Vergil's Debt to Catullus

by R. E. H. Westendorp Boerma (University of Groningen)

In studying Vergil we are struck again and again by reminiscences of Catullus. Not only in the 4th Eclogue or the Dido-book, in nearly every Eclogue, in every book of the Georgics and the Aeneid either verbal similarities or some affinity in thought or mood can be found. Much has been written on Vergil's sources and predecessors, perhaps too much, but I think in this respect there is a gap, and my opinion is confirmed by K. Büchner: 'eine Darstellung der Beziehungen Catulls und Vergils fehlt'.

Of course many references are given in general studies, biographies, commentaries, in Schuster's edition of Catullus in calce paginae (although very incomplete); some special papers have been dedicated to the relations of the 4th Eclogue and Catullus' 64th poem; Norden's commentary on Aeneid VI gives sometimes circumstantial information, but an exhaustive study has not yet been written. Nor can this be my purpose in a limited paper; I only propose to make a sketch, to collect some striking parallels and to try and give an explanation of this fact.

But first of all we must be clear about a few things: to look for verbal reminiscences in Latin literature is the vogue nowadays, but it can be a sterile and even a dangerous method. Mr. Wilkinson in a recent essay on Greek influence on the poetry of Ovid gave a sensible warning in this respect: 'far more important is the recognition of ideas which are conventional', and further on (p. 243): 'One cannot help feeling that our energies ought now to be concentrated, first of all on the study of the poet's own environment... and then on the appreciation of the poems themselves as works of art...'

This is quite true, but all the same I hope that a paper such as this may contribute to a better understanding of the poet's mind and art. I am well aware that the search for verbal echoes of Catullus in Vergil's poetry is a precarious enterprise; it provides several hundreds of parallels, but we have to strike out most of them as irrelevant. Let me give an example: the expression Iuppiter omnipotens (Catul. 64, 171 and Aen. IV 206) ultimately goes back to Ennius (cp. Non. 111, 15 and Serv. ad Aen. I 254). Now this is the case with a great many expressions which are often quoted as Catullan echoes in Vergil, but in reality were first used by Ennius 'in a form convenient for dactylic verse... and became part of the common stock available to all poets'; Aen. III 21 caelicolum regi might remind us of Catul. 68, 138 Inno, maxima caelicolum, but Ennius had already optima caelicolum, Saturnia (ap. Prisc. XVII 192 H.). The common verse-ending (neglecto) numine divum (Catul. 64, 134), corresponding with Vergil's sine numine divum (Aen. VI 368; cp. II 336, 777; III 363 etc.)

2 Something of this kind, but with Catullus as his base, has been done by Frank M. Debatin, Catullus — a pivotal personality, Class. Journ. XXVI, 1930, p. 207—222.
and the Homeric phrase ὁιὸν ἄρης ἰδὼν, will primarily have been Ennian, although a strict parallel can not be shown; but he had the verse-ending divom (Ann. 456) and Cic. De Cons. fr. 3,70 also closed a verse with numine divos 6. In cases like this we should speak of common phrases and Vergil certainly did not take them from Catullus.

In a paper like this, therefore, we ought to look for direct influence, and even there we are quite likely to draw false conclusions, either through the lack of earlier, common sources or by overlooking them. Catullus and Vergil had had nearly the same education, they were both great readers and drew freely and often unconsciously from the rich stores in their memories.

Another point that might be controversial is whether we are allowed to cite the Appendix Vergilianae in our argumentation. I think, and this is the opinion of most Latin scholars in English- and German-speaking countries now, that we must regard all of it as spurious except some pieces of the Catalepton. The numbers 5 and 8 are generally accepted as Vergilian; scholars are at variance about the others, but personally I think that 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11 and 12 are Vergil’s too, written in his college-days in Rome, but never published 6; they are occasional poems, partly in a mocking way, some no more than a rhetorical exercise, but on the whole corresponding with the biographical information of the Vitae Vergilianae.

I do not at all approve of the ingenious, but sometimes rather fantastical reconstructions of Vergil’s life by De Witt, Tenney Frank or Rostagni, but we may trust at least some particulars of Donatus? : initia aetas Cremonae egit usque ad virilém togam, quam XV anno 8 natali suo accept . . . a Cremona Mediolanum et inde paulo post transit in urbem. The words paulo post are of course vague, but we can safely assume that young Vergil came to Rome about 54 or 53 B.C.

Now these years are significant: the time of Catullus’ death is still not fixed and some scholars hold that he lived as late as 47 B.C., which would suit my present purpose quite neatly; but I think their arguments are not strong enough and I prefer to maintain the common opinion that Catullus died about 54 or 53 B.C., i.e. the very time that our student entered the literary circles in the capital and applied himself to rhetorical and philosophical studies, and esp. to wide reading. I need not go into the details of the literary movement of these years, the revolutionary mind of the poetae novi 9 and their epigones, with their vivid interest in Alexandrian poetry, their laborious imitations of Greek epyllia and epithalamia, their experiments in lyric metres, in epigram and elegy, their unwearying industry in mastering technical artistry and Greek mythology.

It is certain that for Vergil, a timid boy from the country, a new world opened when he was introduced into these cultivated circles (by Gallus?). It is a

6 I have set forth my reasons in: P. Vergili Maronis libelli qui inscribitur Catalepton I, 1949, p. XXXI—XLVIII, and I still do not think any convincing argument has been put forward against their authenticity.
7 I. Brummer, Vitae Vergilianae, 1912, Vita Donatiana 20 sqq.
8 XVII anno is generally considered a blunder and I am puzzled as to why C. Hardie in his Oxford-edition of the Vitae (1950) should not have corrected it.
pity that because of the scarcity of the fragments of these repetegol their direct influence on Vergil can hardly be shown, but his sincere admiration for Helvius Cinna, one of the most prominent members of the group, is quite outspoken in the famous verses of Ecl. 9, 35—36:

nam neque adhuc Vario videor nec dicere Cinna
digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olores.

Is it strange that the young poet in his student-days, in which the impressions of this modern poetry must have been overwhelming, took a fancy to the neoterics and especially to Catullus, who had recently died and was already quite famous? His poetry must have been the centre of conversation in literary circles, just as would happen in modern times after the premature death of a poet or painter. What is more natural than to suppose that between 53 and 45 B.C. Vergil wrote many a poem in the style of Catullus, imitating his metrical skill, his original diction and even the desultory topics of his nugas and epigrams? It might be objected that the two men were quite different in temper and character and that Vergil surely loathed the crude side of Catullus' poetry with its abusive language. But it should be borne in mind that we are dealing here with a young man, a freshman really, who will later have full opportunity to mature and to develop his tastes and talents. We might see a similar difference between young Horace in the early days of his Epodes and the mature poet of the Odes. But it is indeed quite possible that even in his youth Vergil abhorred certain features of Catullus; nevertheless the points of contact between them are evident: they came from the same region, their difference in age is not so very large; they had had a similar education. But above all the personal element in Catullus' poetry, which was quite new in Latin literature, must have appealed to Vergil's vivid interest, his tenderness (Catul. 31 or 46), his sincere love for his brother (101), his genuine friendship, the music and rhythm of the verses and in general the freshness and modernness of this poetry.

At any rate, his admiration for Catullus is conspicuous in the small poems of the Catalepton. The imitation here is so clear, that whoever of the poet's friends read or rather heard them, must have recognized the model; a good illustration is the last verse of Catal. 6: gener socerque, perdistis omnia, an echo of Catullus' hit on Mamurra's protectors (29, 24) socer generique, perdistis omnia. The poet meant this imitation to be understood as such, for in the preceding line he wrote ut ille versus usquequequa pertinet (another evidence of Catullus' celebrity!).

Another example of honoring imitation is the famous parody of Catul. 4 Phasellus ille, quem videtis, hospites, in the 10th poem of the Catalepton: Sabinus ille, quem videtis, hospites, a witty, but also technically first-rate performance, perhaps an exercise in rivalry with friends.

11 Cp. M. Schuster, P. IIV. s.v. Valerius, col. 2400 sqq.: he was soon cited, e.g. by Varro, L.L. VII 50; Asinius Pollio wrote about him (Charis. G.L. K. 97, 10); Nepos, Att. 12.4 contributes to his praise.
These are obvious and intentional imitations; but the spirit of all of these small pieces reminds the reader of Catullus' *nugae* or epigrams: the personal feelings of the poet are conspicuous everywhere, his relations to friends or enemies, allusions to contemporaries (an element still present in the Eclogues); nearly every poem shows some imitation of one of Catullus': 3 ridicules the pronunciation of a rhetor Annius Cimber (cp. Catullus' Arrius with his affected *commoda* in 84); even Catul. 8, written in a really Vergilian mood, the apostrophe of Siro's *villula*, reminds one of Catul. 31 *Paeae insularum, Sirmio*, or 44 *O funde mater, seu Sabine seu Tibiris*; and the moving farewell to his friends in 5 *Vale, Sabine*, is an echo of Catul. 46, 9 *O, dulces comitum, valete, coeius*.

I might further point out the metrical peculiarities, the frequent use of diminutives, alliteration, anaphora, parallels in diction (words like *stupor* = 'blockhead', *putidus*, etc.). But enough; if we have in these small poems authentic juvenile poetry by Vergil, it is certain that this first work was completely influenced by Catullus. What Theocritus was for the Eclogues, Catullus was for the *Catalepton*.

Let us turn now to Vergil's undoubtedly authentic and published works. When he wrote his *Bucolics*, he was a full-grown, widely read man. Why did he choose bucolic poetry with Theocritus as his guide? Is it an abrupt transition and a turning aside from the neoteric school? Not at all; Klingner put it thus 13: 'Der Gedanke, gerade dies zu beginnen, fügt sich in die damals modernen Bestrebungen der *poetae novi* ein. Vergleichbar sind die Versuche Catulls und seiner Kunstgenossen und die der *cantores Euphorionis*. Was Vergil betrifft, so vereinigt sich seine Modernität mit einem gewissen Klassizismus'. This is quite true; the idea itself was very modern and, although gradually building up a new and truly classic art, the poet kept contact with his own time, with the modern trend in poetry and so with Catullus. I quoted Ecl. 9,35 with his praise of Cinna, whose *Zmyrna* was equally admired by Catullus (95, 1). His friend Gallus, who wrote 4 books of elegies, the *Amores*, probably in true Alexandrian and mythographic style as a disciple of Parthenius, comes in for lavish eulogy in the 6th and 10th Eclogue. So the spirit of the neoterics is really present. Catullus himself is not mentioned by name, but his influence is clearly discernible.

The verbal reminiscences are too many to be merely accidental. Here are a few of them:

- Ecl. 2,13 *sole sub ardenti*...; the same beginning of a line in Catul. 64, 354.
- Ecl. 3, 16 *Quid domini faciant, andent cum talia fures?*
- Catul. 66, 47 *Quid facient crines, cum ferro talia cedant?*
- Ecl. 5, 28 *montesque feri; Catul. 63, 89 nemora fera.*

The construction of *dignus* with an infin. in Catul. 68,131 is repeated by Vergil in Ecl. 5, 54 *cantari dignus* and 89 *dignus amari*; it will become frequent in Augustan poetry.

The verse-ending *Vesper Olympos* (Catul. 62, 1) recurs in a quite different meaning in Ecl. 6, 86.

- Ecl. 8, 31 *Sparge, mariet, nubes: tibi deserit Hesperus Oetam* recalls two lines of Catullus' famous epithalamia, viz. the refrain in 61, 135 and 140 *concubine, nubes da* and 62, 7 *nimium Oetas os terdidit Noctifer ignes.*

13 *L'influence grecque sur la poésie latine*, etc., p. 132.
The beginning of the line Ecl. 8, 108 Nescio quid certe est is exactly the same as Catul. 80, 5.

But the most striking and significant influence is seen in Vergil's Messianic Eclogue 14. Catullus' epyllion (64), the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, with the tragedy of Ariadne inserted in a truly Hellenistic way, made a lasting impression on Vergil. This is no wonder at all. Wheeler made a careful study of the poem 15 and, even in looking for its Greek sources, he stressed the new elements Catullus introduced into the traditional stories, esp. the love-element, and he ends thus: 'The art of Catullus as a story teller is here ultra-modern' (p. 152). What Vergil owes to Ariadne's character in creating his Dido, will be seen later; here, in the 4th Eclogue, some other ideas of the epyllion are picked up, but completely altered to suit the context 16, e.g. Vergil's description of the future Golden Age (15—17):

\[
\text{Ille deum vitam accipiet, divisque videbit}
\]
\[
\text{permixtos heros et ipse videbitur illis}
\]
\[
\text{pataetumque regat patriis virtutibus orbem}
\]

is strongly reminiscent of Catullus' picture of the Heroic Age in the past 64, 384

\[
\text{praesentes namque ante domos invisere castas}
\]
\[
\text{heroum et sese mortali ostendere coetu}
\]
\[
\text{caelicoleae nonum spretat pietate soletant.}
\]

Man's sins, says Catullus (397), have now driven away righteousness:

\[
\text{instiitiamque omnes cupida de mente fugarunt, while Vergil (14 sqq.) sketches}
\]
\[
\text{the happy times, when the wonder-child will grow up, in these words:}
\]
\[
\text{siqua manent sceleris vestigia nostris,}
\]
\[
\text{irrita perpetua solvent formidine terras, etc.}
\]

The refrain of the Fates-song in Catullus

\[
\text{currte ducentos subtegmina, currte, fusil}
\]

is echoed by Vergil in line 46

\[
\text{'talia saecla snis dixerunt 'currte' jusis}
\]
\[
\text{conordes stabili fatorum numine Parcae.}
\]

Catullus prophesies the future greatness of Achilles (338 sqq.); Vergil says (36)

\[
\text{atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles}
\]

Ecl. 4, 40 with the stress on the emphatically placed negations

\[
\text{Non rastro patietur humus, non vinea falcem,}
\]

resembles Catul. 64, 39, where the meaning is quite different:

\[
\text{non humilis curvis purgatur vinea rastris}
\]

14 B. Stumpo, Quaestionesque quae ad Catulli carmen LXIV et Vergilii Eclogam IV pertinere, Nicotia 1903.  
16 D. A. Slater, Was the fourth Eclogue written to celebrate the marriage of Octavia to Mark Antony?, Class. Rev. XXVI, 1912, p. 114—119.  
18 L. Hermann, Le poe me 64 de Catulle et Virgile, Rev. Et. Lat. VIII, 1930, p. 211 sqqq.  
19 Catullus and the traditions etc., p. 120—152.  
21 A similar verbal reminiscence is Ecl. 4, 31 prisciae vestigia fruidis in comparison with Catul. 64, 295 veteris vestigia poeae.
Elements from the 61st epithalamium too seem to have come in; when Vergil describes how the child will rule the world *patriis virtutibus* (17), we are reminded of the beautiful strophe in which Catullus expresses his wish that the future child of Torquatus and Aurunculeia

*sit suo similis patri
Manlio et facile inscicies
noscit etur ab omnibus*.

The thought here has of course been conventional since the days of Homer, but the end of the 4th Eclogue, esp. 60

*Incipe, parve puér, risu cognoscere matrem*

is certainly a typically Vergilian imitation of Catul. 61, 219, where the poet wishes that the yet unborn child

*dulce rideat ad patrem
semibiante labello.*

What was a prayer in Catullus, is in Vergil a gentle command addressed to the child itself. But the whole picture of the first signs of the recognition of his parents by the child is the same.

So we see, and this conclusion is not at all new, that the 4th Eclogue owes very much to Catullus; I did not even speak of the more technical points. The imitation is typical for Vergil’s art in general: when a traditional thought or a verbal echo is used, the meaning is adapted to the context and the result is amazingly beautiful.

In the *Georgics* imitation of this kind is scarce, as can be expected. The Hellenistic didactic poetry which was very popular in Rome (Cicero *De Oraet.* I, 69 speaks in the highest terms of the poetical diction of Aratus and Nicander) can hardly have appealed to Catullus, and therefore the Georgics and Catullus have little in common. When we find some literary parallels, they remind us mostly of the longer, dactylic poems of Catullus; most of them are, in my opinion, merely accidental: Vergil knew his Catullus by heart and the rhythm of the hexameter itself now and then led to a similar expression:

*e.g. Georg. I 50 ... prius ignotum ferro quam scindimus aequor (= the field).
Catul. 64, 12 (nAVIS) quae simulac rostro ventosum proscidunt aequor (= the sea).*

We have a similar verse-ending *limite campum* in Georg. I 126 and Catul. 68, 67.

*Georg. I 203 atque illum (the rowing-boat) in praeceps prono raptit alvens amni.*

*Catul. 65, 23 atque illud (the apple from the blushing maiden's lap) prono praeceps agitur decursu.*

*Georg. I 495 exesa inveniet scabra robigine pila.*

18 Cp. E. Marion Smith I.1.
19 61, 221—3.
20 The *Torquatus ... parvulus* (216) will be in the mind of every reader of *Aen.* IV 328 *parvulus ... Aeneas.*
21 Jackson Knight, *Roman Vergil*, p. 271—2: ‘The Fourth Eclogue, perhaps the most Catullan of Vergil’s certain poems, recalls the hexameters of Catullus in phrases, in the unity of single lines, in schematization of balanced word order, and in the quality of the verse groups.’

56
Catul. 68, 151 *ne vos trium scabra tangat rubigine nomen.*

The apostrophe *o decus* in Georg. II 40 is also the beginning of Catul. 64, 323. It is easy to collect some 30 or 40 more or less striking examples of this kind.

More interesting and more significant for our knowledge of Vergil's taste is Georg. II 105:

*quem (sc. numerum) qui scire velit, Libyci velit aequoris idem
discere quam multae Zephyro turbentur harenae,*

which is the same *ādōvator* as Catul. 7, 3:

*quam magnus numerus Libysae arenae
taspiciferis iacet Cyrenis.*

This charming and modern piece of Catullus greatly appealed to Vergil, for the famous line 7 of this love-song on Lesbia

*auct quam sidera multa, cum tacet nox*

with its monosyllabic ending was certainly in Vergil's mind, when he wrote

*...aut intempera silet nox* (Georg. I 247).

Nor can the similarity in meaning and diction be accidental in Georg. II 510 ... *gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum* and Catul. 64, 399 *perjudere manus fraterno sanguine fratres.*

Very conspicuous, however, are these lines:

Georg. III 515 *Ecce ante tem duro femans sub vomere taurus* and

Catul. 64, 40 *non glabrum prono convellit vomere taurus,*

both beginning with four heavy spondees and ending with two similar words.

On the whole it is clear that, in spite of the large divergence in subject, even when composing his Georgics, Vergil's mind had never lost touch with the poetry of Catullus.

In the *Aeneid* imitation of Catullus, whether consciously or subconsciously, is very frequent and exactly fits in with the poet's process of developing a new art. It is well known how admirably Vergil adapted his wide knowledge of Greek and Latin poets, how a legendary or traditional theme, how single expressions, Homeric comparisons and Ennian phrases, in his hands became the unique poetical pattern of the masterpiece of Latin literature, the *Aeneid.*

Much has been written on his method in his derivations from Ennius and Lucretius; equally well-known is the fact that Catullus too furnished his share of expressions, metaphors and ideas in the process of this integration. They are so many that it seems proper to try some classification of the various influences of Catullus, if only for the sake of brevity, though it is difficult to draw a hard and fast line.

1° Verbal echoes, often quite fortuitous, I think, and caused by the fact that the poet retained Catullus in his mind, exactly as he did Lucretius' and Ennius' lines, e.g. the same beginning of an hexameter X 362 (*Catul. 64, 251*) *at parte ex alia* ... ;

2° Conscious imitation in a single phrase or a whole line, e.g. Aen. I 91 ...

*intentant omnia mortem* and Catul. 64, 187 ...

*ostentant omnia letum.*

3° Adaptation of an image, an idea, a situation, a mental picture that had stuck in Vergil's mind, e.g. Ariadne's laments in Catul. 64.

22 Jackson Knight, *Roman Vergil*, p. 85 sqq.
Nearly all of these reminiscences bear upon Catullus' larger poems, viz. 61—68, and of course esp. upon 64, the *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis*, because of its epical and at the same time romantic character, its dactylic metre and its length. One of my students who looked for Catullan echoes in the *Aeneid* and took down only parallels cited in the various commentaries, came to a total of 168, more than 100 of which referred to Catul. 64. When critically scrutinizing them I am inclined to cancel a great many as being far-fetched, common poetical diction or of Ennian origin, but the percentage will still remain the same, at any rate above 50.

It seems justifiable not to dwell too long on the *first group*; its nature is controversial and, on closer inspection, many of these echoes have only a remote bearing upon Catullus: *Aen.* 1 409 *non datur ac veras andire et reddere voces* and a similar phrase in VI 689 in some commentaries is illustrated by Catul. 64, 166 *nec missas andire quern nec reddere voces* 23. It is of course quite possible that Vergil really recalled Catullus' line, but the expression *reddere voces* was common poetical stock: *Lucr.* IV 577, *Cic.* *De Divm.* I 13 (in a verse translation of Aratus) and even Varro used it.

The following quotations are perhaps more remarkable:

*Aen.* I 657 *At domus interior regali splendida luxu*

Catul. 64, 46 *tota domus gaudent regali splendida gaza.*

*Aen.* II 354 *Una salus victis...*

Catul. 76, 15 *una salus haec est...*

*Aen.* IV 10 *Quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes!*

Catul. 64, 176 *...requisset sedibus hospes!*

*Aen.* IV 171 *...furitivum... amorem*

Catul. 7, 8 *furitivos... amore.*

*Aen.* VI 255 *Ecce autem primi sub limina solis et ortus (lumina PR)*

Catul. 64, 271 *Aurora exoriente vagi sub limina Solis 24.*

Interesting too in *Aen.* VII 398 is the ending of the line: *Turnique canit hymenaeos* with the archaic lengthening of -it under influence of the ictus before a quadrisyllabic Greek word, clearly the same peculiarity as in Catul. 64, 20 *...non despexit hymenaeos.*

But it is time to stop this enumeration of purely verbal echoes 25.

The *second group* is much more interesting, for we ought to see here, and the readers were intended to recognize, conscious and therefore laudatory imitation. An example of this kind was given by Wheeler 26: Catullus had described the

---

23 E.g. by Frank M. Debatin I.1. p. 216.  
24 The reading *limina* in Catullus is certain; it is supported by some recent MSS, by the reading of V *sublimia* and esp. by the verb *exoriente.* And so Silius Ital. took it, when he repeated the beautiful metaphor of the threshold of light: *XVI* 229 *limine primo egreditens Aurora...* Indirectly this means a confirmation of the reading *limina* in Vergil's line. Cp. Norden's note ad *Aen.* VI 255.  
25 The interested reader might compare: *Aen.* I 180 and Catul. 64, 241; *A.* II 24 and C. 64, 133; *A.* IV 2 and C. 67, 25; *A.* IV 599 and C. 68, 119; *A.* V 209 and C. 64, 183; *A.* V 660 and C. 68, 102; *A.* VI 520 and C. 63, 1; *A.* VI 613 and C. 64, 404; *A.* IX 582 and C. 64, 227; *A.* XII 611 and C. 64, 224, etc.  
26 *Catullus and the traditions,* etc., p. 115—6.
labyrinth as *inobservabilis error* (64, 115), but Vergil altered it to *inextricabilis error* (Aen. VI 27). The cultured reader was expected to recognize it as a borrowing from Catullus; Vergil might have chosen the same expression, but he gave it a touch ‘that is quite his own’. Wheeler’s reasoning is quite correct, for this is exactly the common practice in Latin poetry and Vergil’s in particular, but he might better have chosen Aen. V 592, where the *ladus Troiae* is compared with the labyrinth: *qua signa sequendi falleret indeprensus et irre- mediabilis error*. Here we have a Neubildung, because *inextricabilis* had already been ventured on by Varro in connection with the labyrinth (according to Pliny *N.H.* 36, 91).

Jackson Knight 27 calls the adapting of a line from Catul. 66, 39 an unusual example, where a hair says to the Queen: *invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi*, which is transformed by Vergil to a tragic verse (VI 460), where Aeneas in Hades says to Dido: *invitus, regina, tuo de laore cessi*. I do not think it so unusual for Vergil and I am sure that it was highly appreciated by his contemporaries. We might add quite a number of these conscious inversions, where the words and the rhythm are nearly the same, but the meaning totally different and truly Vergilian:

Aen. II 746 *Ant quid in versa vidi crudelius urbe?*  
Catul. 62, 24 *Quid faciant hostes capta crudelius urbe?*

The words have a strong resemblance, but the construction is altered and the purpose nearly the opposite: in Vergil dramatic, in Catullus rather playful, in truly Hellenistic fashion.

To this group we might also assign:

Aen. I 91 ... *intentant omnia mortem*, a more striking expression than Catul. 64, 187 ... *ostentant omnia letum*. Aen. II 536 *di, si qua est caelo pietas*, where *pietas* comes near our notion of ‘righteousness’, reminds us of Catullus’ desperate prayer (76, 17) *o di, si vestrum est misereri*. Aen. III 514 (Palinurus) *auribus aëra captat* is perhaps an echo of Catul. 61, 54 *te ... novus captat aure maritus*.

In the 4th book the spirit of Ariadne’s tragedy in Catul. 64 is present everywhere. The love-motive and Ariadne’s desertion by Theseus, the sometimes similar situation automatically led to a similar vocabulary; the very first line of the Dido-book

*At regina, gravi iamändum saucia cura,*  
with the typically erotic sense of the last two words, seems to underline the fact that Catullus was one of the models (64, 250 *multiplices animo volvebat saucia curas*). Pease’s and Paratore’s commentaries are full of references of this kind. Suffice it to quote only a few:

Aen. IV 66 ... *est molles flamma medullas*  
Catul. 64, 93 ... *atque imis exarsit tota medullis*.

The image is of course already Homeric, it was to the taste of the Hellenistic poets, e.g. Callimachus (cp. Catul. 66, 23 ... *exedit cura medullas*) and Theocritus 30, 21 ὁ πόδος καὶ τῶν ἕνω μυκην ἐκθεί, but Catullus was the mediator (cp. 100, 7 cum vesana meas torreret flamma medullas; 45, 16; 35, 15; etc.) 28.

27 Roman *Vergil*, p. 90.  
Aen. IV 305 Dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum posse nefas...
Catul. 64, 132 Sicine me patriis avectam, perfide, ab aris, perfide, deserto liquisti in lustre, Theseus? 29
Aen. IV 316 per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos
Catul. 64, 141 sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos.

In general Dido's passionate laments and reproofs (IV 305—330 and 365—387) have much in common with Ariadne's (132—201), although in my opinion Vergil by far surpassed his predecessor who could not yet completely cast off rhetoric 30.

I will give two more examples of imitation in this book; Vergil likes to compare anger and fury with the wildly surging sea. So we read in IV.532 saevit amor magnique iram flunctat aestu, and nearly the same in IV.564 and on several other places elsewhere. It is modelled after Catullus 64, 62 magnis curarum flunctat undis (cp. also Lucr. III 298; VI 34 and 74).

Aen. IV 492 Testor, cari, deos et te, germana, tunicque dulce caput...
Catul. 66, 40 ... adiuro teque tunicque caput.

But enough; this 4th book is the most neoteric of the whole Aeneid, it comes nearest to Hellenistic poetry 31 and, together with the 4th Eclogue, owes most to Catullus.

From the 5th book two lines are worth quoting, for they illustrate perfectly what side of Catullus attracted Vergil most:
Aen. V 80 Salve, sancte parens, iterum salvete, recepti ... cinores
Catul. 64, 23 heroes, salvete, deum genus, o bona matrum progenies, salvete iterum!
Aen. V 724 Nate, mibi vita quondam, dum vita manebat, care magis, nate, ...
Catul. 64, 215 Gmate, mibi longe iocundior unice vita, gnate, ...

In the 6th book verbal echoes are very frequent, but really conscious imitation is not so evident; I have already quoted 27 and 460; I will add only one more:
Aen. VI 692 Quas ego te terras et quanta per aequor vectum accipio!
Catul. 101, 1 Multas per gentes et multa per aequor vectus advenio ...

Again it is small wonder that this beautiful and sensitive elegy for the dead brother stuck in Vergil's memory; when Aeneas pays his last homage to the lamented Pallas, we remember another line of it:
Aen. XI 97 ... Salve aeternum mibi, maxime Palla, aeternumque vale.

29 An equally emphatic perfide recurs in Aen. IV 366.
30 I am well aware that this is a matter of personal taste; Debatin I.I. p. 218 thinks that Vergil did not surpass his guide and that compared to Ariadne Dido is lacking in reality and conviction. 'The requirements of great dignity and solemnity in an epic hampered Vergil'.
31 R. Heinze, Vergils epische Technik, p. 133 and 371.
In the second half of the Aeneid intentional imitation of Catullus grows weaker in accordance with the change of subject. To put an end to this group I will discuss one more case:

Aen. VII 302 Quid Syrtes aut Scylla mibi, quid vasta Charybdis profuit?

Catul. 64, 156 quae Syrtis, quae Scylla rapax, quae vasta Charybdis again from Ariadne's lament; in Catullus it is quite commonplace, a traditional Greek thought and worked up in rhetorical fashion \(^{32}\) to picture the utmost hardness and cruelty: 'What monster conceived you and spewed you forth, what Syrtis etc.' Vergil using nearly the same words gives them quite another meaning in Juno's mouth.

We come now to the third group, which, of course, can not clearly be distinguished from the second; what I mean here is not similarity in single lines or parts of a verse, but in general ideas, comparisons, a certain trend in thought, etc. It is not possible to talk here about Vergil's development of Catullus' metrical technique or about the neoteric elements in the general composition of the Aeneid \(^{33}\); his debt in this respect is considerable, but I would violate the laws of hospitality in enlarging on these subjects too. So I will choose only a few examples to illustrate this more general feature.

We have already stated that Catullus' ideas in his epyllion C. 64 made a deep impression on Vergil; he developed some of them in his 4th Eclogue (the picture of the Golden Days when the wonder-child would grow up); of course, Catullus was nothing like his only source here, but the remarkable verbal echoes indicate that he was one; other elements are worked out in the Dido-book: the laments of the frustrated Ariadne (132-202), her bitter reproaches, her utter despair (177 nem quo me referam ...), her curse, in general the traits of her character recur in Dido's speeches.

I have also called attention to Catullus' epithalania 61 and 62; they touched Vergil just as they touch us, probably even more. The verbal echoes from the 62nd are widespread in all Vergil's works:

Catul. 62, 42 multi illum (sc. florem) pueri, multae optavere puellae;
Aen. XI 581 Multae illam frustra Tyrrhena per oppida matres optavere nurum;

Catul. 62, 7 ... Oetacos ostendit Noctifer ignes.
Ecl. 8, 31 ... tibi deserit Hesperus Oetam.
Catul. 62, 24 quid faciunt hostes etc. and Aen. II 746 (already quoted).

But especially he retained in his mind the beautiful strophe 39-48, where a maiden is compared with a flower growing up in a fenced in garden, nursed by the winds, strengthened by the sun, nourished by the rains, but

\[
\text{idem cum tenui carpitus desfloruit ungui,}
\text{nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae:}
\text{sic virgo... (43-6)}
\]

33 Cp. C. W. Mendell, The influence of the Epyllion on the Aeneid, Yale Class. Stud. XII, 1951, p. 205-226, who examined the structure of several parts of the Aeneid in connection with the technique of symmetrical composition by the neoteries and esp. Catullus (inserted episodes!). About the principle of 'a plot within a plot within a plot' cp. also Jackson Knight, Roman Vergil, p. 125 sqq.
This fine and poetical image which is used as the centre of the witty competition of bridesmen and maids and is answered by an equally jocular strophe, was elaborated by Vergil into a wholly tragical scene in Aen. XI 68—71, where dead Pallas is lying:

\[
\textit{qalem virginee demessum pollice florem,}
\textit{seu mollis violae seu languentis byacinthi,}
\textit{cui neque fulgor adhuc neculum sua forma recessit;}
\textit{non iam mater alit tellus viresque ministrat.}
\]

Again a very illustrative example of what Jackson Knight (p. 82) called Vergil's true 'integration' working on literary reminiscences that had been stored in his mind for a long time.

Sometimes a longer comparison in Carullus is shortened and we see no more than a flash:

Catul. 64, 353

\[
\textit{Namque velut densas praecerpens massor aristas}
\textit{sole sub ardentis flaventia demetit arva,}
\textit{Troingenam infesto prasteret corpora ferro.}
\]

Aen. X 513 (Aeneas)

\[
\textit{Proxima quaque metit gladio laumque per agmen}
\textit{ardens limitem agit ferro.}
\]

Most interesting perhaps is the way in which Vergil integrated the final strophe of Carullus 11 with the bitter lines of farewell to Lesbia:

\[
\textit{Nec maevum respectet, ut ante, amore}
\textit{qui illius culpa ceddit pulsat praeterea postquam}
\textit{ultimi flos, praetereneunte postquam}
\textit{tactus aratro est.}
\]

The image itself is conventional 34; Homer in his description of the death of a Trojan prince says (II. VIII 306):

\[
\textit{μήκων δ’ δς ἔτερωσε κόρη βάλειν, ἢ μ’ ἐν κήπῳ}
\textit{παρθένῳ βρυθμίζην νοτῖσι τε εἰδοὶν’}
\]

Nor the dying itself is the centre of the comparison here, but the sinking down of the head like a top-heavy flower.

In Sappho's frg. 105c (Lobel—Page)

\[
\textit{οὖν τάν δάκηνδον ἐν ὄψει παιμένες ἄνθος}
\textit{πόσις καταστέσοις, χάμα δὲ τε πόρφυρον ἄνθος}
\]

it is the pining away of life that is compared with the dying of a red flower.

In Catullus' strophe, quoted above, the falling down of his love is like a flower at the end of the meadow, touched by the passing plough.

Let us turn now to Vergil, Aen. IX 434—7, where the death of Eutyalus is described in these touching lines:

\[
\textit{It cruor inque numeros cervix collapsa recumbit:}
\textit{purpureus velut cum flos succus aratro}
\textit{languescit moriens, lassove papavera collo}
\textit{demiisere caput, pluvia cum forte gravantur.}
\]

Vergil combined the redness of the flower in Sappho, the dropping of the head

by the heavy rain in Homer and the cutting off by the plough in Catullus; the whole comparison, however, is finer and more delicate than all its models; it is a very good specimen of Vergil's workmanship.

It would be easy to extend this paper, but I do not aim at completeness and the examples given are quite sufficient to come to a conclusion. We have seen that Catullus' poetry sank deeply into Vergil's heart and we are not at all amazed. In his youth he had found in Rome a circle of poets who were profound admirers of Catullus and, although Vergil's character differed widely from that of Catullus, the freshness and modernness of this new poetry which shrilly contrasted with the rather conventional and limited Roman poetry then prevalent, must have appealed to him. In the Catidptm and in the Eclides this admiration for the neoterics is quite outspoken. But also when his genius had ripened he never forgot his Catullus, especially the tenderer and more personal elements, and I think that he knew most of Catullus' work by heart. Traits of it are visible in the Georgics and they are scattered throughout the Aeneid. We should be careful, however, not to overestimate the results of this inquiry, but rather admire the way in which these Catullan elements, just like those arising from his reading of Theocritus, Lucretius, Hesiod, Homer and scores of other poets, were turned over in the poet's mind to contribute to the creation of his new poetry, which was original and quite his own.
Acta Classica is published annually by the Classical Association of South Africa. The journal has been in production since 1958. It is listed on both the ISI and the SAPSE list of approved publications.

For further information go to: http://www.casa-kvsa.org.za/acta_classica.htm