WHAT CATULLUS WROTE



Problems in Textual Criticism, Editing and the Manuscript Tradition

Edited by

Dániel Kiss

What Catullus Wrote:
Problems in textual criticism, editing and the manuscript tradition

Editor
Dániel Kiss

Contributors
Giuseppe Gilberto Biondi, David Butterfield,
Julia Haig Gaisser, Stephen Heyworth, Dániel Kiss,
Antonio Ramírez de Verger



The Classical Press of Wales

First published in 2015 by
The Classical Press of Wales
15 Rosehill Terrace, Swansea SA1 6JN
Tel: +44 (0)1792 458397
www.classicalpressofwales.co.uk

Distributor
I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd,
6 Salem Rd,
London W2 4BU, UK
Tel.: +44 (0) 20 7243 1225
Fax: +44 (0) 20 7243 1226
www.ibtauris.com

Distributor in North America
ISD,
70 Enterprise Drive, Suite 2,
Bristol, CT 06010, USA
Tel: +1 (860) 584-6546
Fax: +1 (860) 516-4873
www.isdistribution.com

© 2015 The authors

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

ISBN 978-1-910589-06-9

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Typeset, printed and bound in the UK by Gomer Press, Llandysul, Ceredigion, Wales

---

The Classical Press of Wales, an independent venture, was founded in 1993, initially to support the work of classicists and ancient historians in Wales and their collaborators from further afield. More recently it has published work initiated by scholars internationally. While retaining a special loyalty to Wales and the Celtic countries, the Press welcomes scholarly contributions from all parts of the world.

The symbol of the Press is the Red Kite. This bird, once widespread in Britain, was reduced by 1905 to some five individuals confined to a small area known as 'The Desert of Wales' – the upper Tywi valley. Geneticists report that the stock was saved from terminal inbreeding by the arrival of one stray female bird from Germany. After much careful protection, the Red Kite now thrives – in Wales and beyond.

CONTENTS

		Page
	Preface	vii
	List of contributors	ix
	List of plates and images	xi
	Introduction: A sketch of the textual transmission *Dániel Kiss*	xiii
1	The lost *Codex Veronensis* and its descendants: three problems in Catullus's manuscript tradition *Dániel Kiss*	1
2	Catullus, Sabellico (& Co.) and ... Giorgio Pasquali *Giuseppe Gilberto Biondi*	29
3	Pontano's Catullus *Julia Haig Gaisser*	53
4	Nicolaus Heinsius's notes on Catullus *Antonio Ramírez de Verger*	93
5	*cui uideberis bella*: the influence of Baehrens and Housman on the text of Catullus *David Butterfield*	107
6	Poems 62, 67 and other Catullian dialogues *S. J. Heyworth*	129
	Bibliography	157
	Catullus's surviving manuscripts	173
	Index of manuscripts and annotated copies	179
	Index locorum	181
	General index	187

PREFACE

Textual criticism is often regarded as an arcane subject that is rendered the more difficult by the impossibility of reaching final conclusions. According to this view, questions regarding the text of a classical Greek or Roman author are best left to be settled by a qualified editor. He – for until recently almost all textual critics were male – will make up his mind while sipping claret in the seclusion of his study, and lesser mortals should defer to his superior judgement.

This volume presents the papers of a conference that tried to give the lie to this view by showing that reasoned debate can be as productive in textual criticism as in any other field. *What Catullus Wrote* took place in May 2011 at the Center for Advanced Studies of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. Its speakers were eight scholars of the field who represented a range of countries, generations, and academic traditions. Out of the eight papers that were delivered, this volume contains substantially revised versions of six; David McKie's contribution *Catullus 64.323–381: the song of the Fates* and Gail Trimble's paper *Textual problems in Catullus 64: the task of the commentator* could not be included.[1] The remaining papers have been revised substantially before publication. The volume also contains an introductory chapter that sets out our current knowledge of the transmission of the text of Catullus, and it is closed by a consolidated bibliography, a list of the surviving manuscripts of Catullus, and a set of indices.

These papers should demonstrate that fruitful discussion between scholars of classical textual criticism from different backgrounds is possible and indeed desirable. Such debate will produce conclusions that remain valid only so long as they are not overruled by a new argument. At times there remains space for legitimate dissent (and no attempt has been made to suppress it in this volume). In these respects textual criticism does not differ at all from other branches of scholarship. Its reputation for arbitrariness can probably be ascribed to the fact that having grown up in a late stage of the age of printing, we are used to carefully edited texts, and textual corruption strikes us not only as unfamiliar, but also as uncanny and somehow fundamentally wrong.[2] But a doubt that affects the reconstruction of a passage in Catullus is no different in kind from one that affects how the same passage should be interpreted, nor from one that

Return to Table of Contents

might affect Roman economic history in the late Republic. If textual criticism is difficult at times, that is not because it is arbitrary, nor because textual critics are incompetent, but because centuries of textual corruption have resulted in problems for some of which there is no easy solution. Faced with such difficulties, one can only make progress by strenuous and open-minded research. That is what this volume hopes to provide for one of the classical authors who have reached us in the most precarious state.

Acknowledgements

The conference *What Catullus Wrote* took place on 20 and 21 May 2011 at the Center for Advanced Studies of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. Funds for the conference and a contribution towards the publication costs of this volume were provided by the university's excellence initiative *LMUexcellent* through the research project *An Online Repertory of Conjectures for Catullus*. Susanne Schaffrath and her colleagues at the Center for Advanced Studies helped with their usual aplomb to make the conference a success. Anton Powell and John Trappes-Lomax have provided invaluable assistance in giving this book its final shape.

Dániel Kiss
November 2014

Notes

[1] There has been published a brief summary of these papers by Orazio Portuese in *BStudLat* 41 (2011), 764–5.

[2] It still has to be seen how attitudes towards texts will develop in the nascent digital age.

Return to Table of Contents

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

GIUSEPPE GILBERTO BIONDI is Professor of Latin Philology and Director of the Dipartimento di Antichistica, Lingue, Educazione, Filosofia at the Università di Parma. His publications include a monograph on the semantics of *cupidus* at Catullus 61.32, and a series of articles on the poet. Together with a group of younger colleagues he is pursuing a major research project on the manuscripts and the early editions of Catullus. He is editor of the journal *Paideia*, which has an annual section *Catulliana* that constitutes a permanent forum for scholarship on Catullus.

DAVID BUTTERFIELD is a University Lecturer in Ancient Literature and Fellow in Classics at Queens' College, Cambridge. He is the author of a comprehensive study of the early textual transmission of Lucretius, has edited the volume *A.E. Housman: Classical Scholar*, and has published numerous articles and essays on subjects that include Latin poetry, textual criticism and the history of Classical scholarship.

JULIA HAIG GAISSER is Eugenia Chase Guild Professor Emeritus in the Humanities and Professor Emeritus in Latin at Bryn Mawr College. A former president of the American Philological Association, she has written books and articles on a number of ancient authors, and has published several authoritative studies of Catullus. Her book *The Fortunes of Apuleius and the Golden Ass: A Study in Transmission and Reception* won the Charles J. Goodwin Award of the American Philological Association.

STEPHEN HEYWORTH is Bowra Fellow and Tutor in Classics at Wadham College, Oxford. He has edited the Oxford Classical Text of Propertius, together with a textual commentary, *Cynthia*, and then (with James Morwood) a commentary on Book 3. He has studied the text of Catullus for many years, and has published a number of notes and articles on the subject.

DÁNIEL KISS constructed *Catullus Online*, an online critical edition of the poems of Catullus with a repertory of conjectures, while he was Research Fellow and Junior Member of the Center for Advanced Studies at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. He is currently an Irish

Return to Table of Contents

Research Council Postdoctoral Research Fellow at University College Dublin. He has published a number of articles on Catullus and on other Greek and Roman authors, and is trying to map out the textual transmission of Catullus.

Antonio Ramírez de Verger is Professor of Latin Philology at the Universidad de Huelva. He has edited a range of texts including the poems of Catullus, Ovid's erotic poetry, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda's *De Orbo Novo* and Corippus' *Panegyricus of Justin II*. Currently he is leading an effort to study the entire manuscript tradition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Since 1997 he has been editor in chief of *Exemplaria Classica*, which is the only journal devoted to the textual criticism of Classical texts to appear today. He is a former Rector of the Universidad de Huelva.

Return to Table of Contents

LIST OF PLATES AND IMAGES

Plates (between pages xxiii and xxx)

I. *T* – Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 8071, fol. 51r
© Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2015.

II. III. Aberdeen, University Library, Inc. 165: Catullus 62 with Parrasio's marginalia
© University of Aberdeen, 2015.

IV. *O* – Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonicianus Class. Lat. 30, fol. 1r
© The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, 2015.

V. *O* – Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonicianus Class. Lat. 30, fol. 37v
© The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, 2015.

VI. *G* – Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 14137, fol. 36r
© Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2015.

VII. *R* –Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. lat. 1829, fol. 1r
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2015.

VIII. *m* – Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. XII, 80 (4167), fol. 29r
Image provided by kind permission of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo. © Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 2015. Reproduction not permitted.

Images

1. A partial *stemma codicum* of Catullus according to McKie – p. xviii

2. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatinus lat. 1652, fol. 30v (detail) – p. 31
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2015.

3. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus lat. 3272, fol. 141r (detail) – p. 32
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2015.

4. Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana 1167, fol. 4v (detail) – p. 32
© Biblioteca Oliveriana, Pesaro, 2015.

5. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 15, fol. 85v (detail) – p. 32
© Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, 2015.

6. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini lat. 34, fol. 106v (detail) – p. 47
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2015.

Return to Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION: A SKETCH OF THE TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION

There can be distinguished three stages in the transmission of the poems of Catullus. These coincide to a remarkable degree with three phases in European history: Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance.[1]

In Antiquity Catullus's poems were read widely. They are quoted or paraphrased by authors including M. Terentius Varro, both Senecas, both Plinies, Quintilian, Aulus Gellius, Apuleius, Ausonius and Macrobius, as well as a number of commentators, grammarians, and metrical writers.[2] There are echoes of Catullus's poems in Virgil, Propertius, Ovid, and a host of other poets, but also in verse inscriptions from Tibur (now Tivoli) near Rome, and from the area of Augusta Ausciorum (now Auch) in Southern France, which show that he was also read outside the main centres of learning.[3] Quotations by Augustine and Martianus Capella demonstrate that he continued to be read until the early 5th century.[4]

It has become something of a scholarly commonplace that Catullus 'is essentially unknown in the so-called Dark Ages and after till nearly 1300'[5] and that it is due to a stroke of luck that he survived at all. In fact there is a considerable amount of evidence to indicate that his poems were read in England, France, Germany and northern Italy at various times between the 8th century and the 12th.

The most famous piece of evidence for the fate of Catullus in the Middle Ages is provided by the famous *Codex Thuaneus*, or Catullus's manuscript ***T*** (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 8071 – see Plate I).[6] According to Bernhard Bischoff, this Carolingian manuscript was copied around the middle of the 9th century in Central France, between Auxerre and Paris, and perhaps closer to the former than to the latter.[7] It contains part of an anthology of Latin poetry, including poem 62 of Catullus, which stands on both sides of folio 51.[8] The lost final part of the anthology appears to have contained poem 11 as well.[9] A close relative of *T*, apparently a sibling, were the manuscript fragments which survive as Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 277, part 3, and which may have been copied near the Franco-German border at the very end of the 8th century.[10] The surviving part of this anthology does not contain any poem of Catullus's. Brian Richardson has pointed out that the marginalia of Aulo Giano Parrasio (1470–1522) on Catullus 62 in his copy of the 1483

Return to Table of Contents

Reggio Emilia edition of Catullus (now Aberdeen, University Library, Incun. 165 – see Plates II–III) contain textual variants that reflect knowledge of a manuscript similar to *T*, but apparently not of *T* itself, which is not known to have been read by humanists before the 1570s.[11] Carlo Vecce argued subsequently that the manuscript seen by Parrasio was not a less mutilated version of Vienna 277, part 3, but a third Carolingian copy of the same anthology, which was discovered by Jacopo Sannazaro in late 1502 at Ile-Barbe near Lyons, was taken by him to Italy, and went lost after the early 16th century.[12] In a revision of *Catullus Online* (Kiss 2013) in December 2013 I baptised the lost manuscript followed by Parrasio the *Sannazarianus* or ***S***. Since then I have been able to study Parrasio's marginalia in Aberdeen, and I found to my surprise that there are no significant differences in layout, ductus or letter shapes between the readings added by Parrasio that descend from *S*, and his notes on poem 62 that descend from a set of marginalia composed by Francesco Pucci in 1502. The two groups of notes are in the same blackish-brown to black ink. It follows that Parrasio did not collate *S* himself, but he copied the readings of *S* along with Pucci's marginalia, after the former had been added to the latter by someone else at an earlier stage of their transmission. This is confirmed by the fact that line 62.14, which is missing from *OGR* and from all Renaissance manuscripts and incunables of Catullus, appears not only in *T* and in Parrasio's notes, but also in at least one other copy of Pucci's marginalia, namely that made by Antonio Petreio around 1528 (now Berlin, Staatsbibliothek–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Diez. oct. 2474).[13] Further study is needed to determine whether other surviving copies of Pucci's marginalia (of which there are at least seventeen)[14] provide any evidence for *S*, and to decide whether *S* was a lost part of Vienna 277, part 3, or a third Carolingian witness of the anthology, or indeed a lost descendant of the *Thuaneus*.

When did poems of Catullus enter this anthology, and from what source? It has been suggested that Catullus 62 could have been added in antiquity, when it still circulated on a separate roll.[15] In fact the anthology cannot have obtained its final form so early, as the *Thuaneus* contains a poem by Eugenius of Toledo, who died in AD 657.[16] The *terminus ante quem* is the very end of the 8th century, when Vienna 277, part 3 was copied. Vecce has made the plausible suggestion that the anthology had been put together slightly earlier at the court library of Charlemagne.[17] And the fact that it appears to have contained not one but two poems of Catullus's strongly suggests that the compiler had access to a manuscript that contained many works of the poet's, possibly in the arrangement we know from our surviving manuscripts.[18]

There is one more apparently unambiguous indication that Catullus was read during the Middle Ages. In a sermon delivered in Verona in AD 965 or 966 Bishop Rather (or Ratherius) of Verona confessed that he had been reading Catullus *nunquam antea lectum*.[19] A recent controversy about whether Rather had really read Catullus will be discussed in the first chapter of this volume.

One further indication of Catullus's being read in the Middle Ages is somewhat less straightforward.[20] A memorable phrase at Catullus 37.17–18 is quoted twice by Priscian in his *Institutiones Grammaticae*, at 5.77 (*GL* 2.188.24–25 Keil) and at 7.22 (*GL* 2.305.12–13 Keil). While it can be regarded as certain that Catullus wrote *cuniculosae Celtiberiae fili* at 37.18, Priscian's manuscripts present a variety of readings in place of *cuniculosae*. At *Institutiones* 5.77 every manuscript of his presents a reading that derives from the corrupt form *celtiberosae*. At *Institutiones* 7.22 every manuscript does the same, except for Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek 202 (formerly Darmstadt 2172), where the first hand has written the correct reading *cuniculosae* in the text.[21] That could be explained in two ways: either as a relic or as an innovation. If it is a relic, then the archetype will have had *cuniculosae*, which will have been corrupted to *celtiberosae* in all manuscripts except for one, perhaps under the influence of the corrupt form *celtiberosae* in the first quotation, at *Institutiones* 5.77. Then one would expect Cologne 202 to have conserved other genuine forms as well, but in fact it appears to be otherwise entirely undistinguished as a witness of the text of the *Institutiones*. So it is much more likely that *cuniculosae* should have arisen as an innovation. It is unlikely in the extreme that anyone should have conjectured a *hapax legomenon* such as *cuniculosae*; so the word was probably added to a manuscript of Priscian from a manuscript of Catullus.[22] When did this happen, and where? The most recent date that has been given for Cologne 202 has been the late 10th or the early 11th century.[23] Julia Knödler of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek has kindly looked at images of the manuscript for me, and she believes that it may have been written around the year AD 1000, possibly somewhere in the Rhineland. It has been pointed out by Ullman that that is not far from the monasteries of Lobbes and Aulne in Belgium and Haumont in Northern France, where Rather spent the last years of his life.[24]

The name of Catullus was also added by the first hand in the margin of the sole known manuscript of William of Doncaster's *Explicatio aphorismatum philosophicorum*, namely Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. quart. 771.[25] Olga Weijers, who edited the *Explicatio* in 1976, noted that it must have been written outside England, and she suggested that it could have been written in Chartres during the first decade of the 12th century.[26]

Return to Table of Contents

Dr. Knödler has also looked at the photographs of this codex conserved in Munich at my request; she believes that the manuscript could have been written in France, possibly in its northern part, during the first half of the 12th century. The first hand added the names of a number of classical authors in the margin of the manuscript, among them that of Catullus on folio 16r. The section of the *Explicatio* that it accompanies contains not only the rather un-Catullian principle *sermones moderare*, but also maxims such as *Sepius auribus quam lingua utendum est* and *uoluptates nocuas uitare*, which could be compared to poems of Catullus's such as 102, 76, and 85. The name of the poet from Verona could have been added at this point as a reminiscence by a reader of the exemplar or of an earlier ancestor of Berlin, Lat. Quart. 711, who had also read the poems of Catullus.

The final group of sources for the fate of Catullus during the Middle Ages are only a little less elusive than the appearance of the poet's name in the margin of the Berlin manuscript of William of Doncaster. Scholars of the late 19th and the 20th century such as Robinson Ellis, Ludwig Traube, Guido and Giuseppe Billanovich, and Berthold Ullman found apparent echoes of Catullus in a range of authors from the Middle Ages. During the past fifty years their claims were often met with scepticism or passed over in silence.[27] In my view only a close study of these parallel passages could help to determine their significance. It would go beyond the scope of this introduction to discuss them in detail, which I hope to do elsewhere.[28] I have come to regard as convincing the echoes of Catullus detected by Traube and Ullman in Heiric of Auxerre (841–876), and the double echo detected by Ellis and Ullman in the *De gestis regum Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury (ca. 1095–1147).[29] The echoes detected by Traube and others in Agius of Corvey's *Epicedium Hathumodae*, written in or soon after 874, also appear plausible.[30] If my assessment of these echoes is correct, then it follows that Catullus was probably known and read in Auxerre in the third quarter of the 9th century, in central Germany (and quite possibly in Corvey in Westphalia) around the same time, and in England in the first half of the 12th century.

The apparent echoes of Catullus 5 and 64 that have been detected by Vicente Cristóbal López and Juan Luis Arcaz Pozo in the elegiac comedy *De tribus puellis*, written in France in the 12th or the early 13th century, also call for further study.[31] Even more perplexing is a possible echo detected by Giuseppe Billanovich in two fragmentary lines of a poem, conserved in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14420, folio 144r. With characteristic daring and erudition, Billanovich speculated that this poem had to be a letter in verse written in AD 844 by Hildemar of Brescia to the Veronese archdeacon Pacificus.[32] On the other hand, none of the echoes

Return to Table of Contents

detected by Giuseppe's brother Guido Billanovich in the works of Lovato Lovati (ca. 1240–1309) are convincing.[33] Out of the echoes detected by Guido Billanovich in Zambono di Andrea (†1316), none appear to withstand scrutiny; out of those that he has found in the poems of Albertino Mussato (1261–1329), only a couple of passages written in the 14th century do.[34] But this already brings us to the next phase of the transmission of the poems of Catullus.[35]

Around the year AD 1300 the relative lack of interest in the text in the Middle Ages comes to a sudden end. This appears to be the consequence of an event that is celebrated by an epigram of the Vicentine notary Benvenuto dei Campesani (ca. 1250/55–1323) that describes the 'resurrection' of Catullus, that is to say, the triumphant return of his poems to his hometown Verona.[36] Soon afterwards, Catullus is quoted by a number of Northern Italian proto-humanists in the first half of the 14th century: Benzo d'Alessandria, Geremia (Hieremias) da Montagnone, and the author of the 1429 *Flores moralium auctoritatum*; and in the middle of the century by the Veronese judge Guglielmo da Pastrengo, and his friend Petrarch.[37] It has been suggested that some of the marginal notes in the earliest codices we have go back to notes added by Petrarch to a manuscript at an earlier stage of the tradition.[38]

The first surviving manuscripts of Catullus date from the 14th century. The *Oxoniensis* or ***O*** (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonicianus Class. Lat. 30 – see Plates IV–V) may well be the oldest.[39] It was not dated or signed by its scribe, but its script shows that it was copied in Northern Italy during the 14th century.[40] The oldest dated manuscript of Catullus to survive is the *Sangermanensis* or ***G*** (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 14137 – see Plate VI), which was copied in Verona in 1375 by the chancellor Antonio del Gaio da Legnago.[41] The *Romanus* or ***R*** (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobonianus lat. 1829 – see Plate VII) is slightly younger: it was copied between the years 1375 and 1395 (and possibly around 1392) in Florence by a scribe working for the chancellor Coluccio Salutati from an exemplar that he had borrowed from somewhere else – surely from Northern Italy. It was corrected against its exemplar by Salutati himself, who also tried to emend some mistakes *ope ingenii*. R^2 is his hand.[42] An early Florentine copy of *R* is the *Marcianus* or ***m*** (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. XII, 80 – see Plate VIII), probably written some time around the year 1400.[43] From this time onwards Catullus starts to be copied with increasing frequency until the third quarter of the 15th century, when the production of manuscripts of his poems reaches a peak and soon starts to drop dramatically under the influence of the first printed editions, starting with the *editio princeps*, published in Venice in 1472.

Return to Table of Contents

There survive over 120 *codices recentiores* of Catullus, written for the most part in the 15th century.

Although no complete *stemma codicum* of Catullus has been drawn up yet, the overall shape of the tradition has been discussed at length. It was already suggested by Scaliger that all surviving manuscripts descend from a lost manuscript that was taken to Verona, as is shown by Benvenuto dei Campesani's epigram on the resurrection of Catullus.[44] This manuscript celebrated by Campesani is widely known as the *Codex Veronensis* or ***V***.

The relationship between *V*, the earliest surviving manuscripts *OGRm*, and the *codices recentiores* has been a matter of controversy since the late 19th century. Hale, who discovered *R* in 1896, suggested that *O*, *G* and *R* were roughly contemporary; that *O* was possibly a direct copy of *V*, but *G* and *R* descended from a lost copy of *V* that has come to be known as *X*; and that all other manuscripts descended from *R*, though the influence of *G* could also be detected on occasion.[45] Hale never proved his statements, and as we shall see, they were received with a degree of scepticism. However, an exemplary study of *OGRm* by McKie has revealed since then that Hale's ideas about the relationship of these codices were basically correct, except that Geremia da Montagnone, a Paduan judge who quoted Catullus around AD 1310–15, had access not to the archetype but to the pre-archetype, so that one should distinguish the pre-archetype *V*, which will have reached Verona around AD 1300, from its copy the archetype ***A***, from which all surviving manuscripts descend.[46]

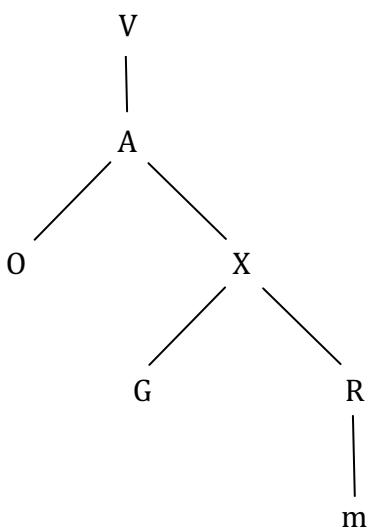


Image 1. A partial *stemma codicum* of Catullus according to McKie

Return to Table of Contents

There exists no comprehensive study of the relationship of the *codices recentiores* to *OGRm*, and as has already been noted, no complete *stemma codicum* has been drawn up to date. However, a partial *stemma* has been set out by Thomson, who made extensive use of unpublished notes by Hale and Ullman, and Zicàri has studied the relationships of a number of manuscripts.[47] Thomson has accepted Hale's initial view that the *recentiores* descend from *R*, with one minor modification: he believes that some of them have undergone contamination from *O*.[48]

In reaction to Hale's discovery of *R* there were proposed a number of alternative views about the shape of the *stemma* and the position of the *recentiores*. Schulze and Morgenthaler maintained that *m* did not descend from *R*, and Morgenthaler drew up a *stemma* in which the *recentiores* derived from *V* through a number of manuscripts that have gone lost.[49] Later, Della Corte argued that *T* and a number of readings in humanistic manuscripts, notably the *Datanus* or *D* (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Diez. B Sant. 37), copied in 1463 in Italy, derived from an alternative tradition that he termed 'non-*V*'.[50] Since McKie has proved that *m* is an early copy of *R*, the positions of Schulze and Morgenthaler are no longer tenable; and the weakness of Della Corte's arguments has been pointed out by Zicàri.[51] So the only *stemma* left standing is that of Hale, as revised by McKie and Thomson. However, Reeve has observed that even simple questions that could cast light on the origins of the *recentiores* have not yet been answered.[52] As of now, the view that all *recentiores* descend from *G* and *R* must be regarded as possible but unproven.[53]

No account of the manuscript tradition of Catullus should leave out the fact that it is exceptionally corrupt. If it may be due to an accident of history that such a heavily damaged text has survived at all, it is thanks to the attempts of generations of scholars to reconstruct what Catullus had written that we can now read fairly reliable editions of his poems. The golden age of this effort was the Renaissance, which saw not only brilliant conjectures by Pontano, Poliziano, Avanzi, Statius and Scaliger, but also strenuous if somewhat haphazard attempts to improve the text by scores of lesser readers. The second major wave of conjectures in Catullus came in the 19th century, many of them due to German scholars. If we want to create if not a golden or silver, but at least a bronze age of Catullian textual criticism, we should try to reconstruct his poems yet better by recovering forgotten conjectures by earlier scholars, and by capping them with ones of our own.

Dániel Kiss

Return to Table of Contents

Notes

[1] For other accounts of the textual transmission of Catullus and further bibliography see Gaisser 1992, 198–203, Gaisser 1993, 12–25, Thomson 1997, 22–93, and Butrica 2007. Ellis 1905, Ullman 1960 and Tarrant 1983 no longer reflect the *status quaestionis*, but are still illuminating on a number of points. Giuseppe Billanovich 1988 is interesting but should be handled with care.

[2] The quotations are indicated in Thomson 1997 and in Kiss 2013.

[3] The two verse inscriptions are *CIL* 14.3565 = *CE* 1504 = Courtney 1995, no. 155, where line 11 echoes Cat. 3.12, and *CIL* 13.488 = *CE* 1512 = Courtney 1995, no. 204, where line 7 echoes Cat. 3.16.

[4] Boethius quotes Catullus 52.2 at *Cons. phil.* 3 *prosa* 4.2 in the early 6th century, but it is not clear whether he has taken it directly from a manuscript of the poet or from another ancient author who has quoted this passage, such as Pliny *N.H.* 37.81, Caesius Bassus *GL* 6.257.8 Keil, or Aphthonius ('Marius Victorinus') *GL* 6.136.20 Keil. It is doubtful whether Isidore could consult a manuscript of Catullus in Seville in the early seventh century. He quotes Catullus 1.1–2 and 64.65 (at *Etym.* 6.12.3 and 19.33.3), but he attributes the latter passage to Cinna, and may well have taken the former from one of the metrical writers who had quoted it before him. It is also doubtful whether the sample phrase *soles ire et redire possunt* in the *Ars Grammatica* (at 1.1.23), a text composed in late seventh-century Spain that has been ascribed to Julian of Toledo, probably wrongly (see Maestre Yenes 1973, xxi–xxvii), rests on direct knowledge of the poems of Catullus.

[5] Butrica 2007, 24.

[6] For a description of *T* see Vecce 1988, 94–5.

[7] Bischoff's view of when and where *T* was written appeared three times in print (with slight variations – see Kiss 2015a, 345–6 n. 10): (i) in an undated letter mentioned by P. L. Schmidt 1978, 60; (ii) in a letter to Claudia Villa dated 20 January 1977 that is quoted by Vecce 1988, 95 n. 2; (iii) posthumously in Bischoff 2014, 138 (I thank Birgit Ebersperger and Vicente Flores Militello for this reference).

[8] For black and white images of these two pages see Kiss 2013.

[9] See Kiss 2015a.

[10] For a description see Vecce 1988, 95–8.

[11] Richardson 1976, 285–8.

[12] Vecce 1988, 109–44, esp. 114–15.

[13] See Bellido Díaz 2011, 164. It should be noted that Parrasio's copy of Pucci's marginalia cannot derive from that of Petreio, nor vice versa: Petreio's copy is strongly abridged, while Parrasio's is fairly complete, but it breaks off at 66.54, while Petreio's one continues up to the end of the *liber*.

[14] See Gaisser 1992, 243–9 and Thomson 2011, 221–5.

[15] Gaisser 2009, 22.

[16] This rules out the possibility raised by Ullman 1960, 1029 that the archetype of *T* and Vienna 277, part 3 could have been lent to Venantius Fortunatus by Gregory of Tours between 573 and 576. (For another argument against this possibility see Gaisser 1992, 202.)

[17] Vecce 1988, 100–1. Zwierlein 1983, 15–23 has found indications that the anthology was first transmitted in Merovingian minuscule, and he would push back

its date as far as the 7th century, but his arguments do not appear convincing. On the controversy see further Kiss, forthcoming b.

[18] Ullman 1960, 1036 saw the *Thuaneus* as a side branch of the *OGR* tradition, and he may well have been right: see p. 22 below.

[19] Rather, *Sermo de Maria et Martha* 4 (Reece 1969, 86 ~ Reid 1976, 147–8). On the date of the sermon see Fiesoli 2004, 8. There have been detected a number of echoes of Catullus in Rather's writings (see Ullman 1960, 1032–3, with n. 13, and Reece 1969, 132), but these do not stand up to scrutiny (thus Ullman, *loc. cit.*, Butrica 2007, 26, and especially Fiesoli 2004, 20–22).

[20] See Schwabe 1866 on 37.18 and Ullman 1960, 1033, n. 13.

[21] As of 1 October 2014, a brief description of this manuscript and a full photographic reproduction were available on the website *Codices Electronici Ecclesiae Coloniensis* (www.ceec.uni-koeln.de).

[22] Thus Fiesoli 2004, 29–30; cf. Ullman 1960, 1033, n. 13.

[23] Thus Gattermann 1993, I, 680–81. It has also been dated to the 12th century (H. Keil in *GL* 2, xx) and to the 11th (Jaffé & Wattenbach 1874, 89; Gibson 1972, 112; Passalacqua 1978, 114).

[24] Ullman 1960, 1033, n. 13.

[25] This was noted by Grabmann 1950, 318 = 1956, 48. The manuscript went lost during World War II, but there survived a microfilm that had been made for Grabmann, thanks to which the work could be edited by Weijers 1976. A full series of prints made from the microfilm is conserved among Grabmann's papers at Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ana 326 5. 3. B 9.

[26] Weijers 1976, 9 and 2–4.

[27] Scepticism: Butrica 2007, 24 ('[p]ast claims that are now largely rejected or at least ignored'); Kiss 2011, 86–7. Silence: Thomson 1978 and 1997, 23–5 (though not about the Paduan protohumanists). A more sympathetic view has been taken by Tarrant 1983, 43 and by Gaisser 1992, 202–3 and Gaisser 1993, 17–18.

[28] In Kiss, forthcoming b.

[29] Heiric: Traube 1896, 437; Ullman 1960, 1030–31. William: Ellis 1867, ix; Ullman 1960, 1033–4.

[30] Traube 1896, 373; Ullman 1960, 1029–30; Nisbet 1978, 106; Trappes-Lomax 2007, 18; Kiss 2009, 252–6. For the opposing view see Butrica 2007, 24.

[31] Cristóbal López 1991, 375; Arcaz Pozo 2005, 103–4.

[32] Giuseppe Billanovich 1974, 43–60.

[33] Guido Billanovich 1958, 168–70 and 191–4 and 1989, 116–19, refuted by Ludwig 1986 and Kiss 2011 with Petoletti 2009.

[34] For the parallels see Guido Billanovich 1958, 191–9.

[35] Restless and inquisitive as he was, Albertino could well have obtained a copy of Catullus from Verona, where his poems were present by the time he passed away in 1329, even though Padua and Verona were arch-enemies.

[36] See pp. 2–9 below.

[37] On Benzo see Hale 1910, Sabbadini 1914, 128–150, esp. 144–6, and Clausen 1976, 41–2. On Geremia see Ullman 1973, 79–112 with McKie 1977, 79–95. For Guglielmo da Pastrengo see the critical edition by Bottari 1991 with Morelli 2013 and Kiss, forthcoming a. Bottari 2010, 94–102 has argued vigorously that the author of the

Return to Table of Contents

Flores moralium auctoritatum was Guglielmo da Pastrengo. On Petrarch see Ullman 1973, 191–6, Guido Billanovich 1997, Giazzi 2004, 111–17, and Petoletti 2004.

[38] Ullman 1960, 1043–4; Thomson 1978, 28; Thomson 1997, 28.

[39] For images of *O* see Mynors 1966 (black and white) as well as Kiss 2013 (colour).

[40] Ullman 1960, 1039 dated *O* to 'perhaps between 1350 and 1375', while Thomson 1997 dated it tentatively to around 1360 (p. 28) and to around 1370 (p. 81). The dates given by Thomson, and apparently also those given by Ullman, are based on a reconstruction of the manuscript tradition of Catullus in the 14th century, rather than on a palaeographical analysis of *O*; they should be regarded as hypothetical.

[41] There exists a rather poor black and white facsimile of *G* in Chatelain 1890; colour images are now available at Kiss 2013. For a study of the different hands in the manuscript see Bonnet 1877. The first hand was identified as that of Antonio da Legnago by Giuseppe Billanovich 1959, 160–67.

[42] There exists no facsimile of *R*. For a collation see Thomson 1970. On *R* see also McKie 1977 *passim*, Thomson 1997, 33–43, and De Robertis & Fiesoli 2008.

[43] For a facsimile of *m* see Nigra 1893. On *m* as an early copy of *R* see McKie 1977, 98–117; on its scribe see McKie 1989.

[44] Scaliger 1577a, 3–4. Scaliger did not know our codex *G*, which is the only manuscript to preserve the original title of the epigram, and hence he was unable to identify its author, although he was confident that the poem was not by the great Guarino, to whom it had often been attributed before him. Line 3 of the poem led Scaliger to believe that the manuscript had been taken to Verona from France.

[45] Hale 1897.

[46] McKie 1977, esp. 38–95.

[47] See Thomson's stemma and his notes on individual manuscripts (Thomson 1997, 93 and 72–92), where he has made extensive use of Hale's and Ullman's notes in the Ullman Papers in Chapel Hill; and Zicàri's writings collected in Zicàri 1978.

[48] See the stemma at Thomson 1997, 93.

[49] Schulze 1899, 444 and 1904, 1305–8, cf. Schulze 1898; Morgenthaler 1909, 52 and *passim*.

[50] Della Corte 1951, 10 and *passim*. The *Datanus* owes its fame to the fact that it is one of the two manuscripts on which Lachmann based his revolutionary edition of 1829.

[51] McKie 1977, 48–54 and 98–117; Zicàri 1952 = Zicàri 1978, 29–42.

[52] Reeve 1980, 179–80.

[53] A statement by Goold 1958, 95 that Mynors' edition of 1958 had proved Hale's claim that all other manuscripts were derived from *OGR* was overhasty.

Return to Table of Contents

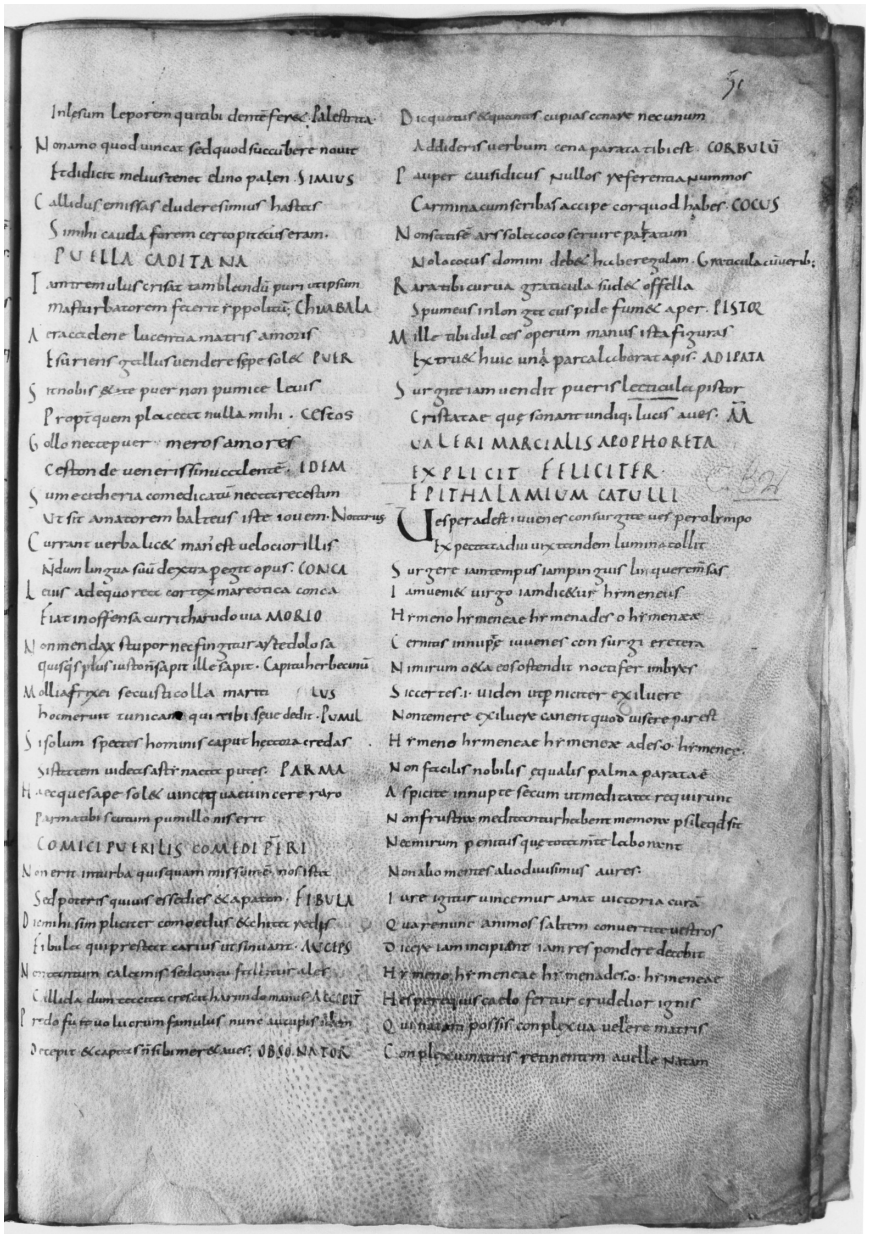


Plate I. *T* – Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 8071, fol. 51r

© Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2015.

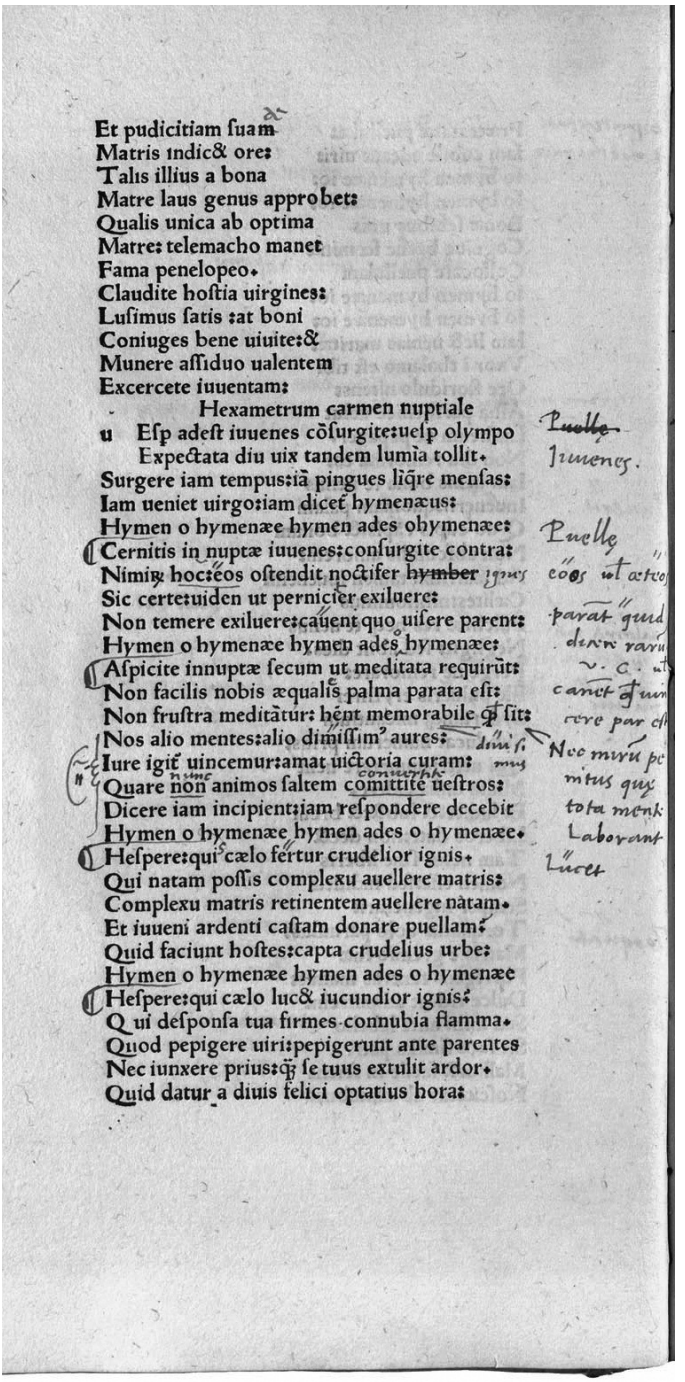
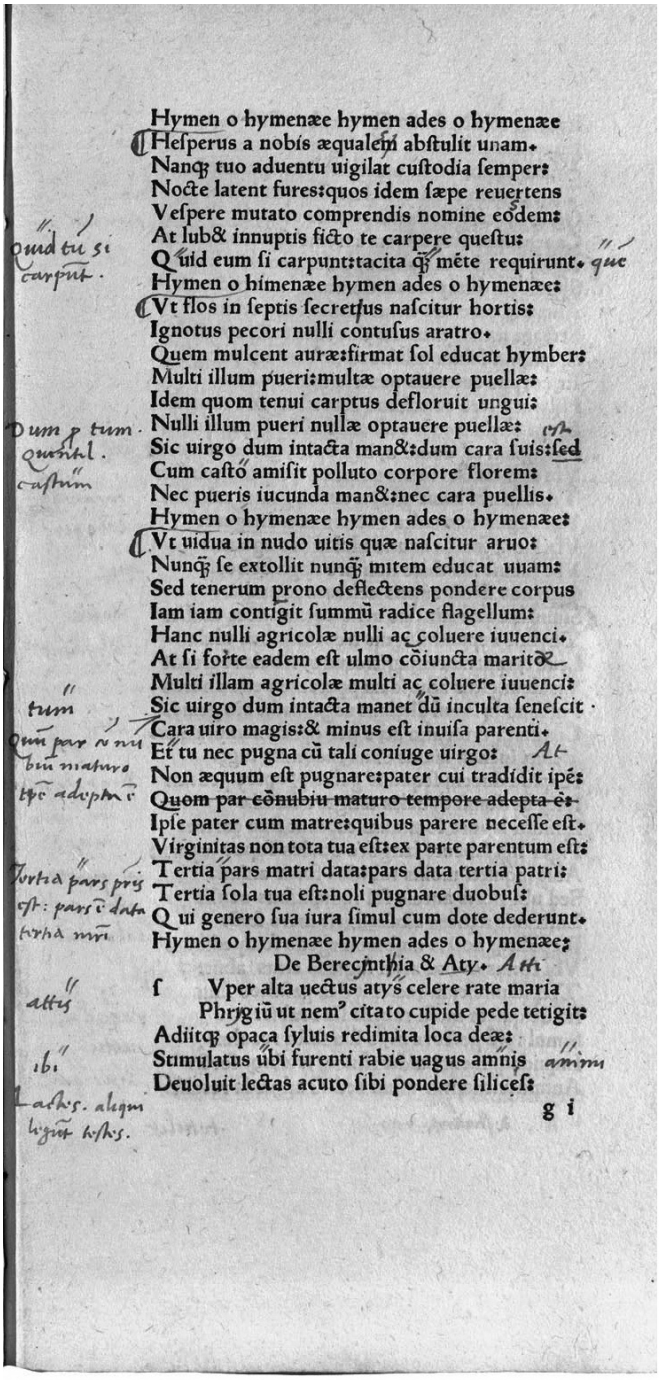

Et pudicitiam ſuam
Matris indic& ore:
Talis illius a bona
Matre laus genus approbet:
Qualis unica ab optima
Matre: telemacho manet
Fama penelopeo.
Claudite hoſtia uirgines:
Luſimus ſatis: at boni
Coniuges bene uiuite: &
Munere aſſiduo ualentem
Excercete iuuentam:
Hexametrum carmen nuptiale
Eſp adeſt iuuenes cõſurgite: uelp olympo
Expectata diu uix tandem lumia tollit.
Surgere iam tempus: iã pingues liq̃re menſas:
Iam ueniet uirgo: iam dicet hymenæus:
Hymen o hymenæe hymen ades o hymenæe:
Cernitis in nuptæ iuuenes: conſurgite contra:
Nimirꝝ hoc: eos oſtendit noctifer hymber
Sic certe: uiden ut pernicier exiluere:
Non temere exiluere: cauent quo uiſere parent:
Hymen o hymenæe hymen ades hymenæe:
Aſpicite innuptæ ſecum ut meditata requirũt:
Non facilis nobis æqualis palma parata eſt:
Non fruſtra meditãtur: hẽnt memorabile q̃ ſit:
Nos alio mentes: alio dimiſſim' aures:
Iure igit' uincemur: amat uictoria curam:
Quare nõ animos ſaltem comittite ueſtros:
Dicere iam incipient: iam reſpondere decebit
Hymen o hymenæe hymen ades o hymenæe.
Heſpere: qui cælo fertur crudelior ignis.
Qui natam poſſis complexu auellere matris:
Complexu matris retinentem auellere natam.
Et iuueni ardenti caſtam donare puellam:
Quid faciunt hoſtes: capta crudelius urbe:
Hymen o hymenæe hymen ades o hymenæe
Heſpere: qui cælo luc& iucundior ignis:
Q ui deſponſa tua firmes connubia flamma.
Quod pepigere uiri: pepigerunt ante parentes
Nec iunxere prius: q̃ ſe tuus extulit ardor.
Quid datur a diuis felici optatius hora:

Plate II. Aberdeen, University Library, Inc. 165: Catullus 62 with Parrasio's marginalia
© University of Aberdeen, 2015.

Return to Table of Contents



Hymen o hymenæe hymen ades o hymenæe
Heſperus a nobis æqualem abſtulit unam.
Nanq; tuo aduentu uigilat cuſtodia ſemper:
Nocte latent fures:quos idem ſæpe reuertens
Veſpere mutato comprendis nomine eodem:
At lub& innuptis ficto te carpere queſtu:
Quid eum ſi carpunt:tacita q; mẽte requirunt.
Hymen o himenæe hymen ades o hymenæe:
Vt flos in ſeptis ſecretus naſcitur hortis:
Ignotus pecori nulli contuſus aratro.
Quem mulcent auræ:firmat ſol educat hymber:
Multi illum pueri:multæ optauere puellæ:
Idem quom tenui carptus defloruit ungui:
Nulli illum pueri nullæ optauere puellæ:
Sic uirgo dum intacta man&:dum cara ſuis:ſed
Cum caſto amiſit polluto corpore florem:
Nec pueris iucunda man&:nec cara puellis.
Hymen o hymenæe hymen ades o hymenæe:
Vt uidua in nudo uitis quæ naſcitur aruo:
Nunq; ſe extollit nunq; mitem educat uuam:
Sed tenerum prono deflectens pondere corpus
Iam iam contigit ſummũ radice flagellum:
Hanc nulli agricolæ nulli ac coluere iuuenci.
At ſi forte eadem eſt ulmo cõiuncta marito
Multi illam agricolæ multi ac coluere iuuenci:
Sic uirgo dum intacta manet dũ inculta ſeneſcit.
Cara uiro magis:& minus eſt inuiſa parenti.
Et tu nec pugna cũ tali coniuge uirgo:
Non æquum eſt pugnare:pater cui tradidit ipe:
~~Quom par cõnubiu maturo tempore adepta e:~~
Ipſe pater cum matre:quibus parere neceſſe eſt.
Virginitas non tota tua eſt:ex parte parentum eſt:
Tertia pars matri data:pars data tertia patri:
Tertia ſola tua eſt:noli pugnare duobus:
Q ui genero ſua iura ſimul cum dote dederunt.
Hymen o hymenæe hymen ades o hymenæe:
De Berecynthia & Atys.
Vper alta uectus atys celere rate maria
Phrygiũ ut nem' cito cupide pede tetigit:
Adiitq; opaca ſyluis redimita loca deæ:
Stimulatus ubi furenti rabie uagus animis
Deuoluit lectas acuto ſibi pondere ſiliceſ:

g i

Plate III. Aberdeen, University Library, Inc. 165: Catullus 62 with Parrasio's marginalia
© University of Aberdeen, 2015.

Return to Table of Contents