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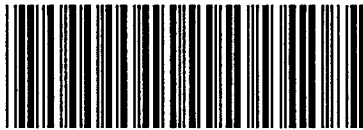
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### CATULLUS 64 AND THE ARGONAUTICA OF APOLLONIUS RHODIUS: ALLUSION AND EXEMPLARITY<sup>1</sup>

The sixty-fourth poem of Catullus, a work which has in times past been dismissed as contrived, is now appreciated precisely because it is *carefully* contrived. The majority of modern scholarship seems willing, implicitly or explicitly, to look upon the poem's intricacies and apparent contradictions as constituting part of its attraction, acknowledging that artifice does not necessarily preclude art.

The complexities of poem 64 are contingent to a large degree upon its interaction with earlier poetic models. Structural devices of narrative are borrowed from a variety of sources; themes and scenes are delineated so as to reveal their full meaning through reader awareness of other works; literary allusions pervade the text. Perhaps the most salient intertextual feature of Catullus' epyllion is its interaction with previous literary treatments of the myth of Jason and Medea. In this regard, it has long been recognised that a poem of central importance for the reading of Catullus 64 is the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius,<sup>2</sup> and this present exploration of allusion in poem 64 will concentrate on the intertextual connections between 64 and its Hellenistic epic predecessor. The aim is to offer interpretation of some allusions within the Catullan text which have not hitherto been noticed, as well as fresh approaches to the reading of allusions which are commonly acknowledged. The concatenation of such readings will bring me in due course to consideration of a larger issue, namely the problematic nature of exemplarity in the Catullan text. It is by means of allusions to the epic poem of Apollonius, more than any other literary predecessor, that Catullus subtly appropriates Jason and Medea as hidden presences in his own narrative. Two separate love stories are explored in poem 64, and one link between them is that the *exemplum* furnished by a third love story hovers in the background to each.<sup>3</sup> But this pattern is present and identifiable in the text *only* through the filter of literary allusion: nowhere does the poet specifically commit himself or the reader by using the proper nouns *Jason*, *Medea* or even, for that matter, *Argo*.<sup>4</sup> Inevitably difficulties arise when an attempt is made to go beyond identification, towards interpretation. Exactly what is one to make of an *exemplum* which is never directly invoked?

#### 1. Opening gambits

I begin my survey with a look at the prologue to poem 64, a section of the poem which, as we shall see, is vastly complex in the range and tenor of its literary allusions. But before we consider the Catullan text in detail it is important to devise some specifi-

cations for the *act of* allusion to the Jason and Medea myth *per se*. A survey of the ancient sources reveals a wide range of tales attached to these two mythical figures. Indeed the most recent detailed analysis of the myth has divided the material into no less than ten different sub-headings, beginning with the origins of the golden fleece and concluding with the catasterism of *Argo*.<sup>5</sup> If one narrows the focus, however, and concentrates on Jason and Medea in so far as their *shared* history is concerned, the myth becomes a tripartite one. The first part of the story revolves around those adventures traditionally associated with the quest for the golden fleece. It is in his role as leader of the Argonauts that Jason first comes into contact with Medea of Colchis, and it is by means of her assistance that he carries away the fleece. The second cluster of tales in the myth is based upon events at Iolcus in the aftermath of the *Argo* voyage, most notably the dismemberment of Pelias. Finally, the scene shifts to Corinth and the later stages of Jason and Medea's married life. Here the dominant version of the myth deals with the break-up of the marriage, followed by Medea's murder of Jason's new Corinthian bride and her own children.

This brings me to a simple, entirely obvious, but none the less essential point, upon which the prologue to poem 64 depends. In fine it is the unremarkable proposition that an *Argonautica* is not a *Medea*. Works such as the epic poem of Apollonius Rhodius on the one hand, and the *Medea* of Euripides (and its imitation by Ennius) on the other, belong to disparate strands of the myth and need not necessarily be grouped together. In the literary tradition associated with the Jason and Medea myth these stories represent alternative strands of interest and offer divergent thematic possibilities. Even if one sets aside any considerations of poetic genre and focusses entirely upon subject-matter, it is clear that an ancient poet announcing an intention to compose an *Argonautica* would have been perceived as undertaking a different literary task from the writer of a *Medea*. In the opening section of his epyllion Catullus capitalises upon this dichotomy and teases the reader, engaging in deliberate vacillation between two narrative options, prior to the choice of neither. The prologue of poem 64, by the device of tripping through a range of literary allusions, systematically undermines any (pre)conceived notions on the reader's part as to the poem's theme.

My previous statement requires elaboration. To begin with, it is a critical commonplace that a major surprise is sprung upon the reader at verses 19ff. of the poem, when Catullus at last makes mention of his first pair of protagonists in love, Peleus and Thetis. The unexpectedness of this narrative shift may be gauged by the fact that Catullus feels it necessary to reinforce its introduction by frequent naming of the lovers (four references to Thetis and three to Peleus between verses 19 and 29). But what is important to remember is that even *before* the twist at verse 19 Catullus' narrative has manifested a willingness to change direction. Another point of general critical agreement is that in the prologue to his epyllion the Roman poet alludes to well-known works of literature which have as their theme the love story of Jason and Medea: allusions to, among others, Euripides, Apollonius Rhodius and Ennius feature in the opening verses. One must, however, be entirely specific as to the function and

implication of such allusions in the prologue. For example, the assertion that the beginning of Catullus 64 signals the telling of an *Argonautica* is a misreading.<sup>6</sup> It is perfectly true to say that key phrases in the first seven verses, culminating in the emphatically placed hyperbaton *auratam ... pellem* (5) immediately create the context of the voyage of *Argo*,<sup>7</sup> but one essential ingredient of such a context is missing, namely mention of the *Argo*'s passage through the Clashing Rocks, a prerequisite in the narration even of a summary *Argonautica*.<sup>8</sup> This omission in itself is a strong, early hint that Argonautic themes will not be to the forefront in this poem. In neglecting to make reference to the Clashing Rocks Catullus appears to be following the lead of the *Medea Exul* of Ennius,<sup>9</sup> which itself is based upon the Euripidean original. In effect, the reader of Catullus is presented with a summary version of the *Argo* voyage which, for both Euripides and Ennius, constitutes the prelude to a story of marital breakdown. Accordingly, the literary allusions manifest within the first seven verses of poem 64 suggest, more than anything else, that the summary account of the voyage of *Argo* forms the prelude to a hexameter poem whose subject is *Medea*.<sup>10</sup>

So far so good and, of course, there is nothing new in the assertion that the beginning of Catullus 64 leads the reader to expect the subsequent narration of a *Medea*-poem. But it must be recognised that such an expectation is disappointed long before the revelation of the Peleus/Thetis theme, and it is on this point that previous critical readings of poem 64's opening fall short. To pick up the Ennian and Euripidean parallels at the beginning of the epyllion and interpret them as pointers towards a *Medea*-poem proves to be a viable reading only as far as the end of verse 7. If it is the poet's intention to narrate a *Medea* in the Ennian/Euripidean mode, the narrative should, after the summary of the *Argo* voyage, move forward rapidly in time to events subsequent to the Colchis expedition. Yet, from verse 8 onwards, Catullus shifts the perspective by concentrating on the construction and launch of the ship *Argo*, a topic one would expect to be a major theme at the commencement of an *Argonautica*. Furthermore, Catullus' primary allusive model is changed: verses 8–10 contain a cluster of allusions to the epic of Apollonius Rhodius<sup>11</sup> and, indeed, from this point onwards Apollonian influence on the prologue becomes paramount, as Catullus concentrates on an incident which takes place during (his version of) the *Argo* voyage. When the ship takes to the water, its movement attracts the attention of sea nymphs:

quae simul ac rostro uentosum proscidit aequor  
 tortaque remigio spumis incanuit unda,  
 emersere freti candenti e gurgite uultus  
 aequoreae monstrum Nereides admirantes.  
 illa, atque <haud> alia, uiderunt luce marinas  
 mortales oculis nudato corpore Nymphas  
 nutricum tenuis exstantes e gurgite cano. (64.12–18)

The scene created by Catullus proves highly complex when appraised for its allusive content.<sup>12</sup> The first and most obvious allusion in terms of context is to book 1 of Apollonius' *Argonautica*, where the nymphs of Mount Pelion look down from the mountain-top upon the maiden voyage of the departing ship:<sup>13</sup>

πάντες δ' οὐρανόθεν λεῦσσον θεοὶ ἤματι κείνῳ  
 νῆα καὶ ἡμιθέων ἀνδρῶν γένος, οἳ τότε ἄριστοι  
 πόντον ἐπιπλώεσκον. ἐπ' ἀκροτάτησι δὲ Νύμφαι  
 Πηλιάδες κορυφῆσιν ἐθάμβεον εἰσορόωσαι  
 ἔργον Ἀθηναίης Ἰτωνίδος ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοῦς  
 ἦρωας χεῖρεσσιν ἐπικραδάοντας ἔρετμά. (*Arg.* 1.547–52)

Although the correspondences are clear, some differences of visualisation are manifest. The Roman poet reverses the point of view in his scene (making his nymphs look up from the waves rather than down from above). He also devotes attention (16–18) to what can be seen from aboard ship (in preparation for what is to come at verse 19).

A second Apollonian prototype is to be found at 4.930–8, where the Nereids and notably Thetis herself guide the ship through the Planctae.<sup>14</sup> Each of these Argonautic scenes is a joyous, triumphal occasion, emphasising co-operation between gods and humans, and it is certainly feasible to interpret the Catullan scene in this positive light.<sup>15</sup> As has also been pointed out, however, one of the precedents for Nereids emerging from the sea comes from a lugubrious scene in the eighteenth book of the *Iliad*, where Thetis and the other sea-nymphs leave their underwater cave to come and comfort Achilles after the death of Patroclus (65–72).<sup>16</sup> And there is an unnoticed fourth model, again derived from the *Argonautica*. In Apollonius' first book the rape of Hylas is described as follows:

ἡ δὲ νέον κρήνης ἀνεδύετο καλλιναίοιο  
 Νύμφη ἐφυδατῆ. τὸν δὲ σχεδὸν εἰσενόησε  
 κάλλει καὶ γλυκερῆσιν ἐρευθόμενον χαρίτεσσι·  
 πρὸς γὰρ οἱ διχόμητις ἀπ' αἰθέρος ἀγάζουσα  
 βάλλε σεληναίη. τῆς δὲ φρένας ἐπτοίησε  
 Κύπρις, ἀμχανίη δὲ μόγις συναγείρατο θυμόν. (*Arg.* 1.1228–33)

Here too the nymph rises up from the water (ἀνεδύετο), as do the nymphs of Catullus (*emersere*, 14). But, of course, such an allusion is by no means a propitious one, certainly not in an Argonautic context: the loss of Hylas leading, in turn, to the loss of Heracles is the worst misfortune to befall the Argonauts on their outward journey.

The main point to note about these Argonautic allusions is the manipulation of reader expectation. After the initial red herring of the *Medea* allusions, the modified expectation that what we are really dealing with here is the story of the *Argo* expedition is maintained and indeed encouraged by the echoes of Argonautic scenes in verses

12–18. Thus the introduction of the Peleus and Thetis motif at verse 19 proves all the more jarring. Numerous scholars have pointed out that the scenario acted out in Catullus whereby Peleus, during the voyage of *Argo*, falls in love with Thetis, this leading in due course to a marriage ceremony at Thessaly, diverges from the story as it appears in Argonautic tradition. There are a number of specific differences, the most important for present purposes being that this marriage normally takes place long before the *Argo* voyage.<sup>17</sup> Both Peleus and Thetis appear in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, but their marriage is long since over, with nothing left but a festering resentment on the part of Thetis that Peleus unwittingly interfered in her attempt to make Achilles immortal. And so the encounter between Peleus and Thetis in *Argonautica* 4 is cold and matter-of-fact: Thetis makes it abundantly clear that she has visited him only for the sake of the safety of the ship (856–64). Apollonius in his poem presents a final, not a first meeting between the pair. In short, love at first sight between Peleus and Thetis is not an Argonautic episode.

Once, therefore, it emerges that the main subject of Catullus' epyllion is not the voyage of *Argo*, but rather marriage between a goddess and a mortal, the first-time reader is compelled to backtrack, re-evaluating verses 12–18 with the benefit of hindsight.<sup>18</sup> And with hindsight comes the realisation that verses which functioned perfectly well in an entirely different context work equally well as scene-setting for the meeting of Peleus and Thetis. Furthermore, the ingenuity of Catullus' allusions becomes apparent. The allusions to scenes involving Thetis in *Iliad* 18 and *Argonautica* 4 are preparing the *doctus lector* for the entrance of that goddess into the action. Also, the question of interpreting this cluster of allusions in a positive or negative sense does not relate to the success of the voyage of *Argo*, but rather to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. In particular, the parallel with the Hylas episode of the *Argonautica* takes on a different nuance of meaning; it is not a propitious omen for a meeting between lovers. Love at first sight invariably leads to trouble ...

There is one more allusion to be negotiated in the prologue to 64. Verses 22–4 echo a passage from the close of Apollonius' poem:<sup>19</sup>

o nimis optato saeculorum tempore nati  
 heroes, saluete, deum genus! o bona matrum  
 progenies, saluete iter<um, saluete bonarum!>  
 uos ego saepe, meo uos carmine compellabo.

Ἰλατ', ἀριστῆες, μακάρων γένος, αἶδε δ' αἰοδαί  
 εἰς ἔτος ἔξ ἔτεος γλυκερώτεροι εἶεν αἰεΐδων  
 ἀνθρώποις. (*Arg.* 4.1773–5)

Here Catullus plays upon the temporal disjunction between his and Apollonius' poems. The end of the earlier (Apollonian) text is employed as a marker at the start of the later (Catullan) text, even though the earlier text has already narrated the conclusion of the

(Peleus and Thetis) love story, the beginning of which is being told in the later. Zetzel comments as follows on the motives for such an allusion:

There are two possible reasons for the allusion to the end of the *Argonautica* at the beginning of Catullus' poem. One is formal: that it seems to be a convention of Alexandrian and Neoteric poetry to reverse beginnings and ends. But the other is thematic: the story of Peleus and Thetis, as presented by Catullus, is the sequel to the voyage of the *Argo*. And every reader would know that, in the traditional versions of Greek mythology, the usual sequel to the voyage of the *Argo* was not the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, but the tragedy of Medea.<sup>20</sup>

My own interpretation takes a slightly different view and draws together the overall sequence of allusion in the prologue. There is an overall pattern to be discerned here, in that Catullus' specific allusion to the end of the *Argonautica* is a coda to his opening set of allusions which have explored the boundaries between one type of Jason/Medea story and another. The allusive sequence began with the beginning of a *Medea* and now ends with the ending of an *Argonautica*. Embedded within this temporal nexus of relationships is a mythological anachronism: the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, at this point the main subject of the poem.

## 2. Two weddings

Alteration of the chronological relationship between the Peleus and Thetis myth and the story of the *Argo* makes it easy for Catullus to introduce parallels with Apollonius' *Argonautica* on a large scale. Once Catullus' narrative embarks upon description of the wedding-day of Peleus and Thetis, allusion in poem 64 enters a new phase in which the showpiece wedding of the *Argonautica*, the marriage of Jason and Medea in the cave at Drepane, functions as the literary backdrop.<sup>21</sup> The parallels between the respective nuptials are threefold. First, in both wedding celebrations there is something unusual about the performance of the marriage hymn. To anticipate for a moment, as the latter part of 64 relates, the wedding hymn for Thetis is sung by the Parcae, while in Apollonius the prophetic Orpheus composes a hymn outside the cave of Medea (4.1159–60).

Another pointer to the wedding of Jason and Medea is to be found in the flowers brought to Thetis' wedding by Chiron:<sup>22</sup>

aduenit Chiron portans siluestria dona:  
 nam quoscumque ferunt *campi*, quos Thessala magnis  
*montibus* ora creat, quos propter *fluminis undas*  
 aura parit flores tepidi fecunda Fauoni,  
 hos indistinctis plexos tulit ipse corollis,  
 quo permulsa domus iucundo risit odore. (64.279–84)

In the *Argonautica* local nymphs bring flowers as a celebratory offering for the marriage of Jason and Medea. These nymphs hail from three different regions:

αἱ μὲν τ' Αἰγαίου ποταμοῦ καλέοντο θύγατρεις,  
αἱ δ' ὄρεος κορυφᾶς Μελιτηίου ἀμφενέμοντο,  
αἱ δ' ἔσαν ἐκ πεδίων ἀλσιήδες· (Arg. 4.1149–51)

The third parallel between the weddings is the most significant.<sup>23</sup> Thetis' wedding-couch with its embroidered coverlet depicting the desertion of Ariadne forms the focal point of poem 64, while the marriage-bed of Jason and Medea is equally unusual, nothing less than the golden fleece itself, the central symbol of the *Argonautica*.

We have seen that Catullus has pointedly declined the opportunity to tell an *Argonautica* or a *Medea*. But yet his theme of Peleus and Thetis was set in, and originally derived from, an Argonautic context and, throughout the epyllion, the poet seems anxious to maintain this context by means of allusion. And so the carefully arranged and long-awaited (*optatae ... lucas*, 31) pageantry involved in the wedding of his first pair of protagonists is associated with the hastily-contrived and ultimately ill-advised marriage of Jason and Medea. The very possibility of such comparisons in the first instance is a further indication that the alliance between Peleus and Thetis may not, despite the sanction of Jupiter, be a marriage made in heaven.<sup>24</sup>

### 3. *Ariadne and Theseus*

A second major shift of narrative focus in poem 64 takes place at verse 49, with the transition to the inner story of Theseus and Ariadne. Once more the reader is wrong-footed, as the allusions in the prologue are now revealed to be not just a bluff, but a double-bluff. Themes of vengeance and the fulfilment of a heroic quest were apparently brushed aside and ruled out by the introduction of the Peleus and Thetis motif, but now they are once again on the agenda, albeit with a new set of protagonists.

It seems plausible to infer that the idea of using the Ariadne myth as the background to another love story was suggested to Catullus by Apollonius' poem. In the third book of the *Argonautica*, specifically at the moment when Jason has met Medea in private for the first time and is trying to win her over to his cause, the tale of Ariadne is used as an *exemplum* in the hero's rhetoric. Jason's version of the Ariadne story runs as follows:

δή ποτε καὶ Θησῆα κακῶν ὑπελύσατ' ἀέθλων  
παρθενικῆ Μινωῖς εὐφρονέουσ' Ἀριάδνη,  
ἦν ῥά τε Πασιφάη κούρη τέκεν Ἥελίοιο·  
ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν καὶ νηός, ἐπεὶ χόλον εὔνασε Μίνως,  
σὺν τῷ ἐφεζομένη πάτρην λίπε· τὴν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
ἀθάνατοι φίλαντο, μέσσωι δέ οἱ αἰθέρι τέκμωρ

ἀστερόεις στέφανος, τόν τε κλείουσ' Ἀριάδνης,  
πάννυχος οὐρανόις ἐνελίσσεται εἰδώλοιον.  
ὣς καὶ σοὶ θεόθεν χάρις ἔσσεται, εἴ κε σαώσῃς  
τόσπον ἀριστήων ἀνδρῶν στόλον. (Arg. 3.997–1006)

Jason's speech is more conspicuous by what it does not say. The persuasive hero, wishing to enlist the maiden's help, omits the crucial portion of the Ariadne story – her abandonment by her lover. Such an omission on Jason's part provides insight into his character, as well as pointing to the inherent danger of his addressee's situation: a man who can avoid (or forget) mention of Theseus' reprehensible conduct is quite capable of turning Medea into an Ariadne.<sup>25</sup>

The Ariadne tale recurs in the final book of the *Argonautica*. On this occasion the circumstances are overtly sinister. One of the gifts which Jason and Medea send to Apsyrtus to lure him to his death is a cloak acquired from Jason's previous lover, Hypsipyle, the same cloak upon which Dionysus and Ariadne lay at Dia (4.424–34).<sup>26</sup> This garment is, therefore, both a sanction to marriage and a means to murder.

It is worth pausing a moment to consider the implications of Apollonius' references to Ariadne in his narrative. The invocation of the Ariadne *exemplum* at two disparate yet equally crucial moments in the relationship between Jason and Medea may be said to reflect a change in the poet's presentation of that relationship. The comparison is first introduced by Apollonius during the initial meeting of his two protagonists and is rejuvenated in the fourth book in such a way as to juxtapose Ariadne's moment of greatest triumph with an appalling deed in which Medea is implicated. The first comparison between Ariadne and Medea creates sympathy for the unwitting Medea, the second, because of the revulsion induced in us by Medea's involvement in the death of her own brother, uncovers slippage in the identification of Medea with Ariadne: the former no longer lives up to the paradigm of blameless heroine. In short, Apollonius as poet shows himself well aware of the potential for ambiguity and shifting perspectives in the handling of mythical exemplarity.

Back now to Catullus. The Roman poet's choice of Ariadne and Theseus as the lovers whose story appears to comment in some shape or form upon the marriage of Peleus and Thetis is a major narratological connection between poem 64 and the Hellenistic epic. Even more important, however, is the realisation that, considered from another viewpoint, Catullus also manages to *invert* a precedent set by Apollonius: within the ecphrasis of poem 64 the Jason and Medea love story occupies a subordinate position and is made to serve as a hidden counterpoint to the primary story of Ariadne and Theseus. It is on this aspect of the inner narrative that I wish to concentrate and, in this regard, a useful starting-point for discussion of Catullus' ecphrasis is Konstan's gloss of the mythical content:

As for the digression, it is clear that the story of Theseus and Ariadne is analogous, in its main outlines, to the tale of Jason and Medea. (1) Both stories begin with

a sea-voyage and dangerous mission to a distant place; (2) in both, a native girl falls in love with the hero who, with her assistance, succeeds in accomplishing an otherwise impossible and fatal task; (3) the girl is consequently estranged from her family and people and she follows the hero home; (4) she is subsequently abandoned, in both legends, by the perfidious hero who, (5) as the result of his treachery, suffers the death of his closest kin.<sup>27</sup>

The innate parallels between these two myths as set out by Konstan suggest a specific poetic strategy, a reason for the allusions to Jason and Medea in the ecphrasis. It would seem that, should the poet so wish it, a simple moral parallel might be easily achieved here: Ariadne's isolation and desertion are to be highlighted by comparison to Medea, while the faithlessness of Theseus is to be compounded by association with the behaviour of Jason.

But is this really what Catullus sets out to do? As we shall see, the relationship between the respective myths is not quite so straightforward nor, for that matter, the relationship between Theseus and Ariadne as represented in poem 64. To take the latter issue first, critics are, to say the least, distinctly uneasy at the prospect of granting Ariadne the moral high ground over Theseus. For example Pavlock, who is sympathetic to Ariadne, sees also another side to her character:

The poet's empathetic style of depicting the heroine ... leads the reader to identify with her plight especially in the beginning, even though one gradually perceives that her mounting fury is a form of madness.<sup>28</sup>

Others are more forthright in evaluating the respective merits of Theseus and Ariadne. Wheeler begins by commenting that 'if Ariadne is to be pitied it will not do to palliate Theseus' desertion'; but he then goes on to point out that Catullus in fact 'gives scant space to the baseness of Theseus'.<sup>29</sup> Kinsey writes that 'Catullus does recognise the creditable side of Theseus' *virtus*' and also claims that 'Ariadne is not blameless', asserting an analogy between Theseus' treatment of Ariadne, and Ariadne's treatment of her own family.<sup>30</sup> Harmon is willing to go even further in exculpating Theseus at Ariadne's expense, claiming that Theseus 'is portrayed in large measure as a praiseworthy man'. The portrayal of the bond of affection between Theseus and his father, Theseus' love for his native city of Athens and his willingness to risk his life on her behalf, all combine to characterise him as a hero. And the parallels between Ariadne's and Medea mean that, for Harmon, Ariadne is a 'paradigm of the exceptionally perverse woman, so atypical of the norm that she can have no real place in organised society'.<sup>31</sup>

Finally, there are those critics who skirt the issue by declining to think in terms of blame at all. Giangrande's opinion is that 'die auf der Decke dargestellte Szene enthält nicht die geringste Spur von Treulosigkeit'.<sup>32</sup> Syndikus prefers a more romantic interpretation: '... Sein [Catullus] Thema war ja nicht Person und Schuld des Theseus,

sondern ganz allgemein die verhängnisvollen Folgen einer unglücklichen Leidenschaft'.<sup>33</sup>

#### 4. *Ariadne and Medea*

Part of the ambiguity exercising these critics is undoubtedly caused by the malleable nature of the Theseus myth. As Lafaye showed in his seminal work on Catullus, it is essential for a proper appreciation of Catullus' Theseus to be aware of the manifold mythical traditions which, for cultural reasons associated with his status as Athenian folk-hero, absolve Theseus from any responsibility in the affair of Ariadne.<sup>34</sup> The mention at an early point in the ecphrasis of Athenian welfare as being Theseus' prime concern does much to point us in the direction of this interpretation of his character.<sup>35</sup>

An even greater source of ambiguity, however, proves to be the Roman poet's insistence in the first place, or indeed at all, that his tale of Theseus and Ariadne should derive its resonance from paradigms offered by the mythical figures of Jason and Medea. Much depends on how such a strategy of exemplification is implemented. In particular, the ramifications of using the *Argonautica* as part of this process are considerable, and not necessarily to be expected. Let us begin our survey of allusion in the inner narrative by concentrating on Ariadne, picking up on Harmon's linking of Catullus' 'perverse' heroine with her status as a Medea-type figure. One of the main points of comparison between Catullus' Ariadne and the Medea portrayed by Apollonius Rhodius is to be found in the emotional state induced in each by the effects of love.<sup>36</sup> In both the *Argonautica* and poem 64 divine machinery is introduced to account for the heroine's instantaneous infatuation. Interpretation of these scenes is not easy: are the references to the intervention of the gods to be taken literally, or are we dealing with 'a form of shorthand for a natural human experience'?<sup>37</sup> In *Argonautica* 3 Medea is stricken with infatuation for Jason by means of an arrow sent by Eros, who is acting on instructions from Aphrodite (3.286–90). But for Catullus' Ariadne the chain of divine 'intervention' is more direct: there is no arrow and Venus is herself named as the ultimate source of love's misery:

a misera, assiduis quam luctibus externauit  
spinosas Erycina serens in pectore curas<sup>38</sup>  
illa tempestate, ferox quo ex tempore Theseus ... (64.71–3)

Later on, the Roman poet appears subtly to shift the balance in favour of a more 'natural' presentation of Ariadne's passion, a description in which the emphasis is placed more upon Ariadne's own behaviour than upon divine machinery. At the crucial moment Apollonius' Eros sets Medea's heart aflame with his arrows, forcing her to look at Jason. But, in Catullus, since there is no such mitigating factor, Cupid is only mentioned *after* Ariadne has stoked her own fires of love:

non prius ex illo flagrantia declinavit  
lumina, quam cuncto concepit corpore flammam  
funditus atque imis exarsit tota medullis. (64.91–3)

In comparison to what takes place in Apollonius' poem, here it is less open to the reader to take literally the role of the gods in engendering the heroine's love-struck condition.<sup>39</sup> Even if we avoid reductionism and compare Catullus' Cupid directly to Apollonius' Eros, a difference is manifest. Verses 94–8, the apostrophe to Cupid, are an imitation of verses from *Argonautica* 4:<sup>40</sup>

heu misere exagitans immiti corde furores,  
sancte puer, curis hominum qui gaudia misces,  
quaeque regis Golgos quaeque Idalium frondosum,  
qualibus incensam iactastis mente puellam  
fluctibus, in flauo saepe hospite suspirantem! (64.94–8)

σχέτλι' Ἔρως, μέγα πῆμα, μέγα στύγος ἀνθρώποισιν,  
ἐκ σέθεν οὐλόμεναι τ' ἔριδες στοναχαί τε πόνοι τε,  
ἄλγεά τ' ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἀπείρονα τετρήχασι  
δυσμενέων ἐπὶ παισὶ κορύσσειο, δαῖμον, ἀεθρεῖς,  
οἷος Μηδείῃ στυγερὴν φρεσὶν ἔμβαλες ἄτην. (Arg. 4.445–9)

The *sancte puer* of Catullus is a much less baneful figure than the σχέτλι' Ἔρως of Apollonius.<sup>41</sup> The former's influence is not entirely a bad thing, as he offers a mixture of joy (*gaudia*) and sorrow (*curis*) to mankind; Apollonius' Eros brings only deadly strife (οὐλόμεναι ... ἔριδες), groans (στοναχαί) and pain (πόνοι).

Irrespective of their import the Apollonian parallels mean that, from an early stage in the ephrastic narrative, Catullus' Ariadne is placed within a framework of mythical comparison: we are brought to Ariadne through the figure of Thetis, and we interpret her through the figure of Medea. It is merely stating the obvious to point out that this last immediately creates a problem. Any allusion to any events in Medea's career is fraught with complications in the first place, simply because of the schizophrenic nature of her mythical persona. And, in the case of Catullus' poem, we have to deal with the added complication of such allusions being made through the medium of another text which is itself many-faceted. Critics of Apollonius' *Argonautica* are engaged in an ongoing attempt to reconcile the poet's portrait of an embittered and ruthless woman with the coterminous portrait of an *ingénue*.<sup>42</sup> Accordingly, it is vital for the appreciation of Catullus' allusions to Apollonius Rhodius to be aware of the context within the Greek text. For instance, it is significant that the apostrophe to Eros in *Argonautica* 4 comes just before, and is inspired by, Medea's part in the murder of her unsuspecting half-brother. This lends particular piquancy to Catullus' allusion in verses 94–8: Ariadne is on the point of making up her mind to help Theseus in his

quest to kill her half-brother, the Minotaur,<sup>43</sup> and it is at this juncture that Catullus activates the literary memory of one of Medea's darkest deeds.

### 5. Theseus and Jason

Let us turn now to Catullus' Theseus. Immediately after this cluster of allusions to Apollonius' Medea, Catullus directly associates his portrayal of Theseus with Apollonius' portrayal of Jason.<sup>44</sup> But before we look at the detail of these allusions, it proves useful to place the respective plots of each poem in juxtaposition. The mythical prescription means that both Jason and Theseus' missions present basic, generic similarities,<sup>45</sup> in that each quest depends upon the killing or subduing of monsters, followed by negotiation of a successful return. But Apollonius and Catullus differ radically in their poetic presentations of the specific role played by the female conspirator in each story. Medea's help is far more concrete than that of Ariadne: in Apollonius' *Argonautica* Medea gives Jason drugs and potions enabling him to overcome the fire-breathing bulls and the Earthborn warriors and she herself cast a spell over the serpent guarding the golden fleece. But, perhaps surprisingly, Medea takes no part in the deliberations and navigational decisions of the Argonauts as they endeavour to find their way home. Conversely, Catullus' Ariadne is not present at the killing of the Minotaur; her only contribution to the deed is to enable Theseus to escape from the labyrinth after the monster is dead.<sup>46</sup>

The very least that may be said is that, because of the manner in which Catullus tells the tale, Ariadne plays a subordinate role in the accomplishment of Theseus' mission. Ariadne's emotional outburst (her lament is discussed below) that she saved his life (149–50) is an overblown, personal gloss of the truth, revealed as such by the prior narration of Theseus' fight with the Minotaur, in which the struggle is shown to be his and his alone.<sup>47</sup> In short, an initial, dispassionate comparison of the respective situations of Catullus' Theseus and Apollonius' Jason would point towards Theseus being less beholden to Ariadne than Jason is to Medea.

In view of the above it is perhaps less surprising to find that in Catullus' allusions to the *Argonautica* the potential for discrediting Theseus by *comparing* him to Jason seems underplayed, the main emphasis instead being upon *contrasting* his behaviour with that of Jason. As Ariadne grows fearful for his safety, Theseus is ever *willing* to fight against the Minotaur:

cum saeuum cupiens contra contendere monstrum  
aut mortem appeteret Theseus aut praemia laudis. (64.101–2)

Verse 102 of Catullus is, quite rightly, seen as an echo of Arg. 4.204–5:<sup>48</sup>

ἡμετέρῃ δ' ἐπερείδεται Ἑλλάς ἐφορμῇ  
ἢ ἐκατηφειρῇ ἢ καὶ μέγα κῦδος ἀρέσθαι.

Catullan Theseus is eager to court death or the rewards of great glory, while Apollonian Jason proclaims to his crew a straight choice between shame or fame. But there is a difference in the heroic qualities manifested by the respective heroes. Theseus is about to embark upon the most dangerous part of his mission, while Jason has just returned to his ship, having by now acquired the golden fleece, a task easily accomplished through the help of Medea (4.193). In actuality, no heroic venture is envisaged at this juncture by Jason, merely evasion of the pursuing forces of King Aeetes. The Jason created by Apollonius could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be described as eager to perform heroic deeds, being much more likely to give vent to outbursts of despondency than enthusiasm.

Another pertinent allusion to the *Argonautica* is to be found in the fight-scene:

nam uelut in summo quatientem brachia Tauro  
quercum aut conigeram sudanti cortice pinum  
indomitus turbo contorquens flamine robur  
eruit (illa procul radicibus exturbata  
prona cadit, late quaeuis cumque obuia frangens),  
sic domito saeuum prostrauit corpore Theseus  
nequiquam uanis iactantem cornua uentis. (64.105–11)

Comparison of the fall of the Minotaur to the uprooting of an oak tree may be referred to an equivalent simile in *Argonautica* 4, where the bronze giant Talos is overcome by the evil eye of Medea:<sup>49</sup>

ἀλλ' ὡς τις τ' ἐν ὄρεσσι πελωρίῃ ὑψόθι πεύκη,  
τήν τε θεοῖς πελέκεσσιν ἔθ' ἡμιπλήγα λιπόντες  
ύλοτόμοι δρυμοῖο κατήλυθον, ἢ δ' ὑπὸ νυκτι  
ῥιπήσιν μὲν πρῶτα τινάσσεται, ὕστερον αὖτε  
πρυμνόθεν ἔξεαγεῖσα κατήριπεν· ὡς ὅ γε ποσσὶν  
ἀκαμάτοις τείως μὲν ἐπισταδὸν ἠωρεῖτο,  
ὕστερον αὖτ' ἀμενηνὸς ἀπείρονι κάππεσε δούπῳ. (Arg. 4.1682–8)

An allusion in this manner to Medea's most powerful demonstration of witchcraft in the *Argonautica* merely serves to emphasise once more that, unlike Jason and his crew, Theseus does not require the assistance of spells and incantations in order to prevail. Instead he wins by virtue of his own strength. The hero is hero with or without Ariadne.<sup>50</sup>

This reading of Theseus is supported by Catullus' handling of the second part of Theseus' task, his escape from the labyrinth (112–15). The adjective *sospes*, used as the first designation of the hero's state after the fight and *before* any mention of the challenge of the labyrinth, implies that the worst is now over for him: the importance of Ariadne's thread is diminished. Again the emphasis is very much upon Theseus'

own achievements, the *multa cum laude* of 112 picking up on the *praemia laudis* of 102, as he picks his way out of the maze with great renown.

### 6. Bridge passage

After dealing with Theseus' escape Catullus reasserts authorial control over the narrative:

sed quid ego a primo digressus carmine plura  
commemorem ... (64.116–17)

There is a tendency for critics to discuss these verses in the context of *Arg.* 1.648–9, Apollonius' authorial interjection when describing the herald Aethalides:<sup>51</sup>

ἀλλὰ τί μύθους  
Αἰθαλίδew χρεῖώ με διηνεκέως ἀγορεύειν;

Such a parallel is inexact. Once Apollonius interrupts his portrait of Aethalides in this way the break is total and he resumes his main narrative without further ado. In Catullus, however, we are dealing with a *paralipsis*, the narrative continuing with an abbreviated account of Ariadne's behaviour.<sup>52</sup> There would not seem to be much point to such an allusion at all except, possibly, to draw attention to the device of digression.<sup>53</sup>

A far more promising parallel here is with Jason's second speech to Medea in *Argonautica* 3, where he deftly avoids answering Medea's request for more information about Ariadne:

ἀλλὰ τίη τάδε τοι μεταμῶνια πάντ' ἀγορεύω,  
ἡμετέρους τε δόμους τηλεκλειτήν τ' Ἀριάδην,  
κούρην Μίνως, τό περ ἀγλαὸν οὖνομα κείνην  
παρθενικήν καλέεσκον ἐπήρατον ἦν μ' ἐρεεῖνεις;  
αἶθε γάρ, ὡς Θησῆι τότε ζυναρέεσσατο Μίνως  
ἀμφ' αὐτῆς, ὡς ἄμμι πατήρ τεὸς ἄρθμιος εἶη. (Arg. 3.1096–1101)

It is no accident that Catullus' verses 117–23 contain all of the crucial details about Ariadne's desertion which Apollonian Jason denies to Medea at this juncture in the *Argonautica*. As the narrative of poem 64 accelerates towards the lament of Ariadne, where she castigates Theseus for deserting her, we are pointed back towards this particular scene in *Argonautica* 3, a scene in which Medea's reply (1105–17) to Jason's dissembling is sublime in its reasonableness, making no further claim upon him than that he should remember her when he has returned home. Medea in her role as *ingénue* is the key paradigm here. Just as Ariadne is about to unleash a tirade of reproach and



abuse against Theseus, the literary memory of an innocuous, Nausicaa-like speech by Medea is called up. Reader disconcertment is inevitable.<sup>54</sup>

The sequence of clauses in which are outlined the various farewells necessitated by Ariadne's departure from Crete repay close scrutiny:<sup>55</sup>

... ut linquens genitoris filia uultum,  
ut consanguineae complexum, ut denique matris,  
quae misera in gnata deperdita laeta<batur>,  
omnibus his Thesei dulcem praeoptarit amorem: (64.117–20)

These farewells become increasingly emotional. The first describes a daughter leaving behind her stern and unyielding father, the second deals with the parting of affectionate siblings, the third describes the emotions of a mother upon losing a daughter. The whole is a comprehensive study of the familial ramifications of Ariadne's choice and has been described by one critic as 'a parody of the bride's departure from her own family'.<sup>56</sup> And it is worth noting the strength of the verb *praeoptarit* in verse 120. The implication is that Ariadne could have acted otherwise, had she so wished.

The contrast with Apollonian Medea's dysfunctional family could not be more marked.<sup>57</sup> In the *Argonautica* by far the most important member of Medea's family is her brutal and tyrannical father, of whom she is terrified. Her closest confidante in the palace is her sympathetic sister Chalciope, in whom nonetheless she never truly confides. Medea's mother Eidyia plays no part in the action, being mentioned largely for the purpose of establishing that Apsyrtus and Medea have different mothers (3.241–4). Medea's quitting of Colchis, when it happens, is a desperate, covert, nocturnal flight. Her farewell speech to her mother and sister is all the more poignant because neither of them is present to hear it:

τόνδε τοι ἄντ' ἐμέθεν ταναόν πλόκον εἶμι λιποῦσα,  
μητέρα ἐμή· χαίροις δὲ καὶ ἄνδιχα πολλὸν ἰούση·  
χαίροις, Χαλκίοπη καὶ πᾶς δόμος. αἶθε σε πόντος,  
ξεῖνε, διέρραισεν πρὶν Κολχίδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι. (Arg. 4.30–3)

### 7. Ariadne's lament

Verses 132–201 of Catullus 64 offer a rather different soliloquy, the lament of Ariadne.<sup>58</sup> It is during the course of Ariadne's speech that the parallels between her and Medea are most obvious. Not for the first time in the poem a variegated style of literary allusion is adopted by Catullus, in which echoes of passages from Euripides' *Medea*, the *Medea Exul* of Ennius and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius are intermingled, principally at 177–81, the emotional heart of the speech, which contains a sequence of ideas common to all three of Catullus' predecessors:<sup>59</sup>

nam quo me referam? quali spe perdita nitor?  
Idaeosne petam montes? at gurgite lato  
discernens ponti truculentum dividit aequor.  
an patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui,  
respersum iuvenem fraterna caede secuta? (64.177–81)

Catullus' allusions to the dramas of Euripides and Ennius in this portion of the poem have been well documented and do not require detailed exposition here.<sup>60</sup> (But it should be remembered, of course, that all such allusions to Medea are in the context of her mature, child-killing persona.) Instead I shall concentrate upon allusions to the speech delivered by Medea in the fourth book of the *Argonautica*, when it seems as if the Argonauts may be about to abandon her (4.355–90).<sup>61</sup> In some ways this is a more appropriate parallel to Ariadne's situation in poem 64 than the parallel from the Euripidean/Ennian tragic scenario because, according to the chronology represented by the plays, Medea's experience of actual desertion by Jason occurs after the return to Greece and several years of marriage. In the *Argonautica*, on the other hand, Medea's fearful *anticipation* of desertion by Jason takes place under similar circumstances to that of Ariadne, i.e. on the journey home and before any marriage has taken place.

This perhaps explains why allusions to book 4 of the *Argonautica* dominate towards the beginning and towards the end of Ariadne's lament, signalling the importance of the epic parallel for Catullus' purposes. The specific comparisons between Apollonius and Catullus are quite direct.<sup>62</sup> Medea's opening words accuse Jason of forgetfulness (4.356) and of breaking oaths sworn in the name of Zeus, god of suppliants (4.357–8). Likewise, the two main reproaches by Ariadne against Theseus are that he has been *immemor* (135) and has committed *perjurium* (135).<sup>63</sup> Both women refer to the honeyed promises of marriage, the μελιχρῶν ὑποσχέσεις (4.359) of Medea being balanced by the *blanda promissa* (139) of Ariadne. Both women mourn the abandonment of their previous home and complain of present loneliness. Both women demand vengeance at the end of their speeches: Medea invokes the 'Erinyes' (4.386), Ariadne the 'Eumenides' (193).<sup>64</sup>

Other aspects of the relationship between the two speeches may be classed as counterpoint. In Ariadne's speech the option of returning home is raised, only to be dismissed as an impossible scenario, while for Medea the possibility is very real indeed and is exactly what she is desperate to avoid. Medea's greatest fear is to meet once again the gaze of her father (ὄμματα πατρός, 378), while Ariadne, by following her chosen path, was described earlier by Catullus as *linquens genitoris ... uultum* (117).

The speeches of the two heroines are successful in each instance. Medea gains a reprieve, while Ariadne is not interested in reconciliation, only retribution. Despite her own impressions to the contrary, Ariadne is not speaking to the empty breezes but catches the ear of Jupiter, who nods his assent to the vengeance, just as he agreed at the beginning of the poem to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis.

These two moments in the separate careers of Ariadne and Medea are undoubtedly analogous and Catullus certainly frames his lament of Ariadne with allusions to Apollonius Rhodius. What gives pause for thought is, once again, the context of the Apollonian allusions, in this instance the description of Medea's epileptic ferocity immediately after she has finished speaking:

ᾠς φάτ' ἀναζείουσα βαρὺν χόλον· ἔτο δ' ἦ γε  
νῆα καταφλέξει διὰ τ' ἀμφοδὰ πάντα κεάσσαί,  
ἐν δὲ πεσεῖν αὐτὴ μαλερωῖ πυρὶ. τοῖα δ' Ἰήσων  
μειλιχίους ἐπέεσιν ὑποδδείσας προσέειπεν· (Arg. 4.391–4)

Here Jason realises for the first time what Medea is really like, or might be like, or will be like in the future. In Catullus' poem, right from the outset there is no doubt about Ariadne's state of mind: before she speaks she is compared in a simile to a statue of a Maenad.<sup>65</sup> The Apollonian theme of the heroine's overwrought emotions is retained; Ariadne's inner turmoil is merely masked by outer stillness (61–2). In general terms, a comparison of Ariadne to Medea as she is in this particular episode of the *Argonautica* teeters on the brink of undermining the entire fabric of Ariadne's lament. Is Catullus' heroine, as her own words would suggest, a woman to be pitied, or should we on the other hand afford primacy to those allusive voices which delineate her as a woman out of control, a woman to be feared?

There is another aspect of the problem to be considered. Though both Apollonius Rhodius and Catullus bring the figures of Ariadne and Medea into contiguity, there is a fundamental difference between the approach of the two poets. It is one thing for Apollonius to introduce the figure of Ariadne as dramatic background to his representation of Medea. When the comparison is reversed, as is the case with Catullus, the implications for the *subject* of the comparison are much more profound. According to one strand of the myth, Medea tries to poison the innocent Theseus at Athens. This is the story told in the *Aegeus* of Euripides and in the *Hecale* of Callimachus.<sup>66</sup> A reading of Catullus 64 whereby Ariadne is granted moral superiority over Theseus through allusion to a woman who, according to a parallel myth, is a would-be murderess of Theseus, clearly subverts itself.<sup>67</sup>

### 8. Ariadne and Bacchus

After Ariadne's lament the narrative jumps forward in time to recount the evil fate which lies in store for Theseus upon his return to Athens. The story of Theseus and Ariadne is then rounded off by a brief recapitulation of the image of the deserted woman on the deserted sea-shore. This refocusing upon the original image depicted on the coverlet of Thetis' couch prepares us for the visual interpretation of this scene from an entirely different angle; as is also shown on the couch (*parte ex alia*, 251), the arrival

of Bacchus on Dia is imminent. The repressed emotional energy encapsulated by the comparison of Ariadne to a transfixed maenad is now transmuted into a vision of the Bacchic deity with all his retinue, about to transform Ariadne's desolate state. Here Bacchus is acting out a lover's part akin to that of Peleus. Just as Peleus immediately fell in love with Thetis, so too is Bacchus *incensus amore*. And it is to be assumed that just as Thetis did not despise marriage with a mortal, so too will Ariadne not reject the advances of her immortal suitor. But this second scene on Thetis' couch is never permitted to develop into a narrative in a manner similar to the first. Instead the destined meeting of Ariadne and Bacchus remains frozen within the realms of potentiality and imminence,<sup>68</sup> as Catullus withdraws from the ecphrasis, describing not the reaction of Ariadne to Bacchus' arrival, but rather the reaction of the Thessalian wedding guests who, like the reader, have been absorbing the imagery on Thetis' wedding couch:

talibus amplifice uestis decorata figuris  
puluinar complexa suo uelabat amictu.  
quae postquam cupide spectando Thessala pubes  
expleta est, sanctis coepit decedere diuis. (64.265–8)

There is an important allusion to the *Argonautica* concealed in the above verses. As has been mentioned, in Apollonius' poem the cloak by means of which Jason and Medea lure Apsyrtus to his death was originally the marriage-bed of Dionysus and Ariadne. Like the wedding couch of Thetis, this garment also possesses the power to fascinate the observer:

οὐ μιν ἀφάσσω  
οὔτε κεν εἰσορόων γλυκὺν ἡμερον ἐμπλήσειας·  
τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀμβροσίη ὁδοῦ μένεν ἐξέτι κείνου  
ἐξ οὗ ἄναξ αὐτὸς Νυσηῖος ἐγκατέλεκτο  
ἀχρογάλιξ οἴνωι καὶ νέκταρι, καλὰ μεμαρπῶς  
στήθεα παρθενικῆς Μινωίδος, ἦν ποτε Θησεύς  
Κνωσσόθεν ἐσπομένην Δίηι ἐνὶ κάλλιπε νήσωι. (Arg. 4.428–34)

The effect of Catullus' allusion is twofold. First, the learned reader is pointed towards the scene of embrace between Dionysus and Ariadne in Apollonius' poem, a scene which is 'missing' from the ecphrastic narrative of 64. *Argonautica* 4 contains the concluding instalment of Catullus' outer love story, (i.e. the post-divorce encounter between Peleus and Thetis), and it also contains the climax of the inner love story – the love-making between Ariadne and Bacchus on Dia. Second, Catullus is reminding the reader of the Apollonian context. In the Argonautic episode an incongruous and disturbing link is made between the themes of marriage and death. It is just such a link which the Roman poet sets out to explore in the remainder of his poem.

9. *Guests and gods*

Once the mortals have departed from the wedding feast the first of the divine guests to arrive is Chiron;<sup>69</sup>

quorum post abitum *princeps* e uertice Peli  
aduenit Chiron portans siluestria dona: (64.278–9)

Chiron's arrival at the wedding in this manner requires explanation, since other accounts of the marriage have the ceremony taking place on Mount Pelion or, more specifically, in Chiron's cave itself.<sup>70</sup> It is important that the centaur is mentioned at the beginning of the catalogue. The prophetic powers of Chiron are well attested in literature, notably in Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* where a choral ode tells of the song of the centaurs at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, in the course of which Chiron delivers a prophecy concerning Achilles (1062ff.).<sup>71</sup> Catullus' devotion of seven verses to his arrival, together with his designation as *princeps* may encourage the reader to anticipate that the marriage-hymn of Peleus and Thetis in this poem will be sung by Chiron. Expectation is fuelled by the absence of another candidate to sing the hymn: Apollo is not there (299).<sup>72</sup> Again Catullus is preparing the way for a narrative shock: the presence of the Fates at the ceremony (and their function) is suddenly and belatedly revealed at 306.<sup>73</sup>

There is another Apollonian parallel to be considered here. Chiron in his role as guardian and tutor to Achilles is depicted in the Hellenistic epic as one of the immortal observers staring down upon the maiden voyage of *Argo*. The centaur is the only one of the onlookers to be mentioned by name and he makes his way down from his vantage-point on Mount Pelion to wish the Argonauts well on their voyage (1.553–8). As has been noticed by the critics, Catullus recalls the Argonautic scene by making his Chiron also descend from Pelion.<sup>74</sup> But he cannot reproduce the other component of the Argonautic scene, Chiron's wife bearing the infant Achilles in her arms so that Peleus may see him, and this is the whole point. Chiron's appearance in this allusive context is sufficient to turn the reader's attention in the direction of Achilles, the main subject of the latter part of 64. At the beginning of the poem the entrance of Thetis into the action was signposted by prefatory literary allusions. Likewise the way is now prepared for the 'entrance' of her son Achilles by the physical arrival of his future tutor.

Quite apart from the allusive significance of Chiron's gifts (discussed earlier), as we proceed through the guest-list the underlying Argonautic context persists, especially in the presence of Juno (298) at the wedding.<sup>7</sup> In *Argonautica* 4 Hera reminds Thetis how she herself took a leading part in the wedding arrangements, choosing a mortal husband for Thetis, and organising the marriage-feast:

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τὸν ἄριστον ἐπιχθονίων πόσιν εἶναι  
δῶκά τοι, ὄφρα γάμου θυμηδέος ἀντιάσειας

τέκνα τε φιλύσαιο θεοὺς δ' εἰς δαῖτα κάλεσσα  
πάντας ὁμῶς· αὐτὴ δὲ σέλας χεῖρεσσιν ἀνέσχον  
νυμφίδιον, κείνης ἀγανόφρονος εἵνεκα τιμῆς. (*Arg.* 4.805–9)

Apollonius' Hera makes two specific claims, namely that she summoned all the gods to the wedding<sup>76</sup> and that she held the wedding-torch of Thetis. In the context of the overall pattern of allusions to Apollonius in poem 64, it would seem quite pointed that Catullus finishes his catalogue of divine guests with specific mention of two deities who *boycott* the wedding and effectively *spurn* the wedding-torches of Thetis:<sup>77</sup>

inde pater diuum sancta cum coniuge natisque  
aduenit caelo, te solum, Phoebe, relinquens  
unigenamque simul cultricem montibus Idri:  
Pelea nam tecum pariter soror aspernata est  
nec Thetidis taedas uoluit celebrare iugalis. (64.298–302)

The suspicion that Catullus in his description of Thetis' wedding wishes to remind us of Hera's (contrasting) account of the (same) wedding in Apollonius gains credence when, yet again, we compare the larger contexts within each poem. The final quarter of poem 64 is largely given over to the song of the Parcae during the wedding celebrations. The song is a prophecy concentrating on the career of Achilles, taking the story up to the point of his death and reaching a climax in the sacrifice of the virgin Polyxena.<sup>78</sup> At this point the song abandons the theme of Achilles and returns to the main matter at hand, the joining of Peleus and Thetis in matrimony.

Hera's speech to Thetis in *Argonautica* 4 also develops into a prophecy about Achilles. As with the Catullan prophecy (see verses 306, 322, 326) it is preceded by a declaration of veracity:

ἀλλ' ἄγε καὶ τινά τοι νημερτέα μῦθον ἐνίψω.  
εὖτ' ἂν ἐς Ἡλύσιον πεδῖον τεὸς υἱὸς ἴκηται,  
ὄν δὴ νῦν Χείρωνος ἐν ἤθεσι Κενταύροιο  
Νηιάδες κομέουσι τεοῦ λίπτοντα γάλακτος,  
χρειῶ μιν κούρης πόσιν ἔμμεναι Αἰήταο  
Μηδείης· (*Arg.* 4.810–15)

Hera purveys the crucial information that in the afterlife, in the Elysian fields, the ubiquitous *Medea* is destined to be the bride of Achilles. This is the part of the Achilles story which the Parcae stop just short of telling in Catullus 64. For the third time we may note that the final book of Apollonius' poem contains material which could be construed as the sequel to Catullus' narrative.

## 10. Allusion and meaning in 64

It is time to draw together the threads of this exploration and offer some overall comments on the intertextual relationship between Catullus 64 and the *Argonautica*. The said relationship may be considered on a number of levels, the first and most obvious of which is narrative technique. Catullus' epyllion manifests one of the most intricate narrative styles to be found in the entirety of extant classical literature, the reader never being permitted to evade (cognisance of) the consequences of the actual mechanics of narration. It is not difficult to see that literary allusion contributes essential brushstrokes to this narrative canvas, in that manipulation of narrative is a primary motivation behind the deployment of many of Catullus' allusions. From the opening of poem 64 the poet makes considered use of allusion in order to draw attention to the question of theme. We have seen that the literary allusions of the prologue are intended to ensure that the direction towards which the narrative will point is not decisively signalled until verse 19. Allusion here is intended to unsettle the narrative and, by extension, the reader. The confusion engendered is a foreshadowing of the twists and turns the narrative will take throughout the course of the poem, and in all of this process the *Argonautica* of Apollonius plays a primary, pivotal role.

Occasionally Catullus will deploy allusion as a signal of an impending narrative event. Allusions to scenes involving Thetis in other poems prefigure her entrance into the story, while Chiron, in the context of a specific allusion to the *Argonautica*, is a marker of the imminent development of the theme of Achilles in the song of the Parcae. But allusions to Apollonius Rhodius can also serve obliquely to introduce details which are outside the self-imposed limits of Catullus' narrative, for example the embrace of Ariadne and Bacchus on Dia, or the marriage of Achilles to Medea.

Most important of all, however, is the function of Apollonius' poem as principal literary source for the implied love story of Jason and Medea. In effect Jason and Medea function as a third, pedimental set of lovers to whose history the stories of Peleus and Thetis and Theseus and Ariadne may be referred, and Catullus should be allowed due credit for the architectural perfection of his system. There are two principal focal points around which allusion is organised in poem 64: in the outer story, the *marriage* of Peleus and Thetis is linked with the *marriage* of Jason and Medea and, in the inner story, the *desertion* of Ariadne by Theseus is linked with the *desertion* of Medea by Jason.

This brings me to the thorny question of the relationship between allusion and meaning in poem 64. Discussion of meaning in Catullus' epyllion would seem to be dependent, in one way or another, upon moral issues. The fundamental question is whether or not there is a serious, moral message to be taken from this poem. If the answer to this question is affirmative, the issue then becomes one of an optimistic versus pessimistic reading. The points of contention multiply. How much emphasis should we place on the so-called 'moralising epilogue'? Is Catullus' attitude to the heroic age one of unalloyed nostalgia? How is the happiness of Peleus and Thetis to

be reconciled with the song of the Parcae? Even more important, can the *inner* and *outer* stories be placed in a consistent relationship with each other, surely a prerequisite for interpretation of 64?

The detailed arguments pertaining to the above issues are beyond the scope of this discussion. The point I wish to make is that, although this study of allusion in Catullus has been focused on allusions to one poet in particular, enough evidence has been adduced from the tenor of these allusions to render the construction of a moral interpretation of the epyllion extremely problematic. Any such reading will have to grapple with the fact that, frequently, a relationship of antagonism exists between Catullus' literary allusions and the narrative they are supposed to illuminate. Even the most desultory and begrudging acknowledgement of allusion in this poem must admit that there is something intrinsically disturbing about the links created between the apparently happy marriage of Peleus and Thetis and the so obviously disastrous alliance of Jason and Medea. And the situation in the ecphrastic narrative is even more fraught with problems, since the Jason and Medea *exemplum* makes the ecphrasis more, not less, difficult to understand. Irrespective of the presence or otherwise of a moral message in the poem as a whole, it is clear that the relationship between Ariadne and Theseus is *offered* to the reader ostensibly as a moral one, because the emotional heart of the ecphrastic narrative revolves around one of the protagonists justifying herself and vilifying her lover. The narrative encourages us to take sides by seeing events from Ariadne's point of view only.<sup>79</sup> At the same time, however, the allusions within the narrative tend to undermine this point of view. Throughout the ecphrasis there exists an underlying, nagging impression that Theseus should not automatically be condemned as guilty and Ariadne exonerated as innocent. To a large degree this impression is engendered by Catullus' deployment of the Jason and Medea *exemplum* in such a way as to strike a contrast between Theseus' heroic actions and Jason's somewhat tarnished heroism and, equally, cast a pall over Ariadne's behaviour by evoking discordant reminiscences of Medea's behaviour, or else by implying that her situation is neither as desperate nor as inevitable that of Medea. The *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius is the perfect allusive tool with which to fashion such a structure of exemplification and we have seen that the Hellenistic epic provides in itself a memorable example of how a mythical *exemplum* may be used to assert more than one level of meaning.

If there is a moral conclusion to be drawn from 64, it will have to be drawn in the knowledge that the distinction between right and wrong, between justice and injustice in this poem is a highly complex, even haphazard matter. In other words the 'intertextual guide to interpretation'<sup>80</sup> provided by Catullus' allusions is one of vacillation: once the secondary (intertextual) voice of the poem is activated, the end result is that nothing remains as it appears at first sight. Interpretation is negotiable and the relationship between allusion and text is consistently inconsistent. In such a situation the ramifications for meaning are obviously profound. Awareness of allusive artistry in this poem carries with it its own subversive price.

I conclude with some remarks on exemplarity as exemplified by Catullus 64. Recent scholarship, especially on Greek texts, has explored the problematic nature of poetic exemplarity and brought to the fore issues of relevance to the present study. Fantuzzi's work on mythological paradigms in Theocritus discusses, *inter alia*, mythological exempla which are invoked in explicitly positive terms, but which carry with them additional, implicit baggage of ultimately unhappy endings, what Fantuzzi terms 'the problematic nature of paradigms which seem to be positive but hardly can be so'.<sup>81</sup> Here Fantuzzi is following on from an article by Goldhill, who speaks of the example when placed within narrative as 'threatening to produce an excess of signification beyond the controlling lines of the case it is designed to illustrate'.<sup>82</sup>

Such analyses as these work very well in the context of the central point of exemplarity in poem 64. The wedding couch of Thetis, as the device which activates the *exemplum* of Ariadne, carries with it not only the optimistic *exemplum* of Ariadne's union with Bacchus, but also the desperate circumstances which led up to it, a case of unhappy beginnings, one might say. And because the ecphrasis concentrates on this aspect of the Ariadne story, the 'excess of signification' produced is so unavoidable and so unavoids that it has led critics persuaded by a moral reading of the poem to find a deeply ironic message in the words introducing the visual display on the coverlet: *heroum ... uirtutes indicat* (51).<sup>83</sup>

Obviously the Jason and Medea *exemplum* is a different species from the above. Strictly speaking, it is something which is entirely external to the narrative, as its presence and force is deliberately restricted to the confines of literary allusion. On a literal as opposed to a literary level, it is entirely possible for the reader to sidestep thoughts of Jason and Medea when perusing the poem. It is not until the presence of literary allusion is admitted that Jason and Medea acquire any sort of status at all. Once this happens, however, Jason and Medea acquire not merely status but, from one point of view, pre-eminence: they are the exemplary lovers against whom other lovers are measured. The end result for Catullus' poem is a paradox: in structural terms allusions to Jason and Medea are what unite his disparate stories, but yet the very same allusions are precisely what is problematic about each individual tale.

I return to the question posed at the beginning: exactly what is to be made of an *exemplum* which is never specifically invoked? To answer this question we need to ask ourselves what Catullus gains by employing such a strategy. The disjunction I have just suggested between a literal and a literary reading of the text is an artificial one, but it also happens to be a disjunction which the poet has himself permitted and indeed engineered. The Jason and Medea *exemplum* succeeds in casting its shadow over both love stories in poem 64 (and, also, over the exemplary status of the inner story in relation to the outer), *but it need not do so*. This helps us to the realisation that, in poem 64, Catullus' purpose is to point up the malleability and ultimately question the very nature of mythological exemplarity. The Roman poet's handling of the story of Theseus and Ariadne and its bearing upon the outer story is undoubtedly the central issue in poem 64 – all else follows on from this. The undermining (ironically enough,

by means of another *exemplum*) of the exemplary features of the Ariadne story is merely one example of the ambiguous status of the *exemplum* in this epyllion.

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#### NOTES

1. I wish to thank my former colleagues at Durham University, David Levene, John Moles, Damien Nelis and Tony Woodman, for their invaluable comments on earlier drafts of this article.
2. The fullest discussion (some of which is special pleading) of Apollonian influence on Catullus 64 is to be found in Avallone (1953). The other important works on the subject are Braga (1950) 155–79 and Perrotta (1931) 382–94.
3. See Konstan (1977) 67. On Apollonian echoes as an 'arco di congiungimento' between the inner and outer stories see Braga (1950) 162.
4. Thomas (1982) 148. Giangrande (1972) 134.
5. Moreau (1994) 23–80.
6. See e.g. Williams (1968) 226 and 701. The importance of an allusion to Apollonius Rhodius in the third verse of the poem should not be overplayed. Compare

Phasidos ad fluctus et fines Aeeteos ...

with

Κολχίδα μὲν δὴ γαῖαν ἰκάνομεν ἠδὲ ῥέεθρα  
Φάσιδος. (*Arg.* 2.1277–8)

Both the Catullan and the Apollonian verses are similar to the final verse of Theocritus, *Id.* 13:

πεζῆαι δ' εἰς Κόλχους τε καὶ ἄξιον ἔκετο Φάσιν.

7. Konstan (1977) 67.
8. See Homer, *Od.* 12.59–72, Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.208–9, Euripides, *Med.* 2, Theocritus, *Id.* 13.22 and 22.27 and, also, the opening verses of Apollonius' poem.
9. On echoes of Ennius in the prologue see Thomas (1982) 145ff. Other comments may be found in Avallone (1953) 14ff., Bramble (1970) 35–6, Clausen (1982) 188, Floratos (1957) 5ff., Harmon (1973) 312, Jenkyns (1982) 100, Klingner (1956) 156–61, Perrotta (1931) 183, Quinn (1973) *ad loc.*, Williams (1968) 699–700, Zetzel (1983) 258.
10. Bramble (1970) 37. Also Zetzel (1983) 261: 'The putative first reader, coming to this poem without preconceptions and without the title which modern editors have supplied, would immediately assume, from the allusion and from the narrative, that the subject of the poem was Medea.'
11. Syndikus (1990) 120 associates verses 8–10 with *Arg.* 1.111–12, 526–7, 551. Perrotta (1931) 184–5 also makes the link with *Arg.* 1.111–12, while Avallone (1953) 21 cites *Arg.* 1.549–52 as the primary model.
12. On allusion in the Nereids scene, see the detailed work by Syndikus (1990) 120ff. and Thomas (1982) 158ff.

13. Avallone (1953) 24–5, Harmon (1973) 313, Quinn (1973) *ad loc.*, Syndikus (1990) 120, Thomas (1982) 158.
14. Avallone (1953) 29, Cairns (1984) 100, Floratos (1957) 11, Hunter (1991) 254, Konstan (1993) 61, Kroll (1923) *ad loc.*, Thomas (1982) 158.
15. Cairns (1984) 97.
16. Curran (1969) 187, Harmon (1973) 313 n. 8.
17. Discussed by Konstan (1977) 3–7, Friedrich (1908) 318ff. Also Bramble (1970) 24, 35, Cairns (1984) 100, Curran (1969) 183–4, Fordyce (1961) *ad* 64.19, Konstan (1993) 66, Syndikus (1990) 117, 138–9, Thomas (1982) 163, Wheeler (1934) 125.
18. Cf. Cairns (1984) 100, who makes some important comments on this issue.
19. On this passage see Cairns (1984) 100–1. Also Hutchinson (1988) 306, Klingner (1956) 20, Konstan (1977) 29 n. 41, Perrotta (1931) 189, Zetzel (1983) 261.
20. Zetzel (1983) 261.
21. Braga (1950) 160, Klingner (1956) 30, Konstan (1977) 69, Syndikus (1990) 130ff., de la Ville de Mirmont (1893), Zetzel (1983) 260. It is interesting that Apollonius in *Argonautica* 4 prefaces the episode of Jason and Medea's wedding by an account of the failed marriage of Peleus and Thetis (865–79) and, further, that his version of Medea's wedding recalls earlier literary versions of Thetis' wedding (see Vian (1981) 49).
22. Syndikus (1990) 130–1.
23. See e.g. Braga (1950) 160, Harmon (1973) 315–16, Klingner (1956) 176, Zetzel (1983) 260.
24. Curran (1969) 185.
25. Clausen (1977) 192 describes Jason's truncated version of the Ariadne story as a 'seductive paradigm'. See also Dyck (1989) 460, Goldhill (1991) 302, and the important comments by Hunter (1993) 14–15.
26. At 4.433–4 Theseus' abandonment of Ariadne is specifically mentioned.
27. Konstan (1977) 68. Also Braga (1950) 163, Perrotta (1931) 382–3.
28. Pavlock (1990) 122.
29. Wheeler (1934) 129.
30. Kinsey (1965) 917. Knopp (1976) 208 comments that Theseus' abandonment of Ariadne 'reflects on him as a lover, not as a hero'.
31. Harmon (1973) 318, 328. Other critics who have highlighted the faults of Ariadne include Lafaye (1894) 186–7, and especially Romain (1922) 146–7.
32. Giangrande (1972) 127.
33. Syndikus (1990) 163.
34. Lafaye (1894) 172–3, Crump (1931) 117, Webster (1966) 26–7.

35. ipse suum Theseus pro caris corpus Athenis  
proicere optavit ... (81–2)
36. Avallone (1953) 43–4. Pavlock (1990) 118–19, Syndikus (1990) 148–9.
37. The quote is taken from the in-depth discussion of the figure of Eros in *Argonautica* 3 by Feeney (1991) 80ff. See also Hunter (1993) 75ff.
38. On these verses see Hutchinson (1988) 305.
39. Konstan (1977) 56–7: 'Catullus ... dispenses with the device of Eros' arrows. Ariadne's passion, as a result, is seen as natural, rather than as a whim of the gods.'
40. Avallone (1953) 45–6, Braga (1950) 165, Hunter (1993) 116–18, Lenchantin (1953) *ad loc.*, Perrotta (1931) 387, Quinn (1973) *ad loc.*
41. Braga (1950) 164–5 and Pavlock (1990) 119–20 compare Apollonius' Eros to Catullus' Cupid.
42. See e.g. Dyck (1989) 456, Hunter (1993) 59–60, Hunter (1987).
43. On the 'brother' analogy between Ariadne and Medea see Konstan (1993) 66, Kinsey (1965) 918, Klingner (1956) 53–4, Perrotta (1931) 394.
44. There is also a link between Theseus and Jason within poem 64 itself: Jason leads a band of *lecti iuvenes* (4), while Theseus' mission is to save the lives of *electos iuvenes* (78).
45. See Hunter (1988) 449–50, Hunter (1989) *ad Arg.* 3.997–1004.
46. The thread is referred to at verse 113.
47. Note that Ariadne's *speech* is made to echo Catullus' *narration* of the incident. Compare  
certe ego te in medio uersantem turbine leti  
eripui (149–50)  
with  
indomitus turbo contorquens flamine robur (107)
48. Avallone (1953) 48, Braga (1950) 166, Konstan (1977) 69, Pavlock (1990) 121, Perrotta (1931) 389, Quinn (1973) *ad loc.*
49. See Avallone (1953) 48–50, Fordyce (1961) *ad loc.*, Konstan (1977) 93, Perrotta (1931) 389–90, Quinn (1973) *ad loc.*, Wheeler (1934) 140.
50. Pavlock (1990) 122 takes a different view: 'Catullus' echo of Apollonius' anti-heroic episode helps us to remind the reader of the hero's dependence upon a woman whom he merely exploits.'
51. See e.g. Avallone (1953) 50–1, Clausen (1977) 220, Clausen (1982) 189, Fordyce (1961) *ad loc.*, Hutchinson (1988) 302–3, Perrotta (1931) 390, Syndikus (1990) 150 n. 204.
52. Ellis (1904) *ad* 116 compares Catullus' authorial interjection to *Arg.* 4.1378–88, wherein is given a brief account of how the Argonauts carried their ship across the gulf of Syrtis.
53. Hutchinson (1988) 302–3.
54. Not least because the allusion to Apollonius Rhodius in verses 116–17 effectively casts Catullus himself in the role of Jason.

55. See Quinn (1973) *ad* 118, Syndikus (1990) 150.
56. Curran (1969) 175. See also Konstan (1977) 75–6, Pavlock (1990) 126–7.
57. Lenchantin (1953) *ad* 117 and Syndikus (1990) 150 n. 206, draw the parallel.
58. On Ariadne's lament as a soliloquy Klingner (1956) 54–5, Konstan (1993) 65.
59. Compare Euripides, *Medea* 502ff.; Ennius, *Scen.* 276–7 V; *Arg.* 4.378ff.
60. See e.g. Braga (1950) 106ff., Hross (1956) 8ff., Pavlock (1990) 123, Perrotta (1931) 378–9, Syndikus (1990) 154ff.
61. The Apollonian speech is a complex entity in itself, reworking as it does the Euripidean material.
62. For detailed comment on the links between Medea's and Ariadne's speeches see Avallone (1953) 53ff., Perrotta (1931) 383ff. Also Braga (1950) 171ff., Hutchinson (1988) 303, Klingner (1956) 51ff., Syndikus (1990) 156–7, Wheeler (1934) 143–4.
63. Konstan (1977) 43.
64. See Konstan (1977) 79.
65. See Laird (1993) 20–1. Also Jenkyns (1982) 125–6.
66. Apollonius follows a different mythological chronology in his poem. For the chronological problems involved in relating the voyage of *Argo* and Theseus' Cretan expedition, see Weber (1983) 264–5. Weber suggests that Catullus was aware of the *Hecale*, because both *reddite ... nuper mihi* (217) and *παρὰ γὰρ νόον εἰληλουθῆς* (*Hec.* fr. 234 Pf.) are references by Aegeus to his son's recent arrival in Athens.
67. For the details of this aspect of the Medea myth see Moreau (1994) 45–8.
68. Curran (1969) 180.
69. See Bramble (1970) 29, Fordyce (1961) *ad* 278.
70. Ellis (1904) *ad* 37, Konstan (1977) 5–6, Syndikus (1990) 116, Wheeler (1934) 125.
71. Clare (1995) 101.
72. On the alternative traditions concerning the singing of the marriage hymn of Thetis see Bramble (1970) 27, Beyers (1960) 86, Lafaye (1894) 168–9, Lenchantin (1953) *ad* 306–22.
73. Klingner (1956) 23: 'Die singenden, prophezeienden Parzen haben Apollon und Chiron, aber auch die Musen verdrängt.'
74. Avallone (1953) 69.
75. For the description of Prometheus being based upon *Arg.* 2.147–50 see Avallone (1953) 72, Braga (1950) 161, Konstan (1977) 27, Perrotta (1931) 205.
76. Also Homer, *Il.* 24.62 and Alcaeus B 10.6 L–P (see Bramble (1970) 29).
77. For various theories as to why Apollo does not attend the wedding and the relevant literary sources (particularly Plato, *Rep.* 383b), see Braga (1950) 85–7, Bramble (1970) 33, Floratos (1957) 46ff.; Giangrande (1972) 133, Konstan (1993) 72, Perrotta (1931) 206ff., Williams (1968) 226.

78. Polyxena is sacrificed to appease Achilles' ghost and *not* so that she may become his bride in the underworld. For reasons which Harmon (1973) 317 n. 23 points out, suggestions to the contrary (particularly by Fordyce (1961) and Kroll (1923) *ad loc.*) are misleading.
79. See Konstan (1993) 70.
80. Zetzel (1983) 260.
81. Fantuzzi (1995) 28.
82. Goldhill (1994) 70.
83. See Konstan (1993) 67–9.

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### ADAM'S WOMB (AUGUSTINE, *CONFESSIONS* 13.28) AND THE SALTY SEA

*a quo [sc. Deo] si non esset lapsus Adam, non diffunderetur ex utero eius salsugo maris, genus humanum profunde curiosum et procellose tumidum et instabiliter fluidum*<sup>1</sup>

This paper begins with a puzzle, a passage of *Confessions* 13 which has left commentators baffled. How can Adam have a uterus? Gibb and Montgomery, in 1927, gave the problem a name; O'Donnell, in 1992, opted for citing their comment with a quiet gloss of his own

**utero** G–M (understatement): 'A remarkable example of catachresis. It is to be explained, no doubt, by the fact that "Adam" is used generically rather than personally.'<sup>2</sup>

'Catachresis' is a grammarian's term for extended or transferred use of language. Cicero explains it in the *Orator*:

translata [sc. verba] dico, ut saepe iam, quae per similitudinem ab alia re aut suavitatis aut inopiae causa transferuntur; immutata, in quibus pro verbo proprio subicitur aliud quod idem significet sumptum ex re aliqua consequenti. quod quamquam transferendo fit, tamen alio modo transtulit cum dixit Ennius 'arce et urbe orba sum', alio modo [si pro patria arcem dixisset, et] 'horridam Africam terribili tremere tumultu' [cum dicit pro Afris immutate Africam]; hanc *hypallagen* rhetores, quia quasi summutantur verba pro verbis, *metonymian* grammatici vocant, quod nomina transferuntur; Aristoteles autem translationi et haec ipsa subiungit et abusionem, quam *catachresin* vocat, ut cum minutum dicimus animum pro parvo; et abutimur verbis propinquis, si opus est vel quod delectat vel quod decet. iam cum fluxerunt continuo plures translationes, alia plane fit oratio; itaque genus hoc Graeci appellant *allegorian*: nomine recte, genere melius ille qui ista omnia translationes vocat.<sup>3</sup>

Quintilian adds a further distinction:

abusio est ubi nomen defuit, tralatio ubi aliud fuit; nam poetae solent abusive etiam in iis rebus quibus nomina sua sunt vicinis potius uti, quod rarum in prosa est.<sup>4</sup>