fold geographical reference (self-contained in 68.54) and one has to ask whether Catullus felt that that was sufficient to anticipate Heracles (if that was the purpose of 68.54) so that a different but powerful reference to Mt. Aetna could be added in 68.53. The unchallenged ms. reading of *Trinacria* cannot, however, be so easily ignored. See also K. M. W. Shipton, "A Successful *kōmos* in Catullus," *Latomus* 44 (1985): 507-8.

poet's songs following his brother's death (65.12). It is the sadness of love destroyed or potentially destroyed, although it implies, for all its negativity, that love was once strong or could have succeeded.

Love is not always the cause for tears in the cycle. The bride in poem 61 does weep at her impending marriage (*flet*, 61.81) but eventually enjoys the continuous joys of wedded bliss (*munere assiduo*, 61.227) as do the virtuous brides at 66.88 (*amor...assiduus*). But this is not the fate of the poet in poem 68 who weeps continuous tears (*assiduo...fletu*, 68.55). Love also causes continuous grief for the abandoned Ariadne at 64.71 (*assiduis...luctibus*), and for Aegeus and the poet, mourning the deaths of their loved ones (*assiduos...fletus*, 64.242; *assiduo...dolore*, 65.1). The poet's eyes, in fact, are wasted with his tears (*tabescere*, 68.55) as is Ariadne's heart (*languenti corde*, 64.99); she even prays that her impending death not cause her eyes to fail (*non...mihi languescent lumina morte*, 64.188) before she can ask the gods for retribution.

The sad rain of the poet's tears drenches his cheeks (*tristique imbre madere genae*, 68.56). For the girls in poem 62 it is a different rain, a gentle rain that nourishes their protected flower (*flos.../ quem...educat imber*, 62.39, 41), symbolic of a life unacquainted with love. For Polyxena, it is not tears but her own blood that drenches her tomb (*alta Polyxenia madefient caede sepulcra*, 64.368), the victim of the son of the supposedly ideal marriage of Peleus and Thetis.

This description of the poet's torment is followed by two similes: *qualis rivus/levamen* (68.57-62) and *hic velut aura secunda* (68.63-66).⁴⁰ There has been much discussion about whether both similes refer forward to Allius' *auxilium*, or whether the first simile refers backward to the poet's tears.⁴¹ I am persuaded by an article by J. E. Phillips that the latter view is correct.⁴²

The poet has prepared for the first simile by amassing images depicting intense heat: the poet's burning love (*arderem*, 68.53), the hot-springs near Mt. Aetna and Thermopylae, even the (implied hot) tears that drench his cheeks. The latter images establish water as the dominant idea, especially water that flows (tears). The rain-like tears that flow down his cheeks lead directly to the image of the *rivus* in the first simile. Beginning as a tiny, clear spring (*perlucens*, 68.57; *muscoso prosilit e lapide*, 68.58) at the top of a lofty mountain (*in aerii...vertice montis*, 68.57), the river soon becomes a torrent that rushes headlong into the valley below, cutting into the pathways used by the people (*per medium...iter*, 68.60).⁴³ Here it becomes a sweet solace to one of those people, a tired and sweaty traveller

⁴⁰I accept the ms. *hic* in 68.63. See below, note 46.

⁴¹See Ellis, *Commentary*, 411-12; Fordyce, *Commentary*, 350; Quinn, *The Poems*, 383; Arkins, *Sexuality*, 63.

⁴²J. E. Phillips, "The Pattern of Images in Catullus 68.51-62," *AJPh* 97 (1976): 340-43.

⁴³This image of descent is frequently found throughout the cycle: e.g. the girls' flower is plucked; the boys' unwedded vine sags under its own weight; the blood from Attis' genitals falls to the ground; the pine tree and Chiron come from the top of Pelion; Ariadne's clothing falls from her body; the Minotaur, represented by the tree, comes crashing down; Prometheus comes from the top of Taygetus. In the river simile especially, the poet likens his grief to that of Aegeus (64.241-45). See especially Putnam, "Catullus 64," 203, note 42.

(*dulce viatori lasso in sudore levamen*, 68.61) journeying through parched fields (*exustos...agros*, 68.62).⁴⁴

Phillips argues that the themes of heat and water in this simile are arranged cyclically: heat (hot springs) leads to its apparent opposite, water (*rivus*), which leads back to heat (sweat of traveller, parched fields). The simile, therefore, is not an example of "Homeric expansion" but is tightly connected to its context: it describes the *cura* (68.51) of the lover with consistent allusions to heat (*arderem, sudore, exustos agros*) and water (*assiduo fletu, tristi imbre, perlucens rivus, prosilit*). Clearly this simile looks backward. It is the existence of the brook, not its vague palliative quality, which is the focus of the simile: the tears of the lover do nothing to alleviate his sorrow; nor does the river give any lasting relief to the traveller or the fields.⁴⁵

By contrast, the favourable breeze in the next simile does provide succour and is therefore more appropriate to illustrate Allius' *auxilium*.⁴⁶ The image of the poet as a storm-tossed sailor (*iactatis...nautis*, 68.63) reprises the earlier descriptions of both the correspondent (68.3-4) and the poet (68.13); it also links the troubled protagonist to Ariadne

⁴⁴Cf. the negative image of Achilles as a harvester mowing down ears of corn *sole sub ardentis*, 64.354.

⁴⁵Some critics find the brook simile itself somewhat meaningless in the context. Ellis, *Commentary*, 412, wonders how tears of sorrow could be compared with a brook which brings relief to the weary traveller, unless, of course, the simile refers forward to Allius' *auxilium*. But Phillips, "Patterns of Imagery," 343, remarks that, while the simile does offer "the first glimmerings of hope," in reality the relief offered by the brook to traveller is only "temporary and tangential" (since he is not travelling to the brook and his destination is not reached within the simile) and the brook provides no substantial irrigation for the parched fields.

⁴⁶This change of direction is indicated by *hic velut* (the reading of the manuscript) in 68.63.

(*qualibus...iactastis...puellam / fluctibus*, 64.97-98). A further allusion is provided by the reference to the black whirlwind (*in nigro...turbine*, 68.63) which links this passage to a series of images describing the destruction of the Minotaur, who falls like a mighty tree torn by a whirlwind (*indomitus turbo.../ eruit*, 64.107-8), a monster vainly tossing his horns to the winds (*nequiquam vanis iactantem cornua ventis*, 64.111). Therefore, the storm-tossed sailor at 68.63 recalls the complex relationships between Theseus, the Minotaur, and Ariadne and places the poet's troubles on a more universal plane.

Still more allusions are contained in the image of the favouring breeze (*aura secunda*, 68.64) that comes as a great relief in such a storm. This positive image is found throughout the cycle: similar breezes produce Chiron's floral gift to Peleus and Thetis (*aura...fecunda*, 64.282), draw forth the fragrances surrounding Ariadne's virginal couch when she first sees Theseus (*aurave...verna*, 64.90) and, most importantly, nurture the girls' sequestered flower at 62.41 (*mulcent aerae*), symbolic of their vision of pure love. But Theseus too relies on gentle breezes (*nitens...lenibus auris*, 64.84) to reach Crete where his affair with Ariadne ultimately causes her to complain to the same breezes that become incapable of providing any assistance (*quid...ignaris nequiquam conquerar auris*, 64.164). By likening the *aura secunda* to Allius' *auxilium* (68.66), the poet both recalls and counters the earlier negative allusions. This is confirmed by the effective

appeal to Castor and Pollux in 68.65, in contrast to the (apparently) ineffective appeal of Ariadne to the voiceless winds.⁴⁷

The climactic, positive statement in 68.66 leads directly to the specific nature of Allius' *auxilium*. First, he opened up a fenced field with a broad path (*clausum lato patefecit limite campum*, 68.67). Lewis and Short define *campus* as "any open, level land, without reference to cultivation or use." This suggests a virgin field, one not yet "impregnated" with plants. The *limes* is a broad path intended to provide passage between fields.⁴⁸ This implies that the field is now productive. Is this a literal description or a metaphorical one? The reader can only assume that the opening of this field has something to do with the poet's torment caused by *duplex Amathusia* (68.51), but the specifics are yet to be revealed. It is also logical that the reader connect this field and the parched plains described in the preceding simile (*exustos...agros*, 68.62). Allius cuts a path through the field just as the river slashes its way through that part of the valley frequented by people. Since that description was a metaphor for the effects of the tormented love-life of the poet, it is becoming clear that the opening of this field is more symbolic than real.

The field is also described as "enclosed" (*clausum*), suggesting that it is normally inaccessible to the average person. This makes the opening of the field, especially with a broad path, all the more dramatic and

⁴⁷The allusion to the Dioscuri as stars seems to recall the positive aspect of astronomy throughout Poem 66 and may counter the ambiguous references to Hesperus in Poem 62.

⁴⁸Jashemski, *Gardens*, 206, describes a wide foot-path in a vineyard in Pompeii, and (245-47) a large path used both as a foot-path and an irrigation ditch.

significant. But this image also recalls the girls' depiction of their ideal concept of love: the delicate flower blooming in safety in a fenced-in garden (*ut flos in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis*, 62.39). The *hortus* too suggests cultivation, and is the special domain of Venus.⁴⁹ This makes the girls' image all the more unnatural as a symbol of perpetual virginity. By recalling it here, the poet is once again using metaphor: through Allius' intervention, the barriers, both real and artificial, between the poet and love, are being dismantled. While it remains to be seen what these barriers are, what is important now is that the poet is exulting in a freedom and openness that he has not displayed so far in poem 68.⁵⁰

Indeed, the concepts of "openness" (*patefecit*) and "restriction" (*clausum*) are important ones in this cycle, constituting something of a sub-theme. In poem 61, the openness of the wedding ceremony, symbolized by the repeated calls to open the doors (*claustra pandite ianuae*, 61.76), is contrasted with the hesitation and self-imposed constraint of the bride (*tardet ingenuus pudor*, 61.79). It is significant, therefore, that it is only when the bride and groom are finally brought together, primarily through the persistent encouragement of the poet, that the doors can be shut (*claudite ostia*, 61.224), not to restrict, but to protect, the happiness of the married couple.

⁴⁹Ibid., 130: "the word *hortus*, which is commonly used by the ancient authors to describe the domain of Venus, is applied by them equally to pleasure garden, fruit garden, kitchen garden, and vineyard."

⁵⁰K. M. W. Shipton, "A House in the City: Catullus, 68.68," *Latomus* 42 (1983): 875, note 23, remarks that the enclosed field image paints the poet as an *exclusus amator* who is finally able to enjoy his beloved. See also Shipton, "A Successful *kōmos*," 505-10; 517-18.

Poem 62 epitomizes, in its amoebaeian form and emotional conflict, the type of stark contrast evident in the openness/restriction theme. More specifically, the girls' constant references to restriction, of the mother's embrace, of the sequestered flower, are opposed by the boys' repeated depictions of openness, of the confirmation of the contracted marriage, of the light of Hesperus that illuminates the covert actions of would-be thieves, of the productivity of the wedded vine. Because the boys win the day, openness wins the day.

The joyous and unbounded freedom enjoyed by Attis at the beginning of poem 63 stands in stark contrast to the restricted, dark life he must endure at the end. The haunts of Cybele that appear brilliantly crowned with forests in his initial madness soon become uncultivated woods (*nemora fera*, 63.89) in which he must eke out a maddened existence as a *famula*. For Attis, the sea is his *claustra*, a barrier that does not protect him (like the doors in poem 61) but keeps him from his home and former happy life.

In poem 64, the sea at first is portrayed as the avenue that opens the way for Peleus and Thetis to meet and fall in love. The Argo travels to the farthest boundaries of the world (*ad...fines Aeeteos*, 64.3), thereby breaking them down. Ocean himself, *mari totum qui amplectitur orbem* (64.30), gives away his grand-daughter Thetis to Peleus. But the same sea carries Ariadne to Naxos (*vecta ratis spumosa ad litora Diae*, 64.121), where she is abandoned by Theseus. For her, as for Attis, the sea becomes an impenetrable barrier (*nec patet egressus pelagi*, 64.185), a broad

expanse of water (*gurgite lato*, 64.178) that separates her from Crete and her happiness. For the poet, the horrible hypocrisy between Peleus/Thetis and Theseus/Ariadne results in a devastating realization, symbolized by the change in the gods' attitude towards mankind. The gods who once openly frequented mankind's chaste homes (*praesentes...domos invisere castas*, 64.384) now shun his presence (*nec...dignantur visere coetus*, 64.407) and avoid the bright light of day.

This devastating restriction on the poet's mood continues into poem 65 where grief over his brother's death separates him from the inspiration of his Muses (*sevocat a doctis...virginibus*, 65.2).

All restrictions are destroyed in poem 66, where Conon opens up the mysteries of the heavens (indicated by a litany of words denoting secrecy and darkness: *obitus, obscuretur, cedant, furtim, relegans, devocet*) and sees the new constellation, the Lock of Berenice. Like the Argonauts, Ptolemy is able to break down established boundaries as he conquers the East (*vastatum finis iverat Assyrios*, 66.12; *captam Asiam Aegypti finibus addiderat*, 66.36).

Poem 67, however, returns to the world of half-truths and confusion. The door, who seems "open" in all respects, to all comers and all rumours, in fact restricts the truth as clearly as she suppresses the name of the individual involved in litigation in the final lines. It is symbolically most significant that the door herself, with the greatest irony, asks the passer-by how it is she can know what she does, since she is firmly penned-in by the lintel and can only open and shut the door (67.37-40).

With this complex theme of openness/restriction in the back of his mind, the reader now contemplates the specifics of Allius' act of opening up the enclosed field with a broad path. Allius provided the poet with a house so that the poet could enjoy his love (68.68-69). No greater contrast with the devastation of poem 64 can be imagined: the path (*lato...limite*, 68.67) that opens the poet's ability to love is as broad as the vast track of ocean (*gurgite lato*, 64.178) that prevents Ariadne from enjoying the love of her family. She laments especially that she has no home on Dia (*nullo colitur sola insula tecto*, 64.184). The image of the *domus* or *tectum* as a protector of positive love has gradually been destroyed throughout the cycle (most recently at 68.22, *sepulta domus*). The image of Allius' house, however, begins the process of rehabilitation for the concept of *domus*.

The specifics of Allius' services are indicated at 68.68: *isque domum nobis isque dedit dominae*. As Quinn states it, "Allius provided...a house for C. and the woman who thus became its mistress."⁵¹ I think Quinn is on the right track; but I would go further. There is some confusion in my own mind about the exact meaning of the word "mistress" in the various articles. Does it mean a woman who is carrying on an illegitimate affair with a married man (our sense of "mistress"); or does it mean the legitimate wife of a married man (the "mistress of the house"). The point is important, as Baker indicates: "the attempt at ambivalent description of the girl...as mistress of the poet and mistress of a borrowed house, is by no

⁵¹Quinn, *The Poems*, 384. See also R. Schilling, "La Paranomase Domus-Domina dans l'Élégie 68 de Catulle," *AFLNice* 50 (1985): 289-91. See Appendix L for a discussion of the textual problems of this line.

means without point in the context of this poem -- the point being that she was a borrowed mistress (68.143-45)."⁵² But the poet does not say "Allius provided a house for me and the girl who thus, in my fantasy, became its mistress"; the poet says "Allius provided a house for me and my wife."

That the poet makes his beloved his wife (*domina*) escapes the notice of the critics entirely. Assuming that *domina* means illegitimate mistress here, Prescott says: "*domina* is not synonymous with *amica* in Catullus' vocabulary. Catullus' almost invariable word is *puella*; he uses rarely *desiderium*, *deliciae*, *mulier*, *amores*, and *era*, but never *domina*."⁵³ Kinsey repeats the well-worn objection that *domina* equaling mistress "is common in the Augustan poets but is not found with this meaning elsewhere in Catullus."⁵⁴ In other words, they blind themselves to the real meaning of the word here, misinterpreting it to mean illegitimate mistress, and then dismiss their misinterpretation as being too early for Catullus or inconsistent with his vocabulary usage. This requires the critics to make *domina* refer to a chatelaine or someone other than the poet's beloved.

I believe that it was part of the poet's overall plan of the cycle to prepare for the introduction of his beloved as his legitimate *domina* in this final poem. The groundwork is laid in poem 61, the essence of which is the depiction of the marriage ceremony itself. The triumphant summoning of the bride to her home, *domum dominam voca* (61.31), not only provides a

⁵²R. J. Baker, "Domina at Catullus 68.68: Mistress or Chatelaine," *RhM* 118 (1975): 126. He means, of course, that the mistress already has connections (68.143-46).

⁵³Prescott, "Unity of Catullus 68," 488.

⁵⁴Kinsey, "Some Problems," 43. See also T. D. Papanghelis, "A Note on Catullus 68.156-157," *QUCC* 11 (1982): 139-40.

climax to the introduction to that poem, but anticipates the equally triumphant and climactic, although still surprising, merging of the *domus* and *domina* in poem 68. Hymen, the divine agent who brings bride and groom together in Poem 61 (*fero iuveni.../...puellulam / dedis*, 61.56-58) is replaced by Allius (*isque domum nobis isque dedit dominae*, 68.68), whose almost divine intervention is suggested in the simile of the favouring breeze brought by Castor and Pollux (68.63-66).

The linking of *domus* and *domina* here is completely logical now. Critics are correct in sensing the co-relative nature of the words but are mistaken in seeing to whom they refer. The house and mistress do not belong to Allius or a friend of his, but belong to the poet.⁵⁵ If the house is officially borrowed, it is nevertheless considered, in the poet's mind, his house and his beloved can be no one other than his wife. She is summoned to this house as the bride in poem 61 is summoned to the house of Manlius. With this interpretation, the remaining references to the poet's beloved make sense. Now that they have a house, the couple can enjoy their love (*communes exerceremus amores*, 68.69) like the married couple in poem 61 (*munere assiduo valentem / exercete iuventam*, 61.227-28).⁵⁶

⁵⁵Cf. Prescott, "Unity of Catullus 68," 490: "It should be clear that *domina* can refer only to the mistress of the house, *domus*, mentioned in the same verse." However, Prescott does not take the next step that makes the *domus* and the *domina* belong to the poet.

⁵⁶The first person plural cannot refer to anyone else but the couple and *communes* surely refers to their mutual love. Prescott, "Unity of Catullus, 491; Sarkissian, *Catullus* 68, 16. See also B. Nemeth, "Communes exerceremus amores (Cat. 68.69)," *ACD* 20 (1984): 43-47. Those who misinterpret *domina* must make *communes* refer to others: Allius and Catullus enjoying their respective mistresses (Ellis, *Commentary*, 415), or even the same mistress: Kinsey, "Some Problems," 44: "*communes...amores* cannot mean 'love for each other', the words can only refer to the love which two or more people share for a third person or thing." Note 3 then suggests that "Allius and Catullus were *communes dominae amatores*." For a response, see Papanghelis, "A Note," 144-45.

V

The Poet's Beloved Is Compared to Laodamia

(68.70-78)

The poet concludes the passage on Allius' services with the arrival of the bride at the house (68.70-72).⁵⁷ In describing the *domina* placing her sandalled foot on the threshold, the poet creates another link to poem 61, where the bride also comes to the threshold:

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

(61.159-61)⁵⁸

Two other aspects are especially important in this comparison. The *domina* is described as *candida diva* (68.70). The bride in poem 61 is also likened to a goddess: Venus before Paris (61.16-19). In that crucial simile, the potentially negative connotations concerning adultery are general and merely suggested; they are also nullified by the domestic scene at the end of the poem. The parallel situation in poem 68 is more specific. The *domus* to which this *diva* comes is a borrowed one; that fact alone causes the reader to suspect that this *domina* may not be totally pure. Moreover, this

⁵⁷Those who cannot accept the poet's beloved as the *domina* at 68.68 claim that such an early reference makes this appearance anticlimactic. See Kinsey, "Some Problems," 42-43; Ellis, *Commentary*, 414, 432. This is the climax of the passage is the designation of the beloved as the *domina*. Everything else flows from that. Cf. Quinn, *The Poems*, 384: "*candida diva* develops the imagery implicit in 68 *domina*."

⁵⁸Elements common to both passages include the brightness of the feet (*aureolos pedes*, 61.160; *fulgentem...plantam*, 68.71) and the well-worn entrance-way (*rasilemque...forem*, 61.161; *trito...in limine*, 68.71).

bride appears at the conclusion of a cycle filled with tragic relationships. Thetis, too, is a goddess-bride (*divae*, 64.47), and her marriage is not entirely free of discord.

The second important aspect of this comparison concerns the bride's treading on the threshold. The poet in poem 61 encourages the bride to cross the threshold with good omen (*transfer omine cum bono / limen aureolos pedes*, 61.159-60). This exhortation is designed to counter the negative connotations of the earlier Venus simile. The treading on the threshold in poem 68 at first seems a very bad omen. Malcolm Heath points out, however, that it is not so much stepping on the threshold as stumbling over it that produces a bad omen, hence the emphasis on "traversing" the threshold (*trans-fer omine cum bono*) in poem 61.⁵⁹ The *domina* in poem 68 certainly does not stumble: in fact the sureness of her step is emphasized (*innixa...constituit*, 68.72). This seems to be an attempt to counter the negative implications of the borrowed house.

The elevation of the *domina* to a divine or even mythological level allows a smooth transition to the Laodamia story. The first references to Laodamia contain details which help clarify the complex development of this poem. The *candida diva* appears at the poet's borrowed *domus* just as Laodamia appeared at the *domus* of her husband Protesilaus (68.73-74). By

⁵⁹M. Heath, "Catullus 68b," *LCM* 13 (1988): 117-19. He goes on to state that "Lesbia" is not a bride at this point in poem 68: "I can see no reason to believe...that Catullus assimilates his relationship to Lesbia to marriage at any point in this poem." I, of course, disagree, insofar as marriage is concerned. The details of 68.70-72 do not suggest a bad omen of themselves. The purpose of the passage is more to suggest the comparison with the bride in poem 61. The poet sees his *domina* in the same light as the bride in the earlier poem. The moment of her arrival at the house is simply expanded to emphasize the special quality of this moment.

making *coniugis* the first word in the Laodamia passage, the poet emphasizes the marital status of the mythological pair. If the details of the simile are intended to match the details of the poet's situation, this mythological marriage is designed to confirm the poet's belief that he and his beloved are also legitimately married.⁶⁰

The Laodamia story, however, also introduces darker elements to the poem. Laodamia burns with love for her husband (*flagrans...amore*, 68.73). This creates a complex interweaving of themes: the poet is burning with love in 68.53-56; now it is Laodamia. Since she represents his *candida diva*, by implication the poet's beloved is also burning with love for him. This too supports the poet's belief in their mutual love (*communes amores*) and legal status (*dominalconiugis*).

The fact that Laodamia is *flagrans amore* does not in itself contain any negative implications; indeed, since she is introduced to illustrate the very positive epiphany of the poet's beloved as *domina*, she must at first represent a very positive example of love. In this regard she counters the portrayal of the poet suffering from burning love in 68.53-56; as the reader learns from 68.67-69, the cause of his suffering is primarily his inability to consummate his "marriage" with his beloved. Since the earlier reference to the poet's burning love also harkens back to similar examples from the rest of the cycle, the same allusions are recalled here in Laodamia's *flagrans amor*. Those examples of burning love were both positive (the groom in poem 61, the boys in poem 62) and negative (the philandering father in

⁶⁰This is skilfully achieved through a kind of chiasmus: the beloved is the *domina* of the poet while Laodamia is married to her *coniunx* Protesilaus.

poem 67 and, most especially, Ariadne in poem 64). At first sight, it is only the positive allusions that seem applicable here: Laodamia came to her husband as joyously and positively as the poet's *candida diva* came to him. But it soon becomes clear that it is the negative allusions that dominate.

These darker elements are centred initially around the *domus* of Protesilaus. The joy engendered by the arrival of Laodamia to Protesilaus' house is immediately tempered by the revelation that the house is in fact most inauspicious (68.75-76). In the first place, it was begun but not finished (*inceptam frustra*, 68.75). Being adapted from Homer's δόμος ἡμιτέλης, the phrase seems to mean either that the house could not be finished because Protesilaus was called to Troy or that the house was "incomplete by losing its nobler half, its lord and master, Protesilaus."⁶¹ But the meaning of the phrase must be determined in connection with the following clause concerning the neglect of a sacrifice.

As to the purpose of this mysterious sacrifice, critics suggest that it pertains either to the marriage itself or to the building of the house. Regardless of its purpose, the idea of sacrifice is an important one in this cycle, and the words used to describe it here are reminiscent of important moments in earlier poems. The situation most like this one occurs also in poem 61. The poet warns that the *domus* that does not duly observe Hymen's rites (*quae tuis careat sacris*, 61.71) will not produce children as a comfort for the parents, or guardians as protection for the society.⁶² That

⁶¹Ellis, *Commentary*, 416.

⁶²Ibid., 221, interprets *sacris* to mean the "*sacra privata* or family rites which the Romans were bound by law to maintain unbroken."

is, the house will be "incomplete." The appearance of little Torquatus at the end of poem 61 confirms the successful execution of such rites by Manlius and Iunia and "completes" their house in the way the poet indicated. By contrast, it is specifically because such sacrifices have not been properly executed (*nondum cum sanguine sacro*, 68.75) that Laodamia's house is now *incepta frustra*.⁶³

There are other instances of sacrificial offerings in the cycle. Those which concentrate on the blood and gore of the sacrifice, like this one, eventually produce negative results. The genitals of Attis are sacrificed to Cybele (*recente terrae sola sanguine maculans*, 63.7) and Polyxena is slaughtered on the grave of Achilles (*alta Polyxenia madefient caede sepulcra*, 64.368). In both cases, what is initially intended as a positive sacrifice eventually is seen to be negative: Attis regrets his deed and is punished by Cybele; and the cruelty of Polyxena's death, concluding a poem devoted to the tragedy of Ariadne, prompts a strong condemnation of the entire heroic age by the poet.

Of the other contexts in which blood is spilled, all those that are negative are found, significantly, in poem 64. Aegeus prays that Theseus will kill the Minotaur and sprinkle his hand with its blood (*tauri respergas sanguine dextram*, 64.230). This is tantamount to a ritual sacrifice, but Aegeus prepares for it wrongly. While he does pray to Athena for success in the venture, he also sends Theseus off under funereal sails, as if he were already dead. Athena may have helped in the slaughter of the Minotaur, but

⁶³See K. M. W. Shipton, "No Alternative to Ceremonial Negligence (Catullus 68.73ff)," *SO* 62 (1987): 52-54.

the reader is more aware of Ariadne's assistance. The tragic consequences of Theseus' success and Ariadne's later prayer for vengeance have much more weight with the gods (especially Jupiter) than Aegeus' questionable intercession to Athena. Moreover, after the abhorrent death of the Minotaur and the tragedy of Ariadne, the reader is well prepared for a series of images which become more personal and introspective, describing first the general slaughter on the Trojan fields (*Phrygii Teucro manabunt sanguine <campi>*, 64.344), then the specific death of Polyxena, and finally fratricide (*perfudere manus fraterno sanguine fratres*, 64.399).

Only one specific instance of proper ritual sacrifice occurs in the cycle, the sacrifice made by Berenice for the safe return of Ptolemy:

atque ibi me cunctis pro dulci coniuge divis
 non sine taurino sanguine pollicita es,
 si reditum tetulisset.

(66.33-35)

That poem as a whole bears witness to the power of the gods, since the Lock does become a celestial being (*ego...caelesti reddita coetu*, 66.37) although she was initially merely a sacrificial offering. It is in the sky, the realm of the celestials, that Conon discovers her (*me ille Conon caelesti in lumine vidit*, 66.7). The fact that Berenice performs a bull-sacrifice here is no mere coincidence. Her successful sacrifice provides the clearest contrast to the inauspicious sacrifice of the Minotaur in poem 64.

The gods (*caelestes*) are established as most powerful in this cycle. In poem 66, the gods are appeased by Berenice, and her husband

returns. But Ariadne, the true victim of the sacrifice of the Minotaur, relying on her faith in the gods (*caelestumque fidem*, 64.191) persuades Jupiter (*caelestum...rector*, 64.204) to ensure that no one returns home safely. The result is complete devastation for the houses of Ariadne and Theseus, houses now rendered incomplete by having lost members of the family. Moreover, the reader learns later that not even Achilles can return home safely. The indiscriminate slaughter he produces is followed by the inauspicious and violent sacrifice of Polyxena, an ironic inversion of the normal situation where a bad sacrifice produces tragic results.⁶⁴

These examples provide an obvious parallel with Laodamia's neglected sacrifice in poem 68. She has not appeased the gods (*nondum.../...caelestis pacificasset eros*, 68.75-76) and that has had an impact, in some mysterious way, on the death of Protesilaus. He, like Attis, Theseus, Ariadne, and Achilles, cannot return safely to his home, which is, therefore, *incepta frustra*.⁶⁵

The psychological development presented in this initial reference to Laodamia's house and neglected sacrifice is important and skilfully

⁶⁴The fact that Laodamia's sacrifice had not yet taken place (*nondum*), although the house was begun, is also an inversion of the norm. The negative sacrifice of Polyxena as a *victima* (64.369) is parallel to the non-sacrifice of a *hostia* by Laodamia (68.76).

⁶⁵Critics point out that an incomplete sacrifice does not figure in the traditional versions of the Laodamia myth. But, as he did with the Attis myth, Catullus is changing and adapting the myth to suit his purpose. It is not inconceivable that he read Homer's phrase and immediately thought of adapting it to the *domus*-theme in this cycle. See R. Thomas, "An Alternative to Ceremonial Negligence (Catullus 68.73-78)," *HSPH* 82 (1978): 175-78; J. B. van Sickle, "Catullus 68.73-78 in Context (vv. 67-80)," *HSPH* 84 (1980): 91-95; Sarkissian, *Catullus* 68, 19-21; A. Allen, "Sacrificial Negligence in Catullus," *Latomus* 45 (1986): 861-63.

devised by the poet. The mythological *exemplum* is suggested, after all, by the joy he feels in the arrival of his beloved to Allius' donated house. When the progress of the *exemplum* quickly passes from Laodamia's joyful arrival at the house of Protesilaus to the fact that the house is inauspicious because of some affront to the gods, the poet naturally prays to Nemesis that such a situation not happen to him (68.77-78). Specifically, he prays that he not be so strongly inclined to do something that is undertaken rashly when the gods are opposed (*nil mihi tam valde placeat.../ quod temere invitis suscipiatur eris*, 68.77-78).

The irony of the prayer is evident to the reader if not to the poet. The message of the Laodamia *exemplum* is that initial joy in a house and marriage may eventually be destroyed if proper procedures are not followed, especially when those procedures pertain to the gods. The *exemplum* provides a warning which the poet cannot see. All he knows is that he has a house and a woman he considers his *domina*. But he is not the legal *coniunx* of his beloved (as Protesilaus is to Laodamia) and his house is a borrowed one, parallel, in effect, to Laodamia's incomplete one. He has already undertaken something rashly without the sanction of the gods.

This prayer to Nemesis recalls her appearance, along with Mars and Athena, at the conclusion of poem 64 (*Ramnusia virgo*, 64.395), as she abandons mankind when the world is tainted with immorality. This does not provide a positive reference for the poet's invocation of Nemesis here in poem 68. In attempting to ward off the negative lesson in the Laodamia

exemplum, the poet neglects to perceive his own involvement in an affair which, if not tainted with sin, at the very least is not sanctified.

Poem 63 provides a second parallel to the poet's prayer to Nemesis, a parallel closer in form if not exactly in content: the concluding prayer to Cybele that she and her madness stay away from the poet (63.91-93). The lesson illustrated by the Attis myth is similar to that provided by Laodamia: those who undertake to do something while gripped by an ecstatic madness will suffer. Attis, *stimulatus furenti rabie*, emasculates himself, thereby destroying his ability to love; Laodamia, *flagrans amore*, neglects a sacrifice and destroys her future happiness with Protesilaus.

The two prayers to Cybele and Nemesis, however, are presented in radically different circumstances in poems 63 and 68. The poet in poem 63, from a vantage-point external to the setting of poem, views the Attis myth with a clear mind and is fully aware of the lesson it illustrates; his prayer to Cybele is made with the full understanding of its significance. The poet in poem 68, however, being too involved with his own presence within the poetic setting, is blind to the implications of the Laodamia myth; his prayer to Nemesis is ineffective since he, like Laodamia, has already undertaken something rashly, were he able to see it.

The third parallel to the prayer to Nemesis in poem 68 is the most obvious. The Lock prays to Nemesis that she be allowed to voice her desire not to be cut from Berenice's head:

(pace tua fari hic liceat, Ramnusia virgo,
 namque ego non ullo vera timore tegam,
 nec si me infestis discerpent sidera dictis,
 condita quin veri pectoris evolvam)

(66.71-74)

The arrogance of the Lock in not wishing to be cut from Berenice's head has a peculiar irony about it: if she remained unshorn, Berenice's vow would be unfulfilled and presumably the gods would be offended, especially since they had already secured the safe return of Ptolemy.⁶⁶ The arrogance of the Lock is parallel in many ways to the arrogance of the poet in poem 68. Both the Lock and the poet are integral parts of their poems, not apart from them like the poet in poem 63. The Lock is fully aware of her arrogance in poem 66 and hence her prayer to Nemesis is an honest one.⁶⁷ The poet in poem 68, on the other hand, is blind to his arrogance. In spite of his highlighting the two transgressions common to himself and Laodamia (an inauspicious house and the neglect of some sanctifying rite), he still does not recognize the dangerous nature of his own situation. Therefore, even though he does not realize it, his prayer to Nemesis is a dishonest one, since he has already done what he hopes Nemesis will protect him from doing.

⁶⁶The situation is quite similar to that in poem 68: the poet's prayer to Nemesis is also made in connection with the return, or rather, the non-return of the hero Protesilaus from battle.

⁶⁷The Lock's awareness of the danger inherent in her statement is clear from her use of the ablative of cause: *nec si me infestis discerpent sidera dictis* (66.73). I interpret the line to mean that the stars will tear her to pieces *for her hostile words* not that the stars will tear her to pieces *with their hostile words* (i.e. their criticism of her statement).

This development is consistent with the poet's attempt to recreate in poem 68 the overall progress of the cycle. The reader is presented with an apparently ideal situation (a house in which the poet and his *domina* enjoy their love) which is illustrated by a simile that contains some darker elements. Poems 61 and 62 are also apparently positive.⁶⁸ The prayer to Nemesis links this passage to the poet's concluding comments on the poems devoted to Attis and Ariadne.⁶⁹ The poet is beginning a second descent into the darker world of love and death.

VI

The Deaths of Protesilaus and the Poet's Brother at Troy

(68.79-104)

After the interjection to Nemesis, the poet picks up the subject of the neglected sacrifice and expands it to incorporate the more traditional elements of the myth. The impiety of Laodamia is illustrated by a transition from the sacrifice to the altar, thirsty for blood (*pium...cruorem*, 68.79, which matches the earlier *sanguine sacro*, 68.75).

⁶⁸Specific parallels with poem 61 have already been mentioned (especially the Venus-Paris simile); and the reader is reminded of the boys' emphasis on the legality of marriage in poem 62.

⁶⁹The two-fold mention of *caelestis...eros* (68.76) and *invitis...eris* (68.78) recalls the poet's consistent use of *erus/era* to describe the various characters throughout these examples to emphasize the unity of this theme: the groom in 61.109-10 (*quae tuo veniunt ero /...gaudia*); Cybele (*era*) in 63.18, 92 (also Attis' self-characterization as *erifugae*, 63.51); Nemesis' companion Athena at 64.395 (*aut rapidi Tritonis era aut Ramnusia virgo*).

The focus on the altar recalls the references to altars in poem 64. Ariadne has been taken from her ancestral altars by Theseus (*me patriis avectam...ab aris*, 64.132). Her tragedy prompts a wistful recollection by the poet of that time before Justice left the earth when mankind received Dionysus in person with smoking altars (*acciperent laeti divum fumantibus aris*, 64.393). These references underline the sanctity of the altar as the symbol of the just and secure contract between gods and men. The consequences of breaking that contract are eloquently portrayed in poem 64 and provide an appropriate context for the *ara ieiuna* of Laodamia.

That the failure to observe proper ritual is a lesson for Laodamia to learn is stated directly in 68.80: *docta est amisso Laodamia viro*. The specific relevance of this myth to the poet's situation is also obvious. Laodamia learned her lesson from suffering the consequences of her actions. The poet is involved in the same type of situation as Laodamia; but he, in his blindness, cannot see that Laodamia's *anagnorisis* also pertains to him.⁷⁰

The lines that follow stress the separation of husband from wife (68.81-86). This is the latest in a long series of separations portrayed in this cycle. In most instances, the separations are violent and cause a breakdown or destruction of positive love; they frequently involve intimate

⁷⁰Since poem 68 is a summary or a "re-telling" of the journey travelled in the rest of the cycle, the Laodamia story introduces the elements of mythology and tragedy into poem 68 and begins the transition, in miniature, as it were, from the "reality" and relative happiness of poems 61 and 62 to the mythological tragedies of poems 63 and 64. The choice of a Trojan myth in poem 68, therefore, is no coincidence.

family members. In the epithalamia, the bride is snatched from her mother's lap (61.56-59; 62.21-22) and the *concubinus* is abandoned by the groom (61.122-23). In one blow, Attis' violent act of self-emasculatation cuts him off from his former, positive life. The poet himself is estranged from his Muses, preventing him from producing his poetic "children" (65.1-3). Even the door is accused of abandoning her old master (67.7-8).

The most obvious examples of separation, and those most relevant to this current passage, occur in poem 64, where an element of compulsion is added. Like Laodamia, who was compelled to let Protesilaus go to Troy (*coniugis...coacta novi dimittere collum*, 68.81), Aegeus is forced to let Theseus sail forth to the dangers of Crete (*gnate, ego quem in dubios cogor dimittere casus*, 64.216).⁷¹ As a consequence of Theseus' success, Ariadne is forever separated from her home and family.⁷² She then is compelled to complain to the gods and seek retribution (*querellas / quas ego...extremis proferre medullis / cogor*, 64.195-97). Jupiter hears her prayer and causes Theseus to forget, to "let go" of, the instructions of Aegeus (*oblito dimisit pectore cuncta / quae mandata*, 64.208-9). The parallels with Laodamia are clear: Aegeus, Theseus, Ariadne, and Laodamia all let go of those things most dear to them with tragic and irreparable results.

There are, however, some important differences between the situations faced by Laodamia and Ariadne. The legal marital status of

⁷¹Cf. also 64.76-79: *nam perhibent...crudeli peste coactam /...poenas exsolvere.../...Cecropiam.*

⁷²Cf. the beginning of Ariadne's lament: *me patriis avectam...ab aris* (64.132). One could argue that Ariadne chose to "let go" of her ancestral altar to sail with Theseus.

Laodamia is stressed throughout (*coniugis*, 68.73, 81; *coniugio*, 68.84). Laodamia's separation from Protesilaus is more tragic because she has not been married "long enough [*coniugis ante coacta novi dimittere collum / quam.../...avidum saturasset amorem*, 68.81-83] to enable her to endure -- not temporary separation, but the permanent separation which was fated [*posset ut abrupto vivere coniugio*, 68.84]."⁷³ While the end result is the same for Ariadne (*ostendant omnia letum*, 64.187), her situation is the opposite of Laodamia's. She complains that Theseus promised, but did not provide, a legal marriage (*non...blanda promissa dedisti /...sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos*, 64.139, 141), and that his desertion of her came after he had indeed satisfied his lust (*cupidae mentis satiata libido est*, 64.147).

In the end, however, both Laodamia and Ariadne are involved in ill-fated relationships. Ariadne's marriage does not in fact happen, but her affair with Theseus has apparently been consummated for some time; on the other hand, Laodamia's legal, but virtually unconsummated marriage, is under some curse (to retain the tragic terminology) from some mysterious neglected sacrifice. The apparent marriage of the poet to his *domina* in poem 68 falls somewhere in between. Considered legal by the poet and clearly consummated (68.69), his marriage is ironically likened to the ill-fated and unsanctified marriage of Laodamia, which in turn suggests the disastrous and destructive marriage of Ariadne.

⁷³Quinn, *The Poems*, 387.

The theme of separation in poem 68 suggests a happier comparison in poem 66. Berenice, like Laodamia, enjoys a new and legitimate marriage (*novo auctus hymenaeo*, 66.11; *coniugium*, 66.28); she also sees her husband leave on foreign campaigns soon after the wedding (66.12). Her devout attention to the appropriate religious rites secures a safe return for Ptolemy, but necessitates the separation of the Lock from Berenice's head. The Lock too feels the agony of separation at first; but her ultimate acceptance of her divinity provides a positive lesson that divine sanction can sanctify and make whole any separation.⁷⁴

When placed next to Laodamia's myth and the poet's view of reality in poem 68, Berenice's happy example, however, can only highlight the negative aspects of poem 68. The emphasis on divine and proper sanctions serves to underscore the lack of such sanctions in the histories of both Laodamia and the poet. This is most clearly indicated by the triple repetition of *coniugis/coniugio* (68.73, 81, 84) in reference to Laodamia's marriage. This emphasis appears to support the poet's belief in his marriage; but the fact that Laodamia's marriage is so quickly destroyed (*abrupto...coniugio*, 68.84), due to some neglected sacrifice, suggests that the poet's marriage too may be doomed.

It is Troy, of course, that is the focus of the Laodamia myth. The prediction of the Parcae at 68.85-86 parallels the Song of the Parcae in poem 64: both passages concern death at Troy, and each offers the opposite perspective to the other. In poem 64, it is the Trojans who are slaughtered

⁷⁴See Kidd, "Catullus 66," 41.

at the hands of the Greek Achilles; in poem 68 it is the Greek Protesilaus who is killed.

The mention of the walls of Ilium in 68.86 leads to a brief allusion to the summoning of the Greek forces (68.87-88). The reference to the rape of Helen (*Helenae raptu*, 68.87) seems logical in such a context. However, there is some point to her appearance here. Helen was, after all, Paris' reward for naming Venus the most beautiful of goddesses. This reference takes the reader back to the beginning of poem 61 where the bride is likened to Venus when she came before Paris. The emphasis on the judgment of Paris (*iudicem*, 61.19) directed the reader to think of the terrible consequences of that judgment on the marriages of Helen and Menelaus and other Greek heroes. That most inauspicious simile is now matched by the overt reference to Helen in poem 68. Because of Helen, Protesilaus meets his death at Troy, putting an end to the marriage that has barely begun. Once again the Laodamia myth is shown to provide a most ominous *exemplum* for the poet's relationship with his *domina*.

The lines summoning the Greeks to Troy would seem to prepare the reader for a further expansion of the Trojan myth. Instead, the loss of Protesilaus engenders an emotional condemnation of Troy as the cause of universal death and destruction (68.89-90). These emotional lines parallel in brief terms the more lengthy condemnation of the heroic age that concludes poem 64. Leading to that condemnation, of course, is the description of the coverlet which purports to illustrate the *heroum...virtutes* (64.51). But the *virtutes Thesei* are hardly consistent

with the idealized image of the heroic age described in 64.22-23b; the coverlet seems, therefore, a most inappropriate centrepiece for the wedding of Peleus, hailed as *decus eximium magnis virtutibus augens* (64.323). The situation is further complicated by the elaborate description of Achilles' career. Mourning Trojan mothers and even the Scamander bear witness to his *egregias et magnas virtutes* (64.348, 357). If the horror of the lines escapes the Parcae, it does not escape the poet, whose epilogue laments that the world has become stained with unspeakable crime (*tellus scelere est imbuta nefando*, 64.397), resulting in an insane reversal of all right and wrong (*omnia fanda nefanda malo permixta furore*, 64.405).

It is this unspeakable horror at the conclusion of poem 64 that provides the connection with the parallel passage in poem 68: *Troia (nefas)* (68.89). Troy becomes the tomb, not just of one man, Protesilaus, but of the whole world (*commune sepulcrum Asiae Europaeque*, 68.89). This progression is the reverse of poem 64, where the incomprehensible slaughter caused by Achilles is reduced to the more comprehensible and pathetic image of the tomb of a single girl: *alta Polyxenia madefient caede sepulcra* (64.368). In poem 68, no elaborate portrayal of *virtus* is needed. Troy has reduced the entire concept of virtue to ashes (*Troia virum et virtutum omnium acerba cinis*, 68.90), an ironic and bitter sacrifice on the altar of Injustice.

So stark is this image of Troy, incorporated, it must be remembered, into a mythological *exemplum*, that it shatters the artifice of the poem itself and leads to the startling and unexpected intrusion of reality

into the verses. The very thought of the premature death of Protesilaus at Troy compels the poet to remember once again his own brother's death there (*quaene etiam nostro letum miserabile fratri / attulit*, 68.91-92). For the second time in poem 68, the thought of his brother's death hinders his ability to control his creative output. His brother's death initially removed from him (*abstulit*, 68.20) his ability to fulfil the correspondent's exact request for a poem, although he was able to find some inner strength to begin some sort of poem for him. Now, even as the thought of Troy again brings death to his brother (*attulit*, 68.92), the poet finds himself unable to continue the artistic integrity of even this poetic effort.

Once more the lament for his brother occupies a central position in this part of his creation (68.92-96), as it did in the first part of poem 68 (68.20-24).⁷⁵ The two versions of the lament are not repeated exactly; the second appearance is more emotional. The second line of the original version seems almost to blame his brother for his own death, which subsequently destroys the poet's happiness: *tu mea tu moriens fregisti commoda, frater*, 68.21.⁷⁶ This shows the poet's acute understanding of the psychology of death, where the bereaved person's anger over the unexpected death of a loved one is vented in what amounts to criticism of the deceased for dying. Such analytical feelings arise most often when the bereaved person thinks he has his grief under control. This is the case with

⁷⁵It must also be remembered that the death of his brother occupies the very centre of the cycle (65.1-12), where there too it constrains his creativity.

⁷⁶Note the repetition of *tu* in the line. Cf. Levine, "Catullus c. 68," 64: "the poet gives the impression of feeling sorrier for himself than for his deceased brother."

the appearance of the original version of the lament, placed in the centre of forty lines of carefully considered vocabulary and syntax.

In the second version, however, remembrance of his brother's death takes him unawares, dredged from his memory by the circumstances of the Laodamia myth. All of this is planned, of course, since this is an artistic creation, not an extempore recording of events in the poet's life. But he is writing poem 68 as he wrote poem 64, as a living organism, one that can and does change before his eyes, not because of the poet's input but almost in spite of it. Therefore, the second version is more intensely emotional, especially in the second line: *ei misero fratri iucundum lumen ademptum* (68.93). The brother is still the subject of this second line, as he is in the corresponding 68.21; however, the earlier blame is now replaced by an almost divine apotheosis of his brother as the sweet light of his life that is now taken from him.⁷⁷ Those who cannot accept the repetition of this lament here fail to understand the psychology and simple truth of the situation. In grief, one does tend to repeat to oneself the truth of the moment: my brother is gone, the bright light of my life is gone.⁷⁸

The remainder of the lament is a verbatim repetition of 68.22-24. However, the second appearance of the lament is placed in a much different

⁷⁷Sarkissian, *Catullus 68*, 24, has suggested that *lumen* refers to the brother and that *ei misero fratri* is the poet himself. This avoids the awkward change of subject between 68.92 and 93, and helps emphasize the closeness between the two brothers: *frater adempte* (the poet's brother) matched by *misero fratri* (the poet).

⁷⁸I cannot agree with Sarkissian, *Catullus 68*, 23: "it is disconcerting that what should be a passionate, almost involuntary outburst on Catullus' part is largely mere repetition of what we have already heard. These lines seem to lose their power the second time around." Sarkissian does, however, present this view with the intention of refuting it later in his monograph.

poetic setting than the first. The essential difference concerns the poet's attitude towards the two important elements of poem 68 (and the cycle): love and poetry. When the lament first appears, the poet views love as an activity of his youth, remembered with great fondness (*iucundum...ver*, 68.16). But love becomes an activity which he can no longer enjoy, due to his grief over his brother's death. Perhaps because of the numbing power of grief, he describes his past love-life in very general terms: *multa satis lusi* (68.17). Love to him is a faceless, impersonal entity, devoid of any strong emotions, except for its bitter-sweet remnants (*dulcem...amaritiam*, 68.18). Not only is he unable to experience love, he cannot even write about it, and refuses the correspondent's exact request for a poem.

The second appearance of the lament is placed in a setting almost the exact opposite of the first. Now the lament occupies the centre of an elaborate and learned artistic creation, not just a polite letter of refusal. More importantly, he has given his love a *persona*: she is a *candida diva* who is presented to the world as his legitimate *domina*. So "real" is this woman that he can describe at some length even the sound of her sandal on the threshold. Reality and fantasy are indistinguishable.

This has been the guiding principle of the entire cycle, in which contemporary poems (61, 62, 65, 66, 67) framed mythological ones (63, 64). The myths of Attis and Ariadne engender strong commentaries on the real world of the poet's time. The problems faced by "modern" brides and grooms, poets and Egyptian queens, doors and passers-by are illustrated by legends of the past and present. Poem 68 is the epitome of this method.

The reality of the poet's aborted love-life of the past and his glorious and dream-like recreation of his goddess-bride meet in one all-consuming conflagration of myth and non-myth at Troy: *candida diva*, Laodamia, Protesilaus, *ei misero frater adempte mihi*.⁷⁹ His brother is as fondly remembered (*iucundum lumen*) as is the fresh innocence of his youth (*iucundum ver*). The house given to him and his *domina* in the reality of his mind inescapably becomes the *domus incepta frustra* of the mythological Protesilaus which in turn becomes the *sepulta domus* of the real world. Now, perhaps for the first time, the poet is truly aware of the concrete harshness of the truth:

omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra,
 quae tuus in vita dulcis alebat amor.

(68.95-96)

In one split second, everything has changed. Because of his brother's death, the type of joyous love he experienced towards his brother, his *domina* and his correspondent friend is no longer possible. The harsh glare of reality has destroyed the light of his brother's life (*iucundum lumen*, 68.93); it has blotted from his mind the shining white light of his beloved (*candida diva*, 68.70) and seems even to have aborted his goal of preventing dark night from obscuring Allius' kindnesses (68.43-44).

The strong image of Troy as the common tomb of Asia and Europe (*commune sepulcrum*, 68.89) provided the means of entry into the lament to his brother, whose death entombed the poet's house (*sepulta domus*,

⁷⁹Cf. C. Witke, *Enarratio Catulliana* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), 34.

68.94). The same image provides the means of transition out of the lament. His brother is buried not among familiar tombs (*non inter nota sepulcra*, 68.97) but in the foreign and alien tomb of Troy (*Troia...sepultum / detinet*, 68.99-100). The glorious heroes of the mythological past were reduced to bitter ashes by Troy (*Troia virum et virtutum omnium acerba cinis*, 68.90); this same Troy cruelly keeps his brother's remains far from his family's ashes (*nec prope cognatos compositum cineres*, 68.98).

The theme of separation is emphasized here: *tam longe, nec prope, detinet, extremo solo, terra aliena*. While one may think of the many instances of separation from family and homeland described in the cycle (Attis, Ariadne, the bride from her mother, the Lock from Berenice's head), it is the most recent example of separation, Protesilaus from Laodamia, that first comes to mind. This, and the strong condemnation of Troy,⁸⁰ provides the skilful transition back to the world of mythology.

While the transition ostensibly takes the reader back to the point immediately preceding the lament, there is a noticeable change of mood. The influence of his brother's death has hardened the poet's imagery, defining it in more brutal terms.⁸¹ The Greeks, described earlier as men (*viros, virum*, 68.88, 90) are now mere youths (*pubes*, 68.101), making their eventual death at Troy all the more untimely and premature. The gathering of the Greek forces is seen from two different perspectives: earlier, it was Troy herself who summoned the Greeks (*ciere*, 68.88); now

⁸⁰*Troia (nefas)*, 68.89; *Troia...acerba cinis*, 68.90; *Troia obscena, Troia infelice... / detinet*, 68.99-100.

⁸¹In this, Witke, *Enarratio*, 41, takes exactly the opposite view.

it is the Greek youths themselves who rush to abandon the sanctity of their homes (*properans fertur...pubes / Graeca penetralis deseruisse focos*, 68.101-2). Among the Greek *pubes* was Protesilaus; mention of the *penetralis focos* recalls the earlier reference to his *domus incepta frustra*.⁸²

Most significantly, the justification for the expedition is now made explicit: to punish Paris for his disgraceful affair (68.103-4). The earlier, vague reference to the rape of Helen (*Helenae raptu*, 68.87) contained very little moral judgment. Was she taken against her will or did she consent? Now, all is quite clear: Helen was abducted, and is nothing more than an adulteress (*abducta...moecha*, 68.103). Paris must not be allowed to enjoy (*gavisus*, 68.103) his illicit affair and live in unchallenged leisure in the peaceful security of the bridal chamber (*ne Paris...libera.../ otia pacato degeret in thalamo*, 68.103-4).

Great tension is created by the juxtaposition of words of peace and security (*libera otia, pacato in thalamo*) with words of violence and opprobrium (*abducta moecha*). But that is also the essential nature of the cycle as a whole. In this final poem, the poet is gathering together all the basic elements of the earlier poems and weaving for the reader one all-encompassing truth. At the same time, the imagery is becoming concentrated towards the personal, the family (*domus, cognatos cineres, penetralis focos, pacato in thalamo*). Such imagery does not yet seem to shatter the poet's own mythicized relationship with his *domina*. For now, it

⁸²Sarkissian, *Catullus* 68, 25.

is only the Laodamia myth that is seen in the light of this new, developing truth.

VII

The Intensity of Laodamia's Love

(68.105-30)

As the poem develops from the lament, it incorporates images and myths that parallel those which preceded the lament. It also continues to be influenced by the intrusion of reality engendered by the lament.

The poet returns to the Laodamia myth proper with the words *quo...casu* (68.105). A similar expression introduced the real-life torment of the correspondent at the beginning of this poem (*casuque oppressus acerbo*, 68.1). Now, the beauty of Laodamia is stressed (*pulcerrima Laodamia*, 68.105), matching the poet's description of his *candida diva*.

The myth is picked up from 68.84 (*abrupto...coniugio*) where Protesilaus was taken from Laodamia: *ereptum est.../ coniugium* (68.106-7). Once again the legitimacy of the marriage is stressed,⁸³ as is the intensity of the relationship between the protagonists: Protesilaus was sweeter to Laodamia than the breath of life itself (*vita dulcius atque anima / coniugium*, 68.106-7). The phrase *vita dulcius* is significant, recalling many earlier examples of the sweet mingling of life and love. Three references come closest to matching this phrase. Aegeus addresses

⁸³*coniugis*, 68.73, 81; *coniugio*, 68.84; *coniugium*, 68.107.

Theseus, and the poet his brother, in similar terms: *gnate mihi longa iucundior unice vita* (64.215); *vita frater amabilior* (65.10). In both cases, the separation from the loved one is as devastating as that experienced by Laodamia.⁸⁴

The most immediate allusion, however, is to the influence of his brother's love on the poet: *omnia...gaudia nostra / quae tuus in vita dulcis alebat amor* (68.23-24; 95-96). It is not hard to see how the intrusion of reality into poem 68 is influencing the continuation of the Laodamia myth; but it is doing so in a startling way. Indeed, as Sarkissian suggests, there has been a remarkable shift in symbolism. The two-dimensional Laodamia before the lament has become a three-dimensional and emotional counterpart, not to the poet's *domina*, as before, but to the poet himself.⁸⁵

The next passage, describing the love that Laodamia had for Protesilaus (68.107-8), matches the earlier *flagrans...amore* (68.73); but now the emotions and the imagery are much more intense. If the lines apply more specifically to Laodamia, they nevertheless also apply to the poet, still reeling from his recollection of his brother's death. Despair (for the loss of Protesilaus and the brother) has become a hot, swirling eddy that overwhelms everything (*absorbens.../ aestus*, 68.107-8). It has cast

⁸⁴Cf. also 64.157: *talia qui reddis pro dulci praemia vita?* and the comment of Putnam, "Catullus 64," 177: "Ariadne gave sweet life...to Theseus and he leaves her. Protesilaus leaves Laodamia even though he is *vita dulcius* to her. The *casus* is the same. Moreover, the reversal pattern...is illustrated by the verb *eripui* in 64.150. She snatched Theseus from the jaws of death only to have him desert her in the same manner as Protesilaus departed from Laodamia (*ereptum est*, 68.106)."

⁸⁵Sarkissian, *Catullus 68*, 26; also Tuplin, "Catullus 68," *CQ* 31 (1981): 118: "The fact is that Catullus wished to let his readers see that he had suffered a loss like Laodamia, and even though this means that Laodamia is explicitly or implicitly compared both with Lesbia and with Catullus, we must live with it."

Laodamia (and the poet) from the heights of love into a deep abyss (*tanto te...vertice amoris /...in abruptum detulerat barathrum*, 68.107-8).⁸⁶ The abyss is torn from the earth (*abruptum barathrum*) as surely as Protesilaus is torn from Laodamia (*abrupto...coniugio*, 68.84) and his brother from the poet (*frater adempte.../...iucundum lumen ademptum*, 68.92-93).

The *aestus/barathrum* passage and its expansion in the Hercules myth (68.107-18) parallels the earlier tears/river simile which illustrated the agony of the (then less grief-stricken) poet in love (68.51-66). Many elements are common to the two passages: the themes of descent⁸⁷ and heat;⁸⁸ the destruction at the heart of something;⁸⁹ and learned references.⁹⁰ The purpose of this simile, like the earlier one, is to stress the intensity of the emotions in question. While the situations in the two passages seem similar (the protagonists are suffering because of love), they are in fact quite different. The reasons for the poet's suffering in the earlier passage are at first only suggested (*mihi...dederit duplex Amathusia curam*, 68.51); that he is suffering by being separated from his beloved is made clear after

⁸⁶Sarkissian, *Catullus 68*, 26, takes *vertice* to mean height rather than whirlpool: "*vertice* provides a contrast with *abruptum barathrum* and establishes a point of reference for *altus amor* (117)." This is consistent with Sarkissian's reading of *corrueit* in the parallel tears/river passage (68.51-66). See above, note 37. For a different view, see Shipton, "No Alternative," 66, note 21.

⁸⁷Of the stream of tears from the top of a mountain (*in aerii...vertice montis / rivus...prosilit*, 68.57-58); of the protagonist from the heights of love (*tanto te absorbens vertice amoris / aestus in abruptum detulerat barathrum*, 68.107-8).

⁸⁸Of the parched fields (*gravis exustos aestus hiulcat agros*, 68.62); of the drained swamp that is dried up (*siccare emulsa pingue palude solum*, 68.110).

⁸⁹The river cuts through the middle of the valley (*per medium densi transit iter populi*, 68.60) while the trench of Hercules cuts away the heart of the mountain (*caesis montis fodisse medullis*, 68.111).

⁹⁰Mt. Aetna and Thermopylae, and the intervention of supernatural forces (*prece Pollucis, iam Castoris implorata*, 68.65) are matched by *falsiparens Amphitryoniades* (68.112) and *imperio deterioris eri* (68.114).

the simile, and by then the problem has been rectified (*isque domum nobis isque dedit dominae*, 68.68).

This situation is reversed in the later passage. The reader knows before the simile that no reconciliation is possible, since Protesilaus and the poet's brother have been irretrievably taken from the protagonists. Love felt for someone who can never be seen again is naturally more intense than the love felt for someone who is merely separated by circumstances. The Hercules simile, therefore, with its images parallel to the tears/river simile, has more depth of meaning and purpose.

Only at the conclusion of the Hercules simile is there a sort of resolution: for his suffering, Hercules becomes a god (*pluribus ut caeli tereretur ianua divis*, 68.115). The phrase recalls the deification of the poet's beloved (*candida diva*) who steps on a well-trodden threshold (*trito...in limine*, 68.71). The reference to the end of Hebe's lengthy virginity (*longa virginitate*, 68.116) provides an ironic contrast to the brevity of Laodamia's marriage (68.81-84) or the short time Protesilaus survived at Troy (*scibant Parcae non longo tempore abesse*, 68.85). These parallel and contrasting references unite myth and reality, Protesilaus and Laodamia, Hercules and Hebe, the poet and his *domina*.

The apotheosis of Hercules offers a glimmer of hope: even in the agony of despair, happiness can be attained. The means by which this is possible is made clear in 68.117-18. Hercules had to work hard (by digging the *barathrum*, 68.108) in order to attain a permanent and satisfying existence (in his case, divinity and a lasting marriage). Laodamia

too must work hard. In her situation, however, her labour involves heroic endurance. She must learn how to bear the yoke of her marriage, even though she is still virtually a virgin.⁹¹ But she can and does endure because the depth of her love for Protesilaus is even greater than the depth of Hercules' *barathrum*:⁹²

sed tuus altus amor barathro fuit altior illo,
qui tamen indomitam ferre iugum docuit.

(68.117-18)⁹³

The key word is *ferre*. This distich answers 68.79-86, where Laodamia did not have sufficient time with Protesilaus to enable her to live without him. At that time, Laodamia learned (*docta est*, 68.80) how damaging a neglected sacrifice could be. Now, she has also learned to endure her husband's absence (*docuit*, 68.118). Ironically, in both instances it is love that has taught her: negative, passionate love (that drove her into a relationship too soon, before the sacrifice, before it was

⁹¹The ecstatic Attis is compared to a heifer who avoids the burden of the sexual yoke (*veluti iuvenca vitans onus indomita iugi*, 63.33). The irony is that Attis regrets this freedom when he regains his sanity and longs for his earlier, amorous life.

⁹²Hercules' *barathrum* is described in *Aen.* 8.445, where it represents the underworld and death. There may also be a connection with the *limes* which Allius opened for the poet at 68.67. According to Jashemski, *Gardens*, 121, Hercules is especially worshipped in gardens, along with Bacchus and Venus. She also describes (245-47) a large draining or irrigation ditch in the Garden of the Fugitives, also used as a path (see above, note 42), and a large channel surrounding the enclosed garden at the rear of the atrium in the Villa at Torre Annunziata (292): "The wide and deep channel that surrounded the garden suggested that it was designed for more than carrying off the water from the roof to the cistern in the adjacent room. Rather, it appeared to be a miniature stream." It is tempting to see a connection between Hercules' *barathrum* as a means of attaining future happiness after sorrow, and the *limes* which Allius opened for the poet to give him access to his *candida diva*. Cf. Witke, *Enarratio*, 41-42; Shipton, "A Successful kōmos," 513-14, and note 26; Shipton, "No Alternative," 55 and note 19.

⁹³I quote the Mynors' version of 68.118. I wonder, however, if the ms. V reading of *tuum domitum* is a corruption of the original *qui tuum indomitam ferre iugum docuit*.

sanctified) and positive, controlled love (that has enabled her to endure the consequences of that relationship).⁹⁴

These aspects of the Hercules and Laodamia myths also provide a lesson for the poet. The reality of the loss of his brother, while placed in the background for the moment, is still represented in the myth of Laodamia. Like her, the poet has lost a loved one, and like her, he must learn to endure the loss, to work hard at bearing the yoke of his grief, to come to terms with this harsh reality. In Hercules, he has an example of how hard work can eventually achieve happiness, specifically, marital happiness. The connection between the two realities in the poet's life (the Laodamian reality of loss and the Herculean reality of marital happiness through effort) has not yet registered in the poet's mind; but the groundwork is laid.

Laodamia's love for Protesilaus is expanded in the next two similes in subtle ways. Her love is deeper than that of a father, now aged, who has waited a long time for an heir from his only daughter. The details are many: the legality of the inheritance is stressed (68.121-22) as the grandfather's terrible fears about his vulture-like relatives are dashed (68.123-24). This simile summarizes two passages from poem 61, in which the aged parent (*tremulus parens*, 61.51) invokes Hymen for the purpose of providing the house with children on which the parent may lean for support (61.66-70). Once again, it is the traditional and legal aspects of marriage

⁹⁴See van Sickle, "Catullus 68.73-78," 95. Shipton, "No Alternative," 57-61, argues, wrongly, I think, that the *barathrum* image suggests Laodamia's suicide. She does, however, see the theme of endurance in the *iugum* imagery.

that are stressed here. Laodamia has not invoked the gods properly and now has no husband or children in her house. But, like the aged grandfather, endurance of one's lot will eventually be rewarded with some happiness: a late-born heir or heroic endurance through love.

The second simile compares Laodamia's love to that of a female dove for her mate (*nec tantum niveo gavisata est ulla columbo / compar*, 68.125-26). The initial element is the joy of the love (*gavisata est*). This recalls the beginning of the Laodamia episode where, *flagrans amore*, she enjoyed her love too soon and neglected a sacrifice. This suggests something troubling, aside from the fact that Laodamia, unlike the dove, did not have much time to enjoy her husband.

This uneasiness is compounded in the next lines: there is a rumour (*dicitur*, 68.126) of infidelity on the part of the female dove, who snatches kisses more wantonly than the most flirtatious woman (*praecipue multivola...mulier*, 68.128). The passage smacks of poem 67 with its emphasis on reported scandals. This additional information gives new import to the words *gavisata est*: the reader has just been told how Protesilaus died to prevent Paris from enjoying his conquest of the adulteress Helen (*ne Paris abducta gavisus...moecha*, 68.103).

Quinn remarks that doves are generally noted in literature for their fidelity.⁹⁵ If this hint of infidelity is a new and conscious addition to dove-lore on the poet's part, its purpose must be to provide a contrast, not a parallel, to Laodamia; he does say, after all, that the dove did not enjoy her

⁹⁵Quinn, *The Poems*, 391.

mate to the same degree as she (*nec tantum...gavisa est*, 68.125). On the other hand, the poet is underscoring a theme that has been developing throughout the cycle, that no relationships, even the idealized and fanciful ones between supposedly ever-faithful doves, can be totally happy and traditional.⁹⁶ In this regard, the dove simile is appropriate, since Laodamia's marriage is also flawed. In effect, the two similes that close the Laodamia passage summarize and epitomize those very conflicts which are apparent throughout this poem and the cycle: the desire for legal, traditional and stable marriage (the aged grandfather simile) and the harsh reality of a relationship that is less than ideal (the dove simile).

The Laodamia myth concludes with a distich which confirms that the dove simile is intended in the end as a negative contrast to the type of love displayed by Laodamia: she alone was able to conquer the type of passions (*furores*, 68.129) displayed by the doves, once she was married to Protesilaus.⁹⁷ This is a far different Laodamia than she who burst upon the poem in the heat of passion. She who was once *flagrans amore* (to her sorrow and great loss) has now regained control of her life; she has realized how important it is to keep her passions in check. In so doing, she provides the strongest contrast to the *furores* of Attis and Ariadne.

⁹⁶See other comments about the dove simile in Witke, *Enarratio*, 42-43.

⁹⁷I take *horum* as referring specifically to the doves (agreeing with Quinn, *The Poems*, 392, but disagreeing with Ellis, *Commentary*, 426).

VIII

The Poet's Beloved

(68.131-48)

After the lengthy digression on Laodamia, the poet resumes the description of his beloved from 68.74. She can give place to Laodamia in nothing, or at least very little (*aut nihil aut paulo cui tum concedere digna*, 68.131). The phrase *aut nihil aut paulo* is in keeping with the psychological development of the poem.⁹⁸ The unbounded joy of the earlier passage (which saw the poet's *domina* likened to a *candida diva* who in turn was likened to Laodamia) has been tempered by the tragic circumstances of the Laodamia story (presented as if unforeseen by the poet) and by the intrusion of reality into the myth (the death of the poet's brother).⁹⁹

The brightness of poet's goddess-bride (*candida diva*) has not dimmed: she is still *lux mea* (68.132), but her divinity is gone. While it is logical to expect a reference to her shining brightness, the phrase *lux mea* is quite startling. Only a few lines earlier, it was his brother who was his *iucundum lumen* (68.93). The extinguishing of that light blotted everything else from the poet's mind, including his beloved; it affected even his creativity, and not just in this poem. His life was irreparably changed in that horrible moment of darkness. That change was immediately evident in

⁹⁸Fordyce, *Commentary*, 358, remarks that it is "a curiously prosaic phrase, and a curiously unromantic caution, in this context."

⁹⁹Cf. Arkins, *Sexuality*, 69-70.

the resumption of the Laodamia story, as he began to infuse the images and similes with more immediate relevance.

Now, in one of the simplest and most emotionally moving transformations, the poet's beloved replaces his brother as the centre of his life, a life that is now more aware of the real world. She sits in his lap (*lux mea se nostrum contulit in gremium*, 68.132) like the apple in the lap of the girl (*casto virginis e gremio*, 65.20) or the Lock in the lap of Venus (*me.../...Veneris casto collocat in gremio*, 66.55-56), or little Torquatus in the lap of his mother (*Torquatus.../ matris e gremio suae*, 61.209-10), all of these reflecting a positive relationship.

The allusion to Torquatus and poem 61 is no mere coincidence; for now the bright goddess-bride (*candida diva*) who placed her shining foot on the threshold (*fulgentem...plantam*, 68.71) is replaced by bright Cupid (*Cupido /...candidus*, 68.133-34), who shines (*fulgebat*, 68.134), and is dressed in a saffron dress like Hymen and the bride wear (*crocina...in tunica*, 68.134).¹⁰⁰ Likening Cupid to Hymen suggests that this relationship is legitimized by Cupid's presence. The positive nature of his appearance here also indicates that this relationship will be a happy one, in contrast to his negative appearance in poem 64, where he drives Ariadne mad with love (*heu misere exagitans immiti corde furores / sancte puer*, 64.94-95).¹⁰¹ Cupid, like other symbols in the cycle, is rehabilitated.

¹⁰⁰Cf. the dress of Hymen (*flammeum cape laetus*, 61.8) and the bride (*flammeum video venire*, 61.115). See S. Baker, "Lesbia's Foot," *CP* 55 (1960): 172.

¹⁰¹Cf. also the positive and negative uses of *cupidus* throughout the cycle.

These strong, positive images seem to suggest that the poet has in fact not acknowledged the truth of the real world. But these are merely the last, wistful recollections of how it was, when the world was simpler. The poet is fully aware of reality, since he mentions himself by name (*Catullo*, 68.135). Only once before in the cycle has he done so, in the "real-life" letter of refusal that opens this poem (68.27). The significance of the second reference is great, for it is uttered by the poet as *persona* in the poetic creation intended for the correspondent. Now his erstwhile *candida diva* is all too real: she is not content with Catullus alone (68.135). This is no rumour of infidelity, as in the dove simile or poem 67; this is a fact.

Yet in spite of this, the poet will endure her stolen affairs, claiming that they are rare and that she is discreet (*rara verecundae furta feremus erae*, 68.136). Again an exceptional grasp of psychology is displayed by the poet. While rooted in reality now, it is still logical for him to look back on those days when marriage was a simple, legal and traditional matter, and to remember his beloved as his *candida diva*, his *domina*. While accepting her faults, it is in keeping with the poet's character and the situation to soften those faults, to suggest that they are few and that she will be discreet. After all, he says (68.137), they will not end up as tiresome old fools, like the door in poem 67.

His deep love for his mistress is clear from his description of her as *lux mea*. For him, endurance in love (*feremus*, 68.136) is the watchword here, just as it was for Laodamia (*altus amor.../...ferre iugum docuit*, 68.117-18). The poet is no longer totally in control of his amorous life, as

he imagined himself to be earlier. No longer his *domina*, his beloved has become his *era*. Yet perhaps he is attempting to retain some aspect of his *candida diva*, since the word *era* is used to describe several divinities throughout the cycle: Venus (64.395), Cybele (63.18, 92) and the gods in general (68.76, 78). More probably, the word represents a firm recognition of his subservience to his beloved. Hercules too had to submit to Eurystheus, a lesser man than himself (*imperio deterioris eri*, 68.114) in order to achieve happiness in his relationship with Hebe. The word *era* does, however, indicate that the normal relationship in marriage is reversed. Manlius is the *erus* of Aurunculeia (61.109); but it is the poet's beloved who is master now.

The allusions to his *candida diva* and to Cupid suggest the next reference Juno and Jupiter (68.138-40).¹⁰² The language used underscores the poet's argument and indicates the complete change of attitude that has revealed itself at this point in the cycle. This divine analogy offers the strongest evidence of the poet's now fully-developed cynicism. By describing Juno as *maxima caelicolum* (68.138), he recalls earlier examples of divine *exempla*. Most of these portray the gods as the arbiters of absolute morality in love and marriage. Jupiter, *caelestum rector* (64.204), answers Ariadne's prayer for retribution. In the Golden Age, the *caelicolae* used to frequent their temples in person, before respect for the gods had been spurned (64.385-6).

¹⁰²While it may at first seem strange that it is Juno, the female member of the relationship, who provides the parallel to the poet, since she had to endure the infidelity of Jupiter, a precedent has already been set by Laodamia, who provided a parallel first to the beloved and then to the poet. See Sarkissian, *Catullus* 68, 33.

The most recent and important example is found in the Laodamia myth. Because the *caelestes eri* have not been pacified, Laodamia suffers the loss of Protesilaus (68.75-76). At that point in the poem, the gods were still symbolic of absolute morality. But now, it seems the height of hypocrisy that such gods punish Laodamia when they themselves are hardly blameless. On the celestial level, there is certainly passion (*omnivoli plurima furta Iovis*, 68.140), but it is negative and goes unpunished: all Juno can do is stomach her burning anger (*flagrantem...iram*, 68.139) caused by these affairs. Laodamia too is inflamed, with a love (*flagrans...amore*, 68.73) that causes her to neglect the sacrifice, resulting in the loss of her husband and a lifetime of tragic endurance.

The gods should provide *exempla* that are beyond criticism; but the dove simile proved that preconceived ideals of morality are not always valid. The female dove can be as *multivola* (68.128) on her level as Jupiter is *omnivolus* on his. This has already been suggested by the influence of *duplex Amathusia* on the poet (68.51). Earlier examples in the cycle (especially Attis and Ariadne) also underscore the gods' inconsistencies. The cynical questions posed at the conclusion of poem 64 become statements here. Even the gods must put up with such indiscretions; why therefore should mortals be any different? At least the indiscretions of the poet's *era*, unlike those of Jupiter, are rare.

The situation is summarized at 68.141: *atqui nec divis homines componier aequum est* (68.141). As Quinn puts it, "human partners cannot

expect stricter standards than the gods themselves observe."¹⁰³ If there is no such thing as absolute morality, or reverence and strict fidelity in marriage, then why strive for it? Once the poet accepts this aspect of love, it is logical that the other aspects be modified or even rejected as well.¹⁰⁴

Just as the analogy to Juno and Jupiter provides a parallel to the dove simile (68.125-28), so does the reference to the thankless burden of an aged parent (68.142) provide a parallel to the late-born heir (68.119-24), which in turn refers to similar passages at 61.51-55, 66-70. The parent is aged (*confecto aetate parenti*, 68.119; *tremuli...parentis*, 68.142; cf. *tremulus parens*, 61.51), and symbolizes the security of the traditional family through the continuation of the blood-line. This is why the boys in poem 62 state that the betrothed bride is less hateful to her father (*minus est invisa parenti*, 62.58). For the aged parent in poem 68, the appearance of the late-born heir banishes his fears about the continuance of the family. This is expressed in a passive way: the birth of the heir removes the unnatural joys of the relatives (*impia...gentilis gaudia tollens*, 68.123) and drives away the vulture from the grandfather's grey head (*suscitat a cano volturium capiti*, 68.124). This is the point of comparison with 68.142. The invocation to Hymen in poem 61 to bless that marriage with children,

¹⁰³Quinn, *The Poems*, 393.

¹⁰⁴This may have been what was contained in the lacuna following 68.141. Quinn, *The Poems*, 393, suggests that there is no lacuna here. He tries to argue that 68.141 and 142, though abrupt, make sense. Unfortunately, his note is just as abrupt and unclear about the meaning of this distich. Some lines are needed to explain the obscure reference in to the *parentis onus* (68.142). Otherwise, the second *nec* does not, in my view, provide any obvious explanation of 68.142. Critics, therefore, have attempted to explain 68.142 by relating it to the immediate context, a context which they have to reconstruct since it is not self-evident. I think that 68.142 can only be explained by relating the images contained in it to other similar images in this poem and the rest of the cycle.

and the relief of the grandfather at banishing the unnatural joys of relatives in poem 68, both suggest the weightiness of the worry. The sanctity of the family is at stake.

By 68.142, however, the traditional views of morality are no longer of prime concern to the poet. He has recognized the mortality of his beloved, and her rare but certain infidelity. Since there is no absolute standard of morality, why should he now be so concerned about legitimacy in marriage or relationships? The boys in poem 62 warn the bride that it is not right to fight against the father who has arranged the marriage (*non aequom est pugnare, pater cui tradidit ipse*, 62.60). This is the traditional view. But now, the poet realizes it is not right to act any differently than the world expects, if the world is symbolized by the actions of Juno and Jupiter (*nec divis homines componier aequum est*, 68.141). Hence, away with the most recent example of that old morality: *ingratum tremuli tolle parentis onus* (68.142).

The final lines of the poet's *munus* lay out in unambiguous terms the true and only relationship he can now have with his beloved. She comes to him without her father's blessing (*nec...illa mihi dextra deducta paterna*, 68.143); she is like Ariadne (*patriis avectam...ab aris*, 64.132) and even Attis (*genitoribus abero?* 63.59), but unlike the brides in poems 61 and 62, who are given in marriage with the full sanction of gods and family.¹⁰⁵ It is, therefore, no longer as his *domina* that she comes to the borrowed house of Allius. Nevertheless, the house is still as significant to the poet as

¹⁰⁵*tu fero iuveni in manus / floridam ipse puellulam / dedis*, 61.56-58; *non aequom est pugnare, pater cui tradidit ipse*, 62.60.

the more hallowed house of a traditional bride and groom: it is *fragrantem Assyrio...odore domum* (68.144), reminiscent of the palace of Peleus (*permulsa domus iucundo risit odore*, 64.284).

The secret gifts (*furtiva...munuscula*, 68.145) which she gives the poet are very special. The diminutive recalls the many affectionate diminutives from poem 61 and adds some romance to his earlier reference to her relationship with him (*rara...furta*, 68.136). Even the fact that the affair must be carried on in strict secrecy, during the night, is made wondrous in the poet's eyes (*mira...nocte*, 68.145). This represents a complete reversal of the poet's attitude towards Ariadne's illicit affair, ironically depicted so wondrously on the coverlet (*vestis.../ heroum mira virtutes indicat arte*, 64.50-51). More importantly, the vocabulary in 68.145-46 provides an ironic comment on the piety of the father at 67.29-30 (*egregium narras mira pietate parentem / qui ipse sui gnati minxerit in gremium*).¹⁰⁶ Finally, Hesperus will not be able to protect this bride from such affairs, as the boys claimed at 62.34: *nocte latent fures*.

Even the fact that the gifts are taken from the very lap of her husband (*ipsius ex ipso dempta viri gremio*, 68.146) is made to sound wonderful. This represents a marked change in attitude. The *gremium* is symbolic of the sanctity and security of the traditional family. The tearing of the bride from her mother's *gremium* is always portrayed as a traumatic event. An obscene reference to the *gremium* is used at 67.28-29 to condemn

¹⁰⁶Consequently, I see no objection to *mira* here (cf. Kroll, *Poemata*, 239, Fordyce, *Commentary*, 360). See also N. F. Lain, "Catullus 68.145," *HSPh* 90 (1986): 155-158.

the scandalous behaviour of the father. Now, the fact that his beloved comes from that very sacred place¹⁰⁷ is not a source of condemnation, but of pride. This underscores the very special strength of the relationship between poet and beloved, and indicates very clearly that it is the woman who is in control here, as befits her role as *era*.

For the poet who a few lines earlier seemed to accept nothing short of legitimate marriage with his *domina*, these clandestine and irregular meetings with his beloved are now enough. No longer under the allusion that she is his *candida diva*, he is content with those bright days (*lapide...candidiore*, 68.148) when she can visit him.

At the beginning of this poem, the correspondent, in his love-sickness, asked the poet to raise him up from the very door of death (68.4). The poet claimed he was unable to do so, since he too was tormented by love and the death of his brother. Nevertheless, out of the great love for his friend, he launched forth into some sort of *munus*. By the end of his *munus*, the poet has undergone a remarkable change of attitude: from a desperate attempt to retain the old morality, through a cynical and perhaps bitter renunciation of it, the poet has been able to come to a calm and even joyous acceptance of the new morality. It is the resolution of the tensions of this poem, and the cycle, that is the subject of its final lines.

¹⁰⁷The sanctity is suggested by the intensive pronouns *ipsius* and *ipso*.

IX

The Poet's Final Postscript

(68.149-60)

The poet finally presents his *munus* to the correspondent (68.149-52) in accordance with his intentions stated earlier.¹⁰⁸ To his own *munus* the gods will add other blessings in great measure, those such as Themis gave in ancient times to pious men (68.153-54). The reference recalls poem 64 and the type of morality that was supposedly represented by that ideal time.¹⁰⁹ This reference is surprising, given the poet's rejection of that type of morality in poem 68. On the other hand, these lines clarify the new reality that the poet has accepted. Traditional and legal marriage may still be the ideal for the poet, but it is impossible for him to attain in the harsh reality of this world. Nevertheless, for those who feel they may still be able to attain it, the poet wishes success. Themis represents the last wistful remembrance of the "good old days."

This leads to a smooth transition to the next lines, where a series of good wishes is presented. The correspondent is the first to receive the poet's blessing for a happy life (*vita*, 68.155). This recalls and contrasts

¹⁰⁸Cf. *pro multis...officiis*, 68.150, and *quantis...officiis*, 68.42; *ne vestrum scabra tangat rubigine nomen*, 68.151, and *ne fugiens saeculis obliuiscens aetas / illius hoc caeca nocte tegat studium*, 68.43-44. The word *dies* (68.152) provides the link not only between the *confectum carmine munus* and the final passage, but also between poem 68 and poem 61, with its emphasis on the passage of time (*dies* occurs at 61.11, 38, 85, 90, 105, 111, 112).

¹⁰⁹See Ellis, *Commentary*, 429-30, for his excellent note about possible interpretations of these lines.

the intense description of his wretched life at 68.1-8. Through the magic of poetry, the poet has been able to restore not only his own happiness (68.145-48), but that of the correspondent.¹¹⁰

Since the correspondent provided a house for the poet and his beloved, it is also logical that the *domus* is next to receive his good wishes: *et domus <ipsa> in qua lusimus* (68.156). This does not represent merely a recollection of that happy time; it indicates how changed the poet's life is: he who before had enough of love (*multa satis lusi*, 68.17) is again a full participant in it (*lusimus*). Now, more than ever, the poet and his beloved resemble Manlius and Iunia (*ludite ut lubet*, 61.204).

The reference to *domina* which completes 68.156 is not so easy to place in the list of good wishes. Since this line is so reminiscent of 68.68 (*isque domum nobis isque dedit dominae*), it is generally assumed that the same *domina* is meant. I have interpreted the earlier *domina* as the poet's beloved, characterized quite specifically as his wife. But since the poet has now clearly moved from the ideal world to the real world, it is not likely that he would refer to his beloved as his *domina* here.¹¹¹ Consequently, I believe that *domina* in 68.156 refers to the correspondent's wife.¹¹² This is suggested by the reference to Themis and the blessings of traditional

¹¹⁰It is for this reason that I believe *vita* (68.155) is to be taken literally, and not as a reference to the correspondent's beloved. Cf. the effect of the brother's death on the poet: *gaudia nostra / quae tuus in vita dulcis alebat amor* (68.23-24, 95-96); *vita frater amabilior* (65.10). See Witke, *Enarratio*, 39: "[the train of thought in poem 68] induces the critic more readily to consider the text of 68 as a process rather than as a description of a static state;" 42: "Catullus brings a gift to Allius which changes him (he is no longer sad and alone at the end of the poem);" 45: "The poem is a movement from life through death and back to life."

¹¹¹Cf. Shipton, "A House in the City," 870, note 3.

¹¹²This is another reason why *tua vita* should not refer to his wife.

marital happiness. By consciously and purposely using the same word to refer to two different people in two widely separated passages, the poet is emphasizing his new-found recognition of reality. "May you be happy, you and your life, and that house in which we (my mistress and I) played and loved, and *your* wife." The correspondent is fortunate in having a real *domina*; the poet only imagined he could have one.¹¹³

The corruption of 68.157-58 is so great that no satisfactory emendation has so far been offered. Suffice it to say that I believe the lines continue to refer to the correspondent.¹¹⁴

It is fitting that the last reference be to the poet's beloved. It is his relationship to her, both idealized and real, that is the specific subject of this poem and the indirect subject of the entire cycle. Hence, she must stand at the climax: *longe ante omnes* (68.159).

It is the poet's deep affection for her, like Laodamia's deep love for Protesilaus, that has allowed him to abandon his hoped-for traditional and legal relationship with her and to accept and to endure the less formal one. She is, therefore, *mihi...me carior ipso est* (68.159), more dear than his own life. The only other non-mythological person who could claim such

¹¹³Cf. C. W. Macleod, "A Use of Myth in Ancient Poetry," *CQ* 24 (1974): 86-87.

¹¹⁴If there is some suggestion of giving of land (*terram dedit*, 68.157), perhaps the corruption is hiding a parallel reference to the earlier *officium* of the correspondent (*is clausum lato patefecit limite campum*, 68.67). The earlier reference preceded the allusion to the *domus/domina*; here it follows it. The clear reference in 68.158 to the *bona* which have flowed from this individual hidden in the corrupted line would then be consistent with that earlier passage. Papanghelis, "A Note," 147, remarks that the *et* in 68.157 is "explanative" and does not introduce any new character here. (I disagree with him, however, about the number of characters represented in 68.155-60.)

devotion was his brother: *vita frater amabilior* (65.10). In his earlier acceptance of the reality of the present, she replaced his brother as the light of his life (*lux mea*, 68.132). It is this vision of her that remains.

It is the living who now provide the poet with a purpose in life. In the real world, his brother's death buried his house, his joys and his very life (68.20-24, 92-96). In the mythological world, the death of Protesilaus likewise destroyed Laodamia's ability to live (68.79-84). Only her deep love for her husband allowed her to endure her loss and accept her fate. From the depth of despair, caused by the death of his brother, reflected in the loss of Protesilaus, a new life also awaits the poet, a life centred around his beloved: *lux mea, qua viva vivere dulce mihi est* (68.160). In the words of John Ferguson: "Catullus' last word in this poem...is an acknowledgement that love is stronger than fidelity, and an assertion of light over darkness, life over death, and joy over sorrow."¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵Ferguson, *Catullus*, 232.

CONCLUSION

Every creative work depends on its specific tools to achieve an artistic whole. In poetry, these tools include the concrete (the words themselves) and the abstract (the themes and concepts which the words define). It is primarily with these two elements that Catullus has created a complex yet discernible progression through poems 61 to 68.

It is obvious that these eight poems deal with aspects of love and marriage; but at first glance, it is not so easy to see how they all hold together, how one leads to the next and how, by the end of poem 68, some sort of cyclical journey has been completed. Most critics have considered these poems in isolation; some have attempted to link one to another where the linkages are obvious (the two wedding poems; Attis and Ariadne; poems 65/66 and 68; the personifications of the Lock and the Door). But, to my knowledge, no detailed examination of the unity of these eight poems has been done.

This thesis attempts to show that poems 61 to 68 form a single, unified whole. Through consistent textual recollections and reminiscences, the complex inter-relationships of the various aspects of the themes are formed and reformed, promoted and challenged, questioned and resolved.

Poem 61 establishes most of the important images in the cycle. The aim of the poem is to present a portrait of the ideal, happy marriage.

The gods Hymen and Venus are present; the day begins joyously; music, ribaldry and the scent of flowers fill the air; even the darkness of night is checked by the wedding torches. The legitimacy of this marriage is stressed. The groom (*vir*) is young, but well-off (61.3, 150, 176).¹ His marital union with the bride is underscored both by his designation as *coniunx* (61.32, 226) and by the reference to Hymen as *boni / coniugator amoris* (61.44-45). That he will live a long and happy life with the bride is suggested by the parallel to the aged husbands of the *matronae* (61.179). The old *parens* is also an important symbol of the security of marriage and the continuation of the clan (61.51, 67).

References to the bride concentrate on her youth (*puellula*, 61.57, 175, 181) and innocence (*virgo*, 61.4, 20, 77), qualities matched by references to the attendants (*virgines*, 61.37, 224) and maidens in general (61.52). Only once is she referred to as the wife (mistress of the house): *domum dominam voca* (61.31). But later passages outlining her marital and domestic roles as keeper of the household (61.144-53) and especially as producer of children (61.51-55, 66-70, 204-23) sustain her role as wife.

The most important symbol of the security and happiness provided by marriage is the house. The word *domus* is used only three times (61.31, 66, 149); but the poet keeps the symbol vivid through repeated mention of the physical aspects of the structure and the setting.²

¹Where possible throughout the conclusion, I refer to significant vocabulary in the nominative case, then indicate where that word may be found (in its various grammatical forms) in the poems.

²*claustra pandite ianuae*, 61.76; *limen*, 61.160; *forem*, 61.161; *aspice intus*, 61.164; *cubile adeat viri*, 61.176; *thalamo*, 61.185; *claudite ostia*, 61.224.

On the surface, therefore, various elements of the Roman wedding combine to paint a bright picture of the marriage of Manlius and Iunia. But other allusions cast some fleeting clouds over the scene. The initial invocation to Hymen contains two references to the seizure (*rapis*, 61.3; *dedis*, 61.58) of the bride from her mother, specifically from her mother's *gremium* (61.58). This allusion, though traditional, establishes a tension in the poem which increases as the poem progresses; this occurs because poem 61 focuses more on the bride than on the groom.

The security provided by marriage is not so easily appreciated by the bride. When she first appears, she is hesitating (61.79), fearful that she may not be able to keep her husband faithful (a situation already subtly suggested by the Venus/Paris simile at 61.16-20). The poet must constantly encourage her by praising her beauty (61.82-91) and assuring her that her husband will not wander (61.97-106). When the groom appears (61.114-43), the Fescennine jesting at the supposed expense of the *concupinus* cannot hide more hints of the groom's sinful past and potential infidelity. The sympathetic treatment of the slave is another warning to the bride that this groom can cause unhappiness in a relationship. The bride, therefore, is urged to take a more active role in this marriage to ensure that it remain a happy one (61.144-53). With the tensions apparently assuaged, the wedding takes place: the bride and groom consummate their marriage and the poet imagines the birth of a little Torquatus to maintain the traditional security of the family and the *domus*.

Love has triumphed; but the allusions to love in the poem remain ambiguous. It is primarily a happy, almost sporting, activity practised specifically by the lovers (*ludi*, 61.203; *ludite*, 61.204) and indirectly by the poet (*lusimus satis*, 61.225). However, the *concupinus* also plays at love (*satis diu / lusisti nucibus*, 61.125-26) and his experience is not a happy one (*desertum domini audiens / concupinus amorem*, 61.122-23).

The intensity of love greatly affects the emotions. It is a flame which burns in the groom's heart (*pectus*, 61.170); it binds the bride's mind (*mens*, 61.33). The influence of Venus is ambiguous: she first appears in a simile which subtly suggests marital breakdown (61.16-20) but later assists the groom in his intense love for the bride (61.189-98). More pronounced in the poem is the subtle presence of Cupid, who influences the love of the bride (*coniugis cupidam novi*, 61.32) and groom (*te timens cupida novos / captat aure maritus*, 61.54-55) for each another.

While the tensions in poem 61 are real, they are also resolved at the end. The bride has come forth; the groom has given up his past exploits. The initial violent act of tearing the bride from her mother's lap is replaced with the happy scene of little Torquatus stretching forth his hands from the bride's, his mother's, lap (*matris e gremio suae*, 61.210). The doors close on a house that is secure. The clouds have disappeared; but the reader cannot forget that they did appear.

Poem 62, also a marriage-poem, follows easily on poem 61. But the underlying tensions of the first poem rise to the surface here, primarily

due to its amoebaeian structure. The essence of poem 62 is open conflict. In poem 61, all participants in the marriage are more or less on side;³ in poem 62, the bride stands alone against the groom (*vir*, 62.28, 58) and her parents (*parentes*, 62.28, 62), especially her father (62.58, 63) but also her mother (62.63). To the girls, the gods, especially Venus, are hostile (62.20, 32). The emphasis on the legal marriage-contract creates more tension in the poem, since it stands as an impersonal, almost predestined, plan for the bride in direct contrast to her emotional feelings as presented by the girls. The boys try to become sensitive to their concerns (62.29), but in the end the solidarity of the parents and groom remains steadfast against the bride: the girls are reduced to silence.

Even though the boys win the contest, the poet directs the reader to sympathize with the girls, since their imagery is more intense. As in poem 61, the youth and innocence of the bride are stressed (*virgo*, 62.4, 45, 56, 59; *virginitas*, 62.62; *puella*, 62.23). But these qualities are presented not as a natural prerequisite for marriage (as in poem 61) but as an essential element for the maintenance of the non-marital status of the bride. The concept of the violent seizure from the mother's lap in poem 61 becomes a theme with variations in poem 62. To the girls, the bride must remain with her mother (62.21-24) or her companions (62.32, 39-47) in perpetual innocence. It is for this reason that the girls direct their minds (*mens*, 62.14) to the task of defeating the boys.

³The gods and the father give their blessing; the groom, with some prodding, gives up his wayward life; the bride, while at first hesitant, fulfils her duties to her husband and family.

Due to their lack of preparation (*mens*, 62.15; *animus*, 62.17) the boys require three stanzas to overcome the girls' arguments. The girls' final image of the protected flower is a strong one; but the boys' counter-image of the wedded vine is more realistic and effective. They eventually succeed in pointing out that the girls' view of perpetual virginity is unnatural. The poem ends with the happy analogy between the union of the vine to the tree (*ulmo coniuncta marito*, 62.54) and the bride to the groom (*coniuge*, 62.59). Even though the boys undercut their "emotional" appeal to the bride with their legalistic concluding remarks on the marriage-contract, the conflicts in this poem are in fact resolved, on the surface at least, and the marriage presumably takes place.

An aspect of marriage that does not appear in poem 61 is added in poem 62: the element of choice. The hesitant bride of poem 61 does not debate with herself whether she is right in choosing marriage; her hesitation is based not on matters of principle but on fear. In poem 62, the girls stress that there is a clear choice (*optavere*, 62.42, 44) between a life of perpetual virginity and marriage. The boys assume that the girls would automatically choose marriage (*quid...optatius*, 62.31), and illustrate their views from nature. But the boys' legalistic coda to this poem states clearly that such a choice does not really exist (*virginitas non tota tua est*, 62.62).

In poem 62, therefore, the view that marriage is a natural or simple matter is challenged even more strongly than in poem 61. The clouds that may potentially affect a marriage (poem 61) become darker in poem 62. They may eventually be scattered in fact, but they remain in the

mind through the recollection of the girls' poignant imagery. A marriage that is willingly consummated (poem 61) or one that is legally constituted (poem 62) may not always be free of conflict.

Poem 63 seems to create a break in the progress of the cycle. But the gradual march from the portrayal of a "specific" wedding (poem 61) to a more general one (poem 62) makes the plunge into mythology (poem 63) seem at least to be following a consistent direction, especially since the relationship between Attis and Cybele is presented in terms of a marriage.

In one sense, poem 63 reflects both previous poems. Its first part recalls the joyous marriage between Manlius and Iunia, as Attis rushes to Cybele's shrine, annoyed at the hesitation of the Gallae. Its second part recalls the girls' reluctance about changing the status quo (as Attis longs for his past life) in the face of the boys' insistence on the legal requirements of a relationship (as Cybele ensures that Attis fulfils his duties to her). But even this superficial comparison reveals the complex nature of poem 63: many elements, not the least of which is Attis' sexuality, are in conflict or reversed from the norm.⁴

The gradual increase in emotionalism seen in poems 61 and 62 continues in poem 63.⁵ The effect of Attis' conflict on his heart and mind is

⁴The girls wish to retain their virginity; Attis longs to return to a life of loving. The girls are in conflict with the boys; Attis is both male and female, coming to Cybele as both groom and bride; he stands in conflict with himself (hating his female condition and longing for his maleness) and with Cybele (desiring her in his madness, repulsed by her in his sanity).

⁵There are eight references to the sites of Attis' emotions (*pectus*, 63.45; *mens*, 63.46; *animus/anima*, 63.4, 31, 38, 47, 57, 61) and three to those of Cybele (*animus*, 63.18), the Gallae (*mens*, 63.19), and even the lion (*animus*, 63.85).

stressed; but it is the concentration on the male/female relationship, in an unusual but recognizable marriage context, that is the essence of this poem. Attis' status as *notha mulier* creates interesting parallels to the brides in poems 61 and 62. In his madness, he calls Cybele his mother (*mater*, 63.9) and rushes to establish himself forever at her side; in this he epitomizes the girls' views in poem 62. Yet in his sanity, he laments his separation from his mother/fatherland (*patria o mei creatrix, patria o mea genetrix*, 63.50); in this he recalls the violent separation of the bride from her mother's lap or embrace (61.3, 58; 62.21-22).

Attis' condition as *notha mulier* throughout most of poem 63 serves primarily to underscore the importance of his maleness to him. In his madness, he cuts off his maleness (*sine viro*, 63.6); later he regrets this act (*ego vir sterilis ero?* 63.69), because it prevents his returning to his former amorous lifestyle (63.65-67). This is evident in his maddened rush as a proud *vir sine viro* to his *domina* Cybele (63.13) compared to his final, imposed role as her emasculated *famula* (63.68, 90).

This represents a complex reversal of the norm where the *domina* comes to the house of the groom (*domum dominam voca*, 61.31). The role of the *domus* therefore has become perverted. In his madness, Attis rushes to Cybele's *domus* as *vir sine viro*, tantamount to a bride rushing to her new home (63.20, 35). In his sanity, he leaves that house, recognizing it to be the antithesis of what the *domus* should represent, and looks back across the seas to his former *domus* where he engaged in positive, generative love (63.58, 66). What was, in the previous poems, the symbol

of the security and maintenance of the family becomes the source of a violence which, in Attis' mind, actually prevents the maintenance of the family through the loss of his reproductive function.

The roles of the gods, primarily Cybele, but also Cupid (*cupidus*, 63.2), are negative here. Marriage, in its perverted form, still unites its partners; but its sexual love is now a *iugum*, a yoke, from which the maddened Attis first wishes to escape (63.33) and which later he must involuntarily accept from the vengeful Cybele (63.76, 84). Like the bride in poem 62, he has no choice in the marriage. He is, therefore, a *coniunx*, but one whose sexuality and emotional and mental hostility render him completely antithetical to the union.

The cycle has progressed from the ideal marriage (with only subtle tensions) to a perverted and imposed union between emasculated husband and vengeful *domina*. It is significant, therefore, that the *vox poetae* appears dramatically at the conclusion of poem 63, in an attempt to counter the negative allusions that have been accumulating. He concentrates on the important symbols of marriage (*domina*, 63.91; *domus*, 63.92) and acknowledges the power of the emotions (*furor*, 63.92; *incitatos...rabidos*, 63.93) in creating conflicts within relationships. His apotropaic prayer relates specifically to Cybele; but it represents in fact a general concern, born from positive and negative aspects presented in all three initial poems in the cycle, about the chances of any relationship to succeed.

Poem 64 continues the mythological themes; while its bright beginning dispels the gloom of poem 63, it ends in the bleakest darkness of

the cycle, as even the gods shun the light of day. As the central and longest poem, it displays the most complex interweaving of themes between its inner and outer stories; by doing so, it continues to develop the ideas in the previous poems, both positive (poems 61 and 62) and negative (poem 63).

The marriage of Peleus and Thetis is couched in imagery that underscores its loving and legitimate nature. Their union (*iugandum*, 64.21) is sanctioned by Thetis' father (*pater*, 64.21) and Jupiter himself (*genitor*, 64.27; *pater*, 64.298), who arrives with his own wife (*sancta cum coniuge*, 64.298).⁶ The absence of Apollo and Artemis (*nec Thetidis taedas voluit celebrare iugalis*, 64.302) creates a problem, but this is apparently overcome by the emphasis in the Song of the Parcae on the marital unity of the wedding couple.⁷ By contrast, Ariadne complains that Theseus merely promised legitimate marriage (64.141); she cynically calls him her *coniunx* (64.182), which is echoed by the poet (64.123), and condemns all men (*vir*, 64.143-44, 192). The sanction of the *patres* Nereus and Jupiter is countered by the tragedies which befall Theseus' father, Aegeus (*parens*, 64.159, 210; *pater*, 64.241; *paterna*, 64.246) and Ariadne in her relationship with her father (*pater*, 64.132, 180; *genitor*, 64.117) because of the breakdown of the affair.⁸

⁶Cf. the sanction of Hymen and Venus in poem 61 and the legal contract drawn up by the groom and the bride's father in poem 62.

⁷Thetis and Peleus are described as *coniuges* respectively in 64.329 and 373; they will be joined (*coniungere*) by Hesperus (64.331), Amor (64.335) and the Parcae themselves (64.372). Even the ship which allowed them to fall in love represents a union (*pineae coniungens inflexae texta carinae*, 64.10).

⁸Cf. Attis' devastating separation from his mother/fatherland in poem 63.

The innocence and youthfulness of the women in the cycle continue to be emphasized in poem 64; this creates great sympathy for their tragic experiences in love.⁹ As before, this aspect is coupled with the security provided by the mother. Ariadne is torn from her mother's embrace (64.88, 118); Thetis gives some anxious moments to her mother (64.379); and Achilles gives cause for all Trojan mothers to weep for their lost children (64.348-51).

The prime symbol of that security, the house, receives its fullest treatment in poem 64.¹⁰ The mortal guests leave their homes for the nuptials (*domus*, 64.36). The site of the wedding is changed by the poet from Chiron's cave to Peleus' palace (*domus*, 64.32, 46, 284, 344; *tecta*, 64.37, 276; *sedes*, 64.43, 48, 292). The supposedly happy *domus* of Peleus, parallel to the *domus* of Manlius and Iunia and the couple in poem 62, provides a contrast to the devastated homes of Ariadne (*sedes*, 64.85, 176; *tecta*, 64.115, 184) and Theseus (*domus*, 64.135, 246, 160, 229; *tecta*, 64.246), and the destruction of Attis' home and his forced entry into the *domus Cybebes*.

Like the references to the *domus*, allusions to the emotions abound in poem 64. The joy experienced by Peleus and Thetis (*animus*, 64.372; *mens*, 64.330) is outweighed by the agonies experienced by

⁹*virgo*, of Ariadne, 64.86; of Polyxena, 64.364; and even of avenging Nemesis, 64.395; *puella*, of Ariadne, 64.97; and of Thetis, 64.379.

¹⁰*domus* and cognates *sedes* and *tecta* occur twenty-one times in poem 64.

Ariadne,¹¹ Theseus,¹² and Aegeus.¹³ These joys and sorrows are caused directly or indirectly by Cupid. Under his influence, the wedding guests look longingly at the coverlet (*cupide*, 64.267), the uninitiated wish to see the sacred rites of the Maenads (*cupiunt*, 64.260), Theseus desires to fight the Minotaur (*cupiens*, 64.101) and Thetis comes to Peleus (*cupidus*, 64.374). But Cupid also makes Ariadne fall in love with Theseus (*cupidus*, 64.86). The result of that tragic relationship is a general condemnation of all man's covetousness (*cupiens*, 64.145; *cupidus*, 64.147). Especially now, Cupid, along with Venus, is the cause of love-pains (*cura*, 64.62, 72, 95, 250) which destroy the secure life Ariadne had in Crete and hoped to have with Theseus.

Finally, poem 64 reinforces the concept of choice (*opto*), first seen in poem 62 and dramatized in poem 63. Typically in poem 64, it has both a positive and negative connotation. Peleus meets Thetis because the Argonauts choose (*optantes*, 64.5) to sail after the Golden Fleece. The wedding day itself is as special (*optatae...lucis*, 64.31) as the love of Peleus and Thetis (*optatos...amores*, 64.372); Venus (Hesperus) brings choice gifts (*optata*, 64.328). This positive portrayal of marriage seems typical of the age of heroes (*optato...tempore*, 64.22). As an illustration of this heroic age, the coverlet shows Theseus choosing (*optavit*, 64.82) to

¹¹*animus*, 64.70, 250; *cor*, 64.54, 94, 99, 124; *mens*, 64.70, 97, 200; *pectus*, 64.69, 72, 125, 198, 202. The reference to *pectus* in 64.64 is literal, but the clothing falling from her breast is symbolic of her inner turmoil.

¹²*animus*, 64.145; *cor*, 64.158, 231; *mens*, 64.136, 147, 201, 207, 209, 238, 248; *pectus*, 64.123, 138, 208.

¹³*mens*, 64.223, 226, 236; *pectus*, 64.221. Other characters also contribute to the emphasis on the emotions: Prometheus (*cor*, 64.294), the Maenads (*mens*, 64.254), Achilles (*pectus*, 64.339), the mourning Trojan mothers (*pectus*, 64.351), the Parcae (*pectus*, 64.383).

end the cruel domination of Crete. Tragically, his voyage results in deception: Ariadne chooses (*praeoptarit*, 64.120) to put Theseus above her family, because he indicated to her that he too chose to marry her (*optatos hymenaeos*, 64.141).

But the darkness of the inner story colours the brightness of the outer one. Choices can produce positive or negative results. The wedding of Peleus and Thetis takes place; but subtle hints of conflict within the marriage, and the final portrait of the destructive Achilles, result in a second appearance of the *vox poetae*: a bitter summary of the many themes in this first part of the cycle. The gods used to dwell among mortals, but no more. Parents, once respected, and children, once so innocent in their youth, now engage in disgraceful acts which break down the sanctity of the family: brothers spill fraternal blood, the son ceases to mourn for his parents, the father longs for (*optavit*, 64.401) the death of his son to engage in a disgraceful parody of marriage, and the mother mates with her son. The home, at one time the symbol of security and happiness (*domos...castas*, 64.384), is abandoned by the gods. Justice flees from the lustful minds (*cupida de mente*, 64.398) of mankind (*nobis mentem avertere deorum*, 64.406).

Everything is in upheaval (*omnia fanda nefanda malo permixta furore*, 64.405). No marriage, no relationship is certain, whether chosen or imposed, loving or destructive, divine or mortal, real or mythological. The poet's former views on love and marriage have been destroyed utterly. He is now ready to reforge the metal into a different, but stronger substance.

The *vox poetae* continues to speak at the beginning of Poem 65, maintaining the mood of poem 64. But there is need for a rest, for a regrouping of the themes and emotions. The shortest poem in the cycle epitomizes *cura*, the pain that come from love in all its aspects. The agony of Ariadne is soon matched by the poet's agony, apparently over love, but also, as is soon revealed, over his brother's death. The poet's quiet, personal suffering is emotional (*mens animi*, 65.4; *animo* 65.18) as was the loud, public suffering of Ariadne.

With poem 65, the poet begins to rework his material. Mention of his *cura* in conjunction with *virgines* (65.1-2) suggests the continuation of the marital themes; but these maidens are the Muses and his grief hinders primarily his writing, not his loving. Like poem 61, poem 65 is the most "real" of the poems so far in the cycle, with Hortalus replacing Manlius and Iunia as the actual people around whom the poem is moulded; yet the poem is not without its mythological element (Procne and Itylus). Finally, the theme of love appears: the learned maidens (*doctis...virginibus*, 65.2) are replaced by the youthful girl with a secret (*virginis*, 65.20). The familiar image of the *gremium* (65.20) makes the connection between this transitional poem and the first part of the cycle complete.

Reality, mythology, love and relationships are woven into a concise and restrained poetic utterance that looks both backward and forward in the cycle. In a short space of time, the devastation of poem 64 has been checked: the poet's personal grief has been overcome and he finds the ability to write once again.

The approach taken in the first part of the cycle is a gradual decline from bright, positive love to dark, negative love. These two extremes are the subjects of the two poems which follow poem 65. Catullus, therefore, has chosen to take a different approach in the second part of the cycle, not a general ascent from negative to positive, but a stark contrast between two polarities.

In portraying the ideal marriage of Berenice and Ptolemy, poem 66 recalls most of the imagery from the first part of the cycle, "rehabilitating" those images that became tarnished. The couple are portrayed as youthful bride and groom (*virgo*, 66.26, 77; *virgineus*, 66.14; *vir*, 66.20, 29); Berenice's youth especially finds a parallel among the divinities (*virgo*, 66.65, of the constellation; *Ramnusia virgo*, 66.71, of Nemesis). There is a natural emphasis on the unity of this marriage (*coniugium*, 66.28), mirrored in Berenice's prayer for her dear husband (*pro dulci coniuge*, 66.33). The happiness and positive qualities of this union are reflected in other marriages (*unanimis...coniugibus*, 66.80) and even reach the heavens (*Callisto iuncta Lycaoniae*, 66.66). For the first time since poem 63, the word *domina* is used (66.76), representing not the vicious Cybele but the loving wife. The concerns of the parents over the fake tears of brides are ridiculed by the Lock (66.15) because Berenice provides such a strong positive example compared with Thetis (64.376-80) or the brides in poems 61 and 62. Once more, the house (*sedes*, 66.88) becomes the symbol of security and continuity.

As a mark of this happy marriage, the Lock is placed in the very lap of the goddess of love (*me.../...Veneris casto collocat in gremio*, 66.55-56), matching the image of the apple in poem 65 and the portrait of little Torquatus in poem 61, and countering the seizures of previous brides from the laps or embraces of their mothers (the brides in poems 61 and 62, Attis from his father/motherland in poem 63 and Ariadne in poem 64). The scene also rehabilitates Venus' ambiguous character from previous poems.

There are some dark elements in poem 66. Berenice worries about Ptolemy's welfare during the Syrian expedition (*cura*, 66.23; *pectus*, 66.24; *mens*, 66.25); but unlike the *curae* of Ariadne, Berenice's sorrows are alleviated, not by any curse on a deceitful and cowardly groom, but by the fulfilment of a holy vow for the safe return of a loving and brave husband. Poem 66 closes with another instance of those who choose a positive marriage (*vos, optato quas iunxit lumine taeda*, 66.79), once again countering the many negative references to such a marriage in poem 64.

In a remarkable tour de force, Catullus has adapted a poem with an independent existence to stand in the cycle as the strongest and most positive example of the ideal marriage.

To illustrate the opposite extreme, Catullus next presents the humorous, racy and scandal-ridden poem 67. Just as the reader is beginning to believe that positive marriages and relationships can take place, poem 67 completely reverses the trend; the freshly rehabilitated images are once again tarnished, if not utterly destroyed. The innocent

bride (*virgo*, 67.19; *virgineam*, 67.28) belies her name; the number of husbands in the poem is kept purposely obscure (*vir*, 67.1, 20); and even the husband described specifically cannot fulfil his marital duties. The father (*parens*, 67.1, 29; *pater*, 67.23), far from merely worrying about his children providing an heir (poems 61, 62, 63) or reacting tragically to his children's misfortune (Aegeus in poem 64), takes matters into his own hand, disgracefully befouling one of the most positive symbols in the cycle (*ipse sui gnati minxerit in gremium*, 67.30).

In s most brilliant creative move, Catullus replaces the traditional *domina* with the *ianua*, which leads naturally to a complete annihilation of the house as the symbol of the secure and happy marriage. The once respectable house (*sedes*, 67.4) is ruined (*miseram conscelerasse domum*, 67.24) because of the "open door" character of the new *domina* (*tantum operire soles aut aperire domum*, 67.40). Equally significant are those themes that are missing from poem 67. There are no references to marital union (*coniugium*, *coniunx*) or the protagonists' emotional upheavals (*pectus*, *cor*, *animus*, *cura*) except for the impious lusts of the father (*impia mens caeco flagrabat amore*, 67.25). None of the marriages or scandals are longed-for or chosen for their respectability (*opto*).

At first glance, it may be assumed that this negative view of marriage and relationships is designed by the poet to parallel the tragedy of Ariadne. But the humour, playfulness, and fantastic incredibility of the poem suggests that the poet has, in some sense, reached a conclusion at this point of the cycle. If love can be devastatingly negative (as outlined in

the gradual descent from light to darkness through poems 61 to 64) or ideally and, therefore, unattainably positive (poem 66), one must simply accept the facts of life and make the best of them or, at the very least, laugh at them (poem 67).

Poem 67 stands as the final segment of a complex, interlocking chain: it requires only the final link to unite the disparate segments into a unified circle. Poem 68 concludes and summarizes the cycle by replaying in miniature the progression of the previous poems, and by recalling and defining for the last time the cycle's major themes.

The opening of poem 68 takes the reader back to poem 65 and the darkest moment in the cycle. The real suffering of the correspondent (*mens*, 68.8) is soon surpassed by the greater suffering of the poet (*mens*, 68.25, 37; *animus*, 68.26, 38). Grief over his brother's death, coupled with his love-sickness (*cura*, 68.18), once again hinders his ability to love and to write: *multa satis lusi* (68.17).¹⁴ Symbolic of this devastation is the poet's house, now buried, like his brother (*sepulta domus*, 68.22; *domus /...sedes*, 68.33-34).

But devotion to his friend once more enables him to overcome his personal torments and he launches forth into a lengthy poem whose omphalos structure in many ways parallels the structure of the cycle as a whole. The sudden brightness that bursts forth between 68.40 and 68.41 matches and surpasses the transition from poems 65 to 66. It also recalls

¹⁴This is the first time since poem 61 that *ludo* has been used. Cf. 61.126, 203, 204, 225.

poem 61 with its emphasis on a happy, if subtly tense, relationship. His brother's grief is temporarily forgotten as he dwells on how his friend helped him overcome his love-sickness (*cura*, 68.51).

Like the house in poem 61, Allius' house (*domus*, 68.68) provides the poet with a secure place to engage in his love. Carried away by the remembrance of past joys, he thinks of his beloved as his goddess-bride (*domina*, 68.68; *candida diva*, 68.70). This brings to his mind the myth of Laodamia coming to Protesilaus' house (*domus*, 68.74). The legality of their marriage is stressed (*vir*, 68.80; *coniunx*, 68.73, 81; *coniugium*, 68.84, 107). But the tensions clearly evident in the myth (*domum / inceptam frustra*, 68.74-75; the incomplete sacrifice) seem to escape the poet's consciousness, for he does not see the negative implications of the comparison for his own relationship. In a few lines, Laodamia's marriage is destroyed at Troy (68.89-90); the poem has progressed from its joyous beginning (68.41) to darkest despair (*Troia virum et virtutum omnium acerba cinis*, 68.90), parallel to the development in poems 61 to 64.

As in poem 65, his brother's death becomes the focus of the poet's troubled thoughts, and his house is buried a second time (*sepulta domus*, 68.94). As before, however, he is able to recover and returns to the Laodamia myth. The imagery is at first more bitter (a specific references to Paris' enjoyment of Helen) and the similarities between Laodamia's situation (*vita dulcius atque anima / coniugium*, 68.106-7) and the poet's (*tuus in vita dulcis alebat amor*, 68.96) are presented more

accurately. The mythological *exemplum* of Hercules gradually turns the poem in a more positive direction. Hercules overcame death to win a goddess-bride (*virginitas*, 68.116): so did Laodamia learn to endure the yoke (*iugum*, 68.118) of her marriage. Laodamia's deep love for her husband (*vir*, 68.130) lost in war (ironically parallel to Berenice's joy at Ptolemy's return from war in poem 66) is compared to the joy of the parent (*parens*, 68.119) for a late-born heir (reminiscent of poem 61) and contrasted with the passions of the doves (subtly reminiscent of poem 67).

The poet's fantasy about his goddess-bride is given one last poetic reflection, as Cupid himself, now laying aside his negative influence and seemingly fulfilling Hymen's role as *coniugator boni amoris*, gives his blessing to the poet and his beloved, now lying in his *gremium* (68.132). With playful humour, the poet accepts his beloved's faults (*furta*, 68.136), since they are rare, and cites one last *exemplum*: Juno too endures the faults (*furta*, 68.140) of her husband (*coniunx*, 68.139).

His brother's death and the complex examination of love and marriage from the rest of the cycle now compel the poet to look at his beloved in the bright light of reality. Like Attis and Ariadne, but unlike the brides in poems 61 and 62, his beloved comes to him without the legal and spiritual consent of her father (*nec...dextra deducta paterna*, 68.143). Like the actors in poem 67 (whose past and present affairs become a source of gossip for a garrulous door), but unlike the groom in poem 61 (who eventually gives up his affairs) and Berenice in poem 66 (whose deified

lock bears witness to her fidelity), the poet's beloved comes to him *ipsius ex ipso...viri gremio* (68.146).

The poetic offering to his correspondent is finished. Through the magic of poetry, his friend's shipwrecked life is restored and he is reconciled with his wife (*domina*, 68.156). The poet thanks him again for the house in which he and his beloved shared their passionate love (*domus...in qua lusimus*, 68.156). The house, once the symbol of the security of a lawful marriage, is now symbolic of the happiness of a relationship that simply is what it is and nothing more or less. But the magic of the poet's own artistry has also enabled him to be reconciled with the world. The death of his brother once removed the light from his life (*iucundum lumen ademptum*, 68.93) and destroyed his world, his *domus*. But his beloved, even with her faults, is his new light (*lux mea*, 68.160) which enables him to live again.

The poet, along with the reader, has come full circle. The end of poem 68 recalls the end of poem 61. The type of happiness enjoyed by Manlius and Iunia in their marriage is shared by the poet in his new-found realization of the complex nature of love.

Appendix A

The Names of the Wedding Couple in Poem 61

Apart from the naming of the wedding couple at 61.16, the text gives very few additional details about the individuals themselves. Therefore, any conclusions about these people can only be conjectural.

The bride is called Iunia, although some manuscripts have Iullia or Vinia;¹ she is later called Aurunculeia (61.82). Some critics attempt to address the fact that the bride seems to have two family names by assuming some form of adoption from the *gens* Aurunculeia to the *gens* Iulia (or Iunia or Vinia). For this reason, Neudling suggests she may have come from Asculum, and that, like the groom's father, the younger Torquatus found his wife outside his normal social circle.²

If the bride possessed an obscure name and origin, this may have caused Catullus a technical problem in this epithalamium, since words of praise for the wedding couple, especially the bride, were a tradition of epithalamia.³ As Wheeler remarks: "Catullus can dwell on the ancient name of Manlius Torquatus, but the comparatively unknown family of the bride afforded him no such opportunity; his praise of Vinia (apart from her beauty) is couched in rather general terms."⁴

¹Vinia is preferred by C. L. Neudling, *A Prosopography to Catullus* (Oxford: Iowa Stud. in Class. Philol. No. 12, 1955), 185.

²Ibid. He goes on to concur with Ronald Syme's conjecture of Vibia, confirming an Italian, rather than Roman, name. See also Quinn, *The Poems*, 265.

³Wheeler, "Epithalamium," 212.

⁴Ibid., 213. Ellis, Fordyce, and Forsyth make no definitive statements about her.

These conjectures would not have concerned Catullus' audience, since the bride's name would presumably have been clear in their text. For the poet, however, there were more important matters to consider: he had to decide if her real identity was to be an important element of this poem. If her name did indicate a rather obscure family, it may be that that family was recognizable to Catullus' inner circle but perhaps not to a wider audience. If, therefore, it was important to Catullus that she be identified in the poem, it seems logical that he would have included additional information to help in the identification of the bride. If she were well-known, additional information would not strictly be necessary; but in those poems where other individuals are fairly easily recognizable, usually additional information is added to confirm the identification.⁵ Whether the bride's family was obscure or well-known to the wider Roman audience, it is clear that no additional information is given in poem 61 to aid in identifying her. One must therefore assume that her purpose in this poem is simply to represent the bride in a wedding-hymn, not as a real-life bride in a real wedding ceremony.

Is it safe to assume, therefore, that the poet felt the same way about the groom? The first mention of his name at 61.16 gives only *Manlio*. This is the form that is most generally accepted by the critics, although the archetype Veronese manuscript also suggests *Mallio*,⁶ a reading retained

⁵Cf., among others, poems 1, 11, 12, 35, 49, 79, 95, 113.

⁶Since this reading derives from the earliest manuscript (now lost), the summary rejection of it by most critics seems strange to me. Of course, this has great bearing on the disputed names in poem 68. If Catullus intended Mallius as the subject of both poems 61 and 68, then a unified cycle of eight poems would be obvious.

only by Ellis.⁷ But he also reminds us via Schwabe that Catullus has treated the groom's lineage as he did the bride's, giving us "no data whatever for framing a personal history either of the bride or bridegroom." I agree with this view. Whether our groom is Manlius or Mallius, he is certainly a Torquatus (61.209). Other than that, the poet has given no more specific information.⁸ This fact may also warn the reader from the outset against forcing autobiographical interpretations on this poem and the others in this cycle, unless more concrete information is provided by the poet.

⁷Ellis, *Commentary*, 214.

⁸Those critics who identify the groom with L. Manlius Torquatus, praetor of 49 (Fordyce, *Commentary*, 237; Quinn, *The Poems*, 265; Forsyth, *The Poems*, 296; Arkins, *Sexuality*, 119) are probably correct. Neudling, *Prosopography*, 119, gives an interesting discussion of the evidence in poem 61 to suggest that the praetor of 49 is the subject of the poem: a) the family name was in danger of extinction, thereby prompting Catullus to stress the possibility of children from this union (although, as we have seen, this was an important part of the epithalamium tradition); b) the family was wealthy; c) the bride was very young (evident from the use of diminutives throughout the poem in reference to the bride); d) the hymn was designed to be led by the poet himself (although most critics suggest that poem 61 does not represent a real wedding-hymn); e) Manlius followed his father's example by marrying outside the social group (identifying the bride as coming from Asculum).

Neudling also mentions that Torquatus gained membership in the *collegium XVvirorum* around 62 or 61 B.C. This *collegium* was dedicated to Apollo and Diana. If poem 61 appeared around 60 B.C., in honour of Torquatus who had recently become a member of that *collegium*, would it not seem suitable for Catullus to write the poem in the same metre that he had used for only one other poem in the collection: the hymn to Diana (poem 34)? This would certainly be another subtle hint that the praetor of 49 was the subject of poem 61.

The fact that Torquatus may have been influenced by Philodemus' school (Neudling, *Prosopography*, 123) may also have inspired Catullus to choose Torquatus for the groom in poem 61, the first of a large group of "new poems." Pliny (*Ep.* 5.3) mentions that Torquatus wrote occasional verse like others in the circle of Catullus. However, these apparent aspects of Torquatus' life are still very general, and, while they do serve to identify the groom with the praetor of 49, they do nothing to influence the significance of this poem. If Catullus' friend, the future praetor, was to marry at the end of the 60's B.C., such a happy occasion could easily serve as the real-life incident on which the poet could create an abstract wedding-hymn. The names of two real-life individuals may be mentioned in the poem, but that fact alone does not give the poem autobiographical significance.

Appendix B

Positive and Negative Aspects of *domina*

The word *domina* can have positive and negative connotations. In the positive sense, the word designates nothing more than a custodial function which is exercised for the mutual benefit of the two parties. Horace calls Rome the "mistress of Italy" in a panegyric of Augustus (*o tutela praesens / Italiae dominaeque Romae, Odes 4.14.43-44*). He also lovingly refers to the male owner of an estate as the "master of the trees" (*dominum, Odes 2.24*) in his poem reflecting on the nature of death. These examples reflect in broader terms the same traditional relationship between the *domina* of a household and her husband. There is an implied feeling of mutual respect and love within the arrangement. Just as the wife is the mistress in her home, so is Rome the mistress of Italy and the land-owner the master of his domain.

Within the *corpus Catullianum*, the three examples of *domina* that occur before the eight long poems reflect this traditional, positive meaning. Two of the examples refer to goddesses. Diana is the "mistress of mountains, green forests, hidden woodlands and sounding streams" (34.9-12). In the following poem, Cybele is the "mistress of Dindymus" (*Dindymi dominam, 35.14*). In these two references, the poet means nothing more than that the goddess is the overseer of her particular domain. Each will take care of her own *domus* just as the human *domina* will attend to her new home as part of the marriage arrangement.

In the third example in the lyric poems, Lesbia is the *domina* of her pet sparrow (3.8-10). This example seems no different from the previous ones: the sparrow, like the house or garden, needs a custodian and Lesbia fulfils this function. But the poem is symbolic of a more traditional relationship (albeit only hoped-for) between the poet and Lesbia, one not of marriage but of an extra-marital affair. In this situation, it is the woman who is the dominant force. The poet wishes that he could take the place of the sparrow, that Lesbia could become his *domina*. While the poet may think that their relationship would then be one of mutual respect, the subtle significance of the sparrow/*domina* pairing suggests otherwise. Like the garden or a house, the sparrow is unable to take care of itself and needs the nurturing control of his mistress. Hence *domina* assumes a more negative connotation: a woman who can exercise total control over those things or individuals placed in her care, be they her sparrow or her lover.¹

The tyrannical power of the woman in a love relationship is the traditional theme of the later elegists. In Ovid, the male lover is frequently portrayed as being completely in the power of the girl's love. He is a prisoner of love in *Amores* 1.2:

en ego confiteor! tua sum nova praeda, Cupido:
porrigimus victas ad tua iura manus.

(*Amores* 1.2.19-20)

and in *Amores* 1.3:

¹Even those poems to Diana and Cybele may contain subtle hints of negative domination: they are, after all, goddesses who can wield superhuman power, sometimes to the hurt and destruction of mortals (cf. myth of Actaeon and poem 63).

iusta precor: quae me nuper praedata puella est,
aut amet aut faciat, cur ego semper amem!

(*Amores* 1.3.1-2)

So well-established is this portrayal of the female-dominated relationship in elegy that when it is reversed, the poet feels justified in boasting about it:

haec est praecipuo victoria digna triumpho,
in qua, quaecumque est, sanguine praeda caret.
non humiles muri, non parvis oppida fossis
cincta, sed est ductu capta puella meo!

(*Amores* 2.12.5-8)

Of special significance is the recurring military imagery (*victoria*, *triumpho*, *humiles muri*, *parvis oppida fossis cincta*) and imagery of capture (*victas*, *capta*) and booty (*praeda*, *praedata*). The male lover is almost always the defeated victim in this military metaphor.

Such a harsh view of love is also found in Catullus. He must force himself to stand firm as his relationship with Lesbia deteriorates:

miser Catulle, desinas ineptire,
et quod vides perisse perditum ducas.
fulsere quondam candidi tibi soles,
cum ventitabas quo puella ducebat
amata nobis quantum amabitur nulla.

...
nunc iam illa non volt: tu quoque inpote[ns noli],
nec quae fugit sectare, nec miser vive,
sed obstinata mente perfer, obdura.

(8.1-5, 9-11)

The poet is in torment when he sees Lesbia sitting by some other man (poem 51). In poem 60, the girl must be the offspring of some cruel

animal, the way she disregards the feelings of her lover. Even the casual meeting with Varus' mistress torments Catullus:

sed tu insulsa male ac molesta vivis,
per quam non licet esse neglegentem.

(10.33-34)

The portrayal of human relationships in Catullus is complex. The positive implications that the word *domina* suggests within a marital relationship seem to be in conflict with the negative portrayal of a dominant female within an extra-marital affair. This is made all the more complicated since the poet looks upon his relationship with Lesbia in marital terms.

In poem 61, these subtle vacillations between the positive and negative aspects of the relationship between Manlius and Iunia, especially within marriage context, constantly tear at the overall brightness of the poem. It is a conflict that is examined throughout the cycle.

Appendix C

Ivy and Vine Imagery

The tendency of the ivy (*hedera*) and the vine (*vitis*) to encircle other objects provides a natural image for human relationships.

The ivy (*hedera*) grows wild in nature. As such it is particularly associated with Bacchus or Dionysus,¹ and also with poets, especially when it is bound into a wreath.² Horace uses *hedera* to enhance his portrait of a girl wrapping her arms around her lover and swearing an oath of eternal love:

nox erat et caelo fulgebat luna sereno
inter minora sidera,
cum tu magnorum numen laesura deorum
in verba iurabas mea,
artius atque hedera procera adstringitur ilex,
lentis adhaerens bracchiis,
...
fore hunc amorem mutuum.

(*Epodes* 15.1-6, 10)

He describes Damalis in similar terms (*lascivis hederis ambitiosior*, *Odes* 1.36.20).

It is the unshakable tenacity of the wild ivy that is at the heart of this image; it can, therefore, easily be transferred to lovers who are

¹Ovid *Fasti* 3.767: *hedera est gratissima Baccho*.

²Ovid *Meta.* 5.338-39 (*immissos hedera collecta capillos / Calliope*); Virgil *Ecl.* 7.25 (*hedera nascentem ornate poetam*); *Ecl.* 8.12-13 (*hanc sine tempora circum / inter victrices hederam tibi serpere laurus*); Horace *Odes* 1.1.29-30 (*me doctarum hederæ præmia frontium / dis miscent superis*).

inextricably caught in each other's arms. Ovid complains of the fickleness of his girl in terms of weaving and binding imagery (*et modo blanditias dicat, modo iurgia nectat, Amores 2.9.45*). His beloved wraps her arms around him, conquering him with love (*implicuitque suos circum mea colla lacertos, Amores 2.18.9*). In Catullus 35, Caecilius is held fast and detained by a girl who has just read his incomplete poem on Cybele:

quare, si sapiet, viam vorabit,
 quamvis candida miliens puella
 euntem revocet manusque collo
 ambas iniciens roget morari:
 quae nunc, si mihi vera nuntiantur,
 illum deperit impotente amore.

(35.7-12)

The vine (*vitis*) suggests another kind of relationship. The vine is a cultivated crop, not a wild plant.³ Like the ivy, the vine clings to other things, but this is achieved primarily by the hand of man, not by nature.⁴ In order for the vine to be productive, it needs to be supported by props. In the *Georgics*, Virgil discusses the best kind of soil to produce the best vines, vines which encircle the elms to produce the best grapes:

quae tenuem exhalat nebulam fumosque volucris,
 et bibit umorem et, cum vult, ex se ipsa remittit,
 quaeque suo semper viridi se gramine vestit
 nec scabie et salsa laedit robigine ferrum,
 illa tibi laetis intexet vitibus ulmos,
 illa ferax oleo est, illam experiere colendo
 et facilem pecori et patientem vomeris unci.

(*Geor.* 2.217-23)

³Cf. Virgil *Ecl.* 1.73: *pone ordine vites*.

⁴Cf. Cicero *De Nat. Deorum* 2.47: *iam vero vites sic claviculis adminicula tamquam manibus adprehendunt atque ita se erigunt ut animantes*.

Ovid uses the image to reflect on the lack of permanence in his relationship with his mistress (*domina*):

ulmus amat vitem, vitis non deserit ulmum:
separor a domina cur ego saepe mea?

(*Amores* 2.16.41-42)

Catullus uses these two images in the long poems to develop his views of love and the relationships between man and woman.

Appendix D

The Arrival of Hymen in 61.1-75

At 61.46, the poet suggests that Hymen has finally arrived at the ceremony. This represents the culmination of a progression achieved through gradual stages of grammatical syntax. In the first section of the poem (61.1-35), imperatives are used to refer directly to the god (*cinge, cape, veni, pelle, quate, perge*) coupled with "formal" vocatives (that is, Hymen is addressed by name or periphrasis, *collis o Heliconii / cultor*, 61.1-2; *o Hymenaeae Hymen*, 61.4, rather than by the pronoun *tu*). He is envisaged as dressing for the ceremony, and the wedding itself is mentioned almost in the style of a formal invitation: *namque Iunia Manlio /...nubet* (61.16, 20). These formal invocations indicate that the god is still far away and must be summoned from his haunts (61.26-28).

In the second section (61.36-45), the reader is immediately placed in the "real" time-frame: the maiden attendants are present, ready for the ceremony, waiting only for the god's arrival. Previous imperatives directed to the god are replaced by imperatives directed to the attendants (*vosque item simul.../...dicite* (61.36, 39), so that they too may assist the poet in calling the god to the ceremony (61.38-43). The god is now mentioned in the third person (*se, suum, ferat, dux, coniugator*).

The result of the poet's summons is seen in the third section (61.46-75): the god has arrived. Now Hymen is addressed throughout in the second person: *te, tibi, tu*.

I believe Catullus is drawing upon the *Hymns* of Callimachus for much of the language he uses in these opening lines. In the hymns to Apollo, Demeter and Athena, Callimachus depicts the god as being very near the assembled company at the beginning of the hymn and as arriving by the end. In the hymn to Apollo, the god's proximity is enough to cause the laurel and the shrine to tremble; the poet even imagines the god knocking at the door with his foot. Inspired by this divine sign, the poet urges the male attendants to prepare for the ritual singing and dancing:

Οἶον ὁ τῶπόλλωνος ἐσεῖσατο δάφνινος ὄρηξ,
οἶα δ' ὄλον τὸ μέλαθρον· ἐκάς, ἐκάς ὅστις
ἄλιτρός.
καὶ δὴ πού τὰ θύρετρα καλῶ ποδὶ φοῖβος ἀράσσει·
οὐχ ὄρας; ἐπένευσεν ὁ Δῆλιος ἠδὺ τι φοῖνιξ
ἕξαπίνης, ὁ δὲ κύκνος ἐν ἥερι καλὸν αἶδει.
αὐτοῖ νῦν κατοχῆς ἀνακλίνεσθε πυλάων,
αὐταὶ δὲ κληῖδες· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς οὐκέτι μακρῆν·
οἱ δὲ νέοι μολπήν τε καὶ ἐς χορὸν ἐντύνεσθε.

(*Hymns* 2.1-8)¹

A further exhortation to the youths to sing and dance results in the arrival of the god:

ὀψόμεθ' ὦ Ἐκάργε, καὶ ἐσσόμεθ' οὔποτε λιτοί.
μήτε σιωπηλὴν κίθαριν μήτ' ἄψοφον ἴχνος
τοῦ φοῖβου τοὺς παῖδας ἔχειν ἐπιδημήσαντος,
εἰ τελέειν μέλλουσι γάμον πολιὴν τε κερεῖσθαι,
ἐστήξειν δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπ' ἀρχαίοισι θεμέλοισι.
ἠγασάμην τοὺς παῖδας, ἐπεὶ χέλυσ οὐκέτ' ἀεργός.

(*Hymns* 2.11-16)

¹Compare 61.12-14 where Hymen himself is urged to sing and dance.

In the hymn to Demeter, the goddess is envisaged as arriving symbolically as the ritual basket arrives. This procession is mentioned at the beginning of the hymn and at the end:

Τῷ καλάθῳ κατιόντος ἐπιφθέγξασθε, γυναῖκες,
"Δάματερ μέγα χαῖρε πολυτρόφε πουλυμέδιμνε."

ἄσατε παρθενικάι, καὶ ἐπιφθέγξασθε τεκοῖσαι
"Δάματερ μέγα χαῖρε πολυτρόφε πουλυμέδιμνε."

(*Hymns* 6.1-2; 118-19)

The final few lines clearly indicate the actual arrival of Demeter:

χαῖρε θεὰ καὶ τάνδε σάῳ πόλιν ἔν θ' ὁμοιοῖα
ἔν τ' εὐηπελία, φέρε δ' ἀγρόθι νόστιμα πάντα·
φέρβε βόας, φέρε μᾶλα, φέρε στάχυν, οἷσε θερισμόν,
φέρβε καὶ εἰράναν, ἴν' ὅς ἄροσε τήνος ἀμάση.
ἴλαθί μοι τρίλλιστε μέγα κρείοισα θέων.

(*Hymns* 6.134-38)

In the hymn to Athena, Callimachus paints the most vivid picture of the goddess' arrival. As in Catullus 61, female attendants are urged to prepare for the goddess' epiphany:

Ὅσσαι λωτροχόοι τᾶς Παλλάδος ἔξιτε πᾶσαι,
ἔξιτε· τᾶν ἵππων ἄρτι φρυασσομενᾶν
τᾶν ἱερᾶν ἐσάκουσα, καὶ ἅ θεὸς εὐτυχὸς ἔρπειν·
σοῦσθέ νυν, ᾧ ξανθαί, σοῦσθε Πελασγιάδες.

(*Hymns* 5.1-4)

The poet urges the goddess to come forth to greet the assembled company:

ἔξιτ' Ἀθαναία· πάρα τοι καταθύμιος ἴλα,
παρθενικαὶ μεγάλων παῖδες Ἀκεστοριδᾶν·

(*Hymns* 5.33-34)

The phrase "come forth" (ἔξιθ') occurs twice more in the hymn (lines 43, 55); by the end of the Teiresias myth, the goddess has indeed come:

ἔρχετ' Ἀθαναία νῦν ἀτρεκές· ἀλλὰ δέχεσθε
τὰν θεόν, ᾧ κῶραι τῶργον ὅσαις μέλεται,
σύν τ' εὐαγορία σύν τ' εὐγμασι σύν τ' ὀλολυγαῖς.

(*Hymns* 5.137-39)

Frequently in Callimachus, the arrival of the god is indicated by rhetorical questions. The hymn to Zeus begins in this way:

Ζηνὸς ἔοι τί κεν ἄλλο παρὰ σπονδῆσιν ἀείδειν
λῶιον ἢ θεὸν αὐτόν, αἰεὶ μέγαν, αἰὲν ἄνακτα,
Πηλαγόνων ἐλατήρα, δικασπόλον οὐρανίδησιν;

(*Hymns* 1.1-3)

Later in this hymn, after the god has arrived, the poet wonders who could sing adequately of the works of Zeus:

τεὰ δ' ἔργματα τίς κεν ἀείδοι;
οὐ γένηετ' , οὐκ ἔσται, τίς κεν Διὸς ἔργματ' ἀείσαι.

(*Hymns* 1.90-92)

The strength of Delos is expressed rhetorically:

τί δὲ στιβαρώτερον ἔρκος;
 τείχεα μὲν καὶ λᾶες ὑπαὶ ῥιπῆς κε πέσοιεν
 Στρυμονίου βορέαο· θεὸς δ' αἰὲ ἀστυφέλικτος·
 Δῆλε φίλη, τοῖός σε βοηθός ἀμφιβέβηκεν.

(*Hymns* 4.23-27)

At the end of the hymn, the honour done to the island by passing sailors is again expressed as a question:

Ἄσπεριή πολύβωμε πολύλλιτε, τίς δέ σέ'ναύτης
 ἔμπορος Αἰγαίοιο παρήλυθε νηὶ θεούση;

(*Hymns* 4.316-17)

Through similar techniques, Catullus portrays the gradual arrival of Hymen to the wedding ceremony. The images and language used in the opening lines are immediate, strong and direct: formal words of address (*collis o Heliconii cultor*), several imperatives (*cinge, cape, veni*, etc. addressed to the god and *vosque simul item...agite*, for the attendants) and expressions of excitement (*quare age, huc aditum ferens*). The interrogative *quis* (61.46) at the beginning of the encomium is startling in its indirectness. This serves to emphasize that the tripartite crescendo has reached its peak. The god has arrived and even though the poet has been anxiously awaiting such an event, he is still startled, even awed, by it.

Appendix E

The Attis Myth in Classical Authors

Of the significant references to the Attis myth in the Greek sources, the version found in Diodorus Siculus is a full one (although it deals more with Marsyas, Cybele's first love, than with Attis).¹ Cybele does fall in love with Attis, but he is killed by Cybele's parents, Meion and Dindyme, and later buried by order of Apollo out of sympathy for Cybele.

Only Pausanias (7.17.9) offers any detailed account of the Attis myth, recording two versions of the story. One version, attributed to the elegiac poet Hermesianax, makes Attis a eunuch by birth, who grows up to serve Cybele in Lydia where he is killed by a boar sent by Zeus. Pausanias' second account, attributed to "local legend" (ἐπιχώριος λόγος), is a confusing story involving the demon Agdistis who is castrated by the gods. From his castrated members grows a tree whose seeds impregnate a daughter of the river Sangarius, resulting eventually in the birth of the young Attis. When Attis grows up, Agdistis falls in love with him but his love for Attis is thwarted by the boy's impending marriage to the daughter of the King of Pessinus. Attis' madness and emasculation are caused by the angry Agdistis during the wedding ceremony. Attis' body is preserved by Zeus after Agdistis repents of his brutal act.

¹Since this is a Greek account contemporaneous with Catullus, it is relatively important but does little to shed light on Catullus' version of the myth. J. G. Fraser, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed. Part 4, Vol. 1, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (London: Macmillan, 1914), 288-89, sees in Marsyas "apparently a double of Attis."

Of the Latin authors, only Lucretius antedates Catullus. Although there is no specific mention of Attis in Lucretius' discussion of Cybele (2.598-643), he does refer to various elements of her worship that appear in poem 63: the lion-chariot, her realm on Ida, eunuch priests, musical instruments and wild sounds.

Of the two Latin authors whose works were published after poem 63, Livy's account (29.14) is of lesser importance. It merely records the arrival in Rome of the Magna Mater in 204 B.C. As far as poem 63 is concerned, the most significant part of his account may be his mention of the apotropaic prayer to Cybele and the institution of the Megalensia.²

The most important allusion to the Attis myth occurs in Ovid's *Fasti* (4.179-246) where certain verbal echoes of Catullus can be seen.³ It is Ovid's version of the myth that seems to have been regarded as the standard one. Attis conquers Cybele with his "chaste love" (*casto...amore*, *Fasti* 4.224) and swears eternal faithfulness to her. However, he falls in love with the tree-nymph Sagaritis who is subsequently killed by the

²Livy mentions that the people prayed that the Magna Mater might come kindly into Rome: *precantibus ut volens propitiaque urbem Romanam iniret*. The implication that Cybele could act harshly is reflected in the prayer which closes poem 63. Moreover, Livy's mention of the Megalensia, at which dramatic performances took place, may help account for the richly dramatic context of poem 63.

³Ovid mentions the beating of drums and cymbals (*tympana tudent*, 4.183) and the shouting of the eunuchs (*urbis per medias exululata vias*, 4.186). He talks about Cybele's lions submitting to the yoke (*cur huic genus acre leonum / praebent insolitas ad iuga curva iubas?* 215-16). Attis promises that, if he breaks his oath of faithfulness to Cybele, this will be his last love (*ultima, qua fallam, sit Venus illa mihi*, 4.228). In the midst of his madness, Attis cries out to remove the instruments of torture (*et modo 'tolle faces' 'remove' modo 'verbera' clamat*, 4.235: cf. the self-inflicted torture of the lion in poem 63). Ovid uses the same imagery as Catullus in his description of the castration of Attis (*onus inguinis aufert, / nullaque sunt subito signa relicta viri*, 4.241-42; cf. *devolsit ili acuto sibi pondera silice, / itaque ut relicta sensit sibi membra sine viro*, 63.5-6).

jealous Cybele. Driven mad by the goddess, Attis rushes to Mt. Dindymus where he emasculates himself as a visible and eternal sign of the punishment he deserves for betraying Cybele.

In order to shed some light on poem 63, these various versions can be assessed by determining those elements common to all. In this respect, there are only two common elements: Attis was a Phrygian and his relationship with Cybele was a tempestuous one.⁴ Of these, the second is perhaps easier to assess.

I have categorized the relationship as tempestuous because the emasculation of Attis is usually a direct result of his apparent betrayal of his devotion to Cybele.⁵ At first, this may seem to be a significant break with the "traditional" myth. But there is a definite conflict between Attis and Cybele in Pausanias' second account (where the jealous Agdistis interrupts Attis' wedding with the Princess of Pessinus). There is also the somewhat vague reference in Lucretius that indicates certain versions of the myth may not have represented such a congenial love-affair.⁶ Therefore, Catullus' decision to present the affair as one fraught with conflict may not necessarily be such a radical departure from the basic myth.

⁴I have not included the actual castration as a common element simply because Livy and especially Diodorus Siculus do not mention it.

⁵This does imply, however, that the initial relationship between the two was a voluntary and eager one. This is certainly the case in the versions of Diodorus Siculus, the Hermesianax version in Pausanias, and Ovid. These conflicting aspects seem to be represented in poem 63, where Attis regrets what he has done after he awakens from sleep at 63.44.

⁶Lucretius says that Cybele's priests are eunuchs because "they defied the power of the mother" (*numen qui violarint / matris*, 2.614-15).

So far, then, Catullus' major, even unique, departure from the tradition, or traditions, of the Attis myth is the deliberate non-Phrygian nationality of his "hero."⁷ Such a conclusion assumes that Attis was portrayed as a Phrygian even in sources that have been lost to us. In this regard, mention must be made of the theory that Catullus followed a Hellenistic prototype for poem 63. Fordyce surmises that such a prototype did exist and that it too portrayed Attis as a non-Phrygian: "[The] spirit [of poem 63] is so Greek...that it seems certain that Catullus was translating or adapting a Greek original which gave this turn to the Attis motif."⁸ He notes the suggestion that the distich in galliambics quoted by Hephaestion may have come from Catullus' source for poem 63, but cautions that "there is no proof that the lines which Hephaestion quotes are by Callimachus."⁹

Even if one allowed for some Hellenistic prototype of a matroic poem, by Callimachus or some other poet, it seems unlikely that the Phrygian origin of Attis would have been changed, since this aspect of the myth is one of the few relatively constant elements in the tradition. If this

⁷Attis is depicted as arriving in Phrygia after a sea-voyage (63.1-2). Other critics have assumed specifically a Greek origin for Attis, based primarily on the allusions in 63.60-64 (Ellis, *Commentary*, 260; Kroll, *Poemata*, 130; Fordyce, *Commentary*, 261-62; A. Guillemin, "Le Poème 63 de Catulle," *REL* 27 (1949): 153; Quinn, *The Poems*, 283; Forsyth, *The Poems*, 326; Rubino, "Attis," 153-54).

⁸Fordyce, *Commentary*, 262.

⁹*Ibid.*, note 1. This theory of a Hellenistic prototype is now generally discounted (See Quinn, *The Poems*, 283; Forsyth, *The Poems*, 327). D. Mulroy, "Hephaestion and Catullus 63," *Phoenix* 30 (1976): 64, convincingly refutes the argument that there was a "large number of Alexandrian poems to or about Cybele" written in the galliambic meter. He concludes, in fact (72), that there is no "genuine support for the hypothesis that matroic hymns similar to Catullus 63 represented a standard type of Alexandrian poetry." The evidence, however, to support the conclusions for or against a Hellenistic prototype is scanty at best. See also V. Bongi, "Il Carme 63 di Catullo ed il culto di Cibele e di Attis," *Civiltà Moderna* 15 (1943): 29-40; Oksala, "Catullus Attis-Ballade," 202; Ferguson, *Catullus*, 185.

change were recorded in some version, we might expect some reference to it in Pausanias' account (where he mentions at least two versions of the myth). One can reasonably assume, therefore, that Attis' Phrygian nationality was a common element in the myth and that Catullus was unique in departing from the tradition. If this non-Phrygian origin is Catullus' sole radical departure from the two common elements in the extant versions, possible reasons for making such a change must be determined.

An easy solution is found in the argument that Catullus' Attis is not the mythological figure, but merely one of Cybele's priests who has assumed the name Attis.¹⁰ This interpretation is supported by several poems in the Palatine Anthology whose subject seems to be an Attis-priest of Cybele and whose vocabulary offers some strong parallels with certain passages of poem 63.¹¹ A poem by Dioscorides (6.220) is especially important in this regard: Attis journeys to Sardis from Phrygian Pessinus; his ecstasy is cooled, night falls, and he takes shelter in a cave; a lion rushes against him but he sounds his tambourine and drives the lion away; he then dedicates his tambourine to Cybele. The common elements of a journey for Attis, a lessening of his madness, and the appearance of a lion are fashioned to a different outcome in poem 63; but this suggests that

¹⁰Hepding, *Attis*, 140-41; Elder, "Attis," 395; Small, "Catullus 63," 2, note 3; Oksala, "Catullus Attis-Ballade," 202; Forsyth, "Mythic Persona," 555-56; Shipton, "Attis," 444.

¹¹The poems by Simonides (6.217), Alcaeus (6.218), Antipater (6.219), and Dioscorides (6.220) are discussed by Shipton, "Attis," 444-46. Three other poems by Rhainus (6.173), Erycius (6.234) and an anonymous writer (6.51) deal primarily with the dedication of various instruments of worship and a lock of hair to Cybele. See also Courtney, "Three Poems," 88-91.

Dioscorides' poem and others like it, dealing with an Attis-priest, may have influenced Catullus to opt for this "second-hand" version of the Attis myth.

This may be, in fact, what Catullus has done in poem 63. If Attis were merely a mortal who has a troubled relationship with a goddess, this would provide excellent parallels with other pairings in the cycle: Peleus and Thetis, Ariadne and Dionysus, and even Catullus and his *diva* in poem 68.¹² The fact remains, however, that, apart from the two basic elements mentioned above, the myth of Attis may not have been standardized very much at all in antiquity. This aspect may have drawn Catullus to this particular myth and allowed him a fairly free hand in reshaping it to suit his purpose. Certainly Catullus keeps the exact origin and fate of his hero obscure, perhaps to allow the reader to relate to Attis on whatever level he wishes, mortal or divine.

¹²Parallels with Euripides' *Bacchae*, to which poem 63 is often compared, would also be more exact if Attis were merely a mortal (cf. the relationship of Agave and Cadmus to Dionysus). On the other hand, Catullus cites original myths elsewhere in the cycle, notably in poem 64. Fraser, *Bough*, 270, note 2, thinks poem 63 does become more relevant if the subject is simply an Attis-priest and not the mythological original: "Thus interpreted the poem gains greatly in force and pathos. The real sorrows of our fellow-men touch us more nearly than the imaginary pangs of the gods." But most of the myths concerning Attis portray him as a mortal who becomes a god only later. The Attis of poem 63 remains a mortal, and any details that suggest his eventual deification are omitted. I also wonder if the poem would lose some of its effectiveness as an allegory if the hero were merely "second-hand"? Would Cybele's anger towards Attis be as great if he were just another priest? Is it normal for merely an Attis-priest of Cybele to stay in her shrine for the rest of his life, as the Attis of poem 63 does (63.90)?

Appendix F

Dramatic Influences on Catullus 63

Compare the rush of the Gallae to Mt. Ida with the ecstatic activities of the Bacchae from Euripides' play:

'agite ite ad alta, Gallae, Cybeles nemora simul,
simul ite, Dindymenae dominae vaga pecora

...

simul ite, sequimini
Phrygiam ad domum Cybebes, Phrygia ad nemora
deae,

ubi cymbalum sonat vox, ubi tympana reboant,
tibicen ubi canit Phryx curvo grave calamo,
ubi capita Maenades vi iaciunt hederigerae,
ubi sacra sancta acutis ululatibus agitant,
ubi suevit illa divae volitare vaga cohors,
quo nos decet citatis celerare tripudiis.'

simul haec comitibus Attis cecinit notha mulier,
thiasus repente linguis trepidantibus ululat,
leve tympanum remugit, cava cymbala recrepant,
viridem citus adit Idam properante pede chorus.
furibunda simul anhelans vaga vadit animam agens
comitata tympano Attis per opaca nemora dux,
veluti iuvenca vitans onus indomita iugi.

(63.12-13; 19-33)

Συρίας δ' ὡς λιβάνου κα-
πνὸν ὁ Βακχεὺς ἀνέχων

πυρσώδη φλόγα πεύκας
ἐκ νάρθηκος αἴσσει
δρόμῳ καὶ χοροῖσιν
πλανάτας ἐρεθίζων
ἰαχαῖς τ' ἀναπάλλων,
τρυφερόν <τε> πλόκαμον εἰς αἰθέρα ρίπτων.
ἅμα δ' εὐάσμασι τοιάδ' ἐπιβρέμει·
ᾠ ἴτε βάκχαι,
[ῶ] ἴτε βάκχαι,
Τμῶλου χρυσορόου χλιδᾶ

μέλπετε τὸν Διόνυσον
 βαρυβρόμων ὑπὸ τυμπάνων,
 εὔια τῷ εὔιον ἀγαλλόμεναι θεὸν
 ἐν φρυγίαισι βοαῖς ἐνοπαῖσί τε,
 λωτὸς ὅταν εὐκέλαδος
 ἱερὸς ἱερᾶ παίγματα βρέμη, σύνοχα
 φοιτάσιν εἰς ὄρος εἰς ὄρος· ἠδομέ-
 να δ' ἄρα, πῶλος ὅπως ἅμα ματέρι
 φορβάδι, κῶλον ἄγει ταχύπουν σκιρτήμασι βάκχα.

(Eur. *Bacch.* 143-69)

Attis is restored to sanity through the influence of the Sun:

sed ubi oris aurei Sol radiantibus oculis
 lustravit aethera album, sola dura, mare ferum,
 pepulitque noctis umbras vegetis sonipedibus,
 ibi Somnus excitam Attin fugiens citus abiit.

(63.39-42)

Cadmus uses the sun to begin to restore Agave to sanity:

Κα. πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τόνδ' αἰθέρ' ὄμμα σὸν μέθες.
 Αγ. ἰδοῦ· τί μοι τόνδ' ἐξυπέιπας εἰσορᾶν;
 Κα. ἔθ' αὐτὸς ἢ σοι μεταβολὰς ἔχειν δοκεῖ;
 Αγ. λαμπρότερος ἢ πρὶν καὶ διειπετέστερος.

(Eur. *Bacch.* 1264-67)

Attis' fatherland is the subject of most of his second speech. His address to his *patria* is reminiscent of Agave's farewell to hers as she leaves her homeland:

patria o mei creatrix, patria o mea genetrix,
ego quam miser relinquens.

(63.50-51)

χαῖρ', ᾧ μέλαθρον, χαῖρ', ᾧ πατρία
πόλις· ἐκλείπω σ' ἐπὶ δυστυχία
φυγὰς ἐκ θαλάμων.

(Eur. *Bacch.* 1368-70)

Attis can only think of his own house and how terribly he has
been severed from it:

egone a mea remota haec ferar in nemora domo?
patria, bonis, amicis, genitoribus abero?

(63.58-59)

In the *Bacchae*, Cadmus also laments the destruction of his house:

ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνδίκως μὲν, ἀλλ' ἄγαν,
Βρόμιος ἄναξ ἀπώλεσ' οἰκεῖος γεγώς.

...

Τοιγὰρ συνῆψε πάντας ἐς μίαν βλάβην,
ὑμᾶς τε τόνδε θ', ὥστε διολέσαι δόμους
κᾶμ', ὅστις ἄτεκνος ἀρσένων παίδων γεγώς

(Eur. *Bacch.* 1249-50; 1303-5)

In his final words, Attis regrets all he has done. This is the
lament of one who is not impressed that he is to be a servant of a goddess:

ego nunc deum ministra et Cybeles famula ferar?
ego Maenas, ego mei pars, ego vir sterilis ero?

...

iam iam dolet quod egi, iam iamque paenitet.

(63.68-69, 73)

He reminds the reader of Cadmus who, although similarly innocent of wrong, receives a singularly inappropriate and harsh punishment from Dionysus: transformation into a snake, the symbol of that uncivilized nature that Cadmus worked all his life to redress. Like Attis, Cadmus is not impressed with Dionysus' "reward" of everlasting life in Elysium:

οὐδὲ παύσομαι
κακῶν ὁ πλῆμων, οὐδὲ τὸν καταβάτην
Ἄχέροντα πλεύσας ἤσυχος γενήσομαι.

(Eur. *Bacch.* 1360-62)

Because Attis defies Cybele, she unleashes her lion to strike him with madness and drive him back into her woodlands:

fac uti furoris ictu reditum in nemora ferat,
mea libere nimis qui fugere imperia cupit.

(63.79-80)

It is for similar reasons that Dionysus maddens the daughters of Cadmus and sends them into the hills:

ἐπεὶ μ' ἀδελφαὶ μητρός, ἅς ἤκιστα χρῆν,
Διόνυσον οὐκ ἔφασκον ἐκφύναί Διός,
...
τοιγάρ νιν αὐτὰς ἐκ δόμων ὕστρησ' ἐγὼ
μανίαις, ὄρος δ' οἰκοῦσι παράκοποι φρενῶν.

(Eur. *Bacch.* 26-27; 32-33)

The poet's final apotropaic prayer, wishes Cybele onto others:

dea magna, dea Cybebe, dea domina Dindymi,
 procul a mea tuus sit furor omnis, era, domo:
 alios age incitatos, alios age rabidos.

(63.91-93)

This echoes Agave's final words, leaving the worship of Dionysus to others:

ἔλθοιμι δ' ὅπου
 μήτε Κιθαιρῶν <ἔμ' ἴδοι> μιαρὸς
 μήτε Κιθαιρῶν' ὅσσοισιν ἐγώ,
 μήθ' ὅθι θύρσου μνημ' ἀνάκειται·
 Βάκχαις δ' ἄλλαισι μέλοιεν.

(Eur. *Bacch.* 1383-87)

Appendix G

Dramatic Influences on Catullus 64

I

The Influence of Euripides' and Ennius' *Medea*

Compare the reference to the Argo in Euripides:

μηδ' ἐν νάπαισι Πηλίου πεσεῖν ποτε
 τμηθεῖσα πεύκη, μηδ' ἐρετμῶσαι χέρας
 ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων, οἷ τὸ πάγχρυσον δέρας
 Πελία μετήλθον.

(Eur. *Medea* 3-4)

with the opening of poem 64:

Peliaco quondam prognatae vertice pinus
 dicuntur liquidas Neptuni nasse per undas
 Phasidos ad fluctus et fines Aeeteos,
 cum lecti iuvenes, Argivae robora pubis,
 auratam optantes Colchis avertere pellem
 ausi sunt vada salsa cita decurrere puppi,
 caerulea verrentes abiegnis aequora palmis.

(64. 1-7)

and the reference in Ennius' *Medea*:

utinam ne in nemore Pelio securibus
 caesae accidissent abiegnae ad terram trabes,
 neve inde navis inchoandi exordium
 coepisset quae nunc nominatur nomine
 Argo, quia Argivi in ea delecti viri
 vecti petebant pellem inauratam arietis
 Colchis imperio regis Peliae per dolum.

(Enn. *Medea* 253-59)

Compare the opening lines of Euripides' *Medea*:

Εἴθ' ὄφελ' Ἄργουσι μὴ διαπτᾶσθαι σκάφος
Κόλχων ἐς αἶαν κυανέας Συμπληγάδας

(Eur. *Medea* 1-2)

with Ariadne's lament:

Iuppiter omnipotens, utinam ne tempore primo
Cnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes.

(64.171-72)

One can also compare Medea's distress at where to turn for help:

νῦν ποῖ τράπωμαι; πότερα πρὸς πατρὸς δόμους,
οὓς σοὶ προδοῦσα δαὶ πάτραν ἀφικόμην;
ἢ πρὸς ταλαίνας Πελιάδας; καλῶς γ' ἂν οὖν
δέξαιντό μ' οὔκοις ὧν πατέρα κατέκτανον.

(Eur. *Medea* 502-5)

with similar thoughts in Ariadne's lament and in Ennius' *Medea*:

nam quo me referam? quali spe perdita nitor?
Idaeosne petam montes? at gurgite lato
discernens ponti truculentum dividit aequor.
an patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui
respersum iuvenem fraterna caede secuta?

(64.177-81)

quo nunc me vortam? quod iter incipiam ingredi?
domum paternamne ane ad Peliae filias?

(Enn. *Medea* 284-85)

II

The Influence of Euripides' *Bacchae*

The passage describing the activities of the Maenads contains strong echoes from Euripides' *Bacchae*. They raise the ritual cry and shake their heads:

euhoe bacchantes, euhoe capita inflectentes

(64.255)

Ἰακχον ἀθρόω στόματι τὸν Διὸς γόνον
βρόμιον καλοῦσαι· πᾶν δὲ συνεβάκχεν ὄρος
καὶ θῆρες, οὐδέν δ' ἦν ἀκίνητον δρόμῳ.

(Eur. *Bacch.* 725-27)

Some are waving thyrsos:

harum pars tecta quatiebant cuspide thyrsos

(64.256)

αἱ δὲ τὴν τεταγμένην
ῥαν ἐκίνουν θύρσον ἐς βακχεύματα

(Eur. *Bacch.* 723-24)

ἀνὰ θύρσον τε τινάσσω.

(Eur. *Bacch.* 80)

Others are tossing about the dismembered parts of the sparagmos:

pars e divolso iactabant membra iuvenco

(64.257)

ἄλλαι δὲ δαμάλας διεφόρουν σπαράγμασιν.
εἶδες δ' ἂν ἤ πλεύρ' ἢ δίχηλον ἔμβασιν
ρίπτόμεν' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω.

(Eur. *Bacch.* 739-41)

Some are girding themselves with serpents:

pars sese tortis serpentibus incingebant

(64.258)

καὶ καταστίκτους δορᾶς
ὄφεισι κατεζώσαντο λιχμῶσιν γένυν.

(Eur. *Bacch.* 697-98)

Others are carrying the sacred mysteries in covered baskets which the uninitiated are forbidden to see:

**pars obscura cavis celebrabant orgia citis,
orgia quae frustra cupiunt audire profani.**

(64.259-60)

Πε. τὰ δ' ὄργι' ἐστὶ τίν' ιδέαν ἔχοντά σοι;
Δι. οὐ θέμις ἀκοῦσαί σ', ἐστὶ δ' ἄξι' εἰδέναι.

(Eur. *Bacch.* 471-72)

Some are beating drums, clashing cymbals or playing other strange, eastern musical instruments:

plangebant aliae proceris tympana palmis,
aut tereti tenuis tinnitus aere ciebant;
multis raucisonos efflabant cornua bombos
barbaraque horribili stridebat tibia cantu.

(64.261-64)

ἔνθα τρικόρυθες ἄντροις
βυρσότονον κύκλωμα τόδε
μοι Κορύβαντες ἠῦρον·
βακχείᾳ δ' ἀνὰ συντόνῳ
κέρασαν ἀδυβόᾳ Φρυγίων
αὐλῶν πνεύματι πατρός τε ῥέας ἔς
χέρα θῆκαν, κτύπον εὐάσμασι Βακχᾶν.

(Eur. *Bacch.* 123-29)

The last detail in particular is also matched in poem 63:

niveis citata cepit manibus leve typanum,
typanum tuum, Cybebe, tua, mater, initia,
quatiensque terga tauri teneris cava digitis
canere haec suis adorta est tremebunda comitibus.

(63.8-11)¹

¹For the influence of Apollonius on various authors of epyllia, see C. N. Jackson, "The Latin Epyllion," *HSPh* 24 (1913): 45-50. Webster, "Myth of Ariadne," 27, believes there may also be influences from Euripides' lost *Theseus*.

Appendix H

Ariadne and Dionysus

The union of Ariadne and Dionysus goes back at least to Homer and Hesiod, but the details of the story are not common to all sources. Depending on the version, the Ariadne/Dionysus affair will be either a happy or a disastrous one. Homer describes how Artemis killed Ariadne on Dia at Dionysus' request for having eloped with Theseus (*Od.* 11.321-25). Hesiod (*Theogony*, 947-49) simply mentions that Dionysus married Ariadne.

The reference to Ariadne in Apollonius is more significant, since the portrayal of the relationship between Jason and Medea is similar to that of Theseus and Ariadne in poem 64. In Book 3 of the *Argonautica*, Jason attempts to convince Medea to help him secure the Golden Fleece by citing the Theseus/Ariadne story as a parallel to his own situation in Colchis: Ariadne helped Theseus escape, then sailed away with her (with Minos' consent). He then promises everlasting glory for Medea by mentioning the transformation of Ariadne's crown into a constellation; but he conveniently omits the abandonment on Dia and the intervention of Dionysus.¹

This reference to Ariadne is simple enough, providing a rather positive summary of the story; but it becomes more important as the episode continues, where parallels to poem 64 are obvious. Jason hopes that his selective account of Ariadne's story will win Medea over. But she

¹*Argo.* 3.997-1004.

is not fooled. She gives Jason her assistance but, tormented by love, is deeply concerned that Jason will sail off without her and forget her once he has returned to Iolcos. Following some weak assurances from Jason, Medea angrily replies that agreements are not always honoured and that, should Jason forget her, she would wish to go to Iolcos to denounce Jason to his face and remind him how she saved his life (*Argo*. 3.1102-17). Jason replies in no uncertain terms, promising her marriage (*Argo*. 3.1120-30). Later (*Argo*. 4.355-90), Medea reproaches Jason for the promises made to her, in a speech that closely parallels Ariadne's lament in poem 64.

If Catullus was influenced by Apollonius' account, Ovid may have been influenced by Catullus. Ariadne is mentioned in three of Ovid's works. The story is told in its briefest form in *Metamorphoses* Book 8. Theseus kills the Minotaur with Ariadne's help and takes her to Dia where he abandons her; Dionysus rescues her and transforms her crown into a constellation:

utque ope virginea nullis iterata priorum
 ianua difficilis filo est inventa relecto,
 protinus Aegides rapta Minoide Diam
 vela dedit comitemque suam crudelis in illo
 litore destituit; desertae et multa querenti
 amplexus et opem Liber tulit, utque perenni
 sidere clara foret, sumptam de fronte coronam
 inmisit caelo.

(Ovid *Meta*. 8.172-79)

This account makes the intervention of Dionysus a positive element.

The transformation of Ariadne's crown is also recounted in *Fasti* Book 3. Many of the elements from Catullus' version are here: the

faithlessness of Theseus and Ariadne's "marriage" with Dionysus (*iam bene periuro mutarat coniuge Bacchum, Fasti* 3.461). But other elements from Catullus' version are seen from a different perspective. The abandonment by Theseus is given a positive twist, since it is under such a circumstance that Ariadne becomes divine (*Theseo crimine facta dea est, Fasti* 3.460); and Ariadne laments on the shore because she was abandoned not by Theseus, but by Dionysus. The accusations Ariadne makes against Theseus in Catullus are now made against Dionysus in Ovid: let no woman trust a man (*nulla viro...femina credat, Fasti* 3.475);² what good are sworn oaths (*heu ubi pacta fides? ubi, quae iurare solebas? Fasti* 3.485).³ Dionysus is the evil element in this version of the story.

The fullest treatment of Ariadne in Ovid occurs in *Heroides* 10. Much of the vocabulary and most of the themes are adapted from Catullus: the treacherous sleep which concealed Theseus' departure (*Her.* 10.5-6, 111-12, 117); the lament on the shore; the climb to the mountaintop; the chilling realization of Theseus' flight (*frigidior glacie semianimisque fui, Her.* 10.32; *aut mare prospiciens in saxo frigida sedi, / quamque lapis sedes, tam lapis ipsa fui, Her.* 10.49-50);⁴ the emphasis on the eyes and seeing;⁵ her inability to believe what she sees (*ut vidi haut dignam quae me vidisse putarem, Her.* 10.31);⁶ the comparison to a Maenad (*Her.* 10.47-

²Cf. Catullus 64.143: *nulla viro iuranti femina credat.*

³Cf. Catullus 64.146: *nil metuunt iurare, nihil promettere parcunt.*

⁴Cf. the image of Ariadne as a statue in 64.60-67.

⁵From *Her.* 10: *specto* (10.17); *videant oculi* (10.18); *vidi.../ vidi...vidisse* (10.30-31); *oculis* (10.43); *lumina* (10.45); *videre* (10.46); *prospiciens* (10.49); *adspiciam* (10.68); *vidi* (10.93); *videbo* (10.119); *lumina* (10.120); *videres* (10.133); *non oculis...adspice* (10.135); *adspice* (10.137).

⁶Cf. 64.55: *necdum etiam sese quae visit visere credit.*

48); her wondering what to do, where to go (*Her.* 10.59-64); her isolation on the island (*Her.* 10.59-62); the irreparable separation from her father (*Her.* 10.64); her regret at the death of the Minotaur (*Her.* 10.101-2); Theseus' promise of marriage (*Her.* 10.73-74); her impending death (*Her.* 10.79-88, 119-24); her concern that she become a slave to someone (*Her.* 10.89-90);⁷ her fear of becoming prey to animals (*destituor rabidis praeda cibusque feris, Her.* 10.96; *ossa superstabunt volucres inhumata marinae? Her.* 10.123);⁸ the broken pledge (*Her.* 10.116-17); the inhuman birth of Theseus (*Her.* 10.131-32).

In fact, the one element that seems to be missing is the intervention of Dionysus. The only possible reference may be *Her.* 10.95: *caelum restabat--timeo simulacra deorum*, i.e. Dionysus may be among these *simulacra deorum*.⁹ If Ovid created *Heroides* 10 based on his interpretation of Catullus 64, it seems that he viewed the intervention of Dionysus at 64.251 as something negative.

⁷This is a direct contrast to Ariadne's claim in poem 64 to have preferred becoming a slave in Theseus' house to being abandoned by him (64.160-63).

⁸Cf. 64.152-53: *pro quo dilaceranda feris dabor alitibusque / praeda, neque iniacta tumulabor mortua terra.*

⁹M. C. Bolton, "The Characterization of Medea, Dido, Ariadne and Deianeira in Ovid's *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses*" (Ph.D. diss., McMaster University, 1989), 186-89, suggests that the *simulacra* are, for Ovid's Ariadne, merely the imagined existences of the gods. Bolton relies on Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* 4.31-35, which describe *simulacra* as "images or 'films'...which can be torn from the gods." But even if Dionysus were somehow included in these *simulacra* (a conclusion totally unsupported by the text), "the *timeo* would bode little good fortune for Dionysus."

Appendix J

Two Aspects of Catullus 65

I

Poem 65 and the Long Poems

Poem 65 clearly marks a change of direction in the collection. The obvious indication is the metre: it is the first of the remaining fifty-two poems in the *corpus* written in the elegiac couplet. Critics have found additional clues which seem to point to a new direction: the introduction of a new theme (*maesta...carmina*, 65.12),¹ or the return to the "personal" treatment following the mythological digressions in poems 63 and 64.²

The metrical evidence is indisputable. But while I do believe poem 65 marks a distinct change in the cycle, I do not believe that the evidence put forth by Wiseman and Quinn is consistently valid for the rest of the cycle (let alone the remainder of the collection). The *maesta carmina* may apply to a portion of poem 65 (and to parts of poem 68 to which this poem is linked); but it can hardly be argued that the remaining four poems in the cycle deal consistently with "sad" themes. Indeed, an equally important use for the elegiac metre was satire, and that seems more relevant to these poems. While the death of the poet's brother certainly reflects the "personal" element in poems 65 and 68, there are very few specific

¹Wiseman, *Reappraisal*, 159.

²Quinn, *An Interpretation*, 15; King, "Callimachean Carmina," 383.

instances of "the personal element" in the bulk of the lines that constitute the remaining poems in the cycle.

In short, poems 65 to 68 continue the trend established in poems 61 to 64: the presentation of the poet's themes in largely general or mythological terms, coupled with a few personal or historical facts, the wedding of Manlius and Iunia, the brother's death, Berenice, Balbus, Caecilius, Mallius (Allius? Manlius?), the poet's *diva* (Lesbia?).

The change of metre also represents a solution to a problem that faced Catullus at this point in the cycle. How was he to follow the lengthy, learned, mythological and intense poem 64, especially since poem 64 itself followed the two complex epithalamia and the equally intense poem 63? A relaxation is required, a "slow movement" (in musical terms) to contrast with the climax achieved in the earlier movements, to enable the reader to regroup and prepare for the next crescendo and climax.

Poem 65 fulfils these requirements: it is shorter and achieves its effects with more concise gestures. Yet Catullus is also able to maintain some of the tension and intensity already established: poem 65 does not obliterate the tension but redirects it, personalizes it and clothes it in modified mythological dress. The Muses are present; Troy figures prominently in its lines (as it did in poems 61 and 64 especially); the story of Itylus provides a mythological *exemplum*, even as the delicate image of the apple that falls from the girl's lap provides a more personal one. Most significantly, the lines devoted to his brother's death in the Troad provide

the thematic and psychological link to poem 64, which ended with the deaths of the Trojan heroes at the hands of Achilles and the other Greeks.

II

65.12: *canam* or *tegam*?

The verb *canam* is the generally accepted reading, against *tegam* found in most of the manuscripts.³ Ellis, however, strongly defends *tegam*.

[It is unlikely] that Catullus would declare his intention of singing epicediums to his brother's memory for ever (*semper*). But if distress at his loss drove him, as he tells us, from society into solitude, it would be natural, so long as that distress lasted, that he should hug his solitude, brood over his loss, and declare his intention to meditate in his seclusion on that and no other theme of song.⁴

He bases his interpretation of *tegam* on several passages from Ausonius, and attempts to reconcile *tegam* with the simile of the nightingale by emphasizing the setting in which the nightingale sings (*sub densis ramorum...umbris*, 65.13), not the singing itself:

...the comparison is between the poet meditating his songs of grief *in solitude and seclusion* [Ellis' italics] and the nightingale singing screened from the eye in a close thicket of leafy boughs where "All may hear but none may see."⁵

³Kroll, *Poemata*, 198, is adamant that *tegam* simply cannot be accepted.

⁴Ellis, *Commentary*, 355.

⁵*Ibid.*

Determining the correct or appropriate reading is not easy. Ellis suggests that those who cannot make sense of *tegam* are too eager to change it to *canam*. On the other hand, the obvious parallel between *canam* and *concinis* in the next line gives credence to that reading.

In support of Ellis' preference for *tegam*, it must be remembered that the idea of "covering, concealing" has already been extensively presented in this cycle. There are eight examples of *tectum* and its cognates in poem 64. The metaphor of the "house" (*tectum*) established the concept of security or protection from hostile, outside forces, an idea that Ellis would find appropriate for the poet in poem 65. Peleus' palace, the site of the happy wedding, was described as a *tectum* (64.37, 276); but, by contrast, so was the palace of Aegeus, plunged into mourning (64.246). The labyrinth provided some protection for the Minotaur (*tecti...inobservabilis error*, 64.115); but Ariadne could find no protective shelter on her desert island (*nullo colitur...insula tecto*, 64.184).⁶ The coverlet itself, of course, is a *tegimen* (64.47-49). This latter example is especially intriguing in conjunction with the role of the tapestry of Philomela in the Tereus myth.⁷

A final comment on the possible relevance of *tegam* (in Ellis' terms) in this passage may be drawn from Michael Simpson's comments on Apollodorus' version of the Procne myth:

⁶A tantalizing reference to a covering also occurs in the description of Ariadne's scantily-clad body following Theseus' desertion (*mollia nudatae tollentem tegmina surae*, 64.129).

⁷Cf. also Ovid's account, *Meta.* 6.571-86, where white and purple, the same colours of the coverlet in poem 64, are interwoven on the tapestry to divulge the rape.

Ovid brings together here two related motifs found throughout the work to make a forceful (perhaps shocking) statement about his vision of art. The first is the motif of blocked utterance: the inability of a human being to speak to another and its consequences... The second is the motif of art *from* pain or *into* pain [Simpson's italics]: art and pain are locked into a cause and effect relationship in which each is now cause, now effect... Here blocked utterance (the severing of Philomela's tongue) coincides with and adds to incredible pain and they together create art (the tapestry).⁸

Catullus too is faced with a "blocked utterance" (65.2-4), caused by the pain of his brother's death. But by contemplating the pain in solitude (Ellis) and reworking it, the poet will create a work of art (poem 65) just as the lonely nightingale will produce her song.

Simpson's comment seems most insightful when applied to poem 65; but I doubt that all the aspects of Ellis' interpretation can be gotten from *tegam*. It makes much better sense to read *canam* in 65.12. This would lead directly to the image of the nightingale who is, in fact, singing. The thickness of the woods in which the nightingale sings serves merely to parallel the poet's situation, cut off from his art by the intensity of his emotions,⁹ and relates back to the beginning of the poem (65.2-4) rather than to *tegam* in 65.12.¹⁰ Whether this is a literal, albeit exaggerated, poetic statement or even an indication that the remaining poems in the collection will be in elegiacs is simply not relevant here.

⁸Simpson, *Gods and Heroes*, 215.

⁹In this regard, Ellis' assessment of the situation is correct.

¹⁰Ovid may have had these few lines from poem 65 in mind in *Heroides* 15.135-56, where Sappho visits the forest haunts she shared with Phaon (*invenio silvam, quae saepe cubilia nobis / praebuit et multa texit opaca*, 15.143-44) and hears only the nightingale singing of Itys (*sola...maestissima mater / concinit Ismarium Daulias ales Ityn*, 15.153-54).

Appendix K

Two Aspects of Catullus 67

I

The Nature of Poem 67 and its Place in the Cycle

Poem 67 has caused considerable problems of interpretation. Commentators condemn previous critics for their misinterpretations of the poem in order to offer their own "obvious" and correct interpretations. But in so doing, they merely contribute to the growing heap of contradictory explications of poem 67.

In the course of Chapter 7, I offer my own analysis of the sordid details contained in the lines; but it is more important for this thesis to determine not the facts of the poem but the role the poem has in the cycle of the long poems. As the penultimate poem, it occupies a crucial position: it must prepare the reader for the final chapter in this cycle. It can do this in one of two ways. It can provide merely the seventh link in the chain that requires the final and climactic eighth poem to achieve unity. Or it can represent the virtual last link, presenting the final documentation illustrative of the cycle's themes before the final and relatively independent summation in poem 68.¹

¹The placing of poem 67 between poems 66 and 68 is discussed by Richardson, "Catullus 67" 423-24. Most critics comment on the poem in isolation.

Another aspect of the poem that needs clarification is its genre. H. V. Canter attempted to classify it as an example of παρακλαυσίθυρον.² This is clearly incorrect since no *exclusus amator* is present and no serenade is sung.³ Richardson, seeing the poem as a stage in the *deductio*, designates the poem an epithalamium,⁴ although I find it impossible to place poem 67 and poem 61, the other "official" epithalamium in the cycle, into the same category. F. O. Copley calls poem 67 a lampoon (*diffamatio*), whose purpose is to "defame and ridicule."⁵ Many critics find elements of the *Fescennina iocatio* in poem 67 and this I find attractive.⁶ This would link poem 67 to poem 61 (especially the section devoted to the *concupinus*), thereby completing the cycle of seven poems, leaving the eighth poem as a summarizing coda.

However, in the literature on this poem, it is not the genre that is the major point of discussion, but the exact details of the sordid affair that takes place in this particular family. The number of husbands, the number of houses, the number of towns involved all come under intense scrutiny producing different verdicts. That so many contrasting views are engendered from the same lines (in a poem with relatively few textual problems) suggests two conclusions. Either Catullus was a bad poet who

²H. V. Canter, "The Paraclausithyron as a Literary Theme," *AJPh* 41 (1920): 355-68.

³See Richardson, "Catullus 67," 424-25. Murgatroyd, "Catullus 67," 472, sees poem 67 as virtually "an inversion of the standard form."

⁴*Ibid.*, 425.

⁵Copley, "Catullus 67," 245.

⁶Richardson, "Catullus 67," 433; Kilpatrick, "Wedding Door," 2.

could not write clearly; or he was in fact a brilliant poet who purposely made these details of his poem obscure.

It goes without saying that I believe the latter to be the case. From the first line, the poet is pulling the reader's leg, setting up a premise (that the speaker is addressing a woman, possibly a bride) and then shocking the reader in 67.3 with the revelation that the "lady" is a door. In the course of the poem he seems to drop important hints about the identities of the people portrayed here: proper names (whether real or fake makes no difference), references to places (Verona, Brixia), well-known (*dicunt*, 67.3) and alleged (*ferunt*, 67.5) rumours.⁷

Most critics believe these elements are included in the poem, almost as an inside joke, to allow specific members of Catullus' audience to recognize the real-life individuals hidden behind the references. If so, this would provide another link to poem 61 with its allusions to the real-life Manlius and Iunia. But, even though ostensibly the identities of Manlius and Iunia seem unambiguous in the earlier poem (certainly more explicit than any reference in poem 67), they are in reality still quite vague. Which of the Torquati is the Manlius in question; and who exactly is Iunia (if, indeed, that is her real name)?

Consequently, references to Balbus and especially Caecilius are no more revealing than the references to Manlius and Iunia. Critics may speculate that Caecilius is the same poet from poem 35, that he may even be

⁷Giangrande, "Catullus 67," 122, makes this an important element in his interpretation. See also Quinn, *The Poems*, 368.

Caecilius Rufus (the man with red eyebrows in the concluding lines),⁸ but the fact remains that Catullus has left the exact identification of these people in doubt and the reader must, therefore, refrain from trying to draw conclusions from such scanty evidence.

This is not to say that these provocative references do not provide a link between poems 61 and 67. Clearly they do; but not because they prove that poems 61 and 67 are more "real," more "autobiographical" than the other poems in the cycle. Instead, these obscure but tantalizing references help create a pattern in the cycle:

Poem 61 (contemporary setting; ambiguous references)

Poem 62 (contemporary setting)

Poem 63 (mythological setting; *vox poetae* at conclusion)

Poem 64 (mythological setting; *vox poetae* at conclusion)

Poem 65 (*vox poetae* at beginning; mythological *exempla*)

Poem 66 (historical setting)

Poem 67 (contemporary setting; ambiguous references)

The two outer poems contain contemporary or historical settings. These frame the three inner poems with their mythological settings or *exempla*. Yet the *vox poetae* makes its most obvious appearance at crucial moments in the mythological (not the contemporary) poems, creating a "chiasmus" effect.⁹ This suggests a purposeful attempt by Catullus to

⁸See especially Kilpatrick, "Wedding Door."

⁹I recognize that a *persona* appears in poem 61 (*video*, 61.115; *volo*, 61.209) but this is as a character in the epithalamium rather than the poet himself.

dissuade readers from looking for any real poetic significance in the mention of real-life individuals or situations in the cycle.¹⁰

The reader must, therefore, try to read poem 67 as Catullus must have wanted him to do. This is no historical document, but a humorous portrayal of a talkative door who is simply reporting gossip. The humour and the various themes delineated in the poem are the important elements here, not the exactness of the details.¹¹

II

The Door's Marriage

A major textual problem occurs at 67.6. Who is getting married here? Badian cannot accept the door's marriage, although the context of the poem up till now indicates that such a thing is at least possible.¹² The problem centres on the manuscript reading *est*. Badian's arguments here seem sound. If *est* is correct, it cannot refer to the door, since a change from the second to the third person would be very awkward. The subject of *est* must therefore be *marita* and a dative of reference to *nato* from the previous line would be understood; this would also necessitate a change of *facta* to *pacta*.¹³

There is clearly a difference between the personal in poem 61 and the personal in poems 63 to 65.

¹⁰For the position of poem 68 in this *schema*, see the next chapter.

¹¹P. Y. Forsyth, "Catullus 67: poeta chiarissimo?" *Latomus* 45 (1986): 374, seems to have given up finding a solution. Her conclusion, that Catullus did not want an "outside" audience to understand poem 67, is not an acceptable one. She, like other critics, has missed the point: the details of the poem do not matter. The "solution" I propose seems preferable at least to throwing up one's hands.

¹²Badian, "Door's Marriage."

¹³*Ibid.*, 88.

While I have no problem with a door "getting married" in this poem (even though it is an odd thing to say), the reading *est* has the advantage of providing a balanced structure in these opening lines:

<i>ianua, quam...</i>	(67.3: subject: the door)
<i>olim, cum...senex</i>	(67.4: a change of subject)
<i>quamque ferunt...</i>	(67.5: subject: the door)
<i>postquam est...</i>	(67.6: a change of subject)

But this reading interrupts the most specific evidence for the illusion of the door-bride (resumed most explicitly in 67.9, *tradita sum*), and this would create a "fault" in the overall structure of the poem. If *est* is not the correct reading, an emendation to *es* is needed, to refer to the door's marriage (*es...facta*, 67.6). Most editors accept the emendation. This breaks the balanced structure referred to above (although that may not have been Catullus' design), but it retains the illusion of the door-bride and leads directly to 67.9 (*tradita sum*). After weighing the evidence, I prefer to read *es...facta* in 67.6. There is only one subject in the opening lines: the door. The bride does not enter the poem until the door herself mentions her (67.19). To make *marita* refer to the bride would anticipate the door's most provocative bit of gossip. My preferred reading would also consistently maintain the illusion of the door's marriage, which seems to be Catullus' intention. To interrupt the illusion in 67.6 (by reading *est*), only to resume it in 67.9 (*tradita sum*), would create a dangerous, perhaps fatal, slip in the delicate high-wire poetic act that Catullus is performing here.¹⁴

¹⁴See Hallett, "Ianua Iucunda," 112, note 18; Forsyth, "poeta chiarissimo," 375.

Appendix L

Catullus 68.68: *dominam* or *dominae*?

Much discussion has occurred concerning the acceptance of the manuscript reading *dominam* or the emendation to *dominae* at 68.68. The argument of those accepting *dominam* is that the coupling of *domus/domina* is a standard one in Catullus and the words always occur in the same case.¹ Accepting the dative *dominae* would break not only this tradition but also the symmetry already established by the repetition of *isque...isque*.

Accepting *dominam*, however, produces an ingenious series of interpretations.² The most common is that Allius has allowed the poet to use his own house with his wife as chatelaine to provide some semblance of respectability for the sordid affair with Lesbia.³

The reading *dominae*, however, seems to present more problems.⁴ Critics question whether Catullus would have called his mistress *domina*,

¹Cf. 61.31 (*domum dominam voca*) and 68.156 (*et domus...et domina*).

²Those who accept *dominam* include H. A. J. Munro, "Catullus' 68th Poem," *JPh* 8 (1879): 333-34; Ellis, *Commentary*, 414-15; Prescott, "Unity of Catullus 68," 488-91; T. E. Kinsey, "Some Problems in Catullus 68," *Latomus* 26 (1967): 42-44; Levine, "Catullus c. 68," 71-72; D. F. S. Thomson, *Catullus: a Critical Edition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), and Sarkissian, *Catullus 68*, 16; Shipton, "A House in the City," 869-71.

³Munro, "Catullus' 68th Poem," 333-34, suggests that it is the house of a lady-friend of Allius' where both the poet and Allius meet their respective beloveds. Kinsey, "Some Problems," 42-44, fancifully suggests that Allius has provided a substitute mistress for Lesbia, and that the poet is surprised when Lesbia herself appears in 68.70.

⁴Those who accept the dative *dominae* include Kroll, *Poemata*, 228; Fordyce, *Commentary*, 351-52 (although he goes on to argue in defence of *dominam*); Quinn, *The Poems*, 384; Mynors, *Carmina*; and Forsyth, *The Poems*, 473.

although it is standard practice to do so among the Augustan elegists.⁵ They also insist that this "early" reference to the poet's mistress undercuts her epiphany in 68.70, damaging the poem's artistic development.⁶ Other problems that arise in these lines concern the Latinity and meaning of *ad quam* (68.69), the meaning of *communes exerceremus amores* (68.69) and the relation between the *domina* in 68.68 and the *domina* in 68.156.⁷

Baker gives a lucid and persuasive discussion of these lines.⁸ Citing Kroll, Baker dismisses the problem of *domum...ad quam* equaling *domum in qua*. He accepts the dative *dominae* and does not see it necessarily destroying the symmetry demanded in the line: "it seems...no more to warrant the symmetrical direct objects *domum* and *dominam*...than it does the symmetry of the indirect objects *nobis* and *dominae*."⁹

By accepting the dative here, Baker is veering away from the chatelaine interpretation¹⁰ and tending towards Quinn's view that "Allius provided...a house for C. and the woman who thus became its mistress."¹¹ I believe this is the correct interpretation.

⁵Many critics are quite specific here, and name Lesbia as the object of the poet's affections. While the circumstances portrayed in the poem may suggest a real-life situation (after all Catullus' name is mentioned in 68.27), the poet himself has not mentioned Lesbia by name and the reader must not assume she has a specific place in the poem.

⁶Cf. K. M. W. Shipton, "Catullus 68," *LCM* 3 (1978): 62.

⁷See my later discussion of 68.156.

⁸Baker, "Domina," 124-29. While I do not accept all his interpretative points, I do believe he has answered most of the technical problems raised by the other critics.

⁹*Ibid.*, 125.

¹⁰Kinsey, "Some Problems," 43, dismisses the chatelaine idea by remarking that there is no evidence Catullus or Lesbia cared about scandal. Indeed, while there are attempts to underplay the potential adulterous behaviour of the groom in poem 61, most depictions of scandals in this cycle are obvious (e.g. Ariadne, and poem 67).

¹¹Quinn, *The Poems*, 384.

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