

A STUDY OF POEM 63 OF CATULLUS WITH REGARD
TO NEOTERIC LITERARY TENETS AND THE POET'S
OWN APPROACH AND TREATMENT OF THE MYTH OF
CYBELE AND ATTIS

by

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To my parents
Mr and Mrs K Somaroo

DECLARATION

This dissertation has not been submitted
for a degree at any other University.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine Poem 63 of Catullus with particular emphasis on the poet's adherence to Neoteric literary tenets and his peculiar handling of the myth of Cybele and Attis. The poem displays epyllion elements to a remarkable degree, but what is striking is that the Attis conforms more closely to the later development of the genre (Euphorion and Parthenius). What has not been emphasised sufficiently by English-speaking scholars before is the fact that the theme of erotikā pathēmata (sufferings due to love) formed the literary core of the New Poets; it is such a theme, with all its potentialities for an exercise of the literary precepts of the Neoteric movement, that the myth of Cybele and Attis embodies.

While Catullus' close conformity with Neoteric literary tenets in Poem 63 gives the impression that his poem is meant to be a manifesto of the new movement, it is important to realize that it is not merely a literary exercise, for it contains features of his technique and personality which are to be found throughout his work. The poem stands out as a very representative example of the Catullan collection, and its study is essential for a sounder understanding of the poet and the literary movement of which he was leader.

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N.B. The text used for the analysis in Chapter Four is the Oxford Classical Text as amended by C.J. Fordyce, Catullus : A Commentary, Oxford, 1961, p. 42-46.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS - (JOURNALS)

<u>AJPh</u>	<u>American Journal of Philology</u> , Baltimore, John Hopkins Press.
<u>CJ</u>	<u>The Classical Journal</u> , Athens, University of Georgia.
<u>CPh</u>	<u>Classical Philology</u> , Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
<u>CQ</u>	<u>Classical Quarterly</u> , Oxford University Press.
<u>G&R</u>	<u>Greece and Rome</u> , Oxford, Clarendon Press.
<u>GRBS</u>	<u>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</u> , Durham, N.C., Duke University.
<u>HSPH</u>	<u>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</u> , Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.
<u>Mnemosyne</u>	<u>Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca Classica Batava.</u> Leiden, Brill.
<u>Phoenix</u>	<u>The Phoenix. The Journal of the Classical Association of Canada.</u> Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
<u>Ramus</u>	<u>Ramus. Critical Studies in Greek and Latin Literature.</u> Clayton, Victoria (Australia), Monash University.
<u>RE</u>	<u>Paulys Real - Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</u> , Stuttgart, Druckenmüller.
<u>TAPhA</u>	<u>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</u> , Cleveland, Ohio, Press of Case Western Reserve University.
<u>YCIS</u>	<u>Yale Classical Studies</u> , New Haven, Yale University Press.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The Attis poem of Catullus has been regarded as his greatest work ¹⁾. Since it represents the poetic ideals of Catullus and his school to such a large extent, a study of the poem is essential for a sounder understanding of the poet himself and the nature of the literary revolution that he and his circle began at Rome in the first century B.C. But despite its importance it is surprising to find relatively little work on c.63 ²⁾. Three basic reasons for this neglect have been suggested ³⁾:

- i) Poem 63, as one of the carmina maiora, has little or no information about the poet's life ⁴⁾.

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1. R. Ellis, Commentary on Catullus, Oxford, 1889, p. 260.
 2. For instance, A.L. Wheeler, Catullus and the Traditions of Ancient Poetry, Berkeley, 1934, D.O. Ross, Style and Tradition in Catullus, Cambridge Mass., 1969, E.A. Havelock, The Lyric Genius of Catullus, Oxford, 1939 pay little or no attention to c.63. K. Quinn's The Catullan Revolution, Melbourne, 1969 and his Catullus. An Interpretation, London, 1972 contain only a superficial discussion of the poem and incidental references to it.
 3. C.A. Rubino, "Myth and Mediation in the 'Attis' poem of Catullus", Ramus III, 1974, p. 152-3.
 4. There has been research on the carmina maiora, especially on c.63 and 64 relating them to the poet's personal experience, e.g. P.W. Harkins, "Autoallegory in Catullus 63 and 64", TAPhA XC, 1959, p. 102-116, M.C.J. Putnam, "The Art of Catullus 64", HSPh LXV, 1961, p. 165-205.

- ii) The poem is supposed to be a translation in part or wholly of an Alexandrian model ¹⁾.
- iii) Critical discussion of the poem is hampered by its status as a source of information for the Cybele-Attis cult.

However, it seems to me that it is the supposedly bizarre and morbidly sensational nature of its theme that accounts in the main for its lack of modern appeal. It deals with a cult which was offensive and suspicious to the ancient Romans. Even today, when the breadth of twentieth century understanding can accept both the graces and obscenities of Catullus, the western mind, highly sensitive as it is to the "excesses of oriental fanaticism" ²⁾, instinctively recoils from any allusions to what it regards as barbaric indulgences. It is well to remember that the cult does not form the mainspring of the poem. It indeed provides the impetus which causes Attis to undergo those extremes of emotion, but for the main part it provides a kind of sombre background against which the examination of Attis' psyche is conducted. It is this interest in the emotions, the casting into the very depths of the human soul to examine the passions that can carry the individual to the very heights of ecstasy and also to

1. Wilamowitz, Weinreich, Bardon, Schuster and Fordyce are among those who subscribe to this theory. See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Die Galliamben des Kallimachos und Catullus", Hermes XIV, 1879, p. 144-199; O. Weinreich, 'Catullus Attisgedicht', Mélanges Franz Cumont, Brussels, 1936 p. 463-500; H. Bardon, L'Art de composition chez Catulle, Paris, 1943 p. 29-32; M. Schuster, "C. Valerius Catullus", RE 1948, p. 2376-2377; and C.J. Fordyce, Catullus: A Commentary, Oxford, 1961, p. 262.

2. The phrase is C.J. Fordyce's, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

the very abyss of despair, that was a prime concern of the Alexandrians and their Roman emulators. It is this fickleness of the human spirit, a frequently recurring theme in Catullus, that the myth of Attis so lucidly brings to the fore. It is the peculiar bent that Catullus imparts to his story - his emphasis on the erotic element ¹⁾, the depiction of Attis as a suffering lover and of Cybele as the domineering and ruthless inspirer of that love - that makes it typical of the erotikà pathēmata ²⁾ of the Neoteric school. Thus if the poem is to make sense, it should not be regarded as embodying a theme that is sensational in its bizarrerie and morbidity, but rather as the kind of poem suitable to Catullus and his fellow poets for an illustration of the new poetics that their movement expounded; it is my main purpose to study poem 63 with this end in view.

To begin with, I would like to place poem 63 in its proper literary perspective. To do this it is necessary to outline the chief characteristics of the poem, then to briefly survey the Neoteric school and its main literary tenets, and then finally to trace the development of the epyllion down to the time of Catullus, emphasising the acquisition of its particular traits as evident in the poem under consideration and as can be inferred from the lost epyllia of other members of the Neoteric school.

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1. Erotic not in the ordinary sense but with connotations of divine love.
 2. Discussed later in this chapter. Vide p. 17 ff.

i) Chief Characteristics of Poem 63

The Attis displays all the characteristics of the Hellenistic epyllion; in fact it is about the most Alexandrian in conception of Catullus' compositions. The highly compressed and rapid narrative, the learned allusions, and the speeches which serve as a vehicle for psychological analysis, are all features typical of the Hellenistic epyllion. Catullus' choice of subject matter, too, in the ample scope it gives for pathos and character analysis, and his particular treatment of the myth with his asymmetrical approach, a striving after realism, and the adoption of a tone that is familiar and personal, all contribute to making the Attis very similar to the Alexandrian epyllion. In view of this I will classify the poem as an epyllion, though in a strict sense its metre makes such a classification arbitrary. In addition to the above elements, the poem also shows a marked reverence for the Roman literary traditions that were available to Catullus at the time of his writing. The use of rhetorical devices, alliteration and assonance, diminutives, colloquialisms, and particular sentence structures make the poem a striking representative of the blending of Graeco-Roman trends in a manner which was novel and peculiar to the new movement. The Attis can rightly be regarded, therefore, as one of the most representative extant examples of the kind of poetry espoused by the Neoteric movement.

ii) The Neoteric School

The facts relative to the school are fairly well known; nevertheless, some discussion of them is essential for the purposes of my later argument. The existence of a formal Neoteric school has been the subject of persistent

debate ¹⁾. Some even divide the school into two distinct groups, the one an apolitical body centering around Catullus, Cinna and Calvus, and the other consisting of Valerius Cato, Furius Bibaculus, Varro Atacinus, Tigidas, Cornelius Gallus, Cornificius and Caecilius, actively involved in the politics of the day ²⁾. In the absence of any conclusive proof for or against a formal school it seems safe to assume the existence of a group of friends who shared like ideas about poetry and life ³⁾.

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1. R.O.A.M. Lyne, "The Neoteric Poets", CQ 1978, XXVIII, p. 167-8, notes that N.B. Crowther, "ΟΙ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΙ, Poetae Novi and Cantores Euphorionis", CQ 1970, XX, p. 322-7; J.C. Bramble, Persius and the Programmatic Satire, Cambridge, 1974, p. 180ff. and Quinn, The Catullan Revolution, p. 44-8, adopt a very cautious stance and do not ally themselves with any one of the factions. H. Bardon sees the Neoterics as constituting a general movement in his La Littérature latine inconnue i, Paris, 1952, p. 358-367.
 2. E. Paratore, Storia della letteratura latina, Florence, 1957, p. 305-6 discusses this aspect in detail. The chief reason for the division into two schools, according to Paratore, is that the group centering around Valerius Cato does not appear to have been so faithful to the ideals of the new poetry as was Catullus' group.
 3. Cf. K. Quinn, Catullus. The Poems, London, 1973, p. xiii of the Introduction.

Of the numerous names generally regarded as belonging to the Neoteric school ¹⁾ I would like to focus my interest on Calvus, Cinna, Cato, Cornificius and Caecilius. Sufficient evidence for most of these poets, pointing to them as close adherents of the new movement, is present in the Catullan corpus. Poem 50 is addressed to Licinius, who is clearly Licinius Calvus ²⁾, the poet and orator. The poem describes their pleasant evening spent together improvising verses. Poem 96 consoles him on the loss of his Quintilia and poem 14 is a humorous remonstrance to Calvus for sending Catullus, as a Saturnalian present, a book of bad verse ³⁾. Cinna's Zmyrna is praised in poem 95. Poem 113 is also addressed to Cinna and at 10.29 Cinna is mentioned as Catullus' sodalis. Poem 56 is addressed to a Cato who is most likely the famous poet and grammarian, Valerius Cato, traditionally regarded as the head of the new movement ⁴⁾. Poem 38 is addressed to a Cornificius who is very probably the poet of the Glaucus. Poem 35 is

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1. See J. Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome, Vol. I, London, 1963, p. 222-240 for a concise summary of the various members.
 2. Calvus appears to have been very dear to Catullus and is constantly mentioned as his friend by later writers - Horace, S. i. 10.19, Prop. ii. 25.4, 34.87, Ovid, Am. iii. 9.62, "cum Calvo, docte Catulle, tuo", Trist. ii. 431, Plin. Epist. i. 16.5., iv. 27.4. See R. Ellis, *op.cit.*, p. LIX.
 3. See also poem 53.
 4. This view is based on a passage in Suetonius, Gram. 11, where Cato is called "peridoneus praeceptor", and where he quotes an epigram (commonly attributed to Furius Bibaculus) in which Cato is regarded as an authority on poetry: "Cato grammaticus, Latina Siren, qui solus legit ac facit poetas" means "rightly evaluates" or "establishes the reputation of". See Quinn, The Catullan Revolution, p. 47.

addressed to a Caecilius who is engaged on a learned poem about the Great Mother. These are the poets, then, who, together with Catullus, seem to share a common allegiance to the new school.

Much has been written about Neoteric poetry as a movement of reaction and revolution and various reasons have been surmised for the birth of the new movement. I will consider these very briefly, confining myself in the main to a discussion of the epyllion, for it is upon an understanding of the epyllion form peculiar to the Neoteric poets that our appreciation of the Attis must ultimately depend.

It is well at this stage to briefly define the epyllion¹⁾. It is a miniature epic concentrating interest on an aside in the saga of heroes or heroines. The myths used were little known and generally off-beat. Treatment was frequently dramatic and it is usual to find at least one long speech. Although the epyllion was the outcome of a reaction against the traditionally long epic, it depended heavily on epic for certain aspects of its language and style.

No epyllia have been found in Roman literature before the period of Catullus. Although elegy, epigrams and polymetric versicles were of common interest among the New Poets, the use of these forms was by no means confined to

1. Note that the term epyllion is a modern one. It was first used by M. Haupt in a lecture on poem 64, in 1855. See Fordyce, *op. cit.*, p. 272. For a fuller definition of the epyllion see M.M. Crump, The Epyllion from Theocritus to Ovid, Oxford, 1931, p. 22-4.

them. However, the epyllion was confined to them - it was a mark of rank among them - and the adaptation of the genre was their great contribution to Roman literature¹⁾. The only extant examples of epyllia of the period are Catullus' Peleus and Thetis and his Attis. The names, however, of several others have come down to us. There was the Zmyrna of Cinna (poem 95), the Io of Calvus, the Glaucus of Cornificius, the Lydia and Dictynna of Cato, and possibly the Magna Mater of Caecilius referred to in poem 35 of Catullus.

There is abundant evidence in the poems of Catullus for the Neoteric stance with regard to short poetry and the epyllion. J.P. Elder²⁾ has shown how Catullus' dedicatory poem reveals the Neoteric attitude towards poetry. I summarise the main points of the article. Below is a text of the poem by Quinn.

Cui dono lepidum novum libellum
arida modo pumice expolitum?
Corneli, tibi : namque tu solebas
meas esse aliquid putare nugas
5 iam tum, cum ausus es unus Italorum
omne aevum tribus explicare cartis
doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis.
Quare habe tibi quidquid hoc libelli
qualecumque quod, (o) patrona virgo,
plus uno maneat perenne saeculo.

The poem divides stylistically into three parts - lines 1-4, 5-7, and 8-10.

1. Cf. R.O.A.M. Lyne, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

2. "Catullus 1, his poetic creed, and Nepos", HSPH LXXI, 1966, p. 143-9.

The first and third parts are written in a compact and economical manner, while the middle part is pompous and puffed up, full of verbiage and padding (e.g. "iam tum, cum ausus" or "doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis"). This division, made on stylistic grounds, is borne out by the lines' terminal sounds - um/um and as/as in the first part, is/is in the second, and o/o in the third. Now the first and third sections deal with Catullus' little book, while the second deals with Nepos' Chronica. Thus by stylistically dividing the poem into three sections, Catullus is announcing to Nepos and the Ennian school the type of poetry he will write (sections one and three): that he is not going to follow the Ennian model of lengthy historical narrative (as Nepos has no doubt done) and the style of writing that goes along with it; hence the puffed up writing of the second portion. This idea is further reinforced by the contrasts in "omne aevum - nugae", "libellum - tribus cartis" and "lepidum novum - doctis laboriosis". Elder quotes Wagenvoort who believes that "nugae" is practically synonymous with "ludus". For the meanings of "ludus" and "ludere" Wagenvoort says that they "may indicate true poetry of a lighter nature in contrast to epics and tragedies as a superior kind; it may even include the whole of poetry in contrast to a political life-work, considered as the more important"¹⁾. Thus in the stylistic formulation of the poem and in the use of "nugae" to describe his work, Catullus is indirectly announcing to the Ennian school his rejection of their kind of poetry and his own adherence to Callimachus' doctrine ²⁾.

1. H. Wagenvoort, Studies in Roman Literature, Culture and Religion, Leiden, 1956, p. 39.

2. It appears that Elder's view of the poem depends largely on his interpretation of tribus cartis as being directly opposed to libellum. However, Quinn, Catullus. The Poems, p. 89, writes: "A 3-volume history was not long by contemporary standards!" If Quinn is right, then we would have to regard the poem as a dedication to Nepos because he was the only Italian (unus Italorum) who had followed the Neoteric principles of innovation (ausus es), "doctrina" (doctis), "labor" (laboriosis), and conciseness (tribus cartis - only 3 volumes for a History of the world). I would like to emphasise that even this interpretation would be a vindication of my general argument in view of my frequent references later to "carmen vigilatum" and "poeta doctus".

Poem 95 is also presented as a manifesto of the new school. Below is a text of the poem by K. Quinn.

Zmyrna mei Cinnae nonam post denique messem
 quam coepta est nonamque edita post hiemem,
 milia cum interea quingenta Hortensius uno

 Zmyrna cavas Satrachi penitus mittetur ad undas,
 Zmyrnam cana diu saecula pervolvent.
 at Volusi annales Paduam morientur ad ipsam
 et laxas scombris saepe dabunt tunicas.
 Parva mei mihi sint cordi monimenta,
 at populus tumido gaudeat Antimacho.

The poem, in addition to being in praise of Cinna's Zmyrna, is also a literary polemic reminiscent of Callimachus' campaign against long poetry as evident in the fragments of the prologue to his Aetia. Callimachus has presented the prologue as a retort to his opponents (telchines)¹⁾, who accused him of being incapable of writing a long poem. Here in poem 95 Catullus is railing at Hortensius and Volusius who were apparently adherents of the old school. Hortensius is very likely to be Q. Hortensius Hortalus who seems to have been something of a poetaster; it is probable that he might have written a long poem as is here implied. Volusius is

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1. The learned Florentine scholium (Pap. Soc. It. i 219 fr.; no. 24 Pf.) gives concrete indications about the identity of the telchines. Besides unknown and partially preserved names, there appear Praxiphenes, Asclepiades and Posidippus. Although the name of Appollonius Rhodius does not appear, Callimachus probably meant the name telchines to include the Rhodian writer of long epic. See T.B.L. Webster, Hellenistic Poetry and Art, London, 1964, p. 106.

the writer of Annales, the "cacata charta" of poem 36. As the distich in the prologue to the Aetia (fr. 11) attests Callimachus' preference for the small, subtle poem over the long, so in the last two lines Catullus states his own fondness for short poetry and jibes at the verbose Antimachus, "tumido Antimacho", author of the famous Lyde, a collection of unhappy love myths, which Callimachus had criticised as being too wordy ¹⁾.

Wendell Clausen ²⁾ has pointed out the similarity of Catullus' use of the River Satrachus and the River Po with the use of a like metaphor at the end of Callimachus' Hymn 2 (lines 108-112). Apollo, in reply to Envy, who has just mentioned an anti-Callimachean opinion, says that the Assyrian river is huge but it carries the dirt and waste of the land. Demeter's bees do not bring water from everywhere but only from the pure and undefiled spring. This statement is obviously a reference to Callimachus' battle against the supporters of the long epic; the small poem is comparable to the finest, purest spring while the large poem is like the great river full of filth. Catullus must have had these lines of Callimachus in mind when he mentioned the broad, familiar Po with its mud and flotsam in association with Volusius and his Annales, and exotic, deep-channelled ("cavas") and clear Satrachus in reference to Cinna's Zmyrna.

1. fr. 398. Pf. "Λύδη καὶ παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὗ τορδόν".

2. "Callimachus and Latin Poetry", GRBS V, 1964, p. 189.

Poem 36 also illustrates Catullus' literary views. K. Quinn ¹⁾ quotes Buchhart's belief that "the vow and counter-proposal are a smoke-screen for literary criticism - a deliberate, considered attack on Volusius and what he stood for". Likewise, poem 14, in its supposed remonstrance to Calvus, is meant rather to pillory publicly a group of "pessimi poetae", who were most probably followers of the old school. All these instances of differences in literary opinion, together with the persecution of Suffenus in poem 22, and Catullus' mention of Callimachus by name in poems 65, 66 and 116, show that Catullus and the Neoterics in general were in many ways genuine Callimacheans. The epic tradition of Ennius was then for the first time seriously challenged and the frequent references in Catullus' poetry show that this was a campaign of no small moment. Although it did not sound the final death knell for the Ennian epic tradition, in the Catullan age, at least, Callimachus' doctrine, μέγα βιβλίον-μέγα κακόν, was well established; epyllion is now in opposition to long epic.

Why did the New Poets turn to Callimachus and Alexandria for inspiration?

I would like to examine this question in the light of two facts which emerge regarding the status of Roman poetry at this particular stage, viz., the realisation by our poets of the poor quality of the work of their predecessors and the tendency of the Neoterics towards the introduction of a highly personal, subjective element to a degree never known before.

1. Catullus. The Poems, p. 199. Note that Quinn himself, however, is inclined to disagree with this particular view.

From its recorded origins Roman poetry had been dependent on the Greek. This led to a stifling of an independent and creative spirit; Roman poetry was thus in a sad state. Although it had been serving that apprenticeship to Greek literature, a process which was begun by Livius Andronicus, and although throughout those years the efforts of men like Ennius and Naevius had done much to improve technique, Roman poetry was still a far cry from the excellence the Greeks had attained. The feeling of inferiority which resulted from this was heightened by the profusion of Greek books and teachers, and a rapid circulation of their new works because of improved communication; all this led to a feeling for literary perfection never known before ¹⁾. Indeed, Cicero, in his Pro Archia Poeta (III, 5), says that Italy was never more receptive to Hellenistic influences than at this time.

E.A. Havelock ²⁾ writes that "the mainspring of the movement was an emotional release, which produced at last in the Roman breast a direct spontaneous sort of personal feeling which poets desired to express in verse". This no doubt was the result of the fact that Roman poetry in its subordination to the stringent canons of earlier Greek poetry had, as a result of its mechanical imitation, suppressed the natural instinct for self expression. Those years of subservience to Greek literature when attempts were made to transplant into Latin a Greek epic style, resulted in the lack of direct feeling in Roman poetry which our New Poets acutely felt.

1. See R. Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii.

2. The Lyric Genius of Catullus, Oxford, 1939, p. 164.

This tendency of Roman Poetry to turn personal has also been explained by a change in the concept of the poet's function in society ¹⁾. The earlier Roman poets were, in a way, professional writers; as such their work was determined by the demands of their audience. This dependence on patronage defined their function very clearly: they were the paid servants of society to whose caprices their poetry had to pander. By the time of the New Poets Roman society had changed rapidly - Catullus and his circle are no longer craftsmen who depend upon sophisticated noblemen. They are men of independent means, no longer willing to answer to the beck and call of statesmen and generals. Poetry was now not the preserve of the professional; the poet could thus be an individual. This change in the social status of the poet is an important consideration in viewing the nature of the New Poetry. It is largely as a result of his independence that the poet discovered himself. He could now write in a way which was the direct expression of an individual addressing himself to a small circle who would best understand and appreciate him.

It was in these two respects that parallels could be found between Roman poetry and the poetry of Alexandria and which gave birth in our New Poets to a feeling of kinship with Callimachus and the Alexandrians. However, it must be pointed out that there was a difference in so far as Callimachus was reacting to a technique that was overworked and over-mature while the Neoterics were striving to improve a technique that was impoverished and stagnant; the similarity lay in the fact that the rules which Callimachus

1. See Quinn, The Catullan Revolution, p. 24-26, and Gordon Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, Oxford, 1964, p. 31-43.

formulated to overcome his grievance were precisely what appealed to the Neoterics to overcome theirs ¹⁾. Callimachus had eschewed the continuation of epic as exemplified by Homer and Antimachus; instead, he considered Hesiod worthy as a model, for Hesiod was an exemplar of didactic poetry, his voice was personal and, most of all, his poetry was short. Thus epyllion, or short epic, was created in reaction to epic. It was for his use of the shorter forms of poetry, and the epyllion in particular, that the New Poets turned to Callimachus and Alexandria. The importance of the epyllion to them was not only that it emphasised a difference between the two opposing schools in Roman poetry as it had done between Callimachus and the followers of epic, but also that it was in shorter genres of poetry that they could concentrate their efforts on improving technique with more success. Artistry and "doctrina" had to be the watchwords of the New Poets if their striving after improved technique were to bear any fruit. A poem had to be the outcome of labour, not hasty hack work. (Catullus in c. 95 says that Cinna's Zmyrna was published nine years after it was begun). This concentration of effort demanded by the New Poetry in its attempts to raise the standard of technique could not be sustained in a long-winded composition - hence the preference for the shorter forms of poetry and the interest in Callimachus and the literary methods and technique of Alexandria. Following the example of Callimachus, the epyllion became to the New Poets the ultimate in literary endeavour, a vehicle for the revolutionary ideas and literary ideals they espoused.

At Alexandria, as well, there had been a change in the conception of the poet's function. In defiance of Pindar's view that the poet had a social function to perform, viz., to reveal to mankind truths embodied in myth,

1 Cf. Lyne, *op. cit.*, p. 170 ff.

Callimachus devised a "new poetics", emphasising poetry for poetry's sake, a poetry whose validity derived from itself and not from the message it had for mankind. The cult of the scholar-poet, resulting in the obscure and learned allusion which became a mark of Alexandrian poetry, and which became the chief failing of the creed as a result of its gross exploitation, was not so much an attempt at a display of erudition as a manipulation of the past in an attempt to give it contemporary significance and appeal ¹⁾. The Alexandrian poet now found his identity; in abandoning the service of society, in writing a poetry which had relevance and appeal for a restricted and learned few, his voice became increasingly more personal. In his attempt to impart emotional appeal to his poetry, the Alexandrian poet paid careful attention to arrangement and form of a poem; and although, as Quinn ²⁾ has said, "there was always something external and intellectual Even when the Hellenistic poets made usual the fashion of writing in the first person, a coldness, a withholding of self persisted", the Alexandrian poet had amply illustrated the possibilities inherent in his poetry. The social status of the Roman poet, as discussed earlier, was conducive to indulgence in and adoption of this kind of poetry. Thus our poets became Roman Neoteroi, transferring the cult of the scholar-poet into their poetry which now became characterised by learned allusion in an attempt to convey the romantic associations of the past. However, unlike their Alexandrian predecessors, they did not allow this to degenerate into pedantry and it is to their everlasting credit that they developed the personal and subjective element to an extent never known before.

1. Cf. Havelock, *op. cit.*, p. 122 ff.

2. The Catullan Revolution, p. 50.



I mentioned earlier the epyllia which the New Poets wrote. I would now like to discuss them in more detail. As very little of their work survives ¹⁾, with the exception of Catullus, the nature of the epyllia of the rest can only be conjectured. It is usual to look for clues by an examination of the Metamorphoses of Ovid and the Ciris of the Appendix Vergiliana which deal with most of the stories dealt with by the New Poets and which probably drew upon them as well. The importance of the lost Metamorphoses of Parthenius has not been given due consideration in this regard. The epyllia of the New Poets (in particular the Attis, the Zmyrna, the Io, and the Glaucus) deal with themes which are typically "metamorphic" - all the characters are characters who have undergone change or who undergo change, not only in personality but even in form, as a result of their actions. It is very possible that Parthenius dealt with some, if not all, of these stories, as the title of his work, Metamorphoses, suggests. If this is the case, which is very likely, then Parthenius, in view of his importance to the New Poetry ²⁾, undoubtedly provided the source for the stories of their epyllia, and the treatment would naturally be in accord with what Parthenius advocated; this is an important factor, not to my knowledge hitherto considered, when viewing the nature of their epyllia.

1. See Quinn, The Catullan Revolution, p. 110-113 for the fragments of the New Poets.

2. Parthenius is dealt with in detail later, p.28 ff.

We can be certain about Cinna's Zmyrna. This was a work of extraordinary doctrina; in fact Suetonius ¹⁾ reports that an explanatory commentary was written by L. Crassicus. The story concerned the unnatural passion of Zmyrna for her father Cinyras, her metamorphosis into a tree and the subsequent birth of Adonis from its trunk. This was a tale of precisely the kind - erotic and morbid - that appealed to Parthenius ²⁾.

There is no certainty about the nature of Calvus' Io. Traditionally the story went as follows: Io was the priestess of Hera at Argo; Zeus was in love with her but to conceal her from Hera, he changed her into a heifer. Hera asked for the heifer and placed Argos to watch over her; when Hermes killed Argos, Hera plagued Io with a gadfly which drove her out of the country; after lengthy wanderings and sufferings she came to Egypt where she was rescued by Zeus.

Crump ³⁾ has conjectured that the Io of Calvus was of the idyllic type with no interest in psychology. She bases her conjecture on the nature of Ovid's treatment of Io in his Metamorphoses. While this may be so, it is, in my opinion, very unlikely. Calvus, Cinna, and Catullus, as Catullus' poetry shows, were the closest members of the Neoteric school; one would not, therefore, expect a marked variance in their poetic ideas and Calvus' poetic outlook would be one of conformity to Neoteric ideals. Now, considering the well known tendency of the Neoterics, in emulation of Alexandria, to

1. Gram. 18.

2. Cf. story eleven of Parthenius' Περὶ Ἐρωτικῶν Παθημάτων which deals with Bibylis and her incestuous passion for her brother Caunus.

3. op. cit., p. 45.

concentrate on the byways of myth and incidentals in the saga of heroes and heroines, it is not likely that Calvus dealt with the whole of the story as it is known to us but with a particular aspect of it which gave scope for pathos and psychological analysis - possibly the sufferings and wanderings of Io as a result of her love for Zeus. The inspiration for the Neoterics came from late, almost contemporary, Alexandrian poetry; Roman poetry thus adopted the later development of the epyllion from Alexandria, the type popular with Euphorion and Parthenius. Hence it is very likely that Calvus' Io had, unlike Crump's suggestion, its chief interest in an erotic aside in the story of Io which depicted her sufferings as a result of her love; this would be more in accord with the later development of the genre.

The subject of Cornificius' Glaucus must have been the fanciful, offbeat tale, popular with Alexandria, of the sea god Glaucus, half human, half fish in form. The story must have centred around his unsuccessful wooing of the nymph, Scylla ¹⁾.

Even less is known about Cato's Lydia and Dictynna. His Lydia, judging from the Appendix Vergiliana, if it was an epyllion at all, mourned the loss of his beloved. His Dictynna very probably told of the aetiology of Britomartis' name, "Dictynna". The work is thus typically Hellenistic in its interest in aetiology. Minos was in love with Britomartis; she tried to avoid him for nine long months and, finally to escape him, she leaped over a cliff into the sea, was caught in a fishing net (hence called "Dictynna" from δίκτυον) and finally escaped into a grove of Artemis. The story of a romantic

1. Cf. Ovid, Met., 13, 898 ff.

incident in the legend of Minos suits the nature of the epyllion. It is interesting to note the similarity of Cinna's praise for Cato's Dictynna, "saecula per maneat nostri Dictynna Catonis", with Catullus' praise of Cinna's Zmyrna, "Zmyrnam cana diu saecula pervolvent"¹⁾.

Finally we come to the Magna Mater of Caecilius. We do not know whether Caecilius wrote or thought of writing in galliambics or whether he had in mind a version of the Attis myth. But we can safely guess that he wrote or had in mind something similar to Catullus' poem. Note the similarity between Catullus' reference to his work and a line of his own Attis ²⁾. Furthermore, Catullus' concern for and interest in Caecilius' work could only stem from similarity in poetic outlook and ideals. It was thus very likely that Caecilius' work was being undertaken along lines similar to Catullus' and that it was an epyllion. Also, Catullus addresses Caecilius as "tenero". Ovid applies the word to those who, like himself, had written about love ³⁾. Thus there is a strong possibility that Caecilius was a love poet and that he attempted to give his version of the legend the love interest, in particular the suffering on account of love, which was common to his school.

1. Poem 95, line 5.

2. C. 35. 14 "Dindymi domina" and c. 35. 18 "Magna ... Mater" with c. 63. 91 "Dea, magna dea, Cybele, dea domina Dindymi".

3. Ovid, Rem. A., 757, "teneros ne tange poetas / Summoveo dotes impius ipse meas" where he mentions Callimachus, Philitas, Sappho, Anacreon, Tibullus, Propertius.

Thus we see that the epyllia of the Neoteric poets, almost all of them, are concerned with the love element, in stories that gave ample scope for pathos, character analysis and a subjective treatment. We had seen earlier the need for Roman poetry to turn away from the restrained, objective, even staid style to the freedom of self expression, personalism and subjectivity. It was such themes, the themes we have discussed, that offered the New Poets the opportunity to become more personally involved with their subject matter; the poet could now intrude his own personality upon his work to give expression to the principles that formed the basis of the new movement; in short it was the theme of erotikā pathēmata, of suffering as a result of love, in accordance with Parthenius' persuasions, that formed the literary core of the New Poets¹⁾.

iii) Development of the Epyllion

In tracing briefly the development of the epyllion, it is necessary to emphasise the role of Euphorion and Parthenius in determining those characteristics of the genre which were peculiar to the New Poets, as we have just discussed.

The battle between long and short poetry had evidently begun before Callimachus. It is possible that Philitas of Cos was the originator of the New Poetry, for both Callimachus, in his prologue to the Aetia, and Theocritus in Idyll VII mention Philitas as an old master of short poetry whom they had succeeded. The fragments of his work, though scanty, show why he was so important to his successors. Albin Lesky²⁾ says that in

1. It is strange that none of the scholars whose works I have consulted seems to recognize this.

2. A History of Greek Literature, London, 1966, p. 701.

him the "interest of the scholar and the desire of the littérateur (he was called ποιητὴς ἄμα καὶ κριτικός) to avoid the ordinary were blended in a manner which remained influential in Alexandrian poetry....".

Philitas' status as the originator of the epyllion, depending on the dubious classification of his Hermes as an epyllion, has been challenged. Many serious objections have been levelled at this classification ¹⁾; it is possible that the Hermes was in fact not an epyllion at all but rather a narrative hymn. But whether Philitas or any other unknown writer produced epyllia, it is not of much significance; our interest will focus on Callimachus who fixed and popularized the type ²⁾.

The history of the epyllion, then, began with Callimachus who represented the culmination of the ideals of Alexandrian poetry. Callimachus' battle against the long epic did not stem from any disparagement or criticism of Homer as an artist; rather he questioned the validity in his own time of Homer's world of mythos in which men and gods freely mingled. Because he was a learned scholar and a sensitive poet as well, he could see this problem with the greatest depth of vision. His measures were not drastic;

1. See Crump, *op. cit.*, p. 26-8.

2. I will leave Theocritus out of my discussion, for though he is important to the student of the epyllion, he does not directly concern us since his contributions were mainly directed to the epic idyll. Here the poem is conceived as a series of pictures and there is not much interest in character. Theocritus is thus far removed from the epyllia of our New Poets.

he did not wholly reject the traditional forms, including the Homeric canon that myth must form the basis of all poetry - instead he attempted to adapt the form and the canon to a new kind of poetry ¹⁾.

In his constant denunciation of the practice of imitating Homer, Callimachus became something of an oracle in literary circles. But his authority was challenged by Apollonius Rhodius, a young pupil of his, who declared his allegiance to the epic school. The famous battle was engaged, with allusions and epigrams in the work of both poets ²⁾. The immediate victory fell to Callimachus, and Apollonius, for the time being at least, retired discredited to Rhodes.

An outcome of the battle was the Argonautica of Apollonius, and the Hecale of Callimachus, the former being an epic after the old school, the latter a composition in the new manner. Our interest in the Argonautica centres only on the Medea episode. The poem at large is considered a failure ³⁾ and only comes alive when Apollonius loses himself in the romance of Medea. The descriptive method employed here is that of the epyllion, not epic. The subject is a love story, a story complicated by crime (betrayal of a father), and is marked by its interest in the character of Medea. The success of the love story standing out in contrast to the failure of the

1. See B. Otis, Virgil. A Study in Civilized Poetry, Oxford, 1963, p. 8-12.

2. I have referred earlier (pages 10 and 11) to the prologue of the Aetia and to Hymn 2 of Callimachus where he hit out at his opponents.

3. Cf. Crump, *op. cit.*, p. 243-9.

rest of the poem could not have failed to impress Catullus who was undoubtedly more than familiar with it ¹⁾. It is very possible that the preference of Catullus and the other Neoterics for an epyllion with the erotic element offering possibilities of both pathos and character analysis was partially influenced by the Argonautica.

The Hecale was Callimachus' real answer to his detractors and formed a model upon which the future epyllion was based. The fragments ²⁾ that do survive are adequate to make possible a reasonable reconstruction of the story: while Theseus was on his way to fight the Marathonian bull he was received and entertained by Hecale. She vowed a sacrifice to Zeus for Theseus' safe return; when Theseus returned after capturing the bull he found her dead and, by his command, a festival was held to Zeus Hecaleius in honour of her hospitality.

Although the Hecale retained a few characteristics of the idyll, it was undoubtedly an epyllion, for the main interest was concentrated on the plot and the characters. In his characters, Callimachus was evidently aiming at psychological truth, and the treatment in both the main subject and the digression on Erichthonius was dramatic; there were several speakers and their speeches were of considerable length.

The Hecale exemplified Callimachus' new approach to myth and narrative which was characterised by four elements: a special kind of realism (a deliberate modernising of the mythical element); a familiar tone; a strikingly

1. Cf., for instance, the Ariadne episode in his Peleus and Thetis.

2. See R. Pfeiffer, Callimachus. Volumen i. Fragmenta, Oxford, 1965, p. 226-304, Fr. 230-377.

personal approach; and finally, a marked brevity and asymmetry ¹⁾. The last aspect of Callimachus' approach is the most important. He avoided the myth proper by emphasising a side issue which was remotely related to the myth. He merely confined his interest in the Hecale to the hospitality of an old and poverty-stricken woman, Theseus' fight with the bull, and his reaction to the death of Hecale. Thus Callimachus chose an incident in the legend of Theseus which gave scope for pathos and psychological analysis. This was an advance on the epic idyll of Theocritus, and we will see in the later stages of the epyllion how these particular aspects were further developed.

We see that the epyllion, as conceived by Callimachus, was the result of his new conception of myth presented in a light, familiar, personal and elliptical narrative form. In his rejection of Homer and Antimachus, he did not intend to create truly narrative poetry completely devoid of any mythical element. He was traditional in the sense that he accepted the Homeric canon of a mythically orientated poetry. The difference lay in his treatment; he cut down his mythical narrative so as to fit his particular conception of myth. The result was neither true myth nor true narrative ²⁾. This innovation by Callimachus is important to the history of the epyllion, for the subsequent nature of the genre was determined by his conception of it.

1. Otis, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

2. Ibid., p. 12.

The next name in the development of the epyllion was Euphorion of Chalcis¹⁾. Very little is known of his life and his work. The fragments²⁾ that do survive show that his poetry was learned and in difficult language, and based on obscure myths³⁾. The steady shift of emphasis to side issues in his narrative, and the avoidance of epic manner show that Euphorion was deliberately attempting to break away from Homer and was at the same time industriously trying to imitate Callimachus. Thus it is clear why his poetry appealed to the New Poets as embodying to a large extent their own principles. Although the fragments do not reveal poetry of any great value, B.A. van Groningen⁴⁾ has praised his choice of sound effects; his fragments do show alliteration, assonance and internal rhyme to a remarkable degree. We will see later in our analysis of poem 63 Catullus' use of some of these devices, but it is impossible to prove to what extent he was influenced by Euphorion.

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1. See Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 221-8 for a detailed account of Euphorion.
 2. See J.U. Powell, New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature, Oxford, 1933, p. 28-58.
 3. This is undoubtedly a justification of Cicero's charge of obscurity against Euphorion. "Quid poeta nemo, nemo physicus obscurus? illi vero, Nimis etiam obscurus Euphorion: at non Homerus. Uter igitur melior?"
(Cic. Div., ii., 64).
 4. La Poesie verbale grecque, Paris, 1953, quoted by T.B.L. Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

Of the twenty-one titles attributed to him, at least six have been conjectured to be epyllia ¹⁾. They are the Anius, the Apollodorus, the Dionysus Κεχνηός, the Hippomedon, the Hyacinthus and the Philoctetes.

Euphorion's epyllia differ markedly from any previous type. The narrative detail and picturesque element, as evident in the epic idyll and to a much less extent in Callimachus, were now almost done away with. A surviving fragment ²⁾ clearly indicates this: Apriate, being lustfully pursued by Trambleus, delivers a sad speech, and then within the space of a single line hurls herself into the sea. Thus the poet is not so much interested in narrative detail as in obscure mythical allusions and in the emotional state of his character. His narrative style is abrupt and compressed.

The love element now becomes a recurring theme, and is often of a violent and unnatural kind ³⁾. Thus the epyllion is now a vehicle for sensational deeds and study of morbid psychology. The similarity of these characteristics to those of the epyllia of the New Poets could possibly be a justification of Cicero's "Cantores Euphorionis" ⁴⁾.

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1. M.M. Crump, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
 2. It can be found in Select Papyri III, ed. D.L. Page, Loeb Classical Library, p. 494-497.
 3. This point is well illustrated by the subjects chosen from Euphorion by Parthenius. In the Love Romances, Euphorion is given as the source of three stories, Harpalyce, Apriate and Cyzicus. To these may be added the story of Laodice. These four stories are all tragic, characterised by motives of guilty love, violence and suffering.
 4. For a full discussion of the much written about terms, neoteroi, novi poetae and Cantores Euphorionis see N.B. Crowther, "ΟΙ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΙ, Poetae Novi and Cantores Euphorionis", CQ 1970, XX, p. 322-7.

It is undoubtedly Parthenius of Nicaea ¹⁾ who brought Callimachus and Euphorion to Rome. Yet many scholars writing on the New Poetry have ignored the influence of Parthenius completely ²⁾.

The Suda informs us that Parthenius was captured in the Mithridatic war by a certain Cinna (most probably a relative of our Helvius Cinna) and brought to Rome where he was freed because of his learning. The date of this cannot be fixed with any certainty; it could have happened anywhere between 73 and 66 B.C.. R. Pfeiffer ³⁾ writes that "even if we take the latest possible date for his arrival this date would be early enough to influence the circle of the "poetae novi" from the very beginning of their careers; none of them seems to have started before 65".

No complete poem of Parthenius has survived and the fragments are too scanty to determine what the nature of his poetry was. Six verses are extant showing the spondaic hexameter of both the Alexandrian poets and the Neoterics at Rome. They deal with the death of Bibylis who fell in love

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1. See N.B. Crowther, "Parthenius and Roman Poetry", Mnemosyne XXIX, 1976, p. 65-77, for all the evidence concerning Parthenius. See also Crump, *op. cit.*, p. 102-112, to whom I am greatly indebted for my account of Parthenius.
 2. Cf. Wendell Clausen, "Callimachus and Latin Poetry", GRBS V, 1964, p. 188. He says: "I do not know why those who have written recently on the New Poetry make so little of him. Quinn in his The Catullan Revolution (1959), Wimmel in his Kallimachos in Rom (1960), Fordyce in his edition of Catullus (1961), unless I am mistaken, do not mention him".
 3. "A Fragment of Parthenius' Arete", CQ XXXVII, 1943, p. 30-31, quoted from D.O. Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

with her brother Caunus. It is possible that this is the type of subject matter that is common to most of his poems, since his collection of thirty-six love stories deals with similar themes.

It cannot be determined whether his Metamorphoses, referred to earlier, was a work in prose or in verse. The only record of it is a prose passage which occurs in the Scholia on Dionysius Periegeta. The passage may be a summary of a verse passage, but it is also possible that the actual words of Parthenius are being quoted; thus the work could be either in verse or in prose. If it is a prose work, then it is possible that it was a collection of stories like his Περὶ Ἐρωτικῶν Παθημάτων.

Numerous other works have been attributed to Parthenius. Our interest focuses on his Περὶ Ἐρωτικῶν Παθημάτων, his only wholly extant work, which is a collection of thirty-six very brief love stories. It is prefaced by a dedicatory letter to Cornelius Gallus which fixes the type of subject which was considered suitable to the epyllion, and indicates to a limited extent, the nature of its treatment. The tales show certain well-marked characteristics, which are fairly typical of them all. Twenty-five of them end in the death of one or both of the chief characters, while the remaining eleven are characterised by incidences of violence or treachery. Recurring themes occur in the tales; in six cases the lover abandons his loved one, suicide occurs eight times and there are six instances of murder of kinsmen. In nine of the tales the plot turns to unnatural affection and in five the chief motive is the love of a girl for an enemy. Thus violence, treachery, unfaithfulness and unnatural affection are frequent themes. Parthenius resorts to sensational stories to highlight the "sufferings due to love", the Erotikà Pathémata.

No well known stories are included in the collection, indicating the preference of the Alexandrians for the byways of mythology and literature. Many of the stories are remotely connected with myth and in some the characters are entirely fictitious. Thus we are dealing with what may be classed as romantic fiction, and a growing tendency for the use of myths that lend themselves to the development of the romantic element. This tendency is fully developed in the Latin epyllia, showing a conformity amongst the New Poets to Parthenius' desire for a breaking away from the tradition that connected epic poetry with legend.

The stories do not indicate picturesque treatment or narrative detail. Sometimes second versions of a story are given or details are added from other authorities, indicating Parthenius' admiration for learned discussions. Suggestions are frequently found for the introduction of long speeches such as are found in Catullus' Attis and the Ciris of the Appendix Vergiliana. Parthenius also expected elaborate psychological analysis, and occasional references in his work show how this may be achieved; sometimes the analysis may be put into the mouth of the hero or heroine, at other times the poet has to analyse a state of mind at a personal level.

The epyllion, as conceived by Parthenius, may be summarized as follows: it was a short narrative poem of the erotic type, concentrating its interest on plot and character and eliminating largely picturesque and realistic description. The plot, full of incident and sensational, usually ended tragically. Psychological analysis was introduced mainly by means of dramatic treatment.

It is clear that Parthenius was not responsible for the development of this particular type. In the absence of reliable evidence, one can only

conjecture that it was Euphorion who was the inventor of the type. The role of Parthenius was mainly to bring to Rome the epyllion form as conceived by Callimachus and developed by Euphorion, popularizing it and fixing it as a model for his school.

While Parthenius' influence on Cinna is readily granted ¹⁾, most scholars are skeptical about his influence on Catullus and the other New Poets. W. Clausen ²⁾, at least, has found that the technique of Catullus' poem 95 is inspired by the example of Parthenius. Although Parthenius is nowhere mentioned in the extant poetry of Catullus, Ross ³⁾ is tempted to find the reference to his home town, Nicaea, in the line "Nicaeaeque ager uber aestuosus" (46.5), complimentary. The rare poetic adjective, "aestuosus", is used only once elsewhere by Catullus, in a reference to Callimachus - "oraclum Iovis inter aestuosi / et Batti veteris sacrum sepulcrum" (7.5-6).

I examined earlier the possible nature of the epyllia of the New Poets and saw how the principles expounded by Parthenius formed the core of their poetry. It is undoubtedly Parthenius who suddenly brought home to Italy the possibilities inherent in Alexandrian poetry. In conclusion, I would

1. For instance, N.B. Crowther, "Parthenius and Roman Poetry", Mnemosyne XXIX, p. 69. The reason for this is that Cinna was very likely related to the captor of Parthenius, and the surviving fragments of Cinna's Zmyrna show close resemblance to Parthenius.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 278-9.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 162.

like to quote the words of D.O. Ross ¹⁾: "The importance of Parthenius cannot be over-estimated; without his timely arrival there could have been no New Poetry, for it is unlikely that Cinna, Calvus, Catullus and the other Neoterics could by themselves have understood or adopted Callimachean poetry, or by themselves have devised the vocabulary and technique necessary for the creation of a new genre".

I have traced the development of the epyllion down to Catullus' time and have attempted to show how it took on those particular characteristics that are associated with the epyllia of the Neoteric school. We have seen how in the later stages of its development the epyllion became erotic in its interest, with a preference for unhappy stories of the sensational kind as exemplified by Parthenius' Love Romances, and how this later development was adopted without significant changes by the New Poets. I would now like to examine Catullus' choice of the Cybele-Attis myth for poem 63.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 162.

CATULLUS' CHOICE OF THE MYTH OF CYBELE AND ATTIS

The Attis is obviously one of Catullus' latest works. The date of composition is generally assumed to be around the period of his sojourn in Bithynia (c. 57 - 56 B.C.) or immediately after it ¹⁾. This assumption must mean that the poem was attempted by the poet in the prime of his poetic career, and that it was a conscious and deliberate artistic endeavour ²⁾ meant to be a succinct embodiment of the ideals championed by the new movement. This does not mean that the Attis was just a mechanical literary exercise; Catullus' poems are of too emotional and personal a nature to attribute the poetic impulse that produced any one of them to merely a desire to busy his poetic faculties. The story of Attis appealed to Catullus for he saw with a great deal of poetic vision the possibilities inherent in it for purposes both literary and personal. His lighter poems in general, though charming and emotionally alive in themselves, were of too personal a nature and inspired by occasions too slight to be regarded as worthy contributions to the realm of serious poetry, at least in the eyes of contemporary Rome. The Cybele-Attis myth, as he conceived it, would offer him the opportunity of handling purely objective material, to which by deft and clever manipulation he could impart touches of realism and subjectivity. These were qualities, as we have seen, which the new movement was at pains to express, for it was upon them that it could stake

1. See J.P. Elder, "Catullus' Attis", AJPh LXVIII, 1947, p. 396.

2. Quinn, Catullus. An Interpretation, p. 258 says that Catullus placed his most serious artistic endeavours in the middle of the collection, a collection which he himself planned.

its claims to novelty and originality. It was in a poem of Attis and his devotion to the Mother Goddess that Catullus foresaw the happy marriage of the objective and the personal; herein was the opportunity to produce a work of controlled and restrained subjectivism, which, unlike the capricious and wanton moods of the lighter poems, would elevate him to the status of a serious poet. It was the story of Attis that could give Catullus the chance to use a metre which was somewhat novel and in accord with the Neoteric penchant for new rhythms. The galliambic presented itself not merely as a metre to be used for novelty's sake but also as a measure ideally suited for setting the mood of the poem and depicting the ecstatic frenzy of Attis.

While it may not be so difficult a task to surmise Catullus' literary reasons for the choice of the myth of Attis, one cannot be sure what were his personal reasons, i.e., what experiences he wished the poem to reflect or what message he had in it. But that he did mean the poem to convey something is without doubt. Was the poem an autoallegory depicting his futile devotion to Lesbia, or was it a poem of social comment dealing with the inability of the young man to cope with marriage and adulthood, or was it merely an expression of Catullus' dislike for excess¹⁾? It seems best, in view of the subjective nature of such an approach, to consider them as secondary to Catullus' literary reasons for the choice of the Cybele-Attis myth. The story with its great potential for the depiction of Attis' ecstasy and subsequent suffering as a result of his love and devotion to Cybele was ideally suited to the epyllion which was a

1. These will be discussed later.

genre new to Rome, and, in the absence of a native tradition, could lend itself to treatment in an individual and flexible manner, unfettered by the restraints of tradition. It was in a combination of a relatively free genre like the epyllion and the story of the dramatic love of Attis that Catullus could employ all his various Neoteric resources to create the carmen vigilatum of a poeta doctus, an ideal to which Catullus assiduously aspired. In conclusion, the story of Attis was a theme ideally suitable for an exercise of the literary precepts that distinguished the new movement. The Attis can thus, in some degree, be regarded as a manifesto of the new school.

CHAPTER TWO

GENERAL TRENDS IN CATULLAN CRITICISM

Before examining the studies done specifically on poem 63, it seems appropriate to discuss very briefly those general trends in Catullan criticism which have an indirect bearing on the appreciation of the poem under consideration.

The first is the view that there are two Catulluses, the one an unconsciously artful, simple, lyrical Catullus, and the other a painfully technical, bookish poet given to Alexandrian elaboration and erudition ¹⁾. The arrangement of his poems seems to make this distinction more apparent. The hundred and nine shorter poems, by virtue of their more personal treatment and similarity of style and tone, are regarded as the work of a lyric poet. The nine longer poems, grouped as they are into a distinct, isolated group, seem to be the outcome of a different aspect of the poet's genius. Because they are generally thought of as being elaborate and learned, they are supposed to represent, as against the shorter poems, the tendency to imitate the Alexandrians. We are thus tempted to believe that these two different types of poetry represent different aspects of the poet's artistic temperament - that, in fact, there are two Catulluses.

1. See Havelock, *op. cit.*, p. 75-79.

This dichotomy was succinctly expressed by Wilhelm Kroll ¹⁾: "In the first place, there are two aspects of Catullus; there is the Alexandrian weighed down by the burden of tradition, and there is the spontaneous, primitive child of nature".

Similarly V. Errante ²⁾ observes that the poems fall "in due sole grandi parti diverse, le quali rappresentano, per dir così, i due volti della poesia di Catullo", and presents his work on the basis of this division.

The first significant voice against the two Catulluses seems to be that of O. Friess ³⁾ who eloquently argues against this view. A more direct and forceful rebuttal has been that of E.A. Havelock ⁴⁾ whose comments in this regard are worthy of, at the least, a quick survey. He says that if we are to understand the poetry of Catullus, "the two pictures, of the naive emotionalist and the scholar-intellectual, have to be combined into a single mental portrait ⁵⁾". He argues that Catullus was essentially a lyric poet;

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1. "Catull zeigt zunächst ein doppeltes Antlitz, einmal das des von schwerer Tradition belasteten Alexandriners, dann das des urwüchsigen Naturburschen", C. Valerius Catullus, herausgegeben und erklärt von Wilhelm Kroll, 2nd edition, 1929, Einleitung, p. vii, quoted and translated by Quinn, The Catullan Revolution, p. 30.
 2. La Poesia di Catullo, Milan, 1945, p. 16, quoted by J.P. Elder, "Notes on Some Conscious and Subconscious Elements in Catullus' Poetry", HSPH LX, 1951, p. 131.
 3. Beobachtungen über die Darstellungskunst Catulls, Diss., Würzburg, Memminger, 1929, p. 18-19. See J.P. Elder, above.
 4. *Op. cit.*, 75 ff.
 5. Ibid., p. 78.

even the long poems are good to the extent that they are lyrical. It is the same emotional Catullus who writes the long and the short poems, and the elements of his Alexandrianism, sophistication and urbanity, which are thought of as being confined in the main to his longer poems, are also present to a significant degree in his shorter poems; "that so far from possessing a naive and untutored gift of expression which later yields to scholarship and Alexandrian affectation, he reveals himself scholar, wit and sophisticate from first to last" ¹⁾.

While Havelock's attempt to do away with the concept of the two Catulluses has been a step in the right direction and has had a number of adherents in subsequent years ²⁾, certain of his observations in the course of his argument tend to diminish the strength of his contention. These observations stem from his estimate of the long poems ³⁾. While he has nothing against poems 61 and 63, he finds 67 and 66 to be of no poetic significance whatever, the first "an adolescent experiment", the second "a piece of hack-work written to order". Poems 65 and 69 he finds to be complete failures. He dismisses Peleus and Thetis as a work whose various episodes

1. Havelock, *op. cit.*, 76.

2. For instance, Putnam, *op. cit.*, p. 165-6, and J.P. Elder, "Notes on Some Conscious and Subconscious Elements in Catullus' Poetry", HSPh LX, 1951, p. 41-52. The latter's work will be discussed below.

3. Havelock, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

"are strung together with a minimum of hasty narrative into an ill-assorted series". Thus, in Havelock's opinion, the longer poems as a whole reflect bad poetry. This is further emphasised by his observation that Catullus "is par excellence the poet of intense moods, expressed either singly or in rapid succession Let him pause to reflect, to marshal ideas or situations which call for an effort of abstraction, and his muse fails" ¹⁾. Havelock thus divides the poetry of Catullus: the good, as reflected in the shorter poems, and the bad, as can be seen in the longer poems. Has he not, in thus dividing the poetry of Catullus into the good and the bad, adopted the concept of the two Catulluses ²⁾?

J.P. Elder ³⁾ also argues against the concept of the two Catulluses. He writes that "Such a cavalier splitting of a poetical psychology is, at the least, probably artificial and unjustified. Few poets, if indeed any, exhibit such a duality of artistic temperament. More than this, as Professor Havelock pointed out, such a superimposed dichotomy is harmful to sound criticism. To assume that there are two Catulluses will certainly inhibit one's appreciation of both of these hypothesised sections of his poetry. One cannot 'partition a poet's Muse' without evil consequences.

1. Havelock, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

2. Cf. Quinn, The Catullan Revolution, p. 31.

3. "Notes on Some Conscious and Subconscious Elements in Catullus' Poetry", p. 101-112.

Partitioning will blind one, for example, to such elements as the elaborate artifices of the lyrics or to the lyrical and dainty rococo notes in the longer poems"¹⁾.

Elder tries to prove the unity of Catullus' poems by showing that fundamentally he handles such matters as structure, allusions, imagery, and the like, in the same fashion in both short and long works. Elder begins by considering the structure of the poems. It is readily acknowledged that the long poems display considerable planning in structure. By examining the structure of poems 46, 45, 8, 72 and 76, Elder concludes that the same carefulness in structure characterizes the short poems as well; any division of Catullus into two poets on the score of attention or lack of attention to structure is thus unjustified.

Elder then goes on to examine Catullus' use of learned allusions. The presence of a greater number of learned allusions in the longer poems does not provide a sound reason for the splitting of the poet's temperament. One should, Elder continues, try to examine how the form of a poem is appropriate to its theme, i.e., what methods and techniques he thought were artistically suitable to the ideas he sought to express. One would then realize that the themes of the longer poems are such that they allow for the presence of a larger number of learned allusions - that, in fact, learned allusions traditionally belonged there. Learned allusions are even present in some of Catullus' short poems in relatively large numbers (Elder examines poem 7, Quaeris, quot mihi basiationes); they can only be explained by the particular

1. "Notes on Some Conscious and Subconscious Elements in Catullus' Poetry", p. 102.

emotions the poem sought to express. With regard to learned allusions, then, Elder ¹⁾ concludes that "one cannot find support for the concept of the two Catulluses in the field of learned allusions once his aims and methods are understood, one will not split him up on this score".

One can therefore conclude, according to Elder, that "the differences that bred such an apparent but false division are actually merely differences in what the poet hoped to do in this or that poem and in what techniques he deemed suitable, and were not owing to any basic poetic fission" ²⁾.

Quinn ³⁾ has devised the term "levels of intent" to explain and eradicate the notion of the two Catulluses. The poems reflect differing "levels of intent, differing degrees of devotion to the task of making poetry, varying from the most casual versifying to the most complete surrender to inspiration" ⁴⁾. Thus the obscene poems, for example, have a differing "level of intent" to that of poem 63 or 64. The obscene poems would be an attempt at a private working off of fury or the public ridicule of an enemy and thus at the lowest "level of intent". The long poems are at the highest

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1. "Notes on Some Conscious and Subconscious Elements in Catullus' Poetry", p. 110.
 2. Ibid., p. 102.
 3. The Catullan Revolution, p. 27-42.
 4. Ibid., p. 32.

"level of intent" in that they represent Catullus' most sustained poetic endeavours; there is little doubt that the poet meant them to be taken as his most serious poetic works. Some of them, in particular the Attis, are technical tours de force, because the poet wishes to show that he is a serious artist.

The concept "levels of intent" is important if we are to understand the work of Catullus, constituted as it is of so many different kinds of poetry. Application of the term, Quinn concludes, to the different poems of Catullus will be of great help in eradicating the notion of the two Catulluses.

Finally, D.O. Ross ¹⁾ has delivered what is perhaps the firmest blow to the two Catulluses theory. His examination of various aspects of Catullan vocabulary shows a close relationship between the polymetrics and the long poems ²⁾. The freedom with which he treated both groups, introducing at will his various Neotericisms, and the similarity in tone and spirit between them, strongly suggest that Catullus regarded both groups as relatively free ones not heavily weighed down by tradition. As a result of Ross' study, the unity of Catullus is established by what is undoubtedly the safest and surest means, and the theory of the two Catulluses is no longer acceptable.

1. Style and Tradition in Catullus, Cambridge, 1969.

2. Polymetrics is a term frequently used by scholars to describe poems 1-60 of Catullus. Catullus' treatment of the epigrams is more conventional since they belong to a long and unchangeable tradition. Ross' observations, where they apply to poem 63, will be made use of during the analysis of the poem.

From the various studies discussed above, it is beyond question that the concept of the two Catulluses no longer holds good. Perhaps my citation of so many different works on the same subject may give the impression that I have laboured the point, but the effort cannot be a misspent one if it helps establish that poem 63 is not, as a poem belonging to the group of long poems, a product of a different aspect of Catullus' poetic temperament. It is essential to realize this if it is to be argued, as I will argue, that the Attis is among Catullus' greatest works and about the most representative of the Catullan collection and a fine example of what the Neoteric movement stood for. Its great technical virtuosity, the high polish of its finish, the attention to minute detail and the apparent lack of feeling and spontaneity might be used as evidence to divorce the poem from the tone and spirit of Catullus' work in general. But if we are to realize that the "level of intent" which produced the Attis was different from that which produced, say, the Passer poems, then we are heading in the right direction; we will not be blinded, by assuming that these works are products of the two aspects of the split Catullus, to the wealth of similarities that they do possess. Awareness of such similarities among the different kinds of poems in Catullus' collection is surely the greatest tool one could have for establishing the unity of the poet's genius and for understanding the nature of the new movement of which he was leader.



Another aspect of Catullan criticism that deserves a brief consideration is that which is raised by Havelock ¹⁾. This concerns the method of dealing with a poem of Catullus against his biographical background - a background which has been reconstructed from the evidence provided by the poems themselves. Havelock is very critical of this fashion which was coming into vogue. I personally do not think that the method is so unsound as to warrant the derision with which Havelock writes about it. Catullus was surely the most personal poet of antiquity; most of his poems were occasioned by his personal experiences, by events which happened around him and which played so great a role in determining his personality and poetic outlook. What we do know about Catullus' life has been gleaned from the evidence offered by the poems themselves. Why, then, should one be so disparaging towards attempts to supplement the understanding of Catullus' poetry against a background of biographical and historical details? How are we to understand the character of the new movement if we are denied the right to guess at the psychology of the poet who was its leader by considering the details of his life, his associations and experiences? To assume that such and such a poem, or such and such a line in a particular poem, was occasioned by a particular experience of the poet is surely not transgressing the bounds of scholarship. Granted, the procedure may not be as scientific as we would have scholarship be, but we should not forget that the field of poetical criticism cannot be a wholly objective and absolute entity, governed by strict and pedantic laws.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 79-86.

J.P. Elder ¹⁾, for instance, writes that the use of a biographical background will "inhibit our critical appreciation of the poet's imaginative powers Thus if one were to suggest that both Attis and Catullus through an unworthy form of devotion had unfitted themselves for any other love, and that consequently this theme appealed to Catullus, he (may) actually be underrating the poet's artistic imagination" Elder is, I think, totally wrong on this count. The brilliance of a poetic imagination is not wholly contingent upon the ability to conceive ideas or occurrences for use as themes of a poem; rather, that brilliance lies in the adroit and deft manipulation of any incident, real or imaginary, into an artistically acceptable form - in short it is the presentation, language, style, rhythm, etc., that are the mark of a great poet. Almost all of us have ideas and experiences worthy enough to grace the best of poetry. Yet we do not make good poets because it is precisely that gift of poetical expression that we lack.

Thus, if we were to say that poem 63 reflected, to some extent, a certain personal experience, we would certainly in no way be underrating the imaginative powers of Catullus. An examination of the psychology and the biographical details of the poet is relevant and essential to an understanding of poem 63, except that the approach should not be carried to extremes, as will be seen in some of the works that will be discussed in the next section.

1. "Catullus' Attis", p. 395-6.

STUDIES ON POEM 63

At the beginning of Chapter One mention was made of Wilamowitz's theory that the Attis was a close imitation or translation of an Alexandrian prototype, and of the adverse effect of this theory on critical appreciation of the poem. However, evidence for Wilamowitz's theory is insufficient, and Quinn ¹⁾ says that "Wilamowitz's thesis of a Greek model is now generally discredited". Quinn then goes on to cite Sellar's ²⁾ remarks on the originality of the poem:

"The Attis is the most original of all his poems. As a work of pure imagination, it is the most remarkable poetical creation in the Latin language. In this poem Catullus throws himself, with marvellous power, into a character and situation utterly alien to common experience, and pours an immense flood of human feeling and passion into a legend of strange Oriental fanaticism Though the poem may have been partly founded on Greek materials, yet Catullus has treated the subject in a thoroughly original manner. It is difficult to believe that any translation could produce that impression of genuine creative power, which is forced upon every reader of the Attis. There is nothing at all like the spirit of this poem in extant Greek literature".

1. Catullus. The Poems, p. 282-3.

2. The Roman Poets of the Republic, Oxford, 1932, p. 461.

In the absence of evidence to support Wilamowitz's theory, these remarks of Sellar's, which anyone with any poetic sensibility feels to be true upon reading the Attis, and which are more conducive to constructive criticism, obviously seem to be more worthy of our consideration.

Critics of the Attis may broadly be classified into three divisions:

- i) Those of the biographical persuasion who see the poem as a work related to the poet's experience with Lesbia.
- ii) Those who view the poem from a strictly literary and technical point of view i.e., how the artistic significance of the poem lies in the way the poet makes use of his subject matter, and how the form of the poem, its language, rhythm, etc., fit and express its content.
- iii) Those who see the poem as an expression of Catullus' views on marriage.

I will try to follow these divisions as closely as I can in my discussion of the work on poem 63, but some overlap is unavoidable in view of the arbitrary nature of the divisions.

i) POEM 63 AS AN EXPRESSION OF THE POET'S EXPERIENCE WITH LESBIA

Paul W. Harkins ¹⁾ sees the Attis as an autoallegory reflecting Catullus' own hopeless devotion to Lesbia. The poet chose to write on Attis because the myth provided him with a kind of mirror in which he saw himself; according to Harkins the form of the Attis myth does appear to recount Catullus' experience with Lesbia.

Like Attis who was driven mad as a result of his passion for Cybele, Catullus, too, found that his love for Lesbia was a kind of poison which was destroying him utterly. He too was driven to such a state of frenzy that he hated and loved simultaneously and knew not why. But he realized that he needed the help of the Great Mother to ward off his disease.

The last three lines of the poem are, according to Harkins, the clearest indication that the poem is autoallegorical. This petition for release from furor reveals that there is a subjective element in the poem. The furor of Attis is almost identical to the furor of Catullus' devotion to Lesbia ²⁾. Harkins then lists the similarities between Attis' circumstances and Catullus' own:

1. "Autoallegory in Catullus 63 and 64", TAPhA XC, 1959, p. 102-116.

2. Harkins supports this conclusion by examination of Catullus' use of furor or its cognates in different contexts, p. 107-110.

"It is not too far-fetched to see an allegorical connection between the frenzy of a Cybele worshipper and the frenzy of a lover - a connection between Attis and Catullus himself. Attis made a journey over the sea to Phrygia (vv. 1-2); Catullus did, too, on his way to Bithynia. Attis made the trip eagerly, goaded on by a madness which bewildered his mind (vs. 4); Catullus went off in a last effort to escape Lesbia's poisonous charms. Attis' madness had led him to destroy his manhood by his own hand (vs. 5); Catullus had cut himself off from Lesbia, his life. The step irrevocably taken, Attis' lot was one of grief and regret (vv. 48-73); Catullus must surely have felt a like grief and regret for what was gone forever"¹⁾.

Attis' lament suggests two autobiographical possibilities: Catullus, either in his obsession for Lesbia made some supreme dedication to her which he now regrets, or, having finally decided to repudiate Lesbia and keep her at a distance, he now lives in regret. The second hypothesis seems more likely to Harkins, who feels that the poem was written after Catullus' Bithynian journey when he had gained the necessary strength and mastery over himself to reject Lesbia utterly. Attis' tearful gaze over the sea, his sad recollection of his pleasant experiences back home, contrasted with the realization of the miserable days he would spend in the forests of Phrygia are akin to Catullus' feelings after he has fled from Rome and Lesbia. Harkins concludes by stating that poem 63 is "an allegory expressing a turmoil of soul which finds Catullus struggling between

1. Harkins, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

despair at his loss and the resolve never again to return to Lesbia and the frenzied love which had ruined his life" ¹⁾.

While Harkins' basic hypothesis is a reasonably valid one, the development of his argument is too subjective to be convincing. Some of the similarities that Harkins finds between the circumstances of Attis and of Catullus appear to be farfetched and overstrained. Moreover, these similarities are not backed up by references to the text. Where Harkins does use the text of the poem to support his argument, he fails to be convincing. For instance, the last three lines of the poem, which Harkins discusses as giving the clearest indication of a similarity between Attis and Catullus, seem, to me at least, to read more like a contradiction of his basic theory than otherwise. It seems more likely that the invocation to the Goddess was inserted as an afterthought, in emulation of the trend amongst his Alexandrian predecessors, and as a sort of summation of his attitude towards the Goddess and the frenzy that she has brought upon Attis. The invocation in no way even remotely hints that Catullus himself has been suffering from a furor of devotion akin to Attis, as Harkins suggests; rather, the poet prays to Cybele, in no uncertain terms, and in a tone which is possibly mocking and sneering, to keep away that madness from his home. The invocation is thus certainly not "the clearest indication" that Catullus is suffering from a furor like that of Attis; Harkins' statement that it is so is one of the many strained and unconvincing attempts in his article to support what is fundamentally a sound hypothesis.

1. Harkins, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

The second reference to the text, with regard to furor and its cognates, as used in poem 63 and the rest of the Catullan collection, again fails to be convincing. After discussing for three long pages Catullus' use of furor and its cognates, Harkins rightly concludes that all the uses have erotic connotations. But it is difficult to see the connection between Harkins' findings and his conclusion, based on these findings, that both Attis and Catullus suffered from a similar furor of devotion. Whatever similarity Harkins finds between Catullus' emotional and imaginative use of furor and its derivations in poem 63 and the rest of the Catullan collection cannot logically be used to support the view that both Attis and Catullus were afflicted by the same frenzy of devotion; rather the unity stems from the fact that the poet is emotionally involved with the characters he creates. It is an indication of his Neoteric subjectivism and involvement that he should portray Attis in the language and imagery he uses in his personal poems.

M.C.J. Putnam ¹⁾ also views poem 63 as a personal document reflecting the Lesbia affair. The writing of both 63 and 64 appears detached but the poet "tells his reader by no less obvious means than in the lyrics that these are writings of the most personal sort. The longer poems change names, places and dates; they do not alter poetic or personal intensity. Catullus speaks through characters, but very much for himself" ²⁾.

1. "The Art of Catullus 64", HSPH LXV, 1961, p. 165-205.

2. Ibid., p. 166.

Putnam, when considering why the poet offers so much common ground between Attis and Ariadne, and why two different characters of different circumstances should be portrayed in so similar a fashion, writes that the "answer can lie nowhere but in the realization that the circumstances and thoughts of each are very much a part of Catullus himself" ¹⁾.

In support of his theory that Attis is a mouthpiece for Catullus' own feelings, Putnam offers as his strongest argument the similarity of Catullus' portrayal of Attis and Ariadne who are characters so "disparate". But the truth is that the characters and situations of Attis and Ariadne are not as different as Putnam would have us believe. Both have suffered the consequences of an intense furor of devotion, both have abandoned parents, home and all the associated blessings for the sake of a love which has turned out to be deceitful and futile, and both are destined to a life of loneliness and regret. Thus Catullus has portrayed them in similar fashion because their circumstances are similar; both stories are erotikà pathémata. In view of our earlier argument that erotikà pathémata formed the literary core of the New Poets, it is more likely that the similarity of the portrayal of Attis and Ariadne derives from a common stock treatment applicable to such themes in accordance with Neoteric principles.

1. "The Art of Catullus 64", p. 169.

Peter Whigham ¹⁾ writes that the subject of poem 63 is "the relationship between male and female, treated psychologically, in terms of Catullus' own experience, which he projects into the world of myth". Before one can realize the significance of the Attis myth for Catullus, it is essential to consider, according to Whigham, two aspects of Catullus' character which might have attracted him to the Attis myth. The first "is that there was in Catullus a strain of femininity which went deeper than 'normal' adherence to the bisexual conventions of his class and time" ²⁾. Thus on many occasions, especially when Catullus is giving expression to intense emotion, he expresses his feelings in a feminine way ³⁾. As a result of this strain of femininity in him, his relationship with Lesbia was not founded on lust. It was she, according to the evidence of the poems, who displayed the lust. But there was another side to Catullus which was directly opposed to this - his obsession with the more repugnant aspects of sexuality ⁴⁾.

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1. The Poems of Catullus, Harmondsworth, 1966, p. 30.
 2. Ibid., p. 42.
 3. In connection with the supposed femininity of Catullus, Whigham discusses the following poems: poem 51 which is a translation of Sappho's description of the physical sensations she experiences from the close presence of her beloved; poem 65 which ends with Catullus identifying himself with the young girl who tries to conceal her sexuality, which is symbolised by an apple; poem 2 where he imagines he would be like Atalanta when she lost the race and her virginity if he were allowed to play with Lesbia's sparrow; poem 66 where the poet speaks and personifies the queen's lock of hair, and poem 68 where he describes Manlius' and his own grief in terms of Laodamia's.
 4. Cf. poem 97 and the Gellius sequence (poems 74, 80, 88, 89, 90 & 91).

Whigham further writes:

"In poem 11 he refers to Lesbia as 'dragging the guts' out of him ¹⁾ in the love act; and elsewhere there are references to the way in which a woman 'drains' a man of virility. It is as though Catullus felt that at the moment of orgasm a man became like Cybele's priests behind Metellus Celer's house. This I believe to have been the significance of the Attis myth for Catullus. Woman has, as it were, a lien on man's sex, an attitude expressed in the priests' castration and in the dramatic change of gender in the poem. It is the reason why Catullus was both repelled and attracted by the myth. The hate which Catullus proclaims for Venus in line 17 is identical with that which Catullus in poem 85 expresses for Clodia. It has nothing to do with the antipathy of discordant elements, but arises from the repulsion from which attraction draws its strength, each succeeding the other in the love-hate see-saw. The experience is, of course, that of the manic depressive. And the Attis, as is now generally accepted, is a document of that state" ²⁾.

1. "of him" is an obvious misrepresentation. The reference concerns Lesbia's lovers rather than Catullus himself.

2. Whigham, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

Whigham confines his comments on the Attis to the reasons why Catullus was attracted to the myth; as such his study must for the greater part be a subjective one. He appears to interpret the evidence offered by the poems for the poet's personality too literally. Even if Catullus did have a kind of "Jekyll and Hyde" personality, as Whigham's comments suggest, it is still difficult to see how this can possibly be related to the Attis. Whigham's position would force us to interpret the Attis as an outcome of the poet's desire to give vent to his obsession with the more repulsive aspects of sexuality. But surely this is not so.

Indeed Whigham is right when he says that the poem depicts the relationship between male and female and is the outcome of the poet's experience with Lesbia, but what are we to make of statements like "It is as though Catullus felt that at the moment of orgasm a man became like Cybele's priests...". The nature of Whigham's study must, of course, be a very subjective one, vulnerable to a lot of criticism, but statements like these are too extreme even in a study of this sort. Whigham says that the Attis must be viewed as the diagnosis of a "manic depressive", of the odi et amo poet himself; but I feel that the depiction of the two moods of Attis is done for the sake of vivid contrast and is part of the technique of Catullus, evident elsewhere in his poems as well¹⁾. The conflict that Attis undergoes after his eviration is the same as any man in his situation must experience. To interpret these things as evidence for the "manic depressive" nature of Catullus is surely carrying the biographical approach as far as it can go in the manner of contemporary psycho-analysts.

1. This will be discussed more fully in Chapter Four.

ii) The Literary Approach

Carl A. Rubino ¹⁾ sees the poem as a "syntagmatic series of oppositions" ²⁾; it is this series of oppositions and contrasts which establishes the fundamental unity of the poem. Of the various contrasts in the poem, Rubino regards the opposition of male and female as primary and fundamental; marriage which signifies the difference between male and female is the initiating difference and embraces all the other oppositions in the poem. "According to Freud, the bisexual opposition lies at the heart of the structure and dynamic of the human psyche; this opposition lies at the heart of the narrative of Poem 63, structuring that narrative and establishing its 'syntax'" ³⁾.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 152-175.

2. Rubino bases his discussion of the Attis on Levi-Strauss' method of dealing with myth, which is itself based on a fundamental linguistic distinction made by Jakobson; any linguistic sign can be interpreted in two ways, the metaphorical and metonymical levels. Metaphor involves the ability to recognize similarity while metonymy relies on the recognition of contiguity. Thus in a psychological test involving children, the stimulus hut produced cabin, hovel, den and burrow as metaphorical reactions; as metonymical reactions, thatch, litter and poverty were received. Jakobson believes that the metonymical or syntagmatic pole of language has been largely ignored by literary scholars, and that attention to this aspect will enhance the study of literary texts. Levi Strauss has taken up this suggestion and has applied it to myth which he regards as a language system in which metaphoric opposition is deployed metonymically (syntagmatically). It is upon this method of Levi-Strauss that Rubino bases his article.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

Below is a table of the oppositions which Rubino finds present in the poem ¹⁾.

i. Political-social oppositions:

Culture	Nature ²⁾
(Civilisation-Savagery)	
(West-East)	
(Fatherland-Exile)	
Master	Slave ³⁾

ii. Biological oppositions:

Human	Animal ⁴⁾
Male	Female (goddess) ⁵⁾
Son	Mother ⁶⁾

iii. Psychological oppositions:

Sanity	Madness ⁷⁾
Calm	Disturbed ⁸⁾

iv. Epistemological-ontological oppositions:

Reality	Illusion ⁹⁾
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v. Tropes for the above:

Light	Darkness ¹⁰⁾
Land	Sea ¹¹⁾

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 157-158.
2. See lines 2, 14, 20, 22, 30, 49-55, 58-60, 64, 70-71 and 91-93.
3. See lines 18, 33, 51-52, 68 and 90.
4. See lines 13, 53-54, 70-72, 78-86 and 89.
5. See lines 3, 5-6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25, 27, 35, 68, 69, 76, 90, 91-93.
6. See line 9.
7. See lines 4, 11, 31, 38, 44, 46, 54, 57, 78-86, 89 and 91-93.
8. See lines 34, 38, 44, 47, 78-86 and 91-93.
9. See lines 18 and 45-46.
10. See lines 3, 32, 39ff., and 54.
11. See lines 1, 16, 40, 47, and 48.

The first part of the poem (lines 1-38) stresses the negative poles of the oppositions - the female, madness, illusion, slavery, the animal, savagery, mental disturbance, and the state of nature prevail. The second part of the poem (lines 39-73) begins as though the negative poles of the oppositions would be overcome. We are led to believe that at the rising of the sun the positive sides of the oppositions are going to dominate, but this is a false hint. The only positive aspect is Attis' awakening and the realisation of his deed. In the last section of the poem the negative poles of the opposition are in full control. The inhuman is in full control, both in the person of the Goddess and the lion she commands. The conclusion of the narrative takes us back to the beginning. Attis has returned to Cybele and the poem has surrendered to the negative poles of the opposition. The middle section of the poem had hinted at a more positive development but that turned out to be false. There is merely a reinforcement of the state which existed at the beginning of the poem.

The poem is dominated by Cybele, both mother and Goddess, and by Attis, who as a human male is finally overcome by her female divinity. The bisexual opposition of Attis and Cybele is the primary opposition upon which the others are founded. In fact, the other oppositions are really conversions of it. Cybele (see biological opposition in table), the female, occupies the position of mother and animal. She is the Great Mother of her child Attis whom she does not allow to achieve a free and normal adulthood. It is her power that reigns supreme in the wilds of Ida and which urges the lion to goad Attis back into her power. Cybele is, thus, through her divine power, as the female, mother and animal, able to obliterate Attis as male, son and human being. It is the power

of Cybele which moves Attis to unman himself and undergo his change of gender, an external biological phenomenon soon becoming psychological. The poem's language with its frequent shifts of grammatical gender between male and female underlines the conflict that goes on within Attis and works towards the final outcome where the positive poles of the opposition have submitted to the negative ones. It is the power of the divine woman, then, which is the cause of the psychological conflict in Attis. Therefore, the psychological oppositions, sanity-madness and calm-disturbance, can be regarded as conversions of the fundamental opposition of male-female. Cybele is also responsible for the political-social oppositions, for she is the dea, domina and era who makes Attis her slave (famula and ministra). Attis starts out as a Greek, and becomes a Phrygian after he has emasculated himself physically, psychologically and politically. These three emasculations are really one, for in the poem sexual emasculation brings on the other two.

With regard to the political-social oppositions given in the table, Attis has renounced his native culture and civilisation - things which constitute his manhood and enable him to be rational - in favour of wild nature, the East and exile - things which mean loss of control, of manhood and identity, and being enslaved.

At the level of the epistemological - ontological opposition, Cybele conceals reality from Attis and in the end drives him back into mad illusion. Cybele is the darkness of Ida, and the light only descends upon Attis after his sleep. As far as the sea is concerned, it is that boundless illusion, a constant threat to mankind to abandon civilisation, freedom, control and one's human identity. The opposition between sea-

land can be seen in the fact that it is the sea which stands between Attis and his homeland.

Finally Rubino mentions Roland Barthes' definition of myth as a discourse that begins with contradictions and moves towards their mediation. The Attis poem of Catullus has a 'mythical dimension'.

"In the end, however, such an analysis shows that the poem is not myth, but is rather that special development of myth which Barthes calls tragedy. The discourse of the Attis 'immobilizes contradictions, refuses mediation, and keeps the conflict open'. There is no resolution of the conflicts presented in the narrative: there is a 'syntax of oppositions' in the poem, but that syntax breaks down by the poem's end, since one side of the oppositional structure dominates and suppresses the other. Female and male are not 'mediated', 'integrated', or 'resolved' in the Attis poem; the female dominates and obliterates the male, leaving only traces of the conflict behind" ¹⁾.

1. Rubino, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

Rubino's study of the Attis as a poem whose fundamental unity is established by the numerous contrasts deployed in it is brilliant and convincing ¹⁾. If it is open to criticism at all, then this may lie in the fact that his study reads like a deliberate attempt to keep to the new 'literary' criticism. Thus Rubino, in a discussion which rightly views the poem as a depiction of the opposition of the male and female and which tends to lead to the conclusion that Catullus is in fact projecting his experiences with Lesbia into the world of myth, categorically denies that this is so ²⁾.

Furthermore, Rubino views the poem as too much of an individual entity, unrelated to the rest of the Catullan corpus. He does not, for instance, see the use of contrasts as part of the technique of the Neoterics or of Catullus himself ³⁾. Rubino's article would certainly have been more enlightening if his treatment of the subject were not so dogmatic and uni-directional; his keeping so unyieldingly to the new 'literary' fashion is obviously a result of the legacy of E.A. Havelock.

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1. Some of Rubino's findings will be used by me in the analysis of the poem.
 2. Rubino, *op. cit.*, p. 172-3. See notes 6 and 20.
 3. In Chapter Four, I will attempt to show that contrast was a favourite device of Catullus and the Neoterics.

Elder ¹⁾ has written what is without doubt one of the most useful articles on the Attis. He rejects the theory that the poem is a translation or even a close imitation of Callimachus and prefers to treat the poem as original, since "it has many of the qualities which are commonly associated with great poetry; it is an exact and intense expression of a significant and moving theme, put in a form of high technical excellence" ²⁾.

His article attempts to answer three basic questions:

- i) what the poet wished to express in his work;
- ii) why the story of Attis appealed to him;
- iii) what formal and technical devices the poet used to express his ideas.

With regard to the first question, Elder interprets the poem as "the dramatisation of a mental state, or, to put it another way, the sympathetic delineation of a mind undergoing a psychological experience of a most powerful sort" ³⁾. He agrees with the common view that the Attis depicted in the poem is not the original, mythical Attis, but an ordinary man who by emasculation becomes a priest of Cybele. The poem sets out to study the two moods of such a man; the first is one of wild fanaticism which results in self emasculation, and the second is the

1. "Catullus' Attis", p. 394-403.

2. Ibid., p. 395.

3. Ibid.

despair and regret he experiences after realising the finality of his act. It is, in brief, "a study of fanatic devotion and subsequent disillusionment" ¹⁾.

In attempting to answer why the study appealed to Catullus, Elder agrees with Havelock's view that biographical details, when used in poetical criticism, hinder critical appreciation and appraisal. Thus Elder rejects the theory that the theme appealed to Catullus because he saw himself as a kind of Attis in his relationship with Lesbia. Rather, he considers it safe to assume that Catullus' witnessing of the rites of the cult in Bithynia (57-56 B.C.) aroused his curiosity. This, combined with his observation of the cult of the Great Mother in Rome itself, encouraged him to express his interest in a literary way. While it is difficult to point to the exact reasons for the poet's choice, Elder says that an important consideration in the case of the Attis should be "the poet's desire to indulge his virtuosity. Surely the poet was fully aware of the opportunities which such a subject offered his artistic talents. The chances for such a display in such a work undoubtedly attracted him to the theme" ²⁾.

1. "Catullus' Attis", p. 395.

2. Ibid., p. 396.

Among the technical and formal devices which Catullus uses to express his ideas, Elder discusses his use of the galliambic metre, metrical variations, alliteration and assonance, asyndeton, the use of a number of verbs and adjectives of motion, compressed narrative technique, contrasts, the emphasis given to speeches, variations of gender and use of tautology. I have merely listed the devices here, but they will be taken up and discussed in my analysis of the poem later.

Elder's study of the poem is an excellent one, but his definition of it as the study of the two moods of Attis has some strong limitations. His definition only holds good for about two-thirds of the poem. What about the third section (lines 74 to 93), which deals with the speech and deeds of Cybele and has very little to do with Attis himself? How does one fit this third part, a large and important section of the poem, into Elder's initial definition?

I have already written earlier about Elder's condemnation of the biographical approach and his statement that if one were to say that Catullus was attracted to the myth because it reflected his love affair with Lesbia one would be "underrating the poet's artistic imagination". Another score on which I do not agree with Elder is his belief that the Attis of poem 63 is any ordinary priest of Cybele. As I will argue later, I feel that Catullus has the original, divine Attis in mind, but in accordance with the Neoteric striving for realism, he has humanised and modernised that Attis to give the poem contemporary relevance and appeal. Furthermore, why is the Attis of poem 63 depicted as the leader of the band of gallae? No attempt has been made, to my knowledge, to answer this question. Could it not be possible that it is an oblique reference to

the fact that Catullus is writing about the original Attis, who had set the trend as a sort of leader (duce me), and whose way of life (sectam meam) all gallae thereafter, as his followers, imitated (exsecutae mihi comites)¹⁾?

iii) The Poem as An Embodiment of the Marriage Theme

G.N. Sandy²⁾ feels that the Attis, although often described as being unique in the Catullan corpus, does logically fit in amongst the long poems dealing with marriage. Sandy cites some of the verbal parallels between poems 61 and 63. In 61.3,4 the bride is described as teneram virginem. Attis, too is described at line 10 as teneris digitis and at line 88 as teneram. At 61.9,10 Hymen's feet are described as niveo pede. The same adjective is used to describe Attis' hands at 63.8 (niveis manibus). In the epithalamia, brides are often described in terms of flowers³⁾; Attis' lips are described as roseis labellis (63.74). However, evidence inherent in these parallels advanced for linking the Attis with the poems concerned with marriage seems to be weak indeed. The use of these adjectives seems more to be an attempt at illustrating the kind of delicate young man Attis was; this can be contrasted with the gory aftermath of his emasculation

1. See line 15.

2. "Catullus 63 and the Theme of Marriage", AJPh XCII, 1971, p. 185-195.

3. See 61.6, 21-22, 57, 93, 193, 194-5; 62.39-46. Cf. 64.89-90; 17.14.

so that the tragedy of his life may be intensified ¹⁾.

Sandy ²⁾ also points to the several resemblances between the Attis and poem 64, the latter being hymeneal in parts. The laments of Attis and Ariadne also have much in common. However the parallels that Catullus uses in the description of the situations of Ariadne and Attis stem from the fact that both were victims of love suffering and that the similarity in treatment could derive from a common Neoteric stock in accordance with Neoteric tenets ³⁾.

Sandy then goes on to discuss what he regards as stronger evidence for his basic thesis. The frequent use of furor and its cognates can be construed, according to him, as erotic frenzy as well as religious fanaticism. This is further enhanced by the use of cupide in line 2, where Sandy feels that Attis' cupide is similar to that of the maritus and sponsa of the epithalamia ⁴⁾. Passion (furor) is a common feature in the mythological accounts of the relationship of the pair, and the use of furor and its cognates, together with cupide, is strongly suggestive of, according to Sandy, marital sex.

1. Vide Chapter Four, p. 107.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 188-9.

3. See the discussion of Putnam's article, p. 51-2 earlier.

4. See 61.32, 54, 170-1; 62.23, 29.

The element of marriage is further emphasised by the phrase ad domum Cybeles (20). Sandy suggests that it is the equivalent of the epithalamial formula deductio in domum. "The irony of the situation is that Attis is not the maritus, who anxiously awaits his bride, but the sponsa, complete with the physical features of the Roman brides pictured in the epithalamia, who is led to the erus (era (17)...)" ¹).

The marriage theme is made more explicit by the use of iugum in the simile of line 33 and in lines 76 and 84. iungere and iugare were basic terms to denote marriage, and Catullus' use of iugum in 68.117-8 shows that he was fully conscious of its basic meaning. In poem 63, the simile of line 33 (veluti iuvenca vitans onus indomita iugi) foreshadows the rupture in what ought to be a binding union between Cybele and Attis. Attis is indomita; he is not willing to accept the responsibility of conjugal fidelity in his pact with Cybele. Cybele reasserts her authority, and renews the bond in the form of a yoke which she removes from the lions (lines 76 and 84), and places upon the shoulders of Attis, who has attempted to escape like a heifer. This is not made explicit in the poem but is implied by vitans (33) and fugere (80). Like the heifer that avoids (vitans) the yoke, Attis tries to escape (fugere) from Cybele's yoke.

1. Sandy, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

The final evidence for the marriage theme in the Attis is Catullus' use of domus in the marriage poems and in poem 63. For Catullus, domus suggests marriage; domus equals coniunctio ¹⁾.

"Influenced perhaps by the mythological accounts of Attis and Cybele as consorts, Catullus envisages the arrival of Attis, the notha mulier, ad domum Cybeles (20 and cf. 35) and the deductio sponsae in domum mariti. Cybele, when addressed as era and domina, may in Catullus' mind have been thought of as the erus and dominus of 61" ²⁾.

From the evidence quoted by Sandy, it appears that Catullus was indeed not unaware of the marriage element in his composition of poem 63 ³⁾. But a word or phrase here and there which may be reminiscent of marriage is not just ground to conclude that the marriage theme was a major concern

1. Cf. 61.31, 149-151; 64.284, 334; 67.24; 68.74, 144.

2. G.N. Sandy, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

3. For another view of the marriage theme in the Attis, see P.Y. Forsyth, "The Marriage theme in Catullus 63", CJ LXVI, 1970, p. 66-69. See also Quinn, Catullus. An Interpretation, p. 249-251, where the writer regards the poem as an expression of the anti-nuptial sentiment; it is the study of a young man who could not make the change from his role as puer delicatus and cope with married life, and who, through hatred of the Goddess of Love, abandoned a life of civilization to live as a priest of Cybele in the wilds of Phrygia.

of the poet. What elements of marriage there are in poem 63 seem to stem from Catullus' incorporation into it of the aspects of the myth, where marriage was a major theme. While the latter part of Sandy's evidence for the marriage theme in the Attis is very sound, I would be more inclined to interpret the same as evidence for classifying the poem, in a more generic fashion, as a love poem. To use the evidence as pointing conclusively to the marriage element would be too specific and limited, and indeed perverse for a justification of the poem's inclusion amongst the marriage poems; rather I would prefer to conclude, on the basis of Sandy's findings, that the poem has many erotic elements which, in support of one of my basic arguments, can be used to classify the poem as one of the erotikā pathémata type, popular with the New Poets.

AN APPRAISAL OF THE GENERAL CRITICAL WORK ON POEM 63

From the studies of poem 63 discussed above, one can see how the interpretation of Catullus can be made to suffer as a result of dogmatism or specialization. By specialization I mean the concentration, to the exclusion of all else in some cases, on one particular aspect of poetical criticism, e.g., emphasis on the literary aspect without a due consideration of the importance of the biographical or psychological side.

A poem may, in my view, be better understood

- i) by a thorough consideration of its literary aspects, technique, form, language, imagery, rhythm, etc.;
- ii) by an understanding of the psychology of the poet and of significant biographical details which might help in the unravelling of certain aspects of his treatment as part of his experience. This would not be underrating the creativity of the poet, as I have tried to show earlier;
- iii) by an understanding of the era of the poet from a historical, social and political point of view, and moreover, of the poetical trends in vogue at the particular time. This, in addition to other aspects, would explain certain idiosyncrasies of theme and composition which would otherwise remain inexplicable or strange.

If the above is in any way true, then Catullan criticism is indeed in a sad state. None of the studies on poem 63, which I have discussed, takes

into consideration all three aspects. While it is true that critics view poem 63 from a particular aspect, it is the degree to which they carry this specialization that fails to do justice to a balanced appreciation of the poem. Rubino, for instance, as mentioned earlier, adopts only the literary approach in his study of poem 63 and specifically refuses to consider the role that Catullus' experiences with Lesbia might have played in determining the ultimate shape of the poem. Furthermore, the works of brilliant critics like Elder and Quinn, who stand out as giants in the field of contemporary Catullan criticism, are marred by their insistence on this kind of dogmatism.

It is true that the method of the literary approach, since it is the surest and most objective, is the most valid one. Emphasis should be given to it in view of this but one cannot hope to fully understand a poem on this score alone. Due consideration of the other aspects, however secondary, is important to implement our understanding. In the biographical approach to a poem, one should guard against adopting an extreme position like that of Harkins, for instance; it should never be employed as the chief means of studying a poem of Catullus. Although it may not be literary criticism in the strict sense, the biographical and psychological approach has its place in the study of Catullus, provided that it is used in a secondary role and with restraint.

It is hoped that my study of poem 63 will succeed in taking into consideration all three aspects given above.

CHAPTER THREE

CATULLUS' CHOICE OF THE MYTH OF CYBELE AND ATTIS

In my introductory note to Catullus' choice of the myth, the main reason advanced was the potentialities the theme offered for an exercise of the literary tenets of the new movement. I would now like to examine, further, other aspects of Catullus' choice.

Initial impulse for his interest must obviously have come from his observations of the rites practised in Rome. Peter Whigham¹⁾ also notes that the temple of Cybele was not far from Lesbia's house, on the Palatine. The sound of the cymbals, the tympani and the ululations of the worshippers were easily audible to members of the household, and Catullus' frequenting of the place during his affair with Lesbia might easily have increased his interest in the cult.

However, it is very likely that it was only during his stay in Asia Minor that he witnessed the rites of the cult in all its savage and frenzied intensity. How it shocked and revolted Catullus is easily imaginable, with all his epicurean ideals of love, friendship and a happy existence which to him were the greatest boons in a man's life. His observation of the grotesque rites, the self-flagellation, and finally the self-emasculation of the priests, must have struck him with all the intensity which such a gruesome sight could possibly occasion. He could not imagine that a man could voluntarily forego friendship, love and happiness - things which meant so much to Catullus, hedonistic as he was - and devote his entire

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

life to the service of the Goddess as an eunuch priest. It was the horror of the finality of the dedication that no doubt shocked him. It is very possible that in imagining the forlorn state of Cybele's priests, he might have felt some kind of sympathy with them. For Catullus, too, in his devotion to Lesbia, had become something of an Attis. It would not be going too far to say that his experience with Lesbia, together with the fact that he was a poet interested in the unhappy side of love, the erotika pathémata, had endowed him with a deep insight and understanding into the nature of Attis' tragedy. He determined to write what was in some ways a kind of apology for the much misunderstood Attis. The Roman world was shocked by the primitive savagery of the priests of Cybele, but Catullus saw, as a man gifted with a vision which was further sharpened by experience, that the perpetration of this supreme sacrifice was in the case of Attis, the result of excessive devotion to a Goddess who was extremely possessive and who directly inspired the frenzy leading to the act, as I would attempt to demonstrate later.

An idea of the extent to which the Attis myth embodied the theme of dramatic love, so dear to the Neoteric school, can be gained from an examination of ancient art. R. Vermaseren ¹⁾, when discussing the representation in art of the hermaphroditic nature of Attis, writes, "Again and again they repeat this sad theme, which never failed to move the people of antiquity with a profound sense of pity and, at the same time, of awe at the dramatic

1. Attis and Cybele. The Myth and the Cult, London, 1977, p. 95.

love that could induce him to such a desperate act". That the tragic nature of Attis' love was recognized by artists of antiquity and frequently portrayed by them can be seen in the relative monuments and sarcophagi, and, in particular, the stucco art of the Basilica near the Porta Maggiore in Rome ¹⁾. In the latter, there are numerous representations of a mourning Attis, together with other scenes of unhappy love, viz. Medea and Jason, Ariadne and Theseus, and Sappho's salto mortale from the Leucadian rock, as a result of her unhappy love for the poet Alcaeus. The predominant role of Attis in this particular set of representations seems to suggest that the story of Attis was regarded in antiquity as the classic case of tragic love; the other representations seem to serve as supporting incidents and variations on the theme of Attis and tragic love.

To what extent was Catullus influenced in his choice of the myth by literary precedents? R. Ellis ²⁾ gives a detailed account of the various Greek and Roman writers who had dealt with or briefly referred to Attis and Cybele. Homer, Pindar and Sophocles were familiar with Cybele. Euripides, besides numerous allusions to her in his plays, identifies her with Demeter, describing her hunt for her daughter over snowy Ida. Telestes, the dithyrambic poet, felt that Phrygian music was introduced into Greece by the Great Mother. Menander, in his comedy, Ἰέρεια, ridicules the cult of the Great Mother. Nicander describes at length the extravagant behaviour of the priests of the Goddess.

1. See R. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, p. 76-8.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 251-7. I summarize Ellis' discussion. See *ibid.* for exact references.

The earliest instance of the rites involving Attis is to be found in Aristophanes. Theopompus, as is shown by a quotation of Suidas, was familiar with Attis. Hermesianax wrote a poem on Attis, an abstract of which is given by Pausanias. To the period of Hermesianax have also been assigned the two galliambic lines quoted by Hephaestion. Theocritus also deals with Cybele's passion for Attis. Neanthes of Cyzicus and Alexander Polyhistor also wrote on Attis.

The Roman writers who had dealt with Cybele were Varro and Lucretius. Thus it is apparent that Catullus had no want of literary precedent for his choice. Ellis ¹⁾ notes that "Common as the sight of the eunuch priests of the Great Mother must have been in antiquity, and frequent as are the allusions to the worship in Greek and Roman writers, it cannot be said to have greatly influenced their poetry". Lucretius had dealt with Cybele more extensively but his purposes were entirely philosophical. Catullus, aware of the potentialities of the myth, could not have failed to notice that it had never been exploited in the manner in which he saw that it could be. It is very likely that it was this awareness of the non-utilization of the myth for literary purposes in the past that strongly influenced him to use it in a novel way, giving it the slant which could make it, in some ways, a manifesto of the new school.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 251.

CATULLUS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS CYBELE AND ATTIS

The worship of Cybele was imported into Rome in 204 B.C., towards the close of the Romans' long struggle with Hannibal, at the injunction of the Sibylline books, which prophesied that if the Goddess were brought to Rome, the invader would be successfully repulsed. A small black stone, which represented the Goddess was conveyed to Rome from Pessinus, the home of the Goddess in Phrygia. By chance, the installation of the Goddess in the temple of Victory on the Palatine coincided with two incidents which determined her acceptability: the harvest that year was the best the Romans had had for a long time, and in the following year the struggle with Hannibal was finally over.

Thus, it is easy to imagine the respect and veneration the Goddess was to command in subsequent years. With regard to Attis, no specific mention is made of him in the account of the Goddess' entry into Rome. However, a few casual references do indicate the simultaneous arrival from Asia Minor of Attis' priests. J.G. Frazer ¹⁾ says that the Romans were familiar with the priests of Attis well before the end of the Republic, i.e., well before Catullus' time. It was with regard to Attis that the Romans were soon to become familiar with the more repulsive aspects of the cult; they soon realized how the barbaric and savage rites related to Attis differed from their own attitudes. As a result the pontifex maximus confined the rites to the precincts of the temple on the Palatine, apart from the

1. The Golden Bough, London 1963, (abridged version, 11th impression)
p. 348.

processions and the public games, the Megalensia. It was further decreed that only orientals could become priests of Cybele; Roman citizens were not allowed to serve until the time of Claudius.

The writers freely mocked and sneered at Attis himself, and at the gallae. The morbidity of the eastern rites, the piercing ululations, wild dances and harsh sounding music which aroused the initiates to self-flagellation and self-injury shocked the Romans. What was the last straw was the very voluntariness of castration. Various minor factors contributed to the revulsion towards the gallae. The most important of these was the extravagant personal appearance of these priests as they went about their business ¹⁾. On the Day of Blood (dies sanguinis) the priest would forever do away with his male attire; henceforth he wore a long, yellow garment (stola) which, with its long sleeves and belt, looked very feminine. On his head he wore a mitra, a kind of turban, or a tiara, a cap with flaps which were tied under the chin. He adorned himself with various ornaments, pendants, ear-rings and finger-rings. He also wore his hair long and often had it bleached. On the day of mourning for Attis he ran around wildly with dishevelled hair, but normally he had his hair dressed and waved like a woman.

Archaeological finds also explain the reason for the unpopularity of the cult - it abounds in excesses to which the orient is typically given and which were so repugnant to the Roman mind. Vermaseren ¹⁾ says that when one examines the archaeological finds relative to the cult,

1. See R. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

2. Ibid., p. 101.

"one can easily understand why Roman opinion was deeply divided about this eastern cult. The East was found to be given to excess. One need only re-read the texts to realize how the stern Roman under Sulla, Pompey and Caesar or Augustus felt at a loss in the fairy-like oriental surroundings, which differed so widely from the old Roman and Italian traditions. The oriental tends to be extravagant in his ornamentation Other finds, and especially inscriptions, make it obvious that the Cybele worshippers, like the followers of Isis, loved to display oriental pomp".

From the evidence above, it is apparent that the typical Roman attitude to Attis was one of distaste and contempt; Cybele herself as the Goddess whose advent at Rome had brought good fortune commanded respect and veneration. An idea of the great sway that the Goddess held can be gauged by the kindly attitude that the poets of the Golden Age displayed towards her. Thus, for instance, Vergil weaves Cybele regularly into the wanderings of Aeneas to emphasise her protection of the Roman people. Cybele aids and supports Aeneas right from the very beginning. The ready acceptance of Cybele can also be seen in the national religious reformation of Augustus where the cult of Cybele (excluding Attis) was no alien intruder; she belonged to the ancient heritage.

To what extent does Catullus display the traditional Roman attitude towards Attis and Cybele? Towards the cult itself, it is plain that Catullus is of the traditional attitude. The poem as a whole reflects his distaste for the excesses of the cult and his final prayer to Cybele attests this.

However, this aspect does not warrant any further discussion at this stage, as I am of the opinion that it is incidental to the main concern of the poem¹⁾. I therefore turn to an examination of Catullus' attitude to Attis and Cybele as individuals.

It is with regard to Attis, the lover, and Cybele, the inspirer of Attis' frenzy that Catullus' attitude differs from that of the traditional Roman one. Nowhere in the poem are there any references to Attis suggestive of contempt or aversion. At line 27 Attis is described as notha mulier, but it does not appear to me to be anything more than a simple reference to Attis' condition after his emasculation. Nowhere does he make any reference to the repulsive personal appearance of the gallae. In fact, the picture of Attis is painted with a few strokes - niveis manibus, roseis labellis, teneris digitis, teneram Attin. All these, together with the very suggestive lassulae to describe the companions, show that Catullus wishes to present Attis as a delicate and tender young man, so that the tragedy of the fate that befalls him may be the more intensified. It amply illustrates the feelings of congeniality, pity and sympathy which Catullus felt towards Attis. His omission of the unpleasant aspects of his personal appearance, as it was known at Rome and as we discussed earlier, underlines his pre-occupation with presenting Attis in a favourable light. One would have expected Catullus, in view of his modernising tendency, to be discussed later, to describe Attis in the terms in which contemporary Romans knew and saw the gallae; but this would not do for his purposes. We have here another instance of that careful selection and omission of detail which was so marked a feature of the Neoterics. Other aspects of the poem, too, such as Attis' reminiscences of past life in his lament, are aimed at intensifying the tragedy of his loss.

1. It will be discussed briefly in Chapter Four, p. 150 ff.

The conclusion is plain; it is with Attis that Catullus' sympathy lies. Others may sneer at these semiviri, these semimares, but Catullus, as a sensitive young man, a poet of love, who himself knew perfectly well the tragedy of the furor of devotion, understood the situation of Attis and certainly felt some vague kind of affinity with him. The painfulness of his affair with Lesbia, the struggle to release himself from her destructive power over him, had made Catullus fully aware of his helplessness in the situation. It helped him realise that a man who is caught up in the furor of devotion is possessed by some uncontrollable force, by some inexorable fate that must take its course to end in tragedy.

It is this aspect of Catullus' psychology that we see at work in poem 63. Attis is not to blame for the tragedy that befalls him; he is merely a victim in the hands of a higher power. That higher power is Cybele. It is she who has directly inspired him with the maddening frenzy of devotion which leads to his supreme dedication. This is emphasised by the section of the poem dealing with Cybele's response to Attis' rebellion. Here, as will be seen more clearly in the analysis of the poem, the savage and possessive nature of the Goddess, and her active role in bringing the madness upon Attis, are brought to the fore. By the time we reach the end of the poem, we strongly feel that Attis' tragedy is inevitable and that, in fact, he is helplessly in the hands of the Goddess.

Thus Catullus differs from the traditional Roman attitude towards Attis and Cybele. He is all compassion and sympathy for Attis, the lover. As for Cybele, the inspirer of Attis' frenzy, we can sense disapproval and censure in Catullus' tone towards this revered Great Mother.

I have discussed thus far Catullus' personal experience as a factor in the determination of his attitude towards Attis and Cybele. Another possible factor is that his attitude of sympathy for Attis and censure for Cybele may derive from a common Neoteric stock which advocated the treatment of the suffering lover and the person responsible for it in such a fashion.

CATULLUS' TREATMENT OF THE MYTH OF CYBELE AND ATTIS

A brief survey of the use of myth and the changes in the concept of its relevance to poetry is necessary for an understanding of Catullus' particular treatment of it ¹⁾.

Homer had used myth in an era which accepted without reservations both the heroic and the divine. In his poetry, both gods and men mingled freely. His objective and "epic" style spoke of a world in which he himself believed. The special use of myth in his poetry was meant to reflect life in a direct way. Later writers, who wrote in an age when the attitude towards Gods and heroes was far different, could not treat myth in a similar way. Yet Homer's use of a mythological subject was the one legacy he left which determined the nature of all subsequent ancient poetry.

1. Cf. B. Otis, *op. cit.*, p. 5-13.

Post-Homeric poetry found itself in a great dilemma. It could not freely accept Homer's mythical world but it was also bound to it by an unbreakable tradition. We find developments which were a sort of compromise between the two. The myth was no longer used to depict life in a direct way, but became instead an exemplum of values in which the poet himself believed. Thus in the hands of Pindar and Aeschylus, myth was no longer a story told directly and simply, but became instead the basis of a lyric or dramatic expression of feelings and ideas which had contemporary relevance.

The great Sophistic movement resulted in radical changes with regard to the previous attitudes towards myth. Thus in the hands of Euripides, who was violently anti-mythical, myth had become incredible and irrelevant; it had finally lost its power to become the basis of great poetry. While Callimachus had acknowledged the almost complete obsolescence of the heroic-mythical view resulting from Euripides and the Sophists, we saw in Chapter One how he adopted the Homeric canon which advocated a mythical content for poetry but focussed his attention in asymmetrical fashion on a particular incident related to the myth which had immediate and contemporary appeal. Catullus and the New Poets had adopted Callimachus' views without introducing any significant changes, at least in those works of theirs intended to be regarded as serious poetry.

Before considering Catullus' particular treatment of the Attis-Cybele myth, it would be apposite to examine his treatment of his other typically Neoteric work, poem 64, in order that we may gain some idea of the attitude of Catullus and the New Poets towards myth¹).

1. See A.L. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 123-142.

As far as the mythical content of poem 64 is concerned, there are two myths, the story of Peleus and Thetis and the desertion of Ariadne by Theseus, which make up the subject matter of the poem.

Catullus' treatment of the myths is not traditional. An examination of the Peleus and Thetis episode shows that Catullus has introduced several changes in the details of the myth. This can be seen in the light of the fact that Catullus is writing in accordance with the principles of the Neoteric school whose chief concern was the transplantation of a love interest into poetry. Thus together with changes in the original myth, we find in poem 64 a system of selection, omission, and compression to emphasise the erotic. For instance, when Jupiter allows Thetis to marry Peleus, Catullus supplies a new motive for Jupiter's decision - the love of Peleus and Thetis; this aspect has not been found in any earlier version. He omits to mention the oracle which had checked Jupiter's passion, or the rejection of Jupiter by Thetis which caused him to decree a mortal husband to Peleus, or the immortal bride granted to Peleus as a reward for his chastity. Catullus is at pains to emphasise the erotic element in the Peleus and Thetis episode because he wishes the happiness of their union to contrast with the pathos of Ariadne's desertion; Catullus is the earliest extant Latin poet to emphasise the erotic element.

Another tendency of Catullus is to humanise the divine. Thus Peleus finds in Thetis a divine bride full of human passion. Her divine relatives and even Jupiter himself display human feeling. Whereas in older versions only Gods were said to have attended the wedding, Catullus' version also has mortals bringing gifts. Catullus also tends to modernise his tale. This can be seen in the change of the wedding from the wilds of Pelion to a

more modern, human setting in the palace. His geography is also modernised and modern names are used for old Thessalian towns.

A study of the Ariadne episode yields similar results. Catullus follows the version in which Ariadne falls in love with Theseus, flees with him by sea, is abandoned by him on the island of Naxos, and is finally rescued and consoled by Bacchus. Here are all the elements of an unhappy love story, so dear to his school, and Catullus handles this section with more feeling and interest than Peleus' wedding. The most striking difference between the version of Catullus and earlier forms of the story is again the emphasis given to the erotic element. Unlike earlier versions which merely make slight references to Ariadne's personal appearance, Catullus dwells at length on her beauty and upon her distress in order to arouse pity and sympathy for her. He makes her utter a long lament (64. 132-201) to emphasise the desperateness of her situation; in earlier versions there is no hint that she uttered a lament. The use of the lament can also be seen as part of Catullus' technique of studying psychology, also an important concern of the Neoterics. To further emphasise the pathos of Ariadne's desertion, Catullus omits all references to the excuses made for Theseus' actions in earlier versions, viz., that Dionysus took Ariadne away from him, that he had received divine orders to abandon her and that he left her on the island with an intention to return but that he was prevented by contrary winds.

Catullus, in his choice of the subject matter of poem 64, has shown that tendency for selection which was peculiar to the Neoterics. Thus in the Ariadne episode, for instance, he has selected a particular incident of the entire story, the desertion of Ariadne, which had possibilities for

the type of treatment that the new movement advocated. He can therefore be familiar in his tone and personal in his approach, as can be seen in his frequent use of apostrophe and other rhetorical devices aimed at enhancing personalism and emotionalism¹⁾, and in the language and imagery of his description, which strongly suggest his personal involvement in the affairs of his characters. At no stage do we get the impression that Catullus is treating the story in an objective manner, completely divorced from it; on the contrary he becomes emotionally involved with it.

It is now possible to summarise the main points with regard to Catullus' treatment of the mythical in poem 64:

- i) he has concentrated his interest on a particular incident of the myth, relevant to his own purposes;
- ii) he has aimed at realism as can be gauged from his humanising and modernising tendency;
- iii) his tone is familiar and his approach is personal.

We can thus clearly see the Neoteric in him emulating Callimachus' doctrine with regard to the treatment of myth. With these main points in mind, we can now turn to poem 63.

1. See C.J. Fordyce, *op. cit.*, p. 274-5.

Before we consider Catullus' treatment of the myth in poem 63, there is one point which needs clarification. Is Catullus altering the myth to present Attis, who had obtained divine status by then, as a human being, or is Catullus' Attis merely a minor human follower of Cybele ¹⁾? Frazer's theory ²⁾, which has long been held, suggests the former stance, while Lambrechts' argument ³⁾ that Attis obtained divine status only by the second century of our era supports the latter. Thus if Lambrechts is correct, the Attis of myth and ritual would have been the ordinary human being described in poem 63. This would mean that the only change that Catullus has introduced is that he depicts Attis as a Greek and not as a Phrygian. But more recently, Romanelli has found a great number of terracottas on the Palatine, dating from early in the first century B.C., which prove that Attis had already obtained divine status early in the first century B.C. ⁴⁾. Thus Lambrechts' objection is not valid and Romanelli's findings support Frazer's long standing theory. Thus Catullus' poem concerns the legendary, divine Attis and the poet has

1. See C.A. Rubino, *op. cit.*, p. 153-154.

2. See J.G. Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 347-356.

3. See P. Lambrechts, Attis : Van herdersknaap tot God, Brussels, 1965, p. 56.

4. See R. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, p. 43 and 46.

had to "alter" the myth in order to present Attis as a man and not a God¹⁾. This humanisation of the divine, as seen in poem 64, is an aspect of Catullus' particular treatment of myth. It can be seen as an attempt by Catullus to overcome the difficulties that Homer's legacy of a mythically orientated poetry had left for ancient poetry. If Catullus were to follow more closely the myth proper where Attis was depicted as a kind of God, then the realism that the Neoterics strove for, the modernisation of the mythical element so that the poem might have contemporary relevance and appeal, could not have been possible. Like the modernising tendency we had witnessed in poem 64, Catullus has made Attis a more contemporary figure, not far removed from the poet's own age, who devotes himself to the already long established cult of the Goddess. Thus poem 63 does not appear to be artificial and detached, remote from the society which, at least in his serious poems, Catullus meant to address. By his making Attis a human being the pathos of his tragedy is increased, and the sympathy which the poet wishes to evoke for him is thereby heightened.

The other change that Catullus makes is his portrayal of Attis as a Greek, not a Phrygian. Apart from this being part of his modernising technique, as mentioned above, Catullus can, by depicting Attis as a Greek, bring into operation the contrast between humanism and civilisation on the one hand and primitive savagery on the other. In addition, the regret that Attis gives expression to in his lament is intensified by the recollection of his life back at home - his parents, friends, his favourite haunts as a young

1. Cf. C.J. Fordyce, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

athlete, the throng of admirers, etc. All these various things which Attis enjoyed as a Greek young man are contrasted with the loneliness and despair of Attis on savage Ida, and the tragedy of his loss is increased.

As far as the narrative of the poem is concerned, Catullus has not followed any of the legends as they have been transmitted to us. Ellis ¹⁾ writes that "he has taken the bare outline of the story and worked it up as his own imagination suggested". To examine to what extent Catullus has done this, it is necessary at this stage to outline the main forms of the traditional myth of Cybele and Attis ²⁾.

Agdistis is born as a result of Jupiter's consorting with Rhea, who is in the form of a mountain. Being a wild androgynous creature, Agdistis is a menace and the gods seek the help of Dionysus to rid themselves of him. Dionysus ties Agdistis' genitals to a tree, and when he awakes he loses them. From his blood there grows a tree which soon bears fruit. Nana, the king's daughter, comes walking past, and attracted by the beauty of the fruits, picks them and places them in her lap. One of them miraculously disappears; Nana falls pregnant and Attis is born. The king orders the child to be abandoned, but the foundling Attis is tended and raised by shepherds. He grows up into a handsome and attractive shepherd, whom even the mighty Mother of the Gods is unable to resist.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 260.

2. See R. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, p. 91-93 and The Oxford Classical Dictionary, Oxford, 1970 (2nd edition) page 146-7.

This story was popular in Pessinus, the chief home of the Goddess, and many details and variations were added. Agdistis falls in love with Attis, and when Attis wishes to get married, Agdistis suddenly arrives on the wedding day and drives everyone to despair. The bride kills herself; Attis rages in a wild frenzy until through exhaustion he falls beneath a pine tree. There in a fit of insanity he emasculates himself, and dies as a result.

Agdistis before emasculation reminds one very much of Attis who is frequently represented as androgynous. Throughout the sequel Agdistis is Cybele herself. Nana, the king's daughter, is without doubt the Phrygian Goddess in the role of Attis' mother.

There is another version which is more widespread. Cybele is in love with a handsome shepherd boy who is forced to pledge eternal fidelity to her. However, he falls under the spell of the nymph Sangaritis. The Goddess in a fit of jealousy kills the nymph and Attis becomes insane. With the aid of a sharp stone he emasculates himself.

Finally, there is another variation, less important to us, of this theme of love between the Goddess and Attis. The wife of king Maioon, ruler of Phrygia and Lydia, bore him a daughter; in disgust the king orders the baby girl to be abandoned on Mount Kybelon because he had looked forward to an heir to the throne. The child is kept alive by animals and soon shepherds adopt and raise it. They call her Cybele after the name of the place where she was found. When she grows up she falls in love with Attis and soon expects his child. But then she is found to be the king's daughter and Maioon is furious. He takes his daughter back into the palace, but has Attis and all those who raised him killed. Cybele, like Demeter, roams the countryside in her loneliness.

The common thread that runs through the various stories is that of tragic love. An ever recurring theme is that of Cybele's vengeance when Attis falls in love with another woman. Let us examine to what extent these main themes have been worked into the narrative of Catullus' poem, a brief outline of which is given below.

Attis, a Greek youth, is suddenly aroused by a call which he cannot resist and leaves his homeland to devote himself to Cybele in the wilds of Phrygia. Together with a band of companions he reaches Phrygia and in a fanatic frenzy he castrates himself. Thereafter the band, with Attis as leader, hurries to the sanctuary of the Goddess on the top of Mount Ida, amid the sound of cymbals and tambourines. Sleep dispels Attis' frenzy, and when he awakes the following morning, the horror of his act dawns upon him. He rushes off to the sea, and looking across it in the direction of his homeland, utters a lengthy lament in which, with his lost manhood, he bewails the loss of home, parents, friends and admirers and the loneliness and solitude for which he has traded them. Cybele, aroused by his complaint and attempt to escape, unleashes her lion to compel him into submission and obedience; he returns to the forest to spend the rest of his life as a votary of the Goddess.

A survey of the legends outlined earlier will make it clear that Catullus is not really interested in the forms of the myth. But the main themes - that of tragic love, Cybele's vengeance when Attis is unfaithful to her, and the madness that the Goddess inflicts upon him causing his emasculation - are all worked into the Attis in forms different from those in the legends. The theme of unhappy love is present in the frenzied devotion of Attis to the Goddess and her refusal to allow him to stray away from her. Attis' unfaithfulness to the Goddess, presented in the legends, in the one instance, in his desire to marry and, in the other, in his escapade with the nymph,

Sangaritis, and the Goddess' subsequent jealousy and vengeance, are depicted in the Attis in a completely different form. There appears to be a connection with the legend, even if it may be very vague, when Catullus has Attis being enticed away from his devotion to the Goddess by the recollection of his home, parents and the love and admiration he had been showered with as a Greek youth. These reminiscences, like the attraction that Sangaritis presented to the original Attis, threaten to interfere with the relationship between the Goddess and her votary.

The theme of Cybele's vengeance is depicted in her unleashing of the lion, its arousal to frenzy and subsequent attack on Attis, and Attis' return to the forests and final submission to her rule. The lion with all its cruelty and fierceness, is merely an aspect of Cybele herself, and brings to the fore her savage, jealous, vengeful nature which is so hastily aroused by the slightest indications of infidelity or rebellion on the part of her devotee.

What of Attis' death as a result of his castration ¹⁾? For very obvious reasons, Catullus has not followed that aspect of the legends; he would hardly have been able to write an interesting poem. His chief aim is the examination of Attis' psyche as a result of his sacrifice, but in some

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1. Incidentally, it's interesting to note that there is no mention of any of the rites preceding the castration and which made the castration possible without any fatal results. This could be so because of Catullus' compressed narrative technique, and a deliberate omission on his part to go on the stage of Attis' actual castration; but it could be possible that Catullus has omitted this to relate it to the original myth where there were no such rites.

sense the Attis of Catullus' poem is also dead. Bereft of the joys of life in his lifelong servitude to the Goddess, and smitten by recollections of his former happiness, Attis must spend the rest of his days in utter misery, a shadow of himself, dead to all the beauties and lure of a meaningful life. In fact, according to the teachings of the Stoics, death would have removed him from all his sufferings. Catullus then has made the case of Attis the more tragic by denying him this as an escape from the realities of his situation.

It is now possible to summarise the main points with regard to Catullus' treatment of the myth of Attis and Cybele. It is clear that he is not interested in the entire myth and in the forms as we know them, but that he has chosen, in Neoteric fashion, a particular incident related remotely to the myth proper, an incident which, in his selective and arbitrary treatment of it, provides a poignant and arresting theme full of scope for pathos and psychological analysis. His treatment is certainly not detached and objective. For instance he deliberately moulds the shape and presentation of his narrative to evoke a feeling of pity and sympathy for Attis. We can strongly sense the personality of the poet obtruding onto his work, as in the apostrophe (line 9) and in the invocation to the Goddess. In other respects, too, such as language and imagery, Catullus is very subjective; this will be seen more clearly in the analysis of the poem. Thus it is clear that in his treatment of the Attis Catullus adopts a familiar tone and a strikingly personal approach.

The poet also strives for realism. This can be seen in his humanising and modernising tendencies, as discussed earlier. We can conclude, therefore, that Catullus displays:

- i) a marked asymmetry in his approach to the narrative,
- ii) a deliberate realism (modernisation and humanisation),
- iii) and a familiar and personal approach.

A comparison of the above findings with the findings relating to poem 64 discussed earlier, and Otis' conclusions ¹⁾ regarding the Callimachean epyllion, prove with certainty that Catullus has adopted a markedly Neoteric attitude in his treatment of the myth.

1. See Chapter One, "The Development of the Epyllion", p. 23 ff. Otis' summary of the chief characteristics of Callimachus' epyllion is given as:

- i) a special kind of realism, (a deliberate modernising of the mythical element);
- ii) a familiar tone;
- iii) a strikingly personal approach;
- iv) a marked brevity and asymmetry.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTRODUCTION TO THE ANALYSIS OF POEM 63

My analysis of poem 63 will be done and conducted:

- a) in relation to Neoteric technique and manner (erotikā pathēmata);
- b) vis-à-vis the rest of the Catullan collection but with the Neoteric elements in mind.

However, it would not suffice to concentrate merely on the Neoteric aspects of the poem; some diversification in my analysis is necessary to bring out the full meaning of the poem and make possible an appraisal of the suitability of the form and technique of the poem to its content. Besides, such an approach will help show the extent to which Catullus, in accordance with Neoteric principles, paid attention to minute detail in his attempt to produce a highly polished and finished work - the degree to which the poeta doctus has included doctrina in his work to produce what can be regarded as a true carmen vigilatum. In view of this, it is hoped that my comments on certain words and aspects of poem 63, which are not directly related to Neotericism, will not be deemed to be irrelevant to my theme; they will ultimately contribute, I am certain, to a realisation of the unity of poem 63 with the rest of the Catullan collection, and to a deeper understanding of the poet, his technique and motives.

Before I proceed with my analysis of the poem, I would like to discuss a few points which need clarification. Rubino sees poem 63 as "a syntagmatical series of oppositions", but does not discuss this use of contrasts as part of the technique of Catullus or of the New Poets in general. An examination of the several poems of Catullus will make it evident that the use of contrasts is a frequent feature, and one of his main devices for the creation of vivid effect.

For instance, poem 64, a typically Neoteric work, is basically structured on contrast; the two main themes are the happiness of the union of Peleus and Thetis and the tragedy of the desertion of Ariadne which are antithetically opposed. The contrast between the Peleus and Thetis episode and that of Ariadne also serves as a basis for the moralizing epilogue. Once the Gods freely mingled with men, but now, man's guilt is so great that the Gods no longer bless him with their presence. This contrast of ages asserts the fundamental antithesis of the poem. It is beyond the scope of my work to go into a detailed examination of the various contrasts that are present in the poem, but I would like to quote Curran ¹⁾ in this regard:

"The poem is animated and enriched by the resulting tension; tension between antithetical pairs, ... between wonder and disenchantment, between idealization and realism. The striving for antithesis expands into other areas and determines important features of the poem even on a strictly formal level. The structure is itself an elaborate tissue of carefully wrought balances and contrasts. The same tendency can be seen operating in as small a unit as the individual line"

1. "Catullus 64 and the Heroic Age", YCIS XXI, Cambridge, 1969, p. 173.

Curran then goes on to discuss a list of contrasts that are present in the poem ¹⁾.

Poem 95 ²⁾ is also constructed on a series of contrasts. The first two lines deal with Cinna's Zmyrna; the labour and time that went into its making are contrasted with line 3 which deals with Hortensius and the tens of thousands of verses he spouts out over a much smaller period. Lines 4 and 5 go back to the Zmyrna; it will travel far and wide and be read till time itself whitens with age. Lines 7-8 are contrasted with the fate of the Zmyrna; Volusius' Annales will remain near their own native Padua and be used to wrap mackerel. Line 9 returns to Cinna's poem; it is described as a small masterpiece dear to Catullus. Line 9 is contrasted with line 10 which deals with the swollen and verbose Antimachus. Thus poem 95 can be seen as being antithetically structured, the value and fate of the Zmyrna carefully being made to alternate with that of Volusius' Annales.

Poem 11 (Furi et Aureli, comites Catulli) begins in grand style. The first three stanzas are highly allusive romantic writing. The artificiality of the first part of the poem, with the elaborate address to Furius and Aurelius and the listing of distant lands, is meant to contrast with the cold realism and biting simplicity of the message to Lesbia. A second deliberate contrast is effected by the coarseness of stanza five and the beauty and pathos of stanza six.

1. See his article for the various contrasts.

2. Poem 95 is sometimes divided into 95A and 95B. For my purposes, I will regard the poem as an undivided whole.

Poem 58 (Caeli, Lesbia nostra, Lesbia illa,) has references to Lesbia's name, repeated thrice, a reference to Catullus himself in the third person, and the declaration of his love for her. All these are a sentimental dwelling on the happy past. Suddenly the poem changes to the completely contrasting realism of the present. That same Lesbia now hangs about in alleyways and crossroads indulging in her base pursuits. The contrasts present in the poem are heightened by the highly effective contrast in the line glubit magnanimi Remi nepotes: the juxtaposition of glubit and magnanimi is a brilliant summary of the basic antithesis of the poem.

These are just some of the poems where contrast is employed as an effective device for vividness. Numerous other poems can be mentioned where contrast is used, and individual lines can be freely cited, and there can be little doubt that the use of contrast is a frequent feature of Catullus. Contrast was also freely used by the Alexandrians. Even from the scant remains of the Hecale, it is easy to see that Callimachus had the effectiveness of contrast in mind when he wrote this epyllion. It is clear that he was aiming at contrasting the characters of Theseus and Hecale ¹⁾, and in the stories they tell against each other, the poverty of Hecale is opposed to the splendour and wealth of Theseus. There is a striking contrast in the triumphant return of Theseus and the tragic death of Hecale.

1. See M.M. Crump, *op. cit.*, p. 91 and 98.

Although the scanty remains of the other Neoterics are of little help, it would not be perverse to conclude, in view of the wide distribution of contrasts in Catullus and evidence for their use amongst the Alexandrians as well, that the use of contrast had become a Neoteric feature. The adoption of the device was natural for a movement that was aiming at vividness and its effectiveness for the enhancement of pathos, a major concern of the Neoterics, in a story typical of the erotikā pathēmata: it can clearly be seen in Catullus 63 and 64. The use of contrasts, then, in poem 63 must be viewed as a practice in accordance with Neoteric tenets.

Another aspect of poem 63 which deserves a brief consideration is the metre ¹⁾. However, since it is not our main concern, only aspects of it which are typically Neoteric will be pointed out during the analysis of the poem. As has been discussed earlier, Catullus' choice of the galliambic metre was in accord with the Neoteric penchant for new rhythms. He treated it in a typically Neoteric fashion, freely changing and varying the rhythm when he thought it necessary. The most common scheme of the Catullan galliambic is $\cup \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \text{—} \parallel \cup \cup \text{—} \cup \cup \cup \text{—}$ which he uses 64 times ²⁾. He has 13 variations of this which he uses 29 times. Thus Catullus in his treatment of the galliambic metre displays a typically Neoteric spirit. He did not follow a strict pattern but freely modified his verse to suit the tenor of the line in question. These variations of rhythm had been a

1. See R.C. Ross, "Catullus 63 and the Galliambic Meter", CJ LXIV, 1969, p. 145-152, for a detailed study of the galliambic metre in Catullus.

2. Ibid., p. 148.

favourite device of his Alexandrian predecessors ¹⁾. The more notable of the variations will be pointed out during the analysis and it will be shown how they enhance the effect which the poet wishes to create.

There are other aspects of the technique of poem 63 which Catullus took from Alexandria. Their wide usage in his Neoteric compositions must mean that they had become a typical feature. The most important of these are the enlivening devices of exclamation, apostrophe, interjected question, learned allusion, and the tricks of emphasis and arrangement, which the Alexandrians exploited for their emotional value, viz., anaphora, epanalepsis, and homoioteleuton. But all these were imposed upon the traditional style which was common to the Ennian tradition with its traditional epic vocabulary, long rambling periods, alliteration and assonance. Much of the technique of poem 63 he owes to no predecessor, specifically, a personal involvement in the situation of the characters he creates, a general intimacy of feeling never known before, and a precision of form in the elaborate balancing of words within the line which became a feature of subsequent poetry ²⁾.

Finally, it is this balancing of words within the line which needs some comment so that we may be clear as to what constitutes a typically Neoteric word order. Poem 63 has three types of word order that can be regarded as Neoteric:

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1. See Fordyce, *op. cit.*, p. xx-xxi of the Introduction.
 2. Ibid., p. xxi.



- i) the parallel or chiasmic arrangement of two nouns and their adjectives within the line, notated as abAB, aAbB, aBbA, etc.¹⁾
- ii) the 'bracketed' structure in which a line is enclosed between its noun and adjective²⁾. D.O. Ross³⁾ chooses to notate it as A/.....S.
- iii) a line in which the attribute precedes the caesura and the substantive stands at the end, notated by Ross⁴⁾ asA/.....S.

With regard to the first type Ross⁵⁾ notes that it was "particularly exploited, if not invented, by the Neoterics ..." and states that E. Norden⁶⁾ believes that, since the type is so rare in Hellenistic poetry, the Neoterics were influenced by rhetoric in its formation. According to Fordyce⁷⁾, Catullus has 58 lines of this pattern in poem 64. No lines of this type have been found in Ennius. For the second type, Fordyce⁸⁾ gives the figure

1. Fordyce, *op. cit.*, p. 275-6. The capital letters refer to nouns.

2. Ibid.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 132-3. A stands for the adjective and S for the substantive.

4. Ibid., p. 132-3.

5. Ibid., p. 135.

6. Aeneis Buch VI, Stuttgart, 1957, p. 395-6.

7. *Op. cit.*, p. 275.

8. Ibid.

as 27 lines in poem 64; only 4 lines of this pattern have been found in Ennius. For the last type (.....A/.....S) Ross ¹⁾ notes that 9 instances have been found in Ennius, whereas in Catullus' poem 64 alone 94 lines of the type have been found by H. Patzer.

That the above types are typically Neoteric is substantiated by Ross ²⁾ in his findings that the epigrams proper, which represent a fixed tradition and one in which the Neoterics could not freely introduce their innovations, contain a negligible number of these types. Although all the evidence given above applies more strictly to the hexametre, it is easy to see that Catullus introduced the same ideas into the galliambics. In this connection it is interesting to quote the words of R.C. Ross ³⁾ who, writing on Catullus' use of the galliambic metre, writes, "It is as though the galliambic were a parody of the hexameter - utilizing epic technique in a violently anti-epic meter". Having clarified these few points which are elements of the Neoteric manner, it is now possible to proceed with the analysis of the poem.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 134. See table.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 135-7.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 150.

AN ANALYSIS OF POEM 63 WITH EMPHASIS ON NEOTERIC ELEMENTS AND ITS RELATIONSHIP
WITH THE REST OF THE CATULLAN COLLECTION

The poem opens with that breathtaking speed which is typically Hellenistic and underlines Catullus' preoccupation with details other than narrative in what is ostensibly a narrative poem. Even in a passage which apparently functions as a vehicle for the unfolding of the narrative, Catullus does not miss the chance of emphasising the emotional state of his main character. Thus, in the first four lines, which are meant to describe Attis coming into the demesne of the Goddess, Catullus is not so much concerned with picturesque details as he is in highlighting the eagerness and fanatic frenzy of Attis. This preoccupation with the psychology of the character is, as we have mentioned before, one of the chief concerns of the Neoterics. Notice how Catullus quantitatively builds up his description, obliquely suggesting the corresponding increase in Attis' frenzy as he approaches the culmination of his act; line 1 merely hints at the urgency of Attis (celeri), line 2 builds it up a little further (citato cupide pede), and in line 4 we have a kind of climax to Attis' frenzy (stimulatus ibi furenti rabie, vagus animis).

Maria of line 1 is the first of a number of poetic plurals that are to be found in the poem ¹⁾, and introduces us to the opposition of land-sea. The seas are described as alta ²⁾, because there are indeed deep seas that separate him from his beloved Goddess and that are to separate him later

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1. Cf. loca (3), pondera (5), membra (6), sola (7), nemora (12, 32, 79, 89), nuntia (75), iuga (84).
 2. Cf. alta nemora (12), sub altis columinibus (71).

from his fatherland. Rate is an epic word ¹⁾. With regard to Attis' journey described in line 1, it is interesting to quote Putnam ²⁾ who writes that "As always in Catullus, the voyage means more than geographical wandering. It symbolizes change through departure, the leaving of one kind of life for another" ³⁾.

Phrygium (2) introduces us to the occident-orient opposition, while cupide (2) suggests the reason-emotion opposition, which soon develops into the more extreme form of sanity-madness in line 4 ⁴⁾. Cupide warrants some discussion. It is a word frequently used by Catullus to denote passion between lovers. In poem 61 both the husband and the wife are called cupidus (lines 32 and 54). In poem 64, Ariadne views her lover cupido lumine (line 86). In poem 107, Catullus applies the word cupidus to himself three times in the course of five lines (1 to 5). All the uses of the word are in erotic contexts. Its use in poem 63, therefore, connotes a passionate desire on the part of Attis, the lover, to devote himself to the service of his beloved Goddess, and could be used as part of the evidence to classify the poem among the erotikà pathémata. Note the homoioteleuton in

1. Cf. pelagi (16), sonipedibus (41), stabula (53), marmora (88).

2. "The Art of Catullus 64", HSPH LXV, 1961, p. 172.

3. Cf. poems 31; 46; 64.1ff., and 64.73.

4. See Rubino, *op. cit.*, for a detailed discussion of how the various oppositions are worked into the narrative.

cupide pede ¹⁾, and the chiasmic structure of lines 2 and 3: line 2 ends with a verb, line 3 begins with a verb ²⁾. With regard to citato pede, the comments of Putnam ³⁾ are enlightening. Commenting on 4.21, he writes that Catullus "transfers the rebirth of nature and his own longing to his feet because it is through them, metaphorically, that the desire finds its first impulse to be up and going". Later he writes that "Following the Greek commonplace, Catullus constantly associates the foot with some eagerly awaited occasion" ⁴⁾. Line 3 introduces the oppositions light-darkness and female goddess-male human (opaca and deae). Opaca represents the darkness and primitive savagery of Ida and will contrast with the image of the rising sun in lines 39 ff.

In lines 1 to 3 we have a close connection between a sea voyage, the birth of desire and mountain top. The relationship between these three, as found in poem 63, is not the only example in Catullus. The same connection is to be found in the opening of poem 64 ⁵⁾:

Peliaco quondam prognatae vertice pinus
dicuntur liquidas Neptuni nasse per undas
Phasidos ad fluctus

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1. Cf. lines 10, 16, 74 and 86.
 2. Cf. lines 37, 38 and 59, 60. See also 8.7, 8 and 64.398, 399.
 3. M.C.J. Putnam, "Catullus' Journey", CPh LVII, 1962, p. 14.
 4. Ibid., 144. Cf. niveo pede (61.9-10), molli pede (68.70), and iam laeti studio pedes vigescunt (46.8).
 5. Ibid., p. 141.

The Argo rushes off to its destination which changes from the search for the golden fleece to Peleus' love for Thetis. Once they have met, there is no need for a sea journey any further, and the poem's action switches from water to land and the wedding itself. Here desire, born of the sea journey and ultimately of the mountain top itself, is fulfilled.

The same connection is to be found in poems 4 and 46, which are related. The desire described in poem 46 found its beginning in Bithynia; if the boat is the personification of desire, Catullus must establish the birth of his desire as the actual birth of the boat itself. And this he does as he takes the reader back through his journey across the seas to the top of Mount Cytorus, which is the origin of the boat. Hence we find here also a connection between mountain top, a sea voyage, and desire. The only difference is that, whereas in the above poems the mountain top falls first in the sequence, in the Attis the mountain top becomes the emotional focal point towards which desire is heightened only to fall away into despair.

The language of line 4 is strong; the forcefulness and emotional compactness indicate that Catullus cannot be detached and divorced from his theme. The piling up of words describing Attis' emotions is a measure of his personal and Neoteric involvement in the circumstances of Attis. Stimulatus must be taken literally to mean "pricked by the master's goad" or "goaded"; in this sense it introduces the master-slave opposition. The strength of furenti rabie ¹⁾ emphasises the depth of Attis' maddening frenzy. In vagus animis the plural tends to suggest a variety of conflicting emotions ²⁾.

1. Cf., 38 rabidus furor, 44 rapida sine rabie, 57 rabie fera carens.

2. See Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

Having established the depth of Attis' frenzy, Catullus now describes his final act of castration which is the immediate outcome of that frenzy. The narrative is rapid; the act is described in a single line. illi is a rare word used to describe an act that is extraordinary. Pondera, besides suggesting the weight of the testicles, also seems to imply the burden which his manhood imposes upon him in his desire to remain true to the Goddess ¹⁾; the burden has now been removed and there is no question of infidelity on his part.

Thus, in merely five lines, Catullus has dismissed with Attis' arrival into Phrygia from the West, his entry into the demesne of the Goddess, and his self-castration. In his desire to proceed hastily with the narrative, Catullus has placed the Phrygian mountains close to the shore, but it is well to remember that he is not writing as a geographer, and the deliberate distortion is part of his Neoteric technique to impart speed to his narrative. In the first five lines, only the bare essentials are related; picturesque details are omitted, and this, together with the interest in psychology, marked a sharp breakaway from the idyllic treatment of Theocritus, and an adoption of the later Alexandrian epyllion popular with Euphorion. This hasty introduction to the theme is typical of Catullus' poems in general. Thus if one has to examine, for instance, the first twenty poems of Catullus, only one (poem 11) does not go straight to the point the poet wishes to make. The rest move on directly, in Neoteric fashion, to the theme, and the rapidity of narrative in the beginning of poem 63 can clearly be seen as a conformance to this trend.

1. Note that the cult was in large part one of abstinence.

Lines 6 to 11 develop the male-female theme. The loss of Attis' manhood is emphasised in line 6 by relicta membra and sine viro. The alliteration in sensit sibi sine, the first of its kind in the poem, also helps to emphasise Attis' loss of virility. Line 7 seems to be a purposeful description of the gory aftermath of Attis' act, meant to contrast with the delicate nature of Attis himself (niveis manibus), thereby intensifying pity for Attis and enhancing the tragedy that is to befall him. Terrae sola (7) conforms to the usage of Lucretius and Ennius ¹⁾.

Niveis of line 8 warrants some discussion ²⁾. Adjectives ending in -eus were not part of the sermo plebeius. The poets, however, exploited and extended their use to more than merely adjectives derived from the names of trees and plants. The older poets used these adjectives, but to nothing like the degree that the Neoterics did. An important contribution of the Neoterics was the coinage of new forms in -eus; thus, Catullus is the first poet to use niveus.

An examination of the -eus adjectives in Catullus will give an indication of his attitude towards their usage. In all Catullus uses 16 adjectives in -eus 45 times: 8 of them are used 9 times in the polymetric poems, 13 are used 35 times in the long poems, but only one is found in the epigrams. As Ross has shown, polymetrics and long poems are Neoteric experiments, while the epigrams belong to a fixed, unchangeable tradition. Thus, Catullus' wide use of the -eus adjectives in his Neoteric works, and the almost total absence of them from his epigrams, prove that Catullus regarded their use as

1. Lucretius ii. 592 sola terrae; Ennius Ann. 455 V, sola terrarum.

2. See Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 60-3.

typically Neoteric. They tended to lend poetic colour to contexts that were Neoteric and in the case of niveis of line 8, a tone of delicateness which conveys a vivid picture of the type of young man Attis was.

Note the change of gender of Attis with citata; here begins the oscillation of gender which is an effective device to convey the tortured agony of Attis' mind. At most places the feminine forms are to be found, but at significant points there are masculine agreements to describe Attis before his emasculation or during his rebellion. These changes will be pointed out during the course of the analysis. Note the typically Neoteric word collocation of line 8: niveis manibus leve typanum corresponds to the type aAbB.

There is a subtle contrast of red and white in lines 7 and 8 - the blood drenching the ground is contrasted with the snow white hands of Attis. These lines seem to echo poem 64 where Catullus also pairs red and white. The combination reaches its climax in the contrast between Polyxena's 'snowy limbs' and her blood, drenching Achilles' tomb (64.368 ff). There Polyxena is presented symbolically as a sacrifice to the masculine soul; here the circumstances of Attis are not far different for he has sacrificed his manhood to this dominant female divinity.

Note the epanalepsis in line 9. The alliteration in lines 9 and 10 helps to heighten the orgiastic effect ¹⁾ and also suggests the kind of noise emitted from the tapping of the tympani. Line 9 also contains an apostrophe;

1. Cf. Elder, "Catullus' Attis", p. 397. The same alliteration of t appears in Lucretius ii. 618; Varro, fr. 132, and Maecenas, fr. 5. See Fordyce, *op. cit.*, 263-4.

the poet addresses Cybele directly in the second person. This is a common feature of Catullus and he frequently breaks out into an apostrophe when he becomes directly concerned with the circumstances of his characters. Here he has described the goriness of the self-sacrifice of so delicate a young man as Attis. He now directly addresses Cybele because it is her typanum that he has taken up after his act, it is her initia that he has entered. Thus the poet attributes the dramatic transformation of Attis to Cybele directly and he therefore breaks off into the emotional device of an apostrophe. Likewise in poem 64, when Catullus describes the pathetic state of Ariadne on the seashore, he becomes so involved in her situation that he breaks off into an apostrophe, addressing Theseus as the direct cause of her tragedy (line 69).

Initia of line 9 is strictly applied to the secret rites of Demeter. However, it should be remembered that Cybele was identified with Demeter¹⁾, and it is possible that Catullus was aware of that aspect of the legend when he uses initia as the word for the rites of the Cybele-Attis cult.

Teneris digitis of line 10 also adds to the pathos of Attis' tragedy by building upon the picture of the delicate young man inherent in niveis manibus. Adorta est (11) is an archaic form for coepit. Tremebunda emphasises the frenzy of Attis; the word suggests that Attis quivers with ecstatic frenzy. Notice how Attis' companions are suddenly introduced in Hellenistic fashion in line 11. No mention has been made of them earlier, and after Catullus has dispensed with them in line 37, we have no idea of their fate.

1. Cf. the legend where Cybele is depicted as roaming the countryside in search of Attis as Demeter looked for Persephone. See Chapter Three, p. 88-9.

At line 11 ends the first section of the poem comprising one long, rambling sentence. These long sentences were part of the epic technique frequent in Ennius; Catullus employs such sentences extensively in his work¹⁾.

Lines 12-26 contain the first speech of Attis. He is presented as a young devotee and leader of the band of devotees; Catullus is at pains to present him as an assertive leader, still in a state of frenzy after his emasculation, and devoted to the task of leading his fellow gallae to the shrine of the Goddess on Mount Ida. Notice how his qualities as a leader, his powers of persuasion, his enthusiasm and zeal stand out in sharp contrast to the pathetic figure that Attis presents later, during his lament.

Note the alliteration and assonance in agite ite ad alta (12) and how the homoioteleuton in agite ite tends to reinforce the meaning of tremebunda of line 11. The feminine gallae for the name of the devotees of Cybele is found in the two-line fragment, quoted by Hephaestion to illustrate the galliambic metre²⁾. The repetition of imperatives and of simul in lines 12 and 13 (agite ite simul/ simul ite) stresses the urgency of Attis. The alliteration and homoioteleuton in Dindymenae dominae produce a hammering and jarring effect which stresses the harshness and cruelty of the Goddess. Pecora of line 13 introduces the human-animal opposition. The gallae have

1. Cf., 11.1-16; 23.18-27; 39.1-8; 63.12-18, 19-26; 64.1-10, 35-42, 60-67, 256-264, 397-404.

2. See Quinn, Catullus, The Poems p. 288 for the fragment.

now abandoned their lives as human beings and are like animals at the command of the Goddess ¹⁾. Pecora also links up with line 73 where the lion of Cybele is described as pecoris hostem. While Catullus could merely be referring to the lion as an enemy of any animal, it seems that the pecoris of line 73 is subconsciously linked with the pecora of line 13 meaning that the lion is the enemy of all militant gallae. Line 14 is typically Neoteric in its word order, aliena loca corresponding to the type A...../.....S. Quinn ²⁾ notes that the rhythm falters on exules; it is the first of five lines in the poem where the concluding rattle of short syllables is broken. Each time the rhythm stumbles on a word that is significant, and in this instance it helps to heighten the pathetic effect. Exules also introduces the fatherland-exile opposition, for Attis and his band of devotees are indeed like a group of exiles who have left their fatherland, Greece, for the wilds of Phrygia. Note that the simile in line 14 is short and functional, and is linked with Catullus' desire to limit his description.

Line 15 has the leader-followers opposition and this is emphasised by the juxtaposition of exsecutae and duce. The combination sectam exsecutae is a figura etymologica, a form of contained accusative ³⁾. Although the cognate accusative occurs only here with exsequi, it can be regarded as a kind of archaism due to its similarity to sectam sequi, frequently found in formal

1. Cf., G.N. Sandy, "The Imagery of Catullus 63", TAPhA XCIX, 1969, p. 389-399. The author's basic argument is that Attis and his fellow gallae are described in language appropriate to animals.

2. Catullus, The Poems, p. 288.

3. Cf., 61.110-12 quanta gaudia quae gaudeat.

or solemn language ¹⁾. The three forms of the personal pronoun and adjective in the line emphasise Attis' role as leader of the gallae. The word order is strongly Neoteric: exsecutae/ comites corresponds to the type A/..... S.

In truculentaque pelagi of line 16 Catullus uses a neuter plural substantial adjective with a partitive genitive ²⁾. This is a favourite device of Lucretius who uses it several times ³⁾. Catullus' imitation of Lucretius is important to us since Lucretius himself is now regarded, in many ways, as a New Poet ⁴⁾. The phrase, together with rapidum salum, also reflects the typical Roman attitude towards the sea ⁵⁾, and hints at the degree of the furor of devotion of the devotees since they have braved rough seas to be able to devote themselves to their Goddess. Noteworthy in the line is the alliteration and assonance of l, t and u. Line 17 has Veneris flanked on either side by evirastis and nimio odio. Veneris ⁶⁾ refers to love making and its position between evirastis (unman) and nimio odio (excessive hatred) emphasises the overpowering of love by these forces which are directly opposed to it.

1. Fordyce, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

2. This genitive is described as partitive by Fordyce, *op. cit.*, p. 265 and as "hypotaktikos" by M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis, Catulli Veronensis Liber, Turin, 1928, p. 131.

3. See Fordyce, *op. cit.*, p. 265 for examples.

4. C.W. Mendell, The New Poets and the Augustans, London, 1965, p. 14.

5. Cf., 4.9 Propontida trucemve, 64.179 ponti truculentum aequor.

6. Note that Venus is in this sense opposed to Cybele.

Hilarate of line 18 seems to be related to the Hilaria of the Cybele-Attis rites. Citatis erroribus describes the frenzied wanderings of the devotees and helps heighten the picture of ecstatic frenzy which Catullus wishes to create for the first part of the poem. Lines 16-19 reinforce the themes which have already been introduced earlier. Thus line 16 begins with the land-sea opposition; this then goes on to the male-female (line 17), sanity-insanity, and reality-illusion oppositions (line 19). Line 19 again emphasises the atmosphere of haste and speed; Attis asks his fellow-devotees to remove all elements of delay from their minds. This is immediately followed by two imperatives in asyndeton, simul ite, sequimini, which further emphasise his enthusiasm and frenzy. In mora tarda Catullus uses a common Latin idiom in which the idea expressed by the noun is reinforced by an adjective of the same or similar meaning ¹⁾.

Line 20, by its repetition of Phrygiam ad and Phrygia ad in metrically equivalent positions in the line, stresses the East-West opposition and emphasises the foreignness of the cult. The use of domum and nemora is striking in that the domum of Cybele is actually the nemora of Phrygia. Nemora represents savagery and wildness and we can see in domum and nemora the contrast between Catullus' romantic association of home and the future abode of Attis. Notice the anaphora in lines 21-25 comprising six successive ubi clauses, the first two in one line and the others in the following four. In addition to creating the atmosphere of wild abandon peculiar to the cult, these lines also serve to illustrate the frenzy of Attis; his vivid imagining of the scene at the fane of the Goddess suggests a mind which is deeply inspired by and obsessed with Cybele and can be viewed

1. Cf. 46.1 egelidos tepores, 64.236 laeta gaudia, 64.217 extrema fine.

as a deliberate attempt by Catullus to provide a commentary on the psychological state of Attis. Quinn ¹⁾ notes that lines 21-22 are rich in vowel music and rhythmical effects to create a word picture of the sounds produced by the different kinds of instruments. The division of the two clauses of line 21 to fit exactly into the two halves of the line gives the impression that the tympani are sounding out in reply to the cymbals. Cymbalum is an archaic genitive plural, the use of which belonged to the epic tradition. It is used only once in the shorter poems ²⁾ but several times in the longer poems ³⁾ and not at all in the epigrams. The wide use of the form in the long Neoteric works must mean that Catullus viewed the usage as being suitable only in Neoteric contexts. J.P. Elder ⁴⁾ notes that in his metrical variations in lines 22 and 23 Catullus has shown great sensitivity to content. In the first one can hear the slow music of the curved reed ⁵⁾, and in the second one feels the orgiastic abandon of the worshippers. Elder also mentions Friedrich's observation that the first half of lines 21-23 closes

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1. Catullus. The Poems, p. 289 and 334. Cf. 64.261-4 and Varro, Men. 132
tibi typana non inani sonitu matris deum
tonimus chorus tibi nos, tibi nunc semiviri
teretem comam volentem iactant tibi famuli .
 2. 9.6 Hiberum.
 3. E.g. 64.27, 134, 298, 381; 66.69, 76 and 76.4 divum, 64.192; 68.90
virum; 68.138 caelicolum; 64.355 Troiugenum.
 4. "Catullus' Attis", p. 399.
 5. Note how this is reinforced by grave.

with a monosyllabic word, which helps to heighten the mood of frenzy ¹⁾. The word order of line 23 is strongly Neoteric; Maenades/ hederigerae corresponds to the type S/..... A. Hederigerae is the first of a series of polysyllabic compounds that are to be found in poem 63 ²⁾. They are Graecisms which contribute to the exotic flavour of the theme and provide a convenient sequence of short syllables as well. Ross ³⁾ discusses at length Catullus' use of compounds. Catullus uses 14 compounds 15 times in the polymetrics, 29 are used 35 times in the long poems, but only sesquipedalis (97.5) in the epigrams. But since sesquipedalis is a prose word, it can be dismissed and it can be said that there are no compounds in the epigrams. Compounds belonged generally to tragedy and epic; hence their wide use in the Neoteric long poems. If the contexts in which they are used in the short poems are considered, then one can easily conclude with Ross ⁴⁾, that "Their contexts are as markedly Neoteric as any of the compounds found in the longer poems". Thus their absence from the epigrams and wide use in the long poems and in the Neoteric contexts of the polymetrics prove that the adoption of compounds was one of the poetical peculiarities of the new movement in accordance with Neoteric principles.

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1. G. Friedrich, Catulli Veronensis Liber, Teubner, 1908, p. 303.
 2. The others are properipedem (34), sonipedibus (41) erifugae (51), nemorivagus (72), silvicultrix (72).
 3. *Op. cit.*, p. 17-22.
 4. Ibid., p. 21.

In connection with the onomatopoeic use of ululatibus in line 24, Fordyce ¹⁾ states that the yells of the gallae are conveyed in the a's and u's of the line. Note the alliteration of v in line 25. Volitare, according to Fordyce ²⁾, often has the suggestion of bubbling or swaggering ³⁾. Thus Catullus' use of volitare, together with vaga cohors, to describe the gallae is apt, for it conveys a vivid picture of them swaggering and wandering about in their frenzy. Cohors is linked with comites of line 15 ⁴⁾. The description has become increasingly more wild and detailed and Attis now concludes with a line which is more effective because of its archaic, characteristically Roman simplicity ⁵⁾. Celerare is usually transitive, but Catullus has used it intransitively ⁶⁾. Tripudiis is a term of Roman liturgy which Catullus has transferred to the Cybele worship; tripudia are the wild dances of primitive ritual which survived in the dances of the Salii and the Fratres Arvales. The word order of line 26 is typically Neoteric: citatis/..... tripudiis corresponds to the type A/..... S.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 266.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Cf. 64.251 and Vergil, *Aen.*, 126, mediis in milibus/ ductores auro volitabant astroque superbi.

4. Cf. 28.1 Pisonis comites, cohors inanis.

5. Quinn, *Catullus. The Poems*, p. 289.

6. Cf. Lucretius, *De Re. Nat.*, i. 387.

Thus it is clear by now that the poet's main purpose for Attis' speech is to examine his psychological state. The enthusiasm and zeal of Attis as leader, and his urgency and haste have been emphasised by the number of imperatives. His obsession with the Goddess is apparent in the vivid word pictures Attis creates in his imagining of the scene that would confront the gallae at the temple of the Great Mother. In other ways, too, the atmosphere of the cult has been created. The sounds of the various instruments, as they are presented in the rhythm of lines 21 and 22, the yells of the gallae (line 24), and the large number of short syllables ¹⁾, all help to create the orgiastic abandon and frenzy which is the main theme of the speech. Thus Catullus has formulated the speech in strict accordance with Neoteric principles; it is a vehicle for the examination of the emotional state of the chief character, and the use of vivid word pictures, sound effects and rhetorical figures are all deliberate attempts to conform to the tenets of the new movement.

The next passage (lines 27-38) describes the wild rush of the devotees to the sanctuary of the Goddess on Mount Ida and ends with Attis and his followers falling asleep. Although the passage serves in the main a narrative purpose it will be seen that Catullus is again interested in emphasising the psychological state of the devotees; their frenzied illusion will stand out in sharp contrast to the frightening reality that dawns upon Attis at the rising of the sun.

1. See Elder, "Catullus' Attis", p. 400.

In line 27 Attis is described as notha mulier; this is later linked up with Attis' description of himself as mei pars, vir sterilis (line 69). Notice how simul reinforces the effect that Attis' speech has had on the devotees; their response is immediate. Repente of line 28 deserves some comment ¹⁾. Its metrically equivalent alternative is subito. Ross concludes that repente is the older poetic word, and was avoided by the elegists because it was too archaic and epic. Catullus uses repente three times, all of which occur in the polymetrics and long poems ²⁾, and subito only in the epigrams ³⁾. The tone of the two contexts in the polymetric poems is, according to Ross, distinctly Neoteric; hence Catullus' choice of repente is another instance of his strict adherence to Neoteric convention. Repente for Catullus was the more elevated of the two in view of previous poetic usage ⁴⁾, and as such would be more suitable in typically Neoteric contexts.

Ellis ⁵⁾ notes that line 28 conveys the confused and tumultuous character of the cries. The word order of line 29 is Neoteric, leve tympanum cava cymbala corresponding to the type aAbB. Quinn ⁶⁾ notes that the re of remugit and recrepant emphasises that the drum

1) See Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 70-2.

2) 10.3; 17.24; 63.28.

3) 76.13; 84.10.

4) Lucretius preferred repente to subito, and Ennius uses repente 5 times, and subito not at all.

5) *op. cit.*, p. 266.

6) Catullus. The Poems, p. 290.

and cymbals answer each other, as in the two halves of every line of the poem, the second part answering the first ¹⁾. Recrepant is a rare verb and occurs only here and in the Ciris ²⁾.

The word order of line 30 is again typically Neoteric; viridem citus... Idam...chorus corresponds to the type abAB. The words citus and properante pede add to the atmosphere of frenzy and haste. According to Rubino ³⁾, viridem represents the nature-culture opposition. There is a contrast between the natural paradise of the Mother Goddess, which grows green with uncultivated vegetation, and the difficult cultivation of both land and people which must be present in a human and masculine civilisation.

The assonance in line 31 is effective; the gasping for breath as Attis hastily makes his way up the mountain is conveyed by the repetition of a sounds. The alliteration vaga vadit emphasises the errant steps of Attis. In line 32 comitata is followed by an impersonal accompaniment. This is rare, for comitatus is normally followed by cum + an ablative of person when, as here, it has a personal subject. The nemora is again described as opaca; this reemphasises the sad lot of Attis and recreates the atmosphere of darkness which will contrast with the brightness of the rising sun a few lines later. The word order is typically Neoteric; comitata... dux corresponds to the type A.../...S. In line 33 Attis'

1. Cf. line 21 and Lucretius ii.28 and iv.546.

2. Line 108 lapis recrepat Cyllenia murmura pulsus.

3. *op. cit.*, p. 159.

gasping for breath is compared to an unbroken heifer which resists the yoke. The irony lies in the fact that Attis willingly accepts the yoke which means to him the loss of his freedom and individuality and total servility to Cybele. Merrill¹⁾ notes that the comparison is usually employed by the poets for the yoke of love²⁾. The propriety of the simile which is short and functional like the other two in the poem, lies in the fact that the heifer was the usual animal sacrificed to Cybele.

At this point I would like to focus attention on Catullus' references to stages of the cult in the course of the poem. Above, as noted, he refers to the heifer which was the sacrificial animal of Cybele. At line 7 he vividly describes the bleeding Attis; this reminds one strongly of the Day of Blood (dies sanguinis). At line 17, he has used the word hilarate, which is very possibly related to the Hilaria of the festival. At 36 he uses the term sine Cerere, which is a metonymy meaning 'without food', i.e., it is a reference to the day of fast after castration. Thus it is evident that Catullus has included, in a very oblique manner, references to the various stages of the cult. This in a poem dealing with the legendary Attis, could perhaps be seen as part of the modernizing tendency of the poet; the ancient story of Attis is presented in terms of the cult as it was known and understood in contemporary Rome. Line 34 is typically Neoteric in its word order; rapidae ducem... Gallae properipedem corresponds to aBAb. Properipedem is another of

1. *op. cit.*, p. 124.

2. Cf. Cat. 68. 118 Qui tunc indomitam ferre iugum docuit.

the Greek-like compounds and its use, together with rapidae, reiterates the speed and haste of the devotees. Note how the chiasmic word order emphasises the leader-follower opposition¹⁾.

Lassulae of line 35 is a diminutive²⁾; the fondness of the Neoterics for diminutives is well known. They were essentially a feature of colloquial Latin, used sparingly by the elegiac poets and rarely in epic, but very common in satire. Catullus uses 27 diminutives 36 times in the long poems, 45 of them 65 times in the polymetrics but only 7 are used 9 times in the epigrams. The rarity of the diminutives in the epigrams and their abundance in the polymetrics is understandable in view of Ross' theory. How does one explain their use in the long, more serious poems? Catullus' fondness for these forms, according to B. Axelsson³⁾, is in part personal, and in part due to the Neoteric Programm. Their introduction into high poetry can be explained by his tendency to enhance the sentimental and romantic aspect of his theme. For Catullus the diminutives express a whole range of feelings - endearment (12.17 Veraniolum); tenderness (17.15 tenellula; 61.174-5 brachiolum...puellulae; 61.186 ore floridulo; 64.331 languidulos...somnos); pathos (2.7 solaciolum; 30.2 dulcis amiculi; 64.60 ocellis; 64.131 frigidulos); playfulness (10.3 scortillum; 17.3 ponticuli;

1. Attis is mentioned as leader at two other places: line 15 duce me and line 32, dux.

2. See Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 22-6.

3. Unpoetische Wörter, Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Lateinischen Dichtersprache, Skrifter Utgivna av Vetenskaps-Societen i Lund, XXIX, 1945, p. 39, quoted by Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

41.3 turpiculo); scorn (25.10 manus mollicellas). Thus it becomes apparent how very useful the diminutive could be to a poet for whom expression of the various emotions was of prime concern. Catullus was not the first poet to use the diminutive, for Laevius had led the way with hilarula (fr. 22) and manu lascivola ac tenellula (fr. 4) ¹⁾. The use of diminutives stands out as a peculiarly Neoteric practice, and after Catullus they pass out of serious poetry and only the more conventional nouns remain ²⁾.

The use of lassulae in line 35, then, conveys a strong sense of pathos; we can strongly sense the poet's pity and sympathy, as though he were speaking out in the first person. Quinn³⁾ notes that the rhythm falters on lassulae thereby heightening the pathos of the diminutive. One can also feel the utter weariness of the devotees in the close of the line ⁴⁾.

Nimio of line 36 was commonly used as an intensifying adverb in comedy. Catullus uses nimis in this sense at 56.4 nimis iocosa; 64.22 nimis optato and nimio in 63.17 and 36. It is interesting to note that the use of nimis or nimius in a positive sentence does not appear after Catullus, and the poet's use of it can be viewed as another Neotericism which the sterner attitude of subsequent poets rejected.

1. See Fordyce, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

2. The author of the Ciris, writing in the same manner, has labellum (496) and frigidulos (251, 438).

3. Catullus. The Poems, p. 291.

4. See Elder, "Catullus' Attis", p. 399.

Ross¹⁾ has made some observations on the use of the preposition e and ex in Catullus. Ex was the preferred form in early poetry. E became the accepted form in poetry before consonants from the time of Cicero and ex was used only in certain exceptions and in satire as a colloquialism. Catullus uses ex 4 times in the polymetrics and 4 times in the long poems. According to Ross²⁾, all usages except one are explicable; in effect there is, therefore, only one use of ex before a consonant. E occurs 3 times in the polymetrics and 16 times in the long poems. Thus it can be seen that in the Neoteric poems Catullus' usage conforms to what was becoming the usual poetic practice. The epigrams, however, display just the opposite trend. E occurs only once³⁾, and this occurrence is in a Neoteric context whereas ex occurs 5 times. This is understandable when it is realized that the epigrams belong to an older, unchangeable tradition. Thus it is apparent that e before a consonant was in accordance with Neoteric practice, and nimio e labore is a phrase very strong in Neoteric flavour.

With regard to labante languore of line 37, Fordyce⁴⁾ notes that labare is often used of sinking or swooning with such subjects as membra or oculi; here the swoon, languor, is itself used instead, and this departure from the normal is in keeping with Catullus' Neoteric attitude. The word order of the line is typically Neoteric; piger...labante languore...

1. *op. cit.*, p. 46-9.

2. *ibid.* p, 48.

3. 80.3-4 quiete e molli

4. *op. cit.*, p. 267.

sopor corresponds to the type abBA. Quinn¹⁾ notes that the structure of lines 37-8 is chiasitic; line 37 ends with a verb (operit) and line 38¹ begins with a verb (abit)²⁾. This is done, according to Quinn, to end the section with rabidus furor animi - the poet's concluding comment on the first act of Attis' tragedy.

With regard to furor of line 38, there are in all 7 occurrences of furor or its cognates in poem 63. It occurs in 10 other places in the Catullan collection. Harkins³⁾ has examined most of the contexts in which they have been used and concludes that "furor and its cognates are chiefly used in an erotic sense...."⁴⁾. If poem 63 is in line with the erotikā pathémata, then the word and its derivatives must also carry erotic connotations, not in the ordinary sense of the word; therefore furor and its cognates in poem 63 must represent the state of mind wrought in frenzied love and devotion to the Goddess.

Lines 39-43 comprise a single sentence describing the peacefulness and beauty of dawn with rich imagery that establishes a break with the previous section. There is a vivid contrast between the brightness of the sun and the atmosphere of darkness created in the previous section. This contrast between light and darkness is not confined to the Attis. In

1. Catullus. The Poems, p. 291

2. Cf. 59-60.

3. *op. cit.*, 107-110.

4. ibid., p. 108

poem 64 as well, light imagery serves to differentiate the two stories. There are two explicit references to darkness in the Ariadne story - caecus (197, 207). Lux plays a significant role in the Peleus story. Lux is used to impart brilliance to the day on which Peleus first saw Thetis (16), the wedding day (31, 325), and the morning after the wedding night (376). In lines 44-6 the splendour of the palace is described in terms of light, and light is the climax of the simile of the sea at dawn (275) ¹⁾.

To take another instance, poem 5 has a contrast between light and darkness. The theme of the poem is vivamus and this is embodied in the imagery of the sun, the source of warmth and life. But then Catullus wishes to say that while nature can renew its rhythms and cycles, man cannot; he must die. This he does with nox perpetua. Thus the permanence of nature and the impermanence of man, the difference between life and death is effectively embodied in soles and nox with the imagery of light and darkness ²⁾.

Sol of line 39 is significant. It does not merely denote the sun but also the Sun God, Apollo, who is the God of moderation, reason and enlightenment. Thus the rising of the sun means the banishing of excesses, frenzy and madness, and the return of sanity and reason. Sol is described in vivid

1. See Curran. *op. cit.*, p. 180.

2. See J.P. Elder, "Notes on Some Conscious and Subconscious Elements in Catullus' poetry", p. 122.

detail. The poet has personified it; oris aurei and radiantibus oculis give it distinct human qualities. It has been shown that it was a practice of Catullus to humanize the divine. The technique of personification as seen here is but an aspect of this particular practice. This tendency to personify is an indication of Catullus' Neoteric intensity of feeling and is a frequent feature of his poems. In poem 31 Sirmio is portrayed as a person of flesh and blood (ocelle, venusta, cachinnorum)¹⁾. In poem 4 the yacht is also personified; it tells its own tale²⁾. In poem 64 the ship is made up of pine trees which are "swimming" through the waves (line 2). The Argo not only "swims" but "runs" (decurrere, line 6) and "flies" (volitantem, line 9). The personification of the ship is matched by the personification of the sea, Neptuni (line 2) and Amphitrite (line 11). The personification of the sea reaches its climax when the sea comes to life by taking on human form (line 13 ff.)³⁾.

The word order of line 39 is chiasitic; oris aurei...radiantibus oculis corresponds to the type AabB. Lustravit of line 40 adds to the personification and the verb is significant in that Apollo was also the God of Purification. Lustrare is also a term of ritual, applied to purificatory ceremonies, and in addition to its primary meaning of "to light up",

1. See Putnam, "Catullus' Journey", p. 12-3.

2. ibid., p. 14-5.

3. Cf. Curran, *op. cit.*, p. 175-6. See also poems 17, 42, and 44 for other instances of personification.

lustravit must also imply that Attis was "purified" of his frenzy and madness. Note that Lucretius¹⁾ uses the same verb in a similar context of the sun traversing the world. It is interesting to note that in his description of dawn, Catullus includes all four elements - Sol, aethera²⁾, sola, mare. Sola is described as dura because it is a solid mass distinct from the liquid aether and sea. The sea is ferum because Catullus wishes to maintain the hostile attribute of the sea; it is the sea which will soon stand as a barrier between Attis and his homeland. Aethera is described as album to add to the atmosphere of brightness and light which characterizes this section.

Line 41 continues with the personification of the sun. Pepulit is a significant word in that, in addition to enhancing the personification, it also suggests a conflict between the light of reason and the darkness of illusion. Sol has "violently driven away"/"struck" (pepulit) the shades of night with his fresh steeds. Thus the light-dark, reality-illusion oppositions come into direct conflict, with the positive aspects seeming to temporarily gain the victory. Note that noctis umbras, in addition to its primary meaning, is also related to the opaca nemora of Cybele. Sonipedibus is another Greek-like compound belonging to the epic tradition. It had been used by Lucilius and Accius, and later poets frequently used it as an alternative for equus.

1. v. 693, 1437.

2. Note that aethera is a Greek accusative.

With regard to the learned allusion in lines 42-3, Homer¹⁾ says that Hera promised Pasithea, one of the Graces, in marriage to Sleep. However, Catullus makes Pasithea the actual wife of Sleep. This he does to create a contrast between the relationship of Sleep and Pasithea, and the utter desolation and loneliness of Attis. It is a hint of the relationship that Attis would have enjoyed were it not for his possession by the Mother Goddess. This changing of myth, as illustrated by the discussion on poem 64 in Chapter Three, is part of the Neoteric technique which allowed for the distortion of myth for purposes of effect and vividness. Somnus is personified as well. Note the Neoteric word order of line 42: Somnus excitam Attin...citus corresponds to the type AbBa. Line 43 is also Neoteric in its word order: trepidante...sinu, corresponds to the type A.../...S. Trepidante sinu expresses the eager joy of Pasithea at her husband's return and makes more vivid the contrast between the joy of their relationship and the solitude of Attis; the phrase also tends to give human qualities to the Goddess Pasithea who receives Somnus with a quivering and fluttering bosom. The Somnus-Pasithea allusion can be said to bear the same relationship to the Attis story, on a very small scale, as the Peleus-Thetis episode bears to the Ariadne story in poem 64.

With the passing of night and the coming of Sol, Attis is purified of his madness; he is now sine rabie (line 44). Note how line 44 re-echoes

1. Iliad, xiv. 267 ff.

line 38. De of line 44 meaning "after" is similar to e of line 36. The nearest parallel to Catullus' usage of it can be found in Plautus¹⁾ and Lucretius²⁾. Ita, repeated at 49 and 77, is a prosaic particle which, although freely used by Catullus in his long poems, became severely limited in use by the Augustans. To convey the return of Attis' reason after the passing away of frenzy Catullus piles up words for "mind" and "intellect" in the next 3 lines - pectore (45), mente (46), and animo (47)³⁾. Liquida mente⁴⁾ suggests that Attis' mind is now free from the storm of passions which had previously clouded his reason. He now realizes what he has lost (sine quis) and that he would have to live the rest of his life in the wilds of Phrygia away from home (ubique foret). Animo aestuante is contrasted with liquida mente. For a while there was clear and calm mental vision, but this is now succeeded by the torture of recollection of his deeds. Rusum is an archaic form also common in Lucretius; it represents a pronunciation which survived in popular use. Tetulit is an archaic reduplicated form of the verb common in comedy⁵⁾.

1. Most. 697 non bonust somnus de prandio.

2. v. 651 ubi de longo cursu sol ultima caeli/impulit.

3. Cf. 64. 69, 70 illa vicem curans toto ex te pectore, Theseu, toto animo, tota pendebat perdita mente.

4. Note that the expression is largely colloquial. Cf. Plautus, Epid. 643 animo liquido et tranquillo es; Pseud. 232 'nihil curassis: liquido es animo.

5. Cf. line 52 and 66. 35. Also Lucretius vi. 672.

At the beginning of the poem Attis, as a result of his frenzied devotion to the Goddess, was all haste for leaving the shore and making for the mountains. Now there is a reversal of intention and action. Attis, freed of his frenzy, races back to the shore. In lines 48-9, he stands before the sea and with streaming eyes delivers his lament ¹⁾.

At line 48 the sea is described as vasta; a huge expanse of ocean separates Attis from his homeland. "The basic implication of vastus (a cognate of vacuus and vanus) is the emptiness or desolation which repels or appals the beholder. It is a favourite word of Virgil, who uses it in a great variety of contexts, always charged with emotional suggestion of awe or horror...."²⁾ Thus in the word vasta one can sense the horror of Attis at this appalling and desolate expanse which was a barrier at the beginning to his beloved Goddess, and now to his longed-for home. The sea plays a very important role in the Attis. The note of hostility has been maintained throughout thus far. The sea was introduced as alta at line 1, and line 16 reads rapidum salum tulistis truculentaque pelagi. At line 40, in his description of dawn, Catullus describes the sea as ferum. The sea also becomes a medium for the expression of Attis' emotions - animo aestuante of line 47.

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1. A pathetic situation already found in Sappho (Pap. Ber 9722 (98,19 D)) and in Homer (Od. 5.84).
 2. Fordyce, *op. cit.*, p. 297. Cf. 31.3 mari vasto and 64.127 pelagi vastos aestus.

The word order of line 48 is Neoteric, maria vasta... lacrimantibus oculis corresponding to the type AabB. Miseriter (line 49) is an archaic form of the adverb; it is used by Ennius and Lucretius. Notice how the idea inherent in maesta is reinforced by miseriter to emphasise the emotional state of Attis after the realisation of his deed.

The section dealing with Attis' awakening, the reflection on his deeds, and the lines preceding the delivery of his lament have many points of similarity with the circumstances of Ariadne in poem 64¹). The similarity between the two begins exactly at the moment of awakening:

ibi Somnus excitam Attin fugiens citus abiit (63.42)

utpote fallaci quae tum primum excita somno (64.56)

The lines in which Attis becomes fully aware of the implications of his deeds (63. 45-47),

simul ipsa pectore Attis sua facta recoluit,

liquidaque mente vidit sine quis ubique foret,

animo aestuante rusum reditum ad vada tetulit...

are similar to the way in which Ariadne yearns for Theseus (64. 69-70),

illa vicem curans toto ex te pectore, Theseu,

toto animo, tota pendebat perdita mente.

The lines which precede Attis' lament (63. 48-9),

ibi maria vasta visens lacrimantibus oculis,

patriam allocuta maestast ita voce miseriter.

1. See Putnam, "The Art of Catullus 64", p. 169.

are not far different from 64.60,

quem procul ex alga maestis Minois ocellis,

or from the description just before Ariadne begins to speak (64. 130-1)

atque haec extremis maestam dixisse querellis,

frigidulos udo singultus ore cientem.

Each is maesta and each gives vent to words which reveal the full extent of their wretchedness.

The sea also plays a similar role in the story of Ariadne. As in the Attis, the shore is the scene of her lament, and various references to the sea keep, as Catullus does in the Attis, the theme of its hostility alive in the reader's mind ¹⁾. In 64.167 it separates her from Theseus who cannot hear her cries, in 174 he is the perfidus navita, and in 179 the sea is described as ponti truculentum/...aequor. In 154ff., questioning Theseus' humanity, Ariadne concludes that he could only have been born of the monstrous sea with all its unpleasant manifestations. The sea also becomes a metaphor for her sufferings: magnis curarum fluctuant undis (62)²⁾ and in 125 and 202 she pours forth her complaint.

The similarity of Catullus' presentation of the circumstances of Attis and Ariadne has led many to believe that Catullus is writing about himself under the veil of Attis and Ariadne ³⁾. While it is not possible

1. See Curran, *op. cit.*, p. 177-8.

2. Cf. animo aestuante (63.47).

3. See Chapter Two, p. 48 ff.

to discount such a supposition, especially in the case of a poet like Catullus, it is more likely, as has been pointed out earlier ¹⁾, that the similarity stems from the fact that both myths are dealt with in the erotikà pathémata manner; Catullus moulds his presentation in accordance with the tenets of his school which accounts for the many points of similarity.

Attis begins his lament at line 50 with a reference to his fatherland from which he has now been parted. The epanalepsis in patria o mei creatrix, patria o mea genetrix helps emphasize the fatherland to which Attis delivers his address. Quinn ²⁾ notes that the "verbal parallelism underlines the different metrical structure of the two halves of the line: in creatrix the stress falls on the second syllable, which is long; in genetrix the stress falls on the first syllable, the second syllable being short." Also notable are the different forms of the personal pronoun, mei and mea. Ellis ³⁾ notes that this is so because the force of the verb present in creatrix was still too strong at that stage to allow it to become a mere substantive like genetrix. It is interesting to note that Catullus in line 50 treats the fatherland as the actual conceiver and begetter of its children ⁴⁾. Catullus tries to maintain this personification of patria for the better part of Attis' lament.

1. See Chapter Two, p. 52.

2. Catullus. The Poems, p. 293.

3. *op. cit.*, p. 269.

4. The same concept appears in Lucretius, v. 795,6.

Catullus' use of o in line 50 deserves some comment. Ross¹⁾ notes that Catullus uses o 22 times in the polymetric poems, 36 times in the long poems, but only 4 times in the epigrams, 2 of which occur in a formula. Thus it occurs in effect only twice in the epigrams. Ross concludes from these figures that o had not at that stage acquired a poetic function, and hence its use was restricted in the epigrams which represented a fixed and unchangeable tradition. Thus the free use of o in his typically Neoteric compositions must mean that o was viewed as a Neotericism; Catullus did in fact pave the way for its wide use by later poets. The use of o in line 50 heightens the pathos of Attis' address to his fatherland.

In line 51 Attis describes himself as miser; the masculine conforms to Attis' state before his castration. With regard to miser Quinn²⁾ notes that it is "a word C. is fond of (he uses it 31 times) and the stock description of the unhappy lover. In addition to denoting the lover's dejected state of mind, the word implies that the lover is hard done by....". Notice the irony in the simile dominos ut erifugae famuli solent (lines 51,52). Attis' actions are like those of fugitive slaves who are wont to leave their masters; but Attis has fled from the fatherland like a runaway slave only to become a slave to Cybele. Erifugae is a bold Neoteric coinage. The double final clause in lines 53-54 represents an ironical statement of Attis' objective; he has acted in

1. *op. cit.*, p. 49-51.

2. Catullus. The Poems, p. 116.

the manner that he has so that he may be amid the snow and cold dens of wild beasts. Notice how ferarum stabula¹⁾ and latibula reinforce nemora Idae; they are but aspects of the forests of Phrygia which emphasize the savagery for which Attis has traded the civilisation of his patria. The use of furibunda by Attis to describe himself represents a pathetic admission of his madness. Earum is a rare usage in serious verse, but this is a common practice in Lucretius. Observe the tautology in ubinam aut quibus locis te positam, patria, reor? Reor is in a periphrastic expression which was widely used²⁾. Merrill³⁾ notes that it was used "to express the imminence of decision in questions implying great anxiety or eagerness."

Pupula⁴⁾ of line 56 is a rare word in verse. Quinn⁵⁾ notes that it is used for pathetic effect. The line describes Attis' longing for his fatherland and his desire to direct the line of his vision towards it. Catullus uses a similar expression in poem 64 when Ariadne ascends the mountain to direct her vision towards Theseus⁶⁾. The word order of line 57 is strongly Neoteric: carens...breve tempus animus corresponds

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1. Stabula is an epic word.
 2. Cf. 1.1. dono. See Fordyce, op. cit., p.268.
 3. op. cit., p. 1.
 4. Also used by Calvus, fr. 11.
 5. Catullus. The Poems, p. 293.
 6. 64. 127 unde aciem in pelagi vastos protenderet aestus.

to the type abBA. Ellis¹⁾ notes that carens est is a periphrasis of caret to mark more clearly the duration of the short interval (breve tempus) during which the mind is rational²⁾.

Next follows a series of three questions (lines 58-60). The word order of line 58 is typically Neoteric, mea haec...nemora domo corresponding to the type abBA. The juxtaposition of nemora and domo enhances the contrast that Catullus is making between the wild forests of Ida which Attis will now have to inhabit and his former home with all its beauty and attractions which he has abandoned. The arrangement of lines 59 and 60 is chiastic³⁾; the verb abero forms the end of line 59 and the beginning of 60. Lines 59 and 60 summarize in asyndeton what Attis has abandoned: his fatherland, possessions, friends, parents and his favourite haunts. Genitoribus is also a word used by Lucretius in connection with the gallae⁴⁾. Foro, palaestra, stadia et gymnasiis are the resorts of a young man in a Greek city. Except for foro which represents agora, the rest are Greek words for which there are no Latin equivalents.

1. *op. cit.*, p. 271.

2. Cf. 64.317 fuerant exstantia.

3. Cf. 37-38.

4. ii. 615 ingrati genitoribus.

The word order of line 61 is typically Neoteric; miser...anime corresponds to the type A.../...S. Miser a miser ¹⁾, with its repetition of miser, and etiam atque etiam ²⁾, with its repetition of etiam, emphasize the pathos of Attis' circumstances. This pathos is also heightened by the predominance of m sounds throughout the line. L.A. Holland ³⁾ writes that the "Northern poets exploit the varied possibilities of m to imitate the sounds of wind or water, or to express moods especially of sorrow."

The interjection a is similar to o, except that a is more markedly Neoteric than o ⁴⁾. In fact, Ross expressly writes that "The pathetic a was introduced to Latin poetry by the Neoteric poets and continued to be a trademark of their poetry" ⁵⁾. A is nowhere to be found in Ennius and Lucretius, in the Aeneid and in satire. A fragment of Calvus' Io survives to illustrate the Neoteric adoption of the exclamation:

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1. Cf. 61. 132-3 miser a miser/concubine.
 2. This is an expression frequent in comedy. Cf Plaut. Trin. 674 te moneo hoc etiam atque etiam; Ter. Eun. 56 etiam atque etiam cogita.
 3. Lucretius and the Transpadanes, Princeton, 1979, p. 36. For other uses in Catullus of m sounds see poems 101 and 68. 89-100, where the poet mourns his dead brother. See also poem 34. 9-12 and 76. 17-20.
 4. See Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 51-3.
 5. ibid., p. 52.

a virgo infelix, herbis pascere amaris (fr. 9)

Its few uses in Vergil illustrate that it was typically Neoteric¹⁾. Catullus uses the exclamation 5 times in the long poems, twice in the polymetrics, but not at all in the epigrams. Here again, Catullus declined to introduce so marked a Neotericism as a into the epigrams, and his use of a in line 61 must be viewed as another of the many Neoteric elements of poem 63.

Figurae of line 62 underlines the Greek feeling for the beauty of human form, which in this case grew out of the gymnasia, and which made Attis an object of admiration. With regard to enim of line 62, Ross²⁾ concludes that the purpose of enim is entirely Neoteric. Catullus uses it 3 times only, and in each case the context is Neoteric.

At line 63 begins the repeated use of ego which, with its emphasis on the preoccupation of the self, adds to the pathos of Attis'

1. When Vergil dealt with Pasiphae in a typically Neoteric section of Eclogue 6, he echoes Calvus' line twice:

a virgo infelix, quae te dementia cepit (47)

a virgo infelix, tu nunc in montibus erras (52)

The Corydon of Eclogue 2 ends his lament by twice using a, and this in a context typically Neoteric, i.e., that of frustrated love which is a commonplace of Neoteric poetry:

quem fugis, a, demens? (60)

a Corydon Corydon, quae te dementia cepit? (109)

Finally in Eclogue 10, which deals with Gallus, also a Neoteric, Vergil uses a in 3 successive lines (47-49).

2. *op. cit.*, p. 74-6.

circumstances ¹⁾. With the torturing thought of his present condition (mulier) in mind he enumerates in reverse order the three ages through which he has passed. At line 64 Attis describes himself as the flower of the gymnasium (gymnasi flos)²⁾ and the pride of the palaestra (decus olei)³⁾. The acquisition of perfect male form which resulted from these activities accounts for the people's admiration for Attis in lines 65-67. Notice how tepida of line 65 contrasts with gelida of line 53; Attis has left a home whose threshold had been made warm by the frequent throngs of admirers for the cold solitude and isolation of Ida.

Redimita of line 66 echoes the same word of line 3 - Attis' domus had been surrounded (redimita) by garlands of flowers but his present domus, the opaca loca deae, is surrounded by wild woods. The word order of line 67 is typically Neoteric, with attribute and substantive enclosing the whole line, i.e., linquendum ... cubiculum corresponds to the type A .../...S. The word order also corresponds to the type abBA represented by linquendum...orto...sole cubiculum. After this recollection of the happy past Catullus contrasts it with Attis' situation at present (nunc of line 68)⁴⁾. In his life back home his

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1. Ego and its inflections are used nineteen times in Attis' lament.
 2. For parallels to gymnasi flos cf. 24.1 flosculus iuventiorum; 100.2 flos Veronensum iuvenum.
 3. A common type of metonymy where the oil with which the wrestler rubbed himself stands for wrestling ground.
 4. This habit of reminiscing on the past and returning to the present with an emphatic nunc is frequent in Catullus. See poems 3, 8, 58 and 72.

admirers were, in a certain sense, servants in the manner in which they paid court to him - he was their master. Now he has become a ministra, a famula of Cybele (line 68). Mei pars, vir sterilis (line 69) re-echoes notha mulier of line 2 while lines 70-3 re-echo lines 53-4 - there is the same reference to Ida covered with snow and inhabited by wild animals. Note the Neoteric word arrangement of line 70; viridis algida ldae...loca corresponds to the type abAB. Line 71 has the type ...A/...S represented by ...altis/...columinibus. Columinibus is an unusual form of culminibus (peaks). Silvicultrix and nemorivagus of line 72 are only found here and are bold Neoteric coinages. Quinn¹⁾ notes that line 73 is the shortest and heaviest in the poem. The 'iam's come like a series of blows leading up to paenitet on which the rhythm stutters, emphasizing the pathos inherent in the verb. Both iam iam and iam iamque are common reinforced forms of iam²⁾.

Catullus has thus given expression in the lament of Attis to the glorious associations of home which had hitherto found little expression in Roman poetry. There are other instances in his collection which point to the importance of the domus to Catullus. Poem 46 gives expression to the yearning to return home. The poem opens with the coming of spring and continues with a description of the desire for travel. Only

1. Catullus. The Poems, p. 295.

2. Cf. 62. 52 iam iam contingit. Note that in iam iamque the que does not connect the second iam iam with the first, "for the passionate exclamation of sorrow demands an asyndeton...." Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

at the end of the poem (lines 10 and 11) does it become clear that the initial thoughts aim at one goal - the central desire to return home. This domus, as we learn in 31.14, is Sirmio. Observe his joy and pleasure when he returns to Sirmio; the intensity of his feelings for his domus can be gauged from the way in which he personifies Sirmio. Another instance of the importance of home to Catullus can be seen in poem 9 in the enthusiastic manner in which he welcomes Veranius home from abroad. Parts of poems 64 and 68 also document Catullus' regard for the domus. Thus it is clear that there are many instances in his collection which point to his love for home. Indeed, as Putnam¹⁾ says, "The domus (is) the symbol upon which the strongest of Catullus' emotions always centred, in the long poems as well as short." In the lament of Attis Catullus has expressed this glorious longing for home, and the vividness of his description, by the use of the contrasting savagery of Phrygia, makes it one of the most outstanding expressions of the theme in the entire collection.

The contrast between civilisation and wilderness is also present in poem 64. The loneliness of Ariadne and the savagery of Dia are contrasted with the throngs and civilised environment of the Peleus-Thetis story²⁾. The whole of nature is hostile to Ariadne in her

1. "Catullus' Journey", p. 13.

2. See Curran, *op. cit.*, p. 175 and 179.

loneliness on the island of Dia. The mountains around her are jagged and threatening (126) ¹⁾; wild beasts will tear her body apart (152) ²⁾. All of nature is against her in its silent threat of death:

.....omnia muta, (186)

omnia sunt deserta, ostentant omnia letum. (187)

Thus, as in the lament of Attis, the silence and savagery of Dia are part of Ariadne's suffering and terror. The inhuman, savage nature of the island is contrasted with the repeated mention of the throngs in the Peleus story and with the marks of civilisation and society in Thessaly (e.g., the palace with its furnishings, the agricultural pursuits). The winds were hostile to Ariadne, but the breezes of Thessaly are beneficent and life-giving:

aura parit flores tepidi fecunda Favoni. (282)

And finally, one last point before proceeding with our analysis: in line 69 Attis calls himself vir sterilis. In poem 64 the barrenness of Theseus and Ariadne is also hinted at by the way in which Catullus applies the language of reproduction to Ariadne, ironically to make her undergo a grotesque experience of motherhood. She conceives, but it is not a child: cuncto concepit corpore flamam (92). She gives birth,

1. Cf. 63.71 altis columinibus.

2. Cf. the references to wild animals in the Attis lament: (53, 54, 72).

but it is to complaints: (querellae) nascuntur pectore ab imo (198). In line 69 Attis also calls himself a Maenas. The Ariadne story has a happy ending, with Dionysus coming to her rescue, but the reference to Dionysus' rescue is fleeting and brief in typical Hellenistic fashion. The emphasis is not on the joy and glory that Dionysus brings her, but on his barbarous companions, beside themselves with that hysterical and destructive frenzy which characterizes the Attis poem. It is this terrifying scene of the betrayed Ariadne which lingers in the mind, and not her deliverance. Thus the story of Ariadne also ends sadly. Like Attis, she becomes a Maenad.

Lines 74-90 deal with Cybele's reaction to the rebellion of Attis and his final submission to the power of the Goddess. No reasonable explanation for this part of the poem has been given. Elder ¹⁾, for instance, omits this section entirely from his discussion. Yet Catullus obviously had some purpose in including it in his poem; it seems to me, as discussed in Chapter Three, that it serves to emphasise the cruelty of the Goddess and highlights her active role in bringing madness on Attis. It emphasises the fact that Attis' fate has been determined by a higher power - a cruel, possessive, and dominating Goddess. Thus Attis' escape from the situation in which he finds himself is impossible and the whole section is meant to intensify the reader's sympathy towards this victim of erotikā pathémata. It can also be seen as the poet's comment on Cybele's actions; one can

1. See Chapter Two, p. 62 ff.

easily discern the censure of a love poet towards the inspirer of a frenzied love which ends in tragedy. Sandy¹⁾ has drawn attention to Catullus' use, in his description of Attis and the gallae, of words and phrases which are more appropriately applied to animals than to humans. He argues that basically Cybele is presented as herd-predator, and Attis as a fleeing heifer. Sandy, while raising valid points in support of his argument, does not attempt to say why Catullus has used such imagery in his poem. In my view, Attis and his band have been described in language appropriate to animals to emphasise the source of their frenzy, which only becomes apparent now in this the last section of the poem. It is Cybele who has directly inspired this fanatic frenzy by the means of her lion which is the instrument to maintain her devotees' subservience to her authority. The savagery and animal-like behaviour of the devotees can thus be interpreted as aspects of Cybele herself. Catullus is thereby indirectly exonerating Attis and his band from responsibility for the tragedy that is brought upon them; this section of the poem, by hinting at the source of the animal-like behaviour of the gallae, places the onus of their tragedy directly on Cybele, towards whom the poet adopts a censorious tone. This, as has been discussed before²⁾, has been determined by the poet's own psychology and possibly by Neoteric tenets which made him sympathetic towards the victim of love suffering and critical of the inspirer of that love.

1. "The Imagery of Catullus 63", p. 389-399.

2. See Chapter Three, p. 76 ff.

Roseis of line 74 is another -eus adjective ¹⁾. Here the typically Neoteric adjective conveys a sense of delicacy and pathos. Note the chiasmic arrangement of attributes and substantives; roseis...labellis sonitus citus corresponds to the Neoteric type aABb. Abiit (74) and referens (75) tend to personify sonitus. Nuntia (75) is a very rare use of the neuter form ²⁾. The news is described as nova because the rebellion of Attis against her is something that Cybele least expected. The plural deorum is taken by some commentators ³⁾ to have been used in the place of a classifying adjective where only Cybele is meant, but it could be that deorum is meant to be taken literally. The lament of Attis reaches the ears of all the Gods with its loud and passionate appeal; Cybele alone responds because it concerns her alone ⁴⁾.

Cybele's release of the yoke that joins the lions ⁵⁾ is ironical, for she is undoing the yoke to bring Attis back into the yoke of bondage. Cybele orders the lion on her left to carry out her commands; the left is significant, for in Catullus the left meant sinister, evil, unlucky.

1. See the discussion on niveus earlier, p. 107-108.

2. Found elsewhere only in Lucretius iv.704 and Varro L.L. vi.86.

3. E.g., Quinn, Catullus. The Poems, p. 294-5, and Fordyce, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

4. Cf. Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

5. Cybele was depicted by artists and poets as riding a chariot drawn by lions or with lions crouching on either side of her throne. Cf. Lucretius ii. 604.

The lion is described as hostem pecoris; this could be taken literally, but it is more likely that it is a reference to the lion as the enemy of the gallae who are called Dindymenae dominae vaga pecora at line 13. The means by which Cybele ensures the fidelity of the gallae strongly suggest her possessiveness and cruelty. Furthermore, stimulans gives us a strong clue to the reason for Attis' maddening frenzy. At line 4 Attis is described as stimulatus and we now become aware of the agency responsible for this; it is Cybele who has 'goaded' Attis into his madness.

With regard to Cybele's speech, Quinn ¹⁾, commenting on the alliteration of r, explains that at an early stage it was regarded by the Romans as the littera canina. The r alliteration in Cybele's speech is appropriate in her address to the lion, and it suggests her ferocity, and the furor to which she wished to arouse the lion. The 4 imperatives in line 78 suggest her dominant nature and the urgency of her request. The use of furor in line 78 and furoris ictu in line 79 emphasises the source of Attis' madness; furor and its derivatives have been used several times to describe Attis and his frenzy - it now becomes clear where that furor comes from.

Line 80 (mea libere nimis qui fugere imperia cupit) further illustrates the possessive nature of the Goddess; she demands that Attis be totally subservient to her and any signs of rebellion on his part arouse her to apply constraint. Attis must always be totally under her imperia. This aspect of Cybele's nature reminds us of the original legend where her

1. Catullus. The Poems, p. 296 and 218. Cf. 42.16, 17.

jealous nature and possessiveness is one of the key themes. When Attis has an affair with the nymph Sangaritis, Cybele is quick to seek vengeance. The threat that the love affair posed to Cybele's dominance over him is represented in poem 63 by the rising of Sol and the return of reason and sanity to Attis. The recollection of his fatherland and the joys that his life there held for him threaten to interfere with Attis' subservience to the Goddess. In the original legend, when Attis became unfaithful to the Goddess, she plagued him with a madness that resulted in his castration. Here, she does that through the agency of her lion, which is but an aspect of herself, and which drives the already emasculated Attis back to her fold.

In line 82, Cybele urges the lion to rouse himself to frenzy by lashing his flanks with his tail and enduring those lashes. This is exactly the manner in which the gallae aroused themselves to frenzy. Catullus thereby emphasises that it is Cybele who is directly and actively involved in bringing the madness on Attis and his band. The word order of line 82 is typically Neoteric; cuncta mugienti fremitu loca corresponds to the type abBA. Retonent is another Neoteric coinage; the compound occurs only here. Line 83 is also Neoteric in its word order. The type A.../...S can be seen in rutilam...iubam. Alternatively, rutilam torosa cervice...iubam corresponds to the type abBA. Torosa is an adjective of the -osus type which was exploited originally in Latin epic poetry to suggest types of Greek epic adjectives¹⁾. Soon they became part of the sermo plebeius and were used by Catullus to convey the tone and effect that his poems

1. See Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 53-60.

required - colloquial urbanity and wit. Thus 16 -osus adjectives are used 25 times in the polymetrics, 7 are used 8 times in the long poems, and 3 are used 5 times in the epigrams. However, of the 5 in the epigrams, 4 are used in Neoteric contexts; thus in effect only 1 is used in the epigrams. The distribution of these adjectives in Catullus' work strongly suggests Catullus' attitude towards their use. Its rarity in the epigrams must mean that torosa, in line 83, is a word with a strong Neoteric flavour ¹⁾.

Minax of line 84 suggests Cybele's attitude. Ferus of line 85 emphasises the ferocity of the lion. Rapidum, together with the asyndeton in line 86, builds up an atmosphere of speed. This atmosphere of speed also characterized the description of the frenzied Attis and the gallae (2, 30, 34, 25). Rapidum (85) and pede vago (86) are also words used to describe the gallae. The similarity in the description of the aroused lion and the gallae again emphasises that it is Cybele who is responsible for the frenzy of Attis.

Note the Neoteric word order of line 87: umida albicantis loca litoris - abAB. The shore is described as albicantis to contrast with the dark forests into which Attis is driven back after the lion's attack. Attis is described as teneram which again emphasises his delicateness and the poet's sympathy which has been building up throughout the poem. The sea is described as marmora pelagi; the calmness of its marble expanse stands out in contrast to the nemora fera of the following line. Marmora ²⁾, in

1. ibid.

2. Marmora here may imply the white foam and the brightness and reflections of the sea surface, apart from its level, flat expanse.

its association with the colour white also hints at the atmosphere of brightness contained in albicantis. The immediate change from light to the darkness of line 89 emphasises the fact that Sol has been overcome; the light of sanity, enlightenment and moderation has succumbed to the darkness of Cybele and her savage forests. When the lion attacks, Attis becomes demens (89) and flees back to the forest where he is forever to be the handmaid of the Goddess. Thus, the Dionysiac has finally gained victory over the Apollinian, and the poem ends on a negative note of human sadness and despondency.

The poem began with Attis' arrival at the Phrygian forest and closes with his enforced return to it ¹⁾. Thus nemora encloses the entire action of the poem and the dark forests firmly seal his destiny forever.

In the final three lines of the Attis, the invocation to Cybele reflects Alexandrian technique ²⁾, clearly an indication of Catullus' Neoteric involvement in the tragedy that has befallen Attis. The narrative of the poem is complete at line 90 and the poem could very well have ended there, but to Catullus, the Neoteric, a poem could not quite be finished without a highly personal comment of his own. Thus the prayer to Cybele can be seen as a summary of his personal attitude to Cybele's doings and

1. This fashion of beginning a poem with a particular idea or line and concluding it with a similar or identical idea or line is not confined to the Attis. It is, in fact, a fairly frequent feature of Catullus. See poems 8, 16, 36, 52, and 57.

2. Cf. Callim. Hymn 3. 136ff. See Fordyce, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

its inclusion in a narrative poem documents his Neoteric interest and concern for the situation of his characters. One can discern Catullus' attitude of censure and reproach and his tone seems to be accordingly mocking and cynical.

Line 91 is noteworthy for its stuttering rhythm; the normal concluding sequence of shorts is broken by the heavy initial syllable of Dindymi¹⁾. We note also the d alliteration. The insistent repetition of the word dea (3 times) together with domina, is not merely meant to be ritualistic but it also suggests cynicism and sneer, especially in view of what was said earlier about Catullus' conformance to the tenets of his school which advocated sympathy for the victim of love and censure for the inspirer of that love. The mock grandeur of the magna mater, stands out in contrast to the baseness of incitatos and rabidos; the much revered Great Mother has driven Attis to frenzy, madness and personal tragedy.

The wish that she should keep away her furor from his home is not an admission of capitulation to her power but rather an indication of Catullus' aversion from her doings.

I think it would be appropriate at this stage to discuss poem 63 as an expression of Catullus' views on excess. However, since I view this aspect of the poem as incidental to my main concern, my treatment of it will be very summary.

1. Quinn, Catullus. The Poems, p. 298.

The prayer to the Goddess is the clearest indication of Catullus' attitude to excess. While his treatment of Attis is sympathetic and shows the poet's concern for the tragedy that has befallen this victim of love suffering, it is for Cybele, the counterpart to some extent of Dionysus, and the excesses of her cult, that Catullus shows his detestation. One of the main oppositions that Catullus has presented in the poem is that of East and West. The East was traditionally known to be given to excess, and this oriental cult of Cybele and Attis, with all its immoderate elements, is no exception. At the other end of the opposition is civilisation and Greece - Greece with its famous maxim, "nothing to excess". Thus the Oriental-Occidental opposition inherent in Phrygia-Greece is nothing more than an implication of the excess-moderation opposition.

This aspect of the poem is enhanced by the beautiful image of rising Sol, where Sol is none other than Apollo, the God of moderation and enlightenment. There, as noted earlier ¹⁾, it seemed that excess was going to be overcome by moderation, but that was not to be the case; in the end it is the Dionysiac (excess) that has gained the victory over the Apollinian (moderation).

The awareness of the evils of and dislike for excess is evident in several other poems of Catullus. I need not repeat the various poems dealing with excesses in poetry; those have been dealt with in Chapter One ²⁾. A good starting point to examine this concept of

1. Vide p. 124 ff.

2. Vide p. 8 ff.

excess is poem 51. The first three stanzas are a fairly close translation of Sappho, where Catullus describes the unpleasant physical symptoms of love. The last stanza is Catullus' own and it provides a twist to the poem which makes it typically Neoteric and indicates the poet's awareness of the evils of excess. Catullus says that it is leisure that is harmful to himself. He accuses himself of excessive indulgence in this leisure (otio exultas nimiumque¹⁾ gestis). It is leisure, with its implications of sloth and indolence, that has destroyed kings and great cities. Poem 51 is thus a clear indication of Catullus' awareness of the evils of excess and a warning to himself to beware of them.

The poems dealing with his excessive devotion to Lesbia and his struggle to free himself from it are well known. Poems 5 and 7, generally spoken of as the "kiss poems", point, even if in a light-hearted manner, to the extremes to which Catullus went in his relationship with Lesbia.

Although it would not be justifiable to interpret the evidence of these particular poems too literally, yet it seems that they do in an indirect way hint at the depth of Catullus' passion and his lack of restraint in his affair with Lesbia. Catullus was indeed possessed of an almost insatiable appetite²⁾. But it is also clear that Catullus was very much aware of this aspect of his character and was engaged in a continual struggle to free himself from his excessive devotion to Lesbia. For instance, in poem 8 the poet asks himself to be firm in his resolve to

1. Nimium and its inflections are used thrice in poem 63.

2. Catullus refers to himself as vesano Catullo (7.10). Cf. poems 32, 48, 56, 72, 99.

discontinue his relationship with Lesbia. Likewise, poem 76 is a prayer to the Gods to relieve him of this plague that was destroying him. It is clear that Catullus had lost his sense of moderation in his relationship with Lesbia and that he was in fact suffering from an excessive furor of devotion and passion not unlike that of Attis; however, he had not lost awareness of this.

Likewise, his poems dealing with his dead brother, his close friends and enemies point to a man of intense and real feeling. It is when things go wrong, as in his relationship with Lesbia that the poet's sensitiveness makes him suffer intensely. With a character like his, it is easy to imagine the continuous struggle Catullus was engaged in to moderate his love and life, and it is easy to understand his contempt for excess.

It is his personal life, then, that accounts for his dislike for excess, and while his status as a tragic love poet helps him understand and sympathise with the tragic circumstances of Attis, it is this dislike for excess that makes him speak out strongly against Cybele and her cult that inspires frenzy and madness in her devotees. The mock-solemn tone of his address to Cybele, and the specific imprecation to her to keep away her madness from his home, clearly point to a rejection of her cult¹⁾ with all its excesses. The poem can therefore be seen as an expression of Catullus' contempt for excess.

1. Catullus' rejection of the cult is also in keeping with his preference for accepted mores. For the New Poets, those iconoclasts who were bringing about poetic revolution, were strangely conservative and displayed a marked reverence for ancient Roman traditions and customs. See Paratore, *op. cit.*, p. 303. See also poems 5, 7, 61 and 62.

Finally, before I conclude Chapter Four there is one aspect of Catullus' treatment of poem 63 which I have left for discussion at the end of my analysis. This concerns the extensive use of repetitions, which is a feature common to many of Catullus' poems.¹⁾ In the Attis, what is striking about the repetitions is that they occur in the same metrical position²⁾. The function of such repetitions is that they help "convey the picture of a unique and morbid state of mind by returning the reader forcefully and frequently to key themes"³⁾.

It would not be perverse to conclude that this use of repetition, in view of its popularity with Callimachus and wide distribution in Catullus as well, is another of the elements of the Neoteric manner which characterizes the composition of poem 63.

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1. See Elder, "Catullus' Attis", p. 400 ff. See his note 17 which gives an extensive list of the repetitions in the Catullan collection.
 2. Elder, ibid, notes that Callimachus was the poet who was most fond of this practice.
 3. Ibid., p. 402. See also the table on p. 402-3 for the list of repetitions in poem 63. The more notable of them are the repetitions of Attis (or Attin) in the same position in lines 1, 27, 32, 42, 45, 88, Cybelles (or Cybelle) in lines 2, 20, 35, 84, 91, and nemora in lines 12, 52, 58, 79, 89.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

It is now possible to summarize the main facts that have emerged from our study of poem 63. It is evident by now that the poem displays epyllion elements of a type far removed from the more picturesque idylls of Theocritus. Its greater emphasis on psychology, emotion and pathos, and the almost total absence of picturesque elaboration make it closer to the Alexandrian prototypes and those popular with Euphorion and Parthenius. As was discussed in Chapter One, it was this later development of the genre in particular that was adopted by the Neoterics. In this respect, the Attis is more representative of the type of epyllion popular amongst the Neoterics since poem 64, which is always quoted as the only extant example of the Neoteric epyllion, is closer in many respects to the early stage of epyllion development, i.e., the epic idyll of Theocritus ¹⁾. Further, the theme of the Attis is off-beat and grotesque, and with its interest in morbid psychology, it is a far closer representative of the Neoteric epyllion than poem 64.

The only section of the Attis which tends to resemble the epic idyll is the picturesque and vivid description of dawn (lines 39-43); in

1. See Crump, *op. cit.*, p. 115-131, for the elements of poem 64 which make it close to the epic idyll.

the main the narrative passages are brief and functional. The only other passage that might strike one as being elaborate is the description of the devotees' journey to the top of Mount Ida, but as has been pointed out ¹⁾, the vividness of the detail serves a dramatic purpose, highlighting the frenzied state of the worshippers and their leader, Attis. Economy of detail has been pointed out in the analysis. For instance, the portrait of Attis has been sketched with the fewest of strokes (niveis manibus, teneris digitis, roseis labellis, teneram Attin). This economy of detail becomes understandable when one realizes that, structurally, Catullus wishes to give the chief emphasis to the speeches so that the reader may concentrate on the feelings and moods of Attis against a lightly drawn background; this emphasis on psychology was an important concern of the Neoteric school. It is in this respect that the Attis is far different from the epic idyll of Theocritus.

Poem 64, on the other hand, is different in this regard from the Attis. In the entire Peleus and Thetis episode, the chief interest lies in picturesque elaboration rather than in the narrative; there is no interest in character or in plot. Even in the Ariadne episode ²⁾, Catullus, except in Ariadne's lament, conforms to the idyllic type. The song of the fates, too, is not dramatic in character, but is similar to the incidental songs in Theocritus. One can therefore

1. Vide Chapter Four, p. 117 ff.

2. For instance, the picture of Ariadne watching the ship of Theseus (50-118) is detailed and elaborate.



agree with Crump ¹⁾, that "Its chief interest consists in the series of graceful pictures which it provides.... Thus it is much nearer to the epic idyll represented by the Europa of Moschus. It has no affinity with the epyllion of Callimachus or Euphorion." Poem 64, then, is untypical of the species peculiar to the Neoteric school, and it would not be too far-fetched to conclude that the Attis stands out as a better document of the Neoteric tendency to lose the idyllic elements and turn to the narrative form. With the exception of the metre which has been determined by the nature of its subject, the Attis can rightly be regarded as a perfect representation of the kind of epyllion in vogue with the Neoterics.

The story of the Attis is very much in line with the erotikà pathémata. It has all the elements of love suffering, except that it is not the suffering caused by the usual love misadventure between mortals. It is off-beat in the sense that it is the suffering caused by the excessive love and frenzied devotion of a human being for a Goddess ²⁾. Cybele is no mere human female, and it is this added characteristic of her divinity that renders the suffering of Attis the more tragic. The fact that he is wholly overwhelmed in a relationship between human and divine makes it possible to heighten the tragic and pathetic elements. This was one of the chief aims of Neoteric poetry; the Attis is in fact an exemplum of an extremely tragic case of erotikà pathémata.

1. *op. cit.*, p. 44.

2. Note how the Peleus and Thetis episode of poem 64 contrasts with this in being a happy union of man and Goddess.

That the story is in line with the erotikā pathémata can be substantiated by Catullus' choice of certain words which are normally confined to his love poetry. The main words, which have been briefly discussed in the analysis, are miser, cupidus, and furor with its derivatives; all apply to a lover. The use of these words in his personal love poetry emphasises the fact that Catullus has treated the Attis as a love story, with his interest focussed on the consequences of excessive devotion. The reason why the theme of erotikā pathémata appealed to him can be explained by R.O.A.M. Lyne's¹⁾ comments on Catullus' love poetry:

" Catullus had remarkable ideals in love; he was profoundly interested in the strange and conflicting emotions of love. It is natural that he should want to analyse these ideals and feelings in poetry. It is also natural, incidentally, that this desire to analyse should become more acute when reality began more obviously to fall short of ideals. That is simple psychology. It is when ideals are might-have-beens that one is compelled to analyse them; it is the feelings consequent upon failure that one scrutinizes, morbidly and excessively...."

1. The Latin Love Poets, Oxford, 1980, p. 22.

It is clear that themes of erotikà pathémata appealed to Catullus because he was a poet who loved to dwell upon the pathos and tragedy of unachieved ideals, especially love ideals. The extent to which Catullus delves into the psychology and feelings of the emasculated Attis, and his personal concern for the tragedy of Attis' circumstances plainly attest this.

While we are considering the Attis as an example of erotikà pathémata, it would be apposite to examine the extent to which poem 63 represents the psychology of the poet as it is evident in other poems of his collection. It has been pointed out repeatedly that Catullus displays a marked attitude of sympathy for Attis and of censure and disapproval for Cybele. This is a clear contradiction of the typical Roman attitude to them. Why has Catullus, essentially a conservative traditionalist, chosen to challenge, even if in an oblique manner, the usual view of Cybele, the revered Great Mother, and of Attis, her impudent and detestable eunuch priest? It is the psychology of the poet, his personal life and his tragic relationship with Lesbia, together with his status as a tragic love poet of the erotikà pathémata school that contribute towards determining the final shape of the Attis. The fate of Attis, the lover, has been depicted as inevitable, determined by the cruel and possessive nature of the Goddess.

This particular aspect of the poet's psychology can be seen at work in several other poems of his collection. In the Ariadne episode of poem 64, Catullus treats Ariadne, the victim of love suffering, and Theseus, the man responsible for her tragedy, in the same fashion. The vivid details of her appearance as she gazes at Theseus making his escape by

sea (lines 60 ff) paint a very sorry and pathetic figure of Ariadne after her night of "furtivus amor". Her lament as well, by dwelling on the wrongs perpetrated against her, intensifies the tragedy of her circumstances. That the poet is concerned with her situation can be gauged by the apostrophe to Theseus (lines 69, 70); his breaking off into an apostrophe in a narrative context only points to personal involvement with and concern for Ariadne. He does not blame Ariadne for bringing the tragedy upon herself but strongly implies that it is Theseus who is responsible. For instance, the excuses made by earlier writers for Theseus' betrayal of Ariadne are deliberately omitted. He is described as immemori pectore at line 123; immemor does not merely mean forgetful but strongly implies a callous disregard for the feelings of others. Thus Catullus, as in the Attis, clearly displays an attitude of sympathy for Ariadne, the betrayed lover, and of contempt and disapproval for Theseus, the heartless cad responsible for that betrayal.

In his personal poems dealing with Lesbia, Catullus adopts the same attitude. He makes it explicit that it is through no fault of his own that their relationship has soured. In fact he is very sympathetic towards himself as can be gauged from poem 76. The blame lies squarely on Lesbia; it is she who is responsible for the suffering that he undergoes. In poem 11 he expressly writes meum... amorem/qui illius culpa cecidit.... (lines 21-22). In poem 75 he writes Huc est mens deducta tua mea, Lesbia, culpa (line 1). Thus even his personal poems dealing with Lesbia reflect the same aspect of the poet's psychology as seen in poem 63. The only difference is that the personal poems are directly personal,

while the Attis has a restrained and subtle subjectivism, a subjectivism tempered by the fact that the poem is a serious work dealing with a remote and legendary figure. One gets the feeling after a study of the Attis that Catullus was consciously aware of the importance of subtlety in elevating the status of his poem to that of a great work of art; it is this subtlety and relative restraint which distinguishes the Attis from his well known, and at times repulsively bawdy, shorter poems.

It has been pointed out that Catullus' treatment of the myth is strictly in accordance with Neoteric principles ¹⁾. The four main features that characterize Callimachus' treatment of myth have been found in identical detail in the Attis. Catullus has chosen an aspect of the Attis myth which offers him the greatest scope for an exercise of the various precepts that were advocated by his school. He has chosen a particular episode in the entire myth which provides him with a theme ideal for an epyllion: the feelings and moods after Attis' emasculation, and Cybele's response to his rebellion. This marked asymmetry in his handling of the myth has been determined by the tenets of his school with its emphasis on the psychology of the characters and pathos of their circumstances. It is because of this interest in psychology and pathos that the narrative is brief and elliptical; with its omission of picturesque details, it is basically functional to the purposes of plot development. In places where it becomes comparatively detailed it has been shown that the narrative is meant to serve as a

1. See Chapter Three, p. 81 ff.

commentary on the emotional state of Attis and his band of devotees. It helps heighten the orgiastic effect and maintain the atmosphere of the cult, both of which serve as a background into which the emotional states of the characters blend.

He has also displayed a markedly personal tone in a theme which hitherto has been treated with objectivity and detachment. The subjectivity of his language and imagery, the use of apostrophe and his total concern and involvement in the situation of his chief character point to subjectivity of the highest kind.

A quick survey of the first narrative passage of the Attis will make clear how the personality of Catullus has determined the shape of his narrative. The opening line suggests an epic treatment (cf. rate). There is not the least indication of the personal element. The tone continues in lines 2 and 3 and we can easily notice the poet's haste in getting on with his story. But when we come to line 4 (stimulatus ibi furenti rabie, vagus animis,) we notice a distinct change. The language suddenly becomes emotionally strong; it totally lacks the restraint and dignity which characterises the epic treatment of emotion. The hint in the first three lines of a detached treatment, in the epic style, turns out to be false. The way in which the poet uses three different expressions in line 4 to describe the emotional state of Attis, and the strength of his language suggest that this is an observation that has upset the calm of the narrator. He is not prepared to dismiss this summarily, and the following lines, by their lingering on the emotional state of Attis and the consequences of that state, document the poet's concern for and involvement with his character. However,

after the poet has come out strongly in line 4, he gives the impression of trying to check himself, and his description of the self-castration of Attis is almost prosaic, with no apparent emotional overtones. But the poet is deeply shocked by the tragic culmination of Attis' frenzy which had reached such a high point in line 4. The style changes and the emotional overtones deepen as he describes Attis' loss of manhood and the gory details of the fresh blood that bedaubes the ground. The poet seems to be gradually losing control of the apparent desire, falsely hinted at in the beginning, to fulfil merely the role of a simple storyteller and remain in the background. After he has described this unpleasant picture of the bleeding Attis, he hints at the delicate nature of Attis (niveis manibus) as he takes up the tympani. At this point the poet can maintain his silence no longer. The contrast present in lines 7 and 8 where the delicate nature of Attis stands out against the unpleasantness of the fate that has befallen him visibly upsets the poet emotionally. He now loses control of his restraint, abandons the narrative of the poem, comes to the foreground and forcefully addresses Cybele, in a tone which, as I have tried to show in the analysis, is mocking and censorious. He addresses Cybele because it is her tympani that he has taken up, it is her rites that he has entered into, and it is she who is directly responsible for the tragic and unpleasant circumstance, just described in the previous line, that has beset the delicate Attis.

Thus the formulation of the whole passage is determined by the personality of the poet. We can sense that the poet is involved in a kind of dilemma, wanting to speak out about the tragedy of Attis, alternating between detachment and involvement, until in line 9 he

can control himself no longer and bursts out in a sneering apostrophe to Cybele. We come into intimate contact with the personality of the poet, and it is in the unpredictability of the turn that the narrative will take, which is determined by the personal element, that the beauty of the passage lies. The swift changes in emphasis focus the reader's interest on the poet's tone and voice. In this respect Catullus is far different from Ennius, for example. Ennius did make personal entrances into his narrative but these entrances were specific and limited, more concerned with matters of craft than with personal comments on his story. Catullus, on the other hand, is always present in poem 63. He never makes an explicit entrance in the first person (except for lines 91-93 which stand apart from the actual narrative of the poem) but his is a personality that is always moulding the shape of his narrative, determining the kind of vocabulary and imagery, and forever imparting that stamp of individuality which makes it legitimate to speak of his poetry as true revolution. His is a form of composition within which the central organising factor is the personality; this is indeed a new concept in Roman poetry.

The final point with regard to Catullus' treatment of myth is that the Attis displays a great deal of modernisation. The poet deals with a legendary figure, far removed from his own time, but Catullus has added various details of modernisation¹⁾ which result in a poem contemporarily Roman in spirit and feeling. These aspects of modernisation, together with Catullus' technique of humanisation of the

1. See Chapter Three, p. 86 ff.

divine, can be seen as attempts to impart realism to poem 63. This striving after realism was the Neoteric reaction to the artificiality inherent in epic which traditionally treated gods and heroes as entities apart from the common run of mortals.

In all these various aspects of his treatment of myth, one can clearly see the Neoteric in Catullus coming to the fore. His treatment is a kind of iconoclasm aimed at the conservatism of the Roman poets of yore. It is with regard to his particular treatment of myth that Catullus' Neotericism stands out as revolutionary, for in other aspects of his composition he shows a remarkable and even surprising reverence for tradition in poem 63. It is his respect for the literary traditions of the past that constitutes the doctrina which the Neoterics strove to implant into their serious works. Catullus has indeed achieved the Neoteric ideal of the poeta doctus in poem 63 which stands out as a true carmen vigilatum in the extent to which it displays doctrina, both in its double aspect of respect for the literary past and a scrupulous concern for precision in form.

The second aspect needs no elaboration with regard to poem 63 since it has been dealt with in Chapter Four; it is his concern for the literary traditions of the past which needs some comment. Quinn¹⁾ discusses the various streams of tradition that were available to Catullus when he began writing:

1. The Catullan Revolution, p.5-18.

- (i) The Epic-tragic stream: it was the main stream of poetic tradition around the time of Catullus. The personality of the poet does not play any great role in the determination of the ultimate shape of his poetry; he remains detached and divorced from his work. A poet of this type required no deep insight into the world around him but had to be able, rather, to manipulate stock types.

The most important contribution of the epic-tragic stream is that it gave to Roman poetry a position as serious poetry. Epic and tragic poets had also devised the means of describing a scene, studying emotion with restraint and using the right words.

- (ii) The comic-satiric tradition: this stream was diffuse and shapeless, but the differences in style inherent in it played a major role in changing the tone of Roman poetry. The comic-satiric tradition was characterized by a style of writing which was colloquial and varying in tone. The personality of the poet comes to the forefront and his attitudes become part of his poetry.

The main contribution of this tradition to the Neoteric movement was the transplantation of a direct and simple language into serious poetry. The stream also provided the love interest in poetry and was also a precedent for the metrical experiment and variety that characterised the new movement.

- (iii) A third stream, which consisted in the main of light genres like the epigram. The writers were not professional poets but dilettantes who avoided the professional styles. Although this third stream was largely imitative, the poets were concentrating on the problems of expression.

It was from this stream that the movement gained a sense of exquisite form and the technique of making a careful selection of detail which could tell an entire story by just a few touches. Poetry became as a result of this third stream a painstaking exercise in self-expression.

- (iv) The Alexandrian tradition: This needs no elaboration as it has been discussed in detail earlier.

It is clear by now that the Attis drew upon all the streams mentioned above. The use of epic technique (epic vocabulary, rhetorical devices, alliteration and assonance, etc.), the use of a myth as subject matter, and the emphasis on the pathos and tragedy of Attis' circumstances are all derivatives of the epic-tragic stream. The highly subjective element, the deliberate moulding of the narrative to create sympathy for Attis, the comparative simplicity and directness of language and style, the use of a few colloquialisms in a serious poem like 63, the use of irony, and the novel use of the galliambic metre with the numerous variations introduced for effect are all attributable to the comic-satiric tradition. The third stream has been responsible for the careful attention to form,

the compactness of narrative and the careful selection of detail. The fact that poem 63 is a carefully constructed carmen vigilatum can also be attributed to this stream of tradition. It should be noted that the main contributions of these Roman traditions have a great deal of overlap with the Alexandrian traditions, since the Roman traditions were but off-shoots of the Greek ones.

Thus, in this respect the Attis is obviously very representative of the new movement, for it is among the few poems of the collection in which one can see the fusion and transplantation of all the various elements of the poetic traditions that were available to Catullus and the Neoterics. The poet has, in his respect for the traditions of the past, displayed a great deal of doctrina in the Attis; this is of course in accordance with the tenets of the Neoteric movement which regarded doctrina as one of its watchwords.

It must be evident by now that the Attis is very representative of the Catullan collection. The many points of similarity with regard to language, imagery, style and the like have been pointed out. The poem also displays Catullus' contempt for excess, and his rejection of the cult is in keeping with his traditionalism ¹⁾. All these, together with the attitudes of the poet towards his chief characters, point to a unity of poetic temperament and personality throughout his work. Thus poem 63 is not a product of the "split Catullus"; it is not merely a

1. See Chapter Four, p. 150 ff.

literary exercise or tour de force meant to illustrate that the poet could also write in the manner of his fellow Neoterics. It contains attitudes and sentiments which are peculiarly the poet's own, and as in the case of the shorter personal poems, it is Catullus' own emotions and convictions which have dictated the final shape of the Attis.

Besides being representative of the rest of Catullus' poems, it is also evident by now that poem 63 is indeed meant to be a kind of manifesto of the new movement. Catullus' use of epyllion form, his peculiar handling of the myth, the use of erotikà pathémata as a theme, his personalism, metrical variety and experimentation, peculiar word collocations, bold coinages, rhetorical devices and sound effects, his implantation of doctrina to produce a carmen vigilatum, his use of contrasts and striving after effects to produce a real masterpiece - all these are sustained endeavours to conform to the tenets of the Neoteric movement.

The conclusion is plain regarding the poem's status in the Catullan collection. Yet most of the studies on the Attis which have been available to me seem to do a grave injustice to the interpretation of the poem by specialisation and insistence on dogmatism. Due regard for the various aspects of literary criticism is necessary. It is because of this grave oversight that thus far there has been little consensus of opinion about poem 63. It would indeed require sound literary criticism to unravel the intricacies of the poem, for it is, after all, great poetry whose true worth lies in the subtlety of its art, a subtlety that is clothed in apparent simplicity and directness.

Finally, it is hoped that my study, in its own humble way, has proved that poem 63 is essential to an understanding of Catullus, for it is a brilliant poem embodying the personality of the poet and the tenets of the Neoteric movement, interacting in such a way as to produce a work that stands out from the distant past as a beacon to the genius of the poet and the nature of the literary movement of which he was a leading exponent.

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