

## The poems of Catullus: how they survived, and how they can be reconstructed

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### I. Catullus in Antiquity

#### Some Roman authors who quote Catullus

Both Senecas, both Plinies, Quintilian, Aulus Gellius, Apuleius, Macrobius, Augustine, Martianus Capella, Boethius; also commentators, metrical authors...

#### Some more Roman authors who display a knowledge of the poems of Catullus

Corelius Nepos, Virgil, Horace, Propertius, Ovid, the author of *Catalepton* 10 (modelled on Cat. 4)...

#### Two epigraphic poems that contain echoes of Catullus 2b-3 and 42

- (i) *CIL* 14.3565 = *CLE* 1504 = Courtney 1995, No. 155. A hymn (?) to Priapus in Phalaecian hendecasyllables, inscribed on a phallic herm in Tibur (today Tivoli, Italy). 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.? Echoes of Cat. 2b.3, 3.12, and 42.1f.  
(ii) *CIL* 13.488 = *CLE* 1512 = Courtney 1995, No. 204. The epitaph of a lap-dog called Myia, from Augusta Ausciorum (now Auch, France). 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.? Echoes of Cat. 2 and 3.

#### Corrupta exemplaria of Catullus in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.

Gellius 6.20.6 on Cat. 27.1-4:

Catullus quoque elegantissimus poetarum in hisce uersibus

minister uetuli puer Falerni,

inger mi calices amariores,

ut lex Postumiae iubet magistrae,

†ebriose ac in† ebrioris [ebriose ac me P: ebria acina Haupt]

cum dicere '†ebriosi' [ebrio Haupt] posset, <et> quod erat usitatius 'acinum' in neutro genere appellare, amans tamen hiatus illius Homerici suauitatem 'ebriosam' [ebriam Haupt] dixit propter insequentis 'a' litterae concentum. Qui 'ebrios' [ebriosa Haupt] autem Catullum dixisse putant aut 'ebriosos' [ebriosos Haupt] – nam id quoque temere scriptum inuenitur –, in libros scilicet de corruptis exemplaribus factos inciderunt.

### II. Catullus in the Middle Ages

#### The 7<sup>th</sup> or the 8<sup>th</sup> century: Catullus in the *Anthologia Thuanea*

*T* = *Codex Thuaneus* = Parisinus lat. 8071

Ca. 850-875, Northern France (near Auxerre?)

Catullus 62 on folios 51r-51v.

Another poem of Catullus' on the lost final folio?

Contains an earlier anthology put together some time between ca. 610 and 790 A.D.

#### The 10<sup>th</sup> century: Catullus in Verona

Ratherius, Bishop of Verona, says in 966 A.D. that he is reading Catullus

Ratherius, *Sermo de Maria et Martha* 4 (Reece 1969: 86 ~ Reid 1976: 147-148)

... quid de me dicere, quid ualeo cogitare (et ut turpia subsidens honesta solum, prohibita licet, depromam), si in lege Dei, ut debitorem me fore non nescio, die <non> meditor et nocte, Catullum nunquam antea lectum, Plautum quando iam olim lego neglectum ... ?

die <non> *suppleuit Ballerini*

#### By the 11<sup>th</sup> century

Cat. 37.18 *cuniculosae Celtiberiae fili*

Quoted by Priscian, *Institutiones* 5.77 and 7.22

All MSS. of Priscian have forms that must go back to *celtiberosae celtiberiae fili* ...

... but Köln, Dombibliothek 202 (copied ca. 1000 A.D.) has *cuniculosae* in the text at 7.22 (though not at 5.77)

### Echoes of Catullus in medieval authors?

Echoes of Catullus have been detected in Heiricus of Auxerre, William of Malmesbury, Agius of Corvey, Albertino Mussato, Lovato Lovati...

The supposed echoes in Lovati are not convincing: see Ludwig 1986 and Kiss 2011. The rest calls for further study.

### **III. The return (?) of Catullus to Verona around 1300 A.D.**

#### A poem by Benvenuto de' Campesani (ca. 1250/55 – 1321)

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

Ad patriam uenio longis a finibus exul  
Causa mei reditus compatriota fuit.  
Scilicet a calamis tribuit cui Francia nomen  
Quique notat turbe pretereuntis iter.  
Quo licet ingenio uestrum celebrate Catullum        5  
Cuius sub modio clausa papirus erat.

*Textum praebent codices Catulliani GR multique recentiores.*

Versus ... Veronensis om. R || 5 quo libet manus prima codicis Harleiani 2574 in margine, sicut conieceram: quom licet Pleitner | ingenue Pleitner | celebrare codices recentiores uiginti, coni. Olszaniec

#### Who knew Catullus in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century?

before 1324	Benvenuto dei Campesani, <i>Versus de resurectione</i> ...	Verona
before 1314	Benzo d'Alessandria, <i>Cronica</i>	Northern Italy
ca. 1315	Geremia da Montagnone, <i>Compendium moralium notabilium</i>	Northern Italy
1329	[Guglielmo da Pastrengo?,] <i>Flores moralium auctoritatum</i>	Verona
ca. 1330-60	Guglielmo da Pastrengo, <i>De viris illustribus</i> and <i>De originibus rerum</i>	Verona
1345-48	Petrarch	Verona

### **IV. The complete manuscripts**

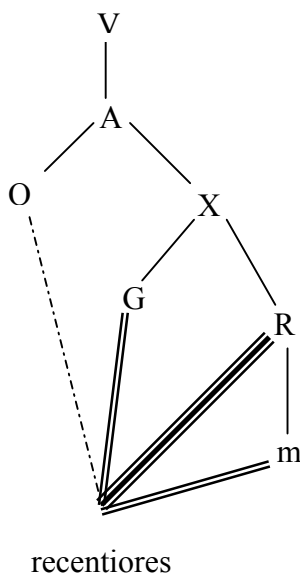
#### The 'principal manuscripts'

- O** Oxoniensis                      Northern Italy (Verona?), 14<sup>th</sup> century (middle??)  
= Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonicianus class. lat. 30.  
**G** Sangermanensis                Verona, 1375  
= Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Parisinus lat. 14137.  
**R** Romanus                         Florence, 1375-1392 (1390-92?)  
= Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobonianus lat. 1829.

#### 120+ codices recentiores, among them:

- m** Marcianus                         Florence, ca. 1395-1410  
= Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marcianus lat. 12.80 (4167)  
**Ricc** Riccardianus                Italy, 1457?  
= Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Riccardiana, 606  
**D** Datanus                            Italy (Northeast?), 1460  
= Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Diez. B. Sant. 37  
**L** Laurentianus                    Italy, ca. 1450-60?  
= Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Diez. B. Sant. 36

## V. The *stemma codicum* according to Thomson 1997, simplified



## VI. The doubts of Reeve

Reeve 1980 179-180: “[Mynors’] bare statement that all the other manuscripts *a codicibus OGR originem aut duxerunt aut, quod nobis idem valet, duxisse possunt* leaves many questions unasked, and suspicious natures may consider it a little too neat that out of 100-odd manuscripts all the rest should derive from the only three that antedate 1395.”

## VII. Three questions

- 1a. Do the *codices recentiores* descend solely from *O*, *G* and *R*?
- 1b. Do the *codices recentiores* contain occasional readings from manuscripts that are independent from *O*, *G* and *R*?
2. Why is the text of Catullus so corrupt? When and how was it damaged to such a degree?

## VIII. The “base text” of the *codices recentiores* descends from *X*

Reeve 1980 180: “[D]oes *O* ever present the truth against united opposition?”

NB. The cursive numbers refer to the *codices recentiores* as listed by Thomson 1997, with the additions of Kiss 2012.  
 $\omega$  refers to the first reading in all *codices recentiores* for which it is not mentioned explicitly.

68.66 tale fuit nobis Allius auxilium

allius in contextu et uel manlius ad finem uersus *O* : manlius *GRm* $\omega$  8<sup>27</sup> 65<sup>1</sup> : mallius 4<sup>17</sup> 5 11 14 16 16a 19 19a 35 50 61 63-5 68-9 73 77 79 82 83<sup>1</sup> 91 100 104-6 111-3 123-4 126-7 : malius 8<sup>?</sup> 22 27 38 41 60 70<sup>1</sup> 71 76 91 93 95 98<sup>2</sup> 103 117 121 : mamlius 12 39 45 : manilius 37 90 : manlius 110 : maluit 70 : mellius 83 : manlius 43 | uersus deest in codicibus 1 10a 32-3 47 51 55 67 96 102 125

61.102 lenta sed uelut adsitas

lenta sed *O* 86 : lentaque *Rm* $\omega$  : lenta que *G* 7<sup>27</sup> 8 12 16 20 23<sup>1</sup> 24 27 37 39 42 44 48 50 53 66 68-70 75 78<sup>2</sup> 79 83<sup>2</sup> 85 96 98 102 107-8 110 118 122 126 128 : lenta qui 8 14 17 30 106 113 118<sup>2</sup> : leta que 7 : lenta quin *coni.* *Avantius* : lenta quei *coni.* *Scaliger* | uersus deest in codicibus 32-3

66.55 isque per aetherias me tollens auolat umbras

auolat *O* 68 : aduolat *GRm* $\omega$  : ad uolat 53 65 : aduollat 114 : aduelat 37 : ad uolet 43 | uersus deest in codicibus 1 32-3 47 51 55 67 102 125

## IX. A textual problem: Catullus 55.9

### Catullus 55.6-12 according to Thomson 1997

	in Magni simul ambulatione femellas omnes, amice, prendi, quas uultu uidi tamen sereno. †auelte† (sic usque flagitabam)	Meanwhile, in the portico of [Pompey] the Great I took hold of all the little women, my friend, although I saw that their face was tranquil. ... thus I kept demanding ceaselessly:
10	“Camerium mihi, pessimae puellae!” quaedam inquit, nudum reduc<ta pectus,> “en hic in roseis latet papillis.”	“Camerius to me, you naughty girls!” One of them said, <taking out?> her empty breast: “He is hiding here among these rosy nipples.”

8 sereno *Par. lat.* 7989: serena *OGR*: serenae *MSS. recentiores nonnulli* || 9 hunc uersum post sequentem transposuit Heyworth | auelte *OGR*: audite *MS. Tomacellianus*: ah uel te *MS. Bruxellensis*: has uel te *Scaliger*: at uel te *Hand*: has ut te *Froehlich*: ‘Aulum’ te *Heyse*: a queis te *Pohl*: atque te *Riese*: auens te *aut* has uellens *Schwabe*: uisens te *aut* cernens te *Baehrens*: aeger te *Peiper*: reddatis *Foster*: aufertis *Goold*: audite en *D.F.S. Thomson*: efferte en *Harrison*: adferte huc *Green*: alii alia | usque *Munro*: ipse *OGR*: saepe nescio quis saec. *XVI*: inde *Baehrens* | ‘non est istic ipse?’ flagitabam *Hermes* || 11 reduc<ta pectus> *Ellis*: <sinum> reduc<e> *Vossius*: <sinum> reclud<ens> *Riese*: reduc <amicum> *Baehrens*: alii alia

### A new reconstruction of Catullus 55.9-10

atque te sic usque flagitabam: “<... .. redditote> Camerium mihi, pessimae puellae!”	And I kept demanding you ceaselessly from them: <“... .. return> Camerius to me, you naughty girls!”
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## X. A series of connected problems: Catullus 54 and 54b

### Catullus 54 and 54b according to Thomson 1997

Othonis caput oppido est pusillum; at, mi Rustice, semilauta crura, subtile et leue peditum Libonis, si non omnia, displicere uellem 54.5 tibi et Sufficio seni recocto.	Otho’s head is exceedingly small; but, my Rusticus, the half-washed legs, Libo’s thin and light fart, if not everything, I would hope that it should displease you and that recooked old man Sufficius.
54b.1 Irascere iterum meis iambis inmerentibus, unice imperator.	You will get angry once again at my undeserving iambi, you unique commander.

54.1 est *del. Scaliger* || 2 at, mi *Thomson*: et eri *OG*: et heri *R*: Heri *Muretus*: Vetti *Vossius*: Arri *Herrmann*: Hirti *Oksala*: uestri *Green*: alii alia | rustice *OGR*: rustica *Avancius* || 4 carminis noui initium esse indicauit *Pleitner* | omnibus temptabam || 5 sufficio *OGR*: Fuffitio *Scaliger*: Sulpicio *Froehlich*: Fuficio *Haupt*: Publicio *Hermes*: Fufidio *Kroll*: alii alia || 54b.1 carminis noui initium esse indicauit *Victorius*

### Catullus 52 according to Thomson 1997

Quid est, Catulle? quid moraris emori? sella in curuli struma Nonius sedet; per consulatum peierat Vatinius; quid est, Catulle? quid moraris emori?	What’s up, Catullus? Why don’t you die straight away? That goiter Nonius is sitting on the curule chair, Vatinius swears false oaths by his consulship; what’s up, Catullus? Why don’t you die straight away?
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### A new reconstruction of Catullus 54-54b

Othonis caput oppido [est] pusillum, Hirti rustica semilauta crura, subtile et leue peditum Libonis si non omnibus, displicere uellem 54.5 tibi et Fuficio seni recocto.	Otho’s exceedingly small head, Hirtius’ boorish, half-washed legs, Libo’s thin and light fart, I would hope that they should displease, if not everybody, [at least] you and that recooked old man Fuficius.
54b.1 irascere iterum meis iambis inmerentibus, unice imperator.	You will get angry once again at my undeserving iambs, you unique commander.

## Catullus and C. Iulius Caesar

Suetonius, *Iul.* 73 Valerium Catullum, a quo sibi uersiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulauerat, satis facientem eadem die adhibuit cenae hospitioque patris eius, sicut consuerat, uti perseuerauit.

“He did not hide the fact that Valerius Catullus had cast on him an everlasting mark of infamy with his verses on Mamurra, but when the man apologised, he invited him to dinner the very same day, and he continued to make use of the hospitality of his father, as he had been used to.”

## **Select bibliography**

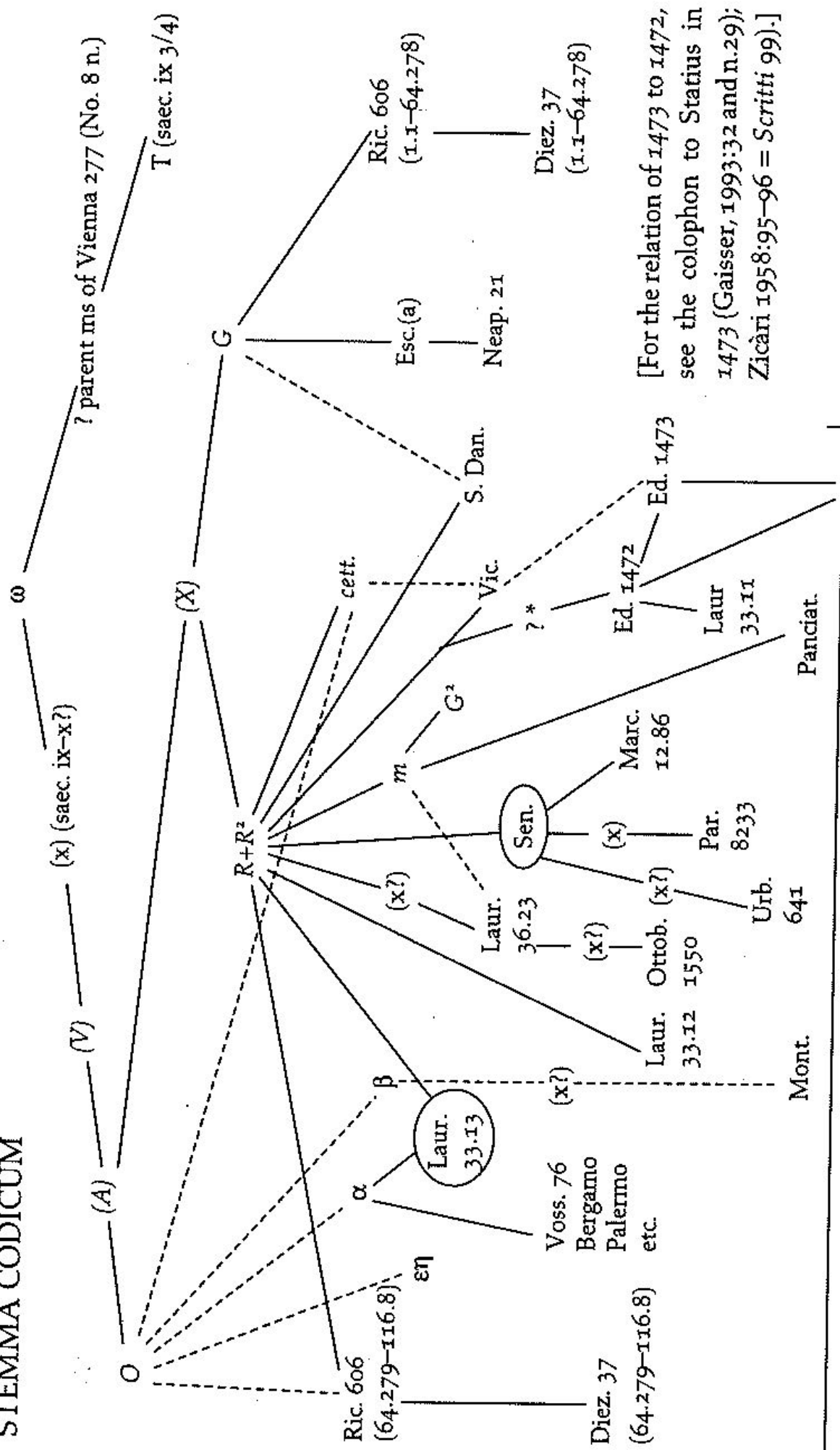
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## **Catullus Online**

[www.catullusonline.org](http://www.catullusonline.org)

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# STEMMA CODICUM



Editiones 1475-1500

ed. Ald. (1502)

R<sup>a</sup> (saec. xvi)

A manuscript (probably destroyed by the printer) similar to Lond. 1915; see Zicari (1957) 157 = Scritti 106